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LIKEWISE THE
RELIGION, MANNERS, and CUSTOMS of the feveral INHABITANTS, their Government;
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## V O L. II.

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# P R E F A C E. 



HE following Volume, as it makes a Part of this great Work, the Reader will find to be properly divided in refpect to Books, Chapters, and Sections; but here we propofe to confider it in another Light, and according to that natural Way of Divifion arifing from the different Subjects that are treated in it. In the Beginning, more efpecially, we have largely confider'd the Nature of Settlements or Plantations; in the Middle Part of the Book we have fhewn from Examples, the Utility of Travelling through all Parts of the habitable World ; and we have elfewhere difcourfed of the great Importance of new Difcoveries, and the Advantages which a Trading Nation may'derive from the opening frefh Channels of Communication with the Inhabitants of diftant Countries, and confequently of difpofing of their Commodities and Manufactures, in Places, where, perhaps, they were never feen or heard of before. In this Place we fhall very fuccinctly mention fome of the Capital Ufes that may refult from the Manner in which we have treated thefe feveral Branches of our Subject, and refer the inquifitive Perufer, for a more copious and circumftantial View of the Difpofition and Connection of the feveral Parts of this Defign, to the Conclufion, where we have Reafon to hope they are fo ftated, as to give him entire Satisfaction.
"The great Point with refpect to Plantations, is to fhew, that the Riches, Power, and Happinefs of the Mother-Country, depends, in a great Meafure, upon them ; and that, on the other Hand, this Connection is fo far from being gricvous, burthenfome, or prejudicial to the Colonies, that, on the contrary, their Peace, Welfare, and Profperity, are dependant upon this, and upon this only, fo that the Benefits and Advantages of Settlements and their Mother-Countries are always reciprocal ; whence arifes the Tie of mutual Obligation, that renders it equally unnatural for one to regret the Share fhe pays out of the Profit of her Labours, or the other to repine at the Demands that are now and then made for Affiftance and Protection. It is a Thing of the highef Confequence, that thefe Notions fhould be thoroughly defeminated, and all the Points before infifted on univerfally underfood. The fending People abroad to fettle for a Time in a Plantation, ought to be confidered in the Light of publick Service, becaufe fo in Fact it is, fince we have proved in the following Pages, that every Planter abroad, finds Employment for feveral Men, perhaps for feveral Families at Home ; there cannot therefore be any thing more unjuft, than to give a Preference of any Kind to thofe whom he maintains, before him who maintains them. There is alfo nothing more abfurd, than to fancy that well regulated Colonies tend to depopulate their Mother-Countries ; which is fo far from being true, that the more populous any Plantations are, the better peopled their Mother-Countries muft be ; for the more flourithing the Settlement, the greater Confumption of Manufactures and Home Commodities in that Settlement: Now thefe cannot be confumed unlefs they are furnifhed, and they cannot be furnifhed without a Multitude of Hands ; but Employment will always procure thefe, and confequently People in a Plantation, like Water in the Sucker of a Pump, fets the Machine in Motion, and by a. Kind of political Attraction, produces that Circulation of Induftry which is the Health of the Conftitution. Lafly, Though all Trade is advantageous, the Trade between Mother-Countries and their Plantations is of all others moft advantageous, becaufe where-ever the Profit falls, the fame People reap it, and little or nothing is diverted into foreign Channels. The large Hiftory enfuing may be confidered as a practical Commentary upon this Text, in which, by innumerable Infances it is proved, that where there Notions are adverted to and followed, Mother-Countries and their Plantations thrive equally, and that both pine, dwindle and decay, where thefe Maxims are either neglected or defpifed.

In Regard to Travels by Land, the Benefits refulting from them are partly in common, and partly diftinct from thofe which arife from Voyages ; we fhall infift here only upon the latter. We derive from well-written Relations of thefe, Accounts that may be relied on as to the Natural Hiftory of Countries, their Climate, Soil and Produce, whether Vegetables, Animals, or Minerals, and are thereby enabled to form fome Kind of Notion of thofe immenfe Treafures, which with a wife as well as bountiful Hand, the great Author of the World has diftributed through all its Parts. We are next informed concerning

## P R E F A C E.

the State of our own Species in every Country, more or lefs diftant, or however fituated in refpect to our own, their Maniners, Cuftoms, Religion, Government, Laws, Forces, Revenues, and Trade. Befides all this, we learn the Progrefs of Art in the Improvement of Nature, which is a Point of higher Confequence than is commonly imagined ; fince upon a frict Review it will be found, that even amongh the moft uncouth and barbarous Nations, there are many ingenious Inventions to be met with, fome taken from Accident, but moft dictated by Neceffity, which in neither Way have ever occurred, even to the mof lively Imaginations, amongft People more civilized. As for Inftance, The neat Cloaths of Skins, Hunting and Fifhing Tackle without Iron, and Boats that cannot fink among the Greenlanders; their Alying Prows amongtt the Inhabitants of the Marian Iflands; their Feather Works amongft the ancient Mexicans, \&c. By reading as well as feeing thefe Things, the human Mind is vaftly enlarged and improved; we become weaned and eftranged from thofe little, narrow, and childifh Notions which are the Effects of a fordid Education, and by which even the brighteft Genius is held in Chains. Neither is this the only Benefit, for the Extenfion of true Science naturally heightens and imprọves our moral Notions, teaches us Affability, Kindnefs and Commiferation for Strangers, and puts us in this refpect upon executing the Fundamental Maxim of the Chriftian Law, by doing unto others as we would wifh to be doneoby in their Circumftances. It teaches us Wifdom alfo, enables us to find out Means for meliorating our own Soil and Climate, and introducing as well foreign Fruits and Timber, as Animals ; and by Labour prudently directed, making them our own. In the fame Manner we transfer their Arts alfo, which though invented in particular Countries, and indifpenfably neceffary in fome, are, generally fpeaking, ufeful and convenient in all. Whatever Books of Travels therefore treat of thefe Matters moft copioufly, circumftantially, and correctly, deferve moft to be read, and beft to be preferved; which Rule we have ftudied to follow for the Reader's Emolument, as well as in Difcharge of our own Duty.

In Reference to new Difcoveries, and opening frefh Channels of Trade, we have fpared no Pains; nor have been deterred by any Hazards. We have confidered every Quarter of the Globe, and after enquiring how far it is already known and vifited, have pointed out how much farther and better it might be known, and what Advantages might probably be expected from thence. We have not ftood in Awe, upon thefe 'Occafions, either of the Cenfures of hafty Criticks, of the Raillery of fuch as defpife all Projects but thofe of Pleafure, or of the Refentment of Men who fancy that fuch Difcoveries would be an Intrufion upon their Rights, though they never attempt to turn thefe, fo much, as to their own Advantage. What we have offered, has proceeded from a right Intention, from a Defire of employing the Poor, of affording fuitable Rewards to enterprizing Minds; and in a Word, of contributing, fo far as this Opportunity put it. in our Power, to the Benefit of Society, which is a Tribute due from every Member of it, for the Protection, and other Bleffings that he enjoys in that Capacity. We have in every Inftance had Reafon for our Guide at leaft, and fometimes alfo Experience. We have propofed the undertaking of nothing without fhewing that there were probable Grounds of finding the Undertaking both beneficial and practicable. We have fudied to be as clear in the one, and as certain in the other, as it was poffible; neither have we pretended to dictate, but have contented ourfelves with propounding fairly what appeared to us feafible. To this we were chiefly encouraged by obferving, that the fame noble and generous Spirit, which animated our Anceftors not only to attempt, but to perform fo many and fo great Actions, of which we feel the Benefit, began to revive in the prefent Age for our own Advantage, as we hope, as well as for that of our Pofterity. What was in our Power we have done to cherifh and keep alive this glorious Flame, and to enable it to mount as high in prefent as in paft Times; and if in doing this we have fometimes digreffed with fome degree of Acrimony into expofing the oppofite Humour of preferring Indolence and Pleafure to Activity and Induftry, we hope the Warmth of our Zeal will at leaft excufe that of our Language. It is our Comfort however, that if it does not, it can offend only the Idle and Taftelefs, whom, to fay the Truth, we never had a Thought to pleafe. They muft look for a Library of this Kind elfewhere, for this is confecrated entirely to the Service of ingenious and intelligent Readers, who feek Improvement and Inftruction, and have no Notion of being entertained at the Expence of their Time and their Underftandings.

This we flatter ourfelves will be found a fair Reprefentation of the principal Matters that are to be met with within the Compafs of this Volume ; and having faid this, we have nothing farther to add, than that we heartily wifh the Perufal of it may, in fome Meafure, anfwer our Aim, and contribute to diffufe that publick Spirit which teaches Men not only to wifh well to the World in general, and to their own Country in particular, but to exprefs the Sincerity of their Wifhes in their Studies, their Difcourfes, and their Actions. We fhall then be amply rewarded for all the Anxiety and Labour with which the atchieving fo great a Work has been attended, and fhall chearfully leave it as a Monument to Pofterity, that we have not been idle in our Generation, or unworthy of the Examples that have been fet us in this Kind of Writing, by the great Men in the laft Age; in our own, and in other Countries.

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THE Travels of Sir Fobn Cbardin by the Way of the Black Sea through the Countries of Circaffia, Mingrelia, the Region of the Abcas; Georgia, Armenia and Media into Perfia proper; with a very curious and accurate Account, not only of the Countries through which he travelled, but of the Manners and Cuftoms, Religion and Government, Commerce and Inclinations of the feveral Nations that inhabit them; Relations fo much the more Curious, as thefe Countries, and the People dwelling in them, had not been tolerably defcribed before by any Author.

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## S E C T. II.

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Containing an Account of the Government and Conftitution of Perfia; the Nature of the Shab's Power ; the Diftribution of Civil, Ecclefiaftical and Military Offices; the interior Policy of the Empire ; the regular Forces kept up there, both Horfe and. Foot ; and the Nature and Amount of the publick Revenues. 897

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# Navigantium atque Itinerantium Bibliotheca. 

Or, A Complete Collection of

## VOYA GES and TRAVELS.

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1. All Ages and all Nations bave concurred in admiring fuch as bave diffinguifbed tbemfelves by the Difcovery of nerw Countries. 2. The Art of Navigation much improved in Columbus's time, and yet be bad great Dificulties to fruggle witt in Theory and Practice. 3. By bis Scheme be avoided the Imputation of Herefy, webich bad fallen upon all wwo maintained Antipodes before bim. 4. No juft Iuputation on bim that be did not find America exactly as be conjectured. 5. A fuccinct Account of the Subjects that are to be tracated of in this Cbapter.


HERE are very few Points as to which the Judgments of different Times and feveral Nations have fo well agreed, as in the Fame due to thofe who firft difcovered diftant Countries. In refpect to the fabulous Hiftory, Baccbus is highly celebrated for his Indian Expedition, and chiefly becaufe he durft penetrate farther than any Man had ever gone before, he was reputed a Deity. The Egyptians, who were efteemed to be the wifert People of Antiquity, and with reafon, fince almoft all the Sciences travelled into this part of the World from thence, paid the higheft Tribute of Praife to fuch of their Monarchs as were fuppofed to have conquered the Eaft, and to have penetrated into Countries where, before that time, no victorious Armies had ever come. It was for the fame Caufe that the Tyrian Hercules was fo much magnified by his Countrymen; and it was the Glory which thofe Heroes had acquired, that
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prompted Alexander, the moft ambitious and moft daring of the Greeks, to undertake his famous Expedition againtt the Indians, that he might not fall fhort of any whofe Names were recorded in Hiftory; which Vanity of his tranfported him to fuch a Degree, that though, after the Ruin of the Perfian Empire, he efteemed himfelf only the firt of Men; yet, on his framing the Project of invading India, he conceived himfelf, and expected that others fhould conceive him, fomewhat more than Man. In fucceeding Times, we find this Humour far from being worn out, fince even the Romans, who, if not a wifer, were moft certainly a more moderate and better-judging People than the Greeks, efteemed the Invafion of Britain by Julius Cafar the moft glorious of his Actions, and that which redounded moft to the Honour of their Empire.
Upon the fame Principle the famous Emperor Trajan was fo extremely defirous of following the Example of Alexonder, and carrying the Terror of the Roman Arms
into Countries which their Anceftors never knew. But, after all, this Notion of pufhing their Conquefts in .this manner carries in it nothing fo truly noble as the Project of difcovering Countries far removed from other Parts of the World by vaft Tracts of Sea; and this for many Reafons, but principally for thefe three. Firft, Becaufe the former is the bare Refult of Force; whereas the latter muft be the Effect of Skill. To enjoy Courage only is common with other Animals; but Fortitude of Mind, with refpect to Dangers not felt, but forefeen, is peculiar to us as Men; and fo likewife is the Conduet by which Providence has enabled us to guard againft them. Secondly, in attempting the Difcovery of diftant and unknown Regions, we not only combat thofe Difficulties which other Conquerors meet with; but, at the fame time, attempt to fubdue Nature, and to make her, who is the Miftrefs of Mankind, obedient to our Will, which, in ancient Times, was fuppofed to have fomewhat in it of Divinity, becaufe, to ordinary Minds, it feemed beyond the Reach and Power of Man. Thirdly, Whereas other Conquefts tend only to the Benefit of this or that Nation; thefe are advantageous to the Species, and add Dominion not to a fingle People, but to the whole Race of Mankind.
2. We muft allow that the Ufe of the Compaifs had brought about confiderable Changes in the Art of Navigation, before any Attempt was made to difcover new Countries by failing Weftward; but, however, there were great Difficulties to be overcome, before any Defign of - that fort could be accomplifhed. The Veffels then in ufe were very unfit for long Voyages, in Point of Form, Capacity, and Strength. The Seamen again had very little Experience, were naturally inclined to coafting, and knew not enough of their Art to be clearly fatisfied what could, or what could not, be performed by it. Add to all this, that their Skill confifted rather in practifing what they had feen before, than in the Knowledge of any fettled Principle of Science, capable of directing them in any extraordinary Cafes that might happen. And even as to their Obfervations, they were far enough from being exact, partly from the Meannefs of their Inftruments, and partly from the Narrownefs of their Notions about the Ufe of them.

We may fubjoin to thefe another Difficulty, as great, or perhaps greater, than any of the reft; which was their Pronenefs to Supertition, a thing incident to all Arts, while indifferently underftood, which made them, on the one hand, liable to be furprized and confounded by every little Accident, and, on the other, rendered them fo obftinate and intractable, that it was very hard, and, in fome Cafes, almoft impoffible, to force them out of their ordinary Road, notwithftanding their being directed by Perfons of fuperior Abilities, and who, by a long Courfe of Study and Obfervation, had conquered all or moft of thefe Difficulties. Thefe Errors and Imperfections in fuch fort of People might, however, be very eafily excufed, when thofe who, both from their Parts and their Profeffions, ought to have been freer from thefe Foibles and Follies, entangled themfelves, by their own Wilfulnefs and Vanity, in ftill greater Miftakes. Thus, for inftance, it became a Point of Faith to deny that there were Antipodes, and the learned Bifhop of Saltzburg was condemned as a Heretic for holding the contrary Opinion.
There has, indeed, been fome Endeavours ufed to palliate this Matter, and to make the World believe that the Clergy, in thofe Days, were not quite fo ignorant as they have been reprefented. With this View we are told, that St. Augufin, on whore Authority the Prelate before-mentioned was condemned, was far enough from believing, that the Earth upon which we live was flat, like a Trencher, which may be granted; but then let us hear how they explain the Matter, and in what manner they ftate the Cafe of che Antipodes, fo as to render the Belief of them an Herefy. Why, fay they, though the Church acknowledged the Earth to be a Globe, and that there was an inferior, as well as fuperior, Hemifphere; yet they denied that the latter was habitable, becaufe, as it muft be feparated from us by a great Ocean, the Confequence they thought muft have been, that, if it was peopled, the

Inhabitants could not have been defcended from Adam, and therefore the afferting a World fo peopled was, in their Judgment, a flat Contradiction of the Scriptures. This Pofition of theirs, though a little better Senfe, was as effectual a Bar to Science, and as much calculated to prevent Difcoveries, as the other Opinion of the Earth's being flat; fo that, confidering the Power of the Church in the fifteenth Century, one cannot help wondering how it came into the Head of fo religious a Man as Cbrifopher Columbus to maintain the Poffibility of fuch an Enterprize; and one ought to wonder much more that, that after he did maintain fuch a Doctrine, it was not condemned as a Herefy.
3. At firt fight, the examining this Point may feem to be a little wide from our Purpofe; but I hope, before I have done with it, to convince the ingenious Reader that nothing can contribute fo much to the perfect undertanding the Subject of this Section. We have already thewn, at the Beginning of the former Volume, that, when Columbus firft propofed his Scheme, it met with great Oppofitions, more efpecially from the Learned, who, either not comprehending the Force of his Arguments, were refolved to conceal their own Ignorance the beft way they could; or elfe, from a Principle of Envy, were affiduous in maintaining that what he afferted was falfe and abfurd, merely becaufe they had not Penetration enough to make fuch a Difcovery themfelves: But we never hear that they charged him with Herefy, and therefore I am inclined to think, that the Reafon before affigned for condemning the Opinion of the Antipodes was the true one-
The Bufinefs then is to fhew how Columbus avoided fplitting upon this Rock, and maintained his Notion without running into that to which the Church was, in his time, as little reconciled as when the Bifhop of Saltfburg was adjudged an Heretic. In order to clear up this, the Reader is to underftand, that though Columbus difcovered that great Continent, now called America; yet he was very far from declaring, at leaft, or perhaps from believing, before he undertook his firft Voyage, that there was any fuch Continent; by which I mean, a Continent feparated from Europe by fo large a Part of the Ocean on one fide, and as far feparated from Afra in like manner on the other. For, had he fo conceived, or, at leaft, had he maintained this Conception, however agreeable to good Senfe and Truth, he had been moft certainly. efteemed a Heretic.
But the Principle he went upon, though not frictly true, exempted him from all Imputation. It was, in few Words, this, That the Earth being globular, it was reafonable to fuppofe, that the Continent and Iflands of the Eaft Indies extended themfelves in fuch a Manner into the inferior Hemifphere, as that they might be reached very conveniently by failing Weftward. It is very evident that, by this Suppofition, he entirely avoided the Herefy of maintaining, that there might be another Continent, inhabited by Men that were not defcended from Adam. It is very true that he might maintain and publifh this Doctrine, without believing it; but, as the Reader will hereafter fee, this was not the Cafe; for he really fpoke as he thought. Nor does it appear that he was undeceived, even by the firlt Voyage that he made; but, on the contrary, firmly believed, that the Inands he had vifited were fuch as lay at fome Diftance from the Continent of the moft Eaftern Part of Afia.
4. There is nothing in this Error of Columbus which can in the leaft prejudice him in the Opinion of a judicious and intelligent Perfon; but quite the contrary, fince it was impofible for him, or, indeed, for any Man, to difcover, by the Force of his Genius only, how the Divine Providence had diftributed the Continicnt and Inands in that unknown Hemifphere. On the contrary, we learn, from hence, that there is always fomething magnificent and fhining, and, if I may be allowed the Expreffion, a fhadowy Refemblance of Truth even in the Miftakes of great Men. It was the Opinion of this able Perfon, that, after traverfing a wide Sea, he fhould fall in with that Archipelago of Inands which Marco Poulo had defcribed, and which he had called Zipango, or Cipango, which are what we call $7 a p o n$; and, if the Continent of America had not lain in his way (which, as I faid, it was impoffi-

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ble for him to forefee) uncueftionably it had been fo; which is the true Reafon why, at firt, he fancied Cuba one of thofe Inlands, and, after a little Reflection, pronounced that an Error; but itill flattered himfelf that he fhould meet with thefe Iflands, but in a higher Latitude.

It was from this Miftake of his, that the Countries which he difcovered came to be called Weft Indies; for, upon his Return from his firt Voyage, and bringing with him Spice, Parrots, and Gold, he made no queftion that the Countries he had vifited made a Part of the Indies, that is, of the Afian or Eaft Indies: But when, by his fubfequent Voyages, he was convinced of his Error, and found that there was really a great Continent between him and the Countries he fought, he then chofe to call the Illands he had difcovered the Weft Indies. In Procefs of Time, when the Extent and Importance of the Continent to which thofe Inlands belonged was better known, it came to be called by a more emphatic and fignificant Name, viz. that of the New World.

This, to fay the Truth, was proper enough, fince, on the firf View of the Globe, it appears, that America is as it were a Balance to what was ftiled the World before it was difcovered ; and, as it lies from North to South, it occupies all the Zones, and, confequently, contains the fame Variety of Climates which had been diftinguifhed by Geographers in this Part of the World. It came afterwards to be called America, for Reafons which we fhall affign, when we come to fpeak of Americus Vefpufius, who was the firft that publifhed a tolerable Map of it, and in that Light only could be efteemed a great Difcoverer.
5. We have, in the former Volume, fpoken of Co fumbus as the firft Circum-navigator, tho' he was not fo in Fact, but in Idea only; however, as it was in Purfuit of his Notions that the Poffibility of failing round the World was firft difcovered, and has been fince often performed, he had a juft Right to be confidered in that Light. In this Section we propofe to fpeak of him as the Firft who vifited this new World; and, after giving an Account of his Voyages thither, and of the Difcoveries made by the Spaniards, who purfued his Tract, we fhall next entertain the Reader with the Hiftory of the two great Conquefts made by the Spaniards in America. The Firft by Ferdinand, or, as the Spanifs Writers call him,

Hernan Cortes, of the great Empire of Mexico. The Second by Frances Pizaro, who fubdued the no lefs famous Empire of Peru. This will afford us an Opportunity of entering into a Defcription of both thefe Countries, as they ftood at the Time thefe Conquefts were made ; and of the Manners, Government, Laws, Learning, and Trade of their ancient Inhabitants.
We fhall then fpeak of the Expeditions of our own Countrymen into this Part of the World, and of the Difcoveries and Settlements made by them, from the firft Voyage of Cabot, in the Reign of Henry VII. down to the Plantation of Georgia, which is the Laft, at leaft of any Confequence, that we have made. The Difcoveries and Settlements made by the French will next employ our Care. And, laft of all, we fhall fpeak of the few fmall Settlements which the Dutch and Danes enjoy in this Part of the Globe; which (with a View of the principal Advantages that Europe in general derives from her Commerce with this new World) will fill up the remaining Part, and complete the Defign of this Chapter.

It may not, however, be amifs to take this Opportunity of obferving, that, by this Means, our Hiftory of Difcoveries will be entirely compleated; fo that in our Third and Fifth Books we may, with the fame Propriety, infert Travels by Land, in the moft diftant Parts of Afia and America, as in the moft known Parts of the World; which could not however have been done, if in thefe two Chapters we had not fhewn at large how thefe great Countries were firft difclofed to the World, and their Commerce, in fome meafure, monopolized and fecured to the Inhabitants of Europe. Hence arifes the great Difference in Bulk between our Firft and our fucceeding Books; the former being, ftrictly fpeaking, a compleat Hiftory of Navigation and Commerce, fhewing the Connections between the different Parts of the World, as they now fland, as well as the manner in which thofe Connections arofe, and have been continued: Whereas in the following Books the feveral Parts of the World are diftinctly confidered, and the Conditions of their Inhabitants particularly explained, from the Accounts given us by fuch as vifited them for that Purpofe. Thus much being faid by way of Introduction, let us proceed directly to the Performance of what has been promifed.

## S E C T I O N II.

## The firf Voyage of Christopher Columbus, in which be difcovered the Lucayan Iflands, and afterwards Cuba and Hifpaniola, which opened a Paflage from Europe to America, with bis Return to Spain, and Reception by their Catbolic Majefies.

1. The Diffculties which Columbus met in concluding an Agreement with the 2ueen of Spain. 2. The Subfance of that Agreement, together with. an Account of the fmall Force with which be undertook this Expedition. 3. He fails from Spain on the 3d of Auguft, 1492. 4. The remarkable Occurrences in the Voyage, and the various Troubles to which the Admiral was expofed. 5. The Seamen grore uneafy and fuppicious, notwitbfanding all the Endeavours ufed by Columbus to pacify and encourage them. 6. When bis Patience was quite exbaufted they at laft difcovered Land. 7. The Admiral gives Names to the three firft Iflands be met with in the new World. 8. He fails to and examines the noble Illand of Cuba. 9. He procieds from thence to that of Hifpaniola. 10. An Account of bis Reception by the Inbabitants, and of the State of that Ifland at the Time of bis difcovering it. I r. Lofes bis Ship upon that Coaft, and refolves to fettle a Colony there. I 2. Takes proper Metbods for that Purpofe, and gives this newe Colony the Name of Natividad, in Honour of Chrift's. Nativity. 13. Begins to difpofe all things for bis Return to Spain. 14. Begins bis Voyage from the Port of the Nativity, and rejoins Martin Pinzon, who bad deferted bim. 15. Profecutes bis Voyage to Lifbon, rebere be bas an Audience of the King of Portugal. I6. Returns fafely to Palos, March I 5, 1493, and proceeds from thence to Barcelona, in order to pay bis Comoliments to their Catbolic Majefies. I7. Remarks, and Obfervations on the forgoing Voyage.

"THE Family and perfonal Hittory of Don Cbrifopher Columbus have been fo fully fet forth in the Beginning of the Firft Chapter, that there is no Need of repeating them here; and, therefore, we thall obferve, that after being nighted and abufed in Portugal, he travelled into Spain, in the year 1484, in order to propofe his Scheme of Difcovery to King Ferdinand and

Queen Ifabella, by whom he was referred to the Prior of Prado, afterwards Archbifhop of Granada, who fummoned an Affembly of fuch as were then efteemed learn* ed, to confider of his Propofals. But there being few Cofmographers then in Caffile, and thofe none of the beft in the Worid, and, befides, as Columbus did not fully explain himfelf, left he thould be ferved as he had been
in Portugal, they came to a Refolution nothing anfwerable to what he had expected.

Some alledging that fince in fo many Ages as there were from the Creation of the World, Men fo well verfed in marine Affairs had known nothing of thefe Countries Columbus perfuaded them muft be found, it was not to be imagined that he could know more than all of them. Others, adhering more to fpeculative Reafon, urged, that the World was fo large that there would be no coming to the utmoft Extent of the Eaft in three Years, whither Columbus faid he intended his Voyage. And in Confrmation thereof they alledged, that Seneca, by way of Difpute, faid, That many difcreet Men did not agree upon the Queftion, Whether the Ocean was infinite, and doubted whether it could be failed; and, fuppofing it to be navigable, whether there was any Country inhabited on the other Side, and whether it was poffible to go to it. They added, That no Part of this inferior Sphere was inhabited, except only a fimall Compafs, which was left in our Hemifphere above the Water, and that all the reft was Sea; and that notwithftanding it was fo, if it were pofible to arrive at the extreme Part of the Eaft, it would be alfo granted that from Spain they might go to the extreme Part of the Weft. There were ftill others who affirmed, That if Columbus fhould fail directiy Weftward he would not be able to return to Spain, becaufe of the Roundnefs of the Globe; fo that whoever fhould mo beyond the Hemifphere known by Ptolemy, would fall down fo low that it would be impoffible ever to return, by reafon it would be like climbing up a Hill. And though Cohimbus fully anfwered thefe Arguments, they could not apprehend him, for which Reafon thofe of the Affembly judged the Enterprize to be vain and impracticable, and that it was not becoming the Grandeur of fuch mighty Princes to proceed upon fo improbable a Scheme.

After much Delay, their Catholic Majefties ordered this Anfwer to be given to Columbus: That being engaged in feveral Wars, and particularly in the Conqueft of Granada, they could not enter upon frefh Expences, but when that was over, they would caufe further Enquiry to be made into his Propofal; and fo they difmiffed him. On receiving this Anfiwer, Columbus went to Sevil very 'melancholy, after having been five Years at Court to no Effect. He caufed the Affair to be propofed to the Duke de Medina Sidonia, and fome fay to the Duke de Medina Coli at the fame time; and they alfo rejecting him, he wrote to the King of France, defigning to go over into England, to look for his Brother, of whom he had heard nothing for a long time, in cafe the French would not employ him. With this Defign he went to the Monaftery for his Son Don Diego, in order to leave him at Cordova; and communicating his Defign to Father Fobn Perez de Morcbanta, he put off his Journey at his Requeft, who, to be the better informed of the Grounds Columbus went upon, fent for Garci Herandez, a Phyfician, and they three conferred together upon what Columbus propofed, which gave Garci Herandez, as being a Phyfician, much Satisfaction. Whereupon Father Jobn Perez, who was known to the Queen, as having confeffed her fometimes, writ to her, and the ordered him to come to the Court, which was then in the Town of Santa Fee at the Siege of Gronoda, and to leave Columbus at Palos, giving him Hopes of Succefs in his Bufinefs.
Father Fobn Perez having been with the Queen, the ordered 20,000 Marvedies in Florins for Columbus, by Fames Piete, an Inhabitant of Palos, for him to go to Court; where he being come, the Affair began to be canvaffed again. But the Prior of Prado, and others who followed him, being of a contrary Opinion; and Coluribus demanding very high Terms, and, among the reft, to have the Title of Admiral and Vice-roy, they thought he demanded too much, if the Enterprize fucceeded, and looked upon it as a Difcredit, if it did not. Whereupon the Treaty entirely ceafed, and Columbus refolved to go away to Cordova, in order to proceed from thence to Fronce, being refolved not to go to Portugal upon any Account. Alonfo de Quinionilla, and Lervis de Santangel, a Clerk of the Revenue of the Crown of Aragon, were much concemed that this Enterprize fhould be
difappointed; and, at the Requeft of Father jobn Perez and Alonjo Quintanilla, the Cardinal Don Pedro Gonzalez de Mendoza had heard Columbus, and looking upon him as a grave Man, had an Efteem for him. Befides, the adverfe Party objecting, that, as Columbus ventured nothing himfelf in the Difcovery, and made himfelf Admiral of a. Fleet of their Catbolic Majefties, he would not value being difappointed in the Enterprize. He offered, in anfwer to them, to lay down the eighth Part of the Expence, provided he fhould have his Quota of the Return; and yet nothing came of it. In Fanuary, 1492, he fet out from Santa Fee for Cordova, the City of Granada being then in the Poffefion of their Catbolic Majefties.

The fame Day Lewis de Santangel told the Queen, He wondered fhe, who never wanted a Spirit for the greateft Undertakings, fhould now fail where fo little would be loft, and fo much might be gained; for, in Cafe the Affair fucceeded, and fell into the Hands of another, as Columbus affirmed it was like to do, fhe might guefs how prejudicial it would be to her Crown. And fince Columbus appeared to be a difcreet Man, and demanded no Reward but out of what he fhould find, and was willing to defray a Part of the Charge, venturing his own Perfon alfo; the thing ought not to be efteemed fo impracticable. Befides, Columbus demanded only a Million of Marvedies to fit out his Squadron, and, therefore, he intreated her not to fuffer fo fmall an Expence to difappoint fo great an Enterprize. The Queen, finding herfelf importuned on the fame Account by Alonfo de Quintanilla, who was in high Credit with her, thanked them for their Advice, and faid fhe accepted it, provided they would ftay till the could a little recover the Expences of the War. However, if they thought fit, it fhould be immediately put in execution; fhe would confent they fhould borrow what Money was requifite upon her Jewels. They kiffed her Hand for this Favour; and Lewois de Santangel offered to lend as much as was neceffary.

Upon this the Queen ordered an Alguazil of the Court to poit after Columbus, to tell him from her to return. The Alguazil overtook him two Leagues from Granada, at the Bridge of Pinos; and, though much concerned, he returned to Santa Fee, where he was well received; and the Secretary, Jobn Colonna, was ordered to draw up the Conditions, after he had fpent eight Years in foliciting the Enterprize, and induring in that Time many Croffes and Hardfhips. When Columbus and the Secretary had conferred about the Terms, they agreed upon the following Conditions, on the 17th of April, 1492.
2. Firft their Highneffes conftitute Don Cbriflopher Columbus, their Admiral, in all thofe Illands and Continents that by his Induftry hall be difcovered in the faid Ocean, during his Life, and after his Death, to his Heirs, and Succeffors for ever, with all the Prerogatives to that Office appertaining, and in the fame Manner as Don Alonfo Henriquez, their high Admiral of Caftile, and his Predeceffors in the faid Office enjoyed the fame within their Diftricts. Item, Their Highneffes appoint the faid Don Cbriftopber Columbus their Viceroy and Governor General of all the Inands and Continents which he fhall difcover in the faid Ocean, and that he may chofe three Perfons for the Government of each of them, and that their Highneffes take and make choice of one as fhall be moft for their Service.

Item, That all Commodities, whether Pearls, precious Stones, Gold, Silver, Spice, or other things whatfoever, or Merchandize of any kind, that fhall be brought, changed, found on, or had within, the Limits of the f Admiral's Ship, their High Nightineffes, from this time, grant to the faid Don Cbrifopber, That he have, and enjoy the tenth Part for himfelf, deducting the Charges, fo that of what fhall remain clear and free, he have, and take the tenth Part for himfelf, and difpofe of it at his own Will; the other nine Parts remaining for their Highneffes.

Item, In Cafe that on Account of the faid Merchandize, which he fhall bring from the faid Mlands, which fhall be difcovered, or of thofe which fhall be taken in exchange for them of other Merchants, any Law-fuit hould happen to arife in the Place where the faid Commerce fhall be made and carried on; if by Reafon of his faid Office of

Admizals

Admiral, it thall belong to him to take Cognizance of fuch Controverfy; it may pleafe their Highnefles, that he or his Deputy, and no other Judge, fhall try the faid Caufe, if it appertains to the faid Office of Admiral as the fame has been enjoyed by the Admiral Don Alonfo Henriquez, or his Predeceffors in their Diftricts, and according to Juftice.

Item, That in all the Ships which fhall be fitted out for the faid Trade and Commerce, as often as they fhall be fitted, the faid Don Cbrifopber Columbus, if he fhall think fit, may lay out the eighth Part of what thall be expended in fitting them out; and that he accordingly have and receive the eighth Part of the Profits of fuch Ships.

Thefe Articles were granted in the Town of Santa Fce, in the Plain of Granada, with which Difpatch and Money Don Cbriftopher Columbus fet out from Granada on the 12th of May, and leaving his Sons at their Studies in Cordova, he went to the Town of Palos, to undertake his Voyage; few at Court expecting that he would perform what he had promifed. Their Catholic Majefties ftrictly enjoined him not to touch at the Mine in Guinea, or to come within one Hundred Leagues of the Portugueze Scttlements. They gave him their Letters Patents to all the Kings and Princes in the World, for them to give him a favourable Reception as their Commander; he repaired to Palos, becaufe there were able Seamen in that Place, and on Account of his Friendihip with Father Fobn Perez de Merchena, who helped him very much in the Difpatch of his Affairs; perfuading the Sailors who were very backward to engage in an unknown Voyage. He carried with him Orders for that Town to furnifh him with two Caravels, which by ancient Tenure it was obliged to find for the Service of the Crown, during three Months every Year.

He fitted out another Ship as Admiral, and called it St. Mary; the fecond was called Pinta, of which Martin Alonfo Pinzon was Captain, and his Brother Francis Martinez Pinzon Mafter : The Third was named Nina, carrying fquare Sails, whofe Captain and Mafter was Vincent Yanez Pinzon, who was very helpful in this Affair, and 1aid down half a Million of Marvedies for the eighth Part of the Expence. He made ufe of the Pinzons, becaufe they were principal Men in that Town, wealthy and fkilful Mariners, and all the Men feeing them approve of the Voyage, were willing to undertake it.
3. The Ships being provided for a Year, having on board ninety Men, moft of them Natives of Palos, and among them fome Friends of Clumbus, and fome of the Kings Servants, they fet fail on Friday the third of Auguf, half an Hour before Sun rifing, and got over the Bar of Saltes, diresting their Courfe for the Canary Iflands, after they had all (following the Example of Columbus) made their Confeffion, and received the Holy Communion. As they held on their Voyage, on the fourth of $A u$ guft, the Rudder of the Caravel Pinta, in which Martin Alonfo Pinzon commanded, broke loofe, as was fufpected by the Contrivance of Gomez Rafcon and Cbrifopher Quintero Mariners, to whom the Caravel belonged, becaufe they went the Voyage againft their Will, and therefore they had endeavoured to difappoint it before their Departure. But 'Martin Alonfo Pinzon being an able Sailor, the Rudider was faftened with Cables in fuch Manner, that they were able to fail till the Tuefday following, when it again broke loofe, and they were all forced to lie by.

This Mifchance happening to the Caravel Pinta, at their firft fetting out, would have ftartled any fuperftitious Perfon, efpecially confidering how difobedient Martin Alonfo afterwards proved to Columbus. Having mended the Rudder the beft they could, on the I Ith of Auguft by Break of Day they difcovered the Canaries, and not being able in two Days to put into grand Canaria, becaufe the Wind was contrary, Columbus ordered Martin Alonfo to procure fome other Veffel as foon as he could get afhore, and he, with the other two, made for the Ifland Gomera, to endeavour the fame; but finding none, he returned to great Canaria, and refolved to make a new Rudder to the Caravel Pinia, and to change the Sails of
the Caravel Nina, which were Equare, into thofe called Shoulder of Mutton Sails, that he might follow the other Ships more fpeedily, and with lefs Danger.

The 5th of September, in the Afternoon, he failed, and arrived at the Ifland Gomera, fpent four Days there, taking in frefh Water and Fuel, with the utmoft Diligence; becaufe, being informed that three Portuguefe Caravels were hovering about thefe Mands to feize him, he apprehended fome Trouble on Account of the King of Portugal's Concern, when he underitood that Don Cbrifopher Columbus had articled with their Catbolic Majefties, being apprehenfive that God had taken that good Fortune out of his Hands. Thur day the 6th, which may be reckoned the Entry of the Undertaking, he failed to the Weftward, making but little Way. But the next Day they loft fight of Land, and many fighed and wept, believing they fhould never fee it again: But Columbus encouraged and comforted them with Thoughts of Wealth and good Fortune. That Day they run eighteen Leagues, but the Admiral defignedly reckoned but fifteen, thinking it convenient to fhorten their Run, that the Men might be lefs afraid. On the 11 th, being 150 Leagues from the Inand Ferro, they fpied a Peice of a Maft, which feemed to have been carried away by the Current. In the fame Latitude, fomewhat farther on, the Current fat ftrong to the Northward, and 50 Leagues farther Weftward.

On the I4th Columbus about Night-fall obferved that the Needle varied to the North-weft about half a Point, and that at Break of Day it did the like, fomewhat above half a Point, by which he perceived that the Ncedle did not point directly to the Star called the North; but at another fixed and invifible Point. This Variation had not till then been obferved by any Perfon whatfoever, which was much admired, and much more the third Day after, when he had advanced ioo Leagues farther, holding the fame Courfe, becaufe the Needles then at Nightfall varied to the North-weft as before, and in the Morning again pointed upon the very Star.

On the 15 th, being near 300 Leagues Weftward of the Inland Ferro, a Flame of Fire was feen falling into the Sea in the Night, four or five Leagues from the Ships towards the South-weft; the Weather being calm and the Sea fmooth, the Currents ftill fetting to the North-caft; and the Crew of the Caravel Nina, faid they had the Day before feen a Bird called a Waterwagtail, which they admired, that being the firft, and a Bird which they fay never flies above fifteen or twenty Leagues from Land. The next Day they were more furprized to fee Spots of green and yellow Weeds on the Surface of the Water, which feemed to have been wafhed from fome Illand or Rocks, and they faw much more the Day following, which made them conclude that they were near Land, and they were ftrongly confirmed in it, becaufe they faw a little Grafshopper alive upon the Weeds; others fancied there might be Rocks or Lands under Water, and, being afraid, muttered againft the Voyage; it was alifo obferved, that the Sea-Water was not half fo falt as that they had paffed, and that Night they faw many Tunnies following the Ships fo clofe, that the Men in the Caravel Nina killed one of them with an Harping-iron, and in the Morning they found the Air as warm as in Andaluzia, in April.

Being 370 Leagues to the Weftward of the Mand Ferro, they faw another Waterwagtail, and on the 18 th Martin Alonso Pinzon, who had flipped before with the Caravel Pinta, which was a very good Sailer, lay by for the Admiral, and told him he had feen a Multitude of Birds making to the Weftward, which made him believe he fhould fee Land that Night, and find it to the Northward 15 Leagues from thence; nay, he fancied he had feen it: But the Admiral judging it was not fo, would not lofe Time to go in queft of it, though all were for it; becaufe he did not think himfelf to be in the Place, where, according to his Notions, he expected to difcover it. That Night the Wind frefhened, after they had failed eleven Days without handing their Sails, ftill failing right before the Wind to the Weftward; the Admiral continually noting down every thing that happened; obferving what Wind blew; what his Courfe was; what

C Fifhes

Fifhes and Birds were feen; and founding very frequently. 4. The Men being unexperienced in fuch a Courfe, feeing no Hopes, and nothing appearing but Sky and Water for ' $o$ many Days, carefully obferved every Token, being then farther from Land than any Mien had ever been before. On the Igth, a Sea Gull went to the Admiral's Ship, and others came near in the Afternoon, which gave Hopes that fome Land was near, as believing that thele Birds went not far from it; and with this Hopes, the Weather being calm, they founded with 200 Fathoms of Line, and though they found no Ground, they perceived that the Currents ran South-wef. On the 2oth; in the Forenoon, they faw two other Gulls near the Admiral ; and fome time after they took a Blackbird with a white Spot on the Head, the Feet like a Duck's; they alfo killed a fimall Fifh, and faw Abundance of Weeds like what they had feen before; and the Ships making way through them, they became lefs afraid. The next Morning, at Break of Day, three other little Land Birds came on board the Admiral finging, and at Sun rifing they flew away; which was fome Comfort to the Men, as believing that the other Sea Fowls might eafily go farther from the Land, but that the little Birds could not come from fo great a Diitance. Some time after they faw another Gull coming from the Weft North-weft; and the next Day in the Afternoon more Weeds to the Northward, which was fome Satisfaction to them, believing the Land was near. The Weeds at the fame Time perplexed them, fome Knots of them being fo thick, that they hindered the Ships Way, and therefore they kept as clear from them as they could. The next Day they faw a Whale; and on the 22 d they fpied fome Birds; and thofe three Days the Wind was at South-weft, and though it was contrary, the Admiral faid it was goot, bècaufe the Men muttering and refufing to obey; and alledging among other things, that fince they had fo long run before the Wind, it would be hard for them to return to Spain, by Reafon that though it had fometimes proved contrary, it had held but of fhort time, and was not fteady: And though the Admiral anfwered that was occafioned by their being near Land, and urged fome more Reafons for it; he ftood in need of God's fpecial Affiftance, becaufe the Difcontents increafed, the Men grew mutinous, and by degrees, paid him no Refpect; reflecting on the King for having given Orders for the Voyage; and almoft all of them agreed not to proceed in it.

The Admiral managed Things with great Addrefs; fometimes encouraging the Men , and affuring them of the Shortnefs and good Succefs of their Voyage; and fometimes threatning them with the King's Authority; but it pleafed God, that on the 23 d the Wind came up at Weft North-weft, the Sea indifferent rough as they all wifhed; and three Hours before Noon a Turtle Dove flew over the Admiral; and in the Afternoon a Gull and other white Birds; and among the Weeds they found little Grafshoppers. The next Day came a Gull and fome Turtle Doves from the Weftward, and fome fmall Fifhes, which they ftruck. As thefe Tokens had hitherto failed, the Mens Fear increafed, and they took occafion to gather Parties, faying, the Admiral in a mad Humour had thought to make himfelf great at the Expence of their Lives; and though they had done their Duty, and failed farther from Land than ever any Man had done before, they ought not to be inftrumental to their own Deftruction; ftill proceeding without any Reafon, till their Provifions failed them, which, though they were ever very fparing, would not fuffice to carry them back any more than the Ships, which were already very crazy; fo that no body would think they had done amifs, and that fo many having oppofed the Admiral's Projects, the more Credit would be given to them: Nay, there wanted not fome, who faid that, to put an End to all Debates, the beft Way would be to throw him into the Sea, and fay he had unfortunately fallen in, as he was attentively gazing on the Stars, and no body would go about to enquire into the Truth of it; that was the beft Means for them 'to return and fave themfelves.

Thus the evil Defigns of the Men very much perplexed Colvmbus; but fometimes giving good Words, and
at other times putting them in mind of the Punifhment they would incur if they obfrutted the Voyage, he curbed their Infolence with Fear, and as a Confirmation of the Hopes he gave them of foon concluding the Voyage fuccefsfully, he often put them in mind of the above mentioned Signs, promifing them they would foon find a very rich Country, where they would all conclude their Labour well beftowed. The Men were fo anxious and difconfolate that every Hour feemed a Year, -till on the $25^{\text {th }}$ at Sun fetting, whilft Columbus was talking to Vincent Yanez Pinzon, he cried out Land, Land, Sir; let me not lofe my Reward for this good News; and thewed towards the South-weft a Body that looked like an Inland, about 25 Leagues from the Ships. This, which was looked upon as an Invention concerted between them two, fo much cheared up the Men, that they returned Thanks to God'; and the Admiral, till Night, made as if he believed it to be fo, fteering his Courfe that way a great Part of the Night, to humour the Men.

The next Morning they all perceived they were Clouds, which often look like Land, and to the great Regret of of the major Part, they held on their Courfe Weftward. But to return to the Tokens; they faw a Gull and a Wagtail, and other Birds; and the next Day they faw another Wagtail flying from the Weft Eaftward, and many gilt Finhes appeared, which they killed; and a Wagtail flew very near the Ship, and they perceived that the Currents ran not fo itrong as before, but turned back with the Tides, and there were fewer Weeds; and the Day following they took many gilt Fifhes. On the 29th they faw a Wagtail, which is a Sea-Fowl that never refts, purfues the Gulls till they empty their Bellies for fear, and catching their Dung in the Air feeds on it; and of thefe Birds there are many in the Iflands of Cabo Verde. Soon after two Wagtails appeared, and many flying Fifhes, which having two little Wings, fometimes fly a Mufket Shot, or a few Yards, above the Water; being about a Span in Length, and fometimes fell into the Ships, In the Afternoon they met with a great Quantity of Weeds, in a Line from North to South, and three Gulls and a Wagtail purfuing them; the Men ftili fancying that the Weeds were a Token that there was Ground near them under Water, and that they fhould perifh.

On the zoth, four Wagtails flew near the Admiral, and by their being together, they gueffed that they were near Land, and alfo becaufe four more came foon after, and they faw many Weeds in a Line from Weft Northweft, to Eaft South-eaft, and many Fifhes called Emperors, which have a very hard Skin, and are not fit to eat. Though the Admiral took notice of thefe Tokens, he did not forget thofe in the Sky. He obferved, there, that the Polar Stars were, at Night, on the Weft Quarter, and when Day came on, they were at the North-eaft Quarter; by which he concluded that during the Night, they advanced but three Lines, which are nine Hours, and this he found every Night; he alfo perceived, that at Night-fall, the Needles varied one whole Degree, and in the Morning they were right with the Star; which very much troubled and confounded the Pilots, till he told them, that the Occafion of it was the Compals of the North Star about the Pole, and that gave them fome Satisfaction; for, in reality, that Variation made them apprehenfive of Danger, as being far from Iand.
5. October the Ift, at Break of Day, a Wagtail came to the Admiral, as did others, two or three Hours before Noon; and the Weeds came from Eaft to Weft, fome believing they fhould fall in fo near the Land, that the Ships would be a-ground and perifh. The fame Day, in the Morning, the Pilot told the Admiral that they were then 588 to the Weftward, of the Mland Ferro. The Admiral told the Pilot, that by his reckoning it was 584; but, in his own Thoughts, and according to his true reckoning, it was 60\%. The Pilot of the Caravel Nina, on the Third, in the Afternoon, faid he found they had failed 650 Leagues, and the Pilot of the Pinta faid 634, wherein they were mitaken, for they had always failed before the Wind: But Columbus fill took no notice, left the Men fhould be difmayed at the vaft Run; for the greateft Sea, till then known, did not exceed 200

Leagues.

Leagnes. On the ad they killed a Tunny, and faw much other Fifh, and a white Bird, and many grey ones, and the Weeds very much withered, and almoft rotted to Duft; and having feen no Birds the third Day, they feared they had miffed fome Inand on either Side, believing that the many Birds they had feen, went over from one Illand to another; and the Men being defirous to turn to one Side or other to feek for thefe Lands, Columbus did not think fit to let fip the fair Weather that favoured him; he kept to the Weft, which was what he defired, becaufe he thought he fhould lofe the Credit of his Undertaking, if they faw him turning, at random, from one fide to the other, to find out that, which he always affirmed he knew.
For this Reafon, the Men began again to mutiny, which none will wonder at, who confiders fo many Men led by one of whom few of them had any Knowledge, expofed to fo many Dangers, without feeing any thing for fo many Days, but Sky and Water, or knowing what would be the End of fuch a long Voyage. But it pleafed God to fend new Tokens, which, in fome meafure, quieted their Minds; for on the 4th, in the Afternoon, they faw about forty Sparrows and two Gulls, which came fo near to the Ships, that a Sailor killed one of them with a Stone, and feveral fying Fifhes fell into the Ship; all which things, and the good Words the Admiral gave them, pacified them; the next Day there flew near the Ships a Wagtail and a Gull, and feveral Sparrows from the Weftward. On the $7^{\text {th }}$ fome Signs of Land appeared to the Weftward, but no Man durft fpeak of it becaufe of the Thicknefs of the Weather, though they all wifhed for it, to gain the Reward of an an Annuity of io,000 Marvedies, their Catbolic Majefties had promifed for Life to the firft that fhould difcover Land; and to prevent their crying Land at every Foot, in Hopes of that Annuity, it was ordained, that whofoever faid it, if the fame were not made good in three Days, fhould be for ever excluded from that Reward, though he fhould afterwards really difcover it. However, thofe aboard the Caravel Nina, which was much a-head, being fo good a Sailor, concluding that it was certainly Land, fired their Guns and put out their Colours. But the farther they failed, the more their Joy abated, till it quite vanifhed.

In the Midft of this Anguifh, it pleafed God to comfort them again with the Sight of many Birds, among which many were Land Fowl, flying from the Weft to the South-weft; and Columbus, confidering after he had failed fo vaft a Length, that fuch fmall Birds could not be far from Land, concluded it muft certainly be near, and therefore he altered the Courfe he ad then held due Weft, and fteered South-weft; alledging, that though he altered his Courfe, he deviated but little from the firft Defign, and did it to follow the Rules and Method of the Portuguefe, who had difcovered moft of the Inands by following the Flight of fuch Birds: Befides, that thofe they then faw took the fame Way, he alfo concluded he fhould find Land, for as they well knew he had often told them he did not expect to find it till he had failed 750 Leagues from the Canaries Weftwards; at which Difance he had alfo told them he flould difcover the Inand Cipongo, and that he fhould certainly have found it, had he not known it was faid to lie North and South, and that he had not turned to the Southward to avoid falling on it, and that he believed it lay among other Iflands on the left Hand, and which Way thofe Birds flew, and that it was by reafon they were fo near Land, fo many, and fuch various Sorts, of them appeared.
6. It pleafed God, when Don Cbrifopher Columbus could no longer withftand fo much Contradiction, that on the Ith of Oitober, I492, in the Afternoon, he received fome Comfort by the manifent Tokens they perceived of their being near Land; for the Men aboard the Admiral faw a green Rufh near the Ship, and next a large green Fifh of that Sort that creeps clofe about the Rocks. Thofe aboard the Caravel Pinta faw a Cane and a Staff, and took up one that was artificially wrought, and a little Board, and faw Abundance of Weeds frefh torn off from the Shore; for which Reafoins, and, becaufe they brought
up Sand upon founding; there was a Certainty of their being near Land, which was confirmed by the Shifting of the Wind, which feemed to come from the Shore:

Columbus being fatisfied, after Night-fall, when they had faid the Salve Regina, as is ufual among Sailors; he difcourfed the Men , telling them how merciful God had been to them, carrying them fafe fo long a Voyage; and that, fince the Tokens were hourly manifeft, he defired them to watch all Night, fince they knew that, in the firt Article of the Inftructions he had given them when he came out of Spain, he told them, that when they had run 700 Leagues without difcovering Land, they were to lie by after Midnight, till Day, and be upon the Watch, for he firmly believed they would find Land that Night: And that, befides the io,000 Marvedies, an Annuity their Highneffes had promiffed the Perfon that thould firf difcover it, he would give a velvet Doublet. Two Hours before Midnight, Columbus ftanding on the Poop faw a Light, and privately called Peter Gutierres, Groom of the Privy Chamber to the King, and bid him look at it, and he faw it; then they called Roderick Sancbez of Segoria, Purfer of the Fleet, who could not difcern it; but afterwards it was feen twice, and looked like a little Candle raifed up, and then taken down; and Columbus did not queftion but it was a true Light, and that they were near Land, and fo it proved; and it was of People paffing from one Houfe to another. Two Hours after Midnight, the Caravel Pinta, was always a-head, and made Signs of Land, which was firt difcovered by a Sailor, whofe Name was Roderick de Triens, but two Leagues diftant. But their Catholic Majefties declared, that the Reward of 10,000 Marvedies Annuity belonged to the Admiral, and it was afterwards paid him at the Shambles of Sevil, becaufe be faw the Light amidft Darknefs, meaning the Spiritual Light that was then coming in amongt thofe barbarous People. When Day appeared they perceived an Ifland 15 Leagues in Length; plain, much wooded, well watered, and having a Lake of frefh Water in the Midft of it; well flored with People, who ftood full of Admiration on the Shore, imagining the Ships to be Sea Monfters, waiting with the utmof Impatience to know what they were, as the Spaniards were no lefs eager to be upon Land.

The Admiral went afhore in his Boat, armed, and the Royal Colours flying; as did the Captains, Martin Alonjo Pinzon and Vincent Yanez Pinzon, carrying the Colours of their Enterprize, being a green Crofs with fome Crowns, and the Names of their Catholic Majefties. Having all of them kiffed the Ground, and on their Knees, with Tears, given Thanks to God for the Goodnefs he had fhewn them; the Admiral ftood up and gave that Inand the Name of San Salvador, which the Natives called Guanabam, being one of thofe afterwards called Lucayo Inands, 950 Leagues from the Canories, difcovered after they had failed 33 Days. Then, with proper Solemnity, he took Poffelfion of it , in the Name of their Catholic Majefties, for the Crown of Cafile and Leon; a great Multitude of the Natives looking on.
The Spaniards immediately owned him as their Admiral and Viceroy, and fwore Obedience to him, as reprefenting the King's Perfon in that Country, with all the Joy and Satisfaction that fo great an Event deferved; all begging his Pardon for the Trouble and Uneadiners they had given him, by their Inconftancy and want of Refofolution. The Admiral, believing thofe Indians a gentle and fimple People, gave them fome red Caps, Glafs-Beads, and fuch like Things, which they highly valued. The Spaniards no lefs admiring their Colour and Shape. When the Admiral returned on board, the Indians followed him: Some fwimming, and others in their Boats, called Canoes, made of one Peice of Wood, like Trays. They carried along with them Skins and Bottoms of Cotton, Parrots and Javelins, the Ends of which were armed with Finh Bones, inftead of Horn, and fome other Things to exchange for Glafs-toys, Hawks-bells, and the like; which they were fo fond of, that they received even the broken Peices of earthen Plates as precious Relics, being a People in their original Simplicity.

They were all ftark naked as they were born, Men and Women, and moft of them young, or not above thirty Years of age. They wore their Hair down to their Ears, and fome few to their Necks, tied with a String. They had good Faces and Features, though their extraordinary high Foreheads fomewhat disfigured them. They were of a middle Stature, well fhaped, and their Skins of an Olive Colour, like the Natives of the Canaries; fome of them were painted with black, and others white, and others red; moft of them on their Bodies, and fome on their Faces and Eyes, or only the Nofe. They were not acquainted with our Weapons, for when they fhewed them naked Swords, they fimply laid hold on the Edges.

They knew nothing of Iron, and wrought Wood with hard fharp Stones found in Rivers. Some of them having Scars about them, and being afked by Signs, anfwered, that People, from other Lands, came to make them Prifoners, and they received thofe Wounds in their Defence. They feemed to be ready of Tongue, and ingenious; for they eafily pronounced the Words they once heard. No other Sort of Creatures were feen there but Parrots.
On the $13^{\text {th }}$ many Indians came aboard the Ships in their Canoes, moft of which carried forty five Perfons; yet fome were fo fmall that they held but one. They rowed with an Oar like the Peel of an Oven, as if they had. dug with a Spade; and their Boats are fo artificially made, that though they over-fet, the Indians fwimming turn them up again, and empty the Water with dried Gourds they had for that Purpofe. They carried Cotton to barter, and fome for three Ceutis of Portugal (worth about a Farthing) gave as many Bottoms of Cotton as weighed a quarter of an hundred Weight. They wear no Jewels or other things of Value, except fome little Plates of Gold they had hanging at their Nofes. They were afked whence they had that Gold, and fignified it came from the Southward, where a King had much of it. The Admiral underftanding that there were other Lands, refolved to go in queft of them. The Ships were never clear of Indians; the whole Day was fpent in bartering; their Generofity not extending to give what they had, but for the Value they put upon what they received in return; looking upon the Spaniards as Men come from Heaven, and therefore they would have fomething to keep as a Memorial of their being there.
7. On the 14 th, in the Morning, the Admiral, with the Boats, took a View of the Coaft to the North-weft. The Natives followed by Land, promifing Provifions, and calling others to fee the People come from Heaven, who, wondring, lifted up their Hands, and fome fwimming, and others in Canoes, went to afk them by Signs, whether they came from Heaven, and praying them to go and reft in their Country. The Admiral gave them all Glafs Toys, Pins, and other Baubles, being well pleafed; at length he came to a Ridge of Rocks, where there was a fafe and fpacious Harbour, and where a ftrong Caftle might have been erected, becaufe it was almoft encompaffed with the Sea. In that Place were fix Houfes, with many Trees about them; and becaufe the Men were tired with rowing, and he perceived the Country was not proper to make any long ftay in, he took feven Indians to learn the Spanifb Tongue, and returning to the Caravels, fet out in queft of the other Inlands; about an hundred appearing flat, green, and inhabited, the Indians telling the Names of them.

On the 15 th, he came to one that was feven Leagues from the Firft, which he called St. Mary of the Conception. The Side whereof next to St. Saviour extends 50 Leagues along the Coaft; but the Admiral took the Coaft that lies Eaft and Weft, being eighteen Leagues in Length; anchored on the Weft, and went ahore. The Natives flocked thither in great Numbers, with much Amazement, and he perceiving all alike thought fit to proceed no farther; a Canoe being aboard the Caravel Nina, one of the feven Indians of San Salvador, or St. Saviour, threw himfelf over-board and went his Way, and though the Boat purfued, they could not overtake him; the Night before another made his Efcape. Another Indian came in a Canoe, to exchange Cotton; the Admiral ordered a red Cap to be put upon his Head, and Hawks-Bells on
his Arms and Legs, and fo fent him away very joyful, without taking his Cotton. The next Day he failed away Weft to another Iland, the Coaft whereof flretched along 18 Leagues North-weft and South-eaft, where he arrived on the 1 gth, in the Afternoon, by reafon of the Calm.

On their Way they met an Indion in a Canoe, carrying a Piece of fuch Bread as they eat, and a Calabafh or Gourd with Water; a little black Earth with which they paint themfelves, and dry Leaves of an Herb they very much value, becaufe it is wholefome, and has a fweet Scent, and in a little Bafket a String of Glafs-Beads and two Vintems, a fmall Portugal Coin, by which they knew he came from St. Salvador, had paffed by the Conception, and was going to this Inand, which the Admiral named Fernanda, in Honour of the King. They underftood that the faid Indian was going to carry Advice of the Spaniards, but the Way being very long, and he tired with rowing, he went aboard the Ships, where the Admiral ordered him fome Bread and Honey to eat, and Wine to drink, and as foon as he arrived at the Inand he ordered him to be fet aftore with fome Toys he gave him. The good Account he gave, caufed the People to go aboard, and barter for fuch Things as they had met with in the other Inands, the Inhabitants of them being of one Nation. When the Boat went afhore for Water, the Inhabitants readily fhewed it, and carried the little Tubs to fill the Pipes; but they feemed to be a more underftanding People than the former; for they managed better in exchange of Commodities. Thefe had Cotton Cloths in their Houfes, and the married Women covered their Privities with a little Cotton Cloth, which the Maids did not.

This Inand appeared to abound in Water, having many Meadows and Groves, and fome agreeable little Hills, which there was not in the others; with an infinite Variety of Birds that fung fweetly, and flew in flocks, moft of them different from what Spain affords; there were alfo many Lakes, and near one of them they faw a Creature like a Crocodile, feven Foot long, and they throwing Stones at him, he ran into the Water, where they killed him with their Spears, admiring its Largnefs and frightful Shape; but Time afterwards made it appear, that thefe Animals being fcaled and flead, are good Meat; the Flefh of them being white, and much valued by thiIndians; and in the Illand of Hifpaniola they call them Yavanas; in that Inand they faw Trees that looked as if they had been grafted, as having Leaves and Branches of four or five different Sorts, and yet they were natural: They alfo faw Fifhes of fine Colours, but no Liand Creatures appeared, except large and tame Snakes, and Parrots, Alligators, and a Sort of little Rabbits, in Shape like Mice, but bigger, which they call Utias. Proceeding towards the North-weft, taking a View of this Inand, they anchored in the Mouth of a fine Harbour, that had an Inland before it; but they went not in, becaufe it had not Water enough; nor would the Admiral go far from a Town that had covered them; whereas they had not yet feen, in any Inands, any bigger than of ten or twelve Houfes like Tents, fome round and cthers long, with an open Portal before them, as is ufual in the Low Countries; covered with Leaves of Trees, well fitted for the Rain and Weather, with Vents for the Smoak, Ridges at the Top, handfomely made; and within them there was no other Houfhold Stuff or Ornament, than what they carricd aboard the Ships to barter. But their Beds were a Net, made faft to two Pofts, which are called Hamocks. They alfo faw fome little Dogs that did not bark.

They found an Indian who had a Bit of Gold in his Nofe, with fome Characters on it that looked like Letters; and the Admiral would have it taken from him, believing it had been a Coin, but it afterwards appeared there had never been any in the Wef Indies. Finding nothing more in Fernonda, than in St. Salivador and the Conception; he proceeded to the others that were neareft. The fourth Ifland he came to was called Safmoto, and he named it Ifabella, in Honour of the Queen; and took Poffeffion on it before Witneffes, and the Notary, as he had done in the others. He perceived the Land was beautiful as the reft, and the People like the former. They killed another

Alligator,

Alligator, and as they were going towards a Town the Indians fled, carrying away what they had. But the Admiral having forbid meddling with any thing, they foon came to the Ships to barter like the reft; and the Admiral gave them fome Toys, and to try their Kindnefs anked for Water, which they carried to him in Calabafhes or Gourds. He would not lofe Time at the Illand of Ifabella or others; but refolved to go in queft of another, which they told him was very large, and called Cuba, pointing to the South; he believing it had been Cipango, by Reafon of the Signs they gave of it, and their extraordinary Reports concerning it.
8. On the 28 th he drew near the Coaft, gave it the Name of fuana or Yobamna; which feemed to be a better Country than the others, by Reafon of the Hills, rifing Grounds, and Variety of Trees, Plains, and Shores that appeared. He anchored in a great River he called San Salvador. The Woods appeared very thick, the Trees tall with Bloffoms, and Fruits different from ours; and there were abundance of Birds. The Admiral, defiring to have Information, fent to two Houfes, the People whereof fled, leaving Nets and fifhing Tackle behind them, and a Dog that did not bark. He would not fuffer any thing to be touched, but failed to another great River, which he calied de la Luna, i. e. of the Moon. Another he faw, which he called de Mares, or of the Seas, the Banks of it were very well inhabited.

The Indians fled to the Mountains, which were covered with large and tall Trees of feveral Sorts. The Indians he carried with him fignified to him that there was Gold and Pearls in Cuba; and he thought it very probable becaufe he faw Mufcles; they alfo faid it was not ten Days Sail from thence to the Continent, according to the Notion he had. Paul, a Phyfician of Florence, having writ about it; however, though he was in the right, it was not the Land he imagined. Believing that if many Men went $a$-fhore, it would add to the Fear of the Indians, he fent two Spaniards, with one Indian of San Salvador, and one of Cuba, who came to the Ships in a Canoe. The Spaniards, being Roderigode Xeres, an Inhabitant of Ayamonte, and Lewes de Torres, who had been a Jew, and fpoke Hebrew and Cbaldaic, and fome fay Arabic. He gave them things to exchange, and allowed them fix Days to return in ; directing them to go up into the Country, and enquire into all Affairs without doing harm to any body. In the mean Time he refitted the Ship, and they obferved, that from all the Wood they burnt, there came a Sort of Gum like Maftic, refembling in the Leaf and Fruit the Maftic Tree, but much bigger. In this River of Mares the Ship had room to wind: It has 7 or 8 Fathom Water at the Mouth, and five within, with two Ridges of high Ground on the South-eart, and a fine Cape to the Weft North-weft, plain and running out; and this was afterwards the Port of Barachoa, which the Adalantado, or Lord Lieutenant Diego Velafquez, called of the Afumption.

When the Ship was ready to fail, the Spaniards returned, on the 5 th of November, with three of the Native Indians, reporting they had travelled 22 Leagues, and found a Village of fifty Houfes, built like them before mentioned, and that they contained about 1000 Perfons, becaufe a whole Generation lived in a Houfe, and that the primé Man came out to meet them, led them by the Arms, and lodged them in one of thefe new Houfes; caufing them to fit down on Seats made of one folid Piece of Wood, in the Shape of a Beaft, with very fhort Legs, and the Tail heid up the Head before, with Eyes and Ears of Gold; and that all, the Indians fat about them on the Ground, and one after another went to kifs their Feet and Hands, believing they came from Heaven, and gave them boiled Roots to eat, which tafted like Chefnuts; and intreated them to ftay there, or at leaft, to reft five or fix Days; becaufe the Indians that went with them faid nnany kind things. That Abundance of Women foon after coming in to fee them, all the Men went out, and they, with the fame Admiration, kiffed their Feet and' Hands, touching them as if they had been fome holy Things, offering what they brought; and that many of
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the Men would have come away with them, but that they would admit of none but the Lord and his Son, with one Servant.
They added, that, both coming and going, they found many Villages where the fame Refpect was paid them, but, that none of them had above five or fix Houfes; and that, by the Way, they met many People, each of them carrying a Fire-brand in his Hand to light Fire, and perfume themfelves with fome Herbs they carried along with them, and to roaft their Roots, that being their principal Food; and the Fire was eafily kindled, becaufe they had a Sort of Wood, which, if they worked one Piece againft another, as if piercing a Hole, took fire; they alfo faw a Multitude of feveral Sorts of Trees, fuch as they had not feen on the Sea-coaft, and great Variety of Birds; different from ours, and among them Partridges and Nightingales; but that they had met with no four footed Creatures, befides thofe little Cur-Dogs that cannot bark. They had much Ground fowed with their Roots, and that fort of Corn called Maize, well tafted, either boiled or ground into Flower. They faw a vaft Quantity of fpun Cotton in Bottoms, and in one Houfe they believed there was above 12,000 Pound Weight of it; the fame growing in the Fields without being planted; and as the Rofes blow of themfelves, fo does that, when ripe, though not all at the fame Time; for, upon the fame Plant, fome were open and others ftill clofed; and for a Leathern Thong, or a Piece of glazed Ware, or a Bit of a Looking-Glafs, they would give a little Bafket full of Cotton, which they did not make ufe of to cloath themfelves, for they all went naked, but in making Nets for their Beds, and little Cloths to cover their Privities; and that being afked about Gold and Pearls, they faid there was Abundance at Bobio, pointing Eaftward.
9. The Spaniards ftill enquiring of the Indians for Gold, they anfwered, Cubanacan, which they thought had meant the great Cbam, and that the Country of Catbay was not far off, becaufe they alfo pointed out four Days Journey. Mertin Alonfo Pinzon faid it mult be fome great City, that was four Days Journey from thence; but it was not long before they underftood that Cubanacan was a Province in the Midft of the Inand of Cuba, for Nacan fignifies in the Middle, and that there were Mines of Gold. Having heard thus much, the Admiral would not lofe any more time, but ordered fome Indians to be taken, to be carried into Spain, from feveral Parts, that every one might give an Account of his own Country, as Witneffes of the Difcovery: Twelve were taken, Men, Women, and Children, without giving Offence. As they were ready to fail, an Indian, who was one of the Womens Hurband, and Father to two Boys that were aboard; came to the Ship, and defired they would take him along with his Wife and Children; the Admiral ordered him to be taken aboard, and all of them to be well ufed; and, becaufe of the North Winds, he was obliged to return to a Port, which he called del Principe; or, the Princes, where he arrived on the $13^{\text {th }}$, and erected a Crofs at the Mouth of it, made of two large pieces of Timber:

The next Day he ftood to the Eaftward; in queft of the Inand Hippaniola, which the Indians called Bobio, and fome of them Babeque; but it afterwards appeared Babeque was not the Inand of Hijpaniola, but the Continent, for they called it by another Name, Carabina. Martin Alonfo Pinzon undertanding now, that the Indians faid there was much Gold in Bobio, being covetous to enrich himfelf, he left the Admiral on the 2 Int, without aniy ftrefs of Weather, or any other lawful Cauffe; and, his Ship being a very good Sailer, made the beft of his Way thither. By the Name of Bobio, which was the Land of Hijpaniola, it feemed the Incions would fignify that it was a Land full of Bohios, that is, Cottages; the Admiral feeing; that; notwithftanding all the Signals he made, Martin Alonfo was not to be found with the two Ships, and the Wind being fill contrary, he returned to Cuba, to a large and fafe Harbour, which he called St. Catherines ; there he wooded and watered, and faw fome Stones with Tokens of Gold in them. On the Land there were tall Firr-trees, fit to make Mafts, and perceiving that all the Indians directed him to Hifpa-

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niold,
niola, he failed along the Coat more to the Sonth-eart 42 Leagues, where he found large and fafe Harbours, and among them a River up the Mouth, whereof a Gally could eaflly pafs, though the Entrance could not be perceived, unlefs very near to it. The Convenience of the River invited him to go in the Length of the Boat, where he found eight fathom Water, and proceeding ftill farther, he faw a Canoe of twelve Oars on the Land, under a fort of Arbour, and in fome Houfes clofe by they found a Mars of Wax, and a Man's Head hanging in a little Banket at a Poft, the which Wax they carried to their Catholic Majefties, none being ever after found in Cuba, whence it was concluded to have been brought from $1 u$ satan, either by ftrefs of Weather in a Canoe, or fome other way. They found no People to make any enquiry of them, becaufe they all fled, but faw another Canoe 95 Spans in length, which could carry fifty Perfons, made of one entire Tree, like the reft; and though they had no iron Tools to work them, the Inftruments they made ufe of, for that Purpofe, of Flints, proved fufficient, becaufe the Trees were very large, and the Heart of them very foft and fpungy, fo that they eafily hollowed them with Flints.

The Admiral arrived at the Eaftern Point of it, and fet out from thence on the 5 th of December for Hifpaniola, being eighteen Leagues over to the Eaftward, but could not reach it till the next Day, by reafon of the Currents. When he entred the Port he called it St. Nicholas, becaufe it was that Saint's Day, and found it fafe, fpacious, and deep, encompaffed with thick Woods, though the Land is hilly, and the Trees not very large, like thofe in Spain; for they faw Firrs and Myrtles, and a pleafant River ran into the Harbour ; and on the Shore there were many Canoes as big as Brigantines of twenty-five Oars. However, finding no People, he proceeded farther to the Northward, to the Port he called the Conception, to the Southward of an Ifland he called Tortuga, ten Leagues from Hifpaniola, and finding that this Inland of Bobio was very large, and that the Soil and Trees were like thofe in Spain, as alfo that at one Draught of a Net, among other Sort of Fifh, they had taken Sbads, Soles, and other Sort of Fifh known in Spain, which till then they had not feen in thofe Parts; and that they had heard the Nightingale fing, with other European Birds which they admired, about December, he ftiled the Inland la Efpanola, by us corruptly called Hifpaniola. He thought fit the Name of Spain fhould have place, though fome told him it would be more proper to call it Caftelana, becaufe only the Kingdoms Caftile and Leon were concerned in that Conqueft.

In regard that the Indians he had on board gave him fo good an Account, he was earneft to fee what Truth there was as to the Wealth of that Country, and to take a View of it ; but the Indians flying, and giving one another Notice by Fires, he thought fit to fend out fix armed Spaniards, who having travelled far, returned without finding any People, faying wonderful things of the Delightfulnefs of the Land. Having ordered a great Crofs to be erected near the Mouth of the Harbour, on the Weft-fide, as three Sailors were in the Wood, feeking for proper Trees for that effeet, they $\mathrm{fpy}^{\text {'d }} \mathrm{d}$ abundance of naked People, who fled as foon as they faw the Spaniards. The Sailors running after them took a Woman who had a little Plate of Gold hanging at her Nofe. The Admiral gave her Hawks-Bells, Strings of Glars-Beads, and caufed a Shirt to be put upon her, and fo fent her away, with three of the Indions he had brought with him, and three Spaniards, to bear her company to her Habitation.
10. The next Day he fent nine Spaniards, well armed, with an Indian of San Salvador, which was four Leagues diftant to the South-eaft; they found a Town of a thoufand Houfes abandoned, the Inhabitants being fled. The Indian went after them, and fo much extolled the Spaniards, that they returned, and being fomewhat aftonifhed and trembling, laid their Hands on the Heads of the Spaniards, by way of Honour and Refpect, and carrying them Provifions, defiring they would fay that Night; abundance of People then came up, carrying on their Shoulders the Woman to whom the Admiral had given the Shirt, with her Hufband, who was going to return chem Thanks. The Spaniards returned with an Account
that the Country abounded in Provifions; the People whiter and of better Countenances than thofe of the other Inands, more tractable, and that the Country which produced Gold was more to Eaftward; that the Men were not fo large, but ftrong boned, and grofs, without Beards, their Noftrils very wide, and their Foreheads fimooth and high, and that they made them fo at their Birth, reckoning it graceful; for which Reafon, and becaufe they always went bareheaded, their Skulls were fo hard, that fometimes a Sponifb Sword would break upon their Heads.

The Admiral was informed that the Lord of that Territory, whom they called a Cazique, was coming with two hundred Men to fee the Ships, and though young, they carried him on a Palankin, on their Shoulders, and he had feveral Counfellors; when he came on board it was obferved, with Admiration, how great Refpect they paid him, and how gravely he behaved. An Indion of the Inand Ifabella went and talked to him, telling him the Spaniards were heavenly Men. He went aboard, and when he came to the Quarter-deck, he made Signs for thofe that were with him to itay behind, excepting two who fat down at his Feet, and were his Counfellors. The Admiral ordered to give him to eat; he took a little of every thing, and having tafted it, gave it to the other two, and afterwards carried it to the reft. They gave him Drink, and he only put it to his Mouth; they all behaved themfelves very gravely, faid little; his Men looked at his Mouth, and fpoke to him, and the Admiral, by means of the Indian Interpreter, gave him to underftand that he was Commander for their Najefties of Caftile and Leon, the greateft Sovereigns in the World. But, neither the Cazique, nor the reft, would believe any other than that they came from Heaven. They feemed to the Admiral to be a more rational People, than thofe of the other Inands; and becaufe it grew late the Cazique returned afhore. The next Day, though the Wind was contrary, and blew hard, the Sea did not fwell, by reafon of the Shelter the Ifland Tortuga afforded to that Coaft; and fome Seamen went a-fifhing, with whom the $I_{n-}$ dians were well pleafed. Some Men went to the Town, and obtained little Plates of Gold for Glafs-Beads, which much pleafed the Admiral, becaufe he was very defirous that fome Gold might be found in profecuting this Difcovery, to fhew that his Promifes were not vain.

The King came again to the Shore, in the Afternoon, and then a Canoe arrived from the Ifland Tortuga, with forty Men to fee the Spaniards; at which the Cazique appeared to be concerned; but all the Indians of Hifpaniola fat down on the Ground, in token of Peace, and thofe in the Canoe went afhore; but the King ftood up, and threatning them, they went aboard their Canoe again. The Admiral, being refolved to difcover the Country, fet fail, and during all the Igth of December could not get out of that little Bay between the two Inands, nor put into the Harbour hard by it. He faw many Mountains, Woods, and Groves, and a little Inand, which he called St. Thomas. He judged that Hijpaniola had many Capes and Harbours, and he thought the Temperature of the Air moft pleafant, and the Soil delightful. On the 20 th he put into an Harbour, between the little Inand of St. Thomas and the Cape. Several Towns appeared, as alío Fires; becaufe the Seafon being dry, and the Grafs there growing high, they burnt it to make Ways; for, as they were naked, the dry Weeds hurt them, and alfo to hunt the Utias, which they took with Fire. The Admiral entered the Port with the Boats, and, having viewed it, faid it was a very good one. Ile fent out to fee whether there was any Town near, and they found one at a little Diftance from the Sea; they faw Indians who kept a-loof from the Spaniards, but the Indians that came acoard the Ships bid them not to fear; and immediately fo many Men, Women, and Children came, that there was no feeing through the Throng. They carried Meat, Calabanhes with Water, and good Bread made of Maize or Indian Wheat; they did not hide the Women, as had been done in other Parts, but all admired to fee the Chriftians, and fanding amazed, glorified God. They were whiter and better fhaped, better natured, and more generous;
and the Admiral took fpecial Care that no Offence fhould be given them. He fent fix Men to fee the Town, where they entertained them as believing they came from Heaven. In the mean Time there came fome Canoes, with Men fent by a King, who defired the Admiral to go to his Town, where he was waiting for him, with many People on a Point of Land.
He went in the Boats, though many had intreated him not to go, but to fay with them. As foon as the Boats came, the King fent the Spaniards Provifions, and feeing they accepted of them, they went to the Town for more, and for Parrots. The Admiral gave the Indians HawksBells, Glafs Baubles, and forne of Tin; he returned to the Ships, the Women and Children crying out that he fhould not go away. Some that, out of Curiofity followed him in Canoes, he gave Victuals to, as he did to others that fwam aboard from half a League Diftance; though the Shore was covered with People, they could fee abundance coming and going crofs a large Plain, which was afterwards called la Vega Real, or the Royal Plain; the Admiral again commended the Harbour, and gave it the Name of St. Tbomas, becaufe he found it on his Day. The 22 d , in the Morning, he was going in fearch of the Inlands, which the Indians faid had much Gold, but was hindered by the Weather, and fent the Boats a-fifhing; and then one came from King Guacanagari, to defire him to go to his Country, and he would give him all he had, he being one of the five Sovereigns of the Inand, poffefing the greateft Part of it on the North-fide, where the Admiral then was; he fent him a Girdle he wore inftead of a Purfe, and a Vizor, with Ears, Tongue, and Nofe, of beaten Gold: The Girdle was adorned with fmall Fifh-Bones, like feed Pearl, curioully wrought, four Fingers broad. The Admiral refolved to go thither on the 23 d , though to pleafe others, there went before fix Spaniards, becaufe the Indians were fo much delighted every where to fee them.
The foul Weather detaining the Admiral, he fent a Notary to King Guacanagari, to acquaint him with it; he alfo fent two of his Indians to a Town, to fee if there was any Gold, gueffing that there was Plenty of it ; and it was believed for certain, that this Day above a thoufand went aboard the Ships; every one of them gave fomething, and thofe who went not aboard from their Canoes cried, Take, take. The Notary went to Guacanagari, who came out to meet him. He thought that Town more regular than any he had feen before. All the People gazed on the Chriftians with Joy and Admiration, and the King gave them Cotton Cloths, Parrots, and fome Pieces of Gold, and the People, what they had; valuing the Toys the Spaniards gave them like Relics. Thus the Notary and his Companions returned to the Ships, attended by Indians.
The 24 th the Admiral went to vifit Guacanagari; the Diftance from Fort Si. Thbomas to the Place where the King was might be about four or five Leagues, and there he faid, till, feeing the Sea calm, he returned aboard, and went to bed, for he had not flept in two Days and a -Night. The Weather being calm the Sailor who was-at the Helm left it to a Cabbin-boy, tho' the Admiral had, during the whole Voyage, forbid the Steerfman ever to quit the Helm, and in reality they were out of Danger of Sholes or Rocks; for on Sunday, when the Boats went to carry the Notary to the Cazique, they had furveyed all the Coaft, and the Sholes there are from the Point of Land to the Eaft-forith-eaft, for above three Leagues, and they had alfo obferved which Way they might paifs, and finding themfelves in a dead Calm they went to fleep, and it happened the Current carried the Ship on very gently, till it fruck on a Rock with fuch a dreadful Noife that it was heard a League off, and the Fellow that was at the Helm, finding the Rudder ftrike, roared out.

The Admiral, hearing the Cry, was firtt up, and then the Mafter, whofe Waich it was, and he ordered him, fince the Boat was out, to let fall an Anchor at the Stern, for by that Means they might, with the Help of the Captain, work out the Ship, and when he thought they were doing what he had ordered, he perceived that fome were making way in the Poat to the Caravel that lay to
the Windwaid half a League from thence. Obferving that the Water ebbed, and the Ship was in danger, he ordered to cut down the $\mathbb{M}$ aft, and lighten it, to fee if it might be faved; but it could nor be done; the Water falling away all at once, the Ship was every Moment left dry, and lay a-thwart the Sea; and tho it was not rough, by reafon of the Calm, the Ship fprunk a I eak berween the Ribs, and lay down on a Side, opened near the Keel, and was foon full of Water; and if the Wind had blowns or the Sea been rough, not a Man had efcaped; but had the Mafter done as the Admiral ordered him the Ship had got off fafe. The Boat came again to their Affiftance, for thofe in the other Ship underfanding how the Cafe ftood, not only refufed to receive thofe that had fleds but with them failed back to the Relief of the Diftreffed. There being no Poffibility of faving the Ship, Order was taken for faving the Men; to which Purpofe the Admiral fent James de Arana and Peter Gutierrez, to acquaint Guacanagari that by going to vifit him he had loft his Ship a League and half from Land. Guacanagari lamented this Misfortune, and immediately fent the $\mathrm{Ca}-$ noes, which in a Moment carried off all that were on the Decks ; and he came himfelf with his Brothers, and took particular Care that nothing fhould be touched, ftaying in Perfon to guard the Goods, and fent word to the Admiral not to be concerned, for he would give him all he had ; and the Goods were carried to two Houfes he had appointed to lay them up in. The Indians fo affectionately gave their Help in this Diftrefs, that it could not have been better done in Spain; for the People were gentle and loving, and their Language was eafy to be pronounced and learned; and they had fome commendable Cuftoms; and the King was ferved with much State, and he was very fedate; and the People were fo curious in alking, that they would know a Reafon for every thing.

On the 26 th of December Guacanagari went on board. the Caravel Nina, where the Admiral was in great Affliction for the Lofs of his Ship: He comforted him, and offered him all he had. Two Indians came from another Town, bringing Plates of Gold to exchange for Hawks-Bells, which were what they moft valued, and the Admiral had a Stock of thofe Baubles, grounded on the Experience he had learnt from the Portuguefe in Guinea. The Sailors alfo gave notice that others carried Gold, and gave it for Ribbons and other Trifles; Guacanagari obferving what the Admiral valued, faid he would caufe fome to be brought from Cibao; and going athore, he invited the Admiral to go eat Axis and Cazabi, which was their chief Diet; and he gave him fome Mafks, with gold Eyes, Nofes, and Ears, with fome other finall Things they wore about their Necks. He alfo complained to him of the Caribes who carryed away his People, which was the Reafon of his flying at firft, fuppofing the Spaniards had been Caribes. The Admiral fhewed him his Arms, and a Turkib Bow with which a Spaniard Thot very dexterounly; but what he moft admired was the Cannon, for when they were fired, the Indians fell down as if they had been dead. The Admiral having found fo much Afection, and fuch Tokens of Gold; and believing the Country was fruitful and wholefome, judged that God had permitted the Ship to be caft away to the end that a Settlement might be made there, and that the preaching and Knowledoge of his mot holy Name might be begun in that Inland.

The Indians went and came for Hawks-Bells, which were the Things they moft delighted in, and as foon as they came near the Caravel, they held up the Pieces of Gold, crying, Cbuque, Cbuque, that is, Take, Take. An Indian came to the Shore with a Piece of Gold weighing half a Mark, (that is, four Ounces) and holding it in his Lefthand ftretched out the Right; and an Hawls--Bell being; put into it, he let go the Gold and ran away, thinking he had cheated the Spaniard, The Admiral refolved to leave fome Men in that Country to trade with the Peoples, and acquaint themfelves with the Country, and learn the Language, that when he returned for Spain there might be fome capable to give Directions for making of a Settlement there ; and many offered themfelves to that Purpoie.

He ordered, for the Prefent, a fort of a Town to be built with the Timber of the Ship: And at this Time Advice came, that the Caravel Pinta was in the River, toward the Eaftern Point, and Guacanagari fent to inquire into it. The Admiral carefully attended the Building, and the more for that there were daily greater Inducements to it, and becaufe Guacanagari always fhewed himfelf fearful of the Caribes; the more to encourage and to fhew him the Effect of the Spanish Arms, the Admiral ordered a great Gun to be fired againft the Side of the Ship that had been caft away, and the Ball paffing clear-through fell into the Water: He fhewed him what Harm our Weapons did, and told him that with them, thofe he defigned to leave behind in his Country fhould defend him, becaufe he defigned to return into Spain to bring fome Prefents for him.
12. The Admiral haftened the building of the Fort ; and to that purpofe went afhore from the Caravel, aboard which he always lay. On the 18th, as he was going into the Boat, he thought he had feen Guacanagari, who went into his Houfe perhaps for the move State, tending one of his Brothers, who received the Admiral with much Joy, and led him by the Hand to one of the Houfes that had been given to the Chriftians, being the largeft in the Town: In it they had provided for him a raifed Seat, and made hirn fit on a Chair with a low Back the Indians ufed, and they were very neatly polifhed, and bright as if they had been made of Jet. As foon as the Admiral was Yeated, the Brother fent to acquaint the King, who prefently came, and very joyfully hung a great Plate of Gold about his Neck, and ftaid with him till it grew late, and the Admiral went aboard the Caravel. He had feveral Motives for leaving a Colony in that Place; the chief whereof were, That when it was known in Spain that Men had been left there to fettle, the People might be more inclinable to go over thither; and becaufe all the Men left could not build another Veffel in time, and likewife could not be tranfported in the only Caravel he had; as alfo becaufe he found thofe that were to flay very inclinable to it, encouraged by the Gentlenefs and Affability of the People; and becaufe, tho' he had defigned to carry to their Catholic Majefties fome Natives of the Country, and other moft valuable things there were in it, in token of the Difcovery, and for the more Reputation of the Enterprize, it was convenient it fhould be known that Men had ftaid there of their own free Will.

The Fort had a Ditch round it; and, tho' built of Wood, was very ftrong againtt the Natives. It was finifined in ten Days, becaufe a vaft Number of Men worked at it; and he called it the Town of the Nativity, becaufe on that Day he came into the Port. On the 2gth in the Morning a Nephew of the King's, very young and of good Senfe, went aboard the Caravel; and the Admiral, being always follicitous to know where the Gold was found, learned all that's poffible by Signs, and thought he underftood fome Words. Accordingly he afked the Youth about the Mines, and underftood that four Days Journey from thence there was an Ifland to the Eaftward, which he called Guarinoex, and others, Macorix, Mayonis, Fumay, Cibao, and Coray, in which there was a vaft Quantity of Gold. The Admiral immediately wrote down thofe Names: And by this it appeared, that he underftood nothing of the Indian Language; for thefe Places were not Inands, but Provinices in that Ifland, and Lands belonging to feveral Kings or Lords: Guorinoex was the King of that great Royal Plain before-mentioned; and the Youth meant to tell him, that in Guarincex's Country was the Province of Cibao, abounding in Gold. Macorix was another Province, which afforded little Gold: And the other Names were, as has been faid, Provinces; the Admiral not knowing how to write them, becaufe he did not underftand them; and he thought the King's Brother, who was prefent, had reproved his Nephew for telling him thofe Names. At Night the King fent him a great Gold Mafk, defiring he would fend him a Bafon and an Ewer, which it is likely were of Brafs or Tin : He immediately fent them, and believed he afked for them to have the like made in Gold.

On the zoth the Admiral went to dine afhore; and it happened to be at the time when five Caziques or Princes,
fubject to Guacanagari, were come, all of thern with Crowns of Gold on their Heads, and with great State; and as foon as he landed, Guaconagari came to meet him, and led him by the Arm to the fame Houfe where he had been before, where the raifed Place and the Chairs were. He caufed the Admiral to fit down with great Courtefy and Refpect, and then took of the Crown from his own Head, and fet it on the Admiral's; who took off a Collar he had on of fine Beads of feveral beautiful Colours, and put it about the King's Neck, and took off an Hood of fine Cloth which he had put on that Day, and put it upon the King, and fent for a Pair of coloured Bufkins, which he alfo drew on; he alfo put a great Silver Ring upon his Finger, becaufe the Admiral had been told that they had feen one on a Sailor's Hand, and did all they could to get it of him; for it is certain that they put a great Value on any thing made of white Metal, whether it were Silver or Tin. With thefe Gifts the King thought himfelf much enriched, and was highly pleafed. Two of thofe Caziques bore the Admiral company to the Place where he took Boat, and each of them gave him a great Plate of Gold; and thefe were not caft, but made of many Grains beaten together; for the Indians of this Inand had not the Art of cafting, but beat the Grains of Gold they found between two Stones, and by that means fpread them.
13. When the Admiral returned to lie aboard the Ca ravel, and found that Vincent Yanez the Commander of it affirmed he had feen Rhubarb, and knew the Strings of it, and the Root, the Admiral fent for fome Rhubarb, and they brought one Frail full of it, and no more ; becaufe they had no Spades to dig it up with; which was carried to their Catholic Majefties; but it did not prove to be Rhubarb. The Admiral looked upon the Pepper of this Inand, which they call Axi or Pimento, as good Spice, faying it was better than the Pepper that they carried from the Eaftern Parts; for which reafon they fancied there were other Sorts of it. The Fort being finifhed, he ordered all to be provided for failing, Wood and Water to be taken in, and other Preparations made. The King ordered as much as he would have of the Country Bread called Cazabi to be given him, as alfo of his Spice called Axi, falt Fifh, and what he had befides. Tho' he would not willingly have gone away for Spairs without coafting all that Country, which he thought extended very far towards the Eaft, that he might have difcovered its Secrets, and find the beft Paffage from it to Spain, for the fafer bringing over of Beafts and Cattle, he durft not then attempt it, as thinking he had but one Caravel, and might run himfelf into Danger, and therefore it was not reafonable to venture farther in unknown Seas.

He complained very much of Martin Alonso's forfaking him, as being the Caufe of thofe Inconveniencies. He made choice of thirty-nine Men to flay in the Fort, fuch as were moft willing, chearful, ftrong, and beft able to endure Fatigues. He left with them for their Commander Yomes de Arana, a Native of Cordova, Notary and Alguazil, with full Power as he had received it from their Majefties; and in cafe he fhould die, he appointed for his Succeffor in that Poft Peter Auticbrez, Groom of the Privy-Chamber to the King; and in cafe he died, the Place to go to Roderic de Efcovedo, born at Seville; and alfo left with them a Surgeon whofe Name was Fobn, together with a Ship-carpenter, a Caulker, a Cooper, and a good Gunner who was very fkilful for Fireworks. There likewife was a Taylor left, the reft were Sailors, whom he furnifhed with Bifket and Wine, and the other Provifions he had, for a Year; leaving Seeds to fow, and all the Goods and Things he had brought to barter, being a great Quantity; as alfo all the great Guns and other Arms that were in the Ship, and the Boat that had belonged to it.

When all things were ready, and he upon the point of departing, he called them together, and fpoke to them to this Effect, "He bid them offer up their Prayers to "God, and return Thanks to him for having carried "s them to fuch a Country to plant his holy Faith, and " not to forfake him, but to live like good Chriftians,

## Chap. III.

" and he would proteet them: That they fhould pray to "God to grant him a good Voyage, that he might " foon return to them with a greater Power: That shey " Thould love and obey their Captain, becaufe it was re-
"quifite for their own Prefervation; and he charged " them fo to do in the Name of their Highneffes: That " they fhould refpect Guacanagari, and give no Offence " to any of his People; nor offer Violence to any Man " or Woman, that the Opinion of their coming from " Heaven might be confirmed: That they fhould not " part, nor go up the Country, nor out of Guiacanagari's "Dominions, fince he loved them fo well: That with
"c his Confent they fhould furvey the Coaft in Canoes "" and their Boat, endeavouring to difcover the Gold
"Mines, and fome good Harbour, becaufe he was not
" well pleafed with that, where they remained, which he "called the Nativity; and that they fhould endeavour to " barter the moft they could fairly, without fhewing Co"vetoufnefs; and endeavour to learn the Language, "s fince it would be fo ufeful to them, to gain the Friend" fhip of the Natives, and very advantagious; and he "6 promifed to entreat their Catholic Majefties, to reward "s them, fince they had opened the Way to that new "World". They anfwered they would punctually perform all he ordered them.
On the 2d of Famuary, 1493, he went on Shore to take his Leave, dined with Guacanagari and his Caziques; recommended the Chriftians to him, whom he commanded to ferve and defend him againft the Caribes. He gave him a fine Shirt, and faid he would foon return with Prefents from the King of Spain. He anfwered with great Tokens of Sorrow for his Departure. One of the King's Servants then faid, he had fent Canoes along the Coaft to feek for Gold; and the Admiral anfwered, that if Martin Alonfo Pinzon haak not left him, he would have ventured to fail round the Ifland, and have carried a Ton of Gold into Spain, and would fill do it, neverthelefs, were he not afraid that the Caravel Pinta would get home fafe, and give fome falfe Information againft him, to conceal their own Crime.
14. On the 4th of Fanuary, 1493, The Admiral left the Port he had called Navidad, or the Nativity, failing Eaftward towards a very high Mountain, without Trees, but covered with Grafs, looking like a Tent, which he called Monte Cbrijto, and lies to the Eaft eighteen Leagues from the Cape he called Santo, that was behind, and four Leagues from the Port called Navidad. That Night he anchored five Leagues from Monte Cbrifto; and on the 5th of fomuary he proceeded to a little Ifland, where there were good Salt Pits; he entered the Ports, and was fo much pleafed with the Soil, the Plenty of Wood, and the Plains he faw, that he faid that was the Inand of Cipongo; and had he thought he was fo near the Mines of Cibao, whence fo much Wealth was brought, he would have affirmed it more pofitively. On the 6th he failed from Monte Cbrijfo, and foon after difcovered the Caravel Pinta, failing towards him before the Wind; they thought fit to return to Monte Cbrifo, where Martin Alonfo Pinzon made his Excure for having parted Company, and though there was no fatisfactory Reafon for what he had done, the Admiral paffed it by, and underftood he had bartered for much Gold, and that he had taken one half for himfelf, and the other half for the Seamen. Alpeat River runs down into this Harbour, which he called Rio de Oro, that is, the River of Gold; becaufe the Sand looked like Gold, and there he watered. On the gti he hoifted Sail, came to Ponta Roxa or Red Point, which is thirtyfix Leagues Eaft of Montc Cbrifto, and there they took Tortoifes as big as Bucklers, as they went to lay their Eggs a-fhore. The Admiral affirmed he had thereabouts feen three Mermaids that raifed themfelves above theWater, and that they were not fo handfome as they are painted, that they had fomething like a Human Face, and that he had feen others on the Coaft of Guinea. He proceeded to the River de Gracia or of Grace, where Martin Alonfo had been, and was alfo called by his Name, and caufed four Indians Martin Alonfo had taken Prifoners by Force to be left there.
On the inth he failed to a Cape he called Bolprado,
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from a Mountain appearing, which being covered with Snow, as if it had been Silver, he called Monte de Plata, or the Silver Mountain; and a Port that is at the Foot of it, Puerta de Plata, or the Silver Harbour, which is like a Horfe-floe; and proceeding along the Coaf, with the Currents and fair Weather, above ten Leagues, he difcovered feveral Capes, which he called Angel, Puinta del Hiero, or Iron Paint, el Rodendo, or the Round Point, of Frances, the French, el Cabo de Buen Tiempo, the fair Weatber Cape, and el Tajado, the Craggy. On the 12 th he advanced thirty Leagues farther, admiring the Bignefs of the Inland, and called one Cape, de Pedrey Hijo, or Fatber and Son, and gave Names to Puerto Sacro, or the Holy Harbour, and Cabo de Los Enamorades, or the Lovers Cape, and coming up with it, he difcovered a vaft Bay, which was three Leagues in Breadth, and in the Midft of it a fmall Ifland. He ftayed there to obferve the Conjunction, which was to be on the 19 th, and the Oppofition of the Moon and Jupiter with Mercury, and the Sun in Oppofition with Jupiter, which occafions high Winds.

He fent the Boat for Water, and they found fome Men with Bows and Arrows. They bought a Bow and fome Arrows, and defired one of the Indians to go and fpeak with the Admiral, to which he confented... He afked him for the Caribes, and he pointed that they were to the Eaftward; and for Gold he pointed to the Illand of St. Jobn, faying, There was Gunain, that is, pale Gold with a purplifh Caft, which the Indians value very much. He ordered him fomething to eat, and to give him two Bits of green and yellow Cloth, and fome Glafs Beads, and the Boat to fet him afhore. Thofe who went with him found fifty-five naked Indians with long Hair, like the Women in Spain, Feathers, Bows, Arrows, Swords made of hard Palm Wood, and heavy Spears, with which they gave heavy Blows, lying in the Wood. Thefe Indians made them lay down their Arms, and then came to the Boat ; where the Spaniards bought two Bows of them by the Admiral's Order, and were fo far from felling any more, that they began to lay about, to feize the Spaniards, who being but feven, fell upon them, gave one ${ }^{2}$ Cut upon the Buttocks, and another a Cut on the Breaft; whereupon they fled, leaving their Arms behind, and many might have been killed if they had purfued them. This was the firt time that the Spaniards and Indians came to Blows in this Inand. The Admiral was forry for it, tho', on the other hand, it did not difpleafe him, that they might be fenfible of the Weight of the Spaniards Hands.
On the 14th, in the Morning, abundance of People appeared on Shore. The Admiral ordered the Boats-crew to be upon their Guard; but the Indians came as if nothing had happened, and among them the King of the Country, and the Indians that had been aboard the Caravel, whither the King came with three Indians. The Admiral ordered to give them Bifkets and Honey to eat, and gave them red Caps, bits of Cloth, and Beads. The next Day the King fent his Gold Crown and Provifions: The Men were armed with Bows and Arrows, four Youths in Canoes came to the Caravel, and were Men of fuch good Senfe, that the Admiral refolved to carry them into Spain; They acquainted him with many Particulars, and from thence fhewed him the Inand of St. Fobn. He failed from that Bay which he called do las Flechas, or of Arrows, on the 16 th, and would not make any long Stay becaufe the Caravels were very leaky.

He advanced with the Wind at Weft North-weft, and when he had failed I6 Leagues the Indian which he had aboard pointed to the Inand of St. Fobn, that of Martinino and the Caribes, where the Indians were that eat Men; and though he was willing to take a View of thofe Iflands, yet for fear of difheartening the Men, the Wind frefhening, he ordered to fteer directly for Spain; during feveral Days advancing fucceisfully, they faw many Sea-gulls, and the Air was very drying, and they met with abundance of Weeds, but being acquainted with it, they were not afraid: They killed a Tunny and a large Shark, which afforded them fomething to eat, for they had nothing but Bread and Wine. The Caravel Pinta was no good Sailer, becaufe fhe had little Benefit of her Mizen, by reafon the Maft was not good, and the Admiral being forced
to lie by for her, they made little Way. Sometimes when there were Calms the Indians leaped into the Water, fwam about and diverted themelves; having failed feveral Days changing their Courfe according to the Winds, they endeavoured to keep their Reckoning, and fancied they were to the Eaftward of the Iflands of Azores, becaufe they reckoned more Leagues than they really failed. Being quite miftaken in the Way, they made to the Northward, fo that inftead of any of the Azores they would more likely have fallen in with Madera, or Puerto Santo.
15. The Admiral, being more \{kilful at reckoning the Run, found I50 Leagues lefs than the others. On the lath of February the Sea began to fwell with great and dangerous Storms, and he drove moft of the Night without any Sail; afterwards he put out a little Sail ; the Waves broke and wracked the Ships. The next Morning the Wind nackened, but the very next Night it rofe again, which hindered the Ship's Way, fo that he could not fhift the Sails. The Admiral kept under a main Topfail reefed, only to bear up the Ship againft the Waves, but, perceiving how dangerous it was, he let it run before the Wind, there being no other Remedy. Then the Caravel Pinta began to bear away, though the Admiral kept his Light abroad the whole Night, and the Pinta anfwered. The 14th of February, after Sun rifing, the Wind blew fiercer, and they were more afraid of perifhing, with the Trouble of believing that the Caravel Pinta was already loft. The Admiral thinking himfelf near Death, to the End that fome Knowledge might come to their Catholic Majefties of what he had done in their Service, he writ as much as he could of what he had difcovered on a Skin of Parchment, and having wrapped it up in a Piece of Cere-cloth, he put it into a wooden Cafk and caft it into the Sea; all the Men imagining it had been fome Piece of Devotion; and prefently the Wind flackened.

On the I $5^{\text {th }}$ he faw Land a-head, bearing from them Eaft North-eaft: Some faid it was the Ifland Madera, others, that is was the Rock Cintra, near Lifoon, but the Admiral always faid they were the Inands Azores, and they plied to and fro with much Labour, but could not come up with the Inand of St. Mary. The Admiral's Legs being very uneafy, becaufe he had been out in all the Rain and Cold, he flept little; and on the 18 th came to an Anchor on the North-fide of the Inland, which they found to be St. Mary's; prefently three Men made a waft to the Caravel ; he fent the Boat for them; they carried the Admiral Refrefhments of Bread and Fowl from the Governor, whofe Name was Don Jobn de Caftaneda. On the 19th he ordered one half of the Men to go out in Proceffion to an Hermitage there was near, to perform their Vow, and that when they returned he would go out with the other half; and defired the Portuguefe to bring him a Clergyman to fay Mafs. While they were at Prayers in their Shirts, the whole Town on Horfeback and on Foot, with their Commanders, fell upon and made them Prifoners.

They ftaying very long, the Admiral fufpecting, either that they were detained, or that the Boat was ftaved, becaufe the Inland was enclofed with Rocks, and becaufe he could not fee the Hermitage, being covered by a Point of Land that runs into the Sea, he therefore brought the Caravel right before the Hermitage, and faw abundance of Pcople come into the Boat, and make towards the Caravel. The Commander of the Inand food up and demanded Hoftages, and though they were offered him, the Portuguefe would not venture his Perfon. The Admiral afked him why he had fent him Refrefhments and thofe Portuguefe to invite him on Shore, and afterwards, 'notwithftanding the two Nations of Cafite and Portugal were at Peace, he had fo bafely detained his Men, and that to convince him he was employed in the King of Spain's Service, he would thew him his Commiffion. The Portwguefe anfwered, we here know nothing of their Majefties of Cafile, nor their Commiffion, nor do we fear them. Some other Words paffed between them, and the Portusuefe bid him carry his Caravel to the Harbour, for all he had done was by the King's order: The Admiral took Witnefs of what he faid, and anfwered: That if he did
not reftore him his Men and the Boat, he would carry away an hundred Portuguefe into Spain: This faid, he returned and anchored where he was before, becaufe the Wind blew frefh. He ordered the Cafk to be filled with Sea-water to ballaft the Veffel, and by reafon of the foul Weather failed towards the Inand of St, Micboel, becaufe there are no good Harbours in thofe Mlands; and it is fafeft to keep out at Sea. He was in a great Storm all the Night, and having miffed of the Inand of St. Michael, he returned to that of St. Mary, and prefently the Boat came with two Clergymen and a Notary, and five Sea-men; and upon Security given them they came aboard the Caravel, and required the Admiral to fhew them the King of Spain's Commiffion, which he did, and they returned and releafed his Men and the Boat; and the Commander faid he had Orders from the King of Portugal to feize the Admiral, and would give any thing to have him.

Having recovered his Men, and the Weather becoming fair, he ordered them to fteer their Coaft Eaft. The next Day came to the Ship a large Bird, which the Admiral judged to be an Eagle. On the 2 d of March there was fo great a Storm, that he ordered to caft Lots for a Pilgrim to go to St. Mary de Cinta en Guelva, and the Lot fell upon the Admiral; fo that it looked as if God had followed him, that he might humble himfelf, and not grow proud for the Mercies he had fhewn him. They drove with all their Sails furled in the greatelt Danger, without Hopes of efcaping; but it pleafed God that they difcovered the Land and Rock of Cintra; and to avoid the Storm he refolved to put into the Harbour, not being able to ftay at Cafcaes. He returned Thanks to God for his Delivery, and all admired how he had got into the Port, affirming they had fcarce feen fuch dreadful Storms. The King of Poriugal was thien at Valparayfo, to whom he writ, fignifying that their Majefties of Spain, his Sovereigns, had ordered him not to avoid entering his Highnefs's Ports, to get what he wanted with his Money, defiring he would give him Leave to come up to Lifoon for more Security, and that his Highnefs might know he came not from Guinea, but from the Indies.

Bartbolomerv Diaz de Lifboa Mafter of a Galeon, who was there in an armed Boat, went aboard the Caravel and ordered the Admiral to go up with him to give an Account of himfelf to the King's Officers and the Captain of the Galeon. Columbus anfwered, that he was Admiral in the Service of their Majefties of Spain, and was not obliged to give any Man an Account of himfelf; nor would he go out of his Ship unleis he was compelled by Force. The Portuguefe anfwered, he might fend the Mafter of his Ship, but the Admiral would not fend him neither; faying he would not do it unlefs compelled and could not refift it, for he looked upon it much alike to fend another or go himfelf; and that it was the Practice of the Admirals of the Kings of Caffile, rather to die than deliver up themfelves or their Men. The Portuguefe Mafter replied, that fince he was fo refolved, he might do as he pleafed, but that he defired he would condefcend to fhew him his Commiffion from their Majefties of Spain, if he had any fuch: As foon as he had feen it he returned to the Galeon and reported what had paffed; and the Captain, whofe Name was Alvaro Daman, went aboard the Admiral's Caravel with Drums, Trumpets, and Hautboys, and offered to ferve him in whatfoever he fhould command.

As foon as it was known at Liflon, that the Admiral was come to Lifbon from the Indies, fuch Numbers flocked. to fee him and the Indians, that it was wonderful to obferve how they ftood in Admiration. The next Day he received a Letter from the King of Portural, by Don Martin de Norbona his Servant, by which he defired him to come to him, which he was obliged to do to avoid fhewing any Miftuft; he went and lay at Sacovash, where he was well entertained; and the King had given Orders that they fhould give him all he had Occafion for at Iifbon, without Money. The next Day he came to the Place where the King was, and the Gentlemen of the Houfhold came out to receive him, and bore him Company to the Palace. The King received him with much

Honour.

Chap. III.

Honour, bid him fit, and after having expreffed much Satisfaction for the Succefs of his Voyage, and anked fome Particulars about it; he faid he was of Opinion, that according to the Articles ftipulated with the Kings of Caflile, the Conqueft rather belonged to the Kings of Portugal, than to thofe of Cafile. He anfwered he had not feen thofe Articles, nor knew any'more than that their Highneffes had commanded him not to go to Del Mina or to Guinea, and that the fame had been proclaimed in all the Ports of Andaluzia before he fet out upon his Voyage.
The King gracioufly anfwered, he believed he would not ftand in need of Vouchers in that Particular; he then ordered the Prior of Crato to entertain him, he being the principal Perfon prefent. The next Day the King told him that if he wanted any thing he mould have it; and making him fit, afked him many Queftions concerning the Voyage, the new Countries, the Latitudes, and the People, and other things relating to thofe Parts, being much concerned for having miffed of that good Fortune; and there wanted not fome who offered the King to kill the Admiral, that what he had difcovered might not be known, but he would not confent to it. At length, on the IIth of March, the Admiral took his leave of the King, and all the Gentlemen of the Court attended him. He paffed through Villa Franca where the Queen was in the Monaftery of St. Antbony; he kiffed her Hands, and having given her an Account of his Voyage, departed ; and a Servant of the King's overtook him, and told him from his Majefty, that if he would go into Caftile by Land, he would order him to be attended, find him Carriage, and all that he had occafion for.
On the I 3 th he failed with his Caravel for Seville, and found himfelf the 16 th off Saltes; and, at Noon, he paffed over the Bar with the Flood into the Port from whence he at firt departed, on Friday the 3 d of Auguft, the Year before; fo thathe fpent fix Months and an Half in the Voyage. Being informed their Catholic Majerties were at Barcelona, he had Thoughts of going to them by Sea in his Caravel. He landed at Palos; was received with a folemn Proceffion and much rejoicing of the whole Town, all admiring fo great an Action, which they never imagined the Admiral could have performed. The Admiral having refolved not to go by Sea to Barcelona, fent Advices of his Arrival to their Catholic Majefties, with a Summary of what had befallen him, referving a more ample Relation to be delivered by Word of Mouth. The Anfwer found him at Seville: The Superfcription of the Letter was, To Don Chriftopher Columbus, our Admiral of the Ocean; Viceroy and Governor of the Iflands that bave been difcovered in the Indies. In his Anfwer he fent a Memorial of the Ships, Men, Ammunition, and Provifion that were proper to return to the Indies, and then fet out himfelffor Barcelona with feven Indians, for the reftdied by theWay: He carried with him green and red Parrots, and other Things never before feen in Spain. He fet out from Serille, and the Fame of this Novelty being fpread abroad, the People flocked to the Roads to fee the Indians and the Admiral.

Their Majefties having received the Memorial, ordered Fobn Roderiguez de Fonceca, Arcli-deacon of Seville, to furnifh what the Admiral thought fit for the fecond Voyage he was to make to the Indies. The Admiral arrived at Barcelona about the Middle of April, where the whole Court and City flocking out, the Streets could not hold them, admiring to fee the Admiral, the Indians, and the Things he brought, which were carried uncovered; and the more to honour the Admiral, their Majefties ordered their royal Throne to be placed in public, where they fat, and with them Prince fobn. The Admiral came in attended by many Gentlemen; when he came near, the King food up, gave him his Hand to kifs, bid him rife, ordered a Chair to be brought him, and to fit down in the Royal Prefence, where he gave an Account in a very fedate and difcreet manner, of the Mercy God had fhewn him in favour of their Highnefes, of his Voyage and Difcoveries, and the Hopes he had conceived of difcovering greater Countries; and fhewed him the Indians as they went in their own native Commtries, and the other

Things he had brought. 'Their Majefties rofe, and kneeling down, with their Hands lifted up, and Tears in theis Eyes, returned Thanks to God; and then the Choirifters of the Chapel began the Te Deum.

TheArticles formerly concluded with the Acimiral were only in form of a Contract; and as he had performed what he promifed, their Majefties allo, in the ufual Form, paffed Grants, making good what they had offered him in the Town of Santa Fee, on the ryth of Aprit of the foregoing Year : And the Charters were paffed at Barcelona on the zoth of the fame Month in the fucceeding Year 1493, and figned by their Highneffes on the 28 th of May. They alfo gave him the Royal Arms of Caftile and Leon, to bear with thofe of his Eamily, with other Additions expreffing his difficult and wonderfulDifcovery. And their Majefties conferred fome Honours on his Brothers, Don Bartbolomere and Don Fames, tho they were not then at Court. The King took the Admiral by his Side, when he went through the City of Barcelona, and did him much Honour other ways, and therefore all the Grandees and other Noblemen honoured and invited him to Dinner, and the Cardinal of Spain, Don Pedro Gonzalez de Mendoza, a Prince of much Virtue, and a noble Spirit; was the firft Grandee that, as they were going one Day from the Palace, carried the Admiral to dine with him, and placed him at the Head of the Table, and caufed his Meat to be ferved up covered, and the Effay to be taken, and from that time forward he was ferved in that manner.
17. We have given the Hiftory of this Voyage largely, and in a manner literally, from one of the beft Spanifb Hiftorians, the rather becaufe we efteem it fingle in its kind, both with refpect to the Matter and the Manner of it, for the Difcoveries hitherto made by the Portugncfo were chiefly by creeping along Shore, and rather the Effects of Labour and Induitry than of great Conduet, or an enterprizing Genius ; and the Difcoveries that were made afterwards, had not only this Example but the Advantage alfo of all the Improvements which the great Skill, conftant Affection, and wonderful Penetration of Columbus, enabled him to make in his own Art; fo that Navigation grew in his Time quite another thing than he found it. In this Voyage the Reader will perceive that abundance of very trivial Accidents are very carefully recorded, which we have preferved, becaufe taken from Columbus's own Journal, and becaufe they fhew how much he attended to, and what excellent Ufes he made even of the moft minute Circumftances, in order to keep up the Spirits of his Men, and to direct himfelf in the Profecution of fo hardy an Attempt, in which his Succefs depended intirely upon the Sagacity he fhewed in thofer Obfervations, which therefore, however light and trivial they may feem to us, were of great Importance to him, and ferve to Thew by what light Helps Men of true Genius are able to execute the moft difficult Enterprizes.

But there is one Obfervation of his which deferves to be particularly confidered, and that is, as to the Variation of the Compafs, which I find exprelly fet down by all the Spanifh Writers of note, but more efpecially by Hervera, a very careful and judicious. Author, and one who rarely took things upon Truft; as well as by Don Ferdinaind Co lumbus, the Admiral's Son, who profeffes that he wrote from his Father's Papers. Upon thefe Grounds I make no Scruple of believing the Fact, and very much wonder that fo knowing a Man as Sir Thomas Browene, in his Vulgar Errors, fhould pofitively affert, that Columbus was ignorant of the Variation, and that if he had obferved it in his firt Voyage, it mut have confirmed him in his Hopes of finding a new World; becaufe, fince it turned towards the Weft, it manifeftly proved, that there was a great Body of Land on that Side. This thews the great Danger of Theories; for, without doubt, if Columbus had depended upon this, he might have been miftaken, fince failing along the Coaft of Brafil the Needle declines from the Land towards the Sea, which is a Eact that fully overturns that Hypothefis which Sir Tbomas Browne looked upon as certain: But the Truth of the Matter is ${ }_{3}$ that not only Columbus obferved the Variation, but his Pilots alfo; and from thence they atgued, not that they were
near any other Land, but that they were in Danger of lofing the beft Guide they had, viz. the Certainty of the Compafs; and therefore Columbus was forced to tell them, that the Reafon why the Needle varied a whole Point to the North-weft was, becaufe the Star by which they difcerned this Variation, took a Compafs about the Pole, which gave them Satisfaction, tho' it could not give it him, who knew better than to take up with fuch an Opinion. This Turn, however, fhews the Wifdom and good Senfe of this great Navigator, who knew how to difcover the Caufe of moft Things, and when he was at a Lofs for a Caufe to invent fomething that looked like one, in order to pacify thofe whofe Fears were the conftant Effects of their Ignorance.
It was this Talent of his that enabled him to maintain his Authority amongft fuch a Crew of wild and unruly Spirits, and put it in his Power to complete that Difcovery which his great Parts had fuggefted to him. To fay the Truth, confider him in what Light one will, as a Philofopher, a Seaman, a Commander in chief, a Governor, or a Legillator, he was alike great in all ; and had that kind of Superiority of Mind which fet him above thofe Events which common People, for want of a better Expreffion, call the Frowns of Fortune. He was not difitracted in his Thoughts when his Companions defpaired of ever feeing Land more; nor was he elevated by that fudden Turn of their Affections when they difcovered the firt Inand; he knew how to pacify them when mutinous, and he knew likewife how to make a right Ufe of this fudden Return to their Obedience; his Behaviour towards the Indians was like a Father and a Friend; and it was this Magnanimity of, his that induced thofe honeft and fimple People to believe that he and his Companions came from Heaven, and made them fo defirous of their Company.

Neither àre we to attribute his earneft and conftant Search after Gold to any Self-intereft, or Principle of Avarice; but to the earneft Defire he had of fhewing that, by this Voyage, he had not only difcovered new Countries, but Countries in which this precious Metal was found in Abundance, which in thofe Days paffed for a Characteriftic of the Indies. The fame Notion made him liften with equal Attention to another Difcovery, that one of his Commanders believed he had made of Rhubarb; which would have been a ftronger Proof; for all that came
of that Drug into Europe, in thofe Days, was by the Way of Alexandria, and was therefore believed to come from the Indies, as indeed it did, tho' it grows chiefly in Tartary, and in thofe defart Countries, which, from the Frontiers of Perfa, extend quite to Cbina.
He fhewed a becoming Spirit on his Arrival in the Harbour of Liflon, and, in all probability, it was that Spirit that defended him from the Infults and Injuries that might have been offered him ; for there wanted not fome amongft the Nobility of Portugal, who fuggefted that this Difcovery was to the Prejudice of their Country, and fo poffeffed their Sovereign's Mind with this Notion, that he actually formed Pretenfions to thofe Countries, notwithftanding he had relinquifhed all colour of Right to them, by rejecting the Propofals of Columbus when offered to him at firt, and before he had made any Overtures to the Court of Spain. The fame Greatnefs of Soul diftinguifhed the Admiral in his Audience of their Catholic Majefties, in which he neither overvalued his Merit nor boafted of more than he had performed; but ftated the Thing truly, and laid open the Confequences fairly, with that Penetration and Sagacity peculiar to himfelf.
This it was that deternined their Catholic Majefties to fend him again with a ftronger Squadron, and better equipped, to perfect thofe Difcoveries. He was then in the Zenith of his Favour and of his Reputation; for tho' he did greater Things afterwards, or at leaft fuch as redounded more to the Advantage of Spain, yet thefe' were fo far from raifing him higher in Efteem, that, on the contrary, when others had made Voyages to the new World, not the Vulgar only, but fome even of Quality and Figure, affected to leffen his Credit, and to treat that as a flight and eafy Matter, which themfelves had formerly reprefented, not as difficult only, but impracticable. But thefe Turns and Changes in other Men wrought none at all in him, and it is very remarkable, that the Inftructions he gave for the Preparations of his fecond Voyage were fo perfectly well adapted as exactly to anfwer the End of his Defign, as will appear in the fubfequent Section, in which we fhall give the Reader a full and diftinct Relation of that Voyage, tho' in fewer Words than were ufed in the Narration of the firft, as well to avoid needlefs Repetitions, as that we may keep within the Bounds originally affigned to this Work.

## S E C T I O N III.

The Second Voyage of the Admiral Don Christopher Columbus, to the Weft Indies, including an Account of all the Difcoveries made by bim in that Voyage.

1. The Meafures taken by their Catholic Majefies to fecure their Properties in the firf Difcoveries made by their Admiral, and the Terms on wobich be failed a fecond Time from Spain. 2. His Jafe Arrival in the Weft Indies, and the Information be received from the Natives as to the State of that Part of the World. 3. The Admiral continues bis Voyage to the Ifand of Hifpaniola, funds the Colony ruined, and the Spaniards be bad left belind deftroyed by thoir own Folly. 4. The Pains be took to putt things once more into a good Condition; a Mutiny againgt bim, and the Manner of bis Proceeding after it was quelled. 5. He procceds to difcover the inland Parts of the Country, to fecure the Gold Mines, and to make an abfolute Conqueft of Hippaniola for the Ufe of their Catbolic Majefties. 6. The Admiral baving put all things in order, refolves to leave bis Brotber Governor of Hifpaniola, and to fail again upon Difcovery, which be performs accordingly. 7. The Confequences of that Voyage, the Difcoveries made therein, particularly that of Jamaica, and the Hardbips endured by the Admiral and his People. 8. His return to IHifpaniola, the Condition in which be found things there, and the Regulations made by bim for fecuring and promoting the Settlement. 9. The Grounds of thofe Gealoufes and Uncafinefies robich difturbed the Admiral, and induced bim to refolve upon returning back again to Spain. Io. An Account of bis fecond return from the Indies, and of the Reception be met with from their Catbolic Majefties. II. Remarks and Objervations on the foregoing. Section.
. HE more the Difcoveries made by Don Cbrittopher Columbus were canvaffed by the Spanifh Council, the more important they appeared; and therefore to ftrengthen their 'Title in the beft Manner poffible, their Catholic Majefties difpatched an Ambaffador to the Pope, who was at that time Alexander VI. requefting
him to exert his Apoftolic Authority in their Favour, and by his Bulls confirm to them thofe Countries, Inands, Ef. which their Admiral had difcovered. This his Holinefs moft readily complied with, and indeed it coft him little; and by his Bull, dated May 2, 1493, granted the faid Difcoveries to them as fully as the Diicoveries made
by the Portuguefe had been granted to the Crown of Portuggol; and by another Bull dated the next Day, granted their Catholic Majefties all that had been, or fhould be, difcovered, drawing a Iine from Pole to Pole, at the Diftance of Ico Leagues Weftward from the Azores, or from the, Cape de Verd Mlands. As foon as thefe Pulls, whether important or impertinent we need not ftay to determine, were once arrived from Rome, their Catholic Majefties were very deffrous the Adminal fhould fail on his fecond Voyage, for which reaion they hattened him away to Serille, where he found another Sort of a Fleet prepared than he had commanded in his firft Voyage. For now there were feventeen Sail of Ships of feveral Sizes, and no lefs than fifteen hundred Men, many of them Gentlemen of good Families, offered to go over, and took an Oath of Obedience, not only to their Catholic Majefties, but to the Admiral Don Cbrifopher Columbus likewife.

Thefe Preparations, which could not be concealed from the King of Portugal, raifed great Uneafiness at that Court, which was not to be quieted by the Pope's Bulls, his Portuguefe Majefty apprehending that they were founded on undue Suggeitions, and himfelf and his Subjects thereby much wronged. This he refolved to expoftulate with their Catholic Majefties, and named an Ambaffador for that Purpofe; but they, having Intelligence of his Proceedings, fent an Ambaffador to him under Colour of juftifying the Meafures they had taken; but, in Reality, to patch up Matters in any Manner, fo as to hinder that Monarch from obitructing Columbus in his fecond Voyage. In the mean Time the Admiral being come to Seville, and having received with his laft Difpatches his Commiffion, fetting forth the Limits of his Government, which extended over all that the Apoftolical Conceffion extended to; and having left his two Sons, Don Fames and Don Ferdinand, to be Pages to Prince Fobn, he applied himfelf to pick out the ableft Pilots, and in muftering the Men that had been raifed in the Prefence of the Comptroller. For the fake of Difcipline, all Perfons were forbid carrying any Goods, and it was ordered, that all belonging to his Highnefs, and to private Men, fhould be entered before they left Spain, and the fame to be done when they arrived in the Indies; and that all that thould appear not to have been fo entered, fhould be confifcated. The Admiral was ordered, as foon as he came to Hifpaniola, to mufter the Men, and after that, as often as he fhould think fit; and that they fhould be paid by his Direction; and that he fhould appoint Alcaldes and Alguazils in the Inands, and other Parts, to try civil and criminal Caufes, and the Appeals from them to be to him, and that in Cafe it was requifite to appoint Regidores, Jurats, and Officers for the Government of the People, or of any Colony that fhould be planted, the Admiral hould nominate three Perfons to every Employment, for their Highnefles to choofe one of them, but that the firft time he might name them. That all Proclamations fhould be in the Names of their Highneffes; that he fhould have the eighth Part of all that was gained, pay-ing-the eighth part of all that was carried over, firft deducting the tenth Part he was to have of the whole, purfuant to the Contract made; and that if it were requifite to fend Ships and Men to any Parts, he might do it.

Whilf the Admiral was at Seville expediting his Affairs, he received a Letter from their Majefties, dated at Barcelona, directing him, before his Departure, to caufe a Seâ-chart to be drawn with the Rumbs and other Particulars requifite for the Voyage to the Indies, and to haften his Departure, ftill promifing him mighty Rewards, becaufe that Affair of the Difcovery daily appeared to be of fo great Confequence; acquainting him that nothing was yet concluded with the King of Portugal, though it was believed. he would be brought to Reafon. The Admiral caufed many Plants and Trees to be put aboard, and Wheat, Barley, Oats, Rye, and all Sorts of Seeds, as alfo Cows, Lime, Bricks, and all Sorts of Materials for building; and having embarked the Men, on the 25 th of September, 1493, before Sun-rifing failed from the Bay of Gadiz: He feered South-weft for the Canaries, and arrived at Grand Comaria on the $2 d$ of OEFober, and on the 5 th anchored at

Fol. II. Numb. LXXI.

Gomera, where he ftaick two Days taking in Water, Wood, and Cattle, and eight Sows at the Rate of feventy Marvedies a-head, from which afterwards were produced all that have been fince in the Indits. They alfo took in Hens and other Creatures, as alfo Seeds for fallading, and all other Sorts of Garden-ftuff.

On the $7^{\text {th }}$ of Ogober the Admiral continued his Voyage towards the Indies, having firft delivered Inftructions, fealed, to every Ship, commanding them not to open them unlefs they were feparated from him by ftrefs of Weather; for as in thofe Letters he gate an Account of the Courfe they were to ftecr, to come to the Town of the Nativity, in Hifpaniola, he would not have that Courfe known to any unlefs neceffary. Thus failing with a fair Gale till the 24 th, when being 400 Leagues Weft of Gomera, he yet met with none of the Weeds he had feen the firt Voyage; when he was out but 250 Leagues, to the great Aftonifmment of them all. That Day and the next a Swallow flew about the Flect. On Saturday, at Night, the Corps of St. Elmo was feen, with feven Lights, on the round' Top, and there followed mighty Rains, and frightful Thunder. On the 2 d of November, at Night, the Admiral, perceiving a great Alteration in the Sky and Winds, and taking notice of the heavy Rains, concluded that he was near fome Land, and for this Reafon caufed moit of the Sails to be furled; and ordered all to be upon the Watch, not without Caufe, for that Night they fpied Land feven Leagues to the Weftward, which was a very high mountainous Illand, and he called it Dominica, becaufe difcovered upon Sunday Morning. A while after he difcovered another Ifland North-eaft of Dominica, and then another, and a third after that, more to the Northward, for which Mercy God had been pleafed to beftow upon them, all the Men, affembling in the Poop, fung the Salve Regina and other Prayers, and Hymns, very devoutly giving Thanks to God, for that, in twenty Days after departing from Gomera, they had made that Land; judging the Diftance to be about 750 or 800 Leagues, and finding no convenient Place to come to an Anchor on the Eatt-fide of the Inand Dominica, they ftood over to another Inand which the Admiral called Marigalante, that being his Ship's Name. Here landing, he with all neceffary Solemnity again repeated the Poffeffion he had in his firf Voyage taken of all the Illands and Continents of the Weft Indies, for their Catholic Majefties.

On the 4 th the Admiral failed from the Illand Marigalante Northwards, by another great Ifland he called Sta. Maria Guadalupe, at the Requeft of the Friars of the Houfe of that Name, to whom he had made a Promife to call fome Inand by the Name of their Monattery; before he came to it, by two Leagues Diftance, they difcovered a very high Rock, ending in a Point, whence iffued a Stream of Water, which falling, made fuch a Noife that it was heard aboard of the Ships, though many affirmed that it was only a white Vein in the Rock: The Water was fo white and frothy by reafon of its Fall. Going athore in the Boat to view a Sort of a Town they faw from the Shore, they found no body there, the People being fled to the Woods, except fome Children, to whofe Arms they tied fome Baubles to pleafe their Parents when they returned; in the Houfes they found Geefe and abundance of Parrots with red, green, blew, and white Feathers, as big as common Cocks; they alfo found Pompions, and a fort of Fruit which look like our green Pine-apples, but much bigger, and within full of folid Meat like a Mellon, and much fweeter both in Tafte and Smell, which grow on long Sticks like Aloes wild about the Fields, and are better than thofe produced by Art. They alfo faw other Sorts of Fruits and Herbs, different from ours; Beds of Cotton Nets, that is, Hamocks, Bows and Arrows, and other things of which they took none, that the Indians might be the lefs afraid of the Chriftians. The next Day, which was the 5 th of November, the Admiral again fent two Boats afhore to endeavour to take fome body that might give an Account of the Country, and inform him how far off, and which way, Hijpaniola lay; each of the Boats brought back a Youth, who agreed in faying they were not of that Mland, but
of another' called Boriquen (now St. Fobn de Porto Rico) and that the Inhabitants of that Inand of Guadalupe were Caribes or Canibals, and had carried them Prifoners from their own Illand. Soon after the Boats, returning to take up fome Chriftians they had left there, found fix Women with them, who had fled to them from the Caribes, and came of their own accord aboard the Ships.

The Admiral to invite the Iflanders would not keep them on board, but gave them fome Glafs-beads and Bells, and made them be fet afhore againft their Wills. Yet this was done unadvifedly; for as foon as they landed, the Caribes, in Sight of the Chriftians, took away all the Admiral had given them: Therefore, either through the Hatred they bore the Caribes, or the Fear they had conceived of thofe People, a while after when the Boats returned for Wood and Water, the faid Women got into them, begging of the Seamen to carry them aboard the Ships, and giving them to underftand by Signs, that thofe People eat Men, and made Slaves of them, and therefore they would not ftay with them; fo that the Men yielding to their Intreaties, carried them back to the Ships, with two Children and a young Man that had made his Efcape from the Caribes, thinking it fafer to put themfelves into the Hands of People they never faw, and fuch Strangers to their Nation, than to remain among thofe they knew to be wicked and cruel, and who had eaten their Hufbands and Children; and as they faid, they do not kill and eat the Women, but keep them as Slaves. One of the Women told them, that towards the South there were many Inands, fome inhabited, others not, which fhe and the other Women called Giamactic, Cairveyo, Hunio, Buriari, Arubiari, Sixibei, but the Continent which they faid was very great, both they and the People of Hijpaniola called Zuanta.
3. On the roth of Oatober the Admiral weighed Anchor, and failed with the whole Fleet along the Coaft of the Inand Guadalupe, towards the North-weft, for Hifpaniola, and came to the Inland Montferat, calling it by that Name becaufe of its Heighth, and underftood by the Indians he had with him, that the Caribes had depopulated it by devouring the Inhabitants. Thence he proceeded to St. Mary Redonda, fo called becaufe it is fo round and upright, that there feems to be no getting up to it without Ladders, which the Indians called Ocamaniro. Next he came to St. Maria la Antigua, which is-above 28 Leagues in extent, ftill holding on his Courfe North-weft. There appeared feveral other Inlands towards the North, and lying North-weft and South-eaft, all very high and full of Woods, near one of which he caft Anchor, and called it St. Martin, where they took up Pieces of Coral fticking to the Anchor Hooks, which made them hope they fhould find other valuable Things in thofe Countries. Though the Admiral was very defirous to know every thing, yet he refolved to hold on his Courfe towards Hifpaniola, to relieve thofe he had left there; but the Weather being bad, he came to an Anchor on the I 3 th, in an Inand where he ordered fome Indians to be taken to know whereabouts he was.

As the Boat was returning to the Fleet with four Men and three Children the Men had taken, they met a Canoe, in which there were four Men and one Woman, who perceiving they could not make their Efcape, ftood upon their Guard and hit two of the Chriftians with their Arrows, which they let fly with fuch Force and Dexterity that the Woman fhot a Target quite through; but the Boat furioully boarding the Canoe overfet it, fo that they took them all fwimming in the Water; and one of them fwimming flot feveral Arrows as if he had been upon dry Land. The Admiral, departing hence, continued his Voyage Weft North-weft, where he found above 50 mands, which he left to the Northward; the biggeft of them he called St. Urfula, and the others, the eleven thoufand Virgins; next he came to the Inand which he called St. Fobu Baptift, but the Indians Boriquen; and the Fleet anchored in a Bay on the Weft-fide of it, where they took feveral Sorts of Fifin, as Scate, Soles, Pilchards, and Shads, and faw Falcons and Bufhes like wild Vines, more to the Eaftwards. Some Chriftians went to certain IToufes, well buile after their Fafhion, with a

Square before them, and a broad Road down to the Sea, with Towers made of Cane on both Sides, and the Top of them curiounly interwoven with Greens: At the End of it, next the Sea, was raifed a large Gallery or Balcony, that could hold ten or twelve People, lofty and well built.

On the 2 Ift the Admiral came up with the North-fide of Hijpaniola, and prefently fent afhore, at Samana, one of the Indians born in that Part, whom he brought out of Spain, being then converted, who offered to reduce all the Indians to fubmit to the Chriftians.

The Admiral continuing his Voyage towards the Town of the Nativity; when he came to Cape Angel, fome Indians went aboard to barter their Commodities with the Chriftians; coming to an Anchor, in the Port of Monte Cbrifo; a Boat that went afhore, found near a River two dead Men, one of them feemed to be young, the other old; who had a Rope made of a certain Sort of Broom, or fuch Fuz that grows in Spain, called Efparta, about his Neck, his Arms extended, and his Hands tyed to a Piece of Wood in the Form of a Crofs; but they could not difcern whether they were Chriftians or Indians, but looked upon it as an ill Omen. The next Day, being the 26 th, the Admiral fent afhore in feveral Places; the Indians came very friendly and boldly to talk with the Chriftians, and touching our Mens Shirts and Doublets repeated their Names in Spani/h, to fhew they knew how thofe things were called, which delivered the Admiral from the Jealoufy he had conceived on Accouut of the dead Men: Judging that if thofe People had mifufed the Chriftians left there, they would not have come fo boldly aboard the Ships.

But the next Day when he came to an Anchor, near the Town of Navidad, after Midnight a Canoe came to the Fleet, and afked for the Admiral, and being bid to come on board, for he was there, they would not do it, faying they were refolved not to go aboard till they faw and knew him. The Admiral therefore was forced to come to the Ship-fide to hear them, and then prefently two went up with two Mafks, which they gave to the Admiral, from the Cazique Guacanagari. They being afked by the Admiral concerning the Chriftians left theres anfwered, that fome of them died of Diftempers, fome parted from their Company, and were gone into other Countries: But, that all of them had four or five Wives, though it appeared by their way of fpeaking, that all, or moft of them were dead. Yet the Admiral, not thinking it fit to take any Notice at that time, fent back the Indians with a Prefent made of Tin, and other Baubles for Guacanagari and themfelves, and fo went away that Night. On the 28 th, about Evening, the Admiral with all his Fleet, came into the Port of Navidad, found it all burnt, and no body was feen thereabouts. The next Day, in the Morning, the Admiral landed, very much concerned to fee the Houfes and Fort burnt, and nothing left belonging to the Chriftians, but only ragged Clothes and fuch like things, as is uffual in a Place plundered and deftroyed; and feeing no body to enquire of, the Admiral went with fome Boats up a River that was near the Fort.

Whilft he was going up it, he ordered the Well he had made in the Fort to be cleanfed, thinking to find Gold in it; becaufe at his going away, fearing what might happen, he commanded thofe he left behind, to throw all the Gold they could get into that Well, but nothing was found in it; and the Admiral could lay hold of no Indian, becaufe they all fled from their Houres to the Woods; having therefore found nothing but fome of the Chriftians Clothes; he returned to Navidad, where he faw eight of the Chriftians, and three others in the Fields near the Town, whom they knew to be Chriftians by their Clothes, and they feemed to have been dead about a Month; the Chriftians going about to feek fome other Tokens or Writing of the Dead, a Brother of the Cazique Guaca nagari, came with fome Indians to talk with the Admiral. Thefe could fpeak fome Words in Spanifh, and, knew the Names of all the Chriftians that had been left there, and faid that thofe Spaniards foon began to fall to Variance among themfelves, and to take every one what Gold, and as many Women as they could; whereupon Peter Gutierres and Efcovedo, killed one Fames, and then
they, and nine others, went away with their Women to a Cazique, whofe Name was Caunobo, who was Lord of the Mines, who killed them all; then, many Days after came with a great many Men to Navidad, where there was only James de Arana, with ten Men who had remained with him to guard the Fort, all the reft being difperf-, ed about the Inand. The Cazique, Caunabo, coming up by Night, fired the Houfes where the Chriftians lived with their Women, for fear whereof they fled to the Sea; where eight of them were drowned, and three died on Shore; that Guacanayari fighting with Caunabo in Defence of the Chriftians, was wounded and fled.

This Account agreed with that given by other Chriftians fent by the Admiral to learn more of the Country; who went to a Town where Guacanagari lay ill of a Wound, which he faid had hindered him from waiting on the Admiral, and giving him an Account of what was become of the Chriftians; among whom, he faid, foon after the Admiral returned for Spain, there began to be Diffention, and every :one would barter Gold for himfelf, and take what Women he thought fit; and not fatisfied with what Guacanagari gave, and allowed to be given them ; they divided into feveral Parties, and difperfed fome one Way and fome another: And that fome Bifayners joining together, went were they were all killed; and this was the Truth of what had happened, which they might tell the Admiral; defiring that he would come and fee him, becaufe he was in fuch a Condition, that he could not leave the Houfe. The Admiral did fo, going the next Day to vifit him, and he with great Signs of Sorrow, told him all that had happened, as has been related above; and that he, and his Men, had been all wounded in Defence of the Chriftians; as appeared by their Wounds, which were not given by Chriftian Arms, but with wooden Swords and Arrows, pointed with Fifh-bones.

This Difcourfe being over, he prefented the Admiral with eight Strings of fmall Beads, made of white, green, and red Stones; a String of Gold Beads; a Crown of Gold, and three little Calabathes full of Gold Sand: All which might have been about four Marks weight in Gold, each Mark being eight Ounces. The Admiral, in return, gave him abundance of Baubles, which might be worth three Ryals, and were valued by him at above a Thoufand. Though he was very ill, he would needs go with the Admiral to fee the Fleet, where he was courteouny entertained; and much pleafed to fee the Horfes, of which the Chriftians had before given him an Account. And becaure fome of thofe that were dead had mifinformed him concerning the Faith, the Admiral was forced to inftruct him in it; and afterwards would have him wear an Image of the Virgin Mary about his Neck, which, at firt, he had refufed to receive.
4. The Admiral reflecting on the Difafter of thofe Chriftians, and his own Misfortune at Sea; having loft the Men and Fort on Shore, and his Ship upon the Water; and that, not far off, there were better and more commodious Places, on the 7 th of December he failed with the whole Fleet Eaftwards, and anchored not far from the Inand of Monte Cbrifio, and the next Day, at Monte Cbrifto, among thofe feven low little Inlands; which, tho' they are without Trees, yet are neverthelefs very pleafant. Thence he went to anchor before a Town of Indians, where, refolved to plant a Colony, he landed with all the Men, Provifions, and Utenfils he brought aboard the Fleet, in a Plain near a Rock; on which he built a Town, and called it Ifabella, in honour of Queen IJabel, or Elizabetb; this Place was judged very convenient, as the Port was very large, though expofed to the North-weft, and had a moft delicate River within a Bow Shot of it, from which Canals of Water might be drawn to run through the middle of the Town; and beyond was an open Plain, from which the Indians faid the Mines of Ci bao were not very remote. For thefe Reafons the Admiral was fo eager upon fettling the faid Coiony, that what with the Fatigue at Sea, and what he here went through, he not only wanted time to write, Day by Day, what happened, but fell fick, which hindered his writing from the IIth of December to the rith of March, in
the Year 1494; during which time, having ordered the Affairs of the Town the beft he could, he fent one Alonfo de Hojeda with fifteen Men, to feek out the Mines of Cibao; afterwards, on the 2d of February, twelve Ships of the Fleet returned to Cafite, under the Command of one Captain Anthory de Torres, Brother to Prince $F 0 \mathrm{bn}$ 's Nurfe, a Man of great Judgment and Honour, and int whom their Catholic Majefties and the Admiral much confided. He carried in writing an Account at large of all that had happened, as alfo the Nature of the Coun-. try, and what it required.

Not long after, Hojeda returned, giving an Accounts, that the 2 d Day after he fet out from Ifabella, he lay at the Pafs of a Mountain, which was very difficult of Accefs; that afterwards, at every League's Diftance, he found $\mathrm{Ca}-$ ziques, who had been very kind to him; and continuing his Journey, the 6th Day he came to the Mines of Cibao, where the Indians immediately took up Gold in a fmall River, as they had done in many others, in the fame Province, where he affirmed there was great plenty of Gold. This News much rejoiced the Admiral, who was recovered of his Sicknefs, and he refolved to obferve this Difpofition of the Country, that he might the better know what was to be done. Accordingly, on the 12 th of March, he fet out from Ifabella, for Cibao, to fee the Mines, with all the People that were in Health, both Foot and Horfe; leaving a good Guard in the two Ships, and three Caravels, the remainder of the Fleet; and caufing; all the Ammunition and Tackle belonging to the other Ships to be put aboard his own, that none might rebel and feize them, as they had attempted to do whillt he was fick; becaufe they having gone that Voyage upon the Belief, that as foon as they landed they might load themfelves with Gold, and fo return rich home, the thing not happening as they expected, they grew diffatisfied and offended; as alfo, becaufe of building the new Town, and weary of Difeafes that the Climate, and Change of Diet caufed among them; they confpired to revolt from the Admiral; and taking the Ships that remained, by Force, to return in them to Spain. One Barnard de Pifa, who had been an Officer of Juftice at Court, and went that Voyage in the Quality of Comptroller, was the Ring-leader, and Head of the Mutineers; therefore, the Admiral, when informed of it, would not punifh him any otherwife, than by fecuring him on board a-hip; with a Defign to fend him afterwards to Spain, with his Procefs drawn up, as well for mutinying, as for having writ a falfe Information againft the Admiral, which he had hid.

Having therefore ordered all thefe Affairs; and having left fome Perfons, together with his Brother Don Fames Columbus, to look to and fecure the Fleet, he fet forward towards Cibao, carrying with him all the Neceffaries to build a Fort, to keep that Province under, and fecure the Chriftians left there to gather Gold, againft any Attempts or Defigns of the Indians; and the more to terrify them, and to take away all Hopes, that they might do in the Admiral's Prefence as they had done in his Abfence with Arana, and the Thirty-eight Chriftians left among them, he carried with him all the Men he could, that they might, in their own Towns, fee the Power of the Chriftians, and be fenfible that whenever any Wrong was done to a fingle Man travelling through the Country; there was a Force of Men to chaftife it ; and to appear the more formidable when he fet out for Ifabella and other Towns, he made his Men march with their Arms in Rank and File, as is ufual in time of War, with Trumpets founding, and Colours flying. In this way he marched: to the Side of that River which lay about a Mufket-fhot from IJabella; and a League beyond he croffed another River, and went to lie that Night three Leagues off; in a Plain divided into pleafant Fields; reaching to the Foot of a craggy Hill, and about two Bow-fhots high: This he called Puerto de los Fidalgos, or the Gentleman's Pafs; becaufe fome Gentlemen went before, to order the Road to be made. And this was the firft Road made in the Indies; for the Indions make their Ways but for one Mars to pafs at a time. Beyond this. Pafs he came into a large Plain, on which he travelled five Leagues the next Days
and went to lic near a great River, which the Men paffed upon Floats and Canoes : This River, which he called of Canes, fell into the Sea at Monte Cbrito. In his Journey he paffed by many Indian Towns, the Houfes where-. of were round, thatched, and with fuch a litcle Door as he who goes in muft ftoop very low. Here, as foon as fome of the Indians, brought from IJabella, went into the Houfes, they took what they liked beft, and yet the Owners were not difpleafed; as if all Things were in common.
5. On the 14 th, the Admiral fet forward from the River of Canes, and a League and a Half from it found a great River, which he called the River of Gold; having paffed it with fome Difficulty, he proceeded to a large Town, where many of the People fled to the Mountains, but mon of them fortified their Houfes, barring their Doors with fome Canes, as if they were a Defence to hinder any Body from coming in; for, according to their Cuftom, no Man dares break in at the Door he finds fo barred. Hence the Admiral went to another fine River, which he called the Green River; the Banks whereof were covered with bright round Stones, and there he refted that Night. Holding on his Journey, the next Day he paffed by fome great Towns, where the People had put Sticks a-crofs the Doors, and the Admiral with his Men, being tired, they flaid that Night, at the Foot of a rugged Mountain, which he called Parbibao, as the Province of Cibao begins behind the Mountain : From this, the firtt Mountain they pafted was eleven Leagues diftant, all which is a Plain, the Way directly South. Setting out the next Day, he travelled through a Path, where they were forced, with Difficulty, to load the Horfes, and thence he fent back fome Mules to IJabella to bring Bread and Wine, for they began to want Provifions, and the Journey was long, and they fuffered the more becaufe they were not yet ufed to the Indian Diet, as they are now, who live and travel in thofe Parts, who find the Food of that Country more eafy of Digeftion, and more agreeable to that Country, than what is carried from Europe, though it is not fo great Nourifhment.
The Admiral, pafing over the Mountains, on the 16 th entred the Country of Cibao, which is rough and ftony, fuil of Gravel, plentiful of Grafs, and watered by feveral Rivers, in which Gold was found. The farther they went into this Country, they found it encumbered more with Mountains, on the Tops whereof appeared Grains of golden Sand; for, as the Admiral faid, great Rains carried it down from the Tops ofilountains to the Rivers in fmall Sand. The Admiral perceiving he was now 18 Leagues from Ifabella, and the Country he had left behind very craggy, he ordered a Fort to be built in a very pleafant and ftrong Place, which he called the Caftle of St. Thomas, to command the Mines, and be a Place of Safety for the Chritians that worked there. Here, breaking Ground to lay the Foundation, and cutting a Rock to make the Ditches, when they were got two Fathoms below the Stone, they found Nefts made of Hay and Stzaw, and, inftead of Eggs, three or four round Stones as big as Oranges, as artificially made as if they had been Cannon Balls. And in the River that runs at the Foot of that Hill the Caftle now ftands upon, they found Stones of feveral Colours, fome of them large, of pure Marble, and others of Jafper. The Admiral, having given Orders for finifhing the Caftle, fet out for IJabella, and near the Green River met the Mules, and faid there, fending the Provifions to the Port afterwards, endeavouring to find the Ford of that River, and of the River del Oro; he faid fome Days in thofe Indian Towns, eating their Bread and Garlic, came well to IJabella, where Melons were already grown fit to eat, tho' it was not above two Months fince the Seed was put into the Ground; fo Cucumbers came up in 20 Days: A wild Vine of that Country, being pruned, produced Grapes which were good and large.

On the zoth a Hufbandman gathered Ears of Wheat he had fown at the latter end of fanuary; there were alfo Vetches, but much bigger than thofe they fowed, and all they fowed fprung up above Ground in three Days, and the twenty-fifth Day they eat of it. The Stones of Fruit
fet in the Ground fprouted out in feven Days, and the Vine: Branches fhot out in the fame tirne, and in twenty-five Days after they gathered green Grapes; the Sugar Canes budded in feven Days, which proceeded from the Temperature of the Climate ; befides that the Waters there are very thin, cold, and wholefome. The Admiral was well enough pleafed with the Air, the Soil, and the People of the Country. On the ift of April there came a Meffenger from Fort St. Thomas, who brought News that the Indicns of that Country fied; and that a Cazique, whofe Name was Counabo, was preparing to come and attack the Fort. The Admiral knowing how inconfiderable the People of that Country were, made little Account of that Report, efpecially confidering the Horfes, by whom the Indians were afraid to be devoured, and therefore were fo much afraid, that they durf not go into any Houre where a Horie ftood; however, the Admiral thought fit to fend more Men and Provifions, confidering, that fince he defigned to go to difcover the Continent with three Caravels he had left him, it was fit to fecure all behind. Therefore, on the 2d, he fent feventy Men with Provifions and Ammunition to the Fort; twenty-five of whieh were to keep guard, and the others help to make another Road, the firt being very troublefome, as were the Fords of the Rivers.
In the mean while, becaufe the Bifket grew towards an end, and they had no Flour but Wheat, he refolved to make fome Mills, though there was not a Fall of Water fit for that Purpofe within a League of the Town, at which Work he was forced to ftand over the Workmen, they all endeavouring to fave themfelves from Labour. After that, he refolved to fend out all the People that were in health, except Handicraftmen and Artificers, to the Royal Plain; that, travelling about the Country, they might pacify it, ftrike a Terror into the Indians, and by degrees be ufed to their Food, fince they daily felt more Want of that of Spain. Hojeda was fent to command thefe Men till they came to St. Thbomas, there to deliver them to Don Peter Margarite, Hojedo himfelf to command in the Fort; he having taken the Pains the Winter before, to difcover that Province of Cibao which in the Indian Language fignifies Stony. Hojeda fet out from IJabellos the 2gth of April towards St. Thomas, with this Party of Men, being above 400 ; and, having paffed the River del Oro, apprehended a Cazique that lived there, and a Nephew of his, fending them in Irons to the Admiral, and cut off the Ears of one of his Subjects in the great Place in the Town, becaufe, three Chriftians going from St. Thomas to IJobella, this Cazique gave them Indians to carry their Clothes over the River, at the Ford; and they, being in the Middle of the River, returned to their Town with them ; and the Cazique, inftead of puniihing them, took the Clothes, refufing to deliver them. Another Cazique, who dwelt beyond the River, relying on the Service he had done the Chriftians, refolved to go with the Prifoners to IJabella, and interceed with the General for them, who entertained him courteoully, and ordered the other Indians, with their Hands bound, to be publicly fentenced to die in the Market-place; which the honeft Cazique feeing, with many Tears, obtained their Lives, promifing they fhould never be guilty of any other Offence. The Admiral having difcharged them all, a Man on Horfeback came from St. Thomas's, and gave an Account, that he had found in the Houfe of that fame Cazique, who had been Prifoner in his Town, fiveChriftians, taken by his Subjects as they were coming from Ifabella; and that he, frighting the Indians with his Horfe, had releafed them, above 400 Men running away from him, of whom he wounded two in the Purfuit; and that when he had paffed the River, he faw they turned upon the faid Chritians, whereupon he made as if he would go back againft them; but they, for fear of his Horfe, all ran away, left the Horfe fhould fly over the River.
6. The Admiral being refolved to difcover the Continent, appointed a Council to govern the Ifland in his Abfence; the Sway it confifted of was, Dr. Games Columbus, his Brother, with the Title of Prefident; F. Boyl and Peter Fernandez Colonel, Regents; Alonjo Canabez de Corvajal, Rector of Bacca, and Yobn de Iuxan of Madrid, Gentle-
men to their Catholic Majefties. And that there might not want Meal for the Support of the People, he haftened the Building of the Mills, notwithftanding the Rain and Floods very much obftructed. As the Eruitfulnefs of the Soil appeared very extraordinary, fo they daily received frefh Advices of the Wealth of the Country; for fome of thofe the Admiral had fent out were always returning with Accounts of new Mines difcovered, befides the Relations of the Indians concerning great Plenty of Gold found in fome Parts of the Illand.

The Admiral not fo fatisfied, refolved to go out to difcover along the Coatt of Cuba, not knowing whether it was an Illand or Continent; therefore taking three Ships along with him, he failed on the $24^{\text {th }}$ in the Afternoon, and came to an Anchor that Day at Montc Cbriflo, Weft of Ifabella: Thence he went to Guacanagari's Port, thinking to find him there; but he feeing the Ships, fled for fear, tho' his Subjects falfely affirmed he would foon return. But the Admiral not caring to ftay, departed on Saturday the 26th, and went to the Iland Tortuga, which lies fix Leagues to the Weftward. He lay by it that Night in a Calm, with his Sails abroad, the Tide running back againtt the Currents. The next Day the North-weft Winds and Currents fetting to the Weft, obliged him to come to an Anchor in the River of Guadalquiver, which is on the fame Inand, there to wait for a Wind that would ftem the Current, which both then and the Year before, he found to run ftrong towards the Eaft. On the 29 th of the fame Month, the Wind being fair, he came to Cape St. Nicbolas, and then croffed over to the Inand of Cuba running along the Coaft of it. And having failed a League beyond Cabo Puerto put into a large Bay, which he called Puerto Granda, or the Grand Port; the Mouth whereof was 150 Paces over, and had much Water. Here he anchored, and took fome Refrefhment. On the furft of May, he continued his Voyage along the Coaft, where he found commodious Harbours, and fine Rivers, and high Mountains upon the Sea. After he left Tortuga, he met abundance of the Weeds he faw on the Ocean on his Voyage to and from Spain. And failing clofe along the Shore, abundance of People came on board in their Canoes, to bring off their Bread, Water, and Finh; giving it all freely, without afking any thing for it ; but the Admiral, to fend them home well pleafed, ordered them to be paid, giving them Beads, Bells, and fuch like Baubles. On the 3d the Admiral refolved to fail over from Cuba to Famaica, that he might not leave it behind, without knowing whether the Report of plenty of Gold they had there was true; and the Wind being fair, and he half way over, he difcovered it the next Day. Upon that he came to an Anchor, and thought it the beft of any he had yet feen in the Indies; and fuch Multitudes of People in great and fmall Canoes came a-board, that it was aftonifhing. The next Day he ran along the Coaft to find out Harbours ; and the Boats going to found the Mouths of them, theré came fo many Canoes with armed Men to defend the Country, that they were forced to return to the Ships, not fo much for fear, as to avoid falling out with thofe People. But afterwards confidering, that if they Thewed Signs of Fear, the Indians would grow proud upon it, they returned together to the Port which the Admiral called Puerto Bueno, that is, Good Harbour ; and becaufe the Indians came to drive them off, thofe in Boats gave them fuch a Flight of Arrows from their Crofs Bows, that fixteen of them being wounded, they retired. 'The Fight ending in this manner; there came abundance of Canoes from the neighbouring Places, in a peaceable Way to fee and barter Provifions; and feveral things they brought, and gave for the leaft Trifle that was offered them.

In this Port, which refembles a Horfe-fhoe, the Admiral's Ship was repaired, being leaky: And that done, they fet fail on the gth, keeping fo clofe along the Coaft Weftward, that the Indians followed in their Canoes to trade. The Wind being fomewhat contrary, the Admiral could not make fo much Way as he wifhed, till on the I 4 th he refolved to ftand over again for Cuba, to keep along its Coafts, defigning not to return till he had failed 5 or 600 Leagues, and was fatisfed whether it was an Inand

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or Continent. The Day he was going off from Famaica a very young Indion came a-board, faying he would go ; and after him came feveral of his Kindred and other People in their Canoes, earnefly intreating him to go back; but they could never alter his Refolution; and therefore to avoid feeing his Sifters cry; he went where they could not come at him. The Admiral admiring his Refolution, gave Orders that he fhould be ufed with the utmoft Civility. The Admiral leaving Famaica on the 15 th of May, came to that Point of Cuba which he called Cabo de Santa Cruz, or Cape Foly Crofs; and running along the Coant, there happened a great Storm of Thunder and Lightning, which, together with the Flats and Currents, put him in no fmall Danger, and to very much Trouble, being obliged at the fame time to ftruggle againft two Evils, which required contrary Remedies; for it is a proper Remedy againft Thunder to frike the Sails, and it was requifite to fpread them to avoid the Flats. And had this Calamity lafted for eight or ten Leagues, it had been infupportable. But the worft of it was, that throughout that Sea, both North, and Southeaft, the farther they went, the more little low Inands they met with: And though there were Trees in fome of them, yet others were fandy, and farce appeared above the Surface of the Water: fome a League, fome more, and fome lefs in Compafs. True it is, that the nearer they failed to Cuba, the higher and pleafanter the little Inands appeared. And being a Matter of Difficulty, and to no Purpofe to give every one of them a Name, the Admiral called them all in general, Fardin de la Reyna, or the Queen's Garden.
But as many Illands as he faw that Day, he faw many more and bigger the next Day than he had before; and not only to the North-Eaft, but North-weft, and Southweft, infomuch that they counted 160 Inands that Day, all parted by deep Channels, which the Ship failed through: In fome of thefe Inands they faw abundance of Cranes, in Shape and Bignefs like thofe of Spain, but that they were red as fcarlet. In others they found abundance of Tortoifes, and of their Egogs, not unlike Hens, but that the Shells are very hard. The Tortoifes lay their Eggs in a Hole they make in the Sand, and cover them, leaving them till the Heat of the Sun hatches and brings forth the Tortoifes, which in time grow as big as a great Target. In thefe Inands they alfo faw Crows and Cranes like thofe of Spain, and Sea Crows, and infinite Numbers of little Birds that fung fweetly; and the very Air was as fweet as if they had been among the fineft Perfumes in the World: Yet the Danger was very great, there being fuch Abundance of Channels, that much time was fpent: in finding the way through them.

In one of thefe Channels they difcovered a Canoe of Indians Fifhermen, who very quietly, without Concern, expected the Boat, which was making toward them; and beino come near, made a Sign to them not to approach, till they had done fifhing. Their Manner of fifhing was fo ftrange, that they were willing to comply with them: It was thus, They had tied fome fmall Fifhes they call Reves by the Tail, which run themfelves againft other Fifh, and with a certain Roughnefs they have from the Head to the middle of the Back, ftick fo faft to the next Fifh they meet, that when the Indians perceive it, they draw both up together: And it was a Tortoife the Spaniards faw taken by thefe Fifhermen, the Reve clinging about the Neck of it, where they generally faften, being by that Means fafe from the other Fin biting them; and fometimes are faid to faften upon vaft Sharks. When the Incians in the Canoe had taken the Tortoife, and two other Fifhes they had before, they prefently in a very friendly manner came to the Boat to know what they would have; and by their Directions went alone a-board. the Ships, where the Admiral treated them very courteoully, and underfood by them, that there was an infinite Multitude of thefe Iflands in that Sea; and they freely gave all they had, tho' the Admiral would fuffer nothing to be taken of them but the Fifh, the reft being their Nets, Hooks, and Calabahhes full of Water to drink. Having given them fome Trifles, they went away very well pleafed; and he held on his Courfe with a Defign

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not to do fo long, becaure he began to be fhort of Provifions already; whereas had he been well ftored, he determined not to have returned into Spain, but Eaft about.

Tho' he was very much fpent, not becaufe he fuffered Pain, but becaufe he had not nept, or lain in Bed ever fince he went from Spain till the Igth of May, except eight Nights (as appears by his Journal) when he was very much indifpofed. And if he had much Care upon him at other times, it was doubled this Voyage, by reafon of the innumerable Quantity of Illands among which he was failing, which were fo many, that on the 2oth he difcovered feventy-one befides many more he faw Weft-fouth-weft at Sun-fetting. Which Iflands, or Sands, are not only frightful, by their Multitude appearing on all Sides; but what is yet more terrible is, that every Night there rifes off them a great Fog, Eaftward, fo difmal to behold that it looks as if fome great Showers of Hail would fall. The Thiunder and Lightning is violent, yet when the Sun rifes it all vanifhes, Part of it turning to Rain and Wind, which is fo ufual and natural in that Country, that it did not only happen all thofe Nights the Admiral was there, but the fame was long after cbferved in thofe Iflands by the Spariaids in their Return from the Difcovery of Veragua. And generally here, at Night, the Wind is North, coming off the Ine of Cuba; and afterwards, when the Sun is up, it comes about Eaft, and follows the Sun till it comes to the Weft.
7. The Admiral, fiill holding out his Courfe Weftward among the Number of Inands, upon the 22d came to an Inand fomewhat bigger than the reft, which he called St. Mary ; and, landing at a Town there, not one Indian would ftay to talk to the Chriftians, nor did they find any thing in the Houfes but Finh, which is all the Food thofe People live on, and feveral Dogs, like Maftiffs, who eat Fifh too. Thus, without fpealking to any body, or feeing any Thing remarkable, he failed away North-eaft among many Illands, and abundance of thofe Weeds he faw on the Ocean when he difcovered the Indies, which fatigued him very much ; for fometimes he was forced to ftand Weft, fometimes North, and fometimes South, according as the Channels would permit; for, notwithttanding his Care in founding, and keeping Men upon the Round-top, to look out, yet the Ship often touched, and there was no avoiding it, there being no End of the Flats on all Hands. Sailing on in this manner he came again to Cuba to take in Water, whereof they had much need, and tho' there was no Town there, they put in becaufe the Place was wooded, yet one of the Seamen that went afhore going up among the Trees with a Crofs-bow, to kill fome Bird or Beaft, difcovered thirty People armed with fuch Weapons as they ufe, that is, Spears and Staves, which they wear inftead of Swords, and call Macanas; among them, he faid, he faw one clad in a white Coat or Veft down to his Knees, and two that carried him, with Vefts down to their Fcet; ail three of them as white as Spaniards, but that he had no talk with them; for being afraid of fuch a Number he began to cry out, and the Indians ran away without looking back.

The Admiral, the next Day, fent People afhore to -know the Truth of it. They could not travel above half a League, becaufe of the Thicknefs of the Trees and the Bufhes, and becaufe that Coaft is marfhy for two Leagues up the Country, where there are Mountains; fo that they only faw Footfteps of Fifhermen on the Shore, and abundance of Cranes like thofe in Spain, but bigger. Then failing about ten Leagues Weftward, they faw Houfes on the Shore, from which fome Canoes came with Water, and fuch Things as thofe People eat, which they brought to the Chriftians, who paid well. And the Admiral caufed one of thefe Indians to be fropped, telling him and the reft, by his Interpreter, that he would let him go home as foon as he had directed him in his Voyage, and given fome Account of that Country. At which the Indian was, very much pleafed, and affured the Admiral, that Cuiba was an Inand, and that the King, or Cazique, of the Weftern Part of it, never fpoke to his Subjects but by Signs; that all that Coaft was very low, and full of Iflands, which was found to be true. The next Day, being the IIth of Fune, to pafs from one Channel to another, the Admiral was forced to have the Ships
towed over a Flat where there was not a Foot of Water, and all the Breadth of it was not above two Ships Length. Bearing up clofe to Cuba, they faw Tortoifes of a vait Bignefs, and in fuch Numbers, that they covered the Sea. At Break of the Day they faw fuch a Cloud of SeaCrows, that they darkened the Sun, coming from the Seaward to the Inand where they all lighted. Befides them, abundance of Pigeons and Birds of other forts were feen. And the next Day there came fuch Swarms of Butterflies that they darkned the Air, and lafted till Night, when a great Rain carried them away.

On the 13 th the Adimiral perceived that the Coait of Cuba ran far Weft, and that it was a Matter of the greateft Difficulty to fail that way, by reafon of Ilands and Sands that were on all Sides, and that he already began to want Provifions, for which Reafon he could not continue his Voyage as he had intended. He refolving to return to the Town he had begun to build at Hifpaniola, and to furnifh himfelf with Wood and Water, anchored in the Inand of Evangelifia, which is thirty Leagues in Compais, and feven hundred from Dominica. Having directed his Courfe South, hoping to get out better that way, and failing through that Channel which looked cleareft, after a few Leagues found it thut up, which did not a little trouble and terrify them, feeing themfelves, as it were, hemmed in on all Sides, and deftitute of Provifions: But the Admiral, who was wife and couragious, faid with a chearful Countenance, that he thanked God for forcing him back the fame way he came; forafmuch as if they had continued their Voyage that way they expected to go, it might have, perhaps, happened they might have run themfelves into fome place, whence it would have been hard getting out, and at a time when they had neither Ships nor Provifions to go back, which at prefent they could. eafily do. Thus with great Satisfaction of all the Men he returned to the Inand of Evongelifta, where he had watered; and the 25 th of $7 u n e$ failed thence North-weft towards fome finall Iflands that appeared five I.eagues off.
On the 2oth, as he was writing his Journal of the Voyage, his Ship run a-ground fo faft, that neither Anchors nor other Inventions were able to get it off. It was by Boats drawn off a-head, tho' with fome Damage becaufe of beating on the Sand. However, with God's Affiftance, they got off at laft, and he failed on as the Wind and fhoal Water would permit, always through a very white Sea, and two Fathom deep. Befides which, every Day about Sun-fetting he was troubled with mighty Showers which rife in the Mountains from the Moraffes near the Sea, which was a great Fatigue to him till he came clofe to Cuba, toward the Eaft, the way he came at firlt; whence, as he had found before, came off a moft fragrant Scent of Flowers. On the 7 th of $\mathcal{F u l y}$ he landed to hear Mafs, and there reforted to him an old Cazique, Lord of the Province, who was very attentive at Prayer. When it was ended, he expreffed by Signs, it was very well done to give Thanks to God, becaufe the Soul which was good would go to Heaven, and the Body remain on Earth, but that the wicked Souls muft go to Hell. And, anong other things, faid he had been in the Inand Hifpaniola, where he knew fome of the chief Men: That he had been at Famaica, and a great way towards the Wert. of Cuba; and that the Cazique of that Place was clad like a Prieft.

The Admiral failing thence on the 16 th, drew near to Cape Cruz in Cuba, where he was furprized by fuch a violent Storm as bore his Ship's Side under Water ; But it pleafed God they immediately ftruck all their Sails and dropped their Anchors, but yet they took in fo much Water at the Deck, that the Men were not able to pump it out, efpecially in the Condition they were, being much fpent for want of Provifions, for they eat nothing but a Pound of rotten Bifket in a Day, and about half a Pint of Wine, unlefs they happened to catch fome Fifh, which yet they could not keep from one Day to the next, becaufe the Weather was always more inclinable to corrupt than in other Countries. And this Want being common to all, the Admiral, in his Journal, fpeaks thus concerning it: "I am at the fame Allowance, God grant it may " be to his Honour, and your Highneffes Service; for I
" fhall

Chap. III. Christopher Columbus.
" fhall never again, for my own Benefit, expofe myfulf " to fuch Sufferings and Dangers; never a Day pafing " but I fee we are all upon the Brink of Death."
In this Danger and Diftrefs he arrived at Cape Cruz on the 18 th, where he was entertained by the Indians. They brought him abundance of Cazibi, fo they call their Bread made of Roots grated, a vaft deal of Fifh, flore of Fruit, and other things fuch as they eat. The Wind being contrary, io that he could not fail tor Hifpaniola, he ftood over to famaica, and failed along Weftward, clofe under the Shore; the Country all along moft delightful and fruiful, with excellent Harbours at every League Diftance, and all the Coaft full of Towns, the People whereof followed their Ships in their Canoes, bringing Provifions, which were better liked by the Chrittians than what they found in the other Inands; the Climate, Air, and Weather, were the fame as the reft; for in this weftern Part of fomaica, there gathered every Evening a Storm of Rain, which lafted about an Hour, more or lefs, which the Admiral faid he attributed to the great Woods in thofe Countries, for that he knew this was ufiual, at firft, in the Canary Iflands, Madera, and the Azores, whereas now the Woods are cut down that fhaded them, there are not fo great and frequent Storms of Rain as there were formerly.
Thus the Admiral failed on, though with contrary Winds, which obliged him every Night to feek the Shelter of the Land, which appeared green, pleafant, fruitful, abounding in Provifions, and fo populous, that he thought none exceiled it; efpecially near a Bay, which he called de las Vacas, becaufe there are nine Iflands clofe to the Land, which he faid was as high as any he had feen; and yet it was peopled, and very fruitful and pleafant. This Inand he judged to be 800 Miles in compafs, and, when fully difcovered, computed fifty Leagues in Length, and twenty in Breadth. Being much taken with its Beauty, he had a great mind to ftay there, to be fully informed of the Nature of it; but the Want of Provifions, and the Leakinefs of the Veffels, would not permit: Therefore, as foon as the Weather was a little fair, he failed away Eaftward; fo that on the 9th of Augut he loft fight of that IIland, ftanding over directly for Hijpaniola, and called the moft Eaftward Cape of 'famaica on the South Coait Cabo del Farol.
8. The two Ships that had been miffing, came in about fix Days after, and the Admiral proceeded on his Voyage, and arriving on the Coaft of Hijpaniola, the Indians came in their Canoes, and faid, that two had been there from Ifabella, and that, at the Colony, they were all well. He held on his Courfe to the Eaftward, where he difcovered a great Town, and fent the Boats thither for Water. The Indians came out armed with poifoned Arrows; they threatened to bind the Spaniards with Cords they brought ; and this was the Province of Niguey, the Inhabitants whereof were the moft warlike People of the Inand of Hijpaniola, and poifoned their Weapons; but when the Boats came afhore, the Indians laid down their Arms, and afked for the Admiral, and carried Provifions. He held on his Courfe, and they faw a great Fifh, like a middling Whale, and it had on the Neck a large Shell, like that of a Tortoife, little lefs then a Target; the Head it held above Water was like a Pipe or But, the Tail like that of a TunnyFifh, very large, and two vaft Fins on the Side; by this Fifh and other Obfervations in the Sky, the Admiral perceived there was like to be a Change of Weather, and endeavoured to get under a little Inand, which the $I_{n}$ dians called Adamanoy, and the Spaniards Saona, which makes a Streight a little above a League over, with the Inand Hijpaniola, and is about two Leagues in length.

There he came to an Anchor, and the two other Ships, not being able to get in, ran the greateft Hazard. That Night the Admiral obferved the Eclipfe of the Moon, and affirmed the Difference of Longitude, between that Place and Cadiz, was five Hours and twenty-three Minutes; he continued there on Account of the Storm eight Days; and the other Ships being come, he failed thence on the 24 th of September, and came to Cape Engano, in Hijpaniold, which the Admiral named St. Rapbael; they next touched at the Mand Mona, which
is ten Leagues from Hippaniola, and eight from the Illand of Porto Rico, or St. Fobn; being fix I eagues in. Compafs, and on it grow moft delicious Melons, as big as a Jar of Oil that will hold fix Quarts ; being gone from Mona, and near St. Yobn, the Admiral was feized with fuch a Fit of theLethargy, that he loft all his Senfes, fo that it was thought he could not live; for which Reafon the Seamen ufed the utmoft Diligence, and ar--. rived with all the Ships at IJabella, on the 2 gth of September, without any farther Certainty of Crba being an Illand, than what the Indians had told them.
As foon as they arrived, the Admiral underfood that his Brother Don Bortbolomerw Columbus was there, and that the Natives of the Ifland were in Arms againft the. Spaniards. It is impofible to exprefs how much the Admiral was pleafed to fee his Brother, and it will not be amifs, before we proceed, to give an Account of what befel him, from the time his Brother fent him to propofe the undertaking of thofe Difcoveries to the King of England. He was along time before he reached that Kingdom, and then learning the Language, the Methods of Court, and gaining Accefs to the Miniters, occafioned another Delay; fo that after feven Years, when he had articled and agreed with King Hemry VII. of Englond, he returned into Spain to look for his Brother, who having heard nothing from him during that time, concluded he was dead: At Paris he heard of his having made the Difcovery, and that he was declared Admiral; being told it by King Cbarles, who gave him 100 Crowns towards his Journey, and though he made all the hafte he could, his Brother was gone on his fecond Voyage, with the feventeen Ships; but he had an Inftruction, which was left by the Admiral, delivered to him. He went to kifs their Majefties Hands, and vifit his Nephews, Don Fames and Don Ferdinand, at Valedolid, where the Court was; being then Pages to Prince $\mathcal{F}$ obn. Their Catholic Majefties did him much Honour, and ordered him to go away to the Indies, with three Ships that were to carry Provifions to the Admiral.

He arrived there in April I494, and found he was gone upon the Difcovery of Cuba. The Adniral thought he had fome Comfort in his Brother, and gave him the Title of Adelantado, or Lord Lieutenant; which their Catholic Majefties very much refented, faying, that it was not in the Admiral's Power fo to do, but that it belonged to them to give that Title : Yet fome Years after they confirmed it. Don Bartbolomere was a very wife Man, and as expert in Sea Affairs as his Brother; fomewhat harth in his Temper, but very brave and free fpoken, for which fome hated him. The Admiral having eftablifhed a Council for the Government of the Inand, Don Pedro Margarite, Commander of the four hundred Men, went with them to Vega Real, or Vale Royal, ten Leagues from IJabella, and quartered them in the Towns there, where they lived without any Order or Difcipline, ruining the Indians; for a Spaniard will eat more in a Day, than one of them in a Month. The Council reproving Don Pedro, becaufe he did not check the Licentioufnefs of the Soldiers, he thereupon began to cavil, refufing to obey them, either in this Particular, or in marching through the Ifland, as the Admiral had ordered him; and fearing to be punifhed for thofe Diforders, he thought fit to embark aboard the three Ships that brought over Don Bartbolomerw Columbus, and return to Coffile, and Father Boyl with him, befides fome more of his Party. Being come to the Court, they gave an Account that there was no Gold in the Indies, and that all the Admiral faid was mere Invention. The Soldiers being left without their Commander, difperfed themfelves about the Country, living like Men without a Chief. Whereupon a Cazique, whofe Name was Guatiguanti, who had a large Town upon the Bank of the great River, killed ten Chriftians, and privately fent to fet fire to a Houfe where fome fick Men lay; and the Indians, in feveral Parts of the Ifland, killed fix more; and Calumnies of the Spaniards being fipread abroad every where, in fuch Sort, that all the People hated them, even them who had not feen them, and particularly the four principal Kings, Guarinoex, Caunabo, Bebecbico, and Figua-
nama, and all that followed and obeyed them, being an infinite Multitude, were very defirous to turn the Spaniards out of the Country.

Only Guacanagari, King of Marien, did not ftir, but on the contrary, kept a hundred Chriftians in his Country, giving them Part of what he had, and treating them affectionately, as he had done from the beginning. Some Days after the Admiral's Arrival, Guacanagari went to vifit him, exprefing Sorrow for his Sicknefs and Troubles; and affuring him he knew nothing of the killing of the Chriftians; that he was his Friend, and for that Reafon all the Natives bore him ill Will, and particularly thofe that were in Arms in the Vale Royal, and other Places. The Admiral refolving to take the Field, in order to difperfe thofe People, and reduce the Mland to Peace, Guacanagari offered to bear him Company with his Subjects; but before he went out in Perfon, he fent to begin the War with Guatiguanti, who had killed the ten Chriftians, that the Punifhment might not be delayed, and to prevent his growing bolder. They killed feveral of his Men, and took many Prifoners; and he fled, and fome of the Prifoners were fent to Spain. But as Caunabo was the moft potent Lord of all the Inand, and brave in his Perfon, and had three valiant Brothers, being King of the Province they called Maguana, the Admiral had his Eye more on him ; and thinking it would be the beft to fubdue him by Policy, becaufe to do it by Force would be difficult, he contrived to fend Alonso de Hojeda, with nine Spaniards, under Colour of carrying him a Prefent.

The Indians valued Tin more than Gold, and rejoiced when they got any of it, or of the other Metals they carried from Spain, thinking they came down from Heaven; and when the Bell at IJabella rung, and the Spaniards upon it went to Church, they thought it fpoke, and the Fame of it reached Caunabo; who had often thought of begging it of the Adelantado, that he might fee the Turey of Bijcay, fo they called the Tin; for Turey, fignifies Heaven; and they fo highly valued Tin and other Metals, that they called it Turey, and the Spaniards added of Bifcay, and therefore they faid the Turey of Bifcay. Hojeda being come to the Province of Maguana, about 60 or 70 Leagues from the Colony of Ifabella, the Indians were in a Confternation to fee him on Horfe-back, as believing that the Man and Horfe were all of a Piece.

They told Caunabo that fome Chriftians were come, being fent by the Admiral, whom they called Guamiqui$n i$, and that they had brought him a Prefent of that they called Turey de Bifcay, which very much rejoiced him. Hojeda being introduced, kiffed his Hand, as the reft did, and then fhewed him the Prefent, being Fetters and Manacles, very bright and well polifhed, that looked. like Silver : He told him the Kings of Spain wore them, becaufe they came from Heaven, that they were wont to put them on at the Areitos, fo the Indians call their dancing Matches; and that it would be proper for him to go with them to bath himfelf in the River Yaqui, which was half a Leeague off, that he would there put them on him, and he hould come back on Horfe-back, and then would look like the Kings of Spaim. Accordingly he went one Day, attended by a few Servants, with Hojeda, to the River; little imagining that nine or ten Men Thould have a Defign upon him, in a Place where he was fo powerful, he waffed and refrefhed himfelf, and being very earneft to try on the Prefent, having ordered the Indians to keep at a Diftance, though they always avoided being near the Horfes; they fet him up behind Hojeda, and put on the Fetters and Hand-cuffs, the King obferving all very attentively; Hojeda took two turns about, the better to palliate his Defign, and the third time rode off with the Spaniards about the Horfe, till the Indians loft Sight of them; then they drew their Swords and threatened to kill him if he did not fit ftill whilf they tied him with Cords to Hojeda; and traveling with Expedition, they arrived at IJabella, and delivered him to the Admiral, who kept him in his Houfe, fettered, and when the Admiral came in he never paid him any Refpect, though he did Alonfo de Hojeda; being afked why he did $\mathrm{f}_{\mathrm{O}}$, he anfwered, that the Admiral
dumt not go to his Houfe to feize him, and Hojeda did:
The Admiral refolved to fend him into Spain, and being embarked with other Indions, there arofe fo great a Storm, that the Ship was catt away; and Gaunobo and the Indians perifhed; upon which the Admiral ordered two Caravels to be provided, that he might not be left without Ships. But let us now look over to Spain.

The Return of Antbony de Torres was very pleafing to their Majefties, which they fignified to the Admiral by his Brother, giving him Thanks for the Toils he underwent, promifing always to fupport him. And forafmuch as their Catholic Majeffies were willing to pleafe the Admiral, and that this Affair of the Indies thould profper, they ordered the Dean Fobn Roderiguez de Fonfeca to fit out four Ships with Expedition, furnifhed with fuch things as the Admiral required: And they appointed Antbony de Torres to return with them; by whom they wrote to him their Letter, dated at Segovia the r6th of Auguf, again repeating their Thanks for his good Services, promifing to promote him to the utmoft, becaufe all he had faid and propofed had proved as true as if he had feen it before he went upon the Difcovery: And tho' they had received the Account he had fent them, yet they defired he would more particularly acquaint them what Illands he had difcovered, the Names of them before, and thofe he had given them, with the Diftances from one to another; what he had found in every one of them, what fort of Weather there was in thofe Parts every Month, and how the things that were fowed came up, becaufe fome faid there were two Winters and two Summers, and various forts of Birds: That all the feveral things he had afked for in his Memorial were fent him. And to the end that they might oftener hear from him, it was thought expedient that a Caravel fhould go from Spain every Month, and one return from the Indies. The Affairs with Portugal being adjufted, they had fent him a Copy of the Articles concluded, that he might know and obferve them on his Part: That as for the Line of Partition that was to be drawn, that being a Matter of much Difficulty and great Truft, their Highneffes could wifh, if it were poffible, the Admiral fhould be prefent and draw it, together with thofe that were to be employed about it by the King of Portugal; and that in cafe he could not come himfelf, he fhould fend his Brother Don Bartbolomew, or fome other intelligent Perfon with Draughts and authentic Relations, and his Opinion concerning what ought to be done in the Cafe with the utmoft Expedition, that it might come in time, and not difappoint the King of Portugal.

The feizing of Caunabo very much incenfed his Brethren, who refolved to make War upon the Spaniards with the utmoft of their Force. The Admiral, perceiving that abundance of Men drew together, and all the Country armed, took the Field with two hundred Foot, twenty Horfe, and twenty Wolf-Dogs; which, as the Indions were naked from Head to Foot, made terrible Havock among them. There were no more Soldiers, becaufe the reft were fick. The Admiral fet out on the 24 th of March 1495, taking along with him his Brother, the Adelantado, Don Bartbolomore Columbus, and the King Guacanagari with his Men. He entered the Royal Plain, and difcovered the Enemies Army ; in which King Manicatex had a great Number of Men. And the whole feemed to amount to an hundred thoufand. The Adelantado gave the Charge, and the Men and Horfes and the Dogs io terrified them, that they were foon routed, and a vaft Number of them were killed and taken, the latter being adjudged Slaves, and many fent into Spain on board Antbony de Torres's four Ships. The Admiral continued ranging round about the Inland near ten Months, feverely punifhing thofe he found guilty, having fome Encounters with Caunabo's Brothers, who made the greateft Refiftance; but finding their Power too weak, they and Guarinoex, being the chief Kings in the Illand, refolved to fubmit themfelves to the Admiral.

The Admiral having thus reduced all the People under the Obedience of their Catholic Majefties, ordered they fhould pay Tribute in this Manner: The Inhabitants of the Province of Cibao, and thofe of the Royal Plain, and
thofe
thofe near the Mines, above fifteen Years of Age, to pay a fmall Hawk's Bill full of Gold quarterly ; and all other Perfons, a Quarter of an hundred Weight of Cotton each; and only King Manicatex to pay every Month half a Gourd full of Gold, worth an hundred and fifty Pefos. A certain Coin made of Copper or Brafs with a certain Figure on it was ftruck, and changed upon every Payment of the Tribute, that every tributary Indian might wear it about his Neck, in order to fhew who had paid. Upon this Occafion Guarinoex, King of the great Royal Plain, offered the Admiral to fow Corn throughout the Country from Ifabella to Santa Domingo, which is from Sea to Sea fifty-five Leagues Diftance, which would furnifh all Caftile with Bread, provided he would not require any Gold of him, becaufe his Subjects did not know how to gather it. But the Admiral being a Stranger, alone, and envied by the Miniters of their Catholic Majefties, and, like a difcreet Man, being fenfible that the Wealth he fent mut be his Support, he preffed for Gold, tho' in other refpects he was a good Chriftian, and feared God. And accordingly he muderated the Tribute, being fenfible that it could not be paid ; for which fome had fled to the Mountains, and others wandered into remote Provinces.

This Oppreffion, and the Indians feeing there was no likelihood of the Spaniards leaving the Country, becaufe there were no Ships in the Harbour, and they builtHoufes on the Land with Stone and Timber, made them melancholy; and they afked them, Whether they ever defigned to return home? And having found by Experience, that the Spaniards, compared with them, were very great Eaters, they thought they had come thither only to eat; whereupon, obferving that many of them were fick, and that the Provifions brought them from Spain were fpent, many Towns confpired to contrive fome Method that they might all perifh, or, to avoid that, be obliged to depart the Ifand.
9. In order to pulh this Defign with Effect, the Indians thought beft to forbear fowing, that there might be no Corn, and to retire themfelves to the Mountains, where they had many good Roots to eat, and might help out with hunting Utias, a fort of Rabbit, whereof there is a vaft Plenty. This Contrivance little availed them; for though the Spaniards fuffered much through Hunger, and in Purfuit of the Indians, they, however, went not away; but many dying through downright Want obliged thern to eat loathfome things, fo that all the Calamity fell upon the Indians themfelves; for they ranging about the Mountains with their Wives and Children, enduring much Hunger, and having no opportunity to hunt, fifh, and get Provifions, the Hills and Rivers about which they fkulked being full of Damps, a peftilential Diftemper reigned among them; fo that what through this, and the Wars, till the Year 1496, one Third of the Inhabitants perifhed.

But let us now look over to Spain, where Father Boyl and Don Pedro Margarite, as they agreed to go away together without Leave, fo they alfo combined in fpeaking ill of the Indies, and mifreprefenting the Enterprize, becaufe they had not found Gold for them to plunder, in Chefts, or growing on the Trees. They alfo alledged that the Admiral did not behave well, not having been in the Ifland from his Return thither in the fecond Voyage, till he came back from the Difcovery of the Ifiand of Cuba, full four Months. And there being Letters alfo that gave an ill Character of the Admiral, by thofe who went on board the four Ships under the Command of Anthony de Torres (for there are always Malcontents) their Catholic Majefties, at the time the Admiral took the Field againft the Indians in the Royal Plain, fent away Fobr Aguado, a Native of Seville, Groom of the King's Bed-Chamber, to obferve what was doing in the Illand Hifpaniola, taking with him four Ships laden with Neceffaries for the Relief of the People there.

Fobn Aguado carried with him Credentials, dated April the gth, I495, and arrived at IJabella about Octcber, at the time when the Admiral was carrying on the War againft Caunabo's Brother in the Province of Maguana. At Ifabella, by Words, and even by Aations, he pretend-

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ed to have extraordinary Authority, interpofing in Matters of Government, feizing fome Perfons, and reprovis ing the Admiral's Minifers, fhewing little Refpect to Don Bartbolomew Columbus, who had been left Governor there during his Brother's Abfence. Nor was it long before Fobn Agzado thought fit to go after the Admiral; and took Horfe and Foot along with him: And thofe who went with him by the way gave out, that another Admiral was come, who would put the former to death; and the Natives being difcontented on account of the Wars and of the Tribute of Gold, they were much pleafed with this News ; and fome Caziques met privately in the Houfe of King Manicatex, whofe Dominions were near the River Kaqui, where they agreed to give in their Complaints againtt the Admiral, and to feek Redrefs from this new Minifter.

The Admiral, being informed that Gobn Aguado was looking for him, refolved to return to Ifabella, where in the Prefence of the People he read their Highneffes Letter, with Sound of Trumpet and great Solemnity: Fobm Aguado could not forbear very foon difonvering his Indifcretion, thrufting himfelf into many Affairs, without any Refpect to the Admiral, and giving thereby an ill Example to others. His Conduct being pernicious to the Admiral, the bold Threats he made, and the People being difcontented on account of the Troubles, and becaufe they had nothing to eat but the Allowance given them out of the King's Stores, which was a Porringcr of Wheat, ground in a Hand-mill by fome, and by others eaten boiled, and a flice of rufty Bacon, or rotten Cheefe, with a few Beans, or Spanibs Peas, and no Wine, and the Admiral obliging them, as they were in the King's Pay, to work at the Fortifications, his own Houfe, and other Structures, they complained to Fobn Aguado; tor as to thofe who were in health, by ranging about the Inand they fared better; and he thought thefe Complaints fufficient to lay before their Majefties.

At this time the four Ships that had carried over fobve Aguado perifhed in the Harbour, in thofe Tempents which the Indians call Hurricanes, and there was nothing left to carry him back but the Admiral's two Caravels, who obferving his Prefumption, and being informed that others had mifreprefented him at Court, where he had nothing to fupport him but his own Merit, he refolved to appear before their Majelties, to clear himfelf of all thofe Slanders, and at the fame time acquaint them with what he had found, in his fecond Difcovery, upon the Inand of Cuba, and his Opinion as to the Partition that was to be made of the Ocean between the two Crowns of Cafile and Portugal: And to the end that all things might be thoroughly fettled, he would firt leave other Forts in a good Pofture, which he had begun, befides that of St. Tbomas, for the Security of the Country, being the Magdalen, called the Lorver Macorix, in the Royal Plain belonging to the Cazique Guanaconel, three or four Leagues from the Place where the Town of St. Fago now ftands; another called St. Catberine; another on the Bank of the River Yaqui on the Side of Cibao, called Efperan$z a$; another in the Kingdom of Guarinoex, in the Royat Plain, called the Conception. The Caziques, being much oppreffed by the Burthen of the Tribute, difcovered to the Admiral that there were good Gold Mines on the South Side, and that he might fend his Spaniards for it.
Now as it concerned the Admiral to difcover much of that Sort, to fupport his own Credit; and this coming at the time when he was refolved to return to Spain, he fent Francis de Garay and Micbael Diaz, with fome Men and the Indian Guides: They went from Ifabella to the Fore Magdaler, and thence to the Conception, all the way over the Royal Plain: They next ventured through a Pafs two Leagues in Length, which led them into another Plain, called Bonao: they advanced fome Leagues farther along the Ridges of Bonao, and came to a great River called Hayna, very fruitiul, and where they were told there was much Gold, as there was in all the Brooks, which they found true; for, digging in feveral Places, they met with fuch Penty, that one Labourer, in a Day, could get above three Pefos: Thefe they called the Mines of St. Cbrifoopber, from a Fort the Admiral ordered to be there Cbriftopber, from a Fort the Admiral ordered to be there
built, and aferwards they were called the Old Mines.

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When the Caravels were equipt and provided, the Admiral appointed his Brother Don Bartbolomerw Columbus his Lieutenant, a Perfon capable of a great Command; and, in cafe he died, his Brother fames; earnettly charging the People to be obedient to him: He alfo appointed Francis Roldan, a Man of good Underttanding, and who alfo had behaved himfelf well in his Office of Alcalde, and others he had employed him in, chief Alcalde of the whole Hland, to adminifter Juftice; for tho' he was not a Lawyer, yet being his Servant, and a difcreet Man, he thought fit to entruft him in that Place. He went aboard one of the Caravels, and Fobn Aguado went in the other; and in regard that their Catholic Majefties had ordered that the moft fickly, and others whofe Wives and Kindred had complained that the Admiral would not permit them to return into Spain, fhould have Leave, he took on board to the Number of two hundred and twenty, or better. He failed on the Ioth of March I496, and, going to take a View of Puerto de Plata, carried his Brother Don Bartbolomere along with him, becaufe he defigned to fetthe a Colony there.

Don Bartbolomere returned by Land; and the Admiral, by reafon of contrary Winds and Currents, failed to the Eaftward with much Difficulty, as far as Cape Eganno, and on the 22 d he loft fight of it. On the gth of April he came to an Anchor at Marigalante, and the next Day at Guadalupe, where many Women came with Bows and Arrows to hinder their Landing; and becaufe the Boats could not come near the Shore, as the Sea ran fo high, they fent out two Indians, having thirty aboard, from Hifpaniola, who told the Women that they would do them no Harm, but only take in Provifions. They anfwered, they flould go to the other Side of the Inand, where their Hufbands were; and when they came, a great Number of Men appeared, fhooting Flights of Arrows; but they fell fhort; and the Boats firing fome fmall Guns, they all fled to the Mountains, leaving their Houfes and Goods, where the Chriftians took and deftroyed all they found. Being acquainted with the Way of making Bread, they fell to work, and made enough to fupply their Want. Among other things they found in the Houfes, there were Parrots, Honey, Wax, and Iron, whereof they had Hatchets to cut Looms like thofe for Tapeftry-work, in which they wove their Tents. Their Houfes were fquare, and not round as is ufual in the other Inands. While the Bread was making, the Admiral fent forty Men up the Country, to learn fomething of it ; who next Day returned with ten Women and three Boys, the reft of the People being fled.

Among thefe Women was the Wife of a Cazique, whom a Man born in the Canaries, that was very nimble, had much Difficulty to overtake; and the had got from him, but, feeing him alone, fhe thought to take him, and clofing fhe got him down, and had ftifled him, but that others came to his Affiftance. Thefe Womens Legs were fwathed with Cotton from the Ancle to the Knee, that they might look thick; which Ornament they called Coiro, and looked upon it as very genteel, and thofe they girded fo hard, that, if it happened to nlip off the Leg, that Part appeared very thin. The fame both Men and Women ufed in Jamaica, who fwathed their Arms up to their Armpits, that is, about the fmalleft Parts, like the old-fafhioned Sleeves among us. Thefe Women, as foon as their Children could ftand upon their Legs, gave them a Bow, that they might learn to fhoot; and they all wore their Hair long and loofe upon their Shoulders; nor did they cover any Part of the Body. That Lady they took faid, that the Inand was only inhabited by Women, and that thofe who would have oppofed them on landing were Women, except only four Men, who were there accidentally from another Illand; for at a certain time of the Year they came to fport with them. The fame was obferved by Women of another Inand, called Matrimonio, of whom fhe gave the fame Account we read of the Amazons; and the Admiral believed it, by what he faw among thofe Women; becaufe of their Courage and Strength. They alfo fay thefe Women feem to be endowed with clearer Underftandings than thofe of the other Ilands; for in other Places they reckon the Day by the Sun, and the

Night by the Moon, whereas thefe Women reckon by Stars, faying, when fuch a Star is North, then it is time to do fo and fo.

When they had made Provifion of Bread for twenty Days, befdes what they had aboard, the Admiral refolved to continue his Voyage towards Spain; but perceiving this Inand was an Inlet to the others, he thought fit firft to fatisfy thofe Women with fome Gifts for the Lofs they had fuftained, and then fent them all afhore, except the chief Lady, who chofe to go into Spain with her Daughter, among the other Indians of the Illand Hijpaniola, one of whom was Caunabo, who, it has been faid, was the chief Man in all the Inand, and that becaufe he was not a Native of it, but of the Caribes; and therefore the Lady was content to go into Spain with the Admiral, who having furnifhed himfelf with Bread, Wood and Water, fet fail on the 20th of April from Guadalupe, with the Wind very fcant, keeping near the Latitude of 22 ; for at that time they had not found out the Method of runing away North, to meet the South-weft Winds.

Having made but little Way, and the Ships full of People, on the 2oth of May they all began to be much afficted for want of Provifions, which was fo great, that they had but fix Ounces a Day for each Perfon, and lefs than a Pint of Water, without any thing elfe. And tho there were eight or nine Pilots in thofe two Sloops, yet none of them knew where they were: But the Admiral was confident they were but a little Weft of the Azores. Thus continuing their Voyage, tho' all the Pilots were at a lofs, on the 8th of June they were in fight of Odemira, between Liflon and Cape St. Vincent, all the Pilots for feveral Days having ftill made for the Land, except the Admiral, who the Night before flacked his Sails for fear of Land, faying, he did fo becaufe they were near Cape St. Vincent, which all laughed at, fome of them affirming they were near the Englifh Channel; and even thofe that erred leaft faid they were on the Coaft of Galicia, and therefore ought not to take in any Sail, it being better to dye on Shore than ftarve miferably a Sea; the Scarcity being fo great, that there were many, who like the Canibals, were for eating the Indions they had a-board: And others, to fave the little Provifion there was left, were for throwing them over-board; which they would have done, had not the Admiral ufed all his Authority to prevent it, confidering they were human Creatures ; and therefore it fo pleafed God to reward him with the Sight of Land next Morning, as he had promifed them all; for which reafon he was afterwards looked upon by the Seamen as moft expert, and almoft prophetical in Sea Affairs.

Io. The Admiral being landed in Spain, began to prepare for his Journey to Burgos, where he was favourably received by their Catholic Majefties, who were there celebrating the Nuptials of Prince 70 bn, who married Margaret of Aufria, a Daughter of Maximilian the Emperor, who was conducted into Spain. The Admiral being come to Burgos, he prefented their Majefties with feveral things he brought from the Indies, as well Birds and Beafts, as Trees, Plants, Inftruments, and other things the Indians ufe for their Service and Diverfion; alfo feveral Girdles and Mafks, with Eyes and Ears of Gold; befides much Gold Sand, grofs and fmall, as Nature produced it, fome Grains as big as Vetches, fome as Beans, and as Pigeons Eggs. This was not always fo much valued, becaufe in Procefs of time there were Pieces of Gold found that weighed above thirty Pounds : Yet at this time what he brought was much efteemed, in Hopes of what was afterwards found: And accordingly their Majefties received it in good part. When the Admiral had given them an Account of all that related to the improving and peopling the Indies, he was deffrous to return with Speed, for fear fome Difafter fhould happen in his Abfence, efpecially becaufe he had left the People there in great want of all Neceffaries.

Though he preffed hard on this Account, yet the Affairs of that Court being fubject to Delays, he could not be fo foon difpatched, but that ten or twelve Months elapied before he obtained two Ships; which were fent with Succours under the Command of Peter Fernandez

Colonel. Thefe fet out in Eebruary, 1498; and the Admiral ftaid to negotiate the obtaining fuch a. Fleet as was requifite for him to return to the Indies. But he was forced to ftay above a Year at Burgos and at Madera del Campo, where, in the Year 1499 , their Catholic Majefties granted him many Eavours, and gave the neceffary Orders for his Affairs, and for the Government and Settling of the Indies.
His Credit with their Catholic Majefties was fill tollerably good, tho he had met with fome Enemies in Spain, as well as the Indies, who laboured all they could to decry his Merit, and to propagate an Opinion, that he had not done fo much as he had pretended, or as at firft, and upon his immediate Return from the Iidies, was univerfally allowed him. For fuch is the Nature of Envy, that, though often ftruck dumb by the Luftre of true Merit, it is a Monter never to be flain, at leaff folong as the Hero lives againft whom it directs its Rage. In time, therefore, and after brooding in Silence, Envy hiffes again as loud as ever: And as Meanneís is a Quality infeparable from the Multitude, thofe I-iffes, tho' over and over exploded, are a-frefh liftened to and regarded. This has been the Cafe of all the great Mien that the World has produced, and therefore we need not wonder it was the Cafe of Columbus. But to vindicate his Memory, to fupport the Truth, and, as far as it is in our Power, to curb the Malice of fucceeding Times towards Men of equal Worth, we will bettow a few Remarks upon this Section likewife, in order to render it more ufeful and inftructive to our inquifitive, generous, and public-fpirited Readers.
II. In order to explain clearly the Controverfy between the Admiral and his Opponents, we are to obferve, that they acted and reafoned upon very different Principles. The Admiral at firft intended to difcover Lands hitherto unknown to this Part of the World; which, from the Notion he had of their Situation, he believed to be a Part of the Indies, and confequently abounding in thofe Commodities which are brought from the Indies, and are moft efteemed in Europe. His Conjecture, certainly, was not improbable, nor can it be faid that he failed of Succefs, fince he opened a Paffage to the new World, and plainly made it appear that he had Skill fufficient to navigate a Ship to thofe Coafts, of which he had no Notice whatever, but from the Light of his own Reafon. He brought over from thofe Countries Gold, fome forts of Spice, Birds of beautiful Colours, feveral kinds of rich Woods, both in Colour and Scent, and People of quite a different Complexion from the Inhabitants of Europe. In this fecond Voyage he had profecuted and improved his former Difcoveries to fuch a degree, as to be able to affirm, that there were innumerable Inands in thefe new Seas; that they were all of them Countries pleafantly fituated, bleffed, for the mof part, with a rich Soil, and abundance of fine Rivers, plentifully ftocked with Wood, and in all Appearance with Metals; inhabited by a Crew of weak, timorous, and flavifhly-inclined People, who were able to make little or no Refiftance againft the Europeans, and who were likely, therefore, together with their Lands and Gcods, to fall entirely into their Power, and become a Part of their Poffeffion. He had formed a Scheme of Civil Government, and fettled a very effectual Difcipline among the Soldiers he left behind him, in order to fecure all he had thus difcovered, to the Ufe of their Catholic Miajefties, as well as to fearch out and render manifeft all the Advantages that might be derived to the Spaniards from his Difcoveries. In this Light, to be fure, he had performed all he had promifed; was well intitled to all the Grants that had been made him, and merited the

Favour of his Sovereigns, as weil as the Applaufe of their Subjects.

But thole who endeavoured to lefen his Merit, to obfcure his Fame, and to bring him into Difcredit with their Catholic Majelties, went upon this Pretence, that he had undertaken to difcover a Country exceedingly rich, and that on his Return from his firf Voyage he had boafted of entire Succefs in this refpect; whereas they who went over with him in his fecond Voyage had found no fuch Matter, had not been able to collect any great Quantities of Gold, or to make vaft Fortunes at once, as they had promifed themfelves. It is very remarkable that when their Catholic Majefties applied to the Pope for his Grant of thefe Lands which were already difcovered, and of thofe that by the Skill and Induftry of the Admiral, and fuch as profecuted his Defigns, fhould be difcovered, the principal Reafon affigned for the obtaining this Grant, was the converting thefe Indian Nations to the Chriftian Faith, and thereby enlarging the Bounds of the Church. It was therefore altogether abfurd and ridiculous to pretend, that becaufe there were not as many Gold Mines found as were expected, or that thofe Mines were not fo rich as they at firf flattered themfelves they were, this Difcovery fhould be either neglected or defpifed, inafmuch as fuch a Behaviour was altogether inconfiftent with thofe high Profeffions of Zeal for the Chriftian Faith, from whence their.Majefties had affumed the Title of Catholic. Yet, what was no lefs remarkable, the Perfon who was at the Head of the Admiral's Enemies, was Father $B o y l$, the very fint Chriftian Prieft that, in Compliance with the Reafons offered to the Pope, their Catholic Majefties had fent over to convert the Indians. This Man, with all his Feat and Malice, could not deny, but there were People enough to be preached to, and that they were tractable enough in point of Religion; his only Objection was, that it did not appear that there was fo much Gold in the Country where he had been as he expected; and this Objection wrought fo powerfully with many of the Spanifh Clergy, that from being great Promoters of this new Difcovery, and warm Admirers of this great Man who had made it, they began now to treat the thing flightly, and to mifreprefent the Admiral as one who had not kept his Word.

The wife Columbus forefaw all this in the Indies, which induced him to take the Meafures he did of putting the Indians under a Tribute, that he might fend over confiderable Quantities of Gold, that the Credit of this Difcovery might be kept up, and that he might be able to perfect, for their Catholic Majefties Benefit and his own, that Defign in which hitherto he had beyond all reafonable Expectation fucceeded. This excenive and illtimed Appetite for Gold produced all thofe Mifchiefs and Inconveniencies in the firtt Spanifh Colonies to which we have feen them expofed in the Courfe of this Section, and which there is no doubt the Admiral himfelf forefaw, at the fame time that he was fenfible he could not avoid them. It was to fet thefe things in a clear Light, to juftify his own Conduct, to prevent the new World from being loft again as foon as it was found; and to fecure if poffible a Reward for his paft Labours, by obtaining the Means of rendring them effectual, that he came over to Spain; where we have feen how he was received, and what Difficulties he met with in procuring the Supplies that were neceffary for undertaking a third Voyage to the Weft Indies, the Hiftory of which is to be the Subject of the next Section, and which will contain Events ftill more curious, and more entertaining, than thofe which have been already related.

SECTION IV.


#### Abstract

1. The Difficulties the Admiral bad to furmount, in procuring a Fleet fufficient for bis intended Return to Hifpaniola. 2. A complete Viero of the Tranfactions in the Spanifh Colonies, and of the Rebelizon that bappened there during the Admiral's Abfence. 3. What bappened to the Admiral in the Profecution of the Voyage, and the Meafures be cook for fending Supplies. 4. The Admiral fteers a neto Courfe for Dijcovery, and actually falls in with Part of the Continent, now called the Province of Paria. 5. Examines it, and enters into Correfpondence with the Natives; and yet was not clearly convinced whether it was the Conti-nent or not. 6. Pafjes through the Boca del Drago, and refolves to fteer direstly.for St. Domingo. 7. The Arrival of the Store-fbips before the Admiral, and bis coming to the IJand. 8. A fuccinct Hiliory of the Troubles in Hifpaniola, and of the Admiral's Endeavours to pacify them; wobich however prove altogeiber ineffectual. 9. The Court of Spain, being alarmed at the many Complaints fent from the Indies, depute a Perfon to go thitber, with full Power to bear and determine them. 10 . In conjequence of tbis extraordinary Commiffon, the Admiral is fent bome in Irons, and bis two Brothers with bim. II. His Arrival in Spain, and the Reception be met with. 12. The true State of the Difcoveries made to this time by the Spaniards, and their Importance, 13. Remarks and Obfervations on the foregoing Scetion, and on the Accidents that prove commonly detrimental to Difcoveries.


THE Accounts given by the Admiral Don Cbriftopher Columbus, both of the Indies in general, and of his own Conduct in particular, proved fo fatisfactory to their Majefties, and to the principal Perfons who compofed their Council, that 'twas refolved to fend him back again, as he propofed, vefted with fuch Powers, and furnifhed with fuch Supplies, as he judged requifite; for, when they came to be examined by competent Judges, the Complaints of his Enemies appeared to be as illfounded, as the Calumnies invented by mean Minds againft Perfons of diftinguifhed Merit ufually are. But tho' his Enemies were not able either to deprive him of his Authority, or to hinder him from returning with a greater Meafure thereof to the Indies than he enjoyed when there before, yet they had Intereft fufficient to throw great Obftacles in his Way, and to delay from time to time the Performance of thofe Promifes that had been made him. The Succours he demanded were, eight good Ships, five hundred Men, and a fufficient Quantity of Provifions of all Sorts, of which he gave in a very clear and particular Eftimate, amounting in the whole to fix Millions of Marvedies, which make fomething more than 4,500 l. of our Money. But as he well enough knew that fuch an Embarkation could not be foon made, and was fenfible alfo of the Diftrefs to which the Spanijb Colonies might be expofed by the Delays that might attend it, he defired that two Ships laden with Provifions might be firlf fent, and that he might go in Perfon with the other fix, as foon as they could be got ready.

This as a thing reafonable in itfelf their Catholic Majefties very readily confented to, and yet it was a long time before he could procure the two firft Ships to be fent away; and as for the other Ships, the equipping of them went on fo flowly, and the Money neceffary for that Service was iffued fo negligently, that the Admiral found even his large Stock of Patience almoft exhaufted before this Fleet was ready to fail. This was chiefly owing to the Ill-will of Don fuan Fonfeca, Archdeacon of Seville and afterwards Bihop of Burgos, who had been formerly one of the beft Friends the Admiral had, but was now entirely gained over by his Enemies, chiefly by the Intrigues of Father Boyl, and proved afterwards himfelf the moft violent Enemy the Admiral had. But how much foever there Difcouragers might perplex and difturb the Mind of this great Man, they were far enough from diverting him from his Purpofe, or even from leffening that Zeal and Diligence with which he had hitherto profecuted this great Affair: On the contrairy, the more Trouble he met with, the more Impediments were thrown in his Way, with fo much the greater Vigor, with fo much the more Conftancy, he applied himfelf to the Performance of what was requifite to accomplifh it.
It was with this View that he went himelf to Seville, to haften the Preparations that were making there, and to give fuch Directions as he thought might moft contribute to render thefe Preparations effectual. Yet it is more than probable, that, with all this Activity and Diligence, he would fcarce have been able to have carried his third Expedition into Execution, if it had not been for the Countenance and Protection afforded him by Queen IJa-
bella, who was a Princefs of vaft Underfanding, and of a generous and magnanimous Difpofition; whereas her Hufband King Ferdinand, though he was undoubtedly a great Politician, yet there was fuch a Darknefs in his Temper, and fuch a Doublenefs in his Conduct, that there was no great Caufe to wonder that the Admiral was not much in his Favour, or that the King did not ftand very high in his Efteem. But before we come to fpeak directly of the Admiral's Voyage, it will be neceffary to give the Reader an Account of what paffed in the Indies during his Abfence.
2. The three Ships the Admiral fent from Cadiz arrived at IJabella about the Beginning of $\mathcal{F} u l y 1496$, to the great Joy of the People for the Provifions they brought, and the News of the Admiral's fafe Arrival in Spain; for Hunger being the greateft Diftemper among them, nothing to much rejoiced them as Ships coming with Provifions from home. Don Bart toolomero Columbuis difpatched the Ships for their Return, and fent aboard them three hundred Indion Slaves, becaufe their Majefties having been informed that fome Caziques killed the Spaniards, they ordered that all who were guilty fhould be fent into Spain. And forafinuch as the Admiral had alfo acquainted their Majefties, that upon his Return from his Difcovery along the Inands of Cuba and Famaica, as he failed along the South Coaft of ITjpaniola, it had appeared to him a moft beautiful Country, and that there were fine Inlets which he thought might be good Harbours, and could not be far from the beft Mines he had difcovered, which he called St. Cbrifopher's, their Highneffes, in the Letter he found at Cadiz, anfwered him, that he might do as he thought beft in that Cafe, which they would approve of, as done for their Service. Hereupon the Admiral wrote from Cadiz to his Brother Don Bartholomerw, ordering him immediately to go over to the South Side, and find a convenient Harbour ; and if the Place was good, to carry away all that was at IJabella, and abandon it.
Accordingly Don Bartholomzzw, leaving his Brother Don Fames in his Place, fet out with the ableft Men for the Mines of St. Cbrifopper, and arriving at the River Ozama, fo called by the Indions, found it very agreeabie, and inhabited on both Sides. He viewed and founded, and found that Ships of above three hundred Tons Burthen might come up it. Whereupon he refolved to build a Fort of Earth on the marfhy Part of the River, at the Mouth of the Harbour on the Eaft Side. He fent for Men from IJabella to begin the Scttlement, and gave it the Name of Senta Doningo, either becaufe he came thither on St. Dominic's Day, or on a Sunday, called in Spanib Domingo, or becaufe his Father's Name was Dominic; and tho' the Admiral always called it the Neso Tfabella, yet the other Name has prevailed. There remained at the Oid Ifabella the People that were building two Caravels, and fome other Meir: The Work being begun, Don Bartbolomew refolved to view the Kingdom Xaragua, of whofe State and Government he had heard much Difcourfe. Having lefr Senta Domingo, thirty Leagues from thence he came to the great River Neyba; where a numerous Army of Indians were drawn up; for Bobecbico King of Xaragua, be-
ing informed that the Spaniords were coming, refolved to oppofe them. Don Barbolomero gave them to underftand, that he came not to makeWar, but to vifit the King and his Sifter, and was thereupon received with much Pomp and Rejoicing. Procceding thence thirty Leagues farther, he came to Xoragua: All the prime Men of the Province received him with Dancing and Singing, and other forts of Rejoicings ; he was conducted to the King's Palace, where Supper was ready, being Bread made of Cazabi, Utias boiled and roaited, and a prodigious Quantity of Sea and Frefh-water Fifh. After Supper they conducted all Don Bartbolomezo's Company to their re-毛ective Quarters, their Beds being Cotton Hammocks. The next Day, in the Square where the King, his Sifter, and Don Bartbolomew were prefent, there appeared two Parties of Men armed with Bows and Arrows, who made a Skirmifh after the manner of Spain, practifed with Canes inftead of Spears ; but by Degrees they began to grow hot, and many of them were wounded, and four dropped down dead; and all this with much Satisfaction, without regarding the Dead and Wounded; and many more had fuffered, had not the King, at the Requeft of Don Bartholomew and the Spaniards, commanded them, when mort furious, to give over.

After the Entertainment Don Bartbolomew told Bobecbico and his Sifter, that his Brother, the Admiral, was gone to vifit their Majefties of Spain, his Sovereigns, to whom many Lords of the Inand were already become Tributaries; and that he came thither to the end that he fhould own and pay Tribute to them. He anfwered, That as no Gold was found throughout all his Dominions he could not pay Tribute. Don Bartbolomero told him, it was not his Defign that any one fhould pay Tribute any otherwife than what his Country afforded; upon which he faid, he would give him as much Cotton and Cazabi as he would demand, and ordered his People to plant Cotton, becaufe they were to pay Tribute of it to their Majefties of Spain, and, in their Name, to the Admiral, and to his Brother Don Bartbolomew, who was then in his Houfe. Having thus concluded with Bobechico, Don Bartholomew thought fit to return to the Mines of Civao and Colony of Ifabella, and found that near 300 Men had died of feveral Difeafes, which troubled him very much; and the more, as no Ships came with Provifions ; for which Reafon he refolved to diftribute the Sick and Infirm among the feveral Forts there were between Ifabella and Santo Domingo and the Indian Towns; that having fomething to eat, they might have only their Diftemper to ftruggle with, and not Hunger at the fame time.

Then, having given Orders for the carrying on the Building of the two Ships, he went towards Sanio Domingo, gathering in the Tribute as he proceeded. The Indians of the Plain, and thofe of Cibao, thinking it hard to pay Tribute, and entertain Soldiers at their own Expence, and fuch as did eat fo much, befides other things, which they looked upon as Grievances, complained to the Cazique Guarinoex, reprefenting, itwas his Duty to endeavour to fet himfelf and them at liberty. Guarinoex being a peaceable Man, and confidering the Force of the Spaniards, the Swiftnefs of their Horfes, and the ill Succefs Caunabo, and others of the Province of Cibao, had met with, refufed to engage in a War; but being importuned by his People, who always perfuaded him that they could get the better; and, as fome fay, being threatened they would chufe another Leader, he confented to commence the War. The Spaniards, in the Conception, perccived thofe Commotions, and gave notice to thofe at the Fort built at Bonao, by fome Indians who remained faithful to thofe of Bonao, and alfo fent to Don Bartholomere, who was at Santo Domingo. The Indian made ufe of a Stratagem in carrying thofe Letters delivered to him in a Staff that was hollow at one End; for the other Indians having found by Experience, that the Spanif Letters fpoke, endeavoured to intercept them ; and the Meffenger, falling into the Hands of the Guards pofted on the Paffes, pretended to be dumb and lame, anfwering them altorether by Signs and Limping, as if he was going with much Difficulty into his own Country, he efcaped; becaufe they thinking he had been
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dumb, afked him no Quefions; and fuppofing that the Staff had been to help him on they did not fearch it. And thus the Letter came fafe to Don Bertbolomere Colimbus; which proved the Safety of the Spaniards. As foon as Don Bartbolomew came to the Conception, he advanced with all the Spaniards to fall upon I5,000 Indians; Guarinoex had drawn together and attacked them by Surprize at Midnight, becaufe they never fought in the Night. They killed and took many; feveral Lords, of which Number they executed the chief Ring-leaders of that War ; and Guarinoex being carried to the Conception, above 5000 Men followed with loud Cries, demanding their King. Don Bartbolomere pitying them, and he, being fenfible of Guarinoex's peaceable Temper, gave him and the other Caziques up to them to their great Satisfaction, the lefs regarded by the Spaniards, as being vanquifhed and fubdued.

At this Time Meffengers came to Don Bartholomere from Bobecbic oand Anacanona with Advice, that the Cazabi and Cotton were ready; for when the Seeds of Cotton are planted, the Shrubs that fprout produce Fruit in fix or eight Months, and the higheft of them rife about a Fathom, tho' they begin to produce when much fhorter. Don Bortholomere was refolved to go eo Xaragza, to gather the Tribute, and leave his Men in that Country, to give them of the Plain, and others, Reft, tho' the Soldiers were in fuch Want of Clothes and other Things brought from Spain, that they grew very uncafy. He fent Orders to Ifabclla, for one of the Caravels to come to the Port of Xaragua to carry him, that Harbour being a large Bay, or Inlet of the Sea, dividing the Inand into two Parts, the one of which forms Cape St. Nicholos, ftretching out 30 Leagues; the other much larger, and ends in the Cape called Tiburon, and the Bottom of the Bay reached within two Leagues of Bobccbico's Palace. Thofe at IJabella fent the Caravel, and when it came into the Port, Anacanona perfuaded her Frother to go to the Port, to fee the Spanifb Canoc. Tho Bobechico had two very fineCanoes, yet Anacanona would not go in them; but in the Pinnace. The Veffel fired, which put the Indians into fuch a Confternation that they were ready to leap into the Water ; but feeing Don Bartbolomew laugh, they compofed themfelves. When they were aboard, the Seamen played on a Tabor and Pipe, and other Inftruments; which much pleafed the Indians; they looked all about the Head and Stern, went aboard the Caravel, and into the Hold, and were amazed. Don Bartholomeze ordered the Sails to be fpread, and the Caravel to take a Trip to Sea and return to the fame Place. The Cazique admired that fo great a Veffel Thould make way without Oars, and go forward and backward with the fame Wind.
When they returned to Xaragua the Caravel was loaded with Cazabi, Cotton, and other Thinge, and went away to Ifabella, as Don Bartbolomew did by Land. And being thus employed, Francis Roldan, the head Alcalde, a turbulent Man, who forgot the Admiral's Bread he had eaten, defiring to get into Authority, by raifing Commotions; and taking, for his Pretence, Don Yomes Columbus's having ordered the Caravel which had carried Bread and Wine to the Ifabella, to be laid dry, to prevent its being ftolen by fome Malcontents, who deffred to go away into Spain, began to cabal among the labouring Men, as alfo with the Seamen, and other mean Pcople and thofe that were moft difcontented, intimating that the Caravel would be better in the Water, and ought to be fent into Spain with Letters to their Catholic Majefties, fince the Admiral ftaid fo long; that theirWants might be relieved, and they not perifh with Hunger, or be deftroyed by the Indians. That Don Bartholomere and his Brother would not fend it, becaufe they defigned to revolt, and keep the Ifland to themfelves, and to make them all Slaves, employing them in building their Houfes and Forts; to attend them in gathering the Tribute, and enriching themfelves with Gold. The Men finding themfelves encouraged by a Perfon of fuch Power, as the Chief Alcalde, had the Impudence to fay thofe things in public which before they fcarce durf mutter in Comers. Roldan required they fhould all fign a Paper, importing, that it was for the Public Good that the Caravel fhould be fet afloat; but, as he was very fenfible it. was
was not fit that their Catholic Majefties fould know he had been the Ring-leader of fuch a Mutiny, he fought plaufible Pretences to corer his Defigns; he perfuaded the People that the beft Way to fecure the EriendMip of the Indians, was to quit them of the Tribute: And Advice being brought that Guarinoex's Indians did not pay the Tribute, and that they gave Tokens of Uneafinefs, Don James Columbus, thinking to put Roldan out of the Way, fent him with a confiderable Part of the Men to the Conceptiont, where he carried on the Mutiny more effectually, and difamed thofe that would not follow. Returning to Ifabella, having by Force taken the Key of the Magazine, he broke the Locks in Pieces, and crying long live the King, took all the Arms and Provifions he thought fit for his Followers, and fet up for himfelf. Don fames attempted to appeafe the Mutiny, but Francis Roldan behaved himfelf fo infolently, that he thought fit to retire into the Fort.

The Mutineers went where the King's Cattle were, and, having taken what Cows, Mares, and Colts they thought fit, they went amongft the Indian Towns, giving out that they had quarrelled with the Admiral's Broshers, on Account of the Tribute they exacted, perfuaded them not to pay any, and they would defend them. The true Reafon this Fellow behaved in this infolent and rebellious Manner, was the Project he had formed of fecuring all to himfelf, by feizing the Perfon of Don Bartbolomere; for he made no Queftion that the Admiral's Enemies would hinder him from returning into the Indies; and, perhaps, he had given them fome Reafon to hope, that he would from time to time tranfmit them fuch Relations as might ferve to juftify their Profecution of Columbus.

But while things were in this Situation, there arrived at Santo Domingo, on the 3 d of February, 1498, the Ship which the Admiral, with much Difficulty, had procured Leave to fend to the Indies. Both Parties endeavoured to make themfelves Mafters of this Ship, which, however, by the Care of the Inhabitants of the Place where it arrived, was fecured for Don Bartbolomere; who, upon opening his Difpatches found, that though their Catholic Majefties were at firft doubtful whether the Admiral had a Power to appoint a Lieutenant, and rather inclined to think he had not, by Virtue of his Commifion, yet upon his reprefenting that it was for their Majefties Service he had taken this Step; and that their Affairs in the new World muft have fallen into great Confufion without it; they were pleafed to confirm Don Bartholomere in his Title of Adelantado; which having publifhed, it greatly promoted his Authority, and enabled him to enter into a War with the Indians, though it was begun upon very unjuftifiable Motives, in as much as the Spariards had laid upon them Burthens they were unable to bear: This War Don Bartbolomere conducted with great Succefs againit thofe unhappy People; but with Refpect to the revolted Spaniards under Roldan, he could neither engage them by fair Means to return to their Duty, nor was it in his Power to reduce them by Force. As we have now run through the Hiftory of the Spanifh Colonies, during the Abfence of the Admiral we are at Liberty to purfue the proper Defign of this Section, and to enter on the Admiral's third Voyage into the fe Parts.
3. The Admiral failed over the Bar of San Lucar, on the I8th of May, with fix Ships, and as there was Intelligence that a Portuguefe Fleet lay at Cape St. Vincent, he, giving them the Slip, ftood away for the Illand of Madera, touched at Puerto Santo on the 7 th of Fune, and found the Inhabitants exceedingly frighted, imagining that his Ships had been French; he wooded and watered and then proceeded to Madera, where he was joyfully received, becaufe they knew him. On the 19th he arrived at Gomera, where he found a Frencb Ship with two Spanif,' which they had taken: He retook one of them, and fent after the Frenchman, and fix Spaniards that were on board the others, feeing their Relief at hand, drove the French that guarded them under Hatches, and failed away to the Admiral. He refolved to fend from Gomera the three Ships with Provifions to Hijpaniola, beliering the People there muft be in

Want, and appointed Alonfo de Corvojal, a worthy Man, Captain of the Erft of them; Peter de Alena, a Native of Cordorva, Kinfman to Captain Alona, who had been left Governor of the Fort of the Nativity, at the frit Difcovery, Commander of the fecond; and in the third he placed Fobn Anihony Columbus, a Relation of his own, a Man of Capacity and Judgment; he gave them Inftrutions, and ordered that ach of them fhould command a Week in Chief, and carrying the Kight, they fhould fail Weft by South 850 Leagues, and then they would fall in with the lland Dominica; whence they fhould fteer Weft North-weft, to fall in with the Inand of St. Jobn; then keep along the South-fide of it, that being the true Courfe for the New Ifabella; or Santo Doningo.

The Admiral, himfelf, being furnifhed with what he wanted, failed on the 12 th of jum , for the Inand of Hi erro, one of the Canary Inlands, the fartheft to the Weftward: He defigned in the Name of the holy Trinity, as he always was wont to fay, to fail to the Southward of them, till he came under the Equinoctial, and fo proceed to the Weftward, till the Ifland of IHifpaniola fhould bear North-weff from him, to fee what Inands or Continent lay in that Part. He faid it was his Opinion no Man had ever failed that Courfe, and that the Sea there was utterly unknown. When paft the Inand Hierro he difmiffed the three Ships; and with one Ship and two Caravels ftood away for the Mands of Cabo Verde, which he ufed to fay was a falfe Name, for he had always found them dry and barren.

On the 27 th of $F_{\text {ine }}$ he difcovered the firft of them, called de la Sal, which is fmall; he proceeded to that of Buena Vifa, anchored clofe by a fimall Inand, to which all the Lepers in Portugal were fent to be cured, by eating the Flefh of the Tortoifes, and frequently wanhing with their Blood; for in the Months of $\mathcal{J} u n e, \mathcal{F u l y}$, and Auguft, abundance of them refort thither from the Continent to lay their Eggs in the Sand; where they fratch a Hole, and leave above five hundred Eggs as big as a I-Hen's, which being covered with Sand, are hatched by the Sun, and the little Tortoifes run into the Sea. The Men there waiting for the Tortoifes, turn them on their Backs, and then they cannot recover themfelves. The healthy People living on that Inand, were only fix or feven, whofe whole Employment was to kill wild Goats, and fend their Skins, well cured, into Portugal; and fometimes they killed fo many in a Year, that they were worth 2000 Ducats.
The Admiral failed from thence on the 30th, for the Inand of Santiago, being 28 Leagues diftant, and is the Chief of them. He thought to have taken Cows aboard, to carry to the Inand Hifpaniola, becaufe their Majefties had ordered him fo to do, but was obliged to abandon that Defign, becaufe the Air of that Inand being very unhealthy, the Men began to ficken, befides he refolved to fail to the Southward, to find out whether King Fobn of Poriugal had been miftaken, who affirmed there was a Continent to the Southward. On the 4 th of $7 u$ ly $h$ he fteered South-weft, having never feen the Sun or Stars, fince his Arrival at the Inands of Cabo Ferde, the Sky being continually covered with a thick Fog. He gave another Reafon for holding that Courfe, viz. to find out the Truth of what the Indians of the Illand Hijpaniola reported: That there had come thither from the South-eaft a black People, who had the Heads of their Javelins of a Sort of Metal which they called Guanin, fome of which he had fent to their Majefties; and the Effay of it being taken, it appeared that, of thirty two Parts, eighteen were Gold, fix Silver, and the remaining eight Copper; a plain Proof that the $W$ eft Indies had been vilited by other People before the Sponiards.
4. The Admiral purfuing his Courfe South-weft, he found fome of thofe Weeds he had met with in the Way to Dijpaniola; having failed one hundred and twenty Leagthes, as foon as it was Night he took the Latitude, and on the I $3^{\text {th }}$ of $f_{u}$ ly the Pleat was fo violent he was afraid the Ships would take Fire, and the Men perifh; and fo fuddenly the Wind ceafed, and the excefliveHeat enfued, that no Man durft go down between Decks to
take'care of the Cafts of Wine and Water that were fale he paid Bim great Refpeft, took of a Circle of Gold he ling in Pieces, the Hoons flying of them; the Wheat parched, the Bacon and falt Meat fried: This Heat continued eight Days; the firt of them was fair, fo that the Sun parched them; the other feven it raired and was cloudy, and yet they found no Relief, but were all in a Manner melted. On the rath of fuly he found himfelf in $\eta^{\circ}$ of North Latitude, and they faw fome black and white Daws, which are Birds that do not go far from Land. On the 15 th the Admiral fell iil of the Gout for want of Sleep, and yet fill he kept up.
On the rgth the Air was fo burning hot that they thought they fhould have been deftroyed in the Ships, but there foon fprung a fair Gale that delivered them from that Heat, and they failed feventeen Days to the Weftward, defigning to turn again to the Suith, fo that Hifpaniole might bear North, where the Admiral believed he might find Land, either before or after he came to that Point; and there he hoped to refit his Ships, which were very leaky, and to recover the Provifions in order to carry them to Hijpaniola, though they were already damaged. Upon the 22 d a multitude of Birds were feen flying from the Weft South-weft towards the Northeaft, and by reafon of thefe Tokens he hoped to fee Land very foon; and the 3 Ift of Guly being come and no Land appearing, and Water growing fhort, he refolved to alter his Courfe, and ftood to the Weftward, fill inclining to the right Hand, to fall in upon Dominica, or fome one of the Inands of the Canibals, now called Caribbee Ihands, fteering North and by Eaft, which he held till Noon; a Sailor went up to the round Top and fpied Land to the South-eaft, about fifteen Leagues diftant, and feemed to be three Mountains; they immediately fung the Hymn Salve Regina: Having thus ${ }^{1}$ pied Land, he altered his Courfe from the Caribbee IJlands, where he defigned to have watered, and frood for a Cape that appeared to the Weftward, which he called de lo Galera, or the Gally Point, on account of a great Rock on it, which, at a Diftance, looked like a Gally under fail. When they came to Land they found a good Port, but could not enter becaufe it had not Water enough. He paffed on to the Point he had feen, being feven Leagues to the Southward, without finding any Harbour, and obferved that the Woods reached down to the Sea, all along the Coaft; fome Men were feen in a Canoe, at a Diftance, but they fled, and it appeared that this was an Illand which he called la Trinadada, or the Trinity, having promifed to give that Name to the firft he fhould dilcover; the Land was high, pleafant, and well cultivated.

On the firft of Auguft the Admiral advanced five Leagues along the Coaft to the Weftward, and came to a Point where he anchored with his three Ships, and took in Water, to the great Satisfaction of the Men. They found the Track of People, Fifhing-tackle, and the Foot-fteps of Goats, as they thought, which proved to be Deer, there being many in the Ifland. Having feen many Towns in this Inand they faw another to the Southward, which feemed to be twenty Leagues long, and he called it ijla Scinta, or Holy Tfland. All the Way from Punta de la Galera, to the Point where they watered, which he named Punta de la Playa, or the Point of Strand, though the Land was good, there was no Harbour, but there were many Rivers and Woods very agreeable, and ftill the Length of the Holy Ifland feemed greater. Seeking for a Harbour, on the 2 d of Auguft he arrived at the Point of the Iland of the Trinity, which he called Punta del Arenal, or Sandy Point, being to the Weftward, and he was then got into the Bay he called de la Bollena, or of the Whale, without knowing that he was near the Continent. He gueffed that the Illand of the Trinity extended, in length, from Cape de la Galera, to Punta del Arenal, thirty-five Leagues, though it is above forty-five; but the Admiral proceeding along it, at feveral times, could not make an exact Computation.
At Punta del Aronal he ordered the Men afhore to refrefh themfelves, becaufe they were much fatigued: A Cazique of the Illand was come thither, and obferving that the Admiral had a Cap on of Crimion Velvet,
he paid him ereat Refpef, took off a Circle of Gold he and with the other Hand took off his Cap and put it on his own, being very much pleafed with it. the fame Day a great Canoe, carrying twenty-five Mien, came from the Eaftwards, towards the Ships, and being abouk a Muiket-fhot from them, they gave over rowing, and cried aloud, which the Admiral fuppofed was to aff who they were, as is ufual among thofe People; by way of anfwer, he fhewed them fome little Braifs Bafons and other glittering things to entice them to come near the Ships; but they advancing very little, the Admiral ordered his Men to play on a Tabor and Pipe, and the Youths to dance, thinking to pleafe them, which proved quite contrary, for they took it for a Signal of War; and, quitting their Oars, laid hold of their Targets and Bows, and thot a great fight of Arrows.

The Admiral then ordered the Mufic to ceafe, and fome Crofs-bows to be brought, but only two of them to be fhot, whereupon the Indians immediately laid down their Arms, and ran in clofe under the Stern of another Caravel; the Pilor whereof went down into the Canoe, entertained them, and gave one, that feemed to be a principal Perfon, a red Cap. They defired him to go athore and they would give him fuch as they had; but as he was going in his Boat to afk leave of the Admiral, the Indocns went away. They were young, well adorned after their Way, of agreeable Countenances, and whiter than the Indions of the Inands. Their Hair was long and fmooth, cut after the Spanifs Fafhion; about their Heads they tied a Cotton Cloth, curioufy wrought of feveral Colours; and another about their Waift to cover their Nakednefs. The Admiral wondered, that being fo near the Equinoctial, he felt Cold every Morning, though it was in the Dog Days; as alfo, that the Waters ran ftronger to the Weft, than the River of Seville; that the Sea Water ebbed and flowed above fixty-five Paces more than at San Lucar; and that the Currents fet fo ftrong between the Inand of the Trinity and Santa, which are two Leagues afunder (by him afterwards called Gracia not knowing as yet that it was the Continent) that it run like a rapid River. They found the fame Sorts of Fruit as in Hijpaniola, and the Trees, Soil, and Climate, were alike; they alfo caught very large Oyiters, and infinite quantities of Fifh, Parrots as large as Pullets, of a light green, fome whitifh, and others intermixt with red and yellow.
The Admiral being at Point del Arenal, which is the laft Cape of the Inand of Trinity, he faw towards the Northweft about fifteen Leagues the Point of that he till then called Ifa Santa, or Holy Ifand, which proved to be the Province he afterwards called Paria; and believing it to be another Illand, he gave it the Name of Gracia, or Grace, as has been faid; and he thought it extraordinary high Land, and fo it is, for a vaft Ridge of Mountains runs along there. Being come up to the Continent, which he, at this time, thought to be an Inand, he fpied near the aforefaid Point two fmall Inands in the Midft of another Mouth or Entrance, forming that Cape which he called Boto, that is blunt, becaufe it appeared fo; and another Cape of the Illand of Trinity he called de Lapa: The Diftance between them being five Leagues, with two little Inands in the Middle, one of which he named el Caracal, or the Snail; and the other el Dolfn, or the Dolpbin. The Narrownefs of the Place, the Violence of the great River Yayopari, and the Waves of the Sea, going into, and out of this Bay, are dangerous, and therefore the Admiral called that Streight the Dragon's Moutb, which Name it holds to this Day; this River that falls into the Bay of la Balena runs through the Country above four hundred Leagues, and as it brings down an immerfe Quantity of Water, efpecially in July and Ausuft, about which time the Admiral was there, the Rains falling then, as they do in Spain in Ociober and November, and the Paffage between the Continent and the Illand of the Trinity being too narrow for fuch a Quantity of oppofite Waters; when they meet there is a mighty Struggle between them.
5. While the Admiral lay at Cape de Lapa, he difcovered very high Land to the North-weft, which he named

Bellajorma,

Bellaforma, becaufe it looked well. On the $5^{\text {th }}$ of Auguft he failed five Leagues from the Cape Lcpa, and faw feveral very good Harbours; he fent the Boats afhore, and the Men found Fifh, faw the Track of People, and a great Houfe uncovered. He proceeded eight Leagues further, ftill difcovering good Harbours, much Land and many Rivers. Going afhore they found well tafted Grapes, Apples, and a fort of Fruit that looked like Oranges, and within were like Figs; and faw many Monkeys.
On the 26 th he failed five Leagues; a Canoe, with five Men in it, came toward the Caravel that was neareft the Land. The Pilot called the Indians, giving them to underitand, that he would go athore: And as foon as he was got into the Canoe, he overfet it, and fwimming about, took and carried the Indians to the Admiral. They were of a proportionable Stature, had their Privy Members tied up and covered; but the Women were all ftark naked. The Admiral gave thofe Indions Hawks Bells, Glafs Beads, and Sugar, and fent them afhore, becaufe a great Number of People appeared. And as foon as they undertood how well the others had been entertained, if there had been Canoes enough, they would have all gone aboard. The Admiral ufed them well, gave thern all Toys, afked them Queftions; they anfwered, but did not apprehend each other. They brought him Bread and Water, and a fort of Liquor like green Wine. All of them had Targets, Bows, and poifoned Arrows. Before they entred, they fmelled to the Boat, and afterward to the Men. On the 7 th abundance of Indians came, bringing: Bread, Indian Corn, and Eatables; as alfo Pitchers of Liquor, fome of it as white as Milk, tafting like Wine, and fome green made of Fruit and Maize. They valued not the Beads the Admiral gave them; they had a great Efteem for Tin, they called it Turey, as if it were come from Heaven, for they called Heaven Turey; and found a certain Scent in it that much pleafed them. And whatever was given them, they fimelled to. They carried on board abundance of Parrots of three forts, and Bits of Cotton Cloth, well wrought, and wove of feveral Colours.
The Admiral would willingly have taken half a Dozen Indians to carry away with him, but he could not; for before Night they left the Ship. The next Day a Canoe, with twelve $\mathbb{M}$ Men, came on board the Admiral, fix of whom he took, and fent the reft on fhore. He proceeded to Puta del Aguia, or Cape Needle, whence he faw a fine Country, and well peopled. And being come before a Town, which for its Beauty he called the Gardens, having a vaft Number of Houfes and People, he anchored; and many reforted to the Ships, with their wrought Cloths about their Heads, like the little Veils worn by the Moorish Women. They wore fome little Plates of Gold about their Necks; and the Indians that were on board faid there was plenty of it in thofe Parts, and fhewed how they gathered it. The Admiral confidering that he was above three hundred Leagues from Hijpaniola, and that his Provifions began to grow fhort, made no long ftay in that Country, which he thought very agreeable, full of good Houres, and inhabited by a polite and warlike People. Being come to Point Aguja, he difcovered another to the Southward, which he thought to be an Inand running out South-eaft and North-weft, very large, and the Land high. He gave it the Name of Sabeta. And in the Afternoon faw another, and they were Parts of the Continent. He anchored at the Gardens, many Canoes, great and fmall, came on board with abundance of People wearing Pieces of Gold about their Necks, in the Shape of a Horie-fhoe: And though they feemed to value it, they would have given all for Hawks-Bells, but he had none left: However, fome Gold he got, which was very low, and they told him there were Inands hereabout that yielded much fuch bafe Gold: But the Men were Canibals. And they aetually faw an Indian who had a fingle Grain of Gold as big as an Apple.

More Canoes came ffill, all the People wearing Gold Collars and Beads of abundance of forts, their Clothes tied about their Heads, their Hair cut fhort, which looked well. There fell much Rain, which lindered many
more from going on board. Some Women went who had Strings of little Beads about their Arms, and among them fome Seed Pearl, as alfo fome large, which raifed the Hopes of the Spaniards much. The Admiral afked, where they found them? they fhewed him the Miother-of-pearl, and by very intelligible Signs gave him to underttand, That they were found to the Weftward, behind that Mountain, which is Cape Lapa, being the Point of the Province of Paria. He fent the Boats afhore, and found the People fo tractable, that tho the Sailors went not with a Defign to land; yet two of their Chiefs civilly conftrained them to it, and conducted them to a Houfe where they entertained them, and gave them Bread and Fruits of $f$ everal forts, and that fort of white Liquor, before mentioned, and another of a red Colour and good Tafte, the Men all the while keeping together at one End of the Houfe, and the Women at the other. When they had been fo treated at that Houre by the eldeft, the youngeft carried thern to another, and treated them in the fame manner. It feemed to them that the one was the Cazique, and the other his Son; and the Sailors afterwards returned very well fatisfied to their Boats. They thought the efe People of a very good Stature, whiter than any other Indians, the Country delightful and cold, which was admired by reafon of its being fo near the Equinoctial. The Admiral calied this, which he thought to be an Inland, Paria.
On the roth he failed to the Weftward, feeking fome Paffages to get clear of thofe which he took to be Illands, and named 1Jabeta and Tramontona, but were Part of the Continent: And the Indians he had on board faid the Pearls were found farther Weftward. He failed on in that Bay, and fent the little Caravel to fee whether there was any Paffage out to the Northward, becaufe oppofite to Y Sabeta and the Continent there appeared a very high and beautiful Illand. The Caravel returned and brought an Account that they had found a very large Bay, and in it four fpecious Openings that looked like fmall Beys, and a River at the End of each of them, which he called The Bay of Pearls, though there are none it. The Admiral believed thofe Openings were four Inands, which formed that Bay of forty Leagues; but the Miariners affumed they were Mouths of Rivers; and fo it proved, at leait in two of them; for the great River Tuyapcritan came out at one End, and that of Caurari at the other: And tho' the Admiral would have difcovered all very particularly, he could not ftay, but refolved to fail for Hifpaniola, to fend for Men and Provifions into Styiz, and order his Brother to continue this Difcovery. To which Purpofe, on the Inth of Auguft he feered over to the Eaitward, in order to pals through between the Point of Paria and the Continent. He advanced to a good Harbour, which he called Puerto de Gatos, or Cat's Port, which is near the Mouth, where the two Iflands lye, between the Capes of Lapa and Boto.

There he came to an Anchor on the thirteenth, intending to fail next Day. The Boat was fent to take a View of another Harbour juft by, which was alfo good; and near it were fome Fifhermens Houfes; for which reafon he called it Puerto de las Cabanas, or the Port of Cottages. Near the Sea they faw many Mirabolon Trees, with abundance of Oyfters flicking to the Branches that hung over the Sea, and open to receive the Dew. On the $14^{\text {th }}$ he advanced to Cape Lapa, which is that of Paria, to pafs through the Opening, which he called, the Dragon's Mouth, which is between Point Lapa to the Weftward, and Cape Boto; the Diftance between the two Capes being a League and an half beyond the fmall Inands that lye in the Middle. IIe ran a great Rifque of being loft in repaffing the Streight, where the running out of the frefh Water, and the coming in of the Salt, occafioned a very dreadful Appearance, at leaft to the Spaniords, who were unacquainted therewith, though it is common enough on our Coafts, and particularly at the Mouth of the Severn, where the riding of one Tide upon another is called the Egre.

The Admiral himfelf was more amazed at it than at any thing he had feen, and could not help faying, That if they got fafe through this Denger, they might be faid to have efcaped out of the Dragon's Mouth; whence the

Name

Name of Boca del Drago was fixed upon this Place; and it has been ever fince known thereby. When they got out of that Bay, extending full fifty Leagues from the firft Land of Trinity to the Bay called de las Perlas, or of Pearls, he failed along the Continent to obferve whether that immenfe Quantity of frefh Water proceeded from the Rivers, as the Seamen affirmed, and he could not believe, as thinking no River in the World could carry fo much Water as thofe Lands he faw produced, unlefs they were a Continent. He found along this Coaft many good Harbours and Capes, to which he gave Names, as Cabo de Conchas, or Cape of Shells, Capo Luenga, Long Cape, Cape Sabor and Cape Rico, \&xc. He found alfo feveral Inands, particularly Margarita, which is fifteen Leagues in Length, and fix in Breadth, very green and well inhabited. And at a finall Diftance from it are other fmall Inands, and among them, Cubaque, where Pearls have been found, but few of the Names the Admiral gave them have continued. Having failed forty Leagues farther, and feeing the Land continue to the Weftward, he was convinced that it was no Ifland, but the Continent, which he difcovered on Wedneday the 2 Ift of Auguf, 1498.
6. The Admiral was much furprized at the immenfe Quantity of frefh Water before fpoken of, and no lefs at the extraordinary Coolnefs of the Air fo near the Equinoctial; and he particularly obferved, that the People thereabouts were whiter, their Hair long and fmooth, more fubtil and ingenious, than thofe he had feen before. He was very defirous to return to the Mand Hifpaniola, having a Forefight that his Prefence was neceffary there; and he refolved to fend his Brother Don Bartholomerv to continue the Difcovery; befides, the Men were fatigued, and grew uneafy, bacaufe he had not told them at his coming from Spain that he was going upon Difcovery: For thefe Reafons, on the 16 th of Auguft he ftood away for that Inand, ftill difcovering high Nivountains on the Continent; and that Day he ran fixty-three Leagues between Sun and Sun, the great Currents fetting him forward as much as the Wind.

While the Admiral laboured under the before-mentioned Difficulties, the three Ships he had fent from Spain to Hijpaniola under Carvajal, Arana, and Colwous, thro' the Ignorance of the Pilots, and by the Currents that fet downwards of that Inand, inftead of going to the Port of Santo Domingo, failed on above 160 Leagues, and not knowing where they were, arrived at the Place where Francis Roldan was with the Mutineers, living without any Refpect to the Laws of God or Man; had they done it defignedly, it could not have happened worfe; and if the Revolt of Roldan had been known in Spain, it would have been concluded a malicious Contrivance either of the Captains or the Pilots. As foon as Francis Roldan and his Followers were informed of the Ships they went to the Harbour, which was two Leagues off, and concealing their Revolt, afked how they happened to come to that Place, and what News there were of the Admiral? They anfwered, that they had been carried by the Currents, and that the Admiral would foon be there with three Ships more, having fome Days fince fteered away to the Southward from them. They went aboard the Ships, were merry together, and had fome of the Provifions carried from Spain. When they were gone, the Captains thought fit, becaufe of the Difficulty of returning to Santo Domingo by reafon of the Currents and Breezes, that the Labouring-men who were in the King's Pay ihould march by Land, and agreed, that Captain Gobn Antbony Columbus, who commanded one of the Ships, fhould conduct them. Forty Men, with their Crofs-bows, Lances and Swords, went afhore; and Roldan perfuading them they were to lead a very painful Life, be obliged to labour and dig, with much Hunger and Want, eafily induced them to ftay with him, telling them at the fame time how they fhould live, which was, only by going about from one Town to another, taking the Gold and what elfe they thought fit. And tho' thefe forty Men were all of them condemned Criminals, yet eight of them remained true to their Captain.

This fully difcovered, that Roldan had deferted the
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King's Service, and Captain Columbus, being moft concerned at it, went to him, told him that thofe Men had received the King's Pay for fix Months before, and that he by employing them much obftructed the King's Affairs; therefore he advifed him not to act in fo fcandalous a Manner ; but Roldan regarded nothing he faid, becaufe by the Addition of thofe that had joined him he had. above a hundred Men to defend himfelf againt the Ad-miral ; and Captain Columbus returned aboard his Ship, and with the other Captain Pedro de Arana refolved to go away to Santo Domingo with the Ships, Captain Alonfo Sancbez de Carvajal faying behind to go by Land, and endeavour to bring Roldan to his Duty. By this time the Adelantado had notice, by means of the Indions, that there were three Ships arrived in the Weft, and gueffing that they might be come from Spain, and had miffed their Courfe, he fent out a Caravel in fearch of them. Before the Ships arrived, or Roldan had got fo many Men, he had written to fome of thofe that were with the Adelantado, defring them, in cafe the Admiral fhould come, to endeavour to make his Peace.

The Admiral the 1gth of Auguft arrived at the Illand Beata, which lies fifteen Leagues from the Port of $\mathcal{Y}$ aquimo, and twenty-five from Santo Domingo: And near the Inand Beata is that of Altovelo. It troubled him that he had fallen away fo much, but did not wonder at it, becaufe of his continual Watching all the Nights he lay by, or plied backwards or forwards, for fear of being upon the many Illands or Sholes of which thofe Seas were full, which at that time were little known, and the Currents which are there very ftrong, and fet towards the Continent Weftward, carried the Ships fo far infenfibly towards the Illands Beata and Hippaniola, that he was afraid of driving by them. On the 2oth of Augufl he fent the Boats to the neighbouring Towns to fummon the Indians, and wrote to acquaint the Adelantado of his Arrival. Six Indians went aboard at twice, and one of them carried a Crofsbow with all its Furniture, which did not a little furprize the Admiral, believing it to have belonged to fome Soldier that was dead. The Ships having been feen to pafs down the Current from Santo Domingo, the Adelantado fet out in a Caravel to feck the Admiral: It was high Pleafure to both Brothers to meet, tho' the Admiral was much vexed at the Advice of Roldan's Revolt. The 22d of Auguft they arrived at Santo Dowingo, it being but a few Days lefs than two Years fince the Admiral departed from Hi/paniola for Spain.
7. The whole Colony in a manner went out with Don Fames Columbus to receive the Admiral, exprefling much Joy for his Arrival: But when he thought he was come where he might take fome Reft, he found himfelf involved in new Troubles, by reafon of the Revolt. He immediately examined the Procefs made by the Adelantado, and, difapproving it, formed another, wherein it was fufficiently proved, that the Infurrection had proceeded from the wicked Inclination of Roldan, tho' neither the Adelantado, or any other Perfon, had given him Caufe to complain, or wronged him in the leaft. Some Days after the Admiral, arrived the other three Ships, with Arana and Jobn Antbony Columbus, as did the Carave! Don Bartbolomere had fent to feek them.

One of them had ftruck on a Shole, loft her Rudder, and was in a very bad Condicion, and having ftaid very long by reafon of the Currents and contrary Winds, almoft all the Provifions were fpoilt; and the Account they brought of forty Men ftaying with Roldan much troubled the Admiral. However he refolved to try him by fair Means, forgiving him all his Offences, being fenfible his Enemies in Spain would made a great Noife of that Revolt; for he was alfo pofitively told, that as foon as he arrived he would come and fubmit himfelf to him, he having long before written to that purpofe. At this time Capt. Sanchez de Carvajal arrived from Xaragua, and declared the Obftinacy of Roldan, who refufed his Propo fals: But Roldan having Advice of the Admiral's Arrival, either by the Indians or by Ietters from fome Friend he had at Santo Domingo, refolved to come nearer, and accordingly went to Bonao, a fruitful and delicious Plain, where fome Spaniords dwelt after the Fort of Bonao was
buity
built, and it is twenty Leagues from Santo Domingo. The Admiral fearing leit any thing that might give them Uneainefs fhould come to the Eais of their Catholic Majefties, and at the fame time difcredit the Affairs of the Indies, which had coft him fo many Fatigues, or give his Enemies occafion to revile him, tried to bring the Mutineers to an Accommodation; ufing this Method: Moft of the Spaniards in the Inland were defirous to return into Spain; he therefore, on the i2th of September, caufed Proclamation to be made, that he would give leave to all that were willing to depart, and provide for their Paffage and Provifions: Which was very acceptable to them in general, becaufe of eight Ships that were in the Harbour, five were almoft cleared, and two ready for the Adelantado to go and profecute the Difcovery of the Coaft of Paria.

In the mean time, the Admiral being informed that Roldan was going to the Conception, about which fome of the Mutineers had Eftates, he gave notice of it to Michael Ballefter the Governor of the Fort, that he might be upon his Guard, and endeavour to draw over Roldan, and tell him how much it troubled him that fuch a Man, whom he had left in fo confiderable a Poft, and on whom he depended fo much, fhould range about in that fcandalous Manner, to the Prejudice of the King's Service; however, for the Good-will he had always borne him, he would pardon him, if he fubmitted; and if he required any Security, he fhould have it. The Governor Ballefter went to the Fort of Bonao, where he found no body, but was informed that Roldan and the Chiefs were gone to the Houfe of Riquelmo, who was one of them.

Before the Admiral went away to Spain, about March in the Year 1496 , or foon after his Departure, fome Towns were charged inftead of their Tribute to till the Lands belonging to the Spanifh Colonies, as they had been wont to do for their Caziques ; and by this Method it was thought the Spaniards might be induced to ftay the more willingly in the. Indies, taking a Kindnefs to the Country, and the Merchants would come over from Spain, fo that the Royal Revenue would increafe without obliging their Majefties to be at fo great an Expence as they were at the Beginning, or elfe to quit the Enterprize, which the Admiral much dreaded, fo many being againft it. The Indians that did not comply in performing this Duty were punifhed, and thofe that fled were held as Slaves when taken. The other Improvement, in order to produce fome Profit, was that of the Brazil Wood, which the Admiral faid was in the Province of Yaquimo, on the Southern Coaft, near eighty Leagues from Santo Domingo to the Weftward. By thofe two Improvements, including four thoufand Slaves he reckoned upon, and four thoufand Quintals, or hundred Weight of Brazil Wood, he writ to their Majefties, that they would receive forty Millions of Marvedies, which amounted to twenty thoufand Pound; a large Sum, and much more confiderable in thofe Days, than at this time.

Hereupon, foon after his Arrival at Santo Domingo, being informed that a Cazique, who had been appointed for the Service of the Fort, leaving the fame, was fled to the Mountains, Soldiers were ordered thither, who took a good Number of People that were fent away in thofe laft Ships, the Admiral reckoning that their Catholic Majefties fhould make their Advantage of thofe Indians as the Kings of Portugal did of the Guinea Blacks. When Roldan, Gomez, and Adrian Moxica were come together, the Alcalde or Governor, Ballefter, went to difcourfe them; and having told them all he had been directed, offered them Pardon, and reprefented the Differvice they did the King by behaving after that manner. They foon Thewed they had quite different Defigns, uttering many haughty and difrefpectful Words againt the Admiral: And, among other things, faid, They came not to feek Peace, but War; and that Roldan had the Admiral and all his Followers in his Power, either to fupport or deftroy them: That they fhould not talk of any Accommodation till the Admiral had brought back the Number of Indians which had been fent as Slaves, becaufe he had taken them into his Protection, and it was his Duty to deliver them from the Opprefion they were under:

Befides, they wrote a Letter to the Admiral, laying all the Blame of their Revolt on his Brother. The Governor, Ballefter, went to Santo Domingo with Roldan's Anfwer; in which, amongtt other things, he faid, that his Followers would treat with no Mian but Carvajal; and though the Admiral had juft Caufe to fufpect that Perfon on feveral Accounts, yet he thought it beft to make a Virtue of Neceffity, and to fend him with Ballefter to endeavour to reduce them to Reafon. He alfo wrote an affectionate Letter to Roldan, foothing him, and in a moft obliging manner inviting him to return to his Duty.
7. The Alcalde, Ballefier, and Carvajal, difcourfed the Rebels fo effectually, that they inclined Roidan and the other Ringleaders to agree with the Admiral ; by which it was thought all would be adjufted; but the meaner fort, being unwilling to quit that licentious Life they led, unanimoufly cried out, That it fhould not be fo, but that if any Accommodation was made, it fhould be in Public before them all, fince they were all concerned: And Carvajal and Roldan trying all ways to reduce them to Reafon, and, not being able to prevail, Roldan demanding a fafe Conduct, and fignifying, that he was thoroughly convinced, that all his Men would forfake him, except fuch as were Gentlemen, the Admiral was much concerned at this Advice, and foon found it was true; for having made a Mufter, in order to march to Bonao, only feventy of thofe that were with him faid they would obey his Orders; and he had no Confidence even in many of them. In this Diftrefs, he caufed Proclamation to be made, that as to all who would return to their Duty, no Notice fhould ever be taken of what was paft ; befides, that fuch as defired to return into Spain fhould have their Paffage gratis. At the fame time he fent a fafe Conduct to Francis Roldan for himfelf, and all thofe that fhould come with him, to treat at Santo Domingo.

Whilit this Treaty was in Agitation, the Ships having been detained eighteen Days beyond the Month agreed on when they were hired, and many of the Slaves aboard them dying, the Admiral was forced to difpatch them, and by them writ to their Majefties, acquainting them with the Rebellion of Roldan, and the Mifchiefs his Men did in the Inand. He alfo defired to have religious Mèn fent to inftruct the People, and an able Lawyer for the Execution of Juftice. He added, that though at firft the Men had fickened by the Change of Air and Water, they were all then healthy and inured to the Country, and did better with the Indion Bread than with that of Spanifb Corn; and that there was an infinite Number of Swine and Poultry and other things, which had fo multiplied, that they wanted nothing but Wine and Clothes: That it would be expedient as often as poffible to fend him fixty or feventy Men, and he would return as many of thefe troublefome Difturbers. Much more he wrote to their Majefties in Vindication of himfelf and his Brother, and fent them fome of the painted Cloths of the Coaft of Paria, one hundred and feventy Pearls, and fome Pieces of Gold, as alfo a Draught of his laft Difcovery, and a Relation of his Voyage. After feveral Meffages it was concluded, that the Mutineers fhould have two Ships with Provifions to carry them to Spain, and every one a Slave with him; and to have Certificates of their good Behaviour. The Admiral figned thofe Articles on his Part, as did Roldan for the NMtineers. However, all things came to nothing, the Rebels not daring to go into Spain for fear of being punifhed for their Crimes.

But afterwards Captain Carvajal having acquainted the Admiral, that Roldan earneftly defired to fubmit himfelf, he went to Azuo to be nearer to the Rebels; Roldan went thither to him, where a new Contract was concluded, by virtue whereof, his Followers were to be reftored to what they had enjoyed before their Revolt, and he to be Alcalde-Mayor, or Chief Judge of the Inand. Roldan began again to exercife that Office with the greateft Infolence; and all his Followers behaved themfelves in the fame manner. The Admiral difpatched two Ships for Spain; and, purfuant to his Agreement, permitted the Mutineers to embark, allowing fome of them three Slaves, and others one. In October, 1499, Roldars
delivered
delivered to theAdmiral a Petition from all his Followers, being one hundred and two Men ftill adhering to him, wherein they defired to have Lands affigned them in the Province of Xeragua. But becaufe it was not convenient they fhould be all together, fome were fettled at Bonao, others on the Plain on the Bank of the great River, others at Santiago; at which Places the Admiral gave them Lands. And this was the firt Diftribution made in the Indies; which fet an Example to all the others that followed, that is, of affigning fuch a Number of Indians to fuch a Perion, it being expreffed in the Grants, that fuch a Cazique, or his People, fhould till the Ground for the Spaniard to whom it was given.
8. The Admiral having adjufted Matters with Roldan, appointed an Officer, with a Detachment, to patrol about the Inand, to reduce the Indians to pay Tribute, and to be in Readinefs, that upon any Mutiny among the Chriftians, or Sign of Rebellion among the Indians, he might fupprefs them ; which he did with a Defign to go over to Spain, and carry with him his Brother the Lieutenant, becaure he judged it would be difficult, if he were left behind, to forget old Grudges. As he was preparing for his Voyage, Alonfo de Hojeda, who had been out on Difcovery with four Ships, arrived in the Inand. This Man was a Creature and Dependant upon the Bifhop of Burgos, who perceiving this Prelate had entirely changed his Affection towards the Admiral, ftruck in with him, and procured a Licence to go and make Difcoveries, but without the Knowledge of their Catholic Majefties ; and fome Perfons at Seville having equipped, on the Credit of this Licence, four Ships, he failed with them from Port St. Mary's, on the 2oth of May 1499, and went directly in fearch of the Continent, purfuant to the Schemes the Admiral had delivered to their Catholic Majefties before his Departure, and which, before this Time, he had actually carried into Execution.

With this Man Americus Vefpucius made his firtVoyage, and though they never faw any other Part of the Continent than what the Admiral had difcovered failing from the Iffand of Irinity, along the Coaft to Venezuela, yet he impudently pretended to have firft difcovered the Continent; and by confounding this with a fubfequent Voyage which he made into thofe ''arts, he dreffed up a fine Story to his own Advantage; and being an excellent Geographer, and the beft Draftiman of his Time, impofed upon the greateft Part of Europe. But, in Spain, the Falfhood and Injuftice of his Pretences were foon detected; for whereas he pretended that, after a Voyage of thirteen Months fpent in Difcoveries, he returned directly to Spain; Alonfo de Hojeda pofitively made Oath, that he fpent but five Months in the Voyage, and that finding themfelves fhort of Provifions, they ftood over, as indeed was the Truth, to the Inand of Hispaniola, for a Supply. When he came upon the Coaft of that Inand, at the time of which we are now writing, he gave out, that he did not do it willingly, but purely to obtain Relief, and that he had juft Reafons to expect it in a Country under the Dominion of his Sovereigns; but his real Defign of creating Difturbances there, being ftrongly fufpected, he was advifed to take what he wanted, and to continue his Voyage.

This he pretended to call a great Hardfhip, and threw out many Reflections upon the Admiral and his Family. Upon which Ground she began to write to fome that were deep in the late Troubles, and to hold Correfpondence with them : But Roldan being informed of his Proceedings, by the Admiral's Order, went againft him to prevent his doing the Harm he intended. Being come within a League and a Half of him, he undertood he was at a Caziques', baking Bread and Bifkets, and therefore he travelled that Night to furprife him. Hojeda underftanding that Roldan was coming upon him, to make the beft of a bad Cafe, went to meet him; alledging, Want of Provifions liad brought him thither, to fupply himifelf in the King his Mafter's Dominions, and that he meant no fort of Harm.
But holding his wicked Purpofe, and taking leave of Roldan, he went with his Ships to Xaragua, where a great many of thofe People lived who had before rebelled
with Roldan ; and becaure the Shew of Gain is the mof ready way to promote any Mifchief, he began to give out that their Catholic Majefties had appointed him and Carvajal the Admiral's Counfellors ; and that, among many other Things they had adviled him to, one was, That they fhould fay in ready Money all in their Service, and fince the Admiral was not fo juft as to do it, he was ready to go with them to Santo Domingo, to oblige him to pay out of hand; and that done, to turn him out of the Inand, dead or alive, for they ought not to rely upon the Word he had given them, for he would keep it no longer than Neceffity obliged him to it. Upon thele Promifes, many refolved to follow him; and being affifted by them, he fell upon others who oppofed him, and there were fome killed and others wounded, on both Sides. And being fatisfied that Roldan would not join with them, they refolved to furprize him ; but he being informed of their Defign, went where Hojeda was; to put a Stop to his Diforders. Hojeda, for fear of him; retired to his Ships, and Roldan continuing afhore, they treated, each of them fearing to put himfelf into the Power of the other. Roldan perceiving thatHojeda was unwilling to come afhore, he pretended to treat with him aboard, to which Purpofe he fent for his Boat, which he fent him well manned; and having taken in Roldan and fix or feven of his Followers, when they leatt fufpected it, Roldan and his People fell upon Hojeda's Men, and, killing fome and wounding others, made themfelves Mafters of the Boat, returning with it to Land. Hojeda, who liad only a fmall Ship left, refolved to come peaceably to treat with Roldan. He agreed to reftore fome Men he had taken by force, that his Boat and Men might be returned, alledging, if it was not reftored it would be the Ruin of them all and their Ships, becaufe he had no other. Rolden readily granted it, that he might have no caufe to fay he was loft through his Means; yet he made him give Security that he would depart the Inand by a Time appointed, as he was obliged to do, by the good Guard Roldan kept on Shore.
A few Days after Hojeda was gone, one Don Ferdinand de Guevara being in Difgrace with the Admiral, as a feditious Perfon; and having taken part with Hojeda through Spite to Roldan, becaufe he would not permit him to take to Wife the Daughter of Anacaona Queen of Xaragua, began to gather many Confpirators defigning to feize Roldan, and fucceed him ; particularly he gained to his Party Adriain de Moxica, a chief Man among the late Rebels, and other wicked Men; who, about the Month of $\mathcal{F} u l y$, contrived to murder Roldon. He having Intelligence of the Defign flood upon his Guard, and ordered his Bufinefs fo well that he feized DonFerdinand, Adrion, and the chief Men of their Party; and fending the Admiral an Account of what had happened, demanded what he fhould do with them. The Anfwer was, That fince they had endeavoured, without any Provocation, to difturb the Country, he fhould punifh them according to their Demerit, and as the Law directed: The Judge did it accordingly, and proceeded legally againft them, hanged Adrian, as chief Author of the Confpiracy; banifhed others, and kept Don Ferdinand in Prifon, till, on the 13 th of 'fune, he delivered him with other Prifoners to Gonsalo Blanco, to carry them to the Plain, where the Admiral then was.

This Example quieted the Country, and the Indians again fubmitted themfelves to the Chriftians. Such rich Gold Mines were now difcovered, that every Man left the King's Pay, and went to dig Gold at his own Expence, allowing the King the Third Part of all they found. This profpered fo well that a Man has gathered five Marks, or forty Ounces of Gold in a Day. The Indians were alfo become fubmifivive, dreading the Admiral, and fo defirous to pleafe him that they readily became Chriftians only to oblige him; and therefore, to fettle all Things the better, the Admiral refolved to take a Progrefs through the Ifland, and accordingly he and his Brother, the Lieutenant, fet out on the zoth of February 1499, and came to Ifabella the 19th of March. From Ifabelle they fet out, the 5 th of Auguf, for the Conception. From the Conception the Admiral defigned to go to Santo Domingo, on the 3 d of February, in order to return into

Spain, to give their Catholic Majefties an Account of all Things in the Colonies.
9. At the very Time -thofe Diforders fell out in the Colonies, many of the Rebels from Hijpaniola, and others that were returned into Spain, did not ceafe to give in falfe Informations to the King and his Council againft the Admiral and his Brother ; alledging they were cruel, and unfit for that Government, as well becaufe they were not Spaniards, as becaufe they had not formerly been in a Condition to learn by Fxperience how to govern People of Condition; affirming, that if their Highneffes did not apply fome Remedy, thofe Countries would be utterly deftroyed; or, in cafe they were not quite ruined, by their ill Government, the Admiral would revolt, and procure fome Prince to fupport him, by pretending that all was his own, as having been difcovered by his Induftry and Labour; and that the better to compars his Defign, he eoncealed the Wealth of the Country, and would not have the Indians ferve the Chriftians, oi be converted to the Faith, becaufe by making much of them, he hoped they would be on his Side, to do what he pleafed againft their Highneffes.

They therefore importuned their Catholic Majefties to remove him, complaining there were fiveral Years Pay due to them, which gave Occanon to all that were at Court to rail. And their Impudence was fo great, that if the Catholic King went abroad they all got about him, crying, Pay, Pay; and if the Asmiral's Sons, who were Pages to her Majefty paffed by where they were, they cried out in a hideous Manner, making the Sign of the Crofs, and faying, There are the Admiral of the Mufquito's Sons, he that has found out falfe and deceitful Countries, to be the Ruin and Burial-place of the Spanib Gentry. Their Complaints running fo high, it was refolved to fend a Judge to Hijpaniola, to enquire into all thefe Affairs, ordering him, in cafe he found the Admiral guilty of what was alledged, to fend him to Spain, and ftay there himfelf as Governor. The Perfon their Miajefties made Choice of for this Purpofe, was one Francis de Bovadilla, a poor Knight of the Order of Calatrava, who, on the 2 Ift of May, 1499, had full and ample Commifion given him at Madrid, and blank Letters fubforibed by their Majefties to fuch Perfons as he fhould think fit, in Hippaniola, commanding them to be aiding and affifting to him.

Thus furnifhed, he arrived at Santo Domingo at the latter End of Auguft, 1500, at fuch time as the Admiral was at the Conception fettling the Affairs of that Province, where his Brother had been attacked by the Rebels, and where there were more Indians, and thofe more underftanding People than in the reft of the Inand; fo that Bovadilla, at his Arrival, finding no body to keep him in awe; the firft thing he did was to take up his Quarters in the Admiral's Palace, and feize and make ufe of all he found there, as if it had fallen to him by Inheritance; and, gathering together all he could find that had been in the Rebellion, and many others that hated the Admiral and his Brothers, he prefently declared himfelf Governor; and, to gain the Affection of the People, he caufed a general Freedom to be proclaimed for twenty Years to come; requiring the Admiral to repair to him without any Delay, becaufe it was convenient for his Majefty's Service he fhould do fo. And to back his Summons, on the 7th of September fent him the King's Letter, by $F$. Fobn de la Sera, containing no more, in effect, than that their Majefties had fent the Bearer to acquaint him with their Pleafure, which he was directed to obey. This Order was dated at Madrid, 2 Ift of May, 1499, which Order was figned both by the King and by the Queen.
10. The Admiral having feen their Majefties Letter, came away prefently to Santo Domingo, where the new Judge was; who having been eager to eftablifh himfelf Governor there, in the beginning of Oftober, without any legal Information, fent him Prifoner aboard a Ship, together with his Brother James, putting them in Irons, and a good Guard over them; and ordered on fevere Penalties that none frould dare to fpeak to them; after this he began to draw up a Procefs againft them, admitting the

Rebels as Witneffes, and publickly favoured all that came to fpeak ill of them; who, in their Depolitions, gave in fuch Incoherencies, that he muft have been blind that had not plainly perceived they were falfe and malicious. For this Reafon their Catholic Majefties would not admit of them, and cleared the Admiral, repenting that they had fent fuch a Man, and not without Caufe; for this Bovadilla ruined the Illand, and fquandered the King's Revenues, gaining Numbers to be his Friends, by faying their Majefties would have nothing but the Dominion, and that the Profit fhould be for their Subjects; yet he neglected not his own Share, but, fiding with the richeft and moft powerful Men, gave them Indians to ferve them, upon Condition, they flould fhare with him all they got by their Means, and fold by Auction the Poffeffions and Rights the Admiral had required for their Majefties, faying they were no Labourers, nor did not defire to make a Profit of thofe Lands, only kept them for the Benefit of their Subjects.

He thus on one Side felling all things under this Colour, endeavoured on the other, that they fhould be bought by fome of his own Confederates, for one third of the Value: Befides all this, he made ufe of his judicial Power to enrich himfelf, and gain the Affections of the People; being ftill afraic, that the Lieutenant, who was not yet come from Xaragua, fhould put a Stop to his Proceedings, and endeavour to fet the Admiral at Liberty by Force of Arms ; in which Particular the Brothers behaved themfelves very prudently, for the Admiral fent them Word, immediatcly, that they fhould come peaceably to him, the King's Service fo requiring, that the Inand might not be put into an Uproar ; for when they were in Spain, they fhould more eafily obtain the Punifhment of fuch a Perfon, and Satisfaction for the Wrongs done them.

Yet this did not divert Bovadilla from putting him and his Brother into Irons, allowing the bafer Sort to rail at them publickly; blowing Horns about the Port where they were fhipped, befides fcandalous Libels fet up at Corners of Streets againft them. When they were to fail, he defired Andrew Martin, the Mafter of the Ship, to look to him, and to deliver him in Irons as he was, to the Bifhop D. Fobn de Fonceca, by whofe Advice and Direction, it was concluded, he did all thefe things; though when they were at Sea, the Mafter, being fenfible of Bovadilla's Unworthinefs, would have knocked off the Admiral's Irons, which he would not permit, faying, That fince their Ca tholic Majefties, by their Letter, directed him to perform whatfoever Bovadilla, in their Name, commanded him to do; in Virtue of which Commifion he had put him into Irons, he would have none but their Fighneffes themfelves to do their Pleafure herein; and he was refolved to keep thefe Fetters as Relicks, and Memorials of the Reward of his many Services, as accordingly he did; for thefe Irons hung up in his Room, and he ordered them to be buried with him. Notwithftanding that, having on the 20th of November, 1500, written to their Highnefies, acquainting them with his Arrival at Cadiz; they immediately gave Orders that he fhould be releafed, and fent him very gracious Letters; in which they declared they were very forry for his Sufferings, and the unmannerly Behaviour of Bovadilla towards him, directing him to come to Court, where Care fhould be taken that he fhould be fpeedily difpatched with full Reftitution of his Honour, as, indeed, was but reafonable, fince all he had done, and which had brought upon him fo many Troubles, was purely out of Regard to the Intereft of their Majefties; and from the earneft Defire he had to hinder private Avarice from overturning the Meafures taken for the public Benefit; and for the Intereft of the Crown of Cafile, at whofe Expence the firf Difcoveries had been made.
II. Their Majefties Orders came on the I2th of $D \varepsilon$ cember for him to be fet at Liberty, and to repair to Granada; where he was received by their Majefties with a favourable Afpect, and kind Words, importing that his Imprifonment had not been by their Defire or Command, therefore they were much offended at it, and they wonld take care thofe that wore in Fault fonld
be punifhed, and full Satisfaction given him. Afterwards they ordered his Bufinefs fhould be expedited immediately, the Refult thereof was, That a Governor fhould be fent to Hifpaniola, who was to right the Admiral and his Brothers; and Bovadilla fhould be obliged to reftore all he had taken from them; and that the Admiral fhould be allowed all that belonged to him, according to the Articles their Majefties had granted him; and that the Rebels fhould be proceeded againft, and punifhed according to their Offences. Don Nicbolas de Obando was fent with thefe Powers; he was a wife and judicious Man, but, as afterwards appeared, partial, craftily concealing his Paffions, giving Credit to malicious Perfons, and therefore acting cruelly and revengfully.

But to return to the Adiniral; as their Majefties were pleafed to fend Obando to Hifpaniola, fo they thought it proper to fend the Admiral upon fome Voyage that might turn to his Advantage, and keep him employed till the faid Obando could pacify and reduce the Inand 'Hifpaniola; becaufe they did not mean to keep him fo long out of his Office, without any juft Occainon; the Informations fent by Bovadilla, plainly appearing to be full of Malice, and not containing any thing for which he ought to forfeit his Rights. But there being fome Delay in the Execution of this Defign, and ill Men endeavouring to prevail that a new Information might be expected, the Admiral refolved to fpeak to their Majefties, and beg of them that they would defend him againft all Dangers, which he afterwards repeated by Letters; and this procured him, firft of all, a very favourable Anfwer, and very foon afterwards as favourable Grants and Conceffions as he could poffibly defire ; which made him, in fome Meafure, forget all that he had fuffered, and refolve once more to expofe his Life in another Voyage to the Indies, for the prefecting his Defign, which probably after fuch Ufage no other Man would have done.
12. The Continent of America had never been touched upon, or known before this Voyage ; and, to the Honour of the Admiral, it muft be confeffed, that he difcovered it by Skill, and not by Chance; and failed directly in fearch of it from Spain, and not from the Indies. That he was indifputably the firft Difcoverer, appears from hence, that be was at the Inand of Margarita on the firlt of Auruft, 498, whereas Alonfo Hojeda, and Americus $V e \int p u c i u s$ did not fail from Cadiz till the 20th of May, 1499. But if the Admiral had been hindered from making this Difcovery, they could not, with any Propriety, have claimed the Merit or Title of Difcoverers, from what they performed in that Voyage, fince they made ufe of the Admiral's Drafts and Projects, which by their Catholic Majefties Commands, he had put into the Hands of the Bifhop of Burgos, for their Service; and which, without their Majefties Knowledge, he communicated to thefe Men, out of pure Hatred to the Admiral; and that he might, if it was poffible, rob him of his Credit and Reputation, as he had already deprived him of a great Part of his Intereft at Court. The Licences that he gave thefe Men were clandeftine, and it was no fooner known that they had obtained them, than others refolved to make ufe of the fame Intereft, in order to obtain Shares in the Riches of the new World.

A mongft others, fome Inhabitants of the City of Seville formed a Company for this Purpofe, and the principal Man amongft them, at leaft in Point of Capacity, was one Peter Alonfo Nino, an Inhabitant of Palos, who was with the Admiral when Paria was difcovered, and Cbritopher Guerra of Seville. Peter Alonjo Nino having obtained the King's Licence, upon Condition that he fhould not come to an Anchor, nor land any where within fifty Leagues of what the Admiral had difcovered, being himfelf unable to fit out a Ship, propofed it to Lewris Guerra of Serille to defray the Expence; and the Samples of Gold and Pearls the Admiral had fent, having ftirred up the Avarice of many, Guerra accepted of the Offer, provided that his Brother Cbriftopher fhould go as Captain; and accordingly they fet fail not long after Alonfo de Fojeda. They failed two or 300 Leagues to the Southward, difcovered Land, and, keeping down the

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Coaft, arrived at the Province of Paria a few Days after Hojeda, where, finding the Indians peaceably difpofed, they, contrary to their Inftructions, cut Brazil Wood; and holding on their Courfe, came to that which Hojeda had called the Bay of Pearls, formed by the Inand Margarita, where they bartered for many Pearls.

The People of this Country went aboard the Ships without any Fear, carrying Necklaces of Pearls, and fome of them in their Nofes and Ears; the Spowiards cirove a great Trade with Hawks-bells, Bracelets, Rings, and feveral Trifles made of Tin, which they took, and for them very freely gave their Pearls; having got a confiderable Quantity of them, they paffed by Coro, near the Province now called Venezuela, i 30 Leagues below Paria and the Dragon's Mouth; and anchored in a Bay where they were very well received by fifty Men, who came from a Place a League off; and very earneftly preffed them to anchor at their Town. The Spaniards gave them fome of their Toys, and the Indians taking off all the Pearls they had about their Necks and Arms, in the Space of an Hour gave them as many as weighed fifteen Ounces. The next Day they came to anchor before the Town called Curiana, where the Indians intreated them to go afhore, but the Spaniards being no more than thiry-three durft not venture, and made Signs to them to come aboard, which they did in their Canoes, carrying Pearls to exchange for fome Spanifb Toys.

At length, being convinced of their Sincerity, the Spaniards went afhore, and being courteounly entertained, ftayed there twenty Days: They plentifully fupplied them with Venifon, Rabbits, Geefe, Ducks, Parrots, Fifh, Bread made of Maize, Indian Wheat, and other things, and brought them all the Game they would afk for. By feeing fo many Deer they concluded that this muft be the Continent. They perceived that they kept Markets of Fairs, and that they made ufe of Jars, Difhes, or Porringers, befides other Veffels of feveral Shapes, and that in their Pearl Necklaces they had Frogs and other Creatures made of Gold; and on afking where it was gathered, they anfwered, fix Days Journey from thence; they refolved to fail thither, and that was the Province of Curiana Caucbcito, where the People came aboard in their Canoes, without any Jealoufy. They carried fome wrought and unwrought Gold, which they bartered away, but would not part with the Pearls, they had like thofe of Curiana; however, they gave them very fine Monkies and moft beautiful Parrots of Ceveral Colours.

Departing hence, they proceeded further, where above five thoufand naked Men came out with Bows and Arrows to hinder their landing, and though they endeavoured to appeafe them by fhewing Hawks-Bells and other things, they could not prevail, and therefore returned to Curiana, and were received with the fame Satisfaction as before, and earneftly entreated for Pins and Needles; for whereas, at firt, they had underftood they were to few, and tack things together, and therefore faid they had no ufe for them, going naked, the Spaniards fhewed them that they were ufed for drawing Thorns out of their Feet, there being many in that Part, at which they 'fmiled, and afked for them. All that Country lies in feven or eight Degrees Latitude, and is not at all cold in November and December. The Indions were highly pleafed, thinking they had cheated the Spaniards, who carried away above 150 Marks, or 1200 Ounces of Pearls, and fome of them as large as fmall Hanle-nuts, very beautiful and well coloured; but they were ill bored, the Indians having no Iron. The Spaniards thought fit to return home, and fo came back to Paria and the Dragon's Mouth. Two Months after they left Curiana they arrived, in Galicia, on the 6th of Fibluary, 1500 , where Ferdinand de la Vega, Lord of Grajal, was then Governor; before whom Peter. Alonfo Nino and Cbriftopher Guerra were accufed, by their own Ships Crew, of having concealed Pearls, and defrauded the King of his fifth Part, which was the Duty.

The Noife that this Voyage made, and the great Riches which the Adventurers gained thereby, promoted the Spirit of Difcovery, but more efpecially among fuch as had been acquainted with the Propofals made by the Ad-
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miral,
miral, or had ferved under him in his two fint Voyages, and confequently had greater Opportunities of gaining Experience, in this Way, than any other Men. Of thefe there was none fo capable of profecuting Voyages of this kind as Vincent Yoinez Pinfon, of whom we have already fpoken, for he was not only a very able Seaman, and, as fuch, had failed with the Admiral in his fift Difcovery, but was alfo a Man of liberal Education, great Courage, and had a large Fortune, fo that he fitted out at his own Expence a Squadron of four Sail of ftout Ships, with which he failed to the Cape de Verd Inands, and, having there taken in fuch Refrefhments as he thought neceffary, proceeded from St. Fogo upon the i 3 th of $\mathcal{F}^{2} a$ muary, I500, upon Dilcovery.

He firft ftood away to the South, and then to the Weft, and having failed 700 Leagues loft Sight of the North Star, and croffed the equinotial Line, being the firft Subject of the Crown of Coftile and Leon that did it. When paft the Line, they met with fuch a dreadful Storm; that they expected to perifh; he ran 240 Leagues farther to the Weftward, and on the 26 th of February they difcovered Land at a great Diftance, being that which is now called Cape St. Augufine, though Vincent Tanez named it Cabo de Confolation, or Cape Comfort, and the Portuguefe cail it the Province of Santa Cruz, or of the Holy Crofs, now a Part of Brazil; they found the Sea thick and whitifh, like a River, and, founding, had fixteen Fathom Water. Captain Pinfon, going on Shore, here took Poffeffion of the Country in the Name of their Catholic Majefties, and endeavoured all he could to bring the People to trade, but without Effect, for at laft they came to Blows, in which fome were flain on both Sides; and at laft he thought it advifeable to retire and continue his Voyage, which he did to the Mouth of the River Maranon, where he obferved what the Admiral had done before at the Mouth of another great River; a mighty Struggle between the Tide of Salt-water running in, and a vaft Current of frefh Water pouring down from the Land: He likewife found the Country at the Mouth of this River well inhabited on both Sides, but could not bring them to enter into any Trade as he expected, and therefore he refolved, without any farther Delay, to proceed towards Paria, which he accordingly did.

In his Paffage he met with another very large River, fo that he drew up frefh Water when above twenty Leagues at Sea, and therefore he called it Rio Dulce, or the Freff River, which has been fince fuppofed to be a Branch of the great River Yapari, that makes the frefh Bay betweeen Paria and the Inand of Trinity; upon this frefh River, found by $V$ incent $Y_{\text {anez, }}$ it is fuppofed that the People called Aruacas have their Dwellings. They proceeded to Paria, and there took in Brazil Wood; from which Vincent Yanez ftruck over to the Inands that lay in the Way to Hijpaniola, and, the Ships being at Anchor, there arofe fuch a dreadful Storm that two of them funk in the Sight of the others, with all the Men; a third was forced from its Anchors, with eighteen Men, and carried out of Sight: The Fourth, which is likely had the beft Anchors and Cables, riding it out, beat fo furiounly upon the Sea, that the Sailors, believing it would be dafhed in Pieces, went all afhore in the Long Boat, without Hopes of its efcaping; and, for their own Security, had Thoughts of killing all the Indians thereabouts, to prevent their calling in their Neighbours to deftroy them; but the Ship that had been drove away with the eighteen Men returned, and that which had rode out, when the Sea grew calm, was faved. In thefe two Ships they went away to Hifpaniola, where they refitted, and returned into Spain, about the latter end of September, having difcovered 600 Leagues about the Coaft of Paria.
In the latter end of the Month of December, 1499, Fames de Lepe, a Native of the Town of Palos, having heard of the Expedition undertaken by Pinfon, applied himfelf to the Earl of Mivanda, his Patron, and promifed him mighty things in cafe he would enable him to make the fame Voyage, which was very foon complied
with; and he actually argived at the Mouth of the River Maranon, within a very fhort time after Pinfon had left it, as he found to his Coft; for the People, being provoked by his carrying away thirty-fix Men out of their Country, attacked the Spaniards brinkly, and killed feveral, fo that he was compelled to profecute his Voyage to Paria, where he likewife quarrelled with the People, and returned without making the leaft Advantage of this Expedition, except taking a few Indiana Prifoners.

As it happened about this time, it is requifite that we fhould fpeak here of the great good Fortune of the Crown of Portugal, a Subject of which was fo happy as to fall upon one of the richeft Countries of South America, by meer Chance; the thing happened thus: Don Emanusl King of Portugal, fitted out a Fleet for the Eaf Indies, confifting of thirteen Sail, having on Board one thoufand two hundred Men, Soldiers and Sailors, under the Command of Peter Alvarez Cabral, who failed from Liboon on Monday the gth of March, 1500, and, to avoid the Coaft of Guinea, where they afterwards met with great Calms, ftruck out to Sea on the Starboard, fteering; his Courle to the Southward, the better to turn the Cape of good LIope, becaufe it runs far out into the Sea; having failed a Month, fill keeping to Sea, on the 24 th of April he fell in with the Coaft of the Continent of America, which, according to the Computation of the Pilots, might be about 450 Leagues diftant from the Coaft of Guinea, and in about $10^{\circ}$ South Latitude. The Pilots could not perfuade themfelves that it was a Continent, but fome great Ifland like Hippaniola, and, in order to find it out, they held on one Day along the Coaft, hoifted out a Boat, went afhore, and faw an infinite Number of naked People, but not black, nor, with curled Hair like thofe of Guinea, but hanging down lank like ours, which they thought was extraordinary; the Boat returned to give an Account of it, and faid that there was a good Harbour where they might come to an Anchor; the Fleet drew near to Land, and the Commander fent out the Boat again, with Orders to endeavour to take fome Men.

The Indions retired to a Hill, waiting to fee what the Portuguefe would do; but when they were about fending other Boats, the Weather obliged them to proceed along. the Coaft, and they anchored in another good Harbour, which they called Puerto Seguro, or Safe Harbour; a Boat went afhore and took two Indians, whom the Commander ordered to be cloathed and fent back, whereupon a great Number of People came forward, finging and dancing, founding Horns of feveral Sorts, and leaping in joyful Manner; the Commander went afhore with moft of his Men, and that being Eafter-day they erected an Altar under a Tree, where they fung Mafs; the Indians drew near in a very peaceable Manner, and with much Security kneeled down, beat their Breafts, doing all that they faw the Chriftians do, and were as attentive at a Sermon that was preached as if they underftood it.
Peter Alvarez Cabral fent away a Ship from thence under Gafpar de Lemos, with Advice of the Land he had difcovered, which was very acceptable. The Men walked about all that Day diverting themfelves, and the Indians, for pieces of Paper, bits of Cloth, and fuch like inconfiderable things, gave them Parrots and other Birds of fine Colours, Axis, Batatas, and the like. They went to the Towns, and thought the Country fruitful and agreeable, very full of Maize, or Irdian Wheat, and Cotton. Peter Alvarez ordered a Stone Crofs to be èrected there, in Token of Poffeffion, and therefore the Portuguese called that Country Santa Cruz, or Holy Cross, and it is now called Brazil, from that Sort of Wood brought from thence. The Commander left two Men there of twenty he had brought from Portugal, being banifhed Men, to be left where he thought fit, whom the Indians ufed very well, and one of them learned the Language, and ferved a long time for an Interpreter. Thus the Difcovery of Brazil was purely accidental, and the only one independant of what was projected by the Admiral, or grounded upon his Projects.


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13. It muft naturally feem frange to the judicious and attentive Reader, that every light, every tranfient Scheme for finding new Countries, and making frefh Difcoveries, 'fhould ineet with Encouragement, while the Admiral himfelf was not only in a manner neglected, but alfo moft infamounly abufed. He ought to confider, however, that Difcoveries and Improvements are feldom well underftood by Statefmen and Courtiers. To fpeak honeftly and fairly they are the laft Sort of Men that can be brought to underftand them, and that for this plain Reafon: The Merit of fuch Undertakings confifts in propoling a very large and certain future Advantage from a fmall prefent Expence, whereas Statefmen and Courtiers, having the prefent Time only in View, care very little for fuch Advantages as are to redound to their Country in Times after their own.
We have a clear and direct Proof of this in the Conduct of the Spanifh Minitters upon this Occafion; for they were infinitely more ready to liften to all fuch Adventurers as propofed immediate Profits, and a prefent Supply of Gold, Pearl, and other rich Commodities, than to the Schemes of the Admiral, who was a grave public-fpirited Man, and thewed his Integrity as well as his Wifdom, in defiring his Reward in thofe Countries which he difcovered, and not in Spain. But to enter more particularly into the Miftakes that were made by the Spanifh Minifters in their Conduct of this Affair, for the fake of other Countries, and future Difcoveries, we will reduce them under Three Heads.
Firft, It was extremely wrong, to place the fole Merit of thofe new found Countries, in producing Gold and Pearls ; and this for many Reafons which might be afligned, but we will mention only two; one is, that a Country is not enriched fo much as endangered by having Gold Mines; and this, becaufe it exhauftsits Subjects, encourages Luxury, and excites the Envy of other Nations. In this Senfe, whatever Commodities will produce Gold and Silver are much more valuable than thofe Metals, as we fee plainly by the Dutcti Fifheries on our Coafts, which are infinitely more beneficial than if, inftead of Herrings, their Nets brought up fo much Gold as thofe Herrings fell for, fince it is a continual

Nurfery for Seamen, employs a vaft Number of People on Shore, creates a very large and profitable Trade', and has increafed the Dutch Shipping to almoft an incredible Degree : Gold and Silver, therefore, are the Riches of private Men; but the Wealth of a Nation confifts in Induftry and Trade. The other Reafon why the bringing over fuch rich Metals ought not to be encouraged, efpecially at the Beginning of fuch Difcoveries, is, becaufe it hinders Plantations and Settlements, and, by exciting a Spirit of Avarice, abfolutely deftroys that kind of public Spirit, which can alone difpofe the Inhabitants of Colonies to become truly uffull to their Mother Country.

The fecond great Miftake they committed was, it making their Notions public, and thereby drawing Multitude of Adventurers to croud in with their Projects; which not only diftracted the Views of the great Men themfelves, but diffurbed all Spain, and, inftead of promoting that kind of Turn which was requifite to improve thofe new difcovered Countries, begat quite the reverfe, and eftablifhed it as a general Opinion, that Wealth was the fole Good, and that every kind of Hazard was to be run in order to obtain it.
The tbird Error, was their flighting and relinquifhing that moft wife and judicious Plan which Columbus had chalked out; for he, by fuggefting the Converfion of Infidels to the Chrifitian Faith, and thereby obtaining the Sanction of the Pope's Grant, had . moft effectually covered all the Views of Ambition and Intereft which it became the Court of Caftile to conceal ; but the Bifhop of Burgos and his Creatures were not more wanting in Virtue than negligent in Point of Decency, and, from a reftefs and rapacious Defire of enriching themfelves in an Inftant, at the Expence of this new World, drew afide the Curtain, and Thewed all Europe at once, both what it was they fought, and how eafy a thing it might be to fhare with them. Whereas, if they had filently eftablifhed large and powerful Colonies in Hijpaniole, and contented themfelves with moderate Returns of Gold, they might have been ftrong enough to have given Laws in that Part of the World, before it had been poffible for any other Nation to have found their way thither.

## S ECTIONV.

The fourth Voyage of the Admiral DonChristopher Columbus; bis Dijcoveries on the Continent, and of the IJlands in America; with an Account of bis Return from that Voyage to Spain, and bis Deceafe.

1. An Account of the new Propofals made by the Admiral to the Court of Spain in regard to bis fourth Voy=: age to the Indies, and the Acceptance they met with. 2. His Arrival in the Indies, and the bafe Ufage that be met with from Nicholas Obando, the new Governor of Hifpaniola. 3. The Admiral profecutes Bis Difcoveries along the Coaft of the Continent, and labours all be can to gain Intelligence from the Indians, whom be treats with the utmoft Humanity. 4. He continues bis Voyage torvards the Iftbmus of Darien, fuppofing, from the Account given by the Natives, that be Jould bave found a Paflage thereabouts into the South-Sea. 5. Difcovers all along the Coaft of the Continent to the famous Haven of Porto-Bello, to which be gave that Name, and the Reajon of it. 6. He enters the Port of Baftimentos, and Jolters bimfelf afterwards in that of Retrete, where be falls out with the Natives, through the Fault of bis own People. 7. The Meafures be took for the Prefervation of the Spaniards, and the Reafon of bis refolving to leave a confiderable Colony in that Neigbbourbood. 8. The Difcoveries made by them of rich Mines of Gold in the Country nedr ibeir Settlement, and of the Caufes of the Troubles that enfued among them. 9. The Miferies cndured by the Admiral and bis Men in Jamaica, and the Metbod they took to fend Advice of their Miffortunes to Santo Domingo. IO. A large Account of the Rebcllion raifed againft the Admiral under thefe Difreffes, and of bis Wifdom and Courage in fupporting them. II. His Return with great Difficulty to Hifpaniola, and from thence into Spain, and bis Reception there. I2. His Death, and fome Remarks onz the Circumflances attending it. I3. Oblervations upon tbis Section, and the ill UJage bis Family met with notwithfanding all the Advantages derived to Spain from Admiral Columbus's Difcoveries.

"THE Admiral found not only all his Patience, of which he had a large Stock, but all his Parts, and all his Addrefs, in neither of which he was the leaft deficient, abfolutely neceffary to maintain his Ground at Court. The King, who was a Prince flattered with the Reputation of being a profound Statefman, be-
caufe he knew how to diffemble, who had a largeShare of Cunning, and who durft do any thing however unbecoming his Dignity and Birth, treated the Admiral with a cold. Efteem, and fecretly hated a Character fo unlike his own. The Queen herfelf, tho' a true Cafilian, which implies a Woman of Genius, Piety, and Honour, had conceived

Come Prejudices againft Columbus on account of that Height with which he had exerted his Authority; but at the bottom at his having procured it rather by way of Contract, than by expecting fuch a Reward as their Catholic Majefties thould judge proper. The Admiral faw this clearly enough, and that though their Majefties were defirous to do Juftice to his Pretenfions, yet they were inclined to frip him of his Power, and were therefore averfe to his Defire of returning to the Indies.
He refolved therefore to attack them in their own Way; and, having demanded a private Audience of the Queen, infinuated, that what he had yet done was nothing; that his Difcoveries on the Continent were with a View to find a Paffage to the Eafl Indies, and that he did not at all doubt but that in another Voyage he fhould be able to furmount all Difficulties, and fubdue the Eaft as well as the Wefo Indies to the Power of their Catholic Majefties. This had its defired Effect; a Fleet was immediately ordered for this new Service, and the Admiral was again as much careffed, as if the King and Queen had really thought it poffible to blet out of his Mind the Memory of his ill Ufage.
2. He fet fail from Cadiz on the 9th of May 1502, and failed to St. Catberines; thence they went to Arzilla to relieve the Portuguefe, who were reported to be in great Diftrefs; but when they came thither the Moors had raifed the Siege: The Admiral therefore fent his Brother Don Bartbolomerv Columbus, his own Son, with the Captain of the Ships, on Chore, to vifit the Governor of Arzilla, who had been wounded by the Moors in an Affault. He returned the Admiral Thanks for the Vifit, and to this purpofe fent fome Gentlemen to him, among whom fome were Relations to Donna Pbilippa Moniz the Admiral's Wife. The fame Day he failed, and, arriving at Grand Canaria on the 2oth of May, caft anchor among the little Illands, and on the 24 th went over to Majpalomas in the fame Ifland, there to wood and water for their Voyage. The I 5 th of Fune they arrived at the Inand Mar- $^{\text {a }}$ tinico, whence they ftood to the Weftward and came to Domingo, ten Leagues from the other, fo running along among the Caribbee Iflands to Santa Cruz; and on the 24 th of the fame Month ran along the South Side of the Inand of St. Fobn. The Admiral had a mind to change one of his Ships for another, becaufe it was a bad Sailer, and befides would lie almoft under Water, which was a Hindrance to his Voyage, becaufe his Defign was to have gone directly upon the Coaft of Paria, and keep upon the Shore till he came upon the Streight, which he certainly concluded was about the Places fince called $V_{e}-$ ragua and Nombre de Dios; but feeing the Fault of the Ship, he was forced to repair to S. Domingo, to change it for a better.

Yet that the Judge fent by their Majefties to call Bovadilla to an Account for his Mal-adminiftration might not be furprized at his unexpected Arrival, upon the 29th of June, being near the Port, the Admiral fent Peter de Terreros, Captain of one of the Ships, to flgnify what Occafion he had to change that Ship, for which Reafon, as alfo becaufe he apprehended a great Storm was coming, he defired to fecure himfelf in that Port, advifing him not to let the homeward-bound Fleet fail out for eight Days to come, for if he did it would be in great Danger. But the Governor would not permit the Admiral to come into the Harbour, nor did he hinder the going out of the Fleet that was bound for Spain, which confifted of eighteen Sail, and was to carry Bovadilla, who had imprifoned the Admiral and his Brother, Francis Roldan, and all the reft who had been in the Rebellion againft them, and done them fo much Harm; all whom it pleafed God to infatuate, that they might not admit of the Admiral's good Advice. This was prevented by their fetting out of that Port for Spain; for no fooner were they come to the Eaft-Point of the Ifland Hifpaniola, but there arofe fo terrible a Storm, that the Admiral of the Fleet funk, in which was Bovadilla, with moft of the Rebels; and this Hurricane made fuch Havock among the reft, that of the eighteen Ships only three or four were faved. This happened on the laft of Func, when the Admiral, having forefeen the Storm, and being refufed Admittance
into the Port for his Security, drew up as clofe to Land as he could, thus fheltering himfelf, not without much Diffatisfaction among the Men, who, for being with him, were denied that Reception which certainly had been allowed to Strangers, much more to them who were of the fame Nation; for they feared they fhould be fo ferved if any Misfortune fhould befal them for the future; and though the Admiral was concerned on the fame Account, yet it grieved him more to behold the Bafenefs and Ingratitude ufed towards him in that Country he had difcovered for the Honour and Benefit of Spain, in being thus refufed to fhelter his Life in it.

Yet his Judgment and Prudence fecured his Ships till the next Day; when the Tempeft increafing, and the Night coming on very dark, three Ships broke from him, every one his own Way, the Men on board each of them, though all in great Danger, concluding, the others were loft: Thofe aboard the Ship called Santo, thinking to fave their Boat, which had been afhore with the Captain Terreros, dragged it aftern, where it overfet, and were at laft forced to let go to fave themfelves: But the Caravel Bermuda was in much more Danger; for while running.out to Sea, fhe was almoft covered with it; by which it appeared the Admiral had Reafon to change it, and all Men concluding that, under God, the Admiral's Brother was the faving of her, by his Wifdom and Refolution; for, as has been faid, there was not at that time a more expert Sailor than he. So that after they had all fuffered very much, except the Admiral, it pleafed God they met again in the Port of $A z u a$, on the South Side of Hifpaniola, where every one giving an Account of his Misfortunes, it appeared, that Bartbolomew Columbus had weathered fo great a Storm, by flying from Land like an able Sailor ; and that the Admiral was out of Danger, by lying clofe to the Shore like a cunning Aftrologer, who knew whence the Danger muft come. Well might his Enemies blame him therefore, as if he had raifed the Storm by Magic, to be revenged on Bovadilla, and the reft of his Enemies that were with him, feeing that none of his four Ships perifhed, and that of eighteen with Bovadilla, only one, called la Aguja or the Needle, the worft of them all, held on its Courfe for Spain, where it arrived fafe, having on board four thoufand Pefos of Gold belonging to the Admiral, the other three that efcaped, returning to $S$. Domingo fhattered and in a diftreffed Condition.
3. The Admiral in the Port of Azua gave his Men fome Refrefhment after the Storm, and it being one of the Diverfions ufed at Sea to fifh when there is nothing elfe to do, it may not be amifs to mention two Sorts of Fifh among the reft which were taken there, the one pleafant, the other fingular: The firt was a Fifh called Soavira, as big as half an ordinary Bell, which lying anteep above Water was ftruck with a Harping-iron from the Boat of the Ship Bifceina, and held fo faft that it could not get loofe, but being tied with a long Rope to the Boat, drew it after it as fwift as an Arrow, fo that thofe aboard the Ship, feeing the Boat fkim about, and not knowing the Occafion, were aftonifhed, till at laft the Fifh funk, and being drawn to the Ship's Side was there hauled up by the Tackle. The other Fifh was taken after another Manner : The Indians call it Manati, and there are none in Europe; it is as big as a Calf, nothing differing from it in the Colour and Tafte of the Flefh, but that it is better and fatter: Within they have nothing like a Fifh, and feed only on the Grafs they find along the Banks.
But to return to our Hiftory: The Admiral having a little refrefhed his Men and repaired his Ships, left the Port of $A z u a$ and went to that of Brazil, which the Indians call Giacchomo, to fbun another Storm that was coming : He failed again on the i4th of $\mathcal{F u l y}$, and was fo becalmed, that, inftead of holding his Courfe, the Currents carried him away to certain Inands near Famaica, which are very fmall and fandy, and he called them los Poros, or the Wells, becaufe, not finding any Water in them, they dug many Pits in the Sand, and took up Water there for their Ufe: Then failing Southward for the Continent, he came to certain $\mathrm{Inands}_{2}$ and went athore
upon the biggef only, called Guanaia, (whence thofe that made Sca-Cliarts took occafion to call all the Ihands of Guanaia) which are almoft twelve Leagues from the Continent, near the Province now called Howduras, though then the Admiral called it Cape Cafinas. Being come to the Iland of Guonaia, the Admiral ordered his Brother Bartholomere to go afhore with two Boats; where he found the People like thofe of the other Inands, except their not having fuch high Foreheads; they alfo faw abundance of Pine-trees, and Pieces of Lapis Calaminaris, ufed to mix with Copper, which fome Seamen, taking for Gold, kept Parcels of it privately a long time.

The Admiral's Brother being afhore at that Ifland, and very defirous to know fomething of it, it fo fell out that a Canoe as long as a Galley, eight Foot wide, all of one Tree, and like the others in Shape, put in there, being loaded with Commodities brought from the Weftward, and bound towards Nero Spain; in the midft of it was a Covering like an Awning, made of Palm-tree Leaves, not unlike thofe of the Venetion Gondolas, which kept al under it fo clofe, that neither Rain nor Sea-water could wet the Goods; under this Awning were the Children, the Women, and all the Goods; and though there were twenty-five Men on board this Canoe, they had not the Courage to defend themfelves againft the Boats that purfued them. The Canoe being thus taken, without any Oppofition was carried to the Admiral, who blefled God that it had pleafed him at once to give him Samples of the Commodities of that Country, without expofing his Men to any Danger: He therefore ordered fuch things to be taken as he judged moft valuable, fuch as fome Quilts, and Shirts of Cotton without Sleeves, very curioully wrought, and dyed of feveral Colours, with fome fmall Cloths of the fame Sort, and large Sheets in which the Indian Women on board the Canoe wrapped themfelves, as the Moorifh Women at Granada ufed to do, and long wooden Swords with a Channel on each Side where the Edge fhould be, in which there were fharp Edges of Flint, fixed with Thread and a bituminous Sort of Matter, which cut naked Men as if they were of Stcel; and Hatchets to cleave Wood, like thofe of Stone the other Indians ufe, but that thefe were made of good Copper; alfo Bells of the fame Metal, Plates, and Crucibles to melt the Metal.

For their Provifion, they had fuch Roots and Grain as in Hijpaniola, and a fort of Liquor, made of Maize, like Englifh Beer, and abundance of Cacoa Nuts, which in New Spain paffed for Money, and which they feemed to value very much, for when they were brought on board among their other Goods, if any of thofe Nuts fell, they all ftooped to take them up, as if they had been Things of great Confequence. Yet at that time they feemed to be in a manner befides themfelves, being brought Prifoners from their Canoe aboard the Ship, among fuch ftrange and fierce People, and difcovered nothing extraordinary, except their Modefty, which among Men and Women was highly remarkable. This moved the Admiral to ufe them well, and reftore their Canoe, and give them fome things in exchange for thofe that had been taken from them. Nor did he keep any one of them but an old Man whofe Name was Giumbe, that feemed to be the Chief of them, to learn fomething of him concerning their Country, and that he might draw others to converfe with the Cluriftians; which he did very readily and faithfully all the while they failed where his Language was underfood; therefore, as a Reward for this his Service, when they came where he was not underftood, the Admiral gave him a Prefent, and fent him home very well pleafed, which was before he came to Cape Gracias de Dios.
4. Notwithftanding the Admiral had heard fo much from thofe in the Canoes concerning the great Wealth, Politeness, and Ingenuity of the People Weitward towards New Spain; yet thinking that thofe Countries lying to the Leeward, he could fail thither when he thought fit from Cuba, he would not go at this time, but held on his Defign of difcovering the Streight in the Continent, to clear a way into the South Sea; which was what he aimed at, in order to come at the Countries that produce Spice, and therefore refolved to fail Eaftwards towards Verogua,

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and Nombre de Dios, where he imagined the faid Streight to be, as in effect it was; yet he was deceived in the Matter, for he did not conceit it to be an Ifthmus or narrow Neck of Land, but a fmall Gulph, rimning from Sea to Sea, from whence his Miftake might proceed; for when they faid the Streight was at Veragua and Nombre de Dios, it might be underftood either of the Land or Water; and he took it in the moft ufual Senfe, and for what he moft earnefly defired: And yet; though that Streight is Land, it was, and is, the way to both Seas, and by which fich immenfe Riches have been difcovered and conveyed; for (fays the Admiral's Journal) it was God's Will a Matter of fuch vaft Concern fhould not be otherwife found out, that Canoe having given the firft Information concerning Neve Spain.

There being nothing therefore in the Inand of Guanaia worth taking notice of, he without farther Delay failed, in order to feek out the Streight towards the Continent to a Point he called Cafinas, becaufe there were abundance of Trees that bear a fort of Fruit that is rough, have a Stone, and is good to eat, efpecially boiled, which Fruit the Indians in Hifpaniola call Cafinas. There appearing nothing worth taking notice of in that Country, the Admiral would not lofe time to go into a great Bay the Land makes there, but held on his Courfe Eatwards along that Coait which runs along the fame way towards Cape Gracias a Dios, and is very low and open. The People neareft to Cape Cafinas wear thofe painted Shirts or Jerkins, before mentioned, and which were like Coats of Mail, made of Cotton, ftrong enough to defend them againft their Weapons, and even to bear off the Stroke of fome of ours. But the People higher Eaftwards towards Cape Gracias a Dios were almoft black, of a fierce Afpect, go ftark naked, are very favage, and, as the Indian that was taken faid, eat Man's Flefh, and alfo Fifh juft as it was taken. They have their Ears bored with fuch large Holes, that they may put a Hen's Egg into them; which made the Admiral call that Coaft de las Orejas; or, Of the Ears.

There, on the r4th of Auguft, 1502 , Don Bartbolomere went afhore in the Morning, with the Colours, the Captains, and many of the Men to hear Mars. And when the Boats went afhore to take Poffeffion of the Country for their Catholic Majefties, above one hundred Men ran down to the Shore loaded with Provifions, who, as foon as the Boats came afhore with the Lieutenant, on a fudden retired back without fpeaking a Word. He ordered they fhould give them Hawks-Bells, Beads, and other things; and, by means of the beforementioned Interpreter, inquired concerning the Country ; tho', he having been but a fhort time with him, did not underftand the Chriftians, by reafon of the Diftance of this Country from Hijpaniola, where feveral Perfons aboard the Ships had learned the Indian Language; nor did he underftand thofe Indians; who being pleafed with the things which had been given them, came the next Day to the fame Place loaded with feveral forts of Provifions, as Hens of that Country, which are better than ours, Geefe, roafted Fifh, red and white Beans like Kidney Beans, and other things like thofe in Hifpaniola. The Country was green and beautiful, tho' low, and producing abundance of Pines, Oaks, Palm Trees of feveral forts, and Mirabolans, and almoft all forts of Provifions which Hifpaniola affords were there to be found; abundance of Leopards, Deer; and other Beafts, as alfo all forts of Fin that there are in the Iflands, and in Spain.
The People in this Country are much like thofe of the Inands, but that their Foreheads are not fo high, nor do they feem to have any Religion. They ufe feveral Languages among them, and for the moft part they go naked, but cover their Privities; yet fome wear fhort Jumps down to their Navels without Sleeves; their Arms and Bodies have Figures wrought upon them with Fire, which make them look odly ; and fome have Lions, others Deer, and others Caftles, with Towers or other things, painted on their Bodies: Inftead of Caps the better fort of them wear red and white Cloths of Cotton; and fome have Locks of Hair hanging on their Forehead; but when they are to be fine on a Feftival

Day,

Day, they colour their Faces, fome black, and fome red; others draw Streaks of feveral Colours; others paint their Nofe; and others black their Eyes: And thus adorn themfelves to appear beautiful, in a manner that to us would make them look like Devils. The Admiral failed along the faid Coaft de las Orejas Eaftward to Cape Gracias a Dios, which was fo called, becaufe tho' there be but fixty Leagues to it from Cafinas, thiey laboured feventy Days by reafon of the Current and contrary Winds upon a Tack to gain it, ftanding out to Sea, and then making the Shore, fometimes gaining, and fometimes lofing; Ground, as' the Wind was fcant or large when it came about. And had not the Coaft afforded fach good anchoring, they fad been much longer upon it; but being clear; and having two Fathom Water half a League from the Shore, and two more at every League's Diftance, they had always the Conveniency of anchoring at Night, when there was but little Wind; fo that the Courfe was navigable by reafon of the good anchoring, but however with Difficulty.

When, on the $14^{\text {th }}$ of September, they came up to the Cape, perceiving the Land turned off to the South, and that they could conveniently continue their Voyage with thofe Levant Winds that reigned there, and had been fo contrary, they gave Thanks to God; for which Reafon the Admiral called this Cape Gracias a Dios. A little beyond it they paffed by fome dangerous Sands that ran out to Sea as far as the Eye could reach. It being requifite to take in Wood and Water, on the 16 th of September the Admiral fent the Boats to the River, that feemed to be deep and have a good Entrance; but the coming out proved otherwife, for the Winds blowing from Sea, and the Waves running high againft the Current of the River, fo diftreffed the Boats, that one of them was lof with all the Men in it; and therefore the Admiral called it the River de la Difgratia, that is, of the Difafter. In this River; and about it, there were Canes as thick as a Man's Leg. And on the 25 th of September, ftill running Southward, they came to an Anchor near a little Inand called Quiriviri, and a Town on the Continent, the Name whereof was Cariari, where were the civileft People, the fineft Country, and beft Situation they had yet feen, as well becaufe it was high, full of Rivers, and abournding in Trees, as becaufe the Inand was thick wooded and full of Forefts of Palm, Mirabolan, and other forts of Trees: For this reafon the Admiral called it Frucite. It is a fmall League from the Town the Indians call Cariari, which is near a great River; whither reforted a great Multitude of People from the adjacent Parts, fome with Bows and Arrows, others with Staves of Palm Tree, black as a Coal, and hard as Horn, pointed with the Bones of Fihh; others with Clubs, as if they intended to defend the Country. The Men had their Hair braided about their Heads, the Women fhort, like ours; but perceiving the $S p$ aniards to be a peaceable People, they were very defirous to barter their Commodities, which were Arms, Cotton Jerkins, and Guanins, which is pale Gold they wear about their Necks.

Thefe things they fwam with to the Boats, for the Chriftians went not afhore that Day nor the next, nor would the Admiral allow any thing of theirs to be taken, that they might not be efteemed Men that valued their Goods; but gave them fome Spanifb Baubles. The lefs they faw Strangers defired Exchange, the more eager they were, making abundance of Signs from Land; at laft perceiving no body went afhore, they took all the things that had been given them, without referving any, and tying them together, left them in the fame Place where the Boats firft went afhore, and where cur Men found them when they landed. The Indians about this Place, believing that the Chriftians did not confide in them, fent an antient Man of an awful Prefence, with a Flag upon a Staff, and two Girls, one about eight, the other of about fourteen Years of Age, who putting them into the Boat, made Signs that the Chriftians might fafely land. Upon their Requeft, they went afhore to take in Water, the Indians taking great care not to do any thing that might diftafte the Chyiftians. And when they faw them return to their Ships, they
made Signs to them to take along with them the young Girls, with their Guanins about their Necks: And at the Requeft of the old Man that condufeed them, they complied, and carried them aboard, wherein thofe People feemed more friendly than others had done; and in the Girls appeared a wonderful Spirit; for though the Chrifians were Strangers to them, they expreffed no manner of Concern, but always looked pleafant and modeft, which made the Admiral treat them well, and fet them afhore again where the fifty Men were; and the old Man that had delivered them received them with much Satisfaction.

The Boats going afhore that fame Day; found the fame People with the Girls, who reftored all the Chriftians had given them. The next Day the Admiral's Brother going athore to learn fomething of thole People, two of the chief Men came to the Boat, and taking him by the Arms between them, made him fit down upon the Grafs; and he afking fome Queftions of them, ordered the Secretary to write down what they anfwered; but they feeing the Pen, Ink, and Paper, were in fuch a Conftertion, that moft of them ran away; which it was believed they did for fear of being bewitched, for they are reputed a fuperfitious People, and that not without Reafon, becaufe when they came near the Chriftians, they fattered fome Powder about them in the Air, and burning fome of the fame Powder, endeavoured to make the Smoke go towards the Chriftians. Befides their refufing to keep any thing that belonged to them, fhewed a Jealoufy. Having ftaid here longer than was convenient, confidering the fhort time they had after repairing the Ships, and provided all they wanted, they now haftned away.

Upon the 2d of OEtober the Admiral ordered his Brother to go afhore with fome Men to view that Indian Town, and learn fomething of their Manners, and the Nature of the Country. The moft remarisable things they faw were, in a great wooden Palace, covered with Canes feveral Tombs; in one of which there was a a dead Body, dried up and embalmed; in another, two Bodies wrapt up in Cotton Sheets, without any ill Scent; and over each Tomb was a Board with Figures of Beafts carved on it; and on fome of them the Effigies of the Perfons buried there, adorned with Guanins, Beads, and other things they moft valued. Thefe being the moft civilized Indians in thofe Parts, the Admiral ordered fome to be taken: Two of the chiefeft were picked out, and the reft fent away with fome Gifts and Civility, that the Country might not be left in an Uproar, telling them they were to ferve as Guides upon that Coaff, and then be fet at Liberty. But they believing they were taken out of Covetoufnefs, that they might ranfom themfelves with their Things and Goods of Value, the next Day abundance of them came down to the Shore, and fent four aboard the Admiral, as their Embaffadors, to treat about their Ranfom, offering fome things, and freely giving two Hogs of the Country, which, tho' fmall, are very wild. The Admiral therefore, obferving the Policy of thefe People, was more defirous to be acquainted with them, and would not depart till he had learned fome things of them, but would not liften to their Offers; he therefore ordered fome Trifles to be given to the Meffengers, that they might not go away difiatisfied, and that they fhould be paid for their Hogs.
5. On the 5 th of OEtober the Admiral failed, and came to the Bay of Caravaro, which is fix Leagues in Length, and about three in Breadth. Here there are many fimall Inands, and two or three Channels within thofe Inands. The Ships fail as it were in Streers between Ifands, the Leaves of the Trees fticking againft the Shrouds. As foon as they anchored in this Bay, the Boats went to one of thofe Inands, where there were twenty Canoes upon the Shore, and the People lye naked, having only a Gold Plate about their Necks, and fome an'Eagle of Gold. They fhewed no Signs of Fear ; and the two Indians of Cariari interpofing gave a Gold-Piate for three Hawks-Bells, which weighed ten Ducats. And they faid there was great Plenty of that Metal upon the oppofite Continent, not far from thence.

The nexs Day, being the twenty-feventh of OEtober,
the Boats went ahore, where meeting ten Canoes full of People, and they refufing to barter their Gold-Plates, two of the chief of them were taken, that the Admiral mighe learn fomerhing of them by the Affittance of two Interpreters. The Gold Plate one of them wore weighed fourteen Ducats, and the other's Eagle, twenty-two. Thefe faid, that a Day or two's Journey up the Country there was abundance of Gold in fome Places, which they named. In the Bay valt Quantities of Fifh were taken, and athore abundance of frefh Provifions, alfo great Plenty of Roots, Grains, and Eruit. The Men, who were paint ed all over, of feveral Colours, as red, black, and white, went naked, only covered their Privities with a narrow Cotton Cloth.

From this Bay of Caravaro they went to another clofe by it, called Aburena, which in fome Meafure is like the other. On the 17 th they put out to Sea to continue their Voyage: And being come to Guaiga, a River twelve Leagues from Aburena, the Admiral commanded the Boars to go afhore; which when they were doing, they faw above one hundred Indians on the Strand, who afGuulted them very furiounly, running up to the Middle in Water, brandifhing their Spears, blowing Horns, and beating a Drum in a warlike manner to defend their Country, throwing the Salt Water towards the Chriftians, chewing Herbs, and fpurting the Juice towards them. The Spaniards without ftirring, endeavoured to appeafe them, as they did, for at laft they drew near to exchange the Gold-Plates they had about their Necks, fome for two, and fome for three Hawks-Bells, by which Means they got fixteen Gold-Plates, worth one hundred and fifty Ducats, for a few Baubles

On the igth of OCZober the Boats went to Land again; yet before any Chriftians went ahore, they called to fome Indians who were under Huts they had built that Night to defend their Country; but none of them would come, nor would the Chriftians land without knowing firft what Mind they were in; for, as afterwards appeared, they waited in order to fall on them as foon as they had landed. But perceiving they came not out of the Boats, they blew their Horns, beat their Drums, and, making a great Noife, ran into the Water as they had done the Day before, till they came almoft to the Boats, making Signs as if they would caft their Javelins if they did not return to the Ships. The Chriftians, offended at this Proceeding, that they might not be fo bold and defpife them, wounded one with an Arrow in the Arm, and fired a Cannon; at which they were fo frighted, that all ran away. Then four Chriftians landed, and calling them back, they came very peaceably, leaving their Arms, and exchanged three Gold-Plates, declaring they had no more, becaufe they came not to trade, but to fight. All the Admiral looked for in this Voyage, was to obtain Specimens of what thofe Parts afforded; and therefore, without further Delay, he proceeded to Calibay and caft anchor in the Mouth of a great River.

The People of the Country were feen to affemble, and afterwards fent a Canoe, with two Men in it, to the Ships, who having talked with the Indians that were taken at $C a$ riari, prefently came aboard the Admiral without any Apprehenfions; and, by the Advice of thofe Indians, gave him freely two Plates of Gold they had about their Necks; and he in return gave them fome Baubles. When thefe were gone, there came another Canoe with three Men, who did as the firft had done. The Men, going afhore, found abundance of People with their King; and, to give his Subjects an Example, exchanged a Plate, and bid them barter for theirs; which in all were nineteen of pure Gold.

He then feeered Eaftwards, and came to Cabravo; the People of which Place lye near the Rivers of that Coaft ; and becaule none came down, and the Winds blew frefh, he held on his Courfe, and went on to five Towns of great Trade; among which was Veragua, where the Indians faid the Gold was gathered, and the Plates made that they wore about their Necks. The next Day he came to a Town called Cubija; for here the Indiais of Cariari faid the Trading Country end-
ed, which began at Caravaro, and ran as far as Cubija, for fifty Leagues along the Coaft. The Admiral proceeded till he put into Porto Bello, giving it that Name becaufe it was large, beautiful, well peopled, and en. compaffed by a well-cultivated Country: He entred this Place on the $2 d$ of November, pafing between two finall Iflands, within which the Ships may lie clofe to the Shore, and turn out if they have Occafion.
6. The Admiral the 9 th of November failed out of Porto Bello eight Leagues to the Eaftward, but the next Day was forced back four Leagues by Strefs of Weather, and put in among the lilands, where afterwards food the Town of Nombre de Dios; and becaufe all thefe fmall Illands were full of Grain, he called it Puerto de Bafimentos, or the Port of Provifions. There a Boat wellmanned purfuing a Canoe, the Indians imagining the Men would do them harm, and perceiving the Boat was within lefs than a Stone's-throw of them, they all threw themfelves into the Water to fwim away, as they did, for though the Boat rowed hard, it could not in half a League overtake any of them. Here they continued till the 23 d of November refitting the Ships, and that Day failed Eattward to the Place called Guaiga. The Boats going afhore here found above three hundred Perfons ready to trade for fuch Provifions as they had, and fome fmall Ornaments of Gold they wore at their Ears and in their Nofes.

But, without making any Stay here, on the 24 th they put into a fmall Port, which was called Retrete, or the Retired Place, becaufe it could not contain above five or fix Ships together, and the Mouth of it was not above fifteen or twenty Paces over, and on both Sides of it Rocks appearing above Water, and the Channel between them was fo deep that they found no Bottom, though if the Ships inclined to either Side the Men might leap afhore, which hazarded the Ships in that narrow Place, through the Fault of thofe who went in the Boats to view it, being covetous to deal with the Indians, and perceiving the Ships would lie there conveniently for it, run clofe to the Shore. At firft the Indians carne very familiarly to trade for fuch things as they had; but when they faw the Chriftians fteal privately out of their Ships, they retired to their Houfes ; becaufe the Seamen, like covetous, diffolute Men, committed a thoufand Infolencies, infomuch that they provoked the Indians to break the Peace, and fome Skirmifhes happened between them.

The Indians, encreafing daily, took Courage to come up to the Ships, which lay with their Sides clofe to the Shore, thinking to do fome Mifchief, which had turned to their own Detriment,' had not the Admiral always endeavoured to gain them by Patience and Civilities: But at laft, perceiving their Infolence, to ftrike a Terror into them he caufed fome Picces of Cannon to be fired; which they anfwered with Shouts, thraming the Trees with Staves, and by threatening Signs fhewed they did not fear the Noife; for they thought it had been only a Thundering made to terrify them: Therefore to abate their Pride, and make them fear the Chriftians, the Admiral caufed a Shot to be made at a Company of them upon a Hillock, and the Ball falling in the midft of them, made them fenfible there was a Thunderbolt as well as Thunder; fo that for the future they durft not appear, even on the Mountains. The People of this Country were the moft likely they had yet feen among the Indians, for they were tall and fpare, without great Bellies, and well-countenanced.

The Country was all plain, bearing little Grafs, and few Trees; and in the Harbour there were vaft Alligators, which went out to fleep afhore, and diffufed as ftrong a Scent as if all the Mufk in the World were together, but they are fo ravenous and cruel, that if they find a Man fleeping, they drag him to the Water to devour him, though they are fearful and cowardly when attacked. Thefe Alligators are found in many other Parts of the Continent, and fome affirm that they are the very fame as the Crocodiles of the Nile.
7. The Admiral, perceiving the violent Eaft and North-eaft Winds did not ceafe, and that there was no trading with thefe People, refolved to go back, to be fatisfied in what the Indions faid of the Mines of Veragues;
and therefore that Day he returned to Porto Bello, ten Leagues Weftward, and, continuing his Courfe the next Day, was retarded by a Wett Wind, which was oppofite to his new Defign, but favourable to that he had for three Months paft: But he believing this Wind would not laft long did not alter his Courfe, but bore up againft the Wind for fome Days, becaufe the Weather was unfettled; and when the Weather feemed a little favourable to go to Veragua, another Wind ffarted up and drove him towards Porto Bello; and when they were in hopes to get into Port, they were quite beat off again. This perplexed them, and made them almoft defpair, feeing they could not get half an Hour's Reft, being continually wet, turning fometimes one way and fometimes another, ftruggling againft all the Elements. Now it appeared that the Currents on that Coaft followed the Wind, running Weftward with a Weft, and with the Eaft Wind the contrary, the Water ftill coming with the prevailing Wind.
The Ships being now almoft broke to Pieces with the Tempeft, and the Men quite fpent with Labour, a Day or two's Calm gave them fome Refpite, and brought fuch Multitudes of Sharks about the Ships, that they were dreadful to behold, efpecially for fuch as were fuperfitious; becaufe it is reported, that as Ravens at a great Diftance fmell out dead Bodies, fo fome think thefe Sharks likewife do; which, if they lay hold of a Man's Arm, or Leg, cut it off like a Razor. Such a Multitude of thofe were killed with the Hook and Chain, that, being able to deftroy no more, they lay fwimming upon the Water; and fo greedy they are, that they do not only bite at Carrion, but may be taken with a red Rag upon the Hook.
Upon the 17 th the Admiral put into Port, three Leagues Eaft of Pennon, which the Indians call Huiva: It was like a great Bay; where going afhore they faw the Inhabitants, whofe Cots were upon the Tops of Trees like Birds, they laying Sticks acrofs from Bough to Bough, and building Huts upon them. In the Beginning of Fanuary they caft anchor near a River which the Indians call Yebra, and the Admiral Belem or Bethfem, becaufe they came to this Place upon the Feaft of the Three Kings. He caufed the Mouth of that River, and another Weftward, to be founded; the latter the Indians called Veragua, where he found but fhole Water, and in that of Belem four Fathom at high Water. The Boats went up this River to the Town where they were informed the Gold Mines of Veragua were. At firft the Indians were fo far from converfing, that they endeavoured with their Weapons to hinder the Chriftians from landing.

The next Day their Boats guing to the River of Veragua, the Indians there did as the others had done, and not only afhore but on their Canoes in the Water. But an Indian of that Coaft who underfood them a little going afhore with the Chriftians, and telling them they were good People, and defired nothing but what they paid for, they were fomewhat pacified, and trucked Ewenty Gold-Plates, fome hollow Pieces like Joints of Reeds, and fome Grains which were never melted, which, to make their Value the more, they faid were gathered a great way off upon certain Mountains, and when they gathered it they did not eat, nor carry Women along with them; which the People of Hifpaniola faid they alfo practifed, when it was firft difcovered.

On the gth the Admiral and the Bifcaina went up the River, and the Indians came prefently to truck for fuch things as they had, particularly Fifh, which at certain times of the Year come out of the Sea up thofe Rivers, in fuch Quantities as feem incredible to thofe who do not fee it; and they exchanged fome little things for Pins, and things they moft valued they gave for Beads or Hawks-Bells. Next Day the other two Ships came in, which they had not done at firft, becaufe there being but little Water at the Mouth of the River, they were forced to ftay for the Flood, though there the Sea never rifes or falls above half a Fathom. Veragua being celebrated for Mines, the third Day after their Arrival the Admiral's Brother went up the River with the Boats to the Town of Quibio the Indian King, who, hearing of
the Lieutenant, came in his Canoe to meet him ; they met in a very friendly Manner, giving one another fuch things as they valued moft; and, having difcourfed a long time together, went away peaceably: Next Day 2uibio came aboard to vifit the Admiral, and, having difcourfed together about an Hour, the Admiral gave him fome things, and his Men trucked Bells for fome Gold; and fo he returned without any Ceremony. Being thus very eafy and fecure, on the 24 th the River of Belem fuddenly fwelled fo high, that before they could provide againft it, or carry a Cable athore, the Fury of the Waves came fo impetuoufly againt the Admiral's Ship, that it broke one of her Anchors, and drove her with fuch Force againft the Ship Gallega, which lay aftern of it, that it brought the Foremaft by the Board, and both were carried away foul of one another, in the utmont: Danger of perifhing. Some judged the mighty Rains to have been the Caufe of this Flood, they having never ceafed during the Winter in that Country; but had that been it, the River would have fwelled by degrees, and not all of a fudden; which made it probable fome great Snows had fallen on the Mountains of Veragua, which the Admiral called St. Cbrifopbers, becaufe the higheft of them was above the Region of the Air where Meteors are bred ; for no Cloud was ever feen above, but all below it.
This Tempeft lafted fo long, that they had time enough to refit and caulk the Ships. The Waves broke fo furioully upon the Mouth of the River, that the Boats could not go out to difcover along the Coaft, to learn where the Mines lay, and chufe a Place where to build a Town, the Admiral having refolved to leave his Brother there with moft of the Men, that they might fettle, and fubdue the Country, while he went to Spain for Supplies of Men and Provifions. Upon this Profpect, the Weather growing calmer, on the 6 th of February he fent his Brother with fixty-eight Men by Sea to the Mouth of Veraguc, a League diffant from Belem Weftward; and he went a League and a half up the River to the Cazique's Town, where he ftaid a Day enquiring the way to the Mines. They travelled four Leagues and a half, and came near a Kiver, which they paffed forty-four times, and the next Day advanced a League and a half towards the Mines fhewed them by the Indians fent by Q 2 uibio to guide them. In two Hour's time after they came thither every Man gathered fome Gold about the Roots of Trees, which were there very thick, and of a prodigious heighth. This Sample was much valued, becaufe none of thofe who went had any Tools to dig, or had before ever gathered any. Therefore the Defign of their Journey being only to get Information of the Mines, they returned very well pleafed that fame Day to Feragua, and the next to the Ships. True it is, that as was afterwards known, thefe Mines were not thofe of Veragza, which lay much nearer, but of Urira, a Town whofe People were Enemies to thafe of Veragua; to do whom a Difpleafure, 2 थibio ordered the Chriftians to be conducted thither, that they might go away to thofe, and leave his.
8. On the 14th of February, 1503, the Admiral's Brother went into the Country with forty Men, a Boat following with fourteen. The next Day they came to the River of Urira, feven Leagues from Belem Weftward; the Cazique came out a League from his Town to meet him with twenty Men, and prefented him with fuch things as they fed on, and fome Gold-Plates. Whilft they were here the Cazique and chief Men never ceafed putting a dry Leaf into their Mouths and chewing it; and fometimes they took a fort of Powder they carried with that Herb, which looked very odd. Having refted here a while, the Chriftians and Indians went to the Town, where abundance of People came out to them, and provided them a Houfe to lye in, giving them much to eat: Soon after came the Cazique of Dururi, which is a neighbouring Town, and with him a great many Indians who brought fome Gold-Plates to barter. All thefe Indians faid there were Caziques up the Country who had plenty of Gold, and abundance of Men armed like the Spaniards.

Next Day the Lieutenant ordered the reft of his Men to return by Land to the Ships, and he, with chirty, held
on his Joumey towards Zobraba, where the Fields, for above fix Leagues, were all full of Maize, likeCorn Fields. Thence he went to Caieba another Town. At both Places he was well entertained, abundance of Provifions given him, and fome Gold Plates exchanged, which, as has been faid, are like the Patent of a Chalice, fome bigger, and fome lefs, weighing about twelve Ducats. They wear them about their Necks, hanging by a String, as in Popih Countries they do Relics. The Lieutenant, being now very far from the Ships, without finding any Port on that Coaft, or any River bigger than that of Belere, to fettle his CoLony, came back the fame way on the 24 th of February. As foon as he retumed, order was taken for his Stay, eighty Men being appointed to remain with him. They began to build Houfes on the Bank of the River of Bolemal, about a Cannon Shot from the Mouth of it, within a Trench that lies on the Right-hand coming up the River ; at the Mouth of which there is a little Hill. Befides thefe Houfes which were all of Timber, and Govered with Palm-tree Leaves which grew along the Shore, another large Houfe was built to ferve as a Storehoufe and Magazine ; into which feveral Pieces of Cannon, Powder, and Provifions were put, and other Neceffaries for the Support of the Planters. But for Wine, Bifket, Oil, Vinegar, Cheefe, and much Grain, which was all they had to eat, thefe things were left in the fafeft Place aboard the Ship called Gallega, that was to be left with the Lieutenant, that he might make Ufe of it either at Sea or afhore, having all its Cordage, Nets, and other Fifhing Tackle; for, as we have faid, there is vaft Plenty of Fifh in that Country in every River, feveral forts at certain times running along the Coaft in Shoals; on which the People of the Country feed more than on Flefh : For tho' there be fome forts of Beafts, they are not enough to maintain them.
The Indians, perceiving the Spaniards built Houfes, as if they defigned to ftay among them, began to be alarmed; and the Adelantado, fufpecting they defrgned to fet fire to the Foufes, marched out with feventy-four Men on the thirtieth of March, and, ordering them to advance two by two as privately as they could, came to the Cazique Quibio's Houfe, where he fecured him, fome of his Wives and Children, and about fifty Perfons in all, who offered a great Treafure, which, as they faid, was on the Mountain, for their Ranfom. The Adelantado, fearing the Country would rife upon him and refcue the Prifoners, fent them all away to the Ships, and followed the next Day himfelf with the Plunder of 2 uibio's Houfe, which might amount to the value of three hundred Ducats in Gold Plates, Eagles, Beads and the like. But the Cazique made his Efcape from thofe that had him in Charge, and returned to his People. Soon after the Rains fell, and the Flood coming down, opened the Mouth of the River, when the Admiral failed out with three Ships, leaving one for the Service of his Brother. However, he came to an Anchor a League from thence to wait for fair Weather, and in the mean time fent back the Boat for Water.

The Cazique Quibio, who, as has been faid before, had made his Efcape, being much concerned for the Lofs of his Wives and Children, and feeing the three Ships were gone, fell upon the Spanifh Colony fo unexpectedly, that he was within a few Paces of it before the Spaniards perceived it. He began the Attack with loud Shouts, cafting abundance of Darts, armed at the Ends with the Bones of Fifh, fo that fome were immediately wounded. The Adelantado being very brave, with feven or eight Men that ftood by him, repulfed the Indians, driving them into the Wood, tho' they feveral times rallied : But the Spanifh Swords making great Havock, and a Dog tearing many of them, they at length abfolutely betook themfelves to Flight, leaving one Spaniard dead, and eight wounded, of which Number the Adelantado was one. The Men in the Boat, tho' near Shore, did. not land to affitt their Friends, but after the Engagement went up the River to take in their Water.

The Indions, feeing the Boat a full League above the Colony, came out in their Canoes, and befetting it on all Sides, fhouting and founding their Horns, fo plyed about ten Men that were in it , with their Darts, that

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they all perifhed but one, who, falling into the Water, fwam away to the Shore, without being difcerned by the Indians, and carried the News of the Difafter; which fo much difmayed them, being but few in Number, and moft of them wounded; the Admiral out at Sea without a Long-boat, and in Danger of not being able to return to any Place, whence he might fend them Relief; that, being deftitute of all Hopes, they refolved not to ftay afhore, and went aboard the Ship without anking the Adelantado leave, to fail out; but they could not, becaufe the Mouth of the River was again choaked up, nor could they find any body to acquaint the Admiral therewith, by reafon of the violent working of the Sea upon the Bar. The Admiral was, at the fame time, in great Danger, where his Ship lay at anchor; that Coaft being all open, and having only a fmall Boat, and weakened, befides, by the Lols of the Men that had perifhed in his Long-boat. Thus thofe in the River, as well as thofe at Sea, were in the greateft Diftreis.

To add to all thefe Vexations, one Night the Indian Prifoners that were on board the Admiral opening one of the Hatches, feveral of them leaped out, and threw themfelves into the Sea to fwim afhore; and the reft that were prevented from following their Example all hanged themfelves in the Hold. The Admiral being in this Affliction, fome Spaniards offered to fwim athore to enquire after the Boat, and the Men that had been left behind, provided the little Boat might carry them beyond the Place where the Waves broke: The Admiral accepted their Offer, ordering the Boat to carry them beyond the Place where the Waves broke, and as near the Land as might be; and there Peter de Ledefma, a Pilot, born at Seville, had the Courage to leap into the Water, and, making his Way through the rolling Waves, got to Shore, where he was informed of the Condition the Men were in; and that they all affirmed that they would not ftay in that Place of Danger; for which Reafon they entreated the Admiral not to depart without them, becaufe it would be facrificing them; and they were refolved, as foon as the Weather grew fomewhat calmer, to go away in Indian Canoes, aboard the Ships; the Boat they had, not being able to contain them. With this Advice Peter de Ledefma fwam back to the Boat that waited for him.

In fhort, thofe that were afhore, as foon as the Weather grew calm, went all away in two large Canoes they had made faft together, that they might not over-fet, and their own Boat, leaving nothing behind them but the Hulk of the Ship, which was all worm-eaten. Being all aboard, they failed in three Ships as far as Porto Bello, where they were obliged to leave one of the Ships, which was fo leaky that they could not keep it above Water. They proceeded thence to a Province near which there were many fmall Inands, which the Admiral called Las Barbas, or the Beard, but which is now known by the Name of the Bay of St. Blafe. Ten Leagues from thence they turned from the Continent, and ftood to the Northward, to recover Hijpaniola. At the End of ten Days they arrived at two fmall Inands, which were all covered with Tortoifes as well as the Sea, which looked like Ridges of Rocks, and therefore the Admiral called them las Tortugas, or the Tortoifes, and they are now called Caymanes, being about twenty-five Leagues Weft of Jamaica, and forty-five to the Southward of Cuba , there being no other all the Way the Admiral paffed. There they came to anchor at Fardin de la Reyna, the Queen's Garden, being a great Number of fmall Inands to the South of Cuba, before fpoken of; they were ten Leagues from this Inand in much Want, their Bifket fpoiled, and little Oil left, and labouring Day and Night at three Pumps, becaufe the Ships were ready to fink, when there arofe fuch a Storm that one of them run foul of the Admiral, tore off Part of his Poop, the Cables gave Way, and all had like to have perifhed. Thence they failed to a Port in the Inand of Cuba, called Macaca, where they refrefhed themfelves, being fupplied by the Indians.

Thence they ftood for Famaica, where they arrived at Puerto Bueno, or Good Port, on Midfummer Eve, but it was a bad one for them, there being neither Water nor N
any Indian Town; fo that the Day after Midfummer they proceeded to another called Santa Gloria, and, being no longer able to keep the Ships above Water, they fet them faft aground, as near the Shore as they poffibly could, being about a Crofs-bow fhot from it, and the two Ships clofe together, Board and Board, fhoring them on both Sides, fo that they could not part, but were filled with Water almoft up to the Deck, and Cabins were made on the Heads and Sterns to fhelter the Men. When the Ships were thus fecured, the Indians came in their Canoes, being covetous of Spanifh Toys; and, to prevent Controverfy, the Admiral appointed two Perfons to deal with them, and every Afternoon to divide what they had purchafed amongft the Men, to maintain them, for the Provifions were all either fpent or fpoiled.

The Admiral looked upon it as a great Mercy that God had brought him to famaica, becaufe that Ifland was very populous, abounded in Eatables, and the Na tives were defirous to trade; therefore, to keep them in that good Humour, he would not go up the Country for fear the Spaniards thould difoblige the People, which would prove of ill Confequence; and this Conduct was fo pleafing to the Indians, that they gave two Utias or fmall Rabbits for a bit of Tin, and two of their Cakes of Bread for two little green or yellow Beads, and for things of more Value they took a Hawk's-Bell. They gave the Caziques little Looking-glaffes, red Caps, and Sciffars, to pleafe them. The Admiral having purchafed ten Canoes for the Service of his ftranded Ships, by this Method, the Men were plentifully fupplied with Neceffaries, and the Indians no Way difturbed at their Stay.
9. Columbus having confulted the Officers about the Means of getting away from thence, it was concluded to fend Advice to Nicholas de Obando, Governor of Hijpamiola, and to Alonfo Sancbez de Carvajal, the Admiral's Factor there, of the Condition they were in, that a Ship might be there freighted at the Admiral's Expence, to fetch them all away. This being an Affair of much Difficulty, two Perfons of Fidelity and Difcretion were appointed for it, becaufe they were to undertake fo great a Paffage in Canoes made of a fmall Piece of Timber. The Diftance between the two neareft Points of Famaica and Hifpaniola being twenty-five L.eagues, befides thirty more to the Points where they were to crofs over, it required very great Courage to go upon fuch an Enterprize. In the Paffage there is only one little Inand or Rock, called Navaja, which is eight Leagues from Hifpaniola. The Perfons the Admiral pitched upon to perform this were, Fanes Mendez de Sagura, chief Notary of the Fleet, a very honeft and difcreet Man, and Bartholomerw Fiefco, a Genoefe, a Perfon worthy of fuch a Truft. Each of thefe went in a Canoe with fix Spaniards, and ten Indians to row.

The Admiral ordered fames Mendez, as foon as he came to Santo Domingo, to go away to Spain with his Difpatches for their Majefties; containing a full Relation of his Voyage, the Dangers and Troubles he had met with, the Lands he had difcovered, and the rich Mines he had actually vifited at Verogua; and at the fame time complained of the unworthy Ufage he had before met with, his Imprifonment and the feizing of all he had, praying Redrefs, and lamenting, that, after having fpent twenty Years in the Service of the Crown, he had not a Houfe to put his Head in; but muft be obliged, when he came to Spain, to take up his Lodgings at an Inn, $E_{3} c$. Bartbolomew Fiefco was to treat with the Governor of Hifpaniola about fending a Ship to bring the Men off, and to return with it himfelf. The two Canoes fet out on the 7 th of $7 u l y$; the Spaniards carrying their Provifions, Swords, and Targets, and the Indians their Gourds full of Water, Axis and Cazabi. When they came to the Point of the Ifland of Famaica, they were obliged to ftay till the Sea was very calm, to venture to ftrike over, the Danger being very great, efpecially for the Spaniards; for the Indians being very expert and naked, if the Canoes happened to over-fet, foon turned them again, and with their Gourds threw out the Water. As foon as the Weather grew calm, they put themfelves into the Hands of God, and launched out one Night:
the Indians rowing, who, to cool themfelves, fometimes. leaped into the Water, and afterwards returned to the Oar. When they had loft Sight of Famaica, the Spaniards relieved the Indians, that they might hold out, and always watched for fear thofe People Mould do any thing amifs.

The fecond Day after their Departure, they began tobe all very much tired, but the two Chiefs encouraged the Men, adivifing them to eat and recover their Strength. The Indians, being heated with the Sun, and the Labour of the Oars, were more bufy with their Gourds than they fhould have been, fo that they were foon empty; and, the Heat encrealing, and their Thirft with it, by Noon they had not ftrength to work. The Commanders then relieved them, giving them now and then to drink out of their Rundlets, and fo fupported them till cool of the Evening. That which moft perplexed them, after having rowed a Night and two Days, was, the Fear that they had miftaken the Way, in which they were to find the Illand Navafa, eight Leagues from Hifpaniola, as was faid before, where they expected to refrein themfelves. That Afternoon they had thrown an Indian over-board, who died by Thirft; others lay along ftretched out, quite difabled, and the reft were totally dejected, expecting Death, holding Salt-water in their Mouths to cool them, and finding no Comfort in it. They proceeded the fecond Night as far as they were able again, without feeing the Inand till the Moon rifing; Fames Mendez perceived that it appeared like a half Moon, the other half being, at firft, covered by the Inand; for otherwife they could not have feen it, by reafon of its Smallnefs and the Night. Then they all encouraged the Indians, fhewing them the Land, and giving them fome fips of Water, wherewith they were fo much encouraged, that they rowed on, and by Break of Day arrived at the Inland where they landed.

They found this Ifland was all a folid Rock, about half a League in Compafs, but there was no Tree nor Spring of Water on it; however, going about from one Cleft to another, they collected fo much in the Hollows, as ferved to quench their Thirft, which did them harm; becaufe, being foorched with Drought, they drank fo much of it, that fome of the poor Indians died upon the Spot, and others fell fick. They ftayed there till the Afternoon, providing themfelves, with the beft the Place would afford; gathering finall Shell-fifh on the Shore, and making a Fire to broil it, Fames Mendez having carried Neceffaries tor that Purpofe. Being then in the Sight of the Point of Hippaniola, which the Admiral had named St. Michael's, and was fince called del Tiburon, and defigning to conclude their Paffage before the Weather grew foul, as foon as the Sun was low they went into their Canoes again, and rowed, and by Break of Day arrived at the Cape, the fourth Day after their fetting out. They refrefhed themfelves there two Days, and neither Spaniards nor Indians would runs the Hazard of returning to Famaica the fame Way they came.

Fames Mendez, being in hafte, went on as far as he could in the Canoe, and, at length, arrived in the Province of Xaragua, where he found the Governor of Hifpaniola, who feemed well pleafed with the Ietter he brought him, though he proved very tedious in difpatching the Buinefs he came about; for he fufpecting the Admiral, was afraid left fome Difturbance fhould happen in the Inland. After much importuning he gave Fames Mendez leave to proceed with his Company to Santo Doiningo, to perform what the Admiral had ordered him. He there bought a Ship and fent it well provided, though it were a confiderable time before he could accomplifh his Defign, as will be fhewn.
10. After this Step had been taken, not only with the Confent, but by the Advice, and at the Requeft, of the Principal Perfons on board, it was very natural to fuppofe they would have been eafy; but the Spaniards that remained with the Admiral, in Jamaica, having fuffered very much in that Voyage, began to ficken, and, difparing of Relief, all their Difcourfe was how they fhould efcape over to Hifpaniola; railing at the Admiral as if he had been the Caufe of all their Misfortunes. The chief Promoters of the ee Difcontents were two Brothers,

Natives

Fatives of Serille, whofe Names were Porras, one of whom went over Captain of a Ship, and the other Purfer of the Fleet; thefe Men, having endeavoured to bring all the reft to their Defign, thought it fufficient that they had gained forty of the moft mutinous, and refolved to declare their Intentions: Accordingly, on the $2 d$ of Fanuary, 1504 , being all armed, Captain Francis de Porras went upon the Poop where the Admiral was, and, without any Refpect, faid, We are of Opinion that your Lordfhip will not go into Spain, but intend to keep us bere to perifb. The Admiral, hearing thefe infolent Words, and guefling at the Meaning, very mildly anfwered, He could not but be fenfible how impracticable it was for them to pafs over to Hifpaniola; that it was well known, he had already, by the unanimous Advice of all, fent for Ships, and 'if they had any better Method to offer, they might propofe it. Francis de Porras replied, there was no need of much advifing, that he might embark immediately, or ftay behind; and, turning his Back, added, for I will go away into Spain, with all thofe that will follow me: Then the Confpirators cryed out, One and all, One and all; and, after having caufed much Confufion aboard the Ship, they feized ten of the Canoes the Admiral had bought, and, many of thofe who were fick joining them, went away to the Eaftern Point of Famaica, whence Fames Mendez and Bartbolomew Fiefco had taken Boat to Hifpaniola.

Being come to the Point of the Ifland, they attempted to pafs over it to Hifpaniola, forcing fome Natives, with them, to row: But the Sea growing rough, and wetting them, they thought fit to lighten the Canoes, which were heavy loaded, throwing over-board all they had, except fome Provifions, Water, and their Arms; and, at laft, the poor Indians that rowed; cutting their Hands if they offered to eafe themfelves by holding by the Sides of the Canoes when tired with Swimming. Returning afhore, fome were for paffing over to $C u b_{a}$, fome for returning and making their Peace with the Admiral, or taking all he had by Force from him; others, for attempting, again, to pafs over into Hi/pamola, which laft prevailing; they ftayed fix Weeks in the Indian Town, at the Point of Land, for calm Weather, ruining the poor Natives, and then twice ventured out to Sea, but were forced back. Then quitting the Canoes, they went from Town to Town, fometimes bartering with the People for Provifions, and fometimes taking them by Force; whilft they were thus ranging, the Admiral took particular Care of the Sick, to fecure them to him, and laboured to gain the Friendfhip of the Indians, to make fure of Provifions, and by fuch Methods, all that had been diftempered recovered; however, the Spaniards eating much more than the Natives, it was a difficult Matter to fupply them plentifully, and fo a great Part of his Men being revolted from the Admiral, thofe People began to make the lefs account of him, infomuch, that he was reduced to great Streights; but it pleafed God to relieve him in that Diftrels, after the following Manner:

The Admiral knowing there would be an Eclipfe of the Moon within three Days, took therefore this Opportunity to fend an Indion, that fpoke Spanifh, to call the Cazique and principal Men of thofe Parts to him. They being come a Day before the Eclipfe, he told them that the Spaniards were Chriftians, Servants of God, who dwells in Heaven, and is Lord and Maker of all things; "who rewards the Good, and punifhes the Wicked; and, being angry with thofe that had mutinied, would not permit them to pafs over to Hifpaniola, as the others, fent by him, had done; that he was alfo difpleafed with them, becaufe they did not fupply his diftreffed Servants with Provifions, in exchange for Commodities, and therefore was refolved to chaftife them with Famine and other Calamities; and, that they might be convinced of the Truth of what he faid, God was pleafed they fhould fee a Token of his Anger in the Sky: So that they might, that Night, obferve the Rifing of the Moon, that he would appear of a bloody Hue, to point out the Punifhment God would inflict upon them. When he had made his Speech, fome of them went away in a Fright, andothers fcoffed at his Prediction. But, the

Eclipfe beginning as foon as the Moon was up, and ens creafing the higher fhe rofe, it put them into fuch a Confternation, that they haftened to the Ships, loaded with Provifions, entreating the Admiral that lie would pray to God that he would not be longer angry with them; and they would, for the fucure, bring him all the Provifions he fhould have Occafion for.

The Admiral anfwered, he would offer up his Prayers to God; and then fhutting himfelf up till the Eclipfe was at the Height, and ready to decreafe, he came out again, telling them he had prayed for them, promifing they would be good; and tupply the Chriftians, whereupon God had forgiven them; and they would fee the Moon, by degrees, turn to her ufual Complexion: The Indians, perceiving the Eclipfe to go off entirely, returned the Admiral many Thanks, admiring the God of the Chriftians; went away very well pleafed, religioully remembring to be grateful for the Benefit they thought they had received of the Admiral ; for they fupplied him plentifully with Provifions, always bleffing God, believing he would punifh them for their Sins; and that the Eclipfes they had formerly feen, had been Tokens of his Anger.

There were eight Months paffed fince the Departure of their Agents without any Advice of their Arrival, or what had befallen them; which made thofe that were with the Admiral defpair, fuppofing thofe Meffengers had. been caft away in their Paftage, or murdered by the $I_{n}$ dions. On this, one Barnard of Valencia, and the reft that had remained fick, confpired together to do as the Porras's had done before: But God prevented this Mifchief by the Arrival of a fmall Caravel fent by the Governor of Hijpaniola, under the Command of 7ames de Efcober, one of thofe that had been in the Rebellion with Roldan. He had Orders not to go aboard the Ships, or afhore, or permit any to talk with thofe that were with the Admiral ; or to receive, or deliver, any Letter ; being only fent to fee the Condition the Admiral and his Men were in. The Governor had pitched upon Efcobar to execute this Commiffion, becaufe he knew he had been in Rebellion, and therefore would not fide with thofe in Diftrefs. Efcobar, leaving his Caravel at fome Diftance, went in his Boat to deliver a Letter from the Governor ; and then ftanding of, made an empty Compliment from him; after which he prefented the Admiral with a Cank of Wine and two Flitches of Bacon. The Admiral anfwered the Governor's Letter, giving him an Account of what he had difcovered, and what had happened fince, and praying him to fend fpeedy Relief: Whereupon Efcobar failed away, which made the Men fufpect that the Governor Obando defigned to let them all perifh in that Illand.

However, this difappointed the fecond Confpiracy, and the Admiral told them, that Efcobar went away fo fuddenly that they might be the fooner relieved, for he was refolved not to go away without them, and that little Caravel would not carry them alk. Thefe Words, and the Sight of the little Caravel, with the Advice that Mendez and Fiefco were fafely arrived in Hifpaniola, fomewhat comforted the Men, and gave them Hopes of getting off in time. The Admiral, rather defirous to reduce the Mutineers by fair Means than by Force, that they might do no Mifchief in the Ifland, fent two of their beft Friends to acquaint them with the Advice he had received, defiring them to return, and no Notice fhould be taken of what had happened. Francis de Porras met thofe Meffengers at a Diftance, for fear they fhould perfuade any of his Men to fubmit themfelves, and anfwered, that they would not truft the Admiral, but would behave themfelves peaceably in the Illand, if he would promife to find a Ship to carry them off, and fhare half of what he had with them, fince they had loft all their own Effects.

The Meffengers refufed to make any fuch Propofal to the Admiral, and Porras replied that if he would not do it by fair Means, he hould be compelled to it by Force. When the Meffengers were gone, he railed at Columbus, charging him with Cruelty; alledging, he would not perform what he promifed if he had them once in his Power 3 ridiculounly accunng him of being a

Sorcerer

Sorcerer; and afrming, that the Caravel his Men had feen had been only a Delufion, formed by Magic Art, or elfe he would have gone in it himfelf, with his Son and his Brother. By fuch Difcourfes he confirmed them in the Rebellion, and perfuaded them to go and feize the Admiral, and take away what he had aboard the Ships: He accordingly marched with his Followers towards the Ships; and, being within a Quarter of a League of them, halted in an Indian Town called Mayma. The Admiral being informed of it fent the Adelantado, his Brother, with fifty Men, to perfuade him to return to his Duty; who, coming within a Crofs-bow-fhot of the Place; fent the two Meffengers the Admiral had employed before, to offer Peace; but they, defpifing all Accommodations, would not fo much as hear them; and, on the contrary, advanced in fighting order, crying, Kill. bim, kill bim; fix of them having taken an Oath to deAtroy the Adelantado, who bid his Men do as he did, and to fear nothing hut the Stain of being vanquifhed by Rebels. This faid, they engaged; and, at the firft Attack, fix Men fell, moft of them Rebels. Froncis de Porres, who was a bold Man, fingled out the Adelantado, and at one Cut clove down his Target to theHand, which he wounded, but could not recorer his Sword as he would; and the Adelantado, feeing his Men give way, clofed with Porras; which done, others came in and feized him, much wounded. The Adelantado then fel! in among the reft, fo that many were foon killed, and among the reft Foon Barle, who had been the firt that drew his Sword againit the Admiral when they began to rebel; others being much wounded, the reft betook themfelves to Flight.

The Adelantado would have purfued them, had not fome of the beft Men about him diffuaded him from it, faying, That was a fufficient Punimment, and that it was not proper to carry Things to Extremity; fo he returned to the Ships, carrying Francis de Porras, and other Prifoners, and was joyfully received by the Admiral and thofe about him. The Day after the Battle, being the 2oth of May, thofe that efcaped fent a Petition, figned, to the Admiral, confeffing their Fault, and begging Pardon, and promifing to ferve him faithfully for the future; all which they took folemnly an Oath to perform, renouncing any Abfolution in cafe of Failure from Prieft, Bihop, or Pope himfelf, at the Hour of Death, and all Benefit of the Sacraments of the Church.
The Admiral, on his Part, promifed to pardon them provided their Ringleader, Francis de Porras, fhould continue a clofe Prifoner ; and, to prevent any Controverfies between the Rebels and the others, he fent them a Commander to keep them in the Inland till the Ship arrived; fuch was the Pofture of Affairs in Famaica, and the Admiral had been there fill a Year, when a Ship arrived freighted by $\mathcal{J}$ ames Mendez, and with it a Caravel commanded by Fomes de Salcedo, the Admiral's Servant. Columbus, his Followers, and the Rebels embarked, and they failed from thence the 28 th of 7 une 1504 , and arrived at Santo Domingo on the I $3^{\text {th }}$ of Auguft. The Governor withall the City went outto meet him, and paid him much Refpect, lodging him in his own Houfe, and paying abundance of Compliments, but all with a falfe Heart; for he fet at Liberty Francis de Porras, the Ringleader of the Rebellion at Famaica, who was a Prifoner aboard the Ship; and threatened to punifh thofe that had honourably ftood by the Admiral in his greateft Danger.

I I. The Admiral was a Perfon of too great Penetration not to difcern how deceitfully he was treated, and the true Motives of the Governor's Behaviour. He knew very well that Obando hated him, and, at the fame time, feared his Credit and Reputation; but he diffembled Things as well as he could, till the Ships were ready that were preparing for carrying him back to Spain; and as foon as he knew that they were fit to fail, and the proper Seafon was come, he difpofed every thing for his Departure; which was a Thing no lefs agreeable to the Governor Obando than convenient for his own Affairs.

Accordingly, on the I2th of September, 1504, he embarked on board a Ship, provided by his Agents, and took with him likewife the Veffel that had brought him and his People over from Famaica; but juft as they
were out of Port, the Main-maft of the leffer Veffel came by the Board; upon which he ordered her back to Santo Domingo, and continued his Voyage in the other. He had not, however, been long at Sea before he met with a moft violent Tempeft, in which, not the Men only, but the Pilot, expected every Moment to be caft away; and when the Vehemence of the Storm was over, and they began to congratulate each other on their narrow Efcape from fo great Danger, they were aftonifhed by a very unlooked for Accident; their Main-maft flying to pieces on a fudden, and without any vifible Caufe.

The Admiral was at that time confined to his Bed by the Gout, which, however, did not hinder his giving the neceffary Directions for making a Jury-matt of the Yard, which was accordingly done ; and in this Condition they profecuted their Voyage. Soon after they encountered another Tempef, in which they loft their Mizen-maft ; notwithftanding which Accident they fafely arrived at their intended Port of St. Lucar, having failed 700 Leagues after they had loft their Main-mait. All the Dangers and Difficulties he had ftruggled with at Sea had not near fo much Effect on the Admiral's Mind, as the ill News he met with on Shore; being informed, as foon as he landed, that his beft Friend and only Patronefs, the Queen, was dead, fo that he had now none but King Ferdinand to apply to, who, though he always treated him refpectfully, the Admiral well knew was far enough from having any Kindnefs for him, and even from inclining to do him Juftice.

In this Situation of his Affairs, the Admiral refolved with himfelf to go to Serille, in order to take fome Repofe, and the Advice of his Phyficians for the Recovery of his I fealth, which he accordingly did, having his Sons with him; and employing himfelf wholly in fetting his Family-Affairs in order. When he had refted fome Months at Seville, in May 1505, he proceeded to the Court, which refided then at Segovia. He did not think the King received him as he deferved, yet he prefented feveral Petitions fetting forth the Services he had performed, and his great Sufferings, and defiring the Performance of what he had promifed him in return; for which the King gave him many fair Words without any Effect, having no Intention to fulfil his Engagements, and therefore under-hand offered him a large Eftate in Spain, in exchange for what was his due in the Indies.

This much vexed the Admiral, who was then confined to his Bed, and he complained of it to the Archbifhop of Seville; but at that Time King Ferdinand travelled from Valladolid to Laredo, to wait for his Son-in-law King Pbilip, and Queen Fobanna his Daughter, who foon after arrived there from Flanders. The Admiral, not being able to go, fent his Brother the Adelantado, to compliment their Majefties and follicit his Affairs ; where he was well received, and had fair Promifes of having his Bufinefs favourably difpatched. But notwithftanding all this, fuch Methods were made ufe of to poftpone his Demand, and protract his Bufinefs in all Offices to which it was referred, that it was no difficult Matter for him to difcern, that very little good was intended him.
13. While the Adelantado, Don Bartholomere Columbus, was folliciting, as has been faid, the Admiral's Diftemper grew upon him, till, having made the neceffary Difpofitions, he departed this Life, with much Piety, at Valladolid, on Afcenfion-day, being the 20th of May, I506. His Body was conveyed to the Monaftery of the Cartbufans at Seville, and from thence to the City of Santo Domingo in Hijpaniola, where it lies in the Chancel of the Cathedral. He left his Son Fomes his fole Heir, and died before he knew whether Cuba was an Ifland. It may be expected that we fhould add here fome Character of this great Man, or at leaft a Defcription of his Perfon ; but, having already fpoken largely of his Abilities in the Beginning of our former Volume, as well as in this, we thall content ourfelves with barely tranfcribing what a Spanifo Hiftorian, jufly efteemed for hisFidelity andKnowledge, has difcourfed upon this Subjeit:

His Words are thefe: "Columbus was tall of Stature, " long Vifage, of a majeftic Afpect, his Nole aquiline,
" his Eyes grey, of a clear Complexion and ruddy, his
"Beard and Hair, when young, fair, though through
" many Hardhips they foon turned grey: He was a
" Man of Wit, pleafant and eloquent, moderately grave,
" affable to Strangers, and kind to his own Family: His
"Converfation difcreet, which gained him the Affection
". of thofe he had to deal with, and his Prefence attracted
"Refpect, having an Air of Authority and Grandeur ;
" temperate in Eating and Drinking, and modeft in his
"Drefs. He was very ftrict in Religion according to the
" Mode of his Country, and obliged fuch as were under
" his Command to obferve the fame with Decency. In
" that Refpect, he fhewed an earneft Concern for the Con-
" verfion of the Indians to the Chrittian Faith, and en-
"deavoured all. he could to invite them thereto, by
"obliging the Spaniards to lead a Life, in fome meafure,
" agreeable to that Faith which they profeffed. In other
"Refpects he was a Man of undaunted Courage and
" high Thoughts, fond of great Enterprizes ; patient,
" ready to forgive Wrongs, and only defirous that Of
" fenders fhould be fenfible of their Faults, unmoved in
" the many Troubles and Adverfities that attended him,
" ever relying on Divine Providence. In fhort, had
" he performed fuch a wonderful Enterprize in the an-
" tient Days as the Difcovery of the new World, it is
" likely he would not only have had Statues, and even
"Temples, erected to his Honour ; but that fome Star
" would have been dedicated to him, as was done to
"Hercules and Baccous, and among us his Name will be "renowned whilft the World endures."
13. Such was the End of this great Man, to whom, in the frricteft Senfe, the Spaniards are indebted for all that they poffers in the new World, as will very clearly appear; if we confider that he fettled Hijpaniola, took a View of Cuba, vifited Famaica, beftowed the Name of St. Fobn on the Inand of Porto Rico, called formerly Borriquen, and difcovered almoft all that can properly be called the Weft Indies. As to the Continent, it muft be confeffed that he barely faw it, but then he faw both Parts of it, and the Ifthmus that unites them; and he left behind him Projects for extending all thefe Difcoveries, and his Conjectures of the Confequences that might attend them. He did ftill more than this, he declared pofitively, that there lay a Sea on the other Side of the Continent, through which there might be a Paffage difcovered to the Eaft Indies; and accordingly, as we have flewn elfewhere, that is, in the Hiftory of Magellan's Voyage, this Paffage was actually difcovered from the Lights given by him.
It muft be confeffed, that for fuch Services fcarce any Rewards could be fufficient, much lefs too great; and if it be remembered, he demanded nothing beyond his firt Contract, notwithftanding that he performed much more than he promifed therein, one cannot help wondering at the mean and fcandalous Behaviour of King Ferdinand, who fo ungratefully endeavoured to deprive him, and his Family, of what were their juft Rights.

His eldet Son and Heir, Fames, or, as the Spamiard ftile him, Don Diego Colon, inherited his Pretenfions, and inherited, likewife, the Dinilike of Ferdinand, and the Hatred of the Binhop Fonjeca; and though he endeavoured by Petitions, and perfonal Applications, to obtain his Right, yet he never could receive any other Satisfaction than fair Words and fine Promifes; with which being at laft quite tired out, he defired the King to leave his Demands to the Decifion of the Law, which, being what he could not decently deny, was granted.
This Suit, as may be well fuppofed, was tedious and troublefome, but, at laft, he obtained a clear Decifion in liis Favour, and was re-ettablifhed, by the Judges, in all his Fathers Pretenfions; notwithftanding which, the King and the Bifhop found Ways and Means to delay the Execution of the Judgment; fo that he obtained nothing thereby, except the Recognition of a Right, which was fufficiently clear before. To ftrengthen his Intereft, therefore, he thought fit to marry, which he accordingly did, into one of the moft illuftrious Families in Spain; efpoufing Mary de Toledo, Daughter to Don Ferdinand, Brother to the Duke of Alva, and Coufin to his Catholic Majefty. By the Affiftance of his Wife's Relations, he at laft obtained the Government of Hippaniola; fucceeding the great Enemy of his Father, Nicholas de Obando, but with the Title only of Governor, and not of Viceroy, which was his Right.
He went thither in 1508 , with his Wife, his Brother, Don Ferdinand, who wrote the Life of his Father, of which we have made ufe in the foregoing Sections, and his Uncles, Bartbolomerw and Fames Columbus; together with many young Noblemen, and feveral young Ladies of good Families, by which the Luftre of the Spani/b Settlement, in Hijpeniola, was reftored, and encreafed. Yet his Power was not at all greater than that of his Predeceffor; and the little he had was foon after reftrained by the fettling of a new Court, at Santo Domingo, under the Title of the Royal Audience, to which Appeals were allowed from all Parts of the Indies. Here then we are to clofe our Accounts of this illuftrious Perfon and the State of his Family at his Deceafe.

In the next Section we fhall give a fuccinct Account of the manner in which the Spaniards profeçuted the Difcovery of the Indies, to the time of thofe two great Expeditions, for the Conqueft of Mexico and Peru; of which, as of the moft memorable and extraordinary Tranfactions that have happened in this Part of the World, and which have contributed moft to make it known, we fhall give a larger and more particular Account; and, indeed, if we reflect, that in all Senfes whatever, the Conquefts of the Spaniards, in the new World, have been the greateft in themfelves, and more beneficial in their Confequences, than thofe of any European Nation, we cannot, certainly, think that time ill employed, which is fpent in acquiring a circumftantial Account of them; more efpecially as the Events therein are more curious and entertaining than thofe that occur in any other Hiftory whatever.

## S E C T I O N VI.

The Hifory of the feveral Difcoveries, Settlements, and Conquefts made by the Spaniards, in the Weft Indies, after the Death of the Admiral Don Christopher Columbus, to the Expedition of Ferdinand, or Hernan Cortes.

1. The Improvements made by Nicholas de Obando in the Illand of Hirpaniola, and the great Value of the Gold Mines wrougbt there. 2. The Expedition of Don Juan Ponce de Lcon into Puerto Rico, and bis Conqueft of that Ifland. 3. A Settlement made on the fmall Ifland of Cubagua, the valt Fifbery for Pearls there, and the Occafion of lofing it entirely. 4. Alonfo de Hojeda, and Diego de Nicueffa, commifioned to make Difcoveries, and Jail with that Viero to the Indies. 5. Hojeda's unfortunate Expedition to Carthagena, robere be bad been defiroved, but for the timely A/jifance afforded bim by Nicueffa. 6. Afterwards fixes the Settlement of St. Sebaftian, bis Misfortunes and Death, together weith the Fate of bis new Colony before mentioned. 7. The Hitory of Vafquez Nugnez de Balboa, and of bis furprizing Exploits in the Indies. 8. The Hitory of Don Diego de Nicuefla refumed; he founds the Colony of Nombre de Dios, bis fubfequent Misfortunes and miferable Derth. 9. The Conqueft of the great Ifiand Vol. II. Numb. LXXIII.

of Cuba undertaken by Don Diego Velafquez, and the Progrefs made therein by bim. 10. The famous John Ponce de Leon, by an unaccountable Delifion, undertakes an Expedition to find out the Fountain of Youth; rubich produces the Difcovery of Florida. II. The Difcoveries made on the Continent by the Command of Diego Veiafquez, under Ferdinand de Cordova bis Lieutenant, to the Death of Cordova. 12. Thefe Difcoveries refumed and profecuted with greater Succefs, by the Command of Velafquez, under John Grijalva. I3. His fubfequent Expeditions open a Paffage into that Country, fince filed New Spain. 14. On bis Return Grijalva is moft umjufly difgraced by Diego Velafquez, for purfuingo bis Orders too friclly. 15. Obfervations and Remarks on the principal Events in the foregoing Section.

1T is natural for us to begin this Section with fome Account of the Progrefs of the Spaniards in Santo Domingo, or Hifpaniola, after a regular Government was fettled there, and the Value of the Difcovery thereby made known; and this for two Reafons, firt, becaufe the immenfe Wealth derived from this Colony was what excited the Spaniards to continue their Difcoveries; and becaufe this Vein of Wealth has been long fince dried up, and, at prefent, we hear nothing of the Gold of Hijpasiola; which, at its firt Difcovery, yielded more in Proportion than ever Peru has done, fince. This was, in fome Meafure, owing to the Induftry and Care of Nicolas Obando, who firt employed a fkilful Pilot to fail round the Ifland, and defrribe its Coafts; and afterwards took Pains to examine all the Provinces into which it was divided, and furveyed them likewife.

In his time there was difcovered, near the Town of Puerto Real, a Mine of good Copper, but, after much Money expended about it, the Produce did not anfwer. Thofe three hundred Spaniards whom Obando found in the Inand, at his firtt coming, lived very diforderly, and had taken the moft beautiful Women, and of the beft Quality in it, for their Miftreffes, their Parents believing that they were married; but the Francijcan Friars, thinking the Lewdnefs not to be tolerated, made Inftance to the Governor for fome Remedy therein; who, at laft, decreed, that they fhould either part, or be married within a limited time: Many Men of Quality thought this a very hard Impofition, yet, rather than lofe the Dominion they had over the Indians, in right to thofe Women, they complied, and married them, and tho' this entitled them to what was their Wives, and the Lawyers faid they had a legal Right to the Service of thofe Indians, Obando took them away as foon as they were married, and gave them to others, allowing them as many in other Places; alledging he did it to prevent their growing proud as natural Lords, and to keep them in Submiffion, as holding thofe Indians only by Gift; but this was looked upon as an unjuft depriving of the natural Lords of their Subjects.

This Nicbolas de Obando, when he went over Governor of Hijpaniola, carried with him Roderick de Alcacar, Goldfmith to their Majefties; a difcreet and honeft Man, who had the Employment of Marker of the Gold, and his Fee was one per Cent, which was looked upon as a very indifferent Allowance; but, after the Diftribution of the Indians, there was fo much Gold gathered, that it was four times melted down every Year; twice at the Town of Bucna Ventura, on the Banks of Hayna, eight Leagues from Santo Domingo, where the Gold, brought from the old and new Mines, was caft; and the other two at the City de la Vega, or the Conception, where the Gold of the Mines of Cibao, and the adjacent Parts, was conveyed; at each melting, in the Town of Buena Ventura, there came out between 110000, and 120000 Pefos; and at la Vega between 125000, and $130000 \mathrm{Pe}-$ fos, and fometimes 140000 . Thus the Product of $l a$ Vega was the greateft, and all the Gold of the Inand amounted to 460000 Pefos, or more Money; according to the niceft Computation, 150000 Pounds; which yielded unto Roderick de Alcafar about 4500 Pefos a Year ; which, at that time, was a very confiderable Revenue, and though it was well beftowed on him, their Catholic Majefties revoked it.
It was remarked, even at this time, that fuch as wrought at thefe Mines were never any Gainers, notwithftanding the vaft Quantities of Gold, of which they became Matters; for, living always luxuriounly, and upon

Credit, their Gold, at the melting times, was often feized for their Debts, and very frequently did not afford enough to bring things to a Ballance.
2. The laft War, in the Province of Higuey in Hivpaniola, produced a great Extention of the Spanifh Power; for the Governor, Obando, appointed one to command in thofe Parts, and keep the Indians in awe, who foon formed a Project of carrying his Authority beyond the narrow Bounds which were affigned it. The Name of this Spanibl Gentleman, was Fuan Ponce de Leon, a Perfon of good Senfe, great Courage, but, withal, imperious and cruel. He was informed, by the Indians, that the Ifland of St. Fobn de Puerto Rico, by thefe People called Borriquen, was exceedingly rich in Gold; a Circumftance fufficient to tempt him to a better Acquaintance with it.
In order to this, he applied himfelf to the Governor ${ }_{3}$ giving him a full' Account of all that he had heard, and defiring his Licence to go over to the Inand to enquire into that Affair, to trade with the Natives, and fee what might be done towards fettling there; for, till then, they knew nothing of it farther, than that it appeared very beautiful; and they faw abundance of People when Ships paffed by it. Fuan Ponce embarked in a finall Caravel, with fome Spaniards and Indians that knew the Place, and landed in the Dominions of Aguey Bana, the greateft Lord of the Inand, who had a Mother and Father in Law, who all received and entertained him very kindly; and the Cazique changed Names with him, which they called becoming Guatiacos, or fworn Brothers. He. gave the Mother the Name of Agnes, and called the Father-in-law Francis; and, though they wouid not be baptized, they kept the Names which the Chriftians gave them.
This Cazique, his Mother, and Father-in-law, where very good-natured, and always advifed the Son to be a Friend to the Spariards. Fuan Ponce prefently made it his Bufinefs to enquire whether what the Indians had told him was true, concerning the Gold Mines. The Cazique conducted him all over the Inand, Thewing him the Rivers where Gold was found, and among them two that were very rich; the one called Manatuabon, and the other Cebuco, whence much Treafure was afterwards drawn. He caufed Samples to be taken, which he carried to the Governor of Hijpaniola, leaving fome Spaniards there well recommended to the Cazique, and his Mother, who were well entertained till ochers came to fettle. The greateft Part of this Inand confifted of high Mountains, fome of them covered with fine high Grafs, like that in Hijpaniola. There are few Plains, but many Vales with pleafant Rivers running through them, and all very fruitful. The weftern Point of it is but twelve or fifteen Leagues from the eaftern Cape of Hijpaniola; fo that in fair Weather the one may be feen from the other, by People ftanding on the Tops of thofe Points.

There are fome Ports, but none good, except that which is called Puerto Rico, where the City and epifcopal See are feated. The length of it is about forty Leagues at leaft, and the Breadth fixteen; the Circumference about 120. The Southern Coaft lies all in feventeen, and the Northern in eighteen Degrees Latitude. It produced much Gold, though not quite fo fine as that of Hijpaniota, yer not much inferior to it.
While Ponce de Leon was thus employed, Obando was recalled, and Don Diego Colon, Son to the Admiral, came to take the Government of Hijpaniola in his Room; bringing with him, from Spain, a new Governor for Puerto Rico ; but he who had made the firt Settement
on that Ifland difputing this Appointment, the young Admiral, without farther Ceremony, fet them both afide, and appointed one Michael Cerron Governor of that Place, and made one Michael Diaz his Lieutenant.

However Fuan Ponce de Leon, by the Intereft of his Friend Obando, procured a new Commiffion from Spain, and, going over to Puerto Rico, eafily found Pretences for picking a Quarrel with Cerron and Diaz, whom he fent Prifoners into Spain. There People thus out of his way, Fuan Ponce de Leon profecuted his firft Defign of conquering the Illand, but found it a much more difficult Tafk than he imagined. However, at laft he compaffed it ; and with much ado the poor Indians were forced to fubmit. In confequence of which they were made Slaves, and employed in the Mines till they were quite worn out. Since which the Gold has likewife failed; which many Spanifb Writers acknowledge to have been a Judgment from God for that barbarous Proceeding ; fo much the more probable, becaufe the fame thing has happened in other Parts of their Dominions.
3. The Court of Spain was at this time very follicitous to make the moft of the Settlements already made in the new World, and therefore from time to time admitted of fuch Reprefentations as thofe who had been in the Indies thought fit to make, as to what was requifite to be done there for promoting the Royal Revenue.

Amongft other Propofitions of this nature, there was one which fuggelted it was much for the King's Intereft that the Inand of Cubagua, called alfo Of Pearls, near Margarita, fhould be inhabited by Spaniards, and therefore the Admiral was ordered to take care of it, that the Trade there might be the better looked after. And the Inhabitants of Hippaniola made a great Advantage of it, finding the Lucayo Indions moft ufeful, becaufe they were extraordinary Swimmers and Divers; fo that one of them came to be worth one hundred and fifty Ducats. And they not only defrauded the King of his Fifth, but alfo abufed and deftroyed the Indians, which obliged them to ftand upon their Guard, and was prejudicial to the Trade. This Inand of Cubagua, fomewhat above three hundred Leagues from Hippaniola, is about three Leagues in Compafs, lies in almoft ten Degrees of Latitude, the Soil very barren and dry, affording much Salt-petre, fome few Guiacum Trees and Shrubs, without any Grafs or Birds, only fuch as are proper to the Sea, being all flat and without any Springs of frefh Water.

No Land Creatures were found upon it, except a few Rabbits. The Natives painted themfelves, and fed on the Pearl Oyfters. They brought over in their Canoes Water from Cumana on the Continent, which is feven Leagues diftant, and gave Seed-pearl for it to thofe who would carry it over. Wood they had from the Inland Margarita, which lies a League to the Northward of it, and incompaffes it from the Eaft to the North-weft. And to the Southward of it is Cape Araya on the Continent, where the great Salt Pits are.

It has a good Port on the North Side. The Swine that were carried thither from Spain foon degenerated, their Claws turning upwards half an Handful. There was infinite Plenty of Oyfters breeding the Pearl within them, a little Nob growing at firft foft, and afterwards hardening as it grows. Some Years the King's Fifth of only the Pearl Fifhery amounted to fifteen thoufand Ducats. And it was wonderful that fuch a Quantity of Pearls fhould be found in fo fmall a Compafs, taken by Men diving, and ftaying under Water as long as they can hold their Breath, pulling off the Shells from the Places they fick to. And it is to be obferved that there are Pearls for above four hundred Leagues from Cape de la Vela to the Bay of Paria. And befides thefe the Admiral found at Cubagua (which he called the Thand of Pearls) he difcovered them on the Coaft of Cumana, as alfo all along the Coaft of Paria, Maracapana, Puerto Flecbado, and Curiana, which is near Venezuela.
4. Amongtt other Adventurers who petitioned the Spanifs Court for Leave to make Difcoveries, Hojeda was one, a brave Man, but poor; and Jobn de la Cofa, who had been his Pilot, and had faved that Money which the other fpent, out of pure Affection offered to affift him with
his Life and Fortune. They had a Grant promifed them of all that had been difcovered on the Continent: But Diego Nicueffa interpofing, being a richer Mans and having a better Intereft, ftopped the Grant, and procured Half of it for himfelf. To the former Adventurers the Court granted all the Country between Cape de la Vela and the Gulph of Uraba, now ftiled the Gulpb of Darien, under the Name of Nerw Andaluffa; and to the latter, from the before mentioned Gulph to Cape Gracias a Dios, under the Name of Cafilla del Oro, or Golden Cafilie, without a Word faid of the Admiral, to whom of Right all thefe Countries belonged as difcovered by his Father.

The Inand of Famaica was likewife granted to Diego Nicue/fa, in common, but the Admiral, being in the Indies, fecured that for himfelf. Hojeda was able to fit cut but one Ship, and one Brigantine; but Nicueffa had two Brigantines; with which they both failed to Santo Do~ mingo, where they quarrelled about their Rights: And it was with great Difficulty that the Difputes between them were adjufted: At laft, however, this was dorie, and both proceeded to their refpective Governments, or rather to fettle the Colonies they had promifed.
5. Thofe Difputes took up much time, fo that it was the latter End of the Year 1510 before either of them left Hijpaniola. Alonso de Hojeda, with whom Francis Pizaro imbarked, departed from the Ifland Beata, and, ftanding to the Southward, in a few Days arrived at Carthagena, which the Indians called Caramari, and they were then in an Uproar, and ready to oppofe the $S p a-$ niards becaufe of the Injuries done them by Cbrifopber Guerra and others, who had paffed by that way, and under ${ }^{3}$ Pretence of trading had feized many, and made Slaves of them. Thofe People were of a large Stature, the Men wore their Hair down to their Ears, and the Women very long. And both Sexes were very expert in fhooting with their Bows. Hojeda and Jobn de la Cofí had religious Men with them, his Mafter being very defirous to induce them to fubmit; and, having Indians of Hifpaniola who fpoke the Language, he adrifed them to be peaceable, and to leave off their Cruelty, Idolatry, and other hideousVices practifed among them; but they; being very much incenfed, for Reaions before mentioned, would not give ear to thofe Perfuafions.
Alonfo de Hojeda, purfuant to his Inftructions, tryed all poffible Methods to allure them, tho' he had alfo Orders in cafe they proved obftinate, to declare War and make Slaves of them. He began to barter for Gold, giving them fome Spanif Toys; but thofe Indians being fierce and bold, Fobn de la Cofa faid he thought it would be better to fettle a Colony at the Bay Uraba, where the Natives were more gentle, and that from thence they might return to Cartbagena better provided. Alonjo de Hojeda being always too refolute, and the more for that, having been in a great Number of Quarrels and Engagements in Spain and Hifpaniola, he had never loft a Drop of Blood, did not regard the Advice, but fell upon the Indians who were preparing to attack him, killed many, feized fome, and found a fmall Quantity of Gold in the Places taken from them.

Not fatisfied with that, ufing fome of the Prifoners for his Guide, he went to a Town four Leagues up the Country, whither thofe who had efcaped from the laft Fray were retired, and found the People there upon their Guard, armed with Targets, Swords of extraordinary hard Wood, Bows, fharp poifoned Arrows, and Rods, which they threw like Darts. The Spaniards crying out, Santiago, that is St. Fames, fell on, killing and taking all they met. Eight Indians, who were not fo expeditious as the reft, retired into one of their thatched Houfes, where they defended themfelves a confiderable Space, killing one Spaniard; at which Hojeda was fo provoked, that he ordered the Houfe to be fired, where they all perifhed in a Moment. Here he took fixty Captives, whom he fent to the Ships, and purfued thofe that fled. The Inhaw bitants of a Town cailed Yarbaco having Notice thereof, withdrew into the Mountains with their Wives, Childrens and Effects.

The Spaniards coming thither by break of the Day, and finding nobody, grew heedlers, and difperfed them.
felves about the Country. The Indions obferving their Carelcfnefs, fell upon them unexpectedly, and they fo furprifed endeavoured to retire to fome Place of Safety, but fill met with their Enemies, who, they being divided into feveral Detachments, attacked, wounded, and killed them with Flights of poifoned Arrows. Hojeda, with fome of his Companions maintained the Fight, often 'kneeling, the better to cover himfelf with his Target; but when he faw moft of his Men killed, trufting to his Activity, he rumed through the thickeft of the Indians, and, running as if he had flown, got into the thickeft Part of the Woods, directing his Courfe the beft he could towards the Sea, where his Ships.were. Jobn de la Cofa got into a Houfe that had no Thatch on it, where he defended himfelf at the Door till his Men being nain, and himfelf fo wounded with the poifoned Arrows that he could no longer ftand, looking about he faw one that ftill fought courageounty, to whom he faid, That fince it had pleafed God to preferve him he fhould go immediately and tell Hojeda all that had happened, and Hojeda and he were the only two that efcaped, Seventy Spaniards being flaughtered.

Things being in this Situation, very lucky for the Spaniards, Nicue $\iint$ a with his Ships appeared, and he, landing, was informed of what had befallen his Rival through his own Rafnnefs; upon which he defired he might be fought for, and brought to him ; and as foon as he faw him he faid, That infuch a Cafe they ought to forget their Difputes, and only remember they were Gentlemen and Spaniards, offering at the fame time to land his Men, and affift him in revenging the Death of Fobn de la Cofa. They did accordingly land 400 Men , which proved alone more than fufficient to beat the Indians, to take and burn their Town, and to put them in poffeffion of a vaft Number of Slaves, and of a Booty worth Seven thoufand Pieces of Gold to each of them. After this Victory they agreed to part, and that each Should purfue that Plan of Difcovery and Planting directed by his Commiffion; which they accordingly did with what Fortune we fhall hereafter fhew.
6. As for Alonfo Hojeda, as foon as he underftood that it was the Defign of Nicueffa to fteer for Veragua, he crouded all the Sail he could, for the River of Darien; but having loft his old Pilot, upon whofe Experience he chiefly depended, he miffed the River, and at laft refolved to fix a Settlement on the Eaftern Promontory of the Gulph of Uraba; which he accordingly did, and called his new Town St. Sebaftian; which he did the rather, becaufe as that Saint is faid to have been martyred by the Arrows of the Infidels, he thought him a fit Patron to defend him againft the poifoned Arrows of the Indians.

He was hardly fixed there before he found all the Inhabitants of the Country to be a Race of barbarous Sawages, from whom he had nothing to expect, but all the Mifchief they could do him ; in this Situation he thought fit to detach Captain Encifo with one of his Ships to HiSpaniola, with Orders to bring him as great a Reinforcement of Men as he could poffibly obtain, and during his Abfence he intrenched himfelf as well as he could, the better to fecure his Pcople; but Provifions growing very foon fo low, that they were not in a Condition to fubfift, he found himfelf under a Neceffity of making fome Excurfions into the Country to obtain a Supply; which Expedient, however, failed him, and he had the Misfortune likewife to lofe many of his Men by the Arrows of the Indians, which were poifoned with the Juice of a certain ftinking Root, that grew by the Seafide. By thefe Difafters his new Colony was quickly reduced into a moft wretched Condition, ftarved if they remained within their Works, and fure of meeting with Death if they ventured out of them; in this fad State, and when they abfolutely defpaired, they faw with an Amazement a Ship enter the Port.

It proved to be no better than a Pirate, commanded by one Bernard de Talavera, who, flying from Juftice, took Shelter here, in a Place to him unknown. Alonzo Hojeda did not think it neceffary to inquire very nicely into the Man's Character, but very readily bought his Ship's Cargo, and treated the Captain fo well that he willingly entered into his Service. However ferviceable
this Relief might be, it was but of fhort Continuance : fo that, all their Provifions eaten up, the Savages more troublefome than before, and no Succour coming from Hippaniola, they were once more at theirWits-end. After various Schemes formed to no Purpofe, it was at laft refolved that he flould go himfelf to Santo Domingo, in order to procure Supplies; and accordingly, leaving Francis Pizaro to command the Colony, he imbarked on board Talavera's Veffel, and put to Sea. The Voyage was very unfortunate from the Beginning; for Hojeda ufing too much Severity towards the Crew, and behaving very haughtily to Captain Talavera, he not only deprived him of all Command, but very fairly clapped him in Irons. A Storm however arifing, the Crew whos though they thought him a bad Officer, yet knew him to be a good Seaman, fet him at Liberty ; and it was chiefly by his Skill they were enabled to fave their Lives, by running the Ship afhore on the Inland of Cuba.

It was but a very fhort Paffage from thence to Hifpaniola, but Talavera durft not go there; and therefore he prevailed upon Hojeda to venture a Voyage of one hundred Leagues to Famaica in a Canoe, and he was lucky enough to perform it. He had, by his Commiffion, fome Pretenfions on this Inand; and having heard that the Admiral had fent over thither Don Juan de Efquibel, with the Title of Governor, he threatened to cut off his Head if ever he fell into his Hands; but now he was forced to fue to him for Favour, and was very kindly ufed. After a fhort Stay at Famaica, the Governor, at his own Requeft, fent him over to Santo Domingo; where he learned that Captain Encifo was failed for St. Sebaftian, but found his own Credit fo low that he could fcarce raife wherewithal to buy him Bread ; and in a fhort Time after he actually died of Want, though he deferved a better Fate, being one of the braveft Men that ever failed from Spain to the Indies. Talavera had ftill worfe Luck; for, ftaying too long at Famaica, the Admiral caufed him to be apprehended, tried, and hanged for a Pirate.

In the mean time, Captain Pizaro quitted St. Sebafian, and, with a very few Men, and with much Difficulty efcaped to Cartbagena, where, very luckily for him, Captain Encifo was juft arrived with two Ships, and a confiderable Reinforcement; he took Pizaro on board; and they returned all together to St. Sebaffian, where they had the Misfortune to be fhipwrecked; and, getting afhore with much difficulty, they found thePlace reduced to Afhes by the Savages. They reftored it as well as they could, and got afhore what they were able of Provifions, and other Neceffaries, out of their ftranded Veffels; but were foon reduced to the utmoft Extremities both by War and Famine; Hunger frequently forcing them out, and the Savages conftantly driving them back again with the Lofs of fome of their Number, which they could very ill fpare, being but One hundred and eighty Men at firft. Such were the Miferies to which thefe Men expofed themfelves in Search of Riches.
7. We mult, before we can proceed, give the Reader fome Account of a very extraordinary Perfon who was engaged in this Expedition, and who, by his Dexterity and Prefence of Mind, delivered his Companions, in fome meafure, out of the Dangers they were in. The Name of this Gentleman was Vafquez Nugnez or Nunez de Balboa: He was a Perfon of good Fanily, great Parts, liberal Education, of a fine Prefence, and in the flower of his Age, being then about Thirty-five. He had formerly failed with Baftidas upon Difcoveries, and had afterwards obtained a very good Settlement in Hijpaniolu, but, having committed fome Exceffes there, was in danger of being put to Death. In thefe unfortunate Circumftances he procured himfelf to be put on board Captain Encifo's Ship in a Bread-cank, and, after having remained there fome Days, he ventured at laft to make his Appearance, when the Ship was an hundred. Leagues at Sea. The Captain, who had been charged not to carry any Offenders out of the Ifland, was extremely vexed at this Adventure, and threatened to fet him on Shore in the firft Defart Inand he came to ; but the principal Perfons on board interceeding for him, the Captain was at laft pacified, and granted him his Pro-
tection;
tection ; which, however, did not efface from his Memory the Ufage he had met with, as we fhall fee in its proper Place.
This Man, obferving that the Company were in a down-right Defpair, and knew not which way to turn themfelves, took upon him to encourage them, by afferting, that they were not in fo defperate a Condition as they imagined ; for that, when he was upon this Coaft before, with Baftidas, they had failed to the Bottom of the Gulph, where they had feen a very large fine Town, fituated in a fruitful Soil, in a fine Climate, and which was inhabited by warlike Indianis indeed; but fuch as did not make ufe of poifoned Darts. He therefore advifed them to get off their Brigantines which were ftranded, and endeavour to purfue their Voyage.
They approved Nunez's Advice, failed to the River which the Indions call Darien, and, having viewed the Place, found all according as he had defcribed it. The Inhabitants and their Cazique, whofe Name was Cemano, underftanding that the Spaniards were coming, fecured their Wives and Children, and with Five hundred Men waited for the Spaniards on a little Hill, who having performed their Devotions fell upon them, and foon put them to the Rout. They went to the Town, and, as they wifhed, found it full of Provifions. The next Day they marched up the Country and the Mountains thereabouts, where they found many Houfes without Inhabitants, they being all fled, but there were Veffells, Houfhold Goods, and Cotton Things like fhort Petticoats for Women, as alfo mucla Cotton fpun and unfpun, and Plates of Gold, fuch as they hung on their Breafts, and other Things, amounting in the whole to Ten thoufand Pieces of fine Gold. Encifo being overjoyed at this Succers, fent for the Mien that had been left on the other Side of the Bay, becaufe the Brigantines could not carry them at once. Nurez gained much Reputation by the Succefs of this Enterpriife, and began to be in very high Efteem.

They all ageeed to eftablifh a Colony there, and to call it Senta Maria el Antiqua del Darien, or S. Mary the Antient of Darien; the firft being the Name of a Church at Seville, and the latter, the Indian Name of the River. Nunez, being now in great Credit, fecretly contrived with his Friends to depofe Encijo from the Command, alledging, that fince they were out of the Limits of Hojeda's Government, he had no longer any Authority. Whilft thefe Things were in Agitation Encifo thought fit to order that no Man, upon Pain of Death, fhould trade with the Indians for Gold; and they, fufpecting he did it to draw all to his own Advantage, unanimounly threw off all Subjection to him, faying his Authority was expired on the Account above mentioned, and for other Reafons. Encijo thus deprived of the Government, they refolved to chufe Alcaldes and Regidores, which are the Titles of the chief Magiftrates in Spani/b Towns; and accordingly Nunez de Balboa, and Zamadio, were elected Alcaldes, and Valdibia was appointed Regidore. However, the Men, not being pleared with this Government, and repenting that they had excluded Encijo, begun to fall at variance about it; fome alledging that it was not proper to be without a Commander in chief, and by this means they divided into three Parties. One of them demanding that Encijo fhould be reftored till the King appointed another Governor ; the fecond faid they ought to fubmit themfelves to Nicuef ${ }^{2}$, becaure that Country was within his Diffrict; the third confifted of Nunez's Friends, who would have the prefent Government ftand, but, in cafe they would have a fingle Commander, infifted it fhould be Nunez de Balboo.
In the Midft of all there Debates, Roderic Enriques de Colmenares arrived with two Ships, having on Board Provifions, military Stores, and feventy Men. This Captain, meeting a great Storm by the Way, put into the Port of Santa Maria, fifty or fixty Leagues from Cartbagena, by the Indians called Gayra; the Boats going there to water, the Lord of that Country came out with twenty of his Followers, cloathed in a fort of Cotton Cloaks, though all Indians in thofe Parts go naked, and, drawing near, bid them not take of that Water, becaufe it was not good, fhewing them another River. Not being able Yol. II. Numb. 73.
to come at it by the beating of the Sea, they returned to the firft Place; and, as they were filling their Cafks, on a fudden about feventy Indians rufhed out, and, before the Spaniards could ftand upon their Guard, wounded forty-five of them with their poifoned Arrows: The wounded Men fwam away, becaufe the Natives ftaved the Long-boat, and, when they got to the Ships, they all died except one. Seven Spaniards hid themfelves in a great hollow Tree, in order to fwim to the Ship at Night.
But the Men on board, fuppofing them to be killed, failed away very melancholy, for the Bay of Uraba, to enquire after Nicuel $\sqrt{a}$; and, finding no body on the Eaft-fide of the Bay, where they thought Hoojeda's Men, or their own, might be, Colmenares was much furprized, fufpecting they were all dead, or gone to fome other Place ; but thought fit to fire fome Pieces of Cannon, that they might hear him if they were thereabouts; and to make Fires at Night, and Smokes by Day; on the arjacent high Rocks. They that were at Santa Macria el Antiqua del Darien heard the Gun, which made all the Bay roar to the Weftward, and made Signals, and he came to them about the middle of Noveraber, 15 10: He difributed the Provifions he had among them all, and, by that Generofity, gained the Affections of the greater Part of thofe who oppofed the calling of Nicueffa; fo the: they agreed he fhould be fent for, in order to talke upon him the Government.
8. It is requifite for us, now, to turn to Don Diego Nicuefja, in order to fee how he paffed his time after leaving Alonfo Hojeda, whom he had fo generounly affifted. A few Days after, he met with as great Mifchiefs at Sea, as Hojeda had done on Shore; for he was toffed by a dreadful Tempeft from without, and betrayed within by Lopez de Olano; who, perceiving the Squadron feparate, followed one of the largeft Ships into the River Cbagre, in order to fet up for himfeif, and left his Patron to fhift as he could. After fome very unlucky Adventures, he arrived at Veragua, which was their general Rendezvous; and there he laboured to perfuade the People to abandon their original Defign as impracticable, and to fail away to Hifpaniola, there to make the moft of what they had left; alledging, that without all doubt, Nicueffa was perifhed with all his Men.

While they were meditating this Project, there came a Shallop into the Port, with four Men on Board, who brought Advice that the Governor Nicuefa was not far off; that he had been ftranded upon an unknown Coaft, and marched a great Way with incredible Fatigue by Land, and was, with his Followers, in a moft miferable Condition. Upon hearing this News, Olano's Heart relented, and he immediately difpatched the Shallop with Provifions and Refreflments, which came fo opportunely, as to fave Nicueffa and his Men from ftarving, which otherwife muft have been their Fate. Yet this did not, in the leaft, foften his Refentments againft his Lieutenant; whom, if it had not been for fear of the Men, he would have hanged; and, as it was, he put him in Irons, and threatened to fend him in that Condition to Spain. It was not long, however, that this Authority remained in his Hands; for, endeavouring to fettle a CO lony on the River Betblebem, he found himfelf fo ftreightened for Provifions, that he was conftrained to leave a Part of his Men there, and to fail with the reft to Puerto Bello; but the Indians not fuffering them to land, he was conftrained to proceed four or five Leagues farther to that Port, which, for Reafons before mentioned, Columbus called the Baftimentos; and, as foon as he entered it, he cried out Paremos aqui en el nombre de Dios, that is, Let us fay bere in the Name of God.
There debarking his. Men, he began to erect a Fortrefs, which, from the Expreffion before mentioned, was called Nombre de Dios. He had not been long there before he found himfelf in the fame Plight as in the former Colony; fo that he was obliged to fend one of his Veffels to Santo Domingo, to befeech the Governor to grant him fome Affitance. This Veffel was fcarce out of the Port, before that with Colmenares on board arrived in the River of Darien, on the Meffage that has been before related from the Spanib Colony fettled there: Cab-
menaress
menares, and his Mc , were fo amazed to fee Nicueffa and feventy of his Company he had left with him, lean, ragged, and bare-footed, that they could not forbear thedding of Tears, efpecially when they heard how many had died, and the great Difafters they had fuftained. Comenares did all he could to comfort Nicueffa, telling him that the People of Darien defired he would come and govern them; the Country there being good, that they had Provifions in Plenty, and did not want Gold. Nicueffa began to be in Spirits, and, having received Provifions, banifhed Defpair, returning thanks to God for that great Mercy; however, as foon as this Joy was over, he loft the Reputation he had before gained in Hifpaniola, of being a difcreet and prudent Man; for, forgetting the miferable Condition he had been in, and not remembring that thofe People who fubmitted themfelves to him had done it of their own Free-will; he had fo little Senfe as to declare in Public, that he would take all their Gold from them, and punifh them over and above, which was foon fpread abroad.

Nor was this the only Error he was guilty of, for he fuffered a Caravel to go before, having a mind to view fome Inands that lay in the Way. That fame Night Lopez de Olano, who was fill kept Prifoner, fpoke with fome of thofe that came from Darien to incenfe them, and, when he was going aboard, he faid, Nicueffa fancies that Hojeda's Men will receive him as we did, when he had been loft at Veragua. James Albetes and the Bachelor, Corral, went aboard the Caravel that went before, and gave notice at Darien of what Nicueffa had faid concerning taking away their Gold and punifhing them, that he was become cruel and ill natured, abufing thofe that were with him, and more to that effect. Nicueffa from the little Inlands fent $\mathcal{F o b n}$ de Cayzedo to acquaint the People of Darien that he was coming, and, he being privately his Enemy, incenfed them ftill more than the other two had done before ; whereupon they refolved not to admit him among them; and this Refolution was chiefly forwarded by Nunez de Balboa, who advifed all the prime Men to keep him out; though, at the fame time, underhand he called the public Notary, and declared that he was not againft Nicuelfa, and required him to give him a Certificate of the fame.

Nicueffa having fpent eight Days among the Iflands, taking fome Indians ${ }_{2}$ when he came to the landing Place at Darien, was amazed to find many of the Spaniards on the Shore, and one of them, in the Name of all the reft, requiring lim to return to his own Government at Nombre de Dios; but, defiring to be heard, and returning again the next Day, as foon as he landed they went to feize him, but, being extraordinary fwift of Foot, none of them could overtake him. Nunez hindred the People from proceeding any farther, fearing they might do him fome harm, and from that time was much his Friend. Nicueffa intreated them that in cafe they would not accept' of him as their Governor, he might, at leaft, be admitted as a Companion, which they refuling, he farther prayed they would keep him as a Prifoner, for he would rather die then go back to ftarve at Nombre de Dios.

But, notwithftanding all this, they forced him, and about feventeen of his Men, into an old rotten Bark, and ordered them to make their Way back to the Place they had quitted, on pain of being funk where they were. There is no doubt they endeavoured this, but with what Success, is uncertain, only thus much is known, that they were never feen any more. There was, indeed, a Story current in the Indies, that when the Spaniards came to fettle themfelves in Cuba, as Thall be prefently related; they found this Infcription cut in the Bark of a large Tree: Here the unfortunate Nicueffa finifbed bis Miferies and bis Life togetber.
9. The Admiral, Don Diego Columbus, was very much blamed for not endeavouring, to the beft of his Power, to fuccour thefe Adventurers, notwithftanding that the Governments beftowed upon them were contrary to his juft Rights; and his Enemies made ufe of this to his Prejudice, at the Court of Spain, which had always a Jealoufy of him, and therefore readily liftened to whatever Complaints were brought againft him. The Admiral, on his Side, was fo fenfible, and fo well apprized of this, that he
left no Stone unturned to fecure himfelf thofe Countries upon which, he conceived from the Contract made with his Father, he had jut Pretenfions.

Upon thefe Grounds, having undertood, at the beginning of the Year 15II, that the Court was very defirous of having the great Inand of Cuba difcovered and planted, though they had no accounts of any rich Mines therein; he refolved to be beforehand with them, and to fend a Body of Men thither, under the Command of a Perfon whom he could truft; that having a Lieutenant there of his own, the Court might liave no Pretence for granting it away to any new Undertakers, as they had done that Part of the Continent which his Father had difcovered, and even the Inand of Famaica, which, however, he had recovered. To this Purpofe he made choice of James Velafquez, being the wealthieft and beft beloved of all the firft Spanifb Inhabitants in Hipaniola; befides, he was a Man of Experience, of a mild and affable Temper, though he knew how to maintain his Authority, and very difcreet. As foon as it was known, in Hifpaniola, that 7 ames Velafques was going to make Settlements in Cuba, abundance of People refolved to bear him Company, fome, becaufe he was beloved, and others, becaufe they were ruined and in Debt: All thefe being about three hundred Men, rendezvoufed in the Town of Salvatierra de la Zavana, to embark on board four Ships ${ }_{3}$ that Place being at the extremity of Hifpaniola.

But, before we proceed, it is fit to obferve, that the Province of Guatiaba, lying next to Cuba, the Diftance between the two Points being but eighteen Leagues, many Indians went over to Cuba in their Canoes, and among them paffed over, with as many of his Men as could, a Cazique of the Province of Guatiaba, called Hatuey, a brave and difcreet Man. He fettled on the neareft Country, known by the Name of Mayci, and, poffeffing himfelf of that Part, kept the People as Subjects, but not as Slaves; for it was never found in the Indies, that any Difference was made between a free People, or even their own Children, and Slaves, unlefs it were in Nero Spain, and the other Provinces, where they ufed to facrifice Prifoners of War to their Idols, which was not practifed in thofe Iflands. This Cazique, Hatuey, fearing that the Spaniards would fome time or other pafs into Cuba, always kept Spies to know what was done in Hifpaniola; and being informed of the Admiral's Defign, he affembled his People, who were moft martial, and, putting them in mind of their many Sufferings under the Spaniards, told them, "They did, all that for a great Lord they "were very fond of, which he would fhew them." And then, taking fome Gold out of a little Palm-tree Bafket, added, "This is the Lord whom they ferve, "c him they follow, and, as you have already heard, they " are about paffing over hither only to feek this Lord; " therefore let us make a Feftival, and dance to him, " to the end, that when they come, he may order them " not to do us harm". Accordingly they all began to fing and dance till they were quite tired, for it was their Cuftom to dance as long as they could ftand, from Night-fall till Break of Day, and their Dances were as in Hifpaniola, to the Mufic of their Songs; and though fifty thoufand Men and Women were affembled, no one differed from the reft in the Motions of their Hands, Feet, and Bodies. But thofe of Cuba far exceeded the Natives of Hijpaniola, their Songs being more agreeable: When they were fpent with finging and dancing before the little Bafket of Gold, Hatuey bid them not to keep the Lord of the Chriftians in any Place whatfoever, for though he were in their Bowels, they would fetch him out, and therefore they fhould caft him into the River, under Water, where they would not find him, and fo they did.
It may not be amifs, here, to give a Defcription of Cuba, from the Spanifb Writers: This Inand is 230 Leagues in Length, from Cape San Antonio to the Point of Mayci. The Breadth from Cape Cruze to Port Manati is forty-five, and there it begins to taper, and fo runs on to the Wefternmoft Point, narrowing to about twelve Leagues, from Matamano to Havanna; its Situation is within the Tropic of Cancer, from twenty to twenty-one Degrees: Moft of it is flat, full of Woods and Forelts,

## Chap. III.

 Columbus to Cortes's Expedition.but, from the Eaftern Point of Mayci, for thirty Leagues, there are vaft high Mountains, as there are beyond it to the Weftward, and in the Middle there are Hills, but not very high. Very fine Rivers run down on both the North and South Sides, full of Fifh, and efpecially Skates and Olives, that go up from the Sea towards the middle of it. On the South Side there is a prodigious Number of little mands, which the firt Admiral, Don Cbriftopker Columbus, called the Queen's Garden. There are others, though not fo many, on the North-fide, which Velafques called the King's Garden. On the South-fide, about the middle, there runs down, into the Sea, a mighty River, which the Indians call Cauto; the Banks of it are very agreeable, and in it are vaft multitudes of Alligators.
This Inand is very well wooded, fo that Men may travel almoft two hundred and thirty Leagues always under Trees of feveral Sorts, and particularly fweet-fcented and red Cedars, of which they make large Canoes, that contain fifty or fixty Perfōns; and of this Sort there were once great Numbers in Cuba. There are abundance of Storax Trees, fo that if a Man in a Morning go up to a high Place, the Vapours that rife from the Earth fmell of Storax, coming from the Fire the Indions make at Night, and drawn up when the Sun rifes. Another Sort of Trees produce a Fruit called Xaquas, which, being beaten, and laid by four or five Days, though not gathered ripe, are full of Liquor like Honey, and better tafted than the fweeteft Pears. There are abundance of wild Vines, that run up high, bearing Grapes, and Wine has been made of them, but fomewhat fharp; and there being aninfiniteQuantity of them throughout the Inland the Spaniards were wont to fay, they had feen a Vineyard that extended two hundred and thirty Leagues. Some of the Trunks of thofe Vines were as thick as a Man's Body, which proceeded from the extraordinary Moifture and Fertility of the Soil.

All the Inland is very pleafant, and more temperate than Hifpaniola, is very healthy, and has fafer Harbours for Ships than if they had been made by Art, as is that of St. Jago on the Southern Coaft, in the Shape of a Crofs; that of Xaquas fcarce to be matched in the World, the Ships paffing to it through a narrow. Mouth not above a Crofs-bow Shot over, and then turn into the open Part of it, which is about ten Leagues in Compafs, with three little Iflands fo fituated that they may faften their Ships to Stakes on them, and lie fafe from the Winds of all the Compafs, being fheltered by Mountains as if they were in a Houfe, and there the Indians had Pens to fhut up the Fifh. On the North Side there are good Harbours, the beft being that which was called de Carenas, and now the Havanna, fo large that few can compare to it; and twenty Leagues to the Eaftward of it is that of Matanoas, which is not quite fafe. About the Middle of the Inland is another good Port called del Principe; and almoft at the End that of Baraca, where good Ebony is cut; between which there are other good anchoring Places, tho' not fo large or commodious as thofe we have mentioned.
There are abundance of Fowl in Cuba, as Pigeons, Turtledoves, Partriges like thofe in Spain but fmaller, of which there are none in the other Inands, nor Cranes, except on the Continent: Another Sort of Birds there was, of which they had none on the Continent, of the Size of Cranes, which at firft are very white, and by degrees turn red, now called Flamences, and would have been much valued by the Indians of Nere Spain, if they had them, for the curious Feather-works they made; thefe move always five hundred or a thoufand in a Flock; they look like Sheep bedaubed with red; they feldom fly, but fand on the Ground in the Sea, their Legs in the Water, and drink the Saltwater; if the Indians took any to keep in their Houfes, they were forced to throw Salt into their Water. There is an infinite Multitude of Parrots, and about May, when they are young, they eat them, being very good Meat. They had few Land Animals, excepr a kind of Rabbits like thofe in Hijpaniola; but to make amends for this, they had vaft Quantities of both Sea and River Fifh, efpecially Tortoifes, excellent in their Kind, and very wholefome, curing the Itch and Leprofy in fuch as were content to make them their conftant Food. As for Indian Corn, no Inand in the Weft Indies produced it in greater Plenty;
and, taking all things together, it might be pronounced one of the fineft Countries in that Part of the World, and one of the belt provided. After the Spaniards had been fettled there fome time, they found confiderable Quantities of Gold in the Rivers, fome very pure and rich; but for the moft part of lefs Value than the Gold in Hijpaniola, or in the Ifland of St. Fobn de Puerto Rico.

After having fpoken of the Country itfelf; and of its feveral Productss it is but juft that we fhould fay fomething of the Natives, before they were conquered. The firft Inhabitants of this Illand were the fame as thofe of the Lucayos, a good fort of People, and good-tempered. They had Caziques, and Towns of two or three hundred Houfes, with feveral Families in each of them, as was ufual in Hifpaniola: They had no Religion, as having no Temples, or Idols, or Sacrifices; but they had Phyficians, or conjuring Priefts, as in Hifpaniola, who, it was thought, had Communication with the Devil, and their Queftions anfwered by him. They fafted three or four Months to obtain this Favour; eating nothing but the Juice of Herbs; and, when reduced to extreme Weaknefs, they were worthy of that Apparition, and to be informed whether the Seafons of the Year would be favourable or otherwife, what Children would be born, whether thofe born would live, and fuch like Queftions. Thefe were their Oracles, and thefe Conjurers they called Bebiques, who led the People into many Superftitions and Fopperies, curing the Sick by blowing on them, and fuch other exterior Actions, and mumbling fome Words between their Teeth.

Thofe People of Cuba knew that Heaven, the Earth; and other things, had been created; and faid they had much Information concerning the Flood, and that the World had been deftroyed by Water, from three Perfons that came three feveral Ways. Men of above feventy Years of Age faid, that an old Man, knowing the Deluge was to come, built a great Ship, and went into it with his Family and abundance of Animals; that he fent out a Crow, which did not return for fome time, flaying to feed on the dead Bodies, but afterwards returned with a green Branch; with other Particulars, as far as Noab's two Sons covering him when drunk, and the other's fcoffing at it; adding, that the Indians defcended from the latter, and therefore had no Coats or Cloaks; but that the Spaniards defcended from the others that covered him, and were therefore cloathed, and had Horfes. As to their Laws and Cuftoms, fince they lived in Towns and had Lords, it is likely their Will was a Law ; many affirm, that the Natives of Cuba, St. Fobn de Puerto Rico, Hippaniola, and Famaica, were not guilty of the Sin of Sodomy, nor did they eat human Flefh, though Oviedo is of opinion that they were Sodomites; other Men, of as much Reputation as he, deny it, and reprove him for it ; and the moft probable Opinion is, that all thofe Inands were firf inhabited by People that came over from Florida.

After faying fo much of Cuba, let us go on to what Fames Velafquez did there: He fet out from Salvatierra de la Zavana in November 151I, and landed at a Port called Palina, in the Territories of the above-mentioned Cazique Hatuey, that went thither from Hijpaniola, who ftood on his Defence, taking the Advantage of the Woods, where the Spaniards could not make ufe of their Horfes. After two Months thus fpent, the Indians hid themfelves in the thickeft Part of thofe Forefts, and the Spaniards hunting them, they carried all they took to fames Velafquez, who diftributed them among his Men, not as Slaves but Servants. Hatuey withdrew into the moft inacceffible Places; however, after much Time and Toil, he was taken and carried to Fames Velafquez, who caufed him to be burnt; whreupon all the Province of Mayci fubmitted, none after fuch an Example of Severity daring to hold out. When it was known in Jamaica that Velafquez was in $C u b a$, many of thofe who were with $70 b n$ de Efquibel afked leave to go over and ferve under him : Panfilo de Narvaez, a Gentleman well born, went a Commander of thirty Archers; he was a Man of a graceful Prefence, well-behaved, but not over difcreet. He was well received with his Archers by Velafquez, who gave
him the chief Command next himfelf, fo that he governed all things under him. The Indians of the Province of Mayci being quite fuppreffed, Velafquez began to think of dividing them among the Spaniards, as Obando had done by them in Hijpaniola, and took to himfelf thofe of five Towns, where he had been Lieutenant; and to this purpofe he founded a Town at a Harbour on the North Side, which Place was by the Natives called Barracoa; and this was the firf Sponifb Colony in that Inand.

From this Place he fent Narvaez with thirty Men to the Province of Bayamo, fifty Leagues from Barracoa, a fine open Country, andvery agreeable: Only Narvaez rode, all the reft marching on foot. The Natives of the Country came out to meet them with Provifions, becaufe they had no Gold, being aftonifhed at the Sight of the Mare, and a Man on her Back. The Spaniards took up their Quarters in an Indian Town, the Inhabitants whercof, obferving their fmall Number, refolved to rid themfelves of them. Though Narvaez was not very cautious, he had his Mare in the fame thatched Houfe where he lay, and a Guard at Night. Near feven thoufand Indians affembled from all Parts of the Province, with their Bows and Arrows: They fell upon Narvaez and his Men after Midnight, though it was unufual for them to fight at that time: They gave the Attack in two Parties, and found the Sentinels afleep. The beft of it was, that being earneft to plunder the Spaniards, for they ever coveted to be cloathed fince firtt they faw them, they did not obferve the time they had agreed on, fo that one Party was more forward than the other, and entered the Town fhouting.

Narvaez awaked in a Confternation: The Indians went into the thatched Houfes, where finding the Spaniards, they neither wounded nor killed them, being wholly intent upon getting their Cloaths. The Shouts having furprized them, the Spaniards in their Fright knew not what they were doing. Thofe Indians Narvaez had carried with him from Jamaica lighted Firebrands; and, this Thewing the Spaniards their Danger, Narvaez, though wounded by a Stone, found Means to get to his Mare and mount her: At that time, it feems, Part of the Spani/b Furniture was hung with Bells, and the Indians hearing the Sound of them, and feeing Narvaez coming after them on a round Trot, with his Sword drawn in his right Hand, they not only abandoned their Enterprize, but fled out of their Country; and Velafquez being informed of this, fent a.Detachment to join Narvaez, and fo became abfolute Manter of that Province, the Inhabitants taking fhelter in different Parts of the Illand, and fome, from their firt Imprefions of Terror, flying to the full Diftance of fifty Leagues, leaving none but their old and decrepid People behind them.
10. We have already fhewn, how Juan Ponce de Leon, by the Intereft of Nicholas Obando, was reftored to the Government of Puerto Rico, and how he fent his Predeceffors Cerron and Diaz Prifoners into Spain, which, tho' he looked upon it as a bold Stroke in Politics, turned upon himfelf; for they, prefenting a Petition againft him to the Court of Spain, and being ftrongly fupported by the Admiral's Intereft, were fent back again in their former Employments; by which Ponce de Leon found himfelf reduced to the State of a private Man. But having made a good ufe of his Time, he had acquired a large Fortune, which induced him to think of regaining his Credit and Power by making Difcoveries: And accordingly, on the Ift of March I512, he failed from the Port of St. German, with two fout Ships fitted out at his own Expence, fteering through the Inands called Lucayos, till, on the 2 d of April, he difcovered Land unknown to the Spaniards before that time, in the Latitude of $30^{\circ} 8^{\prime}$. Charmed with which Piece of good Fortune, he ran along the Coaft in fearch of fome Port, and at Night anchored near the Shore, in eight Fathom Water: Believing that Land to be an Inand, they named it Florida, becaufe it appeared beautiful, having many pleafant Groves, and was all level, as alfó becaufe they difcovered it at Eaffer, which the Spaniards call Pafcba de Flores. Juan Ponse went athore there to difcover and take poffeffion.
On the 8th they failed again, and on the 20 th of April
they perceived fome Indians, where they anchored. Fuan Ponce being called by the Indions went afhore, and they immediately endeavoured to poffefs themfelves of the Boat, the Oars, and the Arms; which was not refented, that they might not provoke them, till one of them funning a Sailor with a Stroke of a Cudgel he gave him on the Head, the Spaniards were obliged to fight, and had two of their Men wounded with Darts and Arrows pointed with fharp Bones, and the Indians received little Damage. Night parting them, Juon Ponce with fome Difficulty got his Mien together, and failed thence to a River, where they wooded and watered; fixty Indians came to oppofe them, one of whom was taken to give fome Information, and to learn Spanifb. The River they called de la Cruz, or of the Crofs, leaving one of Stone there, with an Incription. On the 8 th of May they doubled the Cape of Florida, giving it the Name of Cabo de las Corrientes, or Cape Currents, becaufe they are ftronger there than the Winds, and came to an Anchor near to a Town called Abacoa. All this Coaft, from Cape Arracifes to this Cape Corrienies, lies North and South one Point to the Eaftward, is clean, and has fix Fathom Water; the Cape lying in eighteen Degrees fifteen Minutes North Latitude. They failed on till they met with two Inands to the Southward, in twenty-feven Degrees; one of which, being a League in Compafs, they named Santa Monta, and watered there.

On the is th of May they proceeded ten Leagues, along a Ridge of fmall Illands, as far as to two white ones, and called them all together los Martyres, or the Martyrs, becaufe the high Rocks at a diftance look like Men that are fuffering, and the Name has been regarded as prophetic, on account of the many that have fince been caft away there: They held on fometimes North and fometimes North-eaft, and on the 24 th ran along the Coaft to the Southward, as far as fome fmall Inands that lay out at Sea, and yet did not perceive that was the Continent. A Way appearing to be between them and the Coaft for the Ships to take in Wood and Water, they continued there till the 3 d of $\mathrm{F} u n e$, and careened one of the Ships called St. Cbriftopher. Here the Indians came out in Canoes to view the Chriftians, being the firft time they did fo, for the Spaniards, tho' called by them, would not go ahore. When they went about to weigh an Anchor, only to remove it, thofe People, thinking they were going away, came out in their Canoes, and laid hold of the Cable to draw the Ship away; whereupon the Long-boat was fent after them, and the Mien going afhore took four Women, and broke two old Canoes. At other times when they came, there was no failing out, as finding no Opportunity, but on the contrary they bartered fome Skins and Gold, tho", but indifferent.
On the $4^{\text {th }}$ of Fune, while they were waiting for a Wind to go in fearch for the Cazique Carlos, who the Indians that were aboard faid had Gold, a Canoe came to the Ships with an Indian that underftood the Spaniards, fuppofed to be a Native of EFifpaniola, or fome of the Inands inhabited by Chriftians; he bid them ftay, for the Cazique would fend Gold to barter. They waiting accordingly, faw twenty Canoes, Part of them made faft two and two together ; fome of them went to the Anchors, others to the Ships, and began to fight: Thofe at the Anchors, not being able to weigh them, attempted to cut the Cables; but a Long-boat was fent out, which obliged them to fly, taking four, and killing fome. Fuan Ponce fent two of them to tell the Cazique, that, though he had killed a Spaniard, he would make peace with him. The next Day the Boats went to found the Harbour, and the Men landed. Some Indions came and told them, that the Cazique would come the next Day to trade; but it was to gain Time, to draw Men and Canoes together, as it appeared; for at eleven $0^{2}$ Clock eighty Canoes well equipped attacked the neareft Ship, and fought from Morning to Night, without doing the Spaniards any harm, the Arrows failing fhort, becaufe they durf not come near, for fear of the Crofs-bows and great Guns: At length they drew off, and the Spaniards, having ftaid there nine Days, riolved on Monday the

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I th to return to Hijpanioia and Puerto Rico, difcovering fome Inlands in the Way, of which the Indians they had with them gave an, Account.

They failed along Inands till the 2 rit, when they arrived at the fmall Inands they called las Tortugas, or the Tortoifes; becaufe they took one hundred and feventy of them in a fhort time in one of them, and might have taken many. more if they would. On the 28 th, feeing Land, they came to an Anchor to trim their Yards and Sails, but could not tell what Country it was, moft of them took it for Cuba, becaufe they found Canoes, Dogs, Cuts of Knives, and other Iron Tools, yet none of them knew it to be that Illand. The 25 th of July they were among a parcel of low Inands, without knowing any ching of that Place, till Fuan Ponce fent to view an Inand, which appeared to be Bchoma, and fo an old Indian Woman, they had found alone in another Mand, told them, as did James Miruelo, a Pilot, who happened to be there with a Boat from Hijpaniola; having ranged backward and forward till the 23 d of September, and refitted the Ships, Fuan Ponce refolved to fend one of them to take a Yiew of the Ifland Bimini, where the Indians faid there was a Spring that made old People young again. Fobn Ferez de Ortubia was appointed Captain of that Ship, and Antony de Alaminos Pilot; they took two Indians to pilot them over the Sholes, there being fo many that it is a difficult Matter to pafs between them. Twenty Days after Juan Ponce returned to Puerto Rico, as did, fome time after him, the Ship which he had fent, which found the Inand of Bimini, but not the famous Spring. Yet the Inand was large, pleafant, and diverffied with Hills, Meadows, Plains, many Rivers and delightful Groves.
It is certain that Fuan Ponce de Leon, befides the main Defign of making new Difcoveries, which all the Spaniards then afpired to do, was intent upon finding out the Spring of Bimini, and that River in Florida, the Irdians of Cuba and Hifpaniola affirmed old People bathing themfelves in became young again; and it was certain that many Indians of Cuba, firmly believing that there was fuch a River, Had, not long before the Spaniards difcovered that Inand, paffed over into Florida in fearch of that River, and there built a Town where the Race of them Atill continue. This Report prevailed with all the Princes and Caziques in thofe Parts, to endeavour to find out a River that wrought fuch a wonderful Change; fo that there was not a Brook, nay, fcarce a Lake or Puddle in all Florida but what they bathed themfelves in, and there are fome ftill that perfift in it, ignorantly believing that it is the River now called Fordan, at the Cape of Santa Helena; never reflecting that the Spaniards firt gave it that Name, in the Year 1520 , when the Country of Cbicora was difcovered. Though this Voyage, made by Fuan Ponce, turned to little or no Account to him, yet it gave him Encouragement to go to Court to fue for fome Reward for the Countries he had difcovered, believing them to be all Inands and no Continent, which Notion continued fome Years. However, the Voyage was beneficial on account of the Rout foon after found out, to return to Spain through the Channel of Babama, which was firft performed by the Pilot, Antony de Alaminos.
For the better underftanding of Fuan Ponce's Voyage it is to be obferved that there are three different Archipelagos of Lucayo Inands. The firf the Babama Inlands, which gave Name to the Channel where the Currents are moft impetuous: The fecond they called de los Organos, and the third Martyres, which are next to the Shore of Tortoifes to the Weftward, which laft being all Sand, cannot be feen at a Diftance, and therefore many Ship have perifhed on them, and along that Coaft of the Channel of Babama and the Inands of Tortugas. Havanna, in the Inland of Cubo, is to the Southward, and Floride to the Northward, and between them are all the before mentioned Inands of Organos, Babama, Martyres, and the Tortugas; having a Channel with a violent Current, twenty Leagues over in the narroweft Place, between $H a$ vanna and los Martyres, and fourteen Leagues from los Martyres to Florida; between Inands to the Eaftward, and the wideft Part of this Paffage to the Weftward, is forty Leagues, with many Sholes and deep Channels, but there

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is no Way for Ships or Brigantines, only for Canoes. But the Paffage from Havanna, to come to Spain, is along the Channel of Babama, between the faid Havanna, Martyres, the Lucayos, and Cape Canaveral; and this was the great Merit of Juan Ponce de Leon, who was well rewarded in Spain. There happened about this time a very fingular and melancholy Event, which, becaufe I find it recorded by many Spani/h Hiftorians, and as it fhews to what a Height Corruption was grown in fo fhort a time, as fince the Spaniards had fettled in the Indies; it feems but reafonable that it chould find a Place here for the In ftruction of the Reader. The Reports that had reached Spain of the manner in which the poor Natives were treated in the Indies, being affigned to the Proprietors of Land as if they were Cattle that grazed upon it; it moved fome religious Men, of the Dominican Order, to go over to the new World, in order to fee what Progrefs they fhould be able to make among the Indians, by the Ufe of fpiritual Weapons only.

Three of thefe Fathers landed in the Inand of Porio Rico, where one of them falling fick, the other two procured a Veffel to carry them over to the Miain, where they were landed not far from that City, which Hojeda and Vefpucius faw in their firft Voyage, and called it from its fanding in the Water Venezuela, that is, little Venice; where they found the People very docile and tractable, and were in a fair Way of making Converts to the Chrift ian Religion; but, very unluckily for them; a Spanifb Pirate that made it his Bufinefs to fteal Indians, anchored on the Coaft, and the poor People, confident of being wel treated by Chriftians, went on board the Veffel with their Cazique at their Head, of which the Pirate taking advantage, weighed anchor, and made all the Sail he could for Hijpaniole. This, as may be eaflly imagined, raifed a great Tumult among the Indians, who were on the very Point of putting the two Dominicans to Death; when another Spanifb Ship arrived in the Port, commanded by a Gentleman of honour; he pacified the Indians as well as he could, and having received Letters containing a true ftate of the Fact, from the Fathers, he promifed that in four Months time their Cazique and the reft of their Countrymen fhould be fent home again.

As he really intended to perform what he had promifed, fo on his return to Fifpaniola, he applied himfelf to the Royal Audience, or fupreme Tribunal, at Santo Domingo, fetting forth the Cafe as it food, and the Danger that the two Priefts were in, if thefe Indians were no fent back in due time. But, alas ! it fo happened, that thefe very People had been purchafed as Slaves by fome of the Members of the Royal Audience, and they were not fo much in love with Juftice as to releafe them The Confequence was, that when the four Months were expired, the Indians, to revenge the Lofs of their Prince and Relations, murdered the two Dominicans, whofe Names were. Francifoo de Cordova, and Fuan Garcias.
II. It is now time for us to return to the Tranfactions of Don Diego de Velafquez, in the Inland of Cuba, who, having reduced the beft Part of that Country, and fettled feveral Spanifh Colonies therein, began to be very defirous of fetting up for himfelf, and of fhaking off the Authority of the Admiral fames Columbus, by whom he had been placed there. The Admiral was by this time recalled into Spain, and oppofed this Project of Velafquez to the utmoft of his Power; which, however, was now funk fo low, that he was not able to carry his Point ; for though Velafquez was ftill left accountable to him for the Exercife of his Authority, yet he was not allowed to recall him but with the Confent of the Crown, which fo well anfwered the Purpofe of $V_{e}$ lafquez, that he refolved to execute, without farther Delay, a Project which he had long meditated of fitting out Ships for Difcovery

He no fooner made his Intentions known, than num bers of Spanifh Planters, who were grown rich, embraced the Propofal, and offered to contribute large Sums towards carrying it into execution. Amongtt thofe who diftinguifhed themfelves on this Occafion, Francis Her nandez de Cordova, a rich and brave Man, who had Indians of his own, offered to go as Captain of thofe Mer; which, being granted, he fitted out two Ships and a Bri-
gantine
gantine with all neceffary Stores: He liited one hundred and ten Soldiers, and failed from Santo Domingo, in Cuba, to the Havanna. They left the Harmana on the 8th of $\mathrm{Fe}_{\varepsilon}-$ bruary, 1517 , and on the 12 th they doubled Cape St. Antony, holding on their Courfe to the Weftward, becaufe the Pilot Antony do Alaminos faid the firft Admiral had always inclined that Way when he failed with him, being a Boy.

They met with a great Storm that held them two Days, in which they expected to have perifhed; and after twenty-one Days being at Sea, lying by at Nights, they faw Land, and, from their Ships, could defcry a large Town, which was about two Leagues from the Coaft. As they drew nigh two Canoes full of Men appeared: They haled them, the Canoes drew near, and thirty Indians went aboard the Commodore, having Jackets without Sleeves, and pieces of Cloth wrapped about them inftead of Breeches. The Spaniards gave them Meat, fome Spanifb Wine, and Atrings of Beads. They made Signs, for there was no Interpreter, that they would be gone, and return the next Day with more Canoes to carry, them afhore; very much admiring the Ships, the Men, their Beards, their Cloaths, their Arms, and other things they had never feen before. The next Day they returned with twelve Canoes and an Indian, who was the Cazique, crying out Conez Cotocbe, that is, come to my Houfe; and, for this Reafon, that Place was called Cape Cotoche. The Spaniards, having confulted, hoifted out their Boats, and in them, and the Canoes, went afhore with their Arms, where an infinite number of People waited to fee them.

The Cazique ftill preffed them to go to his Houfe, and they, obferving fo many Tokens of Friendihip, concluded to do fo, in order to take a view of the Country; when they came to the Wood, the Cazique called out to a great Number of armed Men that lay in Amburh, and immediately there appeared a Multitude in Armour, made of quilted Cotton, with Targets, wooden Swords having edges of Flints, large Cutlaffes, Spears and Slings, adorned with Plumes of Feathers, and their Faces painted of feveral Colours. They gave a hideous Shout, pouring in at the fame time fuch a fhower of Stones and Arrows that they wounded fifteen Spaniards, after which they fell on Sword in Hand, and fought with much Refolution. The Spaniards had only twenty-five Crols-bows and Mufkets, which were well plyed. But, when the Indians felt the Sharpnefs of the Spaniards Swords, they fled, many being wounded, and feventeen killed. There were taken in this Action two Youths who became Chriftians, and were called Fulian and Melcbior; the Spaniards returned to their Ships well pleafed, for having found a rational fort of People, and other things different from what there were at Darien, and in the Iflands; and, more efpecially, Houfes of Stone and Lime, which had not, till then, been feen in the Indies.

They held on their Courfe down the Coaft, always lying by at Night; and, having advanced fifteen Days after this manner, they found a large Town, and a Bay near it, which they believed to be a River where they might water, which was very acceptable, as they were in want. They landed, and underftanding the Indians called it Quimpeche, they from thence called it Campeche, Being come to a Well of good Water, of which the Natives ufed to drink; when they had taken what they wanted, and were ready to return to their Ships; fifty Indians clad in Jackets, with large Cotton Cloths instead of Cloaks, came, and, by Signs, afked them what they wanted, and, whether they came from thofe Parts where the Sun rifes, inviting them to go to their Town: When they had feriounly confidered on it, and put themfelves into a good pofture of Defence, for fear of being ferved as they had been at Cotache, they went to certain Places of Worfhip built with Lime and Stone, where there were Idols of various ugly Shapes, as they had feen in the former, with frefh Signs of Blood, as alfo Croffes painted, which they were much amazed at.

Abundance of People, Men, Women, and Children, came flocking, looking upon them with Aftonifhment, and fome of them fmiled; foon after two Parties of armed Men appeared in good order, like thofe of Cotocbe;
from one of the Temples iffued ten Men in very long white Mantles, their Hair long, black, and twitted up in Rolls behind: In their Hands they had little earthen Firepans, into which they caft Gum Anime, which they called Copal, and perfumed the Spaniards, bidding them to depart their Country or they would kill them; then they began to beat their little Kettle-Drums, and to found their Horns, Trumpets, and Pipes. The Sponiards, becaufe the Men that had been wounded at Cotocbe were not yet well recovered, and two died, retired to the Shore in good Order, ftill purfued by the armed Parties, and embarked again without any Lols. When they had failed fix Days longer the Wind blew North, bearing upon the Coaft, fo that they had like to have perifhed. When the Storm ceafed they endeavoured to draw near the Shore to water, becaufe their Cafks were leaky, fo that their Water lafted not long. They anchored near a Town, in a Bay, where they landed in the Afternoon, a League from the Town called Potoncban, and filled their Veffels at fome Wells they found near certain Places of Worfhip of Lime and Stone, like the former. When ready to return they perceived armed Men advancing towards them from the Town, juft as before. They afked whether they came from thofe Parts where the Sun rifes, the Spaniards anfwered they did; and then the Indians drew back to fome Houfes, becaufe the Night came on, and the Spaniards, for the fame Reafon, refolved to ftay there; a great Noife being heard foon after, the Spaniards, upon Debate, were divided, fome being for embarking, and others thinking the Retreat dangerous, becaufe there feemed to be three hundred Indians to one of them.

When Day appeared they perceived that the firf Parties had been joined by others, who, incompafing them, poured in a great Ihower of Arrows, Stones and Darts, which wounded near eighty Spaniards, with whom they clofed, ufing their Swords and Spears; and, though the Spaniards were not idle with their Fire-arms, Crofs-bows, and Swords, the Indians fureightened them, but, when they felt the Spanifh Swords, they drew farther off, the better to take aim with their Arrows; whilft they fought they cryed out Calachani, Calacbani, which, in the Language of rucatan, fignifies Cazique, or Captain, meaning that they fhould fhoot at the Commander, Hernond de Cordova, and they were not wanting in Endeavours, for they fhot twelve Arrows into him, which, it was generally faid, he might have avoided, for there was no Encounter in which he was not foremoft, though there was more Occafion for his directing than acting. He finding himfelf fo much wounded, and, that the Courage of his Men could not vanquih fuch a Miltitude, continually encreafing, they made a moft furious Onfet; and broke through them, the Indians ftill purfuing them with hideous Noife and Cries; when they came to the Boats, their Number being great they were ready to fink, but ftill they made off, the Natives fhouting at them, and running into the Water to wound them with their Spears: Seven and forty Spaniards were killed in this Action, and five died aboard the Ships. The wounded Men endured moft piercing Pains, their Wounds having been wet with the Sea-water, and fwelling, curfing the Pilot Alaminos for his Difcovery, who ftill perfifted that this Country was an Inand, and they called this Bay de Mala Prelea, that is of the bad Fight, for the ill Succefs they had met with. The Spaniards that efcaped aboard the Ships gave God Thanks for their Deliverance out of that Danger; but, being all wounded except one, they refolved to retarn to Cubo, and, in order to it, burnt one of their Ships that was leaky, becaufe they wanted able Hands to fail them both, and ply the Pump. Being diftreffed for want of Drink, having left their Cafks at Potoncloan, fome of the foundeft Men went afhore, who could get no Water but what was brackifh, which they took at a Creek where there were many Alligators, and therefore they called it de los Lagartos, or of Alligators. Antony de Alaminos advifing with the other Pilots, it was refolved to ftand over for Florida, and, accordingly, in four Days they difcovered that Country. Alaminos was fent afhore with twenty: of the ftouteft Soldiers, carrying Crois-bows and Mufkets, and Captain Francis Hernendez, who was much
wounded

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wounded, begged he would fpeedily bring him fome Water, becaufe he was perihing for want of it.

When landed near a Creek, Alaminos told them he knew the Place, having been there before with $7 u a n$ Ponce de Leon, and that they muft be upon their Guard; having accordingly pofted Centinels along an open Shore, they dug Pits, where they found good Water, drank fome, and wafhed out Linen for the wounded Men. When they were about returning, they perceived one of the Sentinels come running, and crying, To Sea, to Sea; for warlike Indians are coming. On the other hand, they fpied many Canoes coming down the Creek. The Indians with long Bows and Arrows, Spears and Swords, after their manner, cloathed in Deer-fkins and being of a large Size, were very dreadful. They let ty their Arrows, and at the firft Difcharge wounded fix of the Soldiers; but feeing the Effect of the Crofs-bows, Mufkets, and Swords, they made to the Canoes, which preffed hard upon the Sailors, and had wounded Antony de Alominos in the Throat. The Soldiers clofed with them, being up to the Wafte in Water, and with their Swords made them quit the Boat they had taken. When ready to embark, they afked the Soldier who had ftood Sentinel, What was become of the other Sentinel? He faid, he had feen him ftep afide with a Hatchet in his Hand, to cut down a Palmito going towards the Creek along which the Indians came, and prefently had heard the Cry of a Spaniard, which made hin come to bring the Alarm. That Soldier was the only one who efcaped at Potoncbon, and it was his hard Fate to perifh there; for the others followed the Tract of the Indians, and found a Palm Tree he had begun to cut, and near it a greater Tract than elfewhere, which made them conclude that they had carried him away alive, and though they had fearched for above an Hour, they returned to the Ships without findling him.

The Men were fo extreme thirfy, and defirous of Water, that, as foon as the Boat came to the Ship's fide, a Soldier leaped into it, and laid hold of a Jar, and drank fo much that he fwelled, and died within two Days, Sailing from thence, in two Days and Nights they arrived at the little Illands, called los Martyres, where the greateft Depth being but four Fathoms, the Ship touched upon fome Rocks, and became very leaky ; but it pleafed God that, after fo many Sufferings, they arrived at Port Careras, now the Havanna; from whence Captain Hernandez de Cordova fent an Account of his Voyage to the Governor Fames Velafquez, with the Particulars of all he had feen, and died ten Days after. Three of his Soldiers died alfo at the Havanna, which made up fiftyfix loft in the Expedition ; the reft difperfed themfelves about the Ifiand, and the Ships returned to the City of Santiago; by which the Fame of their Voyage was fpread over all Cuba.
12. As indifferent Succeis as this firft Difcoverer met with, yet his Memoirs were highly efteemed by Velafquez, who trequently declared, that it was by no means his Intention to part with this Difcovery in fuch a manner ; but that, on the contrary, he was determined to purfue it when Opportunity offered, for many Reafons, but chiefly for this, becaufe thofe People feemed more civilized than any other Indians, and were confequently more likely to prove rich. Thefe Sentiments of his were no fooner known, than feveral of the principal Inhabitants of the Ifland offered him their Affiftance, fo that he was quickly in a Condition to put to Sea a fmall Squadron confifting of three Sail of Ships and one Brigantine, having on board in the whole two hundred and fifty Men, under the Command of the Captains Alvarodo, Montejo, and d'Avila; but the Perfon who commanded in chief was Jobn Grijalva, a Mian of Courage, Fidelity and Experience, to whom Velafquez gave this Order, That he fhould make what Difcoveries he could, but no Settlement. They failed from Cuba on the 8th of May 1518, and, having vifited the Coaft of Florida, and doubled Cape St. Antony, difcovered the Inand of Cozumel, to which their Commander gave the Name of the Ifland of Santa Cruz, becaufe he tound it on the Feaf of Holy Crofs, but it retained, notwithftanding, its old Name, by which it is ftill called.

Grijalua landed with a competent Number of Soldiers; and no body appeared, becaule the Natives having never feen Ships before, when they perceived them under fail, fled; whilt fome went to feek them he ordered Mafs to be faid. Two old Men being found in a Field of Indian Whear, and undertanding the Language of the Indions, Melchior and Julian, who had been taken in the former Expedition, Grijalva made much of them, and giving them fome Beads and Looking-glaffes, fent them away to their Lord, but they never returned. Whilft they waited for them, a young Woman, exceeding handfome, came, and in the Language of Famaica faid, The People were all fied into the Wood for fear ; but that fhe; being acquainted with Ships and Spaniards, was come to them: Many that came on board the Ships underftanding her, and admiring at it, anked, Who had carried her to that Inland? the anfwered, That a Canoe going out a fifhing from Jamaica two Years before, with ten Men in it, a Storm, and the Currents, had drove them to Cozumel, where her Huiband and all the reft had been facrificed to their Idols. Grijalva believing that Woman would be a trufty Meffenger, fent her to call the Natives, not confiding in Melcbior or Gulian for fear they would not return. The Woman came again two Days after, according to Promife, telling them, That though the had done all the could to perfuade them, they would not by any Means be brought to go back.

I 3. Grijalva finding no Good could be done there, went aboard again, and took with him the Famaica Woman, becaufe the begged him not to leave her there. In this Inland they found many Hives of good Honey Batatos, and Swine of that Country having their Navel on their Backs, which much refrefhed them. They faw feveral Temples, and one particularly like a fquare Tower, wide at the Bottom, and hollow at the Top, with four large Windows and Galleries ; and in the hol low Part, being the Chapel, were the Idols, behind which was a fort of Veftry ; where the Things belonging to the Service of the Temple were kept: At the Foot of it was an Inclofure of Lime and Stone, with Battlements, well plaiftered; and in the Midft of it a Crofs of white Lime three Yards high, which they held to be the God of Rain, affirming, that they never wanted it when they devoutly begged it of the fame. The Spaniards, embarking again, failed along the Coaft, much admiring to fee Jarge and beautiful Structures of Stone, with feveral high Towers which at a Diftance made a good Appearance ; for which Reafon, no fuch Thing having been feen at the Indies, as alfo on Account of the Crofs, Grijalva faid they had found a New Spain. Eight Days after they arrived at the Shore of Potoncban's Town, came to an Anchor, and landed the Soldiers with all the Boats near fome Houfes, where the Indians being grown vain with the Thoughts of having drove Hernandez's Men out of the Country, ftood drawn up to hinder the Spaniards from landing, fhouting, and making a great Noife with their Trumpets and Kettle-drums, and tho' fome Falconets, in the Boats, put the Men to a great Fright, being a Thing they had never feen, yet, when the Boats came near, they began to fhoot their Arrows, and caft Stones and Darts with their Slings, running into the Water to wound the Spaniards with their Spears; but as foon as they landed they made them give way with their Swords; for the Spaniards being taught by Experience, began to ufe the fame fort of defenfive Armour ftuffed with Cotton, as the Indians did: fo that they received lefs Harm by the Arrows, and yet fixty Soldiers were wounded, three killed, and Fobn de Grijalva, the Commander irn chief, was fhot with three Arrows, one of which broke fome of his Teeth.

The Boats coming with the Soldiers that had been left aboard, the Indians quitted the Field, and the Spaniards went to the Town, dreffed the wounded Men, buried the Dead, and found only three of the Natives. Grijalva ufed thofe three well, gave them fome Toys, and fent them to call the Inhabitants, promifing not to hurt any Man ; but they never returned, nor would he fend Mel cbior or Julinn, becaufe he fufpected them. Grijalvas embarked again, and came to a large, wide Gulph of
fref Water, like a River, but it was not; and Antony de Alaminos faid it was an Inand, and that the Water parted it from another Country, for which reaion he called it Boca de Terminos, that is, the Moutb of the Boundaries. They landed, ftayed three Days, and found it was no Iland, but a Bay, and good Harbour. There were Temples, with Idols of Clay and of Wood, reprefenting Men, Women, and Serpents; but no Town could be feen, and it appeared that thofe were Chapels for People that went a trading and hunting. During thofe three Days they took feveral Deer and Rabbits with a Grey-hound Bitch they had, which, the Spaniards not minding her, they left there; holding on the fame Way, always by Day, to avoid falling in among Flats or Rocks, they difcovered a very large Mouth of a River, which feemed to be a good Harbour; but founding it, they perceived that the two largeft Ships could not go- in, as the two fmaller did. The Boats went up the River very cautiounly, becaufe they faw many armed Indians, like thofe at Potonchan, in Canoes along the Shore.

This River, by the Natives called Tabafoo, being the Name of the Lord of the adjacent Town, the Spaniards named Rio de Grijalva, from their Commander in chief who found it. As they advanced higher, they heard the Noife of hewing Wood, becaufe the Inhabitants, having been informed of what had happened at Potoncban, concluded there muft be War.

The Spaniards landed at a Grove of Palm-trees, about half a League from the Town. The Indians feeing them land, about fifty Canoes full of armed Men, with Plumes of Feathers, and very fine, moved, ftopped again at a fmall Diftance from the Spariards, in a warlike Pofture; and when the Spaniards were ready to fire their Falconets upon them, they firft fent Melcbior and Fulian to fpeak to them. Thefe Interpreters told them, that they came only to treat about fome Affairs that would pleafe them. Four Canoes drew nearer, and being fhewn little Glaffes on Strings, and thinking they had been the Sort of Stones called Cbalcbibites, much valued among them, they were pacified. Then Grijalva ordered the Interpreters to tell them, that thefe Men were Subjects of a great King, to whom mighty Princes paid Obedience, and it was reafonable they alfo thould fubmit to him, becaufe it would be much to their Advantage; and that till they could explain thefe Affairs to them they fhould furnifh Provifions. The Indians anfwered, that they would give Provifions, but that they had a Lord of their own, and did not know why they who were juft come fhould offer to impofe a new Lord upon them; that they fhould take heed. how they made war on them, as they had done at Potonchan, for that they had provided above three Xiquiples (each Xiquiple being eight thoufand) of Men againft them; that they knew they had killed and wounded above two hundred at Potoncban; but that they were not fo weak as thofe People; and, to conclude, that they were come thither to know their Will, and would go and make a very juft Report of what they faid to a Number of very great Men, that were affembled either to treat of Peace or renew the War. Grijalva gave them Strings of Beaḑ, Looking-glaffes, and other things, charging them not to fail to bring back an Anfwer, becaufe if they did not, he muft needs go to the.Town, though not to do any harm.

He then returned to the Ships. The Meffengers delivered the Meffage, and all the prime Men, who were wont to be confulted in martial Affairs, thought Peace was preferable to War. They immediately fent their Indians loaded with roafted Fifh, Hens, feveral Sorts of Fruit, and Bread; then laying fome Mats on the Ground, they placed a Prefent on them, being a handfome Mank of Wood, and feveral Sorts of Feather-work, very beautiful; and an Indian faid the Lord would come the next Day to fee the Spaniards: Accordingly, taking along with him many Men unarmed, he without any Jealoufy went aboard Yobn de Grijalva's Ship, who was a genteel Man, about twenty-eight, and had on a loofe Coat of Crimfon Velvet, a Cap of the fame, with other rich Ornaments fuitable to the Coat. The Cazique was received with much Honour ; fitting down they began their Dif-
courfe, of which both Parties underftood very little, unlefs it was by Signs, and fome Words the two Indions, Julian and Melcbior, interpreted. After fome time, the Cazique ordered one to take out of a Petaca, which is in the Nature of a Trunk, the things he had carried.

The Indion took out Plates of Gold, and thin Boards covered with Gold, for Airmour, as fit as if they had been made for Grijalva, and the Cazique himfelf put them upon him, and took them off, applying thofe that fuited beft; and in this manner he put him on a complete Suit of Gold Armour, as if it had been of Steel. He alfo prefented him various Works in Gold and Feathers, a thing much valued, among them; and it was wonderful to fee how beautiful Grijalva looked; who gave the Cazique all the Signs of Gratitude that could be thought of He called for a very fine Shirt, and with his own Hands put it upon the Cazique; took. off his great Coat of Crimfon Velvet, and put that on him, as alfo a Pair of new Shoes. In fhort, he cloathed and adomed him the beft he could, gave him fome of the beft Strings of Beads, and Looking-glaffes, Sciffars, Knives, and feverall things of Tin; and the like to all that were with the Cazique. What the Cazique gave to Grijalva was computed to be worth three thoufand Pieces of Eight ; and among the reft there was a wooden Head-piece covered with thin Plates of Gold, three or four Mafks, fome of them covered with a fort of Stones like Emeralds, $E^{3} c$. and the Sight of thefe things made the Spaniards very eager to fettle in a Country which produced fo much Wealth.

As for $\begin{aligned} & \text { Fobn Grijalva, having received this great Prefent }\end{aligned}$ at Tabafco, and being fenfible that the Indians were not willing that their Guefts fhould ftay long, and in regard that the Spaniards afking for more Gold, the Indians anfwered Culua, Culua, he proceeded farther, and in two Days came to a Town called Aqualunco, which the Spaniards named la Rambla, the Inhabitants whereof appearing at a diftance, and having Targets of Tortoife-fhells, which glittered in the Sun, made fome of the Spaniards fancy that they were of pale Gold; they difcovered a Bay in which the River Tonala falls, where they entered at their Return, and called it Si. Antbony's River: At a diftance again they faw the great River Guazacoallo, but could not go up it, becaufe of the foul Weather: Next they had a Sight of the fnowy Inands of Nero Spain, and St. Martin, which Name was given them by the Soldiers who firft difcovered them. Holding on their Courfe, Captain Alverado went ahead with his Ship, and entered a River the Indians call Papalocva, but the Spaniards gave it the Name of Alverado's River, where the Indians of the Town of Tavotulpale brought Fifh, and the other Ships ftaid till he came out again: They then advanced to the Mouth of another River, which they called de Banderas, or of Colours, becaufe the Indians having large white Cloths on long Poles, like Colours, waved them for the Spaniards to come to them.

It is neceffary to inform the Reader of the Reafons which occafioned this, and which, in few Words, were thefe: The Country, on the Coaft of which they now were, was a Province of the great Empire of Mexico, over which Montezuma reigned, a Prince of great Wifdom and Penetration, who, having heard both of the former and of the latter Exploit of the Spaniords, and of the Pains they took to be acquainted with the maritime Parts of his Empire, began to grow jealous thereat, and was uneafy in his turn to know who and what there People were, and why they took fo much Pains to be inftructed as to the State of Countries that did not belong to them: To anfwer this Purpofe effectually, he gave Directions to the Governors of thefe Provinces to entertain thefe Strangers civilly, to take every Opportunity that offered of trading with them, and to fend him, from time to time, fuch an Account of their Motions, as might enable him clearly to difcern what Opinion he ought to entertain of them. It was in Confequence of theíe Inftructions, that the Indians fet up thefe Colours, to invite the Strangers on Shore.

On the other hand, the Spaniards feeing themfelves invited by the Signals of the Colours, Grijalva ordered two Boats to go afhore, and in them Captain Francis de Mon-
tejo, with all the Muketeers and twenty other Soldiers, with Directions, that, in cafe the Indians appeared in a warlike Pofture, he fhould give notice of it, that Succours might be fent. As foon as they landed they offered him Fowls, Bread, and Fruit ; the Indian, Fulian, not underftanding that Language, which was the Mexican, and they perfuming the Spaniards, burning Copal in little Fire-pans; Montejo fent advice to Grijalva, who, thereupon came up clofe with the Ships and landed, when one of the King of Mexico's Governors, and the other great Men, paid him much Refpect, he having given them fome GlafsBeads and Necklaces of feveral Colours. The Governor ordered the Indians to bring Gold to barter, and in the fpace of, fix Days they fcayed there, they got the Value of 15,000 Pieces of Eight in Gold Baubles, and Toys in feveral Shapes.
14. All things had hitherto fucceeded happily, fo as to do great Credit to the Commander in chief, and to thofe who were under him, but ftill there was nothing done comparable to the Expectations which had been raifed in Cuba of this Expedition; which prompted them to lofe no time, but to continue their Voyage with the utmoft Diligence, and, at the fame time, with all poffible Caution. Jobn Grijalva therefore contented the Ca ziques with Prefents of fuch things as he had, and having taken Poffefion of the New Country for the King, and for 'fames Velafquez, in his Majefty's Name, embarked again becaufe the North Winds blew there upon the Land, and he was not fafe; finding an Inand near the Continent he called it Ifla Blancha, or zobite Ifand, becaufe the Sands were whitih; and not very far from thefe another appeared four Leagues from the Coaft, which, being well wooded, they called la Verd, or the Green. Farther they faw another a League and a half from Land, and there being a good Road oppofite to it, Grijalva ordered the Ships to anchor there; he went to the Ifland with the Boats, becaufe there was Smoak, and found two Houfes well built with Lime and Stone, having many Steps that led up to Altars, on which there were Idols; and they perceived that five Men had been facrificed there that Night, their Breafts being ripped open, their Legs and Thighs being cut off, and the Walls bloody, which much aftonifhed the Chriftians, and therefore they call this the Ifland of Sacrifices.
They landed, again, oppofite to the Inland, where they made themfelves Huts of Boughs and the Sails of the Ships, whither fome reforted to barter Gold in finall Figures; but the Gold being inconfiderable, and the Indians fearful, the Spaniards removed to another little Inand about half a League from the Main. They landed on a Strand, built Barracs on the higheft Part of thofe Sands to avoid the Plague of the Mofquitos, or Gnats; and, having founded the Harbour, found there was fufficient Water, and that the little Ifland Sheltered them from the Northwind. Grijalva went over to the Inand with thirty Soldiers, in two Boats, where he found a Temple with Idols, and four Men who wore very long black Mantles with Hoods, being the Priefts of the Têmple, and, that very Day, had facrificed two Boys, whom they found ripped open, and their Hearts taken out; a piece of Cruelty which moved the Spaniards to Compaffion. Grijalva afked an Indian he had carried from the River de Banderas, who feemed a good rational Man, what that was for, who anfwered, that the People of Ulua would have it fo. The Name of the Spanifh Commander in chief being $\mathcal{F} 06 n$, and the time of the Year about the Feaft of St. Fobn Baptift, he gave that Name to the Ifland, and accordingly it has always been called. St. Jobn de Ulua, to diftinguifh it from St. Fobn de Puerto Rico.
Grijalva ftaid there feven Days bartering for fome fmall quantity of Gold; the Men being quite tired with the Trouble given by Gnats, having certain Knowledge that the Land they had been on was the Continent, and that there were great Towns on it, juftifying the Name given it of Nere Spain; the Cazibi Bread growing mouldy and bitter, and the Men being too few to fettle a Colony, becaufe ten had died of their Wounds, and others were fick; it was thought fit to give an Account

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of all things to the Governor Velasquez, efpecially as he had ordered not to make any Settlement, that he might fend a greater Number if he fhould judge it fit to be done; for Grijalva, notwithftanding all the aforefaid Reafons to the contrary, was always of Opinion to build a Town. Peter de Alverado was made Choice of to carry this Meffage to James Velafquez, in the Ship St. Sebaftian, and to take with him all the Gold and other things that had been traded for, and ail the fick. Velafquez, after the Departure of Grijalva, from Cuba, had been in much Care for his Ships, as failing on unknown Seas, and therefore fent Chistopber de Olido, a Commander of Note, in a Ship with feventy Soldiers, to get Intelligence.

He being at Anchor on the Coaft of Rucatan, there arofe fuch a Storm as obliged him to cut his Cables, and run back to Santiago, in Cuba, whence he had fet out; and, at the fame time, arrived Peter de Alverado with the Gold, Cotton, Cloths, and a Relation of what had been done and difcovered, which was mighty agreeable to Velafquez, who conceived great hopes of that Enterprize, and the Report was fpread abroad to the great Aftonifhment of all Men.
Velafquez being a fevere Man to thofe that ferved him, and efpecially provoked againt fuch as were mifreprefented, alfo over-credulous, and Peter de Alverado having been one of thofe that were for fettling a Colony, and reprefenting the Affair to him as he thought fit, gave him very, ill Impreffions of the Man who had ferved him fo faithfully, and with fuch ftrict regard to the Orders he received from him at his Departure. But before we infift on this, let us return to our Difcoverers, and to the Progrefs they made in their Defign of obtaining a clear Account of this Part of the Continent.

When Captain Alverado was gone for Cuba, Grijalva, by the Advice of the Captains and Pilots, continued his Difcovery; and coafting along in fight of the Mountains of $\mathcal{T} u p a$, fo called from the Town near by them, and others, higher than they, for the fame Reafon, called Tupa; farther in the Province of Panuce, they faw Towns, and a River which they called Decancas. As they lay at Anchor, not being upon their Guard, ten Canoes, full of armed Men, appeared, 'and drawing near to the leaft Ship, commanded by Alonfo d' Avila, poured in a flight of Arrows, wounded five Soldiers, laid hold of the Cables and cut one, intending to carry off the Ship; and, though the Men in it behaved well, and overfet two of the Canoes, yet they ftood in need of the Fire-arms from the other Ships; for the moft of the Indians being wounded by them, defifted from their Enterprize, and fheered off; the Spaniards failed along the Coaft till they cane to a very large Point of Land, which being very difficult to double, and the Currents extraordinary ftrong; the Pilot Alaminos, gave Grijalva many Reafons to hew that it was not convenient to proceed any farther that Way; the Captains, Pilots, and principal Men, confulting together what fhould be done, thofe that had been before for fettling a Colony, were for turning back to find a proper Place for it.

The Captains, Montejo, and Avila, who differed in Judgment, alledged that Winter was drawing on, and Provifions were fcarce, for which Reafon, and becaufe one of the Ships was leaky, it was proper to return to $C u b a$; befides, that they were not able to maintain their Ground becaufe the Natives were numerous and warlike, and the Spaniards much fatigued with being fo long at Sea. Grijalva confidering that his Inftructions were pofitive not to fettle, and that his Commanders oppofed it, urging fufficient Reafons, thought fit to comply, and, tacking about, they arrived at the great River of Guazacoallo, but could not enter it, the Weather preventing them. They proceeded to that of Tonala, which they called of St. Antony, where they careened the leaky Ship. In the mean time many Indians came from the Town, which was a League off, with Hens, Bread, and other Eat-ables, which they parted with for Spanifh Toys; and the News being fread abroad, others came from Guazacoallo and the reft of the Neighbouring Towns, bringing Provifions, Came fmall Bold Plates; and Copper Axes, very
bright,
bright, with the Shafts of them painted. The Spaniards, thinking thofe Axes had been of pale Gold, purchafed fix hundred of them, and the Indians would willingly have parted with more.

A Soldier, whofe Name was Bartbolomew Pardo, went into a Temple that flood in the Fields, whence he took that Perfume which the Indians call Copal, or, as fome call it, Gum Anime ; he alfo took the Knives made of Flints, with which they facrificed Men, ripping open their Breafts, and fome Idols; all which he delivered to the Commander in chief, having firft taken off their Earrings, Pendants, Plates, and Crowns of Gold, worth about ninety Pieces of Eight; but, not being able to conceal his Joy for the Booty, Grijalva had Notice of it, who ordered all to be taken from him ; yet, being of a generous Temper, reftored them upon paying the fifth to the King. The Ship being refitted, in forty-five Days they arrived at Cuba with four thoufand Pieces of Eight in Gold, befides what Alverado had carried, and the Copper Axes, which, when they went to pay the fifth, thinking them to have been Gold, they found rufty, to the Confufion of the Purchafers.

They put into the Port of Matancas, where they found a Letter from the Governor, ordering Grijalva to make hafte to the Port of Santiago, and to tell the Men that another Fleet was fitting out to return thither to make a Settlement ; and that they who intended to go back fhould remain in fome Farms he had thereabouts. Grijalva made hafte to Santiaga, where the Fleet was making ready ; and when he appeared before Velafquez, he had no Thanks for the Trouble he had been at ; but was abufed, becaufe he had not fettled, though it was purfuant to his own Inftructions; which was a great Overfight in V'elafquez, and fuch an Overfight as was altogether inexcufable; for his great Point was, to find in the firf Place a Man capable of making fuch a Difcovery, and in the next, one incapable of betraying him in order to fet up for himfelf.

There could not certainly be a more difficult, or a more uneafy Employment, than to fearch out fuch a Perfon; but one would have imagined, that a Man of fo much good Senfe as Velafquez really was, would have had Wit enough to have kept him, when Experience had demonAtrated that Grijalva was fuch a Man. The very thing for which he difgraced him, ought chiefly to have preferved him from that Fate, fince nothing but a fcrupulous Regard to Inftructions could poffibly tie down a Man who had made great Difcoveries, from taking that Method which was moft likely to acquire him Reputation, and to eftablifh at once his Fortune and Independency. But Velafquez, like many other Men of good Senfe, preferred other Peoples Opinions to his own, and thereby loft the Advantage which his fuperior Talents would have given him, though it is highly probable that this Error of his might contribute more to the important Conquefts made by the Spaniards in thofe Parts than the wifeft Meafures he could have taken, as the Reader will fee at large in the enfuing Sections; but it is now time to conclude this with a few Obfervations and Remarks, which I flatter myfelf will be of fome Ufe to the Reader.
15. The vaft and furprifing Succefs which the Spaniards met with in reducing fo many fine Inands, and fuch rich and fruitful Countries under their Dominion, has united a multitude of Writers in a Notion, that they conducted their Affairs with that extraordinary Prudence and Steadinefs of Character, for which they have been always remarkable; but a little Reflection on the Facts related in this and the foregoing Sections will Thew, that this Notion is abfolutely groundlefs, and that they acted in this Matter with as little Conduct and with lefs Judgment than could have been expected from a Nasion at that time in fo high a Reputation for Wifdom, as they were. The Truth is, that it was the Virtue of Particulars that acquired all; and, in this Refpect, they were indeed very fortunate, fince few Nations could boaft of abler Politicians, or of more expert Captains than thofe three great Men to whom the Spaniards owe their mighty Empire in America.

The firtt was the Admiral Columbus who difcovered the Illands, and upon whofe Schemes thofe Difcoverers went who found and fubdued the two great Empires on the Continent. The next was Ferdinand Cortes, and the Third, the Marquis Pizaro, Men of incredible Abilities; and therefore worthy of immortal Reputation. There is no doubt that their Atchievements, weighed in the Balance of Reafon, very far exceeded thofe of moft of the Antients; for whereas, thefe had commonly good. Tools to work with, thofe not only did their Work but forged their Tools. To convince the judicious Reader of what I fay, I fhall not fend him for Inftances without the Limits of this Performance; for having given this Work the Title of a Library, there ought to be nothing wanting in it that is neceffary to make its Subject underftood. Let us compare then the Expedition of Nearcbus, of which we have given the Hintory in our formerVolume, with that of Columbus, let us confider how great a Fleet, what a Number of Men, and what able Commanders he had, how fmall a Difcovery he made, failing always within Sight of Land, and only from the Mouth of the Ganges to the Head of the Perfian Gulph, yet how great a Figure does his Expedition make in the Works of the ableft Authors of Antiquity, and what mighty Rewards were beftowed upon him for thofe Services, his important Difcoveries. Yet Columbus, with three Veffels, fmaller than any of his, with fcarce any Encouragement or Affiftance from thofe about him, made this furprifing Tranfit from Spain to the WeftIndies, and eftablifhed the Spaniards there before his Death, in wider and more ufeful Conquefts, than accrued to the Mafter of Nearchus, from his Indian Expedition. Let us compare the Force with which Alexander attacked the Indians, and failed of fubduing them, with the Armies commanded by Cortes and Pizaro, and we fhall find that the latter were, beyond all queftion, greater Conquerors, as we fhall fully demonftrate at the Clofe of their refpective Expeditions.

At prefent we mention thefe only as Proofs of the Truth of our Obfervation, that it was not the Wifdom of the Spanifh Government; but the perfonal Abilities of fuch as were accidentally employed in their Service that brought about thofe great Events. For, with regard to the former, we have feen how ill they treated the firft Difcoverer at Court, and how far they were from putting it in his Power to exert, even in their Service, his great Capacity to the utmoft. After his Deceafe, the Management of the Affairs of the Indies fell almoft intirely into the Hands of the Bifhop of Burgos, who, of all the Statefmen at that Court, was the leaft fit to have been intrufted with them, and who in fact managed them in the ftrangeft manner imaginable. Liftening, on the one hand, to the Propofals of every needy Projector, as in the Cafe of the firft Adventurers mentioned in this Section; and on the other, flighting the Schemes of thofe who, by their general Knowledge of the Indies, were moft likely to accomplifh great Things, and who, by their wife Conduct in the fettling of their new Colonies, had, in their own Hands, a Power fufficient to accomplifh them. Accordingly we fhall fee that of all the Bifhop's Inftruments, not one fuceeeded in what he propofed; but, on the contrary, brought themfelves to Beggary and Want, by rafhly engaging in Enterprizes every way beyond their Ability, whereas all the fuccefsful Undertakings of the Spaniards were under fuch as were employed by the Governors of Colonies, and confequently the Spanifh Miniftry had no Right to take to themfelves any fort of Credit from their Performances.

The only Favourites of our famous Bifhop Fonjeca, that made any Figure in the World, were two very bad Men, well provided with Impudence, but very indifferently furnifhed with otherTalents. The firft of thefe was Americus Vefpucius, whom we have already mentioned with little Credit, and whom we fhall again have occafion to mention with lefs. This Man, by the Intereft of his Patron, was declared Chief Pilot of Spain, and to him all the Journals of Difcoveries werecommunicated, from which- he drew very elegant Maps, and helped out by
his Fancy whatever Defects there were in his Memory, fo that he exhibited things with a very graceful Proportion, and the only thing wanting in his Charts was a ftrict Regard to Truth; but, however, they anfwered his Purpofe very well, for, befides fecuring to him a good Place and a competent Salary, they enabled him to impofe his Name on the new World, before he had difcovered a Foot of it.
The other Creature of the Bifhop's that diftinguifhed himfelf, was Bernard de Santa Clara, whom he preferred to be Treafurer of Hifpaniola, under the Governor Obando, who was likewife in the Efteem of the Bifhop, and the moft worthy of all his Eriends; the Treafurer before mentioned, was a very indifferent Steward for the King, but acquired a very good Eftate for himfelf, of which he was fo proud, that, befides the Salt for ufe, he caufed four large Salt-fellers, full of Gold-duft, to be fet every Day upon his Table; which piece of Vanity being known in Sprin, a Commiffion was granted to infpect this Gentleman's Accounts, and by this means it was difcovered that he had cheated the King, or, at leaft, was indebted to him in 80000 Pefos, which makes near 25000 Pounds in our Money. The Governor Obando was very fenfible, that, when all this Man had was fold, the King would hardly have his Due; but, to fave the Bifhop's Credit, and his own, he bethought himfelf of a very extraordinary Expedient: He loved to. pafs for a Man of ftrict Juftice, and therefore he ordered the TreaGurer's Effects to be fet up to Auction; this was, in all appearance, very fair, and no Exception could be taken at it; but the Governor, when the Lots came to be put up, encouraged People to bid confiderably more than they were worth, telling them that he would warrant it a good Bargain; they, to merit his Favour and Protection, bidding upon each other; the whole of his Effects were fold for 96000 Pefos, fo that the King had his Debt, and the Treafurer a very pretty Fortune to begin the World with again. Such were the Arts, fuch the Intrigues, of thofe Men, who had oppreffed the old Admiral, and fuch the little dirty Contrivances by which they hid their own Failings.
Yet thefe things were done under the Reign of King Ferdinand, efteemed one the wifeft Monarchs of his time; and things went rather worfe under the Emperor Cbarles $V$, though he was, certainly, in every Refpect, as great a Prince as ever fat upon the Spanifs Throne. The Inference I would make from thence, is, that at all Events, and under all Adminiftrations, Difcoveries ought to be attempted and encouraged, becaufe they carry in themfelves fuch Incitements to complete them, that they feldom or never fail of proving beneficial in the End, whatever Miftakes there may fall out in the Management of them at the beginning.

Some afribe this to Chance, others with more Senfe as well as Decency, to Providence. But, however, certain it is, that great Occafions provoke, if they do not produce, great Spirits; and when once the Way is open, and two or three Inftances have hewn the World that many things are practicable, that for feveral Ages were thought impoffible, mighty things are performed; for Emulation is a noble Principle, and one of the greateft Secrets in Government is to excite it ; for it is rarely feen that any thing meets either with Favour from the Great, or with popular Encouragement, but it is fuddenly carried to a great Degree of Perfection. When once fuch a Spirit is raifed, even the moft difaftrous Accidents cannot extinguifh it; the Numbers of Spaniards that perifhed in the firft Attempts on the Continent, by Ship-wreck, Famine, and Difeafes; the unfor-
tunate Ends of Hojeda, Nicueffa, and Cordova, had no bad Effects in deterring others; for as all agreed there were Gold and Pearls to be met with in thofe Parts; the Thirft of Gain in fome, and the Thirft of Glory in others, foon overcame the Terror of fuch Examples, which, at firft Sight, one would have thought impoffible to have removed; befides, there wanted not fome who diverted the Blame of all thefe Mifcarriages, from the Dificulty of the Enterprize, on the Imprudence or fome other Imperfection of the Commander; and, as Slanders always find an eafy Belief, fo the Imputations that fell upon the Dead, ferved to encourage the Living; and Men were eafily brought to think that either their fuperior Capacities, or better Fortune, would carry them through, notwithftanding former Adventurers had failed.

To thefe we may add feveral concurring Circumftances, which gave Life and Vigour to thefe Undertakings, and which, for the Sake of Brevity, we fhall reduce under three general Heads. Firft then, the Marriage of Don Diego Colon, to Donna Maria de Toledo, induced a great many young Gentlemen, and fome Ladies of good Families, to tranfport themfelves to Hifpaniola, which proved of incredible Service to the new Colony, as we may eafily conceive, if we reflect on the Spanib Temper, and that it had in it, formerly, a much ftronger Tincture of that Heroic, or if you will, romantic Spirit, of which it ftill retains enough, and which, of all others, was the fitteft for promoting fuch kind of Exploits. The fecond was the eftablifhing a fovereign Tribunal at Santo Domingo; the Members of which having large Salaries; fome confiderable Perfons, and thofe too of a more advanced Age, were thereby engaged to accept of thele Employments; which carried over likewife a new Train of young People, in Quality of their Dependents, and there being a continual Struggle for Power between this new Tribunal, or as the Spaniards ftile it, the Royal Audience of Santo Domingo, and the Admiral; this created fuch a Jealoufy and Competition amongft the Dependents on both Parties, as had very favourable Effects on Affairs in general, and greatly promoted the Succefs of the Colony; how much foever it might perplex or difturb their Superiors, by the Trouble it occafioned. The third and laft that we fhall mention, was the Diftafte taken, efpecially at his firft coming to the Crown, againft the Emperor Cbarles, on account of his Partiality in favour of his Countrymen, the Flemings, which induced the Flower of the Spanib Gentry to think rather of advancing their Fortunes in the Indies, whither none but Spaniards could go, than their Credit in his Service; whom they judged to be neither over-willing to difcern their Merit, nor over-ready to reward it.

Thefe Obfervations as they arife naturally from what has been before related, fo they will ferve greatly to illuftrate the following Sections; in which we fhall exhibit to the View of the Reader, as great Inftances of Courage and Conduct; of civil Policy, and military Skill, as are to be met with in any Hiftory whatever; and for the Honour of the Spaniards it muft be acknowledged, that how ill foever thofe Heroes who conquered America were treated by their Statefmen; the learned Pens of that Nation have done as much Juftice to their Labours, as themfelves could wifh, and have not fuffered any of their Actions to appear with lefs Luftre to Pofterity in their Writings, than the Recital of fuch great and glorious Performances deferved. But it is now time to quit thefe Reflections, and to refume the Thread of our Hiftory, which leads us to fhew on what Grounds, in what manner, and with what Force the Concqueft of the great Empire of Mexico. was undertaken.

S E C I O N VII.

## The Expedition of Hernan Cortes for the Reduction of New Spain, from the Time of his being appointed to that Command, unto bis being obliged to return to the Ifland of Cozumel.

I. The Refolution taken by Diego Velafquez, Governor of Cuba, to purfue the Difcoveries and Settlements of New Spain, and the Meafures taken for equipping a tbird Squadron for this Expedition. 2. The Cbaracter of Cortes, who woas appointed Commander in chief, and the manner in wobich be attained that Command by the Nomination of Velaqquez. 3. Departure of the Fleet from St. Jago de Cuba, and the Reafons woby Velafquez laboured to deprive Cortes of the Command be bad given bim. 4. The Attenpts made by Velafquez to carry this Defign of bis into Execution, and the Methods which were fuccefsfully ufed by Cortes to overtbrow and defeat them. 5. Cortes takes upon bim the Command, notwitbfonding Velafquez recalled bis Commilfion, and proceeds in bis Voyage with the univerfal Applaufe of all who are engaged in the Defign. 6. Arrives at the IJland of Cozumel, and remedies all the Diforders qubich had been occafloned by the coming thither of a Part of bis Fleet before bim, under Peter Alverado. 7. Sails from thence weith a Defign of profecuting bis Expedition, but funds bimpelf obliged to return tbitber with Bis Fleet. 8. There comes thither, during bis ftay, one Jerom de Aguilar, a Spaniard, long a Prijoner in Yucatan, who gives a large Account of that Court, and of its Products. 9. Obfervations and Remarks on the foregoing Section, reith Some Reflections on the political Cbaraiter of Cortes.

"THE Difcoveries made on the Continent, under the Direction of thofe employed by Diego Ve lafquez, mace a prodigious Noife over all the Weft-Indies, and multitudes there were who fhewed a Readinefs to hazard their Lives, and embark their Fortunes for the Profecution of this Defign. We have, in the former Section, fhewn how this Country, when firt difcovered, came to be called New Spain; for the Soldiers obferving to one another the Refemblance between the Soil and Climate of this ftrange Land, with thofe of their own, the Comparifon made fuch an Impreffion upon their Minds, that they cried out one and all, a Nere Spain, a New Spain; fo that while other Colonies derived their Names either from the mifunderttanding of Indian Words, or from the arbitrary Pleafure of the firt Difcoverers, this was impored by the Voice of the People.
But the great Bufinefs was to fecure and fettle this new found Country, and that immediately and without Delay; for Velafquez faw plainly, that if he did not proceed in his Defign, it would be undertaken, either from other Colonies, or by Perfons commiffioned directly from Old Spain; and it was the Apprehenfion of this that made him fo very angry, though with very little Reafon, at the Conduct of his Coufin and Creature, Fobn Grijalva, in not making a Settlement there, though in exprefs Compliance with his own Order. His own Ambition hindered him from diftinguifhing another's Obedience; and the vaft Hopes he had formed to himfelf, from the Difcovery and Conqueft of New Spain, would not permit him to receive any Excufe from him, who, as he thought, had defeated them. On the other hand, Grijalva was extremely modeft, which hindered him from defending himfelf as he might have done; fo that he contented himfelf with fhewing the Inftructions he had received, and infifting that his Behaviour fhould be tried by them; which Velafquez looked upon as a tacit Imputation on himfelf; he applied all his Care, however, to the refitting the Veffels employed in the laft Expedition, and equipping both them and others for a new one, in which he fucceeded very happily, and had, in a fhort time, fuch a Profpect of a Fleet, capable of carrying into execution the Defigns he had formed, that he directed his Agents at the Court of Spain, to infift upon very high Terms, particularly that he fhould be declared Lord Lieutenant of the Countries fubdued by his Direction, and at his Expence.
His Preparations being in fuch Forwardnefs, it was abfolutely neceffary that he fhould make choice of fome body to act in quality of General and Commander in chief: And, in this, he found himfelf under very great Difficulties. The inferior Officers, and even the People in general, who were to make the Voyage, were very defirous of their old Commander, Fobn Grijalva; but, to this, he would by no means agree, either from an obftinate ill grounded Perfuafion of his want of Capacity, or, becaufe he was afraid of trufting a Man whom he had injured in fo high a Degree. When his Friends and Counfellors faw this, they recommended feveral others, rather in Compliance with their own Intereft, and Notions, than from a juft Efteem of their Abilitics, and a due Notion of the great Danger there was
in committing the Conduct of fo important an Enterprize, to one who might prove unequal to the Tafk.
This gave exceffive Uneafinefs to Velafquez, who was a better Judge of Men than thofe who advifed him, and who had probably been more fucceffful in his Choice, at leaft with regard to his own Intereft, if he had acted without any Advice at all.
At laft, when the Seafon for failing approached, and this Affair would admit of no longer Delay, Amador de Laris, the King's Treafurer, and Andres de Duero, his Secretary, took upon them to mention Ferdinand, or, as the Spaniards call him, Hernan Cortes, but in a very artful Way; for they told the Governor, that in doing this, they had not the Service of their Friend fo much at Heart, as the Good of the Expedition; and the Character they gave him was fo modeft, and fo much fhort of the Truth, that Velafquez, who knew him as well as they did, was extremely fenfible that they did not endeavour to impofe upon him; and therefore, from the very beginning, he liftened readily to their Recommendations ; he knew very well, that not only great, but even contrary Talents were requifite in the Perfon he wanted, who of Neceffity muft be a Man of high Spirit, capable of acting from his own Lights in all Cafes, without adhering too ftrictly to Inftructions, and at the fame time it was to be wifhed that he fhould preferve fuch a Regard for the Perfon who employed him, as not to be tempted by any Succefs whatever to throw off his Dependence. Hard Qualities thefe to be found, but Qualities about which the wifen Man might be eafily miftaken.
2. Before we go farther, it will be proper to fay who Hernan Cortes was, and through what variety of Events his happy Deftiny led him to atchieve the Conqueft of New Spain. He was born in Medillin, a Town of Efremadura, Son of Martin Cortes, of Monroy, and Donna Catalina Pizaro Altamarino, Names that fufficiently declare the Nobility of liis Extraction. In his Youth he for fome time applied himfelf to Letters, and was two Years at Salamanca, which were fufficient to make him fenfible that the Application of a ftudious Life, was contrary to his Temper. He returned home, refolved to follow the Wars, and his Parents pointed out to him Italy, but when he came to embark, he fell dangeroully ill, by which Accident he found himfelf obliged to change his Intention, though not his Profeffion, and therefore he refolved to go to the Indiess, where the War, at that time, was carried on with a View to Glory, rather than to Wealth. He embarked with the Approbation of his Parents, in the Year 1504; and carried Letters of Recommendation to Don Nicholas de Obando, great Commander of the Order of Alcontara, his Kiniman, and then Governor of the Ifland of St. Domingo.
He was no fooner arrived there, and known, than he gained general Efteern, and was fo kindly received by the Governor, as to be immediately admitted into the Number of his Friends; but all thefe Favours were not fufficient to divert his Inclination to Arms, for he was fo uneafy at the Inaction wherein he found that Ifland which the Spaniards now poffeffed, without any Oppofition from the Natives, that he defired leave to go and ferve

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for the Reduction of NEW Spain.
in the Ine of Cubd, where the War was ftill carried on; and having gained the Confent of his Kinfman, he endeavoured to fignalize himfelf in that War, by Valour and Obedience, which are the firft Virtues of a military Profefion. He very foon acquired not only the Reputation of a valiant Soldier, but alfo that of an able Commander; diftinguinhing both his Cóurage in Action, and his Capacity in Council. Cortes was well made, of an agreeable Countenance, and, befides thefc common natural Endowments, he was of a Temper which rendered him amiable; for he always fpoke well of the Abfent, and was pleafant and difcreet in his Converfation. His Generofity was fuch, that his Friends partook of all he had, without being fuffered by him to publifh their Obligations.

He married in that Inand, Donna Catbalina Suarez Pacbeco, a noble and virtuous young Lady. This CourtThip brought him under many Difficulties, by the Interfering of Diego Velofquez, who made him Prifoner till fuch time as all Differences were adjufted; and then $V_{e}$ lafquez gave her to him in Marriage, after which they were intimate Friends, and the Governor, in a little time, gave him a Diftribution of Indians, and the Poft of Alcalde or chief Magiftrate in the Town of St. Fago; an Employment ufually conferred on thofe who had diftinguifhed themfelves in the Conqueft of thofe Countries. In thefe Circumftances was Hernan Cortes, when Amador de Laris, and Andres de Duero, propofed him for the Conqueft of Nere Spain: And they did it with fo much Addrefs, that the next time they waited upon Diego Velafquez, furnifhed with frefh Reafons to enforce their Recommendation, they found him refolved on Cortes, and fo poffeffed with the Advantages of entrufting the Undertaking to his Care, that they changed their premeditated Arguments into Flattery; and only endeavoured to oblige him by applauding a Refolution fo agreeable to their own Wifhes. They agreed with the Governor that it was convenient immediately to publifh the Choice, in order to put a Stop, at once, to all farther Pretenfions; and Andres de Duero was not flow in the Difpatch of the Commiffion.
Cortes received his new Charge from Velafquez with great Expreffions of Refpect; being as fenfibly affected with the Confidence the Governor repofed in him, as he was afterwards with his Diftruft. The Refolution was made public, and well received among thofe who defired to fee that Affair brought to a Conclufion; but occafioned much Difcontent among his Rivals for the Employment. Thofe who had declared themfelves with the greateft Coldnefs, were the Relations of Diego Velafquez; who made very ftrong Efforts to raife in the Governor a Diftruft in Cortes. 'Tis reported, that Diego Velafquez walking out with Cortes, and with his Friends and Relations, a pleafant crack-brained Fellow, with whofe Whimfies he ufed to be diverted, faid to him, Thou haft done well Friend Diego; fhortly there will be Occafion for another Fleet to go in purfuit of Cortes. But Diego Velafquez ftood firm to his Refolution, and Cortes wholly applied himfelf to haften the Preparations for his Departure. The firt Step, was to erect his Standard with the Sign of the Crofs; having this Infcription in Latin, Let us follow the Crofs, for with this Sign we fall overcome.
He appeared in the Habit of a Soldier, which became his Perfon well, and fuited his Inclinations better; he employed his own Stock liberally, and what he could borrow from his Friends, in the buying of Provifions, Arms, and Ammunition, to haften the Departure of the Fleet; endeavouring, at the fame time, to draw together a Number of Soldiers for the Expedition, in which he did not find much Difficulty; for, the very Name of Enterprize, and the Fame of the Captain, were fo great, that, in a few Days, were lifted three hundred Soldiers; among whom, were Diego de Ordaz, the principal Confident of the Governor, Francijco de Morla, Bernard Diaz del Cafillo (who has written the Hiftory of this Conqueft) and other Gentlemen. The time for their Departure being come, Orders were given for the Soldiers to embark, which they did in the Day-time, the People all running
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to the Sight; and at Night, Cortes, accompanied by his Friends, went to take leave of the Governor, who embraced him in a very friendly Manner, and the next Morning accompanied him to the Sea-fide, and faw him cmbark. Small Circumftances, and of little Importance, if fome had not wrote, without any manner of Reafon, that he called the Soldiets together from their Houfes, at Midnight, embarking with them by fteaith; and that Diego Velafquez going out after him in the Morning, Cories came up to him in a Boat well armed, and gave him to underftand, in a difrefpecful Manner, that he no longer had regard to his Orders.
3. The Fleet weighed from the Port of St. Fago, in Cuba, the r8th Day of November, 1518; and, having coafted along the North-fide of the Inand, failed towards the Eaft, and in a few Days arrived at the Port of la Trinadad, where Cortes had fome Friends, who gave him a very kind Reception. With this Reinforcement of Gentlemen, and an hundred Soldiers who came from the two Settlements, the Strength of the Fleet was confiderably augmented; and, at the fame time, Care was taken to buy up Provifions, Arms, and fome Horfes. Cortes affifted all who wanted with his Money; but fcarce had left the Port of St. Jago, when his Enemies began to cry out againft him, talking of his Difobedience, after the Cuftom of Cowards, who always attack the Abfent.

Diego Velafquez hearkened to their Difcourfe, and though he feemed to be difpleafed, they difcovered in his Mind Jealoufy, eafy to be worked up to an entire Diftruft; to which end they made ufe of Juan Millan, who, notwithftanding he was very ignorant, pretended to the Knowledge of Aftrology. This Man, fet on by others, having engaged Velafquez to Secrecy, acquainted him in myfterious Terms, that this Expedition would have a fortunate and unfortunate Event, giving him to undertand that he had learned fo much from the Stars ; and though Diego Velafquez was a Man of fufficient Senfe to difcern the Vanity of fuch Prognoftications, neverthelefs as his Foible was Jealoufy, this had fuch an Effect, that, notwithftanding he defpifed the Aftrologer, he began to be affected by what he faid. From fuch flight Beginnings fprang the firt Refolution which Diego Velafquez took to break with Cortes, by depriving him of the Command of the Fleet; he difpatched immediately two Couriers to la Trinidad, with exprefs Orders to Francifco Verdago his Coufin, to difpoffefs him of his Captain Generalhip, in a judicial Way, as fuppofing his Commiffion now revoked, and another Perfon named in his Room.
Cortes was quickly informed of this Accident, and, without being difcouraged at the Difficulty of the Remedy, fhewed himfelf to his Friends and Soldiers, that he might know in what manner they would refent the Injury done to their Captain, and how far he might depend upon the Juftice of his Caufe, by the Judgment they paffed upon it: He found them all not only in his Intereft, but refolved to defend him from fuch an Injury, though it fhould carry them to the laft Extremity of taking Arms in his Defence; and though Diego de Ordaz, and Fuan Velafquez de Leon were lefs warm, as depending more upon the Governor; they were eafily brought to approve that which they had not Power to hinder. Being thus fecure, he went to vifit the Alcalde. He laid before him the Danger to which he might expofe himfelf in fupporting fuch a Piece of Injuftice, by difgufting fo many Perfons of Diftinction as followed him; and how much the Fury of the Soldiers was to be feared, whore Affections he had gained, that he might the better ferve Diego Velafquez; and that he already found it difficult to keep them within the Bounds of Obedience to him.
Francijco Verdago approved his Reafons from a Principle of Generofity, and offered not only to fufpend the Execution of the Order, but to write to Diego Velafquez to engage him to defift from a Refolution, which was now impracticable; Diego de Ordaz, and the reft who had any Intereft with the Governor, offered to do the fame, and wrote immediately. Cortes likewife wrote to him, complaining of his Diftruft, without fhewing how far he was difgutted, or omitting his ordinary Refpect.

Thefer

Thefe Meafures taken to quiet the Mind of Velafquizz; Cortes refolved to profecute his Voyage, and, fending Pedro Alverado by Land, with a ftrong Party of Soldiers, to take care of the Horfes; and raife more Men in the Settlements upon the Road, he failed with the Fleet for the Havanna.

The Ships parted from la Trinidad with a favourable Wind; but, at the coming on of the Night, they feparated from the Capitana, where Cortes was on board, without obferving, as they ought to have done, the Courfe he ftood, or perceiving the Error of the Pilots, until the Day difcovered it; but being now far advanced, they continued their Voyage, and arrived at the Havanna, where the Soldiers landed. They were kindly entertained by Pedro de Barba, at that time Governor of the Havanna, under Velafquez. They were much concerned that they had not waited for their Captain, but their Difcourfes on that Subject went no farther than to furnifh themfelves with Excufes againft his Arrival; yet perceiving that he ftaid longer than they thought it poffible he could, unlefs fome Misfortune had befallen him, they began to be uneafy and divided in their Opinions: Some were for fending two or three Veffels in fearch of him; fome propofed to name a Commander in chief in his Abfence, but others thought fuch a Propofition unfeafonable; however, as nobody commanded, every one gave his Verdict, and nothing was done.

He who moft infifted upon naming a Commander, was Diego de Ordaz; who, as a Confident of Velafquez, expected to be preferred to the reft; and thought, that by the gaining of this Point, he fhould ftand fair to obtain that Poft from Velafquez. But at laft, after a Difpute of feven Days, Cortes fafely arrived with the Capitana. His Delay was occafioned by the Fleet's paffing over fome Flats, which lie between the Harbour of la Trinidad and Cape St. Anthony, at a fmall Diftance from the Ine of Pines; where the Capitana, as being the largeft Ship, ftruck, and was in Danger of being over-fet.
4. This Accident ferved to raife his Reputation; for animating his Men on the View of the Danger, he gave fuch Orders as were neceflary, with great Prefence of Mind, and without Confufion. His firft Care was to put out his Boat, and take out the Ship's Lading, which was carried to a little fandy Inand; by which means he fo far lightened her, as to fet her afloat; after which, getting clear of the Shole, he took her Lading on board again, and purfued his Courfe; having thus fpent the feven Days he was detained, and thereby much advanced his Reputation. Pedro de Barba lodged him in his own Houfe, and he was received with great Acclamations by his Soldiers, whofe Numbers immediately encreafed; feveral of the Inhabitarts and Gentry entering into the Service; among thede were Francifco de Montejo, who was afterwards the King's Lieutenant of Yucatan; Diego de Soto del Toro, Garcia Caro, Fuan Sedo, and other Perfons of Diftinction and Fortune, who added very much to the Reputation of the Enterprize.

Thefe Preparations took up fome Days, but as Cortes knew not how to be idle, he commanded the Artillery to be brought on fhore to be cleaned and proved; ordered the Cannoniers to obferve, exactly, how far each Gun would carry; and, as there was great plenty of Cotton thereabouts, he dirested the making a fufficient Quantity of defenfive Arms. Thefe were a kind of Quilts in the Form of great Coats, which were called Efcoupilles: Necefiity inventing what Experience afterwards approved. It being found that Cotton ftitched between two Cloths was a better Defence than Iron againft the Arrows and Darts of the Indians; for they loft their Force, by the weak Reffitance they met with; and were likewife hindered from glancing from one Man to another. At the fame time he exercifed his Soldiers in the Ule of their Fire-arms and Crofs-bows, and the Management of their Pikes: He taught them how to form and file off in Order; how to charge, and how to fecure a Poft: Infructing them both by Voice and Example, in the Rudiments of War, after the Manner of Antiquity; which Practice, in time of Peace, was in fo much Efteem
among the Romans, that from this kind of Exercife they gave their Armies the Name of Exercitus.

With the like Diligence and Ardour he went on with the reft of his Preparations ; but when every one was rejoicing at the near Approach of the Day appointed for their Departure, Gajpar de Garnica, a Servant of Velafquez, arrived at the Havanna with frein Orders to Pedro de Barba, exprefly enjoining him to difpoffefs Cortes of the Command of the Fleet, and to fend him Prifoner under a good Efcort; telling him how highly he had been difpleafed with Francifio Verdago, for letting him go from la Trinidad: And withal, giving him to underfand how much he would rifque in not complying with his Orders. He likewife fent to Diego de Ordaz, and to Fuan Velafquez de Leon, to be affifting to Pedro de Barba in the Execution of his Commands. But Cortes was advertifed of what was doing from feveral Hands, and even from Garnica. They warned him to take care of himfelf, fince he, who firft entrufted this Enterprize to his Conduct, was now going to difcard him, in a Manner highly injurious to his Honour, and who freed him from the Scandal of Ingratitude, by forcing from him the Favour for which he ftood obliged. Cartes, though a Man of great Spirit, could not help being fhocked with this new, Attempt, which touched him the more fenfibly, the lefs it was expected; for he thought Velafouez had been fatisfied with the Affurances that had been given him by all, in their Anfwer to his firft Orders which came to lo Trinidad; but being convinced of his Obftinacy, he began with lefs Temper to think of taking care of himfelf. He acknowledged that Velafquez had expended fome Money in fitting out the Fleet, but the greateft Part of the Charge was borne by himfelf and his Friends, and almoft all the Soldiers were raifed upon their Credit: He was alfo concerned for the Enterprize, which he forefaw would entirely mifcarry if he quitted it; but that which moft fenfibly affected him, was the Wound given to his Honour, which is dearer than Life itlelf; and upon there Reflections Cortes took his firft Refolution of breaking with Velafquez, judging that it was now no longer a time to fmother his Refentment, but refolved to provide for himfelf, and make ufe of the Force he was Mafter of, as Occafion fhould require. To this end, before Pedro de Barba had determined to publifh the Order he had againtt him, he made hafte to fend away from the Havanna Diego de Ordaz, whofe Fidelity he fufpected on account of the Efforts he had made to be chofen Commander in chief in his Abfence. He therefore commanded him to embark immediately on board one of the Veffels, and to make the beft of his Way to Guanicanico, a Settlement fituate on the other Side of the Cape Si. Antony, to take in fome Provifions, which he had directed to be carried to that Place, and there to wait his Arrival with the reft of the Fleet.

Cortes affifted in putting this Order in Execution, with his ufual Diligence and Calmnefs, and by this means got quickly rid of a Perfon who might have given fome Oppofition to his Defign. He went then to vifit Fuars $V$ llafquez de Leon, whom he eafily brought over to his Intereft ; being himfelf not a little difpleafed with the Proceedings of his Relation, and withal, more tractable and of lefs Artifice than Diego de Ordaz. Having taken thefe Precautions, he fhewed himfelf to the Soldiers, acquainting them with the new Difafter that threatened him. They all offered him their Services, agreeing in their Refolution of affifting him, but differing in the Manner of expreffing themfelves. But Pedro de Barba, apprehending the ill Confequences of not appeafing this Tumult in time, went to Cortes, and, appearing publickly with him, quieted all in a Moment, by declaring aloud that he did not defign to execute the Order of Velafquez, or to have any Share in fo great and fo unprovoked an Injuftice.
This turned all their Threats into Acclamations; and he prefently fhewed the Sincerity of his Intentions, by publickly difpatching Gafper de Garnica with a Letter to Velafquez ; in which he told him that this was not a time to ftop Corties, who was too well attended to let himfelf be ill treated, or to be reduced to Obedience by Violence; he reprefented to him in the frongeft Terms, the Fer-
ment his Order had occafioned among the Soldiers, and the Danger the Town had been in by the Commotion, and concluded his Letter with advifing him to regain Cortes by Acts of Friendfhip, by adding new Favours to thofe he had already beftowed, and relying on his Gratitude for what could not be compaffed either by Perfuafion or by Force.
5. A Brigantine of moderate Burden having joined the ten Veffels which compofed his Fleet, Cortes diftributed his Men into eleven Companies, putting one on board each Veffel; and named, for Captains, Fuon Velofquez de Leon, Alonjo Fernandez Partocarrero, Francifco de Montejo, Chrifoval de Olod, Fuan de Esculante, Francifco de Mirla, Pedro de Alverado, Francifco Saucedo, and Diego de Ordaz, who he had not fent out of the way with an Intention to forget him, nor was he willing to difoblige him, by not giving him an Employment. He referved for himfelf the Command of the Capitona, and intrufted the Care of the Brigantine to Gines di Mortes. The Command of the Artillery he beftowed upon Francifo de Orozco, a Soldier, who had fignalized himfelf in the Wars in Italy ; and chofe for his chief Pilot Antonio do Alaminos, a Man of Experience in thofe Seas, having ferved in the farne Quality in the two Voyages of Francifco Hernandez de Cordova, and Fuan de Grijalva.

He drew up Inftructions for his Officers, wherein, with fingular Forefight, he provided againft Contingencies; and the Day of Embarkation being come, they celebrated a Mafs of the Holy Ghoft with great Solemnity, at which all the Soldiers very devoutly affifted, recommending to God the Beginning of an Enterprize, the Succefs of which they expected from his Diviile Afintance ; and Hernan Cortes, as the firt Act of his Command, gave the Word St. Peter, thereby acknowledging Him the Patron of this Expedition as he had been of all his Actions from his Childhood. After which he ordered Pedro de Alverado to fail for the North Coaft, in fearch of Diego de Ordaz in Guanicanico, and, after they were joined, to wait for the Fleet at Cape St. Antonio. The reft of the Veffels had Inftructions to follow the Capitana, and, fhould they be feparated by contrary Winds, or any other Accident, to ftand for the Ine of Cozumel, difcovered by Fuan de Grijalva, which was but little diftant from the Land they were in fearch of, and where Cortes purpofed to confider and refolve on what fhould be moft neceffary for the Profecution of their Enterprize.

In fine, they departed from the Havanna the roth of February, 1519. The Wind at firft was favourable, but did not long continue fo, for at Sun-fet there arofe a furious Storm, which put them in great Diforder; and when the Night came, the Ships were obliged to feparate, that they might not run foul of each other, and to put right before the Wind. The Ship that Francifco de Mirla commanded fuffered moft, a Break of the Sea carrying away the Rudder, whereby he was in great Hazard of being loft; but the Storm ended with the Night, and as foon as they had Light enough to diftinguifh Objects, Cortes was the firft who came up with the Ship in danger; the reft followed his Example, and the Damage fhe had fuffered was foon repaired. At this time Pedro de Alverado, who was gone in fearch of Diego de Ordaz, difcovered, by Day-break, that the fame Storm had forced him into the Gulph a great way farther than he imagined for, in order to keep clear of the Shore, he had been obliged to put out into the open Sea, as leaft dangerous. The Pilot found by his Compars and Chart, that he was fallen very far from the Courfe prefcribed to him, and was at fuch a Diftance from Cape St. Antonio, that his Return would have been very difficult; wherefore he propofed it, as moft advifeable, to fail directly for the Ine of Cozumel: Alverado left it to his own Choice, reprefenting to him the Order of Cortes, after fuch a manner as looked as if he difapproved it.
Hereupon they continued the Voyage, and arrived at the Inand two Days before the Fleet. They landed with a Defign to lodge themfelves in a fmall Town near the Coaft, well known to the Captain and fome of the Sol-
diers fince the Voyage of Grijalva, but they found it deferted; for the Indians, upon the firft Notice that the spaniards were landed, abandoned their Houfes, retiring farther into the Country. Pedro de Alverado was a young Man of Spirit and Valour, well qualified where he received Orders, but of too little Experience to give them. He had a miftaken Notion, that while the Fleet was coming, any thing but Inaction would be a Virtue in a Soldier, and therefore ordered his Men to march, and to take a View of the inner Part of the Illand; and at a little more than a League diftance they found another Town forfaken in the fame manner, but not fo entirely unfurnifhed as the former, for there were fome Cloths and Provifions, which the Soldiers feized as Spoils of an Enemy; and in a Temple of one of their Idols they found many Jewels which ferved to adom it, and fome Inftruments for facrificing, made of Gold hixed with Copper, which, though of fmall Value, they took away. This Expedition did by no means promote the Service they were upon, but, on the contrary, frighted the $I_{n}$ dians, and croffed the Defign of gaining their Friendfip; Pedro de Alverado grew fenfible that he had made a falife Step, and retired to his firft Poft, having taken three Prifoners, two Men and one Woman, who furrendered without any Oppofition.
6. The next Day Cortes arrived with the whole Eleet; having fent to Diego de Ordaz, at Cape St: Antonio, to join him ; fufpecting, as it proved, that the Storm would, hinder Alverado from executing his Orders, and though inwardly well pleafed to find him there in fafety, he commanded the Pilot to be imprifoned, and reprimanded the Captain very feverely, for not purfuing his Inftructions, as well as for his Prefumption in marching up and down the Inand, permitting his Soldiers all the while to rob and plunder the Inhabitants.

He did all this publickly, delivering his Reproof in a fet Speech, which not only contained his Sentiments, but his Reafons alfo why he thought it fo great a Fault, inafmuch as it tended to leffen the Reputation of the Spaniards, and to defeat the Defign of the whole Voyage. To repair this Miftake, however, as well as he could, he immediately fent for the three Prifoners, and, having fer them at Liberty, caufed both their Gold and their Cloths to be reftored to them, and then, joining his own Indian, Melchior, who was the only Interpreter he had, his Companion Fulian being dead, he fent them away with a great many Prefents for their Cazique, with Orders to affure them, that he highly difapproved of whatever had been done to their Prejudice; and that he was firmly refolved to do every thing in his Power to merit their Friendfhip. To prevent any new Difputes, which he thought it his Intereft to avoid, he drew down his Forces to the Sea-fide, and, having encamped them there for three Days, he thought fit to make a general Review; upon which it appeared, that this mighty Army with which he was to undertake the Conqueft of the Mexican Empire, confifted of no more than Five hundred and eight Soldiers and Officers, Sixteen Horfe, and of thofe who did not belong to the Army, two Chaplains aad one hundred and nine Pilots; Mariners, and Men of other Profefions. To thefe he made a long Speech, in which he reprefented to them, that Difcipline was of far greater Advantage than Numbers, exhorting them to obey his Orders punctually, and promifing that his Example fhould ever give Weight to his Authority.

He had fcarce made an End of his Oration before Intelligence was brought him, that a confiderable Number of Indians were approaching, divided into feveral Corps, and without Arms: He drew up his Men, however, in Order of Battle, and commanded them to remain under Arms, till it fhould appear what it was thofe People aimed at. The Indians no fooner came in fight, than, gazing attentively upon theSpaniards, they remained for fome time withour Motion, only whifpering and confulting among themfelves what they had beft to do. At length, perceiving that no Hoftilities were offered, they advanced boldly on a fudden, and, mingling themfelves with the Soldiers, prefented them wirh Refrefhments, and
from
from that time continued a friendly Correfpondence, without fhewing any Signs either of Terror or Surprize; the Reafon of this was, That having in their Inand an Idol univerfally reverenced by all the neighbouring Nations, they were accuftomed to ree People of different Countries, Habits, and Languages, which either hindered them from being fo much aftonifhed, as other Indians were, or elfe taught them better to conceal their Fear.

At Night they all retired to their Houfes, and the next Day the principal Cazique of the Illand came to vifit Cortes with a numerous Equipage, delivering his Embafly and Prefent himfelf. The General received him with great Courtefy, and by his Interpreter returned Thanks for the Vifit, with an Offer of his FriendThip and that of his Followers. To which the Cazique replied, That he accepted the Friendfhip offered, as a Man who knew how to preferve it. One among the Indians who accompanied him was heard to repeat, after a bad manner, the Name of Caftilla, and Cortes, whofe Attention nothing, could divert from his Point, obferved the Word, and commanded the Interpreter to inquire into the Meaning of it. The Indians faid, that his Men very much refembled certain Perfons who were in 1 ucatan, Natives of a Country called Cafiilla; which Cortes no fooner heard than he refolved to fet them at Liberty, and engage them in his Service.

Upon informing himfelf more particularly, he found that they were in the Power of fome Indians of the higheft Rank refiding two Days Journey within the Province of Yucatan. Cortes communicated his Intention to the Cazique, and afked him, whether thefe were warlike $I_{n-}$ dians, and what Force would be neceffary to refcue the Chriftians from Slavery ? The Cazique gave him a very teafonable Anfwer, telling him, the fecureft Way would be to ranfom them; for that endeavouring to releafe them by Force of Arms, would expofe them to the Hazard of being maffacred by their Mafters. Cortes embraced his Advice, with Admiration to find fo much good Senfe and Policy in the Cazique, whofe Rank among Princes, though inconfiderable, had taught him fome Principles of what they call Reafon of State.

He immediately gave Orders to Diego de Ordaz, to fail with his Veffel and Company to the Coaft of Yucatan by the fhorteft Cut from the Ine of Cozumel, where he was to land the Indians appointed by the Cazique for this Purpofe. They carried a Letter from Cortes to the Prifoners, together with fome Trifles for their Ranfom, and Ordaz was commanded to ftay eight Days for them, in which time the Indians undertook to return with an Anfwer. The two Veffels came upon the Coaft of rucatan, and landed the Indians. They, within two Days, delivered the Letters to a Spaniard whofe Name was Ferom de Aguilar, who was pleafed with it and the Toys. Some fay, the Indians, for Fear, delivered the Letter to Aguilar's Mafter, who feeing him read it, wondered that Perfons at fuch a Diftance fhould underItand each other by that Method. Aguila referring himfelf to his Mafter, as fearing he would caufe him to be killed if he attempted to go away privately, obtained Leave of him to go, defiring that he would make them his Friends. This Lord fent fome Indians with him, and when he came to the Coaft, he perceived they had waited thereabouts, finding feveral Croffes made of Canes. Being much grieved for want of fome Conveniency to proceed any farther, and going along the Coaft, he found a Canoe half funk, which, with the Help of his Companions, he cleared of the Sand; and, though half rotten, got into it, rowing with a Pipe-ftave he alfo found by chance, and fo went down the Coaft, crofing in the narroweft Part over to the Ifland, being at leaft four Leagues. The Currents carrying him near to the Fleet.

In the mean time Cortes marched, with all his Troops in a Body, to take aView of the Inand; not that he faw any Neceflity for being on his Guard, but to keep the Soldiers rogether, and to preferve the Inhabitants frombeing infulted. He told his Men, that they were an indigent People unable co defend themfeves; that the Sincerity they fhewed entitled them to good Treatment in return; and that their

Poverty was fuch as gave no Temptation to Avarice ; that they were not to expect from that fmall Spot of Ground any otherWealth than Reputation. He was always accompanied by the Cazique and great Numbers of Indians, who fupplied him with Provifions, and exchanged Gold for Glafs Beads, believing that they overreached the Spaniards, and could never purchafe thofe Toys at too dear a Rate.

At a little Diftance from the Coaft ftood the Temple of the Idol fo much revered by the Indians. It was a fquare Building of Stone, and of no contemptible Structure. The Idol bore the Figure of a Man, but of fuch an horrible Afpect as plainly difcovered the Original it was defigned to reprefent. This Circumftance of Deformity was obferved in all the Idols worfhipped by thofe miferable People, however they differed in Make or Signification; whether it were that their Imaginations hit in this refpect, or that he who ftruck out the moft hideousFigure was accounted the beRY orkman.'Tis faid, this Idol was called Cozumel, and gave to the Inand the Name which it retains to this Day. The Spaniards found a very great Concourfe of Indians in the Temple, and irs the midft of them a Prieft, diftinguifhed from the reft by a certain Ornament or Covering, which fcarcely hid his Nakednefs. He feemed to preach, and perfuade them to fomething, by a Voice and Action extremely ridiculous. Cortes took this Opportunity to difcourfe the Indian Prince roundly on the Subject of his Idolatry, telling him, in the firf place, that it was impofible for them to continue Friends if he did not quit it ; and next, that it was very unworthy of him, who was a Man of Senfe and good Undertanding, to pay Divine Honours to ars ugly deformed Image, fitter to frighten Children than to be revered by Men.

The Cazique did not know how to argue with him; but feemed rather willing to fhift the Difcourfe; telling him, that he was much his Servant in what depended upon him ; but that, as for Religion, it was out of his way, and fo left it wholly to the Priefts, who fhould, if he pleafed, difcourfe with him upon the Subject. This was readily accepted, and one of the Priefts fent for, who no fooner underftood the Bufinefs than he began to threaten the moft dreadful Penalties, in the Name of his Idol, againft any who fhould prefume to difhonour him or his Habitation. Upon which Cortes, to fhew them how much they were deceived and impofed upon by thefe Jugglers, cauled all the Idols to be broke to pieces, and moft of their Chapels to be demolifhed, only the largeft of them he'preferved entire; and, having caufed a very neat Altar to be fet up there, he had Mafs faid thereon by the Chaplains and Priefts; and, at his Departure, charged the Cazique to take care that every thing was kept in good Order, and that no Infult was offered to the Image of the bleffed Virgin, or to the two Croffes which he erected in that Chapel; which the Indian Chief very readily promifed. And thus all Things being adjufted, Cortes began to provide for his Departure, the Ship being returned with Advice, That they had waited the appointed Time without feeing any thing of the Perfons for whom they were fent, and therefore judged it their Duty to return.
7. All Things being in order, Cortes put to Sea, with a Defign to follow the fame Courfe, which Juan de Grijalva had done before, and to difcover the Countries from which he had retired by too fcrupulous an Obedience to the Orders he had received. The Fleet had the Wind a-ftern, and all were overjoyed at the profperous Beginning of their Voyage, when an unexpected Accident gave them great Uneafinefs. Fuan de Efculante fired a Gun, and the reft of the Commanders, cafting their Eyes towards him, obferved that he followed with great Difficulty, and foon after tacked about, and food for the Inand: Cortes well underitood the Meaning of what he faw; and, without ftaying to deliberate, immediately ordered the Fleet to follow him. Fuan de Efculante ftood in need of all his Diligence to fave his Veffel, for the had fprung a Leak, and took in fo much Water that the was upon the point of finking when the reached the Shore, notwithftanding all pomble Expe-
ditions
dition had been ufed in coming to his Relief: The Soldiers landed, and the Cazique prefently came down with the Indians, and feemed to be furprized at the fudden Return; but when they underitood the Reaion, they very chearfully helped to unload the Veffel, and afterwards aflifted in repairing and careening it, managing their Canoes with great Dexterity, and performing fingular Service in a Cafe that required it.
8. While this was doing, Cortes, accompanied by the Cazique and fome of his Soldiers, went to vifit the Temple, and found the Crofs and Image of the Virgin Mary in the fame Place where he had left them, obferving withal, to his great Satisfaction, fome Signs of the Veneration paid them by thefe Barbarians" in the Cleannefs of the Temple, and the Perfumes they had burned, befides Flowers and Boughs, with which they had adorned the Altar. Cortes thanked the Cazique for the Care he had taken in his Abfence. The Indian was pleafed, and received the Compliment of the Spaniard as if it had been an Inftance of his extraordinary Conduct, that the Image and Altar had ftood unmolefted for no longer a time at the moft than for two or three Hours.
Whiltt the Ship was refitting, Cortes was told that a Canoe appeared making from $r$ ucatan towards the Inand; he came out to view, and, thinking it fell off a little, ordered Andrew de T'apia to' go as much under the Shelter of the Land as he could, and endeavour to take that Canoe which made to the Shore behind a Point of Land; four Men ftark naked landed out of it, only their Privities covered, and their Hair treffed wound about their Heads, with Bows and Arrows in their Hands. Andrew de Tapia had pofted himfelf fo as to come upon the Canoe, and as foon as the Indians were landed, made towards them Sword in Hand; three were afraid, and would have returned to the Canoe, but the fourth bid them not fear, and fpoke to the Spaniards, faying, Gentlemen, I am a Cbriftion: And, with Tears in his Eycs, afked if that was Wednefday? becaufe he had a Prayer-Book he made ufe of every Day, and defired to know whether he was right ? He defired them to return Thanks to God, kneeled down, and lifted up his Eyes and Hands to Heaven, and alfo bleffed God for having reftored him to the Company of Chriftians.

Andreev de Tapia embraced him, as did all the reft, and then they went to Cortes, who received him with much Joy. The new Comer and his Indian Companions paid the greateft Refpect, and couched down upon their Hams, laying their Bows and Arrows on the Ground at their Right-hands; then having moiftened their Right-hands with Spittle, they touched the Ground, and ftroaked their Breafts next the Heart, that being the greateft Refpect they paid to their Princes, to denote, that they humbled themfelves to the Ground they trode on. Cortes being informed that this was the way of Salutation, he again bid Aguilar welcome, and, taking off a long yellow Robe trimmed with Crimfon he had on, with his own Hands put it upon him, defiring he would rife off his Hams and fit on a Chair. Afking his Name, he anfwered, his Name was Ferom de Aguilar, and that he was born at Eija, and related to the Licenciate Mark de Aguilar whom Cortes knew. Meat and Drink being fet before him, he took of both very moderately. And being afked why he was fo very fparing, anfwered, he did it, becaufe having been fo long ufed to the Indian Food, that Change of Diet might do him harm, whereas taking very little, tho' it were Poifon, there was no Danger.

He was in Deacon's Orders, and for that reafon faid, he never wonld marry, tho' he had been nuch importuned to it by the Indians. The Account of his Life and Adventures being too long for that time, Cortes bid him reft till the next Day, and ordered his Steward to clothe him; which he was not very fond of at that time, becaufe, having been fo long ufed to go naked, the Garment Cortes had thrown over him was fomewhat troublefóme.

The next Day Cortes afked him, before lefs Company, how he had fallen into the Hands of thofe Indians; he anfwered, That being at Darien at the time of the Con-

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teft between James de Nicueffa and Nunez de Balboas he came away with Valdibia, who was bound for Santo Do ming', to inform the Admiral and the King's Officers of what was doing in thofe Parts, to return with Men and Ammunition, and carry twenty thoufand Ducats for the King: That when he came near famaica, the Caravel was caft away on the Sholes called Caymanes or Alligators ; at which time twenty Men, with much Difficulty, got into the Long-boat, without Sails, Bread, or Water, and very bad Oars: That feven of the twenty Men foon died, be* ing reduced to fuch Diftrefs, that they drank their own Water; and the others landed in a Province called Maya, where they fell into the Hands of a cruel Cazique, who facrificed Valdibia and five others, offering them up to his Idols, and then eating them, keeping a Feftival, according to the Cuftom of the Country: That he and fix more that were fhut up in a Pen or Coop to ferve for another Feftival, refolved to lofe their Lives fome other way, and, breaking thro' the Cage accordingly, fled over the Mountains without being difcovered, till it pleafed God that they came into the Dominions of another Lord who was an Enemy to him from whom they fled, and naturally courteous, affable, and inclined to do Good; his Name was Acquineuz, Governor of Xaman Cona, who granted them their Lives, but made Slaves of them : That the faid Lord foon dying, he ferved Taxmar, who fucceeded him in the Lordfhip: That five of his Companions foon died thro' the Hardfhips they endured, he only remaining with one Gonzalo Guerro, who was with the Cazique Cbetemal, and married a very great Lady in that Country, by whom he had Children: He was then Commander for a Cazique called Nachancam, and, having gained many Victories over his Lord's Enemies, was much beloved and efteemed.

He added, that he had fent him Cortes's Letter, and defired him to come away, fince there was fo favourable an Opportunity, and had ftaid for him longer than was convenient, and believed he kept away for Shame, be caufe his Nofe, Lips, and Ears were bored, his Face painted, and his Hands wrought after the manner of that Country, where only brave Men are permitted to have their Hands wrought. Proceeding in the Account of his own Adventures, he faid he had endured very much during the firft three Years, being obliged to carry Wood, Water, and Fifh for his Lord; which he' performed with much Satisfaction to fave his Life, doing what every Indian directed him ; by which means he gained the Affection of them all. The Catique obferving that he lived chaftly, tempted him feveral ways, fending him out at Night a fifhing with a beautiful Indian Girl about fourteen Years of Age, who had been inftructed to provoke him; and he had a Hammoc given him for them to lye in. The Hammoc being hung up, the young Girl went into it, and invited Aguilar to come and lye with her, upbraiding him upon his Refufal, faying that he was not' a Man; yet he lighted a Fire, and lay down on the Ground by it. The Cazique, being informed of this by her, had the more value for him, and trufted him with his Wife and Houfe; which fhews that Virtue is honoured even among barbarous Nations. Afterwards he defired his Lord to employ him in his Wars, and contributed to the obtaining feveral Victories, which gained him fo much Reputation, that he was looked upon as the prime Man in the Country: And when the Ships under the Command of Hernandez de Cordova, and thofe under Grijalra, traded on that Coaft, they took fpecial care that he fhould not make his Efcape. The Converfation of this Man proved highly agreeable to Cortes, and the Accounts he gave were of extraordinary Ufe in the Profecution of his Expedition, becaufe they enabled him to forefee whatever might happen, to procure Advantages, and to provide againft Difficulties.
9. It muft be acknowledged that the Facts which are contained in this Section are far enough from being furprizing or extraordinary, but however, they are extremely curious, and withal highly neceffary. The Hiftories of fuch Difcoverers as thefe ought to be written for fome great End, and with fome important View; bare A-
$T$ mufement
mufement is too mean a Confideration. But what End, what View fo juft, fo laudable, fo worthy of the Subject, as the promoting vigoroully Expeditions of a like nature by fo noble an Example. Yet how is this to be done otherwife than by explaining the Character of Cortes fully, and fhewing how he came to undertake fo great an Enterprize with fo flight a Force; how from the very Beginning he had all the Difficulties to ftruggle with that the Author of an Epic Poem could have fuggefted to raife the Character of his Hero, and fhewed fuch Fortitude, Sagacity, and Penetration in overcoming them, as would have puzzled the greateft Poet to have feigned in favour of him, whofe Character and Adventures had depended folely upon his Imagination.

Here we fee him fixed upon to be the Commander in Chief in the greatef Expedition that hitherto the Spamiards had undertaken, merely for the fake of his perfonal Merit and great Abilities. We next find him fufpected, hated, recalled by the very Perfon to whom he owed his Power. Yet proceeding, notwithftanding all thefe Difficulties; and tho the Beginnings of his Enterprizes were not attended with any remarkable Succefs, we fee him eftablifhing an Authority even fuperior to that given him by his Commifion, when by the Contrivances of his Enemies, his Title to command was fo weakened, as that he
had fcarce any legal Authority at all.' We fee him from his firt fetting out, acting as the Legiflator as well as General and Commander in Chief, and not only forming his own Conduct upon juft, honourable, and heroic Principles, but infufing thefe with great Diligence and Dexterity into the whole Body of his Followers, as if, nos content with being a Hero himfelf, his Ambition excited him to command an Army of Heroes, and fo to ballance his want of Numbers by raifing the Power, the Credit, and Courage of the finall Number he commanded.
We fee him acting upon all Occafions by the Lights of his own Reafon, and without taking the Advice of any who were about him ; not that he defpifed Counfel, but that for good Reafons, and from juft Motives, he fufpected thofe he would otherwife have admitted of his Council. And laftly, we fee him behave towards the $I_{n}$ dians with Dignity void of Arrogance, inftilling Courage, not Fear, and teaching them Obedience, by propofing it as their Intereft, rather than due to his Pleafure. We fhall fee him in the fucceeding Sections uniform in his Conduct, exact in his Difcipline, fage in his Refolutions, vigorous in their Execution, always befieged with new Difficulties, and yet furmounting them by the Force of his Underftanding, and the Steadinefs of his Virtue.

## S E C T I O N.VIII.

The Progress of this Expedition from the time of the Spaniards cmbarking for New Spain, to the firf Meffage Sent by Cortes to Motezuma Emperor of Mexico.

1. The Motives wobich induced Cortes to refolve to attempt the Conqueft of New Spain with fo fmall a Force and under fo many Difficulties. 2. He arrives at the River Grijalva, finds bis landing oppofed, but debarks at laft in Jpite of the Indians. 3. The Town of Tabafco taken, and a great Victory gained over the Indians. 4. A Peace enfues-thereupon, to the Satisfaction of both Parties; after wobich the Spaniards embark in order to continue their Voyage. 5. They land in New Spain, and meet there with Embaffadors from Motezuma Emperor of Mexico. 6. The General and Governor of the Province confer with Cortes; inquire into the Reafon of bis coming thither, and Send an Account of it to their Emperor Motezuma. 7. The manner in which the Indians tranfmitted a full Account of the Spaniards and their Force to their Emperor. 8. The Reception that Account met quith, and the Anfiwer returned to Cortes's Requeft, by Motezuma. 9. Remarks and Obfervations upon this Section, and on the Situation Cortes found bimfelf in at this Functure.

THE fhort Stay that Cortes made in this Ifland was fpent in deliberating on the proper Means for carrying his great Defigns into Execution, towards which he found that good Information was likely to contribute more than the beft Advice; he therefore fpent many Hours alone with Aguilar, whom he found to be a Man of Senfe and Probity, of great Courage, and who had a Head perfectly well turned either for Service in time of War, or for Negotiations in time of Peace. It was from this Man that he learned perfectly the Humour and Temper of the Indians, their Maxims of Government, their military Difcipline, the Advantages derived to them from thence, and in what refpect they were inferior to the Spaniards. Matters about which he feemed to inquire from that natural Curiofity only which is incident even to the greatef Minds; but, in reality, he had nothing lefs in view than to amufe himfelf with hearing ftrange Stories, and made thefe Inquiries for the fake of knowing how to ufe all Opportunities that offered, and that he might be able to create them where they were wanting.

Among other extraordinary Qualities, he was bleffed with fo happy a Memory, that he retained whatever he once heard, and knew how to make ufe of the flighteft Circumftances fo as to convert them into material Advantages ; of which we fhall fee many remarkable Inftances in the following. Sections. He took occafion likewife, during his ftay in this Inand, to gain over to his Intereft the ableft and moft enterprifing Perfons that were embarked with him in this Expedition, by reprefenting to them how infeparably their Interefts were connected with his, fo that it was impofible for him to ne-
gleet rewarding them, if by a proper Difcharge of their Duty they put it his Power. In all thefe Applications he had much lefs regard to the Character and Station, than to the Temper and Capacities of the Men with whom he dealt, fo that he admitted to his Converfation private Men as well as Officers, which gained him the Affections of the People, and rendered it impoffible for any Cabals to be formed againft him, without his having immediate Intelligence of the Motives from whence they fprung, and the Perfons by whom they were managed.
He drew likewife another great Advantage from this Conduct, and that was bringing the greatef Points to bear without appearing to have any Concern in them; fo that he never propofed any thing he had a mind to carry, but by the help of his Agents he firft infufed it into the Minds of the People, and then complied with their Will, or rather feemed to comply with it when he accomplifhed his own. He defeated the Defigns of his Enemies by preparing the People to fuggeft their Dillike to them, when propofed by himfelf in Compliance with the Refolutions taken in Councils of War. And by thefe Arts he rendered himfelf at once the moft arbitrary and defpotic Commander, and the very Man in the World leaft fufpected of having any fuch thing in his Thoughts. The Difficulties they had hitherto met with, might under any other General have difgufted the People and deftroyed their Hopes, but his Management was fo dextrous, that under him they had quite different Effects; for he found Means to convince them, that all Miifcarriages were owing to thofe of Velafquez's Party; whence the Soldiers inferred, that all things would go well if

Cortes had the fole Command. Such were the Difpofitions of the Spaniards while Preparations were making to profecute their Voyage to the Miain.
2. The Fleet-left this Inland the fecond time on the 4th of March, I519, doubled the Point of Catocbe, which is the moft Eafterly Part of Yucatan, and following the Coaft came to the Road of Cbampatan, where the Queftion was put in a Council held on that Subject, Whether they fhould land or not? Cortes inclined to the Affirmative, that he might chaftize the Indians for the Oppofition' given to Fuan de Grijalva, and before that'to Francifco Hernondez de Cordova; and fome Soldiers that had been prefent on both thefe Occafions, pufhed by a Spirit of Revenge, fupported his Opinion with an extreme Warmth ; but the chief Pilot, and the reft of his Profeffion oppofed it with unanfwerable Reafons; for the Wind that favoured the Continuance of their Voyage, directly oppofed their landing in that Place. Whereupon they purfued their Courfe, and arrived at the River Grijalva. There was no Occafion to deliberate here, for the good Treatment which the Spaniards had received formerly from the Indians of Tabafco, and the Gold at that time brought from thence, were two powerful Attractives, and Cortes readily complied with the Inclinations of his Soldiers, although he had no Defign to ftay there many Days, for his Thoughts were continually bent on the Dominions of Motezuma, of which Fuan de Grijalva had his firft Account in this Province; it being his Opinion, That in this fort of Expeditions it was advifeable to begin with attacking the Head rather than the Members, and fo encounter the greateft Difficulties with his Forces entire.

As he had fome Knowledge of this Place by the Experience of thofe who had been there before, he made a Difpofition for entering the River. And leaving the larger Veffels at an Anchor, he embarked all his Soldiers, well armed, in thofe of a fmaller fize, and in the Boats, and was beginning to make the beft of his way againft the Current, in the fame Order as had been before obferved by Juan de Grijalva; when he perceived a confiderable Number of Canoes, with armed Indians, cover both Sides of the River, fupported by feveral other Bodies on the Shore. Cortes drew near in clofe Order, and commanded that none fhould fire or fhew the leaft Sign of Hoftility. He followed in this likewife the Conduct of Grijalva, for he was more folicitous to ufe the proper Means of fucceeding in his Enterprize, than to avoid the Imputation of copying after another, well knowing what Rifques they run who value themfelves upon finding new ways with no other Defign than to be diftinguifhed from thofe who went before them. The Indians thought to put a Stop to the Spaniards by their horrible Outcries ; and as foon as they were fo near that what they faid could be diftinguifhed, ferom de Aguilar found that he underftood their Language, which was the fame, or with little Difference from that of Yucatan. And Cortes looked upon it as the Work of Providence that he was furninhed with fo good an Interpreter. Aguilar informed him, that the Words he underftood were Mienaces, and that the Indians were inclined to War. Upon which Cortes ftopt, and ordered him to advance in one of the Boats with Offers of Peace. Aguilar executed his Orders, and returned in a very fhort time with an Account, that the Indians were in great Numbers prepared to defend the Entrance of the River, and fo obftinate in their Refolution, that they had very infolently refufed fo much as to hear him. Cortes had no Defign to begin a War in that Country, or delay his Voyage; but finding that he was now engaged, he thought it would be difhonourable to retreat, and fuffer this Infolence of the Barbarians to go unpunifhed. The Night overtaking them in a Country unknown, Cortes thought it moft advifable to lye by till Day, and difpofed every thing after the beft manner for the Engagement. During this Sufpenfion he commanded all the Artillery out of the great Veffels; and his Soldiers had Orders to arm themfelves with their Cotton Coats, for the better refifting the Arrows; to which he added fuch other Directions as he thought neceffary, without reprefenting the Danger greater or lefs than it was.

As foon as Day appeared the Veffels were drawn up in a Half Moon, whofe Figure leffened by Degrees till it ended in the Boats, the River being large enough to allow Room for that Difpofition. Their Advance was very flow, and feemed to invite to Peace; but the Men foon difcovered the Canoes of the Indians who waited their coming in the fame Order as the Night before. The General commanded his Men not to ftir till they were attacked, telling them all, That they ought to ufe their Shields before their Swords, as the Juftice of this War depended on the Provocation to it. And being defirous to have Reafon ftill more on his Side, he fent Aguilar to them a fecond time with Offers of Peace, and to affure them that this was a Fleet of their Friends who defigned their Advantage, and came on the Foot of that Alliance which had been formerly made with Juan de Grijalva; That to refufe them Entrance, would be a Breach of it, and would oblige the Spaniards to open their way by force of Arms; and that whatever Damage they fhould fuftain, muft be imputed to themfelves. The Anfwer to this fecond Propofal, was the giving the Signal for the Attack. They advanced by the Favour of the Current near enough to ufe their Arrows, of which they difcharged fo great a Number, both from the Canoes and the Banks of the River, that the Spaniards were very much embarrafled in their Endeavours to cover themfelves; but having received the firft Charge, according to Order, they returned it with fo much Vigour, that the Canoes quickly left the Paffage free: And many of the Indians, intimidated at the Deaths of their Companions, flung themfelves into the River. The Veffels purfued their way up the River, without farther Oppofition, and approaching the Shore on the left Side, the Troops began to land, but in a Place fo marihy and covered with Brambles, that they found themfelves engaged in a fecond Conflict, for the Indians who lay there in Ambufh, and thofe who efcaped from the Engagement on the River, united in one Body, and renewed the Attack with prodigious Fury. The great Quantity of Arrows, Darts, and Stones which they difcharged, increafed the Difficulty of the Morafs.

But Hernan Cortes drew up his Men, and thofe Ranks which were formed making head againft the Enemy, covered the reft of their Troops, who were landing. Having formed his Batallion in Sight of the Enemy, whofe Numbers continually increafed,' he gave Orders to Cap. tain Alonfo Davila to advance with an hundred Soidiers through the Wood, and poffers himfelf of the Town of Tabafco, the Capital of that Province, not far diftant from the Place of Action, according to the Accounts of thofe who had been upon the former Expedition. After which he engaged that vaft Multitude, forcing them back with equal Courage and Difficulty, for he was obliged very often to march up to the Knees in. Mud; and it is faid, that in the Heat of the Engagement the General loft one of his Shoes, and fought a great while without miffing it, fo thoroughly was his Attention employed upon the Bufinefs of the Day. After the Spaniards had paffed the Marfh, the Indians gave way, and difappeared in an Inftant among the Buthes. Their Flight was owing in Part to their lofing the Advantage of Ground, and in Part, to their Concern for the Town of Tabafco, upon their difcovering the March of Davila; as it prefently appeared by the great Multitudes that repaired to the Defence of that Place.

This Town was fortified with a kind of Wall, gene rally ufed in the Indies, made of large Trunks of Trees fixed in the Ground after the manner of Palifadoes, and fo placed together, that there was Room between to difcharge their Arrows. The Compafs was round, without any Traverfes or other Defences; and at the clofing of the Circle, the Extremity of one Line covered the other, and formed a narrow winding Street, in which were two or three little Caftles of Wood, which filled up the Paffage, and wherein they ufed to poft their Sentinels. A fufficient Fortrefs againft the Arms of this new World, where they were happily ignorant of the Arts of War, and of thofe Methods to attack and defend, in which Mankind have been inftructed elfewhere either by Malice or Neceflity.
3. Cortes
3. Corics arrived at the Town a little while before Alonfo Davila, who had been hindered by fome Marfhes and Lakes in his way; and having joined his Troops to the Batallion, and diftributed proper Inftruction for breaking down the Palifadoes (without giving time either to the Indians to recover themfelves, or to his own Soldiers to reflect on the Difficulty) gave the Signal to begin the Attack, only ftopping to fay, My Friends, bere we muft lodge this Night. The Soldiers went on together with equal Refolution, and turning afide a Shower of Arrows with their Shields, and even with their Swords, gained the Foot of the Palifado ; the Intervals of which were of Service at that time for the Difcharge of the Fire-arms and Crofs-Bows, which quickly drove the Enemy from their Pofts, and gave an Opportunity to thofe who were not engaged to beat down a Part of their Palifadoes. The Spaniards entered without Difficulty, becaufe the Indians retired to the inner Part of the Town; but it was foon perceived that they had ftopped up the Streets, where they again made head, but with finall Effect, for they were embarraffed by their own Numbers; and while fome were retiring from one Work to another, they put the reft, who would have fought, into Diforder.
In the Centre of the Town there was a void Space, where the Indians made their utmoft Efforts, but after a fhort Refiftance, turned their Backs and fled into the Woods. Cortes would not follow the Chace, that he might give his Soldiers time to refrefh, and the Fugitives an Opportunity to fue for Peace, tuking Counfel from their Defeat. Thus did the Spaniards gain Tabafoo, a large Town, and well provided for Defence, for the Indians had fent away all their Fanilies and Effects, and ftored the Place with Provifions ; fo that tho there was nothing found to gratify Avarice, there was nothing wanting which Neceffity required. Fourteen or fifteen were wounded, in this Engagement, in which died a confiderable Number of Indions. Of the Wounded there was no Account, becaufe they took care to carry them off, it being a Point of honour amongft them to conceal their Lofs from the Enemy. That Night the Troops werc quartered in that Part of the Town in which they laft engaged. Cortes went his Rounds, and pofted his Sentinels with as much Care and Exastnefs, as if he had had an Army of Enemies in View, well knowing Caution is as neceffary as Valour in a Commander.

The nextDay the Country appeared quite deferted, and fo far as the Eye could reach there was not the leaft fign of an Enemy. However, Cortes did not think it proper to march out of his Quarters; this great Stillnefs made him fufpicious, and his Apprehenfions were increafed when he underftood that his Interpreter Melcbior, who came from Cuba, had deferted them that very Night, leaving his Chriftian Habit hanging on a Tree. It was he that induced them to renew the War, acquainting them with the fmall Number of our Soldiers, that they were not immortal, nor their Fire-arms Thunder and Lightning, as they imagined; the Dread of which had made them defirous of Peace. But this Crime did not go long unpunifhed, for the fame Barbarians whom he had perfuaded to take up Arms, being vanquifhed a fecond time, revenged themfelves on the Advifer of the War, by making him a miferable Sacrifice to their Idol.
In this Uncertainty Cortes refolved to fend out Pedro de Alverado, and Francijco de Lugo, each with an hundred Men by different ways to view the Country, with. Orders, if they found an Army in the Field, to retire to their Quarters without engaging with unequal Numbers. This Rcfolution was immediately executed, and Francifco de Lugo, after little more than an Hour's March, fell into an Ambufcade of numberlefs Indians, who attacked him on all Sides, and that with fuch Fury, that he was obliged to draw up his little Batallion into a Square. The Number of the Enemy increafed, and the Spaniards began to be tired, when it pleafed God that Alverado, who had taken a different Road from his Companion, met with a Marfh, which obliged him to turn afide, and brought him where the Report of the Fire-arms gave him Notice of the Engagement. Alve-
rado marched ftrait to the Noife, and difcovered the Enemies Squadrons: Upon which he advanced with alt the Hafte poffible, under Cover of a Wood; and fending an Indian of Cuba to Cortes to advife him of the Accident, drew up his Men, and fell upon the Enemy with fo much Refolution, that the Indians, furprized at the fudden Affault, left them the Paffage free, and, without giving the Spaniards time to break them, difperfed of themflves.

This Succour gave Francifoo de Lugo's Soldiers time to breathe, and as foon as the two Captains had joined their Troops and doubled their Rarks, they charged another Batallion of the Enemy, who ftopt up the way that they might not execute the Crders they had received to retreat. Here again they found Refiftance, but in fine, they made way through them with their Swords, marching forward, though continually attacked, and fometimes almoft borne down; fome fought while others took Breath; and whenfoever they mended their Pace to gain Ground, they were charged by the whole Body of the Enemy, who immediately, upon their facing about, got out of their Reach, retiring with the fame Swifnefs that they attacked; the Motions of this Multitude of Barbarians, refembling the rolling of the Sea when the Waves are driven back by the Wind. The Spaniards had marched about three Quarters of a League, continually plying their Weapons, when Hernan Cortes appeared at a Diftance; who upon the Notice given him by Alverado, was coming to their Relief with all the reft of his Troops. As foon as the Indians fpied him, they made a Halt, giving thofe they purfued time to march off, and continued a while looking on by way of threatning, or to fignify that they were not afraid. Yet afterwards they difperfed in feveral fmall Bodies, and left the Field. Cortes returned to his Quarters without engaging farther, becaufe it was requifite to take care of the Wounded, being eleven in botl Companies, of which Number two died; and this was reckoned at that time a very great Lofs.
Some Prifontrs were taken upon this Occafion, and Cortes ordered ferem de Aguilar to examine them feparately, to know what it was thofe Indians founded their Obftinacy on, and what Forces they had to fupport it. Their Anfwer differed in fome Circumftances, but they agreed in declaring that all the Caziques, in the neighbouring Countries, were fummoned to the Affiftance of Tabajio, and that the next Day a very powerful Army was to be drawn together, to make an End of the Spaniards at once, of which Number the Body that had attacked the two Companies under Francijco de Lugo, and Pedro de Alverado, was but a fmall Detachment. This Intelligence gave Cortes fome Unealinefs, whereupon he refolved to call his Captains together, and advifed with them what was proper to be done. He laid before them the Difficultics in which they were engaged, their fmall Numbers, and the great Preparations the $I_{n}$ dians had made to deftroy them, without concealing the leaft Circumftances of what the Prifoners had declared. He then proceeded to confider how far their Glory was concerned, reprefenting to them their own Valour, the Nakednefs and Weaknefs of their Neighbours, and how eafily they had defeated them at Tabafo, at their Landing; hut above all, he urged the ill Confequences of turning their Backs upon thofe Barbarians, which would be a Difgrace of fo much Confequence, that, in his Opinion, they muft either entirely lay afide the Enterprize of New Spain, or proceed no farther, till they had either eftablifhed Peace, or fubdued that Province ; but, that he only propofed this, being refolved to act as fhould be judged moft convenient.
Every one gave his Opinion, and they all agreed that it was not practicable to depart that Country, till they had reduced the Inhabitants: Whereupon Cortes proceeded to make the neceffary Difpofitions for that Enterprize. He ordered the wounded Men to be carried on board, the Horfes to be landed, the Artillery to be in a Readinefs, and every thing to be in Order by the next Morning. As foon as it was Day, giving the Command of the Foot to Diego de Ordaz, he and the other Commanders mounted on Horfeback, and kept Pace with
the Artillery, which moved with much Difficulty, becaufe the Ground was boggy ; till coning to a Place called Cintho, a little lefs than a League from their Quarters, they difcovered, at a great Diftance, the Indian Army fo numerous, that the Eye could not reach to fee the end of them.

We will now defrribe the Indien Way of marching and engaging, which may ferve upon all Occafions, the Art of War being almoft the fame among all the Nations in New Spain. Moft of their Weapons were Bows and Arrows; the Bow-Strings were made of the Sinews of Beafts, or of Thongs of Deer Skin twifted, and their Arrows were headed with Bones ground flarp, or Fifh-bones; they ufed alfo a kind of Darts, which fometimes they threw, and fometimes managed like a Pike. They had likewife long Swords which they ufed with both Hands, as we do Fauichions made of Wood, in which they fixed fharp Flints; the frongett of them had Clubs pointed with Flints, and there were Slingers who threw Stones with great Force and Skill. The defenfive Arms, which are only ufed by Commanders and Perfons of Diftinction, were Coats of quilted Cotton, Breaft Plates, and Shields of Wood or Tortoife-fhell, adorned with Plates of fuch Metal as they could get, and fome made ufe of Gold as we do of Iron. The reft were naked, and a!l of them painted with various Dyes and Colours on their Faces and Bodies, which they made ufe on to ftrike a Terror into their Enemies, believing that Uglinefs made them appear dreadful. Their Heads were covered with diverfe Plumes of Feathers, like Crowns raifed high to make them appear taller. They had alfo warlike Inftruments and Mufic, with which they animated their Soldiers and gave Signals; there were Flutes made of great Canes, Sea-hells, and a Sort of Drums made of the Trunk of a Tree, fo hollowed and made thin, that they anfwered to the Stroke of a Stick a very difpleafing Sound, but feemed well fuited to the Ears of thofe People. They formed their Batallions of great Numbers without any Order, but had Troops of Referve to relieve where there was Occafion. They made their Attacks with great Fury and terrible Out-cries, with which they thought to intimidate their Enemies ; a Cuftom which fome have accounted among the Brutalities of thofe Indians, without obferving that it has been ufed by many ancient Nations, and not defpifed even by the Romans: We do not argue whether this is a commendable Cuftom or not, but only fay it was not fo barbarous in the Indians, as to be without Example in other Nations.
Their Armies were compofed of Natives, and feveral Troops of Auxiliaries from the neighbouring Provinces, who came to the Affiftance of their Confederates, being led by their Caziques, or fome prime Indian of their Family. Thefe were divided into Companies, whofe Captains led, but could fcarce govern, their Men : For when they came to engage, they were directed either by Fear or Rage, as is ufual among fuch Multitudes, being equally eager to attack and to run away. Such was the Soldiery of the Indians, and after this manner that Army, or rather Inundation of Men, which feemed to cover all the Country, advanced towards the Spaniards; Cortes was fenfible of the Danger he was in, yet did not defpair of the Succefs, but encouraged his Soldiers with a chearful Countenance, and pofted them under the Shelter of a rifing Ground, which covered their Rear, and placing the Artillery where it could do moft Execution, he ftruck into a Wood with his fifteen Horfe, advancing far into it in order to fally out and flank them as Occafion thould require. As foon as the Indian Army came up within a proper Diftance, they firt fhot their Arrows, and then fell upon the Spaniards with fuch Fury and Precipitation, that the Fire-arms and Crofs-bows not being able to ftop them, they were obliged to make ufe of their Swords. Great was the Slaughter made among them, and as they preffed on in Throngs, the Artillery deftroyed whole Companies; but they were fo obftinate, that, as foon as the Ball was paffed they clofed again, and covered the Lofs they had fuftained; making loud Cries, and throwing Duft into the Air that the Sponiards might not fee thofe who fell, or hear their Lamentations.

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Diego de Ordaz acquitted himfelf as a good Captain and valiant Soldier. But the Enemies being fo very numerous, the Spaniards had enough to do to fland their Ground; and the Inequality of their Strength began to appear, when Cortes, who could not come fooner to the Affitance of his Men, by reafon of fome Brooks he had to pafs, fallied forth from the Wood, and fell upon all that Army, breaking through the thickeft of their Batallions, and doing fuch Execution with his Horfe, that the Indians, wounded and trodden under Foot, thought of nothing but getting from them, throwing away their Arms as an Obftacle to their Flight. Diego de Ordaz, fenfible that the Relief he expected was come, by the weak Refiftance of the Enemies Van-guard which began to face about by Reafon of the Confufion in the Rear, without Lofs of time advanced with his Foot, charging thofe who hiad oppreffed him, with fo much Refolution, that he obliged them to give way till he came to the Place where Cortes and his Captains had cleared off the Enemy.
They all joined to make the laft Effort, and were forced to mend their Pace, for the Indians were retiring in an hafly Manner ; yet ftill making head, and employing their mifive Weapons; and this manner of renewing, and withdrawing from Fight in good Order they continued till the Spaniards came up to them, when finding themfelves again attacked, they turned their Backs, and inftead of retreating, fled outright. Cortes commanded his Men to halt, to avoid the fhedding of more Blood; ordering only fome Prifoners to be taken whom he might make ufe of to fet on foot a Treaty of Peace, which he chiefly had in view, looking on this War as no more than a Circumftance of his principal Defign. Above eight hundred Indions remained dead upon the Spot, and the Number of the Wounded was very great. Of the Spaniards, two Soldiers were killed, and threefcore and ten wounded. The Enemy's Army, according to the Accounts we have, confifted of forty thoulfand Men; who, although they were naked Barbarians, yet had Hands to do Mifchief. And fhould we grant that they wanted Courage, which is proper to Men, yet they could not be defitute of that Fiercenefs of which brute Beafts are capable.
4. The next Day Cortes caufed the Prifoners to be brought before him, among whom were two or three Officers. They difcovered in their Countenances great Fear, expecting to be treated after the fame cruel Manner they ufed to treat the Vanquifhed. But Cortes received them with great Courtefy, encouraged them with a chearful Countenance, and fet them at Liberty, giving them fome trifing Prefents, and telling them at the fame time, that he knew both how to conquer and to forgive. This Piece of Humanity had fo good an Effect, that within a few Hours feveral Indions came to the Quarters with Indian Wheat, Flower, and other Provifions; defigning by that Prefent to facilitate the Peace, which they were to propofe from the principal Cazique of Tabafo. The People who came on this Embaffy were of the meaneft Sort, and made no Figure, which Ferom de Aguilar took notice of; becaufe it was the Cuftom of that Country, upon ali Occafions, to fend Perfons of the firf Rank. And although Corites was very defirous of Peace, he refufed to adimit their Propofals, as not coming in due Form, and fent back the Indians without fo much as feeing them ; bidding them, by his Interpreter, acquaint their Cazique, That if he defired his Friendfhip, he muft fend Perfons of greater account, and after a more decent Manner, to follicit it. The Cazique acknowledged his Fault, and the next Day fent thirty Indians of better Quality, with their Ornaments of Plumes and Jewels, wherein all their Pride confifted; they were followed by a Train of Indians loaded with another Prefent of the fame kind as before, but in greater abundance. Cortes gave them Audience, attended by all his Captains, affecting a grave and fevere Countenance.

They approached with very great Submifion, and having perfumed him with Gum Anime, or Gum Copal, and other fweet Scents, they delivered their Embaffy, which began with fome frivolous Excufes for their paft War,
and concluded in earneft Entreaties for Peace. The General reprefented to them the juft Caufes he had to be difpleafed with them, that on a View of their Faults, the Pardon might appear, with greater Luftre, and the Peace which he granted them prove more welcome. The Ambaffadors received it with great Applaufe, returning extremely fatisfied, and eafily enriched with thofe nlight Baubles they fo highly valued. Afterwards the Cażique himfelf came to vifit Cortes, accompanied by all his Officers, bringing with him a Prefent of Cotton Cloths, Plumes of various Colours, and fome Pieces of Low Gold, more valuable for the Workmanthip than for the Metal; he firft made his Prefent in order to be better received: Cortes careffed him very much, and the Vifit paffed in Proteftations of a reciprocal and fincere Friendfhip, all tranfacted by the Interpreter; the Spanifb Captains treated the other prime Indians who accompanied the Cazique, and nothing appeared but Signs of Joy and Peace, which they explained by their Countenances and Embraces to fupply the Want of Language.

The Cazique took his leave, and appointed another Day for an Interview, and to Shew his Sincerity and how much he confided in the General, he ordered his Subjects to return with their Families to Tabafco, and affift the Spaniards in whatever they fhould want. The next Day he came again to the Quarters, with the fame Attendance, and twenty Indian Women, well dreffed after the Manner of the Country, telling Cortes he brought them as a Prefent to ferve him and his Companions, being very fkilful in dreffing all Sorts of Meat, and in making Bread of Ivdian Wheat, which, amongft them, was always the Work of Women; they ground the Grain between two Stones, like thofe we ufe for Chocolate, and when reduced to Flower, they made it into Pafte, without having any Occafion for Leaven: Then they fpread and moulded it upon a Sort of Earthen Plates, which they put over the Fire and baked it; this being the Bread with which God has abundantly fupplied. that new World (to make amends for the Want of Wheat) and is very agreeable to the Tafte, and not offenfive to the Stomach. Amongtt thefe Women came one principal Indian, well made, and of more than ordinary Beauty, who was afterwards baptized, and received the Name of Marina, and proved very ufeful in the Conqueft, as will appear in its proper Place.
The Pilots prefled the Departure of the Fleet, which, according to their Obfervations, might be endangered by any longer Stay in that Place. And though Cortes was concerned to leave thofe People before he had better inftructed them, he found himfelf obliged to think of his Voyage, and Palm Sunday drawing nigh, he appointed that Day for embarking, fo ordering it that the Feftival might be kept firft, according to the Rites of the Church, Religion being always his firf Gare; at the fame time they embarked their Provifions, and made all other neceffary Preparations for their Voyage. The $I_{n}$ dians affifted in all things with an officious Diligence; and the Cazique, with his Captains, attended Cortes with the greateft Refpect and Veneration. When Mafs was done, Cortes took leave of the Cazique, and, having confirmed the Peace with further Demonftrations of Friendfhip, he embarked, leaving thefe People rather obedient than fubject to the King; and as to Religion, fo far in the Way to Salvation, as to defire, or at leaft not to oppofe, the Means of obtaining it.
5. The next Day the Spaniards fet fail, and, following the Coait to the Weftward, came within Sight of the Inand of Guazacoalco, and without putting in at the Inand of Banners, had a View of the Mland of Sacrifices and other Places, which had been before difcovered, and forfaken by Juan de Grijalva; the Soldiers who had ferved under him, telling their Comrades what Adventures they ined met with in that Expedition; and Cortes learning from the ill Succefs of that Enterprize, how to manage his own better. At length they arrived at St. Juan de Ulua at Noon, and the Ships had no fooner anchored between the Ifland and the main Land to fhelter themfelves from the North Winds, than they faw two large Canoes, which.
in that Country are called Piraguas, coming from the neighbouring Coart with fome Indians in them, who drew near without fhewing the leait Concern, difcovering by this Security, and fome Signs they made, that they came in a peaceable Manner, and had thofe on board who defired to be heard. When they came within a fmall Diftance of the Admiral, they began to fpeak in a ftrange Language that Aguilar did not underftand, which much troubled Cortes, being concerned to want an interpreter, when he had moft Occafion for him, looking upon it as an Obitacle to his Undertaking; but Providence, that brings about its Defigns, by Ways which to Men appear cafual, foon relieved him in this Diftrefs.

The Indian Woman, whom we fhall now call Donna Marina, was not far from Cortes and Aguilar, and guelfing by their Looks what they were difcourfing, and what they wanted, the told Aguilar, in the Yucaton Tongue, that thofe Indians fpoke the Mexican Language, and defired Audience of the General, on the Part of the Governor of that Province. This Donna Marina was Daughter to the Cazique of Guazacoalco, one of the Provinces fubject to the Emperor of Mexico, bordering upon that of Tabafco, and had, through fome Accidents of Life, which are variouny reported, been carried away in her Youth to Xicalango, a ftrong Place upon the Confines of rucatan, which was kept by a Mexican Garrion : There the was bred in a poor Manner, no way agreeable to her Birth; till by a frefh Misfortune, either by Sale or being taken in War, The became a Slave to the Cazique of Tabafco, who made a Prefent of her to Cortes. In Guzacoalco and in Xicalango they fpoke the Mexican Language, and in Tobafco, that of Yucatan, which Aguilar underftood: So that Donna Marina underftood both thofe Languages, and explained to the Indians in the Mexican Language, what Aguilar told her in that of rucatan. Cortes making ufe of this round about Way of fpeaking by two Interpreters, till fuch time as Donna Marina had learned Spanifh, which was not long, for the had a very ready Wit and feveral natural Endowments which well agreed with her Birth. She was ever a moft faithful Interpreter to Cortes, and he confirmed her in his Intereft by Ways not altogether fo decent, for he had Son by her, called Don Martin Cortes, who was made Knight of St. Fago, in confideration of the Nobility of his Mother's Birth.

The Indions acquainted him that Pilpatoe, and Teutile, the one Governor, and the other Captain General of that Province, from the great Emperor Motezuma, had fent them to know of the Commander of the Fleet, with what Intention he was come upon their Coaft? Cortes careffed them, gave them a few Baubles, and treated them with fome Spanifb Wine, and having thus obliged them, anfwered, " That he came as a Friend, to treat of Niatters of great Importance to their Prince and all his Empire; for which Purpofe he would meet the two Governors, and hoped to receive the fane good Treatment from them, as others of his Nation had done the Year before." And having received fome Information concerning the Greatnefs of Motezuma, his Riches and Form of Government, he fent them away very well contented.

The next Day being Good Friday, the Spaniards all landed on Shore near the Fleet, and Cortes gave Orders for landing the Horfes and Artillery, and that the Soldiers, in Companies, fhould go and cuit Fafcines to entrench themfelves, not forgetting to poft the neceffary Guards at the Avenues, and to build a fufficient Number of Barracs to fhelter them from the Heat of the Sun, which, at that time, was very great. The Artillery were planted fo as to command the Country, and in a little time they were all under Cover. For Teutile fent a great Number of Indians with Provifions, and Orders to affift the Spariards in that Work: To whom they were of great ufe, becaufe they brought their Tools edged with fharp Flints, with which they cut Stakes, and fixed them in the Ground; interwove with them the Boughs and Leaves of Palm-trees; forming the Walls and Roofs of a Lodging with much Eafe and Diligence, being great Mafters in this kind of Architecture, as having in many, Places no other Houfes, and being leis barbarous in pro-
portioning
portioning their Structures to what Nature requires, than thofe who build vaft Palaces where ftill they cannot find fufficient Room for their Vanity. They alfo bought fome Cotton Cloths with which they covered the Officers Barracs, the better to defend them from the Heat of the Sun. In the beft of them Cortes ordered an Altar to be fet up, on which, when adorned, he placed the Image of the Virgin Mary, and at the Entrance a great Crofs, in order to celebrate Eafter; for Religion was always his chief Care, and in that he was always equally zealous with the Priefts. Cortes underftood by thefe Indians, that General Teutile was attended by a confiderable Body of Troops, and that he was eftablifhing the Dominion of Motezuma, in fome Places newly conquered of this Province, the Civil Government of which was vefted in Pitpatoe. And the great Care they took to fend Provifions, and help the Spaniards in building of their Barracs, was not without Artifice, fo far as could be gathered; for they were very much terrified with the Account of the Succefs at Tabafco, which had now fpread over all the Country; and confidering that the Forces with which they were provided were inferior in Strength to thofe they had vanquifhed; they had recourfe to Prefents and Civilities, in order to oblige thofe they could not refift.
6. They paffed the following Day in great Tranquility, but not the lefs upon their guard; the Indians were continually coming to their Quarters, fome to work, and others with Provifions, which they trucked. On Eaferday in the Morning Teutile and Pilpatoe came with a very great Attendance to vifit Cories; he received them in equal State, furrounded by his Officers and Soldiers. The firft Compliments being over, he carried them with him to the great Barrac, which ferved for a Chapel, it being the Hour of Divine Service, ordering Aguilar and Donna Marina to tell them, that before he acquainted them with the Intention of his Journey, he was to comply with the Duties of his Religion, and recommend to the God of all other Gods, the good Succefs of his Propofition. After Service was over, they returned to the Governor's Barrac, who entertained the two Generals at Dinner, and he treated them with great Plenty. The Banquet being over, Hernan Cortes called his Interpreters, and, with a determined Air, faid, That his coming thither was to treat with the Emperor Motezuma on the Part of Don Carlos of Aufria, Monarch of the Eaft, touching Affairs of great Importance, not only to his own Perfon and Eftate, but likewife to the Welfare of all his Subjects; for performing whereof it was neceffary for him to appear before his royal Prefence, and hoped he flould be admitted with all the Civility and Refpect that was due to the King who fent him.

The Governors changed Countenance at this Propofal, and feemed to hear it with Diffatisfaction ; but before they returned an Anfwer, Teutile ordered a Prefent he had provided to be brought, and about twenty or thirty Indians came in loaded with Provifions, fine Cloths, Feathers of feveral Colours, and a great Box in which were feveral Pieces of Gold curiounly wrought: Having made his Prefent with a good Grace and Civility, and finding it was well received and praifed, he turned to Cortes, and, by the Help of the fame Interpreters, prayed him to accept that fmall Prefent from two Slaves of Motezuma's, who had Orders to entertain fuch Strangers as came upon his Coaft ; but adding, that he muft not immediately think of profecuting his Voyage, it being no eafy Matter to fpeak with their Prince. Cortes replied with fome Warmth, That Kings never refufed to hear the Ambaffadors of other Princes: That what belonged to them in this Cafe was, to acquaint Motezuma with his Arrival, for which he would allow fome Time; but that they fhould likewife let their Emperor know that he came refolved to fee him, and determined not to leave his Country with Difhonour to the King whofe Reprefentative he was. This bold Refolution of Cortes, gave the Indians fo much Uneafinefs, that they durf not reply ; on the contrary, they intreated him not to move from thefe Quarters till the re-
turn of Motezuma's Anfwer, offering to fupply him with all Things that were neceflary for the Support of his Soldiers. At this Time, fome Nexican Painters, who came in the Train of the two Governors, were very bufy about drawing upon Cotton Cloths (which they brought ready primed for that Purpofe) the Ships, Soldiers, Arms, Artillery, Horfes, and every thing elfe that appeared to them remarkable, of which Variety of Objects they formed different Landikips no way contemptible, either for the Colours or the Drawing.
7. Thefe Pictures were drawn by the Order of Teutile, the better to inform Motezuma of that extraordinary Novelty; and, to make thofe Defcriptions more intelligible, they placed fome Characters here and there, with which they feemed to explain and give the Signification of the Picture. Cortes had notice of what thefe Painters were doing, and went out to fee them; and being informed that they were painting upon thofe Cloths the Information which Teutile was to give Motezuma of what he had propofed, and the Forces he had with him to make it good, he with his ufual Wit prefently obferved, that thefe Images wanted Action to exprefs the Valour of his Soldiers; and therefore refolved to exercife his Men before them, to give the greater Life and Vigour to the Picture : To this End, he ordered them to Arms, drew up in a Body, commanded the Artillery to be made ready; and telling Teutile and Pilpatoe, that he would entertain them after the manner of his Country, he mounted his Horfe with his Captains: The firft ran two and two, after the Manner in Spain; and then the whole Troop being divided into two Bodies, they fkirmifhed $_{3}$ at which ftrange Sight the Indians ftood amazed, and like Men befide themfelves; for obferving the obedient Fiercenefs of thofe Beafts, they began to think there was fomething more than natural in thofe Men that managed them. Immediately, at a Signal made by Cortes, the Fire-arms difcharged; and, foon after, the Artillery. The Confufion and Aftonimment of thefe People increafing, with fuch various Effects, that fome fell down to the Ground, others began to fly; and thofe who bad moft Prefence of Mind affected Admiration, to diffemble their Fear.
Then Cortes encouraged them, giving them to underftand, that, among the Spaniards, thefe were military Diverfions. It was prefently obferved, that the Painters were inventing new Figures and Characters, to fupply what was wanting on their Cloths; fome painted the Spaniards armed and drawn up in form, others, their Horfes in Exercife and Motion. They defcribed the Artillery with' Fire and Smoke, and reprefented the very Noife with the Similitude of Lightning, without omitting any of thofe frightful Circumftances that moft directly regarded what their King was folicitous to know. In the mean time Cortes returned to his Barrac with the two Governors, and after having prefented them with fome finall Spanifb Jewels, he prepared a Prefent of fundry forts of Curiofities, to be fent from him to $\mathrm{Mo}=$ tezuma ; to which Purpofe he made Choice of feveral Pieces of the moft folid and brighteft Glafs, to which he added a Holland Shirt, a Cap of Crimfon Velvet adorned with a Gold Medal reprefenting St. George, and a Tapeftry Chair ; which the Indians feemed fo much to admire, that it was thought a fit Prefent for the Emperor. With this fmall Shew of Liberality, Hernan Cortes took leave of the two Governors, who remained as much obliged by his Civilities, as embarraffed by his Defigns.
8. The Indians halted at a fmall Diftance from the Spanifh Quarters to confult what Meafures they thould take. New the Refult of this Stop was, that Pilpatoe remained there to obferve the Spaniards; for which Purpofe a convenient Spot being fixed, a great Number of Barracs were raifed; and in a few Hours there appeared a confiderable Village built upon the Plain Pilpatoe provided againft the Sufpicion this Novelty might produce, fending word to Cortes, that he ftaid there to take care of his Entertainment, and the better to fupply his Troops with Provifions. Teutile proceeded to his own Quarters, and difpatched an Account to Motezuma of
all that had happened upon the Coait, fending the Pictures which were drawn by his Orders, and Cortes's Prefent, with the utmoft Diligence. For this Purpofe, the Kings of Mexico had a great Number of Couriers diftributed among all the principal Roads of the Kingdom, chofen out of the fwifteft Indions, and bred up to it from little Children. Rewards were paid out of the Public Treafury to thofe who arrived firft at the appointed Place. Thofe Couriers were relieved at every Town, like our Poft-horfes, and made the greateft Speed, becaufe they futcceeded one another before they were tired, fo that the fint four of the Couriers never ceafed. The Anfwer came in feven Days, and Teutile brought it to the Spanib Quarters, together with a Prefent from Motezuma, which loaded an hundred Indians; and before he delivered his Embaffy, he caufed them to lay Mats of Palm-tree Leaves upon the Ground, and place in order upon them the feveral things of which the Prefent was compofed.

There were various forts of Cotton Cloth well wove, and fo fine, that they could not be diftinguifhed from Silk but by feeling, a Quantity of Plumes and other Curiofities made of Feathers, whofe beautiful and natural Variety of Colours the Indian Artifts knew to mix and difpofe with fo much Skill, that without making ufe of artificial Colours, or of the Pencil, they would draw Pictures and imitate Nature. They next produced a great Number of Arms, Bows, Arrows, and Targets, made of the fineft forts of Woods; two very large Plates of a circular Form, the one of Gold, which by its embofing reprefented the Sun; and the other of Silver, reprefenting the Moon; and laftly, a confiderable Quantity of Jewels, Pieces of Gold, fome Precious Stones, Collars of Gold, Rings, Pendants after their Fahion, and other Ornaments of greater Weight, in the Shape of Birds and Beafts, fo curioully wrought, that notwithftanding the great Value of the Metal, the Workmanfhip exceeded it. As foon as Teutile had brought his Wealth before the Spaniards, he turned to Cortes and told him, That the great Emperor Motezuma fent him thefe in Return for his Prefents, and to thew how much he valued his King's Friendfhip, but that he did not think it convenient, nor was it poffible in the prefent Pofture of his Affairs to grant the Permiffion he afked, of paffing to his Court.

Cortes returned Thanks for the Prefent, and anfwered Teutile, That it was far from his Intention to be wanting in Obedience to Motezuma, but that it was not in his Power to go back without Difhonour to the King, or to forbear perffiting in his Demand with all the Earneftnefs to which he was obliged by the Reputation of a Crown that was honoured and refpected among the greateft Princes of the World. The Spaniards reafoned amongft themfelves very differently upon thofe Prefents, fome conceiving great Hopes from conquering fo rich a Country, while many concluded, the attacking fo powerful a Monarch with fuch an Handful of Men, to be a Piece of Rafhnefs; but the greateft Part juftified the Conftancy of their Captain, looking on the Conqueft as good as made. Cortes gave them leave to talk on, concealing his Sentiments till a proper time; and to keep his People out of Idlenefs, which was the way to make them difpute lefs, he ordered two Veffels out to view the Coaft and fearch out fome Port or Bay where the Fleet might be more under Shelter, and fome more fertile Plain, where they might be accommodated until the return of Motezuma's Anfwer, making a Pretence of the Sufferings of his People in this fandy Soil, where the Heat of the Summer was doubled by Reflection, and the Perfecution of the Mofquitoes made even the Hours of Reft uneafy. He appointed Captain Francifco de Montejo to command this Cruize, and picked out the Soldiers that were to bear him company, being thofe that feemed moft averfe to his own Opinion. He ordered him to run along as far as he could, fteering the fame Courfe he had done the Year before with Grijalva, and
that he frould take notice of what Towns appeared along the Coaft, without landing to view them, alloting ten Days for their Return; by which Means he executed what was proper to be done, employed thofe that were troublefome, and entertained the reft with Hopes of Relief.
9. The Skill and Conduct of Cortes appear manifeftly in the Prudence with which, in his Circumftances, he took fuch Precautions. But tho ${ }^{\circ}$ they made him fomewhat eafy for the prefent, yet they were fo far from filling him with Confidence, that on the contrary his Mind was never more occupied than at this Juncture. He faw a new Scene opened, not only unexpectedly, but directly oppofite to his Expectations. He found, inftead of fmall and narrow Diftricts, which hitherto the Spanifh Arms had eafily fubdued, a wide extended Empire, to which Spain itfelf was, in comparifon, a Province; and this under the Dominion of one pctent Monarch, whofe Power defcended to him through a Line of glorious Princes, renowned for the Wifdom of their lolitics and the Compafs of their Conquefts: He found this Monarch well apprized of his Defigns, and determined to oppofe them with the whole Force of his Empire.

On the other hand, thefe Informations fo clearly convinced him of the Weakness, or rather Inequality of his Army; and he was at the fame time fo fenfible of the Difficulties, which perplexed him in the Command of it, that he began feriounly to doubt whether it was poffible for him to perform what his Ambition had prompted him to undertake. He kept this Concern of his fo well concealed, that nothing of it appeared either in his Countenance or his Language, the former appearing more open, and the latter affuming a more refolute Tone than in times when for want of good Information he had lefs Fears about him; he determined, however, not to relinquifh his Enterprize, but to pufh it as far as it would go, and never to think of a Retreat till he was fully fatisfied that the Obftacles that lay in his way were abfolutely infurmountable. He applied himfelf therefore with the utmof Diligence to raife the Spirits, and heighten the Fortitude of his Soldiers.

In order to this, he took Pains to fhew them the great Advantages derived from their Difcipline, and the fmall Strength that occurred from Numbers, where they wanted that material Circumftance. He taught them to obferve how favourable the Divifions of the Indians among themfelves were to their Defign, and of what vaft Importance it was to preferve the Good Will of thofe who were inclined to favour them, which was no otherwife to be done than by behaving towards them with all the Kindnefs and Clemency imaginable. But above all, he made it his Bufinefs to inflame their Hopes with the Profpect of that vaft Wealth which muft accrue to them from-the Poffeffions of fo rich a Country, and for the fake of which, it would be requifite, and at the fame time highly reafonable to forego certain trifling and temporary Advantages, particularly. fuch as refulted from plundering the little Towns that fell into their Fiands, and treating all that came under their Power as Vaffals and Slaves. He fhewed them that this muft neceffarily break their Spirits, and enervate their Puwer, which at the fame time that it rendered thefe Indians ufelefs as Subjects, loft all that Acceffion of Strength which might be derived from them as Allies, and without which it was fimply impofible they could carry on their Enterprize with any Probability of Succefs.

By a frequent and conftant Practice of thefe Methods, he brought his Troops to a Degree of Confidence, which as yet he wanted himfelf, and rendered them not only willing to obey his Commands, but impatient even of neceffary Delays, and fo little afraid of Danger as to treat with Contempt fuch as attempted to infinuate, that their General engaged in an Undertaking to which his Forces were utterly unequal.

## SECTION IX.

## The Continuation of Hernan Cortes's Expedition, bis Alliances with Several Indian Nations, bis Succefs in quelling various Seditions in bis own Army, and bis Preparation for bis March to Mexico, by burning bis whole Fleet.

1. The State of tbe Mexican Empire at this Time, and the Caufes of Motezuma's Apprebenfions, wobich diffufe themfetves through the wbbole Indian Nation. 2. The Ayfwer fent by bim to Cortes, and the Refoiktion taken by the Spanih General thereupon, wobich produces a Rupture weith tbe Indians. 3. Cortes defeats a Conpiracy formed againff bim, embraces the FriendJip of the Zempoallans, and under Colour of fetting a Colony inflitutes a nerv Government among $f$ t his Spaniards. 4. Reffigs up bis Commiffoin to the new Magifrates, receives it again, and quafbes anotber Confpiracy. 5. The Army contimues its March to Zempoalle, wewere Cortes brings the Cazique to bave a perf fect Conjuldence in bim and in bis People. 6. He profecutes bis fourncy to Quiabiflan, gains over the Cazique of that Country alfo, and perfuades bim to feize Motezuma's Commi Jioners. 7. He encreafes the Number of bis Allies, founds the City of Vera Cruz, and gives Audience to freflo Embalfadors from the Emperor of Mexico. 8. The Spaniards, by an artful Contrivance, are drawin in by their Indian Confederates to attack the Inbabitents of Zimpazingo, weith zwbom, coming to a better Underfianding, they Joon make Peace. 9. Cortes returns to bis orenn Colony at Vera Cruz, fends Deputies to Spain to juftify bis Conduwt, and prevents fome Difputes that might bave bap-
pened from Sharers in bis Di forveries. pened from Sharers in bis Difcoveries.
2. T1HERE cannot occur, in any Hiftory, a more furprizing Event than that the Rumour of the Approach of Cortes, with his Handful of Spaniards, fhould ftrike fo great an Empire as that of Mexico really was, with fo much Terror and A mazement. The nearer he came the more Motezuma was alarmed; the more frequent Councils he held, and in each of thefe difcovered more and more Uneafinefs and Apprehenfion, which quickly infected his Grandess; for in all Countries, and in all Ages, Courtiers are, in fome Meafure, Copies of their Monarchs, efpecially in arbitrary Governments; and therefore, we need not wonder that his Fear firft diffuried itfelf among his Nobility, and from them, through the whole Mars of his Subjeers, fo that the Confufion became general, and the approaching Deftruction of their Government, might in very legible Charaçers be read in the Faces of the whole Nation. But to conceive this Fact clearly, to undertand it perfectly, and to form from thence jurt Notions both of its Caures and Confequences, it is abfolutely requifte that we fhould take a View of the State of this Country, and of its Government at this Juncture, which will, indeed, require Time and Room ; but, the Importance of the Mater confidered, I hope it will appear that neither can be better employed.
The Empire of Mexico was then at its greatelt Height of Glory, having under its Dominion almoft all the Provinces which had been difcovered in North America, which were governed by Motevauma himfelf, or by the petty Kings or Caziques, his Tributaries. The Length of it extended from Eaft to Weft above five hundred Leagues, and the Breadth from North to South, in fome Places, was two hundred, a Country populous, rich, and plentiful. On the Eaft it was bounded by the Allantic Sea (now called the Nortt Sesa) and extended along all that great Space of Land, between Panuco and Yucatan: on the Weft it reacheth the other Sea, being walhed by the Afatit Ocean (or Gulph of Anian) from Cape Men-
docino, to the farthef Part of Netw Ge ine docino, to the fartheft Part of New Galicia. On the South it ftretched out farther, running along the South Sea from Acapulco to Guatimale, approaching by the Way of Ni-
caraguua to the IThmus or caragua to the IThhnus or narrow Neck of Land, which unites the two Americas. On the North it extends as far as Panuco, including that Province, but was ftreightened confiderably by the Mountains poffeffed by the Chicbimecess and Otemies, a barbarous People, without Government, living in the Holes of Rocks, feeding upon
the Game they kill hi bunting the Game they kill in hunting, and the Fruits of fuch Trees as grow wild; butit fo dextrous in the ute of their Arrows, and in making their Advantage of the Paffes of the Mountains, that thicy had offen withtrood the whole
Power of Mexice bein fas Power of Mexpic, being fatisfied with not being conquered, and only defiring to preferve their Liberty amongtt
the wild Beafts. the wild Beants.
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This Empire grew to this vaft Greatnefs in little more than one hundred and thirty Years; for the Mexicans, a warlike Nation, were always making room with their Arms, among thofe who inhabited that Part of the World. They were, at firft, governed by a valiant Captain, who made them Soldiers and fenfible of military Honour. Afterwards they chofe a King, giving the fupreme Dominion to him, who had the greateft Reputation for Valour, being acquuainted with no Virture but Fortitude, or if acquainted with other Virtues, they looked upon them as much inferior: They always obferved this Cuftom, without regard to hereditary Succeffion; yet, where Merit was equal, they preferred the Royal Blood; and the fame Wars by which their Kings acquired their Titles to the Crown, enlarged the Monarchy.

At firft Juftice fupported their Arms, for the Opprefiion of their Neighbours forced them to Defence; but their Power afterwards increafing, Juftice was laid afide, and Tyranny took place. Motezuma was the eleventh King, and the fecond of that Name, a fingular Perfon, and much efteemed among the Mexicans before he began to reign. He was of Royal Blood, and a Soldier in his Youth; he raifed his Character by feveral heroic Actions, and gained the Reputation of a valiant Captain: He returned to the Court, and finding himfelf applauded and refpected as the firt Man of his Nation, he entertained Hopes of grafping the Scepter at the next Election. He then employed all his Skill in gaining Friends, to which end he made ufe of many Aris. He affected great Obedience towards the King, and extraordinary Modefty and Compofure in his Words and Actions; carefully preferving fuch an auftere Gravity in his Countenance, that the Indians were wont to fay the Name of Motezuma became him well, which, in their Language, fignifies a furly Prince, though he endeavoured to temper his Severity by his Liberality.
He alfo gained the Character of being zealous for hisReligion: And to this end he built an Apartment in the moft frequented Temple, to which he retired in the Sight of all the People, and ftayed there many Hours. He gained fo much Veneration by the ef outward Appearances, that when the King his Predeceffor clied, the Electors gave him their Votes unanimounly, and the People received him with great Acclamations; he made a fhew of refufing, fuffering himfelf to be courted to comply with his own Defires, and feemed to accept the Crown with Reluctancy: But no fooner was he poffiefted of it, than all that Artifice which he had forced upon his natural Temper ceafed, and he difcovered thofe Vices that had been hitherto covered with the Shew of Virtues.
The firft Action by which he manifefted his Pride, was the difcarding all who belonged to the Royal Faz
htily, whith all his Time was compofed of middling People; and under colour of greater Decency he made his Nobles ferve him, even in the meaneft Employments of his Houfe. He fhewed himfelf feldom to his Subjects, and only when it was neceffary to his Minifters and Domeftics, looking upon Retirement and Melancholy as a Part of Majefty. And for thofe who obtained Leave to come into his Prefence he invented new Obeifances and Ceremonies, inlarging Refpect almoft to Adoration. He perfuaded himfelf that he had the intire Command of the Lives and Liberties of his Subjects, and exercifed great Cruelties that he might put it out of Doubt with others; he impofed new Taxes, without Neceflity, at a certain rate on each Head of his Subjects, and exacted it with fo much Rigour, that even Beggars were not exempted bringing to his Treafury fome mean things, which were received and then thrown away before their Faces.

Thefe violent Actions made his People fear him, but as it is ufual for Fear and Hatred to go together, fome Provin̨ces rebelled; to reduce which, he went himfelf in Perfon, being too jealous of his Authority to fuffer any other to command his Armies. But, however, it cannot be denied, that he had a martial Inclination and Spirit, and that none were able to refift his Power, except the Provinces of Kecoacan, Tlafcala, and Tebcaca, and he was wont to fay, "He did not fubdue them becaufe he wanted thofe Enemies to fupply him with Cap tives for the Sacrifices of his Gods." He had reigned fourteen Years when Cortes arrived on his Coaft, and had fpent all that Time in eftablifhing the moft thorough Tyranny that any Hiftory has recorded. Many ftrange things fell out at this Juncture, which were magnified by Report, and falling in with the fuperftitious Temper of the Emperor and his Subjects, formed fuch a Series of Prodigies as frighted all Ranks and Degrees of People, in a Mianner, out of their Wits.
2. Whilf Motezunne's Court was taken up with melancholy Reflections, Hernan Cortes endeavoured to obtain fome Account of the Country; at that time Francifco Montejo returned from his Voyage, having coafted fome Leagues to the Weftward, and difcovered a Town called Quiabiflan, fituated in a fertile Soil, and well cultivated, near an anchoring Place or Bay, capacious enough, where, in the Opinion of the Pilots, the Ships might ride and be fecure, under the Shelter of fome great Rocks which broke the Force of the Winds. This Place was diftant from St. Juan de Ulua about twelve Leagues, and Hernan Cortes began to confider it as a commodious Situation: But before he came to a Refolution Motezuma's Anfwer arrived.
Teutile, with the principal Captains of his Troops, came with their little perfuming Pans, burning Gum Copal. After the Smoaking, Courtefies, and Ceremonies were over, ت̈eutile ordered Motezuma's Prefent to be produced, which was fomewhat lefs, but of the fame Sort of Goods and Pieces of Gold as came with the firft Embaffy. All that they brought particular, were four green Stones like Emeralds, called Cbalcuities; and Teutile told Cortes, with a great deal of Gravity, that Motezuma had fent thofe Stones to the King of Spain as Jewels of an ineftimable Value. The Embaffy was delivered in Terms refolute and difagrecable, and the Conclufion of it was to difmirs the Guefts without giving them leave to reply. Night drew on, and when Cortes was beginning his An'fwer, the Ave-Maria Bell rung in the Barrac, that ferved for a Chapel, and he kneeled down to fay that Prayer, as did all the reft after his Example. Their Silence and Devotion ftruck the Indians with Admiration, and Teutile alked Donna Marina the Meaning of that Ceremony; Cortes underftood their Queftion, and thought it proper to make ufe of this Opportunity, while he fatisfied their Curiofity, to talk to them upon the Subject of Religion, beginning to return to his Anfwer, by telling Teutile that one Point of his Embaffy, and the principal Motive which his King had to offer his Friendfnip to Motezuma, was the Obligation Cbriftian Princes lay under to oppofe Idolatry, and the Defire he had to inftruct him in the Knowledge of the Truth, and to help him to get free from the Slavery of the Devil, 'the invifible Tyrant of his

Kingdoms, who, in reality, held him a Slave and a Vaffal, though, in outward Appearance, he was fo powerful a Monarch; and that coming from fuch remote Countries upon Affairs of fuch a Nature, and in the Name of anothes: more powerful Monarch, he could not omit making new Efforts, and perfevering in his Inftances till he fhould prevail to be heard: Since he came on a peaceful Account, as appeared by the firrall Number of his Men, from which no Sufpicion could be had of greater Defigns.

No fooner had Teutite heard the Refolution of Corter. than he ftarted up haftily, and with fome Sort of Impatience, between Anger and Confufion, told him, Thas hitherto the great Motezuma had treated him as a Gueft, but that if he continued obftinate it would be his own Fault if he found himfelf treated as an Enemy; and ${ }_{3}$ without ftaying for an Anfwer, or fo much as taking leave, he turned his Back and went haftily out of his Prefence, followed by Pilpatoe and the reft of his Attendants. Hernan Cortes was a little flartled at Teutile's Proceeding, but fo much Mafter of himfelf, that, turning to his People with a Smile in his Countenance, "We fhall "s fee, fays he, where this Challenge will end; we know, " for the moft Part, Threats are the Effects of Fear. ${ }^{33}$ And that very Night the Guards were doubled, and Cortes provided againft what was poffible, as againft a Thing certain, for Commanders can never be too careful. As foon as Day appeared the Spaniards found a confiderable Alteration, which gave them fome Difturbance; for thofe Indians which inhabited Pilpatoe's Cabins were retired, and not a Man appeared in all the Country: Thofe alfo kept away who ufed to bring Provifions from the neighbouring Towns.

Thefe Beginnings of Want were fufficient to make fome Soldiers begin to be uneafy, looking upon it as very unadvifed to think of fettling in that Country, which Murmuring, fome Friends of Velafquez took Advantage of, and began to exclaim, faying in common Difcourfe, That Hernan Cortes had a Mind to deftroy them, and ambitiounly purfued a Defign without a Force proportioned to the Undertaking. That the Intention of maintaining themfelves with fuch a Handful of People in the Dominions of fo powerful a Prince, would be judged rafh by all Men. And that it was now neceflary that they fhould all demand to return to the Inand of Cuba, in order to refit the Fleet and reinforce the Army.
Cortes being informed of this, made ufe of his Friends and Confidents to enquire the Opinions of the reft of his Men, and found that he had on his Side the moft, and thofe too of greateft Confequence, upon which he fuffered himfelf to be feen by the Malcontents. Diego de Ordaz was the Perfon who fpoke in the Name of all, and with fome Heat and Difrefpect told him, That as his Forces were very unequal to the Attempt he was about to make, his Soldiers thought he would do much better to return and endeavour to get fuch Reinforcements as might enable him to purfue his Defign with fome Probability of Succefs. Cortes heard him patiently, and then told him calmly, that if all the Soldiers were of that Opinion they were very unfit for fuch an Enterprize, and he would think of returning home.
3. After Ordaz and his Party had left Cortes, he gave Direction for publifhing the Return to the Inand of $\mathrm{Cuba}_{3}$ and ordered the Captains hould embark with their refpective Companies on board the Veffels under their Command, and be ready to fail the next Day early. But no fooner was this Declaration publifhed, than thofe who were under-hand in the General's Intereft began to ftir in the Affair, crying out, That Cortes had deceived them by profeffing he meant to fettle in that Country, that they would not leave it, that if he had a Mind to retire he might, with fuch as were willing to follow him, for they fhould not want fome Gentleman that would take the Command. This Clamour was fo well managed, that it brought over many that had been forced or perfuaded into the contrary Eaction; and Cortes's Friends who had firred up one Part were obliged to appeafe the other.

They commended their Refolution, and offered to fpeak to Cortes to fufpend the Execution of his Order,
and before this Ardour cooled they went to him, attended by many of the Soldiers, in whofe Prefence they told him in a high Strain, That the Troops were upon the Point to mutiny on Account of his Order: They complained that he had taken fuch a Refolution without the Advice of their Captains: They put him in mind of what had happened to Fuan de Grijalva, whofe Difgrace was occafioned by his not making a Settlement in the Country he had difcovered, and maintaining himfelf there; for which he was treated as a pufilanimous Perfon, and the Command of the Fleet taken from him : They told him, in fhort, what he had directed fhould be told him, which he received as if it had been unexpected News. When they had done, he faid that he had been mifinformed, that he would proceed with fuch as were willing, that he would conftrain nobody, but, on the contrary, would caufe a Ship and every thing neceffary to be provided for carrying back to Cuba, fuch as found they had not Courage enough to follow him and his Friends.
This Refolution met with great Applaufe, for fome made Rejoicings becaufe they were fincerely glad, and others that they might not be diftinguifhed from thofe that really were fo. None were fo bold, at that time, as to contradict the making of a Settlement: Nor did thofe very Men who had before been Malcontents know what to fay for themfelves. But Cortes admitted thofe Excufes they offered without enquiring further into the Affair, laying that up for a better Opportunity. It happened that whilft Bernal Diaz del Caftillo, with another Soldier, ftood at one of the Avenues, they faw five Indians coming along the Road next the Sea-fide, towards the Quarters, and thinking them too finall a Number to alarm the Army, they fuffered them to approach.

They ftopped at a little Diftance, and fignified by Signs that they came in a peaceable Manner, with a Meffage to their General; Diaz went with them, leaving his Companion in the fame Poft to obferve if any more followed. Cortes received them very civilly, ordered them to be well treated before he heard them, and obferved they were of another Nation, as differing from the Mexicans in their Habit, though, like them, they had Rings in their Ears and Lips, with Jewels hanging to them. Their Language alfo had a different Sound, and when Aguilar and Donna Maria came, it appeared that they fpoke in a different Idiom, and it fell out happily that one of them underftood, and with fome Difficulty pronounced, the Mexican Language, by which means, and not without fome Trouble, it was known that they were fent by the Lord of Zempoalla to vifit the Captain of thofe valiant People, whofe great Actions in the Province of $\mathcal{T}$ abafco had reached his Ears, and to inform him, that being a warlike Prince, and a Friend to brave Men, he defired his Friendfhip.

They dwelt much upon the Value their Mafter had for good Soldiers, as doubting leaft the Spaniards fhould attribute that to his Fear, which they would have thought the Effects of his Inclination. Cortes very courteounly accepted of the Friendifip propofed to him on the Part of their Cazique, looking upon it as a particular Favour from Heaven, that this Embaffy fhould arrive at a time when the Mexicans had left him, of whom he was now growing jealous; and he put the more Value upon it when he underfood that the Province of Zempoalla was in the Road to that Place which Francifco de Montejo difcovered from the Coaft whither he was thinking to remove his Quarters. He afked the Indians fome Queftions, to inform himfelf of the Forces of the Cazique.

It being afked how it came to pafs that they (being fo near) had fo long delayed coming with this Propofal, they anfwered, that the Zempoallans had nothing to do where the Mexicans appeared, whofe Cruelties were abhorred by their Nation. This Intelligence was not difagreeable to Cories, and diving farther into it, thro Curiofity, he underftood that Motezuma was a cruel Prince, abhorred for his Pride and Tyranny, that many of his People were fubject out of Fear; and' that fome Nations were defirous to free themelves from his Xoke. This made his

Power appear the lefs formidable, and feveral Serratagetns and Means of increafing his Army came into this Head; which gave him fome Sort of Encouragement.
The firft that occurred, was to take part with thofe afficted Peopile, believing it would not be dificult to form a Party againft a Tyrant, among his own Rebels: So he reafched then, and it fell out afterwards accordingly: He immediately difniffed thofe Indians with fome Gifts, in token of Friendfhip; and told them he would foon come and pay their Mafter a Vifit, in order to eftablifh a Friendfhip with him, and give him the Affiftance he fhould ftand in need of.

His Intent was to pafs through the Province, and take a View of Quiabifan, where he had Thoughts of fixing his firft Settlement, from the good Account he had reeeived of its Fertility; but it behoved him, for other Ends, which he was then contriving how to compafs, to haften the forming his fmall Corporation in his prefent Quarters, although he was to remove the Troops to a Place more commodious : He communicated his Refolution to thofe Captains that were his Confidents, and having by this Meanis fmoothed the Way for what he had to propofe, he affembled the Men in order to name the Officers of the new Government. At which fhort Conference, thofe that were acquainted with the Mind of Cortes prevailed; and AlonSo Portocarrero, and Francijco de Montejo were appointed Alcaldes, Alonjo Davila, Pedro, and Alonfo de Alverado, and Gonzalo de Saudoval were Regidores. The chief Alguazil and Procurator Gencral $\begin{gathered}\text { fuan de Efoulante, and Francifoo Alve- }\end{gathered}$ rez Cbico.
They alfo appointed other inferior Officers ; and, having taken the accuftomed Oath, to obferve Reafon and Juftice, according to their Duty, for the greater Service of God and the King, they took Poffeffion; and began to exercife their Employments with the ufual Solemnity, calling their new Settlement by the Name of Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz; which Title it , received in the Place where it was afterwards fixed, being called Villa Rica, in Remembrance of the Gold they had feen in that Country, and de la Vera Cruz, in Acknowledgment of their landing there, on the Friday of the Crofs, or Good Friday, as we call it. Cortes was prefent as a private Perfon among the other Members of the Colony, and, though he could not eafily lay afide that kind of Superiority which is wont to confift in the Refpect which others pay, he endeavoured to fupport the Authority of thofe new Minifters, and by his Refpect to reduce the others to obey them.
4. The next Day in the Morning the Council met; under colour of confulting about fome Points relating to the Prefervation and Augmentation of the new Settlement, and foon after Hernan Cortes defired Admittance, to propofe an Affair which concerned the public Good. The Council rofe up to receive him, and he, paying his Refpect to the Magiftracy of the Town, went and took his Seat immediately next to the firt Regidore, and then laid open the Reafon which induced him to difapprove that Commiffion under which he had hitherto acted; and having finifhed his Difcourfe, he threw upon the Table the Commiffion given him by Diego Velafquez, kiffed the Truncheon, and delivered it into the Hands of the Alcalde, and retired to his Barrac.
He was under no Uneafinefs about the Event, for he had fo difpofed Matters that he ventured but little in the Refolution; but it muft be confeffed, that the Manner of acting was very handfome and noble, and no lefs commendable, than the Art he ufed to fupply the Defects in his Authority. The Council foon refolved upon the Election, for fome had confidered what they were to propofe, and others had nothing to reply: They all voted to admit the Refignation of Cortes; but that he ought to be obliged to take upon him the Command of the Army again, the Town giving him his Commiffion in the Name of the King, during the Time, and in the Interim, until his Majefty fhould otherwife order. And they refolved to communicate the new Eletion to the People, either to fee how they would receive it, or, in order to be fatisfied of their Approbation. The People were called together by the Voice of a Cryer; and the

Renunciation of Cortes being publifhed, with the Refolution of the Council, they received fuch A pplaufe as was concerted.

Some congratulated the Council on their good Election; others demanded Cortes, as if he had been denied, and if any were of a contrary Opinion they diffembled, and took care not to be remarkable by their Silence. This Work being over, the Alcaldes and Regidores went with the greateft part of thofe Soldiers to the Quarters of Cortes, and acquainted him that the Town of Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz had, in the Name of the King Don Carlos, with the Confent and Approbation of the Inhabitants in full Council, chofen and appointed him General of the Army of Nere Spain; and, in cafe it were neceffary, did require and command him to take upon him that Poft, it being convenient for the public Good of the Town and his Majefty.

Cortes accepted of the new Command with great Refpect, and now began to govern the Troops with another Kind of Authority, which had its Effect in the Obedience of the Soldiers. The Dependants upon Velafquez refented this Alteration in a very indifcreetManner, for they could not difguife their Vexation, nor would they give way to the Current which they were not able to ftem. They endeavoured to invalidate the Authority of the Council, and caft Reflections on Cortes, blaming his Ambition, and talking with Contempt of thofe that were deceived: And, as Scandal has its hidden Poifon, and an unknown Power over thofe that hear it, it fpread in their Converfation, where there wanted not fome who hearkened to, and endeavoured to foment it.

Cortes did all in his Power to remedy this Inconvenience, apprehending it might draw away thofe who were already difquieted, or put thofe into a Commotion who were eafily ftirred up. He had already found by Experience how little his Patience availed, and gentle Means made the Evil worfe, and therefore refolved to make ufe of Severity, which generally has the beft Effect upon the Infolent. He ordered Diego de Ordaz, Pedro Efcudero, and Fuan Velafquez de Leon, to be feized, carried aboard the Fleet, and put in Irons. This Action ftruck a great Terror into the Troops, and it was his Defign to improve it, declaring in a very pofitive and refolute manner, that he feized them as feditious Perfons, and Difturbers of the public Peace; and, that he would proceed againft them, and make them pay for their $\mathrm{Ob}-$ ftinacy with the Lofs of their Heads.

In which Difpofition he continued fome Days, without proceeding to the Rigour of Juftice ; for he rather defired to reform, than punifh them. At firft he fuffered none to go near them, but afterwards permitted it, artfully making ufe of this Permiffion for fome of his Confidents to endeavour to reduce and bring them to Reafon, which in time they compaffed, he fuffering himfelf to be pacified fo effectually, that he made them his Friends; and they faithfully ftood by him in all the Accidents which afterwards befel him; believing that they owed their Lives to his Clemency only.
5. The Perfons before-mentioned were no fooner imprifoned than Pedro de Alverado marched with a hundred Men to view the Country, and bring in Provifions; for they began to be fenfible of the W ant of thofe Indians who ufed to provide for the Army. He was ordered to commit no Hoftility, and he had the good Fortune to perform his Commiffion with little Trouble. At a fmall Diftance he came to fome Villages, the Inhabitants whereof had fled into the Woods, but had left their Houfes well provided, and without doing any Damage either to them or their Furniture. The Soldiers took what they had Occafion for, and returned to their Quarters thoroughly loaded, and very well pleafed. Cortes immediately difpofed his March as he had refolved, and the Ships accordingly failed for the Bay of Quiabilan; he followed by Land, taking the Road of Zempoalla, keeping the Coaft on his Right, and fending a Party before to difcover the Country, providing againft all Accidents which might happen in Circumftances where Security might be juftly accounted Neglect.

They reached in a few Hours the River of Zempoalla, and" finding it deep, they were obliged to make ufe of
fome Canoes, and other Veffels of Fifhermen, which they found on the Shore; in which the Soldiers pafed over, making their Horfes fwim. Having overcome this Difficulty, they arrived at fome Houfes in the Diftriet of Zempoalla; and they took it for no good Sign, not only finding them forfaken by the Indians, but alfo without either Furniture or Provifions, only they left in their Temples feveral Idols, with various Intruments, or Knives made of Flint, and fome miferable Remains of human Victims fcattered upon the Ground, which at the fame time moved Companion, and ftruck them with Horror. Here they firft faw the Mexican Books, which have been already mentioned: There were three or four of them in the Temples, which was thought contained the Rites of their Religion, each made of a long thin varnifhed Cloth, which they folded in equal Foldings, fo that every Fold made a Leaf, and all together made up the Volume like ours to Appearance, and were written or painted with that kind of Cyphers ufed by the Painters of Teutile.

The Army were prefently quartered in the beft Houfes, and paffed the Night fomewhat uneafily, their Arms in Readinels, with Sentinels at a convenient Diftance. The next Day they continued their March in the fame Order along the great Road, which turned off to the Weftward, leading farther from the Shore, and during the Morning, they faw no Perfon of whom to gain Intelligence ; which gave them Uneafinefs, till, entering into fome very pleafant Meadows, they difcovered twelve Indians, who were coming in fearch of Cortes with a Prefent of Hens and Bread, fent him by the Cazique of Zempoalla; very earneftly entreating him not to fail of coming to his Town, where he had provided Quarters for his Men, and where he fhould be more plentifully entertained. By thefe Indians he underftood, that the Cazique's Refidence was at a Town one Sun's Diftance from that Place, which, in theirLanguage, fignifies the fame as one Day's March; for they underftood not the Divifion of Leagues, but meafured Diftance by Suns, counting Time, and not the Way. Cortes difmiffed fix of the Indions, with many Thanks for the Prefent, keeping the other fix to fhew him the Way, and to afk them fome Queftions ; for he was not entirely fatisfied with this kind Treatment, which being fo much unlooked for feemed the lefs to be depended on. That Night they halted in a fmall Village, thin of Inhabitants; but very defirous to entertain the Spaniards well: And by the Behaviour of thofe People to the Spaniards, judged that their Nation was inclined to Peace; nor were they deceived in their Conjectures.
In the Morning the Army moved towards Zempoalla, following the Guides with all neceffary Caution, and towards Evening there came twenty Indians forth, to receive Cortes, well drefled after their Fafhion, who, after having paid their Refpects, faid, That their Cazique did not come with them, by reafon of fome Impediment, but had fent them to pay that Refpect on his Part, being very defirous to be acquainted with fuch valiant Guefts, and to receive them into his Friendfhip and his Efteem. The Town was large and beautiful, fituated between two Rivers, which fertilized the Country, defcending from fome Mountains at a fmall Diffance, which were covered with Trees, and eafy of Afcent. The Buildings were of Stone, covered and adorned with a fort of Lime very white and fhining, and afforded a pleafant and noble Shew at a Diftance, infomuch that one of the Scouts, who was fent before, returned in hafte, crying aloud, That the Walls were of Silver; which Miftake made much Mirth in the Army, where many at firft perhaps believed it, who afterwards made a Jeft of his Credulity.

The Squares and Streets were filled with People, who came to fee the Entry without any Arms that could give Sufpicion, or any other Noife than that which ufually proceeds from a Multitude. The Cazique came out to the Gates of his Palace, and his Diftemper appeared to be a monftrous Fatnefs, which oppreffed and disfigured him: He drew near with fome Difficulty, fupported by the Arms of fome noble Indians, by whom he ieemed to direct his Motion. His Habit was a Mantle of fine

Cotton thrown over his naked Body, enriched with various Jewels and Pendants, which allo he wore in his Ears and Lips: A Prince of a very extraordinary Make, in whom Weight and Gravity agreed wonderfully well. It was neceffary for Cortes to put a Stop to the laughing of the Soldiers. But as foon as the Cazique began his Difcourfe, receiving Cortes with his Arms, and welcoming the relt of the Captains, he fhewed his good Senfe, and by his Speech forced a Refpect to his Perfon.

He difcourfed much to the purpofe, and fhortened his Compliments with Refpect and Difcretion, bidding Cortes retire to reft after his Journey, and quarter his Men, after which he would vifit him in his Quarters, and talk more at Leifure about their common Interefts. He had provided Quarters in fquare Courts which had many Chambers, where they were all accommodated, and plentifully furnifhed with all they had Occafion for. After which the Cazique made way for his Vifit, by fending a Prefent of Jewels, of Gold, and other Curiofities, to the Value of above 2000 Pefos , and foon after came himfelf with a fplendid Attendance, in a Chair, carried on the Shoulders of the Chiefs of his Family. Cortes went forth to receive him, attended by his Captains, and, giving him the Precedence and the Right-hand, retired with him and his Interpreters, for he thought it convenient to talk to him without Witnefs. After having made him the ufual Speech about the Intent of his coming, the Grandeur of his King, and the Errors of Idolatry; he proceeded to tell him that the Defign of thofe valiant Troops was to redrefs Wrongs, punifh Violence, and take Part with Juftice and Reafon.

He touched on that Point on purpofe to draw him in, by Degrees, to complain of Motezuma, and to difcover what Advantages might be expected from his Indignation, of which he had been before informed. It prefently appeared, by the Change of his Countenance, that Cortes had touched the right String; and, before he refolved on an Anfwer, he began to figh, as one who found a Difficulty in making his Complaints: But at length, his Refentment prevailing, he broke out into Lamentations of his Unhappinefs, and told him, That all the Caziques of the neighbouring Countries were under a miferable Slavery, groaning under the Oppreffions and Tyranny of Motezuma, without fufficient Force to free themfelves, or Courage to think on a Remedy ; that he caufed himfelf to be ferved and adored by his Subjects like one of his Gods, and would have his Violencies reverenced like the Decrees of Heaven : But that it was not his Defire to have him adventure to fupport them, becaufe Motezuma was too powerful and ftrong for him to refolve to declare himfelf his Enemy, nor would it be agreeable to the Laws of Civility to pretend to his Friendfhip by felling, at fo great a Price, the fmall Service he had done him.
Cortes endeavoured to comfort him; telling him, That he fhould little regard Motezuma's Power, having Juftice on his Side; but that he was obliged to pafs on to $2 u i-$ abifan, where the Oppreffed and Needy fhould find him ready to affift them, and all who, having Reafon on their fide, food in need of his Arms, which he might communicate to his Friends and Confederates; affuring them all, that Motezuma fhould not be able to oppofe it while he undertook their Defence. With this they both took Leave, and Cortes prepared for his March, having gained the Good-will of that Cazique, and being extremely well pleafed, in himfelf, at the better Profpect of his Defigns; which, from being only diftant Views of the Imagination, began now to appear poffible.
6. The Ampy being ready to march, they found four bundred Indions provided to carry their Baggage and Provifions, and to help to conduct the Artillery, which was a great Eafe to the Soldiers, and looked upon as an extraordinary Refpect of the Cazique, till they underftood, from Donna Marine, that it was a common Practice to affit their Allies with that Sort of Luggage-carriers, which, in their Language, they call Tamenes, who are able to travel five or fixLeagues with three Quarters of an Hundred Weight on their Backs. The Country they were entering was pleafant and delightful; Part covered with great Trees, and the reft cultivated; at which Sight the Spa.
niards went on chearfully, rejoicing at their good Fortune in marching through fo plentiful a Country. At Sun-fet they found themfelves near a little Village unpeopled, where they ftaid to avoid the Inconveniency of entering Quiabilan by Night; and arrived the next Day by Ten in the Morning.

The Buildings appeared, at a Diftance, on an Eminence of Rocks, which feemed to ferve inftead of Walls; a Situation naturally ftrong, the Avenues narrow and fteep, which they found without Defence, and yet they entered with Difficulty. The Cazique had retired with the Inhabitants to difcover, at a Diftance, the Intention of the Spaniards; and the Troops took Poffeffion of the Town, without finding any Perfon from whom they could gain the leaft Information, till coming to a Square, where the Indians had their Temples, there came out Fourteen or Fifteen Indians to meet them, handfomely dreffed, after their manner, and with Abundance of Civilities endeavoured to cover their Fear with Refpect. Cortes encouraged them by his Careffes, and gave them fome Beads of blue and green Glafs, a fort of Coin, which for its Effects began to be valued even among thofe who were acquainted with it; with which good Treatment they recovered from the Fright, and gave him to underftand, That their Cazique had withdrawn himfelf to prevent a War, by putting himfelf on his Defence, and not adventuring his Perfon by trufting to armed Troops which he did not know; and it was impoffible to hinder the Flight of the Inhabitants, who were under lefs Obligations to run themfelves into Danger. But that as foon as the reft fhould be fenfible of the Goodnefs of fuch Guefts, they would immediately return to their Houfes, and account it a great Happinefs to ferve and obey them. Cortes gave them all the Affurances poffible, and, whilft they were gone with this News, he gave ftrict Orders to the Soldiers to treat the Indians well, who foon fhewed what Confidence they had in the Spaniards; for that very Night fome Families returned, and, in a little Time, the Town was filled again with its Inhabitants.

Some time after the Cazique returned, bringing with him the Cazique of Zempoalla. They both came in Litters, on the Shoulders of Men. He of Zempoalla made a handfome Excufe for his Neighbour, and, after fome fhort Difcourfe, they introduced their Complaints of Motezuma, recounting, with great Warmth, and fometimes with Tears, his Tyrannies and Cruelties; to which the Cazique of Zempoalla added as the utmoft Aggravation: " This Monfter is fo proud and fierce, that, befides his s impoverifhing us by Tributes, and raifing his Wealth "s out of our Calamities, he invades the Houfes of his "S Subjects, taking forcibly from us both our Wives and " Daughters, ftaining with their Blood the Altars of his "G Gods, after having facrificed them firft to other Ufes " more cruel, and lefs honeft." Cortes endeavoured to comfort them, and bring them to enter into a Confederacy with him; but at the Time that he was enquiring into their Strength, and the Number of People that would take Arms in Defence of their Liberty, two or three Indians came in, who feemed in a great Fright, and whifpering the Caziques in their Ears, put them into fuch Confufion that they rofe up, lofing Courage and Colour, and went haftily away, without fo much as taking leave or making an end of their Difcourfe.

The Caufe of this Diforder was quickly known; for fix Royal Commiffioners, fuch as went about the Kingdom to gather Motezuma's Tributes, were feen paffing before the Spaniards Quarters. They were adorned with Abundance of Feathers and Pendants of Gold on fine clean Cotton Cloths, with a fufficient Number of Servants and inferior Officers; who, moving great Fans made of Feathers, fanned their Mafters to cool them, or fhaded them from the Sun as Occafion required. Cories went out to the Gates, with his Captain, to fee them, and they paffed on without paying him any Refpect, and with Countenances that fnewed Indignation; which Pride provoked fome of the Soldiers fo much, that they would have chaftifed them, had they not been with-held by Cortes, who refted fatisfied at that Time with fending Donna Marina, with a fufficient Guard, to inform himfelf of
what they were doing. By this Means it was undentood, that, after having feated themfelves in the Town-houfe, they fummoned the Caziques to appear before them, and reprimanded them publicly for their Boldnefs in admiting Strangers into their Town, who were Enemies to their King; and therefore, befides the ordinary Service, to which they were obliged, they demanded twenty Indians to facrifice to their Gods, as an Atonement for fuch a Crime.

Cortes fent for the two Caziques by fome Soldiers, who had Orders, without any Noife, to bring them to his Prefence; when letting them know that he faw into their moft hidden Defigns, he told them, That he was well acquainted with the Vilenefs of thofe Commiffioners, who, without any Pretence but their having admitted hisTroops, endeavoured to impofe on them new Tributes of Human Blood: That it was no Time for fuch Abominations, nor would he fuffer fuch horrid Commands in his Prefence; but ordered them, without fail, to call their People, feize the Commiffioners, and leave him to maintain what they fhould do by his Advice. The Caziques refufed to execute fuch a bold Command, as being grown mean-fpirited; but Cortes repeated his Order with fo much Refolution, that they immediately went to execute it, and that with great Applaufe of the Indians.

They feized the Minitters of Motezuma, whom they put in a kind of Pillories in their Prifons, and very incommodious, for they held the Delinquents by the Neck, obliging them continually to do their utmoft with their Shoulders to cafe the Weight, for the fake of breathing. It was very pleafant to fee how proud the Caziques returned to give an Account of their noble Action, for they thought to execute them, and to make them fuffer the Punifhments affigned by the Laws to Traitors; and, feeing that would not be permitted, they defired to facrifice them to their Gods, as if it were a kind of Grace. The Prifoners being fecured by a fufficient Number of Spariig Soldiers, Cortes retired to his Quarters, and to confider with himfelf what was to be done; for he was not willing abfolutely to break with Motezuma, but ftill to keep him in Sufpence. On the other hand he confidered it as a very neceffary Point to maintain that Party which was beginning to form, that he might have their Affiftance, in cafe he fhould happen to want them. In fine, he held it moft convenient to manage Matters with Motezuma by making a Merit of fufpending the Effects of that Difrefpect.

The Refult of thofe Reflections was, to fend, at Midnight, for two of the Prifoners with all poffible Privacy; and, after receiving them courteouny, to tell them, That he had fent for them in order to fet them at Liberty: And that, as they received it folely from his Hands, they might affure their Prince he would endeavour very fpeedily to fend the reft of their Companions, who remained in the Power of the Caziques, whom he would endeavour to make fenfible of their Faults, and perform all that fhould be for his Service; for that he was defirous of Peace, and to teftify, by his Speech and Actions, all the Marks of Civility that were due to the Embaffadors of fo great a Prince. The Indians durft not fet out on their Journey, for fear of being killed, or taken by the way; and he was forced to give them a Guard of Spanifb Soldiers, who conveyed them to the next Bay, where the Ships lay, and one of the Boats was ordered to land them beyond the Diftrict of Zempoalla.

The Caziques came, in the Morning, much troubled for the Efcape of the two Prifoners; and Cortes received the News with Signs of Surprize and Concern, blaming their Want of Vigilance, and, upon this Pretence, he ordered, in their Prefence, that the reft fhould be carried aboard the Fleet; but he privately directed the Officers on board. to treat them well, and to keep them fafe, by which he gained the Confidence of the Caziques, without difobliging Motezuma, whofe Power, fo much cried up and dreaded among thofe Indians, made him caréful how he acted.
7. The good Behaviour of the Spaniards towards their Allies was quickly divulged through all the Diftricts thereabouts; and the two Caziques, of Zempoalla and Quiabilan,
gave notice to all their Friends and Confederates of their Advantages, being freed from Impofitions, and their Li berty fecured by the Protection of a People invincible, who knew the very Thoughts of Men, and feemed of a. fuperior Nature. The Report fpread with Exaggerations. It was faid publicly among the Feople, That their Gods were come down to Quiabiflan, darting Lightning againft Motezuma; which Credulity lafted fome time among the Indians, and caufed a Veneration, which, though ill founded, very much facilitated the Beginnings of this Conqueft.

This high Opinion of the Spaniards fo increafed, and the Name of Liberty founded fo well in the Ears of the Oppreffed, that, in a few Days, there came to Quiabilan, thirty Caziques of the Mountains that were in fight, which had numerous Settlements of Indians, called Totanaques, a ruftic People, of different Languages and Cuftoms; but ftrong, active, induftrious, and remarkable for their Courage. They paid their Obedience, offered their Troops, and, in the Form propofed to them, fwore Fidelity and Vaffallage to the King of Spain, of which a folemn Act was made before the Secretary of the Council.
The Number it is likely was very great, the Settlements many, and the People eafily ftirred up, againft Motezuma; efpecially for that the mountainous Country was inhabited by warlike Indiuns lately fubdued, or not quite conquered. This kind of Confederacy being made, the Caziques returned to their Houfes, ready to do as they had been commanded; and Cortes refolved to fettle the Town of Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz, which till then moved with the Army, though obferving its proper Diftinctions as a Republic. They pitched upon the Plain between the Sea and Quiabifan, half a League from that Town, a pleafant Place which invited them by its Fertility, abounding in Water, and having great Plenty of Trees, which lay commodious for the cutting of Timber for the Buildings. They laid the Foundations, beginning with the Church; the Handicraftmen were diftributed; Carpenters and Mafons, $\mathcal{E}^{\circ} c$. who came with Soldier's Pay; and the Indians of Zempoalla and Quiabilan affifting with equal Activity, the Houfes began to rife, mean as to Architecture, rather for a Covering than any Commodioufnefs. They prefently drew the Compafs of the Wall, with Traverfes of ftrong Mudwork; a fufficient Defence againft the Weapons of the Indians, and, in that Country, it might be properly called a Fortrefs. The principal Officers of the Army helped to carry on the Work, applying both their Hands and Shoulders, and Cortes worked hard as if he had fet himfelf a Tank, not fatisfied with the feeming Diligence, which is fufficient in a Superior, to fet a good Example.

In the mean time they had at Mexico the firt Advice of the Spaniards being admitted into Zempoalla by that Cazique, a Man, in their Opinion, of fufpected Fidelity, and the neighbouring Places little to be depended upon. Which Account fo provoked Motezuma, that he propofed to draw together his Forces, and march out in Perfon to chantife this Offence of the Zempoallans, and put the reft of the Mountain Nations under the Yoke, taking the Spaniards alive, whom he had already deftined for a folemn Sacrifice to his Gods.

But, at the fame time that he began to make great Preparations for this Enterprize, the two Indians whom Cortes had difpatched from 2 quiabilan arrived at Mexico $_{3}$ and gave an Account of their Imprifonment, and that they owed their Liberty to the Captain of the Strangers, who had fent them to reprefent how much he defired Peace, and how far it was from his Intentions to do him any Differvice ; extolling his Courtefy and Mildnefs fo much, that it might be perceived, by the Praifes they gave Cortes, how much they had been frighted by the Caziques.
Upon this Affairs changed. The Anger of Motezuma was mitigated, his Preparations for War ceafed, and he determined again to try Negociation, and endeavour to divert Cortes from his Defigns by a new Embafly and Prefent, to which Meafures he eafily inclined; for, in the Midft of his Anger and Pride, he could not forget the Signals of Heaven, and the Anfwers of his Idols, which he looked upon as evil Omens of his Undertaking,
or at leaft they obliged him to delay the Breach, endeavouring to qualify his Fear after fuch a Manner, that it fhould be taken for Prudence by Men, and for Refpect by his Gods.

His Embaffadors arrived juft as the new Settlement and Fortrefs of Vera Cruz were completed. They were the Emperor's Nephews, young Men, but affifted by four ancient Princes, who attended them as Counfellors. They told Cortes, That the Emperor had determined to chaftife the Caziques, till he received an Account of his Behaviour, which induced him to fufpend his Vengeance: That he hoped, however, he would foon quit that Country, fince the Obftacles which hindered his coming to his Court were in their Nature infurmountable.

According to his ufual Cuftom, Cortes heard their Difcourfe with great Temper and Calmnefs, and received. the Prefents made him by the Emperor with all Refpect poffible ; treated the Embaffadors with great Kindnefs and Complaifance; made them many Prefents, befides a proper Return to Motezuma: But, at the fame time, declared, That Dificulties were no Difcouragements to him, and the Importance of his Commiffion was fuch, that, at all Events, he muft purfue his Journey. This highly difgutted the Embaffadors; but was very ufeful with regard to the Allies, who were confirmed in their Opinion that Cortes was fomething more than Man, fince the great Emperor of Mexico vouchfafed to court his Friendfhip, and difcovered an Apprehenfion of his Prefence. They began therefore to conclude themfelves fafe under his Protection, and to lay afide that Fear, to which not only they, but their Anceftors, had been accuftomed.
8. The Cazique of Zempoalla, a fhort time after, came to Vera Cruz, with fome principal Indians, whom he brought as Witneffes of what he intended to offer, which was, That now the Time awas come to protect and defend his Country ; for that fome Troops of the Mexicans were arrived in Zimpazingo, deftroying the Corn-fields, and committing fome Hoftilities in his Diftrict. Cortes found himiflf engaged to fupport the Zempoallans to maintain his Credit; and befides, he thought it would not be right to fuffer that Infolence of the Mexicans as it were in his Sight, and that in cafe they were fome advanced Troops of Motezuma's Army, it would be neceffary to Prike a Terror into them to difcourage the reft of his People, for which Purpofe he determined to march in Perfon; engaging in it fomewhat too haftily, for he was yet unacquainted with the Deceits of thofe People (a capital Vice among the Indians) and fuffered himfelf to be carried away without examining into the Truth. He offered them to march out immediately with his Troops to chaftife thofe Enemies who difturbed the Peace of his Allies, and, ordering them to provide Indians of Burthen for the Service of the Baggage and Artillery, he made a Difpofition immediately for his March, and took the Road of Zimpazingo, with four hundred Men, leaving the reft in the Fortrefs of Vera Cruz.

As he paffed by Zempoalla he found two thoufand armed Indians whom the Cazique had provided to ferve under him in that Expedition, divided into four Bodies, with their Captains, Colours, and Arms, according to the Cuftom of their Militia. Cortes thanked him very much for the Care he took to provide that Succour; and though he let him underftand, that he had no. Occafion for his Men upon an Expedition of fo fmall Importance, yet he fuffered them to go to provide againt all Events; but intimated he did fo only to let them fhare in the Glory of the Succefs. That Night they lodged three Leagues from Zimpazingo, and the next Day, in the Afternoon, they difcovered the Town on the Top of a fmall Hill, a Branch of the Mountain, among great Rocks, which hid Part of the Buildings.

The Spaniards began to overcome the Craggednefs of the Mountain, but not without confiderable Trouble; for, being jealous of an Ambufcade, they went doubling and filing off as the Ground would permit; but the Zempoallans, either more dextrous or lefs embarraffed by the Narrownefs of the Paths, advanced with a Sort of Fury, which appeared like Valour, but was, indeed, no better than Revenge. Cories was obliged to give Orders to
halt, at a time when fome Troops of the Van-guasd were already in the Town.

He continued his March without meeting any Refiftance, and juft as he was preparing to attack the Town in feveral Parts, there came out of it eight Priefts who enquired for the Captain of that Army, before whofe Prefence they came in an humble and pitiful Manner. fuch as fufficiently fhewed Submiffion, without the Help of an Interpreter. Their Drefs was a black Mantle, of which the End reached the Ground, and the upper Part was gathered and plaited about the Neck, with a Piece hanging loofe in Form of a Hood. Their Hair reached to their Shoulders, clodded with the human Blood of their Sacrifices; Marks of which they fupertitiounly preferved on their Faces and 1 Iands, for it was not law ful for them to wafh themfelves. Thefe Priefts foon convinced the Spanifh Commander that he had been impofed on, that the Troops from Motezuma were long ago retired, and that this was only an Artifice of his Allies, who were their Enemies, in order to make ufe of him as an Inftrument for their Deftruction.

A thing in itfelf very fcandalous and bafe, bue at this Juncture particularly barbarous and black, as it contributed to draw an Imputation upon the Spaniards, which might have been fatal to their Affairs. After hearing their Difcourfe he retumed to his Indian Allies, and by the Confufion of the Zempoallan Captains, it appeared that thofe Priefts fpoke Truth, and Cortes was concerned at the Deceit, and vexed, at the fane time, at the Malice of the Indions; but confidering what was moft proper to be done upon this Occafion, he prefently ordered the Captains Olido and Alverado to go with their Companies, and gather the Indions together who had advanced before to get into the Town, and were now bury in the Pillage, and had taken a confiderable Quantity of Cloaths and Furniture and fome Prifoners.

They were brought to the Army fhamefully loaded, and the plundered People following, crying out for their Goods, for whofe Satisfaction Cortes commanded them to unbind the Prifoners and deliver up the Goods to the Priefes, that they might reftore them to their proper Owners, and calling for the Zempoallan Captains, reproved them publicly for their Prefumption, telling them they deferved Death for their Offence in making ufe of him only to compafs their Revenge; howewer, being warmly entreated by the Sponibs Captains whom he had inftructed before to pacify him, he pardoned them for that time, enlarging upon his Clemency, though, in Truth, he did not then dare to chaftife them; knowing well, that to preferve new acquired Friends, Clemency was more requifite than Juftice. Having managed things fo as to give him a Reputation with both the Nations, he commanded the Zempoallons to lodge without the Town, and marched in with the Sponiords, where he was received. with the Applaufe due to a Deliverer.

Immediately the Cazique of Zimpazingo vilited him in his Lodging, with others of the Neighbourhood, who came out of Friendfip, acknowledging the King of Spains for their Prince, whofe Name was already beloved and reverenced in that Country, where the People defired to be his Subjects out of Hatred to Motezuma, whom they knew, and Love to a Prince they knew not.

In their March back to Zempoaila, the Troops paffed by two Towns of thofe that were newly entered into the Confederacy; and while they halted in the Afternoon, a Soldier, whofe Name was Mora, took two Hens, fo that Cortes faw it, and was fo angry becaufe it was done in his Prefence, and in regard that he would have his Soldiers to obferve Difcipline, that he ordered him to be hanged, and had not Peter Alverado cut him down with his Sword, he had actually died; as it was he dropped down half choaked, and fome time afterwards was killed in Battle, at Guatemala. The Lord himfelf was neat Zempoalla waiting for Cortes with Provifions, and under great Concern, on account of having made him undertake that Journey on falfe Relations; for they were not fo barbarous as not to be fenfible that Cortes made good his Affertion, that he was fent to maintain Juftice, which gained him much Renutation; and as the Dread of Mo-
teztma made them uneafy, they could have wifhed, that for their greater Security, the Spaniards had never departed from their Town; for which Reafon they faid that fince they were now all one Nation, they fhould take their Women, and carried them eight beautiful Damfels, Daughters of principal Perfons, with Gold Necklaces and Pendants in their Ears, with Women Servants, the Cazique faying that feven of them were for the Captains, and the other, being his own Niece, for Cortes.

That General, before he would receive the Ladies, infifted that Idolatry fhould be abolifhed, to which the Indians were very loth to confent, alledging that they had no Occafion to quarrel with the Gods of their Fore-fathers, fince they had given them Succefs in War and good Harvefts; but what ftruck them moft, was their Fear that if they deftroyed thefe Gods, that is to fay, the Idols they worfhipped, they would punifh them feverely; but Cortes put them out of their Terror, by taking that upon himelf; and when the Idols were once deftroyed, the People fubmitted readily enough, in fpite of all the Pains their Priefts took to prevent it; and this great Point of Religion once fettled, Cortes and his Commanders made no Sort of Difficulty of accepting the Ladies, which was very agreeable to the Indians, who looked upon them thenceforward, not only as their Allies, but as their Countrymen.
9. Cortes having thus concluded a League with the Zempoallans, marched away to his new Colony of Villa Rica, and the fame Day he came to it a Ship arrived from Cuba, commanded by Francifco de Salcedo. The Ship brought Captain Lewis Martin, with a Mare and ren Soldiers, and Salcedo had a good Horfe. Thefe Perfons brought Advice that James Velafquez had received the Title of Adelantado, and the King's Commiffion to trade and make Settlements in the new difcovered Countries that had been granted him. The Forces having been now three Months in Nere Spain, and the Fort almoft made defenfible, it was propofed to go up the Country: But it was refolved, in the firt Place, to fend fome Perfons to the King, to give an Account of what had been done in his Service, and carry him a fifth of the Gold, and all the reft that had been given.

Alonfo Puerto Carrero and Captain de Montejo were pitched upon to go on this Errand, and Cortes thinking that what he had was very little, when every Officer and Soldier had his Share, and that the King's Fifth being accordingly very inconfiderable, it would not anfwer the Account they were to give of the Wealch of that Country; he ordered Francis de Montejo and Fames de Ordaz, that they, as Men in Authority, fhould fpeak to the Soldiers Man by Man, to refign their Shares to be fent to the King as a Prefent; many of the Gentlemen to whom the fame was propofed, freely offering to do the like. They readily confented, and all that had been got was converted into a Prefent, for Cortes would not deduct his own fifth Part, nor any Salary, only taking fo much out of the whole Sum, as was neceffary for the Expence of the Voyage, and to maintain the Meffengers going and coming, befides fomething Cortes fent to his Father Martin Cortes. He gave thofe Deputies ample Inftructions, with a particular Relation of what he had done both at Cuba and in New Spain; he likewife wrote a very long Letter to the King, taking Notice in it of the vaft Extent and Wealth of the Country, the Hopes he had of reducing it under his Obedience, and begging he would not forget him when any Commiffions were given out for that Country. The Magiftrates of Vera Cruz wrote another Letter, reprefenting the Service they had done his Majelty, the Reafons they had for making the Settlement, and their Sufferings. The Captains wrote another to the fame Effect, as did the Soldiers of mont Note; promifing to defend that Town at the Expence of their Lives, unlefs otherwife commanded by his Majefty; and all of them moft humbly intreating the King to beftow the Government of that Country, and others that hould be by them difcovered and fubdued, upon Ferdinand Cortes, whom they had chofen for their Commander, to prevent Difputes; and becaufe no Man was more capable of ferving his Majefty; and thats, in Cafe another had been appointed, his Com-
mifion might be called in Queftion, and that his Majefty would be pleafed fpeedily to anfwer and difpatch theis Deputies.

Cortes gave them the beft Ships, and appointed Antony Alaminos their Pilot, who, in order to avoid coming near St. 'Fago de Cuba, failed through the Channel of Bahama. They failed on the 26 th of $7 u$ ly, 15 I 9 , with fifteen Sailors, and touching at Marien, in Cuba , proceeded to the Ha vanna, paffed the Channel of Babama, and had a good Voyage to Spain; being the firft that ever failed that Way, which he did to avoid falling into the Hands of Velafquez. Alaminos took this Refolution, being well acquainted with the Lucayo Inlands, and the Coaft of Florida, and concluding that thofe Currents muft end fomewhere; and accordingly he ftood Northwards, and it proved well, for being got fafe out of the Channel, he came into the open Sea, and arrived fafe at Sanlucar, in October. Benedict Martin was then at Seville, in order to carry over the King's Difpatches to Fames Velafquez, at Cuba. He informing the Officers of the Indian Houfe, that thofe Deputies were out of the King's Service, they feized all that was in the Ship, together with the 3000 Caftalanos they had for their Expences, and what Cortes fent his Father. The Prefent for the King was fent to him at Valladolid, and Advice given to the Bifhop of Burgos, who was fitting out the Fleet to car ry his Majefty over to Flanders, with Complaints againlt Cortes, for having revolted from Fames Velafquez. The Deputies, with the Pilot Antony de Alaminos, and Cortes's Father, went away to meet the King at Tordefillas.

When the Deputies were gone from Vera Cruz, fome Servants and Friends of Velafquez, and among them $F_{\text {. }}$ Fobn Diaz, being uneafy among themfelves, contrived to fteal a fmall Veffel, and fail to Cuba, to acquaint Fomes Velafquez with what was doing; but when they had got the Ship ready, and were going to embark in the Night, Bernard de Coria repented, and gave Notice of it to Cortes, who immediately ordered the Sails to be taken from the Ships, and the Fugitives to be fecured, who owned the Truth of the Charge, impeaching alfo fome Perfons of more Note than themfelves, at whom, Cortes confidering his Circumftances, connived. However, he, with much feeming Sorrow, condemned Fames Efcudero the Alouazil, who had formerly arrefted him in Cuba, to be hanged, and, with him, Fames Cermeno, a Man fo active, that with only a Spear in his Hand, he would leap over another Spear held up at Arms-length by the talleft Men in the Army. Another had one Foot cut off, and two were whipped; he would not punifh $F$. Fohn Diaz, becaufe he was a Clergyman; and thus Cortes made himfelf feared and honoured. And as foon as he had figned the Warrant for Execution, to prevent its being obftructed by Intreaties, he went away to Zempoalla, where he appointed Peter Alverado to meet him.

He was now intent on his Journey to Mexico, and his People defirous of undertaking it, Cortes putting them in Hopes that they would be there enriched, by which Means he gained their Affections, and kept them in awe. The order of this March being under Deliberation, at Zempoalla, Cortes refolved to fink all his Ships, to deprive the Favourcrs of Velafquez of all Hopes of returning to Cuba; becaufe there were fo many of them, that if they went away they would have, weakened his Forces, and, at the fame Time, to add Refolution to the reft; who finding themfelves in that vaft populous Country, without any Pomibility of getting away, would be obliged to follow and obey him, and to truft only to their Valour. However, left this fhould occafion fome Difturbance among the Men, he contrived, that the Soldiers, who were his moft zealous Friends, fhould afk it of him, perfuading him to it, with feveral Arguments, and among the reft, that the Mariners, being an hundred Men, they would be a great Help to the Soldiers, and bear Part of all their Fatigues. The Soldiers, accordingly, afked it, and a public Inftrument was made of the fame by a Notary, though it was thought that there was another piece of Subtilty in this extraordinary Management, which was, his not being left alone under the Obligation of paying for'the Ships, but that the whole Army fhould be equally bound to pay for thęm.

This done, he ordered Tuian de Efculante, the chief Alguazil, to repair to Villa Rica, and to bring afhore from the Ships their Anchors, Iron Work, Sails, and all that might be of any Ufe, and then to fink them all except the Boats; and that the Mariners who were aged or difabled, and unfit for Service, fhould ftay in the Town. Fuan de Efculante, who was a very diligent Man, performed it with much Expedition, and returned to Zempoalla with the ableft of the Seamen, many of whom proved very good Soldiers. The more we confider and reflect upon
this Stroke of our Hero's Policy, the more we mutt be perfuaded he deferves that Title, fince nothing could be greater in itfelf, or performed with more Spirit and Refolution than this Scheme of burning his Ships, which he knew muft fill his Soldiers with a determined Refolution to conquer, fince it abfolutely took away what had hitherto damped and qualified that Ardour, the Hopes of getting back to $C u b a$, and efcaping perpetual Labours by a timely, though lefs honourable Retreat.

## SECTIONX.

The Hiflory of the War of Tlafcala, from its breaking out to Cortes's concluding a Peace with that Republic; and bis taking them into the Confederacy againft the Indian Emperor Motezuma.


#### Abstract

1. The Interruption Cortes met reith in bis intended March by the appearing of a Spanin Squadron on the Coaft, and the Meens he ufed to oblige them to retire. 2. He refumes his March towards Mexico, advances as far as Zocotlan, and refolves to move on notwitbfanding the Report of the vaft Power of Motezuma. 3. Determines to take the Rout of Tlafcala, though advifed againf it, and fends fome of the Zempoallans, as bis Embaffadors, who are very ill treated. 4. A War enfies notwithftanding all the Care of Cortes to prcvent it, in wbiclo feveral bloody Battles are fougbt, and a dreadful Slaughter made of the Tlaicalans. 5. A great Battle fought, in which the Republic exert their wobole Strength, but are neverthelefs overconc, thougb roith Difficulty. 6. The Tlafcalans employ Spies, which are difcovered and punifled: Anotber Battle enfues, in zubich they are again beat. 7. A Mutiny amongft the Spaniards, on the point of breaking out, is fopped by a Negotiation fet on foot for Peace. 8. The Peace is at length concluded, to the great Foy and Satisfaction of botb Parties, notwithfanding the Pains taken by Motezuma's Embafiadors to delay or binder it.- 9. A fuccinct Hitory of this celebrated Republic, including a Defcription of the City of Tlafcala, and the Manner in which Cortes was treatcd by its Inbabitants. 10. He perfits in bis Refolution of marching to Mexico, explains bimfelf clearly upon that Subject to the Thafcalans, engages them to alfitt bim in bis Undertaking, and prepares for bis March. 11. Obfervations on the moft rentarkable Events contained in the foregoing Section.


THE Genius of Cortes diftinguifhed itfelf chiefly in delivering him fuddenly, and as it were, without Difficulty, out of thofe fort of dangerous Conjunctures which feemed to threaten him with immediate and inevitable Deftruction: Of this there occurred a very extraordinary. Inftance. Immediately after he had fixed a Refolution of putting all to the Hazard, and marching directly with his handful of Troops into the Empire of Mexico, we have feen him take one of the boldeft and moft romantic Steps that was perhaps ever put in practice by a Perfon of fo much Prudence and good Senfe, in the burning of his Fleet, purely to prevent thofe who were under his Command from having it in their Power to fly from thofe Difficulties which he meant they fhould overcome ; but no fooner was this extraordinary Meafure taken, than the whole Ufe of it feemed to be deftroyed by an Accident he could not poffibly forefee, and which therefore it was impracticable for him to avoid.
This Accident was, the Arrival of a fmall Squadron upon the Coaft, of which his Governor at VeraCruzimmediately gave him notice. This could not fail of making Cortes uneafy, who, when he firft received the Intelligence, apprehended that it muft be fitted out by Fames Velafquez, in order to deprive him of his Command, under Pretence of fending a Reinforcement for the more effectual Profecution of the Expedition. Hee forefaw in an Intant what the Confequence of this might be, and therefore determined to march back with all the Forces under his Command to Vera Cruz, that he might be in a Condition to deal with his Enemies, either by way of Perfuafion or that of Arms, as Occafion fhould require. He did fo; but upon his Arrival he was informed, that thofe Ships came from the Northward; that they had been fitted out by the Governor of famaica, upon Difcovery; and, that they meant to fet Bounds to his Conquefts on that Side, under Pretence that they firt found the Country of Ponuco, and had traded with the Inhabitants for Gold, to the Amount of three thoufand Pieces of Eight or better.
VoL. II. Numb. 75.

He grew eafier upon this Advice, though there were ftill two Points to be carried before he could think of profecuting his firft Enterprize: The firft was, giving a Check to this Scheme of Difcovery; that he might have no more Rivals to difturb his Undertakings hereafter. The other, to oblige thefe Ships to quit the Coaft inftantly; that none of the Malcontents in his Army might have an Opportunity of deferting to them.
In order to effect this, he marched with a fmall Party of fuch as he could beft truft, to the Sea-fhore; where he was hardly arrived before he met with three Spaniards, one of whom advancing towards him faid, He was a public Notary, and that he brought the other two as Witneffes, to atteft the Delivery to him of a Writing which he had in his Hand, containing the Governor of famaica's Claim to a Part of this Country. Cortes declined taking the Paper, telling him very mildly, That it would be better if Captain Pineda, who he underftood was the Commander, would come on Shore himfelf. The Notary anfwered, That neither he, nor any body elfe, would quit the Ship. Upon this Cortes feized him and his Companions, and waited all Night behind a Sand-hill, to fee if any body would venture from the Ship; but find ${ }_{T}$ ing that no-body came, he obliged his Prifoners to ftrip themfelves, and having dreffed three of his Men in their Clothes fent them to make a Signal ; upon which a Boat came off from the Ship with twelve Men well armed: Cortes's Soldiers perceiving this retired under a Tree, and four Mer landing from the Boat with an Indian, advanced towards them, not in the leaft doubting that they were their own People. By this Stratagem he got thefe likewife into his Hands; and the Boat's Crew on feeing what had happened went off, to acquaint thofe on board therewith, and in a few Hours after the Ship bore away, and quitted that Coaft.
By this Means he delivered himfelf at once out of this Perplexity; and the Men he had taken, being well ufed, gave him a faithfuil Account of all they had feen, and very readily enlifted in his Service, affuring him at the fame
fame time, that the Difcoveries they had made were of ro little Confequence, and the Produce of their Voyage fo very inconfiderable, that he was not like to hear of any more Attempts of the like kind from famaica, which gave him fingular Satisfaction, and encouraged him to refume his Defign. for purfuing, which he found all under his Command, both Officers and private Men, more eager for than ever, which was chiefly owing to their feeing him always fucceffful in every thing he took in hand.
2. Cortes returned to Zempoalla, refolving to lofe no Time before he fet out for Mexico. The Men to carry Burthens being ready with the Baggage and Artillery, with the Auxiliaries of Zempoalla, and thofe of the Mountain Towns, whom he took along with him as Hoftages, leaving a Page of his own, of the Age of twelve Years, to learn the Language, he fet forward on the 16th of Augiuf, feveral prime Perfons waiting on him, of whom he took Leave at a fmall Diftance from the Town. The Indians wept, confidering the Danger into which they were going, though they relied on the Valour of the Spaniards, who were four hundred in Number, befides fifteen or fixteen Horfemen, and fix fmall Pieces of Cannon, with the Ammunition belonging to them. The March began in good Order; they arrived the firft Day at Xalapa, and thence proceeded to another Town, which, being Confederate with Zempoalla, gave them good Reception. There Cortes told them he was fent by the King of Spain, to admonifh them to forbear facrificing of Men, and following the other wicked Courfes they were guilty of, and to live in Peace and Juftice, and to chattize Tyrants.
He erected a Crofs in every Town, ordering them to refpect it; for, as they fhould be after better informed, through that holy Emblem they were to expect all Happinefs in this World and in the next; he proceedto Texutla, where he fpoke to the fame Effect to the Heads of the People, and they entertained him affectionately. They then came into the defart Country, where they met with much Hail and Rain, a fharp Wind blowing from the fnowy Mountains. The Men endured much, for there was alfo but few Eatables to be met with. They marched through another Pafs, where there were fmall Places of Worthip, with Idols and great Piles of Wood cut for the Service of the Temples. The Cold continued, and they were in great want of Provifions, which the Men bore with wonderful Patience, though the Weather pinched them, becaufe they were thin clad, and ufed to the temperate Climate of Cuba, Zempoalla, and the Sea-coaft. They next came into the Territories of Zocotlan, fubject to the King of Mexico; Cortes fent two Zempoallans before, to defire thofe People, in his Name, that they would be pleafed to quarter his Forces, and, at the fame Time, held them in Readinefs for all Events, becaufe this muft be confidered as an Enemy's Country; when they came in fight of the Town, a Portuguefe Soldier faying that it was like Caftel Branco, in Portugal, they gave it that Name.

The Lord was called Olintel, whom the Spaniards nick-named the Squab, becaufe he was very fat. He ordered the Men to have Provifions given them, but not a very great Quantity, or with a very good Will. Cortes by Means of his Interpreters, who daily grew more expert, talked to him as to others, and he was pleafed to hear thofe. Things which were fo ftrange to him. Cortes, obferving with what State he was ferved, afked him whether he was a Confederate, or a Subject, to the King of Mexico? He anfwered that Queftion, by faying, who is not a Slave to Motezuma? Cortes replied, that beyond the Sea there was a greater Sovereign, meaning the King of Spain, whom many Princes ferved, that himfelf was one of the meaneft Subjects he had, and that the Lord ought to fubmit himfelf, and give fome Demonftration that he did fo. He anfwered that he would do nothing but what Motezuma fhould command him. Cortes did not carry on this Difcourfe any farther, looking upon the Lord and his People to be Men of Refolution, but defired he would tell him fomething of Motezuma's Grandeur. This Lord faid he was Sovereign over many Kings; that there was
not the like of him in the World; that many Lords ferved him in his Palace bare-footed, with their Eyes fixed on the Ground ; that there were thirty Princes in his Empire, each of whom had one hundred thoufand fighting Men in his Dominions, and fome Years Motezuma facrificed as Victims fifty thoufand; that he refided in the largeff, moft beautiful, and ftrongeft City in the Univerfe, being in the Water, and having above fifty thoufand A.cales for the Service of it; that his Court was very fpacious, that many Princes of the Country round about continually reforted thither to ferve him ; that his Revenues were incredible, becaufe none, even the greateft, was exempt from paying Tribute, nor any fo poor as not to give fomething, though it were only Blood from his Arm ; that his Expences were prodigious, becaufe, befides thofe of his Civil Lit, he had continual Wars, which obliged him to maintain great Armies.
This Account ftruck fome of the People about Cortes with great Apprehenfions, from the mighty Strength of Motezuma, compared with their own flender Force; but he who had an admirable Faculty of turning every Thing to his own Advantage, ufually difcourfed of the Greatnefs of the Indian Emperor, with Pleafure; for, faid he, if we feek Wealth and Country from our Conquefts, we ought to rejoice, that thofe, againft whom we fight, have great Riches and large Dominions. As for this Indian Chief, with whom he then lodged, he was Lord over twenty thoufand People, had thirty Wives in his Houfe, and above one hundred Women to wait on them, and two thoufand Servants. The Town was large, and contained thirteen Temples, with abundance of Idols made of Stone; they facrificed to them, Men, Women, Children, Turtles, and other things, burning many Perfumes, with great Veneration. Motezuma had five thoufand Men in Garrifon in this Town and its Territory, and Men were ready two and two, at fmall Diftances, all the Way to Mexico, in the Nature of Pofts, to carry an Account of all Things that happened. Cortes was now thoroughly confirmed in the Notion he had of the Grandeur of Motezuma; and though fome about him were always giving Hints of the Difficulty of the Undertaking, and the Danger, he never hewed the leaft Irrefolution, but, on the contrary, with an undaunted Intrepidity, encouraged his People, affuring them of Succefs, with as much Firmnefs, as if he had it in his Power, as, indeed, he forefaw all Exigencies with wonderful Sa gacity and Difcretion.

Olintel feemed to grow better affected, and made more plentiful Provifion for the Men, upon the Difcourfe he had with Cortes; though he faid he could not tell whether Motezuma would not be difpleafed at his having entertained them without his Leave. Cortes, finding him more courteous, began to talk of Religion, and would have had a Crofs erected, as had been done in other Towns, but $F$. Olneedo did not think it proper, for fear of fome Irreverence. Francis de Lugo, a Man of Note, had with him a very large Greyhound that barked very much in the Night: The Gentlemen of that Town anked thofe of Zempoalla whether that was a Tyger, Lyon, or other Beaft to kill Men? They anfwered, it was a Beaft under good Command, and would bite and kill, when, and whoever his Mafter pleafed. They told them the great Guns killed whom they would, with fome Stones they threw into them, and that the Horfes ran like Stags, and overtook whom they pleafed, none being able to efcape them; that thofe were the Men who conquered the People at Tabafoo, threw down their Idols, and made them Friends wish their Neighbours. That Motezuma had fent them Prefents, becaufe he looked upon them as Gods, and therefore they wondered why Olintel made them no Prefents. Moved by what they faid, he im.. mediately fent Cortes four Head-pieces, three Collars, and fome Lizards, all of Gold, a Load of Cotton Cloth, and four Women Slaves to make Bread. In this Towr there was a Charnel containing abundance of Skulls and Bones of Men that had been facrificed, and in all other Towns in that Country, after the fame Manner as at Mexico, which fhall be defcribed in its Place.
3. Cortes ftaid nine Diys with Oliniel, to refrefh the
$\mathrm{Men}_{8}$

Men, and having given him a Prefent of his Toys, which was much valued, began to confult which Way he Thould travel to Mexico; Olintel faid, the beft and plaineft Way would be through a Town called Colula. The Zempoallans oppofed it, alledging that thofe People were very treacherous, and had always Garrifons; whereas the Tlafcalans were his Enemies, and good People, for which Reafon that would be the better Way. Cortes demanded of the Lord twenty Soldiers to be his Guides, as being well acquainted with the Country, which were given, and with them he fet out toward Tlafcala; as foon as he came to a Town called Xacazingo, he fent four Zempoallans to Tlafcala, with a Letter and a red Hat, and though he was fenfible that they underftood not the Letter, he thought they would, at leaft, conclude it to be a Meffage, that they might not do any harm to the Meffengers; for it was known that the Tlafcalans were informed that the Spaniards were marching towards them, and that they brought with them fome Indians that were Tributaries to Motezuma, as the Zempoallans and thofe of Olintel had taken up Arms. Cortes ordered the Meffengers to tell the Gentlemen of Tlafcala, that he had been informed, by the Lord of Zempoalla, and the neighbouring Towns, his Friends and Confederates, of the bloody Wars they had fo juftly waged with Motezuma, who had done them fo many Wrongs; that he was fent by a mighty Prince, in the firft Place, to bring them to the Knowledge of the true God, and at the fame time to deliver them from the Oppreffion of the Mexican Culuas; that he fent them that Hat, and with it a Sword and a Crofs-bow, that they might fee with what powerful Weapons he defigned to affift them.

This he did, becaufe he had heard how much a Crofs-bow and Spanifh Weapons had been admired at Mexico. Cortes fent this Embafly by the Advice of the Zempoallans, who faid the T'lafcalans were numerous and warlike, Enemies to Motezuma, and would eafily be brought into the Confederacy of the Totanaques. Cortes was more irclined to this Meffage, fince he hazarded nothing in fo doing, and had always found the Zempoallans fincere: And at this Place he began to be more fully informed of the Affairs of Tlafcala. The Meffengers coming, were received there, and conducted to the Town-Houfe, where Provifions were given them. The Council met, the Zempoallans were called in, and delivered diftinctly the Meffage given them by Cortes in the beft Terms they were able. On the other hand, the Ilafcalans having received the Hat, the Letter, and Arms, Maxifatzim, one of the Lords of the Republic, bade them fit down, faid they were welcome, that they thanked the Totanaques for their Advice, and were glad of their Liberty; that they were alfo thankful to the great Stranger for his Prefent, and that they might reft themfelves, becaufe it required time for them to come to a Refolution. Hereupon the Zempoallans withdrew, abundance of People flocking thither to enquire what they came about, and they recounting what they had feen of the Valour of the Spaniards, of their Behaviour, and their Weapons, defcribing the Horfes, and all the reft, and magnifying every thing.

The Lords of the Commonwealth, being by themfelves, Maxifcatzin, a Man of much Wifdom and well beloved, made a Speech, advifing them to receive the $S$ paniards in a friendly Manner, but Xicotencatl, who was General of the Army, was for oppofing them. This Diverfity of Opinions occafioned high Debates, the Traders and peaceable People being of Maxijcatzin's Mind, and the Soldiers fiding with Xicotencatl. Whereupon Temilotecatl, another of the four principal Lords, was of Opinion, that Embaffadors fhould be fent to the Commander of thefe new People, to tell him they fhould be well received, and in the mean Time, Xicotencatl Should advance with the Otomies, and try what thofe were whom fome called Gods, and if he vanquithed them Tlafcala would gain eternal Honour, but if not, the Blame might be thrown upon the Otomies, as a barbarous and rafh People: This Advice being approved, was put in Execution. The Zempoallan Meffengers were then called in, and told, that they were refolved to receive thofe Strangers in a friendly Manner, but, at
the fame time, they retained them under Colour of a Feftival, to gain Time for their General to march ${ }_{3}$ and to anfwer finally according to the Event. Eight Days paffed fince Cortes fent the Zempoallans to Tlafca$l a$, and they were not returned; he afked thofe that went with him what made them ftay fo long? They anfwered, it was likely they did not difpatch them for Oftentation; for which Reafon, and becaufe they gave him great Affurances of the Friendfhip of the Tlafcalans, he refolved to advance with his Forces. At the end of the Valley, he found a great Wall of dry Stone, a Fathom and an half high, twenty Foot broad, with a Parapet.. This Wall reached crofs the Valley, having only one Entrance, ten Paces wide, and there was a double Enclofure in the Nature of a Ravelin, about forty Paces in length, fo ftrong, that had there been any to defend it, the Spaniards would have had enough to do to force their Way through. Cortes halted to view it, and examine every Part, to fee whether there were any Ambuhh.

By this Cortes was convinced there were good Grounds for the Notion conceived of the Valour of the Tlafcalans, fince fo great a Work had been erected to oppofe them. The Workmanihip of this Wall was much admired, becaufe it was very artificially done, without any Mixture of Plaifter. He entered the Enclofure towards Tlafcalap his Men marching in good Order, and the Artillery ready, ftill fending Parties before to prevent Surprize. When they had advanced a League they came to a thick Wood of Pine-trees, with abundance of Thread and Papers tangled about the Trees, and, croffing the Way, which the Spaniards laughed at, being informed that the Sorcerers had promifed the Tlafcalans that they would difable them with thofe Threads and Papers. When they had advanced three Leagues from the Wall, Cortes fent Orders to his Men to haften their March becaufe it was late; and, going forward with the Horfe-men, as foon as they came to the top of a Hill, two that went foremoft, fell in with fifteen or fixteen Indians, armed with Swords and Targets, who had been pofted there to give Intelligence; and as foon as they difcovered the Spaniards ran away, tho' the Spaniards endeavoured to treat with them; but finding that the Horfes would overtake them, they drew up all together, and, defending themfelves, fought, fo defperately, that they killed twa Horfes, having almoft cut off their Heads; their Swords being edged with Flints, fo faftened to the Wood, that they cut like Razors; the Indians retired brandifhing their Swords, without fhewing the leaft Fear. But Cortes difcovering above five thoufand in a Body, that were moving to relieve the others, ordered them to be ftruck through with Spears, which he had forbid before, and fent to the Infantry to haften forward: Before the Infantry could come up, the Body of the Indians, before mentioned, had reached the Horfe-men, and, having fhot their Arrows, began the Fight.

The Horfe-men killed many with their Spears, efpecially thofe that preffed upon them. As foon as the Indians faw the Spanifh Infantry, they retired, being much frighted at the Horfes, faying thofe Stags were bigger than theirs, fwifter, and, that it was by Inchantment, that the Spaniards rode on them. When the Indians were thus withdrawn, two of the Meffengers that Cortes had fent to Tlafcala, returned, with fome Prefents from the Republic, who faid they were forry for the Rudenefs of thofe barbarous People; who were fome Towns of Otomies, that had committed fuch a Diforder without Leave, though they were glad they had been chaftized as they deferved; that the Republic was defirous to fee, know, and ferve him in their Town; and if they would have them pay for the Horfes thefe Otomies had killed, they would immediately fend Gold and Jewels; though Cories was fenfible of the Falfhood of the Meffengers, he thanked them for their Offer, adding, he would foon be with them, and, fuppreffing his Concern that the Indians had found the Horfes to be mortal, faid he would take no Pay for them, becaure he fhould foor have many more brought him from the fame Place where thefe had been bred. Thofe Otomies, though Sa. vages, were fubject to the Republic of Ilafcalia, having
their
their Towns in Bottoms, and their Scouts on the Hills; who, when they difcovered any Strangers, made Fires to give Notice from one Place to another, and the People affembled to defend themfelves.
4. The Tlafcalans Embaffador returned Home, carrying off about teventy Indians killed in the Action, to bury them ; and Cortes ordered the dead Horfes to be interred that the Indians might not be daily put in mind, by feeing them, that they could kill the reft. The Army was then, as has been faid, within the Territories of Tlafcala, and all that Province, from Villa, Rica thither, was called Catafla, which, though large, was not populous; becaufe Motezuma had, fome time before, deftroyed it. The Country is like Andaluzia, rich, hot, and fruitful, having many frefh Waters, which produce much Fifh, Forefts of Wild Trees, and Oaks bearing large Leaves, but fmaller Acorns than thofe in Spain. At Sun-fetting - Cortes encamped near a Brook, on a convenient Spot of Ground; and they kept Guard, by an hundred at a time, having been undifturbed that Night. The next Day they came to certain Houfes of Otomies, where they found fome of them dead of the Wounds they had received: They burnt the Houfes, and, for Want of better Provifions, Fed upon Tunis, a fort of Fruit that Country produces; becaufe they faw the Indions eat them.

The next Day Cortes proceeded, and being come to a troublefome Pafs, commanded every way by Hills; before they began to enter it a Dog barked: One Lores, a Smith, and an able Horfeman, made up to the Place, killed two Indians he met, and the reft fled. Here the other two Zempoallan Meffengers Cortes had fent to Tlafcala, came fweating, lamenting, much abufed, and in fuch a Fright that they could fcarce fpeak : They proftrated themfelves on the Ground, laid hold of Cortes's Feet and faid, The wicked ITafcalans, breaking through the Immunities of Embaffies, had bound them to be facrificed to the God of Vietory; that they unbinding each other that Night, had made their Efcape; and that they intended to facrifice all the Spaniards in the fame manner Soon after their Arrival, about a thoufand Indians well armed, appeared on a little Hill, who attacked the Spaniards with great Cries, and Vollies of Darts, Stones and Arrows. Cortes, by Means of the Interpreters defired them to be quiet, becaufe he would willingly have Peace, fignifying the fame to them. He perceiving they did not forbear, fell on, and they artfully gave way, retiring till they drew the Spaniards into an Ambufh of thirty thoufand, that lay in little Hollows that were by the Pafs. The Spaniords were in a defperate Condition, confidering the Multitude of their Enemies who charged them where they had not room to ftir. But the Encouragement given by Cortes, telling them, They now fought for their Lives, and did no Wrong to thofe that had attacked them, infufed frefh Courage. Here Tuch, one of the Noblemen of Zempoalla told Marina he forefaw the Death of them all; for it was impofible that one Man fhould get off alive. Marina told him, the God of the Chriftians, who was powerful, and loved them, would deliver them out of that Danger.

Not long after, the Spaniards and their confederate Indians, fighting manfully to avoid being facrificed, got out of that Streight, where the Tlafcalans behaved themfelves in fuch a furious manner, that feveral of them came to clofe with the Spaniards; and others laid hold of the Horfemens Spears as they rode before to make way for the Foot; and the confederate Indians leaping into the Water, Corites, every now-and-then turned to the Infantry, and bad them remember, That the planting the Faith of Jefus Chrift depended on the Prefervation of their Perfons. That they might expect very great Rewards befides, that being Spaniards they ought not to defpond, which their Nation never did. At length they extricated themfelves from among thofe deepRoads and Brooks, and 'got into the plain Fields, where the Forfes having room to run, and the Cannon to play, terrified the Indians, and killed many; fo that, not able to endure it, they retired to a rifing Ground and there fortified themfelves. In this Fight fome of the Spaniards were wounded,
but not one killed, and many Indians died upon the Spot, as did others afterwards of their Wounds. The Spaniards rejoiced, and with loud Voices returned Thanks to God, for having delivered them out of that Danger; nor was there any Want of Joy among the Indians, their Friends, who embracing the Spaniards, congratulated their Eicape. The Gentlemen of Zempoalla commending Narina, related her Prediction, and fhe declared the had never been afraid.

Such was the Pofture of Affairs, when an Indian who commanded one Part of the Enemy's Army, making Signals of Peace, came down where Cortes was with fome of his prime Men about him, and faid, That Experience had convinced him, that he and his were invincible and immortal Gods, therefore defired him that the War might ceafe, and he would prevail with the Commanders on his fide, that they fhould be reconciled, and perinit him to enter into Tlafcala. Cortes chearfully anfwered, That he had already offered them his Friendfhip, and, tho' he had fufficient Caufe to be otherwife, that he would ftill be their Friend. The Commander went back to the Tlafcalans, who beat him fo unmercifully that he was near Death. He returned to Cortes, faying, Thefe wicked Men would deftroy him. Cortes ordered him to be dreffed, and bade him, fince they were to be engaged with his Countrymen, ftand apart, with a Token he gave him that he might not be hurt. In fkirmifhing before the Battle begun there were feveral notable Actions; among the reft one of the four Indians whom Cortes had fent on his Embaffy to Tlafcala, knowing a Captain who in that City had feized him, afked Leave of Cortes to challenge him, who encouraged and allowed of the Challenge, directing a Spaniard to draw near when they were engaged, that if his Indian thould be in danger he might not perifh.

The Fight was begun in the Sight of both the Armies, with their Swords and Targets, but at the Conclufion, the Zempoallan killed the Tlafcalan, and cut off his Head. The confederate Indians celebrating the Victory with mighty Cries, and the Spaniards perceiving that Cortes rejoiced at it, and looking upon that as an happy Prefage of his future Victory, founded their Trumpets and beat their Drums. Between the two Armies was a very narrow and dangerous Pafs, which the Tlafcalans defended, and the Spaniards were of Neceffity to march that way. Fames de Ordaz boldly clofed with the Enemy, pufhing them, and gaining Ground, though Showers of Arrows fell on him and his Men: At length he gained the Pafs, and then the Horfes were led through. The Tlafcalans having loft that Pafs fo proper to be defended, left the Field and marched clear off; and the Spaniards being very well pleafed that they might be ftill advancing, took up their Quarters in a little Tower that ftood in an Eminence called Iracozizinco where there was a Temple with a little Town, which was afterwards called of Victory. They with extraordinary Diligence made Barracs of Boughs and Straw, the Indians working at them with muchAlacrity, becaufe Cortes pleafed them, and they were ready to ferve upon all Occafions upon that Account, and to avoid falling into the Hands of their Enemies. All that Night, being the firft of September, ftrict Watch was kept, and Cortes himfelf was upon the Guard with the third Part of his Men at the Morning Watch, which was moft apprehended, but no Enemy appeared; becaufe it was not their Cuftom to fight in the Night.

The next Day Cortes thought fit to fend Meffengers to defire the Tlafcalans to permit him to proceed freely on his Way, fince it was not his Defign to do them any Harm, nor was he going to join the Confederacy againft the King of Mexico; but only to perform what his Mafter the King of Spain had commanded him. In the mean time leaving Pedro de Alverado with half of the Forces, he marched with the other half, and the Horfemen. He burnt four or five Towns, and returned with four hundred Prifoners and no Lofs, though the Enemy charged him all the way to his Quarters, where he was told the Tlafalan Commander had anfwered his

Meffage

## Chap. III.

 for the Reduction of New Spain.Meflage, and that they would, the next Day, tell him their Minds. This bold Anfwer, and the Advice Cortes had received, that One hundred and Fifty thoufand Men were affembled, made him put his Forces into fuch a Pofture as he might not be furprized. Cortes refolved to be informed by the moft rational of the Prifoners about all things that were convenient for him to know; and they anfwered, That fince they were his Prifoners, and fo well ufed, they would tell him the Truth: They declared, that the Army was compofed of Otomies and Tlafcalans, all Subjects of the Republic of Tlafcala, though they did not care to have it known that their Commonwealth made the War, becaufe they would not have it thought, if they fhould be vanquifhed, that it had been by their Authority ; that they hated him, becaufe they imagined he was going to be a Friend to their mortal Enemy Motezuma, and therefore they agreed never to give over till they had conquered the Spaniards, and facrificed them to their Gods, and made a folemn Banquet of them, which they called heavenly; that the War was carried on at the particular Inftigation of Xirotencatl, the General 'of the Republic, who carried its Standard, which was a golden Eagle with its Wings difplayed, and that he would fee it the nextDay in the Rear of the Army, becaufe they were to fight; for in time of Peace it was before: That they were about One hundred and Fifty thoufand Men, moft Archers, who were very much afraid of the Thunder, and of the great running Stags, and were amazed at the dreadful Wounds their Swords had made.
5. The Tlafcalans Army appeared, the Standard was feen, and the Number of Men was fo great that they covered the whole Plain, all painted, adorned with great Plumes of Feathers, armed after their Manner with Bows and Arrows, Slings and Javelins, which they caft with fuch Dexterity that they would pierce a Door, and was the Weapon the Spaniards moft dreaded; long Spears; and Swords edged with Flint; Targets, Clubs, Headpieces, wooden Gauntlets, and Greves covered with DeerNkins; gilt Cotton Armour for the Body Finger-thick, which they called Efcupiles, worn afterwards by the Spasuiards, who found them ufeful againft the Arrows, and convenient in the Toils they underwent, not being able to endure Steel or Iron : They likewife made ufe of the Indian Targets, their own being foon fpoiled, and thofe were made of Wood; Leather, and adorned with Feathers, and others of Reeds and Cotton, being the beft', becaufe they did not fplit.

The Army marched very orderly, divided in two Battallions, but crowded together, and every Battallion had Horns and Kettle-drums, which was an extraordinary Sight, for the Spaniards had never beheld fo great anr Army fince they difcovered the Indies. The Enemy halted very near the Spaniards, with a deep Trench between them. Cortes fhewed himfelf highly pleafed at the Sight of them, and told his Men, that God gave them that Opportunity for his Glory, and the Honour of the Spanifh Nation, which would ftrike a Terror not only into Motexuma, but into all that World. The Tlafcalans being highly elevated with fo mighty an Army, encoutaged by the.fmall Number of the Spaniards, puffed up with their ufual Succefs againft their Enemies, fent three hundred Turkeys, two hundred Bankets of Cakes of Zentli, that is Fifty hundred weight of Bread, which was an extraordinary Supply, for the Spaniards, conficlering the Diftrefs they were in, and this, that they might be in better Cafe, and tafte more delicioully when facrificed.

When the Tlafcalons thought the Sponiards had eaten, Xicotencatl, in a very haughty Manner, commanded two thoufand Men to go and take thofe Creatures the Sea had fpewed up, and if they defended themfelves to kill them. The Two thoufand Men paffed the Trench, and with no lefs Intrepidity advanced to the Tower: The Horfemen went firt to receive them, the Infantry followed, and the Tlafcalans, at the firt Encounter, were made fenfible of what the Spanifh Weapons could do. They retired a little, but returned with greater Fury; when they were fully convinced that thofe few Men were

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not to be nighted. In their Retreat they were moft of them killed. The Commander of the Army, having feen what had happened, fell on fo boldlys that many of the Indians came up to the Camp, and-fome entered $\mathrm{it}_{5}$ in fpite of thofe who were left upon Guard, fighting with the Spaniards Hand to Hand. This proved a Day of glorious Toil, for the Fight lafted above four Hours, within and without the Trenches, before they could make room, the Indians charging and attacking fo furiouly; till feeing a great Number killed, they began to flacken, being amazed that they could not kill a Spaniard, looking upon that as wonderful, fo that they ftill fought as if they had been angry with themfelves; but as it grew late they retired.
The Spaniards refted the better becaufe they knew the Indians would not fight in the Night, but kept a good Guard. The Tlafcalans did not look upon them felves as vanquifhed, and how many were killed could. not be known, becaufe as they fell they hid their Dead. The next Day Cortes marched out into the Country, burnt fome Towns, and plundered one that had three thoufand Inhabitants, but few Soldiers, becaufe moft of them were gone to the Army. The Town was fired, many Prifoners carried away, and the Spaniards returned to their Quarters, at a Time when a great Number of Men were coming to defend that Place, but retired ifnmediately for fear of the Guns, and being fatigued with Heat. The next Day the Tlafcalans thinking they could gain more Advantage over the Spaniards in narrow Places, in a haughty Manner fent them Provifions again, as they had done before; challenging them to come into fome ftreight Place, but finding they did not, they boldly began the Attack again. They fought five Hours very defperately, without being able to kill one Spaniard, which was what they aimed at, but of them a prodigious Number was flain, becaufe as they thronged together, the Cannon, the Mufkets, and the Crofs-bows, did dreadful Execution. At length, tired and athamed that they had not executed their Malice, they retired in Confufion.

The next Morning the Commanders fent Meffengers unto Cortes, who thus addreffed him: Sir, if you are a fierce God, here are five Slaves for you to eat; if you are a good God, we offer you Incenfe and Feathers; and if you are a Man, take then Fowls, Bread, and Cherries; for you and your Men to eat. Their Defign was to know whether the Spaniards were Men like themfelves, becaufe as they had not been able to vanquifh them, or fo much as kill one, they concluded they were immortal; and feeing, on the other Hand, that they did eat and do other things like Mortals, they were confounded. Cortes, who never wanted Prefence of Mind on any Occafion, faid they were all mortal Men like themfelves; but that, becaufe they believed in, and ferved one only true God, he did, and would always, affift them; that they fhould not deal treacherouny with him, for all would turn to their Prejudice; and fince he did not defire to do them any harm, but to be their Friend, he advifed them not to be obftinate; having delivered himfelf thus mildlys he difmiffed them, returning Thanks for the Prefent.

The next Day thirty thoufand I'lafcalans advanced, being defirous to fignalize themfelves, and fought fo bravely, that the Battle was more bloody than the former, but at length retired; and it is to be obferved, that for the Space of ten Days the Spaniards continued in thofe Quarters, the Indians generally, fupplied them with Fowl, Bread, and Cherries, only that they might have the Opportunity of viewing their Order and Situation, whether any dead Men were buried, wounded, or dreffed, and obferve how they looked, or whether they had more or fewer Forces; yet the Spaniards, at firt, had no Jealoufy of their Defign, and, on the contrary, commended the Indians for making War only with their Weapons, for had they cut off their Provifions they muft have been undone.
6. The Tlafcalons, intent upon feeking Revenge, and finding how little they could do by Force, had recourfe to Policy; and, in order the more to lull the Spaniards into Security, they fent forne Men of Note with Prefents of Gold and Feathers: They made many fubminive Bows to Cortes, and the eldeft of them told him, That the Re-

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public fent that fmall Prefent, which was not fo inconfiderable, for want of good Will, but by Reafon of the Poverty of their Country; and that if he had any Commands, they would ferve him very readily. Cortes thinking the Meffengers had been fincere, very pleafantly told them, That though he valued the Prefents, he made more account of their Good-will, and coveted nothing more than making them his Friends. The next Day the Tlafcalans fent fifty Men, who brought Provifions, alked how the Men did, and what they meant to do ? Cortes faid they were all very well, and gave Thanks for the Prefent; and thefe Men growing familiar, walked about the Camp, and obferving every thing therein, and particularly the Horfes Teeth; a Zempoallan Gentleman taking particular Notice of them, told Cortes he looked upon thefe Men as Spies,' and that they had fome private talk with the Indians of $\Upsilon$ ztaactucbitlan: Upon this, Cortes ordered one of them to be taken up, whom he examined by his Interpreters, ufing Threats if he did not confefs the Truth. He owned that they had been all fent to difcover which Way they might burn the Barracs, for which Purpofe they defigned to march with a great Army by Night, thinking that the Guns, Horfes, and. Weapons, were lefs to be feared in the dark.

Others having confirmed this Account, he caufed the Hands of feven of thofe Men, and the Thumbs of others, to be cut off, though much againft his Inclination, but believing it might be of ufe for the future; and bid them go tell their General, Xicotencatl, that he would ferve all the Spies, that fell into his Hands, after that Manner; and that he might advance with his Army, for that he would always find the Spaniards invincible by Night or by Day. Thofe Men with their Hands cut off, ftruck a great Confternation among Xicotencatl's Forces, begetting an Opinion, that the Spaniards had fome Spirit that difcovered their Thoughts to them, for which Reafon they durft fend no more Spies or Provifions. Cortes, after this Information, enlarged his Trenches, and fortified his Camp, providing every thing till Sun-fet, when he perceived that the Enemies Army was advancing to put their Defign in Execution; and judging it moft convenient not to fuffer them to come up to his Quarters, he boldly marched out to meet them, which he thought would terrify them the more, as fuppofing their Intention had not been known.

He accoutred all the Horfes with large Breaft-plates, full of Hawks-Bells, that the Noife might make them feem the more; directing they fhould ftrike the Enemies on their Faces, with their Spears, becaufe they were wont to lay hold off, and fnatch them away. Then, having told the Soldiers that they muft overcome that Multitude by dint of Valour, he fell on at the very time when the Spies, whofe Hands had been cut off, were relating what had befallen them, which much troubled the General and all that heard it, but they were much more aftonifhed to fee themfelves fo unexpectedly affaulted, fo that they inftantly difperfed and fled, without making any Oppofition; and though a great Slaughter was made, Cortes took care to put a Stop to the Purfuit, for fear they fhould be drawn into fome Place of Difadvantage. The next Day Cortes feeing his Men chearful, faid to them, That fince God had, till then, fo vifibly affifted them, they would be all very much to blame if they did not proceed on what they had fo well begun with Refolution, and to that Purpofe it was requifite to prefs hard upon the Ilafcalans, to the End, they might afterwards prove the furer Friends, for that nothing could be more advantageous to them, in New Spain, than to be in Confederacy with that Commonwealth, which was to be compaffed by profecuting the Victories they had gained.

All the Commanders and Soldiers promifed to follow and go wherever he would lead them; Xicotencatl being much out of Countenance at the Difafters he had met with, retired to Tlafcala; Maxifcatzin, and the other Lords, told him it had been better to have followed the firt Advice, and faved the Lives of fo many, and therefore it was in vain to perfift obftinately to the Lofs of the Reputation of that Republic. Cortes feeing no Enery appear in the open Country, went up to the
top of the Temple, where his Quarters were, whence he difcovered feveral Towns, and abundance of Smokes towards the Mountains; then coming down, he told his Captains he believed that to be a large Place, and fince no Enemy appeared, it was proper not to lofe Time, but to put in Execution what had been agreed on. As foon as it was Night, having before taken a view of the Country, he refolved to try his Fortune, and entered upon a great Road, with half his Infantry, and all his Horfe judging that Way would lead him to the Smokes he had feen. They had fcarce gone a League, before a Horfe fell, which Cortes ordered to be fent back to the Quarters, and prefently two more fell one after the other, and in this Manner there fell five.

The Soldiers begged of Cortes to turn back, and do what they defigned by Day, becaufe they looked upon this as an ill Omen: He, with an undaunted Courage prayed them for the Love of God, whofe Caufe they had in hand, not to regard fuperftitious Obfervations, but to hold their Way, fince he went himfelf foremoft, and that the Horfes might return to the Place from whence they came. He had fcarce fpoke thefe Words, when his Horfe fell, which he wondered at, whereupon all his Men urging that it was a vain Thing to proceed, and fome, that he would ruin all; he, in a fevere Manner; told them they ought to confider that great Undertakings were not to be carried on without Difficulties, that they fhould try to march a-foot, leading the Horfes, to fee what that Accident tended to: When they had marched far after this Manner, the Horfes were all well, and they could never find what occafioned their paft Diftemper, though fome fancied it might have been fome Sorcery of the Indians, much practifed among them, but Cortes faid it was the Cold of the Night which gave them the Gripes. They proceeded thus till they came into fome ftony Grounds, from which they extricated themfelves with Difficulty, and fpying Fire, made towards it. They found two Men and two Women in a Houfe, who conducted them to the Mountains, where Cortes had feen the Smoke.

Before it was Day they came to fome Villages, where the Fright was greater than the Hurt; and being informed that Cintancingo, a large Town, was by, they foon came to it, the Surprize occafioning much Confufion: Some Harm was done at firft, but the People running away in the utmoft Confternation, Cortes ordered that no Perfon fhould be killed, and nothing taken, fo that the Diforder foon ceafed, and the Inhabitants returned to their Houfes. Cortes went up to a high Place, whence he difcovered fuch a multitude of Houfes, that he was aftonifhed, and afking what Places thofe were, received an Anfwer that it was the City of Tlafcala, and the Villages about it; he called all his Men, and faid, what would it have availed to have deftroyed the People of Cintancingo, fince there are fo many yonder? Then turning to Alonfo de Grando, who was chief Alcalde, he afked him what he thought was fit to be done, confidering the multitude of People they had difcovered? He anfwered, that they fhould return to the Sea and write to Fames $V_{e}$ lafquez to fend Supplies, becaufe if any crofs Accident or Sicknefs fhould happen among them, it was certain they fhould be all devoured by the Indians. Cortes was much concerned at this Anfwer, and efpecially for its touching upon fames Velafquez: However, he replied, that he ought to confider that if they muft certainly die, it was better to perifh in the Profecution of their Defign than in running away.
7. He then went to reft him by a Spring, without the Town, whither the Chiefs of the Country reforted to hims with abundance of unarmed Men, carrying a quantity of Provifions. They thanked him for having done no hurt, as he might; offered to obey him, and interceed with the Lords of Tilafcala for a Peace: He entertained them very kindly, promifing his Friendihip, provided they were fincere, and fo returned to his Quarters, advifing the Soldiers not to fpeak ill of the Day till it was paft, for he hoped that the War with Tlafcala was at an End, as they would find it, and if fo, God had much Profperity in ftore for them. Thofe he had left in his Quarters were very melancholy, fearing fome Difafter, becaufe of

## Chap. III. For the Reduction of NEwSpat No

the Sicknefs of the Horfes; but when they faw him return with a pleafant Countenance, and all Men fafe, with fome of the Natives of the Country, they crouded to welcome him ; he told them all that had happened, but when they were informed of the Greatnefs of Tlafcala, and the Multitude of thofe martial People, reflecting how many Accidents might happen, how little Hopes there were of Supplies, when they had run themfelves into a Country they knew nothing of; they began to hold Cabals, refolving to perfuade and to require Cortes not to carry them where they could not eafily retreat; fince the Danger was fo evident, offering to follow him through greater Fatigues, provided it was with a fuitable Power, that which they then had being too inconfiderable for fo extehfive a Country.

His Friends advifed him to take order about it before the Men mutinied; he anfwered, that the Danger was not fo great, for he did not believe that Spaniards could be fo faint-hearted, efpecially having till then met with fo much Succefs. One Night, going the Rounds, he heard loud talking, and fome Soldiers faying, if our Commander is mad, let us be wife and tell him in plain Terms, that he muft confider what is fit to be done, or we will leave him by himfelf. He told fome who were with him, that thofe who durtt fay fo were likely enough to do it; and going on heard the like in other Places, which troubled him very much; he would willingly have punifhed them, but thought it better to take no Notice, till hearing that the Murmers increafed, he caufed all the Men to be drawn together, and fooke to them fo effectually, that they all readily fubmitted to follow and obey him.
Very foon afterwards fix Mexican Noblemen arrived, attended by about two hundred Perfons; being brought before Cortes, they made him profound Obeifance, and it appeared that they had Notice, at Mexico, of the Victories he had gained over the Tlafcalans; before they fpoke they delivered him a Prefent from their Monarch, viz. one thoufand Cotton Garments, various curious Pieces of Feather-work, and the Value of rooo-Caftelanos in very fine Gold Duft, as it is taken out of the Mines: Then the Eldeft of them faid, That their Mafter, Motezuma, faluted him, fent the Prefent by them, wifhing him all Profperity, much rejoiced at the News he had received of the Victories he had obtained over the Tlaf calans, that, wifhing him well; he defired he would not go to Mexico, becaufe the Way was very bad and dangerous, and he fhould be forry that any Mifchance fhould befal Men of fo much Valour, whom he fo entirely loved; that he was willing to acknowledge the King of Spain his Friend and Sovereign, whom he would ferve in all he fhould command. Cortes, by his Interpreters, anfwered they were welcome, and he would confider of their Meffage. Cortes's Defign was, that thofe Embaffadors fhould fee how he behaved towards the Tlafcalans in cafe the War was carried on; and if Peace was concluded, that they fhould hear how he reproved them for having begun it.
He then gave Orders that they fhould be well treated; at that time he was indifpofed, and therefore had not for fome Days marched into the Country, fo that nothing more was done than fecuring the Quarters, and fkirmifhing with Parties of Tlafcalans. The Enemy fancying this proceeded from Weakneis; or a Lofs they were not acquainted with, prepared to attack them. Cortes, notwithftanding his having taken Phyfic, mounted on Horfe-back, fought a long time in Perfon, and omitted nothing that was to be done; till the Enemy were routed and fled; the Mexicans being prefent, and obferving every Circumftance of the Action. The Tlafcalans admiring that all their Power had not been able to compals their Defign, and moft of them concluding that the Spaniards were affinted by fome Deity, which rendered them invincible, and being informed that the Mexican Embaffadors were arrived at the Spanifh Army; having ferioully confulted what was to be done, after many Debates and Contefts, concluded that Peace ought to be made, and Endeavours ufed to divert them from entering into any Alliance with the Mcxicans, becaufe that would be thes
greateft Misfortune that could befal them. Young $\boldsymbol{X i z}^{=}$ cotencatl was appointed to go on this Embaffy, though he endeavoured to excufe himfelf, but having receitved pofitive Command, he made ready with fifty of the principal Men in the City, and fome Youths to be left as Hoftages:

He carried a Prefent of Cotton Cloth, and Featheirworks with fome Gold, according to the Ability of that City, which had very little of thofe things. .Cortes, being advertifed of this Embaffy that was coming from the Republic of Tlajcala, and that Xicotencatl was the Per fon employed, went out to receive and conduct him to his Quarters, with much Honour and vaft Attendance. They two fat down, all the reft ftanding; ds well Spaniards as Tlafcalans; the Prefent and the Hoftages were brought in, and Xicotencatl, in a very courteous Manner, begged Pardon for what was patt, for himfelf and his Republic, making many Excufes, and offering to enter into a ftrict Alliance with the Spaniards, and to ferve them faithfully for the future

Cortes, having confidered the Tlafcalan's Speech, told him that notwithftanding what was paft, they might depend on his Friendfhip, and on his coming among them; immediately after the Departure of the Mexican Embaffadors: Upon which Xicotencatl rofe up very well pleafed. Cortes went with him out of his Tent, the other Commanders attended him out of the Quarters, all being well pleafed, hoping that fince the War was concluded with Tlafcala, they fhould reap great Advantages from the Alliance, for at that time confidering that fome were dead, many wounded, and the reft fpent with Fatigues, their Number fo fmall, and thee many Difficulties they had to furmount; they concluded that if the War had lafted, they muft all have perifhed, and therefore they afcribed the concluding of this Peace, at that time, to be efpecial Goodnefs of God; and for confirming them in this religious Opinion, Cortes ordered Mafs to be faid and a folemn Thankfgiving; after which, F. Fobn Diaz called the Tower of the Temple there, The Tower of ViEIory, in memory of thofe Battles which the Troops had gained whilft they had their Quarters clofe by it, during almoft forty Days they continued in that Place.
8. On the Return of this great Man; who had acted as Embaffador, the Senate affembled, and heard, as leifure, a full Report of the Manner in which this Ne gotiation had been managed, and judging from what he delivered, thiat it imported them highly to fecure the Friendfhip of Cortes, in order to have his Protection againft Motezuma; they refolved to leave no Means untried to bring him into their City as foon as poffible, to prevent his concluding an Alliance with their Enemy. The Peace was proclaimed, and they made a Mitole; that is, a public Dance of above twenty thoufand Men richly adorned.

They offered extraordinary Sacrifices to their Gods? burning abundance of Perfumes, and garnifhed the Doors of their Houfes, with Boughs and Variety of Flowers; the Mexican Embaffadors were much concerned at that Alliance with the Tlafcalans, and bid Cortes take care not to truft thefe People who were fo falle that they would endeavour to compass, by Treachery, what they had not been able to perform by Force; and that he might be affured, if they once went into Tlafcala, that they would murder them every Man. Though Cortes, who was a cautious Man, did not, as yet, repofe much Confidencé in the Tlafcalans; he anfwered, that if they were ever fo treacherous, he was refolved to go into the City, for he feared them lefs there than in the Field. Having heard his Refolution, they defired he would give Leave for one of them to go firft to Mexico; he was pleafed with their Propofal, becaufe it gave time to fee if the Friendfhip the Tlafcalans offered was fincere, and how it was taken at Mexico; whilft thefe things were in Agitationt many Tlafcalans reforted to the Army with Provifions, others went out only to fee and become acquainted with the Spaniards, entreating them to come to their City. They gave them good Words, till the Meffenger, returning from Mexico the fixth Day, brought ten coftly Veffels of Gold, well wroughts and one thoufand five
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hundred Cotton Garments, and in Notezuma's Name, intreated Cortes not to expofe himfelf by going into Tlafcala; for, he affured him, he would repent it, becaufe thofe were a needy People, and invited him thither that they might rob him.

On the other Hand, the four great Lords had already fent to importune him to repair to their City; offering him ftill greater Security if he defired it, and protefting that their Friendihip thould laft for ever, for they would never violate the Faith of the Republic upon any Account. Cortes concluding that fo much Courtely muft needs proceed from a fincere Friendihip, and being much courted to it by the Zempoallan's, refolved to go to Tlafcala, and accordingly began his March, leaving feveral Crofles and Heaps of Stones at his Quarters by the Torver of ViELory, in Memory of thofe glorious Advantages he had gained there.

The Accounts the Zempoallans and other Indians that followed the Spaniards gave were very advantageous; who, glorying to be in their Company, extolled their Valour, their Goodnefs, and their brave Actions; praifing their God, by whofe. Aid they conquered. Cortes took Care to fend Advice to $\mathcal{F}$ obn de Efculante, and the reft that had been left behind at Vera Cruz, of the Succefs it had pleafed God to give him, directing them to carry on the building of the Fort, and to keep a watchful Eye upon the Natives, and upon the Ships that fhould come from Cuba, and ordering two Jars of Wine to be fent him for faying Mafs, and for the Sick, having ufed all that he carried with him. When he arrived at Tlafcala on the 18th of September 1519, the Lords of the four great Quarters of the City came out to meet him, attended by feveral others of the greateft Perfons of the Commonwealth, and above an hundred thoufand Men. The Province complimented him at feveral Places, firft at Tezonpantzinco, next at Atliquetzan, a very large Town, whither Pilteculti came with a very numerous Retinue; thence Cortes proceeded to Tezatlia, belonging to old Xicotencatl, who came not becaufe of his great Age. The other Lords being Maxcifatzin, Zitlacpopucatzin and Tlevexolotzin, with all the prime Nobility, came up in good Order. Young Xicotencatl embraced Cortes, as did the other Lords, whom he received very courteounly, and they all proceeded together to the Place where he and his Men were to be quartered, always expreffing their Defire to ferve them; when the Spaniards had been put into their Quarters at the great Temple, and the Indions, their Friends, with them, they were generounly treated and fupplied with all Neceffaries.

The more to affure Cortes of their Affection, they prefented him with above three hundred beautiful Women, all very well dreffed, that had been condemned to be facrificed, which they gave the Spaniards as an Offering, and they lamented their Misfortune. Cortes would not accept of them, alledging, that their Religion would not permit any Man to have more than one Wife, and fhe a Chriftian: At laft, in regard that the Indians take it very ill to have their Gifts refufed; fome of them were received under Colour of ferving Donna Ma rine, who was prefent at all Conferences, and much refpected; for it was the Cuftom among the Indians, for a Woman of Quality to have a great Number to wait'on her. And the Indians obferving, that thefe and other Women Slaves they gave the Spaniards lived contentedly with them, the prime Men afterwards gave them their Daughters, that the Race of thofe brave Men might continue among them. Xicotencatl gave a beautiful Daughter, he had, to Peter de Alverado, and the was afterwards called Donna Louifa Tecbquiluafin; thofe People having no Ceremony in Marriage more than the Confent of the Parties. They gave Cortes the Name of Calchicbiutl, fignifying an Emerald, and Emeralds are highly valued among thofe People. They called Peter de Alverado the Sun, becaufe he was very fair of Complexion, with an agreeable Red, and much beloved by the Tlafcalans, Cories, by Degrees, enquired very particularly into the Rower and Condition of Motezuma's Empire, and the Enmity between him and the Republic, and omitted nothing that might afford him Means of
providing amply for the Accomplifiment of his Enterprize.
9. This bringing over of the Government and People of Tlafcala to his Intereft, uniting them in the Confederacy againt $M$ Notezuma, and engaging them to furnifh an Army for that War, was one of the greateft Strokes of Policy that was fhewn by Cortes, in the Management of this whole Affair ; and without taking which, it had been fimply impoffible for him to have fucceeded. It may not be amifs therefore, before we proceed further, to give a more particular Account of this celebrated Republic, which makes io great a Figure in the Hiftory of the New World. The Town of Tlafcala is fituated in Lat. $20^{\circ}$ in a Climate extremely temperate, and in a Soil wonderful fruitful; the whole Diftrict belonging to it was about 50 Leagues in extent, and yet within that narrow Compafs, from the great Mildnefs of its Government, more efpecially in Comparifon of that of the Mexican Monarchs, the Republic was able to raife thofe prodigious Armies that have been before-mentioned.
The Place itfelf' was built amongft the Rocks and white Cliffs, fo as to provide rather for Strength and Security than for Neatnefs and Beauty, though, as far as the Ground would permit, the City was not deftitute of either. It was from this Situation that it derived the Name of Tlafcala, which fignifies a Place of Rocks, tho' it was afterwards called Tlafcallan, which fome Spanifb Writers call a Corruption; but, as they allow that in the Indian Tongue ir implies, a Place well ftored with Corn, and confequently belonged as juftly to this City as the other ; I cannot fee why we fhould not rather fuppofe the City had two Names; the firft, perhaps impofed by their Enemies, and the latter by themfelves. There was a fine River paffed through their Territory, and wafhed a Part of the City, which commonly overflowed in the Winter, and thereby greatly enriched the Soil, but fometimes over-ran its Banks with fuch Violence, as to do a great deal of Mifchief, and rendered Dykes neceffary, which they, wanting Skill to raife, had recourfe to fuperftitious Ceremonies and bloody Sacrifices, which inftead of curing increafed the Mifchief. The Town was divided into Yarcels at fmall Diftances, without any Order ; many Houfes crowded together, and between them feveral narrow winding Lanes, the Houfes terraffed at the Top on Beams, fome on Mud-walls, fome boarded, fome on Brick, and fome of Lime, and Stone, according to every Man's Ability; they had no upper Floors, but all on the Ground; having very large Rooms of irregular Shape, nor had they Doors or Window-Shutters, but only Matts, made of a Sort of Sedge, which they hung on and took down at Pleafure, with Hawks-Bells, of Gold, Copper, or other Metals, and Sea-Shells hanging on them to make a Noife, when they were taken down, opened or thut. Moft of this Country was inhabited, for from the City there ftretched out other Towns, like Suburbs, extending two or three Leagues beyond the Walls of it ; every Houfe had Land about it, and there were eighteen Towns adjacent, belonging to Tlafcala. The Inhabitants being above one hundred thoufand, and all the Country round this Province was enclofed by other Nations, Subjects to the Mexicans, who had maintained War againft Tlafcala for fixty Years paft, and preffed them on all Sides.
The Tlafcalans had expelled the Ulmecans and Zucatecans out of their Country, and kept it to themfelves, calling themfelves at firft Cbicimecans. Having fettled their Boundaries to be known by, and refufing to fubmit to any King, or General, there enfued Civil Wars among them, by their confpiring againft their beft Commanders. The prime Men were fo hard preffed that they craved Aid of Tefcuco, and other Towns, being much ftreightened in Tlafcala. With thofe Succours they enlarged their Borders, and grew too hard for their Enemies, who fought Affiftance of Matzaliutzin, King of Mexico. He fent Word to the Tlafcalans, that though he had promifed to affift their Enemies, it fhould be only in Shew, for which he prayed them not to hurt his Sub-
jects. When the War was over, thofe Cbicbimecans of him, becaufe their God Guetfalcoatl was fo powerful; Tlafcala ftruck a great Terror into the Country, and all the Culuas and Mexicans joined in Alliance with them, and living long in Peace, had Leifure to build their Towns and fettle the Frontiers. Tlafcala enjoying Peace, all the Province'was inhabited, and Kalliuacuth, who was looked upoin as the only Lord, divided what he had with his Brother Teyobualminqui, and went down to govern his People into the Vale of Ocoteculco.

Thefe Brothers left the Sovereignty to two Soas of theirs; and one of them, though very brave, grew fo tyrannical in his old Age, that his Subjects, being uiteafy, confpired, and new him and all his Friends and Kindred ; but two Nurfes hid two young Sons of his, from whom defcended Maxifcatzin, the moft faithful Friend of the Spaniards; the other three Lords of Tlafcala were of no lefs remarkable Defcents. After the Death of Culbuacutli, the City and its Territory began to be governed as a Commonwealth. The Mexican Language was fpoken at Tlafcala, though there was another which they called Otomitick, from a Nation, which revolting from the Kings of Mexico, was received by the Tlafcalans as their Subjects, and had Lands given them to till, on Condition that they fhould guard the Frontiers againft the Mexicans and Culuas. Thefe were the barbarous Otomies, on whom the Tlafcalans at firft laid the blame, for having taken up Arms againft Cortes. They are very hardy, excellent Hufbandmen, obftinate Idolaters, leud, favage, and hard to be brought to Chriftianity, Drunkards, and fond of living in remote Places, being the reverfe of thofe that fpeak the Mexican Tongue, who were docile and polite. Thefe Otomies were once pofreffed of all that Country, and there are of them fcattered every where, but nothing is known of their Original ; becaufe they are fo barbarous, that they can give no account of themfelves.
10. Cortes being come into Tlafcala, to pleafe Maxifcatzin, removed into his Quarter of the Town called Ocoteculco, where a Market was kept every Week. The four Lords that governed the Commonwealth, and other great Men, went thither to difcourfe Cortes, and intreat him to acquaint them with his Intentions, promifing to concur fincerely in whatfoever he fhould propofe. Cortes gave them to underftand that he was come to inftruct them in the Chriftian Religion, to abolifh Idolatry, and to affift them againft all their Enemies; and particularly Motezuma. Maxifcatzin replied, in Defence of their Gods, and Cortes rejoined, ftill preffing them to renounce their Idols; but, by the Advice of F. Bartbolomeri de Olmedo, and fome of his Officers, he thought fit not to urge the Point of Religion any farther at that time. They promifing not to eat any more human Flefh, yet they all returned to it as foon as he was out of the way. Being now fatisfied that his Friendihip with the Tlafcalans was eftablifhed, he propofed his Journey to Mexico; and though they reprefented to him the Power of Motezuma, the Strength of the City, the Danger he was running into among the Culuas, who, they faid, were given to change; as alfo their Multitude; in Conclufion, to pleafe him, they confented to all he faid, and offered to affift him, if he would make War, or to bear him Companiy, if, as he faid, he only defigned to vifit Motezuma: Accordingly they immediately began to appoint Commanders, raife Men, and lay up Provifions.

The Fame of the Alliance between the Spaniards and the Tlafcalans being fpread abroad, put all the Country into a Confernation, and efpecially Motezuma, who was fill refolved to obftruet Cortes's coming to Mexico though, at the fame time, in order to draw him from Tlafcalc, he propofed his removing to Cbulula, where he might be better entertained. The Tlafcalans earneft ly oppofed it, and zealouly offered fifty thoufand Men to attend him, becaufe the People of Chulula, after having been long at Peace, with them, being corrupted by Motezuma, had, in a Battle they had with the Mexicans, and in which the Tlafcalars led the Van, fallen in upon cheir Rear, and killed many of them, fince which time they had been Enemies. The Tlafialans advifed Cortes to consider that the Cbululons faid they did not fear

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that he would deftroy his Men with Fire from Heaven. or drown them with Water: He fmiled at this, and continued his Preparations. On the Part of the Flafcalans nine Sons of the Prime Men of the Quarter of Ocoteculico were appointed Commanders of the Troops that were to attend Cortes from thence, the other Quarters nominated thirteen Commanders. The feveral Commanders had alfo their peculiar Colours, and all very gay, with Plumes of Feathers, after their Manner. Certain it is, that the Tlafcalans were very dubious of the Event of the Journey, being apprehenfive of the Cbulutans, and bearing much Refpect to their City, as it was a Place of great Devotion and reputed Sanctity among them. Cortes, by the Advice of the four great Wards, fent to call thofe that governed at Cbulula to him.

Eight Leagues from the City of Tlafcala is the Mountain called Popocatepod, the Top whereof always fmoaked; and whilft the Spaniards were at Tlafcala it caft out more Fire than ufual, to the great Aftonifhment of the Natives. Fames de Ordaz took a Fancy to fee that Wonder, for till then it was a ftrange Thing to the Sponiards, and the Indians affirmed that no Mortal had ever been upon the Top of that Mountain. Cortes, to thew the Indians that the Spaniards made fmall Account of what they thought impracticable, was well pleafed that Ordoz hould go and view it: He took with him fome Spaniards and a few Indians for Guides, who ftopped at a certain Diftance; and Ordaz advancing they heard the dreadful Noife that was within, felt the Earth quake, and arrived at the Place to which the Fire and Stones caft out of the Mountains reached, the oreat Quantity of Afhes choaking up the way. Thefe Things making fome uneafy, and being very weary with going up, they would willingly have turned back; but Ordaz telling them, it was a Shame for Spaniards, who had undertaken any thing not to go through, they advanced, making their Way through the Afhes, and arriving at length at the Top, through a thick Smoak, they for fome time viewed the Mouth, which feemed to be round, and above a Quarter of a League in Compafs, with a deep Cavity, within which the Fire raged as it does in a Glafs-Houfe. From the Eminence appeared the great City of Mexico, feated in its Lake, and Towns about it: Not being able to make any longer Stay by reafon of the exceffive Heat, he returned the fame way he came for the Benefit of the Track. The Indians, being aftonifhed that mortal Men fhould do fuch an Action, kiffed their Garments, believing that to be one of the Mouths of Hell : Where fuch Lords, as were Tyrants, fuffered for their Sins ; and aftetwards went to reft.
II. The Events which we have reported in this Secs tion are in themfelves fo great and extraordinary, that if their Confequences had not put them out of all Queftion, they might very eafily pais for Things altogether incredible. If Cortes could have exhibited to the Spaniß Miniftry a Scheme of his Expedition, and had therein laid it down as a thing practicable to hatve beat the Republic of Tlafcala, though capable of bringing three or four hundred thoufand Men into the Field, into begging a Peace, and then making ufe of their whole Power againft Motezu$m a$, it would certainly have been taken for the wildeft, moit romantic, and ridiculous, Propofition that was ever ferioully recommended to the Confideration of Perfons ins trufted with the Management of public Affairs; and yet it is very evident, that from the Time he firft heard of this Republic, he actually formed fuch a Scheme, forefaw all the Difficulties that would attend it, provided for them, and by firmly perfifting in the Execution of his own Plan brought it to bear. This plainly thews us, that there is fcarce any thing infurmountable to a great Genius, or which may not be brought about if Men are obedient to a Commander, and awed with thofe extraordinary Abilities which conftitute what we call a Hero.

There feems to be no Queftion made by the Spanifo Hiftorians, that the whole Succefs of this amazing Enterprize was entirely due to the Wifdom, Fortitude, and fteady Refolution of this great Captain, whe yet

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for any thing that appears, was made fo rather by the Strength of his natural Abilities, than from any Helps which he received from Difcipline, or Experience; for it is certain that he had feen little of War before he undertook this Expedition, and had never acted as a Commander in chief, till fuch time as he put himfelf at the Head of it, which is another Circumftance full of wonder, or rather more furprizing than all the reft taken together.
But it may be fuggefted, that fuch as have written his Hiftory, may be partial in this Refpect, and attribute more to Cortes, and lefs to thofe who attended him, than they deferve; which, however, the very Circumftances
of the Hiftory demonftrate to be falfe, fince it very plainly appears that there were always in his Army a confiderable Number of Malcontents, who, if they durf, would have declared againft his Authority, and in favour of that of Fames Velafquez, which muft have ended in overturning the Expedition; fo that from hence it very plainly appears, he was fo far from having much Affirtance from thofe about him, that, in reality, a great Part of his Care was neceffarily employed in preventing thofe Seditions, which they were continually labouring to ftir up, and which, as we fhall fee hereafter, no Succeffes could induce them to leave off.

## S E C T I O N XI.

The March of the Spaniards to Mexico, the Reception given to Cortes by Motezuma, bis Imprifonment and other Tranfactions to the Time of bis ordering the Spaniards to quit bis Dominions.

1. The Manner in which Cortes marched from Tlafcala towards Mexico, and the Number of Tlafcalans tbat accompanied bim in bis Way to Chulula. 2. His Reception in that City, the Merbods ufed by Motezuma to bring the Inbabitants to confpire againft the Spaniards, and the Mijchiefs that enfued. 3. Upon Peace being reffored at Chulula, Cortes continues bis March towards Mexico, and is complimented on the Road by many of the Mexican Nobility. 4. His folemn Entry into Mexico, the Manner of bis firt Interviere with Motezuma, the prodigious Splendor of that Monarch's Equipage, and bis Civility to the Spaniards. 5. The Manner in which the Spaniards zuere dijpofed of, and jettled, in the Palace of Motezuma's Father, and the Provifion made for them by the Orders of that Emperor. 6. The firf Caujos of Qualpopoca's Irruption into the Country of the confederate Indians; John de Efculante afjits them, and is killed, the Neres of which alarms Cortes excefively. 7. He refolves to Seize the Perfon of Motezuma, executes that Refolution, and carries away the Emperor from bis oron Palace to the bead थuarters of the Spaniards. 8. Qualpopoca, who occafioned this Rupture between the Spaniards and Mexicans, is fent for by Motezuma, and to fatisfy the Spaniards is burned alive. 9. A Confpiracy formed againjt the Strangers by Cacamazin the Emperor's Nepherw, difcovered and defeated by the Diligence and difcreet Bebaviour of Motezuma. 10. At tbe Perfuafion of Hernan Cortes the Indian Monarch declares the King of Spain bis Succeffor, and does Homage to Cortes as bis Reprefentative. II. The true Motives of Motezuma's Conduct in this Affair, and bis Demand that Cortes and bis Soldiers. Should quit bis Dominions.
2. $T$HE Embaffadors from Motezuma, taking great Pains to infufe Jealoufies into the Mind of Cortes, of the People of Tlafcala, and preffing him daily to depart, at laft, to content them, and being willing to eafe the Tlafcalans of the ftrange Dread they had conceived of the Gods of Cbulula, he refolved to remove; after he had refided twenty Days in Tlascala, and been informed of all that related to the City of Mexico, its Situation and the Power of Motezuma, and his Empire, and having concluded a Peace between Guacozingo and Tlafcola, obliging both Parties to reftore all that had been taken during the War. He was attended by a hundred thoufand Men; many were much concerned at his going upon that Enterprize, believing he would be loft; but others concluded that his Valour would extricate him from all Dificulties. Merchants went along with them to trade for Cotton and Salt ; the Cbululans, to whom the Interpreter, Aguilar, had protefted that Cortes would make War with them, unlefs they went to fubmit themfelves to the King of Spain, being informed that he was upon his March, fent feveral great Men, who faid they came not before, becaufe the Tlascalans, their mortal Enemies, were falife, whereas they themfelves were fincere, and then they, in a folemn Manner, declared themfelves Subjects of the Crown of Spain: They reached not the City that Day, to avoid entering by Night, though the Diftance was but five or fix Leagues, but encamped, where the Cbululan's prayed Cortes not to permit the Tlafcalans to do them any harm. He, feeing no fign of War, ordered them to return home, taking his Leave of the Officers with much Courtefy and Affection, and prefenting them with fuch things as he had. He retained with him only three thoufand Tlafcalens, or, as other Authors fay, fix thoufand, and would not take a greater Number to avoid putting himfelf into the Hands of a barbarous People, of whofe Fidelity he hitherto had had but little Tryal.

The Tlafcalans faid thofe People where he was going
were faithlefs, that he muft be upon his Guard; and, as an Inftance, mentioned how they had betrayed them. They offered to go to Mexico whenfoever they fhould be called, and declared they would moft willingly have proceeded with their whole Army, to fee the Event of the Affair; but Cortes told them he was fatisfied with thofe he had, being for their Valour worth four times as many. The next Day above ten thoufand Cbululans came out to meet him, bringing Rofes, Flowers, Bread, Fowl, and Mufic: One great Body came to welcone Cortes, and then drew off in good Order, to make Way for another; which was done, becaufe that City, being divided into fix large Wards, three of them were for Motezuma, and three were not. When they came to the City, all the reft of the People came out much furprized at the Shape, Mien, and Weapons of the Spaniards: Their Priefts advancing in white Garments, like Surplices, their Arms naked, and Cotton Fringes about the Edges of their Robes: Some of them carried Idols in their Hands, and others burned Perfumes, others founded Horns, beat Kettle Drums, and played on feveral Sorts of Mufic, all of them finging, and fome perfuming the Spaniards. In this pompous Manner they entered Cbulula, and went where they lodged all together, and their Indians with them always upon their Guard, being plentifully fupplied with all kinds of Provifions.
A few Days after, Cortes, obferved very fufpicious Circumitances; that fome of the Streets were barricaded, and abundance of Stones laid on the tops of Houfes, to throw down; the Supplies of Provifions grew fhorter, the great Men and Commanders of the City feldom vilited him, and Motezuma's Embaffadors farted Objections againt his going to Mexico, with more Boldnefs than before; nor was this all, for the Chululons, by order of the Embaffadors, had prefumed to tell him that there were Alligators, Tygers, and other fierce Creatures, where Motezumas was, which, if he ordered them to be turned loofe,
would
would devour the Spaniards; to which he anfwered, he could not believe he would put any Affront upon thofe that came to vifit him, but that in cafe he fhould do fo, they were to underftand that thofe favage Animals did not hurt the Spaniards; there things made him refolve with himfelf how he fhould fubdue the People of Cbulula, before he went farther.
2. Motezuma in the mean Time fent frefh Agents, by whom he promifed mighty Rewards to the Lords of the Quarters of Cbulula, if they would cut off the Spaniards, giving the Commander a gold Drum, and promifing to affift him with thirty thoufand Men. The Commander undertook to perform all, on Condition that the Mexicans - fhould not come into the City, becaufe he was afraid they would make themfelves Mafters of it. They agreed to barricade the Streets, and pelt the Spaniards from the tops of their Houfes, that fo they might take and deliver them bound. The thirty thoufand Mexicans being fo pofted, that without coming into the City, they might take all the Spaniards that hould happen to efcape out of it, they alfo began to convey away their Goods, and fecure their Wives and Children, which afforded new Grounds for Sufpicion. Whilft Cortes was thus uneafy and diffatisfied, Marina acquainted him that a Lady of Quality had told her, that having taken a Kindnefs for her, fhe advifed her, if the would avoid being killed with the Spaniards, to ftay with her, and fhe would hide her in a Houfe where the fhould be fafe, becaufe the Mexicans and the Cbululans had agreed to deftroy them.

Cortes, upon this, caufed two Priefts to be feized, who being examined afunder, and threatened, confeffed the fame that Marina had declared: Whereupon he called the prime Men and Priefts, and bid them not deal underhand, but if they laad any thing to fay to him, to fpeak plain like Men of Honour. They anfwered they were his Servants, that he might let them know when he defigned to depart, and they would attend him armed, for fear of any Difference between him and the Mexicans; he told them he would fet out the next Day, and therefore ordered they fhould find Men to carry their Baggage, and furnifh them with Provifions.
The Cbululans, thinking they had a fure Game to play, carried the Men to be loaded with Provifions, but as thofe Indians never ufed to undertake any confiderable Enterprize without confulting their Gods, they facrificed ten Children of three Years old, four Boys, and fix Girls, being the ufual Sacrifice upon commencing a War. Their Commanders pofted themfelves, with as many of their Men as they could, at the four Gates of the Quarters through which the Spaniards were to march out. Cortes, who omitted nothing conducive to his Safety, had ordered his Men to Arms, the Horfes to be ready, and the Tlafcalans and Zempoallans to obferve when the Signal was given, by firing a Mufket; when all things were ready, he called the principal Cbululans, pretending that he would take his Leave of them: Forty were admitted; and more would have come if they might, but the moft confiderable of them being wanting he was fent for. Cortes then, in the Prefence of the Mewican Embaffadors, faid he had loved them as Friends, and they had hated him as an Enemy, as appeared by their Ufage; though all his Men had been inoffeniive, that they had defired the Tlafcalans might not come into their Country, and he had confented to it; and that though he had advifed them to deal fairly, and challenge him like brave Men, if they had any thing againft him, yet they had agreed with the Mexicans to deftroy his Forces by Treachery, for which heinous Offence he had refolved to put them all to Death, and raze their City.

They were for a while ftruck dumb, and befice themfelves; but being a little recovered, faid, " This ". Man is like our Gods, who know all things, it is in " vain to deny any thing." And accordingly they confeffed all he had faid was true. Then taking four or five of them afide, he afked them for what Reafon they would have done fuch a wicked Deed? They anfwered, that Motezuma was fo averfe from his going to Mexico, that the Embaffadors, to obftruct it, had put them upon it. Cortes told the Embafadors what the Cbululans faid, but at

## the fame time pretended not to believe Motezuma could

 be guilty of to foul a Defign, and they endeavoured to excufe themfelves. The Signal of firing a Mufket being then given, the Spaniards fallied out, and, meeting with little Oppofition from the Inhabitants, though they were in Arms, killed almoft fix thoufand of them, without touching Women or Children, and fet fire to all- the Houfes and Towers where any Refiftance was made.The Cries of the Indians on both Sides were prodigious, and the Confufion not to be exprefed. Many Gentlemen got up into the Tower of the great Temple, with the Priefts, where they food upon their Defence: Their Lives were offered them if they would furrender: Only one complied, and was well received, the reft were all burnt. The Crofs-bow Men hot thofe that were got up to the Tops of the Trees in the Court of the Temple, and it was obferved that the Priefts complained of their Gods for not defending them. A great Part of the City was plundered: The Spaniards took the Gold and Fea-ther-work, though not much were found; and their Indians had the Cotton and the Salt, which was efteemed a great Booty by them. The News of what had happened was immediately carried to Tlafcala, where the Lords of the Republic ordered their General Xicotencatl to march with all fpeed, to the Affiftance of their Friends, which they did; and Cortes having returned Thanks, and beftowed Prefents on the General and other Officers, fent them back well pleafed to Tlafcala, where their Joys were incredible, for the Booty taken from the Enemies, and no lefs for being free from the Fire from Heaven, and the Tempefts with which the Cbululans threatened to deftroy the Spaniards, and all their Adherents.

The Lords that were Prifoners intreated Cortes to put a Stop to his Refentment, fince they were not fo much to blame as the King of Mexico, and to permit two of them to go and fee what was become of the Multitude. He thereupon ordered the Slaughter to ceafe, and many ftood up who had lain on the Ground among the Dead: So great was the Authority of the two Lords of the Commonwealth, whom Cortes permitted to go about the City, that the next Day it was full of People, and as quiet as if nothing had happened. He fet at Liberty the other Lords and Gentlemen he had taken Prifoners, at the requeft of Maxifcatzin, and Guacozingo, who had reforted to him; telling them they might be thankful he did not entirely fubvert the City, and put them all to the Sword, for fo he was accuftomed to punifh Traitors. He then propofed a Reconciliation between them and the Tlafcalans. By the Advice of Cortes they alfo made choice of a new General, the former being dead, and that City was a Republic as well as Tlafcala. Next he ordered the Tlascalans, and his other confederate Indians, to clear the Court of the great Temple, and the Streets, of the dead Bodies, becaufe they began to ftink.

Motezuma being informed of all that had paffed, and that nothing could divert Cortes from the Profecution of his Defign of coming to Mexico, fent frefh Embaffadors with four large Difhes of Gold, and a great Quantity of Provifions, with Orders to affure him that he knew nothing of the Defign that the Inhabitants of Cbulula had to have murdered his Men, and that he might freely come to Mexico if he thought fit, becaufe he had oppofed his Journey only to fpare him the Fatigue of it. As this flattering Meffage was falfe in itfelf, fo the Conduct of the Emperor at home was as mean-fpirited and bafe. For when he heard that his Plot was difcovered, and his Confederates deftroyed, for having attempted to put it in execution, he thut himfelf up in the great Temple, fatted and prayed for a Week together, and in the mean Time facrificed a multitude of poor innocent Men to his Gods, in hopes of appeafing them,
3. It was in Confequence of the le long Meditations on the prefent melancholy State of his Affairs, that he fent a great Lord of his Court to Cortes under Pretence of a friendly Vifit; but in reality, with a View to diffuade him from proceeding further, by affuring him the Roads were dangerous, Provifions fcarce, and the Climate unwholefome. The Spaniff Commander anfwered chearfully, that to many of thefe Hardhips they
were enured, and that he did not at all doubt they fhouid be able to overcome the reft. Motezumia was informed of all by forne of his People, though moft of them ftaid among the Spawiards; and as it was fufpected that they were privately armed to fall upon them by Surprize, Cortes bid the Mexican Lords not ftir into the Quarters of the Spaniards at Night, becaufe they never flept, and were wont to kill all that came among them. Notwithftanding this Precaution, fome Spies were employed to find whether that was true, and the Sentinels killed three or four of them, being forewarned, which proved fo advantageous, that the Mexicans afterwards took up Quarters very far from the Spaniards.

The next Day they marched to a Town called Amafcameca in the Province of Cbalco; the Lord came out to meet Cortes with a great Retinue; gave him forty Women Slaves, the Value of three thoufand Pieces of Eight in Gold, and Provifions for two Days; and told him in Secret afterwards, in what a tyrannical Manner Motezuma treated him, and all others; Cortes comforted, encouraged, and gave him fome Toys, fo that they parted very good Friends. The Army advanced from thence to a fimall Town, half of which ftood in the Lake, and the other half at the Foot of an uncouth ftony Mountain. Many of the King's Servants kept with the Army, fupplying it with all Neceffaries, and that Night they defigned to have murdered all the Spaniards; but Cortes was fo watchful, that his Sentinels, and a fmall extraordinary Corps de Garde he had appointed killed twenty Men that were fkulking in the Quarters ; the next Morning before they fet out abundance of People came from Mexico, and many Gentlemen attending on Cacamazin, Nephew to Motezuma, Lord of Tezcuco, a Youth about twenty-five Years of Age, who was richly clad, and carried on a Sort of Sedan upon Mens Shoulders ; and when he alighted, fome went before fweeping the way ; Cortes came out of his Tent to meet him, paying him much Refpect, and treating the others very courteounly; twelve Noblemen went with him into the Tent, and Cacamazin, with much State and Gravity, faid, that he and thefe Gentlemen were come to wait on him; adding, to excufe his Uncle, that he came not in Perfon, becaufe he was indifpofed. Cortes anfwered him fully, and yet Cacamazin infifted that it was not fit for him to go to Mexico, becaufe he fufpected there might be fome Difficulty in his Admittance, or that it would be oppofed. Cortes gave him a Prefent of fuch Things as he had, treating him in a very courteous and loving Manner, but held on his way; and it was wonderful to fee what a Multitude of People came out from Mexico, and the other Towns on the Lake to fee the Spaniards, admiring their Habit, Beards, Arms, Horfes, and the Strangenefs that appeared in every particular, faying, thefe are truly Gods.

Cortes warned them not to crofs the Soldiers Ranks, nor to come near the Horfes, nor to touch their Garments, which would immediately coft them their Lives, left growing familiar with his Soldiers they fhould fear them the lefs. They came to Tezcuco, which was twice as big as Seville, the Streets very regular, the Houfes beautiful, and feated in a Plain on the Salt-Lake, and had frefh Water in Pipes brought from the Mountain to every Houfe, which made it a very agreeable Habitation; from thence they proceeded to Lavaca, which they called Venezuela, or Little Venice, containing about two thoufand Houfes, all in the Water, pleafant, and plentifully fupplied with Fifh; they entered it by a Caufeway, twenty Foot broad and above half a League in length, with good Houfes and Towers.

The Lord of the Place came out to meet Cortes with Neceffaries; and at his Requeft they ftaid there that Night; he difcourfed Cortes in private, declaring, how much he wifhed to be difcharged from his Subjection to Motezuma, made grievous Complaints, adding, that if he and his were Gods, as they feemed to be, he ought to fet many great Men at Liberty, who would all be affifting to him. He comforted and affured him that the Great Monarch Motezuma would do whatfoever he would ank of him. As for the way to Mexico, that Lord affured him it was all good, being along a Cauf-
way, and broader than that which had brought him thither.
4. After this Conference, from which he learned many things that were of very great Ule to him, Cortes fet out better Catisfled, having refolved to make Boats to enter into Mexico, being afraid they fhould brealk down the Caufways; he marched with much Circumfpection, fending fome Horfemen before to difcover what paffed. At the Requeft of Cacamazin, he went two Leagues farther, to $\begin{array}{r}\text { ztacpalapa, a Town belonging to another of Motezu- }\end{array}$ $m a$ 's Nephews, who came out to meet him with another Prince of the Royal Family, and with them came an infinite Crowd of People. They prefented him with Women Slaves, Plumes of Feathers, Garments, and to the Value of four thoufand Pieces of Eight in Gold: The Lord of Yztacpalapa made a Speech, bidding Cortes welcome, in the King's Name ; Cortes anfwered very difcreetly, and prefented him fome Toys, which were more acceptable for the Rarity than the Value.

At Yztacpalapa he was well entertained in a Houre $^{\text {a }}$ that had large Courts, upper and lower Floors, and very delightful Gardens; the Walls were of Stone, the Tim-ber-work well wrought ; there were many and fpacious Rooms hung with Cotton Hangings extraordinary rich in their way; on one Side of it was an Orchard, with abundance of Fruit and Greens, the Walls were all inclofed with Reeds, interwoven, covered with odoriferous Flowers. There were Ponds of frefh Water, with much Fifh in them ; one of them was four hundred Paces fquare, with Steps to go down to the Water and to the Bottom ; fuch Numbers of finall Herons, wild Ducks, Gulls, and other Sorts of Fowls reforted to the Lakes, that they were fometimes covered. This City contained ten thoufand Houfes, one half in the Salt-Lake and the other on the Continent ; on the way from it to Mexica was a Spring of gond Water encompaffed with tall Trees.

Cortes attentively obferved all thefe Particulars, and having confidered the Grandeur of Mexico, he is reported to have rejoiced very much, and to have bid fome of his beft Friends cheer up, for they fhould foon receive the Reward of all their Labours. Motezuma, who ftill defired nothing more than to obftruct Cortes from coming to Mexico ; when he was at $Y_{z \text { tacpalapa fent fome Gen- }}$ tlemen to advife him to go back, reprefenting to him many Dangers, and offering to give him whatfoever he fhould demand. Tuch, the Nobleman of Zempoalla, being informed of what they had faid, told Cortes he fhould not give Credit to thofe Difficulties and Dangers they talked of, for he had been himfelf in Mexico, and offered to conduct him to the King's Palace, over a very fine Caufeway. Cortes then advancing, ordered an Indian to go before, and make Proclamation as he went, in the Mexican Language, that no Man fhould crofs the way, for if any did, they fhould be immediately killed, which proved of great Ufe, by giving them room to march notwithftanding the Crowd of the People.

Yztacpalapa is two Leagues fron Mexico, joined to it by a Caufway, fo broad, that eight Horfemen can eafily go abreaft, and it is fo ftrait, that, were it not for one Angle it forms, the Gates of Mexico might be feen at the firft fetting out; on the Sides of it are Mexicatzingo, a Town of four thoufand Houfes, feated in the Water; Cuyoacan of fix thoufand Houfes on the Land, very beautiful and pleafant; and Hiucilopucbeo of five thoufand Houfes. In thefe three Towns there were many Temples, and high Towers all plaiftered over with white Lime, which, when the Sun fhone upon them, at a Diftance, looked like Silver, being a great Ornament to thofe Places, and now are Monatteries; there was in them a great Trade of Salt, but not white, nor agreeable to eat, efpecially to the Spaniards, yet good for falting of Meat: It is made of the Surface of of the Earth, that is near the Lake and full of Saltpetre: The Lumps of it are round, and almoft of Brick Colour, and they yielded Motezuma a very great Revenue. The Trade ftill continues, and this Salt is carried into Provinces very far diftant.

On the Caufway there were Draw-bridges, at certain Diftances over the Openings, through which the Water runs, out of one Lake into the other. The Erefh-water

Lake


Lake is higher than the Salt, and though it runs into the other, they do not mix much, becaule of the Caulways that part them. Cortes had three hundred Spaniards; and when they marched out of Tlafcala their Number feemed fo finall to him, that, fancying fome ftayed behind, he fent Peter de Alverado to fetch them out, but he found none. The Indian Confederates that followed him were fix thoufand; for fome Tlafcalans, Cbululans, and others, had joined him at Cloulula: Being come near to Mexico, where another Caufway joins the former, he found a Stone Bulwark two Fathoms high with two Towers at the Ends, and between them a Breaftwork with two Gates: There Cortes halted, becaufe four thoufand Gentlemen of the Court, richly clad all in the fame Livery, came out to meet him; every one of them, when he came to the Place where Cortes was, made Obeifance, touching the Ground with his Right-hand, and kiffing it, and pafing along returned to the Place from whence he came.

To this Bridge the Emperor himfelf advanced, to meet Cortes under a Canopy of Green Feathers and Gold, carried on the Heads of four Lords : Before him walked three Lords one after another, each of them holding a Gold Rod upright, which was carried before Motezuma every time he went abroad, either by Land or Water, like a Standard or Token that the great Lord was there, to the End that all who were in the Way, though they did not fee him might pay the due Refpect. Two principal Lords, his Brother Quequatbuac, and his Nephew Cacamazin, led him by the Arms; they were all richly clad after the fame Manner, bating that the King had Golden Shoes, which they call Zagles, not unlike thofe of the antient Romans, and on them many precious Stones of great Value, the Soles faftened with Thongs. The two Lords that led him were barefoot, for the Refpect they paid him was fo great that no Man durft come in his Prefence without taking off his Shoes, nor might they lift up their Eyes.

Motezuma kept along the Middle of the Street, and two hundred followed him, as clofe to the Wall as they could, their Eyes fixed on the Ground, becaufe it was accounted Difrefpect to look on his Face. As foon as Cories faw him he alighted off his Horfe, at a fmall Diftance with fome Gentlemen, and drawing near faluted him after the Manner of Spain. Thofe that led Motezuma ftopped Cortes, thinking it a grievous thing that any Man fhould touch him, being held as fome Deity; they faluted one another after their Manner: Motezuma touched the Ground with his Hand, kifing it, a Ceremony ufed among the Indians, and then bid him Welcome : Cortes returned him Thanks for having come out to meet him, and put about his Neck a Collar of fine Glafs and precious Stones with fome Enamel. Motezuma bowed a little, in token of accepting the Prefent. He went on a little before, with the Nephew that led him by the Arm, and ordered the other to ftay and wait upon Cortes, leading him by the Hand along the Middle of the Street, not permiting any Spaniards or Indians to come near. This was the greateft Honour Motezuma could have done Cortes. The two hundred Gentlemen in one Livery that went behind, as foon as they turned about, came one by one to welcome him; the Day would have been too fhort if all the Nobility in the City were to have done the like; but the King going before, they all turned their Faces to the Wall, in token of Refpect; fo that the others, who were behind, could not come up.

The King was much pleafed with the Collar Cortes gave him; becaufe, though it was not coftly, it was gay, fparkling, and very ferange to him. That he might not be thought to fall fhort in any thing that became a great Prince, he called two Officers of his Bed-chamber, and bid them bring two Collars of large red Prawns as big as great Snails or Wallnuts, at every one of which hung 'eight Gold Prawns wrought to the Life, and about half a Foot long: When brought, the King ftopped till Cortes came up, and with his own Hunds threw them upon his Neck. The Indians were amazed that Motezuma fhould do Cortes fo fingular a Favour, for he had never done the

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like to any other Man. The Spaniards were attonithed to fee fuch a Multitude of People, and after a long time paffing through them came to a very large Court, which was the Wardrobe of the Idols, and had been the Houfe of Axyacazin, Motezuma's Father.
5. At the Door of it, the Emperor taking Cortes by the Hand, led him into a fpacious Room, placed him on a rich elevated Place, adorned with precious Stones, and faid to him : "You are in your own Houfe, eat, reft, "c and take your Pleafure, I will foon return." Cortes made him profound Obeifance without anfwering one Word. Such was the Reception that mighty Yrince gave Cortes in that vaft City of Mexico, on the 8 th of November, I5I9. They were lodged in a Houfe that contained fo many fpacious Rooms, with Bed-chambers, that one hundred and fifty Spaniards could all lie fingle. It was alfo worth obferving that, though fo big, every Part of it, to the leaft Corner, was clean, neat, matted, and hung with Hangings of Cotton and Feather-work of feveral Colours, and had Beds of Matts with Pavillions over them, no Man of what Quality foever having any other: There was Fire with Perfumes in every Chamber, and fo many Servants every where, as fufficiently difcovered the Grandcur of that Prince. . When Motezumat was gone, Cortes affigned every Man his Apartment, placing the Artillery before the Door, and when he had ordered all that was requifite, the prime Men ferving him in fuch a Quality as is ufual in the Houfes of the greateft Perfons there, in Honour to him, and becaufe it was then convenient, ftood in order about the Walls.

When they had all dined and refted, Motezuma returned, and Cortes went to meet him ; they both walked. together to the raifed part of the Room, and when they were feated in the Prefence of many Mexican Gentlemen and Cortes's chief Commanders, Motezuma gave Cortes many coftly Jewels of Gold, Silver, Feather-work, and fix thoufand rich Cotton Garments. Cortes returned Thanks for the noble Prefent in fuch a Manner as Thewed good Breeding and Difcretion. Soon after, the Emperor entred into a long Conference with the Spamifl Commander, in which he thewed himfelf a very great Politician, and a deep Mafter in the Art of Diflimulation: He fet out with giving abundance of plaufible Reafons why he was fo very unwilling to admit them into his Capital : He next took notice of the ftrange Reports that had been fpread about them; and then told them, he believed, that as ftrange as they appeared to one another, they were really Countrymen, fince it was certain that the Anceftors of the Mexicans came from a Land at a great Diftance, and had not been fettled there above a Century, that therefore he regarded them as Brothers; that they were free to take what they pleafed, and that they fhould ftudy to amufe and divert themfelves the beft way they could.
6. Cortes thanked Motezuma for thefe fingular Marks of his Kindnefs and Affection, took a View of the City, and for fome time paffed his Days very agreeably; however, before he had formed in his own Mind any Scheme of fixing the Spaniards in that Country, Things began to change their Afpect; and he faw great Caufe to efteem himfelf in more Danger than he had yet been expofed to in the Profecution of this Defign. The Occafion of his Apprehenfions was the Arrival of two Tlafcalans, difguifed fo as to pafs all Motezuma's Guards, whofe Bufinefs was to inform him, that the Indians allied to the Spaniards, finding their Lands ravaged by one of Motezuma's Captains, whofe Name was Qualpopoca, and apprehending that he had a Defign upon Ziempoalla, they applied themfelves, as he had directed, to Efculante, whom he had left Governor of Vera Cruz, and defired his Protection. The Spanib Governor fent immediately to 2 ualpopoca, to defire that he would forbear injuring the Friends of the King of Spain; but, notwithftanding he repeated his Inftances more than once, he found them ineffectual ; and therefore, in purfuance of his $\mathrm{In}^{-}$ ftructions, he marched to their Relief with all the Force he could fpare, which confifted of no more than forty Spaniards, and thofe but indifferently armed; having

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with
with them only two fmall Field-Pieces; but being joined by two thoufand of the Confederate Indians, he ventured to engage the Mexicans, though double his Number; that is to fay, between four and five thoufand Men.

If the Confederate Indians had behaved as they ought, he would probably have obtained an eafy Victory; but they fled as foon as the Battle began, having loft a few Men : The Spaniards, being forfaken by their Allies, ftood their Ground, and routed the Mexicans, who having never felt them before, could not ftand the Edges of the Spanifb Swords. They purfued them as far as the Town, which was afterwards called Almeria, and burnt it. Gobn de Efculante was dangerounly wounded in this Fight and his Horfe killed, and fix of the Men were greatly hurt: Efculante died of his Wounds as foon as he came to Villa Rica. The Indians carried off one Soldier alive, whofe Name was Arguillo, a Native of Leon; a Man of a large Head, black Beard, very lufty and ftrong, who being fent to Motezuma (for this happened before Cortes entred Mexico) died by the Way of his Wounds; and becaufe he ftunk, they carried the Head, which, being of a lufty Man, put him into a Confternation : He would not have it offered at any of the Temples in Mexico, but in fome one without ; and faid, he wondered how it fell out that his Men, being fo numerous, did not vanquifh that fimall Number; and, that he was convinced that thofe Men were not immortal, though they appeared to be very brave. The Confternation he was put into by the Sight of Arsuillo's Head, fome fay, proceeded from the Predictions he had, That fuch Men fhould conquer his Monarchy, and change the Religion of his People. It is to be obferved, however, that this laft Circumftance was not known to Cortes at that time; fo that he was in doubt, whether this Action was performed by Order of the Emperor, or even whether he knew or approved it.

However, as the Situation he was in made him very uneafy, he fent privately to the moft fenfible and beft affected Indians of his Army, of whom he demanded, " If they had obferved any Alterations in the Minds of "s the Mexicans, and in what Efteem the Spaniards were "s at that time among them ?" They anfwered, "That os the common People were taken up with their Feftivals "s made for the Diverfion of the Spaniards, whom they "s reverenced becaufe they faw them honoured by their «Emperor: But that the Nobility feemed penfive and "s myfterious: That they had fecret Conferences, the " Refult of which they kept very private. They faid, "6 they had obferved fome Expreffions which admitted "c a finifter Interpretation, one of which was, that it "c would be no difficult Matter to break down the Bridges " of the Caufway, with others of the fame kind ; which " all together gave fufficient Caufe of Sufpicion." Two or three of thofe Indians heard it whifpered, That fome few Days before a Spaniard's Head was brought as a Prefent to Motezuma, and that he commanded it to be taken away and concealed, after he had viewed it with fome Aftonifhment, it being of a very large Size, and the Face of a fierce Afpect ; Marks which agreed very well with that of Fuan de Arguillo's. This added to the Uncafinefs of Cortes; for hence it appeared that Motezuma was privy to the Proceedings of his General.
7. As thefe Informations left him no longer any room to doubt, that notwithftanding all the Kindnefs fhewn him, Motezuma was actually contriving his Deftruction, he faw it was neceffary fome quick Meafures fhould be taken to deliver himfelf and the Spaniards out of thofe Dangers with which they were at prefent furrounded; but the Difficulty was, to fix upon that which might beft anfwer the End, and, when fixed upon, to carry it into Execution. He meditated upon this Subject a whole Night by himfelf; and, having fettled in his own Mind what was to be done, he then called a Council of War, in order to hear the Opinion of his Officers; in which they differed extremely, moft of them, however, inclined to make a Retreat; and fome of them fuggefted, that as Motezuma had made them fuch large Offers to prevent their coming to Mexico, he would probably be willing to give them as much Gold as they
could reafonably afk, in order to get them out of his Capital ; but Cortes difapproved this: And having in a fet Speech thewed the Impoffibility of their putting any fuch thing in practice, concluded, that the only Diethod they had left to fecure themfelves, and put a fpeedy Iffue to this Bufinefs, was fo feize the Perfon of the Emperor ; and the Reafons he gave for it were fo ftrong, and the Method he propofed for executing it liable to to few Objections, that at laft it was unanimoully agreed upon, and a Refolution taken to do it without Delay:

A moft furprifing Scheme furely, confidering the Force that Cortes had, and the many thoufands that were in daily waiting about Motezuma's Perfon. Yet this Defign, as it was contrived with great Wifdom, was executed with no lefs Spirit and Succefs. The Hour which the Spaniards were accuftomed to wait upon Motezuma was chofen for the Execution of their Defign, that no Alarm might be given by their making him an unfeafonable Vifit. Cortes gave Orders to his Men to arm themfelves in their Quarters, to faddle their Horfes and to hold themfelves in Readinefs without making any Noife, until they received frefh Inftructions. He poffeffed himfelf of all the Avenues of the Streets leading to Motezuma's Palace, with a fmall fcattered Detachment of Soldiers, and went to the Palace accompanied by the Captains Pedro de Alverado, Gonzala de Sandoval, Fuan Velafques de Leon, Francifco de Lugo, and Alonfo Darita having ordered thirty private Men to follow at a Diftance.

It was no furprizing Sight to fee them enter with their Arms, which they ufually carried as a military Ornament. Motezuma, as ufual, came out of his A partment to receive the Vifit, and they all took their Seats : His Servants, as by his Order they were always accuftomed to do, retired to another Part of the Palace, and when Donna Marina and Geronimo Aguilar were come up, Cortes began his Complaint with becoming Refentment: Firft, he laid before Motezuma the Action of his General who had the Infolence to form an Army, and attack his Confederates, in Violation of the Peace, under which they thought themfelves fecure: Then he urged as a Crime, for which he ought to make Satisfaction to God and Man, the fpilling the Blood of a Spaniard by the Mexicans, after they had made him Prifoner, to revenge upon him in cold Blood the Ignominy of their own Defeat : And laftly, he expofed in proper Colours, as a Point of ftill greater Confideration the Excufe made by Qualpopoca and his Captains, who declared they had undertaken that unjuftifiable War by the Emperor's exprefs Order ; concluding, that he thought he owed fo much to his Majefty, as not to give Credit to any Action fo unworthy of his Greatnefs, as that of favouring the Spaniards in one Place, while he was endeavouring to deftroy them in another. But Motezuma denied it.
Cortes interpofed upon this, telling him, he believed what he faid to be true, and that he could never entertain any Notion that fo great aMan as he, could be guilty of fo bafe an Act; but that what convinced him, did not feem to have the fame weight with his People, and that, for their Satisfaction, it would be very proper he fhould remove from his own Palace, and go and live with the Spaniards in that he had affigned him, till fuch time as Qualpopoca, whom he immediately fent for, arrived. Motezuma was extremely furprized at fo ftrange a Propofition, and for fome time refufed to hear of it; neither could all the Eloquence of Cortes have brought him to confent if Donna Marina had not interpofed; who told him, fhe was his Subject, and had therefore nothing fo much as his Intereft at Heart: That his Life was in the utmoft Dianger, and that nothing but his yielding to this Neceffity could fave him ; and that it was in vain to difpute where the only Queftion was, Whether he would chufe ${ }^{\text {F }}$ the L.ofs of Life, or temporary Liberty? This determined Motezuma. Let us go, faid he, to your Quarters, fince I find it can be no otherwife.
When he had faid this, he left the Palace, without any more Delay, taking with him all his ufual Attendants, the Spaniards, marching on Foot clofe by his Chair, furrounded it, under pretence of waiting on him. A Report

## Chap. III.

for the Reduction of New Spain.
was prefently fpread about the City, that the Strangers had carried off the Emperor, and the Streets were crouded, fome in Defpair, and fome difcovered the Tendernefs of their Concern by their Tears. But Motezuma, with an Air of Gaiety and Compofure, appeafed the Tumult, and fatisfied them in fome Meafure. He commanded them to ceafe their Cries, and, at the firft Motion of his Hand, a profound Silence enfued: He then told them, "That " he was not going to Prifon, but for his own Diverfion " to pals a few Days with his Friends, the Strangers." As foon as he was fettled in his new Lodging, many Noblemen reforted to Motezuma, exprefing their Sorrow for that Innovation, and offered to do any Service that fhould be enjoined them.
Cortes being fenfible of the Boldnefs of his Enterprize, and the Danger he was in, to provide for the worft, ordered two Brigantines to be built, that would carry two hundred Men, to come into, and go out, of the City, as there fhould be Occafion.
They were foon finifhed, and he kept them under a ftrong Guard near his Quarters, to the no fimall Amazement of the Indians. Motezuma fearing left any harm that might be done to the Spaniards, by his People, might affect him, put on a chearful Countenance to conceal the Griefs that perplexed, him, telling the Men of Quality that ferved and vifited him, there was no Occafion to be fo much concerned, fince he was well, lived in that Apartment at his Eafe, and no Injury or Affront was offered him ; that he had choien to go thither to convince the Spaniards that what had been faid of him, in relation to $2^{2 u a l p o p o c a, ~ w a s ~ n o t ~ t r u e ; ~ t h a t ~ h e ~ d e f i g n e d ~ t o ~}$ punifh him, that no other floould be guilty of the like; that he would ftay there till Cortes was fatisfied, and that fince he might depart from thence whenfoever he fhould think fit, they ought to fet their Hearts at reft, and as they had always loved him, they fhould fhew it at that Time.

As foon as he was brought into the Apartment, Cortes fet a Guard over him, and gave the Command thereof to Fobn Velafquez de Leon; and if particular Care had not been taken, he would have been conveyed away; for Walls were broke through, and other Methods ufed; and one Day he attempted to throw himfelf off from the flat Roof of a Houfe, that was ten Fathoms high, for his People that were underneath to catch him, had not a Spaniard that was upon the Guard, and near his Perfon, held him. Cortes vifited him every Day, and for his Diverfion, ordered the Soldiers to exercife their Weapons, at which he was very much pleafed, and generounly rewarded them. His own Servants waited on him, as they were wont to do in his Palace, and fo did the Spaniards, who, by Cortes's Command, honoured and refpected him as a King.

There he decided Law-fuits, difpatched all Bufinefs, and adminiftred the Goverument of his Kingdoms, fpeaking, either in private or public, to any Perfon whonfoever; and yet the Indians were fo reftlefs and uneafy, that they never ceafed by Day or Night to attempt refcuing him: For this Reafon Cortes ordered Roderigo Alvarez Cbico, a brave and watclful Man, to guard the backfide of the Houfe, with fixty Men, twenty mounting at a time; and Andrew de Monjarraz to do the fane before the Palace, with the fame Number.
Motezuma was ferved like a great Prince, the Diet that was brought him by four and four Men holding up the Difhes, with much Refpect, made a long Train, and when he had done, all the Meat was divided among the Gentlemen that ferved, and the Spaniards that guarded him. His Bed confifted in many coflly Cotton Blankets, fome of them very fine, fome quilted, and covered with others of great Value, made of Feathers and Wool, of various and natural Colours. The Bed was laid on Matts, and a wooden Beaditead, all fuited either for the Heat or the Cold. It was this Confinement of the Emperor which afforded Cortes all the Opportunities he could wifh, of enquiring narrowly into the Situation of his Affairs, and of penetrating into all the Secrets of his Government; he likewife found Ways and Means to draw out of the Indian Monarch, in this Confinement, very large Sums of

Money, or, which was the fame thing, Gold and Jewels to an immenfe Value.
8. In all outward Appearance Motezuma was very eafy and well fatisfied, the Spanibs Soldiers behaved to him with the greatef Civility and Refpect imaginable, and as for the Officers, they were his contant Companions, with whom he converfed continually, and fhewed a great deal of Pleafure, as alfo in playing at certain Spami/b Games, particularly at Skittles, in which he became, very foon, a great Proficient. In the midft, however, of all thefe Condefcentions, he fhewed himfelf a great Politician; for, obferving how fond the Spaniards were of Gold, he took care to lofe, that he might have an Opportunity of giving, and of obtaining; by this Means, an Intereft amongtt them.

While things were in this Situation, 2ualpopoca arrived with his Son and fifteen Men of Quality, who had been concerned with him in killing the Spaniards, in twenty Days after the Confinement of Motezuma; he was conducted to Mexico by many great Men that went out to meet him, and he was brought in upon their Shoulders and thofe of his Vaffals: When come to the Place he alighted, pur on Garments of lefs Value than he had before, and took off his Shoes, waited fome Time till he had Leave to go in, drew near alone, all that went with him, ftaying behind; and having made many Bows, and performed the ufual Ceremonies, with his Head hanging down, and his Eyes fixed on the Ground, he faid, "Moft high " and mighty Sovereign, here is your Slave 2ualpopo" $c a$, whom you have commanded to come, what will " you have done, for I am your Slave, and muft of Ne"ceffity obey you ?" Motezusiac fternly anfwered, "He " had done very ill in killing the Spaniards without any "Provocation, and faying he had done it by his Order, " and therefore he fhould be punifhed as a Traitor to the "Strangers, and to his King." Qualpopoca going to excufe himfelf, he would not hear him, ordering that he, his Son, and the reft, fhould be delivered up to Cortes, who, having fettered, caufed them to be examined, and they confefled the killing of the Spaniards; being afked whether he was Motezuma's Subject, he anfwered, "Is " there any other Lord that I could be fubject to? " They were examined a fecond time more ftrictly, and threatened with the Rack, and unanimounly averred that they had killed the two firtt Spaniards by Motezuma's Order, as they had likewife thofe in the Field.
When they had made this Confeffion, and confirmed it, Cortes condemned $2 u a l p o p o c a$ and the reft to be burnt. The Sentence being made known to him, he faid, That though he was to fuffer Death for having killed thofe two Spaniards, his great Lord, Motezuma, had commanded him, and that he fhould not have prefumed to have done it, unlefs he had thought it for his Service. He, with his Son, and the reft, were conducted under a ftrong Guard of Spaniards, to a large Square, and being fet on a large Pile of broken Bows and Arrows that were dry, with their Hands and Feet bound, Fire was fet to it, they again confeffing the fame as they had before: He prayed as the reft did, and the Fire blazed, and they were foon burnt, without Difturbance ; the Mexicans admiring the Execution done by the Spaniards in fuch a great City and Kingdom, and in the Prefence of their Monarch. Before and after this Execution, that the Spaniards might be always in readinefs, Cortes made Proclamation that none of them fhould go naked to Bed, and that the Horfes fhould ftand all Night faddled, with their Bridles at the Pommels of their Saddles, becaufe it was fufpected there would be an Infurrection, and that they would attack the Spaniards when anleep; but the Vigilance of Cortes was thought to have difappointed that Defign; and he caufed the firft Soldier that was found to have lain in Bed naked, to be expofed to public Shame, keeping him two Days in Fetters in the Air, induring the Dew in the Night, and the Sun in the Day, and a Clog at his Foot; no Intreaties prevailing to relieve him, alledging that Severity was requifite in fuch Cafes.

After the Confeffion was made, whilit they were carrying Qualpopoca to Execution, Cortes, attended by his Commanders, went to Molezumn, and faid to him, "Yous
${ }^{6}$ know you denied your having ordered 2ualpopoca to
${ }^{6}$ kill my Companions, you have not done therein as
${ }^{6}$ became fo great a Prince, and fince you have occa-
"s fioned the Death of my Men, as alfo of Qualpopoca,
" his Son, and fo many of his People, had I not Regard
" to the Affection you have fhewn to my King, and in
" his Name to me, I fhould think you ought to pay
"for it with your Life; for both the divine and hu-
"s man Law, appoints that a Murderer, as you are,
"6 hould die: However, that you may not go alrogether
"s unpunifhed, and that you and your People may be
"fenfible how advantageous it is to deal fincerely, I will
" order you to be put in Irons." Motezuma was very much furprized at this Reproof, and could fcarce utter his Words for Confufion, but only faid that he was innocent, and he might do what he would with him. Cortes went from him in a very angry Manner, and immediately after he was fettered.

It was thought that Cortes ufed this Policy to divert him from the Grief he might juftly conceive at the Execution of Qualpopoca in his own Sight. It is impoffible to exprefs how much Motezuma was concerned, when he faw himfelf in Irons; he affirmed he was innocent, and lamented his Gondition; his Kindred and Nobility were aftonifhed, and in that Confternation they wept, and kneeled down, bearing up his Fetters with their Hands, and thrufting fine Cloths through the Links, that they might not touch his Flefh, nor could they think what to do; for if they had had recourfe to Arms, they concluded that their Lord would certainly be put to Death, which added to their Terror. When Qualpopoca was executed, Cortes, thinking he had gained his Point, went in the Afternoon to Motezuma, and, faluting him with an Air of Kindnefs, ordered his Fetters to be taken off, telling him, that though, according to the Confeffion of the People executed, he deferved to be more feverely punifhed, yet for the Love he bore him, and becaufe he could not believe fo great a Prince guilty of fuch a foul Action, he had commanded him to be fet free. Motezuma was as much rejoiced at thofe Words, as he had been before dejected, upon being removed and put into Irons. He embraced Cortes, returned him Thanks, and beftowed many Favours that' Day, as well on the Spaniards as his own People.

By this Means both Parties were fatisfied with each other, and Motezuma came by Degrees to have fuch a Confidence in Cortes, that he reprefented to him the Expediency of granting him Leave to go to vifit fome of his Temples, that his Subjects might not look upon him to be longer a Prifoner, which was granted, upon Condition that human Sacrifices were abolifhed. As Cortes perceived that this Confidence in Motezuma had gained upon him extremely, he laid hold of this Opportunity to demand his Affiftance, for the accomplifhing of various things he had in view, which were very neceffary to him, and which, however, he could not accomplifh, but by the Emperor's Affiitance.

The firft of thefe was, the Knowledge of the gold Mines, where they were, to whom they belonged, how wrought, and what Quantities of that precious Metal, were obtained from them. Motezuma gave him very clear and diftinct Anfwers to all thefe Inquiries, and, for his farther Satisfaction, allowed fuch of his People as he could truft, to go to the Mines, both within and without his Dominions. In the next Place, Cortes was willing to have a Map of the Sea-coaits of the Mexican Empire, that he might be the better able to fix upon fome Port, to which Succours and Supplies might be fent him; he was, according to his Defire, furnifhed with a very accurate and extenfive Defcription of the maritime Provinces under - Motezuma's Dominion, finely painted after their Manner, which anfwered his Purpofe perfectly. The laft thing that he aimed it was, the obtaining of a fufficient Quantity of Gold to be fent to Spain, in order to maintain his Credit there, and fecure the King's Favour. In obtaining this, he met with no Difficulty, the Emperor and the great Men of his Court, readily yielding him their Affiftance:
9. But in the Midit of this Tranquility, there arofe a
new and very unlooked for Difturbance, which neither Motezuma nor Cortes could forefee or prevent. It was occafioned by the Emperor's Nephew, Cacamazin, who mortally hated the Spaniards; and going to Tezcuco, told his chief Counfellors how much he loved them, defiring they would reflect how they were kept under by a handful of Strangers, who dared to confine his Uncle Motezuma, to whom the greateft Refpect was due; that it was intolerable fo fmall a Number, and thofe of another Religion, fhould turn them out of their Houfes, and, what was ftill worfe, fet up their Gods in the Temples, inftead of thofe of the Country; that it was high time to ftand up for Religion, Liberty, Honour, and their King, without delaying till the Strangers had Succours from their own Country, from T'lafcala, and from other Parts; and therefore they fhould make ready, for he was refolved to fall upon the Intruders; yet if they differed from him in Opinion, they might tell him fo, and he would be advifed by them.

They approved of the Defign, and offered to ftand by him; but fome ancient Men, who had no mind to flatter him, faid, he fhould confider what he did, that Cortes was brave, had gained feveral Victories, and they believed there was very great Friendfhip between him and Motezuma, for if he would have drove him out of Mexico he might lave done it; they advifed him therefore not to be carried away by the Fire of Youth, or the Ambition of Rule, fince there were other Heirs as near as he. However, War was agreed on, and Preparations were made with the greateft Privacy, that nothing might be known by Motezuma or Cortes; but, notwithftanding their Care, they foon had Notice of it.

Cortes perceiving the View of this turbulent Youth, and fufpecting that Motezuma's want of Refolution, or great Affection for the Spaniards, encouraged him to undertake the Defign, fent Word to the Emperor that he had much Caufe to fufpect him, becaufe, fince what had happened about Qualpopoca, his Nephew, Cacamazin, was confpiring againft him; and therefore he defired him to put a Stop to thofe Proceedings, otherwife all would light upon himfelf. Motezuma was much furprized at this Meffage, and affirmed he knew nothing of what his Neplew was doing; that he was very well pleafed there, and would fend for his Nephew Cacamazin, and if he refufed to come, would order him to be brought by Force, and delivered up into his Hands to be punifhed, if convicted of that Crime. Cacamazin was then preparing for War, and the People readily came in to him, becaufe he gave out that he would refcue the King.

This Affair put the Spaniards upon their Guard, and Cortes defigned, for making an Example, and eftablifhing his own Reputation, to go himfelf to Tezcuco, and attack Cacamazin in his own Houfe; but Motezuma prevented it, alledging that the City was ftrong, and the People of Culua at his Nephew's Command, and therefore it was better to take another Courfe. Cortes followed his Advice, and fent to bid Cacamazin remember their Friendfhip, that he fhould confider it was an eafy Matter to begin a War, but not fo to put an End to it ; and that it would be for his Advantage to keep on good Terms with the King of Spain and his Subjects. He anfwered plainly, He would entertain no Friendhip with thofe that oppreffed the Country, and overthrew their Religion; that le knew not who the King of Spain was, nor did he defire to be informed; and that if he would not have him make War, he fhould immediately depart Mexico. Cortes again advifed him to defift, and defired Motezuma to lay his Commands upon him.

The Emperor fent for him, which he was fo far from regarding, that he faid, If his Uncle were the Man he ought to be, he would not fuffer himfelf to be confined; and fince Motezuma was fo mean-fpirited, he was refolved to reftore the Monarchy to its former Splendor, which had been loft through his Cowardice. Cortes, upon this, refolved to march out to meet Cacamazin, though the Danger was great, confidering the Multitude of Enemies within and without: But ftill Motezuma hindered him, contriving with fome of his Nephew's Commanders, that they hould deliver him into his Hands. Thefe
being bribed; as they were with Cacamazin, confulting about the Management of the War, fecured him, and before it was known abroad, conveyed him, by Water, to Mexico, and had him carried on Mens Shoulders; richly clad, to Motezuma's Apartment, who would not fee him, but ordered he fhould be delivered to Cortes; who; well pleafed to have efcaped that Danger, ordered him to be clofe confined.
The next Day, by the Advice of Motezuma, Quizquizcatl, younger Brother to Cacamazin, was conftituted Lord of Culua, being then at Mexico with his Uncle, having made his Efcape from his Brother ; and Motezuma conferred on him the Crown and the Title of King, with the ufual Solemnity; telling him he defigned to look upon him, for the future, as his Son : Quizquizcatl kiffed his Hand, promifed Obedience, and then, turning to Cortes, gave him Thanks, protefting he would ever be his Friend. Cacamazin was much concerned, when he heard that his Brother was made Lord of his Dominions, and Cortes had him ftrictly obferved, knowing that there were many that would willingly have conveyed him back to Tezcuco. Motezuma fent two Embaffadors to fignify to that City the new Election, and caufed the elected Monarch to be attended by many of his Courtiers, and Cortes fent along with him feveral of his prime Men, both of them in Perfon bearing him Company to the Gates of Mexico; he was received at Tezcuco with all public Demonftrations of Joy, being carried on Mens Shoulders.
At the Entrance into the City, the Magiftrates took him up, and when come to the Palace, an ancient Gentleman fet a Garland of Flowers on his Head, and, all the Company being filent, made a Speech to him; the Purport of which was, "t That he was fenfible, how, when ot he was ferving Motezuma, being fled from his Bro"s ther, on Account of his Pride, the Gods had raifed " him to that high Dignity, for which Reafon he ought " to take care not to change his noble Difpofition; for " that the thing Kings fhould moft endeavour to ac"quire, was the Love of their Subjects, $\varepsilon^{\sigma} c$." Thefe Ceremonies performed, the People withdrew, and Cortes was delivered from the Dangers that had threatened him. This, in itfelf, and independent of its Confequences, could not but be very agreeable to our Hero, who faw himfelf, by this Means, raifed to the higheft Authority, exclufive of the fovereign Power in that Empire; for the People being well enough acquainted with Motezuma's natural Difpofition, attributed this mild Way of punifhing, entirely to Cortes; and on the other Hand, the firft Prince of the Empire looked upon himfelf as his Creature, fo that there appeared a Probability of his eftablifhing fome kind of Intereft in Mexico, and the bare Appearance of this, was enough to engage Cortes to do all that lay in his Power to cultivate and increafe it.
10. All things feemed at this time to concur in favour of the Spaniards, and to render their Stay in the Empire of Mexico more fafe and more agreeable than it had hitherto been. Yet, of a fudden, this fine Profpect was intirely over-caft, and the Face of Affairs unexpectedly changed. It feems that Motezuma, though he had diffembled his Refentment, was far enough from being pleafed with the long Stay which the Strangers made; and, indeed, if we confider their Behaviour towards him, it was no Wonder; but he diffembled fo well, that neither Cortes nor any of his People fufpected him; and was fo great a Politician, that when he actually propounded the Scheme he had framed to be rid of them, they were fo far from conceiving it in that Light, that they took it for the higheft Act of Favour he had ever done them.

In fhort, Motezuma offered to call a general Affembly of his Nobles, and there acknowledge, in a moft folemn Manner, the Sovereignty of the King of Spain over his Dominions, and his own, and his Subjects Duty toward him. There could be nothing more acceptable to the Sponish Captain than this unexpected Offer of the Indiand Monarch's, and therefore he encouraged him to carry it into Execution as foon as poffible, without cver furpecting that the Emperor was as much inclined to this

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as himfelf, though from a very different View. The Af fembly was accordingly called, and Motezuma, being feated on his Throne, made a very long; and a very extraordinary Speech: He faid they all knew well enoughz that their firft Emperor came from the Eaft; and that he had left them a Prophefy, that his Defcendants fhould return to govern thefe Countries; that without doubt the King of Spain was the lawful Succeffor to the Empire, that if he had come thither in Perfon; he would have laid down his Crown at his Feet; that as it was; he was refolved to do him Homage, and fend him a Prefent of the moft valuable Things in his Dominions, and that he expected they would likewife contribute out of their own Poffeflions; that this Prefent might be the more worthy the Acceptance of fo great a Prince.

In this Manner Motezuma concluded his Difcourfes, though he did not utter it all without Interruption; for in fpite of all the Efforts made upon himfelf in this Act of his, when he came to pronounce himfelf Vaffal to another Prince, he found fomething fo hocking, and fo repugnant to his Nature, in thofe Expreflions, that he paufed a while as if he wanted Words to proceed, and he fhewed his Concern fo publicly, that fome Tears were feen trinkling down his Cheeks, which feemed as if they had efcaped his Eyes, without their Confent; and the Mexicans, fenfible of his Difturbance, and of the Caufe from whence it proceeded, began likewife to Thew their Concern, breaking forth into loud Sighs, defiring. in Appearance, not without fomething that favoured of Flattery, that by the Noife they made, their Fidelity fhould be taken Notice of; fo that Cortes thought it neceffary to defire Liberty to fpeak; in order to encourage Motezuma, and put him out of the Perturbation he tvas in. He faid, " That it was not the Intention of the " King his Sovereign, to difpoffefs him of his Royal "Dignity, nor to make the leaft Innovation in his 'Go"vernment; but, that all he defired was; that they "s would, at the prefent Affembly, fettle his Right ta "s the Succeffion, in Favour of his Defcendants or Pof"s terity ; by Reafon of his being fo far diftant from "s thofe Regions, and fo taken up in other Conquefts "s that the Cafe mentioned in their Traditions and Pro"c phefies, might not happen in many Years. ") With which Explanation Motezuma recovered Heart; rê-affumed an Air of Tranquility, and finifhed his Difcourfe, as has been before obferved.

The Mexicans remained aftonifhed, and tutterly confounded to hear fuch a Propofal, woridering at it, as a Thing inconfiftent with, and unbecoming, the Majefty of fo powerful a Monarch, and a Prince fo extremely jealous of his Authority. They looked on each other without daring either to contradict, or to give any Sign of Confent; as being apprehenfive, that by doing either, they fhould but confirm him the more in his ftrange De termination. This refpectful Silence lafted till his prime Minifter, as a Perfon who had a better Knowledge of his Prince's Difpofition than any other, took upon him to fpeak for the reft, and faid, "s That all the Nobles who "compofed that Affembly, refpected him as their Lord " and natural Sovereign, and fhould be ready to obey "s whatever his Majefty had been pleafed to propofe, and "s to follow any Example he fhould think fit to fet " them; they not doubting but that he had well weigh"6 ed every thing, and had confulted with Heaven; and "s they had no Inftrument more facred than that of his " Voice, whereby to be informed of the Will of their "G Gods." The whole Affembly agreed in the fame Sentiment, and Hernan Cortes; when it came to his turn to make his Acknowledgments, dictated to his Interpreters, a Speech no lefs artful that the former; in which he gave Thanks to Motezuma, and all who were prefent for this Demonftration of their Refpects accepting their Service in the Name of his King, without feeming to think it ftrange that they complied with their Obligations, but, rather as one who receives his Debt, and is pleafed with his Debtor's punctual Payment.

The Emperor took immediate Care to collect in Gold and Jewels, particularly Emeralds; a Prefent fuitable to his own Dignity; and his Nobility followed his

Example

Example with the utmof Alacrity. All thefe rich Gifts were carried, by Moiezuma's Order, to the Apartment of Cortes, who named a Receiver and Treafurer, that they might take an exact Account of what was delivered; and in a few Days they amaffed fuch a Quantity of Gold, that befides the precious Jewels, and pieces of curious Workmanihip, after they had melted down the reft, they found 600000 Pefos of Gold, in Bars of good Alloy; out of which the fifth Part was fet afide for the King, and of the remainder, a fecond Fifth for Hernan Cortes, with the Approbation of his People, and to defray the Expence of providing for the public Neceffities of the Army; he likewife fet afide the Sum for which he ftood accountable to Diego Velafquez, and that which his Friends, in the Ifland of Cuba, had lent him; the reft was divided among the Officers and Soldiers, including thofe that were at Vera Cruz.

Thofe who had Employments had equal Shares, but amongt the private Men there was fome Difference made; for thofe were diftinguifhed and beft rewarded, who had done beft Service, or had been leaft troublefome in the paft Difturbances. An Equity of a very dangerous Nature, where juft Rewards are looked upon as Grievances, and Diftinction of Merit occafons Complaints: There were great Murmurings and bold Words uttered againft Hernon Cortes and the Captains; for at the Sight of fuch a Mafs of Wealth, thofe whofe Deferts were leaft, required an equal Recompence with the moft Deferving. Their Avarice could not poffibly be fatisfied, nor was it convenient to publifh the Reafons of that unequal Diftribution; by degrees, however, and by the Dexterity of his own Management, Cortes got the better, and reduced the whole Army, not only to a peaceable Deportment, but to a voluntary Submiffion to his Method of managing.

In order to this he found it neceffary, not only to part with fome of his Share, but even to give confiderable Sums in ready Money, to fuch as were worft dealt with, and complained loudeft; amongft whom, there was one Fellow that had but 300 Pieces of Eight for his Share, who faid, merrily, that he would take care not to engrage himfelf again in a Contract with two Kings ; alluding to the General's taking' one fifth for his Catholic Majefty, and another for himfelf, upon which Cortes gave him 200 Pieces of Eight more, with which the Soldier was very well content.

I I. The General was perfectly well pleafed with the Situation he was now in, for he thought that he had entirely got the better of the Factions in his own Army, and that he ftood higher in the Favour of Motezuma than ever; but it was not long before he was convinced to the contrary; and found, when he leaft furpected it, that the Indian King was bent upon obliging him to quit his Country, a Thing he never apprehended would have come into the Emperor's Head, or if it had, that he would have had Spirit and Courage enough to avow it. But as wife and as penetrating a Man as he was, he found himfelf deceived in both.

The Manner in which this great Affair broke out, was thus: One Day as Cortes was diverting himfelf with the Spanifh Commanders, Motezuma fent Orleguilla, a young; Spaniard who had learned the Indian Language, and of whom he was very fond, to tell him that he wanted to fpeak with him immediately, and at the fame time that the young Man delivered this Meffage, he informed Cortes that Motezuma had fpent a great Part of the Night in clofe Confultation with his principal Minifters, and fome of his Priefts. As foon as he had heard this, Cortes could not help faying that he did not like the Meffage, but, however, he refolved to wait upon the Emperor immediately, taking with him about a Dozen of the Spaniards that were by when he received the Meffage, and laboured to conceal, as well as he could, the Confufion he was in. When he came into Motezuma's Prefence, he faluted him with profound Refpect, and then afked him very courteoully, what were his Commands?

The Emperor received him with more Gravity than ufual, and with an Air of Greatnefs that till then he had newer put on; and being now fomewhat acquainted with
the Forms of Spanifb Civility, called for Chairs, and all the reft ftanding, and two Interpreters on their Sides, he faid, "Captain Cortes, my Gods are angry with me for "s having permitted you to ftay fo long in my City, deftroy" ing our Religion; they fay they will give me no Rain, "s will deftroy my Corn, fend the Plague, and fubject "c my Empire to my Enemies. I intreat you to depart "s this Place immediately; afk what you will have, for " I love you entirely, and if I did not I fhould not beg " it of you, fince I have it my Power to do you harm, "s and fhall not tell you fo again. Take what you will "s out of my Treafures, and go away fatisfied, for my " Gods will not allow of what has been done; and "fince you fee I can do no lefs for their Honour and "s my own, be not concerned." When he hai. uttered thefe Words, before the Interpreter began to fpeak, Cortes turned to a Spaniard, and faid, "Run to our Com" rades, and bid them be in Readinefs, for their Lives " are at Stake." When the Interpreter had done, Cortes roufing his Courage, very fedately anfwered, "6 Ex"s perience had made him fenfible of his Affection, and "that it was not his Fault if he did not continue in his "Company; but, that fince his Gods and his People "s were of that Mind, he fhould confider when he would " have him be gone."

The King was fo well pleafed with his Anfwer, that he faid, "He would not have him go till he thought " fit himfelf, and he would then give him four Loads of " Gold, every Horfeman two, and every Foot-Soldier "one." Cortes replied, "That he could not return to " his own Country without Ships, and fince he had funk " thofe that brought him, it was his Requeft, that he "s would caufe Timber to be felled at Vera Cruz, which "t the Indians called the Coaft of Calcbicoeca, and he "would find Men to build them." Motezuma approved, and ordered Timber to be felled. Cortes appointed Workmen to do what Martin Lopez fhould direct them, and Motezuma believed it. Cortes acquainted his Men with Motezuma's Will, encouraged them, and faid, "That God, whofe Caufe they liad in hand, would in "s the mean Time, while the Ships were building, fo "difpofe their Affairs, that they fhould not lofe that "good Country." He directed Martin Lopez to make fhew of carrying on the Work with Diligence, but to retard it as much as might be, and fend him Advice of every thing that happened.

There were various Motives induced Motezuma to take this Refolution, which might, in fome Refpects, be thought not fo agreeable to his Temper and Conftitution, that was, as various Inftances we have given plainly fhew, rather timorous than enterprizing. But after all, the great and true Spring of this fudden and furprizing Refolution, was his confidering that if things went on in their prefent Channel, one or other of thefe Events muft neceffarily follow, viz. that either the Spaniards would abfolutely acquire the Poffeffion of his Dominions, by the Confent of his Subjects, or elfe the Inhabitants of the Mexican Empire, to preferve their ancient Government and Religion, would elect a new Emperor, under whofe Conduct they might drive them out by Force; and in either Cafe he looked upon himfelf as undone. It was for this Reafon that he determined to comply with all the Demands that Cortes had made, that he might have no Pretence for taying longer ; and that he might likewife furnifh his Priefts with an Opportunity of telling the People, that their Emperor having now fulfilled the Will of the Gods in every Refpect, had thereby regained their Favour, fo that now they might depend upon the Affiftance of Heaven, in expelling the Strangers.

On the other hand, the great Defign of Cortes was to gain Time, in Hopes that he fhould receive the King's Commiffion, and a great Reinforcement from Spain, which might enable him to act with Vigour, and fecure that extenfive Empire to his Catholic Majefty; and of this he had the greater Hopes, becaufe he had now brought his Men to have an abfolute Confidence in him; and they no longer thought there was any thing impof-
fible to be done that Cortes thought practicable. But alas! all thefe fine Notions were but Dreams, and this great Commander found, to his Coft, that a Civil War amongtt the Spaniards muft firft be gone through, before
all the Pains he had taken, and all the Arts he had practifed, would open a Paffage, for compleating what he apprehended was at hand, the entire Conqueft of the Empire of Mexico.

## S E C T I O N XII.

## The Hifory of Cortes's Expedition continued to the Death of Motezuma, and the Spaniards being forced to abandon the City of Mexico.

1. The firt Intelligence of a confiderable Squadron and a neve Army of Spaniards, landing in the Dominions of Motezuma, communicated by bim to Cortes, and the Conjequences of that furprizing Piece of Intelligence. 2. The Rije and Occafion of this fecond Expedition formed by James Velafquez for the Defruction of Cortes, and the gaining to bimflelf the Province of New Spain. 3. The Pains taken by the Royal Audience at Santo Domingo, to prevent Velafquez from executing fo rafb a Defign, and fo prejudicial to the public Service. 4. The Fleit fails under the Command of Pamphilo de Narvaez, arrives at Vera Cruz, and the bold Stand made in that Fortrefs by Sandoval in favour of Cortes. 5. The Meafures taken by that great Commander for fecuring Mexico, and for marching with the reft of bis Forces againf Narvaez: 6. Fe executes this Defign, and endeavours to come to Terms of Accommodation with the otber Army ${ }_{3}$ wobich are abfolutely rejected. 7. He attacks Narvaez in the Night, and after a hoort Dippute defeats bis, Forcesentirely, and takes bim Prifoner. 8. The Confequences of tbis Victory, and the wife Meafures takern. by Cortes to improve it, till.be is informed of the Troubles at Mexico. 9. A Jiort Account of the Occafion of this Sedition at Mexico, and of the Methods taken by Peter Alverado to quell it, and to reduce the Indians to their Duty. Io. The Arrival of Cortes, and the feveral Engagements that afterwards hap= pened between bis Troops and the People of Mexico, wwo notwitbjanding bis Arrival perfifted in carrying on the War. II. Motezuma endeavours to pacify bis Subjects, and webile be is Jpeaking to them receives a Wound on the Temples by a Stone, of which be dies. I2. The Conduct of Cortes after thisunfortunate Accident, and the Pains be took to reconcile bimfelf to the Indians, though to no Purpofe. 13. The Reafons wobich induced bim to refolve upon quitting Mexico, and to make the bef Retreat from thence be could. 14. The mamer in wobich be executed this Retreat, and the many Difficulties and Dangers with wbich it weas attended. 15. Objervations and Remarks upon the principal Occurrences mentioned in this Section.

.THE Satisfaction that the Emperor received from the Hopes he entertained of being fhortly rid of the Spaniards, and the Expectations of Cortes, that he fhould be for fome time quiet, from the Meafures he had taken, were entirely deftroyed by a very unforefeen Accident, equally inconfiffent with both their Intentions. In fhort, Motezuma had Intelligence brought him that eighteen Sail of Ships were feen off the Coaft of Ulua; and his Officers, who commanded in that Part of the Country, had fent the Figures of all thefe Ships painted upon Cloths, which ferved inftead of Letters, with a Defrription of the People they had feen in them; and fome Characters, which fignified what they fufpected of their Intentions, being Spaniards in Appearance, and arriving at a time when he treated of difpatching thofe who were already at his Court. Whatever Impreffion thefe Reprefentations had on the Mind of Motezuma, the Refult was, that he immediately fent for Cortes, laid the Picture before him ; and told him, "That now the "Provifion he was making for his Journey was unne"ceffary, fince fome Ships of his Nation were arrived


Cortes viewed the Painting with Attention rather than Surprize ; and though he did not underftand the Characters, which defcribed them, he knew enough by the Habit of the People and the Mark of the Veffels, not to doubt their being Spaniords: The firtt Motion of his Heart inclined him to Joy, fince he believed that his Commiffaries were arrived, and flattered himfelf that they had brought him very confiderable Supplies, in fuch a Number of Veffels. The Imagination is eafily carried away to that which one defires; and he could not fuppofe, at that time, that fo powerful an Armada was defigned againft him, for he formed his Judgment by his own fincere and noble Manner of acting, and the Well-intentioned are with Difficulty brought to believe that which is againft Juftice and Reafon.
His Anfwer to Motezuma was, "That he would de"part immediately if thefe Ships were bound back for "a any of the King of Spain's Dominions." And, without being furprized that the Emperor fhould have the
firt News of thefe Particulars', becaufe he was nơ Stranger to the indefatigable Diligence of his Couriers; he added, "That it would not be long before he fhould " have an Account of this Accident from the Spaniards " who were at Zempooalla, and that then he fhould know " with Certainty whither thofe Ships were bound, and " the Defigns of their Owners, and whether it would be " neceffary to proceed in the building of thofe Veffels." Motezuma approved this Anfwer, being well pleafed with his Readinefs. But in a fhort time; a Letter came from Vera Cruz, in which Gonfalo de Sandoval fent Cortes Word, "That thofe Ships belonged to $\mathcal{F}$ ames Velafquez; " and brought eight hundred Spaniards to oppofe and "deprive him of his Conqueft." This unexpected Stroke he received in the Prefence of Motezuma, and ftood in Need of all his Courage and Refolution to conceal his Perturbation of Mind; for he found himfelf ini Danger from the very Quarter from whence he expected Succour.
In order to underftand however this Point of Face clearly, and to judge perfectly of the Danger in which Cortes ftood from his Countrymen, it will be requifite to caft our Eyes over to Cuba, and confider what paffed there after the Departure of the Fleet under the Command of this great Man.
2. James Velafquez was at firft equally angry and uneafy at the Step which Cortes had taken; but after he had received Advice from his Agent in Spain, that he had obtained for him the Title of the King's Lieutenant, not only in Cuba, but alfo in all the Countries which fhould be difcovered by him; or by his Means; he became poffeffed with a kind of Fury, and conceiving this Difrefpect to him, even before he became the King's Lieutenant, to be a kind of Treafon, he refolved to punifh it as fuch, and to exert the whole Strength of the Colony for that Purpofe.
What contributed to heighten his Choler extremely, was the Subftance of certain Letters he received from his Agent, in which he was told, that the Bihop of Burgos, Prefident of the Indies, was his beft Friend ; but that the KKing was highly pleafed with the Conduct of Cortes;
and that all Spain rung of the great Things he had pet formed, and the mighty Difcoveries he had made. The Applaufe given to Cortes made him impatient and outrageous, and notwithftanding he was not-forry to fee the Conqueft fo far advanced, yet he could not bear that another fhould receive the Thanks which, in his Opinion, were due to him alone, fo vain was he, in the little Share he had in the firft Difpofition of that Enterprize, that without any other Foundation he took to himfelf the Name of Conqueror. Upon thofe Motives he immediately prepared to form a Fleet and Army for the Deftruction of Cortes, and all who had followed his Fortune. He bought Ships, lifted Soldiers, and went in Perfon over the whole Inand, vifiting the Spaniards, and encouraging them to the Undertaking.

He fhared with them before-hand the immenfe Riches of that Conqueft, which he faid was ufurped by ill advifed Rebels, who had bafely made their Efcapes from Cuba by flight. With thofe Hopes, and fome Expence, he got together a Body of Men, which in thofe Parts of the World might be termed a formidable Army. It confifted of eight hundred Spanifb Foot, eighty Horfe, and ten or twelve Pieces of Artillery, with abundance of Provifions, Arms and Ammunition. He appointed for chief Commander of that Expedition Pampbilo de Narvaez, a Mian of Capacity, and of the firft Diftinction in that Inand, but highly opinionated, and obftinately pofitive in his Refolutions.

He gave him the Title of his Lieutenant, naming himfelf Governor of Nere Spain. He gave him likewife fecret Inftructions, in. which he ordered him, "That he ©s fhould endeavour to the utmoft of his Power to take "Cortes, and fend him Prifoner under a ftrong Guard,
" that he might receive from his Hands the Punifhment as he had deferved; that he fhould do the fame by the ©s chief Officers who followed him, in cafe they refufed "s to abandon his Intereft, and that he fhould take Pof* feffion in his Name of all that had been conquered, s and adjudge it to be all within his Diftrict, as the
"s King's Lieutenant." He never fo much as confidered that it was poffible his Defign might not fucceed, or that the new Officer he fent might not have it in his Power to treat the old one in the Manner he directed.
3. But while he was thus employed in taking Meafures to gratify his private Refentment, under Colour of promoting the public Service, fome wifer People in the Indies were much better employed; for the Royal Audience at St. Domingo, as foon as they were informed of thefe Preparations, forefeeing the Inconveniencies that might refult from fo public a Competition, fent the Licenciate Welafquez de Ayllon, Auditor of the fame Audience, to endeavour to bring Velafquez to reafon; and if he found gentle Means infufficient, to acquaint him with the Orders he carried; commanding him upon great Penalties to difarm his People and unrig his Fleet, and not difturb or give any Impediment to the Conqueft, in which Hernan Cortes was employed, under the Colour of its belonging to him ; and in cafe he had any Complaint againft Cortes, or any Claim of Right to the Country he was then gaining, to appear before the Royal Tribunal, where he fhould be fure of Juftice in a regular way.

The Licenciate, according to his Inftructions, did all he could to reduce Velafquez to reafon, making ufe of what Arguments he thought moft proper to perfuade him to defift from his Enterprize; and feeing him incapable of Advice, he fhewed his Orders, and caufed them to be notified by an Efcrivano he had brought with him for that Purpofe, accompanying them with Requeits and Proteftations. But nothing was fufficient to ftop his Refolution, for the Title of the King's Lieutenant had fo raifed him, in his own Conceit, that it feemed he would acknowledge no Superior in his Government, and obftinately perfifted in his untractable Humour.

The Licenciate feeing that he endeavoured to haften the Embarkation of his People, feigned a Defire of beholding this Land, fo much applauded and cried up, and under the Pretext of Curiofity offered to accompany them, to which Propofal Velafquez agreed, that the News of his Infolence might come later to the Ine of Santo Do
mingo. Whereupon he embarked with general Approbation. Andres de Duero, that Secretary of Velajquez, who favoured Cortes fo much, in the beginning of his Fortune, likewife, made one in this Expedition; fome fay, he offered himfelf for this Voyage, purely to thare fome of the Wealth Cortes had acquired, by putting him in Mind of the Services he had formerly done him; and others fay, it was to pacify Narvaer, and prevent as much as he could the Ruin of his Friend.
4. The Fleet fet fail, and, having a favoursble Wind, in a few Days got Sight of the defired Land. They came to an Anchor in the Port of Ulua, and Pampbilo de Navaez, fent fome Soldiers afhore to get Intelligence, and make what Difcoveries they could in the neighbouring Villages. Thefe were not long before they furprized two or three Spaniards who were ftraggling about that Place. They brought them before the Commander, and the Men either tearful, or inclinable to Novelty, informed him of all that had paffed in Mexico and Verc Cruz, endeavouring to flatter him, by difcrediting of Cortes: Upon this Intelligence the firft thing he refolved on, was, to treat with Gonfalo de Sandoval about the Surrender of the Fortrefs under his Command, and to engage him either to maintain it for him or to difmantle it, and with his Garrifon to join the Army.

He intrufted this Negotiation with a Clergyman, named Fuan de Guevara, a Man of a lefs gentle Temper than his Profeffion required. There went with him three Soldiers, who ferved as Witneffes, and a public Notary. Gonfalo de Sandoval had his Sentinels in proper Places, to obferve the Motions of the Fleet ; and they gave Advice from one to another, by which Means he had an account of their Approach a good while before they arrived, and being affured that there was no greater Number to follow, he ordered the Gates to be opened, and retired, to wait their coming.

The Prieft after the firft Civilities were over, gave him an Account of the Forces with Narvaez, who were come to take Satisfaction for the Injury which Cortes had done Velafquez, by withdrawing from his Obedience, the Conqueft of that whole Country being intirely his Property, as having been begun by his Order, and at his Expence. Sandoval anfwered him with fome Warmth, which he could not well conceal, "That Pampbilo de "Narvaez was his Friend, and fo loyal a Subject, that " he would certainly defire nothing but what fhould " be convenient for his Majefty's Service. That the " prefent Juncture of Affairs required that he fhould " join his Forces with thofe of Cortes, and affift him to " perfect that which was in fuch Forwardnefs, for that " " the Quarrels of private Perfons were not, at the King's " Expence, to be decided by a Civil War: But that if " Narvaez, preferring private Revenge to public Intereft, " defigned any Violence againft Cortes, he might be af"f fured not only himfelf, but all the Garrifon, would ra" ther chufe to die, than to agree to fo difhonourable an "Action."

The Prieft received this Repulfe as an unexpected Stroke, and broke out into injurious Language and Threats againft Cortes, calling him Traitor, and went fo far as to fay, that Sandoval, and all who efpoufed that Traitor's Intereft, deferved no better Title. They all endeavoured to bring him to reafon, putting him in mind of his Profeffion, that he might be fenfible of the Confideration upon which they bore with him : But he, raifing his Voice without changing his Stile, commanded the Notary he had brought with him to publifh the Orders he had, " That all might know that they were to "pay Obedience to Narvaez on Pain of Death." But this was what could not be put in Execution, for Gonfalo de Sandoval told him roundly, "That he would order " him immediately to be hanged, if he prefumed to " publifh any Orders which did not come from the " King.,"

At laft Things rofe to fuch a Height, that, to prevent a Mutiny, Sandoval found it requifite to make thefe Pcople Prifoners ; and upon mature Confideration, he likewife thought proper to fend them Prifoners to Mexico, being carried by Indians in Chairs, or a kind of Litters,
thas
that are ufed in that Country, under a fmall Guard, commanded by Pedro de Solis, of whom he had a very good Opinion, and who behaved in this Affair admirably well.
5. In the mean time Cortes was extremely at a lofs how to behave in this Conjuncture. He had many things to do, and many Points to carry; ftood expoled to a Multitude of Croffes, and had little or nothing in his Favour ; yet his Behaviour was perfectly fober and difcreet. He told Motezuma, that his King had fent a confiderable Army to profecute his Rights to his Country; but, as he had already received his Homage, he would go to his Countrymen, perfuade them to return, and go back with them himfelf. He gave his Soldiers to underftand, that, notwithitanding Narvaez was fent, with the whole Force of the Inand of Cuba, for his Deftruction; ; yet he did not doubt he fhould be able to bring him, or at leaft his Soldiers, to join with them; and, in that Cafe, he made no fort of Queftion of their being ftrong enough to make a total Conqueft of the Empire of Mexico. To his Officers he was very fincere, and found in them the moft perfect Obedience.

In the mean time, Solis arrived with the Prifoners, fent by Sandoval; but Cortes, who had been before informed of their coming, went out to receive them with more than ordinary Attendance. He immediately ordered their Fetters to be taken off, embraced them with great Fiumanity, and Guevara more than once, with particular Civility, telling him, "That he would chaftife Sandoval " for the little Regard he had fhewn to his Perfon and "Dignity." He afterwards conducted him to his own Apartment, gave him his Table, and, with a feeming Satisfaction, intimated, "How much he efteemed the "Happinefs of having Narvacz in that Country, on "s account of the paft Friendhip and Intimacy that had "s been between them." He took care that the chief Spaniards thould all appear chearful before him. He made them Witnefles of the Favours he received from Motezuma, and the great Refpeet with which he was treated by the Mexican Princes. He prefented them with fome Jewels of Value, which greatly mollified their Tempers.

He did the fame by their Companions; yet without letting them know he ftood in need of their good Offices to induce Narvaez to Peace. He difpatched them in four Days, fully perfuaded by his Reafons, and engaged by his Liberality. After he had taken thefe Meafures, he refolved to fend fome Perfon of Account to make fuch Propofals to Narvaez as were reafonable. He chofe Friar Bartbolomere de Olnzedo, a Perfon of known Wifdom and Eloquence. He haftened his Difpatches, and gave him Letters for Narvaez, for the Licenciate, and for the Secretary Duero, with feveral Jewels to diftribute as he fhould think proper.

It is eafy to apprehend, from the Account that has been already given, that, in the whole Progrefs of this Expedition, this great Commander had never met with fo much Trouble and Perplexity, or apprehended himfelf in fo great Danger as in this Conjuncture, when, with all the Forces of the Mexicon Empire, he had likewife a fuperior Army of Spaniards to deal with, and thofe no lefs inclined to deftroy him than his foreign Enemy. Motezuma faw his Trouble, notwithftanding he took all the Pains he could to hide it; and, in a Converfation he had with him upon the Subject, told him plainly, That he perceived either he, or the new Spanifb Commander, muft be a Rebel; which mortified Cortes extremely. But he remained firm, notwithitanding, in his firf Refolution, which was to march in Perfon againft Narvaez, and to leave a fufficient Body of Spaniards behind him in Mexico to fecure the Perfon of Motezuma, and preferve the City under their Obedience. The Number of Men that were to be employed for this Purpofe was no more than fourfcore; but they were picked and chofen Men, to whom he affigned for their Commander, Capt. Peter Alverado, a Man of Fidelity and Refolution, ex. tremely beloved by the spaniards, and very highly efteemed by Motezuma. He fent Orders likewife to Sandoval to quit the Fortrefs of Vera Cruz, and to leave it to the confederate Indians, that he might he able to march againft Narvaez with the greateft Force he could draw together.

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He gave Directions alfo for raifing connderable Bodies of well-affected Indians; but he abiolutely refufed to accept of the Succours which Notezuma offered him, that he might not put either himfelf, or the Spaniards under the Command of his Rival, into the Power of thofe who were naturally Enemies to both. Thefe were vaft, and indeed almoft incredible, things to be performed in fo fhort a fpace of time; and yet fuch was his Diligence, fuch was his Dexterity, that they were performed, and every thing was ready for his Departure againft the Day be had appointed. But what was ftill itranger, and more extraordinary, he not only found his Soldiers perfectly well inclined to his Service, but all his Indien Confederates as chearful and hearty in his Intereft as he could either wifh or defire; fo that, difficult as his Enterpiize was, he entered upon it with a fair Profpect of Succefs.
6. Cortes, being refolved to lofe no time in marching againft Narvaez, thought fit to acouaint Motezuma, and received a fuitable Anfwer from that Monarch, who, at his Departure, bore him Company as far as the Caufway of Papalapan, where he took his Leave very kindly. Many Mexicans went with him; fome returned becaufe he defired them fo to do; and others becaufe they grew weary. Thofe that followed went to bring the King word of every thing that happened, as they hourly did. He was very well received at Cbuiula, where the Men were refrefhed; and, half a League from thence, he met a great Number of Tlafcalans coming to compliment him. The Cbinontlans had Pikes, and Cortes ordered all the Men to wear Efcaupiles, or Armour made of Cotton. Sandoval likewife came to the Place affigned him, where, upon a Mufter, there were found two hundred and fixtyfix Men, including the Commanders, five Horfemen, and the Friar.
Cortes's Friends that were with Narvaez, being informed that he drew near, advifed to fend Andrew Duero, who had an Influence over Cortes, to propofe an Accommodation. Duero went, and difcourfed Cortes in private, and the Refult was, that they treated one another like Friends. When Duero was gone, Cortes ordered Jobn Velafquez, who was a Relation to Narvaez, to go to his Camp, and take with him his Gold Chains, and all he had, befides much he gave him. Velafquez excufed himfelf; but Cortes would have him go, offered him his own grey Mare, and, having difcourfed him in private, and given him fome Jewels, he departed. $V_{e^{-}}$ lafquez, arriving at Zempoalla, alighted at the Cazique's Houfe, and from thence went to Narvaez's Quarters, who, being informed that he was come, was going out to feek him, and, having received him very lovingly, faid, He fhould be his Gueft. He anfwered, He muft return immediately; for that he only came to kifs his Hands, and to try whether any Accommodation could be made. Narvaez flew into a great Paffion, and faid, He wondered he fhould chufe to reconcile him to a Traitor, who had revolted from his Coufin James Velafquez. Fobn Velafquez was much offended at it, and faid, That fuch Words were not to be fpoken in his Prefence of Cortes, who was a very worthy Gentleman. Capt. Salvatierra, and other Officers, thinking that Velafquez took too much Liberty, advifed Narvaez to fecure him; but Augufin Bermuder, who was Chief Alguazil, Andrere de Duero, and Fobn de Leon, oppofed it, and perfuaded Narvaez to make much of him, who did fo, and defired him to perfuade Cortes to furrender himfelf, and put an end to all Controverfies. Narvazz would have $V$ Velafquez fee his Army, which paffed in review before him, and fo they went to dinner. Immediately after Velafquez took his leave, thinking he had done what he came for, which was to fee the Forces, fpeak to fome particular Perfons, and render Narvaez fecure. The Friends of that Commander were become abfolutely tired of the Company of Velafquez, and were therefore -glad to be rid of him, fo that they prevailed upon his Friend not to importune him to ftay; and indeed Narvaez himfelf was, by this time, of their Opinion.

After his Departure they held a Council of War; in which the Friends of Narvaez reprefented to him the Danger he was in from the Money that Cortes had taken care to diftribute among his Soldiers; and, while they were difcourfing on this Subject, the Cazique of Zem-
poalla came, and afked him what he was about; adding, That, when he leaft expected it, Cortes would be there and kill him; for that he had fo many Spies that he knew every thing that was done. Tho' they made a Jeft of him, the War againft Cortes was proclaimed to be carried on with Fire and Sword, and all Plunder to belong to the Taker. Narvaez marched out, with his Forces and Artillery, about a Quarter of a League from Zempoalla, intending to wait for Cortes there; but, it happening to rain all that Day, and thofe Men not being inured to Hardfhips, they murmured, faying, It was proper to return to their Quarters. Thofe who were acquainted with Cortes's Valour thought otherwife; and infifted that it was ill Advice to go back. Andrew Duero gave Cortes Notice of all thofe Particulars, by a Soldier who deferted.

Narvaez retiring, upon the Confidence that Cortes durft not attack him, ordered Soldiers to be pofted on the River he was to pafs, forty Horfemen to ftay all Night on the Road to Zempoalla, Twenty more to be in the Courts of his Quarters, and the Artillery, confifting of eighteen fmall Guns, to be planted before the Doors: And thus he thought himfelf fecure. He then proclaimed he would give two thoufand Pieces of Eight to any Man that fhould kill Cortes. Sandoval had ordered a confiderable Number of Mufketeers, Crofs-bowmen, and other Soldiers, with Partifans, to lye in his Apartment; and the Captains Salvatierra, Gommera, and others of his Confidants with them.

Cortes, coming to the River of Canoes, found much Difficulty in paffing it, becaufe there was a great Flood, and two Soldiers were drowned feeking for the Ford. As foon as they got over they heard firing of Mufkets in Narvaez's Army, which much frighted the Indians; who fent Motezuma an Account of all, magnifying his Power, and looking upon Cortes as a loft Man, which was no fmall Satisfaction to the Mexicans. Cortes, in that Place, drew his Men together; and, in a long Speech, acquainted them with all the ill Practices of Narvaez, extolled their Valour, and told them, they were then to fight for their Lives, for their Honour, and for their Eftates; the Defign of their Enemies being to make them Prifoners, and feize all they had. Fobn Velafquez, Fames de Ordaz, and other Commanders, anfwered, He might be affured they would either conquer or die, and flould take heed not to be enfnared by any fallacious Terms. Cortes was over-joyed to find his Men in this Difpofition, and defired them to keep their Order exactly, for many great Misfortunes happened for want of it; and it was very remarkable that he never gave them the leaft Intimation of the Intelligence he held in the Enemy's Army, that his Soldiers might believe that his whole Dependance was upon their Valour. He further faid, He defigned to attack the Enemy at Midnight, or before break of Day, which was the beft Method for a few to deal with a great Number. Alonfo Davila anfwered, That they did not defire to live without him, fo that he might go when he pleafed, and do as he thought fit, for they would be fatisfied to die with him at all Times.

As foon as Narvaez heard where Cortes was, he fent Gonfalo Carrafco, a bold Man, and his Servant Hurtado, to approach as near Cortes's Forces as he could, and bring him Advice of his Motions. Cortes's Forerunners met with Carrafco, and took him; who fpoke aloud that Hurtado might make his Efcape; and fo he did. Hurtado came among Narvaez's Forces, 'ran thro' their Quarters crying, Arm, arm! telling them, That Cortes was at hand, and Carrafco taken; but could give no Account of the Men or their Number. Some faid Cortes could not come in fuch a dark, rainy Night, and Narvaez bid Hurtado go to fleep, for he had certainly fancied it. Cortes, to juftify his Proceedings, gave Sandoval, who was his chief Alguazil, a Warrant to fecure Narvaez for raifing Commotions in the Country; and, in cafe he refifted, to kill him, requiring all his Officers and Soldiers to be affifting. Then he divided his Men into three Parties; the Firft under Sandoval, which was of fixty Men; the Second under Cbriftopber Olid, a good Soldier, and a Man of extraordinary Strength. Cortes himfelf took the Third. They had, among them all,
feventy Pikes made of Oak, with the Spears beforementioned, being thirty-eight Spans in Length. The Word was The Holy. Ghoft. He appointed Sandoval's Pikes to attack Narvaez's Quarters, and the reft the Cazique's Houfe, where he was kept under a Guard that he might not run away; and fifty Men to fall upon the Alcalde Fobn Fufte; and Olid was to attack Narvaez's Artillery, and he to fupport them.

The three Bodies advanced within a Stone's-throw of one another. Cortes halting, intreated Carrafco to tell him the Difpofition of Narvaez's Forces, threatning to hang him if he lyed; and he, refufing, was fo near being hanged, that his Throat was fore for fome Days: And one of the Horfemen faved him. Being come to a Place where the Road divided itfelf into two, they prayed, put on their Efcaupiles, or Cotton Armour, and marched towards the Town in good Order, obferving ftrict Silence. Fobn Velafquez, then feeing a Light on high, told Cortes that was Narvaez's Quarters, and he anfwered, I am glad that the Light guides us. He commanded Sandorval to move directly to Narvaez, which was a good Choice, for he was a daring Commander, and the other Parties to guard his Flanks. Sandoval charged Canillas not to beat his Drum till he ordered him, and kept him before him. When they were clofe by Narvaez's Quarters, Cortes, who was giving Directions, faid to Sandoval's Party, Gentlemen, ftick clofe to the Houfes on both Sides of the Streets, that the Cannon-balls may pafs along without doing any execution. All this could not be done fo filently but that there was Notice given of it. Narvaez, who was putting on a Breaft-plate, faid to him that brought the Advice, Be not uneafy, and ordered to beat the Alarm; but none came in from the other Towers, where the reft of his Men were quartered, for they could not come, being hindered by Cortes's Men. When Sandoval came to Narvaez's Quarters, the firf Sentinels, who ftood at the Foot of the Stairs of the Court, cryed out. Sandoval, feeing he was difcovered, ordered Canillas to beat his Drum. Cortes cryed, Fall on, fall on! Holy Gboft, Holy Gboof! Advance.
Sandoval going up the firf Stairs, with his Men following, found in the firft Court a Room full of Blacks; one of them came out with a Light in his Hand, and was killed with the Pikes. They paffed on towards Narvaez's Apartment, and going up four Steps faw the Artillery planted. One Gun was fired, which killed. two of Cortes's Men; but the reft preffed on fo faft that the other Pieces could not be fired. Cortes caufed the Artillery to be thrown down the Steps, and went up five more to get into the Room where Narvaez was with about forty Soldiers. Sandoval, who was already come up with Narvaez; required him to yield, but he made a Jeft of it, and ftood upon his defence till Martin Lopez, one of Cortes's Men, fet fire to the Thatch that was on the Tower, and the Smoke drove Narvaez and his Men out of the Place, and then he was run into the Eye with a Pike. Fames de Rojas, Enfign to Narvaez, fought bravely in Defence of his Colours, till two Pikes were thruft into him, when falling he cried out, Lady help me! and Cortes anfwered, She fhall fave you, not permitting him to be killed.

When Narvaez was wounded, Peter Sanchez came up and clofed with him, and then Sandoval faid, Yield yourfelf Prifoner, fo they dragged him down the Steps till Fetters were put upon him, and carried him to Cortes; to whom he faid: My Lord Cortes, value your good Fortune in making me Prifoner this Day. He anfwered, That the leaft Action he had performed in that Country was the taking of him ; and therefore ordered he fhould be well fecured. He was not dreffed that Night, by reafon of the Confufion all Men were in, but the next Day was fent to Villa Rica. Narvaez being taken, and his Men making no further Oppofition, Cortes ordered himfelf to be proclaimed Captain-General, and Chief Juftice of both Armies, in the King's Name; commanding all Men to come in and take an Oath to him as fuch, upon pain of Death.

They all did fo, fome voluntarily, others becaufe they did not know how to avoid it, except three hundred Soldiers, who fortified themfelves in their Quarters; to whom

Carrajeo

Carrafco now releafed faid, It was a fit time to fall upon Cortes's Men, becaufe thofe who had taken an Oath to him were difarmed, and his own Soldiers difperfed, plundering. Tho' the Advice was not difiliked, thofe Men having no Head, and many afpiring to be fo, they ftaid till it was Day; when Cbriflopber de Olid came to offer them a good Reception, from Cortes. Moft of them cried, God blefs the King and James Velafquez. When the Shout was over, Olid told them, they would be compelled by Force to what they refufed to do voluntarily. Whiltt he went to acquaint Cortes, Carrafco advifed them to fall upon Cortes's Baggage, and they fhould be all rich; and might then embark, and carry James Velafquez Treafure enough to fit out another Fleet. Though they liked the Propofal they could not agree, fo that Carr afso went alone, and finding no Guard but Marina and Fobn de Oreoga, Page to Cortes, he took a Horfe and a Spear, returned to thofe Men who were ftill together, and fhewed them what an Opportunity they had loft. Cortes then ordered his Artillery to advance againft thofe that would not fubmit, and commanded the Gunner to fire one Piece in the Air: He did fo. Olid fpoke to them again, and they again anfwered, God blefs the King and James Velafquez. One Gun being then fired upon them killed two Men, and the next one. Whereupon fome of them went over to Cortes, and the reft held out till wanting Ammunition they furrendered.

All had taken the Oath to Cortes except Carrafco, and he appearing on the Horfe he had ftolen, Cortes faid to him : Friend, that Horfe is mine; alight. He faid he would not unlefs his own was reftored. Cortes replied, he fhould quit him immediately, and Orders fhould be given for returning his. As to the Oath, he refufed it; for which he had a Clog fartened to one of his Feet, which continued three Days, and then he took the Oath. He was not hanged, to avoid exafperating thofe People.
8. When all had been fworn, he muftered his own Men, to fee how many here miffing; and Narvaez's Party feeing they were only two hundred and fixty without the great Army of the Tlafcalans, that had been reported, and that they had but thofe few Pikes without Armour or Horfes, and fome Coats of Mail, Spears, and Crofsbows, and their Swords in bad Condition, they were much afhamed, that they, with their little Pannels, as they called the Cotton Armour, fhould have defeated fo many Men of Note, and, blufhing, curfed Narvaez for his ill Conduct ; which much troubled Cortes, till by Degrees he gained their Affections: Two only of his Men were killed and one wounded; and eleven of Narvacz's Party flain.

Then came the Cazique of Zempoalla with his Indians, bringing Garlands of Rofes, and fetting them on the Heads of Cortes and the other Commanders, congratulated their Victory, and defired them to go to his. Houfe ; and in return Cortes gave him fome Spanifb Baubles; and having ordered all that had happened to be painted, Norvaez taken and putinto Irons, his Men fubmitting, and Cortes victorious, the Cazique fent it to Motezuma by the Advice of Cortes, who alfo fent a Spaniard to inform Alverado. When firt Cortes came to Zempoalla, the Lord prefented him with a beautiful Woman of Quality, who took the Name of Catherina, and now he took up his Quarters in the Woman's Houre, becaufe it was ftrong. She treated him very kindly; but he was uneafy in his Mind, feeing thofe conquered People, indifpofed. Whilft he was thinking how to get over this Difficulty, Capt. Bariantos came to him with the Cbinentlons well armed after their Manner, which was a great Satisfaction to him, that Narvaez's Men might fee how he was obeyed in New Spain.

He refolved to fend thofe Indians back, and to divide the Speniards; and accordingly ordered James Ordaz to march with Three hundred Men to fubdue the Province Guacacoaico, and Fobn. Velafquez with another Detachment to the River of Garray; thus to employ them, and fecure himielf, which at the fame time was acceptable to them. Cortes next commanded Peter de Malvenda, Steward to Velafquez, to pick up what belonged to his Mafter and Narvacz, and fecure it. A Black belonging to Acaraez, having the Small-Pox, infected the whole Town
of Zempoalla, and the Indians frequently wafhing themfelves, Numbers of them died, and lying unburied occafioned a peftilential Diftemper which fpread through all Nere Spein, and there enfued a very great Mortality. Ochers affirm, that this Diftemper was not brought over by the Black, but that they had it at certain Times in the Weg ${ }^{2}$ Irdies, and this feems the more likely, becaufe it affected none of the Spaniards.

Whiltt Cortes was endeavouring to fettle his Affairs at Vera Cruz, wherein he met with fome Difficulty, and Fames Ordaz was gone upon the aforefaid Commifions, the Spaniard he had fent to Mexico with the News of his Victory returned, and faid the Mexicans were in Arms, and fhewed fome Wounds they had given him; faying he had efcaped miraculounly. He preffed Cortes to march to the Relief of Alverado, telling him, that the Indians had burnt the four Brigantines he had built at Mexico, thrown down a Wall at the Spanifs Quarters, which had been repaired with much Difficulty, undermined another, fet Fire to the Ammunition, taken up the Draw-bridges, cut off the Provifions, killed Pena, Motezuma's Favourite ; that the Spaniards had defended themfelves bravely, killing many Indians ; and that, if Motezuma had not fometimes commanded his People to give over the Attacks for fear Alverado might kill him, the Spaniards had been deftroyed. Hereupon he fettled the Government at Villa Rica, leaving Narvaez and his Men Prifoners there; commanded thofe he had fent abroad to halt till further Orders ; made a Speech to the Men, faying, That thofe who were willing to follow him fhould have Arms given them ; and the Occafion being urgent, all unanimounly offered their Service.
9. It now plainly appeared that Cortes was become entirely Mafter of all the Spaniards under his Command, the new obeying as well as the old Soldiers, and fhewing as much Zeal for his Service. He had already given the neceffary Orders for fecuring the Fleet, and for putting a good Garrifon into Vera Cruz; fo that it was more in his Power to execute the Defign he had formed, and which indeed the Circumftances of Affairs required, marching directly to Mexico, and forcing a Paffage through the Rebels, to the Relief of his Countrymen. He directed his Rout accordingly from Zempoolla towards Tlafcala, having with him One thoufand Foot, and One hundred Horfe; but they were foon obliged to take different Roads for the fake of Subfiftence, which, notwithftanding all the Care and Circumfpection Cortes could ufe, they found it fometimes difficult to procure; infomuch that in the Courfe of this Journey, they found themfelves more than once expofed even to the higheft Extremities of Hunger and Thirft, and, which is very ftrange, the new Troops that had fhewn themfelves fo uneafy, and fo impatient, under much lighter and lefs grievous Hardfhips, behaved upon this Occafion with all the Firmnefs and Conftancy that could be defired, either from the great Hopes they had formed to themfelves of being made rich and happy by this Expedition, or becaufe they were defirous of fhewing their new General, that whatever Opinion he might have formed of them from what was paffed, he fhould find them, in every Refpect, as brave, 'as hardy, and as capable of enduring Fatigue as thofe he had trained up himfelf.
In this March, but efpecially at Tlafcale, Cortes found Means to gain a very clear and diftinct Account of the Caufes of that Sedition which had happened in his Abfence, and of which it is neceffary likewife that we fhould fay fomewhat, that the fubfequent Part of this Section may be the more perfectly underftood. A very fhort time after the Departure of Cortes from Mexico, Peter Alverado began to perceive vifible Marks, not only of Coldnefs and Dinike, but of Hatred and Difaffection in the People of Mexico; neither were his Conjectures unfupported by Proof, fince he was quickly informed, that, at the Perfuafion of their Priefts, the Mexicans were providing Arms, and whatever elfe was requifite, in order to attack the Spenifh Troops. He was certainly very much to be commended for being conftantly on his Guard, and neglecting nothing that might contribute to the defeating of their Defign. In this, however, he was much to
blame
blame, that he did not either communicate his Sufpicions, or his Difcoveries to Motezuma, or fo much as confer with him on the prefent Pofture of his Affairs, fince that Monarch teftified great Affection to the Spaniards; and, if applied to in time, might have prevented things from coming to Extremities.

But Alverado, it feems, depended upon his own Forefight, and the Courage of his Soldiers; and underftanding that the Indians were actually preparing, under Colour of a folemn Dance, which was one of the principal Rites of their Religion, to furprize and cut off the Spaniards, he refolved to be beforehand with them, and to put it out of their Power, by fhutting them up in the great Temple where this Dance was to be performed by their pincipal Nobility, in which he fucceeded; but when he had them in his Power, and faw that they were richly adorned with Gold and Jewels, he either commanded, or at leaft permitted, his Soldiers to fall upon them, and cut them to Pieces, and Atrip the dead Bodies of their valuable Ornaments, which afforded the Indians that efcaped, a fair Pretence of carrying on an open and avowed War, which from that time they did, and almoft every Day attacked the Spaniards in their Quarters; which, though they were not able to force, and notwithftanding they killed, but three or four, and loft feveral hundreds, nay, fome thoufands of their own People, yet they continued the War with the greatef Obftinacy, fuppofing, that in Time the Spaniards would expend their Ammunition, and, that fooner or later they fhould deftroy them all. The Spaniards themfelves apprehended this, and therefore preffed Cortes to haften his March, in order to relieve them.
io. He was very fenfible of their Diftrefs, and of the Neceffity of extricating them from it; and therefore, with as little Delay as poffible, he quitted Tlafcala, taking with him fome of the braveft Troops of that Republic, with whom he continued his March towards Mexico; which City, without meeting many Difficulties on the Road, he entered upon the Feaft of St. Jobn, 1520. He met with no Oppofition, for the Indians had quitted a great Part of the City, and had broke down feveral Bridges. However he advanced with great Caution, and at length arrived at the Spanifb Quarters, where he was received with the utmoft Joy by Alverado.

The Spanif/ Writers differ as to his Behaviour towards Motezuina; fome fay that he ufed him kindly, but others exprefly affirm, that he did not fo much as pay him a Vifit, and that he afterwards repented of this, as of one of the greateft Miftakes he ever made. He added, however, another of a different Nature; for, in Hopes of pacifying the Indians, he releafed Motezuma's Brother, who proved his moft dangerous Enemy, and therefore the Indians chofe him for their Captain. He aimed, at firft, at an Accommodation, but he foon found that impracticable, and that Motezuma had entirely loft his Authority, which proved of very ill Confequence to the Spaniards, Cortes fent Antony del Rio to Zempoalla, to give an Account of the Pofture of Affairs, and haften the March of thofe that ftayed behind; and as he was paffing a Horfeback, through Tlatlelulco, which is the MarketPlace, the People howled, and began to purfue him; being thus followed, and feeing a Stop before, he thought it beft to turn back, and breaking through the Crowd with his Horle, Sword in Hand, returned to the Quarters. Cortes then fent five Horfe-men to fee how Matters ftood, who found fome Timber taken of the Bridges, under which the Cuts of Water ran, and turning another Way, found the like in other Streets, many People on the Tops of the Houfes pointing to them to pafs the Bridges.

The next Day Hojeda and Marquez went to feek Provifions, and finding a Bridge broken, and the Waters in the Trench deep, they made a fhift to get over, by chrowing in Rubbilh, pieces of Matts, and other Things; then paffing along a little Street, Marquez heard a great Cry, and returning to his Companion, they agreed to fly, and had it not been for a Tlafcalan they had with them, who was their Guide, there were fo many Windings of Streets, that they had been in great Danger: They met
with an Indian Prieft crying out, and behaving himfelf like a Mad-man; they purfued him, and he ran into an Houfe that was full of tame Cranes, which, when they faw him, began to fet up their Cry, in fuch a Manner, that Hojeda came out in a Confternation; the Citizens flocked together on all Hands, great Cries were heard, and the Tops of the Houfes were full of Men. Six Spaniards that were at the Top of the Temple looking out, gave Notice of the Difturbance, and Hojeda and Marquez, coming in, two hundred Men fallied out of the Quarters, whilft the reft were arming. They fought with a great. Number of Indians, who preffed on furioully, without any Dread of the Swords; the Action lafted till Night, an infinite Number of Mexicans being nain, and not one Spaniard; thus was Cortes convinced that the War was unavoidable, and therefore he endeavoured to fend privately for Salcedo, who had been left benind with the Wardrobe. He ordered Men out to throw down fome Trenches the Indians had caft up, that the Horfes might pafs.

As foon as it was Day, the Shouting, Whiftling, and Fighting, began again, and continued the whole Day, with the Deftruction of many Mexicans; and fome Spaniards were hurt, becaufe the Indions threw Srones from the Tops of Houfes; but the Fire-arms and Crofs-bows drove them. The next Day the Indians affaulted Cortes the third Time, in a moft defperate Manner, killing Carezo an Horfe-man ; and Cortes finding that the greatef Mifchief came from Tops of Houfes, he left the Horfe-men, and with one hundred and forty Mufketeers and Crofsbow Men, entered the Street of Tabuca, gained it entirely, and came to Tabuca, where they might have fortified and fecured themfelves with all their Wealth; but, defpifing the Indians, they returned to their Quarters, and were fet upon, in the Streets, by vaft Numbers of Indians, where the Horfes having no room, were of little Ufe.

They took one Spaniard alive, and facrificed him in Sight of all the reft; they alfo took two Pieces of Cannon, and threw them into the Trenches, fo that the Spaniards, with much Difficulty, returned to their Quarters; and the Indians again cleared thofe Places which the Spaniards had filled up for their Horfes to pafs; the next Day they engaged the fourth Time; the Indians being fo numerous, that it was wonderful to behold; who attacked the Court of the great Temple, where, though it was large, no Ufe could be made of the Horfes, becaufe it was paved with broad Stones; many great Men were on the Top of the Temple, commanding where the Attack fhould be made. Cortes fent Efcobar, his Chamberlain, againft them, with one hundred Men; and by that time they were got up four Steps, there came down upon them, fuch a Shower of Stones, pieces of Timber, Sticks, and Fire-brands, that they were forced to retire: Three times they were repulfed in this Manner. Cortes, being informed of it, tied a Target to his Arm, becaufe he was wounded in the Hand, went to that Place, faid it was a Shame there fhould be any longer Delay in that Affair, advanced foremoft, and was followed by many.

They got up the Steps, and though many Spaniards were knocked down, fell upon the three hundred Gentlemen that were there, and left not fix of them alive, fome being killed with the Sword, and others throwing themfelves headlong from the Parapet of the Temple; two laid hold of Cortes to caft themfelves down with him, but he being a ftrong Man, got loofe. The fame happened to Hojeda, and he would have perifhed in that Manner, had not one near him relieved him. They went up to the Top of the Temple, where they found no Man, but much Cacao and Meat; and the Tlafcilans and Zempoallan Indians had a good Day of it, for they fed upon the Mexicans that were killed. The Mexicans came on again the next Day in a greater Rage, and had new Ways. of fighting, being affifted by the neighbouring Towns. They threw their Javelins clofe by the Ground, $c o$ wound the Feet and Legs, and in this Manner above two hundred Spaniards were hurt, till they provided Armour.

The Arrows flew fo thick, that thofe wino were appointed
to gather them up every Day, burnt forty Cart-Loads of them. Provifion was become fo fcarce, that the Indian Allies had but a little Cake, every Day, each Man, for their Allowance, and every Spaniard fifty Grains of Indian Wheat; nor was there le's Want of Water, fo that they endured much Drought. They dug in their Quarters, and, though the Earth was full of Salt-petre, they found frefh Water, which was wonderful; a Tlascalon looking over fome of their Works, to fee what was doing, the Mexicans cried to him, "You Dog, you and thofe "Chriftian Dogs fhall now perifh with Hunger and "Thirf." He anfwered, "You infamous falfe Scoundrels, "s who know not how to fight, but in Crowds, take that "Calke which I had to fpare this Day, out of my Al" lowance, for you fhall all be deftroyed by degrees."

The next Morning the Battle revived, and the Indians fet Fire to the Houfe; it was put out by throwing down a Wall, and that Breach made good with Cannon, and a Work raifed; and becaufe fome Mifchief was done from a Tower of Motezuma's Houfe, Cortes refolved to make himfelf Mafter of it. He attacked it with two hundred Men, and it was wonderful that long Pieces of Timber being rowled down the Stairs at Length, which might have overthrown ten or twelve Men, they all turned end Ways, and did no harm. He gained the Tower; killed thofe that defended it; advanced into the City; burnt above one thoufand Houfes; gained feven Bridges; killed a prodigious Number; and here a Horfeman came to tell him, that the great Men of Mexico would treat with him of Peace: He was glad of it, fent Alverado and Sandozal, with fixty Horfe, and ordered Fobn Velafquez to ftay there with four hundred Foot, to fecure the Bridges; then he went to the Mexicans, whom he faluted very courteoufly. They afked him why he did not go away as he had promifed, fince he had Ships, and reftore them their Lord Motezuma? Whilft he was in Difcourfe about this Affair, Advice was brought him that the Bridges were loft; he haftened away thither, and found Fobn de Soria, and another Soldier, dead, and five Horfes fallen down; he recovered them, and fought fo refolutely, that his Prefence alone was the faving of many Lives.

II: Cortes returned to his Quarters, with two Contufions on his Knee, made by Stones, where he found the Men in Confufion, believing he had been killed, becaufe he fayed fo long. They rejoiced at the Sight of him; the Battle continued; the Indians broke the Bridges, and fought from the Tops of their Houfes: Cortes feeing one of them very fine, and obeyed by all the reft, fent Ma rina to ank Motezuma, whether he thought they had put the Government into his Hands. He anfwered, that they would not prefume to chufe a King in Mexico, while he was living. He looked at them, and faid they were his Kindred, and that, among them, were the Lords of Tezcuco and Yztopalopa; the Engagement ftill grew warmer; Cortes was in Confufion, and Motezuma in no lefs, apprehending, as is likely, that they would kill him; he bid Marina acquaint the General that he would go up to a Parapet on the Houfe, to fpeak to his Subjects, which might perhaps induce them to come to an Accommodation. Cortes was pleafed with it, he went up with a Guard of two hundred Spaniards, in Royal Apparel, and Marina with them, to know what was faid.

The Noblemen that went up with him made a Sign, and he was prefently known, and raifing his Voice faid, "He fhould be pleafed if they would behave themfelves " gratefully, for the Good he had done them: That he " had been informed they had chofen, another King, ${ }^{6}$ becaufe he was confined, and loved the Chriftians, s* but could not believe they would forfake their natural "Sovereign, for another which God would punifh; "s that if they had fought fo long to fet him at Liberty, "s he thanked them, but they were miftaken, for he was ${ }^{6}$ there by his own Confent; that being his own Houfe, " in order to entertain his Guefts, and therefore he de" fired them to lay down their Arms; fince every Man " they killed, coft them above two thoufand; efpecial${ }^{66}$ ly confidering that they offered Peace, and had not " taken their Goods, ravilhed their Wives or Daughters,

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"6 and were willing to be gone; that he could go out "from thence whenfoever it pleafed him, having always " had the Liberty fo to do; and therefore, if they loved " him, they fhould give over, and lay afide all Prejudice, which never permitted Men to at indifcreetly. " The Mexicans liftened to him with much Attention: But, as foon as he had done, cried out, "Hold your Peace, "you effeminate Scoundrel, born to weave and fpin; "thofe Dogs keep you a Prifoner, you have no Heart, " you are a Coward." Then they fell on again, cafting abundance of Stones, and fhooting their Arrows, and, though a Spaniard took care to cover Motezuma with a Target, yet, as ill Luck would have it, a Stone hit him on the Temple.
He went down to his Chamber, laid him on his Bed, and was fo much afhamed, and out of Countenance, that, though the Wound was not dangerous, he died in four Days with Grief, forbearing to eat, and refufing to be dreffed. The Fight continued, without Intermiffion, all the while that Motezuma kept his Bed; who, finding his Strength fail him, fent for Cortes in great hafte, and, fitting up, leaning on the Pillows with Tears in his Eyes, taking hold of his Hand, faid, "That he knew not "" where to begin, that he was the fame Motezuma, " whom he had fo pofitively infifted to vifit, whom " the World had fo much refpected, that he knew not " what ill Fate attended him; for he had not ufurped " another's Kingdom, had done Juftice, conquered many "Nations, beftowed many Fayours, and yet thofe, who " before durt not look him in the Face, had infulted "their King, giving him fuch Language as was not fit "for a Slave, and throwing Stones at his Royal Perfon; si that his Heart was ready to burf, and he died in great "Rage, wifhing he could fee thofe Villains punimed; " but it was now too late, and his End was rather oc"cafioned by Vexation, than by the Wound; he there" fore begged, that fince he died for his Sake, he would " take care of his Children, and punifh thofe that had " infulted him, and the Perfon that had ufurped the "Crown." Cortes could not help being moved at thefe Words, and holding him by the Hands, begged that he would not caft himfelf down, for he would perform all his Commands, as if they were the King his Mafter's; adding, that he had been in the Wrong in not fuffering himfelf to be dreffed; that he gave him his Word to take care of his Children, and revenge his Wrongs to the full; thefe and other Words, uttered by Cortes, very much comforted him; but Cortes was forced to take his leave, to go and fee what was doing abroad.

The next Day, being told he was very ill, he came back to fee him, found him in a great Agony, and faid, "That fince he had agreed to be baptized, he fhould " do it then to fave his Soul, for Francis Olmedo was there " ready to do it." He anfwered, "" That having but "' half an Hour longer to live, he would not forfake the "Religion of his Anceftors." And foon after he died, fome of the great Men that were Prifoners with him being prefent, to whom he recommended his Children; and the Revenge he defired to his laft Gafp. He never would fuffer any Cloth or other thing on the Wound, but if any was laid on, he pulled it off, wifing for Death. Four Hours after he was dead, Cortes looked out at the Top of the Houfe, made a Signal for a Ceffation, defiring to fpeak to the Commanders, and told them, " That they ill requited their Sovereign, having killed " him with a Stone; but, that he had died rather of "s Vexation, than of the Wound: That he would deliver " them his Body, to be buried according to their Man" ner; bidding them not contend any longer, for that "God, who was juft, would deftroy that City by his "Hands." They anfwered, "They had a Command" er, and would have no more to do with Motezuma, " dead or alive," with other fuch infolent Expreffions. Cortes turned his Back upon them, and ordered thofe great Men that had attended him to carry out the Body? that they might fee he died by the Blow of the Stone。 As foon as it was out of the Houfe, an Indian richly clad, ran up to him, making ugly Faces, without fpeaking, as if he had afked whofe Body that was, and being

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told it was Moitzuma's, he made Signs to have it carried back to the Spaniards, and then ran to his own Party. Thofe that carried him vanifhed on a fudden, and the Spaniards heard no more of him, but fuppofed he had been buried in the Wood of Cbapullepeque, becaufe great Lamentations were heard there.

It is conceived that thefe were the greater, becaufe they intended, by this Ceremony, not only to pay the Funeral Honours due to their deceafed Sovereign, but in fome Meafure, alfo to expiate the Crime of which they had been guilty in taking away his Life; for the new World afforded no Nation fo barbarous, as not to account it a moft infamous Wickednefs, for Men to embrue their Hands in the Blood of thcir lawful Prince. This Motezuma was the fecond of his Name, and the eleventh in the Order of the Mexican Emperors; he was, before his Acceffion to the imperial Dignity, accounted one of the braveft Men, as well as one of the beft Officers in the Territories of Mexico, having fought nine Battles, and obtained in each the Victory; he was dreaded by his own People, , but efteemed and beloved by the Spaniards, for whom he had a fingular and very. extraordinary Affection.

He left feveral Children ; two of his Sons who accompanied him in his Confinement were killed by the Mexicans. When Cortes made his retreat, he had two others, with three Daughters, which Ladies were afterwards converted, and married to Spaniards. But the moft illuftrious of all his Children, was Don Pedro de Motezuma, who was alfo foon after converted to the Catholic Religion, and had that Name given him at his Baptifm : He was next Heir to his Father, his Mother being Princefs of the Province of Tiula, and one of the Queens who refided in the imperial Palace, with Royal Dignity ; which Princefs likewife followed her Son's Example, and was baptized by the Name of Donna Maria de Niagua Sucbil, keeping up in thefe Surnames the Nobility of her Anceftors. His Majefty beftowed many Favours on Don Pedro, giving him an Eftate, and confiderable Rents in New Spain, with the Title of Count de Motezuma, whofe legitimate Succelfion is ftill preferved in the Counts of that Title, with the heroic Remembrance of their royal Original.
12. The Mexicans, as foon as they had finifhed the Funeral of their Emperor Motezuma, refolved to elect a Succeffor, under whofe Command they might carry on the War, againft the Spaniards, with Effect; and, with this View it was, that they elected Quetlavaca, one of their greateft Princes, and the Second Elector in virtue of his Principality. But he dying in a few Days, they made choice, in his room, of Gatimozin, a Man of great Reputation in War, and who feemed the moft capable of anfwering their Purpofe. It was under his Conduct that they attacked the Spaniards again, with greater Fury than ever; but not with greater Succefs, but rather the contrary.

In one of their Engagements, however, they killed a confiderable Sponiard, and wounded feveral others, tho' with great Lofs to themfelves; the Day following, therefore, they defired a Conference, to which Cortes confented, in hopes of coming to fome Accommodation; he went to hear their Propofals from the Wall, and fome of the Nobles drawing near, on the Part of the new Emperor, propofed, "That he and his People fhould preis pare to fet out and direct their March to the Sea-fide, "s affuring him, There fhould be a Ceffation for as ${ }^{6}$ much Time as was neceffary for him to make ready "s for his Departure; adding, that, if he did not de"s termine to come to that Refolution, he might depend s6 upon it that both himfelf, and all who were with him, "fhould perifh: For that they were now convinced that " the Spaniards were not immortal; and that, tho' the "Death of every Spaniard fhould coft them the Lives s of twenty thoufand Men, there would ftill remain a " Multitude to celebrate the conclufive Victory." Cortes anfwered, "That the Spaniara's never pretended to be " 6 immortal, but valued themfelves upon being Men of "Valour, and knew themfelves to be fo far fuperior, in "c every Refpect, to the Mexicans; that, without any
"greater Force than what he then had witis him, he had "Courage enough to undertake the total Deftruction? ${ }^{66}$ not only of their City, but of the whole Empire. But "s that, being moved at the Calamities they had fuffered, " he was determined to depart, fince the Subject of his "Embaffy, and all the Bufinefs he had there, was ar an " End, by the Death of the grat Motezuma, whofe "Friendfhip had detained him at Mexico; and that he "s would put his Defign in execution without the leaft. "Delay, as foon as fome Articles, which were neceffary "for his March, fhould be mutually agreed on." The Deputies gave Signs of being well fatisfied; but thefe Overtures of Peace were made with peridious Views.

This new Emperor had called a Council of his Minifters and Grandees, in which it was refolved, That, to avoid the Damage they received from the Spanifh Arms, the Slaughter of their People, and the Ruin of their City, the beft Method would be, to keep them clofe blocked up, in order to diftrefs them by Famine, and to weaken them, that when they were difpirited and wanted Strength, they might attack them with more Advantage. Having invented this new Way of reducing an Enemy, till then utterly unknown amongft their Stratagems of War, it was refolved to make Overtures of Peace, in order to obtain the Sufpenfion of Arms they defired; flattering themfelves that they might be able to protract the Treaty till the fimall Referve of Provifions, laid up in their Quarters, were confumed; to which Purpofe all pofible Care fhould be taken to hinder: the Befieged from Relief; to block up, with Works, and Bodies of Men pofted at a proper Diftance, all the Ways by which they might attempt to make their Efcape, and to break down the Bridge at the Entrance of the Caufway which led to the Road of Vera Cruz; thinking it no longer convenient to fuffer them to depart the City, left at this Juncture, when the Provinces were ill fatisfied with the prefent Government, they might excite the Malcontents to a Rebellion, or reinforce themfelves by an Army of Tlafcalans. Some of the Affembly called to mind feveral Perfons of great Diftinction Prifoners in the Spanifh Quarters; reflecting upon what they muft fuffer, fince of neceffity they muft perifh with Hunger before the Calamity could affect the Enemy. But they were all fo zealous for the public Caufe that they unanimoully voted, that thofe Prifoners would be happy, and difcharged their Duty if they facrificed their Lives for the Benefit of their Country; and it is not unlikely that they fared the worfe on account of Motezuma's three Sons, who were with them, and whofe Deaths would be no way unwelcome to the Affembly, the Eldeft being a hopeful young Prince, capable of wearing the Crown, highly efteemed by the People, and the only Perfon of whom the new Emperor had reafon to be jealous. Their only Concern was for the chief of their idolatrous Priefts, who was likewife in the fame Prifon, for he was univerfally reverenced as the fecond Perfon in the Empire; and to produce his Liberty they made ufe of a very notable Stroke of Policy.

The fame Deputies returned that Evening and propofed, on the Part of their Sovereign, "That, in ordex "6 to prevent any Mifundertandings which might retard " the Treaty, it would be proper for the Spaniards to " fend fome one of the Mexican Prifoners to the Em" peror, well inftructed on the Subject of the Capitula" tion." This Expedient feemed reafonable; and the Deputies no fooner found it admitted but they artfully let drop, by way of Advice, that none would be fo proper as a certain ancient Prieft, becaufe he was an intelligent Perfon, able to remove all Difficulties which might be ftarted; which fpecious and well managed Pretext fufficed for the obtaining what they propofed: Not that Cortes was ignorant of the Artifice of the Propofal, but, confidering of what Importance it was, to found the Minds of thofe People, he efteemed it a fmall Matter to part with a Prifoner who was troublefome and deteftable. Soon after the Prieft was difmiffed, fully inftructed by the General in fome Demands relating to the March; intending afterwards, in cafe he returned, to employ him further in other matters of greater Confequence. But it was to no Purpofe to wait for his Return, it being foon
evident
evident that there was no fuch Defign. The Sentinels difcovered that the Enemy befieged the Quarters at a greater Diftance than they were wont, that they appeared more circumfpect than ordinary, cafting up Trenches, and other Works, to defend the Paffage of the Canals, and that they had detached fome bodies of Men to the Lake, who were breaking down the Bridges of the principal Caufway, and cutting off all Communication with the Road which leads to Tlafcale; a Proceeding which fully difcovered the Artifice of their Defigns.

This Intelligence Cortes received with Concern; but, inured to overcome great Difficulties, he reaflumed his natural Calmnefs, and, upon his firt Reflections, which always pointed directly at the Remedy, he ordered a Bridge of Planks to be made, wherewith to cover the Opening of the Caufway, capable of bearing the Weight of the Artillery, and fo contrived that it might, without much Difficulty, be carried by forty Men: And, without lofing more Time than what was neceffary for the compleating of this Work, he affembled his Captains to confult with them, and to take their Opinion concerning the Retreat, whether it fhould be made by Day or by Night. Ilis Commanders differed in Opinion, but the Majority of them inclined rather to the Night, and Cortes yielded, or at leaft feemed to yield to them, becaufe they were the Majority ; but, as the greateft Minds are not exempt from fome Weaknefs, fo it is faid that Cortes was in a great Meafure influenced by the Advice of a private Man, whofe Name was Botello, and who paffed for a kind of Prophet; this Man had the Boldnefs to declare, that if they marched by Night, and without Delay, they fhould certainly get off fate, but, that either himfelf or his Brother fhould be killed. It was the Cuftom of Cortes to defpife his Predictions, while he liftened to him, and to treat them as ridiculous, though he fuffered them to make an Impreffion upon him, in which, if Company could be any excufe, Cortes might have pleaded the Examples of others, as great Heroes as himfelf.
13. This Refolution of retiring being thus taken in the Morning, it was farther agreed, to execute it immediately, and to take the Opportunity of the fucceeding Night. The very fame Evening the General difpatched another Mexican, as his Embaflador, to the City, with Pretence of continuing the Treaty begun by the Prief, giving them to underfand that all Things thould be got ready for their Departure, within eight Days, at fartheft. Cortes, in the mean while, was diligently difpofing Matters to begin the March, the Shortnefs of the Time making every Moment precious. He diftributed his Orders, and gave his Captains the neceffary Inftructions, providing againt all Accidents which might happen upon the March, with all imaginable Precaution.
${ }^{1}$ He formed his Van Guard of two hundred Spani/b Soldiers, with the choiceft of the Tlafcalans, and about twenty Horfe, under the Conduct of the Captains Sandoval, Azebedo, Ordaz, Lugo and Tapia; he gave the Command of the Rear Guard, with a greater Number both of Horfe and Foot, to Alverado, Fuan Velafquez de Leon, and other Captains, of thofe who came with Narvaez. In the main Body or Centre, he placed the Prifoners, Artillery, and Baggage, with the reft of his Army, refolving himfelf to be employed as Neceffity fhould require, at the Head of one hundred choice Men, with the Captains Davila, Olid, and Vafquez de Tapia. Things being thus difpofed, he made a fhort Speech to his Soldiers, laying before them the Difficulties of the Undertaking, upon which he enlarged a little the more, becaufe it was a current Report among them, that the Mexicans never engaged by Night, and it was neceffary to infpire them wwith Diftruft, left they fhould fall into over-great Security. He next caufed all the Gold, Silver, and Jewels, which were in the Cuftody of Cbrifoval de Guzman, Groom of his Chamber, to be brought into his Apartment, and out of it he feparated the Fifth, belonging to the King, in thofe Things which were leaft bulky, of which he made a formal Delivery to thofe Officers, who had Care of the Accounts and Provifions of the Army, giving a Mare of his own and fome wounded Horfes for the Carriage thereof, in order to fpare the

Indians, who might be in other Refpects ferviceable upon that Occafion.
The Remainder, according to the beft Computation could be made, amounted to upwards of feven hundred thoufand Pieces of Eight, all which Wealth he left with little or no Reluctancy, protefting publicly, "That it "was no Time to embarrafs themfelves with it, and " that it would be a Shame to employ thofe Hands fo "unworthily, which ought to be left free for the De"fence of Life and Reputation." But finding the Soldiers not fo well contented with this ineftimable Lofs, he added, as he was going away, "That they ought not to " look upon their Retreat from thence as abandoning of " that acquired Treafure, and their main Defign, but as "a necenfary and indifpenfible Difpofition, in order to "r return with a greater Force. After the fame Manner " as a Man draws back his Arm, in order to give the "greater Blow." And withal, gave them to underftand, that he flould not think it a Crime in them to take away as much of that Wealth as they conveniently could; and though the greateft Part of them took Care to go light, there were fome, and particularly thofe who came with Nervaez, who gave themfelves up to pillage, loading their Shoulders beyond what they were well able to bear; a Permiffion, in which all the military Care and Circumfpection of Cortes feemed to be afleep. It was very near Midnight when they marched out of their Quarters, without the Sentinels or Advance Guards finding any thing to give them the leaft Sufpicion, and notwithftanding hoth the Wetnefs of the Weather and the Darknefs of the Night favoured their Intention of marching, and freed them from any Jealoufy of the Enemies continuing Abroad in their Works; they fo punctually obferved Silence, and Circumfpection, that Fear itfelf could not have wrought what Difcipline did in thofe Soldiers ; the portable Bridge went with the Van Guard, and thofe who had the Charge of it, laid it over the firt Ca nal, but the Weight of the Horfes and the Artillery made it ftick fo faft in the Stones, which fupported it, that they could, by no Means, remove it to the other Canals, as they deffogned, nor had they indeed an Opportunity to do it, for before the Army had paffed the firft Breach of the Caufway, they were obliged to take to their Arms, with the greatef Precipitation, finding themfelves affaulted on every Side, when they leaft of all fufpected any fuch Matter.
The Addrefs with which thofe Barbarians difpofed their Enterprize was worthy Admiration. They obferved with a ftill and filent Vigilance the Motions of the Spaniards. They affembled and diftributed, without Noife, the Multitude of their Troops. They took Advantage of the Silence and Darknefs of the Night, to compafs their Intention of drawing near without being difcovered. They covered the whole Length of the Lake on each Side of the Caufway, with armed Canoes, beginning the Attack with fo little Confufion, and fuch excellent Order, that the Spaniards heard their Shouts, and the warlike Sound of their Shells, almoft at the fame Time that they felt their Arrows. The whole Army had undoubtedly been deftroyed, if the $I_{n-}$ dians had obferved the fame good Oider in the Heat of the Engagement, as in the Beginning of the Attack; but to them Difcipline was a Reftraint, and when once they began to be enraged, Cuftom prevailed. They charged in Heaps where they perceived the Bulk of the Army, prefling upon each other after fuch a Manner that their Canoes were broke to Pieces by ftriking on the Caufway, and the Violence of thofe who were furiounly endeavouring to advance, proved a new Danger to thofe who were foremoft.

The Spaniards made terrible Deftruction among the naked Multitude, but they had not Strength fufficient to hold out fuch inceffant Exercife of their Swords and Spears, nor was it long before they found themfelves likewife attacked in Front, and were obliged to turn their Faces, where the Danger grew moft prefing; for the Iudians, who were at a Diftance, or who could not bear the Tedioufnefs of the Oars, flung themfelves into the Water, and by the Help of their Arms and natural Agility, climbed up the Caufway, in fuch Numbers,
that they were not able to make ufe of their Weapons; and this new Affault proved a Relief to the Spaniards, for the Mexicans were eafly routed, and all of them in a Manner being killed, their Bodies were fufficient to fill up the Canal, with no other Trouble than the flinging them in, where they ferved to fupply the want of a Bridge, for the Army to pais over. After this Manner, fome Writers relate it, though others fay, that they luckily found a Beam of fufficient Breadth, which the Enemy had left whole in the fecond Bridge, on which the Soldiers paffed over in Files, guiding the Horfes through the Water by the Bridles.
14. Cortes paffed with the firft Body of his People, and, ordering Ffuan de Xarmillo to take Care to form the Men as faft as they arrived, he returned, without Delay, to the Caufway, with the Captains Sandoral, Olid, Davila, de Morla and Dominguez: He entered the Engagement, animating thofe who fought as well by his Prefence as by his Example; he reinforced his Troop, with as many Soldiers as he thought neceffary to fop the Enemy on both Sides of the Caulway, and ordered the reft to file off from the Centre, caufing the Artillery to be thrown into the Water, to free the Paflage, and facilitate the March. Cortes at laft retired, with all he could pick up of the Rear-Guard, and as he was penetrating through the fecond Space of the Caufway, with little or no Oppofition, he was joined by Alverado, who owed his Life to little lefs than a Miracle of Refolution; for having found himfelf clofely befet on every Side, his Horfe killed under him, and one of the Canals ftill before him in his way, he fixed his Lance or Spear in the Bottom of the Lake, and, raifing his Body by Force, and fupporting his Weight in the Air, by the Strength of his Arm caft himfelf on the other Side; a furprizing bold Action, which has fince been looked upon as fomething furpafing Nature; and Alverado himfelf, when he afterwards reflected upon the Diftance, and the Succefs he had met with in the Attempt, eafily became fenfible of the Difproportion there was between the Fact itfelf, and the Feafibility of it.

The Army gained the firm I and by the firft Appearance of the Day, and halted near Tabuca, not without fome Jealoufy of that Town, which was very populous, and in the Intereft of the Mexicans, but they took Care not immediately to quit the Neighbourhood of the Lake, that they might give Time to thofe who could efcape from the Battle to fave themfelves; nor was that Precaution unneceffary, for feveral Spaniards and Tlafcalans found the Advantage of that Stop, who, by their Valour and good Management, got off by fwimming to the Shore, where they hid themfelves in the Fields of Maize in the Morning. Thefe gave the General an Account that the laft Divifion of the Rear Guard was entirely cut off; and Cortes having drawn up his Troops, found that he had loft about two hundred Spaniards, more than one thoufand Tlafcalans, forty-fix Horfes, and all the Mexican Prifoners, which laft not being able to make themfelves known in the Confufion and Obfcurity of the Night, were treated as Enemies by thofe of their own Nation: The Spaniards were fatigued and difcouraged, their Numbers diminifhed, and the Artillery all loft, expecting every Moment to be attacked, and the Place of their Retreat far off; and among fo many Motives of Concern, their Misfortune received a great Addition, by the Lofs of fome principal Captains, in which Number, thofe of the greateft Note were Amador de Larez, Francifco de Morla, and Francifco de Salcedo, who loft their Lives, all difcharging their Duties with extraordinary Valour. Juan Velafquer de Leon, who retreated in the very laft of the Rear Guard, likewife loft his Life, opprefled by Multitudes; after having endured incredible Fatigue, fhewing an invincible Courage, even to the Jateft Gafp ; a Lofs, which was generally lamented, for all Men refpected him, as the fecond Perfon in the Army.

Cortes fat down upon a Stone to reft himfelf a little, while his Officers were putting the Troops in order, and difpofing them, to profecute their March. He found himfelf fo oppreffed with Concern, that he never more ftood in Need of all his Magnanimity to temper his Grief.

He fummoned all his Conftancy to his Affiftance; and, at the fame Time he gave his Orders, animated his People, and exerted himfelf with his wonted Alacrity. He enquired for the Aftrologer, either in order to reprimand him for the Part he had in haftening the March, or to divert his Melancholy; by rallying him upon his Science; but he was told, he was killed in the firft Afault, off the Caufway; that Wretch having met with the Fate common to thofe of his Profeffion. But, in the midft of thofe Misfortunes, it was no fmall Confolation to Cortes, and the whole Army, that Donna Marina and Hieronimo de Aguilar had found Means to efcape from the Battle, in the terrible Confufion of that Night: They being the principal Inftruments of the Conqueft, and no lefs neceffary than they had been before; for without them, it was altogether impofible to engage the Friendthip of the Nations they were going to feek; nor was it lefs happy, that the Mexicans did not follow the Chace, for they gave Time for the Spaniards to breathe after their Fatigue, and to march in better Order, and with lefs Hafte, mounting the difabled Men on the Strongeft of the Horfes. This Stop of the Mexicans proceeded from an unexpected Accident, which may: be attributed to the Providence of God. The Sons of Motezuma who had attended on their Father, during his Continuance in the Quarters, together with all the Mexican Prifoners, who were laft under Convoy, with the Baggage, were unfortunately killed by the Enemy ; and in the Morning, the Indians allured by the Spoils of the Dead, beheld pierced through with their own Arrows the Bodies of thofe unhappy Princes, whom they reverenced with that kind of Adoration they once did their deceas'd Father. They ftood amazed, ftupified, and confounded at the Sight, without daring to pronounce the Caufe of their Aftonihment. However, it was not long before the News was carried through the Troops, and they were all feized with Fear, and that kind of fudden Terror, which the Antients called Panic.

The Mexican Chiefs refolved to fend an Account of this Accident to the new Emperor ; and he, who was forced to affect a Concern, out of Compliance with thofe whofe Grief was unfeigned, commanded the Army to halt : Beginning the Ceremony of the Funeral with Outcries and Lamentations, which ufed to precede the Obfequies, whilft the Prieft, followed by all who had remained in the City, came to receive their Royal Bodies, in order to conduct them to the burying Place of their Anceftors. It was to the Death of thofe Princes, that the Spaniards were indebted for the firft Recovery from their Confufion, and that feafonable Refpite ; but they lamented, notwithftanding, their untimely Fate, and particularly Cortes, who loved thofe Princes, refpected in them the Memory of their Fatlier, and had founded Part of his Hopes in the right of the Elder. Cortes, in the mean while, directed his March towards Tlafcala, with Guides of that Nation, his Army continually in order of Battle, as not being without Sufpicion of fome Defign in the Enemies Delay; and upon fuch Occafions Diffidence is oftener attended with Succefs than too confident Security. It was not long before fome Corps of armed Indians appeared, who followed the Army, without approaching within Shot. Thefe were the Inhabitants of Tabuca, Efcapugaleo, and Tenecuga, whom the Mexicans had fummoned, to obferve the Motions of the Spaniards on the March, till fuch Time as they had difcharged themfelves of their Duty towards the Sons of Motezuma. Cortes extended his Front, where he pofted his Fire-Arms and Crofs-Bows, being obliged to engage in the open Field, without having any Place of Security to retire to.

As many of the Indians, as had Courage enough to venture near, died without Difcouragement to the reft. The Horfe fallied out to fkirmifh, and made a very great Slaughter; But the Number of the Enemy continually increafed, and their Arrows and Slings did confiderable Damage; the Spaniards were tired, and without Hopes of repulfing that enormous Multitude, and now their Valour began to flacken for want of Strength; when Cortes, who behaved himfelf in the Battle like a Soldier, without forgetting the Duty of a General, oblerved a Rifing-ground at no great

Diftance

Diftance from thence, which commanded the whole Plain; upon the Top of that Eminence was a Building which appeared like a Fortrefs, or at leaft the Exigence in which he found himfelf made him fancy it fuch: He refolved to poffefs himfelf of that Poft, for the Advantage of its Situation, and, detaching a Party of Men to reconnoitre it, he moved with the Army to gain it, which he did not find could be effected without Difficulty, being obliged to face the Enemy all the while afcending the Hill, and to place fome Companies of Harquebuffiers, to defend the Avenues; but he happily compaffed his Defign, poffeffing himfelf of the Tower without Refiftance, and in that found all the Convenience which at that time he could defire. It was a Temple; but the Priefts and Servants who attended the Worfhip of that Place had quitted it, flying from the Neighbourhood of War, as People of a different Profeffion; the Court of this Temple was encompaffed with a Wall after their Manner of building, which, together with the Towers wherewith it was flanked, rendered it tolerably defenfible; and under the Shelter of thofe Works the Spaniords began to breathe.

The Enemy did not dare to fcale the Fill, nor did they give any Signs of their intending an Affault, but they approached within Mulket- fhot, furrounded the Eminence on all Parts, and made fome Advances to thoot theirArrows. In the mean time nothing was to be heard but barbarous Shouts and Menaces, which ferved only to difcover their Weaknefs. 'They were kept off till Evening began to approach, at which time they all retired ; whether to comply. with the Obfervation of their Cuftom, of retiring with the Sun, or that they found themfelves fatigued with having been in a manner continually engaged, is uncertain. Cortes difpofed every thing in his Quarters with all the Care and Circumfpection that a Poft fo threatened obliged him; he ordered the Guards and Sentinels to be fooner relieved than ordinary; that all might have their equial Share of Reft: They made fome Fires, as well becaufe of the Coldnefs of the Seafon, as to confume the Arrows of the Mexicans, to deprive the Enemies of their Ammunition. He gave fome Refrefhment to the People out of the Provifions found in the Temple, and what the Indians had faved with the Baggage ; particular Care was taken of the Wounded, which was attended with no fmall Difficulty in a Place where all Neceffaries were wanting.

Cortes attended in Perfon to all, but ftill without forgetting the Danger to which he lay expofed; and before he would retire to Repofe he affembled his Officers, to confult with them what was to be done in this Juncture: He had already formed his Refolution, but he always declined pofitively deciding in fuch Matters; and he was a great Mafter in bringing People over to what was reafonable, without fhewing his own Opinion, or making Ufe of his Authority: He propofed different Methods which might be taken, with the feveral Inconveniencies attending each of them ; leaving them to judge which Expedient was moft advifeable ; but that which he judged beft was, to continue the March fo as to be out of Reach of the Enemy before they renewed the Attack: In fupport of which Advice he advanced many Reafons. He had fcarce finifhed his Difcourfe when all the Captains agreed that no other Refolution was practicable ; and it was determined to begin their March at Midnight. Cortes conformed to what was really his own Opinion, though he treated it as the Opinion of others, a Policy which he was accuftomed to make Ufe of, in order to prevent Difputes when the Affair was urgent and admitted of no Delay, and which only thofe can practife who underftand the Art of deciding by afking Advice, and of making a Propofal
in fuch a manner as to leave no room for Objection. As. we have now conducted Cortes and his Army out of Mexico, and have feen with how much Prudence and Difcretion he managed every thing when Fortune feemed to defert him, it feems but reaionable to put an End here to this Section, and to referve the Reftoration of his Fortunes and the Recovery of his Conquefts; to the next.

I5. But, that we may not proceed too haftily; let us paufe a Moment, in order to confider the great Events we have been reading, and from thence form a true Judgment of the Merit of this illuftrious Conqueror. We have in the former Section hewn, that with a meer handful of Men, he undertook to conquer one of the mont extenfive Empires the World ever faw; and to which no Power, now fubfifting, can be efteemed equal. We have feen that this could not be called a rain or improvident Action, though it was, certainly; one of the boldeft and moft daring, that ever entered the Breaft of Man, As a Perfon fkilled in Mechanics, may, with good Senfe and great Reafon, undertake to perform, with an inconfiderable Force, what, to a Perfon unacquainted with that Science, would be efteemed beyond the Reach of Nature ; fo the Vigour of 'this Man's Underftanding, his incomparable Sagacity, and wonderful Penetration, enabled him to forefee moft of the Events that did fall out; and to contrive the proper Means for converting them to his Purpofe, as his Fortitude, Prefence of Mind; and happy Equality of Temper, put it always in his Power to exert his fuperior Abilities upon all Occafions, and fet him above the reach of Accident or Danger, however great or unexpected. We have feen him in this Section, performing things almoft incredible; and fome of them alfo, particularly the feizing and imprifoning Motezuma, not altogether juntifiable. But this is fo far from being a new Thing in a Hero; that I believe it may be fairly faid, there is fcarce a Character of this kind in ancient or modern Hiftory, in which more immoral and more outrageous Actions do not frequently occut.

One Thing more I fhall remark before I proceed in this Hiftory, becaufe it feems to do more Honour to the Courage and Conduft of Cortes, than any thing elfe; and in few Words it is this: The only Shadow of an Objection that can be raifed againft the Praifes that have been beftowed upon this illuftrious Perfon, arifes from the Suggeftion that he acted with regular and well difciplined Troops, againft a barbarous and uncivilized People, unfkilled in the Arts of Policy or War: But the Meafures taken by the Indians, to drive him out of Mexico, and the Manner in which they acted in the Execution of thofe Meafures, very plainly prove that this Suggeftion was ill grounded. Since, from thence, we plainly fee that they neither wanted Skill as Politicians, nor were deftitute of Difcipline as Soldiers. The Succefs likewife that they met with in the Conduct of their Scheme, plainly demonftrates, That if they had been to deal with a Man of lefs Abilities than Cortes, they would effectually have carried their Point, and have driven the Spaniards, not only out of Mexico, but out of all their Dominions, and have preferved their Empire, perhaps, till this time ; for, had they once acquired a thorough Knowledge of the Artillery and Powder, they were certainly ingenious enough to have acquired the Ufe of them; which if they had done, there is no Reafon to doubt that they would have kept. their Ground, and have preferved, at leaft, the interior Part of their Country; though, by dint of their Naval Power, the Spaniards had made them. felves Mafters of their Coafts.

## S E C T I O N XIII

## The Conclufion of Hernan Cortes's Expedition, including the Hifory of the remaining Part of the War, to the Reduction of the City and Empire of Mexico; by wobicb the Spaniards acquired their extenfive Dominions on the Continent of North America.

1. The Spaniards continue their Retreat under frefb Difficulties, wbile the Indians labour to intercept and bring them to a general Engagement. 2. The wobole Force of the Mexican Empire defeated in the famous Battle of Otumba, and the imperial Standard taken. 3. The Precautions taken by Cortes to improve this Victory, and to prevent the bad Effects of a Mutiny that bad like to bave broken out among bis People. 4 . The Mexicans fend an Embafly to Tlafcala, in bopes of gaining that Republic; in wobich they are difappointed by the Interpofition of Juch Lords as were Friends to the Spaniards. 5. The War renewed woith great Succefs, and a niew Colony founded by the Spaniards on the Frontiers. 6. The Meafures taken by Cortes for the Profecution of the War, the bad Difpofition of the Army, and the Difficuties which be found in keeping the Troops from running into a general Mutiny. 7. He receives, very unexpectedly, very conjiderable Succours from Spain, wbich encourages bim to think of recovering Mexico. 8. Ho is fo fortunate as to obtain fill larger Reinforcements, but is obliged to dijcharge a Part of bis Army, on Account of their feditious Bebaviour. 9. While Preparations were making for' a new Expedition, Cortes refolves to fend over frefh Agents to Spain, in order to procure a Commiflion from the Emperor. 10. An Account of what happened at Court upon the former Application, by the Fatber of Cortes and his furf Agents, and of the timely Arrival of the fecond. II. The Hitory of this Matter farther contimued, to the obtaining a Declaration of Council in favour of Cortes, againjt Velafquez. 12. An Account of bis memorable Expedition into the Province of Tezcuco, wbich fubmits witbout a Stroke. 13. The War with Mexico renerwed by Cortes, with great Danger to bis Army and to bimfelf. I 4. Upon a Forefigbt of the Difficulties that might attend the War, be makes Propofals of Peace to the Mexican Emperor, which are baugbtily rejected. 15. The War breaks out afrefh, and Cortes gains feveral Vitiories over the Mexicans. I6. The Indians are defeated in a general Engagement, in wwbich, bowever, Cortes run a great Hazard of beingkilled or taken. 17. AConjpiracy formed among the Spaniards to nurder bim, and a Sedition among $\theta$ the Allies. 18. Cortes ventures to attack three Caufrays of the City of Mexico at once, and at the fame Time carries on the War upon the Lake. 19. The Progrefs of the War, and the zmexpected Diffculties the Spaniards net with iberein. 20. Cortes makes a general Attack, in wobich, after an obfinate Engagement, be is defeated. 2I. The Spanifh Prifoners are facrificed to the Indian Idiols, and all their Affairs furprizingly decline. 22. Cortes renews the Attack, and forces the Indian Emperor to retire to the fartheft Part of the City. 23. The Emperor, Guatimozin, fiucceffor to Motezuma, is taken Prifoner, after which the City immediately furrenders, 24. A fuccinct Accoust of the Redurition of the whole Mexican Empire, and of the Rervards beftowed upon Hernan Cortes. 25. Obfervations and Remarks upon tbis and fome of the foregoing Sections.

ALittle before the appointed Hour, the Troops were affembled: The Order to march, and the Reafon for fo doing, was given at the fame time, upon which they prepared for fetting out, applauding the Refolution. Cortes ordered to conceal their Motion, that they fhould leave all their Fires burning, and, giving to Diego de Ordaz the Charge of the Van-Guard, with fome intelligent Guides, he placed his chief Strength in the Rear, where he remained, that he might be the nearer Danger, and be a Security to thofe who paffed before. They fet forward with all neceffary Caution; and, the Guides being ordered to keep at fome convenientDiftance from the high Road till the Morning, they marched, little more than half a League, without the Silence of the Night being interrupted by the leaft Noife: But, upon their entering into a broken and hilly Ground, the Scouts fell into an Ambufh; divers Troops of Indians came pouring down from the Eminences, and rufhing from among the Bufhes, withous Order, attacked the Flank; and though not fo numerous as to oblige the Army to halt, yet the Spaniards were obliged to beat off fuch of the Enemy as ventured neareft, to break through feveral Ambufcades, and to difpute many narrow Paffes.

The Spaniards were apprehenfive, at firft, that it was the whole Army which they had left on the other Side of the Temple, and fome report this Action as a Purfuit made by thofe Mexicans; but they were the Militia of the neighbouring Towns; who, by Orders received from Court, endeavoured to difturb the March, pofting themfelves in the broken Parts of the Road. With this kind of Oppofition the Army advanced two Leagues, and before Day halted in another Temple, fituate upon an Eminence, not altogether fo high as the former, but of fufficient Height to view the Country round about; that by the Number of Enemies they fhould difcover, they
might judge what Meafures were fitteft to be taken for their Security. The Indian Peafants continued their Shouts, following at a Dittance, till, having advanced about two Leagues farther, they difcovered a Village advantageouny fituated, and as they believed well peopled. Cortes pitched upon this Place for his Quarters, and gave Orders for his Troops to poffefs themfelves of it; and they found it wholly forfaken by the Inhabitants, together with fome Provifions, which they could not carry off; and which, at that Juncture, were very welcome. Here the Army ftayed a Day or two ; the Condision of the Wounded being fuch, that they could not proceect. They made two Marches more, through a Country more rocky and barren, always out of the great Road, and fomewhat doubtful whether their Guides were right. They had no Cover in the Night, nor did the Perfecution of thofe Indians ceafe, who continually kept in Sight; or, perhaps, they might be others who came out after the firft, in crder to follow them through their refpective Diftricts. But the greateft of all Inconveniencies was, they fuffered Funger and Thirft to that Degree, that they wanted little of being quite difpirited. The Officers and Soldiers, however, animating each other to move on.

They were forced to have recourfe to the Herbs and Roots of the Field for Sultenance, without examining whether they were venemous; though fuch as were the moft prudent governed themfelves by the Knowledge and Example of the Tlafcalans. One of the wounded Horfes died, and the Want they had of that Creature's Service in the Army, was forgot with Joy; for it was divided as a Regrale among thofe who were in the greateft Extremity, who celebrated the Feat by inviting their beft Friends to partake of that dainty Food: A relifhing Banquet at that time, at which all Scruples of Stomach gave way to Necefiry. The laft of thefe two Marches
terminated



## Chap. III.

terminated in a little Village, whofe Inhabitants; without abandoning their Dwellings like the others, gave them free Entrance, neither were they wanting in their Affitt ance to them, with a feeming Chearfulnefs in every thing they were ordered; which unexpected Entertainment was a new Stratagem of the Mexicans, that their Enemies might come lefs prepared to the Snare which they had provided for them.
Thefe People freely fhewed their Stores of Provifion, and, from other neighbouring Villages, procured what was fufficient to make the fatigued Spaniards forget their paft Sufferings. Early in the Morning the Army was difpofed to afcend the Mountain, which on the other Side declined into the Valley of Otumba, through which they mult of Neceffity pafs to take the Road to Tlafcala. They obferved fome Alteration in the Indians who followed their March; for their Shouts and Scoffs exprefs rather Satisfaction than Indignation; and Donna Marind took notice, that they frequently faid go on Tyrants, go on, for you will quickly arrive at the Place where you will all perifh. Thefe Expreffions gave them Occafion to reflect; fome began to doubt that thefe Indians, confiding in the Tlafcalans, rejoiced at the Danger to which the Spaniards were marching, as having received fome Notice that there had happened a Change in the Fidelity of that Nation. But Cortes, and thofe of better Judgment and Penetration, looked upon this Novelty as a Token of fome Ambuifh, that was nearer than Tlafcala; for there wanted not Examples of the Simplicity and Eafinefs with which the Indians were wont to publifh the very thing which they endeavoured to conceal: An Error not peculiar to this People, and though a certain Indication of Levity, no direct Mark of Barbarifm
2. They continued their March difpofed for frefh Action; when the advanced Guard, having reached the Mountain Top, came with an Account that the Enemy had poffeffed themfelves of all the Valley, barring up the Paflage to the Road whither they were directing their Courfe with a formidable Multitude. It was the fame Body of Mexicans which they had left at the firt Temple, reinforced with new Troops, who had difcovered, in the Morning, the fudden Retreat of the Spaniards; and, notwithftanding they did not doubt but that they hould be able to overtake them, yet they feared, by the Experience of the Night, that it would not be poffible to deftroy them before they reached the Tlafcalan Territories, if they went on fecuring Mountains; for which Reafon they fentDifpatches to Mexico for Reinforcements, that an Affair of fo much Importance might not mifcarry for want of neceffary Force, which Propofal was fo well received in the City, that all the Nobility inftantly fet out, followed by the reft of the Troops which they had affembled, to join the Army, and in the Space of three or four Days they divided themfelves into different Roads, marching under Shelter of the Mountains, with fuch Expedition, that they got before the Spaniards, and filled the whole Valley of Otumba, which is a very fpacious Plain, where they might undifcovered wait for their Enemies, and attack them without embarraffing each other for want of Room.

The Captain General of the Empire was diftinguifhed in the Centre of the Multituide, borne up upon Mens Shoulders in a Litter fumptuoully adorned, in fuch a Manner, that being a Witnefs of every one's Behaviour, his Orders might be punctually executed. Upon this Chair, or Litter, ftood erect the Royal Standard of Mexico, which was not intrufted into any other Hand but his, and could only be brought into the Field in Cafes of the greateft Exigence. This Standard was a Net of Mafly Gold hanging on a Pike, and crowned with a Plume of Feathers of various Colours; both the one and the other miyfterioully denoting a Superiority. The Spanifb Army perceiving the frefh Danger for which they were to prepare, Cortes began to examine the Countenances of his People, with that natural Fire in his Look, which influenced their Hearts far better thain Words; and finding them infpired with a generous Refentment, he thus addreffed them: "Our Cafe is now fuch, that "\% we muft either die or conquer: The Caufe of our
"God fights for us; " nor had he time to fay any more, for the Soldiers themfelves interrupted, crying out for the Word of Command; and he advanced with his Front extended, and united the Boidy of the Army with the Wings of the Horfe, who were appointed to defend the Flanks, and fecure the Rear. The Fire-arms and Crofs-Bows made their firt Difcharge fo opportunely; that the Enemy had fcarce time to make ufe of their miffive Weapons. The Swords and Lances did ftill greater damage ; the Horfe taking care, at the fame time; to break, and to put to Flight thofe Troops which endeavoured to inclofe the Spanifh. Army.

They gained fome Ground by the firft Charge: The Spaniards gave no Stroke without a Wound, nor any Wound which needed a fecond Blow. The Tlafcalans threw themfelves into the thickeft of the Battle, with an infinite Thirft after Mexican Blood, and all had fuch Command of their Paffions, that they killed firt thofe who appeared to be Leaders. But the Mexicans fought with great Obftinacy, advancing, though not in the beft Order, yet, with furprizing Refolution; to fupply the Places of thofe who fell; and the Spaniards were fatigued with the Slaughter, for the Battle was continually renewing with frefh Men. Their whole Army feemed to give way whenever the Cavalry charged them; or the Fire-Arms advanced; but they returned with new Vigour to recover their loft Ground, the Multitude movino fo from Place to Place, that the whole Field appeared like a Sea of Men, the perpetual Flux and Reflux feeming to juftify that Comparifon.
Cortes fouight on Horfeback, carrying Death and Terror wherefoever he came. But the obstinate Refiftance of the Indians gave hirn no fmall Concern; for it was not to be hoped, but that the Strength of his Men muft abate; with fuch unintermitting Action; and reflecting upon the Meafures he might take, to advantage himfelf, or to make his way to the Road, he was relieved by one of thofe Obfervations he was accuftomed to lay up in his Mind. He remembered to have heard'among the Mexicans, that the whole Fortune of their Battle depended. upon the Standard Royal ; the gaining or lofing of which decided the Fortune of the Day; on either Side; and being not infenfible into what Confufion the Enemy was always put by the Charge of the Cavaliry, he took a Refolution to make an Effort, for the gaining the Imperial Standard. To this Effect, he called for the Captains Sandoval, Alverado, Olid, and Davila, to follow and fecure his Rear, together with the reft of the Horfe which generally attended him; and having encouraged them with a fhort Harangue, and given the neceffary Inftructions how they were to proceed, he advanced, and attacked on that Part which appeared weakeft, and leaft diftant from the Centre.
The Indians gave back, dreading the Shock of the Cavalry, and before they could recover themfelves, the $S p a$ niards threw themfelves upon the difordered Multitude; treading under Foot whole Battallions, and, without much Oppofition, arrived at the Place whiere the Imperial Standard was defended by the Nobles who were appointed for its Guard; and while the Captains were difperfing that numerous Guard, Cortes clofed with the Captain General of the Mexicans, who at the firt Stroke of his Lance fell, being dangerouny wounded; on the other Side of his Litter: He was foon forfaken by his Guard, and left alone ; when Fuain de Salamainca, a private Gentleman, leaped from his Horfe, and put an End to the little Life he had left; and feizing the Standard, gave it into the Hands of Cortes. This Salamianca was a Perfon of fome Diftinction in the Army ; and, for having done his General fuch a Piece of Service, the Emperor conferred forie Favours upon him, giving him for the Creft of his Arms the Plume of Feathers which crowned the Mexicani Standard.
The Mexicans no fooner faw their Imperial Standard in the Power of the Spaniards, than they ftruck all the reft of their Colours, and betook themfelves to a precipitate Flight, feeking Shelter in the Woods and Fields of Maize : The neighbouring Mountains were covered with the terrified Remnants of the Army, and in a few Moments the Field of Battle remained to the Spaniards,
who purfued their Victory with all the Rigour of War, and made a terrible Deftruction of the Fugitives ; it was fo abfolutely neceffary to ruin and difperfe them, that they might not return. On the Side of the Spaniards fome were wounded, of which Number two or three died at Tlafcala; and Cortes, himfelf, received a Blow on his Head, with a Stone, fo violent, that it battered his Head-Piece, and made a fmall Fracture in his Skull. The Spoil was given to the Soldiers, which was very confiderable, for the Mexicans came with coftly Jewels and Ornaments, as to triumph. The Spanifb Authors fay, that twenty thoufand Indians loft their Lives in this Battle. A round Computation indeed! and perhaps, what is not uncommon in fuch Cafes, a certain Number put for an uncertain.
3. The fame Spirit which Cortes fhewed in his utmoft Difficulties, appeared in the Precautions taken by him in making the moft of this Victory, and taking an immediate Care for fecuring fuch a Poft, as might give them time to concert what was to be done next. There appeared on the Top of a Mountain, at fome Diftance, a large old Indian Palace, which he gained. There they ftaid that Night, and as foon as it was Day advanced a confiderable way through the Plain ; then going up a fmall Hill they found a Spring of good Water, where they halted and refrefhed themfelves, for till then they had met with very little, and that not good; they came to Gualipa, a Town of two thoufand Houfes, belonging to the Republic of Tlafcala: The People of that Place went out to receive them, fhewing extraordinary Compaffion for their Sufferings ; the Women wept at the Sight of them, and they were fupplied with Neceffaries, in a moft affectionate Manner.

Cortes bleffed God he found fuch Entertainment among Infidels. Thore People asked why they would not believe them, when they always told them they fhould not truft the Mexicans, who were treacherous. That Day, in the Afternoon, came to them Maxifcatzin, and another Lord, who was Governor of Guaxacingo, and, when chriftened, called Don Gobn Xuarez, and many others, as did Xicotencatl ; but this laft only in a Compliment. They brought much Provifion. Cortes received them with Joy ; but they were amazed to fee him and fo many others wounded. Maxifatzin, in that Aftonifhment, delivered himfelf very elegantly, faying, that fince his Valour was fufficient to withftand all the Mexican Empire, there had been fome Treachery in the Cafe, comforting him, and bidding him be eafy; for, fince he was alive, he might revenge that Injury, being among the Tlafcalans, his fincere Friends, who he promifed fhould affift him with all their Power; all the other Lords gave him the fame Affurances, and Cortes returning Thanks in a moft courteous Manner, producing the Mexican General's Standard and Arms, delivered the fame to him, and gave the reft much of the Booty taken in the Battle of Otumba.

The other Commanders and Soldiers, following the fame Example of Cortes, diftributed abundance of the Booty they had gained in that Fight, which was very acceptable, as being Mexican Trophies. Here Cortes was informed, that about twelve Days before, Fobn fifte and Morla, with about thirty Spaniards, had fet out from Gualipa, cariying Cortes's Equipage to Mexico; and that tho' they fought well, they were all cutoff by the Mexican Garirifons, together with one of Maxifcatzin's Sons, who he fent along with them. This was afterwards verified, for they found cut on a Trée. T'bis wocy pafled the unfortunate John Juite, and bis unbappy Companions, being reduced to fucb W ant of Food, that they gave a Wedge of Gold, weighing eigbt bundred Pieces of Eigbt, for a fero little Cakes of Italian Wheat. Thence the Spaniff Army proceeded to $\dot{T}$ lafcala, and the Country being populous, the Roads were crowded with the Inhabitants coming out to fee them. The Magiftrates met Cortes, with above two hundred thoufand Men in good Order. The Women and Children went foremoft, and wept as foon as they faw the Spaniards, curfing the treacherous Mexicans; next came the Citizens, and received them in a moft courteous Manner. The Lords of the four Quiarters
took Cortes into the Middle of them; there was much Mufic at the Entrance into the City ; he was lodged in Maxifcatzin's Houfe, who made him a great Entertainment, and in this Court there was much dancing, and. rejoicing.
At Tlafcala Cortes found Capt. Paez, whom he had left: there, with eighty Spaniards, and was glad to hear that he had been well ufed; he affured him, that Maxifcaizina was his real Friend, and that Xicotencatl hated him. When he undertood that Maxifcatzin had offered Paez an hundred thoufand Mien to march with the Spaniards, to his Relief, and that Paez excufed himfelf, alledging, that he had obferved his Orders, confidering how much Service the Succour might have done him, he gave him fome hard Words, calling him Coward; for that brave Commanders, in fuch Perils, are not to adhere literally to Orders, but to act as Exigencies may require. Hojeda was the Perfon that entertained the greateft Friendflip with the Tiafcolans, and brought Provifions from the Country Towns; fome reproached him, faying, why come you hither to devour our Subftance; go your way, you come in a wretched Condition from Mexico, being turned out like cowardly Women. He gave them good Words ; but Cortes was much concerned at it, being informed that Xicotencatl was the Occafion of it: He acquainted Maxifcatzin, who faid, that whilf he lived no Man fhould prefume to affront him; however he kept himfelf upon his Guard.
A Numbnefs feized his Head, occafioned by his Wound, and, it being followed by a violent-Fever, he was in much Danger; but it pleafed God, as he was well taken care of, he recovered. Whilft his Diftemper held him, thofe few Spaniards he had, hearing fome fufpicious W ords from the Indians, muttered that they would return to the Sea Coaft, alledging that Cortes's Contrivances to return to Mexico would be their Ruin, and that they were now fattening to be facrificed and eaten, as the Indians defigned; few being of a contrary Opinion, the greater Number, with a Notary, forcibiy required Cortcs to go away to Vera Cruz, to avoid the Danger that threatened. Cortes anfwered with much Gravity and Calmnefs: In the firft place, he extolled their paft Actions, put them in mind of the Victories they had obtained, and the Valour of the Spanifs Nation, blamed their Faint-heartednefs, for that having made the World ring with the Fame of their Exploits they fhould fhew Fear, which would turn to their Shame; he promifed them much Wealth and Profperity ; difpelled the Fears they had conceived of the Tlafcalans; faid, he would try their Friendfhip by making War on the Tepeacans, who had lately flain feveral Spaniards; he put them in mind, that all he had faid to them had proved true; that he had performed all he promifed, and then, in care the Affair of $\mathcal{T}$ epeaca did not fucceed, he would find fome Expedient for them to return with Honour to Vera Сruz.

This appeafed them for the prefent, but he had feveral Confultations with the chief Commanders, as to the Confidence that was due to the Tlafcalans: Some affirmed, that there was no trufting of them, fo that if they took a fmall Number of them the War would not be carried on; and if they had many, it was dangerous: Others added, that the Enmity between thefe two Nations was well known, as were the Advantagcs the Tlafcolons reaped by the War with the Culuas; for which Reafon their Fidelity was not to be called in queftion. Cortes, having maturely weighed this Affair, and made fome Enquiry into the Matter, adhered to this Advice, which made him believe that his good Fortune would not forfake him in this Enterprize.
4. The Mexicans having offered up their Sacrifices, returned. Thanks to their Gods, repaired their City, and, undertanding how well the Speniards had been received in Tlafcala, refolved to fend fix Men of Note Embaffadors thither with a Prefent of Cloth, Feather-works, and Salt, which were the Things thofe People wanted moft. Notice being given of their coming, they were met as ufual, and the Council being affembled to hear them, the Eldeft delivered his Prefent and faid, That as they
were Relations, fpoke the fame Language, and obferved the fame Religion, it would be convenient to put an End to the long Wars that had been between them, and that they fhould partake of thofe Things wherein the Mexican Empire abounded. And they wanted befides other Advantages that would accrue by Peace; and therefore in order to bring that to pafs it was proper they fhould facrifice thofe few Chritians, with whom their Gods were of fended for many Reafons, and who would infult them in the fame Manner if they did not look to themfelves. The Prefent was received, and they faid they would confider of it. When the Embaffadors were withdrawn, their Propofals were debated : Xicotencatl and others fpoke for the Confederacy; Maxifcatzin, defending the Spaniards, advifed them to be Friends with them, alledging the Fidelity and Honour due to Guefts.

He extolled their Valour, affuring them of the fame Advantages the Mexicans propofed, and particularly infifted, that the Friendfinip of the Spaniards ought not to be flighted, as it might contribute to enlarge the Dominions of their Commonwealth, which they could not expect from the Mexicans, whofe Ambition and Perfidioufnefs was well known; befides, that if once the Spaniards were expelled, no queftion was to be made but that they would be greater Eriemies than before, though it were only for having entertained them in Tlafcala. Xicotencatl ftill obftinately infifted, that the Spaniards were ill Men; and both Sides reflecting on each other, it came to fuch a Height, that Maxifcatzin gave Xicotencatl a Pufh from him, and threw him down fome Steps, telling him he was a bafe Man, and a Traitor to his Country. The Mexicans returned home without any other Anfwer, and reported what had happened. Cortes being immediately informed of all thefe Particulars returned Thanks to Maxifiatzin, promifing he would endeavour to make good all he had in his Name promifed to the Republic. Xicotencatl, being fatisfied that Cortes would be acquainted with what had been done in the Council, went to him and faid, he had tried by all Means to acquire Honour, by oppofing him ; but that fince the Gods had made him invincible, he begged he would take him into his Favour, offering his Perfon, and defiring he would make Trial of him in carrying on the War againft Tepeaca, Cbulula and Guaxacingo, fince they had offended him in breaking the Friendfhip and Faith contracted with him, going over to the Culuas, and killing the Spaniards that were marching through that Country ; befides, that to make the War on Mexico, as he intended, it was proper firft to take off their Confederates, and begin with Tepeaca.

Cortes embraced him, returning Thanks for his good Will, and promifing to take fuch Meafures for the Se-vice of the Republic, that it fhould be revenged on all its Enemies. Fifty Days were now paffed fince Cortes's Arrival at Tlafcala, after his Return from Mexico, and Xicotencatl preffed him daily, faying the Men were ready whenfoever he Thould think fit. Though Cortes had more need to have attended his Cure than to enter on frefh Fatigues fo foon; yet, for fear of lofing fo favourable an Opportunity, underftanding that the $\tau_{\text {epeacans, and the }}$ MexicanForces with them, had fecured all the Paffes that led to the Sea, he fent Meffengers to the Tepeacans, and to the other Towns, defiring them to quit the Friendfhip of the Mexicans, and to embrace that of the Tlafcalans, and he would forgive them the Injury done him by breaking their Faith, which they had engaged to him when he marched to Tlafcala. They made little Account of his Offer, but refolved to adhere to the Mexicans. Cortes fignified the fame to the Council of Tlafcala, and they, being Enemies to the Tepeacans, naturally inclined to War, defirous to pleafe Cortes, who had gained all the prime Men, having fent them many Prefents from Mexico, and done them much Honour ; and believing that the War would be very advantageous to the Republic, offered to fupply him with fifty thoufand Soldiers.
5. As Cortes found all things fucceeded to his Mind, and that it was not only juift, but neceffary to chaftife the Injury done by the Tepeacans, he began to prepare for his March. And here he firft thought to fend the King an Account of all that had happened; becaufe he had not done it

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fince he fet out from Villa Rica for Mexico: He told his Majefty all his Succeffes, as alfo his Misfortune at Mexico with all the Particulars relating to it ; fhewing all his Difappointments to have been occafioned by Pamphito de Narvaez, who could not be brought to an Accommodation, for which Reafon he kept him Prifoner at Vera Cruz; he likewife demanded Men and Horfes, promifed to fubdue that vaft Empire with little Affitance, and without Expence to the Crown; for he offered to pay for the Horfes, Arms, and Ammuniton that fhould be fent to him : He defired fome Reward might be beftowed on Ferom de Aguilar, the Interpreter, who did extraordinary Service; and prepared to fend Mendoca with this Account, and the Value of thirty thoufand Pieces of Eight in Gold: The Alcaldes and Regidores of Villa Rica, who were always with Cortes, wrote at the fame time. Tepeaca being but eight Leagues from Tlafcala, the Inhabitants knew what was coming upon them, and on their Side prepared for War ; but we muft here mention what occafioned this War ; viz. the Affair of the Spaniards thore People deftroyed.

The News of the great Wealth of New Spain being fpread throughout the Inands, feveral Spaniards tranfported themfelves to Vera Cruz; where, about fifty or fixty of them, joining together, fet out for Mexico, by the Way of Tepeaca, at the Time that Cortes was retired to Tlafcala; and all the Country having been informed that the War was declared againft the Spaniards at Mexico, the Tepeacans refolved to kill them and their Captain, whofe Name was Corenado, which they actually put in Execution; and the like was done in other Parts, concluding that the Spaniards, at Mexico, would be all deftroyed, as the Mexicans every where reported. Cortes marched out of Tlafcala with his Spaniards, and fix thoufand Indian Archers, till fuch time as the fifty thoufand Tlafcalans were raifed, to be under the Command of Xicotencatl, affifted by Alonfo de Hojeda, and Fobn Marquez, who fpoke the Language tolerably; he advanced three Leagues, and took up his Quarters at Cinpancingo, whither fo great a Multitude reforted from the Lordfhips of Guaxacingo and Cbuiula, that it was not doubted but that they amounted to an hundred and fifty thoufand fighting Men.

The People of Zacatapeque, and of Acazingo, having made it their Choice to join in this War with the Inhabitants of Tepeaca againft the Spaniards; they, as lying neareft Tlafcala, were firft entirely deftroyed; and then Tepeaca was reduced to fuch Extremities, that the Inhabitants fubmitted, and took an Oath to be good Subjects to the King of Spain. This War happily over, Cortes divided the Profits between his own Forces and the Republic of Tlafcala, after deducting the Fifth for the King. The Republic of Tlafcala was highly pleafed to fee Cortes fhare the Booty fo punctually with them, and befides, their City was full of Slaves, Salt, Cotton, Fea-ther-works, Jewels, and other things they had Occafion for. The City of Ťepeaca being perfectly reduced, Marina underfood that the Mexicans were preparing to fall upon the Spaniards when they leaft fufpected it. Cortes feized fome that were neareft about him, who, he was informed, knew of it ; and, having examined into the Affair, punifhed them feverely. The Mexicans having Advice that Cortes was marched to make War on Tepeaca, took care to fend Armies to feveral Parts to fecure their Frontiers, perfuaded their Allies to ftand by them, and made all poffible Preparations, not only to defend themfelves, for that they looked upon as a Matter of no Difficulty, but to offend the Spaniards; and like a fubtle People, fent the Heads of Horfes, and other things they had taken, to the feveral Provinces they fufpected might be inclinable to forfake their Intereft, giving out that Cortes was dead, and encouraging the People with the Hopes, that having no Commander, they would eafily make an End of all the reft. This Notion fo far prevailed with the Indians, who are naturally fickle, that mon of them revolted, though they had fworn Obedience to the King of Spain; and wherever any Spaniards were they flaughtered them.
When all things were fettled at Tepeaca, and in the $\mathrm{H} h$
neigh-
neighbouring Parts, Cortes fent fome Commanders to reduce thofe that ftill held out; enjoining them to try all gentle and fair Means; and gave out that he would return to Tlafcalo. The chief Men of Tepeaca entreated him, that fince they were become the King of Spain's Subjects, purfuant to the Oath they had taken, he wouid not forfake them; but, in cafe he could not avoid going, he would leave fome Spaniords there, or elfe they fhould be deftroyed: Cortes anfwered, that he would endeavour to fatisfy them, and that they need not fear the Mexicans, for he hoped in God they fhould foon fee them quite difabled ; and thinking the Situation of that City very convenient to fecure the Way to Villa. Rica, as commanding the Paffes through which the Spaniards came into thefe Parts; and that the Province was in the Midft of the Country, near to the Republic of Tlafcala, Guaxacingo, and Cbulula, on which it bordered; and on another Side upon the Culuas, who, being fo clofe by, might occafion new Commotions there: Upon all thefe Confiderations, and to pleafe the Tepeacans, who had defired a Garrifon of him, he fent for the Alcaldes and Regidores of the Council, who were with him, and told them it was convenient to fettle a Colony there, for the Reafons aforefaid; who approving of it, he appointed the proper Officers, and ferom de Aguilar to be Regidore, being always ready to requite thofe that deferved it. He called this Place Segura de la Frontera, i. e. the Security of the Frontier, becaufe founded upon the aforefaid Motives, and becaufe it lay on the Frontiers of Culua.
6. It has been before obferved, that for the better carrying on the War againft the Spaniards, the Mexicans had thought fit to elect Guatimozin for their Emperor, the Nephew and Son-in-law to Motezuma: He was a young Man about twenty-five Years old, of fo much Spirit and Vigilance, that, contrary to the Manner of his Predeceffor, he entirely gave himfelf up to the Care of the Public; being defirous, immediately, to fhew the Advantages of Government when placed in proper Hands: He knew what the Spaniards were doing in the Province of Tepeaca, and, forefeeing the Defigns they might form, when affitted by the united Forces of the Tlafcalans, and other neighbouring Provinces; he began to have thofe seafonable Apprehenfions, which are neceffary to prudent Meafurcs.

Cortes received an Account that his Army was upon the Frontiers, which was confirmed by three or four Nobles, fent by the Cazique of Guacacbula, a populous City, fituate on the Road to Mexico, and a Place which the new Emperor looked on as one of the Ramparts of his Empire. They came to requeft Succour againft the Mexicans, complaining of their Violences, and offering to take up Arms againft them, fo foon as the Spaniards fhould come within Sight of their Town. They made the Undertaking appear eafy and juft; faying, that their Cazique ought to affift as a Vaffal of the King of Spain. Cortes afked them what Force the Enemy had in thofe Parts? They told him twenty thoufand in the Diftrict of their City, and ten thoufand more in another City, called $Y_{z u c a n,}$, four Leagues from them; but that, in Guacacbula, and its Dependencies, they could raife a very confiderable Number of Men, who would be glad of an Opportunity to take up Arms. Cortes examined them very carefully, that he might difcover the Intentions of their Cazique; and they gave fo good an Account of themfelves, as fully convinced him of their Sincerity; and, though he fhould have had fome remaining Sufpicion, he would, at that time, have diffembled it; for, in cafe the Treaty could not have been depended on, it was neverthelefs neceffary to drive away the Enemy, and fubject the frontier Towns before the Mexicons came with a greater Force to defend them.

Cortes applied himfelf fo earnefly to this Enterprize, that the very fame Day he formed an Army of three hundred Spaniards, twelve or thirteen Horfe, and above thirty thourand Tlafcalans, under the Command of Cbrifoopher de Olid; and after he had made this Difpofition, he put his Defign in Execution with fo much Expedition, that the Army marched next Morning. Olid car-
fied the Envoys, fent from Guacacibula, with him, and had Orders to advance with Circumfpection, till he came near the City; and in cafe he fuffected any Treachery, to engage the Mexicans in fome advantageous Poft, and break them before they attacked the Town. They all mauched on very chearfully, till, at fix Leagues from $q^{3} e_{-}$ peaca, and almoit at the fame Diftance from Guacacbula, they found it rumoured among the Peafants of the Country, but without any good Foundation, that the Emperor of Mexico was on the March with his whole Forcc, to relieve thofe Cities.

The Soldiers of Narvacz believed the Report, and fo multiplied the Enemies Forces in their Imaginations that, without hearkening to Reafon, or obeying Orders, they infolently protefted that they would march no farther: So that Cbrifopher de Olid grew angry, and in a contemptuous Manner bid them return; threatning them with the Difpleafure of Cortes, fince they were not touched with the Difhonour of their Retreat. But as he was preparing to profecute his March without them, there happened a new Accident, which, if it did not altogether ihake his Conftancy, yet retarded the Succefs of the Expedition. They faw feveral Bodies of Men defcending from the neighbouring Mountains, and advancing with more than ordinary Diligence; and Cbrifopber de Olid, believing the Mexicans were coming to attack him, drew up his Men in order, in which he acted rightly; for too much Care never did hurt in an Army. But fome Horfe, whom he had fent before to gain Intelligence, returned with an Account, that it was the Cazique of Guaxacingo, with his confederate Caziques, who were come to affift the Spaniards in their War againft the Mexicans, who had ravaged their Frontiers, and threatened their Dominions. Upon this, Olid ordered their Troops to halt, and the Caziques to come before him, which was prefently done.
But that which fhould have given them all entire Satifo faction, occafioned a fecond Uneafinefs in the Soldiers. It began amongft the Tiafcalans, and next infected the Spaniards; for they both declared, that thofe People were not to be trufted ; and that they were fent by the Mexicans to ferve them by falling on the Spaniards during the Engagement. Cbrifopher de Olid heard them, and, without enquiring fufficiently into the Matter, enteredinto their Sufpicions prefently, feized thofe Caziques, andfent them away to Tepeaca, for Cortes to determine concerning them An inconfiderate Action, by which he ran the rifque of raifing a Difturbance between his own People and thofe who really came as his Friends. The Prifoners were brought before Cortes, complaining with a good deal of Reafon of Olid. Cortes heard them with great Kindnefs, and, ordering their Irons to be taken off, endeavoured to regain their good Opinion. But upon further Confideration he found it would be neceflary to carry on this Enterprize in Perfon ; the Diftruft which his Indian Allies had of each other, and the Uneafinefs among the Spaniards, feeming to threaten fome fatal Event. He prefently fet out, and in a few Hours came up with the Army : There every body was pleafed with his Prefence, Things looked in quite another Manner, and the Storm that was beginning to gather difperfed; he reprimanded Olid, for not fending him an Account of the Accident, fince he was fo near, and for difcovering his Jealoufy by the Imprifonment of the Caziques; and, having joined all the Forces, without any farther Delay he marched on to Guacacbutla, ordering the Envoys from that City, to go and inform their Caziques where he was, and what Force he had brought along with him.

The Mexicons were pofted on the farther Side of the City, but on the firt Notice from their Sentinels they advanced with fo much Speed, that by the Time the Spaniards came within Mufket-fhot they had formed their Army, and poffeffed themflives of the Road, with an Intention to try their Strength under Cover of the Town. The Viktory was very vigoroufly difputed ; the Mexicans not only defending themfelves, but advancing with all the Signs of Refolution to maintain their Ground to the utmoft ; when the Cazique of Guacacbula laid hoid of this Occafion to give a Proof of his Fidelity, falling

## Chap. III. for the Reduction of New Spain.

on their Rear, and at the fame time affaulting them from the Walls with fuch Bravery as much facilitated the Victory; and in half an Hour the Mexicans were intirely defeated, there being but few who were not either killed or wounded. When Cortes had fettled his new Conquefis, he returned to Tepeaca which he called Segura de la Frontera, and there he received the News, that his firm Friend Mawifcatzin was at the point of Death, at Tlafcala, which baftened his Return thither, though not time enough to find him alive: He died a Chriftian, and as much attached to the Spanifb Intereft as ever ; fo that Cortes was much concerned for the Lofs of him, but his Grief however was foon leffened by the coming of a frefh Reinforcement of Spaniards in the following Manner
7. A Ship of moderate Burden arrived at Fuan de UTua and brought thirty Spanifb Soldiers, two Horfes, and fome Provifions and Ammunition, which Velafquez fent to Narvaez, taking it for granted that all the Conquefts in that Country were his own, and the Troops of Cortes at his Devotion. Their Commander was Pedro de Barbar, the fame who was Governor of the Havanna when Cortes failed from the Ine of Cuba, having by his Friend:hip efcaped the laft Snares that were laid to ftop his Voyage. Pedro Cavallero, who commanded on the Coaft, no fooner difcovered the Veffel, but he went out in a Boat, faluted the new Comers with great Civility ; and having found by the very refpectful Manner with which Pedro de - Barba inquired after Narvaez the Defign of their coming, anfwered him, without the leaft Hefitation, that he was not only in good Health, but in great Profperity, all thofe Countries having fubmitted to him, and that Cortes and fome of his People were fled to the Mountains; which induced them to land without the leaft Diftrut, and go to Vera Cruz, where they difcovered the Deceit, and found themfelves Prifoners to Cortes. Barba commended the Stratagem of Cavallero, for in reality he was not forry to find his Friend in fo good a Condition.

They were carried up to Segura de la Frontera, and Cortes fhewed a particular Satisfaction at the Arrival of more Spaniards, with the agrecable Circumftance of receiving this Succour from the Hands of his Enemy. He treated Barba very kindly, and gave him a Company of Crofs-bows, upon the Confidence he had of his Friend-fhip:- He diftributed Gifts among the Soldiers, upon which they agreed to ferve under his Command. He afterwards read the Letter privately, which Barba brought for Narvaez; in which Velafquez, fuppofing him Mafter of all thofe Conquefts, gave him Orders to maintain himfelf there at all Adventures; for which End he promifed him very powerful Succours ; and, laftly, told him, that if Cortes was not dead, he fhould immediately fend him away with a fufficient Guard, for that he had received exprefs Orders from the Bifhop of Burgos to fend him Prifoner to Court. About eight Days after arrived a fecond Veffel with another Reinforcement for Narvaez, which Pedro Cavallero feized after the fame manner. She brought eight Soldiers, and a Mare, with a confiderable Quantity of Arms and Ammunition, under the Command of Capt. de Lobera. They all immediately went to Segura and lifted themfelves, as the others had done

Thefe Succours came by a Way fo unlooked for, that Cortis confidered them as good Omens, and Forerunners of future Succefs. He had already refolved on the Conqueft of Mexico, and the great Number of Allies by which he found himfelf fupported in his latt Expedition confirmed him in his Refolution. But the Paffage on the Lake was the grand and unavoidable Difficulty, and gave him great Concern; for, after the Enemy had once found out the Secret of breaking the Bridges of the Caufways, there was no depending upon portable Bridges, which were only to be ufed when they were pinched in Time; wherefore he began to think of building twelve or thirteen Brigantines, which fhould be able to refift the Indian Canoes, and tranfport his Troops to the City ; and thefe he propofed to carry in Pieces on the Shoulders of the Indidn Tamenes for fourteen or fifteen Leagues at leaft of very bad way, over the Mountains of Tlafcala, to a Kiver near the Lake. He had a vigorous' Imagination, and was naturally an Enemy to fuch lazy Spirits as fancy
diffout Things to be impoffible. Fe communicated his Thoughts to Mortin Lopez, on whofe Ingenuity and great Abilities he depended for the compafing this important Defign; and found he did not only approve of $\mathrm{i} i$, but alfo undertook to execute it without Dificulty.

He fent him before to Tlafola, with all the Soanif Soldiers who had any Skill in the Carpenters Trade, in order to begin the Work, with a fufficient Number of Indians to cut Wood, or do any other Service for which there might be Occafion; at the fame cime he ordered the Iron-work and Rigging, and whatever had been preforved out of the Ships that were funk, to be brought up from Vere Cruz ; and, having obferved that thofe Mountains produced Trees which aford a kind of Rofin, he drew out fuch a Quantity as was neceffary for the careening of his Barks. He was in want of Powder, but foon found Means to make very good, fending to fearch for Sulphur in the Vuicano difcovered by Diego Ordaz; for he believed they could not fail of finding it there: And fome Spanifh Soldiers belonging to the Artillery offered their Service; and, in fine, returned with as much Sulphur as was wanted. When this Affair was over, he began to think of returning to Tlafcala, to haften as much as he could the Preparations for his Expedition ; and before he went he left his Inftructions with the new Council at Segura, and appointed Capt. Francifco de Orozco Commander of the Garrifon, with about twenty Spanifh Soldiers, and the Militia of the Country, at his Difpofal.
8. Cortes complained with fome Warmth of Francifoo Garay, becaufe, knowing the Progrefs he had made in the Empire of Mexico, he did not, notwithftanding, endeavour to make a Settlement in the Province of Panuco; but fuch a happy Afcendant had the Fortune of Cortes, over that of his Rivals, that as Velafquez furnifhed him with Succours, the fame Way by which he intended to deftroy him, and fupport Narvaez; fo the Meafures which Garay had taken to ufurp fome Part of his Government, turned likewife to his Advantage. We have already related how Garay was repulfed, when Cortes was with his Troops at Zempoalla; notwithftanding which, he prepared another Fleet, with a greater Number of Soldiers, commanded by his beft Officers.
But the fecond Expedition was as unfortunate as the firft ; for the Spariards were no fooner landed, than they met with fuch Refiftance from the Indians, that they were glad to retreat to their Ships in the utmoft Diforder ; and, being wholly intent how to avoid the prefent Danger, put to Sea without obferving the fame Courfe. They were feparated for fome Days, and, without knowing any thing of each others Defign, they arrived almoft all at the fame time, on the Coaft of Vera Cruz, where they agreed to ferve under Cortes, without any other Motive than that of his great Reputation. This Succour was looked upon as fent from Heaven; for tho' it be certain that the Confufion of the Soldiers and Sailors might help to difperfe thefe Veffels, which forced them on the Coaft, where they were fo much wanted, yet their coming fo opportunely, and after fo many Miffortunes, to augment the Troops of Cortes, is an Event worthy of particular Reflection.
The firft Ship that arrived was commanded by Captain Camargo, and had on, board fixty Spanifs Soldiers; a little after came another with fifty choice Soldiers, and feven Horfe, commanded by Captain Miguel Diaz, a Gentleman of Arrogon, who had fignalized himfelf on all Occafions; and laftly, though fomewhat late, arrived the Veftel commanded by Captain Ramirez, with forty Soldiers, ten Horfes, and great Abundance of Provifions and Arms. They all landed, and the firt, without ftaying for the reft, made the beft of their Way to Tlafcale, leaving an Example to the Followers to take the fame Rout, which they all did with entire Satisfaction; for the great Advantages made by Cortes, in New Spain, had made fuch a Noife over all the Mands, that the Soldiers were eafly led whither they thought Profperity invited them. This. Succour angmented the Number of the Spaniards, and infpired them with frefh Hopes. The Soldiers received the new Comers with Joy; they embraced each other as Eriends of a long Acquaintance,
without
without any other Tye than that of coming from the fame Country.

Notwithftanding this good Fortune, he could not quiet the Soldiers of Narvacz, who were importunate with him, for leave to return to the Ine of Cuba; they put him in Mind of his Promife, and he could not deny but that they went upon the Expedition to Tepeaca on that Condition; for which Reafon he was not willing to enter into any new Difputes with them, and the rather becaufe he found his Troops augmented with Soldiers, better difciplined, and did not think it a proper time to march at the Head of unwilling Mutineers.

For thefe Reafons therefore he ordered a Proclamation to be made: That whoever bad a Mind to return bome, was free to go, and Jbould be furnibsed with Velfels, and every thing elfe that was neceffary. The greateft Part of the Soldiers of Narvaez made ufe of the Opportunity, but fome ftayed; and what deferves to be remarked is, that Andres de Duero, who appeared on feveral Occafions fo much attached to the Intereft of Cortes, was one of thofe who retired; and although there be no Account of the Reafon of this Separation, we may very well believe there was but little Sincerity in the Pretences with which he coloured his Retreat; fince we find him, fhortly after, making ufe of all his Intereft at Court in favour of Velafquez.
9. Cortes having now got rid of thefe Mutineers, whom Alvekado had the Care of conducting to the Veffels, began to confider of the Time neceffary to be employed in building the Brigantines. He difpatched new Orders to the Confederates, to hold themfelves in readinefs to march upon the firft Notice, directing the Quantity of Provifions and Arms they were to provide: And at his Leifure Hours he wrote an Account of all the Particulars of the Conqueft, to be fent to the Emperor; defigning to equip a Veffel, and fend new Agents, who might haften the Difpatch of the former, or give him Notice of the Condition his Affairs were in at the Court of Spain; his Uncertainty therein being now one of his greateft Difquiets.

Cortes drew up this Account in form of a Letter, and repeating every thing of Importance in the Difpatches he fent the Year before by the Captains Portocarrero and Montexo, he gave his Majefty a faithful Relation of all his Adventures, from the Time he marched out of Zempoalla, and by his Courage and Conduct made his triumphant Entry into the capital City of the Empire, till he was afterward forced to retreat to Tlafcala with confiderable Lofs. He alfo acquainted him with how much Security he was able to maintain himfelf in that Province, together with the Number of Spaniards that had augmented his Troops, and the great Confederacies he had made with divers Indian Nations, for renewing the War againft the Mexicans. He expreffed, with a noble and generous Confidence, the Hope he had of reducing to his Majefty's Obedience all that new World, whofe Bounds to the North were unknown even to the Natives. He enlarged upon the Riches of that Empire, the Fertility of the Soil, and the Wealth of the feveral Princes. He highly extolled the Valour and Conftancy of the Spaniards, and the Affection and Fidelity of the Tlafcalans; with Relation to himfelf, he left it to his Actions to fpeak for him. He defired fpeedy Juftice againft the unfair Proceedings of Velafquez, and Francifco Garay; and made preffing Inftances of an immediate Succour of Soldiers, Horfes, Arms, and other warlike Provifions. He reprefented, in yet flronger Terms, the Neceffity of fending fome Ecclefiaftics and Regulars of approved Virtue, to affift Father Olmedo in the Converfion of the Indians; giving an Account that fome of the Chief among them were already baptized, and that in the reft there was fuch a Difpofition to receive the Truth, as gave great Hopes of its making a confiderable Progrefs.

The General fent thefe Difpatches by the Captains, Mendoca and Ordaz. His private Inftructions to them were, "That before they difcovered their Commiffion, ${ }^{*}$. or made any Declaration of their being fent by him, *6 they fhould firt find his Father, and the two Agents "s who were fent the Year before, and jointly carry on
"6 their Negociation, according as the Condition of his "Affairs fhould require." He, remitted alfo a fecond Prefent to the Emperor, confifting of Goid and other Curiofities, which had been preferved at Tlafcala, to which the Soldiers alfo contributed, and were, upon this Occafion, very liberal; adding the Booty acquired in the Expeditions of Tepeaca and Guacacbula;-a Prefent lefs in Value than the former, but more deferving, as being amaffed in the Midft of their Difgraces, after thofe Loffes whereof Cortes had given a faichful Account in his Letters.
10. It is now neceffary, in order to the perfect underftanding of what is to follow, that we fhould look over into Spain, in order to fee what Effects both thefe and the former Applications produced in his Favour had; fince, at prefent, he was not in more Danger from the Arms of his Foes in the new World, than from the repeated Efforts of thofe implacable Enemies which, in dipite of all his glorious Succeffes, laboured his Deftruction in the old. That we may perform what we intend of this kind at once, we will take up things from the Beginning, reducing the whole of this Controverfy in the Spanibl Court, into as narrow a Compafs as is poffible. It was a long time that Martin Cortes, with the two firt Envoys of his Son, Alonso Portocarrero, and Francifco de Montexo, held the wretched Employment of waiting in the Antichambers of the Minifters, fo far from being admitted to Audience, that, not daring to importune them, they only prefented themfelves in the Throngs as they paffed by, and were forced to content themfelves with receiving an accidental Glance of an Eye, the comfortlefs Notice taken of thofe who are afraid to ruin their Pretenfions, by advancing them unfeafonably. The Emperor, however, gave them a very favourable Hearing, and found fufficient time to inform himfelf, exactly, of all that paffed in new Spain, and to judge what might be expected from the Enterprize. And, in order to this, he made himfelf Mafter of the whole Affair, not difdaining to afk Queftions upon many Points. By this Means the Einperor difcovered the great Advantages which might be expected from fuch wonderful Beginnings: And the Idea he at that time formed of the Merit of Cortes helped to recommend him to his Favour, as he was naturally inclined to value extraordinary Men.

The fudden Departure of the Emperor did not permit him to come to any Refolution, in a Matter wherein fo many Difficulties were raifed, as well by the Agents of Velafquez, as by fome Minifters who fupported them. But when the Day of his Embarkation came, which was the 2oth of May, I520, his Majefty did, in a particular Manner, recommend the Affair of Cortes to Cardinal Adriano, Governor of the Kingdom in his Abfence. The Cardinal was very fincerely defirous to favour his Caufe; but as the Informations, by which he was to govern himfelf, came from the Council of the Indies (where the Votes were influenced by the Authority and Prejudice of the Prefident the Bifhop of Burgos) he found himfelf at a Lofs how to come to any Refolution; nor was it an eafy Vatter to affure himfelf of making a right Judgment, while the Reprefentations of Velafquez came cloathed with the Appearance of Juftice, and the noble Exploits of Cortes were difcredited with the Name of Rebellion. Afterwards, when it was moft neceffary, there wanted Time to examine into the Truth of this Affair, the Cares of the Minifters being employed in Matters of the laft Importance. It was, indeed, a very improper time to confider of new Enterprizes, when the Minifters were fo wholly employed in finding Remedies for the Evils which aflicted the State within Doors, that thofe without made no Sort of Impreffion upon them: So that Martin Cortes, and his Friends, fenfible of the fimall Advantages they reaped by their Solicitations, and of the general Diforders of Affairs, retired to Medillin, with a Refolution to let the Storm blow over, and expect the Return of the Emperor, who was perfectly well apprized of the Affair, and had fhewn a Difpofition to do Juftice to their Pretenfions; and they plainly faw that his Authority was neceffary to furmount the Oppofition of the Bimop of Burgos, and other Impediments which arofe from the prefent Pofture of Aftais.

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Some little Time after Ordaz and Mendoça arrived at Scuille after a prófperous Yoyage ; and, without difcovering themitlves, or their Commiffion, they took Care to be informed about Cortes's 'Affairs, a Precaution which imported no lefs than their Liberty; for they underftood, to their great Surprize, that the Commiffioners of Trade had exprefs Orders from the Bifhop of Burgos, to ftop and imprifon any Perfon who fhould be fent from New Spain, and to feize on the Gold and other Merchandize that he thould bring, either on his own Account, or by way of Commiffion. Upon which they only endeavoured to fecure their Perfons, and thought themfelves yery happy in preferving their Letters and Difpatches, leaving the Prefent for the King, with every thing elfe, in the liands of thofe Judges, and to be difpofed of at the Pleafure of the Bifhop of Burgos. They parted from Seville, not without great Apprehenfion of buing difcovered; determining, it poffible, to find out at the Court either Martin Cortes, or the two Agents, in order to get Light how to proceed; but hearing, on the Road, that they were retired to Medellin, they went on to that Town, where their Arrival was welcomed with all the Demonftrations of Joy which fuch wonderful and wifhed for News could infpire. It was debated among them, whether it would be proper to carry the Difpatches of Cortes immediately to the Cardinal-Regent, without delaying to inform him of fuch important News: But, confidering the prefent Difturbances of the Kingdom, they thought it would be to no Purpofe to fpeak of diftant Advantages, upon which they refolved to continue in their Retirement, till the Minifters were more at leifure.
The Account which came foon after, 'of the Emperor's Return, contributed very much to reftore the public Tranquility ; he gave Affurance, in his Letters, that he would leave al! other Affairs, to come where his Prefence was fo neceffary. This Affurance entirely fettled every thing, and Martin Cortes, judging it a proper Time to renew his Solicitations, fet out immediately for the Court, with the four Commiffioners from his Son; where, after fome fmall Delays, they had a particular Audience of the Cardinal-Regent. They informed him, in general, how far Matters were advanced towards the Conqueft of Mexico, and referred him to the Letters of Cortes for the Particulars. They gave him alfo an Account of the Orders they found at Serille, for imprifoning any one who fhould come from Cortes, and of the Seizure of the Prefent they had brought for the King. Upon this Occafion, they reprefented the Reafons they had to diftuft the Bifhop of Burgos, and, laftly, defired Leave to except againft him, in a legal way, as a Judge, offering to make good the Reafons of their Exception, or fuffer the Penalty of their taking fuch a Step. The Cardinal heard them with Attention; he feemed touched with their Misfortune, and comforted them with Promifes of a fpeedy Difpatch: He was particularly difpleafed with the Orders given at Seville, and the Seizure of the Prefent, as being done without his Knowledge. And farther, the Cardinal anfwered them, with regard to their Requeft concerning the Bimop, That they might take their Remedy againft him at Law.

With thefe Encouragements to hope for better Fortune they immediately entered their Exception againft the Prefident of the Council of the Indies, in his own Court, delivering their Reafons in Writing, with all the Temper and Moderation neceffary to a due Refpect. But their Reafons were fo ftrong, and the Truth of what they alledged fo well known to the other Judges, that they durft not deny Juftice in an Affair of that Importance, and more efpecially on the Approach of the Emperor's Return. After a full Hearing; the Bifhop was abfolutely forbid to interfere in any Matter between Cortes and Velafquez. His Orders were tevoked, the Embargoes at Seville taken off, and the Importance of the Undertaking appeared in its true Light. The heroic Actions of Corbes, which were almoft obfcured before by the Sufpicion of his Fidelity, were now celebrated as they deferved, and the Cardinal, by feveral Decrees, recommended the Difpaich of the Envoys, and was fo fincerely defirous to forward the Affair, that, even after he had

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received the News of his Exaltation to St. Peter's Chair, he difpatched fome Orders favourable to Cortes, as he was on the Road to embark.
II. In a fhort Time after the Emperor's Arrival in his Spanifh Dominions he gave Audience to the Envoys of Cortes, and notwithftanding thofe of Velafquez at the fame Time prefented their Requeft; yet, as he had been well informed of the Cafe, on both Sides, by Letters from the Cardinal, now Pope, he, by a new Sentence, confirmed the Recufation of the Bifhop of Burgos, and appointed Commiffaries to determine this Affair. The firft. thing the Council did was, to look over the Memorials; drawn from Letters and Relations produced at the Trial ; but there they were fo embarraffed by contradictory fccounts, that they thought it neceffary to order the Agents, on both Sides, to explain themfelves vive voce at the next Meeting; for they wete all defirous to difpatch this Affair, and examine ftrictly into the Accufations brought by the Parties againft each other, and into the Strength of their refpective Arguments, that fo they might come to the Knowledge of the Truth.

The next Day the Agents appeared before the Council, with their Advocates, and, amongtt thofe for Velafquez, Andres de Duero fignified himfelf. But People were the lefs furprized to fee him unfaithful to his Friend, knowing he had been fo firft to his Mafter. The Memorials were read, and the Parties at the fame Time were examined, in order to difcover how they juftified themfelves from their refpective Accufations. From. their Anfwers the Judges drew what was fufficient to decide the Affair; and, after fome few Days Hearings, the Court unanimounly agreed, "That it was not reafonss able for Velafquez to appropriate to himfelf the Con"q queft of Nere Spain, without a better Title than that "s of having expended fome Money in the Preparations " for that Enterprize, and naming Cortes. for Com"s mander: That he could only have his Action for what "s he had laid out : That the Nomination of Cortes af: os forded him no Pretence; for befides that he gave " him the Commiffion without the Authority of the "Commiffioners of the Royal Audience; whofe Orders " he fhould have received, or fo much as acquainting "s them with it, he loft thofe Prerogatives the Day that "s he revoked it, and could have no right to fays that " the Conqueft was made by his Order; Cortes being; " by that Revocation, left free to act as he fhould judge "c moft advantageous for the Service of the King, with " the Troops and Veffels, which for the moft Part he "c had equipped at his own Expence, and that of his "Friends: And laftly, they cenfured Velafquez, as a "Perfon who had fhewn a very ungovernable Ambi" tion, in afpiring to ufurp the Glory and Advantage "s of the Actions of another, and as having been guilty "، of a Rafhnefs, which deferved a very fevere Repri"s mand, in fending an Army againft Herrian Cortes, "s without confidering the Confequences which might " have attended fuch violent Proceedings, or regard" ing the Orders he had received to the contrary, from "s the Minifters of the Royal Audience of Santa Do. "mingo."

Thefe Conclufions wiere laid before the Einpeior, which being approved by his Majefty, Sentence was pronounced, declaring Hernan Cortes to be a good Minis fter and faithful Subjeok; honouring with the like Approbation the Officers and Soldiers under his Command impofing perpetual Silence on Velafquez, on the Subject of having any Pretenfions to the Conqueft of Nero Spain, and ftrictly commanding him, on Pain of fevere Punifhment, not to raife the leaft Obftacle to that Affair, directly or indireetly, with a Refervation to any Demand he might have, on account of Monies by him expended in the Armament of the Veffels which he was to fue fors in the ordinary way of Juftice. And thus ended this Affair ; the Judges referring the Honours defigned for Cortes; the reprimanding Velafquiez, and other Conclufions of the Council, to the Difpatches that were to be fent in the Name of the Emperor. The next thing taken into Confideration was the Affifance to be giverz Cortes, the Care of which the Emperor referred to the fame Council. He gave a very favourable Audience to
his Agents, beftowed feveral Marks of his Kindnefs upon Martin Cortes, on account of his Son's Merit, whom he promifed to reward according to his Service.

Several Regulars were named for the Converfion of the Indians: He ordered a confiderable Number of Arms and Horfes to be embarked in the firft Fleet, and, confidering how much the utmoft Difpatch imported to them, he commanded the Orders to be immediately drawn, and fent ; one was directed to the Royal Audience of Santa Domingo, another to VelaSquez, ftrictly enjoining him to defift from further interfering in that Enterprize, and feverely cenfuring his violent Proceedings; another to Francifco Garay, blaming him for attempting any thing on Nere Spain: The laft, was directed to Cortes, and abounded in thofe Marks of Honour and Favour, which Kings beftow on thofe from whom they have received extraordinary Services, when they do not difdain to own the Obligation. Thefe Difpatches were figned by the Emperor in Valladolid the 22d of October I 522 , and fent away with two of the Envoys of Cortes, the other two remaining to follicit Succours, and receive Inftructions that were framing for the Government of the new conquered Country. But to return,
12. When our Hero refolved to renew the War, it was towards the Year 1520, and he had no fooner refolved than fo lucky an Accident happened, as gave both himfelf and his Soldiers frefh Spirits. A Ship arrived at Vera Cruz with Arms and Ammunition on the Account of private Merchants, but both the Captain and all his Men were fo charmed with the Reports they heard of the Riches of Mexico, that they quitted their Ship, and joined the Army. The next Day there was a general Mufter, when it appeared, that there were five hundred and forty Foot, and forty Horle, together with nine Pieces of Cannon. The Tlafcalans furnifhed ten thoufand Men, and the Confederates in Proportion.
The Army marched that Day fix Leagues, and took up their Quarters in a Place called Tezmeluca, which fignifies a Grove of Oaks. It was a confiderable Town, fituate on the Mexican Confines, and in the Jurifdiction of Guaxacingo, whofe Cazique took Care to provide fufficiently for all the Troops. The Day following they continued their March with all neceffary Precautions. They received Advice, that the Mexicans were affembled on the other Side of a Mountain, which rendered the Road of Tezcuco very difficult, and becaufe they came not to that Place till towards Evening, and it was not advifeable to march through fuch broken mountainous Ground when Night was approaching, the Army made a halt. In the Morning they began to mount the Hill, and penetrate the Woods, but they had not marched much above a League, when the Van-guard returned, with an Account that the Enemy had ftopt up the way, with Trees laid a-crofs, and fharp Stakes, which they had fixed in the loofe Sands, to wound the Horfes; upon which Cortes faid to the Spaniards aloud, Thefe valiant People don't feem very defirous to meet us, fince they take fo much Pains to fop up our way to them; and he ordered two thoufand Tlafcalans to join the Vanguard, and clear the Road, which they executed with fo much Expedition, that the Rear of the Army fcarce feemed to ftop.
From this Place they difcovered the great Lake of Mexico, and upon this Occafion Cortes put his Soldiers in Mind of the Riches they had enjoyed, as well as of what they had fuffered in that City, mixing the good and bad, that he might animate them to Revenge. They likewife difcovered feveral Fires in diftant Towns, fucceeding one another with fome Intermiffion; and, tho' there was no doubt but thefe were Signals made on the Difcovery of the Army, they purfued their March, with the fame Precaution. They foon difcovered, at a great Diftance, the Enemy's Army, which took up all the Plain, without making any Motion, feeming refolved to continue in a Poft from whence they could eafily make a Retreat. The Sponiards rejoiced at the Opportunity of coming fo foon to an Action, and the Tlafcalons did the fame: But the Joy of the latter foon turned to Fury; fo that Cortes was obliged to make
wfe of his Authority, and the Diligence of fome of his Captains, to prevent their running into Diforder.
The Mexicans were on the farther Side of a great Baranco, or Chafm in the Earth, which muft of Necefficy be paffed. It was made deeper by a Brook, which, collecting all the Waters from the Mountains, ran through it, and was at that Time confiderably fwelled. The Mexicans had a little wooden Bridge over it for the Ufe of Paffengers, which they could eafily have broke down, but had left on Purpofe, as was afterwards fuppofed, that they might deftroy their Enemies in that narrow Pafs, thinking it impoffible that they could ever form themfelves on the other Side, when fo vigorounly oppofed. After this Manner they reafoned, when at a Diftance from Danger; but when they difcovered the Army of Cortes, which they had believed to be fo numerous, their Imaginations were ftruck with other Notions: They wanted Courage to defend their Poft, and therefore began to retire by little and little, without turning their Backs. Cortes advanced with Speed, and when he came up to the Baranco, he efteemed it a Piece of good Fortune that the Enemy had quitted it ; for, notwithftanding the Spaniards found no Refiftance, they had fome Difficulty in paffing it. He detached twenty Horfe, and fome Companies of Tlafcalans, to keep the Enemy in play, without engaging farther, until fuch Time as the reft of his Troops were paffed. But the Mexicans no fooner faw them drawing up on the other Side of the Baranco, than they laid afide all their Policy, difperfing themfelves at once, fome betaking themfelves to the moft unfrequented Paths, and others feeking Refuge in the Mountains.
Cortes did not care to lofe Time, but marched to poffers himfelf of Tezcuco. The Army in their March made forme Slaughter of the Mexicans, who had abfonded in the Woods. The fame Night the Troops quartered in a Place lately forfaken by the Inhabitants, within three Leagues of Tezcuco, where they doubled their Sentinels, and were in a Manner all Night under Arms. But the next Day, at a little Diftance from the Town, they difcovered about ten Indians, who were coming in Hatte along the Road, with the Appearance of a Meffage, and who brought with them a Plate of Gold, in form of a Flag, hanging to the Top of a Lance, which was looked upon as a Sign of Peace.

The Chief of them came as Embaffador from the King of Tezcuco, defiring Cortes to fpare his People and Country; acquainting him, that he defired to be his Confederate, for which End he had provided good Quarters for all the Spaniards in the City; and that the reft of the Nations, under his Command, fhould be fupplied with every Thing that was neceffary. Cortes put fome Queftions to him ; and, as he came well inftructed, he anfwered without Hefitation; adding, that his Mafter had juft Reafon to complain of the Emperor, who was about to execute his Revenge upon him by fome Extortions, and other Oppreffions not to be endured, for his having refufed him his Vote in his Election, for which Reafon he was refolved to unite himfelf with the spaniards, as one of the moft interefted in the Ruin of that Tyrant.
It does not appear from any of the Spani/h Hiftorians who this King of $\mathcal{T}$ ezcuco was; but they all agree, that he was both a Tyrant and a Ufurper, fo that as foon as the Spaniards were in Poffeffion of the Place, the Nobility defired Cortes to reftore their lawful Prince; which, as it was an Act of Juftice, and feemed to promife much in favour of the Spanish Intereft, he readily performed, to the great Joy of the Inhabitants.

I3. As they made fome Stay in this City, Olmedo found Means to convert the King to the Chriftian Religion; and he proved both a faithful, and an uffeful Ally; fending fix or feven thoufand of his Subjects to affift in widening the Canals, that they might the better receive the Brigantines, which had been prepared in order to fail into the great Lake, againft the armed Canoes, which the Indians employed thereon. Cortes, at the fame time, defiring to undertake fomething to facilitate the Enterprize upon Mexico, refolved to advance to the City of

Iztapalapa,

Iztapalapa; fix Leagues forward, that he might deprive the Mexicans of the Shelter for their Canoes, and partly to give the confederate Indians fome Employment.
The City of Iztapalapa was fituated upon the fame Caufway by which the Spaniards made their firft Entry into Mexico; and difpofed after fuch a Manner, that the greateft Part of the Building was within the very Lake, whofe Water was brought into that Part of the Town, which was built upon the Bank, by Trenches, to let it in as Occafion required. Cortes charged himfelf with the Care of this Expedition, and took with him the Captains Alverado and Olid, with three hundred Spaniards, and ten thoufand Tlafcalans; and though the young King of Tezcuco was defirous to accompany him, he would not permit it, telling him his Prefence would be more ufeful in the City ; the military Government of which he left to Sandoval, and, with both of them, fuch Inftructions as he thought neceffary for the Security of their Quarters, and to keep things in order in his Abfence. They prefently began their March by the Caufway, defigning to poffers themfelves firft of that Part of the City which was built upon it, and difodge the Inhabitants from the other Part, with the Artillery and Firearms: But the Enemy was informed of their Motions, and the Army was no fooner come within fight of the Place, than they difcovered a Body of about eight thoufand Men; at a little Diftance from the Walls, who came out to defend them with fo much Refolution, that, though they found themfelves inferior in Number, they ftood the Engagement, and fought with Bravery enough to retire with Reputation, which they did in a little time to the City; where, without flaying to defend the Entrance, or fhut up the Gates, they inftantly difappeared, throwing themfelves into the Lake in diforder.
Cortes was fenfible that this kind of Retreat had the Appearance of a Stratagem, to draw him into fome greater Danger, and therefore marched his Army into the City with all poffible Precaution, but he found the Houfes utterly abandoned; and, though the Noife and Cries of the Enemy continued in that Part, which ftood in the Water, he refolved, with the Advice of his Captains, to maintain himfelf in the Poft where he was, and lodge within the Walls, without attempting any thing farther, the Day being far fpent: But it fcarce began to be dark, when they perceived the Canals every where to overflow, the Water running impetuounly over the lower Grounds.
Cortes immediately underfood that the Enemy's Defign was to drown this Part of the City, which they might eafily do by opening the Sluices of the great Lake; and, as the Danger was inevitable, he was obliged to give Orders, inftantly to quit the Place; and, though they made all the hafte poffible, the Water came above their Knees. Cortes was very much mortified, that he had not prevented this Stratagem of the Indians; as if it was pofiible, with the utmoft Vigilance, to provide againft all Accidents. He drew out his Army into the Road of Tezcuco, to which Place he thought to retire, deferring the Enterprize of Iztapalapa to a more favourable Opportunity; for it was impracticable, at this time, without a greater Force on the Lake-fide, and fome Veffels, to drive the Mexicans from the Place. The Troops lodged that Night on a little Hill free from the Water, where, neverthelefs, they fuffered very much, being wet and without any Defence againft the Cold; but in fuch good Heart, that there was not the leaft Murmuring among the Soldiers.
At the firft Appearance of Day, he continued his Retreat, and haftened the March of his Men. As foon as it was broad Day, they difcovered a formidable Body of Enemies in purfuit of the Army. Cortes, notwithitanding this, marched on, but more flowly, though the Soldiers moved but very unwillingly, being animated with a Spirit of Vengeance againft their Enemies. When Cortes thought convenient, he ordered his Troops to halt and face about; and the Enemies began the Attack with the fame Precipitation that they purfued; but the Spani/b Crofs-bows, and the Bows of the Tlafcalans, gave a Check to their firt Fury; and at the fame time the

Horfe charged them, making Room for the confederate Troops, who entirely broke that diforderly -Multitudes and obliged them to leave the Field with confiderable Lofs.

Cortes purfued his March without fopping, to reach his Quarters before Night. But the Enemy, no lefs diligent in rallying than retiring, advanced a fecond and third time to the Attack, without being terrified with the great Slaughter they had fuftained; till fuch time ass fearing to approach too near Tezcuco, where the whole Strength of the Spaniards lay, they marched back to $I z-$ tapalapa, fufficiently chaftized for their Boldneefs, having loft, in the three Attacks, fix thoufand Men: And tho ${ }^{5}$ Cortes had fome wounded, he loft only two TZafcalons and one Horfe, who, covered with Arrows and Cuts, yet lived to bring off his Mafter. Cortes, and all his Army, a little before Night, entered the City of Tezcuco, with the Glory of three Victories obtained by the Way, which gave Reputation to the Expedition, and covered the Difgrace of the Retreat.

Whilft Cortes remained in Tezcuco, he received fres quent Vifits from the Neighbouring Caziques; among the reft there came Meffengers from the Provinces of Cbalco and Otumba, with an Account that there was a powerful. Army of Mexicans upon their Frontiers; who had Commiffion to deftroy them, for having made an Alliance with the Spaniards. They defired Succour to affift them in their Defence: This Requeft appeared neceffarys for it imported Cortes very much, not to fuffer the Mexi-cans to fix themfelves in a Place where they might cut off his Communication with Tlafcala. He immediately difpatched Sandoval and Lugo, with two hundred Spaniards, fifteen Horie, and a fufficient Number of Tlafcalans; among whom, there were fome who hiad obtained his Permiffion to retire to their own Country, and fecure the Spoils they lad obtained in the War. Thefe Wretches marched with the Baggage of the Army, and, as Avarice regulated the Weight of their Burdens, they had fo overloaded themfelves, that they could not keep up with the Troops, but were forced to ftop frequently to take Breath.
The Mexicans being informed of this, fell upon them in one of their refting Places; Sandoval and Lugo returned immediately to their Relief, and fell upon the Enemy fo vigorouny, with their whole Force, that they turned their Backs as foon as attacked: Five or fix Tlafcalans; who were difarmed and embarraffed with their Burdens, perifhed upon this Occafion, but the Spaniards recovered all the Booty, with fome Addition. They continued their March, till the Army, having paffed the Province of Cbalco, approached the Frontiers of Tlafcala. The Mexicans had affembled all the Troops of the neighbouring Provinces, to chaftize the Rebels of Cbalco and Otumba; and, knowing that the Spaniards were coming to the Relief of thofe two Nations, they reinforced themfelves with Part of the Troops quartered about the Lake; and having thus a very formidable Army, pofted themfelves on the Road the Spaniards were to pafs, to try their Strength in the Field. Sandovaland Lugo, having given what Orders they thought neceffary, advanced in order of Battle, without altering their Pace: But, on Sight of the Enemy, the Sponiards and Tlajcalans halted, to examine more narrowly the Intention of that Body of Troops.
14. The Mexicans had the Advantage in Numbers, and advanced in Crowds, and made the firt Difcharge, without any Effect. The two Captains, taking Advantage of their Confufion, ordered the Horfe to advance, whofe Attack immediately made Room for the Spaniards and Tlafcalans, breaking this diforderly Multitude with great Slaughter. The Flight of the Enemy foon became univerfal; and the Troops of Cbalco and Otumba, which had fallied out on the Noife of the Battle, coming up at the fame time, the Chace was fo bloody, that the Mexi= can Army was entirely defeated, with lithle or no Lofs. Eight of the molt confiderable Prifoners were referved; in order to get fome Information from them; and the Army paffed that Night to the City of Cbalco, whofe Cazique went before to prepare Quasters with great
abundance of Refrefhments for all the Troops; nor did he forget to have the Victory celebrated with Rejoicing, after the ufiual Manner of that People.
The Inhabitants of Cbalco, as Subjects of the Mexican Empire, were Enemies to the Tlafíalans, and had, befides, perpetual Difputes with them about their Frontiers : But this Night all their Quarrels were forgot, at the Defire of the Cbalquefes. The Spaniards were Mediators at the Treaty, and, the Chiefs of both Nations being affembled, Peace was concluded: Sandoval and Lugo undertaking to get it confirmed by Cortes, and the Tlafcalans to have it ratified by the Republic. This Affair thus finifhed, they returned to Cortes, who highly commended both the Spanifb Officers, the Soldiers under their Command, and all the Indian Auxiliaries. He fet the eight Mexican Captains at Liberty, and fent them with Propofals of Peace to their Emperor; not that he hoped any thing from it, farther than fhewing the Juftice of the War to all the People in that Part of the World, by obliging the Enemy to draw it upon themfelves, by repeated Refufals of all Termis of Accommodation.
15. About this time Cortes was informed that the Brigantines were finifhed, by the Induftry and Care of Martin Lopez, and the Republic of $\mathcal{T}$ lafcala granted him ten thoufand Men to carry there Veffels from the Place where they were built to the Lake, which they accordingly performed; and, if we confider it attentively, this will appear one of the wifert Contrivances of this great Captain, and the happy Execution of it, one of the moft furprizing things performed by the Spariards, in the Courfe of this Expedition. He was no fooner acquainted with this, than he again took the Field, and had feveral Engagements with the Enemy, in moft of which he was fuccelsful; but, at the Attack of a Place called Tacuba, he was compelled to retreat. A Veffel arrived at this time at Vera Cruz, and, in her, Fulian de Alderte, a Native of Tordefillas, with the Character of the King's Treafurer, Father Urren, of the Order of St. Francis, Antonia de Caravaial, Geronimo Ruiz de la Moto, Alonjo Diaz, de la Reguera, and feveral Soldiers of Diftinction, with a very confiderable Succour of Arms. They immediately marched to Tlafcolla, and there had an Efcort to conduct them fafe to Tczcuco, themfelves carrying the firft News of their Arrival.
Soon after there arrived Meffengers, difpatched in hatte from the Caziques of Cbalco and Tbamanalco, to demand Succour ; for the Emperor Guatimozin, as appeared by his Conduct, applied himfelf entirely to the Arts of War; and had confidered that there was no better way to compafs his Defign, than by feizing on that Frontier, whereby he might cut off their Communication with Tlafcala, and prevent Succours from Vera Cruz; a Point of fo much Confequence, that Cortes found himfelf abfolutely obliged to protect thofe Allies, to whofe Fidelity he owed the Prefervation of this Pafs. He immediately difpatched Sandoval to their Relief, with three hundred Spaniards, twenty Horfe, and fome Companies of Tlafcala and Tezcuco. Sandoval marched with fuch Diligence, that his Succour arrived very opportunely. The Caziques had affembled all their Troops, which, ioined to thofe, made a very confiderable Body. The Enemy was not far off their Army, having lodged the Night before at Guafepeque, and it was refolved to attack them before they entered the Territories of Caalco. In the mean time the Mexicans, depending upon the Number of their Forces, poffeffed themfelves of fome hollow Ways, in order to wait their coming in a Place where they might be fecure againt the IHorfe.
The Spaniards faw the Difficulty when they came to the Charge, and Sandoval ftood in need of all his Refolution to diflodge the Enemy from the Poft; which, however, they did, Sword in hand, but not without Lofs. The Mexicans loft a great Number in this Conflict; howcver, they thought themfelves ftrong enough to rally, and draw up upon the Plain : But Sandoval, having overcome the Difficulty of the Paffage, attacked them fo brifkly that they had not time to form. The Van-guard continued the Fight with defperate Fury, but foon gave Way, and difperfed; and the Spaniards followed with fo
much Vigour, that the Mexicans loft the greateft Part of their Troops. Sandoval remained Mafter of the Field, and chofe a Place for his Army to halt in, and take a little reft, refolving to adrance that Night to Guaftepeque.
But fcarce had the Troops began to enjoy the Repofe they fo much wanted, when the Scoits gave the Alarm fo warmly, that it was neceffary to form the Army with all Expedition. A Body of fourteen or fifteen thoufand Mexicans were advancing fo near; that the Spaniords could hear their Drums and Horns. Thefe Troops were fent as a Reinforcement to thofe which hàd marched from Mexico before. The Spaniards advanced to receive thofe new Comers, and attacked them fo feafonably, that they made Way for the Horfe to charge; who made fuch a Slaughter of the Enemy, that they were foon obliged to retire to the Town of Guafepeque; but the Spaniards followed them fo clofe, that they entered the Place at the fame time, and maintained the Entrance till the reft of the Troops coming up, they divided into the feveral Streets, and Sword in Hand drove the Enemy out of the Town. The Mexicans loft great Numbers, and the reft fled. This Town was fo large, that Sandoval was refolved to quarter there that Night; and the Spaniards, with the greatef Part of their Allies, lay under Cover.
He was foon after obliged to take the Field again ; the Enemy having rallied; and Cortes himfelf came quickly after into the fame Country, where he had feveral Engagements with the Mexicans, not much to his Advantage; for, confiding in the Bravery of his Troops, and defpifing too much the Inexpertnefs of the Indians, he attacked them even in the moft difficult Poits, and thereby gave them fuch Advantages, as he found it very difficult to fruggle with. Yet his old and new Allies remained firm and faithful, which induced him to accept the Invitation given him of going to Guafepeque, in order to refrefh himfelf and his Army; and, before he well arrived there, he found himfelf called to frefh Toils, by the News that the Mexicons had affembled a very powerful Army at Quatlavaca, fo that it was abfolutely neceffary for him to march thither.
16. This large and famous Capital of an Indian Principality, Quatlavaca, was a populous Town, ftrong by Nature ; fituate between Baranco's, or Breakings of the Earth, above eight Fathoms deep, which ferved as a Ditch to the Place, and Paffage for the Water that defcended from the Mountains. The Army arrived at this Place, after having fubdued all the Towns which lay in their Way, without any Difficulty. The Mexicans covered the Banks with fuch a Number of Soldiers, that the Paffage feemed impoffible: But Cortes drew up his Army at a convenient Diftance; and, while the Spaniards and the Confederates endeavoured to divert the Army with their Fire-arms and Arrows, he went to view the Baranco, and, finding it at fome Diftance lower much narrower, he immediately ordered two or three Bridges to be made of Trees, cut at the Root, which reached from one Side to the other; and which, laid together as well as was poffible, made a Road for the Infantry to pafs.
The Spomiards of theVan-guard, leaving the Tlafcalans to keep the Enemy in play, immediazely paffed over, and formed a Battallion on the other Side of the Ditch, which was continually augmented by the Allies. But the Mexicans, who were quickly fenfible of their Negligence, poured down upon thofe that had paffed withe fo much Refolution, that they had much to do to keep their Ground; and the Succeís had been very doubtful, if Cortes had not opportunely arrived; who, whilft the Foot were getting over, had found out a Paffage for the Horie ; which, though very difficult and dangerous, was of great Ufe in the extreme Danger to which the Spaniards were reduced. The Horfe wheeled in order to charge the Mexicans in the Rear, which they did; affifted by fome Foot, who had paffed the Ditch by the Means of two or three Trees, which were fallen down by their own Weight, and lay acrofs the Baranco. But the Mexicans, who now faw the Danger that threatened them in the Midft of their Fortifications, gave themfelves for loft; and, difperfing, fought only to efcape in the
beft Manner they could to the Mountains. They loft great Numbers both in the Defence of the Ditch and in their Flight, neverthelefs the greatcft Part of them faved themfives among the Rocks and Precipices. The Town was found entirely abandoned, with great Store of Provifions, and fome Spoil; which was given to the Soldiers.

A little after, the Cazique, and fome of the chief Inhabitants who were willing to fubmit, called to the Spaniards from the further Side of the Ditch, defiring Leave to return to the Town, and prepare Quarters for the Troops; which was grainted, and they were of Ufe afterwards, by the Intelligence they gave of the Enemy's Notions, and by the Knowledge they had of the Country. Early the next Morning, the Army took the Road of Sucbimilco, a Place which deferved the Name of a City, feated on the Edge of a frefh Water Lake which had a Communication with the great Lake; the Buildings were partly on the Land and partly in the Waters, where a grear Number of Canoes ferved them to pafs from Place to Place. It was of great Importance to take a View of this Town, which was within four Leagues of Mexico, but the March was very troublefome ; for after they had paffed a Defile'three Leagues long, they came into a dry barren Country, where the Soldiers fuffered much for Want of Water.
The Fatigue of the March, and the Heat of the Summer, increafed their Thirft to fuch a Degree, that, at their Entrance into a Foreft of Pines, they were infenfible of any Relief from its Shade. Near the Road they found fome Farm-houfes: Here the Army lodged, and enjoyed that Night the Reft and Refrefhment they wanted. The Enemy had purpofely quitted them, to wait for the Spaniards in a ftronger Poft. Cortes drew up his Army in Order of Battle at break of Day, and began his March, expecting to meet with a good deal of Difficulty in his prefent Enterprize, it not being likely that the Mexicans would leave a Poft of fo great Importance, and fo near Mexico, without a ftrong Garrifon, efpecially fince all who had efcaped from their paft Engagements went to that Place. His Conjectures proved right, for the Enemy had drawn up their Battalions in a Plain at fome Diftance from the City, having a great and rapid River in their Front, which difcharged itfelf into the Lake. They had double lined the Banks of this River, and difpofed their main Body for the Defence of a wooden Bridge, which they would not cut down, having barricadoed it with Planks and Fafcines; and fuppofing, that though this Fortification fhould be forced, they hould have a fufficient Advantage in the Narrownefs of the Pafs, and be able to deftroy their Enemies as faft as they came over the Bridge : Cortes perceived the Difficulty, but, without appearing concerned, extended the Troops of the Allies along the Bank of the River, and, whilit both Sides made fome Difcharges at each other with little Effect, he commanded the Spaniards to advance, and go and take the Bridge. They met with fuch an obftinate Refiftance, that they were twice repulfed; but, returning a third time with greater Valour, and making Ufe of the Enemy's Trenches againft them, they foon gained the Pafs; which fo difcouraged the Mexicans, that they began every where to fly; their Commanders ordering the Signal for a Retreat.

The Spaniards made hafte to feize upon the Ground the Mexicans had quitted, and at the fame time feveral Companies of Tlafcala and Tezcuco threw themfelves into the River and fwam to the other Side, and joined the Army. The Enemy was drawing up in Order of Battle, under the Walls of the Town, but upon the firft Advance of the Spaniards they began to retire, provoking them ftill by fome Difcharges of Arrows, which did no Execution, to fignify that they retreated out of Choice: However, Cortes fell upon them with Vigour, as they conrinued retiring into the City; in the Entrance of which they loft great Numbers; but, fheltering themfelves within the Barricadoes, with which they had blocked up the Streets, they began again to ufe their Arms; and defy their Enemies.

Cortes left Part of his Troops without the Town, to fecure his Retreat, and to oppofe any Attacks that might
be made from abroad, and entered with the reft: For which Purpofe, ordering fome Companies to force the Barricadoes in the Streets on the Right and Left; he advanced to the principal, where the Enemy had their greateft Force: With fome Difficulty he broke through their Blockade, and, carried away by his Courage, forgoe the Care he ought to have taken of his Perfon; for throwing himfelf, with more Bravery than Prudence, into the midft of a Multitude of Enemies; he found himfelf furrounded by them; when he would have retired to the Affiftance of his Foot. He fupported himfelf for fome time with the titmoft Courage; until his Horfe; being tired; fell under him, and put him in extreme Danger of his Life. Thofe who were neareft, immediately advanceds and before he was in a Condition to make ufe of his Arms he was in a manner taken; the only thing that defended him, being the great Defire the Mexicans had to fieze him alive, for a Prefent to their Emperor: At this Inftant Cbriftoval de Olea, a Native of Medina del Campos a Soldier of diftinguifhed Valour; who was not far off; faw the Diftrefs of his General; and, calling to fome Tlafcalans who were fighting near him, forced his way to the Place with fo much Refolution, and was fo well feconded by thofe that followed him, that, after having killed with his own Hand thofe who preffed moft upon his General, he had the good Fortune to reftore him to his Liberty.

Cortes immediately made ufe of it to punifh the Enemy, who, upon efcaping to that part of the City which ftood in the Water, left the Spaniards Mafters of all the Streets upon the firm Land. Cortes came off with two night Wounds, and Olea with three dangerous Cuts with a Sword. Herrera informs us, that Cortes owed his Liberty to a Tlafcalan unknown, both before and after; and relates the Action as a kind of Miracle; but Bernal Diaz. who was onc of the firft that came to the Relief of the General, attributes the whole Honour to Olea; and the Defcendants of this valiant Man may very well be excufed. if they rather believe an Author who relates what he faw; than one who goes upon Conjectures. Whilft this Engagement lafted in the Town, the Troops that were without were not idle: The Nobles of Mexico made an extraordinary Effort to reinforce the Garrifon of Sucbimilco, the Prefervation of which their Emperor Guatimozin had very much at Heart. They embarked with ten thous fand chofen Men, and landed at fome Diftance from the Town, knowing the Spaniards were engaged in the Streets, defigning to fall upon their Rear ; but they were dif= covered, and charged with fo much Refolution, that they were glad to reimbark, leaving a good Number of their' Men behind them, dead in the Field.

This happy Succes made Cortes Mafter of thie Place, and of all the Streets and Buildings upon the firm Land, and, having placed fufficient Guards by the Water-fide, he lodged his Troops near the principal Temple, which, having a fort of a Wall capable of refifting the Arms of the Mexicans, feemed commodious for the Repofe of the Soldiers, and the Cure of their Wounds ; at the fame time he ordered fome Companies to mount, and view the Top of the Temple; which being forfaken, he pofted an Officer and twenty or thirty Spaniards in the upper Court, with Inftuctions to relieve the Sentinels often, that they might obferve every thing that paffed; as well by Land as by Water: A very neceffary Precaution, and of which the Ufefulnefs was foon experienced; for at Clofe of Evening they gave notice, that they difcovered on the Side of Mexico, above two thoufand armed Canoes that advanced with all Speed; by which timely Advice the Spaniards were enabled to prevent the Dangers of the Night, by doubling their Guards at the landing Places; and in the Morning they faw the Enemy difembark ${ }_{\text {s }}$ at a great Diftance from the City, in Appearance about fourteen or fifteen thoufand Men. Cortes went out to receive them, chufing advantageous Ground for his Horfe, and leaving behind him a good part of his Troops for the Defence of his Quarters.

The two Armies quickly drew near, and the Mexicans began the Charge ; but upon receiving the firf Fire they gave Ground, and the reft of the Troops coming up K k

Sword

Sword in Hand, and charging them brifkly, they foon turned their Backs and fied, and the whole Action was rather a Chace than a Victory. The Day appointed for theRetreat catne, which was executed as had been refolved, the Enemy ftill advancing to feize the difficult Paffes, in order to difturb their March; burt this Oppofition was cafily overcome, and with confiderable Advantage, and Cortes returned to Tezcuco with the Satisfaction of having obtained the Ends he propofed by this Sally; the Knowledge of Suchimilco, and breaking the Force of the Enemy, in order to weaken their Defience of Mexico. However, he was inwardly diffatisfied and melancholy, having lof nine or ten Spaniards in this Expedition; for befides thofe that were killed at the firft Affault of the Mountains, the Mexicans took three or four of them alive at Sucbimilco, as they were pillaging, and two of his Servants who fell into an Ambufcade by feparating from the Army: What mightily increafed his Concern was, the Circumftance of their being taken alive in order to be facrificed upon the Altars of the Indian Idols, and their Misfortune recalled to his Mind his own paft Danger, when in the Enemies Power, of dying after the fame abominable Manner.
17. The Brigantines were now in a Condition to be launched, and the Canal had Depth and Capacity to receive them. The Day was appointed for the Confederate Caziques to appear with their Troops, and particular Care was taken to bring Provifions. The General looked into the moft minute Matters that related to the carrying on the War, wherein great Dangers are often occafioned by fimall Faults, and therefore a very extenfive Prudence is required. But while Cortes had his Thoughts employed in thefe Affairs, a new Accident happened which gave him much Trouble, put his Valour to the Teft, and was a convincing Proof of his Judgment: A Spaniard, who had been long in the Service, came to him full of Concern, and defired to fpeak with him in private: When that was granted, he informed him, That during his Abfence' a Confpiracy had been forming againft his Life, and all his Friends; the Author of it, as he faid, was a private Soldier, his Name was Antonio de Villafona; and his firf Intention was to get off clear from that Enterprize, the Difficulties of which to him appeared infuperable: He fhewed his Uneafinefs at firft, by murmuring, and foon procceded to dangerous Refolutions: He, and thofe of his Faction, blamed the General for his Purfuit of that Conqueft, declaring, That they would not deftroy themfelves to gratify his Rafhnefs, talking of returning to the Illand of Cuba as if it was a thing very eafy to be performed.

They met to confult about this Point with much Secrecy, and though they found no great Difficulty in quitting the Camp, and pafing as far as Tlafcala, by Virtue of a fuppofed Order from the General, the Inconvenience of going to Vera Cruz immediately occurred; for there they could not pretend a Commiffion, or Leave from Cortes, without a Pafs under his Hand, or avoid the Danger of being feverely punifhed. This put them to a Nonplus, and yet they perfifted in their Refolution of withdrawing themfelves, without fixing on the Way how to compars it. Antonio de Villafana, at whofe Lodgings they held their Affembly, at laft propofed to bring all to pafs by killing Cortes and his chief Counfellors, and electing another General, who, having not fet his Heart fo much upon the Conqueft of Mexico, would be more tractable, and under whom they might treat without incurring the Name of Fugitives ; and they might give it the Turn of a Piece of Service to Velafquez, by whofe Reprefentation of it to the Court of Spain, it might be efteemed a Service done to the King. They all approved of the Project, and began by applauding the Scheme, and drawing up a Writing figned by all that were prefent, whereby they obliged themfelves to follow Villafana, in the Execution of this horrible Attempt. And this Affair was managed with fo much Dexterity, that the Numbers of thofe who figned increafed confiderably; and it was to be feared that this fecret Contagion might break out into fuch an Evil as would admit of no Remedy.

They had agreed to feign a Packet from Vera Cruz,
with Letters from Spain, and to give it to the General, when he was at Table, all of them going in together, under Colour of hearing the News; and that, whilft Cortes was reading the firft Letter, they fhould make ufe of that Opportunity to murder him, and all his Friends, with thicir Daggers, after which they were to go out and proclaim Liberty in the Streets, which they Thought fufficient to make the Army declare for them. The Perfons they had marked out for Deftruction were Olid, Sandoval, Alverado, and his Brothers, Tapia, the two Alcaldes, Martin Irico, Cafillo, and fome other Soldiers, Favourites of the General. They had alfo agreed to chufe Francifoo Verdugo for their Captain General, becaufe he had married a sifter of Velafyucz, and therefore they thought he might be eafily brought over, and was the moft proper Perfon to fupport their Party ; but they durft not acquaint him with their Defign till the Crime was committed, when they concluded he would be obliged to take upon himfelf the Employment, to prevent greater Evils. Such was the Account given by the Soldier, who begged his Life, for he was concerned in the Confpiracy. Cortes refolved to affift in Perfon at the feizing of Villafana, and, as the firt Meafures that were to be taken, to convict him, becaufe he forefaw that the clearing up theTruth depended on the firft Steps.
The Importance of the Affair required Precaution, and, as it was no Time to preferve the flow Proceedings of Juftice, he went immediately to fecure Villafana, attended by two Alcaldes, and fome of his Captains, and found him in his Quarters, with three or four of his Accomplices. The Trouble he was in at the Sight of his General, was a plain Proof of Guilt. And Cortes, after he had caufed him to be put in Irons, ordered all to retire, pretending to examine him, when, making Advantage of the Account that had been given him, he took out of his Bofom the Paper figned by all the Confpirators: He read it, and found the Names of fome Perfons, whofe Treachery much increafed his Concern; but, concealing it from his Friends, he directed the Soldiers, who were found with Villafana to be put into another Prifon, and then withdrew, leaving Inffructions with the Officers of Juftice, to proceed in his Trial with all poffible Speed, without taking any Notice of his Accomplices. There was not much to do in it; for Villafana, being convicted by the feizing of his Paper, and believing that his Friends had betrayed him, immediately confeffed his Crime: Whereupon, according to military Juftice, he was condemned to die, which Sentence was put in Execution that very Night, and the next Morning he was feen hanging at the Window of his own Lodging; fo that the Punifhment was executed at the fame Time that the Caufe was publifhed, the Guilty being ftruck with Fear, and the reft with jult Abhorrence of the Crime.
Cortes was equally afficted and provoked, to fee the Number of thofe concerned in the Confpiracy; but it was no proper Time to be frict in doing Juftice at the beginning of his Enterprize ; and therefore, to avoid punifhing the Guilty, and the Inconveniencies of Impunity, he gave out, that Villafana had fwallowed a Paper, which he believed contained the Names of the Conppirators. Soon after he affembled his Captains and Soldiers, and gave them an Account of the horrid Defign and Confpiracy of Villafana, againft his Life, and the Lives of many prefent; adding, "That he thought " himfelf very happy, in not knowing whether he had "any Accomplices, though the great Care Villafana " took to deftroy the Paper he carried in his Bofom, " made him fufpect he had fome : But that he did not " defire to know them, and only intreated his Friends "to enquire whether the Spaniards had any Complaint " to make againft his Proceedings ; becaufe he was de"firous, above all Things, to give entire Satisfaction to " his Soldiers, and was ready to correct his own Faults, " as he knew how to ufe the Rigour of Juftice, when "Lenity appeared of no ufe." At the fame Time, he ordered the Soldiers that had been taken with Villafana to be fet at Liberty ; and this, confirmed by the Care he took to fhew no Change in his Behaviour to thofe who had offended, fully perfuaded them that he was ignorant
of their Crime，and they ever after ferved with extraor－ dinary Care，to remove any Sufpicions of their Fidelity： However，not thinking fuch an exceffive Security which lays Care afleep，and feems to invite Danger，at all con－ fiftent with Difcretion，he ordered twelve Men for the Guard of his Perfon，commanded by an Officer ；and ＇tis likely he made choice of this Opportunity，that the People might without Surprize fee this new Addition to his Authority．
Soon after he was perplexed with another Affair， though of a different Sort，which had yet fome Circum－ ftances of Sedition ；for Xicotencatl，who commanded the firft Troops that came from Tlafcala，either upon fome Difguft，which may eafily be fuppofed，confider－ ing his haughty Temper，or that he ftill preferved in his Mind fome Remains of his former Enmity，refolved to leave the Army．Affembling fome Companies，which， upon his earneft Intreaty，engaged to ftand by him，he took the Advantage of the Night for his Retreat；and Cortes，who was prefently informed of it by the Tlafca－ lans themfelves，was much concerned at a Behaviour of fuch dangerous Confequence，in fo confiderable a Com－ mander among thofe Nations，at a Time when he was juft ready to put his Defigns in Execution．He fent fome noble Indians of $\mathcal{T}_{e}$ eucuco after him，to perfuade him to return，or at leaft to ftay till he heard what he had to offer ；but the Anfwer of Xicotencatl fo provoked Cortes， that he immediately fent three Companies of Spaniards， with an additional Force of Indians，with Orders to take him Prifoner，or kill him，in cafe of Refiftance．The lat－ ter was put in Execution；for he made an obftinate De－ fence to the laft；but the Tlafcalans，who followed him， contrary to their own Inclination，fhewed but little Re－ folution upon this Occafion，and returned with the Spa－ niards to the Army，leaving their Commander hanging upon a Tree．
Some fay that the Spaniards，fent after him by Cortes， had private Orders to kill him，which feems the fafeft Re－ folution that could have been taken；but which way foever it was done，the extraordinary Forefight and Prudence of the General in managing this Affair cannot be denied， fince neither the Tlafcalans of the Army，nor the Re－ public，nor even his own Father，made the leaft Com－ plaint for his Death；for，having been informed fome Days before，that the young Man fo far forgot himifelf， as to fpeak ill of his Conduct，and endeavoured to dif－ credit，among thofe of his Nation，the Enterprize upon Mexico，Cortes fent an Account of it to Tlafcale； and the Senate，in which his Father was prefent，an－ iwered，That，according to the Laws of the Republic， whoever was guilty of Mutiny in the Army deferv－ ed Death；and that he might proceed againft him with the citmoft Rigour，if he found it neceffary；as they would do，both againft Xicotencatl，and all that followed lim，if they returned to Tlafcala．
18．Thefe Tranfactions did not hinder his attending to the neceffary Preparations for his great Defign．The Brigantines were launched by Degrees，a Work happily brought to a Conclufion，by the Induftry of Martin Lopez；and，whilft they were carrying on Board the Sails，Rigging，and every thing elfe wanting，Cortes re－ viewed his Spaniards under Arms：They confifted of nine． hundred Men，of which，a hundred fourfcore and four－ teen were Fire－arms and Crofs－bows，the reft were armed with Sword and Buckler，and Launces；eighty－fix Horfe，and eighteen Pieces of Cannon；the three largeft of Iron，and the other fifteen Brafs，with fufficient Stores of Powder and Ball．Cortes put five and twenty Spa－ ziards on board each Veffel，under the Command of a Captain，with twelve Rowers，fix on each Side，and one Piece of Artillery，who immediately embarked；and each prepared to defend his own Veffel，and fuccour the reft． Things being thus difpofed for the Entry by the Lake， Cortes refolved，by the Advice of his Captains，to pof－ fefs himfelf，at the fame time，of the three principal Cauf－ ways，viz．Tacuba，Iztapalapa，and Cuyoacan，without re－ grarding that of Sucbimilco．

But，that he might avoid feparating his Troops，he divided his Army only into three Bodies，and committed the Execution of Tacuba to Alverado；with the Title of

Governor and Commander in chief of that Atenue．He had under his Command one hundred and fifty Spaniftio Foot，and thirty Horfe，in three Bodies；with thirty thou－ fand Tlajcalans，and＇two Pieces of Artillery．The Attack of Cuyoacan was committed to Colonel Olid；with one hundred and fixty SpanifbFoot，in three Companies，with thirty Horfe，two Pieces of Artillery，and thirty thoufand confederate Indians．Laftly；he gave the Charge of the Attack of Iztapalapa to Col．Sandoval，with one hundred and fifty Spaniards，commanded by two Captains，with two Pieces of Cannon，twenty－four Horfe，with all the Troops of Cbalco，Guaxacingo，and Cbulula，amounting to above forty thoufand Men．

Olid and Alverado marched together as far as Tacuba， where they were to feparate，and took their Quarters in that City，without any Oppofition，the fame being abandoned，as were all the Towns upon the Lake；the Inhabitants that were able to bear Arms being gone to Mexico to defend their Capital，and the reft retired to the Mountains，with their Effects．There they had In－ telligence，that the Mexicans had formed a confiderable Body，within half a League of the Town，to cover the Aqueducts，which came from the Mountains of Cbapul－ tepeque．Guatimozin took this feafonable Precaution as foon as he received News of the Motions of the Spaniards， which preferved thofe Conveyances that fupplied all the Fountains in the City with frefh Water．There ap－ peared on that Side two or threc Rows of Pipes，made of Trees hollowed，fupported by an Aqueduct of Lime and Stone；and the Finerny had caft up fome Trenches to cover it．But the two Captains marched out of $\mathcal{T}_{\text {a }}-$ cuba with moft of their Troops；and though they met with a very obftinate Refiftance，they drove the Enemy from their Poft，and broke the Pipes and Aqueduct in two or three Places，and the Water took its natural Courfe into the Lake．Thus Olid and Alverado began the Siege by cutting off their Water，obliging the Mexi－ cans to feek it，at a Diftance，in the Brooks that ran from the Mountains，and to employ their People and Canoes in Carriage and Convoys．

Olid marched on with his Party；and took Poft at Cuyoacan；and Cortes，allowing what Time he thought fufficient for Sandoval to reach Iztapalapa，took upon himfelf the Command on the Lake，that he might carry Relief where it fhould be neceffary ：He had with him Don Fernando，Lord of Tezcuco，and his Brother Sucbel， a young Man of brave Spirit，who was baptized foon after，and took the Name of Carlos．Cortes left a fuffici－． ent Number of Troops in that City，to cover his Place of Arms，and make Excurfions to fecure the Communi－ cation of his Quarters．Having difpofed all Things after he embarked，drawing up his thirteen Brigantines in a Line ；his Defign was to draw near to Mexico，and fhew himfelf，and afterwards to fall upon Iztapalapa，being under fome Concern for Sandoval，who had no Veffels to diflodge the Mexicans from that Part of the City，which ftood in the Water，and ferved as a Retreat for their Ca－ noes ：But，in his Return，he difcovered at a fimall Di－ ftance from the City，a little Ifland，a confiderable Height above the Water；on the Top of which ftood a pretty large Caftle，which the Enemy had poffeffed themfelves of，to no other End，but to provoke the Spas niards with ill Language and Threats，from a Poft where they thought themfelves out of Danger of the Bri－． gantines．
Cortes did not leave unpunifhed that Infolence，in View of the City，the Terraces and Balconies of which were filled with innumerable People，who came to fee the firft Action of the Fleet：He drew near to the Shore of the Inand，and landed with one hundred and fifty of the Spaniards，who took two or three different Paths，that led to the Top：They mounted，with fome Difficulty， by reafon that the Enerny were numerous，and made a brave Defence，＇till defpairing of being able to preferve the Eminence，they retired to the Caftle，where they were．fó crowded，that they had not room to manage their Arms： Many perifhed，though moft were faved．Having， by this Enterprize，chaftifed the Mexicans，the Spaniards． returned to their Brigantines；but，when they were dif pofing themfelves to make for Iztapalapa，they were
obliged to take otherMeafures; for the fame Canoes came out of Mexico, which advanced, encreafing continually in Numbers. The firft that drew near, rowing gently, were about five hundred, waiting for the reft to come up ; and, in a fhort Time, thofe that came out of the City, and other neighbouring Places, made fo great a Number, that it was judged they wete four thoufand, which, with the Motion of their Feathers and Arms, afforded a Sight both beautiful and terrible, and feemed to cover the Lake.

Cortes drew up his Fleet in form of a Half-Moon, that he might extend his Front: He confided in the Valour of his Soldiers, and the Advantage of his Brigantines, every one of which was able to make Head againft a great Part of the Enemy's Flect. With this Affurance he advanced towards the Mexicans, to let them fee he did not decline Battle; and then ordered his Men to lie upon their Oars, and reft; that they being refreflhed, he might break in upon the Enemy with the greater Force; for the Calmnefs of the Day left the whole to the Labour of the Mexicans, who did the fame, and perhaps, for the fame Reafon; but of a fudden there came a LandBreeze, which taking the Brigantines aftern, gave them all the Force that was neceffary to fall upon the Mexicans.

They began the Attack with the Artillery, and then the Brigantines made up with Sails and Oars, overfetting all that ftood in the Way; the Fire-Arms and CrofsBows made their Difcharges without lofing a Shot ; the Wind too was favourable, driving the Smoke upon the Enemy, blinding them, fo that they were obliged to retire to avoid it; the Brigantines themfelves faving the fmaller Veffels. The Nobles of Mexico, who were in the firft 500 Canoes, made fome Oppofition; but the reft were all Diforder and Confufion, the Canoes running foul upon, and overfetting, one another. The Enemy loft moft of their Men, and their Fleet was entirely broke and defeated. The Brigantines purfuing the miferable Remains with their Cannon-Shot, till they forced them into the Canals of the City of Mexico. This Victory was of great Moment, on account of the Reputation the Brigantines gained, of being invincible; and becaufe it was a great Difcouragement to the Mexicans, to fee themfelves deprived of that Part of their Power, which confifted in the Management and Swiftnefs of their Canoes, not for the Number of them that they then loft, which was inconfiderable, in regard of what they had ftill left; but becaufe they were convinced that they were incapable of fuftaining the Shocks of the Brigantines.
19. The Night was paffed but indifferently ; and in the Morning, when the Brigantines were preparing to fail for Iztapalapa, they difcovered a confiderable Number of Canoes, that were making the beft of their way towards Cuyoacan; whereupon he refolved to fuccour that Place firft where it was immediately wanted. It was not pofible to come up with the Enemy's Fleet. But he arrived foon after them, at the Time when Olid was engaged on the Caulway, and obliged to make a Front againft the Enemy that defended it, and to the Canoes on each Side, and was on the Point of retiring, and lofing the Ground he had gained. Neceffity taught the 'Mexicans as much as the Art of War could have done for the Defence of their Caufways: They had drawn up towards the City the Bridges that were over the Paffages, by which the V aters of the great Lake difcharged themfelves into the other, and fixed Timber and Planks behind them, in fuch a Manner, that they might mount in Ranks, to charge from the Top; they left Trenches, at proper Diftances, with Water running before them, which obftructed the Accefs. After this Manner they had fortified the three Caulways attacked by the Spaniards, who, in each, were obliged to take aimoft the fame Meafures to overcome the fame Difficulties.

The Fire-arms and Crofs-bows played upon thofe who appeared above the Trench, whilft others handed Fafcines to fill the Ditch, after which they brought up a Piece of Artillery, and in a few Difcharges cleared the Paffage, filling up the next Ditch with the Ruins of its own Fortification. Olid had juft made himfelf Mafter of the firft Ditch, when the Mexican Canoes arrived. But, on Sight of the Brigantines, all thofe on that Side fled with
the utmoft Diligence, and none fuffered but thofe who could not get out of the Reach of the Cannon. But becaufe the Mexicans, on the other Side, who thought themfelves fecure, continued the Engagement, Cortes ordered the Ditch in the Rear of Olid to be widened, to make a Paffage for three or four Brigantines ; at the firt Sight of which all the Canoes fled, and the Enemy who defended the next Bridge, finding themfelves expofed to the great Shot from both the Land and the Water, retired in Diforder to the laft Rampart next the City.

That Night the Troops took reft, without abandoning the Ground they had gained upon the Caufway, and the next Morning continued their March, with little or no Oppofition, 'till, coming to the lat Bridge, which was at the Entrance into Mexico, they found it fortified with ftronger Works, Trenches cut in the Streets, and defended by fuch a Multitude of People that the Enterprize feemed hazardous, but the Difficulty did not fully appear 'till they were engaged. The Artillery from the Brigantines made a miferable Slaughter of the People, who were in Crowds, in the Openings of the Streets, whilit Olid was employed in filling up the Ditch, and ruining the Fortifications of the Caufway, which, when he had done, he charged the Mexicons, who defended them, making room for the confederate Troops, under his Command, to come up. The Enemy, at the fame Time, were fupported by Troops from the City, and made an obftinate Refiftance on all Sides, but they foon loft fome Ground ; and then Cortes, who could not bear the Slowness with which they retreated, landed with thirty Spaniards, and gave fo much Life to the Attack, that the Enemy quickly turned their Backs, and the chief Street of Mexico was gained.
Another Difficulty occurred; for the Mexicans that fled had poffeffed themfelves of a Temple near the Entrance of the City, covering all the Outfide with fuch Numbers of Men, that the whole Building appeared like a Hill of Arms and Feathers. They defied the Spaniards with as much Boldnels as if they had been always Conquerors. Cortes, provoked at their Pride, when they had juft before fhewn fo much Cowardice, ordered three or four Pieces of Artillery to be landed; the firft Difcharge whereof made them fenfible of their Danger, and the Spaniards were foon obliged to point their Cannon lower, againft thofe that fled to the inner Part of the City. Thus all that Part of the City was forfaken; for thofe who fought from Windows and the Tops of the Houfes went off with the reft, fo that the Army advanced, and the Temple was gained without Oppofition. That Day the Mexicans fuftained a very great Lofs of Men. The Idols were caft into the Fire, and ferved to make Illuminations for the Victory.

Cortes was fatisfied that he had gained Footing in the City ; and, finding the Temple capable of more than ordinary Defence, he not only refolved to lodge his Troops there that Night, bur had Thoughts of maintaining that Poft, to ftreighten the Enemy, and of removing his Quarters from Cuyoacan thither. He communicated his Defign to his Captains, but they oppofed it with fuch Arguments that Cortes was convinced, and accordingly, the next Day, he retired to Cuyoacan, protected on cach Side by his Brigantines; fo that the Enemy durft not difturb his March. The fame Day he proceeded to Iztcpalapa, where he was put to the laft Extremity: He had poffeffed himfelf of the Buildings on the Land, and lodged his Army there, fortifying himfelf the beft he could; but the Enemy, who retired to that Part in the Water, endeavoured from their Canoes to do him all the Damage they could. Sandoval had made great Havock among thofe that approached, ruined fome Houfes, and had overthrown two or three Succours from Mexico, that came to attack him by Land: And that Day the Enemy forfaking a large Houfe, which was but a little from the Land, he refoived to feize it, in order to enlarge his Quarters. He made a Paffage with Fafcines, and got into the Houfe with fome of his People; but he had farce entered when a great Number of Canoes, which had lain in ambuft, advanced with a Multitude of People, who threw themfelves into the Water, and, taking away the Fafcines, cut off Sanduval's Retreat, by
which Means they befieged him on all Sides, fhooting from the Terraces and Windows of the neighbouring Houfes. He was in this Diftrefs when Cortes arrived, who, difcovering that vaft Number of Canoes in the Water-ffreets that looked towards Mexico, made his Brigantines advance with all poffible Speed, and played his Artillery with fuch Effect, that, terrified by the Deftruction the Balls made, they all fled at once through the moft retired Streets in the Town, with a Defign to get through into the Lake ; and fuch was their Diforder, that the People who were upon the Terraces, crowding into the Canoes, funk many of them, and the reft in their Flight fell in among the Brigantines.

The Mexicans fuftained fuch a Lofs that Day, as deminifhed their Forces confiderably; and the Spaniards, afterwards taking a View of that Part of the City they poffefled themfelves of, made fome Prifoners, and found a fufficient Booty to pleafe the Soldiers. Cortes perceived by the Difficulties which Sandoval had met with at Iztapalapa, that it was impoffible to make Ufe of the Caufway without firft ruining that half of the City which was the Retreat of the Mexican Canoes; and becaufe this would occafion a Delay which might be of dangerous Confequence to the other Attacks, refolved to quit that Poft, and dif patch Sandoval to poffers himfelf of Tapeaquilla, where there was another narrow Caufway, lefs commodious for attacking, but more advantageous for cutting off the Enemies Provifions, which they began to want, and which were brought that Way. This Defign was immediately put in Execution, and Sandoval marched by Land, efcorted by the Brigantines, till he had got Poffeffion of the new Quarters; the Place was forfaken, and he lodged himfelf there without Refiftance. Afterwards Cortes failed to Tacuba; Alverado found this City deferted, and in his further Progrefs he met with variousSucceffes; he beat down the Works, and filled up the Ditches in the fame manner Olid did; but though he did the Enemy confiderable Damage, and had once advanced fo far as to fire fome Houfes in Mexico, he had loft eight Spaniards when Cortes arrived, who found the Meafures he had taken did not anfiwer his Defigns; for this Way of attacking and retreating confumed his Time, and expofed his Men, without any Advantage, and was rather doing Acts of Hoftility than making any Progrefs.
To proceed by the Caufways was very difficult, by reafon of the Ditches, which the Mexicans were fortifying every Day, and the continual Perfecutions of the Canoes, which always charged in great Numbers wherever the Brigantines quitted ; for which Reafon he was obliged to think of other Meafures for the facilitating of his Enterprize. He then commanded all Attacks to ceafe till farther Orders, and applied himfelf to the providing fuch a Number of Canoes as might fecure him the Dominion of the Lake, to which End he fent fuch Perfons as he could confide in, to bring all the Canoes that remained in the Towns of his Allies; with which, and thofe that came from Tezcuco and Cbalco, he made up fuch a Number as gave frefh Terror to the Enemy: He divided them into three Squadrons, all managed by . Indians who knew how to conduct them, under the Command of Captains of their own Nation; and, having diftributed this Reinforcement among the Brigantines, he fent four of them to Sandoval, four to Alverado, and himfelf with the other five joined Colonel Olid.
20. Upon this Occafion the Mexicans not only fhewed Valour, but added military Skill; for they ftood in need of new Inventions, againft an Invafion by a People whofe Weapons, and Conduct in War, were unknown in their Country ; and they gained fome Advantages, by which they raifed the Reputation of their good Service: They fent, by round-aboutWays, Canoes full of Pioneers, to clear the Ditches which the Spaniards had been filing up, that they might fall upon them with their whole Force when they fhould be obliged to retire, a Stratagem which occafioned the Lofs of fome Soldiers in the firt Attacks. By degrees they brought out another Stratagem ftill more remarkable; for they acted contrary to their Cuftom, and made fome Sallies by Night, only to alarm the Enemies; and fatigue them" by want of Sleep, that they might afterwards at-

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tack them with the Advantage of frefh Troops; but nothing thewed their Ingenuity more than what they contrived againft the Brigantines, by engaging them feparate; for which End they built thirty great Veffels of that fort which they called Piraguas, but of a larger Size, and ftrengthened with great Planks, to receive the Shot, and engage under better Shelter. They fallied in the Night with this Fleet, to poft themfelves behind the Reeds in the Lake, which grew fo high and thick, that they formed as it were feveral Groves impenetrable to the Sight.
Their Defign was to draw thither the Brigantines, which cruized, about two at a time, to prevent any Relief getting into the City; and to entice them into that Wood of Reeds they had provided three or four Canoes laden with Provifions, having likewife fixed a good Number of large Stakes in the Water, in hopes to deftroy the Brigantines, or to make it eafier to board them. Thefe Contrivances fufficiently thewed, that they knew how to defend themfelves and offend their Enemies, and that they wanted not thofe Subtilties. The next Day, four of the Brigantines that attended Sandoval were to cruize about that Part, under the Command of the Captains Barba and Portilla. As foon as the Mexicans fpied them, they fent out their Canoes another Way, that, being feen at a Diftance, they might fly among the Reeds: Which was fo well executed, that the two Brigantines purfued the Prize, with the utmoft force of their Oars, and foon fell in among the hidden Stakes, where they were fo embarraffed, that they could neither go forward nor backward. At the fame time the Enemies Piraguas came out, and attacked them on all Sides with fuch defperate Fury, that the Spaniards were very near being loft.
But, exerting the utmof Efforts of their Courage, they maintained the Fight until fuch as were expert Swimmers, with Hatchets and other Tools, removed thofe Stakes amongft which the Brigantines were faftened; and, being thus at liberty to work their Veffels, and play the Artillery, they funk moft of the Piraguas, and followed the reft as far as Cannon-ball would reach. The Mexicans fuffered exceedingly, but the Brigantines were much damaged, feveral Spaniards wounded, and all much fatigued: Capt. Portilla was killed, to whofe indefatigable Bravery the Succefs was chiefly owing, and Capt. Barba received feveral Wounds, of which he died three Days after: Both thefe Loffes Cortes greatly lamented, and particularly that of Barba, for in him he loft a Friend ever fteady, and a brave Soldier. It was not long before this Difafter was revenged; for the Mexicans, having repaired their Piraguas, and reinforced them with new Veffels of the fame Kind, concealed themfelves a fecond time among the Reeds, fortifying the Avenue with a great Number of Stakes, believing the Spaniards would again fall into the fame Snare, without their giving a different Colour to the Deceit. Cortes, having Intelligence of this Motion of the Enemy, and being defirous of revenging the Lofs he had fuftained, as foon as he could ordered fix Brigantines, in the Night, amongft another Parcel of Reeds, not far from the Place where the Enemy had hid themfelves; and, making Ufe of their own Stratagem, one of them was to fally early in the Morning, as if in fearch for the Canoes laden with Provifions, and afterwards draw as near the concealed Piraguas as was neceffary, to let them fee they were difcovered; which done, The was to tack, and by a hafty Flight to draw them to the Place of the Counter-ambufcade : Every thing fucceeded as could have been wifhed: The Enemy fallied with their Piraguas in Purfuit of the Brigantine which they looked upon as their own, till, being come within a convenient Diftance, the other Brigantines rufhed out, and, before they could ftop or turn, gave them fuch a terrible Salute with all their Artillery, that the very firft Difcharge overfet beft part of them, and put the Mexicans who were on board the reft, into fuch a Confternation, that before they could recover themfelves almoft all the Piraguas were funk by the next Vollies, and moft of the Men perifhed; fo that the Enemies Fleet was entirely ruined ; and Cortes had the fingular Satisfaction of having given them a Defeat by their own Stratagem.
The Spaniards had Inteligence of what paffed in the City, by the Prifoners they took; and finding that Hun. L. 1
ger and Thirlt, and Want of all Neceffaries, began to occafion Murmuring among the People, and Difference among the Soldiers, Cortes applied himfelf with the greateft Diligence to cut off all Relief from the City ; and, to juftify his own Proceedings, he fent two or three Noblemen, who were Prifoners, to Guatimozin, with Overtures of Peace, on very advantageous Conditions; offering to leave him in full Poffeffion of his Empire, provided he would only acknowledge the fovereign Dominion of the King of Spain, whofe Right was already owned among the Mexicans, from the Tradition of their Anceftors, and the Confent of feveral Ages. This was the Subftance of his Propofal, which he repeated, becaufe it grieved him to deftroy fo beautiful and fo wealthy a City, which he looked upon as a rich Jewel in his Sovereign's Diadem.

Guatimozin received the Propofal with fomewhat lefs Pride than he was wont, and, as feveral Prifoners reported, he called a Council of his chief Officers and Minifters, with the Priefts; whofe Opinions were principally confidered in all public Affairs, in which he laid before them "the miferable Condition to which the City was reor duced, the Numbers they had loft, the Complaints of " the People upon their beginning to want, the Dif"c truction of their Habitations, and defired their Ad-
"v vice, expreffing as much Inclination to Peace as was
" fufficient to give room for their Flattery or Refpect "to fecond him."

This fo far fucceeded, that all his Officers and Minifters concluded immediately to receive the Overtures towards an Accommodation, leaving it till afterwards to confider of fuch particular Conditions of Peace as would be moft for the Intereft of the State: But the Priefts pofitively oppos'd all Treaty, feigning to have receiv'd fome Anfwers from their Idols, which gave them frefh Affurance of Victory. The Opinion of the Priefts fo far prevailed, that all who had Votes concurred with them; and Guatimozin, not without much Regret, becaufe he had already began to prefage his own Ruin, refolved to carry on the War, and faid to his Minifters, "That he would put to " Death the firf Man who fhould prefume again to men"c tion Peace, to whatever Diffrefs the City flould be re" duced, without excepting the Priefts themfelves, who " weremof obliged to fupport the Oracles of their Gods." Cortes, being informed of this Determination, refolved to puin his Attacks by all the three Caufways at the fame time, and carry Fire and Sword into the very Heart of the City, and fending his Orders to the Commanders of the two Attacks of Tacuba and Tapeaquilla, he, at the Time appointed, marched himfelf by the Caufway of Cayoacan, at the Head of the Troops commanded by Colonel Olid. The Enemy had cleared the Ditches, and caft up Works ; but the five Brigantines which were ftationed upon that Attack eafily overthrew their Fortifications at the Time the Ditches were filling up, and the Army advanced without any confiderable Oppofition, till coming to the laft Bridge, which opened upon the Quay, they met with another fort of Difficulty.
The Indians had broke down fome part of the Caufway to enlarge the Ditch, which was fixty Feet long, and turned into it the Water of the Canals, that it might be the deeper. On the oppofite Bank they had raifed a Fortification covered with Planks, in which were Rows of Loopholes with fome fort of Traverfes; and they had provided a Multitude of Men to defend that Poft : But the firft Difcharges of the Artillery deftroyed all that Fortification, and the Enemies, having fuffered much by the Fall thereof, and finding themfelves expofed to the Balls, retired into the City, without turning their Backs or abating their Threats. Thus they left the Shore free, and Cortes, unwilling to lofe a Moment, immediately ordered the Spaniards to poffers themfelves of it, making Ufe of his Brigantines and Canoes to land his Men, and the Horfe paffed the fame way with three Pieces of Artillery, which he thought fufficient for that Service.
Before they advanced againft the Enemy, who were ftill pofted behind the Trenches made acrofs the Streets, he ordered the Treafurer, Fulian de Alderete, to ftay there and fill up and fecure that Ditch, and the Brigantines
to draw near to the Place were the Action was, and do what Damage they could to the Enemy. The firft Engagement prefently began, and fulian de Alderete; hearing the Noife of the Battle, and feeing the Advances of the Spaniards, looked upon the Employment of filling up a Ditch to be unworthy of him when his Companions were fighting, and inconfiderately advanced to join the reft, leaving that Charge to another of his Company, who either did not know how to perform it, or elfe would not take upon him a Piece of Work which was thought difhonourable to him who cominitted the Care of it to him; fo that all the Men under his Command followed him to the Engagement ; and that Ditch which at the Time of the Attack had been thought impracticable remained intirely abandoned.
The Mexicans refolutely ftood the firft Charge. It coft the Spaniards no fmall Trouble and fome Blood, to make themfelves Matters of their Trenches; and the Hazard was fill greater when they had panfed the ruined Buildings, and were obliged to defend themfelves from. the Arrows and Darts of the Enemy, which came pouring on them from the Tops of the Houfes and the Windows; but in the Heat of the Engagement there appeared a fudden Slacknefs in the Enemy, which feemed to be the Effect of fome new Order, for they haftily quitted the Ground they had defended. This Change was then fuppofed, and afterwards appeared, to fpring IromGuatimozin's being informed that the great Ditch was abandoned; whereupon he ordered his Commanders to preferve their Troops, and to fall upon the Spaniards in their Retreat.
Cortes fufpected this Motion of the Enemy, and, in regard that he had but barely time enough to return to his Quarters before Night, he began his Retreat, ordering firt fome Houfes to be fet on fire, in order to prevent their receiving any Damage from them on the next Attack ; but they had fcarce began to march, when their Ears were ftunned with the melancholy Sound of the Sacred Trumpet, fo called by the Mexicans, becaufe it was not permitted to any buit the Priefts to found it, and that only when they animated the People on the Part of their Gods : The Sound was vehemently loud and ftrong, and the Tune compofed of difmal Notes, which infpired thofe Barbarians with a new kind of Rage, fuch as made them defpife Life, through a Motive of Religion. Next followed the intolerable Noife of their hideous Outcries; and, when the Army marched out of the City, they fell upon the Rear, which was brought up by the Spaniards, an incredible Multitude of their moft refolute Warriors being picked out of the whole Army, for this Action.
The Fire-arms and Crofs-bows faced about, and made Head; and Cortes, with the Cavalry, endeavoured to put a ftop to the Enemy; but, being informed of the Difficulty of the Ditch, which hindered the Retreat, he would have formed his Battalions, and could not; becaufe the Confederates, who had received Orders to retire, being the firft that came to the Ditch, haftily threw themfelves into it, in the greateft Confufion; fo that his Orders were not heard, or not obeyed. Many got to the Caufway in the Brigantines and Canoes, but more threw themfelves into the Water, where they found whole Troops of Mexicans, who either wounded or drowned them. Cortes was left with fome of his own People to maintain the Fight, his Horfe was killed under him, and Captain Guzman, alighting to give him his, was taken Prifoner, without Poffibility of being refcued. Cortes, at laft, got to the Brigantines, and returned to his Quarters, wounded and defeatied: Above forty Spaniords were taken alive, to ferve as Sacrifices to their Idols; one Piece of Cannon was loft; above a thoufand Tlafcolans were killed; and there was fcarce any one Spaniard that was not hurt. This was, in reality, a very terrible Blow, of the Confequence of which Cortes was very fenfible; but he would not fuffer his Countenance to fpeak the Grief of his Heart: On the contrary, he appeared, if not chearful, ferene; and tho ${ }^{\circ}$. not gay, yet tolerably compofed.
While Cortes was employed in this Attack, San-
doval and Alverado entered at the fame time, and met with the fame Oppofition, with very little Difference in the Succefs of their Attacks: But they did not meet with the Misfortune of the Ditch, and therefore their Lofs was lefs; though in both Attacks they loft about twenty Spaniards, which makes up the Account of above fixty of his own People, in the Action of Criyoacan. :The Treafurer Alderete, confidering the Damage which his Breach of Orders had occafioned, was fenfible of his Offence, and haftened to the General's Prefence with much Sorrow, offering his Head to atone for his Crime. Cortes gave him a fevere Reprimand, without any farther Punihhment ; not thinking it proper, at that Juncture, to difcourage the Soldiers, by inflicting upon that Officer, the Chaftifement which he merited. Upon this Occafion they were very fenfible, fays a Spanifb Author, of the fingular Gift of a private Soldier, Fuan Gatalan, who, without any other Medicine than a little Oil, and certain Benedictions, cured their Wounds in fo fhort a time, that it did not look like the Work of Nature.
21. The Mexicans celebrated their Victory with great Rejoicings, and that Night the Spaniards faw, from their Quarters, all the Temples of the City crowded with innumerable Lights, and Veffels of Perfumes; and in the principal Temple, dedicated to the God of War, they heard the Sound of military Inftruments in feveral Concerts, which were not altogether difagreeable. With thefe pompous Preparations they celebrated the Sacrifice of thofe miferable Spaniards, who were taken alive; the Blood of whofe leaping Hearts, ftill warm, was fprinkled upon their Idol; while thefe wretched Victims, with their laft Breath, were calling upon the God of Truth. This was fuppofed to be the Occafion of that extraordinary Solemnity; and the Fires gave fo great a Light, that the Motion of the People was perceived. The Advantage they had gained, joined to the Satisfaction of having appeafed their God of War, by the Sacrifice of fo many Spaniards, fo far raifed the Pride of the Mexicans, that the very fame Night, a little before Break of Day, they advanced by the three Caufways, to beat up the Quarters, with a Defign to fet fire to the Brigantines; and to compleat the Deftruction of thofe People; whom they, with good Reafon, concluded to be either wounded or fpent with Fatigue ; but they knew not how to conceal their Motion; for the infernal Trumpet, which infpired them with fo much Fury, turning their Defpair into religious Worhhip, gave Notice of their Approach, and the Spaniards were fo well prepared to receive them, that they were repulfed by the Artillery of the Brigantines, and fome Pieces which were mounted at their Lodgment; which, playing upon the Caufway, upon thofe throngs of People, fufficiently chaftifed their Prefumption.

The next Day Guatimozin employed feveral Artifices to intimidate the Indian Allies; he gave out that Cortes had been killed in his Retreat on the Caufway, thereby giving the People Hopes that they fhould fhortly be delivered from their Oppreffions: He fent the Heads of the facrificed Spaniards to all the neighbouring Towns, that thofe Tokens of his Victory might bring fuch as had fallen off from him, back to their Obedience: And laftly, he reported that their fupreme Deity, the God of War, being appeafed by the Blood of thefe their Enemies, had informed him by an intelligible Voice, that the War fhould be at an End in eight Days, and, that all fhould infallibly perifh who neglected this Advice. This he invented, concluding that he fhould quickly make an End of all the Spaniards; and he found Means to fend feveral Perfons unknown, into the Enemies Quarters, who fpread thefe Threatenings among the Indian Nations which ferved againft him.

The Oracles of that Idol had fuch Reputation among the moft diftant Nations, that the Indians were perfuaded of the Infallibility of thefe Threats: The Notion of eight Days fo precifely limited for the fatal Period of their Lives, had fuch an Effect, that they refolved immediately to quit the Army; and, during the two or three firt Nights, the greateft Part of the confederate Troops deferted, even the Tlafcalans and Tezcucans dif*
banded with the fame Diforder, either becanfe they really feared the Oracle, or that they were led away by the Example of thofe who did. This wàs a frefh Affiction unto Cortes, almoft caufing him so defpair of the Succefs of his Enterprize. But the Moment that he was informed of the Occafion of that fudden Change, he fent their own Commanders after the Fugitives to ftop them; delaying till the eight Days affigned by the Oracle being paft, they might be fenfible of the Impofture of the Prediction, and better difpofed to return to the Army,
22. This notable Contrivance of Cortes had the defired Effect ; for when the eight Days were expired, the Indians? having fully recovered from their Fright, returned to their Quarters with fref Vigour and Refolution. Don Hernando, Prince of Tezcuco, fent his Brother to bring back thofe of his Nation, who returned with him, and fome new Levies that were coming to join the Army. The Tlafcalan Deferters did not dare to proceed on their Journey, for fear of expoling themfelves to Punifhment, but waited to fee the Event of the Prediction, with a Defign to join fuch of their Nation as Chould have the good Fortune to efcape after the imaginary Defeat; but at the time they were undeceived of their Credulity, they had an Opportunity of incorporating themfelves with a Reinforcement that was coming from Tlafcala, and were better received in the Army upon their Return. The, Noife this Increafe of Forces, and the Diftrefs of the capital City, made in the neighbouring Countries, prevailed. with feveral Nations who had been Enemies or Neriters, to declare in Favour of the Spaniards. One of the moft confiderable, was the Nation of Otomies, a fierce unnatural People; who; after the Example of Beafts, preferved their Liberty amongft Mountains, and had hitherto kept themfelves free from the Mexican Empire, without any other Fortification than the Sterility of their Country, which afforded no Temptation to a Conqueror.
Thus Cortes once more found himfelf at the Head of an Army, of upwards of two hundred thoufand $\mathrm{Men}_{\text {, }}$ paffing in a few Days from a terrible Storm to an agreeable Calm. The Mexicans were not idle during this Sufpenfion of Arms, to which the Spaniards were reduced. They made frequent Sallies, beating up the Spanibs Quarters both by Night and Day; and were always repulfed with Lofs. By fome of the laft Prifoners, Cortes was informed of the great Diftrefs the City was in; that the Soldiers were diffatisfied, and the People reduced to Extremity for want of Bread and Water ; that abundance of People died by drinking the brackifh Water of their Pits, and that the Provifions they got by Canoes were equally divided among the Nobles, and became the Subject of Impatience and Difcontent to the Populace, whofe Clamours began to give fome Sufpicion of their Fidelity. Upon which Intelligence Cortes affembled his Captains to confult what was proper to be done. He reprefented the fmall Hopes he had that Want would oblige the Befieged to furrender, becaufe of the implacable Hatred they bore the $S j a n i a r d s$, and of thofe pretended Anfwers of their Idols. He gave his own Opinion to proceed immediately to Action, for the Reafons he had. alledged, and for fear the Allies fhould again defert him. And it was alfo refolved not to retire as before, but that each of the Spanifh Corps fhould endeavour to make their Quarters good in that Part of the City, into which they fhould be able to penetrate.
The General, after this Refolution was taken, and having made Provifion neceffary for the Subfiftance of his Troops, in a City where all things were wanting, caufed the Forces, at the dawning of the appointed Day, to march out of their refpective Quarters s Alverado from Tacuba, sandoval from Tapeaquilla, and the General, with the Body of Troops, commanded by Olid, from Cryoacan; each having his Brigantines and Canoes to fupport him. They found all three Caufways in a pofture of Defence, the Bridges drawn up, and the Ditches all cleared and guarded. All thefe Difficulties they furmounted with the fame Induftry they had done others, and, after fome fmall Delay, the three Bodies arrived in the City; and foon gained the ruined Streets. All the Spaniords attempted the firnt Day was, only to lodge themfelves each

Body fortifying their Quarters with the Ruins of the Houles, in the beft Mianner they could.

This caufed great Confufion among the Mexicans, and entirely broke all the I:Ieafures they had taken to charge the Spaniards in their Retreat. The Rumour of it was foon fpread, the Danger greatly magnified, and every one's Thoughts was employed about providing fome fpeedy Remedy. The Minifters inftantly repaired to Guatimozin's Palace, and, by their preffing Intreaties, pre-vailed with him to retire that very Night to a more diftant Part of the City. Councils were continually held, and the Opinions were different, being either bold and refolute, or timorous and dejected, according as the Underftanding followed the Diciates of their Hearts; fome voted that the King, for the Security of his Royal Perfon, fhould be immediately conveyed to fome Place lefs expofed; others for fortifying that Part of the City where the Court then was, and others preffed hard to diflodge the Enemy from the Pofts they poffeffed. Guatimozin inclined to the Advice of thofe who exprefled the greateft Refolution; fo that he declared he was fully determined to fhare his Fate with his People; and that Moment gave Orders that Preparations fhould be made to attack the Enemy at Day-break, with the Remainder of his Forces. To this Purpofe the Chiefs, with all poffible Expedition, affembled all the Troops, which were divided into three Battalions, with a Defign of exerting their laft Strength in this Effort, to the total Deftruction of the Spaniards.

Scon after dawning, the Enemy prefented themfelves within Sight of the three Lodgments; but the Artillery which played upon the Avenues, made fuch a terrible Slaughter in their Van-guard, that they durtt not advance to put their Orders in execution, and were foon convinced that their Attempt was wholly impracticable; fo that without venturing nearer they began to give back, endeavouring to make what was in reality a Flight, looked upon as an orderly Retreat. But the Motion, as it was now, gave the Spaniards an Opportunity to rout and difperfe the Enemy, and bettered their Quarters for the enfuing Night. All was fo happily and fo expeditiouny effecked, that in lefs than four Days the three Leaders came in Sight of Tlateleuco, whither they had all directed their Courfe. Alverado was the firt that came to that fpacious Square, where he found the Enemy endeavouring to draw up in order of Battle: But he gave them not time, neither was it an eafy Matter for Indians, when once in Diforder, to return to a Charge ; fo that, at the very firt Onfet, they abandoned the Ground, and in great Confufion retired to the Streets on the oppofite Side. Alverado obferved that there was at a fmall Diftance a very large Temple, the Towers whereof were poffeffed by the Enemy; and thereupon he immediately detached fome Companies to drive them from thence, in order to fecure his Rear; which Orders they foon performed. Soon after came up, by a different Avenue, the Detachment belonging to Olid, but then under the Command of Cortes himfelf; and the confufed Throng of Mexicans that fled before him into the Square, fell in upon the Battalion which Alverado had drawn up in order of Battle; where thefe Wretches being attacked on every Side, moft of them perifhed, and the like Fate attended thofe who were driven by Sandoval, who prefently after arrived.

Thofe of the Enemy who had retired to the Streets which led to the other Parts of the City marched with the utmof Precipitation, to defend the Perfon of their Prince, whereby the Spanifh General had an Opportunity to lodge himfelf to the beft Advantage, without any Interruption, ordering the Brigantines and Canoes to ply about the three Caufways, and to give him Notice of what fhould occur. The next Morning all the Streets were filled with armed Indians, but they were pofted there only to cover thofe who were working upon the Fortifications, which were making for their Retreat; and Cortes, perceiving that they did not attempt by any Hoftilities to provoke him, fufpended tha Attack which he at firf had determined, being inclined to offer them Peace, as fuppofing they might be now difpofed to an Accommodation. The Neffage was carried by three or four principal Pri-
foners, and Cortes was impatiently waiting for an Anfwer, as not doubting but the Propofal would be gladly received; becaufe it was obferved that thofe Multitudes of the Populace who were wont to be always ready to defend the Streets, were entirely withdrawn. The Quarter to which Guatimozin, with his Minifters and Soldiers was retired, was a very fpacious Angle of the City, the greateft Part whereof was defended by the Lake, and the reft was at no great Diftance from the great Square of Tlateleuco; and it was fortifyed by a ftrong Wall made of huge Planks and Fafcines, which reached the Buildings on each Side of thofe Streets, before each of which was a broad and deep Ditch, full of Water, which they had dug acrofs the Streets, to give a Current to the Waters of the Canals.

The enfuing Morning Cortes, followed by the greateft Part of the Spaniards, marched to view the Ground which the Enemy had forfaken, and advanced till he came within Sight of thefe Fortifications, which he found covered with an incredible Multitude of Men in Arms; but who feemed to be difpofed to Peace, for they neither founded their warlike Inftruments, nor made any Outcries. The General drew back, and returned feveral times with the Spaniards without offering to moleft them: And it appeared that the Mexicans had orders to do the like. During the three Days Sufpenfion of Arms, Guatimozin held feveral Councils to deliberate on the Overtures of Peace, and the Majority voted the admitting the Treaty, fenfible of the miferable Condition to which they were reduced, while others, conforming their Sufferings to the Inclination of their Sovereign, fhewed themfelves willing to continue the War; but the deteftable Priefts fupported the leffer Number, affuring Victory with dark and myfterious Menaces, and infpired the whole Affembly with the fame diabolical Fury which poffeffed their own Breafts. Upon this it was refolved to profecute the War, and to renew their Hoftilities, while Guatimozin, before he broke up the Council, gave Orders that all the Piraguas and Canoes hould retire to a Bay which the Lake made in that Part of the City, in order to fecure a Retreat, in Cafe they fhould be driven to Extremity.
This Order was inftantly put in Execution, and an incredible Number of thefe Veffels made to that Bay, of which Motion immediate Notice was fent from the Spaniards who were upon the Lake, to Cortes; who, without Hefitation, prefently concluded, That the Mexicans were ufing thefe Precautions, with no other Viêw than to fecure their Prince's Perfon. Hereupon he appointed Sandoval for Commander in chief of all the Brigantines, with Orders to furround the Bay at a Diftance, and to have a watchful Eye upon whatever Motion the Enemy fhould happen to make. Soon after he advanced with his Troops, but the Enemy had already received Orders to defend themfelves; and, before the Spaniards came up, the Indions declared the Breach of the Treaty by their hoftile Cries; and, with a fteady and refolute Countenance, prepared for the Encounter; but it prefently appeared that their Courage began to fail them, for they no fooner perceived the terrible Havock which the firf Difcharge of the Cannon made in their wooden Fortification, which they foolifhly imagined to be impenetrable; but they fent Notice thereof to Guatimozin, for it was not long before they made Signs of demanding a Parley, by hanging out white Cloths, and frequently repeating the Word Peace.

They were given to underftand, that whoever had any Propofal to offer from their Prince, might approach; upon which, four Mexicans, who feemed to be Perfons of fome Note, appeared on the further Side of the Ditch: Thefe Deputies, upon a Motion made by Cortes, promifed, in the Emperor's Name, that he fhould confer with him the next Day; and then brought an Excufe; which Method they purfued for four Days together, while Guatimozin, who never intended any fuch thing, was preparing to make his Efcape by the Lake.
23. The Day being come, which Cortes had appointed as the utmoft Period he would allow, Sandoval difcovered at the Dawn of the Morning Multitudes of

Mexicans,

Mexicans, with all imaginable Diligence, embarking on board the Canoes which were in the Bay, upon which he approached them flowly, and then the Canoes of the Enemy, on board of which were the Nobility and all the principal Perfons of the City, began to move, having unanimoully refolved to make their laft Efforts, and at all Hazards to maintain the Fight, till their Prince had made his Retreat, after which they were to follow him by feveral Ways. Accordingly they put this Defign in Execution, attacking the Brigantines with Vigour: But, at the fame Time that the Mexicans were engaging with fuch extraordinary Fury, Sandoval obferved, that from the fartheit Part of the Bay fix or feven Piraguas, with the utmoft Force of Oars, were making the beft of their way, upon which he ordered Capt. Garcias de Holguin to chafe them with his Brigantine, and endeavour to take them.

That Captain, without lofing a Moment's Time, ufed fuch Diligence that he foon overtook them; when turning the Head of his Brigantine, he fell in upon the foremoft Piragua, which feemed to command the reft. They all at once ceafed rowing, and lay upon their Oars, when they found themfeives attacked, and fome of thofe who were in the firft Piragua called out to the Brigantine not to fire, faying, his Mexican Majefty was on board that Veffel, which Words were interpreted by fome Spanifh Soldiers, who began to have a Smattering of the Mexican Language. Upon this the Brigantines boarded the Piragua, into which Holguin, with fome Spaniards, immediately leaped in order to fecure their Prize. Guatimozin inftantly advanced, and diftinguifhing the Captain, by the Refpect paid him by the reft, faid, "I am your Prifoner, and ready to go whither "s you think fit to conduct me : All I have to defire is, sc that fome Regard may be had to the Honour of my "s Confort, and to that of the Women who accom" pany her."
He then paffed into the Brigantine, and gave his Hand to that Princefs to help her up, and was fo much Maiter of himfelf, and fo far from being in any Confternation, that, perceiving Holguin to be in fome Concern about the other Piraguas, he with great Sedatenefs of Countenance added, You have no Occafion, Sir, to give yourfelf any Trouble concerning thofe, for they will all come to die at the Feet of their Prince; and upon the firft Signal he made them, they let their Weapons drop out of their Hands, and followed the Brigantine as Prifoners. Sandoval was all that time hotly engaged with the Canoes, and by the Refiftance he met with, he became fenfible of the Quality of thofe who defended them, and of the Courage and Fidelity of the Mexican Nobility, who, at the Hazard of their Lives, had undertaken to fecure their Prince's Liberty. But they foon had Notice of his being taken, and then their loud military Cries were converted into lefs noify Lamentations. Holguin came up at the fame Time, having firft difpatched a Canoe with the News to Cortes, and, without bearing down too near upon Sandoval's Brigantine, he gave him as he paffed by a brief Account of what had happened, but perceving he was defirous of taking care of that important Prifoner, he made the beft of his Way, left Sandoval fhould fend him an Order to that Purpofe.

As foon as this News was brought him, Cortes, lifting up his Eyes towards Heaven, as acknowledging the fupreme Author of all his Succefs, ordered two Companies of Spaniards to the Landing-place, to guard the Royal Prifoner, and then went himfelf to receive him not far from the Quarters, which he did with great Refpect, Signs and Geftures ferving inftead of Words, to which Guatimozin made a Return in the fame Manner, endeavouring to conceal the Agitations of his Breaft by a forced Complaifance.

Guatimozin was about twenty-four or twenty-five Years of Age; fo brave, that he had, by his Exploits and Victories in the Field, rifen to thofe Honours which qualified the Nobles to afcend the Throne. He was as to his Perfon well proportioned, tall, robuft, and ftrong built, and of fo fair a Complexion, that among thofe of his own Nation he looked like one of a different Climate. The Emprefs, who was about the fame Age, by the Gracefulnefs of her Carriage attracted the

Eyes of all, but her Beauty was rather majeftic than delicate; The was Niece to Motezuma; or; as fome fay, his Daughter ; which when Cortes underftood, he renewed the Offers of his beft Service, profefling himfelf obiiged to pay to the Perfon of that Princefs the Venera= tion he owed to the Memory of that Monarch. This great Event happened on the 13 th of Auguft 152 I, and therefore we may from thence date the Dominion of the Spaniards over this Empire. The Captive Emperor fent his Orders to his Subjects to lay down their Arms, and to fubmit to him who had their Monarch in their Power, which they accordingly did, and thereby put ant End to the War for the prefent.

The kind Ufage given at firft to the Emperor Guatimozin did not laft long, but the Change made in his Treatment did not properly arife from Cortes himfelf, but from the Soldiers, who, remembering what vaft Quantities of Gold they had formerly feen in the Poffeflion of Motezuma, demanded an Account of what was become of them; and when Cortes very truly protefted that he knew as little of them as they did, they grew fo furious and infolent, as to fuggeft that he had fecretly fecured them for his own Ufe. They were fo much the bolder in this Matter, becaufe they found themfelves fupported therein by the King's Treafurer Fulian de Alderete, who had great Authority, and who, as he was Nephew to the Bifhop of Burgos, hated Cortes heartily, and inclined to do him all the Mifchief he could. This Man, finding that no Account could be obtained of thefe Treafures, demanded that the unfortunate Guatimozin, and his firft Minifter, fhould be put into his Hands in order to be examined about them, which in his prefent Circumftances Cortes durft not refufe. The Method this Gentleman took to make them difcover what he fought was pretty fingular.

He put them upon the Rack, as fome Writers fay; but as others more truly affirm, caufed them to be extended upon burning Coals. The Minifter looking upon the Emperor cried out violently, upon which Guatimozin faid, Do you tbink I lie bere upon Rofes? Which Reproof ftruck the poor Creature filent, fo that he expired without any farther Complaints. But Cortes, hearing his firft Cries, broke into the Apartment and releafed the Emperor, and the Soldiers themfelves approved his Conduct, and blamed the Treafurer's Barbarity. This Cruelty had not the defigned Effect ; for there was no Difcovery made of the Treafure for which they fought, which made them almoft diftracted. They fearched all Parts of the Lake to no Purpofe, ranfacked the Temples without finding much, and tore to Pieces the Tombs, in which indeed they found fome little Gold, which Cortes, to pacify them, divided amongft them.
24. The Provinces of the Mexican Empire that were neareft that Capital immediately fubmitted to the Conqueror, and Cortes, having received Intelligence of the Kingdom of Mechoacan, which lies to the Weftward of Mexico, he firf fent Montano, with three other Spaniards as Embaffadors, to vifit the King, who at firft received them indifferently, though afterwards he treated them magnificently; and went himfelf to fee Cortes, who foon after difpatched Cbrifopher Olid to take Poffeffion of that Country with an Army, which he accordingly did, and forced the King, who fhewed himfelf difpleafed with his Proceedings, to fly for Shelter into the Mountains. This great Flow of Succefs altered the Temper of the Spanifh General, who began now to difcover fuch Haughtinefs and Cruelty in his Difpofition, as nothing could juftify. Cortes, having through this Country penetrated to the South-Sea, erected Forts and built Ships there, for farther Difcoveries on that Side, and fent alfo Gonzalo de Sandoval to fubdue the Countries near Tabafco and Tecountepec on the North-Sea; and Pedro de Alverados another Commander, was detached with a Body of Spaniords and confederate Indions to take Poffeffion of the Countries bordering upon the Vale of Guaxaca to the Eaftward of Mexico, who all fubmitted to the Conqueror.

While Cortes was thus employed in reducing this Country to his Obedience in the Name of the Emperor Cbarles V. Cbriftopber de Tapia arrived at Vera Cruzs

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with
with a Commifion from that Prince, to command all the new Conquefts: But the Garrifon Cortes had left at Vera Cruz fo threatened and terrified Tapia, that he was glad to make his Efcape, and leave the General in Pofleffion of Mexico. Having got rid of this Rival, Cortes marched in Perfon to the Province of Panuco, which he obliged to fubmit to him, whereupon he divided the Country and all the Indian Inhabitants among the Officers and Soldiers, who treated them as Slaves; and this was his Practice in every Province, where the People voluntarily fubnitted to him, or were compelled to it by force. But notwithifanding this bad Behaviour to the Natives, and his refufing to refign his Government to thofe who were fent to fucceed him in his Command, fo powerful were the rich Prefents he from Time to Time fent to the Emperor, and fuch were the Reprefentations made to that Prince in his Favour, that Cortes was declared Captain-General and Governor of Nero Spain by the Emperor.
The Governor of Hijpaniola and Cuba were commanded to reinforce that General, and give him all poffible Affiftance: Whercupon, finding himfelf now eftablifhed in his Command, he fet about rebuilding the City of Mexico, which he had burnt and demolifhed. He affigned Places for building Churches and other public Edifices, laid out Market-Places, divided the beft Part of the Ground among the Spaniards, and the reft among the Natives, giving them Encouragement to build and people the Place again: He affigned one quarter Part particularly to Motezuma, a Son of the late Emperor, and another to one of the moft popular Indian Generals, and they foon erected a much finer Town than that which had been deftroyed, having now the Advantage of Iron Tools, Carriages and Engines, which they wanted before. But nothing could be more magnificent than the Palace Cortes erected for himfelf upon the Ground where Motezuma's Palace formerly ftood, about which 'tis faid he ufed feven thoufand Beams of Cedar, fome of them 120 Foot in Length; he alfo provided himfelf with a numerous Train of Artillery, confifting of thirty-five Pieces of Brafs Cannon, and feventy of Iron, which gave the Indians a valt Opinion of his Power; but that which was his real Strength, and did him moft Service, both in Mexico and Europe, was the prodigious Wealth he acquired by the Plunder of all the Provinces he became Mafter of, and the rich Mines of Gold and Silver he every Day difcovered, or took from the Owners.
All his great Conquefts, however, could not procure him Reft, and a peaceable Eftablifhment ; for fometimes he was in Danger from the Intrigues of the Indians, who were very defirous of recovering their Country, and driving out or deftroying the Spaniards : And to put an End to thefe Contrivances, he, in 1527 , found himfelf obliged to hang Guatimozin, and two other Indian Princes, whom he had detected in a Confpiracy againft him. Sometimes he found no lefs Uneafinefs from the Ambition, Avarice and Malice of fome of his own Countrymen. Thus, for Inftance, Chriffopher Olid, who had behaved fo gallantly in the War againft the Mexicans, revolted from him, but was foon taken off by a violent Death. Fulian de Alderete, whom we have fo often mentioned, contrived the Murder of Cortes while upen his Knees at Mafs, which he afterwards confeffed to him, and afked his Pardon. At another Time, a Prieft, whofe Namé was Leon, formed a Defign of blowing him into the Air by fetting Fire to a Barrel of Gunpowder, which either by Contrivance or by Chance was placed immediately under his Lodgings. Thefe Accidents fhew how fortunate a Man Hernan Cortes was.
But how great foever his Courage, his Conduct, or his Succefs, yet he wanted not many Enemies envious alike of his Merit and his Fortune, and who therefore took abundance of Pains to prejudice the Emperor Cbarles V. againft him.
In the Year 1528 Cories found it convenient to return into Spain, in order to juftify his Conduct againft his Enemies.' The Emperor Cbarles V. received him with great Refpect, gave him the whole Vale of Atrifco, with the Towns and Villages therein ; conferred on him the

Title of Marquis of the Vale of Guaxaca, and, to compleat his Favours, procured him a very honourable Marriage. The next Year he returned to Mexico with his Lady, but with a very limited Commifion, which turned more to the Difadvantage of the Spanihb Government, than to the private Lofs of the Marquis, who was fo much beloved and efteemed in that part of the World, as to ftand in no Need of Authority to procure him Refpect. He was fome time afterwards Captain General, Mendoca being Viceroy of the Province, at which Time there happened many private Grudges between them; but yet they joined together for the finding out a Paffage from thofe Seas to ours, which we properly call the North-Weft Paffage, as alfo the Conqueft of Cibon and Quivira, where they were perfuaded by certain Friars that the People worfhiped the Crofs, and had other Tokens of Chrittianity : But all proved falfe; and few Spaniards returned Home, their Mifery was fo great, and the Country fo cold and barren, the People cruel, and five hundred Leagues from Mexico. Cortes, after his taking Mexico, fent to difcover the northern Parts, and his People arrived in a Country where Ticoantipe Cician Pipe was King, who received them kindly, and fent an Embaffador to Cortes, thinking he was come out of the Clouds, and that their Veffels were great Whales. They wondered at their Horfes, and accepted a friendly Peace, offering Cortes fifty thoufand Men to affirt in conquering Tutepac, who was his Enemy, for ufing the Chriftians well.
Some new Troubles that he met with in relation to his Difcoveries, wherein the Viceroy interfered, inclined him in the Year 1542 to make a fecond Voyage into Spain, where he was received with as much Honour, and yet obtained as little Satisfaction as before. To fpeak impartially, the Emperor had conceived a kind of Jealoufy, that if Cortes was rewarded according to his Merits, he would become too formidable for a Subject. The Marquis was a Man of too much Senfe and Penetration not to difcern the Judgment that was formed of him at Court, when he had refided there but a little while : He was however too wife, and too much a Man of Honour, to think that any Miftakes made by his Prince could cancel any Part of the Duty he owed him. For this Reafon he applied himfelf more affiduouny than ever to merit the Emperor's Affections. He attended him in his dangerous and difaftrous Expedition againft the Algerines, and notwithftanding all his former Services, and fo low a Commiffion, as to be without a Voice in the Council of War, being unhorfed in a Charge he made againft the Infidels, he is faid to have loft in the Field two Emeralds of immenfe Value. After his return to Spain from that Expedition, he affected to lead a quiet and retired Life, employing moft of his Time in the Inftruction of his Children, of whom he had many both legitinnate and illegitimate. His fecond Wife was the Daughter of the Count of Aguila, by whom he had a Son who fiicceeded him in his Titles, and fome of whofe Defcendants are ftill remaining. As for the great Cortes himfelf he died at a Village near Seville, called Caftilleja de la Cuefa, on the 2 d of December 1554 , in the 63 d Year of his Age: But his Corpfe, by his own Direction, was carried into New Spain.
25. In relating the Hiftory of this great Event, we have taken in every thing that is material in the beft Spanifl Writers, fo that the Reader fees at one View, and in the Compafs of a few Sheets, what has filled many large Volumes. When he comes to reflect ferioufly upon all the Paffages herein related, and to confider the Conduct of Cortes from firft to laft, he will certainly be convinced, that this great Man merited the Praifes that have been given him, and that he was very much fuperior to many, if not to moft, of the Heroes of Antiquity. It mult not however be diffembled, that notwithftanding his great Abilities and many Virtues, he was far enough froin having a Character altogether blamelefs, or from behaving in a fuch a Manner as that no Imputation could be fixed upon his Conduct.

If this had been the Cafe, it is highly probable, he would not have been attacked by $F$. Bartbolomero de Cafas, Bilhop of Cbiapa, who went over to Spaim on Putpofe

## Chap. III.

to complain of him, and indeed with good Reaion, if what he fays be true, that in the Space of twelve Years he deftroyed upwards of $4,000,000$ of People; but though, without doubt, the Defign of this Prelate was very laudable, and he was in himfelf a Perfon of a true Chriftian Spirit; yet there want not many Objections capable of deftroying, or at leaft of weakening, to a very great Degree, the Accufations he has brought againft this noble Perfon. In the firft Place, we ought to confider the wide Difference there was between thefe Peoples Characters ; and that a Monk is not, by any Means, a fit Perfon to decide on the Behaviour of a Statefman and a General. The Principles he maintains are not more deftructive of the Character of Cortes, than the Characters of all the great Men, who have attempted Difcoveries or made Conquefts in thefe Parts of the World; and therefore if we admit his Judgment in its full Extent, we muft not only give up the Caufe of this great Captain, but of almoft all the great Captains in every Age and Country; which will perhaps be thought too great a Sacrifice. In the next Place, we ought to remember that from the very Beginning of his Expedition, our Conqueror was oppofed and perfecuted by the Bifhop of Burgos and his Party, not from any Chriftian Spirit of Moderation and Charity towards the Indians, but becaufe he had embraced the Party of Velafquez, who certainly meant to do all that Cortes did, by Means not at all milder than thofe which Cortes employed; and the Bifhop of Cbiapa, who was of the fame Party, may be, in fome Meafure, fufpected of condemning in a Perfon he dinliked, what perhaps he would have excufed in one for whom he had a greater Efteem.

We may farther obferve, that though this Prelate takes a great cleal of Pains to jultify the Indians, and to lay a heavy Load upon his Countrymen, by alledging, that for one Man facrificed by the former to their falfe Gods, the latter offered a thoufand Victims to their Goddefs Avarice; yet, inafmuch as he allows that they did offer human Sacrifices, he, in fome Meafure, allows the Truth of thts General's Relations, and indeed.it cannot well be fuppofed, that a Perfon of the Spirit and Temper of Cortes would write long Letters full only of Lies to the Emperor, his Mafter; and therefore we ought to make fome Allowances for the Provocations he received, and for the Circumftances he was in at a Time he cut off fo many Indians. What feems to juftify our Sufpicion that this good Bifhop exaggerated, either wilfully or by Miftake, the Cruelty of Cortes, is his charging him exprefly with maffacring in cold Blood all the Inhabitants of the City of Cbulula, notwithftanding they had given him a very kind Reception.

The Reader has already feen an Account of that whole Tranfaction, as it is related by the beft-Hiftorians; and from thence it appears, that Cortes inflicted upon that City no greater Cruelties than they meant to have exercifed upon him and his Soldiers, and that by a moft treacherous Contrivance; and, if this had not been the Truth, one can hardly conceive that the Indians that were Confederates with Cortes, would have adhered to him fo clofely as they did, on that and all other Occafions. If he had been really fo bafe and bloody a Perfon, he could farce have gained the Affections of fo many Nations, or granting that by his artificial Behaviour he might have done this, it would have been impoffible for him to have preferved their Affections, as it is evident he did from the very Commencement to the End of theWar: Befides, if the Ambition and Barbarity of Cortes deferved, in the Bifhop's Opinion, no Sort of Favour or Excufe, why fhould we have more Indulgence for the Pride and Tyranny of Motezuma, who certainly had no better Title than he to trample upon the Rights of Mankind, and to make fo many Millions miferable as he did.

Thefe are Things that deferve to be very particularly confidered, becaufe they enable us to judge truly and clecifively of the Subject under our Confideration, without hefitating in our Opinion, or being doubtful whether when delivered it can be futtained. To launch out in the Prailes of Cortes, as a Man in whofe Character there was nothing amifs, and all whofe Actions may be
reconciled to the ftricteft Rules of Religion and Morality; would be undoubtedly carrying the Thing too far, and fhewing fuch a Prepoffeffion in his Favour, as neither Facts nor Reafon could fupport. But we are not to confider him in that Light; we are to look upon him as an Officer fent to extend the Power of the King, his Mafter, in that Part of the World ; and though Velafquez deprived him of his Commiffion, yet, as he acted upon Principles of Honour, and took all due Care of the Royal Intereft, as far as he underftood it, we cannot refure him that Applaufe which is due to his Wifdom and Courage, without acting againft Reafon. As to Religion he feems to have been as zealous for it as the Priefts themfelves; and if that Zeal was intemperate, or ill placed, it was not fo much his Fault as theirs, who taught him no better. He feems, as a Chriftian, to have had a great Abhorrence of Idolatry ; and as an hos neft Man a hearty Deteftation of human Sacrifices; fo that if his Actions were in any Degree wrong, yet the Motives to them, fo far as we can perceive, might be very right. As to his Ambition and Avarice they are not to be excufed, fuppofing them to have been his Vices. But then we ought to reflect how difficult a Thing it is to diftinguifh between a laudable Defire to ferve one's Prince and Country, and what is called Ambition; as well as between a criminal Love for Money; and complying with the Neceffities of Times, by fending over to Spain what he knew was requifite to maintain his Credit, and to fupport him againft his Enemies: Taking therefore all things together, and making the fame Allowances for Cortes, that are ufually made for Men in his Station, we may venture to affirm, that he behaved as well, and performed as great Things, if not greater, than any of the Sponifh Captains that bore Command in this Part of the World; fo that if we meafure his Merit by the Importance of the Conquefts he made ; by the fmall Forces he made them with; and the Difficulties he met with and furmounted, which are the ufual Meafures of fuch Actions, there is no reafon to apprehend, that we err in the Commendations we beftow, upon him:

At the fame Time, however, we muft allow that he fhed a great deal of Blood; that he introduced a new Government to this Part of the World ; and did many other Things, that, however great they may appear; yets in the Judgment of fuch as are Friends to a rigid Morality, fubject, him to Cenfure. But as every Man has Faults, and every Man's Faults, who moves in a fuperior Sphere, have very extenfive Confequences; , fo even in this Refpect, we ought not to have a worfe Opinion of Cortes, than of his Mafter, the Emperor Cbarles V. or any other great Captain, that purfues a Syftem which, for any Thing we know, may be more agreeable to the Views and Defigns of Providence, than fuch a Conduct as might have pleafed us better. I have infifted the longer upon this, that I might not be under the Neceffity of making Reflections of the fame Kind in other Places for what I have. faid upon this Occafion will ferve to fhew my Sentiments upon all other like Occafions; and therefore there will be no Need of repeating them.
I am very fenfible that Writers frequently value themfelves upon deftroying great Characters; by fetting them in this difadvantageous Light ; and arrogate to themfelves a Power of judging in the laft Refort of Mens Actions and Motives. But this I think is very unfair, and I can fee no Reafons why the having this Opportunity of raifing or finking the Reputation of fo illuftrious a Perfon, fhould tempt me to endeavour raifing in the Reader an high Idea : of my Penetration or Probity, at the Expence of one who is already in Poffeffion of Fame, from the Approbation of his Behaviour by thofe who ought to be, and as far as I can judge from their Writings really were, better Judges of it than I am. All the Merie I pretend to is, the having fated his Actions fairly from the beft Authorities, and faid of them freely what I thoughts which, whether it be right or not; I moft readily fubmit to the judicious Reader, and fo return to my Tank of purfuing the Conquelts made by the Spaniards in America.

The Difcoveries made by the Spaniards in the Province called Golden Caftile; their firft Knowledge of the South-Sea, and their Efablifbment of Panama, by wobich a PafJage was opened to the Difcovery and Conqueft of the great Empire of Peru.

1. The Manner in which Vafquez Nunez de Balboa eftablijhed bimfelf in the Government of Santa Maria, in the Province of Caftilla del Oro. 2. He Jends two Agents to follicit Succours; one to the Admiral James Columbus, and the other to the Court of Spain. 3. The firft Expedition of Balboa againgt the Indians, in which be fubdued the Cazique Careta, and entered afterwards into a clofer FriendJbip rovith bimo 4. He goes, at the Requeft of that Indian Prince, to vijit another Cazique, whofe Name was Comagre. 5. He obtains there the firft certain Intelligence of the South Seas, and of the Empire of Peru, and its vaft Ricbes. 6. He returns to Santa Maria, and, receiving ill Neves from Spain, refolves to atternpt a Difcovery of the South Seas, in bopes of pacifying King Ferdinand and bis Minifters. 7. The Manner in robich be executed this. Refolution, and the woonderful Succefs of bis Expedition. 8. Beflows the Name of St. Michael on a Bay in the South Seas, and carries from thence a vaft Treafure in Gold and Pearls. 9. Sends another Agent to the Court of Spain, with a full Account of the Importance of the fe newe Difcoveries. Io. Don Pedro Arias d'Avila, by the Intereft of the Bifhop of Burgos, is Sent from Spain to take the Government of Caftilla del Oro. II. This new Governor firt cruelly perfecutes Nunez de Balboa, and afterwards moft unjufly caufes binz to be bebeaded. I2. Arias lays the Foundation of the City of Panama, which by reafon of its unvobolfome Situation proves very deftructive to its firft Inbabitants. I 3. He fails ing moft of bis Aitempts for making Conquefs and Difcoveries in America, and finds it difficult to maintain bis Power in the Midft of fo many Difappointments. 14. He barbaroufly murders, under a form of Juffice, Francis Hernandez, Governor of Nicaragua, and feizes that Province. 15. Obfervations on the foregoing Section, and on the great Difference between Genius and Cumning.

I$T$ is a Rule that I think ought to be obferved in all Works of this Nature, to explain one Subject thoroughly before we proceed to another; and to dwell more or lefs upon a Subject, according to its Weight and Importance: We have hitherto obferved this Rule ftrictly in both its Branches, which was the Reafon of dwelling fo long upon the Expedition of Cortes: Since this alone, in refpect to its Confequences, was more than equal to all we had mentioned before taken together. In this Section, the Matters we propofe to handle, though neceffary to underftand the Difcovery and Conqueft of America, and more efpecially the Manner in which Peru came firft to the Knowledge, and then fell into the Hands, of the Spaniards; yet being in themfelves of far lefs Confequence, we fhall fpeak of them more concifely, in order to keep within due Bounds, and inform the Reader fully without tiring him.

We have already fhewn how the Province of Cafilla del Oro was difcovered, and fettled by the Induftry and Pains of Vafquez Nunez de Balboa, a Man no lefs remarkable for the Succefs of his firf Beginnings, than for the Miferies that befel him at the Conclufion of his Adventures. We have likewife fhewn how he arrived by his perfonal Merit, at the extraordinary Authority he exercifed in the new Colony, on the Banks of the River Darien, where he deprived Encijo of his Command; and, upon his endeavouring to recover it, feized and imprifoned him, under Pretence that he had ufurped an Office which the King only could beftow; and for which he confifcated all his Effects: A very harfh and fevere Sentence, which was certainly founded, rather in perfonal Refentment, for the ill Ufage he had met with from him, than from any real Concern for the Intereft of the Colony, which was far enough from requiring fuch a violent Proceeding, though that was the Pretence. But when Men have acquired Power, it is not at all ftrange that they fhould lofe Moderation in the Ufe of it; however, there were fome in the Colony better inclined than himfelf; who, with fome Difficulty, prevailed upon him to fet Encifo at Liberty; but it was upon this exprefs Condition, that he fhould tranfport himfelf, either to Spain, or to Hijpaniola, on board the firft Ship that fhould come to Santa Maria, which was the Name of this Settlement.
The next Care of Nunez de Balboa, was to fecure thofe Supplies, of which the Colony flood in need, and with this View it was that he made choice of his old Friend Valdivia to go to Fijpeniola, in order to engage the Governor and Council there, to furnith him and his People with all they wanted; of which he had the greater Hopes
becaure the Admiral, Fames Columbus, was then there, and he very well knew that no body could have a greater Inclination than he had, to contribute all that lay in his Power to promote the King's Service.
2. This Point being fettled, he perfuaded the Colony that it was highly for their Service to fend a Perfon they could confide in directly to Spain, that the Court might be informed of the Situation they were in, and of the great Probability there was of their making very advantageous Difcoveries and Conquefts. The Perfon he chofe for this important Employment, was his Collegue in the Magiftracy, whofe Name was Zamudio, to which no body had any Objection. By propofing him Balboa gained two great Ends; for, in the firft Place, he fecured the fole Authority to himfelf, which was what he always affected; and in the next Place, he committed the Care of his Concerns to one whofe Interefts were the fame with his own : Since he had been as deeply engaged in . the before mentioned Revolution as himfelf. There was a fmall Ship belonging to the Colony in Port, and this he caufed to be fitted up as well as it was poffible, in order to carry the two Deputies, and his old Antagonitt Encijo.
Before their Departure, however it was fuggefted to Balboa, that he departed not a little from his ufual Wifdom in fending the laft mentioned Perfon, whom he had ufed fo very ill, to a Place where he might reprefent his Proceedingsin Lights far enough from being to his Advantage. But this did not induce him to alter his Refolution, though it put him upon taking a Precaution, which anfwered his Purpofe very effectually. He remembred that one Poffemonte, who was the King's Treafurer General at Santo Domingo, had a great Intereft with the Minifters in Spain, and therefore he gave Valdivia a confiderable Quantity of Gold, which he defired him to prefent the Treafurer, in his Name, fuppofing that this would attach him clofely to his Intereft, and therein he was not at all miftaken; for the Poffefion of this Gold, and the Hopes of more, induced him to efpoufe the Caufe of Nunez de Balbca ever after. Thefe Meafures thus talken, he fent the two Deputies, together with Encifo, on board the Ship, which prefently after failed for Sanio Domingo.
After their Departure, Nunez de Balboa began to contrive, in his own Mind, how to make the beft Ufe poffible of the great Power he had obtained, in order to make further Difcoveries, and to acquire more Gold, which he forefanv would prove the moft effectual Means for fecuring to him this Government, at which he had fo ftrangly arrived, and of which he had conceived fuch Advantages might be made to the Crown of Spain, as
would perhaps have entered into no Head but his own, confidering the Circumftances the Colony was then in: He was, indeed, a Perfon every way fit for undertaking vaft things; for he had a deep Cunning, ftuck at nothing, and had a Courage fuperior to every kind of Danger, fo that nothing could fright him from his Purpofe, or put him out of any Road which he thought likely to attàin it.
3. It was not long before fuch an Opportunity offered as he expected, and he made the Ufe of it which it might be fuppofed a Perfon of his Abilities would make in a Matter that fo nearly concerned him. At this time many Indians reforted to Darien, to fee whether the Spaniards were going away, or what they defigned; and, to cover their Intention, carried Indian Wheat and other Provifions to exchange for Beads, Knives, and other Spani/h Baubles; and, to perfuade them to be gone, faid there was much Gold, and plenty of all Eatables, in the Province of Coyba, which was thirty Leagues from thence. Nunez de Balboa fent Francis Pizarro, with fix Men, to difcover the Country; who, having travelled three Leagues up the River, was attacked by four hundred Indians, under the Command of the Cazique Zemaco, and hard preffed: But they clofing, ripped up the Bellies of one hundred of them with their Swords, and wounded many more, whereupon the reft fled.

The Spaniards then returned to Darien in a bad Plight, leaving one Francis Hernandez behind them, lying on the Ground; at which Nunez was fo much offended, that he commanded Pizarro to go back, with fome Men, for him, as he did, and brought him to the Colony Balboa thinking it a Difcredit to leave any one behind him alive. Nunez then marched himfelf, with one hundred Men, and advanced fome Leagues towards the Province of Coyba; the Cazique of which was Careta: But, meeting the Indians by the Way, he foon returned to his Colony, and fent two Brigantines for the Spaniards that had been left at Nombre de Dios.

As they were failing along the Coaft, when they came to a Port belonging to the Cazique of Coyba, two Spaniards ftark naked, painted red, came out to meet them: They, and one more, had a Year and an half before made their Efcape out of Nicuefla's Ship, when he was in queft of the Province of Veragua, to avoid the Punifhment due to fome Crime they had committed, and put themfelves into the Hands of this Cazique Careta, who always treated them very well; but, not agreeing among themfelves, though in Captivity, they one Day drew their Swords, and one of them, whofe Name was Fobn Alonfo, wounded the other dangerounly, whereupon the Cazique made him a Commander in the War he had againft fome of his Enemies, looking upon him as the braver Man, and did nothing without his Advice. Thefe two Men were very acceptable to thofe in the Brigantines, and gave an Account that the Country abounded fo much in Gold, that if Nunez would invade it, they fhould be all rich. Hereupon it was agreed that one of them fhould go and acquaint Nunez of the State of the Country, and the other fhould ftay to be ferviceable, as Occafion fhould offer. When the Brigantines returned to Darien, Nunez was well pleafed with the Intelligence they brought of the great Wealth, and at having Interpreters to deal with the Natives; and, being thoroughly informed of the Nature of that Country, fent back the Brigantines to bring away from Nombre de Dios thofe they could not fetch off at firf.

In the mean time he provided one hundred and thirty of the ableft Men, with Arms, Provifions, and other Neceffaries they were to carry; and, as foon as the Brigantines arrived, he fet out to feek Careta at his Dwelling, which was thirty Leagues off. The Cazique hearing of it, waited for him in his Houfe, where Nunez anked him for Provifions for his Men, and to carry to Darien. Careta anfwered, that when any Chriftians had paffed that Way, he freely gave them Part of his Provifions; but that at prefent he had none, being at War with a neighbouring Cazique, whofe Name was Ponca, for which Reafon his People had not fowed, and were then in great Want. Having received this Anfwer, Nunez, by the Advice of

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Folin Alonfo, pretended to go back the fame Way he came; and Careta thinking himfelf very fafe, Nunez res turned at Midnight, and attacked the Town in three Places, killing and wounding many, and taking the Cazique, his two Wives and Chiidren, and Ceveral others $\hat{p}$ all of whom he fent away to Darien, loading the Bri-s gantines with Provifions. At Darien, Careta intreated Nunez not to keep him in Captivity, promifing to do all that was in his Power to furnifh the Chriftians with Provifions, and to be his Friend: As a Pledge of which he would give him one of his Daughters, who was very beautiful; and, that his People might have leifure to till and fow the Ground, he fhould affift him againft his Enemy Ponca. Nunez accepted of, the Offer, and took his Daughter, whom he kept as his Miftrefs, though Careta thought he had taken her for his Wife; but he always loved and ufed her kindly, which highly pleafed the Indians.
4. This Indian Cazique, Careta, not only kept his Word, but treated Nunez, and eighty Men who accompanied him, fo well, that they willingly agreed to affift him in his Wars; which, when the other Cazique, whofe Name was Ponca, heard, he fled to the Mountains; and the Spaniards, entering his Country, found fome Provifions there, and a confiderable quantity of Gold. It was not long before Careta informed his Guefts, that he had another Neighbour more powerful, and of a better Difpofition, than Ponca; whofe Name, as well as that of his Country, was Comagre; that he had feveral Wives, and a great many Children, and lived in greater Splendor than any other Cazique. He likewife told them that this Indian Prince had a great Inclination to be acquainted with the Spaniards; and, as his Dominions were larger and more fruitful than his own, Careta advifed them to go thither, and offered to accompany them, as he did; and the Spaniards found every thing agreeable to the Account he had given them.
For the Palace of Comagre was a large wooden Building, one hundred and fifty Yards in Length, and eighty in Breadth; furrounded with a good ftone Wall, and well furnifhed within, after the Manner of thofe People. They likewife found there good fore of Provifions: They had feveral Sorts of Drinks of feveral Colours, not much inferior, either in Strength or Flavour, toWine. The Reception they met with, was equally kind and hofpitable; Comagre and his Sons taking all the Pains imaginable to make them welcome and eafy, and difcovering in their Converfation a Knowledge and Politenefs much fuperior to any of the Indians they had hitherto met with: They made them Prefents alfo of Gold and Pearls, to a very confiderable Value; fo that they had no Reafon to repent of their Journey, or diftruft Careta, who had brought them thither; and who feemed to be likewife highly pleafed with the courteous Entertainment that his Friend had given them, hoping it would make the Spaniards ftill more willing to oblige him.

Nunez and his Men being thus joyfully received and entertained, Comagre's eldeft Son, who was a difcreet Youth, being defirous to oblige his Guefts, caufed feveral pieces of Gold, valuable both for their Workmanfhip and Finenefs, weighing about four thoufand Pieces of Eight, and feventy Slaves, to be brought, all which he gave to Nunez and Colmenares. They immediately fet apart a fifth of the Gold for the King, dividing the reft among themfelves; about which fome quarrelled, ftruggling and making a Noife for the beft and fineft of thofePieces.
Comagre's eldeft Son, who was prefent, ran to the Scales, and, ftriking them with his double Fift, threw all the Gold upon the Ground; faying, "That Chriftians " need not fall out about fuch a Trifle; but, if they were " fo fond of it as to difturb peaceable Nations, and " leave their own Native Country for the fake of it, he " would hew them a Province where they might have as "s much as their Hearts could wifh, but that there muft " be a greater Number of them, becaufe they were to en-" counter a Monarch who defended his Dominions with " much Bravery: That they firtt would meet with a Ca " zique, who had a vaft Quantity of what they looked " upon as Wealth, who was fix Suns, that is, fix Days JourN n

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"s ney from thence, pointing with his Finger towards the is Soutb-Sea; which he told them they would fee as foon " 6 as they were paft certain Lands; and that there were ${ }^{66}$ other Nations had Veffels little inferior to thofe of the ${ }^{\text {sc }}$ Spaniards, with Sails and Oars; and that, beyond that
"Sea, they would find immenfe fore of Gold, out of
" which thofe People eat and drank." And having underfood from the Spariards that there was great plenty of Iron in Spain, he fignified that there was more Gold in thofe. Parts than Iron in Bifcay.

This was the firt Intimation given of that large Cotintry; "and, becaufe the Youth was acquainted with the great Extent of that Kingdom, and the Number of its Inhabitants, he added, that there ought to be one thoufand Chriftians, at leaft, to invade it ; and he offered to go with them, to affift them with his Father's Men. This Difcourfe was interpreted by the two Spaniords who had fied from Nicueffa, and lived with Careta. Nunez and his Followers, having heard of all this Golden Country, were fo overjoyed, that they' thought they could never make hafte enough to difcover it.
6. After a flort Stay in the Dominions of this Indian Prince, Nunez de Balboa retired to his own Government of Santa Maria, in order there to confider at his Leifure of the propereft Means for making the Difcoveries, upon which himfelf and his People were fo much bent. A yery little before Valdivia was returned from Hi/pariola, and brought from thence, on the Part of Fames Columbus, the ftrongeft Afturances of Support, which induced Balboa to fend. him over a fecond time with the fame Views and the fame Inftructions, but with frefh Proofs of the Services he had rendered to the Crown, and frefh Prefents for thofe he thought might do him Kindneffes with the Minifters: But the Veffel that carried Valdivia, and fuch as attended him, was very unfortunate, being thip-wrecked in her Paffage on the Coaft of Fucatan; the Men with great Difficult.y got on Shore, which proved a new Misfortune; for it had been much better they had perifhed at Sea, fince they were quickly furrounded and inade Prifoners by the Nattives; who, with all the crutel Circumftances imaginable, facrificed them to their Idols.
Such was the End of Valdivia and his Companions, two only efcaping, one of whom was Aguilar, who was of fo great Ufe to Cortes, and with whofe Hiftory the Reader is already acquainted. The News greatly aflicted Balboa, infomuch that, to prevent the ill Confequences that might follow from it, he had fome Thoughts of going himfelf to Spain; but the Colony would not fuffer him, looking upon his Prefence as abfolutely neceffary to their own Prefervation. He had very foon füfficient Reafons to believe that they had judged right; for, by the Difpatches he received from his Agent Zamudib, he was informed that Encifo had incenfed the Court againft him to fuch a Degree, that there was no paci-- fying the Minifters, or perfuading them that he was not the very worft of Men, and one who had in the higheft Degree contemned and trampled upon the royal Authority.

When Nunez de Balboa had confidered the Contents of thele Letters, and the melancholy Situation he was in, he faw plainly that there wàs nothing could deliver him; or reftore his Character in Spain, but making an immediate Ufe of the Informations he had received, by proceeding in, and perfecting his Difcoveries of, larger and richer Countries, than hitherto the Spaniards had -been acquainted with. This he very rightly judged would cover all paif Faules, and atone for every Irregularity he had committed; and therefore, without communicating to the Colony any of the Particulars contained in his Difpatches, he applied himfelf folely to perfuade them to fuch an Expedition, as the moft likely Means to make them all rich and happy; and his Labours in this Refpect proved fo effectual, that all Hands were immediately employed in making the neceffary Preparations for going in fearch of thofe golden Regions; and this, with a full Confidence, that if once they could be found, they might, without Difficulty, be fubdued. Such were his and their Defigns; let us now fee how they were executed.
7. Nunez de Balboa, having refolved to march over to the South-Seas, and provided all things for the Expedition, fet out from Darien about the Middle of September, 1513; going by Sea as far as the Territories of the Cazique Careta, who received him in a very friendly Manner. He there left the Brigantine and Canoe, and advanced towards the Mountains, and the Country of Ponica, Careta affigning fome of his Subjects to attend him. The Cazique Ponca, who had Spies abroad, being informed that the Spaniards were coming up his Mountains, hid himifelf. Nunez fent fome of Careta's Irdions tö affitie: him, that he would do him no harm, but wotuld be his Friend'; and' he thought fit to come to him, carrying' as a Prefent the Value of one hundred and ten Pefos of Gold, which was all he had.
Nunez received him with much Joy; that he" might have no Enemy behind. He gave him abindance of Beads, Looking-glafles, and Hatwk's-bells, and that' which the Indians moft valued, viz. fome Iron Axes: He demanded of him Guilles, and Mer to carry Burảens; whilft he went up the Hills, and advanced farther. The Cazique granted all he defired, and gave him Plenty of Provifions, and then the Spaniords marched on into the Dominions of a great Lord, whofe Name was Quare qua, whom he found ready to oppofe him with a greate Number of Men, armed with Bows and Arrows, and a fort of Slings, with which they threw Pieces of Wood hardened in the Fire like Darts. They had alfó Macanas, made of Palm-tree Wood, as hard as Iron, which they ufed, like Clubs, with both Hands. In this manner the Indians met the Spaniards, afking what they would have, or what they came for? requiring them, at the fame time, to proceed no farther. Obferving that they valued not what was faid, their Lord came forward, cloathed in Cotton, with fome of the prime Meń ; all the reft ftark naked.

They attacked the Spaniards with dreadful Cries and extraordinary Fury. Nunez, feeing fuch a Multitude, ordered his Soldiers to difcharge fome Crofs-bows and fome Firelocks, whereupon fome dropped down dead. The Indians, feeing the Fire, and hearing the Report, believing they had been Flaftes of Lightning, and that the Spaniards had Power to deftroy them, fled, to a Mañ, in fuch Confternation, that they thought the Spaniard's were Devils. The Dogs were fet on them, whilft their Mafters cut off the Limbs of fome with their Swords, the Dogs tearing others in Pieces. The Cazique was there killed, and about fix hundred more; fome were taken, and their Town plundered, where the Conquerors found a confiderable Quantity of Gold. Among the Prifoners were a Brother of the Cazique, and fome others, cloathed like Women; and Nunez, judging that they were guilty of Sodomy, fet the Dogs at them, and they were in a Moment torn to Pieces; which was all the Proof there was in this Cafe, though Gomera pofitively 'affirms it.

Some Spaniards were grown fickly with Hunger and Wearinefs, for which Reafon Nunez left them in 2uarequa's Town, where he took freih Guides, and Men to carry Burdens, to difmifs thofe that belonged to Careta; thus proceeding to the Top of the Mountains, whence they faid the other Sea might be feen. From Ponca's Lands to this Mountain's Top was about fix Days Journey; but they fpent twenty-five, through the Uncoothnefs of L, ands, and becaure they were fcarce of Provifions, and had little Reft. At length they arrived, on the 25 th of September, I5I3, whence the Sea could be feen.

Nuntez, having notice given him, a little before they came to the Top, that they were very near, commanded all to halt, went up alone, and, feeing the SoutbSea, on his Knees returned Thanks to Heaven for being the firft that had feen it. Having performed this, he called his Men, and repeated the fame; they followed his Example, whilft the Indians ftood amazed to fee them fo overjoyed. He then extolled the Intelligence given him by Comagre's Son, promifing all his Men much Wealth and Happinefs; and they believed him: For he was very much beloved, becaufe he made no Difference between himfelf and every Soldier. Befides, he was familiar, and fhewed much Compaffion for the Sick and

Wounded,

## Chap. III.

Wounded, every one of whom he vifited, and was himfelf undaunted in Dangers, never fhewing the leaft Concern in'the greateft Perils. He then caufed a Certificate to be drawn of his taking Poffeffion of that Sea, and all in it, for the Crown of Cafite; in teftimony whereof, he cut down Trees, erected Croffes, raifed Heaps of Stones, and cut the King of Spain's Name on fome Trees. He then refolved to go down the Mountains, to obferve what there was on them, and on the Sea-coaft.
Being informed that, near this Place, there was another Town, belonging to a Lord whofe Name was Cbiapes, he advanced very catutioully; and Cbiapes went out to meet him with a great Number of Men, in which he confided; for the Indians, feeing fo few Spaniards, generally made little account of them till they had felt their Swords: When they drew near, the Spaniards faluted them-with their Fire Arms firft, and then with their Crofs-bows, after which they let go the Dogs; the Indians; feeing the Fire of the Munkets, hearing the Report, fimelling the Gunpowder, obferving how many dropt down dead, and that the Dogs tore all they came at, turned their Backs and fled with the utmoft Precipitation: The Spaniards purfued, with their Dogs, killing fome, but chufing rather to take Prifoners, in order, by their means, to make Peace with Cbiapes, that he might not retard their Paffage. They difmiffed fome of thofe they had taken as Meffengers to their Lord, with fome of Quarequa's Men to afiure him they would do him no Harm if he would be their Friend. He thought it fafeft to put himfelf into the Hands of thefe dreadful Enemies, and carried the Value of four hundred Pieces of Eight in Gold. Nunez received him very gracioufly; and gave him Beads, Looking-glafes, and fome Hatchets; and here he difmiffed Quarequa's Indians, giving them Trifles, with which they went away well pleared.

From thence he fent Captain Francis Pizarro to view the Sea Coaft, and what there was about the Country; als alfo Fobn Efcarray and Alonfo Martin, with twelve Men each, to find out the fhorteft Ways to the Sea. Alonso Martin hit upon the readieft Road, and, in two Days, came to a Place where he found two Canoes upon dry Land; yet faw no Sea; but, whilft he was confidering which Way thefe Canoes were come up the Land, the Sea-water came in and lifted them up about a Fathom in Height: For, upon that Coaft, the Sea ebbs and flows every fix Hours, two or three Fathoms, fo that great Ships are left dry, and no Sea-water appears for two or three Leagues at leaft. Alonfo Martin, feeing the Canoes fwim, went into one of them, and bid his Companions bear Witnefs that he was the Firft who entered the SouthSeas; another, whofe Name was Blaez de Atienza, did the like, and bid them bear Witnefs he was the Second. They returned to Nunez with the News, at which all rejoiced very much.
8. The fick and wounded Spaniards that were left behind being come up, Nuvez refolved to proceed himfelf to the Sea-fide, and to try what farther Difcoveries could be made, taking the Indian Chief with him. When they came to the Shore the Spanifb Commander marched on, armed as he was, till the Water took him up to the Middle ; caufing a Notary to draw and fubfcribe a public Inftrument, importing, That he had taken poffefion of that Sea, its Coaits, and the Inands in it, on Behalf of the Crown of Caftile; at which Ceremony the Indians were very much amazed.

He proceeded next to pafs the Mouth of a great River, and landed on the oppofite Side, in the Territories of another Indian Prince, whofe Name was Coura, and who, at firf, endeavoured to make fome Refiftance; but, finding that it was in vain, he fuffered his Son to go and treat with them, and himfelf was foon after reconciled, and carried them a confiderable Prefent. Balboa obferving a large Bay of the Sea, refolved to navigate it; and, to that Purpofe, defired the Indians to furnifh him with Canoes, which they did, and offered to accompany him, though, at the fame Time, they advifed him to fufpend his Difcovery, becaufe the Winter was coming on. But he, being obtinate, embarked
with fourfore Spaniards, together with Cbiapes, and fome. of his Indians, on board nine. Canoes:

They weighed anchor upon the twenty-ninth of Sep-. tember, 1513 , which was the Reafon he called it St. Nit chael's Bay. When they were at fome Diftance from Land the Waves began to fwell fo high, that Nunez repented. he had not taken Chiopes's. Advice. It was a wonderful Providence that they, did not all perifh; and the Indians, who fwim like Fifh, made the Danger more evident, as being better acquainted, with the Place, which rendered the Spaniords more apprehenfive. The Roughnefs of this Bay is occafioned by the many litule Illands, Rocks, and Sholes, that are in it. The Irdions, being beft fkilled in thofe Affairs; had recourle to, their ufual Remedy, faftening two Canoes together with Cords, for then they do not fo eafily overtirn. They made the beft of their Way next towards an Inland, where they: landed, and lafhed the Canoes to the Rocks or Trees. There they continued all the Night, with as much Un. eafinefs as if they had been looking Death in the Face; for upon the Flood the whole Inand was coyered with Water, and they ftood in it up to their Waifts, or very. near it: When Day appeared, and the Water ebbed, they went to look for their Canoes, and found fome beaten in Pieces, and others fplit, all of them full of Water and Sand ; and nothing remained of all their Goods and Provifions; which was a very difmal Sight. In this Diftrefs, they pulled off the tender Bark of the young Trees, and bruifing it with Grafs and other Herbs, caulked the Crannies of the Canoes that were not quite flaved, and: thus embarked again half famifhed.

They immediately fteered to the Land of an Indiant Lord, whofe Name was Tumaco, in the Creek of the Bay, where they found him ready to oppofe them. Nunez feeing his Men weak and hungry, picked out a few of the ableft, whom he placed in the Front, and engaged: In a very fhort Space the Dogs and the Swords made fad Havock among the Indians, the Cazique himfelf being wounded. Cbiapes fent fome of his Men to acquaint Fumaci with the Power of the Spaniards, and how kind they were to their Friends, as himfelf, and other Lords they had met in their Way, very well knew by Experience. $\mathcal{T}$ maco would not be perfuaded the firf Time, but the fecond Meffenger prevailed fo far, that he fent his Son, whom Nunez entertained very courteounly, giving him a Shirt, and fome Toys, and bidding him advife his Father to come himfelf and be his Friend. Tumaco feeing his Son had been well ufed, went the third Day with a great Attendance of his Subjects, but carried no Prefent; how= ever Nunez paid him much Refpect.
Cbiapes told him, that the Spaniards were good, and it was but reafonable to affift them, fince they were Strangers in their Country: Being pacified, and out of Fear, he fent fome Servants home ${ }_{9}$ who brought Gold, to the Value of fix hundred and fourteen Pieces of Eights and, what was much more, two hundred and forty large Pearls very fine, and many more that were bright but fmall. The Joy Nunez and his Men conceived at the Sight of them is inexpreffible, believing the immenfe Treafures Comagre's Son had told them of were now at hand, and thinking all their Sufferings well repaid. The large Pearls were of a great Value, and would have been of greater, but that the Indians uling Fire to open the Oyfters they grew damp, and were not fo white as they naturally are: The Spaniards afterwards taught the In:dians how to open them without Fire. Tumaco, obferving that the Pearls occafioned fuch Joy among them, to thew that he valued them but little, fent fome Indians to fifng and within four Days they brought as many as weighed no lefs than ninety fix Ounces. Both Spaniards and Indians were well pleafed, the former concluding they fhould be poffeffed of all that Wealth, and the latter, efpecially the; Caziques, for the Friendmip of the Spaniards, feeing them fond of Gold and Pearls, which they valued but little ; but Cbiapes rejoiced moft becaufe he had been inftrumental in gaining Tumaco's Friendfhip.

Thofe two Caziques affured Nunez, that there was ans Inad about five Leagues from thence, in that Bay, gow
verned by a powerful Cazique ; where there were abundance of large Oyters, which had Pearls in them as big as Beans. Nunez ordered the Canoes to be immediately made ready to , go over to it . The Caziques intreated him not to think of it at that time, but to ftay till Summer, when the Sea was calm, and he might then go with eafe, and they would bear him company, and he approved of their Advice. The Cazique Tumaco alfo informed Balboa, that the Coaft extended prodigiounly, pointing towards Peru; that there was an immenfe Quantity of Gold, and that the Natives ufed certain Beafts to carry their Burdens, being the Sheep of that Country, and made a Figure of them with Earth to reprefent them the better. The Spaniards were amazed; fome faid they were Camels, others that they were Stags or Fallow Deer, of which there are many on the Continent about as big as finall Calves, but their Legs fo fhort, that they are not above a Span in length, and their Horns finall. This was the fecond Intimation Nunez had of Peru, and its Wealth.
9. It was about the Middle of Fanuary that Nunez de Balboa returned back to Santa Maria, carrying with him Gold to a very great Value, and Pearls to a much greater; of which he made a very fair Divifion, referving the fifth Part for the King, and diftributing the reft among the Soldiers in fuch a Manner, that they were perfectly fatisfied with his Conduct. He judged now, and not without great Appearance of Reafon, that he had performed fo fignal a Service, that it was impoffible for the Minifters to deny that it made amends for any Indifcretions into which he had fallen. He refolved therefore to fend another Agent to Spain with the King's Money, and with more confiderable Prefents than it was in his Power to fend by the former. The Perfon he made choice of for this Negotiation was Peter Arbolanchos, a Man of Capacity, and, which was of greater Confequence to him, a Perfon of great Integrity and unfhaken Fidelity.

He applied himfelf, when he came to Court, to the famous Bifhop of Burgos; who received his Letters with Civility, which changed into the greateft Kindnefs and Friendfhip upon the Sight of the Gold and Pearls that Balboa had fent him; for thefe fully convinced him that he was innocent, and a good Officer, and therefore he took Pains to fet him right in the Opinion of King Ferdinand, who was then living, and who had hitherto a great Averfion to Nunez de Balboa; but the Favours of this Prelate came too late, for he had already done this unhappy Man fuch an Injury as he was not able to repair. It was a Maxim with this Bifhop, that there was nothing fo dangerous as to fuffer the great Men who made Difcoveries in the Indies to perfect them; and therefore as foon as they had opened the Road to new Countries, and had overcame the firft, which are always the greateft, Difficulties, it was his conftant Method to fent fome of his own Creatures to reap the Fruits of their Labours.
The Perfon he had fixed upon, before the Arrival of Balboa's Agent, to go Governor of Caftilla del Oro, was one Don Pedro Arias d'Avila, whom the Spanifs Writers, by joining his two firft Names, commonly call Pedrarias, a Man of Birth, of a Court Education, which had furnifhed him with feveral Qualities very fuitable to the Climate of Spain, but not at all calculated for the King's Service in the Indies: He was haughty and proud to the laft Degree, naturally infincere, and a very artificial Diffembler, barbaroufly unjuft, and cruel beyond Expreffion, one who thought the only Compenfation that could be made for leaving his native Country, was to raife a vaft Fortune, which, as he wanted Talents to do in an honeft Way, he refolved to bring about by the Methods he undertood, which were Violence, Fraud, and Oppreffion; in all of which he was a complete Mafter.

We have his Character drawn to the Life by the Hand of the Bimop of Cliapa; who reprefents him as the wickedeft Monfter that was ever: fent into thofe Parts; but -out of Refpect to his Patron the Bifhop of Burgos, after giving fo true a Character of him he does not name him. Such was the Perfon that was fent over to take Poffeffion of that Country which Balboa had difcovered.
10. This new Governor, Pcdrarias, failed from spain the I2th of April $_{3}$ I5 14, with a Fleet of fifteen Sail, with two thoufand Soldiers on board, and a Fryar, one Fobn de Quevedo, who had been confecrated ${ }_{8}$ before his Departure, Bifhop of Darien, and many other Perfons, in other great Offices; and amongft the reft Encifo, the mortal Enemy of Balboa, was his Provoft Marfhal. He arrived in the latter end of the Month of $\neq u l y$, in the Gulph of Uraba, and from thence proceeded to Santa Maria, where he was received with all imaginable Refpect, by the famous Nunez de Balboa, of whom he had heard fo much, and for whom he cared fo little.

He was very much furprized at his Appearance, and at the State in which he found the Colony. There was indeed" a very ftrong Fort, and four hundred and. fifty brave Fellows to defend it; but the Governor's Houfe, or if you will, his Palace, confifted but of three Rooms, and his Drefs correfponded with his Dwelling: He had a Pair of Canvas Drawers, and a Cotton Waiftcoat over his Shirt, and that was all. His Diet was of a piece with the reft; a Joint of roaft Pork, fome Greens and Fruit, was all his Table afforded ; at which no other Liquor was drank but good Spring-water. Such were the Manners of this Conqueror, who fared nothing better than the meaneft of his Soldiers ; but there was no Murmuring, no Complaints; he maintained his Authority by the Means which had acquired it, his Merit; and his Soldiers loved him, and feared him as a Father. His fole Fault was his Ambition, that had led him to do fome unwarrantable things to obtain Power ; but when obtained, none ufed it better.
His Accounts were clear; he made good every Point he had written to Spain, and opened a Paffage to the South-Seas, and fubdued all the Country between them and his Colony; in return for which good Services Pedrarias committed him clofe Prifoner to the Cuftody of Encifo, and did not fet him at Liberty till he had fined him in above half his Fortune. In order to juftify this Proceeding he fent over a very falfe Report to the Court of Spain, and expected that this fhould have procured him a Power of going greater Lengths; but in this he was miftaken. He had brought over fome honeft Men with him, who ventured (which was ftrange) to fend the naked Truth to Court; and, which was ftranger ftill, it net with all the Credit that it deferved.

When the King's Letters came to be opened, his Majefty declared in them, that he was perfectly fatisfied with the Conduct of Nunez do Balboa, that therefore he had created him Lord-Lieutenant of the Countries on the South-Seas; that he expected the Governor fhould take his Advice ; and that the Meafure of his Obedience to his Orders would appear from the Refpect he fhewed to Balboa. Pedrarias, equally difpleafed and difappointed, took care to conceal both, and, like a true Courtier, refolved to conform, in Appearance, to his Mafter's Orders, but to difobey them in effect, and to leave no Means untried, to work the Deftruction of the Man he hated, in which, as we fhall fee, he fuicceeded to the full.

In order to leffen the Character of his Predeceffor, and raife his own, the new Governor fent feveral of his Officers to make Excurfions into the Country, which he thought mutt produce new Difcoveries, as indeed they did, but not to the Advantage of the Colony or of the Crown of Spain, fince they contributed only to fhew the Avarice and Cruelty of the Spaniards in the moft glaring Lights: His Officers knew the only Method to obtain his Favour and Protection was to make him large Prefents, and to plunder all the Caziques without Mercy ; so that in a few Months time, that Reputation for Honefty and kind Ufage which Nunez de Balboa had been at-fo much Pains to eftablifh, was entirely loft, and War between them and the Natives broke out afrefh with greater Fury than ever, fo that there were no great Hopes of his making anyProgrefs; which when he came ferioufly to confider, he entered upon a new Scheme, and, by the Affiftance of his Bifhop Quevedo, reconciled himfelf to Balboa, who very fincerely applied himfelf, as he had done formerly, to the public Service, and that too with his ufual Succeis,

## Chap. III.

in the Neighbourbood of DARIEN.
which received, as might be naturally expected, the Envy of Pedrarias, notwithftanding that Nunez had promifed to marry his Daughter, and he had thereupon called, and in public treated, him as his Son.

The Bufinefs in which he had employed him, was the building a Town, eftablifhing a Port, and from thence fitting out Ships upon the South-Seas; all which, with incredible Labour and Fatigue, he at length accomplifhed, which added to the great Reputation he had before acquired. Pedrarias feeing this, and that moft People in his Government were inclined to remove, and to fettle in the Town built by Nunez de Balboa, as foon as it was finifhed, refolved no longer to delay the removing out of his way a Man, whofe Superiority became more and more confpicuous; he fent for him therefore to Santa Maria: And Nunez de Balboa made no Difficulty of obeying his Order, either becaufe he did not fufpect his ill Intentions towards him, or that, relying upon his own Innocence, he thought it out of the Governor's Power to hurt him.

Upon his Arrival, however, Pedrarias commenced a frefh Profecution againft him on the fame Pretences for which he had fined him before ; and to thefe he added another very extraordinary Accufation, which was a treafonable Intention to ufurp the King's Domain, founded upon nothing more than his having cut down, without the Governor's Licence, fome Timber for erecting public Edifices; and upon this Charge he condemned him to fuffer Death, to the Amazement of the Colony and the Terror of all the Inhabitants. He perfifted however in his Defign, and caufed this unfortunate Gentleman to be publicly beheaded. Such was the Fate of Vafquez Nunez de Balboa, who, in the forty fecond Year of his Age, fuffered as a Traytor, for having ferved his Prince with too much Zeal and Fidelity. The Royal Audience at Santo Domingo condemned this Action of Pedrarias, as a downright Murder; but it does not appear that he was ever called to any Account for it; but, on the contrary, was permitted to go on in the fame bale and barbarous Track for many Years together. This happened in the Year I5I7, and in the third of Pedrarias's Government.
12. When he had thus, at the Expence of Law and Juftice, freed himfelf from a Man whom he both hated and feared, Pedrarias refolved to fettle a new Colony at Panama; notwithftanding that, from the Heat and Moifture of the Country about it, it was very unwholfome; but, as it food commodious for Trade, and was a Place very convenient for the Difcoveries then making, the Governor remained fixed in his Refolution, built a Palace there, and made it the Seat of his Government. Upon this others came thither to dwell, fo that by degrees it grew a tolerable Place, and increafed in its Inhabitants very faft, becaufe it was pretty well fortified, and becaufe the Harbour is very fpacious, where the Ships upon the Ebb are left. dry. The Circumference of the City is fmall, by Reafon of a Morais that enclofes it on one Side, and the Damps that rife from it render the Place very unhealthy: It ftretches out from Eaft to Weft, fo that when the Sun rifes there is no going along the Streets, becaufe there is no Shade; and the Heat is fo offenfive, that it occafions many Diftempers. Though it has been feveral times propofed to remove it to fome better Place, it has not been done on Account of the great Price the Houfes bear, and that the ancient Inhabitants are dead; and fuch as live there now are generally Traders, and ftay there no longer than they can acquire enough to go fomewhere elfe.
There is a River runs near the City, and the Diftrict is large, in which there are many Farms, and fore of black Cattle, the Soil being proper for them; feveral Sorts of Spanifb Fruit have been planted, and there are of the Country very good, as Pine-apples, Plantain, Guayabas, befides others about the Fields. The Rivers afford Gold, which was found in plenty upon the firft building of the City. It is well fupplied with Provifions, being furnifhed from both Seas. Neither Wheat nor Barley grow within its Diftrict, but there is much Maize or Indian Corn carried from Spain and Peru. There are good Fifh in the Rivers, and in the Sea, though different from

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what are found in Spain: Near the Houfes along the Coaft there are vaft quantities of Cockles'; by the Natives called Cbucba; and it is thought, that for the Sake of them the Spaniards at firt built the City there, as being fome Supply in time of Want. In the Rivers of this Province, there are vaft Numbers of Alligators; fo large, that they are hideous to look at; and one has been found in the River of St. George, that was twenty five Foot long: The Flefh of them, which the Spaniards were wont to eat for want of better, when they were upon their Difcoveries? is bad and ill-fcented: The Creatures themfelves are fierce and frightful, and have devoured many Sponiards and Indians, and even Horfes, while croffing Rivers. There are few of the Natives in the Territories of this City, having been deftroyed in the Wars: The Trade there is extraordinary, rich Ships coming in continually from Peru, laden with Gold and Silver.

The Commodities carried from Spain, on board the Fleets, are conveyed thither on numerous Teams kept for that purpofe; a confiderable Part being fent up the River Chagre, within five Leagues of Panama, which lies in between eight and nine Degrees N. Latitude. This Place being confiderable, the King ordered many Religious Men to be fent over to convert the Indians, and made it a Bifhopric. Yet it is faid, that during the firft twenty eight Years after the Conqueft of Peru, above forty thoufand Men were computed to have died there, of violent Diftempers: Soon after, fames fibetez founded another Town at Nombre de Dios, which was alfo famous for many Years, thofe two being noted for the Trade between the North and South Seas; and here, as well as at Panama, many thoufand Spaniards perifhed by the bad Air.

In the Reign of King Plilip II, to avoid the faid Mortality, Nombre de Dios was quite abandoned, and the Inhabitants removed to Porto Bello, where the Trade now continues. As foon as thefe two Towns were founded, Orders were taken for making a Road between them, being the neareft between the two Seas; though the Mountains were very uncooth, on which there were then infinite Numbers of Lyons, Tygers, and other wild Beafts, and fuch a multitude of Monkies of feveral Sizes, as deaffened their Ears with their Cries; which, running up the Trees when any People paffed by, were wont to throw Stones at them, but the Spaniards kept them ink awe with their Crofs-bows.
13. It muft be allowed that this Pedrarias did not want Talents fuitable to his Office; for he had Courage, Diligence, and a ftrong Defire to do great things; and yet, notwithftanding all this, in the Compars of eight or nine Years, he did little or nothing, which the Spaniards attributed to the juft. Judgment of God, for his cruel Ufage to Nunez de Balboa. There is no doubt that God is always juft; but perhaps we are not wife enough todiftinguifh his Judgments, and, therefore, it may be as well to refer the want of Succefs in this Governor's Ad-: miniftration, to Caufes more manifeft, without excluding. however, the divine Juftice, which has certainly connected Mifery and Vice, and plagues the Neglest of moral Duties, by a continual Train of Misfortunes. The Truth of the Matter is, that his Vices defeated all his Schemes, and rendered all his Undertakings abortive. Inftead of treating the Indian Caziques as his Predeceffor Nunez had done, with Civility and Juftice, he behaved cowards them like an imperious Mafter, and yet he was not able to extort half the Quantity of Gold that had been freely beftowed on Balboa in Prefents. He granted Licences to various Perfons to undertake Difcoveries; but on fuch hard Terms, and with fo many Reftritions, that they had no better Succefs than himfelf; and all their Endeavours had no other Effect than to wafte great Numbers of Men, and to bring an Odium upon Expedisions into the South-Seas.

But what chiefly employed the Care of this Governor, was reducing Urraca, Cazique of the Mountains, whofe Country was very rich in Gold; and whos after the De-ceafe of Nunez, would have nothing to do with the Spaniards, prefuming, as he faid, that they could mean no good to others, who perfecuted and murdered each

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other.
other. Pedrarias made war upon him for five Years togethier, and in that Space of time deftroyed a great Number of his Subjects, yet was never able to fubdue or render him tributary. On the contrary, this Indian Prince was frequently too hard for the Spaniards; his Subjects were ftout and warlike, the Situation of his Dominions gave him great Advantages; for the Spaniards could nèver act againft him with Horfe, and with all this he was himfelf a Prince of great good Senfe, extreamly brave and enterprizing, one who forefaw Advantages as foom as any Man, and there were very few who could manage them better. This the Reader will eafily believe, when he is told that Pedrarias loft more Men in the Courfe of this War, than Cortes in the Conqueft of Mexicos, without getting a Foot of Land, or an Ounce of Gold by the Bargain. But he made himfelf fome amends by his grievous Extortions, upon fuch of the Caziques as had fubmitted to the Spaniards; and, with the Gold he forced from them, maintained fo great an Intereft at Court, that notwithftanding every Enterprize of his was attended with Lofs, yet every new Project he fent over, was approved and applauded.
This will appear the more extraordinary, when it is confidered that never any Man met with more Oppofition than he did; for, on the one Hand, he was hated to the laft Degree by the Indians, for whofe Sake the Bifhop of Cbiapa went in Perfon to Madrid, to follicit Relief. The Spanifb Officers were likewife uneafy, and wrote home a true Reprefentation of his Conduct, which was fuch as would have ruined the Fortune of any other Man. Befides all this, he was upon very bad terms with the Royal Audience at St. Domingo, which was then, what it ftill is, the fupreme Tribunal in the $W e f$-Indies; and the chief Reafon for his removing the Seat of his Government from Santa Maria to Panama was, that he might be farther out of their Reach. Thus it plainly appears, that this Man's felfifh, haughty, and overbearing Temper, was very near as fatal to himfelf and his Dependents, as to others that he had to deal with; and that he might have been infinitely more happy, as well as made others fo, if he had behaved better; which might prove an uffeful Leffon to other Governors, if they were a Sort of People capable of learning any Good from the Examples of their Predeceffors, or of liftening to fuch Truths as they might always learn from the Voice of the People.
14. We fhall have occafion to mention this Man fometimes in the following Pages; but as we fhall have no Opportunity of continuing the Hiftory of his Adminiftration to its Clofe, we will take leave of him here, by relating another extraordinary Exploit of his, while he continued in full Poffeffion of Power. He was informed, about the Beginning of the Year 1526 , that the Court of Spain, wearied with continual Complaints againft him, was at length refolved to fend him a Succeffor. As he knew no Means of avoiding this, and yet had no Mind to part with his Power, he began to caft about in his own Mind, where to find another Eftablifhment. There was only one Expedition which had met with any kind of Succefs under any of his Creatures, and that was the Conqueft of Nicaragua, by Francis Hernandez, who acted under his Licence, and he had alfo been at fome Expence in fitting him out.

He refolved therefore to retire into this Country, for two Reafons : Firft, that he might fecure it for himfelf, though of right it belonged to him who had fubdued it; and next, that he might avoid delivering up his Province to his Succeffor in Perfon, for fear he fhould treat him as he had done Balboa. One would have imagined, that when his Affairs were in fuck a Situation, he fhould have abated fomewhat of his Pride, or at leaft of his Cruelcy; but whether it was that he had no Power over his Temper, or, that he knew he had ftill Intereft enough with the Minifters to prevent his being called to an Accounit for fo fmall a Matter as a Murder, fo it was, that he committed one more bafe and barbarous, if poffible, than that of Nunez de Balboa.

The thing happened thus: He pretended, as foon as he came into the new Province, that he had Information his Deputy had a mind to revolt, he therefore fent for him to anfwer to this Charge. Francis Hernandez, who knew there was not a Word of Truth in it, came with that Boldnefs that is natural to Innocence; and Pedrarias had him no fooner in his Power, than he caufed his Head to be ftruck off, alledging that there was no other Way for a Government to be fafe againft Pexfons in Power, when their Fidelity was once fufpected. As black and heinous as this Fact was, he efcaped being queftioned for it; and was confirmed in his Government of Nicarasua, as if the gratifying his own unjuft Refentments had been an indifputable Proof of his Attachment to the Crown of Spain, and Zeal for its Service.
15. I fhall clofe this Section with remarking that there never was an Obfervation more true than that which was laid before the Reader when we opened this Hiitory of the Spanifh Conquefts in America, which was, that they were entirely owing to the Abilities of particular and private Perfons, called forth by Accidents, and never to the Wifdom or Forefight of the Spanifa Minifters; who, on the contrary, were fo ready to cramp fuch as they ought to have encouraged, that they really made the Difobedience neceffary, which they pretended to correct, and gave Birth by their ill Management to thofe Inconveniencies they endeavoured to avoid.
I am not at all afraid of owning that I firt made, and now repeat, this Obfervation with a View of fhewing how weak and foolifh a thing it is for Men who want Genius to think of limiting and circumfcribing fuch as are endowed with it. It is a Sort of Policy not much unlike erecting Banks to ftop a Torrent, which is the fureft Way to increafe the Mifchief. That natural Fire, which a warmer Writer perhaps would have filed Divine, and we call Genius, is a noble and generous Flame, that, like the Rays of the Sun, cherifhes and enlivens all within their Reach, and which becomes dangerous only when artificially contracted. We have feen what Cortes did, and how he was treated. In the next Section, which is the laft that regards the Spaniards, we fhall fee feveral Inftances of the fame kind, all which prove that it is infinitely more advifeable for Statefmen to ufe fair and gentle Methods, with Perfons of fuch extraordinary Abilities, and rather lead them by propofing the juft Rewards of Glory, than pretend to compel them by little Arts which are equally vain and fatal, either to thofe by whom they are ufed, or the Nation in whofe Service fuch Talents are exerted. Had Velafquez and the Bifhop of Burgos been able to circumvent Cortes, the Mexican Empire had ftood, and the Spaniards had loft thofe Treafures which it has fince yielded. Had Nunez de Balboa efcaped the Snares that were laid for him, Peru had been fooner fubdued; and if Francis Pizarro had not been wife enough to take Warning by his Example, it had very probably never been fubdued at all.
Heroes, like other Men, have their Faults, but, perhaps, their Faults merit more Indulgence: Thofe who have none of their Excellencies, have frequently more Faults and blacker Vices. Envy is not the Produce of a rank, but of a barren, Soil; and Malice is a Weed that fprings in dirty Minds, as the mof poifonous Plants are found in Marfhes. Whoever reflects on the pitiful Creatures that extinguifhed fo great a Genius as our Sir Walter Raleigh, will pardon this Digreffion, and forgive a Man for indulging his Defire of fecuring future Merit from thofe Mifchances which have been fatal to it in former times. It is all that lies in the Power of one who is immerfed in Books ; it is the utmoft Service his Pen can render to thofe whom his Mind adores; and if by celebrating the Memory of great Men, who are gone, he can contribute to excite others to an Imitation of their Actions, and recommend Virtue to the Practice, as well as the Praife, of Pofterity, it is the utmoft Extent of his Wifh, and it is the only Way he knows to be ufeful to Mankind and his Country.

## SECTION XV.

## The Hifory of the Difcovery and Conqueft of the Empire of Peru by Francis Pizatro together with the Difcovery of Chili, and the Conqueft of that Country alfo.

1. An Account of the frrf Notice which the Spaniards bad of Peru and of the Copartnerfbip of Pizarro, Almagro, and Luquez, for the Conqueft of that Country. 2. The Terms upon which that Agreement was made, and the Shares of the refpective Parties. 3. Francis Pizarro undertakes the Difcovery with the Afjitance of Almagro, and meets with many Hardflips. 4. They refolve to profecute their Defigns notwithfanding thefe Difcouragements. 5. They proceed to the Port of Tumbez, and the Riches of this Country engages them to fond Pizarro into Spain, for which Purpofe they return to Panama. 6. The Voyage of Francis Pizarrouto Europe, bis Commiffon from the Emperor and Return to America. 7. The Difficulties be found in refuming the Difcovery, and what followed on bis failing for the Coaft of Peru. 8. His furprizing Succefs wobich Jpread the Terror of the Spanih Arms throughout all that Empire. 9. The State of the Incas of Peru at this Time, and the Hiftory of the Brothers Huefcar and Atahuallpa. 10. This Subject continued, to the Time of their Application to Pizarro. II. The Interviere between Atahuallpa and the Spanifh Embaffadors. 12. Atahuallpa goes to vijit Pizarro in Perfon, and the Confequences of that Vifit. I3. The Spaniards feize on the Perfon of Atahuallpa, and demand a mof extravagant Ranfom. 14. While a Prifoner be plots and executes the Murder of bis Brother Huefcar. 15. A Confpiracy charg'd upon Atahuallpa, for which be is barbaroufly and unjufly put to deatb. I6. The Confufons into which the Empire of Peru fell for wont of a Cbief. 17. Difcords and Divifons among the Spaniards. 18. The noble Difpofitions of Mango Inca, with other Particulars. Ig. The Dijcovery of Chili by Diego de Almagro, and the Return of Ferdinand Pizarro from Spain. 20. A civil War breaks out between the Marquis Francis Pizarro and bis Collegue Almagro, in which the latter is at frrft fuccefsful. 21. The Marquis Francis Pizarro obtains a fignal Victory, and thereupon puts bis old Collegue Almagro to death, which is follorved by new Troubles. 22. A Baftard Son of Almagro fets up for bimfelf, and caufes the Marquis Pizarro to be affafinated. 23. Vaca de Caftro is fent by the Emperor Charles V. into Peru, who defeats the young Almagro and puts bim to death. 24. The Wi fdom and Firmnefs of this new Governor extinguibles all the Troubles in this Province. 25. A fuccinct Account of the fubfequent Difcoveries of the Spaniards in America. 26. This Subject continued and concluded. 27. Obfervations and Remarks upon tbis Section, and upon the State of the Spanifh Empire in the Weft-Indies.

'THE Defigns formed by Men of fuperior Abilities do not perifh with them ; for Envy, being fatisfied when they are no more, cherifhes their Memory, and preferves their Schemes, in order to deprefs and keep under fucceeding Pretenders to Merit. This was the Cafe of Vafquez Nunez de Balboa, who firlt formed the Project of extending the naval Power of Spain on the Soutb-Seas, and at the fame Time enlarging her Conquefts by Land into the Empire of Peru, of which he had procured fome tolerable Accounts before he died. It was the Defire that Pedrarias had of wrenching this Project out of the Hands of its Author, that put him upon treating Balboa as he did; but, as we have thewn before, all his Expeditions failed, and fo did thofe of feveral Perfons, to whom he granted Licences, for profecuting their Difcoveries. At laft, in the Year 1524, three Gentlemen, all Inhabitants of the new City of Panama, rich, far in Years, and of great Reputation, offered to venture upon this Undertaking at their own Rifque and Expence, provided they might be allowed fair and reafonable Terms; fuggefting, at the fame Time, that it was more honourable for the Governor to grant them fuch Conditions, than to look for new Adventurers, out of the Bounds of his own Jurifdiction. Pedrarias liftened very readily to this Propofal, nor did he at all fcruple granting them as eafy Terms as they could defire, believing that he ran no Hazard in fo doing, fince, if they mifcarried, as every body thought they would, he was to lofe nothing; and, on the other Hand, if they fucceeded, he flattered himfelf that he fhould always have Force fufficient to maintain his Authority, and fecure to himfelf the Fruits of their Enterprize.
In order to conceive rightly on this Affair, it will be requifite to give fome Account of thefe Undertakers. The firt of them was Francis Pizarro, whom we have mentioned more than once before: He was a Native of the Town of Truxillo; and moft of the Spanifb Writers agree, that he was a Man of Quality. But how noble foever he might be by Birth, moft certain it is, that he quitted his Country and went into the $W$ Tef-Indies, in order to repair his broken Fortune. He ferved firt
in the Wars of Hippaniola and Cuba, and failed aftera wards with Hojeda to the Gulph of Darien, and was left by him as his Lieutenant, in the Colony which he fettled there. He ferved afterwards under Vafquez Nunez de Balboa, and in the Courfe of feveral Years, that he bore Command in thefe Parts, he had juftly gained the Character of a bold, enterprizing, and experienced Officer : He had likewife attained to a very confiderable Fortune ; and on the firt Building of Panama fettled there, and feemed difpofed to have paffed the Remainder of his Days in quiet. The fecond of thefe Adventurers was Diegode Almagro, who took his Name from the Town in which he was born in Spain, and thereby did it Honour ; for as to his Family, it was fo obfcure, that even the Glory of his Exploits could not afford Hiftorians Light enough to find out who was his Father; but he was a Man of Genius and Experience, and, at the Time he entered upon this Affair, of Fortune likewife. The third was a Prieft, one Ferdinand de Luques, or, as fome Writers call him, Lugne, a Man likewife in Years, of great Parts, and a much larger Fortune than either of the former; for he was Proprietor of the Inand of Tabago in the Bay of Panama, had a good Eftate befides, and a very large Sum in ready Money. This Partnerhip made a great Noife, as it was indeed a very fingular thing in its Kind, for three private Men to undertake raifing a joint Stock for conquering a great Empire; and, like other Projects above the Reach of common Minds, it was treated as a wild and vifionary Scheme, which would certainly end in the Ruin of the Projectors.
2. Thefe three great Men did not however give themfelyes much Pain about what other People faid; in which they fhewed themfelves wife and firm. The Manner in which they fealed and ratified their Agreement, was no lefs fingular than the Agreement itfelf; for they repaired folemnly to high Mafs, which was celebrated by the Prieft Ferdinand de Luques, who having broke the Wafer into three Pieces, took the firt himfelf, and gave the others to his Companions, in Token that they flould purfue this Defign with the fame Zeal and Steadinefs as they did that of their Salvation. It is now proper to fee what the Nature was of this Agreement;
of which the beft Authors report, that they entered into Articles never to abandon each other, for any Hazards or Difappointments they might meet with in the Enterprize, till they had made a Conqueft of Peru; and folemnly took their Oaths in public, for the Confirmation of thefe Articles ; each of them being affigned a particular Part, in conducting and, executing the Scheme : Francis Pizarro was to command the firtt Party that wient upon the Difcovery; Almagro was to carry him Recruits, and reinforce him from Time to Time ; and Ferdinand de Lugne was to remain at Panama, and lay in Ammunition and Provifions to fupport the Enterprize; and whatever Gold, Silver, precious Stones, or other Effects Should be acquired, after the Charges, and the Emperor's Fifths, paid, were to be divided equally amongft them.

They took care to make the beft Enquiries they could into the Caufes of the Mifcarriages which had formerly happened, that they might the better avoid them ; they were likewife very affiduous in finding out Perfons who had been employed in former Undertakings, that they might have the Benefit of their Experience ; and they bought for the Service of this Expedition a fine new Ship, that had been built by the Direction of Vafquez Nunez de Balboa, and which was jurt finifhed as he died. Their Pilot was Francis Penate; Nicholas de Ribera was Treafurer; Fobn Carillo had the Charge of keeping an account of the King's Fifths; and one Salzedo was next in Command under Pizarro. The whole Number of Men employed were no more than one hundred and fourteen; and exclufive of Officers they had but fourfcore, the moft inconfiderable Body furely that ever had the Boldnefs to undertake fuch an Enterprize.
3. About the Middle of the Month of November 1524, all Things being ready, Pizarro embarked, and proceeded to the Inand of Tabago, diftant from Panama about five Leagues, from whence he failed to the Pearl Ifands, in the Middle of that Bay, where he took in Wood, Water, and Hay for his Horfes, and failed to Port Pinas, or Prineaple, upon the Continent, on the South Side of the Bay of Panama. Here Pizarro went on Shore, with his Soldiers, and endeavoured to penetrate into the Country; but meeting with nothing but Bogs or Mountains, over-run with Wood and Deluges of Rain, as they approached the Equator; and the People having fled from their Habitations, fo that no Provifions were to be had, Pizarro ran farther down the Coaft to the Southward, and then landing again found the Country no better ; and loft a great many of his Men by Sicknefs, want of Provifions, or the Hardfhips they fuffered in their Marches and Counter-Marches. Whereupon he fent the Ship to the Ifle of Pearls for Provifions; and, in the mean time, was followed by Almagro, with two other Ships, and a Recruit of fixty Men and upwards. Thefe two Captains meeting upon this wretched rainy and unwholefome Coaft, and landing their united Forces, had fome Skirmifhes with the Natives, in which Almagro loft an Eye ; but happening, in fome of their Excurfions, to meet with a Parcel of Gold, of the Value of fourteen or fifteen thoufand Crowns, they refolved, notwithftanding all the Difficulties and Hazards they underwent, to proceed in the Enterprize, in which they were the more encouraged by the Pilot de Ruyz, who (while Pizarro marched with the Soldiers on Shore) ran down as far as Cape Paffaro, under the Equator, and taking fome Prifoners, was affured by them, that the Treafures of Peru were much beyond any thing that had hitherto been reported of them, whereupon he returned to Pizarro with the agreeable News. In the mean time, that General fuffered incredible Hardfhips in the Abfence of Almagro, who was gone to Panama with the Gold they had got, to procure another Reinforcement of Troops and Provifions, without which it was very evident that nothing could be done.
4. At the Time of his returning to Panama, Almagro found Pedrarias removed from his Government, and fucceeded by Peter los Rios, who permitted him to raife what Men he could to reinforce Pizarro; whereupon he embarked again with forty Soldiers more, fome Horfes and Arms, Cloaths, Shoes, Provifions, and Medicines,
and returned to Pizarro, whom he found in a very mifer rable Condition, great Part of his Men being fick or dead: They removed therefore from that unhealchy part of the Continent, and put their Men on Shore in the Inand of Gallo ; ' here they remained fifteen, Days, and then returned towards the Continent again, running along the Coaft further to the Southward; however, they ftill met with fuch a drowned Country, and bad Weather, that it was once propofed to return back to Panama. Even Pizarro's Heart failed him, and the two Commanders, it feems, were upon the Point of drawing their Swords, fo hot was the Conteif for and againft the proceeding in the Enterprize; but at length it was agreed, that they fhould go to the Inand of Gallo again, where Pizarro fhould remain with the Men 'till Almogro went to Panama for Recruits; and great Care was taken that none of the Men fhould write home, and difcover their wretched Condition; for moft of them had fhewn an Inclination to defert the Service whenever they fhould have an Opportunity, and threatened to apply to the Governor of Panama to be recalled from an Expedition which had confumed fuch Numbers of them, and, if profecuted, would probably deftroy the reft; and, notwithftanding all the Care their Commanders took, one of them found Means to fend a Paper fubfcribed by moft of them, defiring to be recalled, which was enclofed in a Bottom of Cotton Yarn, and thereby concealed from the Knowledge of their Officers.

This Paper coming to the Hands of the Governor of Panama, he was fo far from fuffering Almagro to levy any more Recruits, that he fent a Ship with a Commiffary on board to the Inand of Gallo, on purpofe to bring back all the Men that furvived: The Commiffary arriving, Pizarro begged of him that he would, however, fuffer as many of them to ftay with him as were willing to remain in the Enterprize; which the Commiffary confenting to, Pizarro drew a Line with the Point of his Sword, and haranguing his Men, told them, they were at Liberty to return to Panama, if they thovght fit; but it grieved him, that they fhould now abancon the Enterprize, when they were upon the Yoint of reaping the Reward of all their Sufferings: As for his Part, he would perifh in the glorious Undertaking rather than defert it ; and thofe that voluntarily remained with him, fhould fhare with him the Treafures of which they had fo near a Profpect, defiring thofe that were willing to proceed in the Enterprize to come over the Line he had drawn. But fuch were the Sufferings of thefe poor Wretches, that much the greateft Part of them forfook him; only thirteen Men and a Mulatto came over the Line he had drawn, the reft embarked and returned to Panama with the Commiffary.
5. The Affairs of Pizarro never feemed in a worfe Situation than at this Time; for he was not only deprived of all Hopes of performing any thing remarkable for the prefent, but had alfo a very indifferent Profpect for the future. In this Diftrefs he removed to the Inland of Gorgona, in order to fupply himfelf with frefh Water : There he remained till he was joined by Almagro and his Pilot, with fome few Recruits, which they, with fome Difficulty, had prevailed upon to enter into this Expedition. With thefe Men they embarked, and failed ftill along the Coaft 'till they had paifed the Equator, and found themfelves in the Latitude of $30^{\circ}$ South; having fpent about two Years in making a Voyages which may very well be performed, now the Currents, Trade, Winds, and their Seafons, are known, in as many Weeks. In this Paffage, however, they took feveral Indian Floats, with Cargoes of confiderable Value ; and gained fuch Intelligence of the Situation of Things upon the Coaft, that Pizarro refolved to fend one Peter de Candia, fo called, becaufe he was born in that Ifland, to Tumbez, in order to learn whether the Informations they had hitherto received might be depended upon or not; which was a very well contrived Expedient.

This Man had a great deal of good Senfe, a very fair Character, and was fo expert in his Conduct, that he found Ways and Means to render himfelf fo agreeable to the Indians, that he executed his Commiffion as effectually as could be defired, and returned fafely to Pizarro,
with a full Account of all that he had feen. By which it plainly appeared, that the Riches of this Country very far exceeded even the Reports they had received concerning them. For he declared, that he had feen their public Edifices erected with wonderful Art and Skill, and fo exceffively rich, that the very Walls of them were covered with Gold and Silver, with many other Things of the like Nature.

After hearing this Man's Relation, they held a kind of Council amongft themfelves upon the prefent State of their Affairs, and unanimounly agreed, that the wifeft Courfe they could take would be to return all together to Panama, where they made no Queftion that the News of fuch important Difcoveries would effectually reftore their Affairs, and procure them fuch Supplies, as would enable them to profecute their Defign with all the Succefs imaginable. This Refolution once taken, they proceeded to put it in Execution; being thoroughly fatiffied that in the Situation they were in, they could undertake nothing; and that by remaining upon this Coatt, they fhould lofe all their Men by degrees, and thereby bring an irretrievable Difgrace upon the Project, which would not only ruin themfelves, but difcourage all future Attempts of this Nature.
6. Upon the Return of Francis Pizarro to Panama, with many indubitable Proofs of his Difcoveries, it occafioned a vaft Itir in that Colony; for thofe who had before derided this Project as abfurd and impracticable were now convinced of their Error, and that it was likely to prove a much more confiderable Difcovery than any hitherto made by the Spaniards; yet the Oppofition made by the new Governor to his levying Men for the carrying on his Defign, and fome other Accidents, made it evident, that it would be impoffible for him or his Affociates to proceed farther, without the Affiftance of a fuperior Authority. It was therefore agreed by them all that Pizarro hhould go in Perfon to Spain, in order to obtain the neceffary Powers from the Crown, for removing all thofe Difficulties; and it was likewife agreed, that he fhould follicit for himfelf the Title of Governor ; for Almagro that of Adelantado, or the King's Lieutenant ; and for Lugne, the Protectorfhip of the Peruvians, and the firf Bifhopric of that Country. Pizerro accordingly fet fail, and, arriving in Spain, proceeded to the Court of the Emperor Cbarles V. which was then at Toledo; here he met with a very gracious Reception, on his prefenting his Imperial Majefty with fome Peruvians in their proper Habits, two or three Peruvian Sheep, and feveral Gold and Silver Veffels and Utenfils of the Fafion of the Country.
The Eimperor was pleafed to hear him relate the Difficulties he had met with in thefe three Years Voyage; and in the End referred the Overtures he made to the Council of the Indies; who having framed their Report, Pizarro was ordered to proceed in the Conqueft of Peru for the Space of two hundred Leagues to the Southward of Tumbez, which lies at the Bottom of the Bay of Guiaquil: He procured alfo the Title of Governor and Captain-General to be conferred on him for Life, with the Offices of Adelantado, or Lord-Lieutenant, and of Alguazil-Major ; he was alfo empowered to erect four Caftles in Peru, where he thought proper, and retain the Government and Inheritance of them to him and his Pofterity. He obtained for Ferdinando de Lugne, that he Thould be recommended to the Pope to be made Bifhop of Tumber; and, in the mean Time, conftituted Pro-tector-General of the Peruvians. Almagro was conftituted Governor of Tumbez, and a twentieth Part of all the Profits and Revenues of the Country, when conquered, were to go to Pizarro and Almagro; two Thirds thereof to the former, and one third to the latter; Almagro was made a Gentleman, and his Baftard Son legitimate : The thirteen Men that remained with Pizarro in his Diftrefs on the Inland of Gallo were made Gentlemen, if they were not fo before ; and thofe that were Gentlemen then were ordered to be knighted.

There Commiflions and Powers were executed at Toledo on the 26 th of $\mathcal{J} u l y$ 1528, and fix Dominican Friars were ordered to go over with Pizarro as Miffionaries, to affift in the Converion of the Peruvians; and

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thus this great Affair was finifhed much to the Satisface tion of our Adventurer, who found himfelf vefted with a legal Authority to purfue his Conqueffs, which was all he wanted, and no lefs to the Satisfaction of the Court; which gained thereby a Profpect of annexing another Empire to their Dominions in America, without being at any Expence. It may not be amifs to remark here that the Spaniards had a Felicity in making their Conquefts, which never attended any other Nation; fince neither Columbus, Cortes, Balboa, or Pizarro, who brought fo many Millions of Piftoles into the royal Coffers, ever received fo much as a Marvedy from thence towards the Charge of their refpective Expeditions.
7. When Francis Pizarro had received his Commiffions of the Tenor before-mentioned, he repaired to his native Town of Tuxillo in Eftremadura, in order to raife Forces, and to vifit his Family, of which it may not be amifs to fay fomething farther in this Place. His Father Gonzalo Pizarro, firnamed T'be Long, becaufe he was very tall, was a Man of Family, and had ferved as a Captain of Foot ; he married a Woman of Family likewife, by whom he had two Sons, Fobn and Ferdinand, but as for Francis he was illegitimate, and the Son of a Country Girl, who was afterwards married to an honeft Farmer, by whom the had Francis Martin de illcantara. Old Gonzalo Pizarro had alfo another natural Son, of his own Name; and the whole Family being well beloved in their Neighbourhood, they made great Difpatch in providing all that the new Governor wanted, which having effected, he embarked at Serille, witit his four Brothers, viz. Ferdinand, Fobn, Gonzalo, and Francis, in the Month of Fanuary 1530, and arrived at Nombre de Dios on the Coaft of Terra Firme, from whence he marched with his People to the City of Panama.
But his ingroffing all the Honours and Commands to himfelf, fo difguted Almagro, that he refufed to affift in the intended Expedition, 'till Pizarro promifed to relinquifh the Title of Adelantado, and to give him an equal Share in whatever they fould acquire; and upon thefe Conceflions, Almagro promifed to affitt him as formeriy, and fmothered his Refentment for the prefent, that the Service might not fuffer; but they were never thoroughly reconciled, as will appear hereafter. At length Pizarro embarked at Panama in three Ships, taking with him one hundred and eighty-five Soldiers, thirty-feven IIorfes, and fuch a Quantity of Arms, Ammunition, and Stores, as might enable him to fix Colonies on the Peruvian Coaft; but meeting with the like contrary Winds as he had done in the firft Voyage, and finding it very inconvenient, and indeed impracticable to keep his Horfés longer on board, he was obliged to land above an hundred Leagues to the Northward of Tumbez; and now, thinking himfelf ftrong enough to drive the naked In" dians before him, he fell upon them, plundered their Towns, and made many of them Prifoners without any manner of Provocation, whereupon the reft fled from the Sea Coaits up into the Country; and Pizarro was afterwards fo diftreffed for Provifions, and loft fo many Men by Sicknefs and Hardhips, and the fatiguing Marches through Bogs and Thickets of Mangrotes in this extraordinary hot Climate, that his Forces were exceedingly diminifhed; and he now too late perceived his Error, in not courting the Natives, being in no Condition to make a Conquelt of Peru with the Forces he had left.

He took therefore moft of the Treafure he had plundered the Indians of, and fent his Ships back with it to Panoma, to raife more Recruits; inviting, at the fame Time, fome Adventurers from Nicaragua, and other Parts of North America, to come and join him, promifing them a Share of the vaft Treafures he was now af. fured of finding in Peru; which had a very good Effect, and procured him foon after a very confiderable Reinforcement. In this Expedition he had already gained fo much that he was able to fend thirty thoufand Pezoes in Gold to Pquama, befides a confiderable Quantity of fine Emeralds; and might have fent many more, if it hod not been for the Folly of fome of his People, who took it into their Heads that thele precious Stones were as hard
as Diamonds, or at leaft ought to be fo, fo that in trying them with Hammers they broke abundance of them to Pieces.
8. Francis Pizarro refolved to continue in Action till his Recruits arrived ; and, having in fome Meafure informed himfelf of the State of the Country, he judged it very poffible to make fome Advantage of the Difputes that reigned at this time, between the Inhabitants of $\mathcal{T} u m-$ bez and thore of the Inand of Puna. He endeavoured to gain the good Will firf of the Inanders; but finding them to be a very falfe and perfidious People, he attacked and routed them, which he hoped would have opened a Means of contracting a clofe Alliance with the Tumbezenes; becaufe he found fix hundred of them, together with one of the moft confiderable Perfons of the City, Prifoners amongft thefe People, whom he fet at Liberty, and fent home, together with three of his own People; who, if the Spani/b Writers are to be believed, this barbarous Nation facrificed to their Idols, which however was not known immediately to Pizarro, who continued to reckon the Tumbezenes as his Allies upon whofe Affiftance he might depend at all times.
In the mean time Almagro having fent Pizarro a confiderable Reinforcement from Panama, and Ferdinand de Soto, and other Adventurers, arriving with their Troops from Nicaragua, he thought himfelf in a Condition to carry on the War upon the Continent, efpecially as he had fome Reafon to expect to be fupported by the Tumbezenes: Accordingly, having provided a fufficient Number of Floats or Barklogs, he tranfported his Troops to Tumbez, in which he lof fome Men on going a-fhore by the Roughnefs of the Sea, which runs very high on that Coaft; and fome of his People were attacked and cut off by the Natives, which was a Surprize to him as he took them to be his Friends. The Spanifb Writers give various Reafons for this Alteration in the Conduct of the Natives of Tumbez; who, but a very little before profeifed themfelves their very good Allies and Confederates. Some relate, that, obferving the Spaniards had enflaved the Natives of the Inand of Puna, and perfectly fubverted their Religion and Government, demolifhed their Temples, and every thing they held facred, they expected to be treated in the fame Manner by the Spawiards, and therefore thought fit to oppofe their landing in their Country.

Others inform us, that while the Spaniards were engaged in the Reduction of Puna, a very great Alteration in the Face of Affairs happened upon the Continent. Atabuallpa had defeated the Forces of his Brother Huefar the Emperor; cut in Pieces moft of the Inhabitants of Tumbez and the neighbouring Provinces for adhering to him; and the Troops that oppofed Pizarro's landing in Tiumbez, were thofe detached by Atabuallpa to that Province, on purpofe to repel the Invafion of the Spaniards. But whatever was the Reafon of the Peruvians oppofing the Defcent of thefe Strangers, it is evident that they were put in fuch Confufion by the Spanifb Horfe and Artillery, that they fled as the Spaniards advanced; and, after the Slaughter of fome thoufands of them, were forced to abandon the Town and Cafle, and even the whole Valley of Tumbez; leaving behind them all the Gold and Silver Plate, Emeralds, Pearls, and other rich Spoils which lay heaped up in the Temple of the Sun, and the Inca's Palace, being fo vaft a Treafure, that the Spaniards could fcarce believe their Eyes, when they found themfelves fo fuddenly poffeffed of it; and fuch was the Coniternation of Atabuallpa and his whole Court, when the Fugitives related what Slaughter the Thunderer's Ordnance had made among them, and how impoffible it was to efcape the Spanifb Horfes, to which Animals their Fears had added Wings; that they concluded, if the Spaniards were not Gods, as they at firt conjectured, they were certainly Devils, and that it was not pofible for any human Force to defend their Country againft them; of which Pizarro receiving Intelligence, refolved to take Advantage of the Terror they were in, and march immediately to find out Atabuallpa, while he remained under that Delufion.
But he found it neceffary to defer his March, till he had erected a night Fortrefs upon the Sea Coaft (to which
he gave the Name of St. Micbael) for receiving the Recruits that he expected, and to ferve him for a Place of Retreat and Security, in cafe any unforefeen Accident fhould happen." This was the firt Spanifh Colony planted in Peru, and here the firt Church was erected, in the Year 1531, and F. Reginald de Pedraga was conftituted Protector of the Indians, Ferdinand de Lugne being unable to execute that Employment, on Account of his Indifpofition. This Meafure was certainly the wifeft that he could take; for he not only wanted fuch a Settlement for the Reception of his Recruits, but fhewed likewife his Judgment in the Choice he made, fince there was no Place fo proper for his Purpofe upon the whole Coaft.
He took another Step that was equally judicious; he divided all the Gold and Silver in his Poffefion ffairly amongft the Soldiers ; and to fuch as were to remain in the Colony, he delivered their Shares without Abatement, that they might have wherewithall to fubfift, and to carry on their Trades ; but for fuch as continued to march with him, he gave them only Acknowledgments of his having fo much in his Hands, with a Promife to pay it when they came to Panama. By this Eftablifhment, he fhewed plainly his Intention to remain in the Country, which it was evident he could not do but by Force ; and therefore the very News of his erecting a Town, fortifying that Town, and compelling the Indians who lived near it, to obey not him only, but the meaneft of his Spaniards, as Lord, foon filled the whole Empire with the Noife of this Enterprize, and engaged the two Brothers, who were contending for the Empire, to turn their Eyes upon thofe who might very foon have that Empire to give, fince the Terror of their Arms was already fpread among Nations of whom the Spaniards had not the leaft Knowledge.
9. As the Differences between thefe two Brothers proved their Ruin, and the chief Caufe that this great Empire fell into the Hands of the Spaniards, it is abfolutely neceffary that we fhould give fome Account of them, in order to render this Hiftory perfectly intelligible; and this fhall be done in as few Words as the Subjeet will admit. Huana Capac, or as fome of the Spanib Writers call him Guana Cava, was the Sovereign of Cuzco, and had annexed to his Empire many Provinces, fo that his Dominions were five hundred Leagues in extent from his capital City. The Country of Quito, which was ftill governed by its natural Princes, grew next the Object of his Ambition; he refolved to make himfelf Mafter of it, which, confidering the Superiority of his Force, was no hard Mater for him to do: He did it accordingly, and, having vifited it as a new Conqueft, he was fo much charmed therewith, that he refolved to make it the Place of his Refidence ; and accordingly, leaving his eldeft Son Huefar, Mango Inca, and other Children at Cuzco, under proper Guardians, he transferred the imperial Refidence to Quito, where he married the Daughter of the deceafed Prince, and thereby gained a legal Title to a Country, the Poffeffion of which he had acquired by Force. In Procefs of time, however, finding that great Inconveniencies enfued from his quitting his ancient Refidence, he returned thither for a time, and left his Son Atabuallpa, whom he had by the Princefs of 2uito, and for whom he had the greateft Tendernefs, under the Care of the moft eminent Perfons in that Principality, whither he propofed fhortly after to return, as he did, and then to fettle the Affairs of that Principality, and pafs the Remainder of his Days at Cuzco; but Providence otherwife difpofed of him, and he died at 2uito, having left the beft Part of his Treafures, and the old imperial Army, at Cuzco; declaring by his Will, that as 2uito never made a Part of the Empire of the Incas, there was no Reafon that it fhould defcend, together with the Empire, to his legal Succeffor, and therefore he beftowed it upon his younget Son Atabuallpa, whom the Spanifa Writers generally call Atabaliba, who was, indeed the Heir of it by his Mother.

After his Death, the young Prince fecured the Army and the Treafures of his Fither, and then fenr an Embaffy to Huefer, to fignify the Nature of his. Father's Will,

## Chap. III.

 of PERU and CHILI.to render Homage to him in his Name, and to defire from him the Confirmation of the Kingdom of Quito, which he was willing to hold from the Incas. Huefcar was by no means pleafed with this Embaffy, and therefore fent his Brother Word that he fhould fuffer the Troops to return to their Duty; that he fhould quit the Sovereignty of Quito, which being a frontier Province of his Empire, he could by no means leave in his Hands; and, that after doing this, if he repaired to Cuzco, he would give him a Share in his Father's Treafures, and affign him Lands for his Subfiftance. He added, that in cafe he did not accept thefe Propofals, he would certainly make W ar upon him, and recover the Poffeffion of Quito by the fame Method his Father acquired his firt right to it. Upon receiving fo unkind a Meffage from his elder Brother, Atabuallpa called the principal Perfons his Father had intrufted with his Education, to Council; who advifed him, fince Peace could no longer he preferved, to take the Field firft; fince that was a Meafure by which he might gain much, and could lofe nothing at all.
10. Atabuallpa, or Atabaliba, embraced this Propofal, as indeed it was the wifeft that could be offered, and the moft fuitable to his Circumftances; and with the Army his Father had left, immediately entered the Dominions of his Brother. Huefar, on his Part, brought a more numerous Army into the Field, and it was not long before a general Engagement enfued, which lafted for three Days, and was as bloody as it was obftinate. It ended however in the Defeat, and which was ftill worfe, in the Imprifonment of Atabualloa, who was taken upon the Bridge of the River Tumibamba, and Thut up in a Palace which bore the fame Name. But obferving that the Soldiers, elevated with their late Victory, were entirely given to Feafts and Sports, he took his Opportunity ; and, having provided himfelf with the neceffary Inftruments, pierced a Hole through one of his Apartments, and thereby made his Efcape. He returned to his own Subjects, whom he found broken and difpirited by their laft Defeat; but he revived their Courage in an Inftant, by affuring them, that his Father had appeared to him in his Prifon, changed him into a Serpent, and thereby gave him an Opportunity of fliding through the Wall. What to a fenfible People would be ridiculous, is to a fuperftitious and credulous Multitude, a Miracle. The News was fpread throughout the whole Principality; the People in general quitted their Habitations to take up Arms in his Service, and he had, in a very fhort Space of Time, a much greater Body of Troops than before. He defeated with thefe, two or three Armies that oppofed him; took, and levelled with the Ground, the Place where he had been imprifoned; and having by his Victory vaftly augmented his Conquefts, he drew from the Provinces he fubdued prodigious Numbers of Troops. When he arrived at Tumbez, he purpofed to have made himfelf Mafter of the Inand of Puna, in which however he failed. This did not at all difcourage him ; but leaving that War to be renewed at fome happier Juncture, he marched with all his Forces to give Huefcar battle, who, he was informed, was coming againft him with a prodigious Army.

When Atabuallpa was come to Caxamalca, he fent two of his beft Officers with three or four thoufand light-armed Troops, to reconnoitre his Brother's Army; 'thefe drawing very near to the Camp of Huefcar, found it neceffary to quit the high Road, to prevent being difcovered. It happened very unluckily for Huefcar, that, to march more at his leifure, and without being difturbed by the Noife of the Army, he had taken the fame Bye-road with about feven hundred of his principal Officers, and who formed at once his Court and his Guard. The Officers of Atabuallpa knew the Imperial Standard, and foon faw how Matters ftood: They laid hold therefore of this Opportunity of making a fhort End of the War, and attacked Huefoar and thofe about him with fo much Fury, that after a Chort Difpute the Inca was made Prifoner. The Victors were foon in as much Danger as the Vanquifhed, for the Army of Huefcar being informed of what had happened, furrounded this Handful of Men, and threatened to cut them to Pieces immediately. In this Diftrefs
they were obliged to have Recourfe to a very natural Expedient; they told Huefcar, that if he did not order his Troops to retire, they muft be obliged to fecure themfelves from Shame at leaft, if not from Death, by cutting off his Head, and then fighting it out to the laft Man. The Officer who delivered this Mefiage, obferving that it had a great Effect on the Mind of Huefcar, added, That as it was a neceffary, fo he would find it both a juft and profitable, Meafure; for that as his Brother pretended to nothing more than his own little Sovereignty of $2 u i t 0_{3}$ fo if he could refolve to gratify him in that Particular, there was no doubt of his reftoring him to Liberty, and even acknowledging him as his Sovereign; but that he muft refolve fpeedily, fince there was not a Moment's Time to be fpared. Huefcar, finding himfelf in this Diftrefss and feeing no other way to efcape, fubmitted to the Terms prefcribed, and, making a Signal to his Forces to forbear charging, directed the principal Officers to come to him, and ordered them to march with the Army back to Cuzco. They implicitly obeyed the Commands of their Sovereign. And this was the Situation things were in, when both the Brothers had recourle to Francis Pizarro, and claimed his Affiftance.

It is evident enough from what has been already faid; that fcarce any People could be more fuperfitious than the Inhabitants of Peru, and certain it is, that the Fables upon which their Religion was founded, proved of greater Confequence than any other thing to Pizarro and his Affociates, who otherwife would never have reduced them. One Inftance of this fhall fiffice, and indeed that is fo extraordinary that there is no need of adding another: They were thoroughly perfuaded that their Incas defcended from the Sun, and they very foon came to believe that the Spaniards were the Children of the Sun likewife ${ }_{g}$ in which the Story I am going to tell fully confirmed them. The eldeft Son of the Inca Yabuarbuacac beheld in antient Times, as their Tradition taught them, a very ftrange Phantom, different in Afpect and Drefs in the highef Degree from the Peruvians; for whereas they have no Beard, and the Cloaths they wear come no lower than their Knees, this Spirit, who called himfelf Virachoca, had a long Beard, and his Robe reached down to his Feet; and he likewife led in his Hand an Animal abfolutely unknown to the young Prince. This Fable, univerfally fpread, and generally received, operated fo ftrongly upon the Minds of the People, that they no fooner faw a Spaniard with a long Beard, his Legs covered, and his Horfe in his Hand, than they cried out: Look, look, there is the Inca Virachoca, the Son of the Sun.
II. It was immediately after the fettling of the new Colony by the Spaniards, that the Embaffadors from Atabuallpa arrived, and fignified to Erancis Pizarro, the greatDefire their Mafter had to cultivate a good Correfpondence with him; upon which he immediately took a Refolution to advance towards Caxamalca, where he underfood the Inca was, in order to vifit him. It fo fell out, that the Rout between thefe two Places lay through a burning Defart of about twenty Leagues over; in paffing through which the Spanifh Soldiers fuffered exceffively; but however, when they came to Motapa they met with rich Vallies, and a plentiful Country; wherein they refrefhed themfelves, and then continued their Journey. They met foon after with certain Embaffadors; that had been difpatched by Atabuallpa to compliment Pizarro, who prefented him, on the Part of the Inca, with a Pair of Gold Bufkins very finely wrought, and Bracelets of the fame Metal fet with Emeralds; which they defired him to put on when he had Audience of the Emperor, that by the Sight of his own Prefents he might know him. The Chief of this Embafly was himfelf of the Race of the Incas, and fhewed much Ceremony and Politenefs in his Behaviour. He brought, befides thefe Prefents for the General, Provifions and Gifts for the Army, the former in great plenty, and very acceptable: the latter rich, and therefore no lefs fatisfactory; which raifed the Minds of the Spaniards prodigiouny, inafmuch as they atrributed it wholly to the Fear of that Monarch and his Subjects, in which without doubt they were right,
and yet not in the Senfe in which they underftood it; for it was not fo much the Fear of their Arms, as the Dread the People had of them on a religious Score, as fuppofing them the Offspring of the Sun.

It fell out unluckily for thefe Embaffadors, that the Spaniards had no Interpreter but an Indian of Puna, baptized by the Name of Pbilip, and on the Score of his Youth called Pbilipillo, i. e. Little Pbilip, a mean, villanous Rafcal, born of the Scum of the People, and whofe Mind was yet more dirty than his Original : He had not Senfe enough to comprehend the Compliment of the Inca; and therefore, inftead of the true Meaning of it, delivered Pizarro fome Nonfenfe of his own. After the Embaffador was departed, the Spaniards deliberated upon his Meffage; fome fufpected, that the Inca had bad Defigns; others fwore, that as his Gold was good, they had no Reafon to doubt of his Intention: In the End, they refolved to continue their March, and they did fo, meeting every where with a kind Reception ; and being extremely well entertained at the public Expence. In the mean time, Atabuallpa employed his Time very indifferently, endeavouring to fecure the Poffeffion of the Empire, by murdering moft of the royal Family, and fuch as were moft attached to the Prince his Brother. When they came to Caxamalca, they found the Inca gone, but to a Place not far diftant, whither the General fent, as his Embaffadors, his Brother Ferdinond Pizarro, and Ferdinand Soto.

They were received with great Ceremony, and immediately introduced to the royal Prefence; which ftruck the Spaniards at once with Reverence and Joy; for not only the Inca himfelf, but all who were near him, glittered with Gold and Jewels, and the Embaffadors were ferved with perfumed Liquors, by two beautiful Princeffes, in Veffels of Gold fet with Emeralds. Ferdinand Pizarro made the Inca a long Compliment ; in which he told him, or rather would have told him, of the great Kindnefs done him by the Pope and the King of Spain, who had fent them expreliy, to deliver him and his Subjects from the Tyranny of the Devil; but the Interpreter, who underftood nothing of this, delivered fuch ftrange Stuff of his own, that the Inca could comprehend little or nothing of his Meaning. He fhaped however the beft Anfwer to this Speech that he could; in which he recommended his Subjects to their Favour and Protection, befeeching them, as they were the Children of the Sun, to be gracious and beneficent as their Father ; but the Interpreter murdered this Speech too, in fuch a manner, that though the Tendernefs of it drew Tears from the Officers attending upon the Inca, yet neither of the Spanifb Captains were able to make any thing of it ; and therefore all they could fay at their Return to Pizarro, was, that they had been very kindly entertained, and that the Inca's Court was fplendid beyond Defcription, and almoft beyond Imagination; which raifed the Hopes, and fharpened the Defires of the Spaniards exceedingly; and they likewife told him, that the very next Day, the Inca intended to come in Perfon, and pay him a Vifit in his Camp, attended by his Guards and his Nobility.
12. Francis Pizarro divided his Cavalry, which amounted to no more than fixty Men, into three Troops of twenty each, commanded by Ferdinand Pizarro, Ferdinand Soto, and Sebafician Belalcazar, whom he ordered to draw his Men up under the Cover of an old Wall, that they might not be feen at firft; and that, difcovering themfelves fuddenly, the Indians might be the more furprized. He put himfelf at the Head of the Foot, which confifted but of one hundred Men, and fo waited for the Inca in order of Battle. Aiabuallpa, on his Side, advanced in as regular Order with his Army, which was divided into four Battalions, confifting of eight thoufand Men each; and, as foon as they drew near, the Inca faid to his Officers, thefe People are Meffengers of the Gods, let us be fure to do nothing that mayy offend them; but, on the contrary, ufe our utmoft Endeavours to gain them by repeated Civilities. The Perfon who advanced to harangue him from the Spaniards, was Father Vincent de Valverda, who carried in one Hand a Crofs, and in the other his Breviary.

The Figure of this Man furprized the Emperor very much; however, he ordered him a Chair, and then the reverend Father began a long wretched Difcourfe, which was to be delivered again by a more wretched Interpreter. This Harangue of his was divided into two Parts; the firtt confifted of an Account of all the Myfteries of the Chriftian Faith, the Mifion of $\mathfrak{f} e f u s$ Cbrift, and his Miffion of the Apoftles, of whom he told him St. Peter was the firtt and Head. In the fecond Part of his Difcourfe he held forth the Power of the Pope as the Succeffor of $S t$. Peter, and talked likewife much of the univerfal Monarchy of the Emperor Cbarles, to which it was neceffary that the Inca fhould fubmit; for otherwife God would harden his Heart as he did Pbaraob's, and then the Spaniards were to inflict upon him all the Plagues of Egypt. We may eafily guefs what ftrange Stuff this mutt be, when paffing through the Canal of fuch a Fellow as Pbilipillo, who delivered it fo fadly, that the Inca himfelf perceived his Ignorance, and therefore delivered his Anfwer not in the Court Language as he would otherwife have done, but in the vulgar Tongue; which, however, did not hinder Pbilipillo from murdering it fo effectually, that the Prieft knew no more of the Emperor's Meaning; than the Emperor did of his.

Thus the whole was a ftrange Scene of Confufion, which, however, ended much worfe than it began ; for the Spaniards obferving an Indian Idol upon a Tower exceffively adorned with Silver, Gold, and precious Stones, their Avarice would not fuffer them to wait any longer, fo that they fell to pillaging it as faft as they could; in which the Indians were going to oppofe them, but the Inca commanded them not to refift, let the Spaniards do what they would. Father Vincent hearing this Noife, turned about, rofe from his Chair, and running to appeafe the Spaniards, threw afide his Crofs and dropped his Breviary, which greatly increafed the Confufion ; the Spaniards pretending that they apprehended the Indian Monarch had infulted the Crofs; but without doubt the Infult was on their Side, who thus fcandalounly betrayed and prophaned their Religion, and made the Gofpel of Peace a Pretence for perpetrating the moft, barbarous, the moft perfidious, and moft inhuman Cruelties, by naughtering thoufands of poor Creatures, fo obedient to their Prince, that they did not move a Hand in their own Defence.
13. There is fome Doubt whether Pizarro engaged himfelf at the Beginning, but it is certain, that when this Confufion rofe to fuch a Height, he caufed his Horfe to pour in, and advanced in Perfon to feize Atabuallpa, of whofe Robe he laid hold; and, falling down himfelf, dragged the Inca after him from his Chair, at which time one of the Spaniards ftriking at him with his Sword, wounded Pizarro, who was the only Spaniard that loft any Blood in this difhonourable Fray; for certainly it could not be called a Battle, fince the Indians fell like Sheep, without offering the leaft Refiftance. The Spanifb Writers differ widely from each other in their Accounts of this Tranfaction, at which we need not wonder; for, being naturally proud, and unwilling to injure the Reputation of their Countrymen, they endeavour all they can to difguife the Truth, and to hinder their Readers from feeing a Series of Facts utterly inexcufable. The Defire of impofing Falhoods will always beget Confufion; for let the Parts or Abilities of Men be what they will, there is no giving Confffence or Connection to a Bundle of Lies.

Herrera informs us, that Pizorro, before Atabuallpa and his Indians entered the Square, commanded his Mufketeers to take Poft, and that, upon a Signal given them, the Captains Ferdinand Pizarro, Ferdinand de Soto, Sebafitan de Belalcazar, and Cbrifopber de Mena, who commanded the Cavalry, fhould fall upon the Indions, and the Foot fhould do the like; and directed them before the Execution began, that they fhould permit a certain Number of the Enemy to enter the Gates, which they fhould afterwards take fpecial Care to fhut and fecure: That Father Vincent having made his Speech to the Inca, told Pizarro he was treated with Contempt, and that the Tyrant demanded Reftitution of the Gold and Silver the

Spaniards had plundered his Subjects of; whereupon, fays Herrera, Pizarro did not think fit to lofe more Time, for he had before refolved what to do, being a Man that had ferved twenty Years in the Wef-Indies; and, knowing the Vietory depended on feizing the Perfons of the Sovereigns, he lifted up the white Cloth, which was the appointed Signal for executing the Orders he had given; and thereupon Peter Candia fired the great Guns, and the Mufketeers their Pieces, to the Amazement of the Indians; and the more fo, becaufe it was unexpected: Then the Drums beat, the Trumpets founded, the Horfe fell in three feveral Ways among the Indions, while the Infantry made a Slaughter of them with their crofs Bows, Pikes, and Swords; and Pizarro, in Perfon, with fifteen chofen Men, marched up to the Chair on which Atcbuallpa was carried, and, killing thofe that fupported it , with many more that crowded to fupply their Places, after a very great Slaughter of the $I_{n}$ dians, feized the Inca, and pulled him down from his Chair; after which the Peruvians fled and were purfued by the Spaniards, who did not leave off killing them till the Fugitives broke down part of the Wall of the Square, by which Means fome of them efcaped.

De la Vega, who was himfelf an Inca, or a Defcendant from the Family of thofe Princes, whofe Hiftory he writes, obferves, that the Spanifh Generals pretended the Indians were treacherous, that Atabuallpa had formed a Defign to furprize the Spaniards, and put them all to the Sword ; and that F. Vincent complained to the General, they refufed his Invitation to become Chriftians, and treated him and the Crofs with Contempt, and thereupon incited the General to fall upon thein. But in thefe Accounts, fays de la Vega, the General and Captains were not fincere; they endeavoured to put the beft Glofs upon their Actions, leaving out of the Narrative they fent to the Court of Spain all their cruel and unjuftifiable Proceedings, and adding whatever had a fair Appearance ; it being confirmed, fays that Hiftorian, by feveral other Writers, that Atabuallpa commanded his Subjects not to refift the Spaniards; for if the Inca had not commanded them not to fight, certainly, faid he, they would never have endured to fee their Prince overthrown and taken, having Weapons in their Hands; they would all rather have died in his Defence, as many of them did in endeavouring to fupport his Chair, and not have fuffered an hundred and fixty Spaniards, whom they were able to have.fubdued with Stones, to commit fuch Outrages; whereas, there was not one Spaniard either killed or wounded, unlefs Francis Pizarro the General ; who received, as has been faid, a little Hurt in his Hand by one of his own Men, as he went to feize on Atabuallpa.
The Truth is, the Indians did not fight, becaufe they held every Command of the Inca to be a Part of their Religion, and of the Divine Law, though it was to lofe their Lives and Eftates. Such are the Variations with which this Story is told, by the moft confiderable Writers; and indeed, take it in what Light we will, or can, it admits of very little Excufe, and ought to be confidered as an Inftance, that the Thirft of Wealth corrupts even the nobleft Minds. But we have not room to expatiate upon the Subject; our Bufinefs is to purfue the Hiftory, and to fhew the Reader what the Confequences were of this barbarous and bloody Action.
I3. When all was over, Pizarro, having feized the Inca, and conveyed him to his own Quarters, directed the Spoils of the Field to be brought to him, which were great; confifting of large Gold and Silver Veffels, Utenfils, fine Garments, Jewels, and Ornaments, belonging to the Inca, the Royal Family, and great Officers; there were taken alfo feveral Ladies, Wives of the Caziques and Orejons, and forme of the Mamaconds, or confecrated Virgins ; and Pizarro directed Thankfgiving to God to be obferved that very Day, being the 3d of May 1533, and in that very Field where the Ground was covered with the dead Bodies of the miferable Indians they had thus murdered and plundered. Next Day he fent out a Detachment of his Forces to plunder the Inca's Camp, where he met with another rich Booty ;
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though, it is faid, the Perwivian Generals had carried of three thoufand Loads of Gold and Silver before the Spaniards arrived there; therefore, in order to induce the Indians not to carry off or conceal any more of their Treafures, he caufed it to be proclaimed that their Inca was alive, and that they were at Liberity to come and attend him, and perform their ufual Services; whereupon feveral of the Indian Generals and great Officers returned to Caxamalca to attend their Captive Sovereign. He alfo caufed the Inca's Women to be brought to him, and fuffered him to be ferved in the fame Manner he ufed to be before this Misfortune : Though he ftill kept him in Fetters, which made the Inca apprehenfive they would take away his Life in the End, unlef́s he could find fome way to obtain his Liberty.
Having obferved therefore the infatiable Thirft of the Spaniards after Gold and Silver, he promifed to give them as much of thofe Metals as a great Room in the Caftle of Caxamalca would hold for his Freedom; and, that the Spaniards might not doubt the Performance of what he offered, he propofed fending fome SpaniJb Officers, with his People, to Cuzco, to the Temple of Pacba Cbamac, and other Places, to bring the Treafures repofited there to Caxamalca; and, at the fame time, iffued his Orders, that the Spaniards who were difpatched to thofe Places fhould be hofpitably entertained, in the Countries through which they paffed, and receive all the Affiftance his Subjects could give them.

In the mean time, Almagro having lifted an hundred and fifty Men in his Service at Panama, embarked with them for Peru to reinforce Pizarro; but was obliged, by contrary Winds, to land at Cape Francijco, to the Northward of the Equator, where he was joined by another ftrong Party of Spaniar ds, that were going to fhare Pizarro's Fortunes, making together a Body of between two and three hundred Men ; but being obliged to pafs fo many Moraffes and Mouths of Rivers, and march through continual Rains under the Equator, he loft thirty or forty of his Men, and fell fick himfelf: However, furmounting all thefe Diftreffes and Difficulties, he arrived at length at the Spanifa Colony of St. Micbael's, near the Bay of Guiaquil, and there he underttood that Pizarro had made the Emperor Atabuallpa Prifoner, and poffefled himfelf of a vaft Treafure ; whereupon, it is faid, Almagro confulted with his Officers, whether they fhould join Pizarro or go upon fome further Difcoveries, independent of him, if he refufed to let them fhare the Treafure he had got; and Almagro's Secretary, it feems, fent Pizarro Intelligence, that his Mafter had no good Intentions towards him.
But Pizarro, either believing he fhould not be able to keep fo large an Empire as Peru in Subjection, with the few Troops that were with him, or that Almagro, having more Forces than he commanded, might join a Party of the Indians, and take, his Booty from him, and fet up for himfelf, fent very obliging Meffages to Almagro, inviting him to advance and join him ; and, at the fame time, acquainted him with the Arts that were ufed to fet them at Variance, and thereby ruin their Enterprize on Peru, which was not to be carried on but by their united Forces and Endeavours; and particularly, he acquainted Almagro with the Treachery of his Secretary, who thereupon ordered him to be hanged up, and immediately began his march towards Caxamalca. There was certainly a great deal of Policy in this Conduct, and Pizarro thewed himfelf therein a Perfon of deep Penetration, and great Parts ; but, at the fame time, there was fomething in it of Ingratitude; fo that we ought to place it among the Number of thofe Actions of his, which inftead of deferving Praifc ftand in need of Excufe.
14. The coming of Almagro made a very great Noife, and the Inca Atabuallpa, receiving Advice that another Body of Spaniards was arrived upon the Coaft, began to reflect that this would not be to his Advantage; for Pizorro would now no longer be under a Neceffity of carrying Matters fair with him ; being enabled, by this Reinforcement, to maintain his Conquefts by force. He haftened therefore the bringing in the 1 reafure he had offered for his Ranfom, that he might obtain his Liberty before

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Pizarro

Pizarro was joined by Almagro; but another Accident happened about the fame Time, which he apprehended might be ftill more fatal to him.
The three Spanifb Officers that were fent with his People to Cuzco, lappening to pafs through the Town where Huefoar, his Brother, was Prifoner, went to 'fee him ; and acquainting Huefcar with what Atabuallpa had offered for his Ranfom, that Prince informed them how unjuftly he had been depofed by Atabualipa, his Brother, who had no Right to the Empire or the Treafures he had promifed; and as he underftood one principal Defign of the Expedition of the Spaniards, was to relieve the Diftreffed, and to do Juitice to thofe that were oppreffed, he did not doubt but they would releafe him from his Captivity, and reftore him to his Throne; which he fhould not only gratefully acknowledge, but would furnifh them with much more Treafure than the Ufurper could poffibly do ; for his loyal Subjects had buried moft of their Gold and Silver Plate after the Battle, wherein the was made Prifoner, to conceal it from the Rebels, but would readily produce it again, and pay it to the Spaniards for his Ranfom, if they required in.
Pizarro's Meffengers feemed to liften to his Overtures, and promifed the Inca that Juftice fhould be done him ; but left that Prince, however, in Priifon, and continued their Journey to Cuzco ; and Advice being immediately carried Atabuallpa, of the Conferences between the Spanifb Officers and his Brother, he foon faw that he Thould be undone, unlefs Huefar was immediately defpatched out of the way, knowing that the greateft Part of the Subjects of the Empire were little in his Intereft; and, as they would infallibly be fupported by the Spaniards, to whom his Brother had difcovered his Treachery, and promifed fuch Mountains of Gold and Silver, they would certainly facrifice him to their Avarice, if they had no regard to the Juftice of his Brother's Caufe; but reflecting, if he fhould order his Brother to be put to death, the Spaniards might make this a Pretence for taking away his own Life, he was forced to act with Caution.
He refolved, in the firt Place, to found how Pizarro ftood affected towards Huefar ; which he did by feigning he had Intelligence, that the Officers who had his Brother in Cuftody, had put him to Death without his Knowledge, for which the Ufurper expreffed a very great Concern. But finding Pizarro was not moved at the Relation, and that he only faid, This was the Fortune of War, and the Lives of Captives were at the Conqueror's Difpofal; Atabuallpa difpatched an Exprefs for putting Huefcar to Death, and his Orders were immediately executed, though it remains uncertain what Death he died; for fome Writers affirm he was burnt, others, that he was drowned, and fome, that his Body was cut in fmall Pieces, that his Subjects might not pay thofe Honours to the Corpfe of their deceafed Inca as were ufuàl. However he fuffered, there is one Thing worthy of Remark, which is, That when the Murderers came into his Prefence, and Fuefcar underftood their Bufinefs, he expreffed himfelf in thefe Words: "My Reign is indeed "s but fhort ; but the Perfon by whofe Orders I am put " to death, who was born, and ought to have continued " my Subject, will not live to enjoy long that Power "s which he endeavours to purchafe at the Expence of "c the Blood of his Brother and his lawful Prince."
The Peruvians, however, made great Lamentations for him as foon as his Death was known, crying to Heaven for Vengeance on his Murderers: Some alfo defired the Spaniards to revenge it on the Ufurper Atabuallpa. In the mean time, the three Officers that were fent to Cuzco being arrived there, were adored by that People as the true Defcendants of the Sun: But the Spaniards lamented that they were Men of mean Parts and Education, who knew not how to preferve that Refpect and Veneration the Peruvians had conceived of them, which was then fo neceffary to facilitate their future Attempts. The Indians, we are told, foon perceived they muft deduce the Original of the Spaniards from fome bafer Fountain than the Sun, and the Efteem and Affection they at firft entertained for the Chrittians, on the mighty Pro
felfions they made of their Juftice and Honour, was on a fudden converted into Dread and Averfion.
They were afflicted to find fo vicious and profigate a Race of Men, who trampled on every thing that was facred, and whofe Avarice feemed to exceed all Bounds, hould become Mafters of their Country; and from that time meditated how they might throw off that intolerable Yoke which they found the Spaniards were about to impofe upon them. However, they durft not difobey the Commands of their Inca Atabualipa; but having amaffed a confiderable Quantity of Treaiure, they loaded it on the Backs of their Tamenes or Porters, and conveyed it to Caxamalca, with a View, polizibly, of afferting their Liberties to greater Advantage, when they hould have procured the Releafe of their Inca : But the moft valuable Treafure, confifting of Gold, Silver, and Emeralds, being lodged in the Temple of Pacba Camac, the invifible God, as Pizarro was informed, he difpatched his three Brothers thither, with the Peruvian Officers Atabuallpe deputed, to fetch it to Caxamalca.
But the Priefts of Pacba Cannac receiving Advice how the Temple of Cufa had been ruined by the Spaniards that went thither, to prevent the like Misfortune fent away four hundred Loads of Gold, Silver, and Jewels before the Spaniards arrived, which were buried in the Earth, or carried to fuch a Diftance that the Spaniards could never difcover them; however, Ferdinand Pizarro found as much Plate in this Temple as amounted to ninety thoufand Crowns befides what the Soldiers embezzled, and returned with it to Caxamalca.
The Marfhal Almagro, being advanced by this time into the Neighbourhood of that Place, Pizarro, the General, went out to meet him, and congratulated his Arrival, received him with all the Marks of Affection and Efteem imaginable, and offered him fuch a Share in the Spoils as made him perfectly eafy; but his Soldiers, who expected to divide the Booty with tliofe that ferved under Pizarro, were told, they were intitled to no Part of it, as not having been prefent in the Action when the Inca Atabuallpa was made Prifoner, which was near creating a Mutiny amongft them ; but they were pretty well appeafed when Pizarro agreed to diftribute an hundred thoufand Ducats among the Men which came with Almagro. The reft of the Plunder, after the Emperor's Fifth was deducted, was divided by Pizarro among his Officers and Soldiers, in fuch a Proportion as he faw fit, in which he pretended to have a great Regard to the Merit of the refpective Adventurers. And it is faid, after he had referved the Inca's golden Chair to himfelf, he diftributed as much Gold and Silver Plate amongft the Soldiers, as amounted to 1, 500,000 Crowns and upwards; which, confidering the Value of Gold and Silver at that Time, was more than fifteen Millions at this Day. But as large as this Sum appears in round Numbers, it will be yet found more extraordinary and furprifing, if we confider amongft how finall a Number of Men it was divided.
We cannot exactly fay what every private Man's Share came to, but we learn from good Memoirs, that each Horfeman had near two thoufand Ounces of Gold for his Share, and the Foot in Proportion; fo that I fee no Reafon to doubt of the Truth of what I once faw in a MS. of Sir Fobn Harvkins: That the meanef of Pizarro's Soldiers had two thoufand Pounds for his Share, and fome of them, that is, of the Foot, twice that Sum ; and yet it is agreed, that the whole Money then divided did not exceed a Fifth part of Atabuallpa's Ranfom, which, at this Rate mult have amounted to more than one Million and an half of our Money. After the Divifion was made, about fixty of the private Men infifted upon their Difcharge, that they might go home and live in peace upon what they had got. Almagro oppofed this vehemently, alledging, That it would greatly weaken their fmall Army; and moft of the Council were of his Opinion. Francis Pizarro, who had more Senfe than Almagro and all the Council put together, agreed to the Demand, and gave this wife Reafon for it : That when once it appeared that private Men could get fo much in fo little a time, there was no doubt to be made, if one

# Chap. III. 

Man went away they hould have ten come in his Place; and having given this Reafon there was no farther Difpute about it.

As Ferdinand Pizarro was the Perfon made choice of to go over to Spain with thefe Men, and this vaft Mafs of Treafure, he went to take his Leave of Atabuallpa, with whom he was in much greater Efteem than any of the Spanib Officers. The Emperor received the News with great Sorrow and Concern, and could not help fpeaking his Sentiments freely. My Lord, faid he, you are going home, which is certainly matter of Joy to you, though tis matter of Grief to me; for I already apprehend, that before your Return, that Fellow with one Eye, meaning Almagro, and that other Fellow with the great Belly, which was the King's Treafurer, will fend me to my long home, and therefore let us take our laft farewel.

He made a very right Judgment in this; for when the Spaniards, who had been fent for the reft of Atabuallpa's Ranfom, made a Report of the prodigious Quantities of Gold they had feen, and the Reafons they had to believe that much greater Quantities were concealed, Almagro gave it as his Opinion, that they thould wait no longer, but get red of the Inca as foon as they could; and then make as much hafte as pofible to get Poffeffion of all the Gold in Peru. A bafe and bloody Refolution, which, though Francis Pizarro at. this time rejected with Horror, yet it was not long before he approved and agreed to it.
15. The Fate of Atabuallpa is undoubtedly one of the moft memorable things that falls within the Compafs of this Section, and therefore it is requifite that we fhould give a clear and diftinct Account of the Fact, tho' in as few Words as pofible; and this is what we fhall labour to perform with the ftricteft Impartiality, and the greateft Regard to Truth. There were various ReaCons why Francis Pizarro, though a very brave and gallant Man, had not that Tendernefs for this Indian Monarch, that Cortes had for Motezuma; but that which governed him principally was, a fort of Contempt with which Atabuallpa treated him, and the vifible Preferrence he gave in point of Eiteem and Regard to other Officers in the Spanifb Army. The Caufe of this Behaviour is one of the mof fingular Paffages that occurs in all the Spanifb Hiftories of the Conqueft of Peru, and cannot fail of giving great Pleafure to the judicious Reader.

Atabuallpa, however cruel to his own Family, appeared to be a Prince of great Wifdom and Penetration; and one who laboured to inform himfelf as thoroughly as it was poffible, with refpect to the Manners, Cuftoms, fuperior and inferior Qualities of the Spaniards, that he might be the better able to deal with them, if upon the Payment of the Sum propofed for his Ranfom they fhould actually reftore him to his Liberty. That which moft of all perplexed his Enquiries and difturbed his Meditations, was their Art of Writing and Reading, as to which he could not comprehend whether it was a natural Endowment, or whether it was acquired by Labour and Application. In order to fatisfy himfelf in this Point, he afked one of the Spanifb Soldiers whether he could exprefs the Name of God upon his Thumb-nail. The Man readily faid he could, and did accordingly; after this the Inca went about to feveral of the Captains and Soldiers, and fhewing them his Thumb-nail, afked them if they knew what that Mark fignified; and from their Anfwers, he began to entertain an Opinion that reading and writing were natural to this Nation, which he thought a very great Advantage: But unfortunately he afked the fame Queftion of the General, who, not being able to read it, was put greatly to the Blufh, which not only chariged Atarouallpa's Opinion, with refpect to reading and writing, which he now faw plainly were the Fruits of Education, but gave him likewife a very low Opinion of the General, fuppofing that he muft have been of a very mean Original, fince he was lefs knowing in this Refpect than many of his Soldiers.

This Contempt that he fhewed for Pizarro, begat a Prejudice is him, which very foon turned to the Dif-
advantage, and in the End proved the Rain, of the Inca. It fell out that Pbilippillo, or Pbilip the Interpreter, fell in love with one of Atabuallpas Wives, which incenfed. that Monarch fo much, that he fignified to Pizarros that he ought not only to punifh fuch a Fellow, but even to put him to Death; which the General was fo far from doing, that he only made a Jeft of the whole Affair s. in which without doubt he fhewed as little Regard to his own Character, as to that of the Emperor's. Pbilippillo took the Jealoufy of Atabuallpa much to Heart; and as all fuch low Fellows fuffer Hate and Fear to compound their Refentments, fo he determined in himfelf to deftroy that Monarch immediately out of the Way, as the fole Means of providing for his own Safety. It was with this View that the Villain infinuated to Pizarro that he ought to be very watchful of the Inca's Motions, becaure he was actually contriving the Deflutution of the Spaniards: This wild and ridiculous Story was digefted into a formal Accufation, by the Direction of the General and his Favourites, who appointed Commiffioners to try Atabuallpa; directing Sancbo de Cuellar to take upon him the Office of Attorney General, to exhibit a Charge againft the Inca, which he did; and it confifted of the following Particulars, viz. That Huefcar, Inca, being his eldeff Brother and lawful Sovereign, and himfelf a Baftard, he had caufed Huefcar to be depofed and imprifoned, and afterwards ufurped his Throne: That he had caufed his faid Brother to be murdered, fince he became a Prifoner to the Spaniards: That Atabuallpa was an Tdolater: That he caufed his Subjects to facrifice Men and Children: That he had raifed unjuft Wars, and been guilty of the Blood of many People: That he kept a great many Concubines: That he expected Taxes and Tribute of the Peruvians, fince the Spaniards poffeffed his Country, and coniumed and embezzled the public Treafure: That he had incited the Indians to rebel and make War againft the Spaniards, fince he had been their Prifoner.

The very reading there Articles fufficiently proves that they were not calculated to bring a bad Man to Juftices but to give the Colour of Law, and the Form of a fair Tryal, to one of the wickedeft and vileft Contrivances that ever entered the Heart of Man. Yet black and villanous as this Affair was, it is very doubtful to fay whether it reflects more Honour or more Infamy uport the Spanif Nation. For no fooner was this dark Defign fet on Foot, than almoft all the Perfons of Famis ly and Diftinction that ferved in the Army, declared againft it; and declared in Terms that fpoke them equally Men of Senle and Men of Honour: They declared that they, knew no right the Spanifh Nation had to make themfelves Judges of an Indian Prince, or of his Title to his Dominions; that with regard to the Spaniards, he had behaved fo well, and done them fo many Kindnefles; that to treat him in this Manner, was not only the higheft Barbarity, but the moft flagrant Ingratitude; that if after all they were refolved to be rid of him, the beft thing. they could do was, to fend him into Spain, together with their Charge, and leave the Caufe to be decided by the Emperor. But Pizarro and his Council were determined to go on, and though the other Party delivered a Proteft in Writing againft all their Proceedings, and appointed one Fobn de Herreda Protector of the Emperor's Perfon, yet they perffifed in trying him; and affigned him one of their Party for an Advocate; who to be fure made fuch a Defence as did no great Serviee to his Client.
The Iffue of this Bufinefs was, that after a mock Shew of Juftice, they condemned the Incia to fuffer Death; which at firft they refolved fhould be by burning; and to this Sentence, to give it a fairer Appearance in Spains where it might very well be expected that it would be reviewed, they procured the Approbation of Father Vincent, who proftituted his Character as an Ecclefiaftic in this bloody Affair; and, which was much worfe, proftituted, as tar as in him lay, the Chriftian Faith, and the Credit of the Gofpel; for which his Memory ought to be infamous in every Country where the People call themfelves Chriftians. Yet this cruel and blood-thirfty Friar. after being fo great in Inftrument in his Sufferings, un
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dertook the Converfion of Atabuallpa, and the Argument he ufed to induce him to be baptized, was worthy of fuch a Preacher. He told him that if he would confent to die a Chriftian, he fhould not be burnt, but ftrangled only, which had the defired Effect, and he was accordly baptized in the Evening, and ftrangled the next Morning, to the eternal Difhonour of all who were concerned in fo iniquitous and fcandalous a Proceeding.
There are fome who pretend that this Murder of the Inca was chiefly owing to the Indians themfelves, who were for revenging the Death of their lawful Emperor Huefcar ; and thereby fulfilling the prophetic Threatning of that Prince at his Death, which has been already mentioned, and this has been very gravely infifted upon as an Apology, if not a Defence, for the Conduct of Pizarro and his Officers. A little Confideration, however, will fhew us that there could be no Truth in this: Firt it appears, that notwithftanding his Brother's Death, Atabuallpa was univerfally ack nowledged and obeyed as the lawful Inca throughout the whole Empire, which does by no Means agree with this Story of the Indians defiring to have him put to death. It may indeed be faid that things may be true, though they are not probable, but then we cannot know them to be true without Proof, of which none of the Hirtorians who report this bring us any, either good or bad.
Secondly, if it had been fo, the Spaniards would certainly have made the Indians his Profecutors, or rather have fet up the Inca his Brother, who had a fair Title to the Crown, and have left them to have taken Vengeance for that Crime, which, if they could have done it, would have anfwered their Purpofe, and faved their Credit; and as they did not do it, we may very fairly prefume that no fuch thing was in their Power. It muft indeed be allowed that thefe are only negative Arguments, but yet Arguments they are, whereas what is faid on the other Side is meer Suggeftion.

But thirdly, there is the cleareft Proof of the contrary; for as foon as Atabuallpa was murdered, the Indians began every where to act offenfively againt the Spaniards, which they had never done before; and this fhews that the former Conduct was the Effect of Duty to that Prince whom the Spaniards would have us believe they difowned; and the latter is as clear a Mark of their univerfally detefting that Crime, which it is pretended was done at their Perfuafion. If therefore we take thefe Confiderations together, there can be no longer any Doubt but what the Spaniards have advanced is a pure Fiction, contrived to give fome Sort of Colour to an Action too foul to be avowed, even by thofe who committed it.
16. The Events that followed upon the Death of the Inca Atabuallpa, very plainly fhewed that human Nature is the fame in all Countries and Climates; that fome Men from Principles of Honour, Fidelity, and Love to their Country, adhere to what is right, whatever feeming Advantages may invite them to purfue a contrary Conduct, while others, after gaining to themfelves Character, Credit, and Employments, by putting on a fpecious Appearance of Virtue, fhew their natural Difpofitions at once, when tempted by the Hopes of Gain, and releafed from the Fear of any other Punifhment than what refults from the Confcioufnefs of having done Evil.

Rumnari, one of Atabuallpa's Generals, who retired from the fatal Slaughter at Caxamalca, with the Rearguard of his Army, made himfelf Mafter of Quito; and, as foon as he heard of his Mafter's Death, cut to pieces fuch of his Officers as he believed loyal to the deceafed Prince, and endeavoured to keep what he could for himifelf. 2uifquis, another of thefe Generals, acted much the fame Part; but, having a better Army under his Command, fecured a greater Part of the Country, and yet fhewed himfelf far from being valiant, by flying before a handful of Spaniards who were fent in purfuit of him, and gave a farther Proof his Cruelty, which is a quality infeparable from Cowardice, by murdering a few $S p a$ niards, who, by their Temerity in puhing on too far, had fallen into his Hands.

This Man, jufly apprehending that it would be impoffible for him to maintain himfelf againft the other In-
dian Commanders, as well as againt the Spaniards, while his Power had no other Authority than what it derived from Force, contrived to get into his Hands a younger Brother of the Inca's, whofe Name was Paullh, whom he would have perfuaded to have taken the Titte of Emperor, hoping under the Shadow of his Title to have preferved the Power he had obtained. But this Prince, though very young, difcovered a Greatnefs of Soul truly admirable, and worthy of the higheft Praife; for difdaining a Crown, which he knew could not be worn but at the joint Expence of his Family and his Country; he generouly refufed it, telling Q $_{2 i j}$ quis that he fcorned to derive from the Mifery of the Empire, that Authority which he could not hope for in better Times; and, that he efteemed it far more honourable to be thought a worthy Man, than a bad Monarch; which had fuch an Effect even on $Q^{2 u i} q u i$, that, though he had him in his Power, he did not attempt to feize his Perfon, but allowed him to retire, as he did, to Francis Pizarro, towards whom he behaved with the fame Dignity and Firmnefs. He told the General that the true Heir of the Empire was his elder Brother Manco Capac; and that if he had any fuch Purpofes as he pretended, of doing Juftice, and protecting fuch as had right on their Side, he ought to fhew it by declaring in favour of that Prince who had already a good Army about him; and who, with the Affitance of the Spaniards, would infallibly reftore the Luftre of the imperial Diadem; which, as we fhall fee hereafter, had the defired Effect. I mention this, though it carries me a little beyond that Period of time of which I was feeaking, that I might not omit altogether fo fingular an Example of Virtue and good Senfe.
As for Quifquis he fill went on in his old Way, and having had Information that the Spanifb General had left but a fmall Body of Men to guard Requelma, the royal Treafurer, with all the Riches he had taken in his Hands, he made a very bold Pufh in Hopes of furprizing him, but met with fo brave a Refiftance, that he was obliged to retire without carrying his Point; and this flews us another thing, that there are in all Nations Men of fuch low and profligate Difpofitions, as not to be afhamed of encreafing the Calamities of their Country, by attending folely to their private Intereft in Times of public Confufion ; when a little Reflection would fhew them that acquiring Wealth is only expofing themfelves to greater Dangers than fuch are in who have lefs, and confequently is acting as much againft their Intereft as againft their Duty and the Public. All Paffions indeed obfcure Fore-fight, but Avarice makes Men ftone blind.

It is impoffible to conceive a Country in a worfe Condition than Peru was now in, or a Nation in greater Diftraction than its Inhabitants. On the one hand they were difpirited with fuperfitious Fears of the Spaniards, which hindered them from confidering, in a proper Light, their Force, and the Strength they were able to bring againft them; on the other, they were no lefs confounded with tefpect to their own Government, fome following one of the Incas, and fome another; and thus, when Union alone could afford them any Chance for Safety, they fplit themfelves into Factions and Parties, and thereby drew on their own Ruin. This is a Leffon worthy of Attention; for what was then the Condition of Peru, may be that of any other Country upon the Globe, and confequently the Behaviour of its Inhabitants may ferve to inftruct all other Nations. But it is now time to return to the Progrefs of the Spaniards, and the Effects of their Arms; from which we digreffed only with a View to ftate fome Points to the Reader, as agreeable to the Subject, and no lefs worthy of his Attention; which Tafk having thus fulfilled, we will refume the Thread of our Narrative.
17. Pizarro, however, did not carry his Refentment fo far, but that, after he had taken and killed, he thought fit to treat, the Corps of the Inca with the Refpect due to a fovereign Prince; he celebrated the Inca's Funeral with great Solemnity, and went into Mourning for him ; but he foon difcovered how deteftable this Murder rendered him among the Natives. The two Factions immediately
united againft him, under Manco Capac, the Brother and Heir of Huefar, whom they proclaimed Emperor of Cuzco. Whereupon Pizarro proclaimed Toparpa, a Son of Atabuallpa, Emperor; caufed him to wear the Imperial Coronet, and to be treated with the fane Honours his Father had been, iffuing fuch Orders in his Name, as might beff ferve the Intereft of the Spaniards; but this Inca died foon after; and fo Pizarro conjecturing that nothing could tend to eftablifh the Spanif Dominion in Peru, more than his poffeffing himfelf of the capital City of Cuzco, he began his March thither with all his Forces, confifting of near four hundred Men, befides fuch as were ftiled confederate Indians.
In the mean time Ataucbi, Brother to the late Emperor Atabuallpa, having collected a great Quantity of Treafure, to purchafe his Brother's Ranfom, brought it to Caxamalca; but finding Atabuallpa murdered, and the Spaniards marched from thence, determined to be revenged on them, and joining his Forces with fome Peruvian Generals, furprifed the Spaniards upon their March to Cuzco, killed fome of them and made feveral Prifoners, and amongft the reft Sencho de Cuellar, who had drawn up the Proceís againft the late Inca Atabuallpa, and attended his Execution. With thefe Prifoners the Indian Generals retired again to Coxamakia, where they ftrangled Sancho the Spaniard, at the' very fame Poft where their Emperor was put to death; but undertanding that Francis de Cbaves, Ferdinando de Haro, and fome of the reft of their Prifoners, had protefted againft the Inca's Death, they refolved to give them their Lives and Liberties, entering into the following Articles of Peace and Friendfhip with the captive Spaniards before they difmiffed them : Viz. That neither Party fhould, for the future, offer any Violence to the other; and particularly, That the Spaniards fhould not attempt to depofe Mainco Capac, who had been proclaimed at Cuzco, and was the lawful/Heir of the Inca Atabuallpa; That both Sides fhould releafe their Prifoners; and, That the Spianiards fhould not treat the Indians as Slaves, but Freemen: That the Laws of their Country flould be obferved inviolably when not repugnant to thofe of Chriftianity ; and that this Treaty fhould be ratified by the Spanifs General, and his Sovereign the Emperor of the Romans.

The Spaniards infifted, on their Part, That the $I_{n}$ dians fhould profefs the Chriftian Religion: That a Part of the Country fhould be affigned them for their Subfiftance; and, That they might retain the Indians as hired Servants, though not as Slaves; which the Indians agreed to; and difmiffed their Prifoners with rich Prefents. But Pizarro and Almagro, at firf, pofitively refufed to ratify the Articles, and would hear of nothing but an abfolute Sübmiffion, and an entire Surrender of their Country and their Perfons, to the Will of the' Chriftians: Which occafioned long and bloody Wars afterwards. Whereas the Spanifs Hiftorians admit they might have eftablifhed Chriftianity in Peru without fpilling a Drop of Blood, if the Ambition and Avarice of the Adventurers had not prevented it. The General Pizarro, continuing his March towards Cuzco, was again attacked by feveral Parties of the Indians at fome difficult Paffés in the Mountains; but, finding themfelves unable to refift theFire-arms and Hories of the Chriftians, they fled, after a faint Refiftance, to the capital City, declaring it was in vain for any human Force to oppofe the Spaniards, who were armed with Thunder and Lightning, and could kill their Enemies at $f 0$ many hundred Yards diftance. Whereupon the People of Cuzco, without offering to defend the Walls, or that impregriable Cafte already mentioned, fled with their Wives and Children, and what was moft valuable to them, Eo the Woods and Mountains; and Pizarro entered the City without Oppofition, in the Month of Oftober, 1532, where he met with a prodigious Booty, notwithitanding the Citizens had fo much time to carry off their Goods and Treafures.
We have not room here to enter into a long Account, either of the Particulars, or of the Amount, of the immenfe Wealth, which the Spaniards fay was found in this City; but fhall content curfelves with obferving, that as it was the Cuftom in this Country to bury with their great Men the beft part of the Riches of which they died poffeffed,
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fo their Conquerors, who made no fort of Difficulty of rifling Sepulchres as well as Temples, found not only as much Wealth in the Dwellings of the Dead, but rather more, than in the Habitations of the Living; fo that fuch as rate the Plunder of this City at the loweff, compute it at the full Value of Atabuallpa's Ranfom. When the General Francis Pizarro had thus got into his Hands the Capital of Peru, from whence the Inca Manco Capac, and the greateft part of the Inhabitants were fled, he thought fit to invite them to return to their Dwellings, apprehending, if they were made defperate, that the whole Power of the Empire might affemble againft him, and reduce him to great Streights by curting off his Provifions, though they durft not meet him fairly in the Field.

The Indians, áccepting Pizarro's Invitation, returned to their Houfes in Cuzco, and even the Inca made fome Overtures to him, intimating, that he flould be content to emberace the Chrifian Religion, and hold his Dominions of the Emperor of the Romans, provided, that neither he rior his Subjects fhould be molefted for the future, in their Perfons or Eftates: And, being encouraged by Pizarro to believe he fhould have the Terms he demanded, the Inca came in Perfon to Cuzco, and had an Interview with the Spanifh General, who caufed him to be crowned, and invefted in the Empire, by binding thie royal Wreath, or Coronet about his Head, and proclaiming him Inca in the fame manner his Predeceffors uffed to be inaugurated into that Dignity ; and affured the Inca he would frrictly obferve the Capitulation made by Francis de Cbaves. Thefe pacific Meafures the Spaniards found themfelves under a Neceffity of taking at this time, not only becaufe they faw all the fouthern Provinces of Peru affembling againft them under the Inca Manco Capac; but becaule Rumuavi, 2uifquis, and other Peruvian Generals, had collected a very great Army in the fouthern Provinces, and poffefed themfelves of 2 inito, which obliged him to fend out a confiderable Detachment of his Forces, under the Cornmand of Sebaftian Belalcazar, to reinforce the new Colony at St. Michael's, and to make Head againft the Peruvion Generals in Quito.
This Meafure was taken with great Wifdom and Prudence, and the Commander laft mentioned, upon his Arrival at St. Michael's, found there a great Reinforcement of Volunteers, who came from different Parts of the Spanifh Settlements, in order to obtain a Share in the Riches of Peru. Out of thefe he chofe one hündred and twenty Foot, and fourfcore Horfe; which having incorporated into his own Army, he marched directly to 2 quito, in order to make himfelf Mafter of the Riches of the deceafed Atabuallpa, moft of which he knew remained there. The Indian General, who commanded in that Province, did all that lay in his Power to harrafs and fatigue the Spanib/ Army, and to prevent their coming to a decifive Action; but this turning to no Account, and finding that Belalcazar continued to advance directly to the Capital, he caufed all the Riches of the late Emperor to be brought into the Hall of the Palace, to which he fet fire: and then, abandoning the City, marched off with his Troops, and left the Spaniards in poffeffion of the Place: But while Francis Pizarro and his Officers were thus employed in the Reduction of the feveral Provinces of the Empire, they were fuddenly interrupted by an unexpected Invafion from their Countrymen in Mexico, who on the Report of the vaft Wealth obtained by thefe Adventurers, refolved to come in for a Part. The Story is too remarkable, and too clofely connected with our Subject to be entirely neglected, and therefore we fhall endeavour to give the Subftance of it in the concifelt manner pofiible.
The famous Peter de Alverado, of whom we have faid fo much in the foregoing Section, was the Perfon who formed this Project, and the Condition he was in at that time, gave him a fair Opportunity of putting it in Execution: He was poffeffed of the Province of Guatimala, where he fitted out feveral Ships, and, to increafe his Force, he feized upon two Veffels more that were actually fitting out in one of the Ports of Nicaragua, for the Service of Pizarro; and on board thefe Ships he embarked five hundred Horfe and Foot, as good Troops as any that
were at that time in America; and with thefe, in the Year 1535, he landed at Puerto Vejo, after having endured very great Hardfhips in his Voyage. He found himfelf next, obliged to traverfe a rough mountainous Country near the Equator, in which March if all the Spanifh Writers may be believed, he fuffered fill greater Calamities, and loft no lefs than fixty of his Mern, by the unexpected Severity of the cold Weather.
However, as he had been'very long in the Service, and was accuftomed to all Sorts of Dificulties and Dangers, he continued to profecute his Defign ; and arriving in the Neighbourhood of the Spanijh Colony of St. Michael, he there refrefhed his Forces, and difpofed every thing for continuing his Progrefs into the Heart of that Country; but, in the mean time, Pizarro had fent Almagro to reinforce Belalcazar, and they had together a confiderable Body of Troops, with whom they had performed fome great Exploits againft the Indians, but were now refolved to act againft Alverado, in cafe he continued obftinately bent on the Profecution of his Defign, and would not return into his own Government. The two Spanifb Armies advanced 'till they came in Sight of each other in the Valley of Riobomba, where it was expected a Battle would have enfued; but Alverado forefeeing the Confequences that muft attend an Action, let Victory remain on which Side it would, willingly liftened to a Negotiation, which very foon ended in an Agreement between him and Almagro, in the Management of which they fhewed themfelves to be both very able Perfons ; for they agreed, that two Treaties fhould be drawn, one of which only was to be made public, whereby it was ftipulated that both Parties fhould be at Liberty to profecute the War againft the Indians, and the Difcovery of diftant Countries, with like Freedom, by which Alverado feemed to carry his Point ; and by which he really carried thus much, that he provided for fuch of his People as defired to remain in Peru, who were put upon the fame Footing with the Forces of Pizarro.

But by the fecret Treaty he agreed to return into his own Government, and to accept the Sum of one hundred thoufand Pefos in Gold, in confideration of the Expences he had been at in fitting out his Fleet and Forces ; and at the fame Time he promifed never to return to Peru fo long as either Pizarro or Almagro lived: Thefe Treaties thus fettled, they marched together towards Cuzco, the Capital of Peru, in order to confirm them with Pizarro, and to receive the Money from him. But when Pizarro was informed of this Tranfaction, he took a Refolution of preventing Alverado's Vifit by going to meet him, becaufe he was a little doubtful whether the Sight of Cuzio and the rich Country about it might not revive the Ambition of his Competitor, and render him lefs willing to execute his Agreement, of which he very well knew the Value, and therefore highly approved it: But before he could accomplifh his Intention, there happened fome other Events, which had like to have changed the Face of Affairs, and renewed both the general and civil War, which, however, by his Prudence and Generofity he prevented.
18. We have before mentioned the generous Manner, in which one of the Indian Princes of the Royal Family refufed to affume the fovereign Dignity, becaufe of Right it belonged to Inca Manco; which Prince, notwithtanding what had befallen Atabuallpa, refolved to go to Pizarro to obtain the Ratification of that Treaty, which had been made with his Subjects by the Spanifh Prifoners in the Mianner before-mentioned ; in which he fucceeded, and lived upon very good Terms with the General. Quifquis, the Indian Commander, remained all this Time at the Head of a great Body of Forces, yet declared he was ready to lay down his Arms, and fubmit, as foon as he knew of the Ratification of the Treaty before-mentioned. While he waited for this, Alverado. and Almagro came into his Neighbourhood with their Forces, and, knowing nothing of this Negotiation, prepared to attack him; the Indian General retired for fome Time, in Hopes they would receive contrary Orders; but when he perceived they continued to advance he
refolved to venture upon a Battle, in which he was defeated, with great Lofs; which might have renewed the Indian War, if the reft of the Chiefs of that Nation had not been partly fo frighted by his lofing an Engagement, in which he was greatly fuperior in Number, that they durft undertake nothing, and partly fatisfied from the Affurances given them by Pizarro, that this Accident thould not hinder their having the fame Terms they were promifed before.

The rich Booty obtained by this Victory might alfo have renewed the Difputes amongtt the Spanifs Generals, if Francis Pizarro had not refolved to perform all that Almagro had promifed immediately; and accordingly, leaving Cuzco to the Care of the Inca and his Brothers he fet out with a Party of Horfe and a Detachment of Indians, and arrived at the Valley of Pacba Camac, where he met with Alverado and Almagro; and to in gratiate himfelf with the former, gave him the Command of all the Troops while he remained there, commanding all the Officers to obey Don Alverado's Orders, and acknowledge no other General while he continued in Peru; and was fo much better than his Word, that he paid Alverado twenty thoufand Pefos more than he had ftipulated for the Expences of his Journey; befides, a great Number of Turquoifes, Emeralds, and Veffels of Gold, for the General's particular Ufe; whereupon Alverado returned to Mexico, entirely fatisfied with his Reception, and the Treafures he had acquired, efpecially when he faw all the Gentlemen that had accompanied him in his Enterprize well provided for.

This Matter being thus fettled, Pizarro, leaving the Care of the Frontiers to Almagro, employed himfelf in building Towns and fettling Colonies on the Sea Cóafts, particularly Lima, which is now the Capital of Peru, though this City was originally called the City of the Kings, becaufe the firft Stone of it was laid upon the Feaft of the Epiphany in the Year 1534, and was inhabited by Spaniß Gentlemen, who had the Indians of the Neighbourhood affigned them to do their Drudgery, which they looked upon as a very great Hardfhip, and which was directly contrary to the Inftructions fent to the Governors of all the Provinces of the Weft-Indies; though I do not believe, that this was agreeable to the Defigns of the Spanifb Court. After the General had built the City of Lima he advanced a little farther, in order to difcover the Country effectually, while he laboured to do fomething of the like kind nearer Home. Then he marched Southward, and founded another fair City, which from the Place of his Birth he called Iruxillo, affigning his Spaniards Lands and People, according to their feveral Conditions, as he had done before at Lima.

While Pizarro remained at his new City of Truxillo, Advice came from Spain that his Brother Ferdinand had, in a great Meafure, fucceeded in his Negotiation at that Coutr ; for whereas Don Francis Pizarro had petitioned his Imperial Majefty to extend his Government 200 Leagues farther Southward, to grant him the Province of Atabillios in Peru, with the Revenues thereof, the perpetual Vaffalage of 20,000 Indians, and the Title of Marquis; his Brother wrote Word, that the Emperor had conferred the Title of Marquis of that Province, and enlarged his Government confiderably to the Southward ; but as to the Command he defired over the Indians, he would inform himfelf of the Cuftoms of that Country, and of what Damage or Prejudice fuch a Conceffion might prove, and then he would fhew him all the Grace and Favour in that particular that was confiftent with Juftice. And as to Almagro the Title of Marhal of Peru was confirmed to him, and a Government of two hundred Leagues Extent of Country conferred on him to the South-: ward of the Country affigned to the Marquis Pizarro.

Almagro refiding at the City of Cuzco at this Time, and receiving Advice that the Government of the Country which lay South of the Marquis's Government was conferred on him ; and obferving that Cuzco was not within the Limits affigned to Don Pizarro, he immediately took upon him the Title of Governor of Cuzco and the Diftrict belonging to it, in his own Name, and no more acted in Subordination to the Marquis.

Fobn and Gonzalo Pizerro, Brothers to the Marquis, oppofed this Ufurpation, as they called it ; and their Differences rofe to that Height, that they entered into War with Almogro at Cuzco, and feveral were killed on both Sides, of which the Marquis receiving Intelligence, caufed himfelf, to be carried in a Hammock on the Shoulders of Indians, who, relieving one another at proper Stages, carried him thither with fuch Expedition, that he arrived at Cuzco before he was expected by either Side ; and reprefenting to both Parties, that thefe Feuds would probably end in the Deftruction of themfelves and their Enterprize, if they were not fpeedily accommodated, he entered into a Treaty with Almagro, for adjufting all their Differences ; and firft, he obferved that Almagro was miftaken in his Opinion, that Cuzco was without the Limits of his Jurifdiction, for the Emperor had made him a new Grant of the Country, which lay South of that conferred on him by the firf Grant.

The Marquis alfo fuggefted to Almagro, that the Country which lay to the Southward of the Diftrict of Cuzco, was richer in Gold and Silver than any that had been yet difcovered, of which he was contented Don Almagro fhould take the Government upon him, and that he fhould march at the Head of the beft Part of their united Forces, and poffers himfelf of it; and, in the mean Time, he would apply to the Emperor to get him confirmed in the Government, to which they gave the Name of Nerv Toledo, extending it from the Diftrict of Cuzco. to the Country of Cbili, which lies South of Peru. The Marquis alfo ftipulated that if the Emperor did not think fit to confer that Government on Almagro, he would divide that of Peru with him, with which Overture Don Almagro and his Party were then well fatisfied, and immediately made Preparations for an Expedition to the Southward.

About the fame Time another Detachment of Spaniards and Indians were fent to reinforce Don Belalcazar in Quito, to enable him to finifh the Conqueft of that Province ; and a third Body marched to the North Eaft, to reduce fome Provinces bordering on the Ridge of Mountains called the Andes; thus the Spaniards fhewed very plainly what their. Defigns were, and how far it was from their Intentions to perform the Agreement they had made with the Indians; yet they endeavoured fill to keep fair with thefe People, and to amufe them with Promiles, that they might make ufe of their Affiftance in the Performance of fuch Enterprizes, as very far furpaffed the Strength which they had in this Country.

19: It was in the Year 1535, that Almagro refolved to carry into Execution the Project formed in Concert with Francis Pizarro for penetrating into Cbili; and for the facilitating fo arduous an Enterprize, he demanded the Affiftance of Inca Manco, who ftill confiding in the Spaniards, notwithftanding the Manner in which he had been treated, offered to do for him all that was in his Power: As a Proof of this, he appointed his Brother Paullu, with whofe Character we have before acquainted the Reader, to accompany him in this Expedition, and joined with him the High Prieft of the Indians, called in their Language Villacbumu, from whence the Spaniards found the Word Villahoma, which is the Name we find him mentioned by in their Hiftories. He added, under the Command of thefe Chiefs 15,000 Men, in hopes, that by rendering them fo notable a Service, he fhould prevail upon the Spaniards from Principles of Honour and Gratitude to fulfil their Treaty towards him. Almagro, with this Body of Men, began his March Southwards, and marched as far as the Province called Cbarcas, which he found a very barren and inhofpitable Country, and therefore flighted it, as not worth keeping ; but it has fince proved the moft valuable of the Spanijh Acquifitions, fince therein lies the famous Mountain of Potoft, from whence more Silver has been brought into Europe than from all the other Places in which Mines of that rich Metal had been before difcovered.

In this Province the Adelantado :Almagro was informed that there were two Paffages into Cbili, both of them attended with Difficulties, though directly oppofite in their Nature; the one long and tedious, through a fandy Defert, where his People would be fure to feel great In-
conveniencies from Heat and Thirft ; the other much fhorter, but expofed to ftill greater Inconveniencies in the Judgments of his Guides, fince it lay through the Mountains, which were not only exceffively fteep and rugged, but covered likewife with Snow, which rendered them exceffively cold and impaffable, except at one Seafon of the Year. Almagro, confidering that this was the fhorter way, and the Cold however fharp, more fupport-able to European Conftitutions than exceffive Heat, refolved to take this Rout, notwithftanding all that the Indians could fay to diffuade him from it. In their Paffage they found the Cold fo exceffive, that it coft the Lives of ten thoufand Indians and one hundred and fifty Spaniards, exclufive of fuch as efcaped with the Lofs of their Fingers and Toes.
They likewife loft all or the greatef Part of their Baggage, but at length they came down into the Plains, where fuch of the Inhabitants as had formerly obeyed the Incas fubmitted to the Spaniards out of Refpect to Paullu and the High Prieft, but thofe who had hitherto remained free determined to continue fo; and it was not till long after, and in Confequence of many bloody Wars, that they were reduced under the Spanifh Yoke. But while Almagro was thus employed, all things fell again into Confufion in Peru.

Francis Pizarro finding the Inca Manco a little impatient under the bad Ufage he had received, thought proper to deliver himfelf from his Remonftrances by fhutting him up in Prifon, which was fo far from frighting him into a tame Submiffion, that it induced him to undertake what he was fufpected of before he was imprifoned. But as it was impoffible for him to execute his Defign of raifing the whole Indian Nation, unlefs he was at Liberty, he contrived a Method to get out of Prifon, which was fingular enough. He applied himfelf to Ferdinand Pizarro, now returned from Spain, a Perfon of great Generofity, and who bore much Affection to the Indians, defiring his Leave to go to a folemn Feaft, and promifing to bring him, at his Return, his Father's Statue, which was all of folid Gold.

In the mean time, the Indians that were with Almagro grew difcontented at the ill Ufage they fuffered, and complained to one another of the Barbarity of the Spaniards; and in thefe Conferences, none had a greater Share than the Interpreter Pbilippillo, who at laft engaged in a Plot againft Almagro's Life; but, being no lefs a Coward than a Villain, when he reflected on the Danger to which he was expofed, he endeavoured to fecure himfelf by flight. He was foon retaken, and then he attempted to inform againft the Inca Paullu; but, being put to the Torture, he confeffed that to be a Lie, and owned likewife, that by falfe Suggeftions he had procured the Death of Atabuallpa, for all which he fuffered a moft cruel Death, as he well deferved. In order, however, to underftand this Matter clearly, it is very requifite the Reader fhould know the Nature of this Plot or Confpiracy againft the Spaniards, which in Fact was this : The Inca Manco had now not only loft all Confidence in the Spaniards, but was likewife fo fenfible of the Injuries he received, and of the little Hopes there were of ever being better treated by thefe haughty People, that he determined to try what could be done by Force ; and as he was fatisfied that his Subjects were as brave and as faithful as the Spaniards, he judged it better to rely upon the Juftice of his Caufe and the Affiftance of his People, than upon the Promifes of thofe who had fo bafely broke their Words to his Brother, and had never kept the Conditions they made with him.

His Feaft, to which he went with the Leave of Ferdinand Pizarro, was in reality a kind of Affembly of the States of Peru, in which it was debated how the Strength of the whole Empire might be the fooneft raifed, and the moft effectually employed; this Queftion was foon refolved, for every one of the Indian Chiefs undertook to raife their Troops in an Inftant, and indeed they were very foon as good as their Words, fo that the Inca was able to take the Field at once, with three confiderable Armies. He took the Caftle of Cuzco, and clofely blocked up the City with the firft; the fecond marched againf the General Francis Pizarro, who lay in the

City of Lima with a good Body of Troops; and the third was intended to act againft Almagro, of which Notice was fent to the High Prieft, who took Meafures for making his Efcape, in which he was fo lucky as to fucceed; and for his Concern in there the Spanifh Interpreter was put to Death.

The Inca Paullu had alfo Notice given him of the Situation his Brother's Affairs were in, and what was expected from him towards putting them in a better Condition; but he rejected thefe Propofitions totally, and declared, that he would never break his Faith to the spaniards; which Secret the Interpreter having difclofed with his laft Breath, Almagro declared Paullu Emperor ; and though he refufed that Title before, yet for the Sake of Safety, and that his Nation might not want a Protector, he now fuffered it to be given him. Thefe Misfortunes engaged Almagro to haften out of Cbili with the Spaniards under his Command, notwithftanding that he had received fome Reinforcements ; and this March was not performed without confiderable Lofs, notwithftanding he took the other Road, to avoid the Inconveniencies he had met with in entering this Country: But, as in his firft March he fuffered by Cold, fo in the fecond his Army endured all the Miferies of exceffive Heat and Thirft, notwithftanding all the Pains and Precautions that could be taken to avoid them; but, however, their Lofs was not fo great as before, and he returned into Peru with a better Army than was left in it.
20. The Affairs of that Country were now in a dreadful Situation, and grew daily worfe and worfe, a double Civil War breaking out in its Bowels. The Inca Manco ftill continued to befiege Cuzco with an Army of two hundred thoufand Men; the Spaniards in the Place were but feventy, yet having fome Horfe and a good Train of Artillery, they vigorounly defended the Place, and, which is ftill more wonderful, they made feveral Sallies, with great Succefs, in one of which Jobn Pizarro loft his Life ; as for the General he fent from Lima four feveral Detachments, amounting in the whole to near three hundred Horfe, under the Command of four experienced Generals, who were notwithftanding fo unlucky as to lofe themfelves, and their refpective Parties, under their Orders. This not only troubled but weakened the Governor at Lima, to fuch a Degree, that he was obliged to call in all his Garrifons, and even then had been too weak to have done any thing confiderable, if he had not declared all the Indian Vaffals and Slaves free, who would ferve the Spaniards againft their Mafters and Countrymen, which had a very good Effect, and put him very foon in a Condition to raife both the Sieges of Cuzco and Lima, and this was the firft Civil War wherein the Natives of Peru ferved againft each other.
It was followed by another between the Spaniards, who one would have thought fhould have chofe any other Time rather than this to have quarrelled amongft themfelves. But Almagro finding himfelf at the Head of fo powerful a Body of Troops, refolved to renew his old Claim to Cuzco, and in Cafe he could make himfelf Mafter of that City, determined to make it the Seat of his Government, and in this Difpofition marched directly towards it. The Inca Manco, about this Time, took a very furprizing Step, for he refolved to difband his Army and return to the Mountains. All his chief Officers endeavoured to diffuade him, by reprefenting that as the Spaniards were quarrelling amongt themfelves, he had now the faireft Opportunity of recovering his Dominions ; to which he anfwered, that while he kept the Field, the Spaniards would undoubtedly endeavour to compromife their Differences; but if he withdrew, as he defigned and intended, what they fuggefted might very twell come to pafs, and that then it would be time enough to think of proper Meafures for renewing the War, to which they affented, and the Indian Armies accordingly difperfed.

Almagro being arrived before the Walls of Cuzco , and finding the Indians drawn off, fent a Summons to Don Ferdinand Pizarro, the Spanifb Governor, to deliver up that Capital to him ; but he anfwered, he held that City by a Commiffion from the Marquis, and fhould not
deliver it up without his Orders, efpecially as he knew it to be within the Limits of his Brother's Government, and immediately proceeded to put the Place in a Pofture of Defence ; but part of the Garrifon being Friends to Almagro, and holding a Correfpondence with him, introduced his Forces into the Town, at Midnight ; and Ferdinand and Gonzalo Pizarro were furprized in their Beds and made Prifoners, by which Almagro became poffeffed of Cuzco, with little or no Blocdfhed, and moft of the Troops which had ferved the Pizarro's entered into his Pay. In the mean Time, the Miarquis Pizarro hearing no News from his Brothers at Cuzco, and concluding all the Parties he had fent thither to reinforce them had been cut off by the Indions, determined to fend fuch a Body of Troops thither as floould be able to force their way againft all the Oppofition the Indians could make; and having affembled five hundred Spanifb Horfe and Foot, gave the Command of them to Don Alonfo de Alverado, with Orders to march with all Expedition. Peter de Lerma was alfo ordered to march with his Detachment, as Captain of a Troop of Horle, though he was an older Officer than Alverado, and had done great Service in thofe Wars, which fo difgufted de Lerma, that from this Time he meditated the Ruin of the Enterprize.

Alverado continuing his March with the utmoft Diligence, moft of the Indians that were preffed to carry his Baggage, amounting to upwards of five thoufand, perifhed in the firft Part of the Journey by the intolerable Fatigue, being loaden and driven beyond their Strength, infomuch that he was forced to halt till he could prefs fome thoufands more of the Indians, to fupply the Places of thofe he had loft. Almagro receiving Intelligence at Cuzco that Don Alonfo Alverado was advancing, fent fome Spariards of Quality to him, to reprefent that Cuzco belonged to his Government, according to the Divifion the Emperor had made of Feru between him and the Marquis Pizarro; and therefore advifed him to retire to Lima again, till he and the Marquis fhould adjuft the Limits of their Governments; but Alverado, not entertaining any fuch Thoughts, made all the Gentlemen Prifoners who were fent to treat with him; whereupon Almagro took the Field, conftituting Orgonez his Lieutenant-General, and having made a Party of Alverado's Horfe Prifoners, underftood by them, that great Part of his Troops were better affected to him than they were to the Pizarro's, particularly Peter de Lerma, who, with a great many of his Friends, would defert Alverado the firft Opportunity.

He advanced therefore as far as the Bridge of Abancay on the other Side, whereof Alverado lay encamped; fo that there was nothing but a fmall River that parted their Forces: They remained quiet, however, without endeavouring to attack each other all Day ; but in the Night Orgonez, fording the River at the Head of Almagro's Horfe, put Alverado's Forces into great Confufion, and giving Peter Lerma and the reft of their Friends, by this Means, an Opportunity to join them, Almagro gained an eafy Victory, with very little Bloodfhed, making Don Alonfo his Prifoner, with whom he returned in Triumph to Cuzco, on the 20th of Fuly $1537^{\circ}$ Some of the principal Commanders advifed the Conqueror to fecure his Peace for the future, by putting the Pizarro's to Death, and then march with his victorious Army againtt Lima, which, however, he refufed to do; alledging, that it was a Shame for a Gentleman and a Soldier to put People to Death in cold Blood, and that by attacking Francis Pizarro in the City of Lima, he Thould plainly become a Rebel to the Emperor; fince he neither had, nor pretended to have, any Claim upon that Part of the Country: He held, however, that nothing could be more juft or realonable, than that he fhould march towards the Sea-fide, to eftablifh there a Colony that might maintain his Correfpondence with the other Spanifh Settiements, that from them he might from Time to Time draw Recruits.

He began to move very foon from Cuzro towards the Coaft, that he might execute his Defign of fecuring a Port before the Marquis could have any Intelligence, or at leaft be able to collect a Force fufficient to withftand
him.
him. In this, however, he failed, though by an unforefeen Accident; for the Marquis, not hearing from Alonfo Alverado, began to apprehend that the Indians had blocked him up in the Mountains, and therefore, collecting his whole Force, which did not much exceed four hundred Men, he marched with them towards Cuzco but on the Road he received full Intelligence of all that had happened, and that Almagro was in the Field, carrying with him his Brother Ferdinand Pizarro as his Prifoner, but that his other Brother, Gonzalo, was left with Alverado Prifoner at Cuzco.

This gave the Marquis great Uneafinefs, becaufe of the fmall Force he had with him ; fo that he plainly faw himfelf at the Mercy of his Enemy, who, By advancing to Lima, might have carried all before him: However, he behaved himfelf with great Prudence and Dexterity in this time of Diftrefs; for marching directly back to Lima, he began there to recruit his Forces, and in the mean time fent Commiffioners to amufe Almagro with a Treaty, offering to compromife Matters with him, upon fuch Terms as he fhould think reafonable; tho' this was done only to prevent his attacking him before he was prepared. In the mean time, Gonzalo Pizarro and Alverado made their Efcape from Cuzco, with about one hundred Spaniards of their Party, and not long after a new Treaty was fet on foot, in Appearance, for fettling the Differences between thefe two great Generals; but in reality, with a View to engage Almagro to fet Ferdinand Pizarro at liberty, which was become the more neceffary, becaufe Almagro's chief Officers preffed him daily to put that Man to death. The Method taken by the Marquis to procure his Liberty was as fingular as it was fuccefsful.

He fent to Almagro, to let him know that if he perfinted in carrying Arms in that Country, which plainly belonged to him by the Emperor's Grant, he would find the other Spanifb Settlements would confider him as a Rebel ; but that, if he meant no more than to obtain Juttice to himfelf, and pay due Obedience to the Laws, he was content that Things fhould remain as they were, till fuch time as the Emperor fhould decide them, and would likewife provide Almagro with a Ship, to carry his Agents wherever he thought fit, provided his Brother Don Ferdinand was immediately fet at liberty. Almagro readily accepted this Propofal, and, to his own great Prejudice, reftored Freedom to Ferdinand Pizarro; after which the Marquis did not fhew himfelf very ready to comply with this Treaty ; but, on the contrary, put his Brother at the Head of all his own Forces, joined to a great Succour he had a little before received from Panama, and the other Spanibs Settlements.
21. Almagro faw too late the Error that he had committed, and how difficult a thing it would be to repair it : He gave Orders, however, for fortifying Cuzco, and taking all poffible Precautions to cover himfelf from the ambitious Defigns of the Marquis. In this he fucceeded in fome meafure ; for he got back to Guzco before Ferdinand and Gonzalo, the Marquis's Brothers, could reach that City, with the Forces the Marquis intended fhould befiege. it. But here again, the Cautions of Almagro proved fatal to him; fortho' he had it in his Power to have ftarved and deftroyed his Enemies in the Mountains, yet he neglected it, either from an Unwillingnefs to hurt his Countrymen, or from a Confidence in his own Force ; neither was he lefs to blame, when thofe Commanders, at the Head of feven hundred Horfe and Foot, invefted the City of Cuzco; for as the Place was ftrong, and the Garrifon very numerous, he muft have deftroyed the Enemy if he had contented himfelf with acting upon the defenfive ; but this he fcorned to do, as looking upon it beneath his former Actions, and therefore he marched out with all his Troops to the Salinas, or falt Mines, with a full Refolution to give the Enemy battle, fuppofing that their Army had been new raifed Men, and confequently much inferior to his own in Point both of Courage and Difcipline; but here once more he was miftaken, the Enemy proving fuperior to his Troops in all refpects; for, firft, they had the Advantage in Numbers; in the next place, they were better armed, being for the moft part Mufketeers; whereas Almagro's Men had only Crofs-bows and
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Swords ; and lafly, inftead of being raw, new raifed Soldiers, they were regular Troops that had ferved in Flanders.

The Battle however was extremely bloody and obftinate, but in the End Almagro was totally defeated, mof of his Captains killed, and himfelf, who was fo weak that he was carried into the Field in a Litters obliged to take Shelter with a Handful of Men he had left in the Caftle of Cuzco; which he could not keep long, but was obliged to furrender at Difcretion, which he did the rather, becaufe he hoped that Ferdinand Pizarro would return the Kindnefs he had fhewed him when fo long a Prifoner in his Hands. In this too he was greatly miftaken; for tho' he was upwards of feventy Years of age, and withal very infirm; yet FerdinandPizarro, knowing his great Courage, and the many Friends he had in the Army, was exceffively afraid of him, and therefore confined him clofely, and fuffered none of the Officers to vifit him.

He likewife took care to fend away moft of the other Prifoners to Lima, and difpatched on different Expeditions fuch of his own Officers as expreffed any kind of Tendernefs or Concern for Almagro. After he had remained Prifoner fome Months in Cuzco, the Lawyers were employed to draw up Articles againft the old General ; the principal whereof were, That he had feized on Cuzco by force; that he had entered into a fecret Treaty with the Inca; that he had encroached on the Government granted to the Marquis, and fought two Battles with the Emperor's Forces under the Command of the Marquis, the one at the Bridge of Aboncay, and the other at the Salinas: And, his Enemies fitting in Judgment on him, he was capitally convicted and condemned to die, though he appealed to the Emperor, and applied. in very moving Terms to Ferdinand Pizarro to fave his Life: He bid him remember that he had fpared his Life, and even refufed to put to death any of his Relations, on Account of the Friendihip he bore him and the Marquis; that he would do well alfo to remember how inftrumental he had been in enabling his Brother to make thofe Conquefts, and raifing him to the Honours he poffeffed ; defired the Pizarros would confider he was an old gouty Man, who could not live many Years, and fuffer him therefore, after the innumerable Hardfhips he had fuftained, to die a natural Death. But they, looking upon their old Companion and Fellow-Soldier as the only Obfta
their Glory and Ambition, and believing by his Death they fhould obtain the fole Dominion of Peru without a Rival, were deaf to his Intreaties; and having order ed him to be ftrangled privately in Prifon, they afterwards ordered his Head to be cut off on a Scaffold in the great Square of Cuzco.

His Body lay all Day expofed almoft naked on the Scaffold, his Friends not daring to bury him, left they fhould incur the Difpleafure of the mercilefs Ferdinand Pizarro, and his Enemies not thinking it worth while to give themfelves any trouble about his Funeral : But towards the Evening a poor Negro, who had been a Slave to the Deceafed, brought a courfe Sheet, and with the Help he had of fome Indians, who had been Servants likewife to that General, wrapped up the Corpfe and carried it to a Church, where the Friars buried it under the high Altar.

As the Defign of this Work is to give the Englifis Reader a full and fair View of the Tranfactions of thefe Conquerors in America, together with juft Characters of thofe Heroes who were at the Head of their Armies, it is requifite to fubjoin to this Account a true Picture of this unfortunate Commander: James Almagro was of low Stature, but well fet and ftrong; his Enemies faid he was of mean Parentage, which might be Matter of Fact, and yet it was more than they knew or could know; fince he was found in the Streets, and, being never owned by any Body, went by the Name of the Town in which he was found. His Education was of a piece with his Birth; that is to fay, we find it very uncertain what it was, or where he received it: He became a Soldier almoft as foom as he became a Man, and his Behaviour was fuch that he forced a Paffage even to fuperior Commands: He was

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truly
fruly brave, without valuing himfelf much upon it: He had a wonderful Prefence of Mind, fo that no Danger could difconcert him; he had fo much Fortitude, that no Difficulties could difcourage him. He was very kind to his Soldiers, liberal in Rewards, now, and not fevere, in Punifhments, yet he maintained a very ftrict Difcipline, meerly from the Force of his Example; for he was very èxact in doing his own Duty, and, though he kept a good Table for his Officers, he fared himfelf as hard as any private Man in the Army; and when fome fpake of this as an Affectation, he faid Monks were prefcribed to by their Rules, fick Men by their Phyficianis, and that his was the Diet of a Soldier. He was very loyal to his Prince, merciful to the Spaniards, generous in the higheft Degree, and knew not what it was to frame a bafe Defign; but with all this he was haughty and ambitious, very cruel at firft to the Indians, but living fome time with an Indian Woman, by whom he had his Son Fames, he grew firft mild, and at laft fo kind to them, that they loved him better than any other Spaniard.
Ferdinand Pizarro, after his Death, went over to Spain to juftify it ; but, though he corrupted moft of, the Minifters, he had much ado to avoid paying for it with his Life; for fames Alverado, who was Guardian to the young Almagro, profecuted him fo fteadily, that it is thought he took him off by Poifon, notwithftanding which he fuffered an Imprifonment of three and twenty Years, which afforded him time for true Repentance.
22. The Death of Almagro, though covered with all the Appearances of Juftice, was extremely refented by the Spaniards; and, inftead of extinguifhing, as was expected, increafed his Faction; which fhews, that Cruelty, or even Severity, is far from being the beft Remedy for civil Diffentions, which it often irritates and feldom cures : But this was not the only Mifchief that followed this Action. The Lofs of fo able a Commander proved a great Prejudice to their Affairs, retarded their Difcoveries, and gave a Check to their Conquefts; and this, not only by hindering their Proceedings, and diverting them from compleating what he had begun, but by raifing them up new Enemies. For thereupon the Indians, obferving the Divifions among the Spanifb Generals, had recourfe to Arms again; and though the Spaniards in $P_{\text {er }}$ amounted to two thoufand and upwards, they found it more difficult to maintain their Ground at this time, than at firft, when noţ four hundred Men; for the Ter ror the Indians were under from the Fire-arms and Horfes, which they had never feen before, was in a great Meafure worn off, and they had learned of the Spaniards how to ride and handle their Arms; and, having taken fome Horfes, were not afraid to fight the Spaniards at their own Weapons, nor did there want Inftances of fome Parties being defeated by them; and had not the Indian Slaves and Vaffals ftuck clofe to the Spaniards, difcovered the Paffes and Places of ftrength, and from time to time brought them both Provifions and Intelligence, probably Pizarro had been obliged to have abandoned his Conquefts at laft.

The moft confiderable Acquiftion made after the Death of Almagro, was the Conqueft of the Cbarcas, in which lay the invaluable Mines of Potof; whofe Treafures drew fuch Multitudes of Adventurers thither, that the Indians of that Province were compelled at length to fubmit and become Slaves to the Spaniards. But they were not fo fucceffful in Cbili, that brave People difputed the Ground with the Spaniards by Inches, nor could they ever make themfelves entirely Mafters of it. And even in the Province of Los Cbarcas, Gonzalo Pizarro, and his Forces, were fo furrounded and diftreffed by the Indians, that the Marquis was forced to march in Perfon, with the Garrion of Cuzco, to his Relief. The Conqueft of Los Cbarcas being finifhed, the Marquis founded the Town of La Plata, fo named from the Silver Mines, and divided the City and the Country about it, with the Indians that inhabited it, amongft the Conquerors: To his Brother Ferdinand Pizarro, who was then in Spain, he allotted a very large Share; and to his Brother Gonzalo, another Part of the Country, in which, fome time after, the Silver Mines of Poto $/ \bar{z}$ were difcovered.

Ferdinand Pizarroalfo had a Share in thefe Mines, as a Citizen of La Plata. And a particular Part of it being affigned to his Officers, they difcovered fo rich a Vein, that 'tis faid they digged from it the fineft Silver without any Alloy.
This Divifion of the Country was made in the Year 1538 and 1539; and now the Marquis found himfelf poffeffed of a Territory feven or eight hundred Leagues in Length, viz. from the Equinoctial to the South Part of Los Cbarcas, in which were more rich Mines than in all the World befides; and yet was not his Ambition or Avarice fatisfied, but in an extreme old Age he employed his Brother Gonzalo in the Conqueft of other Nations. This Gentleman, who had all the Qualities of a great Commander, was at this time Governor of 2wito; and the Method he took for Difcovery, was to frike off to the Eaftward, that they might know fomething of the Breadth of America; but his Endeavours were obftructed by very great Difficulties, under which he had like to have perihhed; but one of his Captains, whofe Name was Oreallana, by his Direction failed down the great River of the Amazons, quite to the Mouth of it, and from thence returned to the $S p a n i / b$ Settements on the other Side of the Continent of America; which, confidering the Time at which it was performed, muft be acknowledged as great and furprizing as any of the Spanifh Enterprizes in the new World, and opened a Way to the Difcovery of Countries as rich and valuable as any that had been yet found.

As for the Marquis Pizarro, after he had difpatched his Brother Ferdinand to Spain, and employed his Brother Gonzalo in the Manner before mentioned, he applied himfelf folely to fecuring and eftablifhing his Authority; in order to which he thought it neceffary to continue thofe Severities which had been ufed againft the Party of Almagro, and even to encreafe them; for he not only difcharged many, and difcouraged all the Officers that had been attached to the old Marthal, but likewife reftrained them from going home to Spain on any Pretence whatever; and at laft, feeing them reduced to live upon the Alms of fuch of their Countrymen as were more in his Favour, he refolved to deprive them even of this pitiful Subfiftance; and with this View he publifhed an Edict, forbiding any to relieve them; which threw thofe unhappy Perfons into Defpair, and him into greater Danger from their Diftrefs, than he could ever reafonably have feared from their Power.

For after the Publication of this Edict they grew wild and defperate, and feeing no End to their Miferies, but by difpatching themfelves or the Marquis, or by a general Infurrection ; they refolved upon this laft, and attempted it in this Manner:
The braveft of the Almagrians, fingly, or two or three at a time, reforted privately to the capital City of Lima, where they did not want Friends who concealed them in their Houfes, till they found they amounted to two or three hundred Men, all hardy Veterans, and feveral experienced Officers amongtt them, who refolved to attack the Marquis as he went to the great Church on Midfummer-day, 154 I ; but he, having fome Intelligence of the Defign, did not go out of his Palace that Day; and the Confpirators, upon this Difappointment, had refolved to wait for the Arrival of Vaca de Caffro, whom they underftood the Emperor had fent over. But being informed that their Plot was difcovered, and they were in Danger of being facrificed to the Fury of the Marquis, if they did not prevent it by fome bold Attempt, twelve of them met at the Houfe of young Almagro, which ftood on the Side of the great Square in Lima, on Sunday the 26 th of $\mathcal{F} u n e$, at Noon, and with their Swords drawn marched crofs the Market Place to the Palace of the Marquis, crying out " Long live the King, but let the Tyrant die." Nor were they oppofed by any, though there were not lefs than a thoufand People affembled in the Square; nay not a Man firred to give the Marquis Intelligence of it; infomuch that the Confpirators found the Gates of the Palace, and all the Doors, open; and the firlt Notice the Marquis had of their Approach, was by one of his Pages, after they had entered the Houfe;
where-
whereupon he ordered fome Doors to be thut, imagining he fhould be able to defend himfelf till Affiftance came in.

But Francis de Cbaves, who was then with the Marquis, neglecting to faften the Door, and believing it had been fome ordinary Tumult that would have been eafily fuppreffed by his Prefence, went-out, and, meeting the Confipirators upon the great Stair-cafe, demanded the Reafon of that Infolence, which they anfwered only by feveral mortal Wounds they gave him; and rufhing forward, the Servants and all the Company that were with the Marquis fled, except his Brother-in-law, Don Francis de Alcantara, and two of his Pages who defended the Doorway of the drawing Room whither the Marquis was retired for fome time. But at length the Confpirators broke through and killed the Marquis and his Brother, and the two Pages, who behaved themfelves, however, very bravely, and defperately wounded four of the Almagrians before they fell.
Then the Confpirators went into the Market-place again, declared the Tyrant was dead, and proclaimed the young Almagro Governor of Peru; for all the Almagrians immediately affembled when the twelve attacked the Marquis in his Palace, fecuring his Guards, and preventing any Affiftance coming to him. They alfo fecured all the Horfes and Arms in the City, and commanded all the Inhabitants that refufed to join not to ftir out of their Houfes without leave. They alfo plundered the Houfes of the Marquis, of his Brother Francis de Alcantara, of his Secretary Pizarro, and fome other of the principal $\mathrm{Pi}_{-}$ zarrits, wherein they found an immenfe Treafure. In the Marquis's Palace alone, 'tis faid they found to the Value of one Million of Crowns in Gold and Silver, but did not meddle with the Furniture, leaving it ftanding for the Ufe of the young Almagro, whom they had carried thither, after they had proclaimed him their Governor. Thus fell Don Francis Pizarro, in the capital City of Lima, which he had founded ten or eleven Years before, and was privately buried by his Servants, by the young Almagro's Permiffion; no Perfon of any Figure daring at this Juncture to attend his Funeral, left it fhould give Offence to the prevailing Party.

His Fate was very like that of his unfortunate Affociate, Almagro. He died a violent Death like him ; like him was a ViCtim to Ambition; and like him went to the Grave in Obfcurity, after a Life of Splendor! The Marquis Pizarro was never married, but had feveral Indian Concubines, fome of them Daughters and Sifters of the Incas. He was undoubtedly brave, prudent, endowed with public Spirit, and had almoft all the Qualities that are thought neceffary in a great Man, together with that effential Ingredient, a blind and boundlefs Ambition; which alone rendered him dangerous to others, and thereby made the Refentment of others fatal to him: For few fall by the Sword who know how to forgive.
23. As foon as it was publicly known that the Marquis Pizarro was dead, Lima, Cuzco, and moft of the principal Towns, declared for Don Diego de Almagro, the natural Son of old Almagro. Some Places, however, refufed to acknowledge Almagro's Authority, but expected the coming of Vaca de Caftro, with the Emperor's Commiffion, in which they were encouraged by Pedro Holguin, and feveral other Generals and Officers; who affembled a good Body of Troops, and took Poffeflion of Cuzco again, which they gave out they would hold for the Emperor, and declared War againft Almagro. Alonfo de-Alverado affembled another Body of Troops, between Lima and Quito, and declared alfo for the Emperor; and thefe two Generals preparing to unite their Forces, Almagro marched out of Lima, at the Head of fix Hundred Horfe and Foot, towards Cuzco, with an Intent to retake the Place, or give Battle to Pedro Holguin, before he fhould be joined by Alonfo de Alverado.

This new Governor de Caftro was, in all Refpects, a very Ingular Perfon. He was a Gentleman by Birth, and by Profeffion a Lawyer; but it is faid he made no great figure in that Profeffion on account of the great Strictnefs of his Notions as to Juftice, which would not allow him to undertake any thing that was not
perfectly right, or to take any Steps in Favour even of a good Caufe which were not frricly juft as well as legal. The Emperor, being informed of this Man's Abilities, refolved, without confulting his Minifters, to make ufe of them in a Manner much fuperior to their Owner's Expectations. I will free, faid he, the Bar from this ftrange Fellow, and fee what his Probity will be able to do in the Indies. He came without Moncy or Forces, but, by the Accident before mentioned, found two Armies ready to receive him, upon which he went directly to Lima, where he caufed himfelf to be proclaimed Governor of Peru; but fuch a Governor America had never feen before. He fhewed himfelf an abfolute Stoic; he threatened no body, he flattered no body; he acted like a Governor, but he lived like a private Perfon: He fhewed no Refpect to Perfons, nor made any Diftinction between Indians and Spaniards.

The People were amazed at firft, but in a few Weeks he was obeyed with that Submiffion no Tyrant ever exacted, merely becaufe the People faw he meant nothing but their Good. He marched againft young Almagro, in September, 1542, with a very powerful Army; upon which that young Gentleman fent two Deputies to treat of a Peace, and to propofe various things in his Name; feveral of his Officers writing to the Governor on his Behalf and their own, reprefenting that they had been always good Subjects, and were defirous of continuing fo; that they were driven into their prefent Condition by the Cruelties of the Marquis, and that they were willing to fubmit upon reafonable Conditions. The Governor would never talk upon the Subject; he faid he had all the Authority from the Emperor that Prince could give, that he had done no body any hurr by Virtue of that Authority; but had done, and would do, all the Good he could. He faid farther, that fuch as obeyed him were the Emperor's good Subjects, to whom he would behave as their Governor; that for fuch as acted otherwife they were Rebels, who in time would find a Judge that would never depart from the Letter of the Law, but would punifh as that directed him to do; for, though as a Man; he was compaffionate, yet,' as an Officer of Juftice, he knew not what Pity was.

The Report of the Governor's Conduict was far enough from giving Satisfaction to young Almagro, and thofe about him; therefore Orders were fent to his Deputies to make ftill greater Offers, in cafe Almagro might be fuffered to refide at Cuzco, and to enjoy his Father's Government without Moleftation, till the Emperor fhould decide this great Controverfy, having already all the neceflary Lights given him by the Agents on both Sides, by Fames Alverado and Ferdinand Pizarro, from whom News was fuddenly expected, which might prevent the Effufion of Spanifb and Chriftian Blood: But Vaca de Caftro, inftead of treating with Almagro, endeavoured to gain his Officers, and induce them to defert him ; which Almagro difcovering, both Parties prepared for Battle, and drew up their Troops in the Vale of Cbupas. Thefe little Armies were both compofed of Veteran Officers and Soldiers. The Governor had the Advantage in Point of Numbers; his Troops confifting of feven hundred Spaniards befides Indians, and Almagra's of five hundred Spaniards; but then the latter had the Advantage of a Train of Artillery, and of good Ground, and would probably have gained the Victory if all his Officers had been true to him ; for his Artillery was fo pointed that the Enemy could not. approach his Camp on any Side without confidewable Lofs. However, to his Amazenvent, when the Cannon were fired, they did no manner of Execution, and the Enemy advanced as if they had nothing to fear from the Artillery: Whereupon Almagro made up to Pedro de Candia, who commanded the great Guns, and, fufpecting Treachery, killed him with his own Hands, and levelling one of the Cannon himfelf cut off a whole Rank of the Governor's Troops, putting the Army in Diforder.

But the Enemy were now advanced too near his Train of Artillery to fuffer from them, and his Men had quitted the Ground where they were fo advantageonlly drawn up to meet the Enemy, which occafioned the Lofs of the Battle, though it was fought with great Obitinacy till
two Hours within dark, when Aimagro, finding his Troops over-powered, retired out of the Field with Manco Inca, and three or four Spanifb Officers, intending to have taken Refuge in the Mountains with the Inca and his Indians, -till he fhould meet with a favourable Opportunity of recovering his Government ; but taking Cuzco in his Way, with a Defign of carrying off his Treafure, and fuch of his Effects as would have been moft ufeful to him in his Exile, the very Men in whofe Hands Almagro had put the Government of the City, hearing he had loft the Battle, apprehended him, and delivered him up to the victorious Governor, to make their own Peace with him; and young Almagro, who was not much above twenty Years of age, was formally tried, condemned, and executed in the fame Place, and much in the fame manner, as his Father had been, and was afterwards buried by fome Friars of the Convent of Merced, in the fame Grave with his Father, having obtained a much greaterFame for his Humanity, Parts, and Education, tho' his Conduct and Experience in War could not be fuppofed equal to his Father's; and indeed it $\cdot$ was unfortunate hewas fo young and unexperienced, and confequently had fo little Influence and Command of his Troops, every Officer almoft imagining he merited the chief Command in the Army, and that Almagro was infinitely obliged to him for taking his Part, while others were contriving to purchafe their own Peace by betraying their General. They had but very indifferent Succefs, however, from the Practice of thefe bafe Meafures; for the Governor proved as inexorable as he profeffed himfelf, and as he gave no Quarter in the Field of Battle, fo he did not think the taking off Almagro's Head a fufficient Atonement for his Rebellion and its Confequences; but, on the contrary, caufed fuch as had been his principal Counfellors to be apprehended, tried, and put to Death without Mercy, by which Means he totally extinguifhed, not only the Rebellion, but the Faction that had raifed it.
Yet there was no Sufpicion that he mingled any thing of private Malice, or particular Refentment, with his Zeal for the public Service; for he behaved very kindly to fuch as had in due time returned to their Obedience ; and though no Governor ever had a fairer Opportunity of raifing his Fortune by the vaft Conffifations made in his Time ; yet fuch was his Contempt for Money, that he took nothing; but contented himfelf with his own Appointments, and employed the Wealth he faved out of them, which was very great, for the Service of the Crown and the Good of the People. This had fuch an Effect, that though Multitudes deplored the Fate of thofe unhappy Men who died by his Sentences, yet they bore no Dinike to him; but acknowledged, that what he did was the Effect of an honeft Zeal, and not of any Cruelty in his Nature, and many of the Criminals profeffed this to be their own Sentiments in their very laft Moments: The only People who fhewed any Difcontent, were the Officers and Soldiers of Pizarro's Party, who thought they were not enough confidered, and told him, as much; but he told them in return, That he did not come there to fupport or reward any, but to extinguifh all Parties ; and that they ought to think themfelves happy, that in Confideration of their late good Behaviour, he forgot what was paft, fince they muft be fenfible that he punifhed in Almagro's Partizans no other Crimes than thofe of which themfelves had been guilty.
24. The Peace of the Province being reftored by this ftrict Diftribution of Juftice, the Governor de Caftro difbanded the beft part of his Troops, laid afide all his Severity, and began to cultivate with the utmoftDiligence the Arts of Peace: He caufed the old Colonies to be better fettled, and was mindful to have new ones planted: He took care to have the old Mines improved, and fuch as were daily difcovered, to be wrought, for the Benefit of his Mafter and the lawful Proprietors: He was very attentive to the Adminiftration of Juftice: He erected Colleges and Schools in all the Cities and great Towns. He obliged the Clergy to labour diligently in converting the Indians, relieved moft of their Grievances, and in the Space of little more than a Year, made fuch Alterations as could fcarce have been expected in fifty. He would have done ftill more, but that the Sponijh Minifters,
whom he neither courted nor bribed; prevailed upori the King to erect a kind of Royal Audience in Peru, and to give very great Powers to Commiffioners who compofed the Audience, who made it their Bufnefs to crofs the Governor in every thing; which begat new Difturbances, both among the Spaniards and the Indians, and frefh Complaints to the Court of Spain, with which perhaps the Minifters were not difpleafed, becaufe whenever they came the Money came along with them. Whereas in the Governor de Caftro's Time, though the Emperor received large Sums from Peru, yet the Minitters got nothing; and when Things went once wrong they quickly grew worfe and worfe, and Matters were in Danger of falling once more into Confufion.

The Emperor being informed of the Revolts in Peru, and the ill Ufage of the Indians, he difplaced his Commiffioners there, and chofe others, giving them an Oath to deal juftly, and to order Things uprightly. He made forty Laws, and figned them at Barcelora, the 20th of November, 1542 ; but thofe Laws were ill taken in Peru. They were certainly well intended, and very agreeable to the Rules of natural Juftice and Equity; but in the Situation Things were in, by no Means expedient to be publifhed in Peru, where Things grew daily more perplexed: Befides Blafco Nunez Vela, who was appointed Viceroy in 1544, and who had Directions to fee thefe Orders put in execution, was a Man no way qualified for his Employment. On his Arrival he caufed his Predeceffor, who was a much wifer Man than himfelf, to be imprifoned, and behaved in every Refpect fo feverely that he gained no Friends, though he provoked many to become his Enemies. Three of the Judges who fhould have fupported him, confpired againft him, and caufed him to be imprifoned, while in the mean time Gonzalo Pizarro drew together Troops, and difpofed all Things for a Rebellion.

The Difputes between the Judges and the Viceroy facilitated his Defign; for tho' the latter quickly recovered his Liberty, and drew one of the Judges to his Party, yet the reft of the Judges continued to act by their own Authority, and behaved fo cruelly, and fo tyrannically, that at length, perceiving they had no other Remedy, they were glad to admit Gonzalo Pizarro Governor of Peru, to fend him a Commiffion in the King's Name, and to receive him with all Demonftrations of Refpect into the City of Lima. The Viceroy returned into the Province of Quito, where he difcovered, in his Adverfity, much greater Abilities, and many more Virtues, than in his Profperity ; and though his Forces were confiderably inferior to thofe of the Rebels, yet his own Intrepidity, joined to that loyal Difpofition, which is natural to the Spaniards, enabled him to make a long Difpute. At length, however, a decifive Battle was fought between him and Gonzalo Pizarro, on the Igth of Famuary, I546; in which the Viceroy, being wounded and taken Prifoner, had his Head ftruck off; for whofe Death, thoughdone by his own Command, Pizarro hypocritically wore Morning. Henceforwards this Man behaved himfelf rather as a fovereign Prince than a Governor, bufying himfelf in amaffing Wealth, and in taking all the Precautions he could think of for fecuring himfelf and his Affociates from the Effects of the royal Refentment, which without queftion they had reafon to dread. In the mean time, the Emperor, juftly alarmed at the Confequences of thofe Seditions, which threatened the Lofs of fo confiderable a Territory as that of Pcru, came at length to a Refolution of trufting rather to the Wifdom of one Man, than to the Force of many.

This Manwas the Licenciate Peter de la Gafca, who had the Title of Prefident of the Royal Court of Peru, and a Commiffion fo ample, that, had it not been fome way limited by his Inftructions, he would, in effect, have had royal Authority: But to balance this he had neither Men nor Money, the Court trufting altogether, though furely not very prudently, to his great Capacity. He was, in few Words, a Man of unfhaken Courage, deep Prudence, mild Behaviour, unblemifhed Probity, and abfolutely difinterefted; he was not afraid to go in a Manner naked, againft infolent and victorious Rebels; and all the Reward he demanded for the Services he
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fhould perform, was, that, having fettled the Province in Peace, he might be at Liberty to depart into Spain. Gafca arrived at Nombre de Dios, and carried himfelf mildly, faying, he came not to make War ; but, according to his Profeffion; to make Peace, and rebate the Rigour of the Laws that caufed the War. From Panama he fent the Emperor's Letters, and wrote himfelf to Pizarro, telling him, he was come to pardon all Offences, to draw him to Obedience, to give Satiffaction to his People, and if he refufed this Grace, but not till then, to make War.

Pizarro was enraged at the Receipt of thefeLetters, and would not fuffer the Perfon who brought them to fit down, which the Gentleman took for a great Affront. Pizarro called for his Friends, to know what Anfwer to give to the Prefident's Letter. Carvajal, the chief Incendiary, was abfent, and therefore it was hoped he would accept of Grace; yet every Man delivering his Opinion, fome advifed to take and raze Panama and Nombre de Dios, that the Prefident might have no Places to receive his Men and Shipping; and they having all the Ships in the Soutb-Sea, might keep Peru to themfelves, and then they doubted not but to make Nero Spain revolt too, or at leaft they would rob all the Towns on the Sea Coaft, and live by Spoil and Rapine ; which indeed they might have done, having the General of the Sea true to them. At laft Pizarro cunningly anfwered Gafca's Letter, by confent of thirty of his Men, under their Hands, That they underftood of his coming by Hinojofa, General of the Sea, and the fair Shew of Good he pretended ; but it was too late, after fo many Murders, occafioned by the Viceroy's Cruelty ; perfuading him to return, to inform the Emperor that they would receive no Governor but Pizarro, and offering to fend fome Men of Quality into Spain to make their Cafe known to the Emperor.

Carvajal returning, diverted Pizarro from all good Intentions, and would not fuffer him to make any Acknowledgments to Spain; they fent thefe Letters to Gafca, and offered to give him a great Quantity of Money to return Home, and if he refured it, they wrote to the Admiral Hinojofa, to apprehend him. Thefe Letters being brought to $\mathrm{Pa}-$ nama, put Gafca in Fear that he fhould be killed, for they abfolutely refufed to receive him in Peru. But Gafca dealt fo cunningly with Hinojofa, that he brought lim to fubmit himfelf and Fleet, and become a true Servant to the Emperor. This was the Overthrow of Pizarro, and Hinojofa was continued General, and none of his Captains difplaced. Gafca now prepared again for War, and furnifhed himfelf for his Journey to Peru ; and before his Arrival fent a Pardon to all the common Sort. In his Expedition he carried himfelf courteounly and friendly. Gafca's Carriage, and the Submiffion of the Ships, made a great Change among the Rebels, for happy was he that could appear for the Emperor. Pizarro was much grieved to hear of thefe Alterations; but like a courageous Captain fent to all his Friends to come to him with their Forces, but moft Part of them forfook him ; and the Towns of Lima, Cuzco, and the reft, took Part with the Emperor.
When Fobn de Cafta came to Pizarro to Arequipa, they confulted what to do, having four hundred and fifty Men and the whole Country againft them: He refolved to go to Cbili, where never Spanierd had been; but he was followed by one Centeno, with a loyal Party for the Emperor, between whom was fought a cruel Battle. Pizarro, gaining the Victory, loft two hundred and twenty Men, and Centeno many more. Centeno fled, but the others, having fo great a Lofs, did not follow him. Pizarro, upon the Victory, divided his Forces into feveral Parts. Cepeda, a principal Man on his Side, perfuaded him to make Conditions with Gafca, which he would not do, but was angry at the Motion, and grew fulpicious of him; who out of pure Kindnefs had propofed it. Gafca came into Peru with two thoufand Men, where he heard of the Overthrow Pizarro had given Centeno; and his Men being fickly, and finding the Corn green, and not to be eaten, they were much difcouraged; but Centeno coming with the Remainder of his Forces put them in Heart, whereupon he went in
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Purfuit of Pizarro; but had great Trouble in paffing the River Apurrima; but Pizarro being apprized of it, departed from Cuzco with one thoufand Soldiers. A little before this Donna Maria Calderon fpeaking againft the Ty ranny of Pizarro, Francis Calderon entered her Chamber one Morning, and ftrangled her in her Bed.

Now came their Armies in View of ohe another, every one taking Advantage of the Place. Gafca delayed giving Battle, in hopes that moft of Pizarro's Men would leave him, but they did not ; and he being forced by Snow, Cold, and Hunger, engaged in a general and bloody Action. Cepeda, who, as I faid, before advifed to accept of Conditions, fled to Gafca whichs, much difheartened Pizarro's Side ; this Example, and others, that did the like, made moft of them yield. Pizarro feeing it, chofe rather to fubmit than fly, and yielded himfelf to Villa Vicentia, Serjeant-Major, who carried him to Gafca. Never was fuch a Battle fought, in which the Heads and chief Commanders were Doc $\rightarrow$ tors and Scholars. Gafca fent Forces to cut off thofe that efcaped in their way to Cuzco, and to fecure the Town. The Day following, being the gth of April 1548, Gafca committed the Caufe of Pizarro and other Offenders to Judges, who condemned him and thirteen more to Death; whereof Francis Carvajal was one, and in: deed the chief Promoter of all the Miichief in thefe Parts; he was 84 Years of Age, and had been an Enfign in the Battle of Ravzuna, had ferved under the great Captain Gonzalo Fernandez, and was the moft noted Soldier in the Indies, yet never efteemed valiant or fkilful s it was a Bye-word, as cruel as Carvajal, becaufe he had been the Executioner of four hundred Spaniards, Pizarra caufed to be put to Death after Blafio Nunez came into Peru, carrying Blacks with him continually for that Purpofe. Pizarro was never overthrown but in this Battle, though he had fought many. Gafca's Soldiers looked for a better Reward than was given them, though indeed they were well dealt with; yet they mutinied upon it, but were foon quieted again. Gafca took a Courfe for the pacifyin. of the Indians, and reducing them to the Chriftian Religion, as alfo for the peaceable Government of the Kingdom.

When Gafca arrived at Nombre de Dios out of Spain, he brought not an hundred Men with him, nor had he any Money, but procured Credit; and at his going away paid all Debts, and carried with him to the Emperor almoft twó Millions, but for himfelf not a Penny ; being the firt Man, in Authority, that ever did the like; for Covetoufnefs was the Bane of all the Spani/b Affairs 'till his Time. Indeed any Nation muft be quickly ruined where the Men great afpire to Authority, with no other View than to make themfelves rich. As for this celebrated Governor, when he had thoroughly fettled Things in Peru, he prepared for his return into Spain, and came to Panama, having much Wealth there, which he could not carry; but it happened that two Sons of Rodrigo Conberas, Governor of Nicaragua, with two hundred Soldiers, entered the Town and took that Treafure, and as much more as they could get. One of the two Brothers' put himfelf with his Wealth oo board two or three Ships, the other followed Gafca, thinking to rob and kill him ,murdered many, and few a Bifhop; becaufe he fent to their Father in Spain an Account of their Villanies. They drew to them all factious and diifcontented People, that favoured the Party of Pizarro. Gafca hearing of thơe Diforders returned with Speed, fought with and overcame them : one of the Brothers was drowned in-paffing a River ; and he difpatched Ships after the other, and took him and all his Wealth.

This proved a fortunate Affair to Gafca, and gor him great Honour : He embarked at Nombre de Dios for Spain in 1550, with much Wealth for others and Repu* tation to himfelf. His going, coming, and ftaying, was little more than four Years. This Man compleated what Vaca de Caftro had only beguns, and left every thing in tolerable good Order ; for which, upon his Return the Emperor gave him the rich Bifhopric of Placentic, and fent for him into Germany, that he might receive a clear and diftinct Account of the State of his

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Affairs in America. It is very remarkable, that thefe Governors, who did fuch wonderful Things ; and inftead of enriching themfelves promoted the Welfare of the Crown, and provided for the Revenues of the Peo--ple, were not Courtiers but Lawyers, not Men of great Nobility, not yet mere Adventurers, not the Creatures of any Miniftry, or fupported by any Minifter, but owing their Preferment entirely to their Reputation, which made them known to the Emperor, their Mafter, and fecured his Choice.

We fhall here end our Account of the Difcovery and Conqueft of Peru, which has been fo fully treated ; that the Reader cannot but have a very clear Idea, as well of the Maxims, upon which the Spanifh Court proceeded, as of the Characters of thefe great Men, by whom thefe Difcoveries and Conquefts were atchieved, and of the Troubles that were afterwards occafioned by their exceffive Ambition. But, as the Purfuit of this Method, with Refpect to the other Provinces of the Spanifb Empire, in the new World, would fwell this Work to too great an Extent ; we fhall content ourfelves with giving as concife an Account as is poffible of the Times when, and the Perfons by whom, the reft of the moft confiderable Difcoveries and Conquefts were made, without entering into any fartherParticulars, that we may have the more Room to fpeak of what other Nations have performed in thofe Parts, and thereby render this Part of our Work as compleat as poffible.
25. While Hernan Cortes was employed in reducing, under his Obedience, all the Provinces of the Mexican Empire, and while Francis Pizarro was occupied in Peru, there were other great Captains and experienced Seamen employed in the Difcovery of feveral other Parts of America: As for Inftance, Sebaftian Cabot, a Venetian born, and who had been long in the Service of the Crown of England, entered about the Year 1526 into that of Spain; and the fame Year failed up the great River of Plate, and difcovered Part of the Country of Paraguay. The Year following Francis de Montejo fettled and fubdued the Country of Fucatan; and about the fame Time, Fobn Bermudez firft faw one of thofe Inands, which have fince borne his Name, and make at prefent a Part of our Poffeffions in the Weft-Indies. From the Year 1528 to 1533 various Difcoveries were made by the Captains of Francis Pizarro, both on the Eaft and Weft Coafts of South America; and within this Space it was, that Peter Heredia caufed the Foundation to be laid of the City of Cartbagena, to which he gave that Name from the Refemblance it bore in its Situation to the City of Cartbagena in Old Spain.
In 1535, Peter de Mendoza founded the Town of Buenos Ayres, on the River Plata, which City was twice abandoned, and twice rebuilt. At this time the famous Hernan Cortes made, in Perfon, an Expedition by Sea, to difcover the Northern Coafts of the Kingdom of Mexico, and was himfelf the firft that took a View of California, which then, and long after, was efteemed to be an Inand. In 1537, the Province of Nerw Granada was entirely difcovered : And in 1539 , as if the Difcoveries Northwards were to keep exact Pace with thofe of the South, the great Kingdom of Cibola was firft made known to the Spaniards by a Francijcan Friar; which Difcovery at firft was very little regarded, but has been fince found to be of as great Confequence, or rather of greater, than any of the Difcoveries on the Northern Continent in America. In 1540, one Peter de Baldivia made his Expedition into Cbili, and reduced a great Part of that rich Country.
The very next Year, Fobn Cabrillo a Native of Portugal, in the Service of Spain, difcovered the moft Northern Parts of California, and gave to a great Cape or Headland, in the Latitude of 44 Degrees, the Name of Cape Mendocina, in Honour of Don Antonio de Mendoca, at that timie Viceroy of Nere Spain. In 1543 , Leweis de Alverado difcovered the great River of MifififAppi, which he clearly defcribed, though he did not give it any Name. In the Year 1545 , the Mines of Potofs were firt opened; and in 1554 , the Spaniards difcovered thofe of St. Barbe and St. Fobn. In the Year $5_{574}$. Fuan Fernandez difonvered, in the South-Sea,
the two Iflands that have been fince known by his Name; though in the old Spani/h Maps there are four laid down, the other two being called the Iflands of St. Felix and St. Ambrofe, lying fomewhat more to the North than thofe to which we generally give the Name of Juan Fernandez. In 1582 , the Spaniards completed the Difcovery of that great Country to which they have fince given the Name of the Kingdom of New Mexico. In 1589, Don Pedro Sermiento made that famous Settlement in the Streights of Magellan, of which we have given fo large an Account in our firft Volume. In the Years 1638 and 1639, fome Spani/b Miffionaries travelled through, and defcribed moft of the Countries that lie upon the great River of the Amazons; and confidering the Report they made of the Fertility and Riches of thofe Countries, it is furprifing that the Spaniards did not make this Difcovery turn to greater Acconnt ; but perhaps this may be alcribed to their. Want of People, at leaft in Proportion to fuch a vaft Extent of Country.

In 1675 , fome Miffionaries difcovered, in the Heart of Soutb America, the Country of the Moxas, of which to this Day we have no farther Account than what thofe Miffionaries have given us. This Country lies in the Torrid Zone, from ro to 15 Degrees of South Latitude; and it is believed that there are Mines of great Value therein, though hitherto it has been vifited only by the Priefts, who have erected the fame fort of Sovereignty there which they poffefs in Paraguay.
26. In the Year 1 701, F. Eufebius Kino, a Jefuit, difcovered that the Country of California was not an Inand, as till that time it had been fuppofed, but was feparated from the Continent of new Mexico only by a River, over which he paffed without much Trouble. And thus we have given the Reader a fhort Account of the Spanifl Difcoveries, in the Order of Time in which they were made, from their firft Entry into the new World, down to our own Days; and if it appears that fince their having eftablifhed fo great and powerful an Empire in this Part of the Globe, they have difcovered much lefs in Proportion than when they firt came thither, we muft not attribute it either to their having abfolutely furveyed all Parts of thofe two vaft Continents, of which they are reputed Mafters, or that they have loft that Thirf after Gold and Silver with which they were fo ftrongly poffeffed in paft Times: For the Truth is, that both in North and in South America, there are vaft Tracts of Country of which they know very little; but then the Provinces of which they are at prefent in Poffeffion afford them fuch certain Supplies of Gold and Silver, and at the fame Time they find that the Prefervation of thefe Countries requires fuch. a ftrength of People, that they are cautious of extending their Settlements for fear of leffening their Security; and therefore the great Maxim of theirPolicy is to conceal the Notices they from time to time receive of new Mines, that they may not come to the Knowledge of Strangers, whofe Neighbourhood they dread, and not without Reafon; fince if any hardy and induftrious Nation fhould ever fix themfelves effectually in any 'Part of either of thefe Continents, the Spaniards would foon feel what they fo much fear, the Impoffibility of keeping the Countries they poffefs at prefent. But it may not be amifs before we conclude this Section, and part with the Subject, to give the Reader a general Notion of the Advantages derived to Spain, from the Conquefts made by her Subjects in the two America's.
The common Opinion is, that his Catholic Majefty poffeffes larger Dominions than any Prince in the World, and without doubt it is very well founded; for, with regard to America, the whole Coaft from thirtyfeven Degrees of North Latitude, to fifty-three Degrees of South, is on one Side entirely theirs; and on the other there are only the Portugueze Colonies in Brazil, with a few inconfiderable French and Dutcb Settlements, but what belongs to them or to the Natives. In a Word, the Spaniards command in the South Seas the moft extended Coaft in the new World, that is, from Cape St. Sebaftian, the moft Northern Point of California, to the Streights of Magellan, at leaft two thoufand Leagues, or between fix and feven thoufand Miles: They likewife poffers the
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largeft and moft valuable Inands, viz. Cuba, Part of Hijpaniola, and Porto Rico.

It is an Opinion commonly received amongtt us, that the Spanifh Weft Indies are very unwholfome, but, like many other general Propofitions, this may be faid to be true and falfe at the fame time; a very confiderable Part of Mexico and Peru are in the TorridZone, and yet, where they have the Advantage of a favourable Situation, are both healthy and pleafant; but befides thefe there are many fair Provinces in both the temperate Zones: Neither can the habitable World boaft of more delightful Regions than there are in the Kingdom of Nere Mexico in the North, and about Buenos Ayres in the South, as the Reader will be told. more particularly hereafter; the Truth is, that the Country about Porto Bello is extremely aguifh and unwholfome, and fo is part of the Sea Coaft of Cbili, by Reafon of the great Rains which fall there, and the want of Inhabitants. And from hence we form an Idea of the reft, though very unjuftly. Perhaps too, the Luxury of the Spaniards, and the Inactivity of their Lives may contribute to fhorten their Days, and thereby difcredit the Places they inhabit; but as it is certain that the Indians, before their Arrival, lived to a good old Age, and many who are temperate do fo ftill, I fay, all this confidered, we may conclude, that if any active and induftrious People were to fettle in thefe Countries, they would not be very much incommoded by the Climate.
As to the Soil of the Countries in general, it is wonderfully rich and fruitful, producing Corn in abundance, and fuch Paftures as are no where elfe to be feen; Trees for Fruit, Beauty, and Ufe; Shrubs odoriferous, and of phyfical Virtues; Herbs and Roots, in plenty; and, in thort, every Thing that can be fought for, either grows naturally or may with very little Pains be produced here. In the Bofom of the Earth all Sorts of Metals are found, efpecially thofe which Men value moft, Silver and Gold; Springs and Rivulets are every where to be feen: And then, for the Conveniency of Navigation, there are the nobleft Rivers which the World can boaft; fuch as the River of Plate, the Amazons River, and many others. If the Spanifb Councils were turned for the Encouragement of Trade, there are in thefe Countries fuch a vaft Variety of valuable Commodities as might furnifh the Pcople poffeffed of them with inexhauftible Treafures; for befides Gold and Silver, of which prodigious Quantities are annually exported, both from Mexico and Peru, here are Emeralds, Pearls, and various other forts of Stones ; not to fpeak of Copper and other bafer Metals: Rich Drugs of all Kinds, Logwood, Santal, Redwood, and many other forts of Materials for dying: Tobacco, Ginger, Sweet-meats of all Kinds, with a vaft Variety of luxurious Articles: And then, as to Things of more neceffary Ufe, Vigonia Wool, the Hides from Buenos Ayres, Tortoife-fhell, Indigo, and many more, might be enumerated. Neither is the Country deficient in Seaports, efpecially in the North-Seas, where there are feveral fafe and fpacious Harbours, befides goodRoads, Bays, and Creeks. Yet thefe in the South-Seas are, in a great meafure, wanting, and the Spaniards, not without Reafon, efteem it an Advantage, becaufe it makes it the eafier for them to defend the Coaft againft Strangers ; and in Relpect of one part of the Country trading with the other, this is no preat Finderance ; becaure they have a good Port for the carrying on of their Eaft-India Trade, which is what they chiefly value on this fide. And if ever they fhould increafe their Shipping fo as to make new Ports requifite, Engineers would foon put them in a Way to improve the imperfect Efforts of Nature: But while they continue to act on the Maxims which they have hitherto purfued, they are not likely to think their Havens on the Soutb-Sea too few. We ought now to fpeak of the Number of Inhabitants, becaufe therein confifts the trueWealth and Strength of a Government: But we muft ingenuoufly confefs, that with any tolerable Accuracy it is not eafy to fettle it. The Spanifh Writers are remarkably filent on this Head, and as to what others report on this Subject, it deferves lefs Credit than any other Part of their Relations, be-
caufe it is impofible that what they affert fhould confift with their own Knowledge.

This however is certain, that the Spanifh America is but thinly peopled if we confider its Extent; and, on the other hand, it feems to be as certain, that it is much better peopled than we commonly imagine, of which I will give feveral apparent Proofs: Sir Francis Drake made his firf Expedition in $\times 578$, and with a very flender Force; acquired immenfe Riches, and did prodigious Damage to the Spaniards. In 1587, Candifh did the like, in a Veffel of One hundred and twenty Tons, though he had not in her above thirty Men; landing in feveral Places, and bringing away as much Riches as he could carry. Thefe Succeffes eftablifhed an Opinion, that the Spaniards were very weak in thefe Parts, yet all the following Expeditions, which were undertaken with much greater Force, miferably mifcarried ; which induced that wife Princefs, Queen Elizabeth, to reftrain her Subjects from fuch Attempts. This, however, did not difcourage the Dutch, who in 1623 , fitted out a grand Fleet for the Soutb-Seas; it confifted of fifteen ftout Ships, and there were three thoufand picked Men on board. They came happily into thefe Parts of the World, and made feveral Defcents, but to noPurpofe, being conftantly repulfed, fo that they returned with great Lofs and Shame. Our Countryman, Gage, perfuaded Cromwell, and indeed the Englifh Nation, that the Conqueft of the Weft-Indies was a very practicable Defign, but it did not prove fo in the Event ; for though we made ourfelves Mafters of Famaica, yet whoever confiders the mighty Force that Penn and Venables had,' will rather wonder that much more was not done, than admire what they did; fo that it feems to be a Thing out of difpute, that it is not fo much the Weaknefs of the Spaniards as the Weaknels of their Councils, which has occafioned their Loffes in thofe Parts. And, to fay the Truth, we can farce doubt of this, if we reflect that they have found a Way to make their American Colonies contribute to the Deftruction of their Power at Sea. Though the fame Caufe is the great Source of ours, and is the only one that can create a naval Force to France.

But to return to the Point ; viz. the Number of People in the Spanifb Settlements: A certain Author has gueffed, that there may be in the whole three Millions of Spaniards, Mulattoes, and Negroes; befides which, there are certainly a much larger Number of Indians; for though it may be, and without doubt it is true, that the'Spaniards practifed intolerable Cruelties when they firft arrived in thefe Parts, yet we are affured that this was done contrary to the exprefs Direction of their Catholic Majefties, and that they have long fince altered their Policy in this Refpect, though many Indian Nations are ftill their implacable Enemies, and fo are likely to continue. When thefe Countries were firft reduced, the fettling many Ecclefiaftics might be a very proper Meafure, fince it is certain they were, in thofe Days, very zealous not only in converting, but in protecting the Indians; interpofing on all Occafions in their Favour ; but as Times are altered fince, they and their Meafures fhould have altered accordingly. Monafteries and Nunneries, if they are not contrary to the Spirit of Chriftianity, are at leaft incompatible with that of fettling Colonies, and fo they have been found: Priefts, generally fpeaking, proceed upon narrow and felfifh Views, and fo do all religious Orders, particularly the Fefuits, who therefore are the leaft qualified for Miffionaries, though deficient in no other Refpect, as fully appears from their Conduct in Paraguay, where the Fathers have eftablifhed a much more regular Government than fubfifts any where elfe in America, and are able to raife a greater Number of regular Troops in a Week, than could be affembled by the Viceroy at Peru in a Year.
The Corruption and Tyranny which reigns among all the Officers who derive their Authority from the Crown, fenfibly affects the State, fince it not only ruins the Revenue, but difcourages Induftry and extirpates Public Spirit. An unaccountable Fondnefs for Gold and Silver is another Prejudice to the Spanifb Settlements; has pre-
vented.
vented the Government from encouraging new Difcoveries, and fpread fuch a fordid Spirit through all its Subjects as is vifibly productive of the worft Effects ; for tho' Mines may be moft beneficial to the Sovereign, and to the Mother Country in the firft Inftance, yet, taking all Things together, they are leaft fo ; of which the prefent State of Spanifb America is the ftrongeft Proof.
27. We have now treated this Subject fo fully and fo clearly, that we hope she Reader has nothing farther to expect. We might indeed have confined ourfelves within narrower Limits, and have run through the Story of thefe great Events in fewer Pages; but then che Account mult have been very fuperficial, and inftead of fatisfying, it would only have raifed the Curiofity of the ingenious Perufer ; whereas now we dare affure him that with refpect to the Difcovery and Conqueft of Mexico and Peru, he has feen as good an Account as we were able to give him, after perufing and comparing the beft Spanijb Writers; and we have always thought that it was our Duty to execute Things to the full, and not leave People under the Neceffity of confulting many other Books, in order to come at what they might juftly expect from its Title to have found in this.

There are fome fpeculative People that have taken Pains to depreciate the Character of the Conquerors of the new World, by pretending that the Advantages derived to Spain by the Countries added by them to her Dominions are fcarce an Equivalent for the Mifchiefs fhe has fuftained by the draining away fuch incredible Multitudes as have tranfported themfelves to America, fince thofe Conquefts were made ; but, with their Leave, this does not fo much concern the Conduct of thofe Conquerors, as that of the Spanifh Miniftry, which we never took upon us to vindicate, and in which we fhould moft certainly have failed if we had: But the great Point which deferves notice, and which can alone enable our Readers to form a true Judgment of this Matter, is the Profits that might accrue to the Crown of Spain from thefe prodigious Acquifitions, if the had known how to have managed them with Skill and Prudence proportionable to that Wifdom and Spirit which thefe brave and active Officers difcovered in bringing fuch extenfive, and fuch valuable, Provinces under her Dominion.

In order to give them fome Opportunity of doing this, it may not be amifs to inquire, as far as it is in our Power to do, what thefe two great Empires of Mexico and Peru really produce ; for when this is once known, we may very well judge who is in the Fault, and whether, in refpect to the Spanifb Nation, the boundlefs Ambition of thofe Conquerors, or the ill Management of thofe who have received the Benefits that have arifen from thefe Conquefts, deferves the Blame.
To begin then with Mexico: The Ecclefiaftical State of the Country at prefent confifts of an Archbifhop, and eleven Suffragan Bifhops, whofe Revenues, computed according to their own Returns of their Tenths, which we may be fure do not exceed the Value of them, amount to one Million and a Half Sterling per Annum. It is farther computed, that their Revenues make about a Fourth of thofe belonging to the Clergy, and that the Eftates of the Ecclefiaftics may be reckoned a Fourth of the Whole Province or Viceroyalty ; according to which Computation the Total Revenues of Mexico may be taken at twenty-four Millions of our Money. But there is another Way of calculating the Wealth of Mexico, which I will prefent to the Reader, becaufe I am pretty confdent he will find it nowhere elfe: There was brought into the King's Exchequer at Mexico, in the Year 1730 , fomewhat better than a Million of Marks of Silver. This was the King's Duty from the Mines, which ought to be one Fifth of the Metal taken out of them. It is true, moft People think the King is pretty roundly cheated; but becaufe this does not appear to us, we will fuppofe he is honeftly paid, and that this is a Fifth Part of what is dug out of the Mines; the Whole therefore muft amount to five Millions of Marks (a Mark is equivalent toeight of our Ounces); fothat if we compute this Silver
at five Shillings per Ounce, then the Inhabitants of Mexico receive annually from their Mines ten Millions in Money.

With refpect to the Riches of Peru, we cannct give quite fo diftinct an Account; but, however ${ }_{3}$ we will give the Reader the beft Account we can; and firft, as to the Mines of Potofi, we have a clear Relation of them for fifty Years, that is, from their firf Difcovery, to the Year 1595: Within which Space they had produced forty-four Millions of our Money; but it is allowed, that fince that time, they have funk very much in their Value, and it is no lefs certain that other very rich Mines have been fince difcovered. The Gold and precious Stones, brought from this Country and Cbili, are of incredible Value; and, if we may truft to the Accounts that are given us of the City of St. Jago, in the laft mentioned Country the Wealth of the Inhabitants is fo great, or rather they have fuch a Plenty of Gold, that almoft all their Utenfils, for common Kitchen Service, are made of that rich Metal. After all, if we had the cleareft Accounts of the Produce of their feveral Mines, they would not go a great Way towards fatisfying us as to the Advantages that Spain reaps from thefe Countries, inafmuch as the Spaniards fettled in America are known to have vaft Hoards of Plate; fend annually prodigious Sums in Silver to the Eaft-Indies; and employ much larger Quantities in a Contraband Trade with the Englifh, French, and Dutch. But we have a tolerable Account, after all thefe Deductions are made, of what is annually returned to Spain in Time of Peace; and therefore, upon this, we fhall chiefly infift: The Galleons bring home about three Millions in Gold, and the Flota one: In Silver, the ordinary Cargo of the Galleons is twenty Millions, and of the Flota ter: : In precious Stones, fuch as Pearls, Emeralds, Torquoifes, $\mathcal{E}^{2} c$. they export about half a Million; in other rich Commodities, firch as Cochineal, Indigo, Logwood, $\mathcal{E}^{2} c$. about three Millions and an half; fo that taking all thefe together, they bring home thirtyeight Millions, without reckoning what comes by regifter Ships, and in a clandeftine Way; which thofe who are beft acquainted with it, have eftimated at twelve Millions more: Upon the whole therefore, keeping ourfelves within the ftricteft Bounds of Moderation, we may venture to affert that Spain draws now from feven to ten Millions Sterling from thefe Countries every Year, and muft formerly have drawn much more.

If fhe is able to keep very little of this, which is very pofitively faid, and I believe may be very true, it does not at all leffen the Value of thefe Acquifitions: She might' keep every Penny of it if fhe would, by fetting up and encouraging proper Manufactures in her Dominions. As fhe does not, it is become the common Intereft of all the trading Countries in Europe, that fhe fhould be maintained in thefe rich Poffeffions, not for her Sake, but for their own; and indeed, as things are now managed, the waftes her unhappy Subjects the Indions, and her ftill more unhappy Negro Slaves, in digging Gold and Silver for other People. Such, according to the wife Difpofitions of Providence, are the Rewards of Induftry, and the Punifhments of Idlenefs, Luxury, and a People's want of Attention to their own Concerns.

But if a few wife and good Princes were to rule in Spain, the Cafe would very foon be altered; they would firt make ufe of their Treafures to erect Manufactures in their European Dominions, and next lay open this rich Trade to all their Subjects in thofe Dominions. Such a Conduct would, in the Space of a few Years, change the Face of their Affairs entirely; and nothing could hinder their becoming again what they once were, the mort formidable maritime Power in this Part of the World.

It would then appear what vaft Advantages accrued from the Difcoveries and Conqueits of Columbus, Velafquez, Balboa, Cortes, Pizarro, Almagro, Baldivia, and all the other Heroes, that ftand recorded inSponifh Hiftories: Heroes, who, without doubt, merit all the Praifes that have been beftowed upon them; and who, with prodigious Labours, with infinite Hazards, and at the Expence of the Lives of many thoufands of brave Men,
purchafed

Chap. III. of PERU and CHILI.
purchafed thofe Treafures which have been wafted away in gratifying the Pride of Princes; the Lufts of Priefts; and the innumerable Vices of a long Train of weak and wicked Minitters. Happy would it be for all other Nations if Spain alone was infamous for this kind of Extravagance and Madnefs! Happy for them; if after following they would grow wifer by her Example! Happy for them, that fhe is not yet fenfible of her Faults!
The Miftakes that have been made by the Spaniards; however ftrange, however amazing, they may appear, when thus examined and pointed out upon Paper, are fuch as any other Nation may be very eafily betrayed into, when her Circumifances become like thofe of the Spaniards. All Colonies are a kind of political Children, and, as fuch, contribute to the Honour, Safety; and Riches of their Parents, if thofe Parents are not wanting to themfelves ; it is, however, very common for Governments, as well as private Perfons, to fall into many great Errors upon this Head; fuch as treating young Colonies with vait Tendernefs and Indulgence, forming from thence very fanguine, and fometimes very unreafonable Expectations; and, becaufe thefe are not anfwered as foon as expected, falling out with, and difregarding, thofe Colonies, at the very time when, if they had been attended to, they might liave more than anfwered their Expectations. It is likewife common with them, as well as Parents, to grow unreafonably, I was going to fay ridiculoufly, jealous of their Off-fpring; by this foolifh Conduct, actually producing thofe Mifchiefs they endeavoued to avoid, and which could have been produced only by fuch Endeavours.

They are apt to fancy, that, becaufe thefe Children are fettled at a Diftance, they forget that they are Children; and, full of this idle Fancy, they foon forget that they are Parents, and begin to treat them with an arbitrary Authority; becaufe they live at aDiftance, and fupport themfelves by their own Labours, they make it their Study to draw from them wherewith to maintain the Luxury and Prodigality of thofe Childen who live at home with them, and are thereby become the Objects of an irregular Affection, which very foon degenerates into an exceffive Indulgence. Hence arife all thofe Mifchiefs that are fo warmly deplored by thofe, who, if they would act with proper Care and Spirit, might eafily amend them; for it is with Colonies as it is with Children, nine times in ten their Errors fpring from the Ufage they have met with; and they are blamed for their Mifcarriages by thofe who are in reality the Authors of thofe Mifcarriages, and ought therefore to blame themfelves.

An ancient and almoft incurable Miftake this has been; but it is neverthelefs a Miftake for all that, and a Miftake which it imports every great and wife People to amend. A Nation that has great Colonies abroad can never want Trade, Riches, or maritime Power, unlers fhe is wanting to herfelf. A familiar Example will illuftrate this, and that in fuch a Manner as muft convince every Perfon of the Truth of this Remark. A Man who has a large Eifate and no Children, mult of necefity employ many Servants, of whofe Fidelity he cannot be altogether, or at leaft always, certain; and, with refpect to a Nation, Subjects obtained by the Sword, that is, by Conqueft, or Slaves purchafed by Money, are in the Nature of Servants; but the natural Subjects of a State, by which I mean fuch as have been born or bred up under its Laws, are to all political Purpofes Children, let them live where they will; and, if due Care be taken of them, will difcharge the Duties of Children. But if Parents, who are in this Condition, inftead of feeking the Advantages they might attain from it, employ their Cares another Way, and divert their Thoughts and their Affections from their Children to Servants and Strangers, it is no Wonder that their Affairs go wrong.

Now this was precifely the Cafe of the Spaniards: The Emperor Charles V. happened not to be born in Spain, and, which was ftill more fatal to that Country, was chofen Emperor of Germany, which quite turned his Thoughts from Spanifb Affairs; fo that though he was as great a Captain, as able a Statefman, and as wife a Monarch as ever fat upon that Throne, yet with all his Vor. II. Numb. 80.

Virtues and all his Abilities ho laid the Foundation of their Misfortunes, at the very Time when he thought he was laying the Ground-work of an univerfal Monarchy ; and at a Time too, when; by attending clofely to the Affairs of Spain, he might have made it a gireater,' happier's and more potent Nation, than ever the Perfians; Greeks; or Romans had been. His Son Pbilip heightened all thefe Misfortunes, though he purfued quite a different Conduct ; but then he purfued it to the fame End; that is to fay, by affecting univerfal Monarchy he ruined his own.
He was generally and very jufty reputed a Prince as. weil verfed in Politics as any of his Age, or perhaps of any other; yet he was fo much taken up in endeavouring to reduce the Netherlands, enflave Italy; conquer England, over-tun France, and in annexing Portugal to his Dominions, that he never confidered his Subjects int the Spanifh Amcrica, farther than as they enabled him by conftant Supplies of Money to carry on thefe his vaft. Defigns. From what has been faid it is evident; that however wife, however penetrating, thefe Prinices might be; they certainly over-fhot themfelves in their Schemes concerning the Weftern Indies. Inftead of looking upon it as an Eftate, they feemed to think it only a Farm, of which they were to make prefently what they could. In doing this it muft be owned they acted with Skill and Vigour, for they drew immenfe Sums from thence; which they wafted in Europe, to difturb others, and in the End to deftroy their own State. Mr. Lewis Robert:s Author of the Map of Commerce, an excellent Book for the Time in which it was written, tells, that it appeared by the Records in the Cuftom-houfe of Seville, that ind the Space of feventy-four Years, computing backwards; from the Time in which he wrote, the Kings of Spain had: drawn into that Country, from America, two hundred and fifty Niillions of Gold, which make about ninety-one Millions Sterling. He alfo obferves, that this very Prince, Pbilip II. of whom we liave been fpeaking, fpent more in his Reign than all his Predeceffors in the whole of their refpective Reigns, though no lefs than fixty-two Kings had reigned before him. Yet this cunning, this ambitious, Monarch left his Subjects in a manner quite exhaufted; and, by eftablifhing a moft pernicious Syitem of Politics, left the total ruining of his Dominions, by way of Legacy, to his Succeffors ; a Point which, with wonderful Obftinacy, they have fteadily purfued ever fince;

All who are in any Degree acquainted with the Fiflory of Europe know, that, for a long Courfe of Years; Spain maintained at once Wars in Flanders, Germany; Italy, and fometimes in Ireland, which created a prodigious Expence of Treafure and of Troops, neither of which from the Death of Cbarles V . they were in any Condition to f pare: As Families were reduced by the Expence of ferving in the Army, they were induced to feek new Fortunes in the Wef-Indies; and thus Numbers went over thither, not to cultivate the Country, or to improve Trade, but to frrip and plunder thofe who went before them. Other great Families again concurred with the Meafures of the Crown, in hopes of Vice-royalties and other valuable Offices in its Conquefts ; but, if ever their Schemes were beneficial to their Families, which may admit of doubt certain it is, that they contributed more and more to the Ruin of the Spani/b Nation. For though his Catholic Majefty once pofferfed Noples, Sicily, Sardinia, Milan, with other Territories in Italy, befides the Low Countries and fome other Provinces, which are now loft; yet, for want of attending to Commerce, and by having no Sort of Oeconomy, all this turned to his Prejudice; and it plainly appeared, towards the Clofe of the laft Century, that with all their boafted Sagacity and Firmnefs the Spaniards had ruined thenrfelves, by acquiring too great Power; and rendered themfelves Beggars, by abufing their immenfe Riches: With fivelling Titles, and wide Dominions, they were defpicably weak, and fcarce any but Copper Money was to be feen, in a Country which received above twenty Millions annually from its Plantations.

Before I quit this Topic I muft take notice of another Thing, which is certainly very extraordinary. This wrong Turn in the Spanish Policy had a wonderful Effect: It made all the Enemies of that Nation rich, and all its $\mathrm{U} u$

Friends

Friends poor. Every body knows that the United Provinces not only made themfelves free and independent, but rich and powerful alfo, by their long War with Spain. Our Maritime Power was owing to the fame Caufe. If Pbilip the IId had not difurbed Queen Elizabetb, our Fleet might have been as inconfiderable at the Clofe of har Reign as it was at the Beginning, when we were peftered with Pirates, even in the narrow Seas. Our Plantations abroad were chiefly owing to Expeditions againft the Spaniards. Our Manufactures at home were the Confequence of affording Refuge to the King of Spain's Proteftant Subjects. When Queen Elizabetb's Succeffor clofed with Spain, he fuffered by it, while France, the only Country then at War with Spain, was a Gainer. I fay nothing of Cromzell's Breach with Spain, and the Advantages he drew from it; becaufe the World feems well enough apprized of all I could fay on that Subject already.
But I cannot help obferving, that both the Dutch and we were at vaft Expences after the Reftoration, to preferve the Spanifb Flanders, while the Spaniards themfelves were inactive, and left all to be done by their Allies. As foon as the Tables were turned by the Acceffion of King Philip V. the French became great Lofers by fiding with this Nation, though they had always got by fighting againft them ; infomuch, that all the true Patriots in France complained, that while Leweis XIV. Shewed himfelf an excellent Parent, in his Family, he difcharged but indifferently his Truft, as the Father of his People ; but to what End fhould I look abroad, when it is plain, for our own Situation, that we were never Friends with her, but at our Coft; and never Foes, but at her's. By fo long a Series of Mifmanagement the Spaniards have brought their Affairs into fo wretched a Situation, that they neither have, nor can have, any yery great Benefit from their vaft Dominions in America. They are faid to be Stewards for the reft of Europe; their Galleons bring the Silver into Spain, but neither Wifdom or Power can keep it there. It runs out as faft as it comes in; nay, and fafter; infomuch, that the little Canton of Bern is really richer, and has more Credit than the King of Spain, notwithftanding his Indies.

At firt Sight this feems to be ftrange and incredible; but, when we come to examine it, the Myftery is, by no Means impenetrable. The Silver and rich Commodities, which come from the Indies, come not for nothing (the King's Duties excepted) and very little of the Goods and Manufactures, for which they come, belong to the Subjects of the Crown of Spain. This fhews how the Wealth
of the Spanifh Indies becomes the Property of other Nations; and how the Prefervation of their Dominions becomes as much the Concern of their Neighbours, as it is their own. It likewife fhews how teribly they are hurt by the ambitious Schemes of their Court, in Europe; and how every frefh War in Italy ferves to weaken Spain, and exhauf her Colonies; fo that, in the End, fome great Revolution will happen there, but of what Kind, it is not eafy to forefee; but certain it is, that the Spanifb Power gradually declines, and many of their beit Settlements are already funk to nothing.
As for Inftance, Florida is become a Burthen to them; they having nothing there of Confequence but Fort $\delta t$. Auguffine, which they keep to cover the Paffage of their Plate Fleets; the Inand of St. Domingo is impoverifhed, to the laft Degree, and the City of that Name had been long enough ago left defolate, if it was not for the general Tribunal of Juftice held therein, which is its fole Support: Yet the French have a large and fourifhing Colony on the fame Inland; and if ever they fhould, as 'tis more than probable they will, elbow out the Spaniards from thence, it will change the Face of Affairs in the WeftIndies extreannly. The Ifland of Cuba is no longer what it was; and, in fhort, their Affairs decline fo faft, under their prefent Management, that, unlefs fome timely Remedies are applied, the Ruin of their Colonies muft follow very foon.
This is a Leffon fit to be confidered by other Nations; and it was for that Reafon I have infifted upon it fo much. It would, however, be no difficult Tafk to proceed ftill farther, and to examine the Confequences that may follow, in cafe the Spaniards fhould either be deprived of their Inands in America, or fhould abandon them, which I look upon as the more likely Event of the two : But I have already beftowed too much Time upon this Subject, and I am fenfible, that fuch a Difcourfe might appear too grave to fome, and too chimerical to others; and therefore I fhall not infift upon it here: However, as I have Reafon to hope, this Work will long outlive its Author, I flatter myfelf that, whenever the Event happens, Pofterity will take notice of my Conjecture; and it will be very happy for the Britijb Nation, if right Meafures are taken in Time to fecure thofe Advantages that may be derived from fuch an Event; or at leaft to avert thofe Dangers to which our Colonies mult be expofed, if, whenever it happens, our Strength in the Weff-Indies fhould not be great enough to enable us to feize a confiderable Share of what they forfake.

## S E C T I O N XVI.

A concije Hifory of the Difcovery, Settlement, and Cultivation of Brazil by the Portugueze ; the Conqueft of the greateft Part of that Country by the Dutch, the Recovery thereof by the Portugueze, and the vaft Advantages that bave accrued to them of late Years from this noble Colony.

1. A boort Introduction, Jherwing the Nature, Neceflity, and Importance of this Section. 2. The Difcovery of this Country, A. D. 1500 , by Don Pedro Alvarez Cabral. 3. The finall Advantages expected fronz Brazil, when firft vijited by the Portugueze. 4. Some Account of its antient Inbabitants, and their Manners and Cuffoms, from Dutch and Portugueze Writers. 5. The Methods taken to fettle it frift by Europeans, 6. The Eftabliftoment of a regular Colony under a Governor General from the Crown of Portugal. 7. The Attempts made by the French to eftablifs themfelves in this Country, and the Manner in wobich they mifcarried. 8. Anoiber Attempt of the fame Nature, by the fame Nation, attended with no better Succefs. 9. The Dutch undertake, under Colour of their War againft Spain, to make themfelves Maflers of Brazil. 10. Their woonderful Succefs and the furprizing Progrefs of their Arms in that Country. Ir. The Endeavours ufed by the Portugueze to repel thefe Invaders, and to maintain themflelves in the Poffefion of Brazil. 12. Count Maurice of Naffau is fent over by the States General and the Dutch Weft-India Company, to take upon bim the Government of their new Conquef. 13. His wife and prudent Adminifration, by which the bef Part of that noble Couniry reas fecured for and Settled on the Bebalf of the Dutch. 14. Their Treaty with the Portugueze; they recal Count Maurice, and begin to act tyrannically in that Country. I5. The Portugueze again take up Arms, fall upon the Dutch in their Settlements, and after a long War drive

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them entirely out of Brazil. I6. The IIffory of this Colony contimued from thence down to the prefent Times; zwith fome curious Remarks on the Gold and Diamond Mines difcovered tbere. 1\%. Objervations and Reflections upon the principal Events in the foregoing Section.

IF we confider the admirable Situation of this Country, its great Extent, and other Advantages derived from Nature, we might readily pronounce, that a Settlement there muft be attended with almoft all the Benefits that Men ufually feek or defire in fuch Eftablifhments ; and though it be very true, that this Country was not only difcovered and fettled by the Europeans, near two hundred Years before any important Difcovery was made of the rich Gold Mines which it contains, yet this only fhews, that Judgments built upon Reafon, and the natural Structure of this terraqueous Globe, are not only as found and certain, but even more fo than fuch as are grounded on Experience. If towards the Middle of the laft Age, a Man of the greateft Reading, and foundeft Underftanding, had declared, that there were Gold Mines in this Country, he would have been looked upon as an Enthufiaft, one of thofe whom too much Learning had made almoft mad ; for it would have been faid, That after inhabiting this Country for near two Centuries, the Europeans would certainly have difcovered fuch Mines, if they had been there ; but the Fact comes out quite otherwife: Thofe Mines were there, and yet they were not difcovered; and it feems to be a very high Reflection upon the boafted Knowledge of Mankind, that, with refpect to Europeans as well as Indians, moft of thefe valuable Difcoveries have been made by Chance.

If thofe Relations which are printed under the Name of Americus Vefpucius were really his, we mutt be obliged to own, that he pretended, amongft other Things that he never performed, to the Difcovery of this Country; but the Matter of Fact is, that all the Dates in thefe Pieces fo manifeftly give the Lye to the Matters contained in them, that the only Way to fave the Honour of this famous Man is, to deny that they are his: Some alledge, that the old Admiral, Columbus, gained fome Knowledge of the Coaft in the Year 1499, in his third Voyage ; but, not to dwell upon Uncertainties, we will fix the Difcovery to the fucceeding Year, wherein we have the concurrent Authority of both Spanifb and Portugueze Writers to fupport us ; and we thall next enter into a regular and fuccinct Hiftory of this Colony from that time to this, which is certainly a Thing not to be met with in our Language, or perhaps in any other.
2. Don Pedro Alvarez Cabral, a Man of Quality es well as of great Abilities, failed in the Month of March, 1500, with a Fleet of thirteen Veffels of various Sizes, for Sofala; from whence he was to have continued his Courfe to the Coaft of Malabar ; but, after paffing the Cape de Verd Inands, he flood fo far out to Sea, in order to avoid the Calms, fo common on the Coatt of Africa, that on the 24 th of April, he fell in with an unknown Coaft on the Weft, and as the Sea ran very high he was obliged to fail along that Coaft as far as the Latitude of I5 Degrees South, where he found a good Haven, to which he gave the Name of Porto Seguro, or the Safe Port, and the Country itfelf he called, the Land of the Holy Gboft, which Name was afterwards changed for that of Brazil, on account of its abounding with a kind of Wood of that Name, which had been fo called in Europe about three hundred Years before this Country was difcovered. Don Pedro having fent People on Shore, to examine this new Land, and they reporting that it was extremely well watered, very fertile, full of FruitTrees, and inhabited by a mild and gentle People, he refolved to land his Men there, in order to refrefh them.

He did fo accordingly, and found it exactly agreeable to what his People had reported; and that the Savages were fo far from offering any Infult to the Portugueze, that they received them with more Kindnefs and Good-will than they had Reafon to expect. It fo fell out, that Don Pedro had with him fome condemned Criminals, whofeSentence, by the Clemency of the King of Portugal, had been changed from Death to Tranfportation; of thefe
he thought fit to leave two in the Country, to learn the Language, to make farther Difcoveries, and to acquire the beft Knowledge they could of the Land, and its Inhabitants; but believing, as he very well might; from the very firt View of this Country, that the Difcovery he had made was of very great Importance; he refolved to lofe no Time in giving an account thereof to his Mafter, and therefore difpatched immediately one of his Veffels back to Lifbon for this Purpofe, with fome Perfons on board upon whofe Fidelity he could depend, together with one of the Savages of that Country", to be inftructed in the Portugueze Language, to facilitate the perfect Knowledge of this new found Land. He likewife fet up a Stone Crofs, as a Monument of his havirig been there, and of his having taken Poffeffion of that Country in the Name, and on the Behalf ${ }_{\text {p }}$ of his Majefty the King of Portugal, a Thing at that Time the more neceffary, becaufe of the Difputes that were then fubfifting between the Spaniards and Portugueze; about their Difcoveries.

It was in confequence of this Account, that the King of Portugal fent feveral Perfons to difcover upon thefe Coafts; who very foon found that this was Part of the Cortinent of America; upon which, as might have been very eafily forefeen, there arofe great Difputes between the two Crowns, about the Extent and Boundaries of this Country; but at laft it was fettled, that from the River of Maranon to the River of Plate, fhould be yielded to the King of Portugal.
3. It cannot be fuppofed that thefe firf Difcoverers could form any diftinct or juft Notion of the Nature and Importance of fo vaft a Country, which, according to its prefent Boundaries, may be fairly reckoned two thoufand four hundred Miles, from North to South; and two thoufand from Eaft to Weft ; tho' the Portugueze have farce penetrated five hundred Miles, any where, even to this Time. The Northern Parts of the Country lie near the Equator, are fubject to great Rains and variable Winds, more efpecially about the Months of Marcb and September, when they are frequently difturbed with moft dreadful Hurricanes and Tempefts, by which the Country is frequently under Water, and muft confequently be very unwholfome. Here, therefore, the Portugueze content themfelves with the bare Edge or Sea-Coaft, without endeavouring to penetrate deeper into the Country, defiring only to maintain their prefent Poffeflions and thereby keep out Foreigners.
In the middle Part of Brazil, from the Latitude of five Degrees South to the Tropic, it is obferved that the Winds and Seafons are the Reverfe of thofe in other Parts of the World within the fame Latitudes; for whereas in them a dry Seafon comes on when the Sun goes Northward, and the wet Seafon begins when the Sun returns to the Southward; here the wet Seafon begins in April, when the South-eaft Winds fet in with violent Tornadoes, Thunder and Lightning; and in September, when the Wind fhifts to Eaft-north-eaft it brings with it a clear Sky and fair Weather; and this is the Time of their Sugar Harveft. There are but two Winds blow upon this Coaft; viz. the South-eaft from April to September, and the North-eaft from September to Aprit again; but thirty or forty Leagues at Sea they meet with the conftant Trade-wind, which blows in the Atlantic Ocean all the Year round, from the Eaftward, with very little Variation. There is no Country, between the Tropics, where the Heats are more tolerable, or the Air more healthful than this, being contantly refrefhed with Breezes from the Sea, and abounding with Lakes and Rivers; which annually overflow their Banks; and in the Inland Part of the Country, the Winds from the Mountains are ftill cooler than thofe that blow from the Ocean.

That part of Brazil which lies ftill more to the South, and without the Tropic of Capricorn, is one of the fineft in the known World, in all Refpects; but
the Portugueze Dominions are but narrow here, confining on the Spanifh Territories on the River la Plata. We have taken this Opportunity of defcribing the whole Country as it lies ; but the Reader will eafily conceive that it was fubdued and planted by Degrees, and that the Accounts tranfinitted from Time to Time to Lifbon were agreeable to the Alterations in the State of the Colony. It was from the Nature of thefe Reports, that Things at the begiming went on flowly. The firf Portugueze Inhabitants were fenfible enough, that the Soil was fertile, the Air temperate, and the Country well watered; but alas! they could report no more. Brazil appeared to them no otherwife than as a pleafant, fruitfui, and well fituated Country, capable indeed of furnifhing Abun-dance-but not of Gold and Silver--very fit for any Sort of Improvement ; but deftitute, as they fuppofed, of Mines.

Upon thefe Reports the Miniftry did not indeed order it to be deferted; but they tranfported wicked People thither, according, as from Time to Time their Crimes brought them under the Cenfure of the Law, which had two very bad Effects; for firft it difcredited the Colony in the Eyes of the Portugueze Nation; and next, it proved the Means of corrupting the poor Indians, who were much more apt to catch the Poriugueze Vices, from their Example, than to receive the Chritian Religion by their Teaching; and indeed in all Colonies. I am atraid the Lives of Chriftians are fuch as may be juftly efteemed the Source of untractable Infidelity among the Indians.
4. But, to apprehend this nore thoroughly, we muft have fome Acquaintance with the Natives of Brazil, and their State and Condition at the 'Time of which we are fpeaking. Thefe Savages differed very little in Stature or Complexion from the Portugueze themfelves, but they much exceeded them in the Strength, Robuftnefs, and Vigour of their Bodies. The Manner of their Living, however, was barbarous enough; for they lived in the wide Plains, fome in Villages, and others moving about, according to their Humours. Their Villages confifted only of three or four very large Houfes, not unlike our Barns, in which a whole Family or Tribe lived together, under the eldeft Parent, in the State of Nature; but, however, we can fay nothing as to the Extent of their Authority.

They made ufe of Fowling and Fifhing for their Subfiftence, and made up the reft of their Diet with the Fruits of the Earth; fo that though they had not any Iuxurious Plenty, yet, in fo fertile a Country, they could not fuffer any great Degree of want. But, what feems fomewhat extraordinary, they were, notwithftanding this feemingly frugal and temperate way of Living, continually at War with each other ; but for what Caufes it is not eafy to imagine; unlefs we fhould admit what fome old Writers affirm, that they made thefe Wars chiefly, that they might kill and eat each other, efteeming human Flefh the greateft of Dainties. But perhaps the Teftimonies of thofe who own themfelves gruilty of extirpating thoufands of thefe poor Creatures, to whom they could have no Quarrel worthy of rational Beings, ought not to be received, or at leaft not received in its full Extent; for there is a certain kind of Malignity in human Nature, which leads us to calumniate and mifreprefent thofe that we injure ; as if by aggravating their Vices we could juftify, or at leaft excufe, our own.

But, at the Bottom, this will be found a Doctrine equally falfe and abfurd, for we ought to reclaim bad Men, and not to murder them; and Experience fhews us, that with regard to other Indians, who have been painted in as black Colours as the People of Brazit, they derived their Characters rather from the heated Imaginations of European Writers, than from any bad or brutal Conduct in them all. But let us defcend a little into Particulars from fuch Authorities as we have. The Portugueze and Dutch Writers give the Name of Tapuyers to the Natives which inhabit the North Part of Brazil, and the Name of Tupinambies or Tupinamboys, to thofe who dweli in the South of Brazil; but divide thefe again into feveral petty Nations, differing in Lan-
guage, but not much in Manners and Cuftoms; and therefore, I fhall only treat of them under the two firf grand Divifions of Tapuyers and Tupinombies.

The Tapuyers are Men of good Stature, and as they inhabit a hot Climate, almoft under the Equator, are of a dark Copper Colour, their Hair black, and hanging over their Shoulders; but they fuffer no Hair on their Bodies or Faces, and go almoft naked; the Men only inclofing the Penis in a Cafe, as fome other Americans do, and the Women concealing their Nudities with Leaves. The Men have alfo a Cap or Coronet of Feathers, but I don't perceive the Women have any Covering on their Heads. Their Omaments are glittering Stones, hung upon their Lips or Noftrils, and Bracelets of Feathers hung about their firms ; fome of them paint their Bodies of all Manner of Colours; whereas, others, rubling their Bodies with Gums, ftick beautiful Feathers upon them, which makes them look more like Fowls than human Creatures, at a Diftance. The Tupinambies, who inhabit the South of Brazil are of a moderate Stature, and not of fo dark a Complexion as their northern Neighbours, who lie nearer the Line; but neither the one or the other are fo dark as the Africans are, who lie in the fame Latitude, it having been more than once obferved, that there were no Negroes in America, till they were tranfported thither by the Spaniards and Portugueze.

The Tupinambies, however, refemble the Africans in their flat Nofes, which are not natural, but made fo in their Infancy; a flat Nofe being efteemed a Beauty among them. They have alfo black curled Hair on their Heads, but fuffer no Hair to grow on their Bodies and Faces, any more than the Tapuyers, and paint themfelves like the northern Brazilions. The general Food of the Brazilians was the Caffavi or Mandioaka Root dried to Powder, of which they make Cakes like our Sea Bifket. They carried this Flower with them alfo on Journies, and it ferved them infufed in Water both as Meat and Drink ; but I don't find they had any Sort of Corn till the Europeans carried it thither. They ufed alfo to feed on other Roots, Fruits, and Herbs, and fuch Venifon as they could take in Hunting, as alfo on Fifh and Fowl, if they lived near the Water ; and with every thing eat a great deal of Pepper. Some have added, that they were Cannibals, and eat human Fleft from one End of Brazil to the other, but late Travellers obferving no fuch thing, little Credit can be allowed to this, for Reafons already given

The general Liquor the Natives drink is Spring-Water, of which 'tis faid they have the beft and the greateft Variety in the World; but there are other kind of Liquors, which have a very good Body, made of their Fruits, preffed and infufed; or of Honey; with which they fometimes get very drunk, fitting whole Days and Nights over their Cups. They are charged alfo with being a very lazy Generation, that will never work or hunt, but when Neceffity compels them. And as to Arts and Sciences, they were fcarce Mafters of any, unlefs the Art of Spinning and Weaving, and forming their Arms (which confifted of Bows, Arrows, Lances, and Darts) and the Art of Building, which was but mean; for their Houfes did not need any great Contrivance. As for Letters, Characters, and Arithmetic, they were perfectly ignorant of them. They had fome Knowledge of the Virtues of Ceveral Herbs and Drugs, which they frequently adminiftered with Succefs to the Sick; but, a certain Writer relates, that when they defpaired of recovering the Patient, all his Relations agreed to knock him on the Head, which they thought much better than a lingering Death, and this probably may be juft as true as their devouring human Flefh.
Hunting, Fifhing, and Fowling, were rather their Bufinefs than Amulements, being abfolutely neceffary for the Support of their Families, in a Country where they had no tame Cattle or Corn. Drinking, Singing, and Dancing, were more properly their Diverfions; thefe they practifed on their rejoicing Days, for a Victory, or the Birth of their Children. They are great Smoakers, and take the ftrongeft Tobacco. Their Pipes are a hollow Reed or Cane, the Bowl a large Nut-Mell, that holds almoft a handful of Tobacco. They, are a tractable

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and ingenious People, ready to learn any Art or Science the Portugueze will teach them: And take nothing fo kindly of the Fathers as the inftructing their Children, which has given the Fefuits an Opportunity of making abundance of Converts; and thofe who live under the Portugueze generally conform themfelves to their Cuftoms in eating, drinking, cloathing, $\mathcal{E}^{2}$. few of thefe go naked.

Such were, and fuch are, the Natives of this famous Country, little addicted to Labour, becaufe not at all infected with Avarice; their Defires but few, and thofe eafily gratified; their greateft Vice, the Defire of Revenge, and that eafily raifed. But let us now return to our Hiftory, and the Steps by which the Portugueze Settlements in Brazil became fo confiderable as we now find them ; in fpite of the many Difficulties they had to Atruggle with, particularly one, of which, though far from being the leaft, I do not find any Notice has been taken; by which I mean the vaftDifproportion between the Mother Country and the Colony ; the Country of Brazil being three hundred times as big as that of Portugal; I do not, however, intend by this, the Country the has fettled in America, but that whole Tract of land to whicl fhe lays claim, and which paffes therefore in the Maps under the Name of Brazil.
5. To facilitate the new Eftablifhments made here, the Crown had firft of all recourfe to the making very extenfive Grants to fuch as were enclined to go and fettle there, or who had a Power of fending others thither. Upon this Plan it was that fome of the richeft and moft powerful of the Nobility had Diftricts given them equal in Extent to Poriugal itfelf. This was for fome time attended with little Inconveniency ; for the Crown might very well give to others what was ufelefs to herfelf, and what was to be improved and made ufeful without her being at any Expence. In fhort, there was little more referved than Quit-rents, and thefe too of no great Value; the State being content with the Sovereignty, and leaving the Property in a Manner wholly to the Subject.

Thefe Methods were extremely neceffary at that time, when the Eaft Indies took up the whole Attention, not only of the Minifters, but of the Nobility; who found Means to repair their Chattered Fortunes, by obiaining Governments in that Part of the World where they foon acquired to themfelves vaft Eftates. Thofe who were content to try their Fortune in this new Colony, found many Obftacles in their Way; the Natives had not, indeed, any Notions of Liberty; but, upon their firft feeling of Slavery, they grew defperate, and, if any Credit be due to the Portugueze Hittorians, killed and eat without mercy every Chriftian that fell in their Way.

But the Fertility of their Country made fome amends for thefe Inconveniencies, and drew abundance of People from other Parts of America to fettle there; where they erected a new kind of Government among themfelves, which, perhaps, fprang, like moft other Governments, from downright Neceflity, the very Nature of which Neceffity prefcribed the Form of their Conftitution; in fhort, every Mafter of a Family was a Planter and a Soldier. In the former of thefe Capacities he laid out as much Land as himfelf and his Family could cultivate, in the latter Profeffion he was no lefs affiduous, performing his Functions duly and vigorounly, becaufe in Defence of his own Property ; and hence it was that every Diftrict in the new Colony had the Title of a Captainthip, which Title they ftill retain, though the State of things is abfolutely changed; and from being the bravelt and moft martial, they are now become the moft lazy, moft luxurious, and moft effeminate People in the World.

But in thofe early times, when Honefty and hard Labour were the only ways of thriving, they grew apace, and in the Space of fifty Years they fpread over, a very large Space of Country, and erected abundance of good Towns, amongft which the five principal were thefe, Tamacara, Fernambuca, Ilheos, Porto Seguro, and St. Vincent, each of which had a well peopled and a well cultivated Territory about it. The Hourifhing State of Brazil foon awakened the Attention of the Court, and

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the Crown began to repent of having been fo liberal in its Grants, when it appeared that thofe Grants were become fo profitable: A thing common enough in all Countries as well as Portugal, though there are very few Countries in which Governments have acted with the fame Spirit as that of Portugal did upon this Occafion
6. It was in the Reign of King Fobn III. that thefe great Improvements were made, or at leatt that the Crown became fo fenfible of them; and therefore the firft Step that Monarch took, was to revoke all the Grants made to the original Proprietors, which he did in the Year 1549. The fame Year he fent over Tbomas de Soufa with the Title of Governor-General of Brazil; he carried with him abundance of Officers civil and military, with a confiderable Borly of Soldiers on board a Fleet of fix Sail of Men of War s he carried over likewife fix Fathers of the new Order of $\mathcal{F}$ efiits, to convert the Indians, and an entire new Plan of Power, adjufted according to the Will and Views of the Court. He was alfo inftructed to build a new Town in the Bay of All Saints, and to take the rieceffary Meafures for fecuring the Colony againft its Enemies, and to do every thing that might increafe either its Trade or its Reputation.

He arrived in the Month of April that Year, and bei gan very foon to enter upon the Execution of what he was directed to perform, making War upon the Savages, building the Town of St. Salvador, and Monafteries for his fefuits. What he could not finifh, his Succeffor Edruard Acofta faw compleated; fo that in his Time the Number of Towns was doubled, together with the Inhabitants. He was obliged to think likewife of ftrengthening thefe Towns, by raifing better Fortifications than thofe with which they had been till then furrounded; and this, becaufe other Nations began to think of fettling in America, and fharing with the Spaniards and Portugueze thofe Advantages they faw derived to them from their Colonies.
He executed this Defign with all the Precaution neceffary, demolifhing the old Fortifications of Earth as faft as he was able, to raife ftronger of Brick and Stone, and to furnifh them with Artillery, which, however requifite for his Purpofe, were furnifhed him but very nowly from Portugal. It was not long before the Expediency of this new Method of fortifying, which Reatón had fuggefted, was juftified by Experience, the Frencls making more than one bold Attempt to difturb the Portugueze in their Poffeffion of this Country.
7. It is a Piece of Hiftory of which the bare reminding our Readers is fufficient; that in the Reign of Henry the IId. of France, the Affairs of that Kingdom were in great Confufion; the Difputes between the Catholics and Hugonots being then at the greateft Height, which threw the Natives of the Kingdom into Parties', and made Numbers of active and induftrious People willing to leave their native Soil, and feek an eafier and more contented State in diftant Climates. Amongft thefe there was one Nicbolas Durant, Lord of Villegagnon, a Man of good Family, fome Fortune, a Knight of Malta, and who had ferved at Sea with very great Reputation, which fo far entitled him to the Favour of the Government, that he was made Vice-Admiral of Bretagne. But though this Preferment was rather honourable than lucrative, yet it created him fo much Envy, and he was fo ill treated at Nantes, that he took a fudden Refolution to quit the Kingdom at all Events, and carry a Colony into fome diftant Part of the World. "He had by Chance received fome tolerable Accounts of Brazil, and, having weighed them attentively, he drew up a Scheme for fixing a Settlement in that Country, and a View of the Advantages that might be expected from it; both which he prefented to Gafpar de Colligny; then Admira! of France; and demanded his Affiftance towards the fitting out a Squadron capable of making fuch a Settlement as he intended.

The Admiral was a Man of great Abilities and great Virtues; he was zealous for the Proteftant Religion; and knew that the Sicur de Villegagnon was no very warm Catholic; he therefore very readily accepted of his Propofal and promifed to give him all the Encouragement in hi

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Power. The more the Admiral converfed with this Gentieman, the better he was pleafed with him; he found him brave and enterprizing; a Man of found Senfe, eloquent, and a good Scholar ; therefore he opened to him freely the Caufe of his taking this Affair fo much to heart ; which was, the fettling in a good Soil and wholfome Air, a Proteftant Colony : That in Cafe the Affairs of his Friends fhould ever come to be totally ruined in France, they might have fome Place to which they might repair out of the Reach of their Enemies. The Sieur de Villegagnon very readily approved what his Patron defired, and undertook the Execution of it. Upon which the Admiral reprefented Things fo to the King, that three Veffels of convenient Size were fitted out in the moft effectual Manner, with a fufficient Number of Seamen, as well as Adventurers, on board: And in the Month of May, 1555, this fmall Squadron failed from Havre de Grace for Brazil, where, after a tedious and, troublefome Voyage, they arrived in November. At firft they landed upon a Rock, which they found to be uninhabitable, and therefore, marching farther within Land, they fixed upon a very commodious Spot of Ground almoft under the Tropic of Capricorn, where they erected a convenient Fortrefs for their Security, both againft the Natives and the Portugueze, which they called Fort Colligny. When they were there fixed, the Sieur de Villegagnon fent the Admiral a large Account of his Proceedings and Situation; he defcribed to him both the Country and the Inhabitants ; obferved to him, that it was extremely practicable to maintain themfelves there, and to make it both a ufeful, and a thriving Colony; but at the fame time he remarked, that fuch as were fent over to him, muft not expect the Delicacies of Europe; that they had no other Bread there but what was made of a certain Root ground to Powder, no Wine, much Fifh, and fome Venifon; and that People who could live contentedly upon fuch Provifion would be welcome to him, and find a fecure Retreat at his Fort in Brazil.

The Admiral, as foon as he had received this I cetter communicated it to the famous $\mathfrak{F o b n}$ Calvin of Geneva, who prevailed upon a Dozen of zealous Proteftants of that City, to engage in the Defign of improving this new Settlement. One Du Pont, a Man of good Senfe and Character, was put at the Head of this Affair, and with him were joined two Minifters, Peter Ricber, who had been formerly a Carmelite, and William Cbartier; very good Men, but withal great Zealots: They fet out all together, from Geneva, in the Month of September, 1556 ; and went firf of all to Cbatillon, where they were very kindly received by the Admiral, and by his Affiftance, joined to their own Intereft, foon got together three hundred Men, who embarked at Fionfleur on board three Veffels well provided, about the Middle of November following. They arrived at Fort Colligny on the 7 th of March, 1557, and were received with great Joy and Satisfaction; but it was not long that Things continued in this State, for the Sieur deVillegagnon and the Minifter Ricber fell out about Religion, and their Difputes rofe fo high, that the former drove the latter, and all his Adherents, out of the Colony; upon which they failed up the Rio Faneiro, and eftablifhed themfelves upon the Continent, where they continued about eight Months, and then, either through the Difficulty they found in fubfifting, or from their being weary of a Country which to little anfwered their Expectations, they return'ed home to France; where they did not fail to reprefent the Sieur de Villegagnon in the blackett Colours, as a Traitor and Apoftate. This did his Bufinefs effectually with the Admiral, who, as he had no other View than ferving the Proteftant Caufe by protecting this Eftablifhment, fo when he found it would not anfwer that End, he gave himfelf no farther Concern about it.

The Sieur de Villegagnon, finding himfif thus abandoned, loft all Patience, and, taking the beft Meafures he could for the Security of the Colony in his Abfence, returned to France, where he publifhed an Apology for his own Conduct, in which he painted out the Minifters in a Light as bad as that in which they had placed him; and finding this produced no Good, he retired to a

Commandery of his own Order, and fpent the remainder of his Days in writing againft the Proteftants. The Portuguze, in the mean time, laid hold of this Opportunity to rid themfelves of their new Neighbours, and the very next Year, 1578, Emanuel Sa, then Governor of Brazil, cut off the French that were left behind, and demolifhed their Fort. I have dwelt the longer upon this Story becaufe it is very inftructive, and fhews the Folly of attempting to raife Colonies upon any other than a national Intereft. Before I quit this Point, there is one curious Circumftance which I muft rolate, for the Information of the Reader: The French, during the thort time they were poffeffed of this Settlement, made a greater Progrefs in Trade, and eftablifhed a more friendly Correfpondence with the Natives than the Portugueze had been able to do in about fifty Years; fo that the Lofs of this Colony was a very great Difadvantage to that Nation.

We muft not, however, attribute this to better Conduct, or Superiority of Genius; for it was owing to neither, but the Effect of a very odd Accident: Abour twenty Years before, a Ship from Normandy had been loft upon that Coaft; fome of the Men got afhore, were well received by the Natives, married amongft them, grew as much Savages as themfelves; and having perfectly learned their Language, without abfolutely forgetting their own, did the new Colony, in quality of Interpreters, great Service; yet I do not find that they joined it, or laid hold of this Opportunity to return to France; which I the lefs wonder at, becaufe I have always obferved that the French have a greater Propenfity to thefe fort of Meafures than any other Nation, and it is this that fecures them fo great an Intereft with all the Savages bordering upon their Settlements in Nortb America. But to return.
8. The Portugueze after this, continued to enjoy their Settlements quietly, till the Year 1612 , when they were again difturbed by the French. It is true, that in this Space of Time there happened fome Difputes between them and the Spaniards, but thofe were about Limits only, had no extraordinary Confequences, and were quickly adjufted; but in regard to the French, it fell out quite otherwife: One Capt. Riffaut, who had been cruizing on the Spaniards, happened to touch at the Inand of Maragnan, on the Coaft of Brazil, and there contracted fo great an Intimacy with the Indian Chief of the Ifland, that he invited him to bring a fufficient Number of his Countrymen to fix a Settlement there, affuring him in the firft place, that it would turn to a very good Account ; and in the next, that he would give him all the Affiftance in his Power in fupport of fuch a Defign. Which Offer the French Captain readily embraced, and promifed to make Ufe of all the Intereft and Credit he had to carry this Scheme into Execution.

Accordingly, in the Year 1594, he found means to equip three Ships, and thofe too fo effectually, that there might have been juft Grounds to have hoped fome extraordinary Succefs from the Expedition; but, whether it be really an eafier matter to deal with Savages, than with thofe who take themfelves to be the moft civilized People in the World, fo it was, that Captain Riffaut had three or four Mutinies to quell before he could reach his intended Inand; upon the Coaft of which, either by Accident, or by the Quarrels among his own People, the biggeft of his three Ships ran afhore and was loft, which obliged him to return to France without doing any thing; but, however, fome few of his People, and amongft them one Mr. de Vaux, chofe to flay with the Savages, who made them very welcome. This young Gentleman was very brifk and active, liked the Climate, and continued there fome time very well pleafed. His Behaviour to the Brazilians was fo engaging, and he proved ufeful to them in fo many Refpects, that they made the fame Applications to him as the Indian Chief had formerly done to Captain Riffout, which at laft engaged him to think ferioully upon the Subject; the Confequence of which was, that he took the firft Opportunity of going home, in order to bring about what his Friends feemed to defire fo earneftly.

On his Arrival in France, he applied himfelf to King Henry IV. and endeavoured to perfuade him that vait Advantages would flow from fuch an Eftablifhment. That Monarch, who had the Good of his Subjects at Heart, as much or more than any Prince that ever fat upon his Throne, was very far from rejecting the Propofal; but, not caring to rifk much on the Faith of a young Adventurer, he directed a fmall Veffel to be equipped; and gave Orders to a Perfon of great Merit and good Senfe, upon whofe Report he could perfectly depend, whofe Name was Monfieur la Rivardier, to go over with Mr. Vaux, which he accordingly did in the Spring of the Year 1604, and remained fix Months in Brazil; where having informed himfelf of all things neceffary, he returned to France; from whence he made feveral Voyages back to Brazil, before the Government could come to any Refolution on the Head of a Colony, becaufe the Propofitions he made were fuch as required confiderable Expence; and he declared, if lefs were done, it would be thrown away.

At length, however, the thing was refolved upon, and Preparations were actually making for fending a ftrong Squadron thither, when the Murder of Henry IV. put a ftop to it, and all things of the like Nature; however, Mr. Rivardier was fo fond of the Place, and fo much perfuaded that a Settlement there would turn to Account immediately, that he embarked his whole private Fortune, and drew feveral of his Friends to do the like, in order to carry this Scheme into Execution. By this Means he found a Way to equip three ftout Veffels, and to engage about three hundred Men to go to Brazil; having obtained from the Queen Regent the neceffary Powers for that Purpofe; and, on the igth of March, 16 I2, he embarked with them at Cancale, on the Coaft of Bretagne.

A Storm, however, forced them into Plymouth, from which Port they failed again in April, and arrived, in Fuly following, at the Inland of Maragnan. There he began to erect a Fortrefs, on the Summit of a Hill, near the beft Port in the Ifland, and between two fine Rivers which wafhed both Sides of the Mountain, and ran from thence into the Sea. Upon the Baftions of this Fort they mounted twenty-two pieces of Cannon; and every thing feemed to promife them all the Succefs they could defire; when, about two Years after their firft Arrival, a ftrong Squadron prefented itfelf before the Bay, fent by Don Ferom de Albuquerque, the Portugueze Governor of Brazil, who foon forced them to furrender; and, according to his Orders, the Place was inftantly, and abfolutely, demolifhed; which cured the French of all farther Thoughts of fettling in that Country, or difturbing its Inhabitants for the future.
9. The Crown of Portugal devolving on the Head of Pbilip II. King of Spain, in the Year 158 I , he became thereby Poffeffor of Brazil; which he left to his Succeffors, together with the War againft the Inhabitants of the Seven United Provinces in the Low Countries, who had formed themfelves into a Republic, and fhaken off their Dependance on the Crown of Spain. The Progrefs of this new Republic was fo rapid, that, after forming an Eaft India Company, which in a very fhort Space of Time brought prodigious Advantages to its Proprietors, they, in 1624, proceeded to fet up a Weft India Company likewife, which proved fatal to the Portugueze from its firf Inftitution. James Willikens, and the famous Sea Captain L'Ilermite, were fent to cruize upon the Coaft of Portugal, where they took abundance of rich Prizes; and, upon their Return, it was determined to equip a new Squadron the very next Spring, in order to attack Brazil.
The Dutch were very well apprized of the State of that Country, and of the fmall Refiftance they were likely to meet with in it. The Coafts, which were no lefs than twelve hundred Leagues in Extent, were not like to be every were well fortified; the People, who had for fo long a Tract of Years enjoyed a profound Peace, thofe Attempts of the French, before mentioned, only excepted, could fcarce be thought martial; and almoft all the great Families in Portugal having fome of their younger Branches fettled in that Country, they might very well
hope to meet with vaft Riches. And, befides all this; the Dutcb had taken great Care to carry on a kind of Smuggling Trade there, for feveral Years, by which they had many fair Opportunities of penetrating into the Secrets of the Country; and, having been fo often received as Friends, the coming of their Veffels upon the Coafts was not like to create immediate Apprehenfions of an Enemy.

Such was the Situation of things when Fames Willikens entered the Bay of All Saints, with a Squadron under his Command; and began to fhew, very clearly, what his Intentions were; which fo frighted the Portugueze, that they immediately ufed all poffible Methods to carry off, and fecure, their Effects, inftead of providing for their Defence. The Dutch, taking Advantage of their Confternation, landed immediately; and their Admiral, without much Difficulty, made himfelf Mafter of the great City of St. Salvador, which was the Capital of Brazil. The Portugueze Governor, Don Diego de Mendoca, had neither the Courage to defend the Place, nor the Prudence to withdraw himfelf in time; and his Behaviour, though very bad in itfelf, appeared fo much the worfe, from the Conduct of another Perfon; who, though in like Circumftances, fhewed himfelf of quite a different Temper: This was the Archbihhop Michael Texeira, of one of the beft Families in Portugal, and in Years; who fummoned all the Clergy and Monks about him; and, having reprefented to them the Neceffity there was of laying afide their clerical Capacities at fuch a Juncture, prevailed upon them to take up Arms; and, though deferted by the Governor, his Soldiers, and the Inhabitants, they made for fome time a very gallant Defence, and at laft made a good Retreat to a neighbouring Town; where, after acting the Part of Soldiers fo well, they turned Pioneers; and, under the Conduct of their Archbifhop, fortified the Place, and gave the Enemy as much Trouble as if they had been the moft regular Troops in the World; which Inftance fhews, at once, the Danger of having a Coward; and the Advantage of having any Man of Spirit, at the Head of a Colony, let the Force he commands be what it will.
But the Dutch, by the taking this Town, befides acquiring an immenfe Booty, became Mafters of the largeft and beft peopled Diftrict in the whole Country; fo that it looked as if they were in a fair Way of making a compleat Conqueft, in a very fhort Space of Time, of the whole Colony; which it is very probable they would have done, if it had not been for the heroic Archbifhop, who took upon himfelf the Quality of Captain General; which he faid came to him from Heaven, in the legible Characters of public Neceffity; and every Man of Spirit in Brazil thought this Authority fufficient.

As foon as the News of this Misfortune reached Portugal, it threw, not only the City of Lijbon, but the whole Kingdom, into Confufion; and fo much the greater, becaufe moft of the Nobility fufpected that the Spanifh Miniftry were not much difpleafed at an Event which might leffen the Wealth and Power of their great Families, and abate fomewhat of that high Spirit which they had hitherto fhewn, ever fince they fell under the Dominion of the Spanifb Monarchs. This was, indeed, probable enough, for at that time two thirds of the Portugueze Nobility had their Eftates, or at leaft the beft Part of them, in Brazil; fo that, by the Lofs of that Country, they muft have been brought very low.

But, however, it very foon appeared, that this refined Notion had nothing in it of Truth; for King Pbilip IV, in whole Reign this fatal Affair happened, fhewed himfelf as much concerned as any Portugueze Prince could have been, when he was informed of this Defcent of the Dutch. He immediately fent his Orders to Portugal for equipping a Fleet for the Recovery of St. Salvador: and, at the fame Time, wrote a Letter, with his own Hand, to the Nobility, defiring their Affiftance on this Occafion, and promifing to fend a ftrong Spani/b Squadron to join whatever Flect they could fit out. This revived the Spirits of the Nation, and the Portugueze Lords exerted themfelves fo effectually, that in three Months time they had a Eleet of twenty-fix Sail, well equipped, and thoroughly manned, ready to put to Sea. The Spa-
niards were not quite fo hafty in their Preparations; but, however, in 1626, fo early as the Month of February, their Fleet joined that of Portugal. The whole was commanded by Don Frederic de Toledo Oforio, Marquis of $V$ aldue $\int a$, and there were on board it fifteen thoufand Men.

But it is now Time for us to look over to Brazil, where the Dutch being in Poffeffion of St. Salvador, and the Country about it, began to extend themfelves very rafhly on every Side, either from Contempt of the Portugueze, who had behaved fo ill, or from an extravagant Thirft of Plunder. The brave Archbihop foon convinced them of their Miftake; he had now got together fifteen hundred Men, and with thefe he not only cut off moft of their Parties, but at laft fairly drove them into the Town, cut off their Provifions, blocked them up, and reduced them to great Diftrefs. As foon as he had done this, however, he put the Army under the Command firft of Nunez Marino, and then of Don Francis de Mauro; for he declared, that his own Commifion expired with the Neceflity that beflowed it.

In thefe Circumftances were Things in this Country, when the Spanib and Portugueze Flect arrived in the Bay of All-Saints. Don Emanuel de Meneffez landed immediately four thoufand Men, and with thefe joined the Army before the Place, which, as we may eafily apprehend, did not hold out long; though, to do the Dutch Governor Juftice, he was inclined to defend it to the laft Extremity; but the Garrifon, differing from him in Opinion, mutinied, and forced him to furrender oll the 20th of April, upon which the Spanifh and Portugueze Fleet returned triumphant, fuppofing the War to be at an End ; and that the Dutch like the Frencb would have a care how they made Attempts again upon Brazil.
10. In this, however, they were greatly miftaken, for the rich Plunder of St. Salvador being brought by Admiral Willikens into Holland, the People were continually enquiring whether there were not other great Cities in Brazii, and when they hould go and take them. This Spirit, which at that Time of Day did not at all difpleafe the Government, encouraged the Weft India Company to think of making another Expedition. Accordingly in 1629 they began to equip a very ftrong Squadron for this Purpofe, which was to be commanded by Admiral Lonk, and was to take a confiderable Body of Land Troops on board under General Wardenbourg. This Fleet, which confifted of no lefs than forty-fix Sail of Men of War, arrived in Sight of Fernambuca on the 3d of February 1630 ; and on the 15 th of the fame Month General Wardenbours landed with near three thoufand Men, and marched directly towards the City of Olinda. He found it covered by three good Forts, in each of which there was a numerous Garrifon. He attacked, however, and carried them all, but not without a vigorous Refiftance ; but this Succefs in taking thefe Forts, fo effectually frighted the Inhabitants of the City, that they immediately fubmitted, though the Natives fhewed a great deal of Spirit, and behaved on this and every other Occafion with great Courage and Fidelity.

I cannot lofe this Opportunity of making one Remark, which, however, has been made before by the ingenious Mr. Salmon; which is, that the Portugueze have loft nothing by the great Pains they have taken in converting the Brazilians, fince by making them Chriftians of their own Communion, they have made them good Subjects; and thereby added great Strength to their Colony, which has proved a Means of fecuring it againft all Enemies; and one would think much might be done by fome other Nations, if they would follow the fame Method, inftead of extirpating the Indians in the Countries where they are fettled, or, which is much the fame Thing, leaving them in a State of Infidelity, and allowing them to extirpate each other, which if they were Chriftians they-would not do, but join the Eurcopans as they did here.

While the Dutcb General was thus employed on Shore, the Dutch Admiral was no lefs active by Sea; and as the Portugueze had no naval Force to refift him, or at leaft none in Comparifon of that employed againft them; it is no great Wonder, that they reduced ail the Sea-Coaft to the South of Olinda, which they did in a very fhort

Space of Time, and likewife took care to fecure and fortify every Place that fell into their Hands, being refolved not to fall into the fame Error which had been fatal to them before; but to obtain fuch a Footing in the Country, as might enable them to keep their Ground againft the whole Force of the Portugueze, and lay a folid Foundation for the Execution of the great Defign they had formed, of making themfelves Mafters of the beft Part of Brazil; which, it mun be confeffed, was a very bold Undertaking, confidering the Portugueze had been fo long in Poffeffion of this Colony, and were become fo numerous. It was with this View that Admiral Lonk refolved to make himfelf Mafter, at all Events, of a very ftrong Poft, which feemed the fitteft for his Purpofe ; and of which, therefore, it is neceffary, that we fhould give the Reader fome Account. The whole Coaft of Brazil is as it were guarded, or defended, by a long thick flat Ridge of Rocks, in fome Places twenty, in others thirty, Yards broad: If it were not for Breaks and Paffages here and there in this rocky Intrenchment, it would be impoffible to approach the Shore. There is a very large Paffage two Leagues to the North of Olinda; but almoft before this City this Ridge of Rocks appears again, and the Inhabitants pafs to it in Boats at High-Water, for at low the Rocks even in the Paffage are vifible enough.

This Part of the Ridge the Portugueze call Reciffo, and the Dutcl Receif. On the North Point was an open Paffage for the Ships to approach the Shore, very narrow, and at Spring-Tide not above twenty-two Foot deep. Between this Ridge of Rocks and the Continent lay a fandy Ifland, about a League in length, which was called the Sandy Receif, to diftinguifh it from the ftony. It lay in the Latitude of $8^{\circ} \cdot 20^{\prime}$. South, and had a good Caftle, called Fort St. George, well furnifhed with Artillery, and efteemed impregnable; this was the Place the Dutch Admiral fought to make himfelf Mafter of, which he did; and it was in a great Meafure the Caufe of the City being taken. After the Dutch were poffeffed of it they made the Receif very ftrong, and the chief Seat of their Commerce; fo that it became one of the moft confiderable Places in Brazil, efpecially after they had demolifhed the City of Olinda, that they might not divide their Forces too much, as they muft have done, if they had long endeavoured to keep it.

I I. The News of this fecond Attempt upon Brazil by the Dutch, and their having actually conquered the Captainfhip of Fernambuca, alarmed the Portugueze and Spaniards exceffively, and obliged them to think of fending thither immediately, fuch a Force as might be able to drive out the Enemy, and fecure the Country effectually for the future. It happened at a very bad Time for them, as the Difaffection of the Portugueze to the Spanifh Government was, at this Juncture, greater than ever ; but the Neceffity was fo ftrong, and fo apparent, that, notwithftanding the many Difficulties they had to ftruggle 'with, and the Weaknefs of their Government, a Fleet and Army was ordered for this Service. But the equipping of the one, and the raifing the other, took up a great deal of Time, which the Dutch employed in fortifying themfelves in extending their Conquefts, and taking all the neceffary Precautions for the Defence of them, in which they proceeded with all that Induftry and Vigilance, for which, in thofe Days, their Nation was famous.

Before we proceed farther, it will be proper to take notice of thofe Caufes, which induced the Dutch Weft-Indic Company to become fo extremely fanguine in their Endeavours to make themfelves Mafters of this Country; which I am the better able to affign, having feen a Copy of a Memorial, prefented by that Company to the States in the Year 1643 , containing the very Reafons in fupport of their Conduct in this Particular. In the beginning of this Memorial it is faid, that the Caufes which can beft juftify launching into an extraordinary Expence, for acquiring any Place whatever, are reafonable Views of immediate Profit, which ought to be very confiderable, or future Profpects of Gain, that ought to be ftill more fo; and both thefe, they affirm, induced them to profecute with fo great Zeal the Conqueft of Brazil. As to the
former,

## Chap. III. of BRAZIL by the PORTUGUEZE.

former, they alledged three Things : Firft, the Wholefomenefs of the Climate, the Pleafantnefs and Fertility of the Country, which renidered it, of all others yet known, the fitteft for receiving and maintaining a confiderable Colony ; they next take notice of its convenient Situation for Trade, as being in a manner at an equal Diftance,'or at leaft in a more equal Diftance than any other Country, from Europe and the Indies: And thirdly, they mention the rich Product of this Country in Sugars, as alone deferving all the Expence they had been at about it, fince they were better in Quality, made with much lefs Expence, and tranfported with far greater Eafe from hence, to all Markets where this valuable Commodity could be fold, than from any other Place. As to the fecond Point, what might be hereafter expected from their being in Poffeffion of this Country, they likewife took notice of three feveral Heads: Firft, they laid it down as a Thing evident, that the Poffeffion of Brazil was of equal Confequence, in time of Peace and in time of War: In regard to the former, it would afford the Means of raifing very large and very convenient Magazines, for the Supply of fuch Ships as might either touch there in long Voyages, or be driven into their Ports, as very often happened from Diftrefs of Weather. And as to the latter, it would afford-greater Advantages in equipping, refitting, and fheltering, either whole Squadrons of Men of War, or Privateers, than any other Place in the known World. They next alledged, that it was fo placed as that not only their Eaft and Weft India Fleets might touch there very conveniently for Refrefhments ; but that they muft be obliged to put in there, and could not eafily, or at leaft not fafely, proceed in fuch diftant Voyages without having fuch Affiftance. And laftly they fuggefted, that no Place in the World was fo happily feated for commanding, at once, both the Eaft and Weft India Trades, and confequently the whole Commerce of the Globe. It is true, that thefe Reafons were given to the States ten Years after the Time of which we are now writing; but without doubt they had occurred to, and been confidered by, the Directors of the Weft India Company long before, which induced us to place them as we have done.

It is very probable that either thefe Reafons, or fome of a like Nature, were laid before the States by the $W_{e} \mathbb{A}$ India Company about this time, fince we find the utmoft Readinefs exprefled to affift and fupport them. It was with this View, that as foon as their Fleet returned from Brazil, Admiral Pater was fent thither with a much itronger Force, in order to put the Dutcb in a Condition to conquer that whole Country. He arrived in Sight of the Coaft of Fernambuca on the firt of May 1631, where he found the City of Olinda in the Poffeflion of his Countrymen, but clofely blocked up by the famous Portugueze General Albuquerque, with a numerous Army. The Admiral thought fit, thereupon, to land four hundred Men, under the Command of an experienced Officer, to take a View of the Enemies Works, that he might be the better able to judge how to attack them. But the Dutch Garrifon, in the City, no fooner faw his Fleet come to an Anchor, and there Troops debarked, than they made fuch a vigorous Sally upon the Befiegers, as forced them to retire from before the City with confiderable Lofs. After this, Admiral Pater landed two thoufand Men; and, at the fame time, acting upon the Sea Coaft with his Fleet, enabled his Countrymen to extend their Conquefts very confiderably, efpecially towards the South, having an Intention to enter the Bay of All Saints, and attack the City of St. Saluador by Land and Sea; but while he was thus executing great things, and projecting greater, he had Intelligence that the Spanijb and Porturueze Fleet was actually at Sea, and of a Strength fufficient to undertake the Relief of Brazil.
This. Fleet, which was commanded by Admiral D'Oquendo, had failed from Spain in a very indifferent Condition, though it confifted of about thirty Sail At the Canaries it was joined by fifteen more, and in the Height of the Cape de Verd Inlands, met with fuch an Accefiion of Force, as rendered it fifty four Sail of large Ships. The Dutch Admiral had but fixteen, but he was Vol. II. Numb. LXXXI.
jealous of the Honour of his Country, and therefofe refolved to fight at any rate. It was with this View, that he might render his Countrymen the greater Service, that he refolved not to wait for, but to meet, the Enemy, which he accordingly did in the Latitude of fix Degrees South. As foon as they appeared in Sight, and the Dutcb Fleet faw how unequal the Difpute was like to prove, ten of their Captains bore away, and left the Admiral with fix Ships only, to fight an Enemy almoft ten times his Strength. Admiral Pater had two Flags under him, who, to their immortal Honour, were two of thofe who joined him; fo that there were three Admirals to fix Ships.

The Battle was long and bloody; abundance of the Portugueze were funk; and it plainly appeared that if the other ten Ships had ftaid, Victory would have declared for the fmaller Number; but at laft, Admiral Thys, in the Prince William, was funk ; and not long after, a Portugueze Man of War difcharging a Broad-fide at the Dutco Admiral, a Ball unluckily fell in the Powder Room, by which the Ship was blown up, and that brave Man loft. The four Dutch Ships that remained, retired upon this, and did it with fo much Courage and Addrefs, that they not only arrived fafely at Olinda, but likewife carried off a Portugueze Man of War that they had taken; fo that, upon the whole, it may be fafely affirmed there never was a more glorious Action than this, fince the Dutch became a maritime Power. When Admiral $D^{\prime}$ Oquendo arrived, he contented himfelf with fending Refrefhments and Reinforcements to the Army of Albuquerque, but attempted nothing againft the City of Olinda; and confequently left things in very little better State than he found them; which he excufed from the great Lofs he had fuffered in the Battle; amounting, in the whole, to no lefs than thirteen Sail taken and funk.
In the Month of October he fet fail for Liboon, but had the Misfortune to meet in his Paffage with four Dutch Men of War well manned, who made no fcruple of attacking him, though he had ftill forty Sail, and moft of them large Ships. He loft in this Engagement the Captain of his own Ship, twenty two Captains more, his Vice-Admiral, three Men of War, two Frigates, and about feven hundred private Men; fo that he brought home the wretched Remains of a Fleet unfortunate from the Beginning, and yet without any Impeachment of his own Character; the Blame falling entirely upon the Minifters, who had obliged him, in fpite of his Remonftrances, to fail with Ships half equipped and half manned.
However, when the Misfortune could not be remedied, thefe Minifters declared that they were willing to do all that was left in their Power, which was, to repair it ; and therefore Orders were given for providing a greater Fleet, and for equipping and manning thereof, as it ought to be; the Command of which was to be given to Don Frederic de Toledo, whofe Reputation was remarkably high, and not without Reafon. But, after abundance of Pains taken, it was found that nothing could be done that Seafon, and therefore it was deferred till the next Spring; when it was refolved to fend fuch a Force as fhould put an End to the War at once; but as it is much eafier to talk of fuch things, and to lay fine Schemes in the Cabinet, than to carry them into Execution; fo, notwithftanding this famous Admiral actually proceeded on his Voyage with a very large Fleet, every way well provided; yet he did fo little, that none of the Authors I have met with have recorded what he did.
12. Thefe Delays to which the Spanif/ Affairs have been always liable, proved extremely prejudicial to them in Brazil; where the Dutch, having the Advantage of feveral good Officers both by Sea and Land, made a moft furprizing Progrefs; reducing, in the Space of feven Years, four intire Captainfhips under their Dominions, viz. Fernombuca, Tamaraca, Paraiba, and Rio Grande; and the Importance of thefe Conquefts very quickly appeared in the Mifchiefs done to the Spaniards in this and other Parts of America, of which we have a very exact Computation: From whence it is evident, that from the Time of the Dutch Weft India Company's being erected, to the Year '1637, they had deftroyed and taken, in Mo ney and Merchandize, to the Value of forty-five Millions

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 The DISCOVERT and CON QUEST Book I.of Florins, or four Millions and an half of our Money; and of eight hundred Ships, which the Crown of Spain had fitted out againft them, they deftroyed or took five hundred and forty-feven. Thefe extraordinary and unexpected Strokes of good Fortune raifed the Spirits of the Directors of the Dutch Company to fuch a Degree, that they refolved to put themfelves at once upon a level with the Eaft India Company; and to do this effectually, they could think of no better Way than to make choice of fome Perfon of great Quality and Intereft, whom they might put at the Head of their Affairs, and whofe Credit and Power might add a greater Strength to their own.

It was with this View that they caft their Eyes on Count Fobn Maurice de Naffau, who was nearly related to the Prince of Orange, and who had ferved the States for feveral Years, in their Armies, with great Abilities and Applaufe. He very readily accepted the Propofal that was made him, and, with the Confent of the Prince of Orange and the States-General, was declared Governor of Brazil and South-America, with the fame Powers given to the Governor-General of the Eaft Indies in all Affairs Civil and Military. That this new Officer might take Poffeffion of his Dignity in a Manner fuitable to his Quality and Character, thie Company refolved to fit out a Fleet of thirty-two Sail of large Ships, and to embark a Body of two thoufand feven hundred Land-Forces; but as this took up a good deal of Time, and Count Mauirce was impatient to be gone, he failed from the Texel on the 25 th of OEtober, 1636 , with four Ships only, and no more than three hundred and fifty Soldiers on board; with which fmall Squadron he arrived on the Coaft of Brazil on the 23 d of Fanuary, 1637 , with Adrian Vander Duffen, who had joined him near the Inand of Madeira: He was foon after followed by the Captains Selan, Carpenter, and Gifelin, who were to ferve under him, and very foon took the Field with two great Bodies of Troops, the one confifting of near three thoufand Men, with which he prepared to act againft the Portugueze Army ; and the other of fix hundred, which was to be employed in various Expeditions, to divide and diftract the Enemy.

On the other hand, as they could not help perceiving that their All was now at Stake, the Portugueze had a great Army in the Field under the Command of the Count de Banjola, an Officer of great Courage and Experience, who had ferved under the Marquis de Spinola in Flanders; and another Body of light-armed Troops under one Cameron, who was a Brazilian by birth, had raifed himfelf by his Merit, and always ferved them with equal Reputation and Fidelity. They had aftrong Garrifon at Porto Cavallo, with which they harraffed the Dutcb in the CaptainThip of Fernambuca extremely; and as they did not doubt this would be the firft Place attacked, they affembled the Bulk of their Forces under Count de Banjola for the Defence of it. It very foon appeared that, in this Refpect, they had formed a very right Judgment ; for Count Maurice had no fooner put himfelf at the Head of his Army, than he marched directly towards Porto Cavallo; upon which a Battle enfued, wherein, after a very obittinate Refiftance, the Porturueze were defeated and afterwards forced in their Camp, though it was very ftrongly intrenched. Upon which the Count de Banjola retired with the Remains of his Forces under the Cannon of the Citadel of Povacaon ; from whence however he retired on the Approach of the Dutch, who befieged that Fortrefs in form: There was in it a Garrifon of fix hundred Men, who very bravely defended the Place for a Fortnight, and were then obliged to capitulate.
Count Maurice purfued this Succefs, and advanced with his Army to the Town of Openeda on the River of St. Francis, at the Diftance of about fix Miles from the Sea, which he took, and built a Citadel there, and another at the Mouth of the River, by which he effectually covered his new Conqueft. He then returned to Olinda, and having provided for the fettling the Civil and Military Government in the manner directed by his Commiffion, he refolved to fit out two Fleets; one under the Command of Admiral Licbthart, with Orders to attack the SouthCoaft of Brazil, the other under the Command of Commodore Hankins, which was deftined to a Service
of fill greater Importance, and of which therefore I think myfelf obliged to give an exact, though concife, Account. From the very Time that the Dutch Wef India Company made their firft Attempt upon Brazil, and were fo fuccefsful in taking the City of St. Salvador, they, hàd meditated the bold Defign of fixing themfelves likewife on the other Shore of Africa, fuppofing that if they could once make themfelves Mafters of the two Points of the oppofite Continent, they fhould be able to bridle the Ocean, and by having the Command of this Paffage to the Indies, diftrefs the Spaniards, Portugueze, Englifh, and, in fhort, all other Nations in the North. There was fomething very wife and very great in this Project, fomething equal to the Genius of a trading Nation; and in fhort, fomething worthy of being imitaied; which is the Reafon that I have mentioned it.

But though with a View to execute this Scheme, they had fearched all the Coafts from Cape Verd to the Cape of Good Hope, yet they had found no Place proper for that Purpofe: At laft it was agreed, that nothing could anfwer this End fo well as the Caftle of St. George de la Mina, on the Coaft of Guinea, in the Poffeffion of the Portuguzze. This Place accordingly they attempted in the Year 1625 , but mifcarried with very great Lofs, which however did not difcourage them. For, having a ftrong Settlement in that Neighbourhood, their Governor, whofe Name was Nicholes Von Yperen, fent to advife Count Maurice, that now was the proper Time, and if he fent him a fmall Squadron with a competent Body of Troops on board, he made no queftion of his being able to carry this important Project into Execution.

It was with this View that Commodore Homfins was difpatched: He joined the Dutco Governor on the 25 th of $\begin{aligned} & \text { fuly, and they attacked the Cafte with fuch Refolu- }\end{aligned}$ tion, that though it was one of the fronget Places in that Part of the World, yet it furrendered on the 2 g th of Auguft; fo that Commodore Hanfins returned to Olinda in the Month of OEtober following, and was received by Count Mourice with all the Marks of Honour and Refpect that the Performance of fo important a Service deferved. The Campaign in 1638 was equally glorious for the Dutch; the Count de Banjola had again afembled a very numerous Army, for the Defence of the Captainfhip of Segerippa, which however Count Maurice attacked and defeated ; after which he took the Capital, and reduced the whole Province.

This great Run of Succefs made fuch a Noife in that Part of the World, that the Inhabitants, or rather the Natives, of Siara, one of the Northern Captainfhips, declared for the Dutch; and, upon a Promife of being left free, offered to affift them againtt the Portugueze. A Body of Troops was accordingly fent to join them, under the Command of Captain Gartman, who with the Help of a Brazilian Prince, Algodojo, reduced that whole Diftrict. It is, however, to be obferved, that it was the Infidel Brazilians that were Enemies to the Portugueze, for thofe whom they converted remained always firm to them, and began even at this time to raife Infurrections in their Favour in the Captainfhips of Para: ${ }^{\text {a }}$ a and Rio Grande, which the Dutch had fubdued; and this obliged Count Maurice to reduce and demoliih feveral of thir beft Towns, and, the better to keep them under, he likewife found it neceffary to rebuild and fortify the Town of Pbilipina, which he called Frederickftadt, in honour of the Prince of Orange.
Count Maurice, having been fo fortunate in all his Undertakings, refolved now to put in Execution the repeated Orders he had received from the Wef Indic Company, for attacking St. Salvador in the Bay of All Saints, which was looked upon as the Capital of all Brazil: He embarked for this Purpofe all the Troops he could draw togetur at Olinda, and he landed with them in the Bay beforementioned on the 8th of April, 1638 ; thinking to have furprifed the Portugueze. The Count de Banjola was in the Neighbourhood with a fmall Body of regular Troops, with which he immediately threw himfelf into the Place, though the Governor of it was his Enerny, and it was upon the Differences known to fubfift between thern, that Count Mourice chiefly reckoried. The Portugueze Governor at firft difputed the Command with Colint

Banjola,

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Banjola, but that Nobleman told him, their Quarrels could only ferve to ruin them; whereas, if they agreed, each of them might become as great as he could wifh. To which Propofal the Governor anfwered: Sir, I perceive you are a woifer Man tban I, and no body Joall obey your Orders more puncitually.
Count Maurice attacked, and, without much Refiftance, made himfelf Mafter of the ftrong Fort of Albert, that of St. Bartbolomere, and the famous Caftle of St. Pbilip. This Succefs encouraged him to erect two Batteries againft the City of St. Salvador, and to attack at the fame Time Fort Rofes, which covered the City on one Side; and a Hornwork, which was its principal Strength, on the other: There lay between thefe a Piece of Ground covered with Shrubs and Bufhes: Count Banjola advifed the Governor to poft himfelf there with four hundred of his own Troops, while he made a Sally with his Forces. This Scheme had the Effect he defired, for, after an obftinate Difpute, the Dutch, endeavouring to retire through that Piece of Ground, were attacked in the Rear ; and, befides three hundred of their bef Men, loft four Officers of Diftinction, and their principal Engineer. Upon which Count Maurrice abandoned the Caftles he had taken, and raifed the Siege with fome Precipitation.
This proved in many Refpects fortunate for the Portusueze, who otherwife were in the utmoft Danger of being totally undone. In the firft Place, it fhewed that neither Count Maurice nor his Dutch Troops were invincible ; but that if other Men did their Duty they might be overcome ; in the next, it totally reconciled the Portugueze Generals ; who perceiving, that the Count de Banjola was far enough from depreciating other Mens Merit; and that, on the contrary, he afcribed much of that to their Courage, which in reality was due to his own Conduct, they changed their Meafures immediately, and, from thwarting his Councils, received and executed his Orders with the higheft Refpect. Laftly, it hindered the favage Brazilians from taking Arms in favour of the Dutch, which was what the Portugueze, of all Things, feared the moft; becaufe they knew that a little Difcipline made them excellent Soldiers, at leaft for that Climate.
But as Misfortunes feldorn come alone; fo on the very Heels of this Mifchance on Shore followed another at Sea, no lefs to the Lofs, and much more to the Difcredit, of the Dutch Arms. We have, in another Part of this Work, fpoke of the taking the Sparij/ Plate Fleet, by Peter Hein, which was the greateft Action performed under the Aufpice of the Dutch Weft India Company; and, next to that, was their taking St. Salvador, which made them fo eager to fee both thefe great Actions repeated. We have already fhewn what became of the Attempt to gratify them in one; and, though, we digress a little from our Subject, yet the Reader will probably be glad to learn what was the Fate of the latter. Thus then the Cafe ftood. The States General and the Weft India Company equally approved the bold Spirit and fage Conduct of Cornelius Yol ; who, by mere Dint of Merit, had raifed himfelf from the loweft Station in the Fleet, to be thought worthy of the Command of it ; and he it was that, about this Time, they pitched upon to repeat the glorious Action of Peter Hein, and to bring the Spanifh Treafures, once more, into the Low Countries ; a Commiffion which he readily accepted, and to which, it was thought, they had no Seaman, in their Service, more equal.

He failed from the Texel the 14th of April 1638 , and, touching at Brazil, communicated to Count Maurice the Inftructions he had received, who thereupon furnifhed him immediately with fix hundred good Men, and Provifions for feven Months, after which he failed in Search of the Spanish Fleet. He fell in with them a little to the Weft of the Inand of Cuba, but efcorted by a greater Number of Ships of War, and thofe too larger and better equipped than he expected; his Squadron confifted but of thirteen Sail; with which, however, he ventured to attack them, and there is little Doubt to be made, that he would have given a good Account of them too, if thofe who ferved under him had followed his Example; but when the Difpute grew warm all his Squadron left
him and their Vice-Admiral, except two Ships, who fought very gallantly, till their Captains were killed.
Correlius $\mathfrak{F}$ ol difengaged his four Ships from thofe of the Enemy, and, returning to his own Squadron, fent for the Officers on board, difmiffed fuch as had behaved worft, reprimanded the reft, and exhorted them all to do their Duty better the next Time, as he was determined to renew the Attack: He did fo accordingly, but it was with the like Succefs; his Captains abandoned him again, and he again difengaged himfelf, but with more Difficulty : He fent for his Officers the fecond Time ; and being now perfuaded, that. it was not fo much through Fear of the Enemy, as Averfion to him, that they mifbehaved; he treated them with greater Gentlenefs, difplaced none of them, but engaged them all to fign a Refolution to fight the Enemy, when they fhould be next commanded fo to do, and to obey their commanding Officer exactly, and with Alacrity, which they did chearfully.

Highly pleafed with this Pledge of their Fidelity, he fell upon the Spaniards a third time, when they behaved a little better at firft, but foon after fhewed that they were more afraid of Danger than of Perjury; for they abandoned him again, which fo provoked that gallant Officer, that he cafhicred five of his Captains, gave their Ships to inferior Officers, and went in fearch of the Spaniards for the fourth time. He then found his Opportunity was loft, the Spaniards were feparated and retired into feveral Ports, fo that he was able to do nothing. He then divided his Fleet into three fmall Squadrons, ftationed one before the Havanna, detached another to Brazil, and returned home with the third, where he was received with Honour and Refpect ; his Mafters declaring that they were intirely fatisfied with his Conduct, and that they did not impute the Mifcarriage to him, but to thofe who out of Fear and Pride had difobeyed his Orders.
I3. After Count Maurice returned from his fruitlefs Expedition againft St. Salvador, he applied himfelf with the utmoft Diligence to the Effablifhment of good Order and perfect Difcipline in all Parts of his Government; reviewing his Troops in Perfon; appointing experienced Officers to command them; fortifying all the fronties Places; and giving all Sort, of Encouragement to fuch of the Natives as fhewed an Inclination to affift him, and to live peaceably under the Protection of the Dutch; by which wife and prudent Meafures he prevented the Enemy from making thofe Advantages that might have been expected from their late Succefs. The Spanifh Government, having received an exact Account of the State of Affairs in Brazil, came to a fettled Refolution of repairing their paft Miftakes, by fending thither fuch a Fleet, and fuch an Army, as fhould effectually put an End to the War, by obliging the Dutch to abandon all their Conquefts in that Country.
This Fleet of theirs confifted of twenty-fix Galieons doubled manned, and provided with every other Neceffary in the fame Proportion; twenty large Men of War, and five thoufand regular Troops, under the Command of a Portugueze Nobleman of a great Family, and whofe Virtues were ftill more illuftrious than his Birth, the famous Don Fernandez Mafcarenbas, Count de la Torres, who failed in the Autumn of 1639 , and received confiderable Reinforcements in his Paffage; but, being detained by Calms upon the Coaft of Afric, the exceffive Heats produced a Plague on board his crowded Ships, which fwept away above three thoufand Men before he reached the Bay of All Saints; and the reft of his Troops were in fo bad a Condition, that he was under a Neceffity of putting them into Quarters of Refrefhment, which certainly faved the Dutch, who were at that time but in a low Condition, expecting with great Impatience thofe Succours from Holland that foon after arrived, and by means of this Accident arrived in time. The Vigilance, however, of Mafcarenbas was fuch, that in the Month of January, 1640, he put to Sea with a Fleet of ninetythree Sail great and fmall, and twelve thoufand Men on board.

Count Maurice, on the other hand, was far from being negligent; and, having drawn together forty-one Men of War, well manned and provided in every Re-
fpect,
fpect, he waited within four Miles of the Port of Olinda for the Enemy; the Fleet being commanded under his Excellency, by William Loos a Dutch Admiral, reputed as brave a Man, and as good a Seaman, as any at that time in the Service of the States. On the I2th of the fame Month the Fleets met, and engaged between the Illand of Tomaraca and the River Gojana; and fought from one in the Afternoon till it was Night. The Lofs fuftained by the Dutch was not great; for they had but four Men killed, and as many wounded, and one Ship rendered unferviceable. Amongft thefe four Men, however, was their Admiral William Loos, who might be truly faid to die in the Arms of Victory. He was replaced the next Day by Fames Huyghens, who engaged the Spanifb Fleet a fecond time; and, by dint of his fuperior Skill as a Sea Officer, obtained great Advantages. On the I 4 th he attacked them a third time on the Coaft of Paraiba, where he had ftill greater Advantages; but the great Victory of all, was after the fourth Day's Fight, wherein they fuffered exceffively, and were at laft driven' where the Dutch durft not follow them, that is to fay, upon thofe Sholes on the Coaft, to which the Portugueze have given the Name of Baxes de Rocbas; where many perifhed by Shipwreck, and more by Hunger and Thirft. The Remainder that efcaped endeavoured to return home; but, great Difputes arifing amongft their Commanders, they feparated; and of all this mighty Fleet only four Galleons and two Men of War arrived fafe in the Ports of Spains; and thefe too efcaped with much Difficulty a Dutch Fleet that was fteering for Brazil.

While thefe great Tranfactions happened at Sca, the Portugueze, being very well informed that Count Maurice had embarked his whole Strength on board his Fleet, affembled a Body of regular Troops, under the Command of Don Fobn Lopez Vervailbo, an Officer of great Experience and Courage, and a great Body of Brazilians under their Countryman Colonel Cameron; who, falling into the Dutch Settlements, unexpectedly took feveral Places, and did a great deal of Mifchief. It was not long, however, before Hankins, who had the Title of Colonel on Shore, as well as Commodore at Sea, put himfelf at the Head of a Body of Planters, and with them very foon gave a Check to thefe infolent Invaders. A flort Time after Admiral Lichtbart, and Commodore Cornelius $\mathcal{F} 0 l$, arrived with great Reinforcements from Holland; the former was immediately fent by Count Maurice into the Bay of All Saints, to deftroy the Country, which he did with a Barbarity not to be defcribed, and confequently not to be excufed. Commodore fol acted the like Part on the Country near the River St. Francis; and this Manner of making War appeared to the Count de Montalvan, at that time Viceroy of Brazil, fo abominable, that he could not be brought to believe that a Perfon of Count Maurice's Quality could be pleafed with it; and therefore he fent Deputies to reprefent to him the Barbarity of fuch a Behaviour, and to defire that they might fettle a Cartel, by which the Proceedings of the War might be regulated; and fuch horrid Scenes of Murder and Devaftation prevented for the future, as proved equally ruinous to both Parties.

As Count Maurice, in giving thefe Orders, had followed the Company's Inftructions againft his own Inclinations, he very gladly embraced this Opportunity of fhewing his own noble and generous Temper, which was ever averfe to fuch kind of Proceedings. He therefore readily embraced the Propofal, and offered to fend Commiffioners immediately to St. Salvador, to fettle fuch a Provifional Treaty with the Viceroy, for the common Benefit of the Subjects of both States: But, juft as thefe Deputies were on their Departure, there arrived two Gentlemen of Diftinction from the Viceroy; who, at an Audience they demanded, and obtained from Count Maurice, acquainted him with the amazing Revolution that had happened in Portugal, which was likely to have a great Effect on the general State of Affairs, and might probably put an End to the War in Brazil, fince hitherto it had not been carried on by the Dutch againt the Portugueze Nation, but againft the Portugueze as Subjects to the Crown of Spain; and therefore it was very natural to
fuppofe that the Dutch would no longer confider them as their Enemies, when they could be no longer confidered as the Subjects of that Crown, but rather as an independent Nation, inclined, both by Nature and Intereft, to cultivate a good Correfpondence with the Subjects of the States General. At leaft, thefe Meflengers from the Viceroy were charged to reprefent things in this Light to Count Maurice, who gave them a very patient Hearing, and difmiffed them with a favourable Anfwer, though refolved to do what was moft for his Mafters Service.
14. It was in the Month of December 1640 , that 70 obn Duke of Braganza, feated himfelf on the Throne of Portugal, which was that of his Anceftors; and tools the Title of Fobn the IVth. This Revolution, one of the mof fudden, and moft fuccefsful the World ever faws pur into his Hands immediately the whole Dominions of Portugal, the little Town of Ceuta in Africa excepted, and the Conquefts made by the Dutcb in Brazil, and elfewhere It was not long before Count Maurice had a very exact Relation of the whole Affair; and, forefeeing that this Revolution would certainly be attended, either with a Peace, or a Truce, between the States General and the new King; he refolved to do all that he could in the fhorteft Time poffible, that whenever the Peace or Truce was concluded, it might find the Dutch with their Hands full. I fhall not pretend to juftify this Refolation of Count Maurice, or to reconcile it to the Laws of Nature, and of Nations; but, we know, that great Captains are feldom great Cafuifts, and perhaps this might be his Cafe.

He put this Defign of his in Execution almoft as foon as he had formed it, making himfelf entirely Mafter of the Captainfhip of Segerippa, which the Portugueze had recovered; he fent away Admiral $\mathfrak{J} o l$, with a Fleet of twenty-one Sail, and above three thoufand Men on board, to reduce the Ifland of Laonda, on the Coaft of Congos and that of St. Thomas, immediately under the Equinoctial; both which Services he performed: The latter, however, coft him his Life; for while he was bufy in fettling the' Affairs of his new Conqueft, a Diftemper broke out in his Fleet, which carried off a great Number of Men, and amongtt them the Admiral and fix of his chief Captains. He was buried with great Military Pomp in the Cathedral of Pavoafan, which is the Capital of that Inand, and left behind him the Reputation of being the boldeft, moft refolute, and ftricteft Officer of his Time; but withal, one of the rougheft in his Behaviour that ever bore Commiffion; yet he was a Man of fuch nice Honour, that, in his Expedition, the Year before, on the Coaft of Cuba, being driven to great Diftrefs for Provifions, and in no Condition to take them by Force, he fent to the Spani/b Governor for a Supply ; who, out of Regard to his perfonal Merit, granted him all, and more than he defired; upon which he immediately quitted the Coaft, declaring, that he could no longer act againtt an Enemy, who had treated him with fuch Generofity.

Count Maurice, in purfuance of his Inftructions, which reprefented to hini the Captainfhip of Maragnan as a Country extremely wholefome, abounding with Sugar, Cotton, Ginger, Tobacco, and other rich Commodities, as well as very convenient from its Situation, refolved to feize it likewife. He difpatched, for this Purpofe, Admiral Lichtbart and Commodore Hankins, with a Fleet of fix Sail of Men of War and fix Frigates, with which they foon reduced the Inand of Maragnan, and the Town of St. Louis, upon which the reft of the Diftricts fubmitted without Refiftance; fo that at the Clofe of the Year 164I, the Dutch were actually in Poffeffion of feven of the fourteen Captainfhips, into which the Country of Brazil was divided.

But Things did not long remain in this State; for; partly by Revolt, and partly by Conqueft, thefe Countries returned again to their old Mafters.

It is now neceffary to look over into Europe, in order to fee how thofe Events came about, which furnifhed the Means of making as fudden a Revolution in Brazil, as ever happened in a Country fo well fecured; and in the Recital of which, it will appear, that the Dutch themfelves taught thofe Arts, by which they fuffered; and firft

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practifed thofe Frauds, that proved afterwards fo fatal to themfelves. King $\neq \mathrm{bn}$, defirous of being acknowledoed by as many Kingdoms and States as poffible, in Quality of rightful Pofieffor of the Crown of Portugal, as undoubtedly he was, fent Don Triftan de Mandoca Huriado, his Embaffador, to the Hague, to reprefent to the StatesGeneral the Reafonablenefs of owning his Title, and the Advantages that muft accrue from their living in a good Correfpondence together. The firt was readily admitted by the Dutch Statefmen; and, by Degrees, they came likewife into the Second; but, as they thought themfelves Gainers by the War, and a vaft Over-match for Portugal, unfupported by Spain, they put off the Conclufion of the Treaty as long as they could.
At laft, on the $13^{\text {th }}$ of $\mathcal{F}_{\text {une }} 164 \mathrm{I}$, they figned a League offenfive and defenfive, with the Crown of Portugal, for what regarded the Dominions of both States in Europe ; and a Truce for ten Years in the Eaft and Weft Indies: This laft was conceived in very general Terms; for it was to comprehend all the Dominions of both Parties, and was to commence from the Day of the Publication of the Truce; it was likewife ftipulated, that Commiffioners fhould meet in eight Months, in order to conclude a definitive Peace, and to fettle the Pretenfions of both Parties ; but, at the fame Time, the Dutch took care to provide, that if this Treaty fhould prove ineffectual, the Truce, and free Trade between the Dominions of both States, fhould ftill continue; only the Portugueze fhould not be at Liberty to export any of the Commodities of Brazil into Holland ; and, on the other Hand, the Dutch were to be under the like Reftriction, with Refpect to the Dominions of Portugal. It is evident, from the very Frame of this Treaty, that the States contrived every thing for their own Advantage; and that the King of Portugal fubmitted to it, from pure Neceffity. Experience, however, foon made this more vifible. On Complaints, that feveral Places were taken from the Portugueze after the Publication of the Truce; Reftitution was refufed, as to fome ; and though Orders were given, as to others, agreeable to the Spirit of the Treaty, yet they were drawn up in fuch a Manner, that moft of the Dutch Governors refufed to comply with them.
The Portugueze Viceroy, and the reft of that Nation in Brazil, entered eafily into the Politics of the Dutch; and inftead of attempting to do themfelves Juftice, by Force, they practifed exactly the fame Method for their own Advantage: They magnified the Wifdom of the Dutch Government, confided in the Promifes made them, and took in good Part all the Excufes that were made for Non-performance of them ; by which Means they fo over-reached Count Maurice, in the two laft Years of his Government, that he perfuaded himfelf, and eafily engaged the Directors of the Weft India Company, to believe, that their Territories were effectually fettled, and that they had nothing to fear in Brazil, either from the Natives, or from the Portugueze; who thought themfelves happy under their Adminiftration, and were as much attached to it as the Dutch themfelves.
-But the Contrivances of their Enemies might probably have proved abortive ; if the Managers of the Dutch Weft India Company had not entered into a Confpiracy againft themfelves. They found that they were now poffefled of what they had fo long fought ; feveral ftrong Forts on the Coaft of Africa, and a very large Part of the rich Country of Brazil; and they were defirous of makeing the greateft immediate Profits poffible of both. It was from this Notion, that they fent over repeated Orders to Count Maurice, to take fuch Meafures as might increafe their Revenue, and prove the Importance of Brazil, by fending over vaft Quantities of Sugar and other valuable Effects, and not fuffering fuch as were in Debt to the Company to pay in fmall Sums, or at different Terms, but fpeedily, and at once. Count Maurice obferved to them, that the Execution of thefe Orders would be attended with many Inconveniencies ; that a long War had been carried on ; that the Country had been but lately reduced; that moft of thofe who were in Debt to the Company were Portugueze, who had fettled in their Territories, and who had hitherto behaved well

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and ought therefore to be kindly treated, and not drivefi to Extremities, which might put them upon Things that otherwife would not have entered into their Heads. But this was talking to the Deaf; the Company had heard that Brazil was very rich, they were poffeffed of a great Part of it, and could fee no Reafon why all that it produced fioould not be immediately fhipped for Holland.

There were fome other Things alfo that gave them great Uneafinels. Oppofite to the Recerif there lay a very commodious Ifland, upon which their Governor caufed a new Town to be built, chiefly out of the Ruins of the Portugueze City of Olinda, fortified it thoroughly, and gave it the Name of Mauriceburgb; which, in a fhort Time, was grown a very confiderable Place, and which he united to the Receif, which was become the Centre of the Dutch Commerce, by a Stone Briage This firf and laft coft forty thoufand Pounds. Now; though all this was done for the Benefit and Convenience of the Dutch Inhabitants, and to fecure the Company's Capital in that Country from Danger, yet they could not help grudging the Expence.

But what put them moft out of Humour was the Palace Count Maurice built for himfelf. It was indeed a very ftately Structure, ftanding in the moft commodious Part of the Town, in the midft of very fine Gardens, elegantly laid out, and curiounly planted with Cocoas of all Sorts, as well as Lemons, Citrons, Pomegranates, Figs, and other Fruit-trees. Thefe Gardens were certainly very expenfive; and as to the Palace, it was faid to have coft fix hundred thoufand Florins; and fo contrived, as to command the moft admirable Profpect both by Sea and Land. Before the Front of this noble Structure there was a Battery of Marble, rifing gradually from the Riverfide, upon which were mounted ten large Pieces of Brafs Cannon. Without the City, Count Maurice had alfo a moft magnificent Villa or Country Palace, furrounded with fine Gardens, and adorned with curious Fifh-ponds; but withal encompaffed with ftrong Walls, and the whole fo difpofed, as to ferve at once for the Governor's Pleafure, and for the Defence of the City, which was covered by it, as a Fort, on that Side ; and it proved extremely ufeful to them when the War broke out again. He likewife made many other Improvements, fuch as laying out Parks and Meadows within the Fortifications, which, while duly taken care of, produced all Things neceffary for the Subfiftence of the Garrifon; and were, in all refpects, equally commodious and beautiful.

In this Manner Count Maurice employed thofe Treafures, which were the Fruits of his many Victories and extenfive Conquefts; and which, a Man of a lefs generous Temper, would have found Means to have tranfported to Holland, as his private Fortune. But thofe Marks of Greatnefs of Mind, and public Spirit, which ought to have extinguifhed, nourifhed that Envy, which had been conceived againft him, and while he was labouring to extend and fecure the Power of the Company in Brazil, the Directors of that Company in Holland were employed in cenfuring his Conduct, and in magnifying his Ex> travagance, in laying out fuch vaft Sums, while the Colony produced fo little to the Company's Stock. Such was the Situation of Things, and fuch the excellent Reafons which induced the Directors to form a Defign of recalling Count Maurice, as the only Means of making the Colony turn to an Account, and bring in fuch a Revenue, as might be proportionable to the Views and Expectations of the Company ; which wife Project of theirs, they at laft brought to bear ; Count Maurice himfelf affifting them therein, being grown to the full as weary of their Management, as they were of his; fo that on the I Ith of May I 644 he took leave of the Council, quitted the Government, when he had held it eight Years, and returned into Holland, on board a Flect of thirteen Sail of large Ships, with near three thoufand Soldiers on board; eighteen Companies only being left for the Defence of the Dutch Settlements, agrecable to the Inftructions he had received, and to that Scheme of frugal Management, which was now to take Place, and by which they hoped to repair that Extravagance and Profurion, with which they charged Comnt Maurice.

I have taken as much Care as it was poffible to inform myfelf fully as to thefe Particulars, and have reprefented this whole Tranfaction to the Reader exactly in the Light it appeared to me, and I flatter myélf it will give him as great Satisfaction as I have felt in writing it ; by fhewing him how the moft dangerous Miftakes arife from Narrownefs of Thinking, how eafily the beft Defigns of the very beft Men may be mifreprefented, and with what an Appearance of Wifdom, Difintereftednefs, and public Spirit, fuch Meafures may be cloathed, as in reality are big with public Ruin.

After Count Maurice's Return, the Government of Brazil was put into the Hands of fuch great and able Men as the Weft India Company could confide in; for that, at this Time, was the Phrafe in more Parts of the World than one; and perhaps it will not difpleafe the inquifitive Perufer to have a fhort Account of the Illuftrious Perfons who were the Succeffors of the great Count Maurice of Naffau, one of the ableft, braveft, and moit worthy Men of that Family, fo famous for producing Heroes: The Chief of them then were, Mr. Hamel, a Merchant of Amferdam; Mr. de Baflis, a Goldfmith of Haerlem; and Mr. Bulleftraat, a Carpenter of Middleburgh; all Men of very good Senfe, and great Fidelity to the Company; whofe Diligence and Activity in its Service, we find greatly commended by fome Dutch Writers, who certainly meant as honeftly as they did; but unfortunately for the Service of the Republic, as well as of their Mafters, they miftook their Talents, and by wading out of their Depth became the Authors of a thoufand Mifchiefs, which to be fure they never intended.

They were bred to Trade, and undertood it thoroughly; but this kind of Underftanding did not fo well anfwer the Purpofe as a Governor's. They forced the Portugueze that lived under them, to pay what they owed the Company in a fhort time; but by the Methods they took to do this they loft their Hearts for ever. They furnifhed thefe very Portugueze with Fire-arms and Powder, but they fold both very dear; fo that the Company were great Gainers by the Bargain. They fent over to Holland the Produce of thofe Lands which Count Maurice had affigned for maintaining the Fortifications, which in the mean time ran to ruin. They gave Licences upon very eafy Terms to the Soldiers to return home; which leffened the Expence of the Army. In fhort, they brought the whole Charges of the Government into a narrower Compafs than could be expected; but by doing this they brought the Government itfelf into fuch a Degree of Danger, as invited thofe to rebel, who by this very Management were oppreffed in their Perfons, and the Proprietors of moft of their Plantations fo intangled by their Debts to the Company, that very few of them were worth a Groat. A very fober Dutch Writer, who was there upon the Spot, tells us, That in 1645 there was a greater Quantity of Sugar fent to Holland than at any time before, which he attributes to this wife and frugal Adminiftration, and which, to fpeak the Truth fairly and in plain Englijh, was not either more or lefs than felling all Dutch Brazil for one Year's Purchafe.
15. The PortuguezeViceroy at that Time was Don Antonio Tellez de Silva, a Man who feem'd formed by Nature for the Execution of that Employment at this Juncture: He had great Parts, but greater Prudence; much Penetration, more Sagacity; but excelled moft in diffembling to Perfection. In private Life, and in all common Occurrences, a Man of ftrict Honour, humane, eafy of Accefs, familiar with all forts of People, but without lofing his Dignity. As foon as he was informed that Count Maurice was gone, and had carried with him two Thirds of the Force of Brazil, he formed a Defign of getting rid of the Dutch intirely; but this he never communicated to his Friends, to the Enemy he always denied it.

He infinuated to the Portugrieze that were Subjects to the Duich, that they were only labouring for Strangers, and Strangers of another Religion; whereas they might be Mafters of ail they now farmed at a high Rent, and enjoy good Employments befides, if their King was reftored to his juft Rights. Thefe Suggeftions had their Effect, and thoif who heard them could not avoid being moved by them.

But the Perfon who undertook to manage this whole Affair was one Fobn Fernandez Viera, a very extraordinary Man, and of whom I fhall give a very fhort Account : He was originally a Butcher's Boy, from whence he was raifed to the Rank of a Page to one of the Magiftrates of Olinda, while in the Hands of the Portugueze. He became a kind of Factor, or Manager for the Dutch, and by his Induftry and Art grew exceffively rich, being Mafter of four Sugar Plantations, and intrunted with the Management of many more.

He had an excellent Head, laid the Whole of the Confpiracy himfelf, and fent it over to Portugal by a Perfon who was not at all acquainted with the Defign; after which he fent a Relation of his to Court, with a Letter recommending him to the King of Portugal, by which he got a Troop of Horfe, and acted there as Agent for the Confpirators. He forefaw that this mutt reach the Ears of the Dutch; and when it did fo, he went directly to the Council, owned the Thing, produced his Letter, and offered to give Security for his good Behaviour, which he did without much Trouble; two of the richeft Portugueze in the Dutch Territories becoming bound for him, who were as deep in the Confpiracy as himfelf.

It may be juftly wondered that, in fuch Circumftances, this was accepted; but the Wonder will ceafe when it is known that he owed the chief Perfons in the Adminiftration upwards of two hundred thoufand Florins, which rendered it advifeable for them not to fee him ruined. By this adroit Contrivance he moft effectually fecured his Liberty, which he made Ufe of to carry on this great Defign with all the Dexterity imaginable; in which he was affifted by two Perfons, who made a great Figure in the Province, Antonio Cavalcante, and Amador Argoufa, equally deep in the Management of the Dutch Affairs; and determined, like him, to raife their Fortune upon the Deftruction of thofe who trufted them.

The Day fixed for the Execution of this Plot was, the 24 th of Fune, 1645; when one of the Daughters of Antonio Cavalcante was to be married, and a great Feaft given at the Houfe of Viera, to which moft of the Officers and principal Perfons in the Company's Service were invited, and where, without doubt, they would have been all feized, if not murdered, if the Defign had not been difcovered the very Evening before it was executed. A Ship that arrived from Amferdam, brought Letters from the Directors of the Weft India Company; with an Account, that the Minifter from the States General at the Court of Portugal had difcovered, that a great Confpiracy was carrying on in Brazil; and that they would do well to enquire what Supplies had been lately fent from Lifoon to the Portugueze in thofe Parts.

This Enquiry produced fuch Difcoveries as ftruck the Dutch with univerfal Confternation; which gave Viera and his Affociates time to make their Efcape into the neighbouring Woods, where they took up Arms. There Fobn Fernandez Viera affumed the Character of General and Commander in chief, affifted by Colonel Diaz, with a few Portugueze Troops, and Colonel Cameron at the Head of a much more numerous Body of Brazilians. With this fmall Army he fixed his Head Quarters at Pojug, a Town between the Reccif and Cape St. Augufine; fo that the Dutch had the Misfortune of feeing the War break out, not only unexpectedly, but in the very Heart of their Dominions. At the fame time Antonio Cavalcante raifed another Part of the Country; and Amador Aragoufa, at the Head of a flying Party, was burning and deftroying all the Dutch Plantations without Mercy. In this dreadful Situation the Council affembled all the Troops they could; and, at the fame time, publifhed a Proclamation, whereby they promifed Pardon and Peace to all who fhould fubmit and return to their Duty, excepting only Viera, Cavalcante, and Aragoufa. The Perfon they made Choice of to command their Forces, was Lieutenant-Colonel Huys, to whom they gave the Title of General ; but it would have been better if they could have given him an Army, fince the Troops he got together were few in Number and very ill provided.

But befides this, the Council had a mind to negociate, and therffore they fent two Captains, Fandor Voord, and
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Dirch de Hoogfrate, to the Viceroy, at the Bay of All Saints, to complain of the Infraction of the Truce, between the Crown of Portugal and the States General, which had ftill four Years to come. The Viceroy received them with great Civility, and anfwered them with much Prudence. He faid that he was refponfible for the Conduct of the Inhabitants of that Part of Brazil fubject to the Crown of Portugal; and, if they had broke the Truce, he would give them what Satisfaction they could defire; but, with refpect to the Portugueze fettled in the Dutch Dominions, if provoked by Oppreffions they had taken Arms, it was what he could not help, and for which it was very unjuft to make him anfwerable.

This was what he faid in public, but in a private Conference he had with Captain Hoog ftrate, he drew him over to his Intereft, and prevailed upon him to refolve upon giving up the important Poft of Cape St. Auguffine, of which he was Governor. In the mean time General Huys attacked Colonel Cameron, but had the Misfortune to be beat, with the Lofs of one hundred Men. Soon after this the Portugueze Fleet, under the Command of Admiral Salvador Correa de Banavides, appeared on the Coaft; and, though it was very numerous, yet the Dutch Admiral, Licbtbart, offered them Battle, though he had but five Men of War; but the Portugueze Commander refufed it, pretending he had no Orders to act againtt the Dutch; and that all his Bufinefs was to land a Body of Men in his M. fter's Dominions, which he accordingly did; but thofe Men, without any Ceremony, entered the Dutch Territories, and made themfelves Mafters of all the Places that fell in their Way.
The Duich Council, upon this, fent Orders to their General Huys to retreat ; but he, ftaying for one Captain Black, whom he had fent away for feveral Ladies and rich Effects out of the Country, had the Misfortune to be furrounded by the Porturueze, beaten, and taken Prifoner; which the beft Dutch Accounts that I have met with attribute to his Want of Conduct and Courage.

Upon this Orders were fent to Admiral Lichtbart to attack the Portugueze Ships whenever he had an Opportunity, and he exerted upon this Occafion the fame Spirit and Courage which he had fo often fhewn upon others; for, wit! four Ships, a Frigate, and a Bark, he attacked the Portugueze Fleet of feventeen Sail, took three of the largeft Ships, together with the Admiral; killed feven hundred Men, and burnt and funk almoft all the other Veffels; which raifed the Hopes of his Countrymen not a little, and they began to fatter themfelves they fhould have better Succefs for the future, than they had hitherto had from the Begimning.

But thefe Hopes were very foon dafhed, by their receiving the unexpected News of the Lofs of St. Augufine, which was given up by Captain Hoogfrate, in confequence of the Agreement which, as we have before mentioned, he had made with the Viceroy, when fent to treat with him by the Dutch Council as their Minifter. He received for this infamous Action the Sum of 18000 Florins, which Sum he employed in raifing a Regiment of fix hundred and fifty Brazilians, of which he was made Colonel by the Portugueze, and wanted not Impudence enough to appear at the head of it, againft his Country; and, which was ftill more aftonifhing, behaved bravely and with great Fidelity in the Service of his new Mafter.

Their great Superiority enabled them to make a quick Difpatch in moft of the Expeditions they undertook; fo that in fhort Time almoft all the ftrong Places in the Captainhip of Fernambuca furrendered to them. At laft they blocked up the Receif, always the ftrongeft, and now the only ftrong Place the Dutch had left; and reduced thofe who were in it to fuch Hardfhips, that they muft have been flarved out, if they had not been relieved by the Arrival of a Fleet from Holland. When the News of thefe Proceedings arrived in Folland, the Mob was exceffively irritated, and in their firt Fury furrounded the Houfe of the Portugueze Embaffador; which, but for the prudent Interpofition of the Prince of Orange, they had certainly pulled down. That Miniter, however,
endeavoured to perfuade the States General that his IVafter had no Concern in this Rebellion; that he abfolutely difapproved it ; and that the Viceroy had never given any kind of Countenance to Viera. But the Dutcb Statefmen were too wife to give any Credit to him: On the contrary, they equipped a Fleet of fifty-two fail of Mer of War, under the Command of Mr. Bankert, Admiral of Zealand, whom they declared Admiral of Brazil, Guinea, and Angola; with him they fent Colonel Schuppen and Colonel Henderfon, who had ferved under Count Maurice with great Reputation; and thus an open War begun between Portugal and Holland, on the other Side the Line.

But never any Fleet met with fo many unfortunate Accidents as this did; for, within two Days after they failed from the Texel, they were forced to anchor in the Dorons, where they loft two Ships in a Storm; they failed again, and were forced into the Ille of Wight; where, the firft Sight they faw, was the Wreck of a great Ship, which proved a Dutch Merchantman from Brazil, with a Cargo of the Value of two Millions, which was entirely loft; and, out of three hundred Perfons, only thirty faved; int the Port of St. Helen's they remained wind-bound feven Weeks, and at laft met with a Storm on their putting again to Sea, by which they fuffered extremely: Many more fuch Checks they met with before they arrived at the Receif; where the People were reduced to fuch Extremity, that they were on the Point of throwing themfelves upon the Enemy, to feek a certain Death by the Sword, rather than expect a lingering one by Famine.

By the Help of thefe Reinforcements the War was ftill kept on Foot, and fome fimall Advantages gained; but, in the Beginning of the Year 1647, they were again blocked up in the Receif, where their whole Force confifted but of one thoufand eight hundred Men, with which they made a gallant Defence; but at length, on the 16th of May, they refolved to fally with their whole Strength, and to attack the Enemy in the Field; which they did, at firft, with fome Degree of Succefs; but, being overpowered by Numbers, were at length beaten; and, in their Fight and Flight, loft one thoufand one hundred Men, moft of their Officers, nineteen Colours, and all the Artillery and Ammunition they had carried with them. This great Misfortune hindred them, indeed, from making any more Sallies; but by leffening their Numbers fo much, enabled them to make a longer Defence, fince their Provifions fufficed now for feven Months, which would otherwife have lafted them but three.

I have dwelt the longer upon this Part of the Story; becaufe I conceive it cannot be confidered as either unpleafant or ufelefs; and I have obferved, with fome Degree of Amazement, that this kind of Hintory is very little known here in England; where the being able to difcourfe pertinently of Greek and Roman Hiftory, paffes for Learning; and an Acquaintance with the Story of Italy in the middle Ages, has its Admirers amongft the Virtuofi ; both which I hold equally laudable and fenfible; but ftill I am perfuaded that this kind of Hiftory is of more Confequence than both, to the Inhabitants of a Country flourifhing by Trade; and therefore $I$ have taken fo much Pains to reduce thefe Matters into Method and Order, that the Study of maritime Hiftory might become more pleafant and eafy, and confequently grow more into Repute and Fafhion, amongft a Nation that fo defervedly value themfelves upon the glorious Title of a maritime Power. The true Meaning and real Import ance of which Title, can only be learned by the Perufal of Works like thefe. But to return from Refections to the Current of our Hiftory.

The Progrefs of the Portugueze was fo great, and fo irrefiftible, and the Difafters that attended the Dutch followed fo clofe on each other, that nothing feemed capable of preventing the total Ruin of the Dutch Affairs in that Part of the World. This naturally might, and indeed did, produce a kind of national Defpair ; which haftened, though I think it did not caufe, that Ruin which it forefaw. The Province of Zealand recalled their Admiral Bankert, with whom came home moft of the Officers they had fent with him, heartily difguted with the

Service. The Difficulties they met with in their Paffage, when outward bound, were repeated in that which brought them home; fo that Bankert died before the Fleet arrived in Holland, and fo did feveral of his Officers almoft as foon as they came afhore; but the Sieur Sbuk, who was fent home by the Adminiftration in Brazil, furvived; and upon his Application to the States, and his moft particular and affecting Account of the Pofture of things in that Country, they refolved to make one general and great Effort for the Prefervation of fo valuable an Acquifíion ; and accordingly gave Orders for equipping a ftrong Fleet of fifty Sail of large Men of War, and embarking therein fix thoufand regular Troops, the Command of which they gave to Admiral Witte-Wittezen, at that Time efteemed the ableft Officer in their Service.

This Armament alarmed the Crown of Portugal to fuch a Degree, that Orders were fent to the Embaffador then refident in Holland, to promife the States any thing that might prevent their profecuting this Defign, which, at firft, had fome Effect; but the Dutch, receiving at this Time the melancholy Account of what had happened at the Receif, determined not to be the Dupes of fuch a Negotiation; and therefore, towards the End of the Year 1650 , they not only difpatched Admiral WitteWittezen with his Fleet, but likewife projected the fending another Fleet after him, with an additional Supply of between five and fix thoufand Men more. One would have imagined, Succours like thefe, exceeding, if I am not miftaken, any thing that has been done by other Maritime Powers, in Support of any fingle Colony, would have anfwered the End effectually, more efpecially as Portuigal did not arm in any Proportion, or fend over any regular Troops, at this Time, to Brazil: But, however, all proved vain and ineffectual; for the Elements declared as fierce and as inflexible a War againft the Dutch Fleets and Armies, as the Portugueze, the Negroes, and the Brazilians. The Climate, which feemed natural to all thefe, proved abfolutely mortal to the Dutch. The former living there on the natural Produce of the Country, were healthy, hearty, and robuft ; intermarrying with the Natives, they multiplied apace, and had but one common Intereft, whereas the latter fubfifting entirely on the Provifions fent them from Europe, grew pale, wan, and feeble, and died in great Numbers.

Hence it came to pafs, that when the great Fleets before mentioned, after fuffering much by Storms and Tempefts in their Paffage, arrived at length on the Coaft of Fernambuca, they found, inftead of a Colony, a mere Hofpital of fick, maimed, and infirm People; and, in the room of thofe Fortreffes they were to have relieved, a Collection of Church-yards filled with the Bodies of thofe who had been before fent on the fame Errand; the Sight of which affected the Admiral in fuch a Manner, that, notwithftanding the precife Orders he had received, he determined with himfelf not to bury the remainder of his People there, which from his firft Arrival he began to do apace, but to return home without delay, which he accordingly did, leaving things in a much worfe Condition than he found them; and the Weft India Company, befides all the reft of its Misfortunes, oppreffed by a very heavy Debt, contracted on the Score of his unfortunate Expedition. We need not wonder, therefore, that upon his Return there was a dreadful Out-cry fet up againft him ; to allay which, the States were obliged to commit him to Prifon; but he very foon juftified himfelf to their Satisfaction, and indeed to the Satisfaction of every body but the Proprietors of the Weft India Company, on whofe Directors at home, and in Brazil, he laid the blame of all thefe Mifcarriages.

It would be needlefs to purfue this Subject more particularly from this time to the total Exclufion of the Dutch, becaufe it would contain only a Repetition of the fame kind of Facts, and confequently prove far enough from being entertaining or inftructing. It may therefore fuffice to fay, that towards the clofe of the Year 1653 , the Portugueze, who now publickly owned the Caufe of Fobn Fernandez Viern, fent a Fleet of fixteen large Men of War to attack the Receif by Sea, and to blow up Part of its Fortifications; which fo terrified the Dutch Gar-
rion, that they abfolutely refufed to fight; fo that the next Year they furrendered every thing they poffeffed; and, in 1655 , they returned to Holland. It is inconceivable what an Uproar this raifed in that Country, and with what Heat and Fury the People demanded Juftice againft General Sigifmond Scbuppen, who had commanded in Chief for many Years, and who was Governor of the Receif when it furrendered. The States, perhaps, cut of favour to him and his Officers, fent them to Prifon; and they could not, in refpect to Juftice, refufe him the only Grace he afked, which was to make a public Defence; wherein he laid open, fo clearly, his own long and faithful Services to the Dutch Nation, recapitulated all the Succeffes they had under the Adminiftration of Count Maurice, and gave fo true a Picture of the Miferies and Misfortunes they had fuffered fince he went thither laft, that the People wept, and the Judges acquitted him.
There is fomething fo ftrange, fomething fo unaccountable in this Tranfaction, from the Beginning to the End of it, that I cannot think it will be looked upon as either tedious or impertinent, if I point out clearly, and in a narrow Compafs, the Caufes of this extraordinary Revolution, which I take to have been principally three. The firft, and indeed the principal one, was recalling Count Maurice of Naffau, and changing the Government; which I muft beg leave to explain, for the Sake of fuch of our Countrymen as may not fully apprehend it. Count Maurice was a great Captain, and a true Politician; he very well knew, that in a conquered Country a military Adminiftration was as requifite as a civil one; and fo contrived his own, that it was a proper Mixture of both. His firft Care was to extend the Dominions of his Countrymen, that they might have room enough to fix a potent Colony, and a fertile Territory fufficient to maintain it. On the Frontiers he built ftrong Fortreffes, brought the Native Brazilians to relifh living according to their own Manner, under the Dutch Protection, and to be willing to work for Wages; he likewife filled the Country with Negroes, from his Conquefts in Africa; and, when he had thus fecured a large, pleafant, and fruitful Country, and People enough to fublint in it, he began to build his new City of Mauriceburgh, to raife his admirable Palace, to lay out his fine Gardens, and to do every thing that might encourage Art and Induftry ; and, by adorning and inriching the Country, fix fuch Pcople as came to get Eftates there, to their Eftates when got. By this Policy of his, it muft allowed that he did not fill the Company's Coffers, but he ferved his Country and the Company too very effectually, by putting the Colony upon a right Eftablifhment, and giving it fuch a Force within itfelf, as all the Power of his Enemies could not have overthrown: This he was able to do from the extenfive Authority lodged in his Hands, by his Commiffion from the States; and yet the Extent of his Power could only reach to what was good; had he endeavoured to carry it farther, his Council might, and would, have interpofed: But it was quite otherwife with the Government that fucceeded him; for they had a boundlefs Power of doing Mifchief, and very little Capacity of doing Good, as appeared very clearly from their whole Adminiftration, and indeed it could not well be otherwife ; for, whereas Count Mourice came naturally from commanding at home to a Government abroad, thefe Men were fetched from behind Counters to act the Part of Soldiers, Seamen, and Statefmen. I do not fay this to difparage Trade, but to thew the Folly of fuppofing that the greateft Mafters of Trade fhould be able by Inftinct to manage thofe Trades they were not bred up to, and confequently upon their own Principles cannot underftand. They were of excellent Ufe to Count Maurice, as his Council, and I firmly believe he could not have done without them ; but then I hope I fhall efcape Cenfure for affirming, that they knew as little how to do without him.

The fecond Caufe of the Declenfion of the Dutch Affairs, was the too hafty Defire of the Company to draw a great Revenue from this Colony, which put them upon moft unreafonable Reductions of their Expence. The firft

## Chap. III. of BRAZIL by the PORTUGUEZE.

Point was, that of a Governor Genetal, who, by keeping a kind of a Court, feemed to be an intolerable Burden upon fuch as were at the Expence of it ; buit if they had confidered that this Governor, who kept this Court, acquired for them the beft Part of that Colony, and put the reft of it into fo good a Situation, they would have judged the Services of fuch an Officer a fufficient Recompence for the keeping Him. Their next Reformation was in the Military Eftablifhment, which in 1641 Count Maurice had fixed at upwards of feven thoufand Men, and which, immediately upon his Removal, they very frugally reduced to two thoufand feven hundred, and even allowed fuch of thefe Soldiers as would pay for it, to go home: The Magazines, that were always well filled in the Time of Count Maurice, and from which, as we have feen, he furnifhed feveral Fleets for diftant Expeditions, they emptied, to raife Money by the Sale of their Contents, and very foolifhly fuffered their Servants and Soldiers to live upon European Provifions, inftead of accuftoming themfelves to live upon the Produce of the Brazilian Territories. It was likewife a great Fault that they laid high Taxes upon the great Manufacture of the Country, Sugar, which threw it entirely into the Hands of the Portugueze, their own Subjects being afraid to meddle with a Trade in which the firft Mifcarriage was attended with total Ruin. Another notorious Blunder was, their fending over a vaft Number of Yews, who, finding the People finking under heavy Taxes, brought in that excellent Cordial of high Ufury, to keep up their Spirits. By thefe; and fuch Iike Miethods, they, in the Space of a few Months, brought all Things into Confufion; and, from that Time forward, never took one fenfibte Step towards bringing them out.

The third Caufe of the Ruin of this Colony was, that the States did not interpofe in time, and take the Care of the Dutch Brazil into their own Hands, inftead of leaving it to a Company whicl had fhewn themfelves fo unequal to what they had undertaken; and therefore, for their own Good, as well as for that of the Public, this very important Concern fhould have been taken out of their Hands. But by continuing the fame Government, the States and the Company pinned down the unhappy People that were left there, labouring under Miferies and Misfortunes of all kinds, without Remedy and without Hope! If they had fent over in time a new GovernorGeneral, Things might have been reftored; but for want of this, they ran continually from bad to worfe, as it was very natural for them to do; fo that after ten Years Struggle, as well againft their own Weaknefs and ill Management, as the fuperior Force of their Enemies, they fuffered the Colony to expire; but, when they found their Malady incurable, they had better have taken the Brazilian Method, and, without waiting Extremities, knocked it on the head at once.
But to conclude this Subject with a fhort State of both Adminiftrations: When Count Maurice, after eight Years refiding in Brazil, quitted the Government, he left them feven Captainhhips, one City, thirty great Towns, fortyfive regular Fortreffes, ninety Sail of good Ships, three thoufand regular Troops, twenty thoufand Dutch of all Ages and Sexes, fixty thoufand Negroes, and above twice as many Brazilians : At that Time the Colony yielded twenty-five thoufand Chefts of Sugar annually, and a Carpenter, Cooper, or Smith, could earn five or fix Guilders a-day, and live very comfortably upon one; And, after expending Millions upon this Colony, for ten Years together, and the Lofs of feveral thoufands fent thither from time to time, there returned to Holland, in 1655, beween fix and feven hundred Perfons, of all forts, not worth a Groat.
Upon-this the States declared War againft Portugal, by which their Eaff-Tndia Company were great Gainers, but the Dutch Nation fill Lofers; fo that, after five Years, they were glad to make a Peace, under the Mediation of our King Cbarles II. which was figned the 6th of Auguft, r660, in which the principal Articles relating to our Subject are thefe that follow : That the Crown of Portugal thall be obliged to pay to the States the Sum of eighty
Fox: II. Numb. 8 I:

Tons of Gold, either in ready Money or Sugar, Tobacco or Salt, or elfe affign the faid ready Money upon the Portuoueze Cuftoms: That the Places taken on each Side fhould remain to thofe who were then in Poffefion of them : And that a free Trade fhould be allowed to the Dutch in Portugal, Africa, and Brazil, without paying any more Cuftoms than the native Portugueze.
16. The Poriugueze have, fince this time, remained in quiet Poffeffion of all this vaft Country, which is the Reafon that it is very difficult, if not impofible, to give any diftinct Account of what has paffed there fince this Time: For the Portugueze are, in the firft place, not much addicted to Writing; and in the next, they are not extremely willing that the World fhould be acquainted, farther than they mult be from Facts, with the State of their Colonies in Brazil ; and it is for this Reafon, that they fuffer no Ships to trade thither but their owri; a Point in which they are extremely precife, infomuch that they have made it a kind of capital Maxim in their Policy. But it is with them as it is with all other Nations of this Stamp; they flatter themfelves that this Rule which they lay down is inviolably adhered to ; yet it is certain that the Fact is otherwife, and that fometimes Englifh Interlopers, and now and then French and Dutch, fell their Cargoes in Brazil, efpecially in time of War; and in time of Peace, when there is not an Opportunity of carrying on a clandeftine Trade in this manner, they find out another, which is, fending thither Goods, under the Name of fome Portugueze Merchant, in the very fame manner that the Goods are fent to the $S$ panifb Colonies, under the Name of Spanif乃 Merchants.

In both Cafes they are no more than Brokers; but, to their immortal Credit, the faireft and the moft honourable in the World; for they are never known to break their Faith, or to injure thofe who truft them. As to the Trade which the Portugueze themfelves carry on to this Colony of theirs, it has for thefe laft hundred Years been fo great, that it is thought to have been the principal Caufe why they have fighted that of the Indies, as we have fhewn in its proper Place; tho' formerly it confifted principally in Sugar, Tobacco, Brazil Wood, and other Commodities of great Value; yet within thefe laft forty Years they have received from thence Commodities of till greater Value, or rather, to fpeak in the Language of our Times, of the greateft Value, fuch as Diamonds, and Gold; and of this precious Metal we have been thought to have fo large a Share, that without it we could fcarce have carried on the laft general. War, and the expenfive Meafures that have fucceeded it ; and though this may not be ftrictly true, yet there is certainly fo much of Truth in it, that it ought to make us curions in the in' quiring after, and obtaining the beft Account we can of thefe Plantations, which is fo much the more neceffary, becaufe hitherto the A'ccounts we have had are as far from being fatisfactory as Accounts well can be. The Pains I have taken upon this Subject, have not indeed enabled me to give the Reader fo exact a View'of all the Portugueze Settlements in Brazil as I could wifh ; but, however, as I fhall have no Occafion to treat of this Country again, I will take this Opportunity of giving him the moft particular and fatisfactory Accounts I have met with, till fomething better fhall be publifhed upon the Subject.

All the Trade of the five northern Captainfhips of Brazil, viz. Paria, Maragnan, Siara, Rio Grande, and Paraiba, is carried on in the laft mentioned Port, which lies on a River of the fame Name, at the Diftance of about five Leagues from the Sea; it is a fair and populous Town for that Country; and there are annually about feven or eight Ships fent hither from Liflon and Oporto, of the Burden of two hundred and fifty Tons each. Their Lading confifts chiefly in Sugar, of which they make more in thefe northern Captainhips, than in the South; efpecially fince the Difcovery of the Gold Mines, which has made the Inhabitants of thofe Parts of the Country negligent. There was a Time when the Trade of Brazil, in this Commodity, was fuperior to any in the World; for the Sugar of Brazil was the firft that was known in Europe; and the Portugueze are faid to have fet up their Works in this Comintry, about

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the Year 1580; and their being fo long in Poffeffion has made them more careful and exact in it, than any other Nation; fo that even now the clayed Sugars from Brazil , are whiter and finer than ours; and yet the Method they take of doing this, is neither a Secret, fo as not to be known, nor difficult, fo as not to be attained; for in plain Englifh it is no more than this:

When their Sugar is put into their Pots, and, by the draining out of the Moloffes, they are funk two or three Inches below the Brim; they fcrape off that thin hard Cruft that is found on the Top of the Sugar; and then they pour in their Mixture for refining it; it is nothing more than a fine foft white Clay, beat and mixed with Water, till of the Confiftency of Cream, with which they fill up the Pan. The white Water in ten or twelve Days paffes quite through, and whitens the Sugar as it paffes; the thick Body of the Clay lodges on the Top of the Sugar, and is eafily taken off with a Knife. Befides Sugar in this State, they bring likewife dying Woods, feveral Sorts of Drugs, and other valuable Commodities from Paraiba; which, however, is the leaft frequented Port in Brazil, though it is generally allowed that thefe northern Captainfhips are the beft peopled; and that the Inhabitants are very eafy in their Circumftances, though there have not as yet been any Mines found, or at leaft wrought, in thefe Parts. Though fome Spanifh Writers affirm, that, from the Appearance of the Soil on the Sides of their Mountains, it is highly probable they are rich in Silver; which, perhaps, they are reftrained from fearching for by the Orders of the Viceroy; or at leaft this was the Cafe forty Years ago, when fome Sparijb Deferters made a Propofal of this kind to the Portugueze Governor of this Captainfhip.
Tianarca, which lies next to Paraiba and the Captainfhip of Fernambuca, carry on their Trade from the City of Olinda, which we have mentioned before. It is feated on a Hill not far from the Sea; and this Situation renders the Streets very uneven and very incommodious. The Port too is but narrow, and the Entry into it extremely difficult; yet there is a confiderable Refort thither of Ships from the other Parts of Brazil, and from the Canaries; and the annual Fleet from Lijbon confifts generally of about thirty Sail, efcorted by a Man of War. Thefe Merchantmen are generally about the fame Size with thofe fent to Paraiba, and their Cargoes are compofed chiefly of Sugar and Brazil Wood; which laft is fuppofed to be the beft of its kind in the World; and therefore we fhall fpeak of it fomewhat more particularly: Many, otherwife correct Writers, having fallen into very grofs Miftakes upon this Subject.

It is an Opinion commonly received, that the Country of which we are fpeaking gave its Name to this Wood, and that it was called Brazil becaufe it came from thence; nay, we are told fo in the very laft Edition of the Dictionary of Commerce, and in one of the new Articles; but, however, the Fact is directly otherwife; and, as we have faid elfewhere, the Colony was fo far, from giving its Name to the Wood, that, on the contrary, the Country was firft called the Land of the Holy Ghoft; and from its abounding with this kind of Tree, loft the Name impofed upon it by its firft Difcoverers, and took that of Brazil. If the Proof of this is demanded againft the Authority of abundance of Books, which fay directly the contrary, we may cite $\mathcal{F} 0$ bn de Barros, the famous Portugueze Hiftorian; who fays exprefly what we do, and was likely to know as much of this Matter as any Man. But that learned Prelate of France, Peter Huet, Bifhop of Avranches, has put the Matter entirely out of doubt; for he affures us, that the famous Rabbi, $D a$ vid Kimobi, in his Commentary on the Cbronicles, affirms, that the Hebrew Word Algummim, ought to be tranflated Brazil ; now it is certain that this learned Few wrote before the Country of Brazil was difcovered, and confequently the Wood was fo called before any of it came from thence.

There are alfo different Sorts of this Wood; fuch as the Brazil of Fapon, Brazil of Lamon, Brazil of St. Martba, and Braziletto from Famaica and the Ieeward Ilands; but the very beft comes from this Country, and the beft in this Country from Fernambusa. The Brazil-Tree
grows generally in dyy barren Places, and among? Rocks; it is very thick and large, and the Timber ufually crooked and knotty; the Flowers it bears are of a moft beautiful bright red, have a very fragrant Smell, and, inftead of hurting, as moft Perfumes do, they cherifh and ftrengthen the Brain: Though the Tree is very large, it is covered with fo thick a Bark, that when the Brazilians have taken it off, a Tree as big as a Mar's Body is left no thicker than the Calf of his Leg. The Wood is very heavy, dry, and hard; it crackles much in the Fire, and fcarce raifes any Smoak when it is burned, becaufe it has fo little Moifture; there is no Pith in it, except in what comes from Fapon; and therefore it may be doubted whether this be really the fame kind of Wood or not.

That is held to be the beft which is thickeft, foundef, hardeft, and without any Bark fticking to it ; it ought likewife upon fplitting to turn from a pale to a deep red; and laftly, upon chewing the Chips of it, the beft Sort yields a fweet fugary Flavour. This Wood is put to various Ufes by the Turners, and takes a very good Pollifh; but it is principally employed in dying, in which it yields a very fine bright Red. It is from the Brazit Wood that one kind of Carmine is made, by beating it in a Mortar with Leaf-Gold, and fteeping it in White-Wine-Vinegar, and afterwards boiling it; when it yields a thick Scum, which, carefully taken off and dried, becomes, when reduced to a Powder, Carmine, but very far inferior to what is made by another Method, from Cochineal.

The next Captainfhip of Brazil, is that of the Bay Babia, as the Portugueze call it, or Bay of All Saints; which is about twelve Leagues over, but in feveral Places is fcarce navigable, on account of Sand-Banks and Sholes: There are in it feveral fmall Inands, on which the Portugueze have Tobacco and Sugar Plantations, and they have likewife very good Fifheries on the Coaft of thefe Inands, and on the Banks. I have an Account of a Voyage to Brazil by a French Gentleman, in the Year I717, which is very curious, and from which I fhall give the Reader fome very entertaining Particulars, which I do not remember to have met with any where elfe, or at leaft not in our Language; and becaufe I am not able to put them in a better Drefs, I will give them exactly in his Words.
"There is not a Place in the World, Cbina only ex"cepted, from whence I came, where there is fo much "Trouble to get on Shore, or to know how to act when " one is on Shore, as in Brazil. We came into this Bay " on the I6th of November; and when we were within a
"League of the City of St. Salvador, we were reftrained
" from proceeding any farther, by a Gun fired from a lit-
"s tle Fort ; upon which we came to an Anchor, and fent
" our Supercargo afhore in our Boat. He was a "s very fenfible Man, and withal had a great deal of "Gravity, a Quality of all others the moft neceffary, " for one who has any Bufinefs to tranfact with the Por-
"tugueze: As foon as he came afhore, he was conduct"s ed to an Audience of the Viceroy, who received him "s with a great deal of State; and yet fhewed him, af the
" fame Time, as much Civility as he could expect.
" He told his Excellency that he came on behalf of three
"French Ships homeward bound from the Eaft Indies,
"s that were in many refpects greatly diftreffed, and had "c no Hopes of performing their Voyage, but from his " affording them his Protection and Relief.
"The Viceroy continued for fome Minutes filene, 66 and then gave him his Anfwer to this Effect: That "s he was very forry for their Misfortune, becaufe " his Mafter's Orders were very precife againft admit"s ting any foreign Veffels into the Port; and that he " was the more concerned to hear that they were French, " becaufe it was chiefly on their Account that thefe Or" ders were given; becaufe feveral Veffels of their Na6. tion, that had been admitted into the Ports of that "Country upon the very fame Pretences; had carried "s on an illegal Trade, directly contrary to the King's "Orders, and had fhipped great Quantities of Tobacco. "He told them farther, that the King's Orders were to "f feize and confifcate without Diftinction, whatever





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## Chap. III. of BRAZIL by the PORTUGUEZE.

ss foreign Veffels entered that Port, unlefs it plainly "s appeared they were in fuch a Condition as not to be ss able to keep at Sea; that therefore they were to have
s6 twenty-four Hours given them to confider whether
os they would come and anchor under the Guns of the
${ }^{6}$ Fort in order to be examined, or to put to Sea with-
${ }^{66}$ out receiving any Relief at all. He added, that if the
${ }^{66}$ Cafe was fuch as our Agent reprefented it, he might
es very freely enter the Port; and, upon Examination,
© all the Care fhould be taken to affift and fupply him,
"s that he could defire; but that he would do well to
${ }^{6}$ s remember that the Portugueze were not to be impofed
© upon.
"s As our Ship was really in fuch a Condition that we
" had no Reafon to fear any Examination, we made
*Sail immediately on the return of our Supercargo, and
"s came to an Anchor under the Fort. The next Day the

* Judge came on board, attended by feveral Secretaries
sc and other Officers, all of them very grave fober-look-
os ing People, who examined every thing with all the
" Nicety and Strictnefs of an Inquifition. They called
" for our Journals, queftioned our Pilots, Mariners,
sc and even the Cabbin-Boys, particularly as to this
a Point, Whether we had not formed a Defign of touch-
" ing at Brazil before we were in fuch Diftrefs? They
sc all anfwered in the Negative ; but ftill we had fo lit-
s tle Hopes, that every one in the Ship, who had it in
" his Power, made them fome Prefent or other, which
* they took indeed, but fcarce gave us Thanks. At
" laft they took their Leaves, and fent fome Carpenters
s6 on board, to whom our Captains made fuch an Ap-
"plication, that they reported our Leaks to be fo
s dangerous, that the Crew were very much alarmed,
** and were afraid of finking before they got out of the
sc Ship.
"s As foon as this Report was made, we had Leave
se to go on Shore, which was refufed us before; and we
sc had alfo Leave given us to take Lodgings where we
sc thought fit in the City, but with ftrict Caution not to
" attempt any kind of Trade on Pain of forfeiting both
s Ship and Cargo. TheOfficers put on board the Veffel
st talked the fame Language at firft, but feeing the Im-
os preffion it made, and that our People were very exact
sc in that Particular, they were fo kind as to explain
os themfelves the third Day, telling us that this was all
" a Farce ; that the Judges themfelves knew it ; that
© they underftood by our Prefents, we were a good fort
st of People, and, that we hould have, every Night,
"Boats come off with all forts of Merchandize; and
" that they would take care we fhould run no fort of
"Rifk, either in buying or felling. The Boats came
* accordingly, and though at firft we were a little fuf-
" picious, yet in one Week's time their Language was
" perfectly underftood, and Trade went on brifkly every
${ }^{6}$ Evening, as foon as it was dark:
" We imagined there would be no Difficulty in pro-
" curing Carpenters and other Workmen, if we gave
si them good Wages, but we were miftaken; for none
*s of thefe People durft take our Money till they had
" Leave, and that Leave was not to be had but by dint
" 6 of Prefents; which being properly beftowed the Car-
" penters came on board and went to work. It is lite-
"s rally true in Brazil, that Money will do all Things;
${ }^{6}$ and that nothing is to be done without Money. We
" ftaid there four Months, and found few honeft Men
ss except the Viceroy.
${ }^{6}$ He was the firft that ever had that Title, all the "former Governors being called Captains-General ; s6 and his Title was not only higher, but his Power much
" greater than theirs; which was intended to redrefs the
" many Corruptions and Iniquities that had crept into
"s the Government. The Nobleman graced with thefe
"Honours, was the Count de Villaverda, one of the
«s greateft Families in Portugal, who had ferved as Ge-
" neral of Horfe in the lait War, and was in every re-
"f fect a Man of as much Worth and Honour as his
"s own, or any other Country, could boaft. He found it
*s very difficult to execute his Inftruetions, but he certainly
${ }_{6}^{6}$ fet all his People a good Example; for in the corruptelt
" Country in the World he behaved with the gfeatel
" Probity Man could do, and laboured all that was in
" his Power to prevent the bad Effects of a contrary
"Conduct in others. But it may be naturally expected
sf that I fhould give fome Account of this great City; " and I thall accordingly do it as exactly as I can :
"St. Salvador is fituated at the Entrance of the Bay of "s All Saints, and has a very fine Port, which might be "6 made ftill more commodious than it is, if Art and "Induftry gave a little Affiftance to Nature: The press fent Viceroy has attempted this, and it is moft certain "s that if they execute his Defign in its full Extent; "s the Harbour of St. Salvador will become the beft in © America.
"The City is divided into the Upper and the Lower:
"We will begin with the fecond, in which live all the
" Merchants, and People of Bufinefs; and perhaps
" there is not in the World a Place, for its Size, of "s greater Hurry or greater Trade: It lies at the Foot of "s a Hill which is not very high, but exceffively fteep.
"6 There is in it a royal Arfenal, befides the King's Ware-
's houfes and Magazines ; which are large, well filled;
" and kept in excellent Order. There is likewife a very
" fine Yard for building Ships; and it is very wonderful,
" that the Policy of the Portugueze; in this refpect, is
"s not imitated by other Nations that have Colonies in
" America; for Ships are not only built here; at a much
" eafier Rate than in Europe; but are likewife better, and "s more ferviceable, becaufe the Timber is excellent in " its Kind, and incorruptible in its Nature, fo that the
"Worms, which in the Mediterranean and the Weff Indies,
" make a fwift and certain Deftruction in all our
" Veffels, how well foever they may be fheathed, are " not able to penetrate thefe. The fame Thing is
" practifed in almoft all the other Parts of Brazil,
" which is certainly a very wife, and a very profitable Re"s gulation. And as, on the one hand, we may be
" very well furprized, that other Nations have not imi-
" tated the Portugueze in this refpect ${ }_{3}$ fo, on the other
" hand, there is no lefs Reafon to be aftonifhed; that a
" Nation fo prudent and politic in this Particular, fcarce " acts with common Senfe in any other.
"The upper Town is feated on the Summit of the " Mountain; the Houfes are large enough, and fome 's are pretty convenient; but the Inequality of the " Ground on which they ftand fpoils their Appearance, " ${ }^{6}$ and renders the Streets very difagreeable: The grand "Place, or greatSquare, is in the Middle of the Town; ${ }^{6}$ and the Viceroy's Palace, the Town-houfe, the Mint, "s and other public Buildings, occupy four Sides, " which are handfome enough, but have only this fingu" lar in them, that they are built of Stone brought from "Portugal, for in all this Country they have none fit for the " Purpofe: The Fefuits College is, beyond all Difpute, " the largeft, faireft, and moft finifhed Building in the © City, more efpecially the Sacrifty, which is lined " throughout with the moft beautiful Tortoife-fhell, " wrought and fixed together in the moft elegant "s manner, fo that nothing can be conceived more agree" able to the Eye, or more fatisfactory even to the " niceft Tafte : There are feveral other fine Churches; "s and that of the BenediEtine Abbey, which is now " building, will rival, if not exceed, the Church of the " Fefuits; but the Cathedral, which without doube " ought to be the nobleft Structure; and which really
"feems to be fo at a Diftance; is however far from ap
" pearing either neat or regular when one comes tơ 's examine it ; yet, if the Richnefs of Gilding may " entitle a Church to be thought fine, this muft be ac-
" knowledged to furpafs not only all the Churches here,
" but throughout the greateft Part of America.
"There is alfo amongft the Convents in this Capital, " one very remarkable of the Order of St. Clare, and s6 another, deftined to the Ufe of fuch young Girls as are "6 expofed and abandoned by their Parents. It is amaz" ing to fee how much thefe Foundlings are confidered " 6 in this Country; the Kings adopts them all, and the " Ladies of the firft Quality frequently take thern ${ }^{66}$ Home, when at a proper Age, and breed them up as
"s their own; which is certainly a very laudable Cha-
's rity; but is, in fome Cafes, attended with great In-
${ }^{6}$ conveniencies. The City of St. Salvador is the Seat
"c of an Archbifhopric, which is ufually filled by fome
ss Ecclefiaftic of the beft Family in Portugal, as well on
" Account of its large Revenue, as becaufe of the Share
" that Prelate has of the Government. The City is
«s much longer than it is broad, and, if we fpeak of it
"s only within the Walls, it is but fmall; but if we take
${ }^{6}$ in the Suburbs, it may pafs for a pretty large Place ;
s the Number of Houfes having been computed at two
" thoufand, and that Computation is, perhaps, rather "s below than above their real Number.
"The Viceroy has two Councils, one of Criminal, the "t other of Civil Affairs, in which he prefides ; but " Juftice goes on very nowly, and there is not a Coun-
"s try in the World where fo much Paper is blotted by
"s the Lawyers as here, before any final Judgment is
" obtained. In former times it was here as in the Spanifh
" Governments, the Captain-General durit not punifh,
${ }^{6}$ : much lefs put to Death, any Native of his Mafter's
" Dominions in Europe; but the prefent Viceroy has
" broke through this, and ventures to condemn Mur-
" derers and fuch like Criminals, to fuffer the Punifh-
${ }^{6}$. ments they deferve ; but the Proceedings are ftill fo
" now, and the Precautions taken fo many, that there
s\% is no fort of Danger of any Man's being fent to the
© Gallows there, before he very richly deferves it ; and
"s the only Scandal to the Government is, that the Road
"s thither is not quite fo much beaten as it ought to be; "6 for it would be certainly much better that five were "6 hanged every Year, than ten murdered with Impunity.
"The Commerce of Brazil is very confiderable, and "c the Luxury of the Inhabitants as great as can well be
" imagined. There is an annual Fleet comes from Por-
©s tugal with European Goods, configned by the Mer-
"' chants of Lifbon to their Factors here, where they "s never wait long for their Cargoes, which confift of
"Sugar, Tobacco, and Gold Dutt, all of which are
${ }^{6}$ commonly laid up in their Magazines ready againft
© 6 the Arrival of the Fleet, with the Contents of which
is they are alfo perfectly well acquainted ; fo that to
" land the Commodities of Europe, and to Thip thofe \&s of the Country, is almoft all they have to do. The
${ }^{6}$ Inhabitants may be divided properly enough into three
${ }^{6}$ Sorts of People, viz. Planters, Factors, and Mari-
${ }^{6} 6$ ners. The fortmer buy as many Slaves as they can
is employ in their Sugar and Tobacco Works, or in the
'6 Mines; and when the Lifbon Fleet comes they fhip
is their Commodities on board it, and receive an Equi-
©s valent in European Goods and Manufactures by the "' next Year's Fleet. The Factors keep Magazines of " 6 all Sorts of Goods that come from Portugal, with
is which they purchafe Sugar, Tobacco, and Gold, of
${ }_{4} 6$ fuch Planters as want an immediate Supply of the
"Things they deal in, without waiting for next Year's
\&Fleet. As for the fea-faring People, the chief of their
$\%$ Bufinefs confifts in making frequent Trips to the
"Coaft of Guinea to purchafe Slaves. I do not fpeak
"6 here either of the Lawyers or the Soldiers ; and my
$\leqslant$ Reafon for it is, they being generally either Planters 6\%. or Merchants.
«6 The Guinea Trade is very confiderable ; thofe em"s ployed in it from this City or Bay, bringing over " ufually twenty, or five and twenty thoufand Negroes ${ }^{6} 6$ every Year ; and of thefe, fifteen thoufand, at leaft,
${ }^{6}$ are difpofed of amongtt the Inhabitants of St. Salva-
${ }^{46}$ dor. There is not a Portugueze there, who has not,
"s at leaft, a dozen Blacks in his Service, and they very
is often employ them in fuch Offices as are equally con-
${ }^{66}$ trary to the Intereft of Religion, and of the State. They
"s arm, for Inftance, fuch of them as are clean-limbed
"s well-made Fellows, each with his Sword and Dagger ;
${ }^{66}$ and as they have a Sort of brutal Fiercenefs, which
"s fome mifcall Courage, they are capable of doing any
"s thing they are commanded, of what Kind foever;
"6 and, by this Means, they acquire fuch a Habit of
"s doing Mifchief, that they very frequently do it with-
"s out any Commands at all. There are alfo Abundance
"s of thefe Fellows that are free; that is to fay, have "s either obtained their Liberty, as a Reward of their "Services, or, have purchafed it with Money. It is "s really aftonifhing, all Things confidered, that fome " dreadful Revolution has not happened to the Portu"s gueze in this Country, from their weak and ill-judged. "I Indulgence for thefe Negroes, who are much more nu-
" merous, as well armed, and, if it be pofible, more
"s wicked than themfelves.
"It may feem ftrange that I fay this, but it will
"furely appear ftranger, when I affirm, that in faying
" this, I do not at all exceed the Truth. In fhort, the "far greater Part of the Portugueze fettled here, are
"Hypocrites in Points of Religion, and totally defti-
s tute of Morals; Thieves and Sharpers by Profeffion;
" and very frequently Murderers from Refentment.
" There is no Order, no Decency, no Obedience known
s amongtt them ; every Barber, Shoemaker, and Tay-
© lor, ftruts with his Sword and Dagger, and looks
" upon himfelf as equal to any Officer in the Colony, " becaufe his Face is of the fame Complexion. The
"s prefent Viceroy is fenfible of, and detefts, this Con" duct. When he firft came over he laboured to reform s it ; but Cuftom has fo ftrongly eftablinhed it, that hi"s therto his Labours have proved vain.
" Of late Years, and fince the Difcavery of the Mines,
" they have formed a kind of new Syftem of living,
" which fome Time or other will prove fatal to them ;
"for, inftead of cultivating their Plantations, they fend
" moft of their Slaves to the Mines, upon thefe Con-
6 ditions : Their Mafter finds them a Pound of Meal a
" Day, and if they eat any thing elfe they buy it them-
" felves ; in return, the Slave is bound to pay his Maf-
" ter daily fuch a Quantity of Gold; if he happens to get " more, he lays it by, to make up for Deficiencies, or,
" by living hard, he faves enough to purchafe his Free-
s dom. Thus the Mafters are at a kind of Certainty,
" with refpect to their Eftates; for fo many Slaves pro-
" duce fo much Money certain: But, in the mean
"Time, their Sugar and Tobacco is decaying; and, " which is much worfe, they are in Danger of wanting
" neceffary Subfiftence; for which they now depend
" chiefly upon the Fleets from Portugal; and perhaps " at Lifbon this may be looked upon as an Advan" tage, becaufe it is a very ftrong Tie upon the Co-
" lony; fince, if they do not continue good Subjects,
" they muit be content not to eat. As it is, indeed, few
"People live worfe, fince the greateft Part of their Vic-
" tuals is falt Meat, or dried Fifh, and all the Bread
"s they have is made of a powdered Root, fo that there " is fcarce a Country in Europe where a Man cannot live " better upon Half a Crown a Day, than he can in Bra" zil for twenty Shillings.
«. The Truth of the Matter is, that the People of "Brazil love Shew and Magnificence, fine Cloaths, " Jewels, and a large Train of Servants, better than " what we call Good-Living. Yet fome Feafts they " have, but Feafts that bring after them a long Train " of Fafts ; for every Man has his Guardian Saint, " upon whofe Annıverfary, perhaps, he fpends his " whole Year's Revenue, or, at leaft, the beft Part of s it, and never has a good Dinner afterwards, except at " his Neighbour's, upon the like Occafion. Yet there " are prodigious Sums of Gold pafs through thefe Peo" ples Hands, though undoubtedly they were much " happier before the Mines were difcovered, and would " be fo again, if there was not a Grain of Gold Duft c in the Colony. The Plate Fleet, this Year, from " Rio Faneiro, was faid to be worth thirty Millions, " that is, about a Million and an half of EnglighiMoney; " but the Fleet from the Bay carried but twenty-four ss thoufand Arobes of Sugar, whereas they had formerly " made fixty thoufand, and their Tobacco Trade decays in "Proportion: Yet, I believe, it may be doubted whe"s ther Portugal is much the richer for all this Gold, " fince the Englifo and Dutch furnifin all the Manufac" tures, or, at leat, the greateft Part of them that are "fent to Brazil; whereas, when they brought over «s only Sugar, Tobacco, Brazil-Wood, and other fuch-like
"Commo


## Chap.III. of BRAZIL by the PORTUGUEZE.

"Commodities ; they had confiderable Returns made "s them in Money.
"They feem to be ftill under great Apprehenfions
"s of being, fome Time or other, attacked in this Coun-
" try, againft which they are provided pretty effectu-
"c ally, fince there are very few Colonies better fortified,
" in all refpects, than this, as will appear from the
"Account I am going to give you of their Works for
"the Security of the Bay. In the firft Place, they
${ }^{\text {sc }}$ have at Point St. Antomio a great fquare Fort, and
"below it a fmaller, with ten large Pieces of Cannon,
ec which two Fortreffes command the Mouth of the
"Bay. They are likewife tracing Ground for a new
"Fort, which is to be called The Cafle of St. Peter,
"c and, when built, will be very ftrong. In the Middle
os of the Harbour they have a large Fortrefs, which of
" late they have repaired, and have now augmented.
*The Arfenal is flanked by two ftrong Baftions, which
"command the whole Port. On the other Side, between
"Monferat and this City, they have erected a fine Ci-
"tadel, which is a regular Square, admirably fortified
is in every refpect, and well furnifhed with Brafs Ar-
" tillery. At the Point of Monferat again, they have a
" fmall, but ftrong Fort, with twelve Pieces of heavy
sc Cannon. There are yet two other Fortreffes to be
" mentioned, one between St. Antonio and the City,
"s where they make their Gunpowder, and the other the
"Powder Warehoufe, which lies on the other Side of
"the City, and commands a large artificial Lake made
" by the Dutch; fo that the City of St.Salvador is cover-
"ed by the Sea on one Side, and by the Lake on the
"c other. The Garrifon confifts of two Regiments of
© Foot, three Regiments of Militia, and a Regiment
"s of free Negroes, befides fome Cavalry which the
" Viceroy keeps up to reftrain the Banditti, who are
"very troublefome and do a great deal of Mifchief in
${ }^{68}$ the diftant Parts of the Colony.
"After having thus related to you the principal things
${ }^{\text {sf }}$ I have feen here, though with little Method, yet

* with much Truth, I ought now to conclude; but as
"c there are ftill fome things that have efcaped my Pen,
"t though not my Obfervation, I think it may not be
" amifs to add them here, though without much Or-
"der, rather than omit them entirely; the rather as
" they will contribute to explain fome Paffages that have
"gone before, and render the whole of my Account
" more perfect. The better Sort of People in St. Sal-
"vador very much refemble the Cbinefe, that is to fay,
"* they are exceffively civil and complaifant to Strangers,
" with a View to obtain from them Prefents and Gra-
"c tifications of much higher Value than the Trifles they
" beftow; and if their Expectations on this head are
" not anfwered, they never fail to give Strangers as
" flrong Proofs of Refentment at the End of their Ac-
"quaintance, as they did of their Politenefs at the Be-
" ginning. Their Forces in Brazil are, at prefent,
"s much fuperior to any thing that can be fent againft
${ }^{\circ}$ " them ; and.what I take to be the chief of their Strength
${ }^{\text {sc }}$ is, their being ufed and feafoned to the Country; fo
" that I am fully perfuaded that an Attempt to difpoffefs
" them by any Nation except one, would be vain and
" fruitlefs, and ferve only to create a valt Expence of
"Blood and Treafure to no end or purpofe: But for ali
" this, it is very certain that either Privateers or f fmall
"Squadrons of Men of War might diffrefs them very
" much upon their Coafts, and, perhaps, enrich them-
"felves confiderably, by taking fome of their Maritime
* Places.
" At the very Time I was there a Pirate did a great
${ }^{86}$ deal of Miifchief, and took abundance of Ships with
"Impunity. The Crew, as is ufual in fuch Veffels,
" was compofed of People of all Nations; and it was
"commanded by a Spaniard from the Inand of St.
${ }^{\text {Es }}$ Domingo. The Force of this Ship was far from being
" great; for, according to the Accounts the Portugueze
"gave of her, he carried but thirty Guns, and her
${ }^{6}$ "Crew confifted but of three hundred Men; yet the
"6 whole City of St. Salvador was alarmed at the Re-
" port; and though the Viceroy immediately equip-
"6 ped a fine new Frigate, which he had caufed to be Vol. II. Numb. 8 s.
" built there, yet fhe was manned fo flowity, that the "Pirate had time enough to bear away with her Prizes. "In a Word, there is nothing of the old Spirit and "Bravery of the Portugueze Nation to be feen here; but, sc on the contrary, the Pcople are all lazy, indolent, sc and quite given up to their Pleafures; this I take to " be owing to their being ferved by Negroc Slaves; for " the'Servility of thefe poor Creatures makes their Maf" ters infolent; and moft of them keeping Seraglios "s of black Women, become enervate in their Bodies, is and lofe all Firmnefs and Grandeur of Mind; a thing " which as it occurred to me from Experience, fo I be " lieve it will appear yery natural to you, from your " own good Senfe and thorough Knowledge of human " Nature.
" Upon the whole, therefore, I am inclined to believe "that, unlefs by a conftant Succeffion of wife and good " Governors, the Manners of the Inhabitants are chang" ed, and their ill Cuftoms abolifhed, there will, fome " time or other, either from their Want of Provifions, "the Infolence of the Negroes, or fome fuch, like Caufe, " happen an Infurrection or Revolution, which will "change the Face of Affairs here; for that a Country, "where the Inhabitants are plunged into Luxury and "Corruption, fhould enjoy, for a long feries of Years, "uninterrupted Tranquility, is contrary to all Maxims " of Policy; and, indeed, that private Crimes and Public " Peace fhould conftantly dwell together, is not very "reconcileable to Common-Senfe." Thus far my Author, to whofe Account I fhall prefume to add a few Particulars that I have collected elfewhere.
The City of St. Salvador lies in the Latitude of $14^{\circ}$ South, and is at prefent the Centre of the Portugueze Trade in this Part of the World. Authors differ very much in the Accounts they give us of the Fleets fent hither annually from Liflon; for fome make them double what others report them; but the Reafon of this is, that the one fpeak of the whole Brazil Fleet, which generally affemble in the Bay of All Saints, in order to return together to Europe; and the other of the Fleet from Li/bon, exprefly deftined for the Bay, which may be about thirty Sail efcorted by two Men of War, and. which ufually fail about March.

The Commodities they carry are Wine, Brandies, Meal, or Flower; Oil, Cheefe, Cloths, Stuffs, Linnen, Iron rough and wrought; Paper, all kinds of Kitchen Utenfils, Laces, and moft kinds of Apparel. On the other hand, they bring from thence the beft Tobacco in Brazil, which is fo much efteemed in Europe; Sugar, Indigo, Balfom Copahu, or Copaiva, Ipecacuanha, Pareira Brava, Cinnamon, long Pepper, Ginger, Woods for dying, and fome for inlaying; Ambergreafe, and other rich Drugs and Perfumes; befides thefe they alfo export from hence raw Hides, Train-Oil, and WhaleFins, abundance of thefe Creatures being taken upon this Court, and, for this forty Years latt paft, Gold, Amethyfts, and Diamonds. There are likewife fome Silver Mines in Brazil, which, though not wrought to fuch Profit as to allow the exporting much of this Metal to Portugal, yet furnifhed fufficient for home Circulation; and of this Silver that Money is coined at St. Salvador, which is current through the whole Colony; and which bears on one Side the Arms of Portugal, and on the other a Crofs charged with a Sphere, with the following Motto: Under tbis Sign will I ftand.

All the reft of the Captainflips which iie farther to the South, carry on their Trade by the Rio Faneiro, fo called for its having been difcovered in the Month of Fanuary 1515 ; and which, from being fcarce known to, is at prefent become one of the moft famous and confiderable Rivers in, the World. The Banks of it are as beautiful and pleafant as can be imagined; the Climate fine; the Soil extremely fertile, producing Sugar, Indigo, Tobacco, and Cotton, all in very great Perfection. It has been likewife found, that European Corn will grow here with very little Trouble, and to great Perfection ; but, for the Reafons already affigned, this, and all other Improvements, have been difregarded, tho', independent of the Gold Mines which have been difcovered in this and the neighbouring Captainfhips of $S t$.

Bbb
Vincent:

Vincent, this might be confidered as the very richeft Part of Brazil. The Portugueze that are fettled here are quite a different Sort of People from thofe in the Bay of All Saints; for they are active, induftrious, well inclined to Foreigners, and fuffer the Indians, who live amongft them, to enjoy as much Freedom as themfelves, which renders the Country a perfect Paradife ; and it is not eafy to imagine, what vaft Cargoes were brought from the Rio faneiro before the Gold Mines in that Country were difcovered.

The City of St. Sebaftian, which is the Capital of this Country, ftands very commodiouny in 23 Degrees of South Latitude, on the Weft Side of the River, about two Leagues from the Sea. This City, which is very well fortified, is the Seat of a Portugueze Governor, and a Bifhop's See, Suffragan to the Archbifhop of St. Salvador; there are likewife feveral other confiderable Towns on the Rio Faneiro, all of which have a large Share of Trade, as may appear from the Number of Ships, which compofe the Fleet fent hither annualiy from Portugal, which confifts of between twenty and thirty Sail of Veffels, of 500 Tons Burden, which are ufually efcorted by two Men of War. The Commodities brought from hence are, generally fpeaking, the fame with thofe brought from the Bay of All-Saints, Diamonds only excepted. After faying this, it may be naturally expected that we fhould give the Reader fome Account of the Diamond Mines here; which, however, is a Thing very difficult to do, there being very little known of them, with any Degree of Certainty ; but the few Circumftances that we have been able to draw together, in relation to this important Article, are thefe.

It is about forty Years ago, that fome precious Stones were brought to the City of St. Sebaftian, taken out of a fimall River lying Weftward of that City, which were, at firft, judged to be very fine Pebbles; but it was not fo foon that they were brought over to Europe. About the Clofe of the laft general War thefe fine Pebbles were found in greater Quantities; and we are told, that fome rich Planters began to employ their Slaves in digging the black heavy Earth, on the Sides of the Mountain, from whence this River defcended, and then thefe Stones were found in greater Plenty; fome of them were very large, but moft of them of a black or yellowifh Caft, which hurt their Luftre, and funk their Value; yet notwithftanding this, many of the yellow Stones were brought to Lifbon, and fold for Topazes.

Afterwards, the Crown of Portugal interpofed, and the working of thefe Mines was forbidden; which, however, did not hinder their coming in confiderable Quantities; for fometimes it was faid, they were found in this or that River, and not dug out of any Mine; fometimes they had other Names given them, and many of them were fent to St. Salvador, and from thence exported to Europe, under a Notion of their coming by the Goa Fleet from the Eaft-Indies. This involuntary Fraud raifed their Value ; and, at laft, the Crown of Portugal became convinced, that fuch as pretended to great Skill in Stones had deceived them ; and that fome of thefe Brazil Diamonds were fcarce to be diftinguifhed from Oriental Stones: Upon this they altered their Meafures, and it was permitted to fend over rough Diamonds in the Rio Faneiro Fleet, under certain Reftrictions; which Licence making the Value of thefe Jewels ftill more and more apparent, the King of Portugal refolved to put this Trade under a new Regulation; which, as far as I know, has fubfifted ever fince. This new Order took Place in the Year 1740, when his Portugueze Majefty let thefe Mines to a Company at Rio Janeiro, for an ammul Rent of one hundred thirty eight thoufand Crufades, which is twenty fix thoufand Pounds of our Money, upon Condition, that they employed no more than fix hundred Slaves at thefe Mines; which Condition plainly proves, that they are far greater and more con-. fiderable than they have generally been efteemed to be.
It is very probable, that the coming of thefe Stones into Europe may fink the Price of Diamonds confiderably; but it mutt, at the fame Time, be allowed, that it cannot but prove highly advantageous to the Portugueze, fince it will operate very effectually in their Favour, in
regard to the Balance of Trade; for if they difpofe of there Stones to any Nation, upon whom they have already a Balance, they mut bring Money into the Kingdom ; and if, on the other Hand, they can find a way to fell them, either to us, or to the Dutch, this will leffen the Balance in our Favour, and prevent the Exportation of Gold, which muft have been otherwife fent abroad, to pay that Balance; fo that, take it either Way, the Difcovery of thefe Diamond Mines, is of very high Confequence, and, if wifely managed, may prove of prodigious Advantage to this Nation.

But lat us now proceed to what little remains of the Hiftory of this valuable Colony. Southward from the Captainfhip of Rio Janeiro lies the Captainhip of St. Vincent, which I take to be the richeft Country in Bra$z i l$, perhaps in all South America; and therefore I hall defcribe it more particularly. It is bounded on the North by the Captainfhip of Rio Faneiro; on the Eaft by the Ocean ; on the South by the new Captainfhip, or that ftiled Del Rey; and on the Weft by the Mountains of la Plata and Countries inhabited by various favage Nations: It extends from the Latitude of 22 Degrees to 27 Degrees South; and is in length from North to South, about three hundred Miles, and in Breadth, from Eaft to Weft, in fome Places, near one hundred and eighty Miles, but the greateft Part of it is not above half fo broad.
The Town of St. Vincent is fituated on a very fine Bay of the Atlantic Ocean, or, as fome of the beft Maps I have feen reprefent it, on a kind of Peninfula, very well fortified; a little to the North-weft lies the Town of Santos, which fome look upon to be the Capital of the Province ; and which, as I have found, in the Memoirs of a Spanifh Traveller, has as fine a Port as any in the Weft Indies, capable of holding the largeft Ships, and which might be fortified in fuch a Manner, as to be able to refift any Strength, that either in this Part of the World, or from Europe, could be brought againft it. The fame Writer, who was in thefe Parts, towards the End of the laft Century, has given us a very full Account of them, with which I was furnifhed by an ingenious Gentleman, who thought it might be of ufe to me in the Hiftory of Spanifb America, which I was then writing, and which I fhall infert here, as in its proper Place; the rather, becaufe I think there is no Part of the World lefs known, or which, therefore, it can be more agreeable to the inquifitive Perufer to find accurately defcribed.
"The Portugueze, fays my Author, had not fhewn "s any great Concern, either for extending or improving " their Territories in Brazil after the Expulfion of the " Dutch, till a certain Statefman advifed Don Pedro, about " the Year 1685 , to think of improving his American "Dominions ; and more efpecially, the two Extremi"s ties of Brazil. That Minifter fuggefted, that the Cliss mate, at the Bay of Aill Saints, would fruftrate what" ever Endeavours might be ufed to render the People "s active and induftrious; but that it was otherwife, "s both with the northern and fouthern Extremities of "Brazil; where a wife Government, and a little En"couragement, might render the Country of much " greater Advantage to the Crown of Portugal, than " hitherto it had been. This Advice was received and "followed; which gave Birth, on one Hand, to the " eftablifhing the Portugueze Forts and Settlements to" wards the River of Amazons; and on the other, to " 6 the Improvement of the new Colony at Santos, which " was then but very fmall.
" The Miethod taken for this Purpofe was fingular "s enough, moft of the Perfons made Choice of were of "s the mix'd Herd, or, as the Portugueze call them, "Meftices, who married Brazilian Women ; and the " Perfon intrufted with the Government of thefe new " Planters, were Priefts and Monks; but they were " fent exprelly from Portugai, and Care was taken that "s they fhould be fit for the Purpofe. The Captain"General of Brazil, and all the Officers in the fou"s thern Captainfhips, had Orders to treat thefe People "6 kindly, and to give them no Difturbance in their "Meafures. It very foon appeared, by the Effects,
"s that this Plan was very wifely concerted; for they "s multiplied prodigioufly, and, in the Space of about "s fifteen Years, the Priefts added feveral hundreds of
" Families to their Colony; extending Weftward four-
" fcore, or one hundred, Miles farther than the Por-
"s tugueze had any Settlements before that Time. By
" Degrees they purchafed Slaves, more efpecially the
"Ecclefiatics, whom they employed in the Silver
" Mines; and, treating the Negroes better than mort of
"s their Neighbours, they foon became very rich; fo
" that feveral Parifh Priefts, in the Captainfhip of St.
" Vincent, were worth from ten to fifty thoufand Cru-
"fades; that is, from fifteen hundred to eight thou-
" fand Pounds apiece.
"They paid the King's Fifth very regularly, and ${ }^{66}$ this was the beginning of the Riches drawn from this
" Part of the World. But when it was once known,
"s that fo much Wealth was to be had in thefe hitherto
${ }^{6}$ uncultivated Regions, there began very foon to refort
ss thither abundance of Adventurers, of all Countries,
${ }^{6} 6$ and of all Characters; when I fay of all Countries,
is I mean Spaniards, as well as Portugueze, free Negroes,
" Mulattoes, and all the different Mixtures that are to be
"s met with in Brazil, down to the Carribocos, who are
"s the Offspring of Brazilian Savages, by Negroe Wo-
"s men; and by different Characters, I mean Monks as
" well as Laymen, Soldiers, Mechanics, broken Planters;
"s and, in fhort, all that Sort of Men, who are ready to
"s go any where, or to do any thing to get a I iving. As
"s thefe were quite a different Race from thofe of the
"s new Colony before-mentioned, it is not to be fup-
"s pofed that they could dwell together, more efpecially
sc as the former were the quieteft, and moft fimple; the
"s latter the moft riotous and turbulent People in the
© World.
" Thefe Adventurers, therefore, took care to look "c out for a new Settlement, and they found one of the "s propereft Places in the World for their Reception, at ss no great Diftance. This was the thick and vaft Foreft "s of Parnabaccaba, which overfpread all the Mountains is at the Back of this Captainfhip, and in which hitherto "s none but wild Beafts took up their Dwelling. They
cs foon cleared a Part of this Wildernefs for their Habi-
© tation, in which they eftablifhed not only a new
" Town, which they called San Paulo, but a new Re-
"s public alfo, in which they lived after the Manner they
"s liked beft. At firft this was overlooked, becaufe the
"Country was judged of no great Value, and the adja-
"cent Captainfhips were very well pleafed to be rid of
's thofe Sort ofFolk, who reforted thither. In the Space,
"c however, of a very few Years, they grew too ftrong
" to be dealt with; for, receiving, as they did, all Sorts
ss of People, they quickly increafed from two or three © hundred, to as many thoufand, Men; and being a
"s bold, hardy, enterprizing, and daring Crew, the Go-
"s vernors knew not how to deal with them. In the
ss firft Place, they took care to fortify the Avenues to
© their Territory, which were naturally ftrong; and
©s they feldom ventured abroad, but in Bodies of four-
s fcore, or one hundred, Men, and in fuch Parties
ss they frequently traverfed the whole Extent of Brazil.
sc Thefe were the People who firt difcovered and wrought
"s the Gold Mines, which muft be exceffively rich, fince
s they were able to obtain fuch vaft Quantities of Metal,
ss without any of thofe Affiftances which the Spaniards
"s have in their Settlements in Cbili. As this required,
"s however, a great Number of Hands, they feized
" upon all the ftraggling Indians and Negroes they could
" meet with, and compelled them to undergo fuch
" Fatigues as they thought proper.
"This new and extraordinary Commonwealth was " denominated, from the Place of their Denomination,
"Paulits, and they would not fuffer any of the Por-
" tugueze Officers to enter their Territories; yet they ac-
" knowledged the Sovereignty of the Crown of Portugal,
"s and paid regularly what they faid was the Fifth of
" the Gold they obtained; which, in the Year 1691,
${ }^{66}$ amounted to one thoufand Marks, or eight thoufand
" Ounces; which fhews, that at that time they drew an-
" nually from the Rivers and Mountains in their Poffef-
" fron, forty thoufand Ounces of Gold; they took cares "6 however, every time they paid the Tribute, to de"clare, they did it freely, and of their own Accord, "s out of Refpect to the Crown of Portugal, and not " from any fort of Fear or Senfe of Obligation. The "Tyianny of the Governors of Brazil, and the Op: " preffion of the Spanifh Governors in the adjacent Pro-
" vinces, furnifhed this new Stare with abundance of
" Members, fo that at laft it became a very difficult
"s thing to get Admittance amongft them, and the Me -
" thod in this Refpect was fingular enough to deferve
" Notice.
"s They obliged fuch as prefented themfelves upon their " Frontiers, which they never fuffered any Stranger to " enter, to fubmit to a very firict Examination, that
"s they might know whether they were fit for their Com" munity, and be fure they were not Spies, or Perfons " who intended to betray them ; upon the bare Sufpi"s cion of which they made no Scruple of beating their " Brains out: But if, upon this Examination, they judg" ed they might prove ufeful Members; they obliged " them to bring in two Slaves for their Support ; affign"s ing them a Dwelling and Plantation, by which they "c commenced Paulifts, and were to continue fo to the " End of their Lives; for any Attempt to defert was "s punifhed with Death without Mercy. They made no " Exception of Country or Complexion; a Savage was as "s welcome to them as a European; and every Man after " his Admiffion was at liberty to lead what kind of Life "" he liked beft, provided he did not difturb the Peace " of the Society. The Jefuits of Paraguay, either out: "s of Concern for the Souls of thefe People, or moved by "s the Report of their great Riches, made feveral At" tempts to gain Admittance anongtt them, but to no " fort of Purpofe ; yet they lived upon very fair Terms " with this ftrange Society; and the Portugueze fhrewd" ly fufpected, that the reverend Fathers furnifhed them " with Fire-Arms and Ammunition, becaufe they knew " not how they could be furnifhed any other way."

Our Author proceeds no farther, and therefore it is impoflible to fay when or how this little Republic was fubverted; but it is certain, that all this Country is now in the Hands of the Portugueze, and as much under the Obedience of the King of Portugal as any other Part of Brazil; but the City of St. Paul is ftill looked upon as the Centre of the Mines, and a Garrifon is maintained there, for their Security. We know not, however, in what manner the Gold is wrought or refined there ; but, in all Probability, their chief Works are Lavadero's, which have been largely defcribed in the firft Volume, fince we do not hear of their ufing Quickfilver, as the Spaniards do; but it is very certain, that they are much increafed in Value, fince the King of Portugal's Fifth amounts very commonly to one hundred and fifty thoufand Pounds per Annum : And it appears by the lateft Accounts, that thefe Mines are continually improving.

The only Captainfhip to the Southward of that of St. Vincent, is that of del Rey, extending from the Latitude of 28 to 34 Degrees, 30 Minutes, South, being about. four hundred Miles in Length, but not above one hundred broad in any Part of it. The Country is fruitful and pleafant ; but the Portugueze abfolutely neglected it till the Difcovery of the Mines of St. Vincent put them upon planting and fecuring it, by erecting feveral Forts on the North-fide the River la Plata, to which the Spaniards formerly pretended, and upon which they are fill fuppofed to caft a jealous Eye. The Country in this Province is as pleafant and fruitful as any in Brazil, and as capable of Improvement; but as it has not been fo long inhabited as the other Captainfhips, it is far from being thoroughly peopled. 'There are only a few Villages upons the Sea Coait, and fome Fortreffes on the River of Plate.

The chief Advantage which the Portugueze draw as prefent from this Province, is a kind of fmuggling Trade, which they carry on with the Spaniards, whom they furnifh with Rum and Tobacco of their own Growth, and with Wines, Brandy, Cloaths, Silks, and Linnens from Europe, which occafions Quarrels and Difputes between the two Nations, though in reality the true Ground of their

Contentions, is the Thirft of Gold in both Parties, and the Defire that each has of becoming fole Poffeffors of that large Ridge of Mountains which are the Weftern Boundaries of this Province and that of St. Vincent, and are fuppofed to be full of Mines. Some fpeculative Politicians have infinuated, that it is not impofible that the Spaniards may, fome time or other, carry their Point; but if they do they mutt begin with reducing the Paraguay Indians, who are at prefent fubject only to the Fefuits; for otherwife it is very certain, that they cannot taife Men enough to give the Portugueze any Uneafinefs, who, though they have not Poople to fpare for fettling this laft Diftrict in Brazil, have however fuch Numbers in the adjacent Captainfhip of St. Vincent, as would very foon repel any Invafion from their Neighbours, who, after all, it is very certain, are on this Side rather weaker than themfelves. So that Struggles of this Nature if ever this fhould happen, may be reputed at a great Diftance, and if the Portugueze were as free from any Apprehenfions of inteftine Diforders, it might be affirmed that fcarce any Colony is more fecure than that of Brazit.
17. Thus we have given the Reader, according to our Promife, a full and methodical Hiftory of this Country, from the very firf Difcovery thereof to this Day; that is, for upwards of two hundred Years; and have Shewn by what Methods it was firf peopled, from a Country fcarce equal in extent to one of its Captainfhips ; how the new Planters grew exceffively rich; and how the Envy of the French brought them to attempt an Eftablinhment on the fame Coaft, with all other Tranfactions relative to this Colony; fo that, what we have to fay by way of Remarks, will be but very fhort; but we hope, notwithStanding that, they will afford the Reader both Pleafure and Profit. When the Spirit of Trade and Difcovery, which exerted itfelf in Portugal in the fifteenth Century, firft appeared, the Crown made no other ufe of its Prerogative, than to point out, proportion, and procure, furitable Rewards for fuch as diftinguifhed themfelves in promoting the public Intereft ; and then every Enterprize was carried on with Vigour, every Expedition was attended with Succefs. The little Country of Portugal, which had hitherto made fo inconfiderable a Figure among the Kingdoms of Europe, began to take the Lead of them all; and, from creeping along the Coarts of Africa with a few little Veffels, her Fleets began to ftretch to the Eaft Indies, and to embrace that Trade which was the Object of Alexander's Ambition. The Eaft Indies, by the Rout of the Cape of Good Hope, was their proper Difcovery; and, though Columbus had a little the Start of them, yet the finding and fettling of Brazil plainly proves that America could not have lain long hid from their Refearches. The Fruit of thefe great Difcoveries and Conquefts, was a prodigious Trade, immenfe Riches, and an amazing naval Power, all deduced from a right turn in the Government, which eftablifhed its Power in the Extention of that of its Subjects, without exerting a tyrannical Authority over them. This created Fleets, Armies, and a Dominion fuperior to any thing the Europeans had enjoyed, from the Deftruction of the Roman Empire. But as a true and laudable Ambition raifed the Portugueze to fuch a Height, a falfe and baftard Ambition made way for their Ruin. Sebafiian King of Portugal was a Hero, he had all the Virtues incident to that Character; but they took a wrong Turn: He embarked the whole Force of Portugal in a War upon the Continent for his own Glory, and to ferve no national Purpofe whatfoever; there he perifhed, and all his Army with him; which, in iffelf, was a great Misfortune to his Subjects, but in its Confequences a much greater; for this threw them under the Dominion of Spain, which, as we have abundantly fhewn in the foregoing Section, was the greateft Mifchief that could befal them; for, after this, there appeared no public Spirit in the Government; all their Conquefts in the Eaft-Indies were either given to Men who had an Intereft at the Court of Spain, or to fuch as that Court defired to get out of their Way.

There was no longer any Spirit of Virtue, Generofity, or Concern for public Good, either left or encouraged;
the enriching of private Families took Place of this: and, while a few of thefe carried their Point, the Dutch ftript them of their Empire in the Eaft Indies, and bid fair for making themfelves Mafters of Brazil; which, if they had, Portugal had remained a Province of Spaitr, and not a very confiderable Province reither. When the Portugueze recovered their former Government, we fee they recovered Spirit enough to preferve Brazil; but; fince that Time, the Court has been infected with the Spanifb Policy; and, the Defire of extending their royal Power has, in a great Meafure, extinguifhed that Spirit which once made them a great People. But, to confine our Reflections to Brazil, the great Point in the Portiigueze Councils at prefent is, to fecure this Trade, or at leaft the Profits of it, to the Crown; in order to which the feveral Fleets deftined for Paraiba, Fernambuca, the Bay of All Saints, and Rio Faneiro, fail as regularly as the Spanifb Galleons, and in the very fame Manner. If this Trade had been left more open, the Number of Ships would have been vaftly greater, and there would have been no need of Men of War to efcort them, or of another Squadron being fent to look out for, and bring them home, as is at prefent the Cafe every Year, and yet the Algerines frequently pick up fome. This Method is the laft dying Effort of a maritime Power; Convoys and Efcorts are pitiful things; the Flag of a maritime Power ought to be a fufficient Protection, and no Nation ought to be efteemed fo that fuffers another to infult a Cock-boat.

Yet all this Policy is far from producing mighty things, as we fhall fee from a few Examples; Brazil Wood is now a royal Commodity, that is to fay, it is fold for the Advantage of the Crown only; and it produces about 100000 Crufades, which is fomething better than 15000 Pound, annually. We have already feen what the Diamond-Farm brings in; and take the whole of the King's Fifth from the Gold Mines, and it will never be found to exceed half a Million of our Money: To remedy thefe Mifchiefs, they had recourfe to Methods that increafe them ; for they have fet up feveral Companies for the doing what might be better done without any Company at all: For inftance, they have an African Company for fupplying Slaves at Rio Faneiro, a Company to manage the Mines, and an Eaft India Company, now they have almoft loft the Trade to the Eaft Indies. But if, inftead of thefe Schemes, they would redrefs the Grievances of their Subjects in Brazil, encourage Plantations rather than Mines, open their Ports to all Nations, and allow of a free Trade thither from Portugal; inftead of fewer than one hundred Ships that are now annually employed in that Trade, they would very foon have many hundreds, and Brazil would quickly have ten times as many Inhabitants as at prefent; confequently the Country would be better cultivated, and their Dominions more extended, which would produce a much larger Revenue to the Crown than it enjoys at prefent.

There was, indeed, a Project of quite another kind fet on Foot for the Improvement, as they call it, of this Trade in Portugal, of which I fhall give a very fhort Account. In the Year i 709 the King of Portugal, perceiving that the vaft quantities of Gold that came from Brazil did but juft touch at Liflon, and then travelled over all the Countries of Europe, directed this Matter to be very feriounly examined in his Council: Suppofing that if a Method could be found out to prevent this Gold from ftraying, the Bufinefs would be done, and himfelf become, at once, the richeft Prince in Europe. His Council accordingly examined this Point very carefully, and they reported that the Englifh and Dutch ran away with all the Gold, in Confequence of their furnifhing the Goods and Manufactures that were fent to Brazil; they therefore propofed, that the ufing thefe Goods, and the wearing thefe Manufactures, fhould be prohibited in tha Colony; and that the People fhould be content with what could be fent them from Poriugal. This was confidered as a great Stroke of Policy, and was on the very Point of being put in Execution, when it was prevented by the following Method:

The famous Lord Galway was then there on behalf of
this Nation, and had the Confidence of the King, of whom he demanded a particular Audience upon this Occafion, at which he delivered himfelf in the following Manner: "s Your Majefty cannot be fufficiently commended is for that fteady Attention which you have always fhewn is to the Affairs of your Government, and the Pains you " have lately beftowed in examining into the Ballance of "Trade, is a new Proof of that Merit which would " entitle you to the Crown, had it not defcended to "y you from a long and glorious Line of Royal An"ceftors. But permit me, Sire, to obferve, that there is "s a greater King, one by whom all Kings reign, and "whofe Providence is over all his Works. According
"to his Diftribution of things, Riches belong to fome
" Nations, and Induftry to others ; and by this Means "s the Liberality of Heaven is made equal to all. Vain,
"Sire, are all human Councils when oppofed to his Wif-
" dom, and feeble the Efforts even of royal Power, "s when directed to crofs his Will. You have forbid " Gold to be exported out of your Dominions, and you "s would willingly enforce this Prohibition, but the thing " 6 is impracticable. You may reftrain your Subjects it " is true, but you cannot fet Bounds to their Neceffities. "But fay that this was poffible; fuppofe you could de"s" feat the Induftry of the northern Nations, what would " be the Confequence? Their Hufbandmen, Grafiers, *Weavers, and all that infinite Train of Manufacturers, "s that now labour quietly at home to cloath and feec " your Subjects, would then turn Soldiers; and, inftead " of feeing their Merchantmen in the River of Lifbon, " you would hear of their Fleets conveying them to " Brazil, to fetch much more of that Gold than you " now fetch for them. Befides, Sire, if they are Gainers " by your Trade, they become thereby the natural Gua" rantees of your Dominions: It is not their Treaties "s only, but their Interefts that bind them to your Ser"s vice. You have potent Enemies, and you require "s powerful Friends. The Ambition of France knows no «Bounds: The Pride of Spain will teach her to keep " up a perpetual Claim to your Territories and Crown : " You can have no Recourfe to fruftrate the Views, and ss to defeat the Endeavours, of thofe Potentates, but to the " maritime Powers; and therefore let me befeech your - Majefty to confider, that every Project to diftrefs them, "s is in Effect a Scheme to deftroy yourfelf." This Speech had the defrred Effect; the intended Prohibition was laid afide, and the Englifh Nation has reaped the Benefit of this Trade ever fince. I came to the Know-
ledge of this Fact, which is very imperfectly related by a French Author, by an Accident; and I thought it my Duty, and a Piece of Juftice owing to his Lordfhip's Memory, to relate it fully and fairly, as I have done; and now I fhall take leave of this Subject, in order to give a fhort, but diftinct Account of our own Difcoveries in America, according to what I propofed at the Beginning of this Chapter.

The Labour of collecting thefe is great; that of digefting them into Order ftill greater ; and the reducing the Subitance of large Books into fmall Sections greateft of all : But the Encouragement I have hicherto received by the kind Entertainment of my Writings, and the many friendly Communications that I have met with, and to which their Merit is chiefly owing, will enable me, I doubt not, to go through the reft of this large Tafk, with as much Succefs as I have hitherto done. The Reputation of doing this is the chief Reward I have in View, becaufe I am fatisfied that a Collection of Voyages like theie, where things are regularly connected, and the Subjects treated in their full Extent, will be of conftant Service, as they have been hitherto one of the chief things wanting towards forming a Compleat Body of Hiftory. We have, indeed, very large Collections of Materials in feveral Languages; but then, almoft all Nations have produced Writers extremely partial to themfelves, and our own amongft the reft; but the Bufinefs is to purge thefe partial Relations, to free them from trivial Circumftances and needlefs Particulars, fo as to bring the Knowledge they convey within a reafonable Compais, that it may be both eafily read and eafily underftood, which is what we have endeavoured in the former Sections, and fhall ftudy to perform in what follows. As for large and entire Hiftories of Colonies, they are not to be expected here, as being frequent enough already, and therefore the lefs neceffary, and requiring, beides, much more Room than we can fpare. But in the laft Book of this Collection, we fhall infert fome curious Englifh Voyages, which will fupply the Reader with a full Account of the Actions of thofe great Men of this Inand, whom we are now to compare with thofe Heroes of other Climates, that have been already recorded; and when we have paid that juft Tribute of Praife that is due to their Memories, we fhall proceed in like Manner to a fuccinct Hiftory of the French and Dutch Settlements, which will effectually compleat the View we promifed to give of America, and make the $W e \rho$ Indies as well known as the Eaft.

## S E C T I O N XVII.

The Dijcoveries and Settlements made by the English in different Parts of America, from the Reign of Henry VII, to the clofe of that of Queen Elizabeth; interfperfed with various Remarks on the Progrefs of our Irade and naval Power, and the Difficulties which the Nation had to fruggle with in their firf Attempts.

1. The Hiftory of Madoc, one of the Princes of Wales, and bis fuppofed Dijcovery of America fet in a truie Light, and vindicated from fome groundlefs Reflections made thereon by foreign Writers. 2. The generous Difpofition of King Henry VII, with refpect to encouraging Difcoveries; and the Voyages of John, and Sebaftian Cabot, in his Service, who firft vijhted the Continent of America. 3. The Voyage of Sebartian Cabot, for the Difcovery of a North-weeft Pafjage, in which be failed along the Coaft of that Part of North America, to wobich the Spaniards afterwards gave the Name of Florida. 4. The Voyage of Sir Thomas Pert, Vice-Admiral of England, and Sebaftian Cabot, to Brazil, and otber Parts of the Weft Indies. 5. The firft. Attempt of Mr. Hore, Mercbant of London, to efablifh a Colony in Newfoundland; the frange Misfortunes be met with, and a memorable Inftance of the Juffice and Generofity of King Henry VIII. 6. The feveral Voyages of Captain William Hawkins to Brazil, and a fingular Proof of bis Abilities and Integrity: 7. A fuccinct Account of the Difcoveries and maritime Expeditions to America, under the Reign of King Edward VI. 8. Tbat Hiftory continued during the Reign of Queen Mary, and ber Confort, •-King Philip. 9. The Metbods taken for extending our Trade, and making Settlements in the Reign of 2uen Elizabeth. 10. An Account of Sir Francis Drake's giving the Nome of New Albion, to a Country lying in the northern Part of California, and the Importance of that Difcovery. II. The firft Settlement of Newfoundland, with a jhort Account of the Nature thereof, and the Advantages Vol. II. Numb. LXXXII.
tobich bave accrued from the Fifbery upon its Coafts to this Nation. 12. The jurl Guttenpty to fectle Virginia, under the Direction of Sir Walter Raleigh, with an Account of that Colony. I3. The feveral Voyages of Captain John Davis, and the great Difcoveries made by him in North America. I4. Sir Walter Raleigh's Expedition to Guiana; the Conjequences of that Expedition, and Remarks thereufons 15. Other remarkcule naval Tronfactions, within the Compafs of that Reign, relating to this Subbect. 16. A fuccinct View of the State of our Trade to America, at the Time of the Death of 2ucer Elizabeth. 17. Remarks and Obfervations on the principal Events mentioned in the foregoing Section.
2. TMHE Glory of having firft difcovered far diftant Countries, and adding thereby to the Knowledge and Commerce of Mankind, has always had Charms fufficient to invite different Nations to put in their Claims, even though they have not been extremely well founded. When America was firf made known, it occafioned abundance of Enquiries; and, as it was natural, recalled to many Peoples Remembrances and Confiderations, Stories which had before been deemed fcarce worthy of Notice: Amongtt the reft our Nation put in; and the Tale told in Favour of us, as it is the earlieft in Point of Time, feems to merit Relation as well or better than any other. In fhort, this Story afferts that Madoc, Prince of Wales, was the firt Difcoverer of America, and the Detail of his Expedition runs thus: He flourifhed in the twelfth Century, and was Son of Owen Guyneth, Prince of Nortb Wales ; his Brethren raifing a civil War abouit the Divifion of his Father's Dominions, he chofe rather to go to Sea with a few of his Friends, and feek out new Habitations, than run the Hazard of what might happen in this Difpute. Accordingly, about the Year II70, freering due Weft, and leaving Ireland on the North, he came to an unknown Country, where he fettled a Colony ; and, returning thence into Wales, carried a fecond Supply of People, but was never heard of more.
That the Country he went to was really America, is more, I think, than can be thoroughly proved; but that this Tale was invented after the Difcovery of that Country, on purpofe to fet up a prior Title, is moft certainly falfe. Meredith ap Rees, who died in 1477, and was a famous Welch Poet, compofed an Ode in Honour of this Madoc, wherein was contained an Account of his Difcoveries. Now as this was feveral Years before Columbus made his firft Voyage, we may be fure that this was really a Briti/f Tradition, and no Tale of late Contrivance. Some foreign Writers, indeed, have fuggefted that this was a pare Invention, defigned to prejudice the Reputation of the great Difcovery made by Columbus; but in this they rather fhew their Malice to us, than difcover ours; for beyond all doubt, the Welch had, and have ftill, fuch a Tradition, and therefore fome wifer and better informed Critics have endeavoured to prove that it was not America, but Groenland, to which our Welch Prince failed. In Proof of which they have-obferved that this Country was well known in the ninth and tenth Centuries, though it was afterwards loft.

But with Submiffion to thefe great Men, this Story does not at all anfwer their Purpofe; for, it is evident, the Courfe does by no means agrree; fince, if he had failed to that Country, he could not have left Ireland to the North. I have feen a very ingenious Difcourfe upon this Subject, in which is fuggefted, that Prince Madoc landed in fome Part of Florida; that, in procefs of Time, the Colony he planted there proceeded round by Land, and reached the northern Parts of Mexico, which Country they conquered, and were thofe foreign Anceftors of the Mexicans, of whom we have heard fo much from the Spanifb Writers that have recorded the Adventures of Cories, and with which the Reader is fo well acquainted, that there is no need of our faying any thing more of them here, except it be this, that feveral Britij/b Words have been difcovered in the old Mexican Tongue, and that no other European Nation can fhew a better founded Tradition than this; for the Truth of which, however, I am very far from contending.
2. If there had been really any Defire in the Englifts Nation to conteft the Title of the Crown of Spain to the Country of America, it might have been undoubtedly fixed upon a much better Foundation; for, in the Life
of Don Cbriftopher Colon, written by his Son in the reign of our King Henry the VIIIth, it is exprefly faid, that this great Man fent his Brother Bartholomew into England, to offer his Difcovery to King Henry VII. and he did accordingly prefent a Map, dated the I 3 th of February 14 48 , to that Monarch; and having explained to him his Brother's Defign, and what he propofed thercby, it was readily accepted; and Don Bartbclomero was fent to invite his Brother into Englond, with an Affurance that the King would grant him all he defired. This Agreement was four Years before the Voyage of Colurnbus in the Service of their Catholic Majeifties, and therefore liad we been fo much inclined to hunt for Titles to this new found Country, here had been a fair Pretence. But King Flenyy the VIIth was of another Difpofition; and, though he was a Prince much addicted to encourage fuch kind of ufeful Undertakings, he fcorned to aim at reaping the Fruits of other Prince's Adventures; and therefore he contented himfelf, after mifing by mere Accident Columbus's Difcovery, with inviting other Seamen of known Reputation, to enter into his Service for like Purpofes.
Amongtt thefe was Yobin Cabot, Citizen of Venice, who had been long fettled at Brifol, and who thought himfelf capable of performing, as a Seaman, things little, if at all, fhort of what Columbus had done. He accordingly applied himfeif to the King, who, by Patent inrolled, dated the 5 th of March, in the eleventh Year of his Reign, and in the Year of our Lord I495, granted to the faid Fobn Cabot, and his three Sons, Leweis, Sebafian, and Sancias, Authority to fail with five Ships of what Burtherr and Strength they thought fit, upon Difcoveries to the Eaft, Weft, and North; giving them the full Property of fuch Country or Countries as they fhould difcover, with this Refervation only, that they fhould return to Brifool, and that they fhould pay him the Fifth Part of the neat Profits of their Voyage; in Confideration of which, they were to have the exclufive Right to the Countries fo difcovered, to which no other Englifa Subjects were to trade, but by their Leave and Licence. But the Year before that Patent was granted, that is in 1494, Fobn Cabot, with his Son Seboftian, had failed from Brifol upon Difcovery, and had actually feen the Continent of Nerefoundland, to which they gave the Name of Prima Vifa, or Firft Seen. And on the 24 th of Fune the fame Year he went afhore on an Inand, which, becaufe it was difcovered on that Day, he called St. Yobn's; and of this Inand he reported very truly, that the Soil was barren, that it yielded little, and that the People wore Bear-Skin Cloaths, and were armed with Bows, Arrows, Pikes, Darts, Wooden Clubs, and Slings; but that the Coaft abounded with Finh ; and upon this Report of his, the beforementioned Patent was granted.
3. The nextVoyage made for Difcovery was by Sebaffian Cabot, the Son of Fobn, concerning which all our Writers have fallen into great Miftakes, for want of comparing the feveral Accounts we have of this Voyage, and making proper Allowances for the Manner in which they were written; fince I cannot find there was ever any diftinct and clear Account of this Voyage publifhed, though it was of fo great Confequence. On the contrary, I believe that Caboi himfelf kept no Journal of it by him; fince in a Letter he wrote on this Subject, he fpeaks doubtfully of the very Year in which it was undertaken, though from the Circumftances he relates, that may be very certainly fixed. On the $3^{\text {d }}$ of February, in the 13 th Year of the Reign of King Henry VII, a new Grant was made to Yobn Cabot, by which he had Leave given him to take Ships out of any of the Ports of England, of the Burden of two hundred Ton, to fail upon Difcoveries; but before this could be effected, fobn Cabot died; and Se-
bejtian
baftian, his Son, applied himfelf to the King, propofing to difcover a North-weft Paffage, as he himfelf tells us; and for this Purpofe he had a Ship manned and victualled at the King's Expence at Brifol, and three or four other Ships were fitted out at the Expence of fome Merchants of that City, particularly Mr. Thorne and Mr. Hugh Elliot. But whereas Sebaftian Cabot himfelf fays, that he made this Voyage in the Summer of 1496 , he muft be miftaken, and he very well might, fpeaking from his Memory only; and to prove this I need only obferve, that this Date will not at all agree even with his own Account of the Voyage; for he fays exprefly it was undertaken after his Father's Death; who, as we have Ihewn, was alive in the February following; fo that it was the Summer of the Year 1497 , in which he made this Voyage; and what he afterwards relates of his Return, proves this likewife.

But we have a direct and clear Authority as to this Fact, which is, that of Robert Fabian, who fixes this Voyage of Sebafian Cabot's to the Month of May 14.97. And on the ith of Fune, the fame Year, he failed as high as $67^{\circ} 30^{\prime}$ finding the Sea ftill open, and he thought that he might this way have paffed through into the South Seas, but his Crew mutinied, which forced him to return into the Latitude of $56^{\circ}$ and from thence he ran down to $3^{8^{\circ}}$ along the Coaft of the Continent of America, which, as he exprenly fays, was afterwards called Florida, where Provifions growing fhort, he returned into England, touching by the way at Nerefoundland. On his return, he fays, he found the Nation in much Confufion, and great Preparations making for a War in Scotland, which agrees exactly with Grafton's Chronicle, who places thefe Preparations under the Mayoralty of William Purcbafe, that is, to the Year beforementioned ; and Robert Fabian fays farther, that in the I4th Year of King Henry VII. there were three Men. brought to the King, taken in the new-found Inand, which he before mentioned, who were cloathed in BeaftSkins, eat raw Flefh, fooke a ftrange uncouth Tongue, and were very brutih in their Behaviour ; but he farther adds, that he faw thefe People himfelf two Years afterwards, and that they were then cloathed like Englifhmen, and he could not have known them to be otherwife, if he had not been informed that thefe were the Men brought over by Scbaftian Cabot.

Thus, with the utmoft Exactnefs I could ufe, I have fet this Matter in its true Light, and have thereby fhewn, that he was not only the firft Perfon who attempted a North-weft Paffage; and thewed thereby, that he underfood Columbus's Principles, but was likewife the firft Difcoverer of the Continent of America, which Columbus did not fee till a Year after, as well as the firf Difcoverer of Florida, which Country was not fo called till the Year 1512 ; when, as we have before fhewn, it was vifited by Jobn Ponce de Leon, who took Poffeffion of it for the King of Spain, and ufually paffes for the firtt Difcoverer. It may not be amifs to obferve, that Sebaftian Cabot clearly affirms, that his Voyage was made to difcover a North-weft Paffage ; which Notion of his gave Light, as is acknowledged even by Foreign Authors, to Ferdinand Magellan; and induced him confidently to affirm, that fuch a Pafage might be found by the South, which he happily effected twenty two Years after this Attempt made to the North by Sebaftian Cabot.

I cannct fay that any great Ufe can be made of this kind of Knowledge, but there feems to be no Reafon why we fhould not pique ourfelves upon knowing thefe Matters with as much Exactnefs as Strangers; who, by dipping into our Accounts, pretend to great Knowledge in thefe Matters, and very often impofe upon fuch as will not rake into their own old mufty Antiquities, but pay an implicit Regard to the bold Affertions of modern Authors; by taking the contrary Method, and refolving to be fatisfied, even in Trifles, we come to judge accurately and truly, of the Deferts both of our own and of foreign Nations; fo as to yield the Preference to fome, and maintain our juft Rights againft others. As for Inftance, though we cannot difpute with the

Spaniards the actual Difcovery of America; yet, we may fairly deny, what the prefent Geographer of his $\mathrm{Ca}-$ tholic Majefty afferts, that we rejected Columbus's Propofal; and we may likewife call him to a fevere Account, for placing the Voyages of Sebafian Cabot to Florida, twenty-fix Years later than he fhould have placed them, from the Accounts given by Ramufio, Gomaras Peter Martyr, and other Authors, whom he either had read, or ought to have read, before he took upon him to write on this Subject; of which though he writes fenfibly, yet this will not excufe his writing Untruths.

Sebofician Cabot is by many of our Writers politively affirmed to be an Englifhman, born at Briftol; but the Italians as pofitively claim him for their Countryman, and fay he was born at Venice; which, to fpeak impartially, I believe is the Truth; for, he fays himfelf $f_{y}$ that when his Father was invited over to England, he brought him with him, though he was then very young. His Voyage for the Difcovery of the North-weft Paf fage, gained him fo great a Reputation, that he was invited into Spain, and employed by their Catholic Majefties, Ferdinand and Ifabella, in a Voyage for the Difcovery of the Coafts of Brazil, in which he had much better Succiefs than Americus Vefpucius, who miffed the River of Plate, whereas Cabot found it, and failed up it three hundred and fixty Miles, which gained him fuch a Character at the Court of their Catholic Majefties, that, on his Return, he was declared Piloto Maggiore, or Grand Pilot of Spain; and refided feveral Years at Seville with that Character, and had the Examination and Approbation of all the Pilots intrufted by that Government.
4. Yet, after fome Years, he thought fit to return into England, and was employed by King Henry the VIIIth, in Conjunction with Sir Thomas Pert, who was Vice-Admiral of England; and built a fine Houfe near Blackwall, called Poplar; which Name Itill remains, though the Houfe is long ago decayed. This Voyage of his was in ${ }^{1516}$, on board a Ship of two hundred and fifty Tons with another of the like Size, in which he proceeded to the Coaft of Brazil, and afterwards vifited the Spani/b Illands of St. Domingo, and St. Fobn de Porto Rico; in the latter of which they traded, and paid for what they had by the Exchange of Veffels, made of Pewter, as we learn from Oviedo; who, notwithftanding, afferts that this Veffel was a Privateër, whereas, in Fact, fhe was a Frigate fitted out at King Henry the VIIIth's Expence for Difcovery.

It is a very great Misfortune that we have not a clearer and more diftinct Account of this Expedition; fince it very plainly appears from the Writers of thofe Times, that great Expectations were raifed by it, and that the Mifcarriage occafioned a good deal of Noife and fome Reflections; but they did not fall upon Cabot, as appears from the following Note, taken from a Book, publifhed by Mr. Ricbard Eden, whofe Collections led the way to thofe of Mr. Hackluit, and which Book was publifhed in 1553 . "If manly Courage, faith he, (like unto " that which hath been feen in your Grace as'well in fo" reign Realms, as alfo in this our Country,) had "6 not been wanting in others, in thefe our Days, at fuch " Time our Sovereign Lord of noble Memory, King "Henry VIII, about the fame Year of his Reign, furis nifhed, and fent out certain Ships, under the Govern" ance of Sebafian Cabot, yet living, and one Sir Tho" mas Pert, whofe faint Heart was the Caufe that the Voy"s age took none Effect ; if, I fay, fuch manly Courage, " whereof we have fpoken, had not at that Time been "، wanting, it might happily have come to pals, that that "rich Treafury called Perularia, which is now in Spain, " 6 in the City of Seville, and fo named, for that in it is " kept the infinite Riches brought thither from the new" found Land of Peru, might long fince have been in the " Tower of London, to the King's great Honour and "Wealth of this Realm." I do not find that this worthy Gentleman left England after this; but, on the contrary, remained here, and promoted, to the utmoft of his Power, whatever Defigns were fet on foot for the Encouragement and Extention of our Commerce; fo thats
as I fhall have Occaifon to fhew hereafter, he may be trinly reputed the great Mafter of Englifh Seamen, and the Father of our Colonies and Commerce.

It was this great Man that ftill kept up an Opinion, which, he had himfelf firft entertained, that fome Paffage there was into the South Seas, by the North-weft; and upon this Subject he wrote with fo much good Senfe and Strength of Reafon, that if the Ships, which, while I am writing this Paragraph, have failed in Search of this Paffage, fhould fucceed, the Honour of the Difcovery will redound to him; and therefore it is but juft, to take this Opportunity of reviving his Reputation. His Difcourres had fuch an Effect on King Henry VIII. a Prince of vaft natural Parts, great Learning, and ftrongly inclined to heroic Undertakings, that he refolved to fend another Ship, or more, on the Difcovery, which he did in the nineteenth Year of his Reign. Both Hall and, Grafton, in their Chronicles, fpeak of this; and tell us, that on mature Deliberation, the King fitted out two fair Ships, which failed from the Port of London, on the 20th of May 1527.; but not a Word of the Captain's Name, or of the Strength of thefe Ships; the only Particular we have is, that the King fent feveral cunning Men on board them. We are to underftand, by cunning Men, Perfons ikilled in the Mathematics; who, with the common Sort of People, paffed now, and long after, for cunning Men and Conjurers.

The worthy Mr. Hackluit has taken abundance of Pains to fupply us with fome Circumftances of this Expedition, but to very little Purpofe; and, notwithftanding all his Inquiries from Perfons who lived in and near thofe Times, could obtain no other Satisfaction than this, that a Canon of St. Paul's, who was reputed a great Mathematician, was one of the principal Perfons concerned, and actually had took a Share in the Voyage; but to this reverend Perfon's Name both Sir Martin Frobifaer and Sir Ricbard Allien, 'who were Mr. Hackluit's Authors, were Strangers; one of them, however, remembred the Name of the biggeft Ship, which was Dominus Vobifoum, or the Lord with them, which agrees very well with the other Part of the Story, that the chief Promoter of this Voyage was a Prieft. Thefe Ships failing very far to the Northweft, the largeft of them was caft away in the Mouth of a very large Gulph, very probably in the Entrance to Hudfon's Bay, and there perifhed; the other, having coafted along the Inand of Cape Britton (fo they wrote it then) returned in OEFober following, and brought a large Account of the Places they had feen, and of the Hardfhips they had undergone.

It appears from thence, that thefe early Attempts to difcover new Countries, and extend our Commerce, were attended with great'Difficulties, much beyond thofe that were met with by the Spaniards and Portugueze, which may be attributed to feveral different Caufes, and amongft others thefe: Our Shipping was then but mean, though both the Kings whom Cabot ferved appeared to be very defirous of having a naval Force, fince Henry VII. had fpent fourteen thoufand Pounds in building one large Ship, and his Son Henry VIII. added feveral others to the Navy; ${ }^{1}$ yet I think our Ships were, generally fpeaking, larger than thofe of moft of our Neighbours; but very probably they were built abroad, and neither in Form nor in - Materials were fit for thofe Seas to which they were navigated. The Skill of our Seamen could not be very great at this time; for as in all other practical Cafes, fo in this, nothing advances People fo faft as Experience, and therefore I reckon that the want of this was a great Deficiency in thefe Times; we may add, that we purfued, with incredible Diligence, thofe Difcoveries that carried us into dangerous and difagreeable Climates, which was directly contrary to the Practice of the Spaniards and Portugueze; befides thofe Voyages produced little or no Advantage, fo there was nothing to provoke the common, or even the trading, fort of People, to engage in them : And laftly, King Henry VIII. was bent upon finding a North-weft Paffage, that he might have a Way of his own to the Eaft Indies, and not be obliged to follow the Rout either of the Spaniards or of the Portugueze.
5. It was this Inclination of the King's, that produced
a Spirit in the Nation of difcovering and fettling in thefe Northern Parts, let the Dangers be what they would, or the Difficulties to be overcome ever fo many or apparent; a very ftrong Inftance of which occurred in the twentyeighth Year of his Reign, and is the moft remarkable Paffage in it to our Purpole: One Mr. Hore, a Merchant of London, a Man of good Family, confiderable Fortune, great Courage, and very well verfed in moft of the Branches of the Mathematics, was refolved to undertake a Voyage, and attempt a Settlement on Nerefoundland, and to go thither himfelf. He no fooner made this Intention of his known, than he received all the Countenance and Encouragement from the Crown that he could expect; and as this gave much Credit to the Expedition, fo, in a fhort time, abundance of young Gentlemen, of good Fortunes and diftinguifhed Families, offered to fhare both the Expence and Danger of the Undertaking.

Amongft thefe were Mr. Wickes, a Weft-country Gentleman of five hundred Marks a Year; Mr. Tuck, as Kentißb Gentleman of Fortune; Mr. Tuckfield, Mr. Thomas Butts Son of Sir William Butts, the King's firt Phyfician; Mr. Fardy, Mr. Biron, Mr. Carter, Mr. Raftal, Brother to Serjeant Raftal, and feveral others; who went with Mr . Hore in the largeft of his two Ships, the Trinity, of the Burden of one hundred and forty Tons: In the leffer Ship went Mr. Armizall Wade, a young Gentleman of great Hopes, and much Learning; Mr. Oliver Dawebney of London, Merchant; and other Perfons of Character, to the Number of thirty, in both Veffels. About the End of April, 1536 , all Things were ready; the Trinity and Minion fit to fail, and the whole of both Ships Company, to the Number of one hundred and twenty, muftered at Gravefend; after which they went with much Ceremony on board.

They foon after failed, and arrived in the Space of two Months at Cape Breton; from whence they failed round a great Part of Newofoundland to Penguin Inand, in the Latitude of about 50 Degrees, as they computed; but which lies, truly, in 50 Degrees 40 Minutes; where they found great Plenty of thofe Fowls, from whence the Inand takes its Name: They afterwards went on fhore upon the Eaft-fide of Nerofoundlond, and had an accidental View of a Boat full of the Savages that inhabited that Country, whom they purfued both by Sea and Land, but were not able to overtake them. They ftaid here till their Victuals began to grow very fhort, and being then afraid to truft themfelves at Sea in fuch a Condition, they delayed going on board till they were in fuch Diftrefs that they actually eat one another ; that is to fay, fome killed their Companions privately in the Woods, hid them, and then roafted and eat their Fleh fecretly, till this horrid Practice coming to the Knowledge of their Captain, he, by a moft judicious and pathetic Speech, brought them to refolve rather to live upon Grafs and Herbs than fubfint by this deteftable Method any longer.

But it fell out foon after, that a French Ship put in there well manned and well victualed, of which our Countrymen refolved to take Advantage, being weary of a Country in which they had endured fuch Miferies; and therefore, watching a fair Opportunity, they poffeffed themfelves of the French Ship, and, leaving their own, failed directly for the Coaft of England. They returned fafely, and arrived at St. Fves in Cornwall about the End of OEfober ; and then the Gentlemen, difperfing themfelves, returned to London; but fo much altered by their Fatigues, that Sir Williom Butts; and his Wife, could not know their Son, but by a particular Mark upon his Knee. We had never known a Word of this ftrange Adventure, if it had not been for Mr. Ricbarid Hackluit, who rode two hundred Miles to gain thefe Particulars from the Mouth of Mri. Tbomas Butts, the only Perfon then living, who had a Share in that Expedition; and no wonder, fince it was fifty-three Years afterwards that he obtained this Communication: There is another Circumftance relating to this unfortunate Enterprize, which muft, by no Means, be omitted.

Some Months after, the Frenchmen came to England, with a dreadful Complaint, that the Englifs had ran away with their Ship, and had left them to ftarve, if they had

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not fupported themfelves by fifhing. King Henry examined very clofely into the Affair, and finding that extreme Want was the fole Caufe of an Action, otherwife inexcufable, he fatisfied the French, to the full Extent of their Demands, out of his own Coffers, and pardoned, in his own Subjects, that Wrong which Neceffity forced them to commit. Thefe were very hard Beginnings; and yet to thefe we owe our Nevefoundland Trade ; and, I think, it is much to the Honour of the Englifb Nation, that without having any of thofe Encouragements, which the Spaniards met with from the very beginning, they contintled to purfue thofe Expeditions for Difcovery; till in the End they met with thofe Rewards which they fo well deferved.
6. Within this dark Period of Time, for the Accounts of our rifing Navigation have been moft imperfectly tranfmitted to Poferity, there were Numbers of Englifhmen, who, with very little Profpect of private Advantages, fpread themfelves, by the Help of foreign Shipping, into all Parts of the World; that, by their Enquiries and Obfervations, they might be able to underitand how Trade was managed, and Maritime Affairs conducted, in otherCountries; that, in time, by their Informations, the like Advantages might accrue to their own, of which Voyages and Travels, there are many fhort Notes collected in Hackluit ; which do great Honour to thefe Times, and ought to perpetuate the Memory of the worthy Perfons ; who, with fo much Labour and Hazard, laid the Foundation of our naval Strength and Glory.

Thefe Notices foon roufed active and induftrious Perfons, to try what Ufe could be made of fuch Helps, and perhaps the Reader will not think his Time mifpent in reading an Inftance of this Kind. Mr. William Hawkins, the Father of the famous Sir Fobn Hawkins, and the Grandfather of Sir Richard Harokins, both eminent Seamen, was himfelf an Officer in the Navy of King Henry the VIIIth, and for his Merit much efteemed by that Prince, made about the middle of his Reign three profperous Voyages to Guinea and Brazil; in the laft of thefe, having fome Dealings with a Prince or Chief of the Brazilians, he expreffed a Defire of feeing England; but, at the fame Time, fhewed a Sufpicion of his not obtaining Leave to come Home again; to cure which, Captain Hawekins very readily offered to leave Mr. Martin Cockram, of Plymouth, who ftood next to himfelf in Efteem with the Indians, as a Hoftage, which Offer was readily accepted.

This Brazilian Chief he brought over, and prefented to his Mafter King Henry, who received him kindly, entertained him courteounly, and difmiffed him generounly, after a Year's ftay in England. But it fo fell out, in his Paffage home, that, either through Change of Air, Shortnefs of Provifions, or fome other Misfortune, the Indian Chief died; which threw the Engliß into great Concern, from an Apprehenfion that Mr. Cockram would be either punifhed with Death, or detained during Life, upon account of this Accident: But the thing fell out better; for upon hearing what the Englifh had to alledge; the Savages readily obferving, that it was far from being likely that they would return to their Country if they had treated their King amifs, and that it was not in their Power to preferve his Life, if attacked by Sicknefs; they freely fet their Hoftage at Liberty, kindly entertained the Men, and furnifhed the Ship with a fufficient Cargo for England, which encouraged other Merchants to trade to the unfettled Ports of Brazil, (by which I mean the Forts not yet in the Poffeffion of the Portugueze) and this from feveral Places, viz. Briftol, Southampton, and London, during all the latter Part of this Monarch's Reign, who muft be allowed to have had a very public Spirit with regard to Maritime Concerns, for the Improvement of which he fpared neither Pains nor Treafure.
7. In the Time of King Edroard the VIth the Court was fplit into Factions, which neceffarily occafioned Difputes and Divifions among the People; fo that the Times were by no Means favourable for new and great Undertakings, or even for the Improvement of thofe Branches of Commerce, which were but newly opened;

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on the contrary, it feems that feveral Perfons, who were intrufted with Offices by the Lord High Admiral, and fuch as had the Care and Direction of the Cuttoms, laid heavy Burdens upon thofe that engaged in the Iceland and Newfoundland Fifheries; and took fuch large Sums for Licences, and under other Pretences, as had like to have ruined the former, which was an old Trade, and greatly difcouraged the latter, which was a new one.

Upon Complaint of this to Parliament, the Matter. fell under a clofe Examination, as appears from fome Papers of Sir Willian Cecil, which are yet in being; for there are no Journals of the Proceedings of the Houfe of Commons fo early as this Time preferved: But from the Pa pers before-mentioned, we are informed, that this Complaint was made by the Weft-country Members, and by a Burgefs from Karmouth, in Norfolk; and thereupon a Law was made in the Year I548, and the fecond of that Prince's Reign; by which it was enacted, that every Officer, who fhould, 'for the Time to come, extort, procure, or receive any Sum of Money from a Merchant, Mafter of a Ship, Factor, or Fifherman, for, or under Colour of, granting him Leeave, or Licence, to fifh in the North Seas, on the Coafts of Iceland, or on the Banks of Nevefoundland, fhould, for the firft Offence, forfeit treble the Sum fo extorted; and for the fecond, fhould fuffer Fine and Ranfom at the King's Pleafure:

The fame Year the King was pleafed to grant to Sebaftian Cabot, his old Servant, by the Advice and Council of his Uncle, Edward Duke of Somerfet, the Office of Grand Pilot of England, with a Fee of one hundred fixtyfix Pounds thirteen and four-pence, to be paid him Quarterly at the Exchequer; which fhews, that thefe kind of Services were ftill regarded; and that in fuch Intervals of Peace, as the Miniftry then had, they were mindful of the Intereft of their Country, and inclined to do what lay in their Power to promote Navigation and Commerce. But they were ftill hurt by a too earneft Defire to grafp at the whole Trade of the Indies, which induced them to liften to all the Propofals made for difcovering either a North-eaft or a North-weft Paffage ; and by bending all their Strength that way, neglected thofe Undertakings that were eafier, and which might have been carried into Execution at a much lighter Expence. This was owing to Mr. Sebaftian Cabot, who firf ftarted the Notion of a Paffage into the South Seas by the North-weft, and who fell very readily into the other Project of finding a Paffage into the Indian Ocean by the North-eaft.

He was at that time Mafter of the great Company erected for the Benefit of Commerce, under the Title of Mercbant-Adventurers for the Discovery of Nere Lands, and the great Oracle, as he deferved to be, of all the feafaring People; and this gave him an Opportunity of pufhing that Point which he had moft at Heart, the Importance of which he underftood better than any Man, and in the Execution of which no body had gone farther, or managed an Expedition with greater Difcretion. But this Turn diverted the whole Attention of the State to this Point, and this alone, as if nothing had been worth difcovering but a Paffage to the Spice Iflands; while in the mean time the Spaniards attacked and fubdued a very great Part of both the Continents of America. If, inftead of this, the Endeavours of the Seamen in that Reign had been applied to the profecuting what Cabot had fo well begun, I mean the intire Difcovery of Florida, and the Countries adjacent, it muft have ended in a Settlement on the Gulph of Mexico, which might probably have been attended with very great Advantages.

It cannot however be denied, that the Schemes which were profecuted had a very fair Appearance of Succefs, and I think it may be allowed alfo, by fuch as take the Pains to perufe Mr. Cabot's Inftructions to Sir Hugb Willougbby, that no Man ever conceived with greater Strength of Judgment, or expreffed himfelf in clearer Terms, than he did. I might, to prove this, give an Extract of thefe Inftructions; but it would be befide my prefent Purpofe, and giving the Reader no more than what he may already find in Hackluit; whereas I aim at affording him new Lights, without tranfcribing other People's Labours, except where I am under a Neceflity Ddd
of doing it. It muft be admitted, that tho the Profecution of thefe Projects, for finding a North-eaft and a North-weft Paffage, were not either of them attended with Succefs, and tho' they confumed a great Treafure, and which is much more to be regretted, were attended with the Lofs of feveral excellent Captains and many able Seamen, the Profits which the Nation reaped, might be truly faid to countervail, in fome meafure, even the vaft Expences thefe Voyages occafioned..
As for. Inftance: We opened, by our Attempts to find a North-eaft Paffage, the Trade to Archangel; and, for fome time, engroffed the valuable Commerce of the Ruffan Empire: And even to the North-weft our Difcoveries were of great Confequence, and led us to a more diftinct Knowledge of that Part of the World than any other Nation has attained, infomuch that I think it may be truly faid, it is of all our Labours that which has thewn our Excellency in Point of Seamanhhip moit; and, if our prefent Attempt for difcovering a Paffage through Hudjons ${ }^{3}$ Bay fhould prove fucceffful, as I fincerely believe it will, we fhall have no reafon to blame thofe who from time to time have pufhed this Defign with fo much Vigour; becaufe I am thoroughly perfuaded, that whenever it is attended with Succefs, it will, in a very few Years, repay this Nation all that the has expended for Ages upon this Account.

We may from hence fee, how much thefe Expeditions for Difcovery are preferable to much more expenfive Expeditions in purfuit of Projects dictated by political Views; for in thefe laft we wafte Ships, Men, Treafure, and all to little or no Purpofe; whereas, with Refpect to the former, whether we fucceed or not in our main Point, we are fure of making fuch incidental Advantages as, fooner or later, make'us ample Amends for the Pains we take; fo that a maritime Power cannot follow a wifer Courfe than to encourage all fuch Projects, or employ her naval Force better, than in attempting fuch of them as have a probable Appearance; becaufe this nourifhes and keeps alive that active, penetrating, enterprifing Spirit, which is fo neceffary to a State like ours, and which will always be attended with Advantages upon the Whole, tho' in many particular Inftances it may not be attended with Succefs. But it is now time to proceed from thefe Reflections which naturally flow from the Confideration of what was done by our Statefmen in the Reign of King Edward, to thofe of the like kind that occupied the Thoughts both of our Politicians and. People, in the Reign of his Sifter and Succeffor; in fpeaking of which, tho' a beaten Topic, I hope to ftrike out feveral Things that are new.
8. As there were feveral of King Edruard's Minifters employed by Queen Mary, fo we find that in the Reign of this Princefs the fame Meafures were purfued, and the fame Attention fhewn for new Difcoveries, and for giving all the Affitance that was in the Power of the Crown, to fuch as engaged in thefe Undertakings. But after the Marriage between the Queen and King Pbilip of Spain took place, we began to grow much better acquainted with all Circumftances relating to the Weft Indies, than in former Times, and it became fafhionable at Court to read and undertand whatever had been publifhed, in any Language, relating to the Conquetts and Difcoveries of the Spaniards; but becaufe the Number was not great of fuch as could perufe and underftand thofe Works in the original Languages, feveral Perfons took Pains to trannate them into Englifh, and to epitonife them, that they might be read with the greater Facility ; amongtt thefe were Mr. Ricbard Eden, who compofed one of the firft Collections of Travels that was ever publifhed in our Language, and which was afterwards revifed, corrected, and augmented, by Mr. Edvaard Willes. Several other Pieces of the fame kind came abroad, and feveral of the Spanifo Officers that attended their King hither, took a great deal of Pains to fet forth the Exploits of their Nation in the Weft Indies; and our Sea-Officers, with whom they converfed, did not fail to make their Advantage of thefe Difcourfes, and to gain fuch Knowledge of the Situation Things were in throughout all their Dominions in America, as afterwards coft the Spaniards very dear.
This Intercoufe with that Nation, alfo furnifhed many

Enclifmen with Opportunities of going to their Settlements, and of obtaining fuch Lights -with refpeat to their Navigation and Commerce, as proved afterwards of the higheft Ufe. But notwithftanding all this, our Trade and Naval Power fuffered deeply by this Connection between the two Nations, which not only hindered, during that Reign, thofe Voyages we had formerly made to America trom being purfued, but involved us likewife in a tedious, dangerous, and unneceffary, War with France; by which we not only loft the important Fortrefs of Ca lais, but alfo fuffered decply in our Shipping; fo that it appears by fome Fragments which ftill remain of Speeches made in the Houfe of Commons, that loud Complaints were made on this Subject in Parliament by the Citizens of London efpecially, whofe Loffes were greater than thofe of the reft of the Kingdom by thofe mifaken Meafures.

Yet fuch Branches of our Commerce as did not inmediately interfere with that of Spain, were greatly favoured in this Reign, in which the Rufian Merchants were incorporated, and Sebaftian Cabot appointed their Governor for Life, and a Ruyfian Embaffador, who came over hither, was treated with great Diftincion, both by the King and Queen ; which procured us fuitable Returns, by the granting extraordinary Privileges to fuch Merchants, and Subjects of England, as traded in any Part of that extenfive Empire. The Trade to Guinea, likewife, met with fome Countenance from the Court, by which Means the Shipping engaged therein was increafed, and many more Traders drawn to be concerned therein; fo that as great a Spirit in this Refpect appeared as could well be expected; while the trading Corporations throughout the Kingdom were expofed to great Inconveniencies, by taking their Ships for the public Service ; for fo, at that Time, affifting King Pbilip was called, tho' it was evidently againft the Intereft of the Nation, and it was our want of Succefs in that War which faved the Balance of Europe, which muft have been totally loft, if he had compaffed his Defign, and ruined the Power of France; fo that in fact, our naval Force was employed againft itfelf, of which the Queen's Minifiters were fenfible; but as for the Queen herfelf, the was governed by an odd Principle, which was that of making the beft Wife in the World, to one of the wortt of Hufbands; but, very luckily for the Nation, fhe was fo fenfible of the Miffortunes that attended this injudicious War, and particularly of the Lofs of Calais, that it broke her Heart, and thereby made way for that great and glorious Reign which reftored the Face of our Affairs, revived our languifhing Commerce, re-eftablifhed our naval Power, and, ly the happy Iffue of a long and bloody, but neceffary and profperous, War againft Spain, fecured our own Liberties and preferved thofe of Europe.
9. Queen Elizabeth fucceeded to the Crown by the Death of her Sifter, in the Month of November, $155^{8}$; and, from the very beginning of her Reign, made the neval Power of this Nation her peculiar Care: She began with putting the fimall Remains of the Navy into the beft Condition poffible; provided a fafe Harbour in the River Medrocy for their Reception, and erected a new Cafle for their Protection. She likewife took care to have a fmall Squadron at Sea as foon as poffible, and knowing that by a hafy Breach with Spain, fhe might, and indeed muft, expofe her Naval Strength to the Danger of being crufhed by a fuperior Force, the very wifcly chofe to diffemble her Refentments againt that Crown, and to provide for the Increafe of the Seamen and Shipping of her Kingdom, before fhe difcovacd choie Refolutions which fhe carried afterwards into Execution with fo much Honour to herfelf, and fo much Advantage to her People. I the rather take notice of this, becoufe it is the only Stroke of the Queen's Policy which has efcaped our Hiitorians, who either overlooked or mifunderftood it, and therefore, as it very nearly concerns my Subject, I fnall fet it in a full and clear Light.

At the Beginning of her Reign the Queen had feveral Enemies to deal with; fome who declared openly againft her, and others who fecretly fought her Ruin : Among the former were the French, to whom at that Time Scotland, in Virtue of a Marriage between Queen Mary and

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the French King, in fome meafure belonged. At the Head of the latter was King Pbilip of Spain, one of the greateft Politicians that ever fat upon a Throne, who knew the Value of England, had in fome meafure poffeffed it, and, which was not at all wonderful, had no Mind to lofe it. His firt Project for keeping it was, by marrying Elizabeth, as he had done her Sifter, in which finding himfelf deceived, his next Project was to conquer it, from which he never departed. The Queen, when the rejected the firft, forefaw the laft, and refolved to provide againft it, which fhe knew could no other way be done but by obtaining a great naval Force.

To arrive at this, fhe firt of all contrived to amufe Spain by carrying on the War with France, in which fhe did the fame thing her Sifter did; and yet, the one was the wort, the other the wifeft Meafure that ever was taken. Queen Mary really meant to ruin and diftrefs the French, and was above all things defirous of recovering Calais; and this from a miftaken Zeal for the Intereft of the Nation. Queen Elizabeth made an artificial War againft France to increafe her own naval Strength, by encouraging her Subjects to take Prizes, and that fhe might have an Opportunity of fecuring Scotland; but, though exceffively provoked, fhe never thought of hurting France, and when offered Calais, the refufed it; and all this, becaufe fhe knew the true Intereft of the Nation. She knew, that while fhe continued to act againft the French, the fhould have the Spaniards for feeming Friends; that this War was not againft the Humour of her'People, or againft Juftice ; that it would raife a vaft Number of Seamen, becaufe every Port in England fitted out Privateers ; and that it would raife the Reputation of her naval Power, by reducing Scotland; for all which Ends, as fhe wifely provided, fo the met in them all the Succefs fhe could defire. She knew; however, that France was not her natural Enemy ; that from the Difputes about Religion, which ran high in that Kingdom, the was in no Danger from its Power ${ }^{\circ}$ and that whenever fhe came to declare againft Spain, fhe fhould ftand in Need of its Affiftance; for which Reafon the made a very harmlefs War, and gave fuch broad Intimations of her being willing to compofe all Differences, as in due Time produced a Peace. She likewife knew that the Poffeffion of Calais was a mere popular Advantage; that, in reality, it was attended with an Expence which could not well be afforded ; that if fhe was poffeffed of it, it would be a continual Bone of Contention with France, and that, how much foever it might be afterwards her Intereft to part with it, it would be an unpopular, and therefore an improper, and an imprudent, Thing to give it up. This that great Princess knew, and therefore the wifely refufed it; but upon making a Peace fhe referved her Rights to it, and procured fuch Conceffions from the French, as proved a continual Check upon them, and were oftentimes of more Ufe than the Fortrefs itfelf.

In the mean Time The continued her Care of the Navy, and neglected nothing that might keep up and promote a maritime Spirit among her People; fhe fought out and diftinguifhed the Sea-Officers that had ferved under her Father ; fhe was continually fitting out, on one Pretence or other, little Squadrons, at a fmall Expence; fhe gave the Command of them to different Officers, that fhe might excite a Spirit of Emulation, but what principally conduced to aggrandize her Power was the Pleafure fhe fhewed, whenever any Occafion offered of rewarding her Subjeets, who undertook, at their own Expence, fuch Expeditions as contributed to extend their Commerce, and open new Branches of Trade. We have a ftrong Inftance of this, in the Countenance the fhewed to Capt. Jobn Hawkins, who between the Years 1562 and 1568 made three Voyages into the Weft Indies, and in all but the laft had very great Succefs, though he carried on his Trade partly by Force. She promoted the Trade to Rufia, and through that Empire to Per $i a$ and the Indies, to the utmoft of her Power, and managed it with fuch Prudence and Dexterity, that the Reputation of her Government was very high, in that, and in other Countries, in which the reft of the Kingdoms and the States of Europe were hardly known. The Trade to Gui-
nea was likewife fo much her Care, that, finding the Porm tugueze gave her Subjects much Difturbance, the enquired into the Caufes of thofe Difputes, and took Care to remedy them by a Treaty with that Crown,

All this time her Differences with Spain fubfifted, and though there was no open War between the two Crowns, yet there could farce be faid to be either Eriendhip or Peace between their Subjects; and the Queen, perhaps, was not very follicitous that there fhould; for having now attained what fhe aimed at, a very confiderable Naval Force, and being willing to let the Spaniards fee, that though the declined a War, the had no Reafon to be afraid of it, the took Advantage of the King of Spain's Marriage with Anne of Aufria, his Niece, to give fuch an Inftance of her Generofity and Power, as did great Honour to her Adminiftration; for the caufed that Princefs to be conducted to Spain by an Englifh Navy; this was a plain Demonftration, that her Sparingnefs, upon other Occafions, was not the Effects of any Nearnels of Temper ; but that, by a conftant Frugality, fhe might have it always in her Power to be royally magnificent upon proper Occafions.

But this extraordinary Mark of Civility was far enough from meeting a proper Return, and the Spaniards' went on in difturbing the Trade, and diftreffing the Navigation, of her Subjects; which induced the Queen to fuffer her Subjects to ufe the beft Meafures they could for redreffing themfelves; in which they were not wanting. In the Year $157^{2}$ Capt. Francis Drake made his famous Expedition into the Weft Indies, with two Ships, one called the Dragon, of feventy-five Tons, the other the Swan, of twenty-five Tons, and on board them both he had no more than feventy-three Men ; and yet, with this Force, he ventured to declare War againft the King of Spain, for the Injuries he had received in his Voyage with Capt. Hawekins to the Weft Indies. In this Voyage he performed wonderful Things; for, befides taking feveral large Ships, he fairly took the Town of Nombre de Dios, by Storm, gained an immenfe Treafure, and had a Sight of the South Seas; after which he returned fafely to Plymouth, and made a fair Diftribution of the Profits of his Voyage among his Owners,

This glorious Event encouraged others to follow his Example; fo that, in a very fhort Time, the Englifo Privateers made various Voyages into all Parts of America, and every little Port in England fwarmed with Seamen, who were perfect Mafters of their Profeflion ; and Pilots capable of navigating Ships to any Part of the known World became fo numerous, that there were daily new Projects fet on foot, which in the former Age would have been thought impracticable; but in this were carried into Execution at the Charge of private Perfons, without any Expence to, or Afiftance from, the Crown, though they had all the Countenance and Encouragement they could defire: But amongft all thefe, there was none fo confiderable in itfelf, fo clear a Proof of maritime Skill, and fo honourable, in every Refpect, to the Nation, as the next Expedition of Capt. Francis Drake in 1577 , in which he failed round the Globe, as we have fhewn at large in the firft Part of this Work, and therefore need not repeat here. But one Part, however, of that Voyage fo immediately concerns the Subject of this Section, and relates to fo confiderable a Difcovery, that, as we then promifed, we fhall, as in its proper Place, fpeak of and explain it more particularly here.

Io. Capt. Drake failed from Plymouth, with five fmall Ships, the biggeit but of one hundred Tons, on the I 3 th of December 1577 , and it was the 5 th of September following before he entered the Soutb Seas, where having performed feveral glorious Actions, and gained prodigious Riches, he proceeded to the moft Northern of the Spanifb Settements; with a View to difcover, if pofible, that Paffage which had been fo much talked of from our Noxthern into the South Seas, by a Strait like that of Mageh lan's to the North-weft. This was certainly a very wife and great Undertaking, and a prodigious Improvement upon the Defign of his Voyage; for, as yet, no Englifamana had had the Opportunity, and perhaps it never entered into any Man's Head, to fearch for fuch a Paffage on this Side ; tho' it is moft likely, that by this Method it may
be found. Our Author's Endeavours, however, were ftrangely croffed by the unexpected Severity of the Weather, of which the Reverend Mr. Francis Fletcber, who was Chaplain in this Voyage, gives us a large Account ; and, as it relates to a Subject of great Importance, and contains a Multitude of curious Circumftances, thoughnot delivered in the moft polifhed Stile, we fhall give it the Reader, for the Sake of Exactnefs, in his own Words.
"From Guatulco we departed the Day following, viz. "April the I6th, fetting our Courfe directly into the Sea,
" whereupon we failed five hundred Leagues in Longi-
" tude to get a Wind, and between that and $\mathcal{F} u n e$ the " 3 d 1400 Leagues in all, till we came in 42 Degrees
" of North Latitude, wherein the Night following we
" found fuch an Alteration of Heat into extreme and
" nipping Coid, that our Men, in general, did griev-

* ounly complain thereof, fome of them feeling their
"Heatths much impaired thereby; neither was it that
"this chanced in the Night alone, but the Day follow-
" ing carried with it not only the Marks, but the Stings
" and Force, of the Night going before, to the great Ad-
" miration of us all ; for befides that the pinching and
" biting Air was nothing altered, the very Ropes of our
"Ship were ftiff, and the Rain which fell was an unna-
"t tural and frozen Subftance; fo that we feemed rather
" to be in the frozen Zone, than any way fo near unto
"the Sun, or thefe hotter Climates.
"Neither did this happen for the Time only, or by
" fome fudden Accident, but rather feemed, indeed, to " proceed from fome ordinary Caufe, againft the which
" the Heat of the Sun prevails not; for it came to that
"Extremity in Sailing but $2^{\circ}$ farther to the Northward in
" our Courfe, that tho' the Seamen lacked not good Sto-
" machs, yet it feemed a Queftion to many amongft us,
" whether their Hands fhould feed their Mouths, or
"rather keep themfelves within Coverts, from the
" pinching Cold that did benumb them? Neither could
"we impute it to the Tendernefs of our Bodies, though
" we came lately from the Extremity of Heat, by rea-
" fon whereof we might be more fenfible of the pre-
" fent Cold, infomuch that the dead and fenfelefs
"Creatures were as well affected with it as ourfelves.
"Our Meat, as foon as it was removed from the Fire,
"w would prefently, in a Manner, become frozen up;
" and our Ropes and Tackling, in a few Days, were
" grown to that Stiffnefs, that what three Men before
" were able with them to perform, now fix Men, with
" their beft Strength and utmoft Endeavours, were
" hardly able to accomplifh; whereby a fudden and great
"Difcouragement feized upon the Minds of our Men,
" and they were poffeffed with a great Minike, and
"doubting of any good to be done that Way; yet
"would not our General be difcouraged, but as well by
" comfortable Speeches of the divine Providence, and of
" God's loving Care over his Children, out of the
"Scriptures, as alfo by giving other good and pro-
" fitable Perfuafions, adding thereto his own chearful
" Example, he fo ftirred them up to put on a good
"Courage, and to acquit themélves like Men, to endure
" fome fhort Extremity; to have the fpeedier Comfort,
" and a little Trouble to obtain the greater Glory; that
" every Man was thoroughly armed with Willing-
" nefs, and refolved to fee the uttermoft, if it were pof-
"f fible, of what Good was to be done that Way.
"The Land in that Part of America bearing farther
" out into the Weft than we before imagined, we were
" nearer on it than we were aware, and yet the nearer
\%. fill we came unto it, the more Extremity of Cold did
" feize upon us. The 5th Day of June we were forced
" by contrary Winds to run in with the Shore, which
" we then firlt defcried, and to caft Anchor in a bad
"Bay, the beft Road we could for the prefent meet
©i with, where we were not without fome Danger, by
"r reafon of the many extreme Gufts and Flaws that beat " upon us; which if they ceafed and were ftill at any time,
" immediately upon their Intermiffion there followed
" moft vile, thick, and ftinking Fogs, againft which "the Sea prevailed nothing, till the Gufts of Wind again
"removed them, which brought with them fuch Extre-
" mity and Violence when they came, that there was "s no dealing or refifting againft them. In this Place "was no abiding for us, and to go furtherNorth the Extre"s mity of the Cold (which had now utterly difcouraged " all our Men) would not permit us, and the Winds, be" ing directly againft us, having once gotten us under "Sail again, commanded us to the Southward, whether "we would or no; from the Height of $48^{\circ}$, in which " now we were, to $38^{\circ}$, we found the Land by coafting "it'to be but low, and reafonably plain; every Hill " (whereof we faw many, but none very high) though " it were in fune, and the Sun in the neareft Approach " unto them, being covered with Snow.
"In $38^{\circ} 30^{\prime}$ we fell in with a convenient and fit Har"bour, and Fune the 1 yth came to an Anchor therein, " where we continued to the 23 d of Yuly following; " during all which Time, notwithftanding it was in the " height of Summer, and fo near the Sun, yet we were "continually vifited with like nipping Colds as we had " felt before; infomuch, that if violent Exercifes of our " Bodies, and bufy Employment about our neceffary La" bours, had not fometimes compelled us to the contra" ry, we could very well have been contented to have " kept about us, frill, ourWinter Clothes; yea, (had our "Neceffity fuffered us) to have kept our Beds; neither "could we at any Time, in the whole fourteen Days toge" gether, find the Air fo clear as to be able to take the " Height of Sun or Star.
"And here, having fo fit Occafion (notwithftanding " it may feem to be befides the Purpofe of writing the "Hiftory of this our Voyage) we will a little more di" ligently enquire into the Caufes of the Continuance of " the extreme Cold in thefe Parts; as alfo into the Pro" babilities or Unlikelihoods of a Paffage to be found " that way. Neither was it (as hath formerly been "touched) the Tendernefs of our Bodies coming fo late" ly out of the Heat, whereby the Pores were opened, " that made us fo fenfible of the Colds we here felt. " In this refpect, as in many others, we found our God " a provident Father and careful Phyfician to us; we " lacked no outward Helps nor inward Comforts to re" ftore and fortify Nature, had it been decayed or weak" ened in us; neither was there wanting unto us the " great Experience of our General, who had often him" felf proved the Force of the burning Zone, whofe "Advice always prevailed much to the preferving of a " moderate Temper in our Conftitutions; fo that even " after our Departure from the Heat, we always found " our Bodies not as Sponges, but ftrong and hard, " more able to bear out Cold, though we came out of
" Excefs of Heat, than a Number of Chamber-Compa" nions could have been, who lie on their Feather-beds " till they go to Sea, or rather, whofe Teeth in a tem" perate Air do beat in their Heads at a Cup of cold "Sack and Sugar by the Fire.
"And that it was not our Tendernefs, but the very " Extremity of the Cold itfelf, that caufed this Senfible" nefs in us, may the rather appear in that the natural "Inhabitants of the Place (with whom we had for a long
"Seafon familiar Intercourfe, as is to be related) who
" had never been acquainted with fuch Heat, to whom " the Country Air and Climate was proper, and in " whom Cuftom of Cold was as it were a fecond Na" ture, yet ufed to come fhivering to us in their warm "Furs, crouding clofe together, Body to Body, to re"ceive Heat one of another, and fheltering themfelves " under a Lee Bank if it were poffible; and as often " as they could, labouring to fhrowd themfelves under " our Garments to keep them warm: Befides, how " unhandfome and deformed appeared the Face of the "Earth itfelf? fhewing Trees without Leaves, and "the Ground without Greennefs in thofe Months " of $7 u n e$ and $\mathcal{F} u l y$. The poor Birds and Fowls not "daring (as we had great Experience to obferve it) fo " much as once to rife from their Nefts after the firtt "Egg laid, till it, with all the reft, be hatched, and " brought to fome ftrength of Nature able to help it" felf: Only this Recompence has Nature afforded them, "r that the Heat of their own Bodies being exceeding
«Great,


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"g great, it perfecteth the Creature with great Expedist tion, and in fhorter Time than is to be found in any " other Places. As for the Caufes of this Extremity, "6 they feem not to be fo deeply hidden, but that they ${ }^{6}$ may, at leaft in Part, be gueffed at; the chiefeft " of which we conceive to be the large fpreading of
"s the Afian and American Continents, which (fomewhat
© Northward of thefe Parts) if they be not fully joined,
${ }^{66}$ yet feem they to come very near one to the other;
" from whofe high and Snow-covered Mountains, the
${ }^{66}$ North and North-weft. Winds (the conftant Vifitants
${ }^{66}$ of thefe Coafts) fend abroad their frozen Nymphs to
"s the infecting of the whole Air with this infufferable
"Sharpnefs; not permitting the Sun, no not in the Pride " of his Heat, to diffolve that congealed Matter and
${ }^{6 c}$ Snow which they have breathed out fo nigh the Sun,
${ }^{6}$ and fo many Degrees diftant from themfelves. And
sc that the North and North-weft Winds are here conftant " in Fune and Fuly, as the North Wind is alone in $A u$ "guft and September, we not only found it by our " own Experience, but were fully confirmed in the Opi-
${ }^{56}$ nion thereof by continual Obfervations of the Spa-
ss niards.
"Hence comes the Squalidnefs and Barrennefs of the "Country; hence comesit, that in the midit of their Sum${ }^{6}$ mer the Snow hardly departeth even from their Doors,
" but is never taken away from their Hills at all; hence
©c come thofe thick Mifts and moft ftinking Fogs, which
" increafe fo much the more by how much higher the
«Pole is raifed, wherein a blind Pilot is as good as the beft
${ }^{6}$ Director of a Courfe; for the Sun ftriving to perform
" his natural Office in elevating the Vapours out of thefe
s inferior Bodies, draws neceffarily abundance of Moifture
"c out of the Sea; but the nipping Cold (from the former
"Caufes) meeting and oppofing the Sun's Endeavours,
${ }^{6}$ force him to give over his Work imperfect, and, inftead
"s of higherElevation, to leave, in the loweft Regions wan-

* dering upon the Face of the Earth andWaters, as it were
" a fecond Sea, through which its own Beams cannot "pofibly pierce, unlefs fometimes when the fudden Violence of the Winds doth help to fcatter and break thro'
${ }^{6}$ © it, which thing happeneth very feldom, and when it
"6 happeneth is of no Continuance. Some of our Mariners
" in this Voyage had formerly been at Wardboufe, in 72
" Degrees of North Latitude, who yet affirmed that they
sf felt no fuch nipping Cold there in the end of Summer,
"s when they departed, thence, as they did now in thefe
${ }^{66}$ hotteft Months of $\mathcal{F u n e}$ and $\mathcal{F}$ uly. And alfo from thefe
${ }^{6}$ Reafons we conjecture, that either there is no Paffage
${ }^{66}$ at all through thofe Northern Coafts (which is moft
${ }^{6}$ © likely) or, if there be, yet it is unnavigable. Add
"6 hereunto', that though we fearched the Coaft diligently,
*s even unto the forty-eighth Degree, yet found we not
${ }^{46}$ the Land to trend fo much as one Point, in any Place,
${ }^{66}$ towards the Eaft; but rather running on continually
" North-weft, as if it went direetly to meet with Afic ;
"s and even in that Height, when we had a frank Wind
sc to have carried us through, had there been a Paffage,
"s yet we had a fmooth and calm Sea, with ordinary
${ }^{36}$ flowing and reflowing, which could not have been, had
${ }^{86}$ there been an Opening, of which we rather infallibly con-
${ }^{56}$ cluded than conjectured that there was none."
This fhews us clearly Mr. Fletcher's Opinion, and he gives us likewife a very large and full, to fay the Truth, a very tedious and trifling, Account of their Landing and Stay here; of their being taken for Gods by the Natives, and of their attempting to offer Sacrifices to them, with which, I fuppofe, the Reader will eafily difpenfe; but after this he comes to the Point, and tells us, That thefe People behaved extremely well during their Stay; and that their King; in teftimony of his Refpect for, and Submiffion to, Captain Drake, prefented him with the Enfigns of his Regal Dignity; which he received as a Refignation of his Kingdom to the Queen his Miftrefs, in whofe Name, and on whofe Behalf, he took Poffeffion of it, and fet up a wooden Crofs, with a Brafs Plate and a proper Infeription, in Teftimony thereof. This Country he called Nero Albion, and this for two Reafons; the firft was, becaufe of its

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white Cliffs; the other, that it might have fome Aff nity, as Mr. Fletiber exprefles it, in Name with our own Country, which was fome time fo called.

He afterwards acknowledges, that upon taking a View of the Inland Parts, they found them very rich and fertile, contrary to their Expectations; but as to the People, he allows, that, both on the Coait and within Land, their Behaviour was perfectly uniform, and they had no Reafon to complain of them, but rather to commend and applaud them. It is very true, that Mr. Fletcher's Account of Sir Francis Drake's Voyage is by much the largeft, but I am far from efteeming it the beft: I inferted. fo long a Paffage from it, that the Reader might be able to judge of his Performance as well as my Sentiments. He has given us a very extraordinary Defcription of the exceffive Cold they met with both at. Sea and on Shore, and difcourfes on it more largely, to fhew his Capacity and Judgment; yet I do not find that Experience has at all confirmed this, as the Reader will perceive by turning to the other Voyages of Candijh, and thofe who followed him, and who went to California as well as Sir Francis Drake.

I mention this the rather, becaufe Candifs was there fo foon after Sir Francis Drake; for I find by the original Account of his Expedition, that he was there in November 1587, but do not find that he faid one Word of its being cold ; and tho it may be objected, that he was in the Southern Part of California only, yet the Difference is fo inconfiderable, that it is impoffible to reconcile the two Accounts, fuppofing them both to be exact. ' Again, in Sir Francis Drake's Voyage, printed by Hackluit, it is only faid, That in the Latitude of 42 Degrees the Men were extremely pinched with Cold; and finding it increafe as they failed farther North, it was refolved to alter their Courfe, and ftand in for the Land more to the South; where they found a good Bay, and a very gentle, friendly, and honeft People; yet the Truth of the Matter is, that the Spaniards had, thirty-feven Years before, failed along this Coaft to the Heighth of 44 Degrees, as far as Cape Mendocino; and they afterwards difcovered Cape Blanco beyond that, which is a plain Proof that the Cold is not fo intolerable as Mr. Fletcher would make it. But the real Defign of all his Remarks is, to difcourage all Hopes of finding a Paffage this Way into the North Seas, which however was not Sir Francis Drake's Opinion, if we may credit what other Writers have told us; and indeed fo many Abfurdities have been difcovered in Mr. Fletcher's Defcription of New Albion, that Father Cbarlevoix makes no Scruple of calling it a fabulous Country, and from hence takes Occafion to make fome Reflections upon Sir Francis Drake, which that Gentleman did not at all deferve.

But to fhew the Reader the true Defign of dwelling fo long upon this Subject I muft obferve, that his Account difcredits Drake's Difcovery extremely, which not only turns to the Prejudice of that great Man's Character, but may likewife prove difadvantageous to this Nation, by giving them a very mean Opinion of what ought to be confidered as a very noble Acquifition. The Difcovery, as I conceive, 'confifted chiefly in' his marching up into the Country, which before that Time, it is probable, the Spaniards had never done ; and with refpect to our Title to this Country, I conceive it to arife from the Good-will and voluntary Submiffion of the People, Facts as well proved as in the Nature of Things we can expect, and which certainly give us as good (if not a better) Claim to New Albion, as the Spaniards can fhew for any Part of their Poffeffions.

The Country too, if we might depend upon what Sir Francis. Drake or his Chaplain fays, may appear worth the feeking and the keeping, fince they affert that the Land is fo rich in Gold and Silver, that upon the flighteft turning it up with a Spade or Pick-ax, thofe richMetals plainly appear mixed with the Mould. It may be objected that this looks a little fabulous; but to this, two fatisfactory Anfwers may be given; the firf is, That later Difcoveries on the fame Coaft confirm the Truth of it, which, for any thing I can fee, ought to put the Fact out of queftion: but if any Doubts fhould remain,

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my fecond Anfwer will overturn thefe. For I fay next, That the Country of Nero Mexico lies directly behind New Albion, on the other Side of a narrow Bay, and in that Country are the Mines of Santo Fe, which are allowed to be the richeft Silver-Mines in North America: Here then is a very valuable Country, to which we have a very fair Title.
But perhaps it may be akked, How fhall we come at it, fince, as Things ftand at prefent, it feems to be the Country in the World moft out of our Reach ? But if it had been fo, I would not have given myfelf or the Reader fo much Trouble about it ; and therefore I am next to tell him, that if Mr. Artbur Dobbs's Expedition for difcovering a North-weft Paflage fucceeds, New Albion will be a Country very much within our Reach, and, I dare fay, prove to the full as habitable as the Coaft of Hudfon's Bay; and therefore I hope that this Example will fully fhew the Ufe and Value of good Collections of Voyages, becaule it is impoffible to forefee all the Advantages that may arife from any Difcovery or Settlement at once, nor is it eafy to pronounce, that any Difcovery, how unpromifing foever in its firf Appearance, is abfolutely ufelefs, and not worth minding.
This is a Caution of a very ferious Nature, fince there is nothing eafier than for Men of quick Wits and tolerable Learning in other Refpects, to ridicule Voyages to cold, barren, defarts Countries, and to reprefent that as Folly and Madnefs, which is in truth a moft noble kind of public Spirit, which, if pufhed ftill farther than it has ever been; would be attended with Confequences of fill greater Advantage to Mankind, than thofe that have flowed from it already; and yet thefe have been very beneficial to this and other Nations, as any judicious Man will very eaffly and clearly difcern, by comparing the State of thofe Nations, before they addicted themfelves to Commerce, and fince they have reaped the Profits of it.

I I. We have already fhewn the Right this Nation has to Nerefoundland; which is an Inand of a triangular Figure, about the Size of Ireland; and, according to the beft Computation that can be made, about eight or nine hundred Leagues in Circumference: On the North it is feparated from the Continent by the narrow Streights of Bellijle; on the Weft it has the Bay of St. Laurence; on the South, Cape Breton and the Banks; and on the Eaft it has the Ocean. It lies about fix hundred Leagues from the Land's-end in England, and the great Bank is generally looked upon as half way to Virginia. There is no Country in the World better furnifhed with Harbours, and it is abundantly fupplied with frefh Water. The Climate is very hot in Summer, and very cold in Winter, fo that the Snow lies upon the Ground for four or five Months at leaft. This is the beft Account that we are able to give with Certainty about it; for if we read the different Relations written of this Country, by Perfons who ought to have been beft acquainted with it, we fhall find them fo oppofite and contradictory, that it will be very hard to judge from them, whether it be one of the beft or worft Countries in the World.

But by confidering the Views with which thefe feveral Accounts were written, and adverting to the Situation of this Country, between 47 and 52 Degrees of Northern Latitude, we may be eafily perfuaded that it is no Paradife ; and yet it is more to the South than our own Illand; but lying off a Continent very little better than frozen, the Winds which blow over muft bring along with them Weather very different from ours. It is, however, very certain, that Filberds, Strawberries, fome Kinds of Cherries, and other fuch-like Fruits, grow here; and, though Corn and Hay fucceed but indifferently, yet there is great Plenty of Venifon, wild Fowl and Finh ; fo that with dry Food in plenty from Europe, People may live here very comfortably even in Winter, fince the Country produces Fuel of feveral Kinds in abundance.
The great Advantage, however, refulting from our Poffeffion of the Place never depended much upon its Produce; fo far from it, that one of the beft Writers upon the Trade of this Nation gave his Opinion clearly, that it was more for our Intereft there fhould be no Settlements upon it at all; which, in my Judgment, he has by
unanfwerable Arguments made good; but' the Value of Nerefoundland to this Crown and Country refults from the Fifhery upon its Coafts, and upon the Banks near it, which has been, and ftill is, of ineftimable Benefit, for Reafons that fhall be prefently given. It is very certain, that we did not profecute our Difcoveries in and about this Inand, or attend to the Advantages that might be made from the Fifhery, in many Years after Cabot had taken Poffeffion of it; but I do not however believe, that we ever left or deferted it, as fome Writers would have us believe, and that we did not claim it again till the Reign of Queen Elizabeth. I am, on the contrary, perfuaded, that fome of our Eithing Veffels reforted yearly to this Coaft, though perhaps not many ; and this, for two Reafons; firtt, becaufe the unfettled State of our Affairs kept the beft part of our Seamen one way or other in the public Service; and next, becaufe we had a great Fifhery, at that time, on the Coait of Iceland.
But that we really kept Poffeffion of the Newfoundland Fifhery all that time may, I think, be undeniably proved by two Arguments likewife : The one taken from the Act of Parliament before-mentioned, in the fecond Year of the Reign of Edrward the VIth, which would have been needlefs, if this Fifhery had not fubfifted; and the other from the Account given us of the State of this Fifhery in 1578 , by Mr. Parkburf, which is very curious, and yet little taken Notice of He tells us, that in this Year there were about fifty Sail of Engli/h Ships employed upon that Coait ; but he tells us likewife, that there were one hundred Sail of Spaniards, befides twenty or thirty Sail of Bijcayneers, fifty of Portugueze, and one hundred and fifty French. He adds another Circumftance, which is ftill more to our Purpofe ; and it is this, that wherever the Englifb fifhed, they were reputed Lords of the Harbour, and exercifed an Authority over other Nations, by making ufe of their Boats when they had Occafion for them; which makes it plain to me, that we conftantly kept up our Title, for otherwife it is impoffible to give any Reafon why we fhould have exercifed this Dominion, where we were fo far from being the moft powerful. An immemorial Cuftom was Foundation enough for fuch a Practice, and nothing but this could be efteemed fo.

He tells us alfo, that our own Ships were the ftrongeft, largeft, and beft equipped; and that, by this Means, we protected our own Trade and the Trade of other Nations, which is a Confirmation of what I have obferved; he fays, that next to ours the Spaniards were the beft equipped, and he computes the Tonnage of theife Veffels at about fix thoufand, and the French at about feven thoufand, Ton; but the Portugueze; he fays, were the worft equipped of all. As for the Eifcayneers, they were chiefly employed in Whale-Fifhing, and in making Train-Oil. The great Confequence of this Trade to our Nation arofe from hence; that, in the firft Place, it raifed a vaft Number of Seamen, and thofe the beft and ableft that were any where bred, fo that, even at this time, there could not be fewer than two thoufand employed therein. Next, it gave Bread to a valt Number of Manufacturers and Mechanics, fuch as Ship and BoatBuilders, Esc. Thirdly, it produced a great deal of Money from the Sale of the Fith. Fourthly, almoft all the Provifions confumed in Nerwfoundland, fuch as Bread, Beef, Pork, Butter, Cheefe, Linnen, and Woollen, Cloths, Nets, Hooks, and Lines, were all furnifhed from England; to which we may add, that thefe Veffels being fitted out in March, and returning in September, they not only brought Home a Number of People full of Money, which they fpent in England, but they alfo left us a certain Proportion of ftout able Seamen, frefh Men going out in their room, and becoming in a Voyage or two as good Mariners as themfelves.

Thus it clearly appears, how this bleak, barren, and inhofpitable Country came to be of fuch Confequence; which was very foon difcerned by the wife Miniftry of Queen Elizabeth, towards the Clofe of whofe Reign it grew to fuch a Height that we employed yearly two hundred Sail and upwards of Fifhing-Veffels, and on

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board them upwards of eight thoufand Seamen, a clear Proof of the Improvements that were then made in the Space of twenty Years; and which confirms, beyond Queftion, what I remarked at the Clofe of the preceding Paragraph, that all Difcoveries are of ufe, and every Branch of Navigation worth looking after, and keeping. If the Reader confults other Accounts of Nerwfoundland, within this Period of Time, he will fee that I have not been much affifted by them, but that I have fet the Subject in a new Light, from Facts of which they have taken little or no Notice.
But I come now to fpeak of thofe that are more generally known, and of the famous Patent of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, which is one of the firt of them. This Gentleman was a Native of Devon/bire, had a good Fortune, was well allied, had a competent Knowledge both of military and maritime Affairs, and a generous Defire to raife his private. Fortune by the Purfuit of the public Service. It was with this View that he reprefented to Queen Elizabeth the Expediency of fettling all thofe Countries upon the Continent of America, which had been formerly difcovered by Jobn and Sebaftion Cabot, becaufe, otherwife, it was not at all unlikely that the French, who had often reviewed thefe Places, would be defirous of fupplanting the Englifh, and becaufe it was very far from being improbable that thofe Countries abounded with very rich Minerals. Upon thefe Suggeftions very full Letters Patents were granted by the Queen to Sir H. Gilbert, his Heirs and Afligns, with free Leave, not only to difcover, but to plant and fettle, and even to fortify and build Caftles, in any of thefe northern Countries, not then in the Poffeffion of any Chriftian Prince, with Authority to govern fuch Colonies, according to the known Laws of the Land, with feveral other Claufes, equally well contrived for fecuring this Grant from becoming any way injurious to the Public.

After obtaining this Favour from the Queen, our worthy Knight applied himfelf to his Relations and Friends, in order to frame a Society capable of carrying this Defign into Execution ; and he met with fuch Succefs therein, that he thought himfelf very foon in a Condition to undertake a Voyage for this Purpofe ; yet, when it came to the Point, Things fell out very crofly; for fome of his Affociates began to form particular Projects inconfiftent with his general Scheme, and others abfolutely failed in performing their Engagements; which, however, did not hinder this gallant Gentleman from putting to Sea, with fuch of his Friends as had ftuck clofe to their Promifes ; but the Voyage proved very unfortunate, and was attended with the Lofs of one of his beft Ships, in which was Mr. Miles Morgan, whom he much efteemed, and feveral other Perfons of Worth and Figure. This was a fevere Blow, which he was the lefs able to fuftain, as having already fuffered extremely in his Fortune, by the Money he had been obliged to advance to fupply other Mens Deficiencies; and therefore he was conftrained to affign part of his Patent to other Perfons, who were to make Settlements in the northern Parts of America about the River of Canada; but thefe People proving likewife very dilatory, he found himfelf obliged to think of another Expedition, in Perfon ; becaufe his Patent was to expire, if within the Space of fix Years he had not actually gained Poffeffions under it.

In the Spring of the Year 1583 he had again brought this Defign into fome Order, and to furnifh the neceffary Expences thereof he was obliged to fell his Eftate, though he had great Affiftance from his Friends; and feveral Gentlemen of Rank and Fortune agreed to go with him in Perfon; with this View a fmall Squadron was fitted out, confifting of the following Veffels, viz. the Delight (or George), of one hundred and twenty Tons, Admiral, in which went Sir Humpbrey himfelf, as General, William Winter, Captain, and part Owner, and Richard Clark; Mafter; the Bark Raleigh, fitted out by Mr. Walter Raleigh, of two hundred Tons, Vice-Admiral, Mr. Butler, Captain, and Robert Davis of Brifol, Mafter; the Golden Hind of forty Tons, Rear-Admiral, Capt. Edward Hayes, Commander and Owner, and Wil-
liam Cox, of Limeboufe, Mafter; the Swailow, of forty Tons, Maurice Brown, Captain; the Squirrel, of ten Tons ${ }_{3}$ William Andreros, Captain, and one Cade, Mafter. In all thefe Veffels were fhipped about two hundred and fixtyMen, among whom were many Shipwrights, Mafons, Carpenters, Smiths, Miners, and Refiners. The Refolution of the Proprietors was, that the Fleet fhould begin its Courfe northerly, and follow as directly as they could the Trade-way to Nerefoundland, from whence, after having refrefhed and fupplied themfelves with all Neceffaries, their Intent was to proceed into the South, and not to pafs by any River or Bay, which, in all that large Tract of Land, fhould appear worthy their looking into; they likewife agreed upon the Manner of their Courfe, and the Orders to be obferved in their Voyage, which were delivered to the Captains and Mafters of every Ship in writing.
The rith of Fune they fet fail from Caufet Bay, near Plymoutb; but, on the $13^{\text {th }}$, their large Ship the Raleigh, under Pretence that her Captain and a great Number of her Men were fuddenly taken ill of a contagious Difeafe, left the Fleet and returned to Plymoutb; fome fay in great Diftrefs, but others, that it was done with a Defign to break the Voyage. After her Departure the Golden Hind fucceeded her in Place as Vice Admiral. The 3oth of Fuly they had the firft Sight of Land, as they computed it about $5 \mathrm{I}^{\circ}$, but with fuch foggy Weather, that they could not poffibly perceive the Land, nor take the Sun's Heighth : From thence they followed the Coalt to the South, with clear Weather, till they came to the Ifland called Baccalaos; here they. met with the Swallow, which had been feparated from them in the Fog, but were furprized to fee her Men in a different Garb from what they had on when they left them; upon Enquiry, they found they had met a Newlander fifhing Bark returning homewards, which they had rifled of Tackle, Sails, Cables, and Provifions, and the Men of their Apparel. Continuing the fame Courfe Southward, they cane the fame Day, being the third of Auguft, to the Harbour of St. Jobn; where they found the Squirrel, which had likewife been feparated from them, riding at Anchor at the Mouth of the Harbour ; having been refufed Entrance by the Veffels which were fifhing within, to the Number of thirty-fix fail of all Nations. Sir Humphrey was preparing to make good his Paffage by force of Arms; but having firf fent in his Boat to inform the Mafters of the fifhing Barks, that he had a Commiffion from the Queen to take Poffeffion of thefe Lands for the Crown of England, they were fatisfied, and fubmitted to the levying a Tax of Provifions from each Ship, for fupplying the Wants of Sir Humphrey's fmall Squadron. Going into the Harbour, the Admiral's Ship was by the Careleffnefs of the Men run upon a Rock, which lay vifible above Water: But, by the Affiftance of the Fifhermens Boats, fhe was got off again, with little or no Damage.

On the 4 th Sir Humpbrey, whom they called the General, and his Company were conducted on Shore by the Mafters of the Englifh fifhing Veffels, and their Owners or Merchants who were with them. On the 5 th the General, having caufed a Tent to be fet up in view of all the Ships in the Harbour, to the Number of between thirty and forty Sail, and being accompanied by all his Captains, Mafters, Gentlemen, and Soldiers, fummoned all the Merchants and Mafters, both Englifb and Foreignerss to be prefent at his taking a formal, and folemn Poffef fion of thefe Territories. Being affembled he caufed his Commiffion, under the great Seal of England, to be openly read before them, and to be interpreted to thofe who were Strangers to the Engliß Tongue.

By Virtue of this Commiffion, he declared that he took Poffeffion of the Harbour of St. Jobn, and two hundred Leagues every way invefted her Majefty with the Title and Dignity thereof; and having had (according to Cuftom) a Rod, and Turf of Soil delivered to him, entered Poffeffion alfo for himfelf, his Heirs, and Affigns, for ever. He fignified to thofe who were prefent, and through them to all Men, that from thenceforward they fould look upon thofe Territories as apper-
taining to the Queen of England, and himfelf, authorized under her Majefty to poffefs and enjoy them, with Power to ordain Laws for the Government thereof, agreeable (as near as conveniently could be) to the Laws of England; under which, all People coming thither for the future, either to inhabit, or by way of Traffic, fhould fubmit and be governed. Some Writers have attributed all this Solemnity, which, however, was attended with many other Ceremonies, to a high degree of Vanity, in our Weft-country Knight; and have ridiculed feverely his Pretences to improve the Trade of this Kingdom and enlarge the Queen's Dominions, by cutting a Turf; in which, however, they injure this poor Gentleman's'Memory extremely, and fhew how little they are qualified to give their Readers a true Account of things of this Nature.
The plain Reafon of Sir Humphrey's Conduct throughout this Affair, was his Concern for his Grant, which was perpetual to him and his Heirs, in cafe he took Poffeffion of any Countries within fix Years, and otherwife it was void: There were now but a few Months to come. He had fold his Eftate in England, and it concerned him very nearly to fecure an Eftate fomewhere elfe; and therefore it was not from any Principle of Vanity, but rather of Prudence and good Oeconomy, that he did this; as appears by his granting feveral Parcels of Land to Perfons, who covenanted to pay a certain Rent to him and his Heirs, and to maintain Poffeffion by themfelves and their Affigns.

There now remained only to gather in the Tax of Provifions granted by every Ship which fifhed upon the Coaft adjoining; and while fome of the Men were doing -this, others were fet to repair and trim the Ships; and the Remainder the General fent to enquire into the Commodities and Singularities of the Country, which were to be found by Sea or Land. They found no Inhabitants in the South Parts, which probably the Natives had abandoned, upon their being fo much frequented by Europeans. In the North there were Savages of, a very harmlefs Difpofition ; among other Inquiries, the General had, in a particular Manner, recommended a Search after Metals. They had in their Company a Saxon Miner, who at firft brought a fort of Ore to the General, which had more the Refemblance of Iron than of any other Metal. Soon after he found another Sort of Ore, which he delivered with a Shew of great Satisfaction to Sir Humpbrey, and affured him, upon the Peril of his Life, that if Silver was what he and his Companions fought, there it was, and they need feek no farther. We learn all thefe Circumftances from Captain Edward Hayes, who feems, by his Writing, to have been a very intelligent Perfon; and therefore he enquired very ftrictly about this Silver-Mine, which procured him fuch an Anfwer from the General, as fhewed that he was abfolutely fatisfied on that Head; and I muft own I fee no Reafon to doubt there being Silver-Mines in this Country, fince we know they are generally found in cold Climates, and in a hungry barren Soil ; and, as to the northern Situation, we are certain that there are rich Silver Mines in New Mexico, a Country not far to the Southward of Newofoundland; and Silver Ore has been found in Scotland feveral Degrees farther to the North than it is fuppofed to have been found here.

But though Sir Humphrey was very well fatisfied with the Account his Saxon gave him, yet he thought himfelf obliged to proceed in his Difcoveries Southward; for which while he was providing fome of his Men fell fick, fome deferted, fome died, and fome fell to plundering and Piracy: In fhort, the Number of his People was fo leffened, that he was conftrained to leave the Sreallore behind him. The Captain of his Admiral going home, Captain Brown of the Swallow took the Command of the Admiral, and the Captain of the Squirrel deferting likewife the Expedition, Sir Humpbrey went on board that little Veffel himfelf; as thinking her the fitteft for obferving and difcovering the Coait, becaufe the could run into every Creek, which a larger Ship could not do. All things being now ready, and plenty of Provifons of all Sorts being put on board, they failed on the 2oth of Auguft from the Harbour of St. Jobn,
with three Ships, the Delight, the Golder Hind, and the Squirrel, and proper Boats and Pinnaces for Difcovery. Before their Departure they made an exact Obfervation of St. Fobn's Harbour, and found it to be in the Latitude of $47^{\circ} 40^{\prime}$ North. The next Night they reached Cape Race, which is twenty-five Leagues diftant ; and from thence failed about eighty-feven Leagues towards Cape Breion.

All this time they had the Wind indifferently good, but never could get Sight of the Land, being hindered by the Currents; at laft they unhappily fell into thofe Flats and Sholes in which moft of them perifhed. On the 27 th the General ordered his Men in the Frigate to found, and found thirty-five Fathom white Sand, in the Latitude of $44^{\circ}$. The Wind coming South, the next Evening they bore in with the Land, all the Night Weft North-weft, contrary to the Advice of Mr. Cox, Matter of the Golden Hind. On the 2gth the Wind blew vehemently at South and by Eaft, with Rain, and fo thick a Mift, that they could not fee a Cable's-length before them. Early in the Morning they found themfelves in the midft of Sholes and Sands, among which they found fometimes deep, fometimes fhole Water, every three or four Ship's-length. After they began to found, a Signal was immediately given to the Delight to caft about to the feaward, but it was too late; for fhe ftruck immediately, and her Stern and Hind-Quarters prefently beat to Pieces. Upon which the Golden Hind and the Frigate caft about Eaft South-eaft, bearing to the South, which carried them to the feaward, and with much Difficulty got clear of the Sholes.

In the Delight perifhed Captain Maurice Brown, wit.: near one hundred Perfons: The Captain might probably have faved his Life, if he would have left the Ship. when fhe firft ftruck, but he would not be the firft to fet an ill Example. In the mean Time fourteen Perfons leaped into a fmall Pinnace of a Ton and a half burden, no bigger than a Thames-Barge. They looked out fome time for the Captain, but not feeing him took in Mr. Clark, the Mafter of the Delight, and one more: Being now fixteen in Number, they cut the Rope and committed themfelves to the Mercy of the Waves, without any Provifions, or a Drop of frefh Water, and nothing to work with but one fingle Oar. The Boat feeming to be over-loaded, one Edruard Headly, thinking it was better for forne to perifh than all, propofed to caft Lots, and that four of the Number, upon whom the Lot might fall, fhould be thrown over-board to lighten the Boat: But he was over-ruled by Mr. Clark; who, though it was propofed that he fhould be excepted from the Number, perfuaded his Comerades rather to fubmit to Providence. The Boat was driven before the Wind fix Days and fix Nights, during which time thefe poor Wretches had no other Suftenance than their own Urine, and fome Weeds which fwam on the Surface of the Water; and in this Extremity of Cold, Wet, Hunger, and Thirft, only Headly and one more perifhed the fifth Day; but the other fourteen lived till they were driven the feventh Day on Shore, on the Coaft of Nerefoundland; whence they got in a French Ship to France, and fo to England, before the Year's-end. During their feven Days dangerous Courfe they had the Wind always at South, which faved their Lives; and it is very remarkable, that in half an Hour after they were on Shore it came about and blew full North.
After the Lofs of the Admiral the Men being generally difcouraged, and in want of Neceffaries, Sir Humphrey Gilbert propofed returning to England, having, in his Judgment, made Difcoveries fufficient to procure Afiftance enough for a new Voyage in the Spring. His People, when he made this Propofal, were at firft a little backward, but, upon hearing his Reafons, they fubmitted; and, according to his Advice, on the laft of Auguft they altered their Courfe and returned back for England. On the fecond of September they paffed in Sight of Cape Race, and had afterwards frequently very bad Weather, with fuch high Seas, that they in the Hind often expected to fee the Squirrel fwallowed up; notwithftanding which, Sir Humpbrey would by no means be perfuaded to leave her. On the $g$ th, the Storms and Swelling of the Seas in-
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creafing, he was again preffed to leave the Frigate, but his Anfwer was, We are as near to Heaven by Sea as by Land. About Midnight the Squirrel being a-head of the Golden Hind, her Lights were at once extinguifhed, which thofe in the Hind feeing, cried out, Our General is loft! and it was fuppofed fhe funk that Inftant, for the was never more heard of.

The Golden Hind arrived in fafety at Falmouth, on the 22d of September, more fortunate than her Companions; not only as the returned, but as the loft but one Man during the whole Courfe of this unfortunate Undertaking. Such was the End of this Expedition, very difaftrous to its Author; who loft firft his Fortune, and then his Life, by it ; to which, if the Sallies of fome diftempered Mens untimely Wit could effect it, we might add his Reputation alfo. Yet to this Expedition I make no Cruple of imputing all our fucceeding Colonies in America; and the Grounds of this Opinion of mine, which I mult confefs is new, I lay down thus:
12. We have before fhewn that Sir Humphrey Gilbert was a Man of great Intereft and Alliances: For, befides his eldent Brother Sir Fobn Gilbert, and his younger Brother Sir Adrian Gilbert, who were of the whole Blood, he was, by the Mother's Side, Brother alfo to Sir Walter Raleigh, who had a great Concern in this Undertaking; and who is on good Grounds allowed to have been one of thofe true, brave, and fteady Friends, who went to Sea with him in his firft Attempt, which there is juft Reafon to believe was in 1579 . This great Man, after Sir Humpprey Gilberi's Mifcarriage and Lofs in his laft Voyage, procured his Patent to be renewed to himfelf, which was dated the 25 th of March 1584, and he refolved immediately to carry it into Execution; to which purpofe he made Choice of two very able Sea Officers, Captain Pbilip Amadas, and Captain Artbur Burlow; who, in two fmall Barks fit for Difcovery, failed from the Weft of England upon the 27th of April following, fhaping their Courfe for the Canaries, which they paffed on the roth of 7 une, and proceeding from thence to the Iflands of America, they croffed the Gulph of Mexico, and foon after difcovered the Coaft of Florida. Some Authors who have written of this Expedition, and who are pleafed to fpeak in very high Terms of Sir Walter Raleigh's Skill in maritime Affairs, venture neverthelefs to affirm, that the Perfons he employed were fo ignorant of Navigation, that, by the Computation of able Seamen, they went above two thoufand Leagues out of their Way; but as I am very well fatisfied they purfued Sir Walter's Inftructions, fo I cannot help thinking this Imputation of Ignorance ought to be wiped away ; and this may be very eafily done, by fhewing the true Caufe why this great and knowing Seaman directed this Courfe: He had obferved that all the Attempts hitherto had failed, by the Adventurers purfuing their Difcoveries from the North, which was one Reafon why he chofe another Rout; befides which, he had a better and ftronger Motive ; for, confidering all the Lands on the Continent of America from the laft Settlements of the Spaniards to $60^{\circ}$ North, as lying within his Grant, he very prudently chofe to fettle thofe firft, which lay neareft thofe Spanif Settlements; and this was the clear and certain Caufe of his directing his Servants to take this Courfe; which was fo far from being a Proof of their Ignorance, that it is a full and fair Teftimony of their Mafter's exten five Knowledge

It was on the 2 d of Fuly they fell in with the Coaft of Florida, in fhole Water, where they fmelled a mot delightful Odour, as if they had been in the midf of a Garden, abounding with the moft fragrant Flowers, by which they fuppofed they were near, though they faw no Land. On the $4^{\text {th }}$ they difcovered the Continent, and failed along the Coaft 40 Leagues, till they came on the $13^{\text {th }}$ to a River, where they anchored, and, going on Shore, took Poffeffion in right of the Queen, and for the Ufe of the Proprietors. This Place they afterwards found to be the Mand of Wokoken, on the Coaft of the Country fince called Virginia, in $34^{\circ}$ Lacitude; and in it they found Deer, Rabbets, Hares, Fowls, Vines, Cedars, Pines, Saffafras, Cyprefs, and Maftic Trees. The Author of the Hiftory of Virginia fays,

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they anchored at the Inlet of Roenocke; at prefent under the Government of North Carolina. They went to the Tops of the Hills which were neareft the Shore, from whence, though they were not high, they difcovered the Sea on all Sides, and found it to be an Inland of twenty Miles in Length, and fix in Breadth. It was the third Day before they faw any of the Natives; but then, a little Boat, with three of them, appeared: One of them going afhore, they rowed up to him, and he not only waited their coming without any Signs of Fear, but went on board, where they gave him a Shirt and Hat, with fome Wine and Meat, which he expreffed a liking to: After he had, with a feeming Satisfaction; narrowly viewed the Barks with all that were in them; he went in his own Boat to above a quarter of a Mile's Diftance, where he fifhed, and in half an Hour loaded his Boat with Fifh, as deep as it could fwim, and came again to the Point of Land; where, to fhew his Gratitude, he divided it into two Parts; and, making Signs that he defigned it for the two Ships equally, he departed.

The Natives from the Continent, after this, repaired to their Ships frequently, and exchanged feveral Sorts of Skins, white Coral, and fome Pearls, for fome tin things, and other Baubles of inconfiderable Value. The very next Day after they faw the three Indians, feveral Boats apa peared in view; in one of which was the King of the Country's Brother, attended by forty or fifty Men of a tolerable good Appearance. They made him, and four of his Chiefs, Prefents of feveral Toys, which he accepted of very kindly; but he took all himfelf, and gave them to underftand that none there had a Right to any thing but himfelf; two Days afterwards they let him fee their Merchandize, of which nothing feemed to pleafe him more than a pewter Difh, for which he gave twenty Deer-Skins; and, making a hole in the Rim of it, hung it over his Neck for a Breaft-plate, making Signs that it would defend him againft the Enemies Arrows. The next thing he bought was a Copper Kettle, for which he gave fifty Skins. As long as he thought fit to traffic with them, none, but fuch as like him wore Plates of Gold or Copper on their Heads, were allowed either to buy or fell; but as foon as they had done every Man had his Liberty. They offered very good Exchange for Hatchets, Axes, and Knives, and would have given any thing in Truck for Swords; but the Englijh would not part with any. The King's Brother came afterwards frequently on board, and would eat; drink, and be merry with them ; and once he brought his Wife and Children with him, who afterwards came frequently with their Followers only.

They often trufted the King's Brother with Goods upon his Word, to bring the Value at a certain time, which he never failed of doing. He had a ftrong Inclination to have a fuit of Armour and a Sword, which he faw in one of the Ships; and would have left a large Box of Pearls in pawn for them, but they refufed it ; that he might not know they fet a Value upon them, till they could difcover whence he got them. They underftood from the Natives, that their Country, which they found to be very fruitful and productive of all things, in fo very fhort a Time as is hardly credible, was called by the Name of Wingandacoa, and their King Wingina. When they went on Shore they were entertained with extraordinary Civility, and once in particular by the King's Brother's Wife, at a little Village in Roenocke. They were told of a great City where the King refided, fix Days Journey on the Continent, which, however, they did not fee; they made no long Stay, nor proceeded any farther on Difcovery, only juft to the neighbouring Parts, in their Boats; and, being fatisfied with what they had feen, returned to England about the Middle of September, pleafed with the Advantage they had made in this fhort and profperous Voyage; and, with the Hopes of the future Advantages they fhould make, efpecially as they found all things here entirely new and furprizing.
They gave a very advantageous Account of Matters, by reprefenting the Country fo delightful and defireable, fo pleafant, and abounding with all the Neceffaries of Life; the Climate and Air fo temperate, good and

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wholefome
wholefome, the Woods and Soil fo charming and fruitful, and all other Things fo agreeable, that Paradife itfelf feemed to be there in its native Luftre. They gave particular Accounts of the Variety of good Fruits, fome whereof they had never feen before; efpecially, that there were Grapes in fuch abundance as were never any where known; fately tall large Oaks, and other Timber; red Cedar, Cyprefs, Pines, and other Ever-greens and fweet Woods, for Tallnefs and Largenefs exceeding all they had ever heard of. Wild Fowl, Deer, Fifh, and other Game, in fuch Plenty and Variety that no Epicure could defire more than this new World feemed naturally to afford. To make it yet more defireable they reported, that the Native Indian's, who were then the only Inhabitants, were fo affable, kind and good-natured; fo tractable in learning Trades and Fafhions; fo innocent and ignorant in all manner of Tricks and Cunning, and fo defirous of the Englifh, that they rather feemed ready to take any Impreffion, than any ways like to oppofe the fettling of the Englijb near them.

Upon this fair Reprefentation of the Effects of their Voyage, and of the noble Difcovery that had attended it, Queen Eliaboth was pleafed to promife what Affitance it fhould be neceffary for the Crown to give for promoting and perfecting this Settlement; and fhe was likewife pleafed to beftow the Name of Virginia upon this new found Country; "but whether, as is commonly believed, in regard to its being difcovered under a Virgin Queen, or in allufion to the uncorrupted State of the Land and its Inhabitants, is a Queftion I will not pretend to decide; but perhaps the former was the Senfe impofed by Sir Walter, the compleateft Courtier fhall I fay, or rather the compleateft Man, of his Time; and the latter the Senfe in which the Queen would have had it underftood: But however that matter be, we mult not confound the Virginia of Sir Waller Raleigh with the Province now fo called; for, without all queftion, it was in thofe Days a very different Thing, and comprehended the whole Country claimed by the Crown of England, from the Southern Limits of the new Province of Georgia, to the utmoft Fxtent of our Difcoveries Northwards, agreeable to the two Patents granted to Sir Humplorey Gilbert, and to his Brother Sir Walter Raleigb.

It was not long before the Proprietor refolved to fit out a much more confiderable Fleet than had hitherto been employed in fuch Undertakings, that fomething might be done worthy of the Nation, on whofe Behalf this Settlement was, to be made, of the powerful Queen who had protected it, and of himfelf, who was the Author and Patron of this Scheme; Sir Walter intended to have commanded in this Expedition himfelf, and to have carried with him a fufficient Number of Forces to have completed this Defign of makeing a Settlement there; but being at that time jealous that his Abfence might be prejudical to his Intereft at Court, which the Earl of Leiceffer fought all Occafions to leffen, he committed the Conduct of this fecond Enterprize to his Lieutenant, Sir Richard Greenville; who, on the 8th of April, fet fail from Plymoutb with feven Ships fitted out by the Company, of which himfelf and feveral Gentlemen were Members ; and this Company was the firft of that kind that was eftablifhed in Europe: Thefe King Fames incorporated by the Name of the Governor and Company of the Weft Indies; which, for their Mal-adminiftration, was diffolved by his Son King Cbarles I.

On the 26 th of Fune, 1585 , Sir Richard Greenville anchored at Wokoken, and in Auguft following they began to plant on the Inland of Roenocke, five Miles diftant from the Continent; where Sir Richard landed one hundred and eight Men, under Governor Ralpb Lane, and Captain Pbilip Amadas, who was conftituted Admiral of the new Colony, tho' I do not find he had fo much as a Bark left with him.
Sir Ricbard did not remain above three Weeks longer in thofe Seas; but having made fome Difcoveries to the Southward, and having traded with the Indians for Skins, Furs, Pearls, and other Commodities, he failed on the 25 th of Auguf on his Return to England, in which he took a very rich Prize; fo that this Voyage appeared to
the Eyes of the Nation no lefs profperous than the formers' and the new Virginia Company began to entertain very fanguine Hopes of their Undertaking. Let us now return to the firt Planters in Virginia, and give an Account of what happened to the firt Colony the Englifls eftabliffied there, or in any Part of America. Sir Ricbard Greenville was no fooner failed, than the People whom he left behind applied themfelves with Diligence to what had been recommended to them by Sir Walter Raleigh, which was the difcovering the Continent, and with this View they travelled eighty Miles South, and one hundred and thirty North from that Part of the Main oppofite to their Ifland; but in thefe Expeditions, venturing indifcreetly too high up the Rivers, and too far into the Country, the Indian Governors grew jealous of their Defigns, and began firf to be weary of their Company, and then to cut off their Stragglers when they fell into their Hands: and they alfo formed a Confpiracy to deftroy the reft, but were happily prevented.

The Journals of the Colony's Proceedings were duly entered, and afterwards delivered to the Company in England, who were not fo careful as they fhould have been to fend them Supplies of Provifions, and the Englifh, not underftanding the Nature of the Climate, neglected to gather Food in Seafon as the Indians did, by which Means they were reduced to great Streights. The Natives never after kept Faith with them, bus watched allOpportunities to cut them off. And as this obliged them to be more wary in their Enterprizes on the Main, fo it hindered them from having any Supply from thence; however, 'they endured all with incredible Refolution, and extended their Difcoverics near a hundred Miles along the Sea-coafts. They kept the Indions in Awe by threatening them with the Return of their Companions and the Reinforcement of Men; but no Ships coming from England in all that Winter, nor in the Spring following, nor in Summer, they difpaired of being able to fupport themfelves any longer, the Natives beginning to defpife them, when they faw them as it were abandoned by their Countrymen; and the Englifhexpected every Day to be facrificed to their Cruelty. In this Diftrefs their chief Employment was to look out to Sea, in hopes of finding fome Means of Efcape, or Recruit; and, when they were almoft fpent with W ant and Watching, Hunger and Cold, in Auguff they difcovered Sir Francis Drake's Fleet, who was returning from an Expedition againft the Spaniards in North America, and had been commanded by the Queen to vifit this Plantation in his Way, and fee what Encouragement or Affiftance they wanted.

The Sight of Sir Francis's Flect was moft joyful to thefe poor People: Their firf Petition to him, was to grant them a Supply of Men and Provifions, with a fmall Ship or Bark to attend then?, that, in cafe they could not maintain themfelves where they were, they might embark in it for England. Sir Francis granted their Requeft; and they fet all Hands to work to fit the Ship he had given them, and furnifh her with all manner of Stores for a long Stay; but a Storm arifing, which drove the Veffel from her Anchor to Sea, and the Ship fuffering fo much in it that fhe was not fit for their Ufe, they were fo difcourarged, that, notwithftanding Sir Francis offered them another Ship, they were afraid to ftay, and earneftly intreated him to take them with him, which he did: And this put an End to the firft Settlement.
It was not at all owing to any Negligence in Sir Walier Raleigh that this Misfortune happened; for he continually preffed the Company to reflect on the Neceflity of fupporting the Colony in time, and fo follicitous he was in this Bufinefs, that, finding the Flect which was preparing under the Command of Sir Richard Greenville went on but flowly, he propofed that the firft Ship that was completely manned and equipped, fhould be fent, without ftaying for the reft, which was done; but when fhe arrived at the Inland Roenocke, fhe found it deferted. A few Days after came Sir Ricbard Greenville with his Squadron of three fmall Veffels, and found not a Man upon the Place, to his great Difappointment ; however, he refolved to fettle again, and therefore left behind him fifty Men, with Directions to build a Houfe, or rathes

## Chap. III. of the ENGLISH in A MERICA.

Fort, for their own Security, furnifhing them befides with all Neceflaries for two Years, and giving them the ftrongeft Affurances, that they fhould be conftantly and regularly fupplied.
This fecond Colony had no better Fortune than the firf, for the Indians, taking Advantage of the Smallneis of their Number, and the Difficulties they had to ftruggle with; attacked, and cut them off; fo that when Mr. Fobn White came thither with three Ships and confiderable Supplies, on the 22 d of $7 u n e, 158 \%$, he found their Fort demolifhed, fome Huts they had erected near it deftroyed, and not far from them the Bones of a dead Man. In all thefe Revolutions Manteo, the Indian, remained firm to the Englifs Intereft, and it was from his Information that Mr . White learned what was become of this laft Colony.

The Misfortunes that had attended thefe two Settlements, would certainly have difcouraged a Man of lefs Conftancy and Fortitude than Mr. White ; but he had a Commiffion to be Governor, and Sir Walter had ftrongly recommended to him the keeping Poffeffion of the Place. He therefore erected a new Habitation, and, chufing eleven of the moft capable Perfons that came along with him, conftituted a regular Society, to which he gave the Title of the Governor and Court of Affifants of the City of Raleigh in Virginia, hoping they might be able to retrieve the Credit of this Undertaking, and conduce to the Improvement of the Commerce and Navigation of his Country, and thereby anfwer the Expectations of his honourable Patron, whofe Name he had given to his new Plantation. On the i $3^{\text {th }}$ of Auguft. Manteo, the faithful Indian, was chriftened, and created by the Governor Lord of Daffumonpenk, an Indian Nation fo called, as a Reward of his Fidelity and Service to the Englijs; and on the 18th of the faine Month was born the firft Child that was the Iffue of Chritian Parents in that Place, being the Daughter of Mr. Ananies Dare: She was after the Name of the Country chriftened Virginia. Good Government and Induftry foon rendered Mr. White and his Men formidable to the Indians, who courted their Friendfhip, and made Leagues with the Corporation, which they kept or broke as they thought themfelves too weak or too ftrong for the Englifb, who, as much as they feemed to thrive, underwent fo many Hardfhips for want of due Supplies from Europe, that nothing but the invincible Conftancy, which is the diftinguinhing Character of their Nation, could have fupported them in the midft of fo much Mifery.
Yet fo far were they from repenting of their Undertaking, or defiring to return, that they difputed for the Liberty of remaining at Roenocke, and obliged Mr. White their Governor to return for England, and follicit the Company to fend them Recruits of Men and Provifions. Mr . White undertook to negociate their Affairs; and, leaving 150 Men in the Corporation, fet fail for England, where he arrived in Safety, and was two Years there before he could obtain a Grant of the neceffary Supplies. At laft he had three Ships fitted out for him, with Provifions and more Men for the Colony. And on the I $5^{\text {th }}$ of Auguft he arrived at Cape Hatiaras; and, landing on the Inand Roeriocke, found by Letters cut on Trees, in large Roman Characters, that the Englifh were removed, but he could not tell where. They faw the Letters C. R. O. on feveral Trees; and, fearching farther, on one of the Palifadoes of the Fort which they had quitted, they found cut in large Capital Letters the Word Croaton, one of the Inands forming the South, about twenty Leagues fouthward of Roenocke. On this Advice, they embarked in queft of their Fellows at Croatan; but they were fcarce all of them aboard, before a dreadful Storm arofe, which feparated the Ships one from another. They loft their Anchors and Cables, and durft not venture in with the Shore, fo they all fhifted for themfelves, and, with various Fortunes, arrived in England and Ireland.
This dreadful Blow proved the Ruin of the third Settlement, of which I do not find that the Company took any farther Care, or that any new Attempt was made for preferving the Poffeffion of this Country to the Crown of England, which had been fo highly magnified, and the Advantages thereof painted in fuch ftrong Colours at the Beginning. Some have attributed this to Sir Wal-
ter Raleighb's Troubles; but furely they were but indifferently acquainted with his Hiftory, fince it was during the latter Part of Queen Elizabeth's Reign that he food in the higheft Credit at Court, and was moit capable of procuring Favour from it. But that I may not leave this Subject altogether dark and imperfect, I fhall venture to fuggeft what appears to me to be the true Reafon why there was no more Care taken of fo promifing a Scheme as this was of which we are writing. Sir Walter Raleigh, as very clearly appears from his manner of conducting it, had the public Service alone in View, which induc'd him to throw the Concerns of this Colony into the Hands of a Company, in which, no doubt, he thought he had provided for them effectually, and therefore turned his own Thoughts and moft vigorous Endeavours to other Purpofes, in which he was fo entangled, that he found it impoffible to difengage himfelf, when he faw their Negligence, and forefaw the Confequences of it, which were fatal to a Settlement that coft him fo much Pains, and of which he had once fo great Hopes.
13. But neither the Bufinefs of Planting, nor the Profits refulting from military Expeditions, could hinder fuch as were addicted to the Study of Maritime Affairs fromz wifhing to fee the new Paffage to the Indies fairly opened。 And notwithftanding many Attempts had been naade to very little Purpofe, yet no confiderable Mariner, no Man of Reputation for Cofmographical L.earning, could propófe any reafonable Scheme for this Purpofe, but there were Merchants enough ready to lend their Affiftance, and to lay down whatever Money was requifite for carrying it into Execution, This Freedom and Readinefs of venturing their private Fortunes for the Public Service, was certainly very honourable and commendable, but they did ftill more, for they did not only profecute fuch Attempts like Merchants, but adhered to them with a philofophic Firmnefs; fo that when a Man returned without Succefs, and plainly fhewed that he had done his Duty, and that there were ftill Hopes, they encouraged, they rewarded, they fitted him out again and again : But this was an Age of public Spirit ; the People went eagerly into whatever great Minifters propofed; moft of thoie Minifters had only the Service of their Miftrefs at Heart; and the Queen herfelf was truly the Mother of her People.
In fuch a Reign it was natural that Wonders fhould be done, and it happens very luckily for thofe who celebrate thefe Wonders, that they are able to maintain all that they affert, by inconteftable Evidence; an Inftance of which we fhall give in a fuccinct Account of the Voyages of Capt. Fobn Davis, for the Difcovery of the North-weft Paffage ; which, however, fhould not have been brought in here, but have been referred to another Section, if we had not found them neceffary to thew the Limits of ourDifooveries in the northern Parts of America; and having thus opened the true Defign of his Attempts, we fhall proceed to the Narrative of them, in fuch a Manner, as to render the Nature and Succefs of his Enterprizes, as clear as it is pofible. In order to this, it is requifite to obferve, that before his firf Voyage was undertaken, there was a Defign of attempting to difcover a North-weft Paffage formed by fome Traders of the Weft of England; who, when they underfood that the like Project had been fet. on foot at London, propofed joining their Forces, which was accepted, and Mr. William Sanderfon, Merchant of London, who was both a principal Man in the Undertaking, and a large Contributor towards the Expence, recommended Capt. Fobn Davis, as a proper Perfon to have the Direction of this Enterprize; and he was accordingly appointed Commander of the Sun-/bine of London, a Bark of 50 Tons, on board of which were three and twenty Perfons, and, in Conjunction with the Moon-fine, of Dartmoutb, a Veffel of thirty-five Tons, with nineteen Perfons on board, they failed from the laft mentioned Port on their Voyage for Difcovery. フune 7,1585 .
On the 14 th of the fame Month they were forced into one of the Sylley, or, "as it is now written, the Scilly IJands, where being detained for a Fortnight, Capt. Davis fhewed his active and indefatigable Genius, by
making
making an accurate Chart of them $\mathrm{m}_{\text {; }}$ which was a thing; at that time, very much wanted. On the 28 th they failed from thence, and continued their Courfe to the North-wef, till on the igth of fuly they came into a whirling Tide, which fet Northwards, and failing about half a League into a very calm Sea, which bent South-fouth-weft, they heard a mighty Roaring, as if it had been the Breach of fome Shore, which could not but be very terrible, fince the Weather was fo foggy that they could not fee from one Ship to another, though at a very fmall Dittance. Upon this the Moon-fine was ordered to hoift her Boat out to found, but they could find no Ground in three hundred Fathoms and better ; then the Captain, the Mafter, and Mr. Fane, who wrote this Account, went towards the Breach to fee what it was, and it proved to be feveral Inands of Ice which were broke loofe, and floating in the Sea; they got out upon thefe, and walked upon them, and when they went back into their Boat, they carried feveral large Pieces of Ice, which melted into very good frefh Water.

On the 2oth the Fog breaking up they difcovered the Land, which looked like a Sugar-loaf, and made fo uncomfortable, or rather fo horrid an Appearance, that Capt. Davis called it the Land of Defolation. On the 2 ift they were forced to bend their Courfe South again, to clear themfelves of the Ice, which they did, and then ran along the Shore. On the 22 d the Captain endeavoured to go afhore, but was hindered by the Ice; the Water on the Coaft was very black, and though the Seamen made ufe of their Lines, they could catch no Fifh. On the 24th the Captain caufed the Mens Allowance to be increafed, to encourage them ; but it is very remarkable, that he affures us the Weather was far from being cold, but like ours in April, very fharp, when the Wind blew from the Shore; and on the contrary, very hot, when it blew from the Sea.

On the $25^{\text {th }}$ they bore away North-weft, and continued their Courfe for four Days. On the 2gth they difcovered Land in the Latitude of $64^{\circ} 15^{\prime}$ North, the Sea quite free from Ice, and the Weather very temperate. Upon viewing the Coaft they found many pleafant Bays and commodious Ports, but judged it not a continued Land, but rather an Archipelago, and therefore they refolved to go athore on one of thefe fmall Iflands, in order to fearch for Wood and Water, and to gain a better Know'ledge of the Country; they were no fooner on Shore, than they found evident Marks of the Country's being inhabited, by there lying upon the Ground a fmall Shoe, feveral Pieces of Leather fewed with Sinews, a Piece of Fir and Wool, like Beaver. They went next upon another Inand, where, getting upon a high Rock, they were feert by the People of the Country, who fet up thereupon a mof hideous Howling; when they perceived this, the Engli/b likewife made a Noife, to give Notice of what had happened, to their ciwn People; upon which Capt. Bruton, of the Moon-ßine, prefently came to their Affiftance, with a good Number of his Seamen; and prefently after their Arrival there appeared ten Boats full of the Natives coming from a neighbouring Inland, and two of thefe Canoes advanced fo near the Shore, that they could eafily talk with thofe that were in them; their Language was much in the Throat, and their Pronunciation harfh and unpleafant; one of them, however, feemed inclined to come on Shore, but firft pointed to the Sun, and then ftruck his Breaft fo hard, that they could hear the Blow; upon which, Mr. Fobn Ellis, Mafter of the Moon-fine, was appointed to treat with him; and he going to the Sea-ficde, pointing to the Sun, and ftriking his Breaft, as the Savage had done, he at length ventured on Shore , and they threw him Caps, Stockings, Gloves, and what elfe they thought might pleafe him; but the Night drawing on, they took their Leaves on both Sides.

The next Morning there carne thirty-feven Canoes rowing by their Ships, calling them to come afhore. The Englifh, however, did not make great Hafte ; upon which one of the Savages leaped on Shore, and went to the Top of a Rock, where he danced and beat a Drum, to fhew his Joy. The Einglif then manned their Boats,
and came to them to the Water-fide, where they waited in their Canoes ; and after the formal Ceremony of fwearing by the Sun, the Savages made no Scruple of trufting them; but, on the contrary, fhewed all poflible Signs of Kindnefs, and even of Politeners ; for when the Author of this Voyage offered to fhake Hands with one of them, he firft took his Hand and kiffed it. They readily parted with any thing they were afked for, and were content with whatever was given them, fhewing no Signs of Greedinefs, much lefs of Treachery or Infidelity. They bought of them five of their Canoes, and feveral of their Stockings and Gowns, which were made, fome of Seal and other of Bird Skins, all of them well dreffed, and neatly made ; fo that it plainly appeared they had various Trades amongft them. They had plenty of Furs; and when they faw that the Englifs admired them, they gave them to underftand, by Signs, that they would go up into their Country and come down and bring them more, but the Wind proving fair in the Night, Capt. Davis, defpifing Profit, on the ift of Auguft failed ftill farther to the North-weft ; and on the 6 th of the fame Month they entered into a very fair Road, free from Ice, in the Latitude of $66^{\circ} 40^{\prime}$, where they landed under a high Mountain, the Cliffs of which fhone like Gold.
Captain Davis, having taken a view of every thing, began to think of beftowing Names on the Places he had difcovered. He gave to the Hill the Name of Mount Raleigh; the Road where the Ship lay he called Totnefs Road; the Sound, at the Foot of the Mountain, Exeter Sound; the North-foreland, Diers Cape; and the Southforeland, Walbingbam. Here they difcovered four white Bears of a prodigious Bignefs, two of which they killed and brought on board; the Fore-paw of one of which meafured fourteen Inches. They faw a Raven upon Mount Raleigh, and at the bottom of the Hill they found fome Shrubs and Flowers like Primrofes; the Coaft, however, was very mountainous, and altogether barren, affording neither Wood nor Grafs, nor fo much as Earth; the Mountains being all of Stone, but the braveft Stone, fays our Author, that ever we faw. Yet this Account concludes nothing againft the Fruitfulnefs of the inland Part of the Country, which might be very good for all that, and, indeed, probably was fo, fince the Bears were very fat, and yet it appeared, upon opening their Stomachs, and upon viewing their Dung, that they were not ravenous, but fed upon Grafs.

They weighed on the 8th from Mount Raleigh, failing ftill along the Coaft, which lay South-fouth-weft, and Eaft-north-eaft. On the Irth they came to the mont foutherly Point of this Land, which they called the Cape of God's Mercy, and here they were furprized with a very thick Fog; upon the breaking up of which, they found that they were thut into a very Streight or Paffage, in fome Places fixty Miles broad, in others ninety; the Weather very fine and temperate, and the Water of the fame Colour with that of the Ocean, which filled them with Hopes. They failed through this Streight for fixty Leagues, and then difcovered feveral fair Inands in the midft of it, with an open Paffage on both Sides, through which they failed. One Bark taking the North, the other the South Side ; but the Wind changing, and the Weather growing foggy and foul, they were forced to lye by for five Days, in thofe which have been ever fince called Davis's Streights. On the 14th they went afhore, and faw evident Marks of the Country's being inhabited; for they found Part of a Stone-Wall and a human Skull. On the $15^{\text {th }}$ they heard a great Howling on Shore, which they fuppofed to be Wolves, and therefore went afhore to kill them ; when they came to Land they found the Creatures they had taken for Wolves were Dogs, and they came inftantly running to the Boat to meet them, wagging: their Tails, and fhewing other Signs of Joy, as it is ufual for thofe Animals to do at the Sight of Men. There were twenty of them in all, and as they were of the Size of Maftiffs, with fhort Ears and long burfy Tails, the Seamen being afraid of them, fired and killed two, one of which had a leather Collar on. They found likewife there two Sledges, one made of feveral kind of Boards that were fawed, and the other of Whalebone. They likewife faw

Larks, Ravens, and Partiges: On the 17 th they went ahore again, and, in an Oven built with Stones, they found a fmall Canoe made of Wood, an Image, a Bird made of Bone, Beads for Necklaces, and other Trifes. The Coaft made no very promifing Appearance, as having neither Wood nor Grafs; but the Rocks were of a fine bright Stone, like Marble beautified with Veins of different Colours. Upen the Shore they found a Seal or Sea-Calf jurt flead and thrown under a heap of Stones.

Captain Davis and his Mafter were extremely well pleafed with the Appearance of this Streight, though they began to doubt whether the Seafon would permit them to continue long in it; which neverthelefs they took for the very Channel into the South Seas, in fearch of which they came, and refolved to report fo much upon their return to England. The Reafons which confirmed the Probability of there being a Paffage in this Streight, and upon which they grounded their Hopes of future Succefs, were, ift. That this Place was all Iflands, with great Sounds between them. 2 d . That the Water remained all of the fame Colour with the main Ocean, without altering; whereas they never came into any Bay before nor after, but the Colour of the Water was altered very blackifh. 3d. Becaufe they faw to the Weft of thofe Inands three or four Whales in a Skull, which they imagined came from the Weftern Sea, becaufe to the Eaftward they had feen no Whales. 4th. Becaufe as they were rowing into a very great Sound lying Southweft, from whence thofe Whales came, there came fuddenly a violent Counter-check of a Tide from the Southward, againft the Flood which they came in with, not knowing from whence it received its Source. 5th. Becaufe in failing twenty Leagues within the Mouth of this Entrance, they had founding in ninety Fathoms on a grey and oufy Sand; and the farther they ran into the Weftward, the deeper was the Water: So that among the Inands they had near the Shore no Ground in three hundred and thirty Fathom. 6th. Becaufe it ebbed and flowed fix or feven Fathom, the Flood coming from divers Parts, fo that they could not with any Certainty difcern the chief Source of it.

On the igth it was refolved by the Officers to continue the Profecution of their Difcoveries; but the Wind changing on the zoth, they were obliged to remain at Anchor; and the Weather growing very foul, they, on the 24 th, hoifted Sail for England. On the roth of September they fell in with the Land of Defolation; on the 27 th they had Sight of the Englif Coaft, and in a Storm loft the Moonbine that Night. On the zoth Captain Davis came lafely into Dartmouth, where he found the Moonfinine, which arrived about two Hours before. Upon his return to London, Captain Davis gave a very clear Account to his Owners, of his Expedition, and of what he had done; obferving, that at the Time he put to Sea, he had only general Inftructions to fearch for a Paffage to North-weft, without any Intimation where that Paffage was moft likely to be found; that he had accordingly entered a Streight which he thought might pofibly be that Paffage; but the Weather changing, and the Seafon of the Year being two far advanced, he judged it requifite to return home.

His Owners were fo well fatisfied, that they procured him an Audience of Secretary Walfingbam; who approved very much of the Enterprize, and of the Manner in which he had conducted it; but at the fame Time recommended it to him to complete this Difcovery, to which he was alfo preffed by thofe who were concerned in his former Undertaking, and by fome Merchants of Exeter, who defired to join in the Expences neceffary for a fecond Expedition; to which he willingly confented, and accordingly undertook it; and as he has written himfelf an Account of this Voyage, which was a very remarkable one, I fhall give it the Reader, as near as may be, in his own Words.

On the 7 th of May, 1586 , I fet out from Dartmouth "s with four Sail, viz. The Mermaid of I 20 Tons, the "Sunfoine of 60 Tons, the Moonfhine of 35 Tons, and "s a Pinnace of 13 . Tuns, called the Nortb Star. We s6 coafted the South-fide of Ireland, and on the I 3 th VoL. II. Numb. 83.
"fteered away North-weft, till we came to the Latio "tude of 60": At which Time I divided my Flect, and ' ordered the Sunfine, and the North Star; to feek a Paf' fage Northward, between Groenland and Iceland, to the "Latitude of $80^{\circ}$; if Land did not hinder them. I de"parted from them the 7 th of $7 u n e$, and on the 15 th. ' difcovered Land in $60^{\circ}$ Latitude, and in Longitude "from the Meridian of London Weftward $47^{\circ}$. The "Ice lay, in fome ten, in fome twenty; in fome fifty, "Leagues off the Shore; fo that we were conftrained " to bear into $57^{\circ}$ to double the fame, and to get a free "Sea, which through God's favourable Mercy we at " length obtained.
" On the 2gth, after many Storms, we again difcover"s ed Land, in Longitude from the Meridian of Londora " $58^{\circ} 30^{\prime}$, and in Latitude $64^{\circ}$, being Eaft from us, into " which fince it pleafed God by contrary Winds to force "s us, I thought fit to bear in with it, and to fet up our "Pinnace, which we had provided in the Mermaid to "s be our Scout for this Difcovery, and fo much the ra" ther, becaufe the Year before I had been in the fame "Place, and found it very convenient for fuch a Pur"c pofe, being inhabited by a People of tractable Con"s verfation, and the Sea void of Ice. The Ships being " within the Sounds, we fent our Boats to fearch for "Shole-water, where we might anchor, which in this " Place is very hard to find. The People of the Country, "efpying them, came in their Canoes towards them "w with Shouts and Cries; but when they faw in the " Boats fome of our Company that were there the laft "" Year, they rowed to the Boat, and, taking hold of the "Oar, hung about the Boat, expreffing a great deal of "Joy; and making Signs that they knew all thofe that " had been there the Year before. I went afhore with * others of the Company, and took with me twenty "Knives. We had no fooner landed but they leaped out "s of their Canoes and came running to us; and embraced " us with many Signs of hearty welcome ; there were " eighteen of them, and I gave to each of them a "Knife, and they offered me Skins for a Reward; but
"I made Signs that they were not fold, but freely "s given to them; and fo difmiffed them for that Time, ${ }^{6}$ with Signs that they fhould return after certain Hours. "The next Day, with all poffible Speed, the Pinnace "w was landed upon an Inland, there to be finifhed; and "s while it was fetting up the People came continually to "us, fometimes a hundred Canoes at a time, bringing " Seal-fkins, Stag-fkins, White Hares, Seals, Salmon" Peal, fmall Cod, dry Caplin, with other Fifh, and " fome Birds. I fent one of the Boats to fearch one Part "s of the Land, while I went to another Part, with ftrict "Command that there fhould be no Injury offered to "s any of the People, nor any Gun fhot. They formed "Tents made of Seal-fkins, wherein was Store of dried "Caplin, being a fmall Fifh, no bigger than a Pilchard, " fome Bags of Train-Oil, many little Images cut in "Wood, and Seal-fkins in Tan-Tubs, whereof théy "s diminifhed nothing. When they had paffed ten Miles within the fnowy Mountains, they came to a plain "s champaign Country with Earth and Grafs, like to our
" moory and wafte Grounds in England; they went ten
" Leagues up into a River, which in the narroweft Place "was two Leagues over, finding it fill to continue " "they knew not how far. But I with my Company " took another River, which, although at firt it afford"s ed a large Inlet, yet it proved but a deep Bay, the End whereof I attained in four Hours; and there leav" ing the Boat well manned, went with the reft of the " Company three or four Miles into the Country, but " found nothing, nor faw any thing but Gripes, Ravens, " and fmall Birds, as Larks and Linnets. The third of Fuly I manned my Boat, and went with fifty Canoes 'attending upon me into another Sound, where the People, by Signs, willed me to go, hoping to find their Habitation. At laft they made Signs that I fhould go " into a warm Place to neep; at which Place I went on "Shore, and defired they would leap with our Men, " which they agreed to, but ours did over-leap them; 6f from leaping they went to wreftling; we found them

Ggg
ftrong
*ftrong and nimble, and to have Skill in wrefting,

* for they caft fome of our Men that were good Wreft-
${ }^{6}$ lers.
"On the 4 th the Mafter of the Mermaid went to " certain Inands to ftore himfelf with Wood, where he
${ }^{6}$ found a Grave with divers buried in $\mathrm{it}_{3}$ covered with
os Seal-Skins only, and a Crofs laid over them. The
" People are of good Stature, well proportioned, with
" fmall nender Hands and Feet, broad Vifages, fmall
"Eyes, wide Mouths, the moft Part unbearded, great
* Lips and clofe-toothed; they are much given to
© bleed, and therefore ftop their Nofes with Deers Hair,
" or that of an Elan. One of them kindled a Fire after
${ }^{66}$ this Manner: He took a Piece of a Board wherein was
" a Hole half through; then he put into the Hole the
* End of a round Stick like a Bed-ftaff, wetting the
${ }^{66}$ End thereof with Train-oil, and (as your Turners do)
${ }^{6}$ with a piece of Leather by the violent Motion he
"s fpeedily produced Fire; this done he made a Fire with
66 Turfs, into which, with many Words and ftrange Gef-
${ }^{66}$ tures, he putdivers things, which we fuppofed to be a Sa-
${ }^{66}$ crifice; they defired me to go into the Smoak, and I
${ }^{6}$ willed them likewife to ftand in the Smoak, which
os they would by no means do; I then thruft one of them
"s into the Smoak, and commanded one of my Men to
${ }^{6}$ tread out the Fire and fpurn it into the Sea, to fhew
' them that we did contemn their Sorcery. They are
"s very fimple in their Converfation, but marvelounly
"c thievifh, efpecially of Iron, which they have in great
"efteem. They cut away the Moon-ßine's Boat from
"s her Stem; they cut our Cables and our Cloth where
"s it lay to air, though we did carefully look to it;
sc they ftole our Oars, a Caliver, a Boat, a Spear, a
sc Sword, with divers other things, which fo grieved the
${ }^{6}$ Company, that they defired me to diffolve this new
" Friendfhip; whereupon I ordered a Caliver to be fhot " among them, and immediately upon the fame a Fal-
${ }^{6}$ con ; which ftrange Noife did fo amaze them, that
${ }^{66}$ they departed with all Speed; but within ten Hours
"s they returned and intreated a Peace, which being grant-
${ }^{6}$ ed, they brought us Seal-Skins and Salmon-Peal, but
${ }^{66}$ when they faw Iron they could not forbear ftealing;
"s which when I perceived, I commanded that in no
"Cafe they fhould be any more hardly ufed, but that
"s our own People Chould be more vigilant to keep their " things.
os They eat all their Meat raw; they live moft "ipon Finh, drink Salt-water, and eat Grafs and Ice " with Delight; they make Fifhing-nets with Whale"Fins; 'tis probable they have Wars with thofe on the " main Land, many of them being fore wounded, which "Wounds they received upon the main Land, as by "Signs they gave us to underftand. The isth of 7uly "I went afhore in our new Pinnace, and with the moft " Part of my Company went to the Top of an high " Mountain, hoping from thence to fee into the Coun"6 try ; but the Mountains were fo many and fo lofty " that we could not fee far; we returned to our Pinnace and faw a ftrange Sight, which was a mighty Whirlwind, continuing three Hours with little Intermifion, which taking up the Water in great Quantities, furioully mounted it into the Air. The next Morning, the Storm being over, we failed into a mighty great River, directly into the Body of the Land, and found it to be no firm Land, but huge, vaft, and defert Inands, with mighty Sounds and Inlets paffing between Sea and Sea. On the gth we returned to our Ships, where our Mariners complained heavily againft the People, that they had folen an Anchor from us, had cut one of our Cables very dangerouny, and fpared not to fling Stones at us of half a pound Weight: The next Day I went afhore and ufed 6c them with much Courtefy, and when I returned they
"f followed me in their Canoes; I gave fome of them
"Bracelets, and feven or eight of them came on Board,
"s whom I ufed kindly, and let them depart; as foon as
${ }^{66}$ Sun was fet they began to practife their devilifh. Nature,
${ }^{6 c}$ and with Slings threw Stones very fiercely into the
${ }^{6}$ Sun-fine, and knocked down the Boatfyain; where-
"upon we purfued them with our Boats, and fhot at "them; but they rowed fo fwiftly, that we could not " reach them.
"On the inth five of them came to make a new ${ }^{6}$ Truce; the Mafter acquainted me with their coming, " and defired they might be kept Prifoners until we " had our Anchor again; but when he faw the chief
"Ring-leader and Mafter of Mifchief was one of the
" five, he was then very urgent to have him feized, and
ss fo it was determined to take him ; he cane crying
${ }^{66}$ Ilioout, and, friking his Breaft, offered a Pair of
${ }^{66}$ Gloves to fell ; the Mafter offered him a Knife for
" them: So two of them came to us, one we difmiffed,
" but the other was foon made Captive among us; then
" we pointed to him and his Fellows for our Anchor,
" which being had, we made Signs to him he fhould be
"fet at Liberty; about an Hour after the Wind came fair, " "nd we fet fail and brought him away with us. One " of his Companions, following our Ship in his Canoe st talked with him, and feemed to lament his Condition; " we ftill ufing him well, and faying to him Iliaout, " i.e. we mean no harm; at laft he aboard fpake four " or five Words to the other, and clapped both his "Hands on his Face, the other did the like, and fo " parted; we judged the covering his Face, and bow" ing down his Bodys fignified his Death; after fome " Time he became a pleafant Companion among us; "I gave him a new fuit of Frize of the Englifb Fafhion, " of which he was very fond; he trimmed up his Darts "c and all his fifhing Tools, and would make Okam, and "fet his Hand to the Rope's-end; he fed upon Caplin " and dry Nerwland Fifh. The 17 th, being in Latitude " of $63^{\circ} 8^{\prime}$, we fell in with a mighty Mafs of Ice, very "6 high, like Land, with Bays and Capes; and, fuppofing " it to be Land, we fent our Pinnace to difcover it ; but, " on her return, we were affured that it was only Ice, " which caufed great Admiration to us all, and the ra" ther, becaufe in this Place we had very tickle and " ftrong Currents. We coafted this Mafs of Ice till the " 30 th, finding it a great Bar to our Purpofe. The " Air was now fo foggy, and the Sea fo peftered with "Ice, that all Hopes of proceeding was banifhed; for " on the 24 th of Fuly our Shrouds, Ropes, and Sails, " were fo frozen and compafied with Ice, only by a " grofs Fog, as feemed to us very ftrange, who the
" laft Year found this Sea free and navigable without " Impediments.
"Our Meir, through this Extremity, began to grow "fick and feeble, and withal hopelefs of good Suc" cefs; whereupon, very orderly and difcreetly, they in" treated me to regard our prefent State, and withal " advifed me, that in Confcience I ought to preferve my " own Life and theirs; and that I fhould not, through my "6 own Boldnefs, leave their Widows and fatherlefs Chil" dren to give me bitter Curfes. This did move me " to commiferate their Condition, yet confidering the " Importance of this Difcovery if it could be accom" plifhed, the great Hopes of a Paffage by what we had " feen the laft Voyage, and that there was yet a third Way " to be attempted, I thought it would turn to my Dif"s credit if the Action fhould fail through my Neglect, "s therefore refolved to profecute it; and confidering " the Mermaid, by Reafon of her Burden, was not fo " nimble and convenient for this Purpofe as a fimaller "Bark, and was 100 l. a Month Charge to the Adven"6 turers; I determined to revictual the Moon-ßine, and "proceed as God fhould direct me: Whereupon I al" tered my Courfe to recover the next Shore, where this " might be performed; and the ift of Auguft difcovered "Land without Snow or Ice, in Latitude $66^{\circ} 33^{\prime}$, and " in Longitude, from the Meridian of London, $70^{\circ}$.
"On the 2d we anchored in a very good Road, where, " with all Speed, we graved and re-victualled the Moon" Bine; we found it here very hot; and we were very " ${ }^{6}$ much troubled with Mufkitos, which did fting griev" ounly. The People of the Country caught a Seal, and, " with Bladders faft tyed to him, fent him to us with " the Flood, fo as he came right with our Ship, which "s we took as a friendly Prefent from them. On the


## Chap. III. of the ENGLISH in AMERICA.

* $5^{\text {th }}$ I went on Top of a Hill, and efpying three "Canoes under a Rock, went to them, and found in "them Skins, Darts, $\underbrace{*} c$. whereof we diminifhed no" thing ; but left upon every Boat a Silk Point, a Bullet " of Lead, and a Pin. The next Day the People came " to us without Fear, and bartered with us for Skins; " our Savage kept clofe, and made Shew that he would " fain have another Companion. Being thus provided, I
"d departed on the i2th, leaving the Mermaid at Anchor;
" her Crew finding many Occafions of Difcontent, and
" being unwilling to proceed, here forfook me.
"The r 4 th, failing Weft fifty Leagues, we difcovered
"Land, in Latitude 66 Degrees 19 Minutes; and " the next Day we ftood to the South; and on the
" 18th difcovered a very fair Promontory North-weft
" from us, in 65 Degrees, having no Land on the South,
" which gave us great Hopes of a Paffage. The 20th
" I went to the Top of a high Hill, whence I perceived
" that this Land was all Inands ; we coafted this Ifland
" towards the South, from 67 to 57 Degrees. The 28 th,
" having great Diftruft of the Weather, we arrived in a
© fair Harbour, and failed ten Leagues into the fame,
" being two Leagues broad, with fair Woods on both
"Sides: Here we continued to the ift of September, in
" which time we had two very great Storms; I went
" fix Miles into the Country, and found the Woods were
" Fir, Pine-apple, Elder, Yew, Withey, and Birch. Here
" we faw a black Bear, and Store of Birds, as Pheafants,
"Partriges, wild Geefe, Bucks, Blackbirds, Jays,
"Thrufhes, and other fmall Birds. The ift we fet
"fail, and coafted the Shore with fair Weather. The " 4 th we anchored in a good Road, among many
" Inlands. Eight Leagues to the North of this Place we
" had ftrong Hopes of a Paffage, by reafon of a mighty
"Sea paffing between the two Lands, Weft; we greatly
"defired to go into this Sea, but the Wind was directly
"c againft us.
"' The 6th we fent five young Men afhore to an
" Inand, to fetch fome Fifh which we had left there
"covered all Night. The Savages who lurked in the
" Woods fuddenly affaulted our Men, which we per-
" ceiving let nip our Cable, and, under our Fore-fail,
"c bore in to the Shore, and difcharged a double Muiket
" upon them twice; at the Noife of which they fled,
" having killed two of our Men with their Arrows, and
" grievounly wounded two more; the other efcaped by "d fwimming, with an Arrow fhot through his Arm.
"This Evening it pleafed God farther to increafe our " Sorrows with a furious Storm at North-north-eaft, " which lafted to the 1oth: We unrigged our Ship, and " intended to cut down our Mafts; the Cable of our "Sheet-Anchor broke, fo that we expected to be driven " on Shore, and become a Prey to the Cannibals; yet, in "this deep Diftrefs, God gave us Succour, and fent us a
${ }^{\text {sc }}$ fair Sea, fo that we recovered our Anchor again, and " new moored our Ship; where we faw that God had " manifefly delivered us, for two Strands of our Cable "" were broken. The irth, the Wind coming fair at "Weft-north-weft, we departed with Truft in God's
"Mercy, fhaping our Courfe for England, and arrived "c in the Weft-country the Beginning of Oitober, where
" the Sunfline arrived a few Days before us; the had been
"a at Iceland, and from thence to Groenland, and fo to
"Efotiland, and thence to Defolation, where fhe traf-
" ficked with the People, ftaying in the Country twenty
" Days. They ioft Sight of the Pinnace, called the
"North-Star, on the 3 d of September, in a very great
"Storm, and lay a-hull to tarry for her all the next
" Day; but faw her no more: The faid Pinnace never " returned home."
We find annexed to this Account of Capt. Davis"s fecond Voyage, a Letter of his to Mr. William Sanderfon, who feems to have been his Patron; in which he excufes his Want of Succefs in this Voyage, declares his confident Hope, that fuch a Paffage might yet be found, the Improvement of his Knowledge by this laft Voyage, and his Refolution to profecute this Difcovery to the utmof, though it fhould coft him the little paternal Fortune he had in the Weft; and concludes with an Affurance, that
he would communicate to him a fair and clear Chart of his Voyage, which would give him a perfed Comprelienfion of the Arguments he had to offer in fupport of his Notion, that this Paffage, fo often attempted in vain, might ftill be found. This Letter is dated from Exeter, the 14th of Oitober, 1586 ; and it had all the good Effects that Capt. Davis could expect from it, fince his Friena ftill continued to have as good an Opinion of him as ever, and fo it appears the reft of his Owners had; but it went no farther than the Approbation of his Conduct in his laft Voyage, for when he came to propofe a third Expedition, the Weft-country Merchants, and moft of thofe in London, grew weary of the Expence, and would be concerned no longer. He propofed, however, to the reft of the Adventurers, a new Scheme, which took Effect, and it was this: That they fhould fit out three Veffels, one of which only fhould be employed on the Difcovery, and the other two in Fifhing; by which he propofed to defray all, or at leaft the beft Part, of the Expence. It is very remarkable that Mr. Bruton, who ferved with Capt. Davis in his firft Voyage, accompanied him alfo in this, and fo did Mr. Fobn Fane, who has been his Merchant or Supercargo, and many of his old Seamen; which fhews the Confidence they had in his Skill, and how fenfible they were of his Care and good Ufage.
The Veffels provided for this laft Voyage were the Elizabeth of Dartmouth, the Sunßbine of London, and the Ellen which was but very fmall. As for the Hiftory of the Voyage, which is but fhort, we fhall give it as we did the former, in the Words of the Author. "S We de" parted from Dartmoutb the roth of May, and difcover" ed Land on the 14 th of $\mathcal{F u n e}$. On the 16 th we an"chored among many low Inands which lay before the " high Land; the People came to us crying, Tliaout; " and fhewing us Seal-Skins. On the 2oth I left the " two Ships to follow their Fifhing, taking their faithful " Promife not to depart till I returned unto them, which " fhould be in the End of Aurufi; but they, finifhing their Voyage in fixteen Days, prefently returned for England, without regarding their Promife, whilft I, not diftrufting any fuch hard Meafure, proceeded on the Difcovery. On the $24^{\text {th, }}$, in Latitude 67 Degrees, 40 Minutes, the Weather was very hot, thirty Savages came to us in their Canoes, twenty Leagues from the "Land, intreating us to go afhore. I coafted the Shore of Groenland, from the 2 Ift to the 30 th, having theSea all open towards theWeft, and the Land on the Starboardfide, Eaft from me, the Weather extremely hot and very calm. The Sun was five Degrees above the Horizon at Midnight, Latitude 72 Degrees 12 Minutes; " the Compars in this Place varied 28 Degrees towards the "Weft. The 3dof fuly we fell in again with Ice; and on " the 6th put our Bark through it, feeing the Sea free on the
"Weft fide; and when we had failed five Leagues Weft " we fell in with another mighty Bank of Ice which we could not pafs; therefore returning again, we got clear on the 8th at Midnight, and recovered the open Sea "through God's Favour, by giving us fair Winds and and calm Weather. On the 15 th, in Latitude 67 Degrees 45 Minutes, a great Current fet us to the Weft fix Points from our Courfe.
"On the 19th we had Sight of Mount Raleigh. On the zoth we ${ }^{\circ}$ croffed over a great Inlet or Paffage, being twenty Leagues broad, and fituate between 62 and $6_{3}$ Degrees, in which Place we had eight or nine "great Races, Currents, or Over-falls, like the Water under London-bridge, and bending their Courfe into the Inlet. The 3 rft , in Latitude 62 Degrees, coming clofe by a Foreland, we fell into a mighty Race, where an Inand of Ice was carried by the Force of the Current as faft as our Bark could fail with all Sails bearing. This Cape, as it was the Southern Limits of the Gulph we paffed over Yefterday, fo was it the North Promontory, or Beginning of another great Inlet which we paffed over this Night, where we faw the Sea falling down towards the Inlet with a mighty Over-fall, and circular Motion, like Whirlpools, in the fame manner as forceable Streams force through the Arches of Bridges. On the ioth of Auguffo as we were feeking
${ }^{66}$ our Ship, that went to fifn, being among many Iflands;
${ }^{\text {ct }}$ we ftruck on a Rock, and had a great Leak: The
${ }^{66}$ next Day we ftopped our Leak, in a Storm ; and on
${ }^{66}$ the 15 th, being in Latitude 62 Degrees 12 Minutes,
©s and not finding our Ships, nor (according to their
${ }^{6}$ Promife) any Mark or Beacon which I willed them
"to fet up, and they promifed to do, upon every
${ }^{66}$ Headland or Cape within twenty Leagues every Way
${ }^{\text {as }}$ 'from their Fifhing-place, and we having but little
cs Wood in our Ship, and but half a Hogfhead of frefh
"s Water, I fhaped my Courfe for England, and arrived
"能 Dartmoutb the 15 th of September."
Upon his Return from this, as after his fecond Voyage, he wrote a Letter to Mr. Sanderfon, dated from Sandridge, Septeriber 16, 1587; wherein he tells him, That he had returned fafe with all his Company: That he had failed fixty Leagues farther than he intended at his Departure : That he had reached the Latitucle of 73 Degrees North, finding the Sea ail open, and the Streight forty Leagues broad; concluding from thence, that the Paffage was moft certain, and the Execution moft eafy; but, as we thall fee hereafter, he was in this miitaken, which howcver, "does not at all leffen his Merit or the great Difcoveries he made, by which he entitled his Country to all this Coaft of North America, the Value of which may hereafter prove as great as any Difcovery made in this Reign. Neither ought we to efteem it any Diminution of his Merit, that he was fo confident of finding a Paffage this Way to the very laft ; becaufe as far as he, or any Man, could judge, there was indeed great Probability of the Thing, and nothing but fuch a Spirit as his will ever be able to effect this Difcovery whenever it fhall be made.

But he was not only an able Officer and a moft fkilful Seaman, but had likewife a Head perfectly well turned for making all poffible Advantages of the Service in which he was employed; as appears from the Minutes of a Memorial of his which I have feen, addreffed to Secretary Walfingbam; wherein he tells him, That he found many ignorant and malicious People had a very mean Opinion of what he had done, becaufe his Voyages had not anIwered the Expence; but he perfuaded himfelf that fo wife and honourable a Statefmain, would think in a manner different from the Vulgar, and efteem his Services capable of producing great Advantages to the Nation, even fuppoifing that no fuch Paffage as he expected fhould be found ; in Support of which he laid down the five following Points.
I. That it would redound very much to the Honour of the Queen and her Subjects, if the People in thefe Northern Regions were converted to the Chriftian Faith ; in which pious Work many of thofe bufy and fiery Spirits might be profitably employed, that, by their factious Stirrings at Home, ferved only to create Confufion in Church and State: For if thefe People, who feemed neither deftitute of Wit, Induitry, or valuable Commodities, were once brought over to the Chriftian Faith, they might foon be brought to relifh a more civilized kind of Life, and be thereby induced to take off great Quantities of our courfer Woollen Manufactures ; which would employ the Poor at Home, increafe our Shipping, and augment the Number of our Seamen.
II. That in the Judgment of fuch as were beft acquainted with the Fifhing Trade, the Cod he caught were the fatteft and fineft that were ever feen; and that the Plenty of thefe Fifh was fo great as might well encourage the eftablifhing an annual Fifhery at the Mouth of the Streigbts, which would afford immediate Profit, and might lead to future Difcoveries of greater Importance.
III. That notwithfanding the Shores of the Countries he had feen were bleak and barren, yet the inner Part of the Country might, notwithftanding, be very rich and fertile: That as the People he had converfed with had fome of them Utenfils of different Metals, it might be prefumed there were Mines of Value in thefe Countries; and that how little Profit foever thefe People might make of them, they might be wrought to great Advantage by fuch as underfood them better.
IV. That it was very evident from the feveral Voyages he had made, that there was nothing intolerable in thefe
northern Climates, and that it would be of great Service to the Nation to keep up a conftant Succeffion of Enterprizes on this Side, fince it might be done with very little Expence at firf ; would contribute to make thefe Parts of the World better known, and fecure the Advantages derived from them to the Engli乃; whereas; if they were difcontinued or abandoned, other Nations would not fail to make Attempts of the like kind, and fo come in procefs of Time to reap the Fruits of other Mens Labour.
V. That the Firs brought from thence were much efteemed, and allowed to be richer and more valuable than any that came from Mufcovy; and that if the Fafhion of wearing them at Court were encouraged, it might prove a means, when all others failed, of promoting this Commerce; for you know right well, moft honourable Sir, concludes he, that it is a great Secret in Policy to make the Follies of the Extravagant, and the Vanity of the Ambitious, contribute to the Maintenance of Induftry; fo that even the Vicious and the Lazy, may of their own Accord furnifh the Rewards of Labour and Virtue.

I finall, hereafter, take Occafion to fhew, that he has very wifely and fenfibly recommended the propagating the Chriftian Religion, as the moft proper Means for extending, as well as eftablifhing, our Colonies, and rendering them highly beneficial. There is no Queftion that the fending a few Preachers to convert any of thefe Nations to Chriftianity, would be a thing of greater Confequence to this Nation, than building many Forts to fecure our Commerce with Savages; for thefe People would then live in Towns, wear Cloaths, cultivate their Lands, and, inftead of deftroying and extirpating each other, as at prefent, they would live peaceably, and confequently grow daily more numerous; which would occafion fuch a Confumption of our Manufactures of all kinds, and fuch a Return of their Commodities, which is the only true and juft Standard of Trade, as neither Fraud nor Force can any other way attain. His Reflections, with refpect to the Expediency of keeping up this northern Navigation, are highly fenfible, and it would have been much for our Intereft, if, even at the public Expence, they had been continued; for then Sir Fofiab Cbild would not have fet down this North Fifhery among the Number of our loft Trades, as he does with juft Reafon. That our Neighbours would be wifer in this Refpect than ourfelves, was in itfelf a very fhrewd, and in Fact has proved a prophetic Obfervation; for the Dutch and other Nations ftill frequent Davis's Streigbts, which we have in a manner deferted, and emploj thereby a valt Number of People at home, befides raifing annually frefh Supplies of fkilful and well feafoned Seamen, which a maritime Power ought to regard as a Point of the higheft Confequence, and in that View ought to favour moit fuch Branches of Commerce as are known to contribute thereto, efpecially if they are not at a great Diftance. With thefe Remarks we fhall difnifs this Subject for the prefent, and, as the Nature of our Plan directs, proceed from thefe Difcoveries in the mot northern Parts of America, to the Attempt made for fixing a Settlement more to the South than any we have yet obtained.

14: The fpeaking of this Southern Settlement brings us back to Sir Waleer Raleigh, a Gentleman whofe Name muft often occur in all Books that any way relate to Englifh Hiftory, and whofe Memory will be ever celebrated by fuch as can diftinguifh any kind of Worth; for he had all and excelled in all. Amongtt the reft, the compleateft Courtier of his Time, which perhaps drew upon him more Envy than all his other great Qualities; and I am induced to think fo from the Nature of thofe Calumnies by which he was moft hurt; for though deeply malicious, they were fo indifferently forged, that they could not bear the leaft Infpection; fo that notwithftanding they coft him his Favour often, and his Life at laft, from the Credulity of Princes, yet they never had any Effect upon his Reputation with wife Men in his Life-time, nor have injured his Reputation in the leaft with Poferity.

He was always ufeful to his Country, but moft fo

## Chap. III. of the ENGLISH in AMERICA.

when he had leaft Credit at Court. At fuch Times he did not relinquifh Bufinefs to go and hide himfelf in Country Retreats, and thence write pitiful Letters and Poems to fcrew himfelf again into the Affections of the Queen his Miftrefs, as fome other of her great Men did, and which he could have done better than any of them nor did he form Intrigues againft her Minifters, and force himfelf into. Power and his Sovereign's Prefence; but he took another Road peculiar to, and worthy of, Sir Walter Raleigh: He applied himfelf to contrive, and not to contrive only, but to execute, fuch great and glorious Enterprizes, as raifed his Fame fo high, that the Whifpers of Envy could be no longer heard; and, when the Queen recalled him to her Favour, it never appeared as an Act of Grace, but as a Stroke of Juftice; fo that after thefe Receffes, he fhone at Court with double Luftre, and his Miftrefs, haughty as the was, could not help appearing upon thefe Occafions proud of the Poffeffion of fuch a Man, and afhamed of his Abfence.
It was in one of thefe voluntary Exiles that Sir Walter Raleigh executed a Defign he had long meditated, I mean his Expedition to Guiana, an Expedition great in itfelf, though unfortunate in its Confequences; formed upon the moft noble Principles, and performed with equal Valour and Prudence, and in a Word every way equal to the Genius of its Author, and, Experience has fince fatally fhewn, fuperior to every Genius but his. He faw, with Regret, the Plantation of Virginia abandoned, and he faw that the Want of immediate Profit was the Caufe; he refolved theręfore to ftrike out the Means of fettling a new Colony in another Part of America, which fhould be free from this Inconvenience, and which fhould transfer the richeft Products of that Country to the Englifh, if they had but Courage and Conduct enough to fetch them. In order to this he enquired, with the greateft Diligence, into the State of the Country before mentioned; he fought from Books and Papers all the Affiftance that could be had of that kind; he drew from per fonal Informations, which were more in his Power than perhaps they ever were in any other Man's, all the Notices that they could give; but he drew the greateft Lights from his own profound Knowledge and extenfive Experience.

He was undoubtedly as well verfed in all Parts of Philofophy and natural Hiftory, as any Man of his time, and perhaps much better ; for, befides all the Knowledge which refults from Reading, he had likewife a great practical Skill, whence, without doubt, arofe his confident Belief, that this Country of Giiona was the richert in America, and by confequence, according to the Opinion of thofe times, and indeed of thefe, the richert in the World. He did not go thither therefore to fatisfy his own Mind upon that head, but that he might furnifh himfelf with the means of fatisfying others; for he very well knew that it would have been an idle and ridiculous thing in him to think of moving People to attempt a Plantation meerly by a rational and philofophical Argument, which he knew few would be able to underftand, and of thofe that did, many would oppofe his Sentiments from Pride, and more from Prejudice. He chofe therefore to treat the Riches and Value of this noble Country in the plaineft way, and as a Point of fact; and forefeeing that it would be objected, that if it were 10 , and the Facts fo notorious as he reprefented it, the Spaniards would certainly have fettled there, and not have left it to fall into the Hands of any other Nation; this induced him to draw up a very clear and fuccinct Account of the feveral Methods ufed by the Spaniards to difcover and gain this Country, which at once anfwered the Objection, and proved to fuch as had an high Opinion of the Judgment formed by the Spaniards of the Wealth and Importance of thefe Countries, that Guiana was one that deferved the higheft Commendations.

Thefe Accounts of his are difperfed through various Pieces written by him upon this Subject; but, for the Eafe of the Reader, we thall collect and range them in their natural Order, by which means they will become a kind of Supplement to what has been already delivered of the Spani/h Difcoveries and Conquefts; this be-

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ing the fole Reafon of our omitting them there, becaufe we forefaw the Neceffity of repeating, or at leaft of reca= pitulating, them here, for the Sake of explaining Sir Wal ter Raleigh's Expeditions: We have fhewn in that Chap ter how the Marquis Pizarro overthrew the Empire of the Inca's, and made himfelf Mafter of all their Territories and of a great Part of their Treafures ; and we have like wife fhewn that this was fo far from fatisfying his Avarice and Ambition, that he propofed to extend his Conquefts beyond the Limits of Peru, in order to penetrate into the Heart of South America, from the Hopes he had conceived of finding richer Countries there than any he had yet met with.

It was with this View that he ordered his Brother Gonzalo, after he had taken Poffeffion of Quito, which was the laft Conqueft of the Inca's, to continue his Expeditions on that Side, though he was fenfible that he could receive little or no Affiftance from the Informations of the Natives; his Brother accordingly entered the Province of Los Quixos; and, after making himfelf Mafter' of that Country, the People of which were downright Barbarians in Comparifon of thofe of Peru, he determined to pafs the high Mountains which bound that Province on the North, and affembled a great many $I_{n-}$ dians, and a good quantity of Cattle for that Purpofe; but, when he had afcended half way up thefe Mountains, he found that he had taken his Meafures wrong, and that the Cold was fo intenfe, that it would be imponible for him to profecute his March in that Manner. He therefore quitted his Cattle and the beft Part of his Bag gage, refolving to make all the hafte he could into the plain Countries on the other Side, and truft to the Provifions he might meet with there.

Accordingly he defcended into the Valley of Zumaque, which he found very plentiful, and in which therefore he refrefhed his Forces for two Months, endeavouring then to continue his March Northward; but, finding the Road extremely rough and mountainous, he turned directly Eaft, in Hopes of mecting with an eafier Paflage; this opened a Way into a new Province well peopled and very rich; the Inhabitants of which were dreadfully amazed at the coming of the Spaniards amongt them, and indeed they very well might, for they behaved towards them in a Manner barbarous beyond Expreffion; for Gonzalo Pizarro exercifed the greateft Cruelty imaginable on the Inhabitants of thefe Regions, infomuch that he gave Men to be eaten alive by his Dogs. This engaged all the Natives to put themfelves in Arms againft him, fo that he was obliged to encamp himfelf as in an Enemy's Country; and his Cruelties, together with the Defpair he was in of ever being able to find what he was feeking after, had like to have put an End to his Enterprize at once. He was encamped on the Bank of a River, which fwelled fo much in one Night that if the Sentinels, who perceived the Water was a-pace getting Ground, had not warned them of their Danger, they had been all drowned; but at the Alarm they foon fecured themfelves, by making towards the Cottages of the wild People; and Pizarro refolved to return to $Z_{6}$ maque, not knowing what other Courfe to take. From thence he proceeded again with all his Men, and after a March of four Leagues he met with a great Village called Ampua, governed by a Cazique, and found a great Number of the Inhabitants in a Pofture of Defence expecting their Enemy; but there was another and great er Obftacle in his Way than this Cazique and all his Troops, and that was a River fo wide and deep that he could have no Thought of venturing to fivim over it He could therefore find no better Expedient than to enter into a Treaty with the People of the Country, and to defire the Help of their Canoes to crofs this River.

The Cazique received this Propofal with great Civility, offered them what they afked, and gave them as many of thefe little. Boats as they defired; and on this, Pizarro made him a Return of a great many little Spanifb Toys, by way of requital. This Cazique having received Advice of the ill Treatment many of his Neighbours had received from the Spaniards, thought of nothing more than how to get rid of them, and to de-
liver himfelf from the Danger of fuch bad Guefts, endeavoured to make them believe there were great Riches to be found among the People that dwelt upon the River; fome Days Journey lower. Pizarro, by his Actions and by his Guides, who were his Interpreters, returned hina Thanks for his Countefy; but, finding no Appearance of thofe pretended Riches, he returned to Zumaque very much difatisfied with his Expedition; however, he had too much Courage to retire back to Quito juft as he came. He had a Mind therefore to attempt fome great Exploit, and, by the Difcovery of fome other Part, to render himfelf as confiderable as the Marquis Pizarro, his elder Brother : He opened his Mind to Francis Orellona, a Gentleman of Truxillo in Spain, who was comé to join him in the Valley of Zumaque; and, having taken one hundred effective Soldiers, and fome Indians for Guides and to carry Provifions, he marched directly to the Eaft.

Either the Ignorance of his Guides, or the Hatred they bore him, engaged him in a Country all full of Mountains, Forefts, and Torrents, fo that he was conftrained to make Ways where he found none, and to open himfelf 'a Paffage through the Woods with Hatchets, where none had ever gone before. At length, after many Days March, he pierced through as far as the Province of Coca; the Cazique of which Province came to meet him, and offered him all the Accommodations the Country afforded for his Refrefhment; Gonzalo promifed himfelf much from this kind Entertainment, and by the Affiftance of his Guides entered into Converfation with the Cazique: He informed him, that the Country through which he had paffed, which was fo full of Mountains;
Forefts, and Brooks, was the only Paffage he could have Forefts, and Brooks, was the only Paffage he could have
taken to come thither, that, it was extremely dificult to get thro it ; but that if he was willing to embark on the River he faw before him, or to follow it by Land, he might affure himfelf, that, along the Banks of another River much greater than this, he fhould find a Country abounding with all Things, whofe Inhabitants were covered with Plates of Gold. There was no need of faying any thing more to Pizarro, to incite him to any kind of Enterprize, who prefently fent two of his Guides to Zumaque, with Orders to his Officers to come and join him, who marched immediately ; and, furmounting all the Difficulties of the Way, arrived, much fatigued, at the Town of Coca.
Pizarro having refted fome few Days, afterwards pui them in Battalia before the Cazique, who was fo much terrified with them, that he amaffed almoft all the Provifions of his whole Province to make a Prefent of them to Pizarro, that by this Magnificence he might civilly acquit himfelf of his new Acquaintance, who was more impatient of his Stay than the other ; and the next Morning, having filed his Troops along the River, he took his Leave of the Cazique, prefenting him with a finie Sword, and put himfelf at the Head of his Cavalry, and followed the pleafant Courfe of the River. This good Way did not laft long, but they had Rivulets to fwim over, and were forced to march in uneven Ways, and for forty-three Days, without finding any Provifions, or any Fords, or
Canoes by which to pafs the River. This long March Canoes by which to pafs the River. This long March having mightily fatiguied our Travellers, they were ftopped by a very furprifing Sight; the River was preffed by
two Rocks, and on each Side its Paffare two Rocks, and on each Side its Paffage, at no more than twenty Feet Diftance from one another; and the Water going through this Streight precipitated itfelf into a Valley, and made a Leap of two hundred Fathoms: Here it was that Pizarro caufed that famous Bridge to be made for his Troops to pais over, which is fo much boafted of by the Sponifh Hiftorians.
But finding the Way not at all better on the other Side, and the Provifion growing more and more fcarce every Day, Pizarro refolved to make a Brigantine, to carry by Water all his fick Men, Provifions, Baggage, and the
Gold which they had got amongft them. This was no Gold which they had got amongtt them. This was no fmall Difficulty; but Induftry and Neceflity furmounted it, and the Vefel being finifhed, Pizarro embarked all
in it that hindered his March, and gave the Command of it in it that hindered his March, and gave the Command of it to Francis Orellana, with fifty Soldiers; giving him exprefs

Order not to part far from him, but to come every Night to the Camp. He obferved this Order exactly, till his General, feeing all his Men much pinched with Hunger; commanded him to go and feels fome Provifions and Cottages, where his Men might be refreihed. Orellana had no fooner received his Orders, but he launched out into the Middle of the River, and the Rapidity of the Stream carried him as faft as he could wifh, for he made above one hundred Leagues in three Days; without the Ufe of either Sails or Oars.

The Current of Coca carried him into another River which was much larger, but not near fo fwift: He made his Obfervations of it one whole Day, and feeing that the farther he went down, the more the River widened ; he made no doubt but this was that great River which had been fo often, and in vain fought after. The Joy he con-
ceived at his good Fortune fo ceived at his good Fortune fo tranfported him; that it made him quite forget himfelf, fo that, dreaming only of the Enjoyment of this good Succefs, and trampling upon his Duty, Oath, Fidelity, and Gratitude, he had now nothing in View but to bring about the Enterprize he was contriving. To this End he perfuaded his Companions, that the Country was not the fame with that which their General had defcribed; that it had not that Plenty the Cazique had told him he fhould find at the joyning of the two Rivers; that they mult certainly float along farther, to find that pleafant and fertile Country, where they might frore themfelves with Provifions ; and befides, that they all faw there was no likelihood of getting up this River again which they came down in three Days, but, as he believed, could not make the fame Way back again in the Space of a whole Year ; that it was much more reafonable to wait for their Company on this new River ; and that, in the mean time, it was neceffary for them to go and feek Provifions.

Thus concealing his Defign, he hoifted Sail; and; abandoning himfelf to the Wind, to his Fortune, and to his Refolution, he thought of nothing but purfuing the Courfe of the River, till he fhould difcover it quite to the Sea. His Companions were amazed at the Manner of his putting in Execution the Defign he had been propofing to them, and thought themfelves obliged to tell him, that he went beyond the Orders of his General; and that in the extreme Want he was in, they ought to carry him the little Provifions they could find; and that he had given fufficient Evidence he had fome illDefign, becaufe he had neglected to leave two Canoes at the Bank of the two Rivers, as the General had appointed him, for his Army to pafs over in. Thefe Remonftances were made chiefly by a Dominican Friar named Gajpar de Carvajal, and by a young Gentleman of Badajos in Spain, called Fernand Sancbes de Vargas. The Confideration they had for thefe two Perfons, occafioned a Divifion in the Company, in this little Veffel,
into two Parties; and from Words they into two Parties; and from Words they were like to have fallen to Blows, but that Orellana, ftifling their Gratitude by his Diffimulation, by fair Proteftations, and great Promifes, appeafed this Diforder.

By Means of his Friend he had in the Veffel, he gained moft of the Soldiers that were againft him to his Side; and feeing the two Heads of the other Party left almoft alone, he caufed Fernand Sanches de Vargas to be fet afhore, leaving him quite alone, without Victuals and without Arms, in a difmal Wildernefs; bounded, on one
Side, with high Mountains, and with a River on the other. He had more Prudence than to treat the Friar after the fame manner, yet he gave him to underftand, that it was not for him to penetrate any more into the Intentions of his Commander, unlefs he had a Mind to be feverely chaftifed. After this he continued his Voyage; and the next Day, being willing to know if he might depend upon all that were with him for the Succefs of his Refolutions, he let them know that he afpired
to a much higher Pitch of Dionity to a much higher Pitch of Dignity than what he might have obtained in the Service of Pizarro: That he owed every thing to himfelf and to his King; and that his Fortune having, as it were, led him by the Hand to the greateft and moft defirable Difcovery that was ever made in the Indies, namely, the great River upon which they were failing; which coming out of Peru, and running

## Chap．III．of the ENGLISH in AMERICA．

from Weft to Eaft，was the fineft Channel in the new World，through which they might pafs from theSouthern to the Northern Sea；that he could not，without betray－ ing them all，and without ravifhing from them the Fruits of their Voyage and Induftry，make others thare in a Favour which Heaven had referved for them alone．By this Means he eafily quieted thefe Murmurs，and brought his Men to have a Share of that Ambition which flamed in his own Breaft．His Neceffities forced him afhore for Provifions，and，as he did not take thefe with that Gen－ tlenefs and Prudence that became him in a ftrange Country；the Natives，unanimounly took up Arms， and with great Boldnefs fell upon the Spaniards，who defended themfelves with much Courage，and killed many of their Antagonifts with their Crofs－bows；and upon infpecting their Bodies，found that feveral of them were Women ；as indeed it was no uncommon thing for the Indian Women，in that Country，to fight by the Sides of their Hufbands；but our Spaniard，having a romantic Head，improved this flight Incident into a formal Hiftory of a great Nation of Amazons，fettled upon this River：By which Fable he overturned his great Defign of beftowing his own Name upon it，and thereby perpetuating the Memory of his Paffage；for from this Story of his it received the Name which it ftill bears，and will always bear，of the River of Amazons．

He took care，in the remaining Part of his Paffage， to behave with more Prudence and Mildnefs to the Peo－ ple he met with，among whom were many gentle，and even polite Nations，as well as others fierce and warlike． In fine，he paffed quite down the River to the Sea；and having coafted about a Cape，now called the North Cape， which by the way is the Name the French have beftowed on the Country of Guiana，two hundred Leagues from the Inand of Trinidada，he failed directly thither，and there bought a Ship to carry him to Spain；where he made fuch a Report of the Countries he had feen，to the Emperor Cbarles V．that he obtained as ample a Com－ miffion as he could defire ；and，in the Year 1549，failed with three Ships for the River of Amazons；but this fecond Expedition was the very reverfe of the firft，as being un－ fortunate from the very Beginning；for a contagious Diftemper fpreading among his Men，obliged him to quit two of his three Ships，and afterwards his Company was fo reduced as to fail in a fmall Bark，with which he propofed to profecute his Difcovery；but being fhip－ wrecked on the Coaft of the Caraccas，he there loft the reft of his Men，and foon after died himfelf on the Ifland of St．Margaret，of downright Defpair．

The ill Succefs of Orellana＇s Voyage cooled the ardent Defire the Spaniards had for the Difcovery of the River of Amazons，and it feemed quite extinguifhed by the civi Wars of Peru，till the Marquis de Caguete，being Vice－ roy of that Kingdom，a Gentleman of Navarre，named Peter de Orfua，who had always entertained Thoughts worthy of his great Courage，turned his Defigns on this great River，and believed he fhould be more fortunate than Orellana．He prefented himfelf to the Viceroy，and propofed his Defigns to him，who being well acquainted with his Merit，commended his Refolution ；and was perfuaded that if fo difficult a Matter fhould fucceed，it mult be by the Conduct of fo wife and brave a Commander．Moft of the Gentry came to offer their Service to Orfua，who was fo much in every one＇s Efteem，that there was no Soldier fo old but would leave his Retirement with pleafure，to ferve under fo excellent a General；he made Choice of fuch amongft them as were fit for his Purpofe ；and to carry on the famous Conqueft he defigned he made all neceflary Pro－ vifions，to which all the Lords and Inhabitants of the Town contributed with a great deal of Liberality，being well perfuaded that Orfua had Qualities that well deferved to be obliged．
He departed from $C u \int_{60}$ in 1560 ，with the Acclamations and good Wifhes of all the Inhabitants of that Place： He was attended with above feven hundred good Soldiers， and with a confiderable Number of good Horfes．Be－ ing well verfed in the Map of Peru，and having been for fome time laying the Scheme of his Journey，he marched diredly to the Province of Mofilones firfts to meet the

River Moyabamba；by which he was fure of entering inta the River of Amazons．One would have hoped，an At； tempt fo wifely laid，and fo univerfally approved；fhould have had a happy Iffue，yet never was any Project more unfucceffful；for Orfua had taken with him one Don Fernand de Gufman，a young Man lately come from Spain，and another more advanced in Years，named． I：opez d＇Aguira of Bifcay，a little ill favoured $\mathrm{Man}_{3}$ whom he had made his Enfign．Thefe two Wretches fell in love with their General＇s Lady，whofe Name was Agnes，and who had accompanied her Hufband in all his Travels；and thinking they had a favourable Occafion to，fatisfy their Luft and Ambition together，they engaged Orfua＇s Troop to revolt，and affafinated． him．

After the tragical Fact，the Traitors who committed it，who to the Number of feven or eight were in a ftrict Confederacy，elected Don Fernand de Guman for their King，whofe Mind was vain enough to receive that Ti － tle which became him fo little；but he did not enjoy it long；for thofe very Perfons that had given him the Quality of King，gave him his Death＇s Wound too ；and $d^{3}$ Aguira fucceeded him，who made himfelf King，not－ withftanding the Remonftrances of others．He gave all thofe he had gained to his Party to underftand，that he intended to make himfelf Mafter of Guiana，of Peru； and of the new Kingdom of Grenada；and promifed them all the Riches of thofe great Kingdoms．His Reign was fo bloody and barbarous，that the like Ty－ ranny was fcarce ever heard of in the World．Therefore the Spaniards，to this Day，called him the Tyrant．How－ ever he cominanded Orfua＇s Veffels，and went down the River Coca into Amazon，hoping to obtain one of thofe Kingdoms，and to make a confiderable Progrefs into it： But having entered the Amazon，he was not able to mafter the Current of it，and fo was conftrained to fuffer himfelf to be carried down to the Mouth of the River above a thoufand Leagues from the Place where he embarked，and was driven into the great Channel which goes to the North Cape，being the fame Way Orellana had taken before him．Going out of the Ama－ zon he came to the Inland of St．Margaret，which is to this Day called the Tyrant＇s Port．There he killed． Don Irean de Villa Andrada，Governor of the Inand，and Don Fohn Sermiento his Father．

After their Death，with the Affiftance of one Fobri Burg，he made himfelf Mafter of the Inand，plundered it entirely，and there committed unheard of Barbarities； he killed all that oppofed him，and paffed from thence to Cumana，where he exercifed the fame Cruelties．He after that defolated all thofe Coafts that bear the Name of Caraccas，and all the Provinces along the Rivers $V e_{-}$ nezuella and Bacho．He then came to St．Martba，where he put all to the Sword，and entered the new Kingdom of Grenada，defigning to march from thence through Quito into Peru．In this Kingdom he was forced to a Battle，in which he was utterly defeated and put to Flight，and all Ways being ftopped，when he found he muft perifh，he thereupon begun his Tragedy with a Sort of Bar－ barity without Example．He had a Daughter by his Wife Mendoza，that had followed him in all his Expeditions； and whom he loved entirely ：Daughter（faid he to her） I muft kill thee；I defigned to have placed thee on a Throne，but fince Fortune oppofes it I am not willing thou fhouldft live to fuffer the Shame of becoming a Slave to myEnemies，and of being called the Daughter of aTy－ rant and a Traitor：Die my Cbild，die by the Hand of thy Father，if thou baft not Courage enough to die by thy own： She，furprized at this Difcourle，defired him，at leaft，to give her fome time to prepare for Death，and to beg of God the Pardon of her Sins．This he granted，but， thinking her too tedious in her Devotion，as the was praying upon her Knees he hot her through the Body with a Carbine；but having not killed her outright，he ftuck his Dagger into her Heart，and The falling down at the Stroke，cry＇d，Ab Father，＇tis enough．Soon after her Death he was taken Prifoner and carried to the Ifland la Trinidada，where he had a confiderable Eftate．His Procefs was made，and he condemned to be quartered． He was publicly executed；his Houfes razed to the

Ground

Ground, and the Places where they ftood fowed with Salt.
I chofe to mention the Attempts of the Spaniards to penetrate into this Country on the South-fide ; firt, that I might end with thofe Attempts made by the fame Nation upon the North, by the great River Oronoco, or, as moft of our Englifl Writers write it, after the French Manner, Oronoque, by which alfo Sir Walter Raleigh made his Attempt. The firft Perfon we read of who engaged in this Defign of finding and making himfeif Mafter of the Inca's new City of Monoa, was Diego de Ordaca, who failed from Spain with a great Force for this Purpofe, in the Year 1531; which, by the way, fhews how early this Notion was taken up, and that it was not, as is commonly believed, invented by the Indians, to rid themfelves of Gonzalo Pizarro. This Diego de Ordaca, with fix hundred Foot and thirty Horfe, reached the Oronoco, where, by a Series of unlucky Accidents, too long for us to relate, his Expedition was totally ruined: Yet one of thefe Accidents proved the means (as the Spaniards pretend and believe) of making a full Difcovery of this famous City ; and the Story is thus told: When Ordaca came firf upon this Coaft, and anchored in the Harbour of Morequito, his Magazine of Powder, by fome Mifchance, blew up; and this being imputed to the Carelefnefs of fuon Martinez, his Mafter Gunner, he was condemned to be fhot for it; but the Seamen prevailed to have this Punifhment changed into his being put alone into a little Canoe, with his Arms only, and without any Provifions, and fo committed to the Mercy of the Wind and Waves.

In this wretched Condition he was found by fome of the Indians or Savages, who, having never feen a white Man before, paffed him about from one Place to another, till he came to the royal City of Manoa, where the King no fooner faw him than he knew him to be a Chriftian and a Spaniard, for this happened but a very litele after the Marquis Pizarro had deftroyed the Empire of the Inca's in Peru. This Prince, however, -received him civilly enough, though he was far from forgetting the Cruelties exercifed by the Spaniards on his Countrymen. He kept him feven Months at Marioa; but in all that time he was never fuffered to go without the City, or even to pafs through the Streets of it, without a Guard, and a Cloth bound over his Eyes. At the End of this Space, when it was perceived that Martinez had acquired, in fome Meafure, the Language of the Country, the King fent for him, and propofed two Things to his Choice, viz. either to remain with him as long as he lived, or to return into his own Country, and he chofe the latter ; upon which the King fent him under a Guard the fhorteft way to the River Oronoco; but, at the Time he difmiffed him, he was pleafed to beftow on him, as a Mark of his Favour, a confiderable Quantity of Gold, which, however, was taken from him by the Savages on the Frontiers, and by the Oronocoponi, a Nation fo called from their living upon the Banks of that great River. They left him, however, two large Bottles, in which they thought he kept his Drink, but which were really filled with Gold Duft, and thefe he brought along with him to the Ifland of Trinidada, from whence he went afterwards to St. Fuan de Puerto Rico, where he lived for fome Time, and from whence he intended to have procured a Paffage to Spain; but being feized there with a mortal Difeafe; after he had received the extreme Unction, and faw no Hopes of Life, he caufed his two Bottles of Gold to be brought, and the Account he had written of his Voyage : The Gold he gave to the Church for Maffes to be faid for his Soul, and the Relation of his Voyage was entered, at large, in the Regifters of the Chancery of St. Fuan de Puerto Rico.

To this Martinez the Spanifh Writers unanimoufly afcribe the Difcovery of this famous City, which he ftiled Manoa el Dorada or the Golden Manoa, on account of the prodigious Quantities of that Metal which he had feen there, in their Palaces, Temples, and other public Edifices, but more efpecially in their drunken Feafts, of which he gave the following very fingular Account : That thofe who drank with the King were quite naked, and having their

Bodies rubbed over with a kind of thin gummy Balfam, they were then powdered with Gold Duft, fo as to be gilt from Head to Foot; this Relation, whether true or falfe, proved of very fatal Confequence to the Spaniards, for it gave Occafion to, fome fay twenty, others fixty, feveral Expeditions in fearch of this golden City, all of them with very indifferent Succefs. Fuon Cortez attempted it with thirty Men, but neither he nor they were ever heard of more. Gafpar de Sylua, and his two Brothers, failed with two hundred Men from the Canaries to reinforce Diego de Ordaca; and, after taking a great deal of Pains, to no Purpofe, returned to the Illand of Trinidada, where they died.
Another Adventurer, in the fame way, was Don Pedro Hernondez de Serpa, who landed at Cumana, and afterwards marched by Land on the Banks of the Oronoco till he came to an Indian Nation called Wikiri, who oppofed his further Paffage, and attacked his Men with fuch Fury that only eighteen of his Spaniards efcaped from the Battle; yet this Enterprize was of particular Service to Sir Walter; for it fell out that when Captain Amias Prefion took the City of St. Fago de Leon by Storm, he made one of thefe Adventurers Prifoner, who gave him a large Account of the vaft Riches the Spaniards hoped to find in this Country, which coming to the Ears of Sir Walter Raleigh, induced him to make diligent and ftrict Search into the Original of this Story, whence he came to collect a Multitude of Hiftories, relating to this Matter of which we have given the Reader only a few, that he might fee upon what Grounds this Expedition was undertaken, or rather what Reafon Sir Walter Raleigb thought fit to affign for his Voyage, in order to draw fuch an Approbation of it as was neceffary, from thofe whom nothing but a Shew of vaft and immediate Profit could tempt; for, I mult confefs, it feems very doubtful to me, whether Sir Walter Raleigb gave entire Credit to thefe Accounts, or not ; but whatever his own Opinion was, he had certainly a Right to ufe them as popular Arguments for promoting his Defign, fince no Politician ever doubted that it is lawful to cheat Men as well as Children for their own Good. But he took care to provide Reafons of another Nature, for Mien of other Minds: He fhewed them that of all the Countries in America the moft profitable, the beft fituated, the eafieft planted, the moft defenfible, was Guiana. Thefe Notes of Excellency I have collected from his Writings upon this Subject, which are very artfully immethodical, and, under an apparent Carelefnefs of Stile and Order, are fo wrote, as to affect the IMind of the Reader with an Opinion, that he has made Difcoveries in Sir Walter's Treatife, by penetrating into thofe Secrets, which he meant to conceal ; while, alas! the true Secret is, that he meant thus to catch us, and make every Man's Underftanding revolt in his Favour.
It was neceffary, in his Time, and more efpecially to him ; and therefore his Defign is as commendable as his Execution is inimitable. But that he might proceed cauticuly in an Affair of fuch Importance, he fent before him one Capt. Wbiddon, to take a View of the Coaft, that he might be perfectly informed of the State things were then in, and thereby become more able to take the proper Meafures for overcoming thofe Difficulties, which a Man of lefs Sagacity would have efteemed-infuperable. This Gentleman did his Bufinefs effectually, though he met with fome Obftruction from the Force, and fuffered much greater Inconveniencies from the Frauds, of the Spaniards, who were at that time bent upon the fame Defign, and labouring with the utmoft Diligence to difcover and fecure this valuable Country.

Among other Adventurers there was one Gonzales Ximenes de Cafada, a Man of greater Courage than good Fortune; who, after having had a large Share in the Conqueft of Nero Grenada, attempted to penetrate into Guiana; but after a great Expence, and incredible Fatigue, to no Purpofe, was obliged to return, difappointed indeed, but not in Defpair. This Gentleman had an only Daughter, whom he married to Don Antonio de Berreo; to whom, - with a large Fortune, he bequeathed this Expedition, taking from him an Oath, that he would profecute the Difcovery and Conqueft of Guiana,

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to the laft Hour of his Life. He, to fulfil this Obligation, undertook this Enterprize, with feven hundred Horfe, attended by a vaft Number of Indian Slaves; but after marching five hundred Leagues in Purfuit of this Project, he was obliged to return, but brought with him from the Frontiers of Guiana forty Plates of Gold, and many other valuable Curiofities, fufficient to fortify him in his Refolution not to abandon the Defign. It was this Berreo that Captain Wbiddon had to deal with, and of whom he made a very bad Report on his return.
When Sir Walter's P'oject was ripe for Execution, he was affifted by the Lord Admiral Howard and Sir Robert Cecil, fo that in the beginning of the Year 1595 he was ready to proceed ; and it appears, from his Relation, that he had in the whole five Ships. He does not tell us the Name of his own, which he commanded in Perfon ; though, as to the reft, he diftinguifhes them plain enough; fo that we perceive the Lion's Whelp, which was the Lord Admiral's, was commanded by Captain George Gifford; Captain Keymis had the Command of a Galego, befides a Bark, which was committed to Captain Crofs, and another to Captain Calfeld. The whole Number of Men in this Fleet is not mentioned; but the felect Company of Officers, Gentlemen, and Soldiers, he ufed in his Difcoveries, exceeded not one hundred.
Thus prepared he departed from Plymouth on the 6th of February following, and failed to the Grand Canaries, and fo to Teneriff, where he waited a while for the Lion's Whelp, and for Captain Amias Prefon. But this Captain difappointed him, and went upon another Adventure, which proved fome Difadvantage in the Profecution of his Difcoveries. After waiting feven or eight Days, to no Purpofe, he failed with his own Ship and a Bark, commanded by Captain Crofs, to the Inand of Trinidada, where he arrived the 22 d of March, and fpent a confiderable Space of Time in viewing that Inland, examining all its Ports and Havens, and even every little Creek, with infinite Care and Exactnefs. The Reafons which moved him to this Stay, were two ; the firft, that he might revenge himfelf upon Berreo for the Injuries he had done Captain Wbiddon's People, eight of whom he betrayed into his Hands, and then ufed them barbaroully; the other was, that he might obtain fome Account of the Continent, and of the moft proper Method for entering into Guiana, in both of which he fucceeded, in fpite of all the Care the Spanifo Governor could take to hinder it. At laft, perceiving that the Spaniards were contriving Meafures for his Deftruction, and knowing there could be nothing more fatal than to leave an Enemy at his Back, he refolved to make himfelf Mafter of this Place, which he knew would gain him the Friendfhip, as well as fecure him the Obedience, of the Indians, who by the Spaniards were moft cruelly oppreffed. Accordingly he fent Captain Calfeld to attack the Main-guard with fixty Men, and, following himfelf with forty more, reduced the Town of St. 70 ofeph without much Trouble.

The Inhabitants he fet at Liberty, keeping only the Governor and his Spaniards Prifoners; and afterwards, at the Requeft of the Indians, burnt the Place; but though he gratified them in this Refpect, yet, in all others, he acted towards his Prifoners, and more efpecially towards the Governor, with fo much Civility and Kindnefs, that he drew from him a faithful Account of all his Adventures in Purfuit of the Defign before-mentioned. The fame Day that Raleigb made his Conqueft arrived Captain Gifford and Captain Keymis, and in their Ships divers Gentlemen, and others, which to his little Army was a great Succour and Solace. Then, proceeding upon his Difcovery, Raleigh firt called all the Chiefs of the Ifland together, who were Enemies to the Spaniards; for fome of them Berreo had brought out of other Countries, and planted there to eat out and wafte the Natives; then by the Indian Interpreter, whom he carried out of England, he made them underftand, "He was the Servant of a Queen, who was the great${ }^{\text {}}$ "e ft Cazique in the Noirth, and a Virgin, who had more Caziques under her Command than there were Vol. II. Numb, LXXXIV.
"Trees in that Inand; that flie was an Eneriny to the "Caftelans, in regard of their Tyranny and Opprefs "fion; and, having freed all the Coafts of the northerra " World from their Servitude, had fent him to free "s them alfo; and withal, to defend the Country of "Guiana from their Invafion and Conqueft." Then he fhewed them her Majefty's Picture, which they fo admired and honoured, that it had been eafy to have made them idolatrous thereof.
The like and larger Speeches he made in a fơtemn Manner to the reft of the Nations, both in his Paffage to Guiana and to thofe of the Borders, fo as in that part of the World the Queen of England's Fame was diffufed, with great Admiration. This done, Raleeigb returned to Curiapan ; and though he had learnt of Berreo that Guiana was fome hundred Miles further than the Accounts he had received of Captain Wbiddon had reprefented it, he kept the Knowledge thereof from his Company, who he much feared would have been difcouraged thereby from profecuting the Difcovery. When Raleigh had further gathered from Berreo the Proccedings of the paft Adventurers and his own, he told him he was come upon the fame Defign, and was refolved to fee Guiana. Berreo ufed many Arguments to diffuade him; as that he muft venture in very light and fmall Boats, to pafs fo many dangerous Shallows, and could not carry Victuals enough above half the way ; that none of the Country would fpeak with him, and if he followed them would burn their Towns; befides, the Way was long, the Winter at hand, and the Rivers beginning to fwell; but above all, that the Kings and Lords who bordered upon Guiana, had decreed that none of them fhould trade with any Chriftians for Gold, becaufe the fame would be their own Overthrow. Raleigh, refolving however to make trial, directed his Vice-Admiral Captain Gifford and Captain Calfeld to turn Eattward againft the Mouth of the River Capuri, and gave thern Inftructions to enter at the Edge of the Shole, and upon the beft of the Flood to thruit over, but they laboured in vain, nor did the Flood continue fo long, but the Water fell before they could pafs the Sands, tho' they ufed all the Skill and Diligence they could.

Then Raleigh fent one King, Mafter of the Lion's Whelp, to try another Branch, called Amana, if either of the fmall Ships would enter ; but when he came to the Mouth, he found it like the reft ; after him went Hobn Dorvglas, who difcovered four fair Entrances, but all fhole and fhallow in the Bays leading to them. In the mean time Raleigh, fearing the wort, caufed his Carpenter to cut down an old Galego Boat, to fit her with Banks for Oars, and fo as fhe might draw but five Feet. In this went Raleigh with Gentlemen and Officers, to the Number of threefcore; in the Lion's Whelp-Boat and Wherry they carried twenty; Captain Calfield, in his Wherry, carried ten; and a Barge of Raleigb's ten more; this was all the Means they had, having left their Ships at Curiapan, to carry a hundred Men with Weapons and Provifions for a Month, expofed to all the Extremes of the Weather, all the Hazards of the Water, to lie open to the Air, and upon hard Boards by Night in Storms of Rain, or under the burning Sun'by Day, to fimell the wet Clothes of fo many crowded together, the dreffing of their Food, and that moftly ftale Fifh, in the fame Place, to be in fuch a Labyrinth of Rivers, in fuch a remote unknown Region; what Prifon could be more loathfome and unhealthy, what Profpect more fearful and defolate? At firft fetting out they had twenty Miles of a high Sea to crofs in thefe crazy Boats, fo that they were driven before the Wind into the Bottom of the Bay of Guanipa, inhabited by inhuman Cannibals, who fhot poifoned Arrows, and from thence to enter one of the Rivers of which Dowoglas had brought Tidings. After four Days they got above the Force of the Tide, and might have wandered a Year about, and never been able to extricate themfelves; in fuch a general Confluence or Rendezvous of Streams were they now bewildered, and fo refembling one another, as not to be diftinguifhed, but imperceptibly circulating and driving them about into the fame Place where they had been before, paffing between many Iflands and Streights, whofe

Borders

Borders were fo thickly arched and overfhadowed with Trees, as bounded their Sight to the Breadth of the River and the Length of the Avenue, while the Gloominefs of the Profpect added Horror to the Loathfomnefs of the Places in which they were confined.

At length, on the 22d of May 1595, they fell into a River, which, becaufe it had no Name, they called the Red Crofs River, there being the firft Chriftians who ever entered the fame: When they drew into a Creek, which led to a Town upon this River, their Indian Pilot, named Ferdinando, landing, was fet upon by his Countrymen, who hunted him with Dogs; whereupon Raleigh feized an old Man paffing that way, and threatened to cut off his Head, if he did not procure his Pilot's Liberty; but he, by his Agility, foon efcaped them, and fwam to Raleigh's Barge; however, they kept the old Man, and ufed him kindly, affuring themfelves of ufeful Information from a Native, fo long converfant in thofe Parts. And indeed, but for this Accident, they had never found their Way forward to the Country they fought, nor back to that where their Ships lay; the old Man himfelf being often in the utmoft Perplexity which River to take, fo numerous and intricate they were. The People who inhabit the Countries at the Mouth of this great River, are comprehended under the general Name of Tivitivas, a bold and hardy Race of People, who know the Value of Liberty, and have Courage enough to defend it: They live in Houfes during the Summer, or dry Seafon, but in the Wet or Winter Months they live in little Huts, which are built upon Trees, a Thing common enough on this Coaft and even in the Eaft Indies where the Countries are exceffively wet.

After this 'Raleigh's Barge ran a-ground, and that with fuch force, that it did not feem very probable they fhould be able to get her off; fo that the Difcovery feemed at a ftand; but on the fourth Day after this Accident happened they fet her on float, and, ftriking into the Amana, one of the nobleft Branches of the Oronoco, they continued their Voyage, but with incredible Fatigue. As they were now within five Degrees of the Line, Sir Walter was forced to keep up their Spirits by directing his Pilots to give them Hopes from time to time that their Labours would foon have an End. At length the old Indian Pilot they had on board, perceiving that their Provifions were quite exhaufted, and that they were in Danger of perifhing without an immediate Supply, told them, that if they would venture up a River on their right Fiand, he would bring them to a Town where they might be fure of Refrefhments, and be able to return before Night. Sir Walter took him at his Word, and went immediately into his Boat with eight Mufketeers, followed by the Captains Gifford and Calfeld in their Wherries, with eight Men a-peice. But it appeared that the Indian Pilot had learned Sir Walter's Art, for they not only rowed all Day, but all Night, without feeing any Town, and a lefs prudent Captain than he would have been tempted to have punifhed the Pilot for giving them falfe Hopes. Yet about one the next Morning they reached this long expected Town, and obtained thofe Supplies of which they ftood fo much in need. In the mean time the Company in the Galley manned out a Boat in fearch of them, but next Day they returned and continued their Courfe. After they had made this hungry and hazardous Voyage for fourfcore Miles in that River, which, befides other ftrange Fifhes of marvellous Bignefs, abounded with Crocodiles, whence the People named it the River of Lagartis, Raleigb had a very proper young Negro attending upon him in his Galley, who, leaping out to fwim in the Mouth of this River, was in the Sight of them all inftantly devoured by one of thefe amphibious Animals.

Not long after, being again in want of Victuals, they took two Canoes laden with excellent Bread, being run afhore by the Indians in them, called Arreaycas, who fled to hide themfelves in the Woods, fearing, through the Prepoffeffions of the Spaniards, that Raleigh and his Company were Cannibals. Raleigh, purfuing them in Hopes of fome Intelligence, found, as he was creeping through the Bufhes, a Refiner's Bafket; in which were Quickfilver, Salt-petre, and divers other Materials for
the Trial of Metals, and alfo the Duft of fome Ore that had been refined. But in two other Canoes that efcaped them, they heard of a good Quantity of Ore and Gold. Raleigh then landed more Men, and offered $500 \%$ to any of his Soldiers who fhould take one of the Spaniards. He found the Arwaycas hiden in the Woods, who had been Pilots to the Spaniards, of which Raleigb kept the Chief for his Pilot, and carried him to Guiana; by whom he underftood in what Parts the Spaniards laboured for Gold, which he divulged to two of his Company, knowing both the Seafon of the Year and other Conveniencies would be wanting to work any Mine himfelf. After recruiting his People with wholefome Refrefhments, he continued his Voyage: The Men feemed now quite as well pleafed as their Commander had been from the Beginning, and of their own accord offered to go as far as he would; fo that on the I 5 th Day from their leaving their Ships he entered the great River Oronoco, and had an Opportunity of fatisfying himfelf as to the Number and Names of the Indian Nations that inhabited both Sides of it.

After having paffed the Mountain Aio, and a great Ifland which he mentions he reached on the fifth Day of his entering the great River aforefaid, as high as the Province of Aromaia, and anchoring at the Port of Morequito, which is full three hundred Miles within the Land, upon the faid great River Oronoco, he fent a Meffenger to the old King of Arumaia, named Topiowary, who came the next Day before Noon on Foot from his Houfe, and returned the fame Evening, being twentyeight Miles backwards and forwards, though himfelf was one hundred and ten Years of Age. He had many Attendants of both Sexes, who came alfo to wonder at the Englifh, and brought them great Plenty of Flefh and Fifh, with divers Sort of Fruits. When the old King had refrefhed himfelf a while in the Tent, which $R a$ leigh had caufed to be pitched for him, they entered by the Interpreter into Difcourfe about the Murder of Morequito his Predecefior, and the other Barbarities of the Spaniards. Then Raleigh acquainted him with the Caule of his coming thither, whofe Servant he was, and that it was his Queen's Pleafure he fhould undertake this Voyage for their Defence, and to deliver them from the Tyranny of the Spaniards, dilating at large (as he had done before at Trinidada) on her Majefty's Power, her Jutice, and her Clemency towards all oppreffed Nations; all which being with great Reverence and Attention received, he began to found the old Man touching Guiana, as what Sort of Commonwealth it was; how governed; of what Strength and Policy; of what Extent; with whom in Alliance or Enmity; laftly, the Diftance and way to enter the Heart of the Country. The King gave fuch an ample and perfect Account of thefe Particulars, that Raleigh wondered to find a Man of fuch Gravity, Judgment, and good Difcourfe, without the Help of L.carning or Breeding.

After his Departure Raleigh failed Weftward to view the famous River Caroli, both becaufe it was fo wonderful in itfelf, and led to the frongeft Nations of all the Frontiers, who were Enemies to the Epuremei, Subjects to the Inca or Emperor of Guiona, and Manoa: Even when he was fhort of it, or lower down than the Port of Morequito, he heard the roaring Falls of this River; but when he entered it with his Barge and Wherries, thinking to have gone up fome forty Miles to the Cafiagotos, he was not able, with a Barge of eight Oars, to row one Stone's-throw in an Hour, and yet the River is as broad as the Thames at Woolwich. Therefore encamping on the Banks, he fent off an Indian to acquaint the Nation upon the River of his Arrival and his Purpofe, and that he defired to fee the Lords of Canuri, who dwelt in that Province. Then one of the Princes came down, named Wanuretona, with many of his People, and brought great Store of Provifions, as the reft had done. By him Raleigh found the Carclians were not only Enemies to the Spaniards, but moft of all to the Epuremei, who abounded in Gold; and that there were three mighty Nations at the Head of that River which would join them againft them; he was further informed, by one Captain George whom he had taken with Berreo, that near the Banks of this River there was a great Silver Mine, but the Rivers were now

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all fo rifen, that it was not poffible for the Strength of Men, with any Boat, to row againft the Stream. Therefore he difpatched a Party of between thirty and forty to coaft the River by Land, while himfelf with a few Officers and half a dozen Shot, marched over Land to view the ftrange and.wonderful Overfalls of the faid River Caroli, which roared at fuch a Diftance, and the Plains adjoining' with the reft of the Province of Canuri.
When they had got to the Top of the firft Hills, overlooking the River, they beheld that prodigious Breach of Water which poured down Caroli, and how it ran in three Streams for twenty Miles together ; no lefs than ten or a Dozen of the fteep Cataracts appeared in Sight, each as high above the other as a Church Tower, which rufhed down with fuch Violence, that the very Rebound of the Waters made the Place feem as if it had been all over covered with a great Shower of Rain; and in fome Places they took it at firft for a thick Smoak which had rifen out of fome great Town, till they drew nearer down in the Valley to this Thunder of Waters, where they better difcerned and diftinguifhed the Effects of it. And here Raleigh fays he never faw a more beautiful Country, nor more lively Profpects; the Hills fo raifed up and down about the Valleys; the Waters winding into fuch various Branches; the Plains fo clear of Brufh and Shrub, and covered all with fair green Grafs; the Ground of hard Sand, and eafy for the March either for Horfe or Foot ; the Deer croffing in every Path; the Birds towards the Evening finging on every Tree a thoufand feveral Tunes, with Cranes and Herons, of White, Crimfon and Carnation, perched along the RiverBanks; the Air refrefhed with gentle eafterly Breezes; and every Stone they flooped to take up, promifing either Gold orSilver by its Complexion. His Company, at their Return, brought feveral of thofe Stones home, which they rather found coloured outwardly like Gold, than any of that Metal fixed in them; for thofe who had leaft Judgment or Experience, kept only fuch as glittered, and would not be perfuaded but they were rich, becaufe they fhone; and thereby bred an Opinion that all the reft were no better. Yet fome of thofe Stones Raleigh fhewed afterwards to a Spaniard of the Caraccas, who told him it was El Madre del Oro, that is, the Mother of Gold, and that the Mine was farther in the Ground: He received alfo many other Informations from thefe People, fome of which, however, feemed to border upon thofe fabulous Accounts delivered by Antiquity, but always fufpected by Men of Senfe; which Raleigh reports, but with due Caution.

While he lay at Anchor near the Banks of the Caroli, he fpared no Pains that were requifite to gain a thorough Knowledge of the Names and Manners of the feveral Indian Nations that lay farther within the Country, which was all, in that refpect, left in his Power; there being many Reafons which rendered his farther Stay improper, and his Return to his Fleet a Point of abfolute Neceffity; for he had been now abfent above a Month, had wandered in that Space above four hundred Miles from the Sea Coafts; and befides the Winter was comeing on very faft, and the great River began to rife. Befides all this, they had no Inftruments with them to open Mines ; and if they advanced farther, were to act againft a numerous, civilized, and warlike People; fo that, having done more with a handful of People, and that too in fewer Days than the Spaniards had been Years in fearching for this Country, he very wifely refolved to fubmit to Neceffity, and feek the fhorteft Way back to his Ships. Yet as he returned to the Eaft, he fpent fome Time in difcovering the River towards the Sea, which he had not furveyed, and which he thought alfo neceffary to do; in a Day's time he arrived again at the Port of Morequito; for, gliding down the Stream, he went without Labour, though againft the Wind, little lefs than one hundred Miles a Day ; when he came to anchor, he was very defirous of farther Conference with old Topiowary, who foon came with a Multitude of his People flocking down to Raleigb's Tent upon the Shore, loaded with Prefents.
When the old King was refrefhed, and the Croud reEired, Raleigh, by his Interpreter, entered into a long

Conference with him; telling him; that as both the Epures mei and the Spaniards were his Enemies, the one having conquered Guiana already; and the other endeavoured to get it from both, he defired to be inftructed, both in the beft Way to the golden Parts of Guiana, and the civilized Towns of the Inca. The King anfwered, He could not perceive Raleigb meant to proceed to the great City of Manoa, becaufe neither the Seafon of the Year; nor the Strength of his Company, would enable him; for he remembred that in the Plains of Maqureguarai, the firt Town of Guiana, where all the Gold Plates were made which were fcattered over the neighbouring Nations, and above four Days Journey from his own, three hundred Spaniards were deftroyed who had no Friends among the Borderers ; he therefore advifed Raleigb hever to invade -the ftrong Parts of Guiana without the Help of all thofe Nations which were their Enemies. Raloigh afked, If he thought the Company he had with him were fufficient to take that Town? The King thought they were, and offered to affift him with all his Borderers, if he would leave him a Guard of fifty Men upon his Departure:
But Raleigh, knowing if they fhould efcape the Guianians, the Spaniards, expecting Supplies, would repay upon him his Treatment at Trinidada, very plaufibly excufed himfelf. Hereupon the King defired he would forbear him and his Country at this Time; for if the Epuremei fhould know he had given Raleigh any Aid or Intelligence, he fhould foon be over-run by them, nor could he avoid the Spaniards if they thould return, who had before led him, feventeen Days, in a Chain like a Dog, till he paid a hundred Plates of Gold and feveral Chains of Spleen-ftones, for his Ranfom; but if Raleigb would return in due Seafon next Year, he would engage all the Borderers in the Enterprize; for that he could not more defire to make himfelf Mafter of Guiana, than they to affift him, having been plundered in their Wars by the Epuremei, of their Womer, whom to recover, they would willingly renew the War, without Hopes of farther Profit ; for the old King complained of it as a Matter of grievous Reftraint, that now they were confined to three or four Wives apiece, who were wont to enjoy ten or a Dozen, while the Lords of their Enemies had no lefs than fifty or a hundred ; but they feem to have had a political Reafon for this Recovery, to ftrengthen their Alliance, and increafe their Forces ; thofe Frontiers having been much depopulated, between the Subjects of the Inca and the Spaniards.
Raleigh, after farther Confultation, finding it abfolutely improper, either to leave any of his Company, or to attempt War upon the Epuremei till the next Year, applied himfelf now, only to learn how thofe People wrought thofe Plates of Gold, which were difperfed about, and how they divided it from the Stone. The King told him, that moft of their Plates and Images were not fevered from the Stone ; but that, on the Lake of Manoa, and many other Rivers thereabouts, they gathered the perfect Grains of Gold, and, mingling a Proportion of Copper, the better to work it, put it in a great earthen Pot, under which they increafed the Fire by the Breath of Men through long Canes faftened to the Holes under the faid Pot, till the Metal diffolved, which then they caft into Moulds of Stone and Clay, and fo made thefe Plates and Images; whereof Raleigb brought two Sorts into England, more to fhew the Manner of them, than the Value ; for he gave more Pieces of Gold of the twenty Shilling Coin, with the Queen's Effigy upon them, among thefe People, to wear in Honour of her Majefty, and to engage them in her Service, than he received, fo little did he make his Defign of Gold known to them. He brought away with him, however, various Samples both of the Spar and of the Ore, which were fufficient to juftify his Reports of the Riches of this Country; and he likewife brought with him the higheft Teftimony that could well be given him of the fincere Love and entire Confidence of the Natives, fince old Topiorvari, one of the wifeft, and none of the leaft powerful; Princes in that Country; fent over his own Son Cayworaco into England, where he was baptized with much Ceremony by the Name of Gualtero. On the other hand, Sir Walter left behind him, at their own Requeft,
two of his Company, viz. Francis Sperry who was an excellent Draughtfman, and undertook to defcribe, as he did, all the Country very exactly; and Hugh Goodwin, a Boy who waited upon Sir Walter, and who was to learn the Languages of the Indian Nations, which he did to great Perfection, but was unfortunately devoured by a wild Beaft.

After this, a Cazique whofe Name was Putoma, and another whofe Name was Warapana, offered to conduct him to a Gold Mine, which they accordingly performed; but the Weather being extremely bad, Sir Walter was defirous to make as much hafte back as it was poffible to his Ships, which he accordingly did ; but when he found himfelf on the Sea Coaft, and in a manner at the End of his Labours, he met with a moft dreadful and dangerous Storm, which drove them almoft to their Wits-end ; and at length, in a dark Night, and in the midft of the Tempeft, he quitted his Galley, which he found amongft Sholes and Sands, and in his Boat thruft out to Sea with fo much good Fortune, however, that the next Morning, by Nine o'clock, they had Sight of the Inland of Trinidada, and rowing cautiounly under the Shore, arrived fafely at Curiapan, where their Veffels lay at Anchor. In all this tedious and furprifing Expedition, wherein they went through fuch a Variety of Dangers, being always alike expofed to the Severities of the Weather, and to the Attempts of their Enemies, abfolutely wanting moft of the Conveniencies, and frequently even the Neceffaries, of Life, except the Negro devoured by the Crocodile, he loft not fo much as a fingle Man, which amazed the Spanifb Governor Berreo, to the higheft Degree, who opénly profeffed his Admiration of Sir Walter's Conduct and Courage, which fo vifibly furpaffed thofe of all the Spanifb Captains employed in this Service, from Orellana down to himfelf.

After a fhort Stay, to put his little Squadron in order, he failed from Trinidada on his Return to England, and in his Paffage home, landed and burnt feveral of the Spanifh Towns upon the Coaft; and on the 13 th of $7 u l y$ he met with Captain Prefton, under Cape St. Antonio, in the Ifland of Cuba; and on the 20th of the fame Month purfued his Voyage to England, where he fafely arrived, his Expedition being exceedingly applauded in Profe and Verfe by all the reputed Wits of thofe Times.

But it was not long before thofe who envied Raleigh began to circulate new Calumnies, framed on Purpofe to depreciate his Difcovery. It is of fome Confequence, even at this Day, to examine and expofe thefe lying Stories, becaufe they have moft unaccountably found fo great Credit. with the Generality of Mankind, that though they commend Sir Walter's Defign, as fuppofing it againft the Spaniards, yet they queftion his Veracity, with regard to the Produce, Value, and Expediency of fettling Guiana, which is the Reafon (at leaft it ought fo to be) why it was not afterwards attempted, when the Importance of Plantations were better underftoud. The firft Suggeftion was, that this was a favourite Scheme, perhaps a pleafing Vifion of Sir Walter Raleigb's; and there was no Reafon to yield implicit Credit to any Man's Dreams, how wife and learned foever. It is really ftrange, how far fuch foolifh Infinuations as thefe prevail, and how bafely Mankind repay the greateft Services that can be done them. When Columbus opened his Scheme in Poriugal, it was reputed a mere Fancy and a Contrivance to gain Employment; when Faufus invented Printing, he was treated by fome as a Conjurer, and by others the Art was condemned as prejudicial to the Book-Scriveners; and at the Time Harvey taught the Circulation of the Blood, he was almoft generally run down; and that, according to the Phyficians of thofe Times was treated as a ridiculous Fiction, which is now regarded as the very Foundation of the Art of Phyfic. The Truth feems to be, that what is pervaded and clearly comprehended by a firft-rate Genius, is a mere Cloud, Vifion, or airy Appearance, in the Judgment of common Men, who, either really forgetting, or affecting not to diftinguifh, this Difference in Capacities, would have their Judgments take Place, and the Ignorance of the Many rather reputed Wifdom than the Sentiments of a fingle Man ; and thus, between Folly and Arrogance,
the Advantages which might be drawn from fuch high and rare Spirits, if due Diftinction were made, are abfolutely loft, and the Difcoveries in the World of Science (always atchieved by fuch Men) poftponed for Ages. Sir Walter Raleigh was aware of this, which induced him to take fo much Pains in tracing the Know. ledge of the Spaniards, and in making what they knew, and had endeavoured on this Subject, public, by which he thought he plainly proved this was no Invention of his, but only an Improvement on the Notions of other Men. He obferved likewife, that the French, at the very Time he attempted it, had a View to this Difcovery; and, it is very certain, that fince his Time, Count Pagan recommended fuch a Settlement to Cardinal Richelieu, fo that the calling this a Whim of Sir Walter's, as many did then, who are believed; now is to talk childifhly and ignorantly on a very important Subject.

The next Infinuation was, that there was no fuch thing as Gold Duft, Gold Plates, or Gold Mines there, but that all was mere Invention, calculated to recommend the Project. To this Sir Walter oppofed three Reafons, each of which was a fair and full Anfwer, and indeed wholly deftroyed the Objection. For firt, he fhewed from the Situation, it was impoffible this Country fhould not be rich, as having Nere Grenada on one Side, Peru at its Back, and in that Climate which affords the richeft Mines of Gold and Silver in America; to which, we may add, the Difcovery of the Brazil Treafures unknown in his Age. He next pleaded the Authority of the Spaniards; and that with refpect, not to Opinions only, but as to Facts; for he annexes to his Voyage Certificates of confiderable Quantities of Gold, which they had drawn from that Country, and which made them fo eager to difcover it fully. This too has been confirmed by Father D'Acugbna, and other Writers, fince his Days, who very pofitively maintain the very fame thing. He laftly urges his own actual Experience, producing very ample Specimens of Gold Ore from thence. Upon fome Doubt whether the Stones by him produced were Gold Ore or not, he caufed them to be examined by Refiners. From fome Mr. Weftroood, who lived in Wood-freet, drew at the Rate of twelve or thirteen-thoufand Pounds a Ton; fome, tried by Meffrs. Bulmar and Dimock, held after the Rate of twenty-three thoufand Pounds a Ton, and fome, examined by Mr. Palmer, Comptroller of the Mint, and Mr. Dimock, held almoft twenty-feven thoufand Poundsin a Ton. Yet after all this another Queftion was ftarted, whether Ralcigh did not carry this Gold from Africa as well as bring it from Guiana; to which he anfwered, that from the very Mines in that Country, he helped to dig it himfelf, though with no fitter Inftrument than his Dagger.

Another Head of Calumny was, that he chiefly aimed at attacking and plundering the Spanifb Towns upon the Coafts; and that thefe were in reality Raleigh's Gold Mines in Guiana. But this was fo far from the Truth, that one principal Reafon, which Sir Walter affigns for fixing here, was, that the Catholic King had neither any Right to, or Poffeffion of, this Country. It is alfo moft evident from Sir Walter's own Accounts, that, except at San-Fofepb in Trinidada, he took nothing in the Placeswhich he plundered in that Country, and from this very Inftance he recommends planting rather than privateering. On the whole, therefore, this Affair has been miftaken from firft to laft: Sir Walter's Propofal was wife and well founded; his Defcription of this Country true and very exact, his Expectations, though fanguine, perfectly well grounded; and his own Voyage a very pregnant Proof that fuch an Eftablifhment is highly practicable. If any fhould enquire what Views I have in labouring this Topic fo much, I fhall fairly anfwer, many: I thought the Nature of my Subject led me to it ; I conceived that Sir Walter's Memory demanded this Piece of Juftice ; and I remembered that we, are at War with Spain, Guiana ftill unfettled; and that we may, as the Phrale once was, T A K E and HOLD.
15. We are now to fpeak briefly of fuch other Tranf actions under the Reign of this great Princefs, as may contribute to explain fome Paffages in this Section, and

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fet what follows in a clear Light. She encouraged Privateers immediately after her coming to the Crown, as the moft effectual Means of raifing a Fleet in a fhort time; but when the found this End anfwered, fhe brought that Practice under due Regulations. She was extremely careful in giving all poffible Encouragement for Difcoveries, and it was with this View that fhe promoted, as we fhall fee hereafter, feveral Enterprizes for finding out a Paffage to the Eaft-Indies, by the North-eaft and by the Northweft. The Ruffia Trade the encouraged ; and her Conduct in refpect to that Nation was fuch as raifed her Credit in thofe Parts of the World, to the higheft Degree that can be imagined. The King of Sweden was fo charmed with what Fame reported of the Queen, that he put himfelf into the Number of thofe who were Suitors to her for Marriage. The King of Denmark afked her Leave to tranfport Corn through the narrow Seas, which, to fhew her Dominion over them, fhe once refufed ; and the HanseTowns having prefumed to fend a Fleet through them without her Leave, fhe feized and confifcated their Ships; as for the Dutch, they more than once offered to fubmit themfelves to her Government, and in the moft public manner acknowledged that they owed the Recovery of their Liberty to her Succour and Protection ; but the was wife enough to forefee, that as they grew in Power they might alter their Notions, and fhe took care to provide againft this, by procuring the Keys of Holland and Zealand to be put into her Hands, by which Means fhe was able to lock up their Commerce, and naval Force, at her Pleafure.

She kept France in great Awe, even when it was governed by Henry IV, the wifeft, braveft, and beft Monarch of the Houfe of Bourbon. She ruined the naval Power of Spain, then the moft formidable in Europe, and under the Direction of a Prince whofe Abilities were equal to every thing but his Ambition : She encouraged Expeditions to the Weft Indies, as long as they proved beneficial to her Subjects ; and when they appeared to be no longer fo, fhe very prudently reftrained them. It was under her Reign, that the Englifh firf attempted the Paffage into the South Seas by the Streights of Magellan; which proved of great Confequence, not only in that Part of the World, but alfo in opening a Way to the Eaft Indies, as we have already fhewn in the former Parts of this Work, to which thofe Paffages properly belonged.

She brought, by affording the Means of employing them, the building of Ships into Ufe, and by Degrees to great Perfection, which was of infinite Benefit to the Nation, and at the fame time delivered us from the heavy Inconvenience of hiring Veffels from Foreigners whenever the public Occafions demanded a large Fleet; but moft of thefe Things (though incident to my Purpofe) have been already infifted on by others, and therefore I am content barely to mention them, that I may have room to mention fome other Things of no lefs Importance, though not fo much attended to. We have fhewn how wretched a Situation Things were in at the Beginning of her Reign, and how fuddenly and how effectually fhe changed the Face of our Affairs ; and we have in fome meafure pointed out the manner in which this was done ; but there remain fome other Points worthy the Reader's Confideration, which I fhall next handle with all imaginable Brevity.

Queen Elizabetb taught all her Subjects Induftry and Application by her perfonal Conduct; The was conftantly attentive to every Branch of her Government ; knew exactly what was done, what might be done, and what was omitted; fhe underftood moft Things herfelf, and what fhe did not underftand, the committed to the Infpection of fuch as were reputed to be bert acquainted with them; the was now in refolving, and quick in Execution; the heard all that could be faid for, or againft, Sir Froncis Drake, before the went on board his Ship, or gave him any public Marks of her Favour ; but afterwards fhe would never permit his Conduct to be cenfured.
She was fparing in her Honours, becaufe the was refolved to ufe them as Rewards; and fhe knew that in order to this it was requifite they fhould not become
cheap; fhe never employed any but capable Minifters: for the had Men for Shew, and Men for Service ; and in nothing demonftrated her great Capacity more than in her Choice of Servants. Secretary WVIFngbam, and after him Secretary Cecil, had the Department of the Marine, and both underftood it well, fo that whoever applied to them, was to make out the Reafon and Probability, as well as the Profitablenefs, of his Project. This produced the many excellent Pieces which are preferved in Hackluit, particularly Sir Fumip brey Gilbert's Difcourfe of the Northweft Paffage, Sir George Peacbam's Benefits of weftern Planting, with Mr. Harriot's Account of Virginia, and many fuch Things. By this Means a Spirit of ufeful Knowledge was promoted and kept up; all Things were thoroughly fifted before Encouragement was given, and due Regard had to what fucceeded, to what did not, and to the Reafon and Caufes of both.

She took fome Share of moft Expeditions of Confequence, as well to keep up the Spirits of thofe concerned, as, in Cale any good Prizes were made, that the Public might have its Part, in which we find her always ftrict, and fometimes a little fevere: But, with all her Frugality and good Management in this Refpect, fhe found War an expenfive and ruinous Thing, which demanded conftant and great Supplies, bringing in but flowly and inconfiderably. She was the better able to difcern this, becaufe the took care to have the Treafury-Books as regularly kept as thofe of a Merchant, whence fhe was very well able to tell how far her Revenues anfwered her Expences, in what Articles her Exceffes were incurred, and even the Lofs and Gain on particular Expeditions : As forInftance, that of Cadiz, or Cales, reputed the moft fortunate in her long Reign, which neverthelefs coft fixty-four thoufand Pounds more than it brought in. The Balance, in this Refpect, was always againft her, notwithftanding the vaft Sound her Prizes made in the World; for, according to a Minute of an Account made up by the famous LordTreafurer Burleigh, from the thirtieth to the thirty-fourth Year of her Government, it appears, that the bare Expence of the Navy amounted to two hundred feventy-five thoufand, feven hundred and fixty-one Pounds, and all received by Prizes within thofe Years, which were the moft profperous in that Refpect of the whole S'pani/b War, came to no more than fixty-four thoufand and forty-four Pounds.

Yet, confidering what Mifchief was done the Enemy, how much his Commerce was embarraffed, his Merchants ruined, his Credit leffened, and his Power decreafed, there was no great Caufe to repine; and, in truth, we no where find the Queen did fo, but fhe always endeavoured to put her Nobility upon fuch Enterprizes, as well to keep them employed, as to throw a Part of the Expence upon fuch as fhe judged were much more able to afford it than the common People.

But there was another great and ufeful Effect which flowed from this affiduous Care in the Queen, and this generous Conduct in her Nobility, and that was, the eftablifhing a juft Regard for Public Spirit. It was the Mode in her Days, to do every thing with a View to the Welfare of the State, and it was impofible for any Man to make a Figure at Court, or to appear with Diftinction in his County whofe Actions as well as Words did not difcover fomewhat of the Patriot. Some of the Nobility ferved in Holland, to learn the Trade of War, at the fame time that they contributed to break the Power of Spain, and to raife the Englifb Reputation for Courage, Steadinefs, and other Military Virtues. The Earl of Eflex, and other Men of Quality, ferved the Queen at Sea in various Expeditions of great Importance. Others again, fuch as the Earl of Cumberland, embarked in particular Enterprizes at their own Expence; and by this Means, after the formidable Invafion in 5588 , the King of Spain found himfelf fufficiently employed at home, and perceived, when it was too late, that he had wafted the Blood and Treafure of all his Kingdoms to raife up two new Powers in Europe, viz. England and Holland, which neither he nor his Succeffors would be able to cope with.

- But the Queen and her Minifters, when the Dangers of War were thus removed or kept at a Diftance, knew how to divert the fame Spirit to other good and falutary

Kkk
Purpofes:

Purpofes. In former Reigns there had been little Care taken to explore the Riches of this Kingdom ; but now every Part of it was examined, and every kind of Improvement fet on foot. The Lord-Treafurer fent for feveral Germans over, who were employed in erecting Ironworks, in difcovering and working Lead Mines, and in making Saltpetre. We formerly exported moft of our Commodities raw and unwrought, but now the Perfecution in the Low-Conntries furnifhed us with Multitudes of able Workmen in every Branch of the Woollen Maniufactory, who had all imaginable Encouragement given them, and with very confiderable Privileges were fettled in different Parts of the Kingdom, more efpecially at London, Norwich, Colcceffer, and Canterbury. The like Care was taken with refpect to other Trades, and this was attended with fuch Succefs, that, whereas in the Beginning of the Queen's Reign we bought our Artillery abroad, towards the End of it we furnifhed all Europe with Ordnance; fo that at length it grew a Queftion, Whether it might not be requifite for the public Safety, to put a Stop to the Exportation of Iron Cannon.

There was now fcarce a Seffion of Parliament held in which there were not Acts paffed for promoting new Branches of Trade, or for preferving or regulating the Old ; and though it may be, and I believe is, true, that fome of the Laws, then made, have become in Procefs of Time rather dangerous and deftructive, than profitable or advantageous, to Commerce, yet certainly they were made with a good Intent; and we have Reafon to believe were well enough fuited to thofe Times; fo that we have no Reafon to cenfure thofe who made them, on Account of the Inconveniencies they produce, but ought rather to blarne ourfelves for not repealing them. By thefe Steps the Face of Things in this Country was quite changed: Inftead of being ferved by the Venetions and Genoefe, with all the Commodities of the Eaft, we brought them Home ourfelves, and even furnifhed them to others; inftead of fuffering all our Domeftic Trade to be managed as formerly by Germans and other Foreigners, we began to fettle Factories abroad, and there was hardly a Nation in the known World, with which before the Death of this Queen we had not fome Correfpondence.

Yet inftead of fetting down quietly with thefe Acquifitions, and falling into a nominal Trade amongft ourfelves, like the Modern Stock-Jobbing; we were then continually contriving and executing new Schemes, either for improving our Country, or exporting its Produce ; our People, even then, began to think the Trading World too narrow for them, and admired nothing fo much as finding out new Markets, where Goods always fell beft, where Noveity and Variety often procure high Prices, even for indifferent Commodities. We need not at all wonder, therefore, that in thefe Times there were Men of fuch extenfive Abilities produced, as feemed to grafp the whole Circle of commercial Knowledge ; fuch as Sir Walier Raieigh, Sir Robert Dudley, Sir Thomas Greflam, and many others; fome of whom have left us Treatifes in this way, that are both read and admired in more enlightened Times. We may therefore fafely pronounce, that the Seeds of all our Traffic, which have fince fo happily come up, and from which the Nation has reaped fuch mighty Profits, were fown in this Reign, and cultivated, when they needed Cultivation moft, by the Royal Hand of the matchlefs Elizabetb; the Mother of her Subjects, the Terror of her Enemies, and the Benefactor of Pofterity.
16. We are now to take a View of the State of Englifh Affairs in regard to America, at the Clofe of this Queen's Reign, when it will appear, that there was fcarce any Part of it, whether of the Northern or Southern Continent, or Iflands, with which we had not fomeAcquaintance; though we had made no Settlements any where. Drake and Candijb examined the whole Backfide of America from South to North, and it appears very clearly from Sir Ricbard Hawkins's Hifory of bis own V oyage, that we were almoft as well acquainted with thofe Countries as the Spamiards themfelves; this will appear lefs ftrange, when it is obferved, that fome of our Seamen being furprifed, others
being fent afhore by their Commanders, and feveral ftraggling when landed in Parties, on particular Defigns, fell into the Hands of the Speniards; and being fent from Place to Place, travelled through more Countries than moft of the Spaniards that were fent thither by their Government, or were driven thither by their Neceffities, fome of whom, coming home, related, and feveral of them, particularly Miles Pbillips and David Ingram, wrote Accounts of, their Adventures, as we fhall have Occafion to fhew in another Plaee.

By this Means we gained very clear and diftinct Defcriptions of the Countries bordering on the Streigbts of Magellan, of Cbili, Peru, the Bay of Panama, the feveral Provinces of the Kingdom of Old Mexico, fome Knowledge of the New, and even of California: Nor were we lefs acquainted with the other Side of the Continent, as the Reader may learn from the Englifs Voyages of the firft Chapter of this Work, in which are contained very diftinet Accourts of the moft Southern Parts, from the River of Plata to the Mouth of Magellan's Streighbts. We have likewife a fufficient Knowledge of the great Country of Brazil, from Mr. Knivet, and other Travellers; though it mult be allowed that they gave great Scope to their Imagination, in what they have written, or at leaft what is publifhed by Purchos, if it was by them written, upon this Subject. As to Guiana, or the Country of the Amazons, Sir Walter Raleigh, and Capt. Laurenco Keymifb, whom he fent thither foon after his Return, have written as good Defcriptions of them, if not better, than any that are extant in other Languages.

As for the Coaft, from the Illand of Trivity up to Cartbagena, it was the chief Scene of mont of our Privateer Expeditions in this Reign, fo that we had repeated Relations of all that was necenfary to make this Part of the new World perfectly known. The remaining Part of the Coaft, as far as the Gulph of Honduras, was likewife explained and defcribed by feveral Englijbmen, who had vifited thofe Coants, particularly Capt. Barker ; and as for the Bay of Mexico, it was often reforted to ; but more particularly by Captain, (afterwards) Sir Fobn, Hawwins, in the Year 1568 , at which time he fet on fhore David Ingram, before-mentioned, at about one hundred and forty Leagues Weft-by-north from the Cape of Florida. From thence he travelled with feveral other Perfons of his Company by Land, to within fixty Leagues of Cape Breton; where they found a Paffage home by a French Ship, in 1350, and foon after their Arrival, David Ingram, Richard Brown, and Ricbord ITwede went to vifit Capt. Harwkins, who had fet them on fhore, and related to him their Adventures. I have been more particular on this Head, becaufe this Ingrana has given the cleareft Account of any Man concerning the North-weft Paffage, as the Reader will fee hereafter in its proper Place, where I fhall give his Account at large. The remaining Part of the Coatt of North America, from the Cape of Florida to the utmoft Extent of the Continent northward, was examined by feveral of our Seamen, as appears by what has been already faid in this Section, and will farther appear from the Account we are yet to give of fome Voyages that were made in the laft Years of the Queen, and which I thought proper to referve for this Place.

The firft of thefe, in Order of Time, is the glorious Expedition of Capt. William Porker of Plymouth, who undertook, at the Expence of a few private Perfons, an Enterprize againft the Spaniards, in which he was accompanied by Capt. Giles and Capt. Ward, Land Officers; and by the Captains Fugars, Loriman, Afby, and feveral other Gentlemen as Volunteers, which, all Circumftances confidered, will appear one of the hardeft Undertakings, as well as one of the moft fucceifful, in that Reign, or indeed ever attempted by our own Nation or any other of which there remains an Account in Hiftory. This Squadron of his confifted but of three fmail Barks, fcarce equal in Strength to a Fifth-rate Mian of War; of thefe the Prudence, ftiled the Admiral, was of the Burden of one hundred Tons, and a hundred and thirty Men, commanded by Mr. Parker himfelf; the Pearl, Vice-Admiral, of fixty Tons, and fixty Men, Capt. Roberi Rewolins Commander; the Pinnace of twenty Tons and eighteen Men. They
failed in November 1601, and off the South Cape had the Misfortune in a violent Guft of Wind to lofe their Pinnace with all her Men but three; fteering their Courfe from thence to the Inands of Cape Verd, they landed one hundred Men , and took one of them called St. Vincent, with a Town of the fame Name; and, after having given the Spoil of it to the Soldiers, fet fire to the Place. Hence they haled over to the Coaft of the Continent, and coming to la Rancberia, or the Pearl Fifhery, in the fmall Inland Cubagua, they there found the Governor of Cumana, with a fmall Company of Soldiers. This did not difcourage them from landing, and though at firft they were received with great Warmth, they got at laft the better of them, and took the Place with feveral Prifoners, Barks, and Boats, all which they ranfomed for the Value of five hundred Pounds, which was paid them in Pearls.
They failed from thence directly for Cape de la Vela, where they took a great Portugueze Ship of 250 Tons, coming from Angola and Congo, and bound for Cartbagena; which, having little of Value in her, except three hundred and feventy Negroes, they ranfomed for $500 \%$. After this they went to the Inand of Cabecas, where they embarked one hundred and fifty of their Men in two fmall Pinnaces and two Shallops, and failed to the Baftimentos, where they landed, and picking up fome Negroes for their Guides, with their Boats and Pinnaces, they entered the River of Puerto Bello the 7 th of February 1602 ; it being Moon-light the Watch difcovered them at their very firft Entrance into the Haven, and haled them by the ftrong Caftle of St. Pbilip; in which were thirty-five Brafs Guns, and Soldiers enough to manage them. Having fome on Board who fpoke the Spani/h Tongue, they pretended they were Spariards coming from Cartbagena.

The Officer of the Caftle bid them come to Anchor, which they did, but about an Hour after Captain Parker gave them the llip with his two Boats and above thirty Men, leaving the Pinnaces at Anchor before the Caftle. With this Force he went direclly to the Suburb of Triana, and, though the Alarm was given, landed his thirty Men, and fetting it on fire left it burning, and marchedinto the great and rich Town of Puerto Bello. As foon as he entered, he marched directly to the King's Treafury, where he found a Guard of Soldiers drawn up to receive him, with two Brafs Field-pieces on their Carriages; the Fight was long and obftinate, and Parker lad loft the beft Part of his Men, when Captain Fugars and Captain Loriman, who commanded the Pinnaces, hearing the Noife, came timely to his Relief, with one hundred and twenty Men. This Affiftance foon turned the Scale, and the Spaniards began to think of fecuring themfelves by Flight; a good Number of them got into the King's Houre, which they defended very refolutely for four or five Hours ; but at length the Englifb became Mafters of that, as well as of the whole Town. They found but ten thoufand Ducats in the Treafury, though there were often fix Millions in it; and if they had been feven Days fooner they would have found one hundred and twenty thoufand, which had been embarked in two Frigates for Cartbagenn.

The Spoil of the Town, which in Money, Plate, and Merchandize, was confiderable, was by Captain Parker, given to the Soldiers. But two Frigates, which he took farther up the River, he carried away with him; after having kept Poffefion of the Town two Days, 'Captain Parker generoully fpared it with its Churches, Buildings, and Forts, from burning; and releafed the Prifoners, among whom were Don Pedro Melandez, the Governor, the King's Secretary, and feveral Perfons of Quality, without Ranfom ; fatisfied with the Honour of having taken with a handful of Men, in fo little Time, and with fo inconfiderable a Lofs, one of the fineft Towns the King of Spain had in the Weft Indies. His Reafon for this was to give the Spaniards an Example of civil and generous Deportment towards their Enemies ; and the Governor he releafed, becaufe he had fought fo bravely, having received eleven Wounds in the Action.

The Town had at this Time two Churches, fix or feven fine Streets, three fmall Forts on one Side, befides the
great Cafte of St. Pbilip; all which they might have demolifhed, and have left the whole a Heap of Ruins During their Stay in Town they had not the leaft Difurbance from any Forces of the Spaniards, nor any Alarm given; only as they were failing away the Enemy began to appear, but it was only to exchange a few Bullets, and to take leave of each other from the Mouths of their great Guns. Thus Captain Parker returned fafely home with much Honour, and not without reafonable Profit; and not only our own, but Spani/h Writers, fpeak of his Expedition in very honourable Terms.
The next Year fome of the Virginia Company refolved to fit out a Veffel for that Country, and accordingly made Choice of Captain Bartbolomerw Gofnold for their Commander, who had been formerly there. He failed from Falmouth on the 26th of Marcb 1602, in a fmall Veffel, and no more than thirty-two Perfons on Roards of whom it was propofed that twelve fhould fay behind and form a Settlement, in cafe he fhould meet with any Place which he flould judge convenient for that Purpofe. This Captain Gofnold was an excellent Mariner, and therefore he did not go the former Courfe, but a much fhorter one; and on the IIth of May he arrived in the Latitude of 42 Degrees and fome few Minutes, among the Inands, forming the North Side of Mafjecbuset'si. Bay in Nero England; where, not finding the Conveniencies he defired, he fet fail again; and when he thought he had got clear of the Land, he fell upon the Bay of Cod, now Part of Nerw England. He went afhore on a fmall uninhabited Ifland, which he called Elizabets Ifland, and on another Inand, which he named Martba's Vineyard, where the Natives had left fome Marks of their Habitations. Here fome of his Company fowed Englifh Corn, and faw it come up very kindly; he built a little Fort for his, and his Mens, Security, and Trade from thence with the Savages, to whom Europeans were no Strangers; for the Commander of the firt Body of them that came to trade was dreffed with Waiftcoat, Breeches, Shoes, Stockings, Hat, and all Accoutrements befitting an Englijhman; but his Attendants had only Deer-Skins about their Shoulders, and Seal-Skins about their Waifts ; their Hair was very long, and tied up with a Knot behind; they were painted all over, but their natural fwarthy Colour was eafy enough to be difcerned.
On the North-weft Side of Elizabetb's Ifand the Captain found a Lake of frefh Water, about a League in Circumference, and very near the Sea; in the Midit of which was another little Inand of about an Acre of Ground; and this they pitched upon as the mot commodious Place for building their Fort above-mentioned, and they begun it accordingly. About this Lake they found an infinite Number of Tortoifes, with feveral Sorts of Fifh and Fowl; fo that thofe who propofed to fettle there had a fair Profpect of having Provifions enough. They vifited the main Land adjoining to this Inand, which they found, in all Refpects, as charming as Meadows, Groves, Brooks, and Rivers could make it. They had fome Communication with the Indians of the main Land, who came and bartered with them for fome of their European Rarities, and there was nothing harclly but what was fo to thefe People. The Commodities they gave in exchange for Knives and other Toys, were Beavers, Lucains, Martens, Otters, Foxes, Conies, Seals, Deer, and Skins. The Affairs of this Plantation might have gone on very well, had all the Planters been unanimous and eafy in their Settlement here; but they were intent upon their private Interefts, and contrived to make only a profitable Voyage. The Captain labonred againit it, but to no purpofe; fo having gotten a large Cargo of Saffafras, Cedar-wood, Furs, and other good Commodities, they fet fail for England. They left their little Fort on the 18 th of Tune, and they arrived at Plymouth the 23 d Day of fuly following, A. D. 1602.

What the Confequences were of this Voyage and Dif covery will appear in the next Section; and therefore we fhall pafs on to the laft Voyage, which we are concerned to take Notice of here; and that was made in the fame Year 1602, by one Captain Mace of Weymouth, fitted out by Sir Walter Raleigh; and as the fhort Account we
have remaining, ferves to correct all that has been faid by different Authors upon this Subject; and does a very fingular Piece of Juftice to the Memory of Sir Walter, who might feem to have abandoned thofe who went upon his Faith to fettle in Virginia; I have judged it both reafonable and requifite to infert the whole Paper here, with this farther Oblervation, that Mr, Ricbard Hackluit received, as he acknowledges, great Affiftances from Sir Walter Raleigh, in compiling his excellent Collection, and the Papers of Mr. Hackluit falling upon his Death into the Hands of Mr. Samuel Purchas, he made fuch ufe of them as he thought fit, having by no Means a Capacity adequate to his Undertaking; and from his fourth Volume, Page 1653, we tranfcribe the Account before mentioned, which feems to be no more than a Memorandum from a larger Relation of the Voyage to which it refers; and which, if it had been given us at length in the Manner that fuch things were given by Mr. Hackluit, would very probably have furnifhed us with other curious Particulars. As it is, thus it runs:

A Brief Note of the fending another Bark this prefent Year 1602 , by Sir Walter Raleigh, for the fearching out of his Colony in Virginia.
"Samuel Mace of Weymouth, a very fufficient Mar"s riner, an honeft fober Man, who had been at Virginia " twice before, was employed thither by Sir Walter Ra -
" leigh, to find thefe People which were left there in the
"Year I587; to whofe Succour he hath fent five differ-
" ent times at his own Charges. The Parties by him fet
"forth performed nothing, fome of them following
${ }^{8}$ their own Profit elfewhere, others returning with frivo-
" lous Allegations; at this laft Time, to avoid all Ex-
"c cufe, he bought a Bark, and hired all the Company
" for Wages by the Month, who departed fromWeymouth
" in March laft, 1602 , fell forty Leagues from the South-
"s weitward of Haterafke in 34 Degrees, or thereabouts;
"s and having there fpent a Month, when they fhould
"s have come along the Coaft to feek the People, they
"s did it not, pretending the Extremity of Weather, and
" Lofs of fome principal Ground-tackle, forced and fear-
"s ed them from feeking the Port of Haterafke, to which
is they were fent. From that Place where they abode, they
" brought Saffafras, Radix China, or the Cbina Root,

* Benjamin, Caffia lignea, and the Bark of a kind of a
${ }^{6}$ Tree more ftrong than any Spice as yet known, with
" diverfe other Commodities, which hereafter, in a large
"Difcourfe, may come to light."
I7. It may be very natural for the Reader to think that I ought to have changed the Order of the two laft Paragraphs, and that I fhould have concluded my Account of the Voyages to Anzerica, before I had drawn up a general View of fuch naval Tranfactions as happened in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth; but I dare affure him that I confidered this attentively, and that I quitted what I faw was the regular Method, in order to obtain what appears to me to be the great End of Me thod, Clearnefs, and being perfectly underftood. By drawing together the naval Tranfactions in the Time of this famous Queen, I have hewn how the was occupied throughout the whole Courfe of the Government, fo, as not to have it in her Power to attend to the Eftablifhment of Colonies, which are a Work of Time, of Leifure, and of Recollection. But what the Nature and CircumItances of her Adminiftration would allow her to do for Trade, the moft certainly did; and that the did it by Fits and Starts, was owing not to any Fault in her or in her Minifters, but to the Faults of the Times, which did not permit her to do it otherwife. This, as I have difpofed the Thing, will to the Reader appear at firft Sight to be the Truth, becaufe he will fee that in the latter Part of her Reign the Defire of planting revived, and in the Courfe of it all the different Parts of America, fome from one Motive, and fome from another, were vifited and difcovered.

This I take to be the true State of the Matter ; for though there are many Writers, who, in their general Characters of that Queen, have afcribed to her the Be-
ginning of our Plantations, yet undoubtedly they were therein either miftaken themfelves, or delivered their Sentiments in fuch a Manner as occafioned their being miftaken by others. The Glories of that Period of Time are fo many, and fo great, that they need no falfe Colours to heighten them; on the contrary, they are leffened thereby: For when, upon Enquiry, it is tound that Part of them are mifreprefented, it naturally leads Pcople to doubt of the reft; and, as in all other Cafes, fo here, Flattery debafes what it meant to exalt, and really leffens what it feems to extol. The Bufinefs of Planting is indeed highly advantageous; and I believe it will appear from the following Sections, that no Na tion has gained more by it than our own; but then it is the Bufinefs of peaceable and fettled Times, when Nations grow full, and Difcharges of People become neceffary, which was not furely the Cafe under this great Princefs. The great and real Excellency of her Adminiftration confifted in this, that the always, and in all things, confulted the Good of her People; and theWifdom of her Minifters is vifible chiefly from hence, that they did not obftinately purfue good things in Seafon and out of Seafon, but chofe, as the Circumftances of things directed, to do the beft for the Nation that their Situation would allow. It was the Opinion of feveral great Men in her Time, and upon their Authority it has grown to be a received and fettled Notion fince, that the Queen went rather too far into the Spanifh War, and that her Subjects would have been greater Gainers, if fhe had either avoided that War entirely, or if fhe had ended it fooner, which perhaps might be true:

But after confidering, as maturely as it is poffible for me to do, all that has been faid by Sir Robert Cotion and other able Writers upon this Subject, I am thorouighly convinced that the Queen acted upon right Principles, and that fhe began and continued the War with no other View than the Good of her People. I am at the fame time, however, perfuaded that fhe extended her Views in this Refpect, very far beyond her own Times, and that the was fenfible enough the might have ended the Conteft with Spain earlier, and with a Profpect of much more Quiet to herfelf, than to her dying Day fhe enjoyed. But this was not the Difpofition of Elizabeth; if it had, the whole Turn of her Conduct would have differed widely from what it was; and fhe facrificed willingly and knowingly the Tranquility of her own Government, to fix the Welfare of her Subjects upon a folid Foundation. In this confifted the Strength of her Mind and the Greatnefs of her Genius; whoever confiders her in another Light will miftake her Character. She faw plainly that extenfive Trade and fuperior naval Force were things neceflary to the Felicity of the Inhabitants of this Inand; but fhe law at the fame Time that it was impoffible thefe fhould be attained, if the Power of Spain was not deftroyed. This therefore became her fettled Point, which once gained, fhe knew the other muft follow, and therefore from this fhe never departed; the was very fenfible that if the Spanifb Power was once removed, the Trade and naval Force of this Nation would have room enough to grow and profper, and therefore the refolved to remove it: She could not but know that this would prove a Work of great Difficulty ; that it would expofe her to a long and expenfive War abroad, and which was worfe ftill, to many Commotions, Plots, and Confpiracies, at home; but that did not at all move her; fhe was bent upon doing what the Safety and Well-being of the Nation required; and though fine could not but forefee that the Advantages fhe laboured to procure muft belong rather to Pofterity, than to the People fhe governed, yet fhe refolved to hazard all Things to procure them.

This was her Syftem, vaft and extenfive in itfelf, big with Difficulties and Dangers, extremely liable to be mifunderfood, mifinterpreted, and miffeprefented; full of Incertainties, and requiring a great Length of Time, and a conftant Series of Labours, to accomplifh it. If it had been poffible to have fet fuch a Scheme as this before the Eyes of a Monarch of ordinary Qualities and Virtues, it would, without doubt, have raifed Afoniftment and Terror: but to a. Mind like hers, capable of looking
through
through the Mift of prefent Events, and difcerning the Face of things beyond them; though few, Obftacles were hid, yet none feemed unfurmountable; the Toil was great; the Journey long, the Road extremely rough, and it was impoffible for her to know how far fhe fhould be able to proceed; but however, fhe thought it neceffary to feet forward, and though for a Time things grew worfe and worfe, yet fhe knew that by perfifing they muft grow better and better. This Refolution, this Conftancy, this Magnanimity, carried her through all, and the had the great Comfort of feeing before fhe died all the great Ends accomplifhed, which, in the Dawning of her Govern ment, her admirable Underftanding had prefented to her View; and, like the Sun, fhe fet when fhe had accomplifhed that Round propofed at her rifing

We are told of Augufus, that he boafted of leaving Rome built with Stone, whereas he found it of Wood only. Queen Elizabeth might have boafted of much greater things, and with much greater Truth; for fhe did not rife to Empire through Blood and Ufurpation, but came to it by Succeffion, and with the Acslamations of all her People: Acclamations that were, fure Omens of Succefs; for without doubt there never was a Kingdom in a lower, meaner, and more dejected State than this; when the Crown was placed upon her Brow, and her Subjects could not have either Joy or Hopes, but what arofe from feeing it fixed there. She chofe for her Motto, Semper Eadem; that is, Always the fame ; and I hope I have flewn what the meant by it. Her Conduct is the eveneft that we meet with in Hiftory ; fhe met with many Difficulties, but the created none; fhe experienced Misfortunes, but they were Trials and not Punifhments; the met with much Profperity, but all vifibly derived to her by the Bleffing of God upon her wife Endeavours.

We will fupport a few of thefe Particulars by Facts. She found fcarce any Navy; fhe left a great one. She found the Government much in Debt, and though poffibly her Power might have born her out, if fhe had expunged it ; yet the paid it, even to the Penfions granted by her Father, to thofe who were excluded from their Monafteries. She found her People poor and herfelf neceffitous ; yet fhe fpared them till they grew rich; and in the mean Time grew rich herfelf, by managing frugally a very fmall Revenue; for at the Time fhe entered into the War with Spain fhe had feven hundred thoufand

Pounds in her Coffers. She fpent above two Millions iriz the War. She lent the States eight hundred thoufand Pounds at different Times, and half that Sum to the French King, and yet fhe did not raife quite three Millions upon her Subjects. She faw the Inhabitants of her Capital City doubled in her Life-time; as appears from the Computations, publifhed by Sir Witliam Petty. She found the Cuftoms producing no more than thirty-fix thoufand Pounds per Annum; fhe left them worth more than double that Sum, without heightening of Duties. At the Time of her Acceffion there were fcarce any Englifb Merchants in England; but before her Death there were confiderable Traders in every Port of England. It is very true, that at the Death of Queen Elizabeth our Commerce was very trifling, to what it is ; but it is no lefs certain, that if fhe had not lived, our Commerce would have fallen very far fhort of what we find it.

The next Section will fully fhew that our great Im provements were made in the two fucceeding Reigns; but, in this, we have made it evident, that no fuch Improvements could have been made if this Reign had not gone before them. It was in Queen Elizabetb's Time that the Foundation of Englifh Commerce was laid; though the Superftructure was raifed in the Days of King Fames and King Cbarles. It was under her that our Ships vifited all Parts of the known World. It was She that protected the Rufla Company ; one of the moft ufeful ever formed in this Nation, and beyond Comparifon the beft conftituted. She founded the Company trading to the Eaft Indies; and, in a Word, fhe encouraged every Branch of Trade that had been opened before her Time; projected many, and made way for all. The Room I had was much too little, to afford a juft Account of all that we owe in this Refpect to her Memory, but I have made the beft Ufe of it I could, and am only forry that I could not make a better. If what I have done expreffes my Senfe of the Advantages derived to us, and which will defcend to our Pofterity, from what fhe and her Minifters, who were truly fuch; I mean the Inftru= ments, and not the Directors of their Miftrefs, did, it will afford me great Satisfaction ; for to praife Quieen Elizabeth, with Judgment, is a Character fufficient to gratify the Ambition of the moft afpiring Author, and to have attempted it is the greateft Merit I Thall have to plead.

## S E C TI O N XVIII.

## The Hifory of the Difcoveries, Settlements, and other Tranfactions of ibe Einglish Nation in America, from the Acceflion of King James I. to the Reforation.

1. A fuccinct View of the State of Affairs at the Acceffion of King James; the Voyages of Captain Martin Pringe, and of Captain Gilbert, to Virginia, and the Confequences of their Difcoveries. 2. The Earb of Southampton, and Lord Arundel of Wardour, Send Captain Weymouth thither; bis propperous Voyage, and the Patent granted by the King for erecting two Virginia Companies." 3. The London Company fit out Captain Chriftopher Newport with a fmall Squadron, rwbo fettles a Colony at James-Town in Virginia, in 1607, and the various unlucky Accidents that befel this Colony, 4. They defert James-Town, embark for England, and are met at the Mouth of Chefepeak Bay by Thomas Weft, Lord de la War, robo carries them back, refettles them, and effectually Secures this valuable Country to the Crown of GreatBritain. 5. A Joort Defcription of tbis Colony, Jerwing its feveral Advantages, the Nature of its Trade, and its great Confequence to this Nation. 6. The firft Attempts of the Jecond, or North Virginia Company, to fettle within the Bounds of their Grant, and the Difficulties and Difcouragements they met with in thofe Attempts. 7. The Colony is at laft fettled, under the Direction of the famous Captain Smith, and the Country named by Prince Charles (afterwards Charles I.) New England. 8. A fuccinct Account of the Tranfactions in this Colony, from its Eftablifment to the Reforation. 9. The Situation, Climate, Soil, Produce and Trade of New England, briefly reprefented, and the Importance of this Colony fet in a true Light. 10. The Difcovery and firft Settlement of the Bermudas, or Summer Inlands, with fome Account of them before they came into our Poffefion. II. A Joort Defcription of thofe Iflands, weith an Account of their Commodities, and their. Trade to England and to the Plantations. 12. The Difcovery of Hudfon's Bay, and the Countries in America, to which the Names of New North-Wales, and New South-Wales, were given by the firft Difcoverers. 13. The Recovery of Acadia, or Nova Scotia, and

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the Hiftory of this Country witbin this Pcriod, wherein is demonfrated our clear and indubitable Right the Ifland of Cape Breton. 14. The feveral Voyages to Guiana, down to the Death of Sir Walter Raleigh, after bis laft Expedition thitber, and an Account of our Settlement at Surinam. 15. A bort Account of the firlt planting the rich and fruitful Thand of Barbadoes. 16 . The Hiftory of this adrantageous Settlement, down to the Reforation. 17. The Situation, Climate, Soit, Produce, and incredible Advantages that bave accrued to Great Britain from this Colony, robich is proved to be the beft in the World. 18. The Difcovery, Conquef, and Settlement of St. Chriftopher's, Nevis or Mevis, Monterrat, ©ंc, 19. The Grant of the Province of Maryland to the Lord Baltimore, and the Settlement of that Country,
weith other Particulars relating to it woithin the Compals of this Period. weith other Particulars relating to it within the Compafs of this Period. 20. The Expedition by the Direction of the Protector Cromwell, for the taking Hifpaniola from the Spaniards, with the true Caufes of its Mifcarrioge. 21. The Hifory of the Conqueft and Settlement of the moft noble and moft important Iland of Jamaica. 22. A Joort Defcription of the IJland, a Viere of the vala Profits derived to Great Britain from the Pofeffion of it, and other Particulars. 23. The Conclufion of the Section, with fome Rew marks and Obfervations on the principal Events mentioned therein.

. AT the Time of King Fames's Acceffion to the Englifh Throne, there were the fairett Opportunities offered for extending and fecuring the Commerce of this Inand that could be wifhed; and therefore we need not be furprized at finding fuch vaft Improvements made, and fuch mighty Advantages gained to this Nation, under a Government that has not hitherto been reprefented in the faireft Lights to the People. We muft, however, obferve, that the peaceable Temper of King fames was of greatUfe to the trading Part of his Subjects; for the Power of Queen Elizabetb had raifed fuch a Veneration in fome, and fruck fuch a Terror into others, that there was fcarce any Nation which did not willingly embrace the Friendthip of King fames, and offer him whatever Terms could be thought moft fuitable to the commercial Views of his Subjects ; which was extremely agreeable to the Englijh, at that Time, who began to entertain very true Notions of Trade; to fee its Importance, above all Things, and to wifh for the Means of promoting and extending it on all Sides, to which they began to think a Peace with Spain would not a little contribute. At the Time of the Queen's Deceafe there was a Fleet preparing under the Command of Sir William Monfon, intended for the Spanijb Coaft; for it was a wife and juft Policy in that Princefs, to keep the War at a Diftance from her own Dominions, to find her Enemies work enough at Home, and thereby prevent their difturbing any of her Territories. But upon the Acceffion of King Fames this Fleet was countermanded; and, it feems, not without Reafon; for the Archduke, who was then Governor of the Lowe Countries, thought fit to recall his Letters of Reprizal, and thereby opened a free Trade between England and Flanders, a thing highly fatisfactory to the Merchants, who immediately reaped the Benefit of it.
There was likewife another Defign on foot at the Time of the Queen's Demife, which was the profecuting the Difcoveries and Trade to Nortb America, in which feveral Gentlemen and Merchants of Brifol were concerned, and amongft them the Reverend Mr. Hackluit, whom we have fo often mentioned; and who, having a Prebend in the Cathedral Church of Brifol, and having a great Genius for promoting fuch Enterprizes, was fixed upon to apply in behalf of himfelf, and the reft of the Perfons concerned, to Sir Walter Raleigh, who was ftill looked upon as the Proprietor of Virginia, in order to procure his Licence for this Trade. Upon his Application to that worthy Perfon, they received all the Encouragement they could defire; for he not only granted them a Licence under his Hand and Seal, but alfo made over to them all the Profits which fhould arife from the Voyage.
After they were thus impowered, they raifed a joint Stock of a thoufand Pounds, and fitted out two fmall Veffels, the one called the Speedrwell, commanded by Capt. Mattbere Pringe, of the Burthen of fifty Tons, with thirty Men and Boys; the other a Bark of twentyfix Tons, called the Difcoverer, commanded by Mr. William Broven, who had under him a Mate, and eleven Men, and Boys befides. Thefe Veffels were victualed for eight Months, and had a large Cargo on board, confifting of all forts of Goods that were thought proper for that Country. They failed from King's-Road, near Brifol, on the zoth of March, 1683 . Being hindered
by contrary Winds, they put into Milford Haven, where they continued till the ioth of April following, and thers continued their Voyage. The Rout they took was by the Azores, and they arrived without any remarkable Accident on the Coaft of North America, in the Lat. of 43 Degrees; and, after having examined the Coatt, on which they' found nothing for their Purpole, they failed on Southweft in fearch of that Pars' of the Country where Capt.
Gofnold had been. Gofnold had been.
At length, they found in the Latitude of 4 I Degrees, and fome few Minutes, a very coivenient Bay, to whiclr they gave the Name of Wbitfon's-Bay, in honour of Mr. Fobn Wbitfon, who was then Mayor of Brifol. Here they landed, and cut a good Quantity of Saffafras, and carried it on board; but, left they fhould be furprized in the Woods by the Natives while they were at Work, they erected a little Fort or Redoubt, wherein they left their Effects, and four or five Men to guard them, while the reft were at work. The Natives came and trafficked with the Englifh, forty or fifty in a Company, and fometimes upwards of an hundred, who eat and drank, and were very merry with our Adventurers; efpecially when they obferved a Lad in their Company playing upon a Guitar, they would get round about him, and, taking Hands, dance twenty or thirty in a Ring, after the American Manner.

Our Seamen obferved, that the Natives were more afraid of two Maftiff-Dogs they carried with them than of twenty Men; and when they defigned to get rid of their Company, they let loofe one of thefe Maftiffs; whercupon the Natives would fhriek out, and run away to the Woods. But 'tis probable this Ufage, and the erecting a Fortification in their Country, made the Indians at length look upon the Englifb as their Enemies: For our Adventurers inform us, that a Party of Indians came and furrounded their Fort a few Days after, when moft of them were abfent, and would probably have furprized it, if the Captain of the Ship had not fired two Guns, and alarmed the Workmen in the Woods, who thereupon returned to the Relief of the Fort.
The Indians pretended indeed they had no hoftile In-' tentions, but our People never cared to truft them afterwards: And the Day before the Englifb embarked, the Natives came down again in great Numbers, and fet fire to the Woods where they had cut the Saffafras; which, 'tis probable, was defigned to let the Engliff know they would preferve nothing in their Country which fhould invite fuch Guefts to vifit them again ; for no doubt the great Guns and Fire-arms had rendered the Englijo very terrible to them, as well as their Dogs. The Account thefe People gave of the Country and the Inhabitants was, as might very well be expected, much the fame with what had been given before by Capt. Gofnold, and thofe who had failed with him into thofe Parts, and therefore we need not dwell upon the Subject. Amongtt other Curiofities they brought back with them, the moft remarkable was, one of the Boats ufed by the Inhabitants, made of the Bark of a Birch Tree, fowed together with Twigs, the Seams covered with Rofin or Turpentine; and tho' it was feventeen Foot long, four broad, and capable of carrying nine Perfons, it did not weigh fixty Pounds. Thefe Boats the Inhabitants rowed, or rather paddled, with two wooden Inftruments like to our Bakers Peels, by the

## Chap. III. of the ENGLISH in AMERICA.

Help of which they went at a great rate. About the middle great confeguence, and very woody along the Shore i of fune they had compleated the Freight of their Bark; which they fent home before them into England. After her Departure, they madie all the Difpatch they could in loading their own Veffel; for which they procured a very valuable Cargo of Skins and Furs; in exchange for the Commodities they carried. On the gth of Auguft they quitted the Coaft of Virginia, and failed for England, arriving in the Mouth of the Channel in five Weeks; but meeting there with contrary Winds, they could not reach King's-Road before the 2d of October; but they had the Satisfaction of finding that their Bark was fafely arrived a Fortnight before them.

There was another Attempt made the fame Year, upon the fame Account, which, however, did not end fo fortunately. This Voyage was performed by the Elizabeth of London, a Bark of fifty Tons, commanded by Capt. Bartbolomew Gilbert, who had been the Year before at Virginia with Capt. Gofnold. They departed from Plymouth the Ioth of May, and in their Paffage traded at St. Lucia, Dominica, and Mevis, at the latter of which they cut about twenty Tons of Lignum-vitæ. The third of Guly they fet fail from thence for the Coaft of Virginia, and particularly for Cbefepeak Bay, which Capt. Gilbert was very defirous of failing to, that he might make fome Enquiry after the People near thofe Parts. On the $25^{\text {th }}$ they came near the Mouth of that Bay.

But the Wind blowing hard, with a high Sea, though they beat about for two or three Days, they could not make it, and were obliged to bear more to the eaftward. The 29th, being not far from Shore, the Captain with four of his beft Men landed in their Boat, and, being provided with Arms, marched fome way up the Country; but in this March, being fet upon and overpowered by the Inhabitants, they were all killed; and it was not without Difficulty that the Boat, with two young Men who were left in her, reached the Ship again to bring the News. They, being now in all but eleven Men and Boys in the Ship, were afraid to venture the Lofs of any more of their fmall Company; and their Provifions growing fhort, the Mafter, Henry Sute, who had taken the Command, refolved, though they were in extreme Want of Wood and Water, to return homewards, which they did, and arrived in the River of Thames about the End of September.

The Peace being concluded with Spain, in 1604 , removed feveral Obftacles that ftood in the way of the Britifb Trade; and at the fame time opened to our Ships a free Accefs to many Iflands, Countries and Ports, to which they had not before reforted; which occafioned a great Increafe in our Exportations, and gave much Encouragement to fuch as were employed in the different Branches of the Woollen Manufacture. As for the Bulinefs of fettling and planting on the northern Continent of America, that too was laid open, by the Attainder of Sir Walter Raleigh, which happened at the beginning of this Reign, on account of a Plot, which appeared very improbable then, and with refpect to him efpecially, very ridiculous ever fince. The Reports made by thofe who were concerned in the three latt Voyages being very favourable to the Country, and the Profits made by them being very confiderable, induced feveral Perfons of Diftinction to think feriounly of promoting thefe Difcoveries, infomuch that fome of the Nobility refolved to engage in an Undertaking of this kind.
2. Accordingly Henry Wriotbefy Earl of Soutbampton, and Thomas Lord Arundel, of Wardour, refolved to fit out a Ship for this Expedition. This Veffel was called the Archangel, and was commanded by Capt. George Weymouth, an experienced and fkilful Seaman, who failed on the laft Day of March, 1605, from Dartmouth, and met with nothing of confequence, till fuch time as they judged themfelves to be very near the Coaft of Virgimia; but the Winds carrying them to the northward, in the Latitude of $41^{\circ} 30^{\prime}$, and their Wood and Water beginning to grow extremely fhort, they grew very defirous of feeing Land. By their Charts they had reafon to expect it, and therefore bore directly in with it, according to their Inftructions, yet they found none in a Run of almoft 50 Leagues. After much Expectation, on the 16th of May they obtained Sight of an Inand, of no but by the Fruits they found it appeared no barren nor defpicable Spot, more efpecially as there were Streams of freth. Water running down the Clifs in great plenty, vaft numbers of Fowls, and Fifh enough all along the Shore. This mand is now called Long- Ifond, and it was upon the eaftern Parts of it they fell, to their great Satisfaction. From hence they could difcern a great many other Illands, and the main Land ftretching from the Weft-fouth-weft, to the Eaft-north-eaft. Several of the Illands adjoining to the Continent they vifited, and found very full both of Timber and Fruit-trees, of feveral Sorts.

Among thofe Illands they met with a Harbour, in which Ships of any Burthen might lye, defended from all Winds, in fix to ten Fathom Water, upon a tough Clay Ooze. This they called Pentecofl-Harbour, becaufe it was about Whitfuntide they difcovered it. The Firtrees, which were in great numbers on thefe Illands, yielded an exceeding fweet Turpentine; and the Mufcles; which they found about the Rocks, afforded fmall Pearl in abundance, and fome that were large and orient; and the Shell of thefe Pearls on the Infide refembled Mother-of-pearl; but they wanted proper Tackle to dredge for them, and therefore could not take any confiderable Quantity. The Natives from the Continent came oft in their Canoes to trade with them while they lay in this excellent Harbour, their Commerce being much the fame as in former Voyages, all forts of Skins and Furs in exchange for Knives, Beads, and fuch like Trifles: And fo good Chapmen were they at that time, that they would give the Value of ten or twelve Pounds in their Goods, for five Shillings-worth of Englih Iron Ware. We fhall not enlarge on the Manners, Habits and Cuftonis, $\mathcal{E}^{3} c$. of the Natives, which were the fame we have already feen. Their Bows, Arrows, and Canoes, had nothing in them but what was common among other Savages. Their Tobacco-Pipes were fometinies made of Clay, and fometimes the Claw of a Lobfter only, but always of a Capacity to hold as much as ten or twelve of ours.

They grew pretty familiar with thofe People, but found, as others had done, that, amidft all their fpecious Shews of Friendfhip, they were very treacherous, and fought every Opportunity of betraying them. Of this they had one very evident Proof; when thofe Savages, having invited them on Shore to traffic, had very near drawn them into an Ambuhh of near three hundred Men, armed after their Manner, with Bows and Arrows; but they difcovered their Treachery in time, and efcaped the Snare. But the moft extraordinary Difcovery made in this Voyage was that of a River, efteemed by thofe who found it the mof beautiful in America. They went up it with their Ships feveral Leagues, and gave this Account of it; that as it runs up the Main, it keeps a good Breadth for forty Miles together, in moft Places a Mile, in fome three Quarters, but never lefs than half a Mile: It flows fixteen or eighteen Feet; at low Water it is from fix to ten Fathom deep; it has abundance, of Harbours for Ships of all Burthens, and will fecure them better from Wind and Weather than any known in Europe. On both Sides there are, at a fmall Diftance one from another, many fine Coves; fome of them capable of containing more than an hundred Sail, where the Ground is foft Coze, with a tough Clay underneath for Anchor-hoid. Nature alfo has made feveral convenient Places, likeDocks, to grave and careen Ships of all Burthens, and fecure them from all Winds ; the neighbouring Land trends along on both Sides in a fmooth Line, and, inftead of Rocks and Cliffs, is bordered with green Grafs, and tall Trees of different Sorts. After they had remained here about fix Weeks; and during all that Time carried on a very profitable Trade with the Natives, they thought of returning to England; with which View they hoifted Sail June the 16 th , and arrived that Day Month in Sight of the Land's-End of Englond. This profperous Voyage induced many Perfons of high Rank, and many more of great Fortune, to defire to fee this new Trade thoroughly ettablifhed, who appired to the Crown for fuch legal Authorities as were neceffary; which Defire of theirs was very foon complied with, and two Companies formed for fettling this large Tract
of Land, which for the prefent was divided into North and South Virginia, and were fo ftiled many Years after. It was to this Intent King $\mathfrak{F a m e s}$, by his Letters Patents dated the Ioth of April 1606, reciting, that Sir Tbomas Gates, and Sir George Summers, Knights, and Ricbard Hackluit, Clerk, Prebendary" of Weftminfter, Edward Maria Wingfield, Thomas Hanbam, and Raleigh Gilbert, Efquires, William Parker and George Popbam, Gentlemen, and divers others his loving Subjects, had petitioned him for Leave to fend Colonies to Virginia, and fuch other Parts of America as either appertained to his Crown, or which were not actually poffeffed by any other ChriStian Prince or People, and lying between thirty-four and forty-five Degrees of northern Latitude ${ }_{9}$ and within an hundred Miles of the Sea-Coaft: And for the fpeedy Accomplifhment of the faid Plantation, intended to divide themfelves into two feveral Companies, the one confifting of the Adventurers of the City of London, who were defirous to fix themfelves between thirty-four and forty-one Degrees of North Latitude; and the other confifting of the Adventurers of the Cities of Briftol and Exeter, and the Town of Plymouth, who were defirous to fettle between thirty-eight and forty-five Degrees on the Coaft of Virginia in America. His Majefty, in order to promote fo noble a Work, which might tend to the Glory of God, by propagating the Chriftian Religion among the Infidels and Savages, and bring them to Humanity and Civility, did graciouny accept their Petition, and for himfelf, his Heirs and Succeffors, did grant and agree, that the faid Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Summers, Ricbard Hackluit, and Edward Maria Wingfield, Adventurers of the City of London, and all others that Thould affociate with them, fhould be called the firft Colony, and might begin their firft Plantation at any Place upon the faid Coalt of Virginia, or America, where they fhould think fit, between 34 and 4I Degrees of Latitude; and fhould have all the Lands, Woods, Rivers, Ports, Fifhing, and Hereditaments whatfoever to the fame belonging and appertaining, from the firf Seat of their Plantation, for fifty Miles either Way along the Coaft, North and South, and an hundred Miles to the Weftward, within Land, with all the Inands over againft the faid Coaft for the Space of an hundred Miles at Sea; with all the Lands, Ports, Rivers, Harbours, Fifhings, and Mines thereunto belonging or appertaining ; and Liberty to plant, build and fortify therein; and that no other Subjects of this Crown fhould be permitted to fettle themfelves in the Lands to the weftward of this Colony without their Leave. And his Majefty did grant to the aforefaid Tbomas Hanbam, Raleigb Gilbert, Willian Parker, and George Popbam, of the Cities of Brifol and Exeter, and the Town of Plymouth, in the County of Devon, and all others that fhould affociate with them, that they fhould be called the fecond Colony, and might begin their firft Plantation upon the faid Coaft of Virginia, or America, where they fhould think fit between 38 and 45 Degrees of Latitude; and enjoy all the Lands, Ports, Rivers, Fifhings, and Hereditaments thereto belonging, with the like Extent of Land and Sea, from the Seat of their Plantation, as was granted to the firft Colony. And it was provided, that the faid refpective Colonies fhould not plant within the Space of one hundred Miles of each other ; that each Company fhould have a Council, confifting of thirteen Perfons, in whom the Covernment fhould be lodged, but limited by certain Articles under the Privy Seal; they were impowered alfo to dig Mines in and beyond their refpective Limits to the Weftward, paying the Crown a Fifth of all Gold, and a Fifth of all Copper Ore they fhould get; they were alfo impowered to feize all Ships that fhould trade within their refpective Limits; to coin Money, raife Forces for their Defence, $\varepsilon^{2} c$.
3. The Patentees firft named were commonly ftiled the London Company, and thofe laft named the Weftern Company, who no fooner received this Authority from the Crown, than they began in earneft to provide for making effectual Settlements within the Bounds prefrribed by their refpective Grants. With this View the London Company fitted out three Veffels, one of an hundred Tons, another of forty, and a Pinnace of twenty.

On board of which they embarked an hundred and ten Land-Men, with every thing requifite for fettling a Colony. The Command of this fmall Squadron was given to Capt. Cbrifopber Neroport, an experienced Seaman, well acquainted with the Weft-India Navigation; but to prevent any Difputes in the Paffage, the Orders which regarded the Government of the Colony, and the Names of the Council who were to be intrufted with the Adminiftration of it when fettled, were delivered to them in a Box fealed up; with Directions not to be opened till they were on Shore.

They failed from London on the 20th of December, 1606 ; but, by feveral unlucky Accidents, were, for feveral Weeks, detained on the Coaft of England. At laft they continued their Voyage, and, having taken in frefh Water and other Neceffaries at the Canaries, proceeded to the Caribbee I/ands, where they arrived on the 23 d of February, and ftaid amongft them, but chiefly on the Ifland of Nevis, about five Weeks. On the 3d of April they failed for Virginia, and arrived on the 26 th of the fame Month at the Mouth of Cbefepeak-Bay. The firft Place on which they landed was the Southern Cape of that Bay, where they built a Fort, which they called Cape and Fort-Henry, as they did the Northern Cape Cbarles, in honour of the two Princes; and the firft great River they fearched, the Indian Name of which was Powbaton, they called 'Fomes-River, after the King's own Name.

Of this River they made a full Search, before they would come to any Refolution about a Settlement, and then, by unanimous Confent, they pitched upon a Peninfula about fifty Miles up the River, which, befides the Goodnefs of the Soil, was efteemed moft capable to be made a Place both of Trade and Security, two thirds of it invironed by the main River, which affords good Anchorage all along, and the other third by a fmall River, capable of receiving fmall Vefels of one hundred Tons Burden quite up till it comes within thirty Yards of the great River again, and where generally, in Spring-tides, it overflows into the main River; for which Reafon the Land they chofe to pitch their Town upon had obtained the Name of an Inand. In this back River Ships and fmall Veffels may ride lafhed to one another, and moored afhore, fecure from all Wind and Weather. They gave the fame Name to the Town as to the River, viz. FamesTown. The whole Ifland thus inclofed contained about two thoufand Acres of high Land, and many thoufand of very good Marfh, and is extraordinary good Pafture as any in that Country. By means of the narrow Paffage, this Place was of great Security to them from the Indian Enemy; and, to ftrengthen it the more, they built Caftles and a Fort there. This was the firft Plantation of the Englifh that fucceeded, and which has continued to this Day.

As to the Colony, the firft Bufinefs they entered upon, after they landed, was, to open their Orders, where they found the following Gentlemen appointed of the Council, viz. Bartholomew Gofnold, Edward Wingfield, Cbriftopher Newport, Fobn Smith, Jobn Ratcliffe, Fobn Martin, and George Kendall, of whom Wingfield was chofen Prefident; but they thought fit to leave Capt. Smith out of the Council: For it feeems the reft of the Gentlemen were fo fet againft him, that they had confined him Prifoner ever fince they left England, which Purchas infinuates was occafioned by their Envy at his fuperior Talents, and becaufe the Company in England feemed to rely more upon his Skill and Experience than upon any of the reft; and it appears, that the Planters themfelves were fo convinced of his Abilities afterwards, that they were obliged not only to admit him into their Council, but in a manner refign their Adminiftration into his Hands after they had, by their perpetual Jars and weak Management, almoft ruined the Company's Affairs. After about five or fix Weeks Stay before this their intended new Town, the Ships being difpatched, Capt. Nersport departed with them for England about the Middle of Fune, leaving upwards of one hundred Men fettled in the Form of Government already mentioned; but, when the Ships were gone, the fame Feuds and Diforders broke out again with frefh Violence.

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In the Midft of thefe Feuds, however, they fell to planting, fowing, building, and fortifying; but, above all, they carried on a very advantageous Trade with the Natives. They might neverthelefs have made much greater Gains of it, and managed it more to the Satisfaction of the Indians, as well as to the great Eafe and Security of themfelves, if they had been under any Rule, or fubject to any Method in Trade, and not at liberty to out-bid one another. By this they not only leffened their own Profit, but created Jealoufies and Difturbances among the Indians, by letting one have a better Bargain than another; for they being unaccuftomed to barter, fuch of them as had been hardeft dealt by in their Commodities thought themfelves cheated and abufed. Thence they conceived a Grudge againft the Englifs in general, and made it a national Quarrel, which feems to have been the original Caufe' of moft of their fubfequent Misfortunes from the Indians. Thefe Indians proved much the fame as they had been found to be in other Places, fair and friendly at firt, but treacherous and deceitful in the fequel. However, it was chiefly by the help of their Provifions that the Englifs fubfiited till the Return of their Ships.
The next Year two Veffels were fent thither full Freighted with Men and Provifions for the Supply of the Plantation: One of them arrived directly; but the other, being beat off to the Caribbee Iflands, did not arrive till the former was failed back for England. But what gave the greateft Interruption to their Trade was, an Object which drew their Eyes and Thoughts entirely not only from that, but even from taking the neceflary Care for their Prefervation, and for the Support of their Lives, which was this: They found, in a Neck of Land on the Back of Fames-Tormn Ifland, a frefh Stream of Water, fpringing from a fmall Bank, which wafhed down with a yellow fort of Duft Ifing-glafs, which, being cleanfed by the frefh ftreaming of the Water, lay fhining at the Bottom, and ftirred up in them an unreafonable Defire after Riches; for they, taking all to be Gold that glittered, ran into the utmoft Diffraction, neglecting both the neceffary Defence of their Lives from the Indians, and the Support of their Bodies by fecuring Provifions, abfolutely relying upon the Power of Gold, and thinking that, where this was plenty, nothing could be wanting. Nay, they began to be fo infatuated with the Hopes of Mountains of Wealth, that they defpifed the Mines of Peru and Mexico, in comparifon of their own ineftimable Stream.
They foon, however, grew fenfible of their Error, and found that, if this gilded Dirt had been really Gold, it could then have been of no Advantage; for, by their Negligence, they were reduced to an exceeding Scarcity of Provifions, and that little they had was loft by the burning of their Town, while all Hands were employed about this imaginary golden Treafure; fo that they were obliged to live, for fome time, upon the wild Fruits of the Earth, and upon Crabs and Mufcles, and fuch like, not having a Day's Provifion beforehand. By this Neglect, likewife, they, many of them, became a Prey to the Cruelty of the Indians, and the reft durft not venture abroad, and fo were forced to be content with what they could get. In this miferable Condition they were, when the firft of the two Ships arrived from England to their Affitance. They neither thought or fpoke of any thing but Gold; and therefore they put into this Ship all the yellow Dirt they had gathered, and what Skins and Furs they had bartered for, and, filling her up with Cedar, fent her away. When the other Ship arrived, they ftowed her likewife with this imaginary Gold Duft, and filled her up with Cedar and Clapboard.
But being at length perfuaded that they might apply themfelves to other Labours as profitable, as well as more neceffary than collecting yellow Sand, which, fuppofing it valuable, would be always in their Power, if they took care to fortify themfelves effectually, they began, to befiir themfelves for that Purpofe, and, by the good Management and Direction of Capt. Smith, they made feveral Difcoveries in Games-River, and up Cbefe-peak-Bay; and, in the Year 1608, they firt gathered Indian Corn of their own planting. While Capt. Smith
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was out on his Expedition among the Savages, he was treacheroufly fallen upon by three hundred of the Indians, under the Command of one of their Kings, called $P_{G Z}$ maunker, who put all his Men to Death, and taking him Prifoner, carried him to Powbatan, their chief Kings who would have put him to Death, had he not been faved at the Interceffion of Porvbatan's Daughter, Pacabunta.

Being releafed he returned to Fomes-Fown, where Mr. Ratcliff refigning his Prefidenthip, he was unanimourly deiired to accept of that Office. While thefe Difcoveries were making by Captain Smith, Matters run again into Confufion in Fames-Toron; and feveral uneafy People, taking Advantage in his Abfence, attempted to defert the Settlement and to run away with the fmall Veffel which was left to aitend it ; for Captain Smitb was the only Man among them who could manage Difcoveries with Succefs, or who could keep the Setlement in any Order. Neverthelefs, amidft all thefe Inconveniencies which they brought upon themfelves, the Plantation being increafed to near five hundred Men, they made two other Settlements, one at Nanfomond in Yomes-River, above thirty Miles below fames-Town; and the other at Powbatan, fix Miles below the Falls of Games-River; which laft was bought of Powvbatan for a certain Quantity of Copper, each Settlement confifting of one hundred and twenty Mien ; and foon after they made a fourth Settlement at Kiguotan, near the Mouth of Fames-River. Captain Smith obferved that two thirds of the Adventurers came over with a View of having every thing provided to their Hands, without any Care or Labour of their own, and were fubfifted by the Labours of the other Induftrious third, until he compeiled them all to take Share in the Work; and then he foon planted Ground. enough to fubfift the Colony in Plenty, and, by moderate Exercife and good Food, faw them not only reftored to their Healths, but in a very flouriffing Condition; and, as there was now no longer Neceflity of procuring Food from the Indians by Violence, they lived and trafficked. very amicably together, and Porobatan fuffered him to make feveral other Settlements in the Country.

When their Affairs were in this profperous Situation there arrived fix or feven Ships from England, with between three and four hundred Planters, and fuch ample Supplies of Ammunition and Provifion, as would have enabled the Colony to have made an entire Conqueft of Virginia, or, at leaft, to have procured what Terms they faw fit of the Indians, if they had been under any Command; but as things were managed, this 'Supply only brought the Colony into Confufion. Upon Report of which the Company in England, imagining the Divifions among the Council in Virginia, in whom the Government there was lodged, were the Occafion of moft of the Mifmanagements that had happened, procured a new' Patent from King Fames, whereby they were impowered to appoint, a Governor with a more ample Authority than they had by the preceeding Patent; and prevailed on the Lord de la War to accept of the Government of their new Colony; who thereupon made Sir Thomias Gates, Sir George Summers, and Captain Newoport, 'his Deputies, until his Arrival; and thefe Gentlemen fet fail for England with nine Ships and five hundred Mien, in the Month of May 160 g .

All the three Deputy-Governors, being embarked in one Ship, were unfortunately caft away on the Illands of Bermudas, being then uninhabited, but they and all the People efcaped to the Shore; where, finding Plenty of Provifions, they took Poffefion of thefe Inlands for the Crown of England, and from Sir George Summers they have been ever fince called the Summer Iflands. In the mean Time the reft of their Fleet arrived fafe in the Bay of Cbefepeak, with the Reinforcement above mentioned; where they found Captain Smitb Prefident; but both old and new Planters gave out they were not obliged to obey him, for there was another Commiffion granted which had fuperfeded his, and they expected the Arrival of the Deputy-Governors every Day.
But notwithfanding thefe Jars, Captain Smitb made a
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hift to keep them in fome Order while he remained among them, for otherwife the Colony had been deferted over and over; but as this Gentleman was extremely active, and almoft continually employed in fome Service or other, he had the Misfortune to be blown up by Accident; which, though it did not cof him his Life, yet he was fo wounded and maimed thereby, that it was found abfolutely neceffary for him to return to England with the Veffels that failed not long after; a thing, happy for himfelf, but extremely difadvantageous for the Settlement; fince he was no fooner on Ship-board than every Man took upon him to do what feemed right in his own Eyes, which had defperate Confequences, fo that thofe who had given him moft Trouble while he was amongt them, deeply regretted the Lofs of him; and yet this Senfe of their own bad Behaviour did not at all incline them to Amendment, or to the fetting up any other Perfon with fuch Powers as might enable him to do what Captain Smith had done.
On the contrary, they emptied their Magazines and lived in the greateft Profufion, till that brought on Want; and then they rambled without Order, and under no Command, through the Country; taking Provifions by Force from the Natives, who failed not to employ all their Cunning, of which they had enough, to deftroy and cut them off; fo that when the Deputy-Governors arrived, in two Sloops which they had built in Bermudas, they found them in a moft deplorable Condition; War, Sick nefs, and Famine, having reduced them from upwards of four hundred, to fewer than fourfcore, and thefe too uneafy and difcontented. Sir Thomas Gates, and Sir George Summers, took all the Pains they could to quiet thefe Uneafineffes, and to bring things once more into Order; but it was all in vain; and the People fhewing their empty Warehoufes, their ruined Settlements, and the Number of Sick amongt them, induced thofe Gentlemen to confent to their embarking for England, as the only Means of faving thofe who were left; which they accordingly did, to the great Joy, no doubt, of the $I n$ dians.
4. But juft as they were failing out of the Bay of Cbesepeak, they met with their new Governor, who obliged them to return to fames-Fown to repair their Habitations and Forts there, and to difpofe every thing for maintaining the Settlement. This worthy Governor was the Right Honourable $T$ 'homas Weft, Lord de la War, of an ancient, as well as noble, Family; in which Prudence feems to have been hereditary, as well as Title. He was endued with the Virtues moft requifite for his Station, as Governor of an infant Colony; for, with great Mildnefs and Humanity, he had the warmeft Courage and the greateft Firmnefs of Mind, and was equally capable of perfuading by Words, animating by Example, and awing by the juft Ufe of his Authority. He accepted of this Commiffion from the Company, with a View of putting an End to thefe Diftractions, which had hitherto difappointed all their Expectations, and defeated all their Endeavours, and which they juftly attributed to the Want of having there fome Perfon in fupreme Authority ; who might be able to direct the Induftrious, encourage the Deferving, and punifh the Factious and Difobedient.
As foon therefore as thefe old, or rather new, Planters, were once on fhore again, his Lordhip, in a free and plain Difcourfe, fet before them the Folly and Madnefs of their Proceedings, reproving them for their Divifions, Idlenefs, and ill Conduct, which had occafioned their Misfortunes ; advifing them to reform, or he fhould be compelled to draw the Sword of Juftice, and cut off the Delinquents ; declaring, however, he had much rather draw his own Sword in their Defence; and telling them for their Encouragement, that he had brought them fuch Plenty of Provifions, that they would be in no Danger of wanting for the future, if they were not wanting to themfelves, in providing fuch things as the Country produced; then he proceeded to conftitute a Council, confifting of Sir Thbomas Gates, his Lieutenant General; Sir George Summers, his Admiral; the honourable George Piercy, one of his Captains; Sir Ferdinand

Wenman his Mafter of the Ordnance, and Cbrijtopber Newport his Admiral: Thefe, and the reft of his Officers, having taken the Oaths to the Government, and entered on their feveral Employments; his next Care was, to furnifh his People with Flefh, for notwithftanding there were not lefs than five or fix hundred Hogs in the Plantation, when Capt. Smith went to England, there-was not one left alive at this time; they had either been eat by the Colony, or deftroyed by the Indians, who, to diftrefs them, had driven all the Deer, and other Game, out of the Country; and the Englifh were fo ill provided with Nets, that though there was Plenty of Fifh in the Rivers, they knew not how to take them.

The Company had fent over a Supply of Cloathing, Bifket, Flower, Beer, and other Liquors; but, taking it for granted, that they had Hogs, Venifon, Fowl,' and Fifh enough in the Country, had made no Provifion of Flefh ; whereupon Sir George Summers, the Admiral, was difpatched to Bermudas, to bring over live Hogs from thence, for of thofe Sir George found Plenty in that Ifland when he was caft away there, though there were no People upon it. The Governor alfo fet fome to fifhing within the Bay, and others without, where there were Shoals of Cod-fifh; but their Nets and Tackle were fo defective, that they could not catch any. Hereupon he endeavoured to fettle a Correfpondence with Porwbaton and other Indian Princes, that he might purchafe Flefh of them for Englifh Goods; and in fome of thefe Negotiations he fucceeded, particularly with the King of Patowmack, one of the moft potent of the Indian Princes ; but notwith ftanding he reprefented to Powbatan that he had already promifed to acknowledge the King of England for his Sovereign, accepted of a Crown and Sceptre, and other Enfigns of Royalty from him ; with Prefents of great Value; this Prince would give hin no other Anfwer, but, That he expected the Englifb fhould depart his Country, or confine themfelves within the Limits of $\mathcal{F}$ amesToron Ifland, and not range through every Part of the Country, as they continued to do, only with a View of fubduing it, as he apprehended; threatening to iffue his Orders to cut them off and deftroy them, if ever they were found without the Limits he prefrribed them ; and commanded the Meffengers his Lordfhip fent to him, not to fee his Face again unlefs they brought him a Coach and fix Horfes; for in thefe, he had been informed by fome Indians who had been in England, their great Weroances were drawn.
The Lord de la War finding he was to expect no Friendfhip from Porwbatan, determined he fhould fear him : Having taken an Indian Prifoner, therefore, he cut off his Right-hand, and fent him to his Mafter Porwhatan, letting him know, that he would fend all his Subjects in that manner, and burn all the Corn in his Country (which was ripe at this time) if he did not forbear all Acts of Hoftility for the future ; which had fo good an Effeet, that the Colony lived in Peace and Plenty for fome time, every Day making frefh Difcoveries, and forming new Alliances with fome Indian Princes.

And thus the Company's Affairs being happily eftablifhed again by the Conduct of Lord de la War, Sir Thomas Gates was fent to England, to give an Account of the State of the Colony ; the Ships being freighted home with Cedar, black Wallnut, and Iron Ore ; which Returns appeared fo inconfiderable, that the Company were in Sufpence, whether they fhould not fend for the Lord de la War and the Colony home. However, they firft defired Sir Thomas Gates's Opinion upon it ; who told them that thefe were not the only Returns they were to expect; that if they would fend over Men who undertood how to make Pitch and Tar, and plant Hemp and Flax, they might furnifh England with all manner of naval Stores ; and that it would be very eafy alfo to fet up a Manufacture of Silk, the Country abounding in Mulberry Trees as well as Silk Grafs; that the Soil was exceeding fruitful, producing Corn, Grafs, Grapes, and other Fruits in abundance ; that European Cattle and Corn multiplied prodigiouny; and that there was great Plenty of Venifon, Fifh and Fowl, which they would never want when they could be provided with Boats, Nets, and Engines to take them. The

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Company need then to be at very little Charge to fuipport the Colony; on the contrary, they would in a fhort time meet with Returns anfwerable to their Expectations. Whereupon the Patentees refolved to proceed with Alacrity to improve their Virginia Plantation, in which Refolution they were confirmed by the Lord de la War, who eturned to England about this time ( 1610 ) for the Recovery of his Health.
He left behind him the honourable Mr. Piercy, as his Deputy ; and, while he refided in England, took as much Care of this Plantation as if it had been his paternal Eftate; and was no lefs follicitous about the Welfare of its Inhabitants than if they had been his neareft Relations: To fay the Truth; it was to the Wifdom and Forefight of this worthy Lord that this Nation owes the preferving fo great and fo beneficial an Acquifition; as it was to his Courage and Steadinefs they. were indebted for the Plantation itfelf. In fhort, he fpent the whole remainder of his Life, which was about eight Years, in the Service of the Company and the Colony, and actually died in his Voyage back to Virginia in 1618 , with a great Supply of People, Cloathing, and Goods, for that Settlement, which, however, arrived fafe. As I have now given an Account of the fettling this Country, I have executed all that falls within the Compafs of my Defign ; but, as I apprehend that it maay be both entertaining to the Reader, and better anfwer the Defign of this Collection, I fhall juft run over a few of the principal Facts relating to the Hiftory of this Province, and then give a fhort Defcription of it as it ftands at prefent; in order to fhew what Advantages have accrued to the Nation from an Eftablifhment which it coit fo much Labour and Pains to effect: And the fame Method I fhall take in regard to other Plantations, as moft earneftly defiring to render this Work as agreeable, as ufeful, and as perfect, as it is in my Power to make it.

While Lord de la War was in England the Colony was governed by his Deputies, who, applying themfelves to bring about a peaceable Correfpondence with the Natives, advanced it at laft fo far, that feveral Intermarriages took Place, and amongft thefe the Indian Princefs Pacabunta efpoufed Mr. Fobn Rolf, an Englijs Gentleman, whofe Pofterity enjoy, at this Day, the Lands defcended to them from this Lady. In the Year 1616 one Captain Yardly was at the Head of Affairs ; and the Reafon I take notice particularly of his Adminiftration is, becaufe under it they firft began to cultivate Tobacco, which is fince become the Staple Commodity of the Colony. He was fuc ceeded by Capt. Argoll, afterwards Sir Samuel Argoll; who was a Man of a military Turn, whom we fhall have Occafion to mention frequently hereafter: He repaired the Forts that had run to ruin, and put the Colony into fuch a State of Defence, that there was no great Danger of any Attempts that could be made againft them by the Indians.

After the Death of Lord de la War, Capt. Yardly, who was likewife in England, and who, being knighted by King Fames, had the Title of Sir George Yardy, was fent over with the Title of Governor ; and a very good Governor he proved, for to him the People owed their being made as free as their Countrymèn in this Inand, fince he augmented the Number of the Council, and allowed the Planters to fend their Reprefentatives to the Affembly, the firft of which fat at Fames-Toron, in May 1620. In his Time Negroes were firtt brought into Virginia, the Lands divided, Salt-works erected at Cape Cbarles, and an Iron Mine wrought with good Effect. He was fucceeded, in 162I, by Sir Francis $W_{\text {yat }}$, a young Gentleman of a very good Difpofition, who endeavoured all he could to promote the Welfare of the Colony, yet in his Time it was that this Settlement ran a very great Hazard of being totally deftroyed; for the Indians, who had lived amongtt them now for feven or eight Years with greatFreedom and Familiarity, formed a Defign of extirpating them entirely, on account of one of their War-Captains being killed, though he had committed Murder and Robbery, and died in defending himfelf from falling into the Hands of Juftice. The Method they took to revenge this was, by a general Maffacre, which they fixed for Friday, the 22d of March, 1622 , and, in all probability, it had effectually
anfwered their End if it had not been difcovered by a converted Indian, the very Day on which it was to have taken place; fo that the advanced Plantations could not receive Intelligence time enough, which gave the Natives an Opportunity of cutting off three hundred and thirtyfour Perfons. The Englijh revenged this in a manner very unbecoming them, fince, pretending to be reconciled to the Indians, and thereby gaining their Confidence, they marfacred likewife in their Turn, and purfued their firft Blow fo effectually as to drive moft of thefe poor People to feek for new Habitations.
But it was not long before the Englifh gave them an Opportunity of fatisfying that Vice which is deepeft rooted in their Nation, I mean Revenge; for dividing amongft themfelves, and falling into Factions and Parties; and, at the fame Time, running out new Settlements ; the Indians fell upon them again, and cut them off in great Numbers. As this Misfortune was chiefly owing to the imprudent Grants made in England ; it occafioned loud Complaints; and the fatal Confequences of the Company's Mal-Adminifitration cried fo loud, that King Cbarles I. coming to the Crown of England, expreffied a tender Concern for the poor People that had been betrayed thither, and loft; upon which Confideration he diffolved the Company in the Year 1626 , reduceing the Country and Government under his own immediate Direction, appointing the Governor and Council himfelf, and ordering all Patents and Procefs to iffue in his own Name, referving to himfelf a Quit-Rent of Two Shillings for every hundred Acres of Land, and fo pro rata. The Country being thus taken into the King's Hands, his Majefty was pleafed to re-eftablifh the Conftitution by a Governor, Council, and Affembly, and to confirm the former Methods and Jurifdictions of feveral Courts, as they had been appointed in the Year $16_{20}$, and placed the laft Refort in the Affembly; he likewife confirmed the Rules and Orders made by the firft Affembly, for apportioning of Land, and granting Patents to particular Adventurers.
This was a Conftitution according to their Hearts Defire, and things feemed now to go on in a happy Courfe, for Encouragement of the Colony; People flocked thither apace, every one took up Land, by Patent, to his liking ; and, not minding any thing but to be Mafters of great Tracts of Land, they fettled themfelves feparately on their feveral Plantations. Nor did they fear the Indians, but kept them at a greater Diftance than formerly; and they, for their Parts, feeing the Englijh fo fenfibly increafe in Number, were glad to keep their Diftance, and be peaceable. This Liberty of taking up Land, and the Ambition each Man had of being Lord of a vaft, though unimproved Territory, together with the Advantage of the many Rivers, which afforded a commodious Road for Shipping, at every Man's Door, has made the Country fall into fuch an unhappy Settlement and Courfe of Trade ; that, to this Day, they have not any one Place of Cohabitation among them that may reafonably bear the Name of a Town. The next Governor after the fettling of this new Conftitution, was Sir Yobn Harvey, who proved of a Spirit very improper for fuch an Employment, fince he began early to differ with his Council; and foon after oppreffed the People to fuch a Degree, that they were refolved to be rid of him, at all Events; and accordingly in 1639 they feized him, and fent him Home Prifoner, with a long Charge againft him, accompanied by two of the Council, appointed to manage the Profecution againft him... But as foon as he came to London, the King, who highly refented this Outrage on his Prerogative, fent Sir Yobn back again, with the fame Authority as before ; but the very next Year removed that oppreffive Governor, and appointed Sir William Berkley to fucceed him.

This Gentleman held the Government longer than all his Predeceffors put together, and deferved it ; he was, in all Refpects, an excellent Governor; fo careful of the Colony, and fo kind to the People, that he preferved Loyalty in Virginia long after it was loft at Home; nor did he fubmit to the Rump, till he was forced to it ; and then withdrew to his own Plantation, where he lived as a
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private Perfon, and would have no Concern in public Affairs at all; but he was ftill refpected by the Inhabitants for the great Things he had performed. He had purfued the War with the Indians fill he had reduced them fo low as to be no longer troublefome, after having made their Emperor Prifoner ; he encouraged the makeing of Pot-Ahhes, Soap, Salt; Planting of Flax, Hemp, and Cotton; and the Manufacture of Silk, which he brought to great Perfection. After he retired from the Government there were three Perfons fent from England, who ruled one after another feven Years; the firft of them was Colonel Diggs, who acted under the Parliament's Authority; then Mr. Bennet was fent over by Oliver; and afterwards one Mr. Mattberes, who died Governor ; and, upon this Accident, the People of Virginia defired Sir William Berkley to refume the Adminiftration of Affairs. He had a Commiffion from King Charles II. then in exile ; but he abfolutely refufed to act, unlefs the People would acknowledge his Mafter, to which they very readily confented, which will appear the lefs furprizing, when it is confidered, that Abundance of Gentlemen, who had been ruined in the Support of the Royal Caufe, had retired into this Colony from England.

In Confequence therefore, of this Refolution, King Cbarles II. was proclaimed in Virginia, before he was acknowledged in any of his three Kingdoms ; but it happened very luckily for Sir William that his Mafter was foon after reftored ; and as a Mark of his Affection for the Province, he wore at his Coronation a Robe of Silk, fent from Virginia. Soon after Sir William went over to compliment the King upon his return, and left Colonel Francis Morrifon, his Deputy; who behaved, in his Abfence, to the general Satisfaction of the Plantation. He ordered the Laws to be revifed and collected into a Body, to be laid before the Affembly, at their next Seffion. He took the fame Care of the Church as he did of the State ; he regulated the Parihhes, fettled the Minifter's Allowance, got a Revenue for the Support of the Government, and other Lews for the Encouragement of the Linnen and Woollen Mianufactures, the breeding of Silk-Worms, Tanning, and Salt-Works.

Whilft the Deputy-Governor was fo bufy for the Ser'vice of the Colony, Sir William Berkley was in England, taking his Inftructions from the King for his future Conduct. His Majefty ordered him to promote Iufbandry, Manufactures, Silk and Vineyards, that all Ships trading to Virginia thould go to fames-Town, and be entered at the Cuftom-Houfe there before they broke Bulk; which Orders were given, with an Intent, that by them the People might be tempted to come thither, and dwell there for the Converiency of Trade; and had they been obeyed it might have increafed the Number of Buildings in that City, which is now much lefs than it was fourfcore Years ago ; every body coveting to live at his Plantation, and fettle where he thinks he fhall have the beft Crops and Conveniency of Shipping. This is the Reafon that there are fo few Towns in Virginia, and thofe that are there fo very fmall. Sir William, being fully inftructed by the King how to proceed on his return to his Government, fet fail from England to Virginia, where he arrived in the Year 1662, and immediately put the People upon improving their Plantations, and advancing Manufactures. He fummoned an Affembly, and got an Act paffed for building Fames-Town; each County was to build fo many Houfes, and fome actually built their Quota; which, notwithftanding the Act, were converted into Taverns and Eating-Houfes, and the Town was very little the bigger for them. Sir William Berkley, at his return, gave a Sanction to the new Body of Laws, and took all the Care he could to carry them into Execution, which was all that he coulld do, or that indeed could be expected from him. And, as we are now come down in the Hiftory of this Colony as low as this Period will permit, we are next to give a fuccinct Account of the Na ture and Condition of this Plantation, that it may appear how well it deferves the Pains that have been taken about it, and how amply it rewards this Nation for all the Care and Expence beftowed in planting of it, which will
alfo acquit us of all the Promifes made to the Reader upon this Subject.
5. The Situation of Virginie is remarkably happy and convenient, having the River Potowmac upon the Northeaft, the Atlantic Ocean on the Eaft, the Province of Carolina on the South, and the Apalachion Mountains on the Welt, which feparate it from Florida. It lies from $3^{6}$ to $39^{\circ}$ North Latitude, and between 74 and $80^{\circ}$ of Weftern Longitude, it extends about 240 Miles in length from North to South, and may be in breadth 120 Miles from Eaft to Weft. As to the Air of this Country it depends very much on the Winds. The North and North-weft are either very fharp and piercing, or boifterous and ftormy, the South-eaft and South being hazy and fultry. The Winter is dry and clear, which makes. it very pleafant, Snow falls in great Quantities, but it feldom lies above a Day or two, and their Froits though quick and fharp, yet feldom laft long. Their Spring is fomewhat earlier than ours; in April they have frequent Rains; May and Fune are very pleafant Months, the Heat being greatly tempered by cooling Breezes; July and Auguft are fultry hot, the Air growing in a Manner ftagnant, which produces dreadful Thunderings and Lightning; in September the Weather breaks, and there fall prodigious Showers of Rain, at which Seafon it is that the Inhabitants are moft fickly. It ought, however, to be obferved, that in this, and indeed in all our Colonies, the Climate grows daily better, and thefe Thunder Seafons lefs violent, which the Inhabitants very juftly afcribe to the clearing the Country, and cutting down the Woods, which gives the Air a free Paffage, and is attencled with many other Conveniencies.

As to the Soil it is generally low towards the Sea Coafts, and for one hundred Miles up into the Country there is hardly a Hill or Stone to be met with, except that here and there fome Rocks of Iron Ore appear above the Ground, and fome Banks of a kind of petrified. Oyfter-fhells, that are of a prodigious Thicknefs; the whole Country before it was planted was either Foreft or Morafs, which in the Wef Indies they call Swamps. The Bay of Che eepeak runs directly up the Country, almoft due North, for three hundred Miles; at the Entrance it is efteemed about twenty-one Miles broad, or fomething more; and it continues navigable as long as it wafhes the Coaft of Virginia, and much farther; into the Weftfide of this Bay fall four great Rivers, which rife in the Apalacbian Mountains, all of them running from the Northweft to the South-eaft: The moft Southerly of thefe is Fames-River, the Indian Name whereof was Powbatan, being generally about two Miles over, and navigable, at leaft, fourfcore Miles. York-River, whofe Indian Name was Pamaunkee, is a little to the Northward of Fames-River, and in fome Places they approach one another fo near, that they are not five Miles afunder. To the Northward of York-River is the River Rapbanack, which in fome Places is not ten Miles diftant from YorkRiver, and either of them as broad or broader than FamesRiver. North of Raphanack is the great River of Patowmack, which in fome Places is not above feven Miles diftant from Rapbinack-River, and in other Places upwards of fifty. This River of Patowomack is navigable above two hundred Miles, being nine Miles broad in fome Places, but generally about feven. The Mouth of the River Patoromack, and that of fomes-River, are about one hundred Miles afunder; but the Head's of all the four Rivers rife in the fame Hills, pretty near each other. There are great Plenty of Springs in all Parts of the Country, but the Water is fomewhat harfher than in England.

As to Animals, there were neither Horfes, Cows, Sheep; or Swine, before the coming of the Englifh, but they have now plenty of them all; and their Horfes are very ferviceable, and travel at a great Rate. They have likewife Elks, but not common, Red-Deer in great Plenty; Hares, Squirrels of feveral Kinds, Mufk-Rats, Rackoons, wild Cats, Beavers, Wolves, Foxes, and feveral Sorts of Dogs. As for Reptiles, they have Lizards, feveral kinds of Snakes, particularly the Rattle-Snake, of which an Account will

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be given hereafter. As to Birds, they have Eagles of three Sorts: The firft is the grey Eagle about the Size of a Kite; the fecond the bald Eagle, fo called becaufe the upper Part of the Neck and Head is covered with a Sort of white Down; the third a black Eagle, refembling thofe in England, very ravenous, and which do a great deal of Mifchief; moft Sorts of Hawks, two kind of Owls, both very large; and the white Owl very beautiful, all the Feathers of her Back and Breaft being bright as Silver, except a black Spot immediately below the Throat. They have a large Bird of Prey, which they call a Buftard, but it is rather a kind of Kite; they have wild Turkies very large, fome of them weighing forty Pounds; their Partriges are fmaller than ours, but to the full as well tafted; they have a Bird called the Mocking-Bird, of two Sorts, grey and red, efteermed the fineft finging Bird in the World; it receives its Name from imitating the Notes of all other kind of Birds it hears : The humming Bird with a long Bill and very fine Feathers. As to Water-Fowl they have of all Sorts, fuch as Herns, Bit terns, Curlews, Wild Swans, Geefe, Ducks, Teal, Wigeons, Cormorants, and Gulls.
As for Fifh, no Country in the World has greater Plenty: In February, March, April, and May, there are Shoals of Herrings come up into their veryBrooks, fome of the Size of ours, but for the moft Part much bigger. There are alfo plenty of Cod-fifh and Sting-grafs; which laft is faid to be peculiar in this Country, being fo called from having a Sting in its Tail; it is efteemed good Food. In their Rivers there are the old Wife, the Sheep's-head, an excellent Fifh; Trouts, Green-fifh, Sturgeons in great Plenty ; Plaice, Flounders, Whitings, Carp, Pikes, Mullets, and Perch. And for Shell-fifh, they have Oyfters, Crabs, Cockles, and Shrimps. Of thofe that are not eaten, they have in their Seas Whale, Dog-fifh, Sharks, Porpuffes, Gar-fifh, and Sword-fifh: There is alfo a Fifh they call the Toad-fifh, from his fwelling monftrounly when taken out of the Water; and the Rock-fifh, fome Species whereof are poifonous, and have been fatal to thofe that have eaten them; though others, which are not eafy to be diftinguifhed from the former, are very wholefome Food; the Skip-jack, fo called from his flkipping out of the Water, is tolerable good Food; and fo is the Tobacco-pipe-fifh, fo called from its being long and flender, like a Tobacco-pipe. They have many Infects, fuch as Mufketoes, Buggs, Seed-ticks, Red-worms, which lie only on old Trees and rotten Logs; on which, fa Man fits down in the Midft of Summer, he is fure to catch them, but they are eafily got off with warmWater. We may add to thefe the Worm that eats Plank, which has a kind of Horn or Screw in its Head, with which it forces a Paffage through any Wood to which it fticks; and as we have heard much of thefe Worms, and perhaps not a little concerning them that is wide of the Truth; it may not be amifs to give an Account of them, from a Gentleman who refided long in Virginia, and made very exact Obfervations. In the Month of Fune, annually, there rife up in the Salts vaft Beds of Seedling Worms, which enter the Ships, Sloops, or Boats, wherever they find the Coat of Pitch, Tar, or Lime worn off the Timber, and by degrees eat the Plank into Cells, like thofe of an Honeycomb. Thefe Worms continue thus upon the Surface of the Water, from their Rife in Fune, until the firft great Rains after the Middle of Fuly; but after that do no frefh Damage till the next Summer Seafon, and never penetrate farther than the Plank or Timber they firft fix upon.
The Damage occafioned by thefe Worms may be four feveral Ways avoided; Ift, By keeping the Coat (of Pitch, Lime, and Tallow, or what ever elfe it is) whole upon the Bottom of the Ship, or Veffel; for thefe Worms never faften or enter but where the Timber is naked. 2dly, By anchoring the large Veffels in the Strength of the Tide, during the worm Seafon, and haling the fmaller afhore ; for in the Current of a ftrong Tide the Worms cannot faften. 3 dly, By burning and cleaning immediately after the Worm Seafon is over, for then they are but juft ftuck into the Plank, and have not buried themfelves in it; fo that the leaft Fire in the World deftroys them entirely,
and prevents all Damage that would otherwife enfue from them. 4 thly, By running up into the Frefhes with a Ship or Veffel, during the five or fix Weeks that the Worm is thus above Water; for they never enter, or do any Damage in frefl Water, or where it is not very falt.

We come now to fpeak of what is produced by their Soil. And firft with refpect to Trees; of which, we may affirm, few Countries are better ftocked, or afford greater Variety. As to Timber, they have Oaks, Cedars, Firs, Cyprefs, Elm, Afh, and Wallnitt ; fome of their Oaks meafure two Feet fquare and fixty Feet in height. They have alfo Beach, Yoplar, Hazel, E ${ }^{\circ} c$. befides Saffafras, Sarfaparilla, and many other fweet Woods, and fuch as are ufed in Dying. Their Fruits are, Grapes of feveral Kinds, Cherries of various Sorts, Plumbs from the Bignefs of a Damfon to that of a Pear; Peaches in fuch Plenty that in fome Places they feed their Hogs with them; Quinces in abundance, and Apples and Pears in as great Plenty as can be wifhed. Their Corn is of two Sorts, Englijh Wheat, Barley, Oats, Rye, which ail thrive very well, and yield from fifteen to thirty fold Increafe ; and Maize, or Indian Corn, which is not unlike our Peafe in Tafte, but grows in a great Ear or Head as big as the Handle of a large Horfe-whip, having from three hundred to feven hundred Grains in one Ear, and fometimes one Grain produces two or three fuch Ears or Heads; it is of various Colours, Red, White, Yellow, Blue, Green and Black, and fome fpeckled and ftriped, but the White, and Yellow, are moft common ; the Stalk is as thick as an ordinary walking Cane, and grows fix or eight Feet high, in Joints, having a fweet Juice in it of which a Syrrup is fometimes made, and from every Joint there grow long Leaves in the Shape of Sedge Leaves: The manner of Planting is in Holes or Trenches, about five or fix Feet Diftance from each other; the Earth is opened with a Hoe (and of late Years, with a Plough), four Inches deep, and four or five Grains thrown into each Hole, or Trench, about a Span diftant from each other, and then covered with Earth: They keep it weeding from time to time, and as the Stalk grows high they keep the Mould about it like the Hillocks in a Hop-Garden: They begin to plant in April, but the chief Plantation is in May, and they continue to plant till the Middle of fune: What is planted in April is reaped in Auguft; what is planted in May is reaped in September; and the laft in October.
But as the great Produce of this Country is Tobacco, and as that of Virginia is looked upon as the beft in the World, it is but juft that we fhould give a more particular Account of it. It is certain that the Country produced vaft Quantities of it before any Europeans went thither, and that the Ufe of it was taught them by the Natives; but in what manner they cultivated it, or how they cured it, is now no longer known, fince at prefent they buy what they confume from the Englifh, and therefore it is of their manner of Managing this Plant, that we fhall fpeak. The Tobacco Seeds are firft fown in Beds, where having remained a Month, the Plants are tranfplanted into the little Hillocks, like thofe in our Hop-gardens, the firft rainy Weather; and being grown a Foot high there, within the Space of another Month they top them, and prune off all the bottom Leaves, leaving only feven or eight on the Stalk, that they may be the better fed; and thefe Leaves, in fix Weeks time, will be in their full Growth; the Planters prune off the Suckers, and clean them of the Horn-worm twice a Week, which is called Worming and Suckering; and this Work lafts three Weeks or a Month, by which time the Leaf from Green begins to turn brownifh, and to fpot and thicken ; which is a Sign of its ripening: As faft as the Plants ripen, they cut them down, heap them up, and let them lie and fweat a Night, and the next Day they carry them to the Tobacco-houfe, where every Plane is hung up at a convenient Diftance one from another, for about a Month or five Weeks; at the End of which Time they frike, or take them down, in moift Weather, when the Leaf gives, or elife it will crumble to Dutt ; after which they are laid upon Sticks, and covered up clofe in the Tobacco-houfe for a Week or a Fortnight to

Nna
fweat
fweat; and then opening the Bulk in a wet Day, the Servants frip and fort them, the top-leaves being the beft and the bottom the worft Tobacco ; the laft Work is to pack it in Hogheads, or bundle it up, which is alfo done in a wet Seafon; for in curing of Tobacco, wet Seafons are as neceflary as dry to make the Leaf pliant.

Yet Tobacco is very far from being the only Thing of Value which this Country produces; on the contrary, they have Flax, Hemp, and Cotton; and Silk they might have if they were not fo extremely addicted to their ftaple Commodity, as never to think of any thing elfe, if Tobacco can be brought to a tolerable Market. They have likewife Silk-grafs, of which they make very little Advantage, though, no doubt, under proper Management, moft profitable Manufactures might be raifed from it, fince its Threads are finer than thofe of Flax, and ftronger than Hemp. We may add to this, that all kind of naval Stores might be produced in Virginia with great Eafe, and in vaft Plenty: Such as Plank-Timber, Mafts, Yards, Pitch, Tar, Rofin, and Turpentine, befides Sails, Cordage, and Iron. It is commonly faid, and there are fome who have lived in Virgimia ready enough to affirm it, that there is hardly a Stone to be found in the Country; but, however, this is far enough from being true; for at the Water-falls there are Stones enough of different kinds fit for paving, and other Ufes; and towards the Hills there are Quarries of Slate, and of a kind of Freeftone; there are likewife a Sort of fhining Pebbles, not at all inferior to Kerry-ftones and though generally fpeaking they are foft, yet I have heard that when long expoled to the Air, they become very hard, and if polifhed are extremely beautiful. As to Mines, they have feveral of good Iron in almoft all Parts of the Country, more efpecially in the Northern Neck, which belongs to Lord Fairfax. There was once a Lead Mine difcovered, but loft in the firt Maffacre ; there has been likewife a Talk of Silver and Gold Mines ; but it is certain, that they have a great many Coals, Antimony, and other Things of Value, in the Bowels of that Country, which they would not fail to fearch out if Tobacco alone did not fupply them plentifully.

Thus far we have defcribed the Country itfelf : Let us next enquire into its Condition as a Colony ; and in this Light we find it divided into twenty-five Counties, fome fay, twenty-nine; of thefe the firft is Fames County, lying on both Sides fames River, which contains five Parifhes and the only Two Towns that are in Virginia. The firt is Fames Towen, on the North fide of the River, and about forty Miles from the Mouth of it; it is very far from being confiderable, as it does not contain above fixty or eighty Houfes at moft, and of thefe, as we obferved before, the greater Part are Taverns or public Houfes, for the Entertainment of feafaring People, the Gentlemen of Virginia making it their Choice to live on their Plantations, in order to fee how their Eftates are managed; and in thefe Seats of theirs they live fo handfomly, and fo hofpitably, that how much foever Strangers may difapprove, their Method before they come into the Country, they are quickly reconciled to it afterwards. The fecond is Williamfourgh, to which the Seat of Government is now transferred, and yet it does not confift of above forty Houfes. The reft of the Counties are denominated as follows: Henrico County, Prince George, Cbarles County, Surry, Ile of White, Nanfamond, Norfolk, Princefs Amee, York County, Warvoick, Elizabeth, Nerw Kent, King William, King and Queen, Gloucefer, Middlefex, Efex, Richmond, Stafford, Wefmoreland, and Lancafter, Nortbumberland, Acomack, and Nortbampton.

The Number of People in thefe Counties, taken all together, Men, Women, Children, and Negroes, may amount to about half a Million; of thefe, one hundred and twenty thoufand are Freemen, or their Wives and Children, and above twenty thoufand are capable of bearing Arms. As for the Indians, there are ftill many Nations of them; but fome of them fo fmall, that they do not exceed four or five Families; and it is thought, that amongft them all, they could fcarce raife feven hundred, fome think, not five hundred fighting Men. As to the Government, it refembles that of Englund; for the legilative Autho-
rity is lodged in the Governor, or Council and Affembly : The Governor reprefents the King; gives his Affent to Laws, and has a negative Voice. As Governor, he is at the Head of the Civil Adminiftration, and being by his Commiffion a Lieutenant-General and Vice-Admiral, the Military and Naval Power are likewife in his Hands. In other Refpects, the Government is wery well regulated, and the Church alfo is well taken care of; neither has any Plantation belonging to us been under better Management, or the People more happy than thofe of Virgivia; and this appears very plainly from the Face of the Country, though there are no great Towns in it, and but very few Villages; for the Gentlemens Seats are very thick, all of them good convenient Houfes, many of them large and magnificent. The Roads are no where better, the Country being, for the moft part, level, and fcarce any rugged or deep Ways; fo that it is a common thing to travel forty or fifty Miles in an Afternoon, and fometimes an hundred in a Summer's Day. They have likewife as great Conveniencies with refpect to Water-carriage as any Country in the World, and it is this that has chiefly hindered them from living in great Towns, which, though prejudicial to the Manufactures, has certainly proved very advantageous to their Plantations, which are larger, more frequent, and better fecured, than in almofi any other Colony; and as it has flourifhed extremely hitherto, fo at this time it is as thriving a Colony, and as likely to continue fo, as any that belong to this Nation.

The laft Thing we propofe is, to give the Reader fome Idea of the Advantages that arife to the Nation from this particular Plantation, which I mult confefs is a very difficult thing to do ; but, however, I fhall labour to give as much Satisfaction as I can, and if I fhould be fo fortunate as to meet with any farther Informations, Care fhall be taken that the Public fhall not lofe the Benefit of them, fince they will come in properly enough in the latter Part of the Work. In the firf Place it muft be obferved, that as the Value of Labour differs in feveral Parts of this Kingdom, fo the Labour of a Man in moft of the Plantations is not only as advantageous to his native Country as if he worked at home, but much more fo: I believe, upon a moderate Computation, we may reckon, that fuch a Perfon contributes to the public Stock, by which I mean, the Income and Wealth of the Britifh Nation, four times as much : So that we may with Reafon reckon, that the White People in Virginia, one with another, produce twelve Pounds to this Nation; the Reafon of which will appear, when we confider the Nature of their Commerce more particularly. But befides this, the Negroes are of great Advantage to this Kingdom, though of infinitely lefs than White People would be, if they were employed in the fame Worlk; for every one of thefe poor Creatures confume yearly two Hilling-hoes, two Weedinghoes, two Grubbing-hoes, befides Axes, Saws, Wimbles, Nails, and other Iron Tools and Materials. On the Whole, there can be no fort of Quieftion, becaurf it appears a plain Matter of Fact, that thefe People neceflarily take off the Sum of one hundred and fifty thoufand Pounds, in the Commodities of this Country. How far it might have been more expedient for the Infant-Colony to have intermarried with the Indians, and thereby fo increafed their Numbers as to have been in a Condition to manage their Affairs without Slaves at all, I will not take upon me to determine; but this feems fo clear as to admit of no Difpute, that fuch a Settlement would have been by far more beneficial to the Mother-Country, and out of Comparifon more commodious and fecure for the Planters themfelves. But I mention this only incidently, and that it may pafs the Confideration of Perfons better verfed in thefe Things than I pretend to be; and, from juft hinting how Things might be, return to the Detail of how they really are.
I have before ftated (agreeable to what able Authors have afferted upon this Subject) fome general Principles of Computation, fuch as that every Head in this Plantation may be reckoned worth twelve Pounds a Year to this Nation, which muft feem prodigious, and indeed fo does every thing grounded on Calculation, to fuch as have not applied themfeives thereto; and fo they always

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will unlefs clearly explained, which is what I fhall next attempt, as defiring to inculcate ufeful Truths, capable of influencing Men's Practice, and not to write paradoxical Difcourfes for my own, and other Peoples Amufement. In order to untie thefe Knots, we muft confider that the People in Virginia live exactly as we do, or rather more freely, in that generous, open, hofpitable, and confequently expenfive Method, that prevailed here in the laft Age. But as they are fupplied both with Neceffaries and Conveniences, with the Inftruments of Labour, as well as the Means of Luxury, from England; it follows of Courfe that they muft employ an infinite Number of Hands to provide thefe. For it is generally known that thefe Demands muft be fupplied from thofe Handicrafts and Mechanics that have moft Hands in their Service; fuch as Weavers, Shoemakers, Hatters, Ironmongers, Turners, Joiners, Taylors, Cutlers, Smiths, Bakers, Brewers, Ropemakers, Hofiers, and indeed all the Mechanics in England; their Manufactures being good Merchandize in Virginia. The Commodities fent thither, befides Linnen, Silks, India Goods, Wine, and other foreign Manufactures, are Cloth, coarfe and fine Serges, Stuffis, Bays, Hats, and all Sorts of Haberdafhers Ware; Hoes, Bills, Axes, Nails, Adzes, and other Iron Ware; Cloaths ready made; Knives, Bifket, Flower, Stockings, Shoes, Caps for Servants, and, in fhort, every thing that is made in England.

But if they employ thefe People they muft feed them likewife, and pay them their Wages; and not only them, but thofe who take the Pains to go between the Planters and thefe Workmen; by which I mean the Agents, Merchants, or Factors; who, though fewer in Number, yet have their Servants and Dependents; who, from the Nature of their Employments, expect to be paid at a better rate. Neither is this all, for when things are made and brought to the Factor, they are never the nearer to the Planter in Virginia, but muft be put into the Hands of a new fet of People, who are to be paid for the Carriage of them; fo that now I think the moft common Capacity may underftand how the Labour of every Head in any Plantation muft be worth four times as much to the Community of his Mother Country, as if he wrought at home; for if he fpends fo much, and pays for what he has, both of which are undeniable, his Labour muft produce fo much. This fhews the Benefit of Plantations to their Mother Country; and I hope there is no need to fay that this fhews how much Regard and Refpect is due from thofe who manage the Affairs of the Mother Country, to thofe who live and labour for her in the Plantations. But becaufe it is not impoffible we may err a little in the Meafure of thefe Computations, and as I am far from defiring to magnify thefe Advantages beyond the Truth, I fhall lay it down as a thing certainly to be depended upon, that every white Perfon in Virginia, one with another, is worth to this Nation ten Pounds, which will make the Value of the whole Plantation equal to an Annuity of 1,200,000 $\%$ to Great Britain.

This I think is already, in a great Meafure, demonftrated ; but as I am very fenfible that many People will fill think full Satisfaction is not given upon this Head, if they are not fhewn how this, or at leaft the greateft Part of it, is received ; that we may not do things by halves, my next Care thall be to remove this Difficulty likewife. In order to this, we muft confider that the Trade of this Colony, as well as that of Maryland, confifts almoft entirely of Tobacco; for though the Country would produce feveral excellent Commodities fit for Trade, yet the Planters are fo wholly bent on planting Tobacco, that they feem to have laid afide all Thoughts of other Improvements. This Trade is brought to fuch Perfection, that the Virginia Tobacco, efpecially the fweet-fcented which grows on York River, is reckoned the beft in the World, and is what is generally vended in England for a home Confumption; the other Sorts, called Oronoac, and that of Maryland, are hotter in the Mouth, but they turn to as good Account, being in demand in Holland, Denmark, Sreeden, and Germany; it is therefore from this Commodity that we
are to look for the beft Part of that valt Sunf which we have mentioned; and if we proceed diligently; and with Attention, I dare fay we fhall not fearch in vain.

In Time of Peace, I am perfuaded from feveral dif ferent Calculations, and from the Comparifon of the Informations I have fought and received from fuch as are, or ought to be, beft acquainted with thefe Matters, that there is very little lefs than one hundred thoufand Hogfheads of Tobacco exported every Year from this Colony; that between three and four hundred Ships are employed in this Trade; and upwards of four thoufand Seamen. If we take things upon this Foot, then the hundred thoufand Hogfheads of Tobacco will produce about the Sum at which I have fixed the Produce of this Colony to the Nation; but it may be faid, that if we take Tobacco for the Commodities and Manufactures that we fend to Virginia, it differs very widely from an Annuity; and that inftead of receiving $1,200,000 \mathrm{l}$. from the Perfons inhabiting this Plantation, we return them the moft valuable things we have, to $60,000,000$ of Pounds of Tobacco, which in itfelf is no Neceffary of Life, and which we might very well do without: Thus we are all at Sea again, and it is my Bufinefs to fet us. once more afhore; and if I am able to clear up this laft Mift, I hope there will, for ever after, be fair Weather for the Plantations.
In anfwer therefore to this Objection, which feems to deftroy all, and to demolifh entirely that Structure which I have been erecting, I fay, that ftrictly confidered, it makes more in favour of the Colony of Virginia, than all that I have been faying for it; and this I fhall be able to make as plain as any thing can be made, in a very few Words. It is, I think, generally agreed, that Sir Walter Raleigh firft brought Tobacco into England, or rather, as I apprehend, had it brought over to him from this Colony; and we find the Ufe of it much recommended by the learned and worthy Mr. Hariott, whom he fent over thither. But we muft not infer from thence that Virginia Tobacco was always ufed here, fince the contrary is very certain; for, as the Reader has been told, it was Sir George Xardly who introduced the planting and cultivating Tobacco in that Country by the Eurropeans, in the Reign of King Fames I.

Yet before this Time the Practice of taking Tobacco was become fo common in England, that King Fames wrote a Book againft it. I do not concern myfelf in the Controverfy, whether he was right or wrong in his Oppofition to this Practice; but I mention it to fhew that it was become common, and that the Fafhion of ufing it was growing ftrong. We had moft of our Tobacco then from Brazil, and fome from the Spanifb Plantations ; the Price of it was from four to feventeen Shillings a Pound, and if we had come to ufe as much of it as we do of the Virginia Tobacco, and had paid for it at the rate only of five Shillings, this fingle Article of Luxury would have ftood us in upwards of feven Millions every Year. I very readily allow that this would be a very abfurd and improbable Suppofition, fince it cannot be imagined that in fuch a Cafe, the common Sort of People either could or would have fmoaked Tobacco ; but then let us confider what a Number of People there are to whom the Dearnefs of this Commodity would have proved no Reftraint; and let us fuppofe that we fhould, in this Refpect, have been no, wifer than our Neighbours, which I look upon to be a very modeft and rational Suppofition, we might then, inftead of forty thoufand Hogfheads, have confumed ten or twelve thoufand, which would have amounted to a Million or upwards, and confequently fo much ready Money is hindered from going out of the Nation by the bringing in of Virginia Tobacco, which, viewed in this Light, is equivalent to the importing of fo much Silver.
But to proceed, befides the Money faved to the Nation by the Ufe of this Tobacco, we export one way or other fixty thoufand Hogfheads, which, at five Pound per Hogfhead, amounts to 300000 l. exclufive of the Duty of this Tobacco, which is not drawn back. I might have taken another Method of Reafoning upon this Subject, by fhewing that whatever Exchange of Commodities contributes to the Maintenance and Employment of
a certain Number of People, is not only equal to, but is and with him Squanto, the Indian, as an Interpreter, really much better than an Annuity, that would maintain the fame Number of People in the fame Way, had I not been inclined to render this Matter as evident as it is poffible. After this I thall make but two fhort Obfervations, and fo quit this Part of my Subject.

The firft is, that in Cafe what we receive from Virginiia in Tobacco thould fall fhort of the Sum I have computed we derive from thence, this Deficiency is certainly made up fome other Way; or, in other Words, the Virginians fend us other Commodities, or pay us with the Balance of their Trade with other Places. The fecond Obfervation is, that there is not the leaft Danger of feeing this Country over-peopled, and thereby finking the Value of Tobacco, becaufe there are a multitude of things to which the People may turn their Hands; feveral of which have been enumerated already, and therefore I fhall only obferve that in the Articles of Silk and Iron, the Inhabitants of this Colony might fave us $300000 \%$. a Year, and bring us in very near the fame Sum from other Nations. But it is now Time to quit this agreeable Topic, which however is a very hard Tafk, for one who has any Tincture of public Spirit, in order to proceed with the proper Bufinefs of this Section.
6. In what we have delivered concerning Virginia, wé have purfued the Hiftory only of the firft Company eftablifhed by King James's Patent, called alfo the London or South Virginia Company; but we are next to account for the Conduct of the other Adventurers, or the Weftern or Plymouth Company, as they are ftiled by the Writers of thofe Times, who contented themfelves for fome Years with trading with the Natives of North Virginia for Furs, and fifhing upon that Coaft. 'Two Ships being employed in this Fifhery in the Year I6I4, commanded by the famous Captain Fobn Smith, and Captain Thomas Hunt: Captain Smith went on Shore, and took a particular View of the Country of the Maflacbufets, and had fome Skirmifhes with the Natives; after which he returned to England, ordering Huint to fail with the other Ship to Spain, and difpofe of the Fifh he had taken there; but Hunt, propofing to make a Market of the Natives themfelves as well as of their Fifh, after Captain Smith was gone, enticed twenty-feven Men of the Indians on board his Ship, and then fetting fail with them to Malaga, fold them there to the Spaniards for Slaves, at the rate of twenty Pounds a Man, among whom was an Indian called Squanto, afterwards very ferviceable to the Englifo.

This Outrage was fo refented by the Indians for the prefent, that all Commerce with them became impracticable; nor was this the firf Time the Natives had been thus' violently carried away by the Englifh; for Captain Harlow, in the Year 16II, furprized one Epenow, and two more of his Countrymen, and brought them to England; where Epenow learned Englifh enough to impofe upon his Mafters; and underftanding that the Hopes of acquiring Mountains of Gold was the principal Inducement the Englifh had to vifit his Country; the cunning Indian in order to get thither again, pretended there was a rich Gold Mine not far from the Country where he was born, which he would guide them to if they thought it worth their while to fit out a Ship on fuch an Expedition. This Overture had the Succefs Epenow expected, and Captain Hobfon was difpatched the next Year with Provifions, Tools, and Materials, proper to make a Settlement, and open the Mines Epenow had given them Intelligence of. This Ship arriving on the Coaft of Maffachufets, feveral Indians. came on board, promifing to return again the next Day with Furs and other Merchandize; and they did, indeed, return, but in an hoftile Manner, with twenty Canoes full of armed Men; and Epenow, beckoning to them to approach nearer the Ship, jumped into the Sea, and made his efcape to them; whereupon the Englifs fired upon the Canoes, and were anfwered with a flight of Arrows, and feveral were wounded on both Sides, among whom was Captain Hobfon himfelf; after which, the Captain, without attempting àny thing farther, thought fit to return to England.

In the Year 16 Ig Capt. Dormer was fent to New England,
to endeavour to make Peace with the Natives, and fettle a Colony in the Maflachafets-Bay, but to no Purpofe; the Indians would not be reconciled, and, in a Skirminh with them, Dormer received farcher Wounds, whereupon he proceeded to Virgivia, leaving Squanto on Shore in Nere England. The Patentees, having met with fuch Difcouragement, were, at laft, fo much difheartened, that they gave up all Thoughts of making a Scttlement; however, other Adventurers carried on a Trade to Newo England; eight Ships were employed in it by the Merchants of London and Plymoutb this, and the next, Year, and the Succefs was fuch, that the Seamen, who were Sharers alfo, had each Iy $\%$. in fix Months Time, as much as 30 l . now, and as good as 5 l . a Month, or Mafter's Pay. It is very probable, that the Commerce might have gone on in this Manner for feveral Years, without any Thoughts of planting, though that was the Motive upon which their Patent was granted, fo early began the Fafhion, with Companies, to make that their leaft Care for which they were conftituted. But it fo fell out, that a Congregation of Independents or Brownifts, that for the Sake of their Religion had retired to Holland, and formed themfelves into a Church under one Mr. Jobn Robinfon, who was their Minifter, found themfelves more uneafy there than they had been in England; and therefore formed a Project of feeking an Eftablifhment in the New World, where they imagined they might enjoy Peace and Quiet; yet before they could carry this Defign into Execution, it was neceffary to have King James's Licence, not only in regard to the Rights of the Crown; but to fecure them, when fettled, from being turned out either by their own Countrymen or Strangers. In order thereto they got Sir Robert Nanton to procure the King's Confent for their tranfporting themfelves to America. Sir Robert anked his Majefty that fuch a People might enjoy Liberty of Confcience under his gracious Protection in America, where they would endeavour the Advancement of his Dominions, and promote the Gofpel: 'The King replied, It is a good and boneft Propofal, and yielded to it.

This Congregation, by their Agents in England, treated firft with the Council at Plymoutb for a large Tract of Land towards Norembegua and Nere Scotland; but upon better Confideration they abandoned their Purpofes, and refolved to feat themfelves more to the Southward on the Bank of Hudfon's River, which falls into the Sea at Nerw York. To this End, they contracted with fome Merchants, who were willing to be Adventurers with them, in their intended Settlement, and were Proprietors of the Country; but the Contract bore too hard upon them, and made them the more eafy in the Difappointment they met with in fettling on Hudfon's River; feveral of Mr. Robinfon's Congregation fold their Eftates, and made a common Bank for a Fund to carry on this Undertaking. The Agents hired the May-Flower, a Ship of 180 Tons, which was freighted with proper Goods and Merchandize, and ordered to Soutbampton, where fhe took aboard the Company that came from Holland with Mr . Brerefter. The whole Company, about izo Perfons, failed from Plymoutb the 6th of September, and fell in with Cape Cod on the gth of November, an ill Time of the Year to begin building, planting, or indeed any hard and difficult Labour; and nothing could be more difficult and hard than theirs was like to be : Here they refrefhed themfelves about half a Day, and then tacked about to the Southward for Hudjon's River; but Jones, the Mafter of the Speedroell, having been bribed by the Hollanders, who intended themfelves to take Poffefion of thofe Parts, as they did fome Time after, inftead of putting out to Sea, entangled them among the dangerous Sholes and Breakers, where, meeting with a Storm, the Ship was driven back again to the Cape, upon which they put into the Harbour, and refolved, confidering the Seafon of the Year, to attempt a Settlement there, and to proceed forward to the Bay. But Cape Cod not being within the Limits of the Land they had a Grant for under the Patent, they affociated themfelves into a Body Politic, by a formal Infrument, in which, having declared themfelves Subjects

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of the Crown of England, they folemnly engaged Sub- in no lefs need of his Friendfhip to eftablifi themfelves miffion to the Laws that fhould from time to time be made for the good of the Colony.

The Place they made choice of to build a Town on; was very commodious, and the Country about it not leis agreeable; fo they refolved not to trouble themfelves or their Friends about obtaining any farther Licence, but to rifque their Fortunes where Providence had caft them ; in Confequence of which Refolution they went hard to work in raifing their new Town of Plymouth, for that was the Name they gave it, and which lies in the Latitude of 42 Degrees North. The Planters defigned to ftay in the Country, including Women and Children, were about an hundred, of whom only one Boy died in the Paffage. Their Hiforians mention no more than nineteen Families that fettled at Plymouth, and give us the Names but of forty one effective Men, among whom the Chief were Fobn Carver, whom they chofe Governor, William Bradford, Edward Winflow, Fobn Brewter, Affiftant to Mr. Robinfon, and ruling Elder of his Church, Ifaac Alerton, Miles Standifh, Fobn Howland, Ricbard Warren, Stephen Hopkins, Edward Tilly, Cbriftopher Martin, William White, Richard Clack, and Thomas Engliß. But fuch were the Fatigues this infant Colony underwent the firft Winter, that out of an hundred Planters fifty died within the Space of two Months; and had the Indians attacked them, they had probably all perifhed, but they met with no Difturbance.

After they had fixed themfelves at Plymouth Bay, they faw very few of the Natives till the Middle of March, when Samofet, one of their Sagamores, or Captains, came to them in a friendly Manner, and gave them to undertand they were welcome into the Country, and that his People would be glad to trade with them; and coming again the next Day with other Indians, they informed the Englifb that their great Sachem, whom they called Maffaffoiet, had his Refidence but three Days March to the Northward, and intended them a Vifit. And accordingly Maffafoiet arrived the 22d Day of March, with a Retinue of fixty People; and, being received by Captain Standifh at the Head of a File of Mufketeers, was conducted to a kind of Throne they had prepared in one of their Houfes. This Monarch was of a large Stature, middle aged, of a grave Countenance, and fparing in his Speech; his Face was painted red, and both Head and Face fmeared over with Oil ; he had a Mantle of Deer-Skin, and his Breeches and Stockings, which were of a Piece, were all of the fame Materials ; his Knife or Tomahauk hung upon his Breaft on a String, his Tobacco Pouch behind him, and his Arms covered with wild Cat-Skins, and in the fame Garb were his principal Attendants. They did not obferve any Marks of Diftinction between this Prince and his Subjects, unlefs it were a Chain of Fifh Bones, which Mafjaffoiet wore about his Neck. Soon after the Prince was feated, Mr. Carver, the Governor, came in with a Guard of Mufketeers, whereupon Maffalfoiet rofe up and kiffed him, after which they both fet down, and an Entertainment was provided by the Indians, of which no Part appeared more acceptable than the Brandy, the Sachem himfelf drinking very plentifully of it. In Maflafoiet's Retinue was Squanto, who had been carried to Europe by Hunt, and brought to Newe England again. This Indian, it feems, had a very great Affection for the Englifh, among whom he had lived feveral Years; and it was to his favourable Reprefentation of the Colony, that the Sachem was induced to make them this friendly Vifit; and, at this firt Meeting, to enter into an Alliance, Offenfive and Defenfive, with the Englifh, and even to acknowledge King $\mathfrak{F}$ fames for his Sovereign, and to hold his Dominions of him; and, as an Evidence of his Sincerity, Maflafoiet granted Part of his Country to the Planters and their Heirs for ever.

This Alliance, being founded upon the mutual Interefts of the contracting Parties, was maintained inviolably many Years. The Sachem, who had been informed by Squanto, how powerful a People the Englifh were both by Sea and Land, promifed himfelf their Affiftance againft the Naraganfet Indians, his Enemies; and the Englib food

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in that Country. The Treaty being concluded, Maffaf. foiet returned to his Capital, leaving Squanto with the Colony, who was extremely ferviceable to them, not only as an Interpreter, but by inftructing them how to plant and manage their Indian Corn, in piloting them along the Coaft, and fupplying them with Fifh; Fowl ${ }_{j}$ and Venifon. The Englifh ftill remained fickly, and many of them dyed; among whom was Mr. Carver; their Governor, in the Month of April, 162 I . The Seamen alfo had their Share of Illnefs, infomuch that they were not in a Condition to fail till May, when the Ships returned to England to give their Friends an Account of the Circumftances of the Colony:

While thefe Ships were gone to; or remained in, the Britifl Dominions, the Colony made choice of Mr. Bradford for their Governor, who enjoyed that Poft for many Years, and faw the Plantation thoroughly eftablifhed: notwithftanding that, in his Time, there arofe fuch Differences about Religion as actually occafioned great Feuds and Jealoufies, and feemed to threaten worfe Confequences. It may be expected, that I fhould give fome competent Reafon for the quick Progrefs of this Colony beyond that of Virginia, which met with no fuch Suc-cefs; and this feems to be the rather neceffary, becaufe at firft Sight one might be inclined to think that it ought to be attributed to the fuperior Diligence and Application of the Weftern Company, in Comparifon of that of London; which is, however, fo far from being true, as in reality this Company had no Share at all in the fending over, or eftablifhing this flourifhing Plantation. On the contrary, it was raifed by the Spirit, Vigilance, and Ardour of the Malcontents in the Reign of King Cbarles I. who, before the breaking out of the civil War, and wher they had little Hopes of getting the Government into their own Hands, projected the fecuring to themfelves a fafe Retreat in Neru England, which induced them to fend thither fuch regular Supplies, and thofe too under the Direction of Men very capable of anfwering the Ends for which they were fent thither. We have feen with what wonderful Succefs their firt Attempts were attended, and how foon their new Colony was in a Condition to defend and fupport itfelf, not only without any Affiftance, but almof without any Notice, from the Crown, which in the beginning they did not defire; but afterwards, forefeeing many Inconveniencies that were like to attend this Manner of Proceeding, they very prudently refolved to alter it, and to procure to themfelves fuch farther Security as appeared to them requifite towards attaining thofe Ends of which they were in Purfuit.
This therefore being the Cafe, and the Colony of Plymouth ftill remaining without a Patent, or any Title to the Lands they poffeffed from the North Virginia (or Nerw England) Company, fent over Mr. Winflote, one of their Number, to follicit for both in the Year 1624 ; and this Gentleman fucceeded beyond their Expectation; for the Charter he procured, enabled the Planters to elect a Governor, a Council, and Magiftrates, and to make Laws, provided they were not oppofite to ours, or encroached on the Prerogatives of the Crown. After conducting the Hiftory thus low, and fhewing how, where, and when, the firft regular Englifb Settlement was founded and fixed in this Country, now the largett, beft improved, and moft populous of our Plantations upon the Continent, I muft excufe myfelf from going farther in this way, becaufe it would extend this Section to an unproportionable Length ; and becaufe the Hiftory of New England has been already written by feveral able Men, much better informed thereof than I can pofibly be ; and therefore I fhall be very well content with endeavouring, in as fmall a Compafs as I can, to do as much towards explaining the State of this Colony, as I have already done for that of Virginia.
7. In order to this, it will be neceffary to explain what is meant by Nerw England, fince it differs thus far from all our Colonies, that, in reality, it is a general Name for feveral of them, though there is no particular Plantation, or even Province, properly fo called. We are therefore to obferve, that under this Denomination was originally

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comprehended
comprehended that part of the Continent of North America, which had been formerly ftiled North Virginia and Norembegua, and the way it acquired this Name, was thus: When Captain Smith made his Voyage thither, which has been before mentioned, he went afhore, with no more than eight Perfons; and at that time drew a Plan of as much of the Country as he had feen. This, as I apprehend, was in the Year 1614 ; and upon his return he thewed the Prince of Wales his Account of the Country, and the Map he had drawn of it. His then Royal Highnefs, afterwards King Cbarles I. read the one, and examined the other, giving feveral Englifb Names to Places, diftinguifhed by Indian Appellations in the Book; and from Captain Smith's Information of the Soil and Climate of the Country, called it New England; which Name it has ever fince borne. This Work, thus feen, perufed, and approved by the Prince, Captain Smith publifhed to the World, under the Title of $A$ Defcription of New England, in which he gave a very fair and true Account of it, as well as of the Advantages that might be hoped from a Settlement there; in attempting of which, however, he had the Misfortune to be taken Prifoner by the French; but notwithftanding this, his Treatife produced the intended Effect, and actually brought about that Eftablifhment, of which we have already given the Hiftory. He likewife wrote and publifhed another Book, which he called Nero England's Trials, which was very well received, infomuch that we may fafely aver, that all the Advantages derived fince to Great Britain, from the feveral Settlements made in this large and fruitful Country, are originally due to the Virtue and Induftry of this indefatigable Man.
The Name and Bounds of this Country being thus fettled, it is neceffary next to take notice of the feveral Plantations made in Nere England in the proper Order of Time, and then we fhall fhew, in what Situation they now ftand. We have already given an Account of Nerw Plymouth, which was the firft of them; and we are next to fpeak of that which, tho' later in Point of Time, is now become the moft confiderable in every Refpect, and which had its Beginning and Progrefs much in the fame manner with it. For in the Year 1625 (as the Nere Enyland Hiftorian relates) Mr. White, Minifter of Dorcheffer, obferving the Succefs of the Plymouth Colony, projected a new Settlement in the Maffacbufets Bay in Nero England, and prevailing with Mr. Conant, and fome others, to go over, and make choice of a proper Settlement, he and hisFriends purchafed, or procured, a Grant from the NoribVirginia, or New England, Company, in the Year 1622, to Sir Henry Rofreell, Sir Fobn Young, Knights; Tbomas Soutbcot, Fobn Humpbreys and Simon Newcomb, Efquires; their Heirs, Affigns and Affociates, of all that Part of New England which lies between the great River Merimack and Cbarles River, at the Bottom of the Maffacbufets Bay, and all Lands, $\mathcal{E}^{2}$. three Miles North of Merimack River, and three Miles South of Cbarles River, and in Length, or in Longitude, between thofe Rivers, from the Atlantic to the South Sea; and obtained a Patent from King Cbarles I. to hold the fame as of his Manor of Eaft Greenzeich in common Soccage, yielding and paying to his Majefty a fifth Part of fuch Gold and Silver Ore as thould be from time to time found within thefe Limits. Thefe Gentlemen, having taken in Sir Richard Saltonfal, Mr. Ifaac Fobnfon, Samuel Addefly, Jobn Van, Matibew Cradock, Thomas Goff, George Harwood, Samuel Moor, and feveral more, the following Year, 1628 , procured a new Patent with the Names of the laft-mentioned Gentlemen inferted, as the Proprietors; by which Patent they, and all others who fhould join with them, were incorporated by the Name of, The Governor and Company of the Maffachufets Bay in New England; and were impowered to elect a Governor, Deputy-Governor, and Magiftrates, and make Laws for the Good of the Plantation, not repugnant to the Laws of England; and Liberty of Confcience was granted to all that fhould fettle there. The Adventurers, by Virtue of this Patent, elected Mr. Cradock their Gowernor, and Mr. Endicot their Deputy-Governor, and fent over the latter immediately to reinforce Mr. Conant, who was fettled at Neumkeak, now Salem, fituated on the

Coaft of Nerv England, between the Promontories of Marblehead and Cape Anne.

This new Colony was fupported with the fame Spirit and Vigour as the former, and fuch mighty Embarkations made for its Service, as fhewed plainly enough of how great Confequence it appeared to thofe who were its Protectors in England; and fo much they were fet upon having fome Man of Diftinction on the Spot, that in the Year 1630 they chofe Jobn Wintborp, Efquire, Governor, in the Room of Mr. Cradock, who declined going over, and he appointed Mr. Thomas Dudley his DeputyGovernor; both of them embarked the fame Year, with Sir Ricbard Saltonftal, Ifaac Fobnfon, Equire, and the Lady Arabella, his Wife, Mr. Eaton, and feveral other Patentees, on board a Fleet of ten Sail of large Ships, with about two hundred Planters every way completely furnifhed: So that foon after their Arrival they erected two new Settlements ; the one ftyled Cbarles-Town, on the North-fide of Cbarles River; and the other Dorchefter, at the Bottom of Maffacbufets Bay; and in a fhort time part of the Inhabitants of Cbarles-Torm, pafling over to the oppofite Shore, erected Bofon, which is now the Capital of Nere England. As new Planters arrived every Year, the Colony quickly became over-ftocked; and Divifions breaking out amongtt them, one Mr. Roger Williams, who was Paftor of a Church of Brownifts, went and fettled without this Government ; and called his new Plantation Providence, which afterwards was united to the Government of Rbode Ifland ; of which we fhall Speak in its proper Place.

In 1635 , arrived a larger Fleet from England than at any time before, and amongft otherPerfons of Diftinction, who came over in it, was Henry Vane, Efquire, Son to Sir Henry Vane, Secretary of State to King Cbarles I. with whom the People were fo taken, that they elected him Governor, in the Room of Mr. Wintborp; but as he had the Misfortune to have a very roving and extravagant Genius, he quickly loft his Credit with them, and faw his Predeceffor reftored: Upon which he formed a Project of erecting a new Plantation to the North-weft of the Maffacbufets; which, however, he did not carry into Execution; but returning into England, was knighted, and made an extraordinary Figure under the Name of Sir Henry $V$ ane the younger, as every body knows that is acquainted at all with our Hiftory. But the Project for a Plantation on ConneEticut River was not dropped, though SirHenry $V$ ane did not proceed in it. This Settlement was become the more neceffary, becaufe the Pequet Indians began to grow very troublefome ; and as the building a Town and Fort on that River, would make a good Frontier on that Side, Agents were fent to view the Country, who made fuch an advantageous Report of the Fruitfulnefs of the Soil, and Largenefs of the River, as made many of the Planters of Newton, Dorchefter, Weatherion, and Roxbury, entertain Thoughts of tranfplanting themfelves thither, being already ftreightened for Room where they were.

Mr. Hooker, Minifter of Neroton, put himfelf at the Head of thefenew Adventurers, about a hundred in Number, who fet out in the Month of $\mathcal{F u l y}$, and travelling on Foot with their Children and Baggage, about nine or ten Miles a Day, came in ten or eleven Days to the Banks of the River, where they began a Town, which they called Hartford; after thefe came another Draught from Dorcbefter, who built a little Town, which they called Windfor; a third Detachment from Waterton, built Weotbersfield; and a fourth from Roxbury, built Springfield. The Towns the Planters built on this River were fifty and fixty Miles from its Mouth, fo that the Ship freighted with Provifions for thefe Planters at the Maffacbufets, came fo late in the Year that it was frozen up at the Mouth of it, fixty Miles from the Plantation; upon which, many of the new Adventurers travelled back in the Depth of Winter, and others who attempted it were frozen to Death. The Calamities which attended them, are fuch as all new Setlements are liable to ; but, however, thofe that had Courage to ftay till the Spring, carried on their Settlements with fuch Succefs, that they were not only in a Capacity of fubfifting, but making head againf their Enemies.

They had a fort of Commiffion from the Government of the Maflacbufets Bay; but finding they had extended their Plantations beyond the Limits of that Colony, they entered into a voluntary Affociation to obey the Laws that hould be made by proper Perfons, for the common Good, and chofe Edrward Hopkins, Efq; their Governor; and in this Situation they remained as to Conftitution, till Fobn Winthorp Junior, Efq; obtained an ample Charter for them from King Cbarles II. authorizing them to elect their own Governor, Council, and Magiftrates; and enact fuch Laws as they thought moft advantageous to the Colony, not oppofite to the Laws of England; the Benefit whereof they enjoy to this Day.
8. By that Time this Settlement was brought into tolerable Order, George Fenveick, Efq; was fent to NewoEngland, in order to make choice of the moft commodious Spot he could find, for the Heads of that Party, which had hitherto fupported all thefe Colonies; and it was conceived he would execute his Commifion the more readily, fince the Lord Vifcount Say and Seal, and the Lord Brook, two Heads of the Party, held Lands on Connecticut, by Virtue of a Grant from the Earl of Warwoick, another Puritan, who held a*Patent for all that Part of the Country, extending from the River Naraganjet forty Leagues, in a ftrait Line near the Sea-fhore, towards Virginia, as all the Continent South of Nerw-Enland was then called, as far as Florida. The Earl of Warrwick affigned his Grant to thefe two Lords, Brook and Say, Charles Fiennes, Efq; Brother to the Lord Say, Sir Natbaniel Rich of the Warwick Family, Sir Richard Saltonsfall, Richard Knigbtly, Efq; Fobn Pym, Efq; Fobn Hampden, Efq; and Herbet Pelbam, Efq; Mr. Fenwick feated himfelf at the Mouth of the River, and built a Town which he called Saybrook, in which he was affitted by Mr. Wintborp Junior, Son of the Governor of the Mafacbufets; but the Gentlemen, for whom Mr. Fenwick acted, finding Matters grow more to a Head at home, and forfeeing they fhould be more ufful there for their Country and their Caufe, gave over the Thoughts of removing to Nerw-England, and authorized Mr. Fenroick to difpofe of their Lands to the Colony of Cornezticut, who were the more willing to buy them becaufe they had no Title to their Plantation without the Limits of the Moffacbufets Patent, than what Poffefion gave them. The very next Year there came over fuch Numbers of People to fettle in New England, that the old Colonies were over-ftocked, and there was an abfolute Neceffity of looking out for new Plantations.
Amongft thofe who put themfelves at the Head of fuch as were inclined to remove in the Summer of the Year 1637, were Thboophilus Eaton, Efq; a noted Merchant of London, and the Reverend Mr. Davenport. Thefe Gentlemen finding there was not room at the Maffachufets, and being informed of a large Bay to the South-weft of Connecticut River, commodious for Trade, purchafed of the Natives all the Land that lies between that River and New York, or Hudfon's River; thither they removed, feated themfelves in the Bay over againft Long Ifland, and built New Haven; from whence that Colony, Province, and Government, were fo denominated, as alfo Guilford, Milford, Stanford, and Brainford; they alfo went over to long Ifland, and made there feveral Settlements, erecting Churches in all Places where they fettled; but being without the Limits of the Malfachufets Jurifdietion, they had no Charter, and no other Title to the Lands than what they had from the Natives; the Men who fettled in this Colony were generally Londoners and Merchants, who applied themfelves firt to Trade, after the Example of Governor Eaton, who had been an Eaft Country Merchant, and, travelling into Demnaark, was employed by the King as his Agent at that Court. But the new Comers met with fo many Loffes, either as Novices in the American Trade, or fome unfortunate Accidents, that they were difcouraged in their Trade, and were going to tranfport themfelves to Maryland or Ireland, until at laft turning to Furbandry, they thrived wonderfully, and thought no more of removing.
While the South-weft Parts of New England were thus filling with Inhabitants, the North-eaft were not neglect-
ed: The Englifh very much frequented the Coaft for the Benefit of fifhing and the Fur Trade, for which that Part of the Country lay convenient. This put fome of them on attempting a Settlement between the Rivers Merimack and Sagadabock, and it fucceeded fo well in a few Years, that there were two Counties laid out, Neto HampBire and Main, and feveral Towns built, as Dover, Hampton, Wells, Kittery, \&cc. Thefe Planters and Traders being fettled without the Limits of the Mafacbufet's Colony, entered into a voluntary Combination, and formed themfelves into a Body Politic, after the Example of Connerticut Colony; thus they continued, till being wearied out with Feuds and Divifions, they petitioned the General Court of the Maffacbufets to be brought within their Jurifdiction, which was done : Yet, in 1684, they made an abfolute Refignation of their Charter, and the Government has remained in the Hands of the Crown ever fince. Thus the Reader has feen, in few Words, the Rife and Progrefs of the feveral Plantations raifed in Newe England, which had a quicker Growth than any that were ever attempted from hence, or perhaps from any other Country; for, in the Space of about twenty Years, they had above. twice as many good Towns, well fettled, and the People in a very happy and thriving Condition; and, indeed, it muft be allowed, the Inhabitants were the moft laborious and induftrious, that were any where fettled in America; for though they had fcarce any ftaple Commodity, yet they made every thing turn to Account, and that chiefly, as I have been informed, by purfuing fteadily thefe two Maxims; firft, to fix themfelves well, and to raife one or more good Towns in convenient Places, and next to build and freight Ships with fuch Commodities as they had, and to fend them any where to find a proper Market.
9. The Country of Nerw England comprehends, at pre- ${ }^{-}$ fent, four confiderable Colonies, or Governments, viz. the Mafacbufets, which with Nerw Plymouth and the Main are now included in one Charter; Nere Hampfbire, which remains a feparate Government; Connecticut, which likewife comprehends New Haven; and Rbode Ifand, with Providence Plantation. The whole Country extends from 41 to 45 Degrees North Latitude, and lies betwixt 67 and 73 Degrees of Weftern Longitude; bounded on the North-weft by Canada; on the North-eaft by Nova Scotia; on the Eaft and South by the Atlantic Ocean, and on the Weft by Nerw York; ftretching in Length fomewhat more than three hundred Miles, and in fome Places it is near two hundred in Breadth. The Air of this Country is fharper than ours, though it lies fo much farther to the South, and the Winters are longer and feverer than they are here; but then their Summers are warmer, though fhorter than ours ; and, at the fame Time, the Inhabitants have the Advantage of a clear Sky, which renders the Country very wholfome; fo that none of our Plantations agree better with an Englifb Conftitution. Their longeft Day at Bofton is about fifteen Hours, and their fhorteft about nine ; the Land, next the Sea, is generally low, and in fome Places marfhy; but farther up, the Land rifes into Hills; along the North-eaft the Country, is rocky and mountainous.
As it is wafhed by the Ocean on the Eaft and South; it has many good Harbours, fome of them fo capacious as to be able to receive large Fleets. There are few Countries better watered; for, befides feveral finall Lakes and Rivulets, there are no lefs than feven navigable Rivers. The mof Weftern of thefe is Connecticut ; which, rifing in the North of New England, runs almoft directly South, till it falls into the Sea, and runs, at leaf, two hundred Miles, and navigable to a great Height, having at its Mouth two large Towns, called Saybrook and Lime: To the Eaft of this lies the River of Thames, though lefs confiderable than the former; it likewife runs South, and falls into the Sea a little below Nero London: The River Patuxet rifes in the North-weft of the Country of Maffacbufets, and, running South-eaft, falls into a noble Bay near Sroanfey: The River Merimack rifes in the North of Newe England, and runs directly South for near one hundred Miles, and then, turning Eaft, falls into the Sea between Salijoury and Nerwbury: The River Pifcata-
way runs from Weft to Eaft, and falls into the Sea at Port finouth, where the Opening is fo large, that it affords a Port capable of receiving the largeft Ships: The River Saco rifes in the North of Nerw England, and, running South, falls into the Sea between the Capes Porpus and Elizabeth: The River Cafor runs parallel thereto, till it falls into a Bay of its own Name.

It is owing to the Conveniency of fo many fine Rivers that this Country is fo full of large and populous Towns; and in the Country between the Rivers there is fuch plenty of fmall Brooks and Springs, that there is fcarce any Place where Water may not be had, by finking a Well to the Depth of ten Foot; and, which is another fingular Advantage, the Water is almoft every where good and fit for all kinds of Ufes.

As to Quadrupeds, or four-footed Animals, they are here in great Plenty, both tame and wild; among the former are Cows, Sheep, Goats, Hogs, and Horfes, all originally brought from England, but now very numerous here; the latter are, generally fpeaking, of a much fmaller Breed than ours, but they are fomewhat larger than the Welfs: They are, notwithftanding the Inferiority of their Size, extremely ferviceable; and, though they have but one Pace, and that too not very agreeable, being a kind of a Shuffe, yet they go at a very great Rate; fome fay, not lefs than twenty Miles an Hour, which would be a little incredible, if fome New England Horfes had not been brought over to Britain, which are faid to have put the Matter beyond Difpute; but though there are plenty of thefe Horfes, yet they fell at a good Rate, twenty Pound being looked upon to be a very low Price for a found Horfe, at the Prime of his Age. As for Beafts of the Fareits, they have almoft all Sorts, fuch as Deer, Elks, Rackoons, Bears, Wolves, which feem to be only a kind of wild Dogs; which, when they are taken very young, may be made tame ; Foxes, Hares, Rabbets, Squirrels, Beavers, Martins, Opoffums, which are fmall Beafts about the Size of a Fox, and grey as a Badger; remarkable for having a falfe Belly, in which they hide their Young, and from whence they may be taken without any Prejudice either to them or to the Beaft itfelf. They have alfo a great many Cur-Dogs, but thefe I fuppofe were originally from Europe. When the Englifs firft fettled here, they made a great Profit of Furs, but they are fince much fallen in their Value. I have been the fhorter in the Accounts of thefe Creatures, which are common enough in other Countries of America, that I might have the more Leifure to defribe a Creature which is peculiar, almoft, to Nerw England; and which feems therefore to deferve a more particular Defcription.

The Moofe is found no where but in North America, and is one of the nobleft Creatures in the Foreft: There are two Sorts, the common grey Moofe, by the Indians called Wampoofe, (thefe are more like the ordinary Deer, and like them herd fometimes thirty in a Company) and the large and black Moofe, of which we have the following Account: He is the Head of the Deer Kind, has many things in common with other Deer, in many differs, but in all very fuperior. The Moofe is made much like a Deer, parts the Hoof, chews the Cud, has no Gall, and his Ears large and erect ; the Hair of the black Moofe is a dark grey, upon the Ridge of his Back ten or twelve Inches long, of which the Indians make Belts; he has a very fhort Tail. The Nere England Hunters have found a Stag Moofe of fourteen Spans in Height, from the Withers, reckoning nine Inches to the Span, that is ten Feet and an half; a Quarter of this Venifon weighed more than two hundred Pounds. A few Years ago a Gentleman furprized one of the black Moofe in his Grounds, within two Miles of Bofon: It proved a Doe or Hind of the fourth Year; after the was dead, they meafured her upon the Ground, from the Nofe to the Tail between ten and eleven Feet; the wanted an Inch of feven Feet in Height. The Horns of the Moofe, when full grown, are about four or five Feet from the Head to the Tip, and have Shoots and Branches to each Horn, and generally fpread about fix Feet; when the Horns come out of the Head they are round, like the

Horns of an Ox , about a Foot from the Head they bsgin to grow a Palm broad, and further up ftill wider, of which the Indians make good Ladles, that will hold a Pint. When a Moofe goes through a Thicket, or under the Boughs of Trees, he lays his Horns back on his Neck, not only that he may make his way the eafier, but to cover the Body from the Browfe or Scratch of the Woods. Thefe prodigious Horns are fhed every Year.
A Moofe does not fpring or rife in going as Deer, buit fhoves along fideways, throwing our the Feet like a Horfe, in a raking Pace. One of thefe large black Moofe, in his common Walk, has been feen to itep over a large Gate, five Feet high : After you unharbour a Moofe, he will run a Courfe of twenty or thirty Miles before he turns about, or comes to a Bay; when they are chafed they generally take to the Water. The common Deer, for a fhort Space, are fwifter than a Moofe; but then a Moofe foon out-winds a Deer, and runs much farther. The Meat of a Moofe is excellent Food ; and though it is not fo delicate as the common Venifon, yet it is more fubftantial, and will bear falting ; the Nofe is looked upon as a great Dainty. The black Moofe are rarely found above four or five together ; the young Ones keep with the Dam a full Year. A Moofe calves every Year, and generally brings two ; they bring forth their young Ones ftanding, and the Young fall from their Dam upon their Feet. The time of their bringing forth is generally in the Month of $A$ pril.
The Moofe being very tall, and having very fhort Necks, do not graze, as the common Deer, other Cattle, $\mathcal{F}^{\circ}$. do, and if at any time they eat Grafs, it is the Top of that which grows very high, or on fteep rifing Ground; in the Summer they feed upon Plants, Herbs, and young Shrubs, that grow upon the Iand, bur moftly, and with the greateft Delight, on Water Plants, efpecially a Sort of wild Colt's-foot and Lilly, that abound in their Ponds, and near the Banks of Rivers, and for which the Moofe will wade far and deep; and by the Noife they make in the Water, the Hunters often difoover them. In the Winter they live upon Browfe, or the Tops of Burhes, and young Trees, and being very tall and ftrong, they will bend down a Tree as big as a Man's Leg ; and where the Browfe fail them they will eat off the Bark of fome Sort of Trees as high as they can reach; they generally feed in the Night, and lie ftill in the Day. The Skin of the Moofe, when well dreffed, makes excellent Buff; the Indians make their SnowShoes of them. Their way of dreffing it, which is very good, is thus : After they have haired and grained the Hide, they make a Lather of the Mooles Brains in warm Water, and after they have foaked the Hide for fome Time, they fretch and fupple it.
There is hardly greater Variety and Plenty of Fowl any where, fuch as Turkies, Geefe, Partriges, Ducks, Herons, Storks, Heath-Cocks, Swans, Wigeons, Dapers, Black-Birds; all Sorts of Barn-door Fowl, Crows, Ravens, Cormorants, $\xi^{3}$ c. Vaft Flights of Pigeons come and go at certain Seafons of the Year.
The Fiih in the Sea and Rivers here are excellent, and in vaft Abundance, as Cod, Thornback, Sturgeon, Salmon, Haddocks, Herrings, Mackrel, Smelts, Eels, Lampreys, Sharks, Seals, Porpuffes, Grampuffes, Whales, and other Fifh, great and fmall. The beft Months for fifhing are March, April, May, and Fune. Six or feven Star-Fifh were formerly taken off the Shore near Nantucket, of which Governor Winthorp gave the Royal Society an Account, having obferved that this Fifh divides itfelf into no lefs than 81920 fmall Parts by Branchings, and is one of the moft wonderful Works of the Creation. Some Years fince there ftranded on the Coaft of Nerw England a dead Whale, of the Sort which in Fifher's Language is called Trumpo, having Teeth like thofe of a Mill, its Mouth at a good Diftance from and under the Nofe, and feveral Partitions in the Nofe, out of which run a thin oily Subftance, they candied; the remainder, which proved a thick fat Subitance, being fcraped out, was faid to be the Sperma Ceti. We have fome very curious Accounts, not only of this, but of other kinds of Whales, by the ingenious Mr. Dudley, which for want of Room I omit ; and alfo, becaure, I
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thall be obliged to mention this Subject again more fprouting. The common way is to mote the Ear toge largely in another Place.

We will now proceed from the Animal to the Vegetable Kingdom, which is in full as flouriming a Condition; and yields very little to any Country in America. There is Plenty of good Timber in the Woods and Swamps of New England; but that Plenty is fo much leffened within ten or twelve Miles from the Sea, that, we are told, there is a Neceffity of a Law, to prevent the Wafte of Woods, which three or fourfcore Years ago the Planters would have been glad to have feen wafted. Oak, Elm, Firr, Afh, Cyprefs, fine Chefnut, Walnut, Cedar, Beech, Afpin, Saffafras, and Shumack, are common here ; their Firr is of an extraordinary Growth for Mafts, Yards and Planks. The Shumack is of ufe for Dyers and Tanners; and, as there is no want of Hides or Skins, nor Bark, there muft be much Leather in Neros England, if thofe Advantages are improved; the Oak has fupplied the Shipwrights for Building; the Firr produces Pitch, Tar, Rofin, and Turpentine. All Sorts of Garden and Orchard Trees grow in Perfection, fo that it is no hard Thing for one Planter to make a hundred Hogfheads of Cyder in a Seafon, ard the Export of Apples to the Sugar Inands is one of the conftant Articles in the Trade of the Province.
It is affirmed, their Apples are larger and fweeter than ours in England; and the fame Obiervation extends to their Plumbs, Cherries, Peaches, Pears, $\xi^{3} c$. All Sorts of Roots for the Table are in great Plenty here, as Turnips, Parfnips, Carrots, Radifhes, much larger and richer than in England, though originally their Seeds came from hence. There are alfo Pompions and Onions, good ftore of Water-Melons; and Squafhes grow here, perhaps, from Seeds that were firft brought from Portugal; whither the Traders here have long fent, and fill fend, their Fifh in great Quantities. Flax and Hemp grow as naturally here as in any Country on the Baltic, and in as great Perfection; Oats, Barley, Peas, Beans, and indeed every thing of this Kind, fucceed as well as can be wifhed ; but amongft them all, there is nothing fo much planted as Indian Corn, of which Mr. Wintborp háving given a large Account to the Royal Society, we fhall take as much as is neceffary for ours, or the Reader's Purpofe, from thence, and infert it here.

The Natives called it Weachin, and in fome fouthern Parts of America, it is known by the Name of Maiis or Maize; the Ear is a Span long, compofed of eight Rows of Grain, or more, according to the Goodnefs of the Ground, about thirty Grains in a Row; 'tis of various Colours, as red, white, yellow, blue, olive, greenifh, black, fpeckled, ftriped, and fometimes in the fame Field, and in the fame Ear ; but the white and yellow is the moft common; the Ear is defended from the Cold and Storms by ftrong thick Hufks, the Stalks grow fix or eight Feet high ; that of New England is not quite fo tall as that of Virginia, and at Canado it is fhorter than at Ners England; 'tis jointed like a Cane, and full of fweet Juice, like the Sugar Cane, and a Syrup as fweet as Sugar may be made of it, as has been often tried ; at every Joint there are long Flags, and at the Top a Branch of Flowers like Rye Bloffoms.
It is generally planted from the Middle of April to the Middle of May. In the northern Parts the Mobawk Corn is not planted till the Middle of Fune, and yet is ripe in Seafon. The Stalks of this Sort are fhort, and the Ears near the Bottom, and are of feveral Colours The manner of planting Maize is in Rows, at equal Diftance every way, about five or fix Feet ; the Earth is opened with a Hoe four Inches deep, and four or five Grains are thrown into it, at a little Diftance from one another in the Breadth of a Hoe, then they are covered with Earth; if they grow the Crop will anfwer. The Corn is weeded at a Hand's length, and the Earth is loofened about it with a Hoe. This Labour muft be repeated as the Weeds come up; when the Stalk begins to grow high, a little Earth fhould be drawn about ir, and on putting forth the Ear fo much as to make a little Hill, like a Hop-Hill. 'Tis ripe about the Middle of September; it muft be ftripped as foon as gathered, unlefs 'tis laid thin, to prevent its growing mouldy, or

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ther, in long Traces, by fome Part of the Huiks lefo thereon, which is called tracing. Thefe Traces they hang upon Bearers, without Doors, and will keep fo all Winter good and fweet. The Indians thrafh it as they gather it. They dry it well on Matts in the Sun, and bury it in Holes in the Ground, lined with Mols or Matts, which are their Barns. The Englif of late plant it with the Help of the Plow; they turn up fingle Furrows, fix Feet diftance ; then plow a-crofs, at the fame Diftance, throw in the Com, where thefe meet, and cover it with a Hoe, or run another Furrow over it with the Plow.
The Indians boil it till it becomes tender, and eat it with Fifh or Venifon, inftead of Bread; fometimes they bruife it in Mortars, and fo boil it. The moft ufual way is to parch it in Afhes, firring it fo artificially as to be very tender, without burning; this they fift and beat in Mortars into fine Meal, which they eat dry, or mixed with Water. The Englifh mix it into a ftiff Pafte, make Bread of it, which they bake all Day or all Night. The beft Sort of Food which is made of it is called Samp; to make it, the Corn is watered half an Hour, beaten in a Mortar to the Bignefs of Rice, fifted, boiled, and eaten with Milk, or Butter and Sugar, like Rice; and this feems to be fo good and wholefome a Diet, that 'tis a ftrange Sort of Folly in fome that defpife it, becaufe 'tis Indion Corn; and the Indians have no other Corn to eat. The Englifh have alfo made good Beer of it, by malting it, or making it of Bread; when they malt it, it munt chit both ways, Roor and Blade ; to do which, they heap it up at a convenient Time, then take away the Top of the Earth of a Garden-Field, two or three Inches deep; after which they cover the Ground with the Corn and the Corn with the Earth ; when the Plat is green all over with the Corn-Sprouts, which it will be in about ten Days, it muft be taken up, the Earth fhaken from it and dried, and then wafhed and dried again on a Kiln ; this makes the Malt and that the Beer, which will be pleafant, wholefome, and of a brown Colour. The Beer made of Bread is more durable, and altogether as pleafant ; to make this, they cut the Bread into great Lumps, as big as a Man's Fift, math and manage it as they do Malt; adding or omitting Hops, of which they have enough, and as good a Sort of their own as is defired. No Indian Corn grows wild now; but both that and Kidney Beans were found among the Natives. The Indians have a Tradition, that the firt Grain of Corn was brought thither by a Black-Bird, and the firft Bean by a Crow.

We are now to proceed from the Defcription of the Country, and an Account of its Produce, in which we ought, by all Means, to include Iron Ore, ' of which there is in this Country great Plenty; I fay, our Method leads us to go on to the Political State and Condition of this Colony, that the Situation of the Englifb therein may be rendered more obvious, and be the better apprehended. In order to do this as fuccinetly as poffible, we fhall obferve there are very few Countries, in which fo many different Forms of Government have prevailed within fo narrow a Space of Time as in Nerw England. At the firft going over of the People thither they framed a Government of their own, and afterwards procured, as themfelves boaft, or fome of their Writers have boafted for them, the Eftablifhment of a Republic, by Virtue of a Patent from King Fames I. which, how ever, they managed fo indifferently, and were guilty of fuch flagrant Oppreffions, on account of Differences in Religion, that their Charter was in the Reign of King Cbarles II. declared forfeited; and though it was renewed under the Reign of King William, yet it was under various Reftrictions, and with feveral material Alterations; fo that we may fafely affirm, that there are at prefent three kinds of Governments eftablifhed 'by Law in thofe four Colonies; which, as we before obferved, are eftablifhed within the Limits of Newe England. The firft kind of Government I fhall mention is, that old Form of Charter Government, which allows the People to chufe annually their own Governors, Deputy-Governors, Council and Afembly, with all their Officers, Civil and Military, and to make fuch Laws as to them

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Thall feem expedient, provided they are not repugnant to the Laws of Great Britain. This kind of Government, which, I believe, is more independent than that of any Colony belonging to any other Nation in the World, is enjoyed in its full Extent by the People who inhabit the Plantations of Connecticut and Rbode Ifand; but they make a very different Ufe of it ; for thofe of the firft mentioned Colony are very ftrict in Point of Religion, whereas thofe in Rbode Ifland are the freeft in that Refpect of any in the World; for there are among them People of all Religions, or rather, of all thofe Sects into which Proteftants are divided, but without the leaft Prejudice to their temporal Concerns, every Man being alike capable of Magiftracy ; and with refpect to an Eftablifhed Church there is none, but each Body of Chriftians live according to their own Syftem, and chufe and pay their Minifters as they think fit. The great Colony of Mafachufets, is likewife a Charter-Government, but the Appointment of the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, Secretary, and all the Officers of the Admiralty, is vefted in the Crown. The People have not only the Choice of the Affembly, but of the Council; upon which, however, the Governor in his Turn has a Negative; and, by virtue of his Commiffion as Captain-General, has the Power of the Militia; fo that here the fupreme Authority refts neither in the Governor nor the People, but in them both, whenever they can agree to exert it. The Government of Nero Hampphire is entirely in the Hands of the Crown, in the fame Manner as that of Virginia, and other Colonies.

The Capital of this Country is Bofor, in the County of Suffolk, and within the Province of Maffachufet proper: It is fituated in the Latitude of 42 Degrees 20 Mi nutes North, and in 71 Degrees of Longitude Weft from London; it tands on a Peninfula about four Miles in Circumference, at the Bottom of a fine Bay of the Sea, at the Entrance whereof are feveral Rocks which appear above Water, and above a Dozen fmall Iflands, fome of which are inhabited. There is but one fafe Channel to approach the Harbour, and that fo narrow that two Ships can fcarce fail through a-breaft; but within the Harbour there is room enough for five hundred Sail to lie at Anchor. The Entrance is defended by the Caftle of FortWilliam, on which are one hundred Guns mounted, twenty of which lie in a Platform, level with the Water, fo that it is fcarce poffible for an Enemy to pafs the Caftle; and, to prevent Surprize, they have a Guard placed on one of the Rocks about two I.eagues diftant, on which alfo there ftands a little Houfe, from whence they make Signals to the Caftle when any Ships come near it: There is alfo a Battery of great Guns at each End of the Town, which commands the Harbour, to the Fire whereof any Enemy would be expofed if he fhould be fo fortunate as to pafs the Caftle.

At the Bottom of the Bay there is a Pier near two thoufand Feet in L.ength, with Warehoufes for the Merchants on the North fide of it ; and Ships of the greatef Burden may come up clofe to the Pier and unload, without the Help of Boats. The greatef Part of the Town of Bofon lies in the Form of a Crefcent about the Harbour, the Country beyond rifing gradually, and affording a moft delightful Profpect from the Sea: There are in it feveral Streets, not much inferior to the beft in London, the chief of which runs from the Pier up to their Town-houfe, or Guild-ball, a handfome Building, where are Walks for the Merchants, as on the Exchange ; and there alfo are the Council-Chamber, the Houfe of Reprefentatives, and their Courts of Juftice, the Exchange, being furrounded with Bookfellers-fhops, who have Trade enough to employ five Printing-preffes. There are ten Churches of all Denominations, of which fix are Independents, the moft prevailing Party in Nero England. And the Number of Souls in the Town of that Perfuafion may be about fourteen or fifteen thoufand. The Epifcopal Church is handfomely built and adorned, and the Congregation faid to be about a thoufand in Number. Their Church Furniture, and fome Pieces of Plate, were given them by K. William and Q. Mary, and their Organ by Thomas Brattley, Efq; There is alfo in this Church a magnificent Seat for the Governor,
who comes thither when he happens to be of the Church of England. Bofon is the moft flourihing Town for Trade in Englifh America, and there are feveral hundred Sail of Ships, Brigantines, and other Veffels, annually loaded here with Timber, Beef, Pork, Fif, and other Commodities, for Europe, or the American Illands : Their Merchants and Tradefmen are a polite fort of People, many of them having travelled into Europe, or converfed with Foreigners of feveral Nations at home: Their Houfes are elegantly furnifhed, and their Tables as well ferved as thofe of the Merchants and Tradefmen of London ; all manner of Provifions being as plentiful as in any Town in Old England.

A late Writer tells us in relation to the Fortrefs before-mentioned, that it is a beautiful Caftle, by far the finef Piece of Military Architecture in Britifb America ; being a Quarry furrounded by a Coveredway, and joined with two Lines of Communication' to the Main Battery, as alfo a Line of Communication from the Main Gate to a Redoubt, to prevent any Enemies landing ; and the Battery is fituated fo near to the Channel, as to hinder Ships coming up to thĕ Town, which muft all come within Piftol-fhot of it. In time of Peace there is but one Company on Duty in the Caftle; but in time of War, there are five hundred able bodied Men, exempted from all other Military Duty, to attend the Service of the Caftle at an Hour's Warning, when the Signal is given from the Night-houfe of the Approach of an Enemy. The Caftle thereupon makes a Signal to the Town, and if five Ships or more appear in time of War, the neighbouring Country is alarmed, by firing a Beacon. In this City commonly the Governor refides; here the General Court and Affembly meet, and almoft all the public Bufinefs of the Province is here tranfacted. The Number of Houfes is computed at four thoufand four hundred; the Number of People, at about twenty-four thoufand ; and the Shipping of this Port is computed at between fix and feven hundred. There are, befides this, feveral great Towns and good Ports and a Multitude of fmall ones, in Nero England; but I have not Room to enter into more particular Accounts.
As to the Number of People Writers differ extremely, and it is not eafy to know which is in the right; but the following, about twenty Years ago, was faid to be the beft Authority, viz. that in the Maffachufets Colony there were eighty thoufand Souls ; in that of ComneEticut, thirty thoufand; and in Rbode Ifand, ten thoufand ; in the whole, one hundred and twenty thoufand: But I am perfuaded that, at prefent, they amount to one hundred and fixty thoufand at leaft.

The Commerce of thefe Colonies is very confiderable, and extends itfelf over all America, and into fome Parts of Europe; they furnifh our Sugar Colonies with Fifh, Cattle, Boards, Hoops, Pipe-ftaves, Bark, Skins, Butter, Cheefe, Oil, Tallow, Corn, Apples, Turpentine, $\Xi^{3} c$. and this in fuch vaft Abundance, that it is computed the Iland of Barbadoes alone, takes off to the Value of two hundred thoufand Pounds every Year; they deal befides with the other Sugar Colonies, fometimes with the French, largely with the Spaniards, and they fhip off prodigious Quantities of Fifh, to Italy, Spain, and Portugal. They take from us all kinds of Mercery Goods; Linnen, Stockings, Shoes, Sail-cloth, Cordage, Haberdathery Ware, and a vaft many other Things ; in Return they build a prodigious Number of Ships, and export a vaft Quantity of Mafts, Plank, and Yards, for the Royal Navy; Pitch, Tar, Turpentine, Skins, Furs, Oil, Whale-Fins, Logwood and other Commodities.

The Obfervations made by the famous Sir Fofiab Cbild, in reference to this Colony, are very well worthy our Notice, as they will lead us to form the trueft Judgment poflible as to that important Point, what the Profit is which refults to this Kingdom, from our Plantations in Nere England; upon which he reafons in the following Manner: " ift, All our American Plantations, except " the Nerw England, produce Commodities of different "Natures, as Sugar, Tobacco, Cocoa, Wool, Ginger, "fundry Sorts of dying Woods, $\mathcal{E}^{2} c$. Whereas Never "England produces generally the fame we have here, viz.
${ }_{6}$ Corn

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sc Corn and Cattle ; fome quantity of Fifh they do like"w wife kill, but that is taken and cured altogether by "their own Inhabitants, which prejudices our New-
"foundland Trade; where, as has been faid, very few " are, or ought, according to Prudence, to be employ"ed in thefe Fifheries, but the Inhabitants of Old Eng" land. The other Commodities we have from them are "fome few great Mafts, Furs, and Train Oil, of which " the yearly Value amounts to very little; the much " greater Value of Returns from thence being made in "Sugar, Cotton, Wool, Tobacco, and fuch like Com' modities, which they firf receive from fome other ${ }^{66}$ of his Miajefty's Plantations, in barter for dry Cod-fifh, "Salt, Mackrel, Beef, Pork, Bread, Beans, Flower, "Peafe, ESc. which they fupply Barbadoes, Famaica, $\mathcal{E}^{2} c$. with, to the Diminution of the Vent of thofe Commodities from this Kingdom; the great Experience of "s which, in our own Wefi India Plantations, would foon "s be found in the Advantage of the Value of our Lands in England, were it not for the vaft and almoft incredible Supplies thofe Colonies have from New Engse land.
" 2 dly, The People of Nere England, by virtue of "their primitive Charters, being not fo frictly tied to the Obfervation of the Laws of this Kingdom, do fome" times aftume the Liberty of trading, contrary to the "Act of Navigation, by reafon of which many of our © American Commodities, efpecially Tobacco and Sugar, st are tranfported in New Englifh Shipping, directly into Spain, and other foreign Countries, without being landed in Englond, or paying any Duty to his Majefty; which
" is not cally a Lofs to the King, and Prejudice to the
" Navigation of Old England, buit alfo a total Exclufion
" of the Old Englifh Merchant, from the Vent of thofe
"Commodities in thofe Ports where the New Englifb
" Veffels trade; becaufe there being no Cuftom on thofe
"Commodities in Nere England, and a great Cuftom " paid on them in Old England; it mun: neceffarily fol" low that the Nerv Englijh Merchant will be able to " afford his Commodity much cheaper than the Old En" glifh Merchant; and thofe that can fell cheapeft, will " infallibly engrofs the whole Trade fooner or later.
' 3dly, Of all the American Plantations, His Majefty " has none fo apt for the Building of Shipping as New "England, nor none comparably fo qualified for the " breeding of Seamen, not only by reafon of the natu" ral Induftry of that People, but principally by reafon "s of their Cod and Mackarel Fifheries; and, in my poor "Opinion, there is nothing more prejudicial, and, in " Profpect, more dangerous to any Mother Kingdom, "than the Increafe of Shipping in her Colonies, Plan" tations, and Provinces.

Athly, The People that evacuate from us to Bar-
"badoes, and the other Weft India Plantations, as was " before hinted, do commonly work one Englifh to ten
" or eight Blacks; and if we kept the Trade of our faid "Plantations entirely to England, England would have " no lefs Inhabitants, but rather an Increafe of People, " by fuch Evacuation, becaufe that one Englijbman, with " ten Blacks that work with him, accounting what they " eat, ufe, and wear, would make Employment for four " Men in England, as was faid before; whereas, perad" venture, of ten Men that iffue from us to New England or Ireland, what we fend to, or receive from, " them, does not employ one Man in England."
But with great Submiffion to fo knowing a Man and fo able a Judge as he was in thefe Matters, what he has delivered upon this Subject, though hitherto received with general Approbation, is liable to many Objections, which, being duly confidered, will give the State and Utility of this Colony another Afpect. For, with refpect to his firft Head of Objections, it is not the Fault of Nero England that they have not a ftaple Commodity, as well as the Sugar and Tobacco Plantations, but it is our own; fince we might be furnifhed from thence with as great Plenty, and in as great Perfection, as from any Part of the Boltic, with all the naval Stores, which are fo neceffary, and for which we actually pay, yearly, a vaft Sum of ready Money. It is therefore very unjuft to call

New England a ufelefs Province, becaufe we will not make ufe of her Cómmodities, which we might command for our own Manufactures, at our own Time, and on our own Terms, but rather pay our Money for them to Foreigners; who, whenever an Opportunity offers, never fail to force their own Terms upon us. As to the Provifions furnifhed to our Sugar Colonies by the Peo* ple of New England, it is fo far from being a Difadvantage to the Nation, that it is a very great Convenience; for without it they could not pofiibly fubfift. This, at firft Sight, may feem a very bold Affertion, but I am very confident that it is true; for in Time of Peace, if the Sugar Colonies were to draw all their Provifions from hence, it would make their Commodity much dearers and confequently enable Foreigners to beat us out of that Trade entirely, and in Time of War the People in thofe Colonies would be in Danger of ftarving, as the Inhabitants of the French Sugar Illands generally are; to avoid which Inconveniency they are now labouring to render Louvifana as ufeful to their Sugar Colonies, as New England is to ours; and after all, what the Nere England People get by this Trade comes hither. To this we may add; that if we had not fettled New England, the French certainly would, the Confequences of which may be more eafily conceived than defcribed.

The fecond Objection admits of the fame Anfwer. We have the Benefit of all the Trade the People in this Colony carry on in Europe, as well as America; and while we have this certain Advantage, there feems to be no juft Caufe for our difturbing ourfelves with the Thoughts of the Advantages that might be gained if this Trade ran in another Channel; fince thefe are Incertainties, as to which, however, our Government has already taken all the Precautions that are poffible, or at leaft that are practicable, without running into greater Inconveniencies, than thofe they are calculated to guard againft. The breeding of Seamen, and the building of Ships, are not found by Experience, to be attended with the Inconveniencies that were feared from them; but on the contrary, have had many advantageous Confequences, both in time of War and of Peace. The fourth Objection, which feems to have the greateft Weight of any, we know now by Experience has in reality no Weight at all; for, without having Colonies compofed entirely of white Pcople, it would be impoffible for us to defend our other Colonies againft our Enemies in America; and; as we fhall Ihew hereafter in fpeaking of Georgia, inftead of repining at the Want of Negroes in New England, we ought rather to wifh that there were fewer Negroes elfewhere. The Reader will eafily perceive that I do not affect to contradict this great Author, I only exprefs the Reafons why his Arguments do not convince me, and, from the Lights of Experience, fhew that it is not impofible even for the greateft Men to be miftaken.
Sir Jofiab Cbild faw this himfelf, as appears by the Manner in which he finifhes his Remarks, which I look upon to be one of the fineft Paffages in his whole Work. "To conclude, fays he, and to do right to "s that moft induftrious Englifs Colony, I muft confefs, "s that though we lofe by their unlimited Trade with " our foreign Plantations, yet we are very great Gainers "s by their direct Trade, to and from Old England. Our "yearly Exportations of Englifh Manufactures, Malt, " and other Goods from hence, thither, amounting, in " my Opinion, to ten times the Value of what is im"s ported from thence; which Calculation I do not make " at Random, but upon mature Confideration; and, " peradventure, upon as much Experience of this very 6. Trade, as any other Perfon will pretend to do; and " therefore, whenever a Reformation of our Correfpond" ency in Trade with that People fhall be thought on, "6 it will, in my poor Judgment, require great Tender"nefs, and very ferious Circumfpection."

I fhall not dwell much longer upon this Subject, or pretend to give the Reader any Calculation of the Value of thofe Advantages which from this Colony are derived to Great Britain, becaufe I am fenfible that though the Thing may be practicable in itfelf, yet fufficient Informations are not hitherto fallen into my Power; I defire
there-
therefore to leave only thefe three Remarks with the ingenious and impartial Reader : The firft is, that we have it in our Power to bring from this Colony all the naval Stores that we now bring from the Baltic; which, whenever it is thoroughly confidered by our Parliament, will produce fome Law, which cannot fail of rendering this Colony twice as beneficial to the Nation as it has hitherto been, or could be, till enabled by fuch a Law. In the fecond Place I muft obferve, that as we derive a great Part of our Sugars from the Affiftance given to the Colonies which produce them by New England, to this Part of their Produce ought to be placed to the New England Account. I am to remark laftly, that the Complaints which have been made of the Inhabitants of this Colony dealing in Goods, and employing themfelves in Manufactures, which interfere with thofe of Great Britain, is a Complaint, which, though well founded, is ill applied; for though it be true that this may be an Injury to us, yet the Fault lies in ourfelves, and not in the People of Nere England, who only raife and manufacare for themfelves what they cannot purchafe from us; fo that not content with having their All (for, as we have Shewn, the whole Ballance of their Trade comes hither) we feem to be angry that they endeavour to fupply themfelves with what we could fell, and they want wherewithall to purchafe; which Want, however, might be removed, by taking their naval Stores. But it is now fit that we fhould give a fhort View of the Plantation of our next Colony, which though we cannot call it one of the moft profitable, yet it muft be allowed one of the moft pleafant of our Plantations.
10. The Iflands of Bermudas were difcovered by one Jobn Bermudas a Spaniard, after which they were frequently touched at by his Countrymen in their Paffage to the Weft Indies, but were quite unknown to us till the Year 1593, when one Henry May was fhipwrecked upon them in a French Veffel, whofe Report made them very famous ; but they became more fo by the like Miffortune of Sir George Summers, and Sir Thomas Gates, in their Paffage to Virginia in I6og, of which we have before given a particular Account, as well as of his being fent thither a fecond Time to fetch Hogs, when it was with great Difficulty he found thefe Inands, and not long after he breathed his laft in them, being upwards of threefcore, and much fatigued for many Months before. It was from him their Name was changed to Surmers's Ilands, which our Mariners call the Summer Ilands; a Name they very well deferve for their Pleafantnefs and Fertility. Sir George directed his Men to return to Virginia with black Hogs, for the Relief of that Colony, but they refolved otherwife after his Death; and ftoring their Cedar Ship with fuch Provifions as they had, they fet fail for England, where they arrived at Whitchurch in Dorfetfoire, having Sir George Summers's Corps on board, only the Heart and Bowels they left at Bermudas, where Captain Butler, twelve Years afterwards, built a handfome Monument over them.

Thefe Men, at their Return, gave fuch an Account of the Country to the Virginia Company, that they thought it worth their while to eftablifh a Correfpondence between England and Bermuddas; accordingly they fold thefe Inands to one hundred and twenty Perfons of the fame Society, who obtained a Charter from King Fames, and became the Proprietors of them. When Sir George Summers was firft here, two of his Men ftaid behind, having committed. fome Crime, for which they would have been put to Death. They were ftill there when Sir George returned, and had, ever Ince his Departure, fupported themfelves on the Productions of the Place, and built them a Hut, and took Poffefion of St. Gcorge's Ifland. Thefe two Men, whofe Names were Cbriflopher Carter, and Edward Waters, ftaid alfo behind Sir George's fecond Company, of whom they perfuaded one Edreard Chard to remain with them; and now Carter, Waters, and Cbard, were fole Lords of the Country, but foon fell out among themfelyes; Cbard and Waters were coming to a pitched Battle: but Carter, though he hated them both, yet not liking to be left alone, prevented it, by threatening to declare againft the Man who ftruck firft. At laft Neceffity
made them good Friends, and they joined together in making Difcoveries, in one of which Expeditions they found the largeft Piece of Ambergreafe, among the Rocks, that ever was feen, weighing eighty Pounds, befides other fmalier Pieces. This Treafure made them almoft mad; they grew giddy with the Thoughts of it, and, that they might have an Opportunity to make ufe of it, refolved, on the moft defperate Attempt that Men could run upon, which was to build a Boat after the beft Manner they could, to fail to Virginia or Newfoundland, according as Wind and Weather fhould prefent.
But before they could put their Project in Execution, a Ship arrived from England; for Captain Matbew Summers, Sir George's Brother, had promifed to come to them, or fend a Veffel to their Relief. The Ship they difcovered ftanding in with the Shore was the Plough; which had fixty Perfons aboard, fent by the new Bermudas Company to make a Settlement, of which Mr. Richard Moor was Governor, who was an honeft induftrious Perfon. He pitched upon a Plain in St. George's Ifland to fettle on, and there firft built himfelf a Houfe, or rather Cabbin, for the Building was only of Palmeto Leaves; yet he made it large enough for him, his Wife and Family; and the reft of the Adventurers following his Example, it became a fort of a Town, which in Time grew to a confiderable Bignefs, and is now St. George's Town, one of the ftrongeft and beft built in our American Colonies; for all the Houfes are of Cedar, and all the Forts of hewn Stone. This Man proved an excellent Governor in every Refpect ; and, in the Year 1614, difappointed the Spaniards in a Defign they had formed of landing upon, and conquering, thefe Inands.

He was fucceeded by Captain Daniel Tucker, who was a Perfon of better Education, and more Experience in the World, who took upon him to eftablifh a regular Form of Government; to diftinguifh and trace out Plantations; to oblige every Man to build uniformly in the Town, and to plant regularly in the Country; by which Method the Inands were very much improved, and the Exportations for England increafed; he likewife eftablihed a tolerable Militia, and put the Mands in fuch a pofture of Defence, as, together with their Situation, put it out of the Power of any of their Enemies to difembark fuch a Force as might hurt them. But the Severity of his Government was fo grievous to fome licentious Perfons, that five of them executed as defperate a Defign to efcape him, as Weters and his Companions had projected to get away from the Inand. They knew the Governor would not give them leave to go off, and therefore invented this Contrivance to effect it: Hearing Captain Tucker had a great Defire to go'a fifhing out at Sea, but was afraid to do it, becaufe feveral Fifher-boats had been driven off by the Weather and the Men perifhed ${ }_{2}$ they propofed to him to build a Boat of two or three Tons, with a Deck, and fo fitted that fhe fhould live in all Weathers. The Governor confenting to it, they fell to building in a privare Place, pretending it was convenient for getting Timber and launching the Boat. They finifhed it fooner than was expected; and the Governor fent Hands to fetch it, intending to go in it aboard a Ship which he was then difpatching for England. When his IMen came to the Place, neither the Boat nor the Builders were to be found; all that they could hear of them was, that the Boat being finifhed the Night before, thofe that built it went off to Sea in it, to try how it would fail. At laft they found by fome Letters they left behind them, that they were gone for England; 'and the Story of their Adventure is told us in this Manner:

They borrowed a Compafs-dial of a Neighbour, on fome Pretence or other, and went on board the Ship bound for England, where they trucked with the Seamen fuch Things as they had, for Provifions. One of them, at parting, told the Mariners, that though they were forbidden to go with them, yet they hoped to be in England before them. At which the Mafter of the Ship laughed, and away thefe fearlefs Adventurers failed, with a fair Wind and Weather for one and twenty Days; they then met with a Storm, which reduced them to Extremity for eight and forty Hours, and obliging them to

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bear up afore it drove them a little out of their Courfe to the Weftward; but the Wind coming fair again, and continuing fo ten Days, they went on chearfully. In that Time they met with a French Privateer, where they went aboard to beg fome Relief; but inftead of helping they plundered them of the little they had, took away even their Inftrument of Navigation, and turned them a-drift. In this miferable Condition they failed on, growing every Day weaker and weaker ; their Provifions were almoft fpent, their Fire-wood quite gone, not a Drop of frefh Water left, nor Food for above a Day, when at laft, in the very Hour they expected to perifh, they made Land to their unfpeakable Joy. This Land was Ireland, where they went afhore in the County of Cork, and were nobly entertained by the Earl of Thomond, to whom they related theirVoyage, which had then lafted forty-two Days.

There were but five Perfons concerned, of whom there was one Mr. Yames Barker, a Gentleman, Richard Saunders, who contrived the Defign, William Goodzvin, a ShipCarpenter, who built the Boat, and Henry Puet, a common Sailor, who undertook to navigate this Veffel. Both thefe Stories may feem a little befide our prefent Purpofe, but I have inferted them as belonging more immediately to a Collecrion of Voyages, and becaufe I look upon both thefe Incidents to be very well worth preferving. Capt. Tucker refigned, in the Year 1619 , to Capt. Butler, who arrived at that time with four good Ships, in which he brought five hundred Paffengers, and there being as many Eng lifh on the Ifland, the Colony began to make a confiderable Figure. This Governor raifed a noble Monument over the Remains of Sir George Summers that were left in the Ifland, depofiting them in the Church in St. George's Town. He divided the Inands into Diftricts; and now the Government, by Governor, Council, and Affembly, was eftablifhed, which before had been only the Governor and Council. The Laws of the Country were alfo fettled, as near as the Circumftances and Conveniencies of the Place would admit, to the Laws of England; as is done in all the Colonies in America. After bringing down the Hiftory of thefe Inands to their becoming a regular and fettled Colony, I am next to give an Account of the Hlands themfelves, in order to fhew the Value of them.
II. There are fome who would perfuade us, that thefe Inands have received their Name from the vaft Quantity of Black Hogs found upon them: Bermudas, in the old Spaniß Tongue, fignifying a Black Hog; but though this Derivation be plaufible, yet the Fact upon which it is founded, is moft certainly falfe; for when the Spaniards firft difcovered them there was not a fingle Hog upon thefe, or perhaps upon any other Inand whatever; neither is it well known upon what Part the Spamiards landed. Thefe Inands lie very contiguous to each other ; but Authors differ fo much as to the Number of them, that it is very difficult to fpeak of them with Certainty; for fome fay there are but three hundred, others affirm there are more than five hundred. They lie in the Latitude of 32 Degrees 30 Minutes North, and in 35 Degrees of Weftern Longitude, at a vaft Diftance from the Continent, fince the neareft Land, which is Cape Hatteras in Carolina, lies at leaft two hundred and fifty Leagues to the Weft of them, and they are above fixteen hundred Leagues from England. The Air here has been always thought extremely wholefome, and the Country wonderfully pleafant, infomuch that People were wont to remove hither from the other Colonies, in order to recover their broken Conftitution. The Heat in Summer is very fupportable, and with refpect to Winter, they have really none ; nay, fome go fo far as to affirm, that there is but one Seafon in the Inland of Bermudas, and this a perpetual Spring; which, however, may be in fome meafure afcribed to the Soil, which though it be thin is very rich and very fruitful, though remarkably foney. The Earth is of feveral Colours, brown, white, and red; the firft is the beft and the laft the wort. Two or three Feet under the Mould they find a white hard Body, which the Inhabitants call the Rock, but which feems more to refemble Chalk, or a Pumiceftone, through which the Roots of their Trees force a Paffage ; and a kind of Clay is generally found under it.
Maize, or Indian Col

Maize, or Indian Corn, which is the main Support
of the People heree, is twice reaped, for what they fow in March, they cut in fuly; in a Fortnight after they fow again, and reap in December. They have all the Plants peculiar to the Weff Indies, and all Kinds of Herbs, Roots, Flowers; and Trees, brought from Europe, thrive to Perfection. They have fome Tobacco, but it is of an indifferent fort, and therefore does not yield them any great Profit ; but certainly, with a little Care, they might be able to produce any kind of Tobacco, or other Vegetable that turns to Account almoft in any Climate. They have Palmeto's, a kind of Wild Palm, that is extremely ufful, the Leaves being eight or ten Feet long, and near as broad, with which they cover or thatch theit Houfes; it produces a very lufcious Fruit, which in Shape, Size, and Colour refembles a Damfon. Laurel, Olive, Mulberry, and Date Trees, are very common; and their Forefts abound with Variety of odoriferous Woods, fome black, fome of a yellow, and fome of a red Colour: The Berries of thefe Trees have the Stiptic Quality of a Sloe, and are much ufed by the Englijh to cure the Flux, which they frequently get by eating the lufcious Palm-berries too greedily. But amongft a Multitude of Shrubs and Trees peculiar to thefe Inands, and equally valuable for their Timber and Fruit, there are two which, though found in other Parts of the World, have a peculiar Excellence here ; the firft is their Orange, which in point of Size, Scent, and Flavour, far exceeds any either in the Weft or Eaft Indies : The fecond is their Cedar, which from the Nature of the Soil wherein it grows is firmer and more durable than any of its Kind that we are acquainted with ; anfwers in every refpect to Oak-Timber, and is found of extraordinary Ufe in Ship-building; fo that the beft Sloops; Brigantines, and other fmall Veffels, both for Sérvice and Sailing, which are in Ufe throughout the Weft Indies, are built at Bermudas.

They have likewife two very fingular Plants, one ufeful and the other noxious, but both fo remarkable as to deferve particular Notice; the firtt is called, the Summer-Ifand Redruood, the Berry of which is as red as the Prickle-Pear, giving alfo fuch a Tincture; out of which Berry come firft Worms, which afterwards turn into Flies, fometimes bigger than the Cochineel Fly, and a medicinal Virtue much exceeding it. The Poifon-Weed is the other frange Plant, which grows much in the fame manner as our Ivy, and if we may depend upon a Gentleman; who lived long in thefe Inands, and fent an Account of what was remarkable in them, to the Royal Society, there is not a more furprifing Production than this in Nature: He fays he had feen a Man fo infected by it, as to have all the Skin of his Face peel off though he paffed by without touching it, and yet he affirms that he had chewed it in his Mouth without feeling any Inconvenience, whence he infers, that it is not hurtful alike to all Conftitutions. In this all who have been upon thefe Inands agree, that this Weed is very prejudical, but then they agree likewife, that there is nothing venomous befides, in any of there Inlands.
As for Animals, there were none in Bermudas but Hogs, Infects, and Birds, when Sir George Summers was fhipwrecked there: He found out that there were fome Hogs in the Ifland, by fending out two or three of his own to feed, and when they rambled home, a huge wild Boar followed them, and being killed was found to be excellent Meat: The Hogs they killed afterwards were found to be all black, and from thence it is concluded that the Spaniards had left them there to breed, becaufe they were of the fame Kind with them they carried to the Continent of America: They now fat them at Bermudas, with Palm and Cedar Berries ; but their Number is very much decreafed. Thefe Inands abound in more and greater Variety of Fowl than any in America. There are Hawks of all forts, Herns, Bitterns, Offspreys, Cormorants, Baldcoots, Moorhenis, Swans, Teal, Snipe, Duck, and Wigeons; Bats and Owls are alfo very common here, with Multitudes of fmall Birds ; as Wood-peckers, Sparrows, $\mathcal{E}_{6}$. The Englijh, at their firft coming, found a fort of Fowl here they called Cowkoes, which bred in the Holes of the Rocks, and in Burrows, like Rabbets, and were fonumerous and gentle, that they were taken by Hand. They are now almoft deftroyed, being very eafy to be caught. This Bird is of the Bignefs of
a Sea,
a Sea-mew. There are alfo the Tropic-Bird, and the Pemlico, feldom feen by Day, and when it is, held to be the unwelcome Fore-teller of a Storm.
Finh there is as plenty as Fowl, of which there are fo many forts that Authors have not yet found out Names for them: They have of the fcaly and the fhelly Kind; the Whale and Sword-filh, and the Threfher ; but particularly the Tortoife abounds to a Wonder, and is as good and great, of the Sort, as any in the World. Whalefifhing has been attempted, but without Succefs. The Whales about Bermudas are found only in the Months of February, March, and April; the Female Whales have abundance of Milk, which the young ones fuck out of the Teats that grow by her Navel ; they have no Teeth, but feed on Grafs growing on the Rocks at the Bottom during thefe three Months, and at no other Seafon of the Year; when this is confumed and gone, the Whales go. There have been Sperma-ceti Whales driven upon the Shore, which Sperma (as they call it) lies all over the Bodies of thefe Whales : Thefe have divers Teeth, which may be about as big as a Man's Wrift. Ambergreafe and Sperma-ceti, have been found here in great Quantities, and Pearl. All which are almoft as rare here now, as elfewhere ; which is a little wonderful.

The Infects in thefe Inands are, generally fpeaking, the fame before mentioned in other Plantations, except it be the Spider, which is thought to be larger here than in any other Country in the World, and fo adorned with beautiful Colours, that it takes off very much, if it does not entirely remove, that Diftafte, which otherwife the Sight of Creatures of this Kind and of fo enormous a Size would naturally occafion. One of thefe Spiders, with its Legs extended, would take up a Space equal to the Breadth of a Man's Hand. Their Bodies are compofed of two Parts, one flat and the other round, not unlike, either in Shape or Size, to a Pigeons Egg. On their Backs they have an Orifice, which ferves as well as in fome kinds of Hogs for a Navel; their Mouths are covered with a kind of grey Hairs, intermixed fometimes with bright red, and on each Side of their Mouths they have a kind of crooked Tooth, of a fine polifhed Subftance, extremely hard, and of a bright fhining black, and therefore they are often fet in Silver or Gold for Tooth-picks. When thefe Creatures grow old, they are covered all over with a kind of dark brown or black Down, fmooth, foft, and fhining like Velvet; on the flat Part they have their ten Legs, five on each Side, each of which has four Joints, and two fmall Claws at the Ends. They caft their Skins every Year, together with thofe hard Teeth-like Subftances before mentioned; they live upon Flies and Gnats, in catching of which they fhew great Cunning and no lefs Agility. Their Webs, which are very large, they fipirt into the Air, by which means they are lodged upon Trees at fome Diftance, and then run along the Threads, and weave them fo ftrong, that Birds of the Size of a Thrufh are fometimes caught in them.
There is fcarce an eighth Part of thefe Iflands inhabited, and all but St. George's, St. Davids, and Coopers Ifles, have only a few Houfes fattered up and down; they all together make the Figure of a Sheep-hook, and are within the Circuit of fix or feven Leagues at moft. There are none of them of any confiderable Bignefs, yet fome much bigger than others; as Time and the Sea continually wafhing upon them, have worn them away in different Proportions. The main or great Inand of all is called St. George's, and is about fixteen Miles in Length, from Eaft-north-eaft to Weft-fouth-weft; 'tis not a League over in the broadeft Place, but is fortified by Nature all round, the Rocks every way extending themfelves a great Way into the Sea. To natural Strength, efpecially towards the Eaftward, where it is moft expofed, the Inhabitants have added that of Forts, Batteries, Parapets, and Lines; the Cannon of the Forts and Batteries being fo well difpofed as to command the feveral Channels and Inlets into the Sea. There are no more than two Places where Shipping may fafely come in, and it is not eafy for a Man to find thofe Places out; the Rocks lie fo thick in fuch a Manner, and fome fo undifcovered,
that without a good Pilot from the Shore, a Veffel of ten Tons could not find the Way into thofe Harbours, which being once known the biggeft Ships in the World may enter. Thefe two Havens are fo fortified, that if an Enemy fhould attempt either, he , might eafily be kept out. The Rocks, at moft Places, appear at low-water; it ebbs and flows there not above five Feet ; the very Shore itfelf is, for the moft Part, a Rock, and it is impoffible to find out any Iflands better guarded by Rocks than thefe; indeed they are all of them fo invironed with them, that they feem to threaten all Ships who venture on that Coaft with prefent Deftruction, and fo many have been fhipwrecked upon them, that the Spaniards gave them the Name of Los Diabolos, the Deril's Illands; this Place having been fatal to them and all Nations.

The Town of St. George ftands at the Bottom of the Haven of the fame Name, covered by no lefs than fix or feven Forts and Batteries, asKings Caflle, Cbarles Fort, Pembrook Fort, Cavendifh Fort, Davie's Fort, Warwick Fort, and Sandy's Fort, mounted with above feventy Pieces of Cannon; and they are fo difpofed, that they can be all brought to bear upon any Ship before fhe can make her Entrance. In this Town there is a fair Church with a fine Library, for which the Inhabitants are indebted to Dr. Tbomas Bray. There are near a thoufand Houfes in it handfomely built, and a State-Houfe for the meeting of the Governor, Council, and Affembly. Befides the Town and Divifion of St. George, there are eight Tribes, Hamilton's Tribe, Switb's Tribe, Deronßbire's Tribe, Pembrook's Tribe, Paget's Tribe, Warwick's Tribe, Southampton's Tribe, and Sandy's Tribe, of which, Devon/bire in the North, and Soutbampton in the South, are Parihes, have each a Church, and a particular Library. In the whole Illand there are Plantations of Oranges, Mulberries, and other Productions of the Country, which render it a very delightful Profpect. There is a Haven in Soutbampton Tribe or Diftrict, which is alfo called Southampton, and other Harbours, as the Great Sound, Harrington's Inlet in Hamilton's Tribe, Paget's Port in Paget's Tribe, and others. There are no Parifh Churches in any of the leffer Inlands, and all the Inhabitants are ranged under one or the other of the eight Tribes. The Number of People in the whole, who inhabit thefe Iflands, has been computed to be nine thoufand, and it is thought they do not much increafe, many of the younger Sort removing, for the Sake of making their Fortunes, into other Colonies.

The Government is like that of Virginia; the Crown appointing both a Governor and Council, but the People, by their Reprefentatives, compofe the Affembly; they have fewer By-Laws than any of our other Settlements, which we impute to the Smallnefs of their Trade ; for this Colony produces no confiderable Commodity by which the Inhabitants may be enriched; and their Commerce confifts chiefly in Timber and Provifions, which they fend to the other Parts of America that ftand in need of them, and fome Tobacco imported to England ; feveral Families retired thither formerly, on account of their Religion, or Health, from. England, and carried confiderable Effects with them. The building of Ships and Sloops is the moft advantageous Branch of their Trade; and the People of Bermudas feem to content themfelves with the Pleafure and Plenty of their Country, with a fafe and quiet Retreat from the. Troubles and Cares of the other Part of the World, without any Ambition to enrich themfelves; and, if they had any fuch Defire, it is to be queftioned whether they have any Opportunity of gratifying it: Be that as it will, the Inhabitants have conftantly maintained a moft excellent Reputation; infomuch that I knew a very ingenious Gentleman as well acquainted with this, and our other Plantations, as thirty Years trading to them all could render him, who was wont to fay that Bermudas was the fineft Country, and inhabited by the beft People he ever knew.

It was this Report of the Place and People that induced the Reverend Dean Berkley, who is fince become, very worthily, a Bifhop of our Church, to think of erecting an Academy there, for promoting ufeful Learning and true Religion in the Weft Indies; and the Society for Propagation of the Gofpel had fo good an Opinion of the

Propofal

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Propofal made them by the Bifhop of erecting a College or Seminary at Bermudas, that they affifted him in procuring a Patent for it from King George I. and contributed to the Expence of the Undertaking. And the Doctor, with three Fellows of Trinity College in Dublin, viz. The Reverend Mr. William Thbomp fon, Fonatban Rogers, and Fames King, Mafters of Art, with feveral of the Doctor's Relations, who were People of Fortune, embarked for Bermudas, in order to lay the Foundation of the intended College; but they were unfortunately driven, by a Storm, to Long Ifland, in the Province of New York; from whence the Doctor, with his Companions, vifited Bofon, and feveral other great Towns in New England, where they preached, and performed other Parts of their Function. But the Defign of erecting a College was laid afide, the Expence appearing larger than it had been firt calculated, and many of thofe who had promifed Subfriptions failing in their Performance; fo that Dr. Berkley found himfelf obliged to return home, and was not long after promoted to the See of Cloyne, in the Kingdom of Ireland, which he ftill enjoys.
There remains nothing farther to be faid of this Plantation, which, though it has flourifhed exceedingly, and is ftill in a very good Condition, yet has no great Trade with Great Brittain, at leaft that we can obtain any Account of, though undoubtedly we receive very confiderable Advantages from thence annually, as the People make ufe of a confiderable Quantity of our Goods, are cloathed with our Manufactures, and employ Tools fent from thence in all kinds of Work. There might, perhaps, if due Encouragement was given, be a Poffibility of raifing feveral rich Commodities in this Country, but more particularly two, for which it feems fitter than any of our Plantations, viz. Cochineel and Silk ; and with this View, as I have been informed, a very worthy Merchant of this City has collected, digefted, and printed, the beft Accounts that are to be met with on thefe Heads, and alfo with refpect to Indigo, and has fent them to be diftributed at his own Expence in Carolina and the Bermudas Inands, which is an Inftance of public Spirit that deferves to be mentioned with Honour, and it is hoped may be likewife thought worthy of Imitation. A very few Attempts of this kind, fupported with Subfrriptions inferior to thofe made for fome Diverfions, might produce immenfe public Advantages to this Nation, and prove the Means of making multitudes of People happy.
12. All the Mifcarriages that had happened in attempting Difcoveries to the North-eaft and North-weft for a new Paffage to the Indies, could not fo far difcourage the Merchants of England, as to oblige them to lay afide their Defigns of that Sort; and therefore when any Opportunity offered they never failed to lay hold of it, in Hopes that fome Time or other they might accomplifh one or both of thefe great Projects. It was with this View that they fitted out Captain Henry Hudfon in $160 \%$, who undertook to fail directly North, which he did to the Height of 8 I Degrees 30 Minutes, on the Coaft of Groenland, where he was on the 16th of Fuly, the Weather being pretty warm. His Scheme, it feems, was to have paffed round that great Tract of Country, which the Danes call Groenland, and falling into Davis's Streights, have returned that way home. After being difappointed in this, he undertook two Voyages for the Difcovery of a North-eaft Paffage, in which his Conduct was very good, though his Succefs no better than that of thofe who went before him ; upon which he refolved to make an Attempt towards the North-weft. He failed on this Voyage April the 17th, 1610; and thus Mr. Pricket defribes the principal Events in that Undertaking :
"We continued fteering North-weft; on the 8th of " Fuly we raifed Land to the South-weft, covered with "S Snow, which our Mafter named Defire Provokes; ly" ing in the Latitude of 60 Degrees. Here we heard "the Noife of a great Overfall of a Tide that came out of " the Land, and were now fenfible that we had been " embayed before; and we were now fo well acquainted "" with the Ice, that in foggy or foul Weather we fought " out the broadeft Illand of Ice, and there anchoring,
"we went out and fported upon the Ice, and filled "Water that ftood in Ponds upon the Ice very fweet " and good, being now in the Tides-way, the Ice " opened, by being firft carried one way and then ano"ther, whereas in Bays it is immoveable; and in that "Bay where we had been fo troubled with Ice, we faw " many of thofe Mountains of Ice a-ground in fixty or "feventy Fathom Water. We fill plied to Weftward "، as the Ice would give us leave, and fearing a Storm, " we found an Harbour at the Weft-End of an Inland, "، whereunto we went at a full Sea, over a Rock, which " had then two Fathom and a half of Water upon it, "، and the next Morning was two Fathoms above Water.
" Our Mafter named it The Ifland of God's Mercies.
" The Water flows here better than four Fathoms, and " the Floods come from the North, flowing eight the "Change Day, Latitude $62^{\circ} 9^{\prime}$. Then plying to " South-weft we were on the 16 th in the Latitude of " $58^{\circ} 5^{\circ}$ ', but found ourfelves embayed and much pef"، tered with Ice; whereupon we ftood to the South-weft "، until we faw the Land, which our Mafter named
"Hold with Hope; and being gotten again into a clear
"Sea, our Mafter ftood to the Weft along the South
"Shore, and raifed three Capes or Head-Lands, lying
" one beyond another, which he named Cape Henry, "Cape Fames, and Queen Amne's Foreland; we alfo " raifed a high Hill, which he named Mount Cbarles. "We paffed on in Sight of the South Shore until we " raifed a fair Head-Land, (which our Mafter took to " be part of the main North Land, but is an Inland) "، and named it Deep's Cape, and the Land on the South "Side now falling away to the South makes another " Cape or Head-Land, which our Mafter called Wor"Senbam's Cape.
"The Mafter fent me, the Carpenter, and fome " others, afhore near Deep's Cape; we there faw fome " Deer, twelve or fixteen in a Herd, but could not "come within Shot of them; we found Plenty of "Sorrel and Scurvy-Grafs, and faw fome round " Hills of Stones like to Grafs-Cocks; and when we " came to them I turned off the uppermoft Stone, and "found them hollow within, and full of Fowls hanged " by their Necks; we turned back, and told the Mafter " what we had feen, and what Refrefhment might be " had ; intreating him to ftay a Day or two in this " Place, but he was not pleafed with the Motion, nor "could be perfuaded to ftay. Then ftanding Southward
" we loft Sight of the main Land that we had all this " while foliowed, and came into fhallow Water, broken " Ground, and Rocks, and paffed down fo far South" ward till we had Land on both Sides, and the Water "f fhoaling a-pace,we cameto an Anchor. From hence we " ftood back again towards the North; and one Day a " Debate ariiing concerning our coming into this Bay, " and how we fhould get out again, the Mafter took "Occafion to revive old Matters, and to difplace Ro" bert Ivet, his Mate, and Boatfwain, for Words fpoken " on the firt great Bay of Ice, and made Robert Bilet " his Mate, and William Wilfon our Boatfwain.
"We plied to and fro from the North to the South, ', and thence to the North again, till we came to the "Shole-Water, where we anchored in feven Fathom, " and there lay eight Days; in all which Time we could " not get one Hour to weigh our Anchor ; but the " eighth Day the Wind beginning to ceafe, our Mafter "would have the Anchors up again againft the Minds " of all that knew what belonged thereunto; fo to it " wewent, and when we had brought it a Peak, a Sea " took her, and caft us all off from the Capftern, and " hurt many of us; here we loft our Anchor, and " if the Carpenter had not been nimble we had loft our " Cable too; but he fearing fuch a Matter, was ready " with his Ax, and fo cut it from thence. We ftood to " the South, and divers Courfes, until we came to a Bay " on the North Shore, where we anchored. While we lay " here we faw a Ledge of Rocks to the Southward, " about a League long, which were covered at full Sea; " for a ftrong Tide fet in here. At Midnight we " weighed, and ftood to go out as we came in, and " had not gone long before the Carpenter told the
" Matter
${ }^{66}$ Marter that if he kept that Courfe we fhould be upon
"t the Rocks; the Mafter conceived that he was paft "them, when prefently we ran on them, and there " fluck faft twelve Hours, but by the Mercy of God " we got off unhurt. We ftood to the Eaft, and an-
"s chored in a Bay; here the Mafter fent me and the
" Carpenter, in a Boat, to feek a Place to winter in, " and it was time, the Days being long and cold, and
" the Earth being covered with Snow, having fpent "three Months, to no Purpofe, and it being now the " laft Day of October.
"On the firft of November we found a Place where" unto we brought our Ship, and haled her a-ground; " on the roth we were frozen in, and now it concerned "us to take care of what we had, and fo to fpend,
" that we might have wherewith to keep us alive, until
" we fhould come at the Capes where the Fowl breed ;
" for there were all the Hopes we had of finding Subfift-
" ence to bring us home. Our Mafter therefore ap-
" pointed a Reward to them that killed Boat-fifh, or
" Fowl. We were victualled for fix Months, in good
"Proportion, and of that which was good; and if our "Mafter would have had more he might have been
" fupplied at Home and in other Places; and it is
"6 ftrange he did not prevent the Hunger we endured,
" which occafioned the Overthrow of himfelf and many "s other honeft Men."
It appears very clearly from this Relation, which is indeed the only one we have of this famous Voyage ; concerning which it is not eafy to determine if it was moft for the Advantage of this Nation or ruinous to the brave Man who undertook it; that he was refolved to ftrike out fomething new, and not to wafte his time, in retraceing other Peoples Footteps; and therefore when he came to the Mouth of Lavis's Streigbts, he continued fteering directly Weft, and then as the Coaft directed him through thofe Streights, that fince bear his Name, till he doubled Cape Worfenbam, and then he failed down the Weft Coaft of Nerw Britain to the very Bottom of the Bay, where he made Choice of a Place to winter in, that was very near as far South as any Part of the Inand of Great Britain, and at the very Back of the French Settlements in Canada. Captain Hudfon was a very good Judge of the Importance and Confequences of his Difcovery, which induced him to winter there, in Hopes of performing fomething very confiderable the next Seafon, which very probably he would have done if his Men had not mutinied, and configned him over to the Savages to be murdered.

The Relation we have of his Voyage from Pricket, is chiefly calculated to give an Account of this Mutiny ; but as it is more to our Purpofe to come at as good an Account as we can of the Voyage itfelf we fhall endeavour to pick out of it what relates to that Matter, and then give a fhort Relation of that Accident which deftroyed Captain Hudfon, and all his Hopes. "It would be tedious, fays " he, to relate the Hardfhips we endured whillt we win-
" tered in this Place; the Cold was fo extreme that it
" lamed moft of our Company, but I muft not forget
"God's great Mercy to us in fending fuch Store of white
" Partriges, during the firft three Months, that we
" killed above one hundred Dozen, befides other Fowl
s\% of fundry forts.
" The Spring approaching the Partriges left us, and
"were fucceeded by other Fowl; as Swans, Geefe,
«Ducks, and Teal, but hard to come by ; they came
" from the South and flew to the North ; but if they be
"taken fhort by a northerly Wind, then they fall, and
"f flay till theWind ferves them, and then fly to the North-
" ward. As the Summer came on the Fowls were gone,
" and few or none to be feen. Then we fearched the
"Woods, Hills, and Vallies, for any thing that might
"f ferve for Food, though never fo vile ; the Frogs (in
"s the time of their engendering, as loathfome as Toads)
" were not fpared, nor the Mofs that grew on the
" Ground ; but amongft divers forts of Vegetables,
"Thomas Woodboufe brought home a Bud of a Tree full
" of a Turpentine Subitance; of this our Surgeon made a
" Decoction to drink, and applied the Buds hot to fuch
"as were troubled with Aches in any Part of their Bodies; and I muft confefs I received thereby prefent Eafe of my Pain. As foon as the Ice began to break out of "the Bays, a Savage came to our Ship, being the firft "s we had feen in all this time; our Mafter entertained " him well, promifing to himfelf great Matters by his " Means, and therefore would have to his own Ufe all " the Knives and Hatchets that every Man had, but re"ceived none except from fobn King the Carpenter, and " myfelf. To this Savage our Mafter gave a Knife, a
"Looking-glafs," and Buttons; who received them "thankfully, and made Signs that after he had flept he "would come again; as he did. When he came again,
" he drew after hin a Sledge, and upon it two Deer"Skins and two Beaver-Skins ; he laid the Knife upon "one of the Beaver-Skins, and his Glafs and Buttons " upon the other, and fo gave them to the Mafter, who "received them; and the Savage took thofe Things the
"Mafter had given him, and put them into his Scrip;
" then the Mafter fhewed him an Hatchet, for which he
"w would have given the Mafter one of his Deer Skins ;
" but the Mafter would have them both, and fo he had;
" but not willingly.
" After many Signs of People to the South and to "the North, and that, after fo many Sleeps, he would "come again, he went his way ; but never came more. "The Sound being now clear of Ice, fo that our Boat "could go from one Place"to another, Wilfon, Green, and " five more, were ordered to go a fifhing with our Net. "They caught the firft Day, five hundred Fifhes as big " as large Herrings, which put us all in good Hopes to " have our Wants fupplied; but thofe were the moft that " ever they caught in one Day, and many Days they " got not a Quarter fo many. In this Time of their "f filhing, Green, Wilfon, and fome others, plotted to take "the Net, and the Shallop which the Carpenter had " newly fet up, and fo to flift for themfelves; but the "Shallop being ready, our Mafter would go in it himfelf "to the South and South-weft, to fee if he could meet " with People ; for that Way we could fee the Woods " burning : So taking with him as much Provifion as " would ferve for eight or nine Days, he went towards the "South, and fet no Time for his Return; becaufe he "" was perfuaded, if he could meet with People, he fhould " have Flefh of them, and that good Store; but he re" turned worfe than he went forth; for although he was " fo near them as to fee them fet the Woods on fire, yet "could he not by any Means come to the Speech of " them.
"Being come on board, he fitted all Things for his "Return ; and firtt delivered all the Bread out of the
" Bread-room, which came to a Pound apiece for every "Man's Share ; and delivered alfo a Bill of Return, " willing them to have that to fhew, if it fhould pleafe " God they fhould come home, and wept when he gave "it to them : But to help us to fome Relief in this poor "Eftate, our Boat went to work on Friday Morning, "and ftaid till Sunday Noon, and brought fourfcore " fmall Fifhes; a poor Relief for fo many hungry Bellies. "Then we weighed, and ftood out of our Wintering" place, and anchored without at the Mouth of the Bay; " where, our Bread being gone, what Store of Cheefe we " had was to ftop a Gap, whereof there were five, at "which time the Company grudged, becaufe by their "Reckoning there fhould have been nine, but thofe that " were left were equally divided by the Mafter, although " he was advifed to the contrary, becaufe there were "fome who could not govern themfelves."
It was this Refolution of the Mafter's, to make all fare alike for the fake of profecuting the Voyage with effect, than which no Man was more like to do it than himfelf, that drew upon him his Deftruction; for his old Mate, one Green, and fome other People in the Ship, refolving to leffen the Number of Hands, and fo get all the Provifions that were left to themfelves, moft barbarounly contrived to turn Captain Hudfon, the Carpenter, and all the fick Men, out of the Ship; after which they determined to make the beft of their Way for England. This they per-

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formed the 19 th of fune, 16 II , by forcing Capt. Hud fon-and eight more into the Shallop without Provifions, tho moft of them were taken fick out of Bed, who after that time were never heard of, but were either drowned, farved, or murdered by the Savages: Neither did the Leaders of this Mutiny efcape much better; for being obliged to land frequently on the defart Coaft, in order to obtain fome Subfirtance, they fell there into a Fray with the Savages, in which Green and fome others were killed; fo that very few, and thofe too in a miferable Condition, returned to England, where Pricket wrote that Account of the Voyage for his own Juftification, from which we have made thefe Extracts.

At firf there fell great Imputations upon this Man, becaufe he adminiftred the Oath to the Confpirators ; but upon an Enquiry it appeared very clearly, that this Oath contained nothing in it contrary to the Duty of the Seamen; and that the true Reafon why they preferved him was, becaufe that being Servant to Sir Dudley Diggs, who was a Man of great Power and Reputation, they were in hopes he would interpofe, and fave their Lives, which they ought to have forfeited as Pirates. Upon this imperfect Account of Hudfon's Bay, feveral Perfons who had been engaged already.in Expeditions for the Difcovery of a North-weft Paffage, began to hope that now they had a fairer Profpect than ever of bringing this Project to bear, in cafe they could find any able Mariner who would undertake to profecute the Difcoveries made by Hudjon.

His Royal Highnefs Henry, Prince of Wales, was the great Patron of Learning and Virtue at that time; and being applied to by the Perfons concerned in this Project, he refolved to fend one Capt. Button, his own Servant, a Man of great Abilities, Courage, and Expeperience, and having the Countenance of fo great a Perfon, was möft likely to maintain Difcipline amongft his Seamen. Accordingly, in the Year 16 r , he failed on this Expedition, in which he paffed Hudfon's Streights, and leaving Hudfon's Bay to the South failed above two hundred Leagucs to the North-weft, through a Sea above eighty Fathom deep, and difcovered a great Continent called by him NeewWales; where, after much Mifery and Sicknefs, wintering at Port Nelfon, he carefully fearched all the Bay, from him called Button's Bay, back again, almoft to Diggs's Iland. He difcovered the great Inand called Cary's Swans-neft. He loft many of his Men during his Stay in the River called Port Nelfon, in fiftyfeven Degrees ten Minutes North Latitude, though he kept three Fires in his Ship all Winter, and had greatStore of white Partriges, and other Fowl, befides Deer, Bears, and Foxes. Upon his Return from this Voyage he received the Honour of Knighthood, and great Expectations were raifed from his Difcoveries, which had certainly been profecuted with Effect, if Prince Henry had not died foon after.

It was a great Pity that Sir $\mathcal{T}$ bomas Button, who was certainly a very undertanding Man, formed private Views of his own from the Knowledge he obtained in his Voyage; which were of fuch a Nature, that he affirmed he had convinced his Mafter, King fomes, that there was a Paffage this Way into the Soutb Seas. The Reafons upon which this Opinion was founded, as well as Notes of his Voyage, he promifed to give to Mr. Eriggs, the famous Mathematician, who had turned his Thoughts much upon this Subject, but never did; which was the Reafon that all the Expeditions undertaken on that Side afterwards faited; but, however, we have fufficient Grounds to affirm, from the Knowledge derived to us from another Quarter, that the Difcoveries of Sir Thomas Button, if profecuted, might have proved highly advantageous to this Nation, notwithftanding the feerning Rigour of the Climate, and Barrennefs of the Country.

The French were in pofleffion of Fort Bourbon, which we call New York Fort, upon St. Therefa, the Eaftern Branch of Nelfon River, from the Year 1697 to 1714 . Monfieur Yeremie, who was Lieutenant there from 1697 to 1708, and afterwards Governor till he gave it up, in ryifis to us, gives a very particular Account of that River and the adjoining Countries, great Part of which
he affirms to be of his own Knowledge, having travelled a great way South-weft into the Country, among the Rivers and Lakes. The Danijb, or Cburchill's River, upon which the Hufdon's Bay Company have lately built a ftrong Stone Fort, he fays is fituated in 59 Degrees North Latitude, and is about five hundred Paces wide at the Entrance for about a quarter of a League, and very deep; but within, it is much broader, and navigable into the Country a hundred and fifty Leagues; there is but little Wood upon the River near the Bay, except in the Iflands. At a hundred and fifty Leagues Diftance is a Chain of high Mountains, with great Cataracts, and Falls of Water ; but beyond thefe it is again navigable, and has a Communication with a River, called the River of Stags. Fifteen Leagues Northward of this River is the River of Loup Marine, or River of Seals. Betwixt there Rivers is found a kind of Ox , called the $\mathrm{Mu} / \mathrm{Ox}$, which finells, at fome time of the Year, fo ftrong of Murk that it cannot be eat ; they have very fine Wool, which is longer than that of the Barbary Sheep: They are fmaller than French Oxen, with very crooked Horns which turn round like Rams-Horns, and are fo long that they weigh fometimes fixty Pounds; they have fhort Legs, and their Wool trails upon the Ground: They are not numerous.
This River comes from a Nation he calls Plat cotez de Cbiens, who makes War againft the Savanna Indians, who traded with the French. In that Country they have a large Copper Mine fo fine, that without Smelting it they make Copper of it, by beating it betwixt two Stones: He faw a great deal of it, which their Indians got when they went to War againft that Nation. This Nation has a fweet humane Afpect, but their Country is not good. They have no Beaver, but live by fifhing, and a kind of Deer they call Cariboux (Rain Deer) ; the Hares grow white in Winter, and recover their Colour in Spring; they have very large Ears, and are always black; their Skins in Winter are very pretty of fine long Hair, which does not fall, fo that they make very fine Muffs. He fays he can fay nothing pofitively in going farther Northward, but only, that their Savages reported that, in the Bottom of the Northern Bay there is a Streight, where they can eafily difcover Land on the other Side : They had never gone to the End of that Streight; they fay there is Ice there all the Year, which is drove by the Wind, fometimes one Way fometimes another. According to all Appearance, this Arm of the Sea has a Communication with theWeftern Ocean; and what makes it more probable is, that when the Winds come from the Northern Quarter, the Sea is difcharged by that Streight, in fuch Abundance, into Hudfon's Bay, as to raife the Water ten Feet above the ordinary Tides; infomuch that when they find the Waters rife, Ships take Shelter againft thefe Northerly Winds. The Savages fay, that after travelling fome Months to Weft-fouth-weft, they came to the Sea, upon which they faw great Veffels with Men, who had Beards and Caps, who gather Gold on the Shore that is at the Mouths of Rivers. In pafing to the Southward from the Danifs River, at fixty Leagues Diftance, is the River Bourbon or Nelfon, in Latitude 57 Degrees.
There is nothing remarkable in the Country betwixt thofe two Rivers, but a great Number of the Deer, called. Cariboux, which being drove from the Woods by a great Number of Murchetoes or Midges, come to the Shore to refrefh themfelves; they are in Herds of 10,000 together, and fpread through a Country forty or fifty Leagues in extent. They might have as many of their Skins as they pleafed, and fome have been dreffed, which have been very fine. They have there all Sorts of wild Fowl, as Swans, Buftards, Geefe, Cranes, Ducks, and thofe of the finaller Kind in fuch great Numbers that when they rife they darken the Sky, and make fo loud a Noife, that they can fcarce hear each other fpeak. He fays, that this may appear fabulous, but affirms, he fays nothing but what he faw himfelf, for he would not truft to the Report of others, but went himfelf to almoft every Place he mentions. The River St. Therefa, upon which they built Fort Bourbon, is a Branch of Nelfon River, by which the Natives come down to trade. This R 5 5

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River is of fo great Extent that it paffes through many great Lakes: The firft is I50 Leagues from the Entrance of the River, and is 100 Leagues in Circuit ; the Natives call it the Lake of Forts (or rather Forefts). On the North Side a River difcharges itfelf, called the Rapid River ; this takes its rife from a Lake 300 Leagues from the firft, which they call Micbinipi, or the Great Waters; becaufe, in effect, it is the greateft and deepeft Lake, being 600 Leagues in Circumference, and receives into it many Rivers, fome of which have a Communication with the Danifb River, and others with the Plafcotez de Cbiens, about this Lake and along thele Rivers are many Indians, who call themfelves the Nation of, the great Waters, or of Afribibowls; it is to be remarked, that thefe are as humane and affable, as the E $k k i-$ moux are fierce and barbarous, as are alfo all other Nations along Hudjon's Bay. At the Extremity of the Lake of Forefts the River Bourbon continues its Courfe, and comes from another I ake, called the function of the two Seas, becaufe the Land almoft meets in the Middle of the Lake; the Eaft-fide of this Lake is a Country full of thick Forefts, in which are great Numbers of Beaver and Elks. Here begins the Country of the Cbrifinaus.

This is in a much more temperate Climate. The Weft-fide is full of fine Meadows, filled with wild Oxen. The Adinibowls live here; the Lake is 400 Leagues in Circumference, and 200 from the other Lake. 100 Leagues farther Weft-fouth-weft along this River is another Lake, which they call Ounipigoucbib, or the Litthe Sea; it is almoft the fame Country and Climate with the other, inhabited by the fame Indians, the AJribibowls, the Cbrifinaux, and Souteurs; it is 300 Leagues in Circumference; at the further End is a River, which comes from Tacamiouen, which is not fo great as the other ; it is into this Lake that the River of Stags is difcharged, which is of fuch a Length that the Natives have not yet difcovered its Source; from this River they can go to another, which runs Weftward, but all the reft run either into the Bay or River of Canada. He endeavoured to fend the Natives to difcover if it went to the Weftward Sea, but their. Enemies lying in the way prevented them; however, they brought fome of them Prifoners, who faid they alfo were at War with another Nation farther Weft ; thefe faid they had Neighbours with Beards, who lived in Stone Houfes and Forts, that they were not cloathed like them; that they had white Kettles; and fhewing them a Silver Cup, they faid it was of that Metal; they faid they tilled their Land with Tools of that Metal. According to their Defcription it was Maize they cultivated.

The Intendant of Canada was very defirous to difcover thefe Countries from thence; but it is much eafier from Fort Bourbon, as it is fhorter; and though a fine Country full of Beafts and wild Fowl, befides Fruit, which grow wild, as Plumbs, Apples, and Grapes, and great Variety of fmaller Fruit. On the South-weft Side of this Lake Tacamiouen is a River which comes from another, called the Lake of Dogis, which is not far from the fuperior Lake. The River St. Tberefa is but half a League wide where the Fort is built; two Leagues higher is Fort Pbilipeaux, built for a Retreat; there the River begins to be interfperfed with Iflands; twenty Leeagues above the Fort the River divides into two Branches, one which comes from the North-weft Side communicates with Nelfon or Bourbon River, by which the Natives come down to trade, by the Means of a Land Carriage from the Lake of Forefts to this River. Twenty Leagues above the firft Fork there is another that comes from the South-eaft, which the Natives call Guicomatouang, or the Great Fork. This has a Communication with the River St. Huiles; the Weftern Branch, though ftill called St. Thberefa, is but of a fmall Extent, coming from its Source by feveral fmall Brooks, in each of which are great Numbers of Lynx, Beavers, Martins, and others of fmaller Furs. Betwixt the two Forts is a fmall River, called Egaree, from whence they get their Wood for firing, it being fcarce at the Fort. Near the Mouth of the River is another fmall one they call Gargoufle; there comes in at high Water a great Num-
ber of Porpoiffes. The River being narrow here, there might be a good Fifhing, where they might make above fix hundred Barrels of Oil annually.

From this River of St. Huiles, or New Severn, is 100 Leagues South-eaft. It is fituated in Latitude 56 De grees; the Entrance is but fhallow, only capable of Vef fels of 60 Tuns: Here might be made good Houles; for Wood is very plenty here; and there are great Numbers of Beavers higher up the River. As to the Climate of Fort Bourbon, it being in Latitude 57 De grees, is very cold in Winter, which begins about Michaelmas, and ends in May. The Sun fets about three, and rifes about nine in the Winter. When the Days grow a little longer, and the Cold is more temperate, the Sportfmen kill as many Partriges and Hares as they pleafe. One Year, when they had eighty Men in Garrifon, they had the Curiofity to reckon the Number, which amounted to ninety thoufand Partriges, and twentyfive thoufand Hares. At the End of April the Geefe, Buftards, and Ducks, return in fuch Numbers, that they kill as many as they pleafe; they alfo take great Numbers of Cariboux, or Rain-Deer; in March and April, they come from the North to the South; and extend then along the River 60 Leagues: They go again Northward in Fuly and Auguf; the Roads they make in the Snow are as well padded, and crofs each other as often as the Streets at Paris. The Natives make Hedges with the Branches of Trees, and leave Openings, in which they fix Snares, and thus take Numbers of them: When they fwim the Rivers, in returning Northwards, the Natives kill them in Canoes with 1 ances, as many as they pleafe. In Summer they have the Pleafure of fifhing, and with Nets take Pike, Trout, and Carp, and a white Fifh fomething like a Herring, by much the beft Fifh in the World: They preferve thofe for their Winter Provifron, by putting them in Snow, or freezing them, as alfo the Flefh they would preferve. They keep thus alfo Geefe, Ducks, and Buftards, which they roaft with the Hares and Partriges they kill in Winter. So that though it be a cold Climate, there is good living there, by getting Bread and Wine from Europe.

Though the Summer be fhort they had a Garden, and good Coleworts, with Sallads and fmall Herbs, which they put in their Soups in Winter. He had 120,000 Livres Profit out of 8000 fent him in Goods in one Seafon; they have alfo Bears, Elks, and all Sorts of Beafts, whofe Skins and Furs are valued in France; and, according to him, it is one of the moft profitable Pofts in North America, confidering the Expence. Thus far this Frencb Writer, from whom we have borrowed a very clear and copious Account of the Advantages that might have accrued to us, if our original Difcovery of Hudfon's Bay had been properly confidered.

But there were, and will be always, a Race of People decrying thofe Projects they want Courage to attempt; and who, by ridiculing the Pains taken to vifit frozen Climates and barren Countries, hinder thofe Improvements which might otherwife follow from fuch kind of Expeditions. But they ought to confider before they run down fuch Attempts, that we have Numbers of poor People here who want Employment, and for whom Employments ought to be found; that if this be not done, they will either ftarve to our Shame, or ftrike out Ways of living at our Expence; whereas, if they were thus employed, they would both maintain themfelves and benefit the Public: Befides, there is this Advantage that attends Northern Expeditions and Difcoveries, that they breed a Race of hardy and ufeful Seamen, who are nearer at hand, and confequently more capable of ferving their Country upon any Emergency than fuch as are employed in other Branches of Navigation. As to the fuppofed Difficulties that are to be in this way encountered, it is a Shame to hear them mentioned amongft People who pretend to maritime Power.

If Men are afraid of Ice, Cold, and Rocks, they muft relinquifh all Thoughts of being great at Sea, and leave it to thofe who can, not only endure, but even defpife, fuch Hardfhips; the Dutch, the Danes, and the Hamburgbers, fail every Year on the Whale Fifhery, near

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20 Degrees farther North than the Bottom of Hudfon's Bay; and the French from Canada, travel through, and live in thefe very Countries of which we are fpeaking, with as much Eafe as the Savages themfelves; and, indeed, why fhould they not, or why fhould we imagine that one Man, or one Race of Men, can do more than another? Our Anceftors were of this Opinion, or at leaft they thought that if fuch a Race of Men there were, they might be found in this Inand: And here, if properly encouraged and due Regard fhewn to their Virtue, they will be always found, for it is not the People but their Governors that alter, and therefore we have a Right to blame thofe who took fo little Notice of what Sir Thomas Button performed, and fo little attended to what might be made of thefe Countries, as we certainly ought to commend fuch as contrived or promoted the Law lately paffed for encouraging private Perfons to attempt once more the Difcovery of a North-weft Paffage, by fecuring to them a Reward from the Public, which, without doubt, they will juftly deferve.
13. The next thing that occurs in order of Time, is the afferting our Right to that Part of the Continent of America which lies North from New England, and which is now called Nova Scotia, but was then looked - upon as Part of Nortb Virginia, and as fuch within the Charter of the Weftern Company, who gave ftrict Orders to thofe in their Service to prevent foreign Nations fettling in their Limits; by which means this Country of Acadia, or Nova Scotia, which is of fo great Confequence in itfelf, and for the Security of our other Plantations on the Main, was preferved. The Bounds of this Province are the Ocean to the North, Cape Breton Jfarid, and the Bay of St. Laurence to the Eaft, Canada to the Weft, and Nere-England to the South; it lies from 43 to 5 I Degrees North Latitude, and from the River St. Croix the neareft to New Hampßire, to the great River of St. Laurence, has almoft fix hundred Miles of Coaft, but moft of it uninhabited and defert, the Indians themfelves making little or no Ufe of it.

Sir Samuel Argall, then Governor of Virginia, made a Sort of cruizing Voyage round the Coaft Northwards, as far as Cape Cod in Nere England, in the Year 16 18, five or fix Years before the Englif, who intended to fettle, arrived in that Country. The Indians informed him that fome white Men, like himfelf, were come to inhabit to the Northward of them. Sir Samuel Argall, who took all that Country, as far as it had been difcovered by Cabot, to belong to the Virginia Company his Employers, failed thither, found a Settlement and a Ship riding before it, which belonged to fome Frenchmen; Argall drew fo clofe to it, that, with his fmall Arms, he beat all the Men from the Deck, fo that they could not ufe their Guns, their Ship having but one Deck; among others there were two Fefuits aboard, one of which endeavoured to fire off one of their Cannon, and was fhot. Argall having taken the Ship, landed his Men, marched to, and fummoned, the Fort to furrender: The French afked Time to confider of it, which was denied, upon which they got privately away and fled into the Woods. The Englifb entered it, and lodged there that Night, and the next Day the French came and yielded to Sir Samuel, cancelling the Patents that had been granted them for their Settlement by the French King. Sir Samuel permitted fuch of the French as were fo difpofed to take Paffage for Europe in the fifhing Ships, and took the reft with him to Virginia, according to their Choice.

The French had another Settlement at a Place they called Port Royat, on a Bay on the South-weft Coaft of Acadia, which the two Jefuits had left out of Pique to their Governor M. Biencourt ; and with thefe Frenchmen feparated from the others. Father Biard, the furviving Jefuit, out of Malice to Biencourt, informed Sir Samuel of the Settlement at Port Royal, and the Eafe with which he might reduce it, which he found to be true; and, on the Surrender of the French, he did no Damage to their Houfes, their Barns, and Mills, but obliged them to quit the Country ; they had fowed and reaped, and thofe of them that did not care to return home, re-
moved to the River of St. Laurence, where now is the Capital of Canada or Nerw France.

When Sir Ferdinand Gorges was Prefident of the Newe England Company, he propofed to Sir William Alexander to procure a particular Grant for the Land to the Northward of their Patent, which was eafily obtained of King Fames I. and a Year after, 1622 , Sir William, and fome others whom he had got to be concerned with him; fent a Ship with Paffengers to plant and fettle there. Nerefoundland was then very weil known on account of the Fifhery, and the Ship being late in her Voyage the Mafter put in and wintered there. The next Year they fet fail, and made the Promontory at the North Shore of Cape Breton Ifland: They coafted it along till they came to Cape Sable in Acadia, where they found three good Harbours, and went afhore at one of them, which they called Luke's Bay; in which was a large River chat had eight Fathom Water at ebb. This Ship failed up one of thefe, and, according to the Accounts that were publifhed by thofe that were to be Sharers in the Patent, this Country is defcribed as a kind of Paradife: With a View, no doubt, to have engaged People to go over thither to fettle, to which End Sir William Alexander the original Proprietor, afterwards created Earl of Sterling, wrote and publifhed a Book, and his Sovereign King James erected a new Order, called the Knights of Nova Scotia, to facilitate this Plantation.

But, notwithftanding all the Care that was taken of it, this Project proved abortive, and, which is very extraordinary, modern Authors have taught us to condemn and cenfure fuch as forefaw the Confequence and Importance of this Country to the Britifh Nation, when unfettled and unimproved, and to treat as weak and pufillanimous the Conduct of thofe Times, when in full Peace the French were, by Force of Arms, compelled to quit a Country, which, though fettled by them, was difcovered by us; and from thefe Fugitives it was that the more Northern Settlement of the French took Birth. The Expedition of Sir Samuel Argall was certainly both a vigorous and a right Meafure; and the Grant to Sir William Alexander was a very fenfible thing, though the Defign of it is now not well underftood, or rather forgot; and therefore, though it may take up fome Room, I fhall endeavour to revive and to explain it. It was fuggefted to King Fames that the Tract of Country on the Continent of North America, belonging to his Crown, being very large and not likely to be planted in any reafonable Space of Time by the Englifh, it would be a very wife and prudent Meafure to grant under the Great Seal of Scotlonds a Part of it to his Subjects of that Kingdom, upon a Suppofition that it would be more beneficial for them, and more for the Intereft of the united Kingdoms if they went over and fettled there, than if, as to that Time they had frequently done, they tranfported themfelves to Poland, Sweden, and Ruffra, in which Countries there were at that Time many thoufand Scotch Families,

Such was the original Scheme of fettling and planting Nova Scotia; and if the Courtiers of thofe Times made a Jobb of this, and thereby defeated the Scheme; however this may reflect on their Memories, it ought to draw no fort of Odium on the Project itfelf, which was very well and wifely laid, if it had been as honeftly and wifely executed. There was afterwards another Grant made of the Northern Part of this Country, to $\operatorname{Sir}$ David Kirk, from whom the French King bought it, or at leaft contracted to give him $5000 \%$. for it; a very plain Proof that even the French acknowledged the Right by which he held it; and a French Nobleman likewife bought, many Years after that, Sir William Alexander's Property; It may be enquired why the Crown of England did not interpofe and prevent thefe Sales, as might, no doubt, have been done; and the plain Anfwer to this is, that the Frencb Proteftants being principally concerned in thefe Settlements, the Crown had a Tendernefs for them.

But Oliver Cromwell fent Major Sedgreick to dinlodge the French from Port Royal, which he did, and though the Protector afterwards confented that a French Proprietor fhould enjoy the Country, yet it was upon Con-
dition that he fhould make out this Right by Purchafe from the Earl of Sterling' which he ofterwards did, and then fold it to Sir Tbomas Temple, who was both Proprietor and Governor at the Reftoration: After which the French fettled there again, and remained there in quiet Poffeffion till the Year 1590 , when they were difpoffeffed by Sir William Phips, then Governor of New England; but it was afterwards given up again to the French, by King Willian's Treaty of Ryfwick. It is not, however, to be underfood that either King Cbarles II. or King William III. by their refpective Treaties with France, gave up the Claim of this Nation to that Country, nor did the French fo underftand it, but only permitted that Poffeffion, becaufe, as the Circumftances of things then ftood, they were unwilling to conteft it. In all thefe Changes, however, the Mand of Cape Breton followed the Fate of Nova Scotia, and both continued in the Hands of the French till the Year 1710, when Governor Nicbolfon made himfelf Mafter of Port Royal, which was become a Place of very great Importance in many Refpects, more efpecially in this, that it gave the French an Opportunity of difturbing and diffreffing our Trade to fuch a Degree, that it was very properly filed the Durkirk of America.

We need not wonder, therefore, that the taking this Place was looked upon as a very remarkable Service, or that the Queen fhould beftow her Name upon it to fhew that fhe never meant to part with it. Upon the fame Principle, Colonel Nicholfon, upon his Return to England, had a Commiffion granted him to be Governor of Nova Scotie, and of Annapolis Royal, and Commander of all her Majety's Forces there and in Newfoundland. While things were in this Situation, a Negociation for Peace was fet on foot, which afterwards produced one that has fince made a great deal of Noife, more efpecially with regard to the Stipulations therein, in reference to this Province; and therefore it is requifite for us to fee what relates to Nova Scotia in the Utrecht Treaty, the Words of which, in the twelfth Article, are, "All Nova "Scotia, or Acadia, with all ancient Boundaries, as alfo " the City of Port Royal, now called Annapolis, and all " other things in thefe Parts which depend on Lands " and Inands, together with the Dominion, Property, " Poffeffion of the faid Inands, Lands, and all Rights " whatfoever, by Treaties or by any other way obtained, " $\xi^{\circ} c$." To which the French King added the Exclufion of the Subjegs of France from fifing on the Coaft of Nova Scotia, and within thirty Leagues, beginning from Cope Sable, and ftretching along to the South-weft; there is no doube but this Article, as it is worded, contains the Refitution of Cape Breton, which ought to have gone along with Nova Scotia, as it had hitherto done; neither is this a bare Conjecture, or my particular Notion, but the general Sentiment of fuch as were beft acquainted with this Affair, and with the Negociation that concerned it ; which induced the Queen, in her Inftructions to the late Duke of Sbrecufoury, when he went Embaffador to France, to declare that fhe looked upon Cape Breton to belong to her, and reckoned that Inand a Part of the ancient Territory of Nova Scotia. But notwithitanding this Article in 'the Queen's Inftructions, the French were fuffered to keep Cape Breton, but, moft undoubtedly, this gave them no Right to it.
I am very far from thinking that in this Cafe, I mean in the Cafe of Plantations, Poffefion is the only, or even the beft Right, becaure fuch a DoEtrine might confer Right upon Pirates. The ben Claim of Civilized Nations, with refpect to new Countries, was always allowed to be the firt Difcovery. This Right is that on which is founded our Title, and very jufly; for we have certainly difcovered all the Countries that border on Davis's Streigbts, Hudfori's Boy, and fo forwards to the Limits of Georgia; and this Right being in the Crown of England, and inherited with the Crown of Eugland, could never be granted away, yielded to a foreign Power, or otherwife tranfferred, without the Confent of Parliament; though the temporary Pofferfion might. For, in thofeTreaties by which Acudia was left to France, the Crown only ftipulated not to deprive the French of their Poffefion, during the

Continuance of the Peace, but the Right fill remained in us, and muft always remain in us.

We have before fhewn that the French acknowledged this, as appears by the King of France's purchafing under our Title; nor was it ever difputed till the Treaty of Utrecbt, that the Inand of Cape Breton belonged to Nova Scotia, nor could it be difputed, becaufe the very Charter which eftablinhed Nova Scotia as a diftinct Province, included the Inand of Cape Breton in, exprefs Words. We may add to this, that our Title to Labrador or New Britain is unqueftionable, of which Country Nova Scotia was a Part, till feparated by the Charter ; and our Claim to Necevoundland has been always maintained, as we fhewed in the former Section: So that on the whole it may be juftly affirmed, that our Right to the Inand of Cape Breton is as clear and as unqueltionable as that of any European Nation to any of its Settlements in America, or elfewhere. But if it fhould be demanded of what Ufe this Reafoning is, I anfwer, that having now recovered the Poffieflion of that Inand to which we had always a Right, and out of which we were cheated at the Treaty of Utrecbt, the Frencb have no Colour to demand the Reftitution of it; nor is the Cafe the fame now, that it was when King Cherles II. concluded his Treaty in 1666, when King William concluded the Treaty of Ryyrwick, in 1697, or when the Treaty of Utrecbt was made by Queen Anne, in 1712.
14. We gave a large Account, in the former Section, of the Attempt made by that great Man, and good Patriot, Sir Welter Raleigh, to eftablifh an Englijh Plantation in Guiana; and of his fending, after his Return to England, a Ship to profecute that Difcovery: Of which fecond Voyage we have likewife a long Account, publifhed by Captain Keymi/b: But this Defign met with continual Interruptions; or otherwife, Sir Walter himfelf tells us in his Apology, there had been, before the Death of Queen Elizabeth, a fufficient Number of Englifh fettled in that Part of the World, to have fecured the Poffeffion of it for ever to this Crown and Nation. The very next Year after Sir Walter's Return, he was employed in the Expedition to Cadiz: The two following Years, his Time was taken up in that which was called the Ifland Voyage. Then the great Rebellion broke out in Irclaid, which rendered Queen Elizabetb unwilling to encourage any private Expeditions that required a confiderable Force ; and this Rebellion lafted till the Queen's Death. Immediately after this, Sir Walter himfelf was imprifoned, and fo continued for many Years. Which very fairly accounts for this noble Defign remaining fo long unpurfued.
But Things delayed are not always loft; the Defire of fettling Guiana revived in a few Years after Peace was reftored; and, as I do not know it has ever yet been done, I fhall give a fuccinct Account of the feveral Attempts made to carry this Defign into Execution, to the Time they were wholly given over, and the fmall Intereft we had in that Part of the World furrendered up to the Dutch. In the Year 1604, Capt. Cbarles Leigh undertook a Voyage to Guiana, at his own, and his Brother Sir Olive Leigh's, Charge: He had a Bark of about fifty Tons, called the Olive-Plant; and his Company, about forty-fix Men and Boys. They failed from Woolzoich the 21 It of March, with a Defign to make a more complete Difcovery of the Country of Guicura than had been yet done, and to fix an Englifh Colony there. On the 22 d of May they came into the River of Wyapoco, in the Latitude of 8 Degrees 30 Minutes to the North of the Line, and the Town of Wyapoco, which lies on the Coaft of Guiana, was the Place in which they intended to take up their Abode. Here the Captain came to an Agreement with the Inhabitants, who received him very kindly ${ }_{z}$ that they fhould allow him a good Space of Ground and fome Houfes, for the prefent; in Confideration of which he was to affift them againft their inveterate Enemies the Caribbees, who greatly diftreffed them.

This Agreement was made by Nieans of two of the Natives of Guiana who had been in England, and could fpeak fome Englijh; and for the better Security of Performance on the Part of the Savages, they confented to give

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five of their Body, among whom were two Perfons of dined with them, would have the Englifh go with him to Note, as Pledges to be fent to England. Their firft Settlement was on part of the Mountain that lies on the Weftfide of the Entrance of the River, to which they gave the Name of Mount Howard. The Captain might have lived here a very quiet Life, and been very ufeful to his Country too, had he not had a mutinous and difcontented Company. Thenext Year after, he fent his Ship to England, in the Month of Fune, for frefh Supplies of fuch Things as he wanted, retaining thirty-five of his Men and Boys with him, to fettle his fmall Village, and thereby fet this Colony upon a better Footing than it had till then been. They had fome Trade with the Natives, as well round about their Settlement, as farther up the River ; and the chief Merchandizes they obtained were Wax, fine white Feathers, Tobacco, Parrots, Monkeys green and black, Cotton, Yarn and Wool, fweet Gums, red Pepper, Spleen and Miafate Stones; with feveral forts of Wood, Roots, and Berries, partly for Medicine, and partly for Dying ; but the Flux, and other Diftempers, carried off a good Number of the Company ; and the Captain, being feized with it himfelf juft as he was going on board for England, to fetch a complete Loading of fuch Things as were needful for his Colony, died of it. It was by this unhappy Stroke, the whole Undertaking was quafhed, and every one mifted for himfelf; fome returned to England in their own Veffel, others in a French Ship, and others in two Dutch Ships, very much to the Regret of the Indians, and to the no fmall Lofs of Sir Olive Leigh, and Detriment of the Engli/h Nation.

Sir Olive Leigh refolving to fupport his Brother in the Eftablifhment of his Colony at Guiana, before he had any Account of his Succefs, fitted out another Ship called the Olive Bloffom, under Capt. Catalin and Capt. St. Fobn, to carry him a frefl Supply of Men and Neceffaries. The Ship fet out from Woolwich for Wiapoco, the I 4 th of April, 1605 ; but, between contrary Winds and Currents, by the Unfkilfulnefs of the Mafter, Mr. Ricbard Cbambers, they were put fo far to the Leeward, that they defpaired of ever recovering their intended Port in any due time; and therefore they put in firt at Barbadoes, and afterwards at the Inand of St. Lucia, defigning from thence to return to England: However, examining their Stores of Provifions, and finding not near enough to ferve fo large a Company as they were, for fo long a Voyage, Capt. St. Fobn himfelf, with feveral of the Paffengers to the Number of fixty-feven, refolved rather to ftay, and take their Lot upon that Inand, than to run the Hazard of their being ftarved at Sea.

They foon made an Acquaintance with the Indians, who furnifhed them, in Exchange for Trifles, with Roots, Fruits, and fome Fowls ; and they every Night had an Opportunity, with very little Trouble, of taking delicate Tortoifes upon the Sands; fo that they were in no Want of Food. They lived five or fix Weeks in little Huts, or Houfes which they had built, without making any Excurfions into the Country ; but the Captain feeing one Day certain Plates of Metal upon the Arms of fome of the Indians, and being informed by one Brown a Refiner in their Company, that they were at leaft three Parts Gold; and enquiring of the Indians from whence they had it, they pointed to a very high Mountain, in the North-weft Part of the Inand. Upon this, the Captain himfelf, with feveral of the chief of his Men, went in queft of this golden Mountain, the reft being appointed to keep Guard at home, and affured they would return in a Week's time. When this Part of the Company was gone, the other expected the Indians would have brought them Provifion, as they ufed to do; but they heard nothing of them for three Days together. They had it feemed obferved when the Captain went, followed him, and moft barbarounly cut him off with his whole Company.

They were now intent upon making the fame Difpatch of their Companions, and to this End had got one $A u$ gramart, a defperate Savage, and Captain of the Inand of St. Vincent, to head them in this Enterprize. To cover their Defign, however, they carried it fair to them, and vifited them frequently; till one Day Augramart, having

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his Quarters; where he promifed to furnifh them with whatever Provifions they wanted. Mr. St. Jobn, with feventeen others, accepted of the Invitation; but inftead of carrying them to their Quarters, they led them into an Ambufh of five hundred Savages; where, being furrounded, and attacked on ever Side with Vollies of Arrows, after doing all that Men could do in their own Defence, they were over-powered, and all hain but one Fobn Nichols, who made his Efcape from this bloody Slaughter, and was forced to hide himfelf in a Wood, then fwimming a Lake, and fo with great Difficulty returned home, juft time enough to give his Companions the Alarm ; for it was not long before they appeared before their Houfes; yet letting fly their fmall Pieces of Ordnance they quickly marched off again. In two or three Days time they returned, to the Number of thirteen or fourteen hundred Men; who, after having attacked their little Fort and Houfes for feven Days together, with little Succefs, thought of throwing in Fire with their Arrows, which in a fhort time reduced the Habitations of the Engli/h, and all they had, to a Heap of A.hes. They continued, however, 'to defend themfelves in fo brave a manner, that the Indians, feeing they could not accomplifh their Defign againft this Handful of Men, refolved at laft to abandon the Enterprize.

After their Departure, fome of the neighbouring Savages were prevailed upon, for a Reward of Hatchets, Knives, and Beads, to furnifh them with an old pitiful Boat; this they fitted up as well as they could, and nineteen of them, the miferable Remains of fixty-eight, of which twelve were wounded, ventured out to Sea in her, without Chart or Compafs, and having only four or five Gallons of Water, with a few Plantains and Potatoes, about twenty Bifkets, and a little Rice; and, what was worfe than all the reft, not one Mariner among them. In this little Boat they were fo over-laden that her Gunnel lay almoft even with the Water: They lived at Sea ten Days, four of them being obliged by Turns to keep fcooping of the Water. "The tenth Day, when all Hopes began to fail them, they difcovered Land; but when they came upon it the Land proved to be an uninhabited Inand, which afforded no manner of Suftenance. In this miferable State they had no Remedy, but to repair their Boat again as well as they could, and to fend five of their Men to the Continent to feek Relief. After many Difficulties thefe Men came to an Indian Town on the Continent, called Tocoyo; from whence, after fifteen Days Abfence, they carried Succour to their miferable Companions. They were now reduced to thirteen, who got together to a Spani/h Town, called Coro, where they were treated with great Humanity; two more of them died; three of them went from thence to Cartbagena, and were followed thither by two more; where they procured a Paffage to Spain; but what became of the reft does not any where appear.

One would have imagined, that fuch a Series of Mif fortunes as had attended the Attempts made for eftablifh ing this Settlement, would have worn out all Defire of running further Hazards; but fuch was the Credit of Sir Walter Raleigh, fuch the fettled Opinion of the vaft Riches to be found in this Part of America, and fuch the Remains of that Spirit which prevailed through the whole Nation in the Time of Queen Elizabeth, that in the Year 1609, a new Attempt was made, at a much greater Expence than the former, with the Participation, at leatt, if not under the Influence of Sir Walier Raleigb. This Voyage was performed under the Direction and Command of Robert Harcourt of Stanton-Harcourt, in the County of Oxford, Efq; and the Veffels employed in it were, the Rofe, a Ship of eighty Tons; the Patience, a Ship of fix-and-thirty Tons; and the Lilly Shallop, of nine Tuns. They fet fail from Dartnoutb the 2gth of March, and arrived the $17^{\text {th }}$ of May in the Bay of Wyapoco. It was not long before feveral Canoes of Indians came to fee what they were; and finding they were Englijh, came on board them without any Fear or Ceremony: Such an advantageous Idea had Sir Walter Raleigh by his courteous Behaviour imprinted in them of the Engligh Nation.

Thefe People, who were very forward and ready to traffic with the Englifh, were of the Town called Caripo, on the Eaft Side of the Hill, at the Mouth of WyapocoRiver. Their King, or Chief, who had been many Years in England, was then with Mr. Harcourt, and another of his Countrymen came Paffenger with him, though he had not difcovered his Quality, till the Joy of his Subjects at the Sight of him made him known. Among the Irdians who came firft on board was one who fpoke the Englifh Tongue perfectly well, and was known to fome of the Ships Companies, having ferved Sir Fobn Gilbert in England many Years; and the Indian who accompanied the King or Chief, having been fourteen Years in England; thefe two were of fingular Service to the Adventurers.
The firft Ceremonies being paft, Mr. Harcourt acquainted them that the Occafion of his coming among them was to fettle a Colony there, and to take Poffeffion of the Country for the King of England, by virtue of their Grant of it to Captain Leigh, and by fome of their Countrymen before to Sir Walter Raleigb; affuring them at the fame time, that his Majefty intended no unjuft Ufurpation over them, nor to treat them in any way like Slaves and Vaffals; but only to be their Friend and Protector, and to deliver them from the Infolencies and Oppreflions of the Caribbees. After fome Debate the Indians gave their Confent that they might live among them, and promifed to furnifh them with Houfes, and all other Neceffaries, as far as they were able; but could not forbear exprefling fome Diffidence in their performing their Promifes, fince Sir Walter Raleigh had been fo dilatory in his accomplifhing thofe he made them.

This being done they all went afhore, where they met with the beft Reception the Indians could give them; and were difperfed up and down the Town, on the Side of a Hill, while their Ships rode at Anchor at the Foot of it. The great Rains, which confined them near a Month, being over, the Captain fet himfelf to difcover the Golden Mountains, which had been the Spurs to this Undertaking; but their Guide, who had promifed fuch great Things, failed in the Performance of them, and either had wilfully deceived them, or had been deceived himfelf; for when he came to the Spot he had built his Hopes upon, nothing was to be found: And yet they were convinced the Country afforded Gold, as well by the Affurances given them by the Natives, who fhewed them certain Images, which upon an Effay appeared to contain at leaft one third Gold, as by ocular Demonftration of great Quantities of the white Spar in which the Gold is contained, and which they found to hold both Gold and Silver; but they had Reafon to believe the $e$ Mines were too far up in the higher Parts of Guiana, and perhaps too ftrongly guarded for them to hope they fhould be able to reach them. And, befides, they had then neither Time nor Power to fearch in the Manner requifite for finding thefe Mines.

This Difappointment had like to have excited a Mutiny, among thofe who came out with no other View than to tumble at once into Riches; but the Captain, with great Prudence and with no lefs Conduct, prevented its running fuch a length; and to keep them employed, not only went himfelf up the River of Wyapoco upon Difcovery, but fent his Brother with fome others on the fame Errand to the River Arrawary, and the Country bordering upon it, which adjoins to the River of Amazons. He went alfo and took Poffefion of the Mountain Gomoribo, which is the utmont Point of Land to the Northward in the WYapoco. This he did, according to Cuftom, by the Ceremony of Twig and Turf, in the Prefence both of his own People and the Indians. After Poffeffion taken, the Mountain was delivered over to an Indian, to hold and poffefs the fame for himfelf and his Heirs, of his Majefty Fames King of England, paying the yearly Duty of a tenth Part of the Tobacco, Cotton, Wood, Annotto, and all other Commodities growing within the Limits of the fame. The Attempt of the Captain's Brother, and Captain Harvey, in Difcovery of the River Arrawary, was attended with great Difficulties and Hazards; for the length they rum by Sea to this

River was neat one hundred Leagues, through terrible Breaks of Flats and Sholes. They went likewife fifty Leagues up the River, and all this only with flat-bottom'd Canoes, fomething longer than the common Thames Wherries, but not fo broad.

The Indions they met with in this River plainly difcovered they had never feen any Europeans before. It was long before they could be brought to any fort of Trade or Converfation with them, though they had other Indians in their Company: But at laft the Sight of their Toys wrought upon them, and induced them to exchange for Provifions; a Want of which however at laft obliged them to return to Wyapoco. They took Poferfion neverthelefs of the Country in Form, as Mr. Harcourt had done of Gomoribo. Not long after this, Mr. Harcourt was obliged to return for England, purely for fear of wanting Cafks to contain fufficient Beer and Water for the Voyage, the Mafter having neglected to have his Cafks Iron-bound before their Departure, which occafioned many of them to burft their Hoops in that hot Country.

Mr. Harcourt left his Brother to command in chief in his Ablence, to whom Captain Harvey was joined as Affiftant, and Mr . Gifford as his Lieutenant, and with them he left fifty or fixty of his Men. He departed the 1 8th of Auguft; and Mr. Harcourt, in his Way homewards, made feveral Difcoveries upon the Coaft, and in fome of the Rivers; returned to Ireland the 29 th of November; and came from thence to England. Being come to London, by the Favour of Prince Henry, he obtained a large Patent for all that Coaft, called Guiana, together with the famous River of Amazons, to him and his Heirs: But he was involved in fo many Troubles, that he was not able to fupply his Colony, and only fent over fome few People, with eighteen Duichmen, but to little Purpofe. Captain Harcourt, however, kept Poffeffion of that Part of the Country in which he was fettled for full three Years, in all which Time he loft but fix of his People.

The Reader will obferve, that we have now brought down the Hiftory of our Expeditions to Guiana from 1595 to 1612 , which is within five Years of Sir Walter Raleigb's laft Embarkation. It is however certain, that fome other Voyages had been made to this Country: For Sir Walter Raleigh, in his Apology, fays, that the Spaniards at St. Thomas's had, fome Years before his laft Attempt, murdered many Englifh, under pretence of trading with them, and fome of thofe who were thus murdered he mentions by Name. He had fuffered a very long Imprifonment in the Tower of London, when, by the Help of many Friends, and per haps by the laying out of a great deal of Money, he procured his Liberty, and therewith a Commiffion to execute his laft Expedition to Guiana. In order to this, he turned into Money the beft part of his own Fortune, which he employed in fitting out Ships for this Service. He engaged many of his beft Friends to do the fame; and embarked feveral of them, and his own eldeft Son, on board the Fleet; and all this from a Perfuafion that the Country he was going to was very rich in Gold, and if they could gain Poffefion of it, would make all their. Fortunes.

The famous Count Gondomar, who was then the Spanifb Embaffador here, and, as all the World knows, had a great Influence over King Fames, did all that lay in his Power to hinder this Expedition; and as he did not fucceed therein, it very plainly proves that King James did not credit what he fuggefted to the-Prejudice of Sir Walier Raleigh. And indced what he gave out upon this Subject, of Sir Walter's having no Intention to make either Difcovery or Settlement, but merely to engage in a piratical Attempt upon the Spanifh Colonies in America, was abfurd and ridiculous, fince no Man had ever a meaner Opinion of fuch Exploits, or had fo fully expofed the Folly of hoping for great Riches from the Plunder of Spanifh Towns, than Sir Walter had done. But in all Probability the Spanif Miniter had not fo much in view the making thefe Suggeftions of his pafs for Truth, as obtaining, by this Means, under Co-

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lour of refuting this Charge, a diftinct Account of Si Walter's true Defign, and of the Force with which he was to undertake it; in which he had but too great Succefs; for Sir Walter giving the King a fhort but true Scheme of what he intended, that very Paper was deHivered to the Spanifin Embaffador, and found its Way to Guinaa long before Sir Walter Raleigh.

The Commiffion granted to this excellent Man was very full, and free from Limitations, which has been generally underftood to be defigned to his Prejudice. But I muft confefs I fee no Reafon for that Opinion. On the contrary, I am perfuaded that Sir Walter himfelf was well fatisfied with his Commiffion; and that in reEpect to the Law of the Land, and the Law of Nations, it fully juftified the Defign he went upon, and all that followed in the Execution of it. Certain it is that the Contents of his Commiffion were no Secrets, fince, by publifhing them, he brought Numbers at home and abroad to fubfcribe large Sums towards the Support of his Undertaking; which he could never have done, if the Form or Words of that Commiffion had been liable to Exception. It was feven Months after his Commiffion was granted before his Fleet was in Condition to put to Sea.

As to the Strength of this Fleet, it is clear from a Survey taken by the Order of the Earl of Nottingbam, then Lord High-Admiral, that it confifted of feven Sail, of feveral Sizes. It appears that the firft of them, or Admiral, a fine Ship built by Raleigh himfelf, was named the Definy, of four hundred and forty 'Tons, and thirty-fix Pieces or more of Ordnance, Sir Walter Raleigh General, and his Son Walter Captain, befides two hundred Men, whereof fourfcore were Gentlemen Volunteers and Adventurers, moit of them Sir Walter's Relations; which Number was afterwards encreafed. Second, the Fafon of Londom, two hundred and forty Tons, and twenty-five Pieces of Ordnance, Captain Fobn Pennington Vice-Admiral, eighty Men, one Gentleman, and no more. Third, the Encounter, one hundred and fixty Tons, feventeen Pieces of Ordnance, Edward Hoftings Captain (no Men more except the Mafter mencioned); but he dying in the Indies, was fucceeded in the Command by Captain Whitney. Fourth, the Tbunder, one hundred and fifty Tons, twenty Pieces of Ordnance, Sir Warban Sentlegor Captain, fix Gentlemen, fixty Soldiers, ten Landmen. Fifth, the Flying-foan, one hundred and twenty Tons, fourteen Pieces of Ordnance, Jobn Cbidley Captain, twenty-five Men. Sixth, the Soutbampton, eighty Tons, and fix Pieces of Ordnance, Fobn Bayley Captain, twenty-five Mariners, two Gentlemen. Seventh, the Page, a Pinnace, twenty-five Tons, three Rabnets of Brals, Fames Barker Captain, and eight Sailors. But before Raleigh left the Coaft of England, he was joined by as many Ships more; fo that this whole Fleet confifted of thirteen Sail, befides his own Ship.

But for this remaining Part of his Fleet he waited long, and it had been better if he had left them behind, for they proved a Burden to him, and fome of them deferted the Expedition. It was the beginning of July before he left the Coaft of Eizgland, and meeting with a Storm, was obliged to put into Cork, from whence he failed on the rgth of Auguft following. He proceeded from thence to the Canaries, where, though infulted by the Spaniards, he committed no Hoftilities; but, on the contrary, behaved fo well that he obtained a Certificate thereof from the Governour. After this his Ships grew very fickly; and before he arrived at Trinidada, he had loft many of his Men, and was himfelf dangerounly ill. In this weak and low Condition they arrived at the North Cape of Wyapoco on the Inth of November.

The firft thing he did after his Arrival was, to endeavour to find out Leonard the Indian, who had been in England three or four Years with him, but was removed fo far up into the Country there was no procuring him; therefore he ftood away for Caliana on the Coaft of Guiana, at the firf Difcovery called Port-Howard, where the Cazique was alfo his Servant, and had lived with him in the Tower of London two Years. There he arrived in
a Day or two, having paffed the mand noted for $1 t$ Multitude of Birds and Silk-bearing Trees; and from thence fent for his Servant, Harry the Indian; who with other Caziques came and brought him great fore of Caf-favi-Bread, and roafted Millets, with Plantains, Pines, and Piftachio's. But Raleigb ventured not to eat of the Pines, which tempted him exceedingly, till after a Day or two's airing on the Shore, in a Tent which was there pitched for him. Then he alfo eat fome Armadillo and a little Pork, and begun to gather Strength. Here he alfo landed his fick Men, and recovered many; and here he buried Captain Edward Hafings, (the Lord Huntington's Brother) who died ten Days, or more, before; and with him his Serjeant-Major Hart, and Captain Henry Snedale, the Charge of whofe Ship Raleigb gave to his Servant Captain Robert Smith of Cornwall. Here he alfo fet up his Barges and Shaliops, which they brought from England in Quarters, cleanfed his Ship, trimmed up his Cafks and fupplied them with Water; fixed up a Forge, and made fuch Iron Works as they wanted. Thus on that Shore and this River they employed and refrefhed themfelves for about three Weeks, during which time Raleigh was very much careffed by the Indions, of his old Acquaintance aforefaid, and other Natives of this Place, who furnifhed him daily with the beft Provifions that the Country yielded, and offered him all kind of Obedience, even to the making him their Sovereign Prince and Ruler, if he would abide and fettle among them ; fo frefh continued his Memory, and fuch Impreffions of Homage and Refpect had his former Behaviour ftill left upon them ; which offer, he mentions, with the greateft Modefty and Indifference, in the Difpatch he fent foon after this to England.

On the 4th of December they left this River, and on the $5^{\text {th }}$ came to the Triangle Inands, where Raleigb's Ship ran on Shore ; and was, with Difficulty, got off. Here they held a Council to confider what they fhould do next, and as Sir Walter was extremely ill, and it was found impoffible to carry the larger Ships any higher, it was refolved that the five fmaller Veffels, with as many Companies of Foot, of fifty Men each, fhould enter the River. According to this Determination the Fleet was divided ; that is to fay, Captain Wbitney, in the Encounter; Woolafon, in the Confidence; Kings in the Supply; Smith, in a Prick, and Hall in a Caravel. The Companies had for their Leaders Captain Cbarles Parker and Captain Nortb (Brothers to the Lord Mounteagle and the Lord Nortb) young Raleigh, Captain Thornburfs of Kent, Captain Pennington's Lieutenant, who feems to be another Hall, and Captain Cbidley's Lieutenant Prideaux. Sir Warbam St. Legar, Raleigb's Lieutenant, who had the Charge of thefe Companies, fell fick at Caliana, fo it was conferred on George Raleigh, Sir Walter's Nephew, who had ferved with great Commendation in the Lore Countries ; and Captain Keymißh had the chief Charge for their landing within the River : But Keymifh having laid down the Plan of his intended Attempt upon the Mine; and undertaking to difcover it with fix or eight Perfons in Sir '7obn Ferne's Shallop; Raleigb, upon Confideration, dinliked that Method of Proceedure, determined to alter it, and therefore gave him his Inftructions to go to the Mine, bring him a Sample, and avoid fighting the Spaniards if pontible.

With thefe Infructions thofe five Ships fet forward, parting from Raleigh and the reft of the Fluet at the Inands aforefaid, with a Month's Provifion, on the Ioth of December. But when they found a new Spani/b Town, called St. Tbomas, confifting of about one hundred and forty Houfes, though nightly built, with a Chapel, a Convent of Francifcans, and a Garrifon, erected on the main Channel of Oronoco, about twenty Miles diftant from the Place; where Antonio Berreo, the Governor, taken by Raleigh in his firft Difcovery and Conqueft here, endeavoured to plant; Keymifb and the reft, thought themfelves obliged, through fear of leaving the Enemy between them and the Boats, to deviate from their Inftructions, which enjoined them firft to take a frnall Party to make trial of the Mine, under a Shelter of their own Camp; and then to deal with the Town as it fhould give caufe; fo they concluded to land in one Body, and
encamp
encamp between the Mine and the Town, whereby they themfelves were nothing ftronger, their Boats were as much expofed, and the Mine left untried, contrary to Raleigh's Order.

For about three Weeks after their Departure, landing by Night, nearer the Town, it feems, than they fufpected, and meaning to reft themfelves by the River-fide till the Morning, they were, in the Night time, fet upon by the Spanifb Troops, apprized of their coming. This Charge was fo unexpected, and ftruck the common Soldiers with fuch Amazement, that had not the Captains and fome other valiant Gentlemen made a head, and animat-ed the reft, they had all been cut to pieces: But the reft, by their Example, foon rallying, made fuch a vigorous Defence againft the Spaniards, that they drove them to a Retreat; till, in the Warmth of their Purfuit, the Engli/b found themfelves at the Spanifh Town before they knew where they were. Here the Battle was renewed, being affaulted by the Governor himfelf, Don Diego Palameca, and four or five Captains at the Head of their Companies; againt whomi Captain Walter Raleigh, a brave and fprightly young Man, now twenty-three Years of Age, not waiting for the Murketeers, rufhed foremoft at the Head of a Company of Pikes, and, having killed one of the Spanifb Captains, was mortally wounded by another; but preffing fill on with his Sword upon Erinetta, probably the Captain who had fhot him, this Sponiard, with the butt End of his Munket, felled him down to the Ground; and after thefe Words, Lord bave mercy upon me, and profper your Enterprize, young Raleigh fpoke no more: Hereupon Fobn Plefington, his Serjeant, thruft the Spanifh Captain through with his Halbert. Two Commanders more of the Spaniards were flain, one by Fobn of Morocco, another of young Raleigh's Company, and laftly the Governor himfelf alfo loft his Life in the Engagement ; which happened, as Cambden informs us, upon the 2 d of 7 fanuary.

The Leaders being all thus difpatched, and many of their Soldiers, the reft difperfed; fome took Shelter about the Market Place, from whence they killed and wounded the Englifh at Pleafure, fo as they faw no Way left to be fafe but by burning the Town down about their Ears, and driving them into the Woods and Mountains, whence they ftill kept the Engli/h waking in perpetual Alarms; others were more careful to defend their Paffages to their Mines, of which they had three or four not far diftant, than they had been to defend the Town. Captain Keymifh found the Paffages, leading to the Mine he had in his Eye, very difficult, and the Rivers fo low, that he could not approach the Banks, in moft Places near the Mine, by a Mile; and where he found an Afcent, a Volley of Mufkets came from the Woods, and at one time flew two of the Rowers, hurt fix others, and wounded Captain T'bornburf in the Head. Keymifb feeing fo much hazard in attempting to find the Mine, the Paffage to it being full of thick and unpaffable Woods; and thinking the Engli/h, who were left at St. Thomas's, would not be able to defend it, efpecially if the Enemy thould be recruited, the Country being all in alarm, he gave over the Enterprize and returned. Befides the Difficulty of finding the Mine, he pretended, that if he had found it, he had not a Man to work it; and, being a great Way up in the Land, Men would have been got thither with great Danger and Difficulty: But this fhould have been thought of before; and it was ill advifed to take fo much Pains, and run fo much Hazard, to get and poffers that, which when they had it they could not make Ufe of; fo that which Keymifh pleaded, when he returned, for an Excufe, reflected upon him as a great Mifcarriage.

Sir Walter very much blamed him for it, and, among other things, told him if he had but brought one hundred Weight of the Ore, though with the Lofs of one hundred Men, it would have given the King Satisfaction, and preferved his Reputation; and befides, would have given the Nation Encouragement to have returned the next Year with a greater Force, and have held the Country for his Majefty, to whom it belonged. As foon as they returned to St. Thomas's, the Englifb pillaged the

Town, carried away the beft and moft portable things: and the Enemy not daring to appear for the Redemption of it, they fet it on fire, leaving behind them an infinite Mass of Treafure, which, either for want of Knowledge or Power, they could not attain. Sir Walter, upon the News of his Son's Death, and Keymi/b's Return, finding himfelf difappointed thereby of his Hopes, was perplexed to the very Soul, and threatened Keymifs with the King's Indignation, telling him he had undone him, and wounded his Credit with his Majefty paft Recovery, This had fuch an Effect upon him, that it threw him into Defpair, and a few Days after he made away with himfelf. Some fay he retired immediately into his Cabin and fhot himfelf, with a Piftol, into the-Body; but that being two flow for his Fury, defperately thruft a large Knife into the fame Wound up to the Haft.

Thefe Accounts may be faid both to be true, for, after Sir Walter's firft Reproof, he went away difcontented, and continued fo feveral Days. He came then a fecond Time with his Excufes, and fhewed him a Letter which he had written to the Earl of Arundel, in his own Juftification, praying Sir Walter to allow of his Reafons, which he refufing, and telling him he would not favour or colour his Folly; upon that he retired into his Cabin, and immediately committed the Fact. The Defign being thus defeated, the Ships leaky, Victuals failing, and, above all, having miffed thofe golden Showers they gaped after, fome of the Men began to mutiny againft their General, while others were for him; fome would have him go home, others ftay; the major Part forced him not to go home, but with their Confent, and yet his Ships flipped away one after another, till from ten they were reduced to four, and thofe on board would do juft what they lift: Some would go to Italy, fome for France, and fome few for England. When they arrived at Kinfale in Ireland, Sir Walter, it is pretended, would have perfuaded them to go with him to France; but inftead of liftening to this Propofal, they carried him, againft his Will, to Plymouth, where he was arrefted by Sir Lewis Stukeley his Kinfman, by the King's Order, and conveyed to the Tower of London.

All the World knows what followed afterwards, when, under Colour of his former Judgment, Sir Walter was put to Death on the 29th of OEtober, I6I8; an Action' fo black and bafe, fo mean, fo unworthy of a Government, and fo utterly inexcufable, that one really wants Words to exprefs the Foulnefs of the Action; but with regard to the Caufe of his Death, or rather with refpect to the Manner of it, I differ fomewhat in my Judgment from moft of thofe who have written about it; and therefore I fhall take the I iberty of explaining myfelf upon it, in as few Words as I can. It is very certain that King Fames was very well fatisfied that the firf Judgment againft Sir Walter Raleigh, at Winchefter, was very ill founded; and of this Raleigh himfelf was fo fenfible, that he neglected obtaining a Pardon before he left England, which he might have obtained for 700 l . When he came back it was refolved to facrifice him to the Spani/b Match, to the Fears of King Fames, and the Jealoufies of his Minifters; and in order to this, without doubt, it was intended a new Profecution fhouild commence; and in that Cafe there is the greateft Reafon in the World to believe no Jury would have found him guilty; but Sir Walter Raleigh, from an Eagernefs to defend himfelf, wrote an Apology, in which he moft clearly proved that Guiana belonged to the Crown of England; that his going thither was no Breach of Treaty ; that the Spaniards in America always behaved towards the Englifh as Enemies, and confequently ought not to be confidered as Allies; that his whole Defign was betrayed to them from the Beginning, which occafioned their fending Forces into thofe Parts, and all the Blood-fhed that afterwards happened; that even in refpect to this the Spaniards were Agreffors; and that, throughout the whole Expedition, he had done nothing but what he was warranted to do by his Commiffion. This it was that drove the Miniftry from their firft Purpofe, and forced them upon that Meafure, which they afterwards took, of calling him down to his former Judgment, contrary to

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Law, Reafon, Juftice, and the King's own Senfe of the Thing, as he afterwards teftified under his Hand.
But, however, though by this barbarous Meafure our great Difcoverer loft his Head, yet the Title of the Crown of England, to his Difcovery, remained abfolutely unimpeached, as appears clearly by King Faines's granting a new Commiffion to Captain Roger North, for fettling in Guiana a Year after Raleigb's Death; which, however, he afterwards recalled by a Proclamation, and fent the Lord North, who was at the Expence of that Expedition, to the Fleet, for making too much Difpatch in it. Such a Fluctuation of Councils there muft always be, where a foreign Intereft is regarded, as the Cafe was then, when the Politics of Britain were dictated by Spain. Yet even this did not put an End to all Thoughts of maintaining the Rights of the Crown of England to this valuable Country, where the People itill remembered, and enquired after, Sir Walter, when he had been many Years in his Grave.

The Accounts we have, however, of thefe Expeditions are fo imperfect, that we can fay very little with Certainty till after the Reftoration; when the Lord Willougbby, who was Governor of Barbadoes, obtained a Grant from King Cbarles II. of this Country, and actually made a confiderable Settlement on the River of Surinam, where they might have continued much longer than they did, if it had not been for their own Indifcretion. For when the firft Dutch War broke out, in which the French took Part with the Republic againft us, both thefe Nations would have confented to a Neutrality in thofe Parts; but our People were bent upon a War, which turned to their Ruin. For the Coaft of Guiana, from Cape Orange to near the River Oronoco, was, about the Year 1666 , poffeffed by three European Nations: The Dutch were about the River Aproague; the French had the Inland of Cayenne, and the Rivers of Ovia, Corrou, and-Sinamary; this laft is about twenty-five Leagues North-weft from Cayenne, and fifty-three Eaft from Surinam; and the Englijf had a fmall Colony and Redoubt on the River Maromiy; their chief Settlement being then at Surinam River, which is fo good and deep, that Ships of three hundred Tons run twenty Leagues up it. The Zealanders were poffeffed of the River Berbicbo, and had repulfed the Englifh, who attacked them there, with confiderable Lofs.

The fame Year, 1666 , the States of Zealand being provoked at the Englifh having invaded and taken from them all the Lands they had been poffeffed of in America, except the River Berbiche, fent thither Commodore Creiffen, with four Men of War, and three hundred Men to attack Surinam. He failed from Zealand at the latter End of Fanuary; arrived at Cayenne in March; went thence for Surinam; failed up the River under Englifb Colours, and came to the Fort of Paramorbo, three Leagues up the River, without being taken for an Enemy ; but being difcovered there for want of Signals, the Fort began to fire on his Ships, which he anfwered with Broadfides from all the Veffels, and immediately landed his Forces. The Englifh, who had lived long in profound Security, found themfelves too weak, and the Fort in no pofture of Defence on the Land-fide, and their Habitations being difperfed along the River for thirty Leagues up, the Fort could not be fuccoured but by Water, where the Zealanders were Mafters: Upon which Confideration they furrendered it, capitulating for the Inhabitants of the River of Surinam, and thofe of Kamomioque; ftipulating that all thofe who fhould take the Oath of Fidelity, to the States of Zealand, fhould enjoy their Eftates peaceably; the HIabitations of fuch as abfented themfelves, and thofe belonging to the Lord Willougbby, fhould be forfeited to the faid States; all Foreigners who had no Eftates there, fhould remain Prifoners of War; and all the Englifh to be obliged to deliver up their Arms. When the Capitulation was executed, Creiffen put aboard a Fly-boat he had taken in the River, the moft valuable Part of the Booty he found in the Places that were confifcated, and the Prifoners aboard a Man of War ; and after caufing the Fort to be repaired, and put into a pofture of. Defence, and leaving it in the
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Hands of Sieur de Rome with one hundred and fifty Meris he failed for the Inands.

Afterwards, when the Peace was made at Breda, it was agreed, That the Dutch fhould keep Surinam, and that in return we fhould keep New York, which was then called the New Netherlands. Thus we have traced this Point fairly, from beginning to ending; from the firft Settlement, nay from the very firf Thoughts of a Settlement, to the giving. up of all the Settlements we then had, and which might be ftyled the Legacy of Raleigh to this Nation, into the Hands of the Dutch. It may not be amifs, however, before I quit the Subject, to obferve that the Dutch have fucceeded very happily in a Plantation that was not very beneficial to us; and that if ever we flould be inclined to try our Fortunes again upon this Coaft ; for without queftion our Ceffion of Surinans does not preclude us from vifiting the reft of Guiana; if this, I fay, fhould ever be attempted, it muft be either by the South Sea Company, or under their Licence, fince all this great Country, as well as many other valuable Places, lye within their Charter, which covers them from all the reft of this Nation, and leaves them open. only to all the World befides.
15. We are now to pafs to the Mother-Colony of that which we mentioned laft, the famous Ifland of Barbadoes, which may be juftly efteemed the faireft, beft peopled, and beft cultivated Spot of Ground, not in America only, but in the whole known World: When, or by whom, it was firf difcovered is a Point, not eafily fettled, and, in my Judgment, cannot be determined at all, farther than by Conjecture. The Portugueze were certainly the firft Difcoverers of Brazil, and it is not very probable that they fhould make many Voyages thither, or at leaft fhould eftablifh a regular Commerce with that Country, without falling in with this Inland, which lies fo much in the Way. It is the more probable that they were the firft Difcoverers, from the Name by which this Country has been always known; Barbadoes having apparently a Portugueze Termination, but what it fignifies is very doubtful. Some fay the Inand was fo called from its barbarous Inhabitants; to prove which they fhould have fhewn us that it was inhabited at all, which in thofe Times undoubtedly it was not; but however, it is not impoffible that the Thing might be fo, fince the Caribbees certainly vifited that Inand from St. Vincent, which is within fight, and the Portugueze might poffibly land when they were upon it, and fright them off this Inand, whence they might from thefe People give it the Name of Barbadoes, which it has ftill retained, and is fo called, without any Variation at leaft that I know of, in all the Languages of Europe,

The firft Englifhmen that landed here, it is faid, were fome of Sir William Curteen's Seamen, that were cruizing in thefe Seas in the latter End of the Reign of King Fames I. who reporting, at their Return to England, that the Soil was fruitful, fome Adventurers went thither with Intent to plant it; but finding the Inland covered with Wood, and fcarce any other Animals upon it than Hogs, it did not anfwer their Expectations a great while. The Property of this Inand was afterwards granted by King Cbarles I. to Fames Earl of Carlife, in the firt Year of his Reign; of whom, feveral Adventurers purchafing Shares, tranfported themfelves thither, and firf fell to planting Tobacco; which not thriving here as they expected, they proceeded to try Cotton and Indico, which yielded them a confiderable Profit; but they made little Sugartill I647; when Colonel Modiford, Col. Drax, Col. Walrond, and feveral other Cavaliers, finding there was no living with any Satisfaction in England under the Ufurper, converted their Eftates into Money, and tranfported themfelves to Barbadoes, with fuch Machines and Implements as were proper to carry on Sugar-Works there. Colonel Drax, it is faid, in a few Years acquired an Eftate of feven or eight thoufand Pounds per Anmum, and married the Earl of Carlifle's Daughter, then Proprietor of the Inand ; and the Adventurers fixing their principal Settlement on the greatBay in the South-weft Part of the Illand, gave it the Name of Carlife Bay, in honour of their Proprietor, which it ftill retains.

The Ifland was afterwards divided into four Circuits, and eleven Parifhes, each Parifh being allowed to fend two Reprefentatives to the General Affembly, and every Parifh had its Church and an Incumbent, with a handfome Maintenance affigned him. In the Year 1650 the White Inhabitants of the Inand are faid to have increafed to between thirty and forty thoufand, befides Negroes, who were much more numerous, and frequently plotted the Deftruction of their Mafters; but their Plots were conftantly difcovered, and the moft terrible Punifhments inflicted on the Ring-leaders ; which did but increafe the Difaffection of the reft, and laid the Foundation of frefh Confpiracies. But notwithftanding the repeated Plots of their Slaves, never any Plantation of fo fmall an Extent, arrived to that Riches and Grandeur as Barbadoes did, in the Space of twenty or thirty Years. The Rump apprehended this Inand of fuch Confequence, during their Ufurpation, that they fent a ftrong Squadron of Men of War thither, Anno 165I, under the Command of Sir George Afcue, who compelled the Lord Willougbby, (appointed Governor by King Charles II.) to furrender the Inand upon Condition the Royalifts fhould remain in the Poffeffion of their Eftates and Liberties, and Mr. Searl was appointed Governor by them.

The Dutch War fucceeding foon after, the Colony was prohibited trading with the Hollanders, with whom they had principally trafficked hitherto; for the Dutch it feems conftantly furnifhed the Inand with Negroes till this time, and taught the Barbadians to plant, and manage their Sugars to the beft Advantage, taking moft of it off of their Hands, with which they fupplied themfelves, and the reft of Europe ; but after the Ufurper's Quarrel with the Dutch, the Barbadians were compelled, by an Ordinance of Parliament, to bring all their Sugars directly to England, which was imitated by the Miniftry after the Reftoration of King Cbarles II. and was the Foundation of the Act of Navigation, which requires all the Britifb Colonies to bring their Sugars and Tobacco directly to England, and forbids their trading with Foreigners in thefe, and fome other, ftiled enumerated Articles.
16. In the Year 166i King Cbarles II. purchafed the Property of this Inand of the Lord Kinowl, Heir to the Earl of Carlifle, and appointed the Lord Willougbby of Parbam Governor; ever fince which, Barbadoes has been a regular Government; and the Colony granted a Duty of four and a half per Cent. for the Support of the Civil Government of that Inand, and maintaining the Forces and Fortifications thereof; which Duty (according to my Information) amounts to ten thoufand Pounds a Year: But inftead of being applied to the Purpofes for which it was given, it is difpofed of in Penfions to Courtiers, to the irreparable Damage of that Colony; no other Inand having laid fo high a Duty on their Sugars. In the Year $166_{4}$ de Ruyter, the Dutch Admiral, with a great Fleet of Men of War, treacherounly attempted to furprife the Illand of Barbadoes, tho' England was then in full Peace with Holland; but he was bravely beat off by the Barbadians, and obliged to abandon that Enterprize.

In the Year 1674 Sir Fonatban Atkins, being made Governor, had Orders to feize all the Ships trading in Africa for Negroes, that Trade being granted to the Royal African Company about that Time, exclufive of all others. And feveral Ships belonging to the Merchants of Barbadoes, bringing over Negroes afterward, were condemned and forfeited, being denominated Interlopers; which that Colony complained of as a great Grievance, the African Company fetting what Price they pleafed upon their Negroes; but this was not redreffed till after the Revolution, when that Trade was laid open to all the Subjects of England, paying ten per Cent. towards the Charge of their Forts. The Barbadians alfo fuffered great Lofles by a terrible Hurricane which happened there on the Ioth of Auguf 1674, when three hundred Houfes were blown down, two hundred Perfons killed, moft of their Sugar-works and Plantations fpoiled ; and all their Wind-mills for grinding of Canes were blown down, except thofe that were built of Stone; eight Ships alfo fuffered fhipwreck in the Harbour: infomuch that the

Barbadians were difabled from making much Sugar the two fucceeding Years. Another Calamity with which the Barbadians were afflicted, was an epidemical Diftemper, that feveral Years raged in the Inand, differing very little from the Plague. This began about the Year 1691, and occafioned a great Decreafe amongft the white Inhabitants which they have not recovered from that Day to this. It feems the Miniftry of England, fending a Squadron of Men of War to Barbadoes, with a Body of Land Forces on board, to protect the Trade of the Caribbee Iflands, which had fuffered very much by the Depredations of the French Privateers; the Barbadians, on their Arrival, concerted an Enterprize with the Commanders againft the French Inlands of Guadalupe, Martinico, St. Cbriftophers, \&xc. and joining the King's Forces with fome of their own, formed a Body of four or five thoufand Men; with which they made a Defcent on Guadalupe and St. Cbrifophers, and ruined many French Settlements, but did not make a Conqueft of them, as was expected; and what was ftill more unfortunate, the Diftemper above-mentioned broke out in the Army, which the Soldiers brought back to Barbadoes, and almoft depopulated that Ifland of white Men. The King's Ships alfo loft fo many of their Men, that there were not Hands enough to carry them home.

If we fhould purfue this Hiftory lower, it would nor contribute very much to the Information, Entertainment, or Satisfaction of the Reader, becaufe it would involve us in long and perplexed Relations of the Difputes between the Inhabitants of this Colony and their Governors, A'ppeals from both Parties to the Government at home, and other fuch-like tedious and difagreeable Subjects. We will therefore content ourfelves with obferving, that till fome very different Method is taken from that which has been hitherto in ufe for appointing Governors in this and other Colonies, fo that Men are not fent over with a View to repair their own Fortunes, inftead of enquiring into, and redreffing, thofe Grievances that affect the Properties of the Perfons they are fent to govern, we can never hope to fee the Plantations flourifh, or this Country reap thofe Advantages from them which otherwife fhe might. What is the Nature of thofe Advantages, and what their Degree in refpect to this noble Inland, juftly efteemed the moft valuable Plantation, for its Size, that ever this Nation poffeffed, fhall be our next Bufinefs to explain, by entering into a particular Defcription of this Inland and its Product.
17. The Inand of Barbadoes is fituated in the Atlantic Ocean, in 13 Degrees North Latitude, and 59 Degrees of weftern Longitude, being of a triangular Form; about twenty-five Miles in length from South to North, and fifteen in Breadth from Eaft to Weft, where broadeft : It is a plain level Country for the moft Part, with fome fmall Hills of an eafy Afcent, and fcarce any Wood upon it at prefent ; it was covered with Woods, indeed, when the Englifb firft fent Colonies there, but they are all cut down to make room for Plantations of Sugar Canes, which take up almoft the whole Inand at prefent, nothing elfe being cultivated in any great Quantities. Their very Corn, Flefh, and Fifh, being imported, for the molt Part, from the northern Colonies: There is fcarce an Harbour in the Inland, the beft is that of Bridge-Iown in Carlifle-Bay, on the South-weft Part of the Inland, and this lies open to the Weftward; however it is fecure from the North-eaft, which is the conftant Trade Wind here, and blows from Morning to Evening, except their Tornades and Hurricanes, which happen ufually about Midfummer, and in July and Auguft, and blow from every Quarter. The Ships in the Bay, at fuch times, are in the utmoft Danger of being wrecked on Shore, if they cannot get out to Sea, and therefore feldom attempt to ride out thofe Storms.

The Coaft is defended on the Eaft by Rocks and Sholes, from the Invafion of an Enemy; and on the Weft, where it is molt expofed to a Defcent, Breaft-works and Redoubts are erected for its Security, but the Repair of them is too much neglected. There is fcarce a Stream in the Inand that deferves the Name of a River: however,

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we find two on the Eaft-fide, to which they have given the Names of Scotland River, and Fofeph's River: They have good Water in their Wells almoft all over the Inand, and do not dig very deep for it: They have alfo large Ponds and Refervoirs, where they preferve Rainwater. They have generally fine ferene Weather ; their Rains fall as in other Parts of the Torrid Zone, chielly when the Sun is vertical; and after the Rains are the proper Seafons for planting; their Heats are not fo exceffive as in the fame Latitude on the Continent, being conftantly refrefhed by the Sea Breezes in the Day-time, which increafes as the Sun advances, and abates as the Sun declines. And they have this further Satisfaction, that their Days feldom exceed twelve Hours; but there being no Mountains on the Illand, there are no Landwinds in the Night as in Famaica.

The only Town of any Confequence in the Inland, is that of Bridge-Town or St. Michael's, fituate in CarlifleBay: It was formerly encompaffed with a Morafs which rendered it unhealthy, but this has been drained in a great Meafure ; however, the low Situation makes the Town ftill fubject to Inundations: It is faid to contain a thoufand or twelve hundred Houfes tolerably well built of brick or Stone. They have commodious Wharfs and Keys for loading and unloading of Goods, and three Forts or Caftles of Defence, which, if kept in repair, would render them no eafy Conqueft. The chief Produce and Manufacture of the Ifland, as has been intimated already, is Sugar ; of the Moloffes, or Drofs, whereof they make great Quantities of Rum. They have alfo fome Cotton, Indico, Ginger, and Pimento, and formerly Tobacco was planted here in good Quantities, but very little at prefent, Foreft Trees they have fcarce any left. Their Fruits are Oranges, Limes, Citrons, Pomegranates, Pine-apples, Guavas, Plantains, CocoaNutts, Indian-Figs, Prickle-Pears, Melons, and almoft all manner of Roots and Garden-ftuff, but very few Flowers.

Their Horfes they import from Nere England, \&xc. and have a llight Breed of their own. They have alfo fome Affes, Cows, and Sheep, but the laft do not thrive here. They have a good Number of Hogs, the Flefh whereof is the beft Meat that is eaten in thofe hot Climates. Here are alfo good Sea Fifh and Poultry, but no Frefh-water Fifh ; and, in general, all manner of Provifion is very dear. There is no dining at an Ordinary under a Crown a-head; frefh Meat is a Rarity, and chiefly the Food of People of Condition; the reft are glad of Salt-Beef, Pork, and Fifh, imported from the northern Colonies ; from whence alfo comes their Wheat, Flower, Indian-Corn, Peafe, Beans, Esc. They make Bread alfo of the Caffavi Root, and the Negroes feed on Yams, Potatoes, and other Roots and Fruits. The Liquor drank by the Gentry here, is chiefly Madeira Wine, or Wine and Water, and great Quantities of Punch are drank by the Vulgar. They have alfo ftrong Beer imported from Old and Nere-England, and Liquors made of their Maize and Fruits as in Famaica. The Government here alfo refembles that of famaica, and the reft of our American Illands, having the Governor and Council appointed by the Crown, which, with the Houfe of Reprefentatives, are vefted with a legiflative Power, and make Laws for the Government of the Ifland.

The Numbers of white People are faid to have been once forty thoufand and upwards, and are computed to be near thirty thoufand at prefent. The Negroes, Mulottoes, and Meftive Slaves, about an hundred thoufand. Their Militia confifts of fifteen hundred Horfe, and three thoufand Foot, or thereabouts.

After this general Reprefentation of the prefent State of the Inand, it is requifite that we fhould proceed to a more clofe Enquiry into the ftaple Commodity of this Illand. We are to obferve, that before the Year 1626 , the Portugueze fupplied all Europe with Sugar from their Colonies in Brazil, to their immenfe Profit: But the firft Settlers finding the Soil to be fertile, and the producing of Sugar advantageous, they encouraged more People to come over and plant the fame Commodity. This induced the Merchants, at home, to fend over Ships with

Provifions and other Neceffaries for thofe new Planters, which their Agents and Factors exchanged with them for the Produce of the Country, and from thence a reciprocal Trade and Correfpondence was eftablifhed between Great Britain and this Ifand.

The growing Succefs of this new Sugar Colony promoted the Settlement of the others; and as the Sugar Plantations encreafed, more Hands were required to carry on the Works, than could, at that Time, be fpared from home. This gave birth to the Guinea Trade, for fupplying thofe Colonies with Negroe Slaves; and as the Planters flourifhed and encreafed, fo did their Demands for all Sorts of Britibs Manufactures, and fuch Neceffaries of Life as they could not produce in thofe Climates; which opened another Scene of Trade to the Britifh Merchants, to furnifh thefe new Colonies with Wine from Madeira. Thefe Branches of Trade were of the utmoit Advantage to Great Britain, forafmuch as they took no Money out of the Kingdom, but yearly brought in large Sums for Britiß Manufactures carried out. The Trade to this Inand was commonly open and free; for we find, that before the civil War in England, the Dutch Ships came hither to purchafe Sugars, as well as the Englifb. This Freedom in Trade made the Coun* try flourin, and made Money plenty among the Inhabitants. But fince the Reftoration, feveral Acts of Parliament have been made to confine the Trade of the Sugar Colonies to Great Britain, and Britif Ships only; which Reftraints foon made London the chiefeft Mart in Europe for Sugar ; and as there was yearly more imported than was neceffary for Home Confumption, the Mierchants exported the Surplus to foreign Markets, and by underfelling the Portuqueze, they in Time beat them almoft out of all their Sugar Trade to the Northward of Cape Finitterre.

This Trade of re-exporting Sugars was carried on for many Years with great Succels. Mr. Joßbua Gee fays that by this Trade only fuch an Increafe of Treafure and Wealth was brought into this Kingdom, as yearly added three or four hundred thoufand Pounds to the Stock of the Nation, which in thirty Years Time amounted to upwards of ten Millions Sterling. And a late Author computes the clear Profits, accruing to Great Britain from the Sugar Trade, and thofe other Branches which chiefly depend upon thofe Inlands, to amount ta more than one Million a Year. He tells us farther, that it appears by the Cuftom-houfe in London, that the Value of the Exports from Great Britain to the Sugar Colonies, were a few Years ago upwards of five hundred thoufand Pounds Sterling every Year ; and their Importations from thofe Inands more than twelve hundred thoufand Pounds per Annum. In thefe Computations the Author has taken no Notice of the vaft Quantities of Briti/h Manufactures yearly exported to Guinea and Madeira: But if they were to be added to the Exportations of the Sugar Colonies, where the greateft Part of their Produce is taken off with an Advantage to the Britifb Merchant, it would greatly augment the Sum, and confequently enlarge the Profits. which our Mother Country receives from the Sugar Com lonies, and the feveral Branches of Trade depending on them. I fhall not take upon me to determine whether this, Gentleman's Calculations are exact or not; but it is evident beyond Difpute, that while the Sugar Trade flourifhed, both Planters and Merchants grew immenfely rich, and the Trade and Navigation of Great Britain was carried on to a much greater Height than it ever was before. And this great Source of Wealth and Treafure to their Mother Country, arofe from fo fmall a Beginning as a few Families feeking Shelter in a defolate Ifland.

This hews what may be done by Induftry and Trade rightly applied. Now if the Trade and Navigation of Great Britain have received fuch an Addition from the Sugar Colonies, as added greatly to the Riches and Strength of the Kingdom; and if Barbadoes has the Honour to ftand foremoft in the Sugar Trade (as the firft Founder of it) how well has the deferved of her Mother Country! When the Sugar Trade was at the Height which we defribed above, the flourifing State of Great Britain alarmed her Neighbours, and pur them upon

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Ways to circumvent her in Trade, as the only Means to put a Stop to the growing Strength of the Kingdom, which they feared might become too formidable, from the great Increafe of Seamen and Shipping employed in the Weft India and Guinea Trades, both flourifhing at the fame time. . Upon a Parliamentary Enquiry into the State of Trade to Africa, in the Year I728, it appeared to the Houre, that in three Years Time only, the Number of Negroes imported at Barbadoes, Famaica, and Antigua, amounted to forty-two thoufand, befides what were carried to St. Cbriftopber's, Nevis, and Montferrat.

But we are now to inquire into the Caufes of the general Declenfion of this Trade. And here I beg Leave further to obferve, that the French fpared no Coft or Labour to rival Great-Britain, they well knowing, if that funk, her Guinea and Madeira Trades muft 'fall with it; for which Purpofe they embraced every Opportunity to enlarge and improve their Sugar Plantations; and, if I am not mifinformed, where the Planter was not able to complete his Works himfelf, proper Utenfils were fent over from France at the Public Charge, and the Crown trufted them for feveral Years without Intereft: What fuch an Affiftance will enable 'Men to do, we may gather from the flouriming State of the Linnen Manufactory in Ireland, fince the Public allowed them a Fund to fupport it. Having by thefe Means eftablifhed their Sugar Colonies, the next Thing they had in View was to beat the Britijb Merchants out of the foreign Markets, for Sugar ; and therefore deftroy their Trade for Exportation; and this they have effected, by giving Liberty for their Ships to carry their Sugars directly to the foreign Markets, while - aurs were obliged to import all into Great-Britain, which enables them to fell fo much cheaper than our Merchants can carry it from London, as has almoft put an entire Stop to that valuable Branch of Trade to their Mother Country; and the utter Ruin of the Britibh Sugar Colonies muft neceffarily follow, unlefs they are relieved fome way or other.

The very firft Declenfion of their Exportation Trade was attended with ill Confequences to the Sugar Colonies. It lowered the Price of Sugar fo much at home, as difcouraged the Merchants from fending to purchafe Sugars here. This obliged the Sugar Planters to turn MerchantAdventurers in a declining Trade, and to thip their Sugars upon their own Account and Rifque: This put a Stop to the Currency of Cafh, which was before brought over yearly to purchafe Sugars, and laid the whole Burden of Freight, Duty, and Commifion, upon the Plantation, that wrere formerly paid by the Britiblo Merchants. And fuppofe but fifteen thoufand Hogtheads of Sugars to be fhipped in a Year from this Inand, on Gentlemens own Accounts; thefe three Articles will amount to upwards of fixty thoufand Pounds Sterling. Another great Evil that has likewife followed from the fame Caufe is, Combinations among the Buyers, by which the Price of Sugars is funk fo low as greatly to prejudice the Planters, and yet turning to the Benefit only of a few private Perfons, who are the firf Buyers, and not at all to that of the Confumers in general; by which that Inand is hurt, and this receives no Benefit, or very little.
Thefe are the Particulars which we have collected from Books; but we will now add fome few Remarks, from the Informations we have reccived, which will ferve to give Light to the prefent State and Importance of this Tland; and thefe will come chiefly under the three following Heads. In the firft Place, we fhall fhew that this Colony throve the fafteft, became the beft peopled, and by far the moft wealthy in America. We fhall next fhew the Advantages formerly derived from thence to the Britifh Nation, clearly, and in a very few Words. And laftly, we fhall take Notice of the prefent Condition of this Illand, and of the infinite Confequence thereof to this Government of Great Britain. In the firft Place then; it is to be confidered that the Inand of Barbadoes is generally efteemed to be a very little bigger than the Ine of Wigbt, and to contain, according to a round Computation, one hundred thoufand Acres. It has been fhewn, that about the Year 1626 this Country was not only unfettled, but actually uninhabitable, as affording nothing for
the Support of Life, and over-run with a brufhy kind of Shrub Wood, which gave a great deal of Trouble to the firft Planters ; yet in the Space of fify Years, this Plantation came to its greateft Height, and by a Calculation that was made with much Exactnefs, there were in it fifty thoufand white People of all Sorts, of whom twenty thoufand were able to bear Arms, and eighty thoufand Negrocs: Nay we are told that in twenty Years after the Colony was fettled they muftered eleven thoufand Horfe and Foot; which would be altogether incredible if we had not fuch Proofs of thefe Facts as put them beyond all Doubt or Queftion.

This fufficiently proves that never any Colony of ours, or any other Nation, was fo populous as this Inand. But to make this ftill clearer to an Englibh Reader, we fhall obferve that Barbadoes is rather lefs than the County of Rutland, the fmalleft County in England ; and that, according to the higheft Computation, the Number of People in that County, in 1676 , did not exceed twenty thoufand: But this may be made ftill clearer, by comparing that whole Inand with this, in Point of Extent; for if England and Wales, taken together, confift of near forty Millions of Acres, then if they were as populous as Barbadoes they ought to contain fifty Millions of People; whereas Sir William Petty, who was a very able Man in Computations, and is thought not to have undervalued this Country, but rather the contrary, never reckoned the People higher than eight Millions; which fhews what a vaft Difproportion there is between the peopling of the two Countries.
But to proceed farther ftill: The fame great Man afferts, that in Holland and Zealand, which are looked upon to be the beft peopled Countries in Europe, there are a Million of Souls inhabiting about as many Acres; and confequently it appears from hence, that even this Country was not fo well peopled as Barbadoes. In Point of Wealth, the Comparifon holds full as ftrong; for in the Year I661 King Cborles II. created on the fame Day thirtecn Baronets in Barbadoes; none of them having lefs than one thoufand, and fome of them ten thoufand, Pounds a Year. At this time their Trade actually maintained four hundred Sail of Ships; and it was computed, that the Running Cafh of the Ifland might be about two hundred thoufand Pounds; and their annual Exportation to Great-Britain, in Sugar, Indico, Ginger, and other Commodities, at leaft three hundred and fifty thoufand Pounds. Thefe are Facts that may be depended upon, that deferve in every refpect the greateft Confideration, and that plainly demonftrate at once the great Value of this Ifland, and the prodigious Confequence of our Plantations in general.

By the gradual Increafe of the Colony upon this Inland, it has, fince we firft poffeffed it, contributed beyond Conception and Belief to the Riches of its Mother Country ; and, as I know not any Subject that either can or ought to give an Englifh Reader more Pleafure than the Confideration of what has been obtained by the Bleffing of God, upon the Virtue and Induftry of his Countrymen; fo, I think, an Endeavour to fhew what has accrued in the whole to Britain, by eftablifhing a Colony here, will be allowed to be equally inftructive and pleafant, uffeful and entertaining.

What has been faid before, gives us a fufficient general Notion of the Importance and Value of the Inand; what we now aim at is, to come at a more particular Account of what it has yielded in the Whole. When this Colony was in its moft flourifhing Condition, which we fix to the Year 1676 , there were four hundred Ships of one hundred and fifty Tons, one with another, employed annually in this Trade; and I believe it will be thought a very moderate Computation, if we reckon that the Scamen, ShipBuilders, and other Trades that live by thefe Veffels, amounted in the Whole to ten thoufand Souls. The Sugars that came from Barbadoes, were either fpent at home or fent abroad ; and I reckon, that in the manufacturing the Sugars, and vending them at home and abroad, there might be twenty thoufand People more employed. To thefe we muft add, fuch as got their Bread by the Goods and Manufactures yearly exported from hence to Barbadoes; for almoft all that the People eat, drink, and wear
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there, are the Product of England; fo that the Computation cannot be thought to rife too high, if we allow, that in this Way twenty thoufand more got their Bread; which will make about fifty thoufand in the Whole : All fupported here by the Labour and Induftry of the Whites and Negroes in that Country. We are next to compute the Money brought into this Nation by the Export of the Commodities imported from thence, which was that Year allowed to be above two hundred thoufand Pounds, and it was alfo agreed, that as much or more had been gained every Year, between that Time and the Reftoration.

I fhall fay nothing of the Money arifing to the Exchequer from the Duties, though this might be computed at thirty five thoufand Pounds per Annmm; but upon thefe Principles fhall proceed in my Computation thus: I will fuppofe, that from the Year 1636 to 1656 , which is twenty Years, this Colony produced but half fo much, and though it may be true, that before the Year 1640 it did not produce a Quarter fo much, yet, in the remaining part of that Period, it certainly brought in a great deal more ; and therefore we cannot be far from the Truth, in computing that this Nation acquired two Millions in Money, by Barbadoes, in that twenty Years. In the next twenty, that is, from 1656 to 1676 , when it is allowed this Ifland was in its moft flourifhing Condition, there muit have been gained four Millions of Money ; and allowing for the gradual Falling off of this Trade, by a Multitude of unlucky Accidents, but more particularly by the fettling the French Sugar Illands, we fhall compute the laft feventy Years; from 1676 to 1736 , at the fame Rate we did the firft twenty Years, and the Gain will then amount to fix Millions; fo that in the Space of one hundred Years, the Inhabitants of Great-Britain have received twelve Millions in Silver, by the Means of this Plantation; and had fifty thoufand of her Inhabitants maintained by the People in that Colony all the time. It is highly poffible, that in fome of thefe Articles we may be wrong one way, and it is more than probable, that in other Articles we may err the other way; which is fo far from making againft the Credit of our Computation in general, that it really makes for it, fince we may very well fuppofe thefe Errors balance each other, and that the Sum total is very near right.
We are now come to the laft Head, which is, affigning the comparative Excellence of this Colony with regard to our own and other Plantations in America; and this, at firt Sight, may appear a thing very difficult, if not impoffible to be done; however we may come fufficiently near it for our Purpofe. It is thought that Barbadoes contains one hundred and forty fquare Miles, and if fo it is in proportion, as I to 34,77 I in refpect to the Spanish Plantations; as I to 12,000 in regard to our own; as I to ir,000 in reference to the French; as i to 7,000 as to the Portugueze; and as I to 4 as to the Dutch. This I fay, as to the Extent of Territory, is as juft a Comparifon as can be made ; but with regard to the Value of thefe Colonies, it is very eafy to perceive that there is hardly any Computation to be made at all, for we may truly affirm that the Produce of Barbadoes is very near equal to a twentieth Part of what Spain receives from her Indies annually, in time of Peace, and from thence we may eafily judge of the reft.

I have infifted the longer upon this Topic, becaufe it may enable us to form fome Notion of what might be made of our Plantations, if we attended to them as much as they deferve; for though it may be, and perhaps is, impoffible to improve any of them in proportion to what has been done in Barbadoes, yet we may well enough difcern, from hence, that they might be made inconteftably more profitable to us than they now are, or indeed, than the whole Trade that we now poffers; and if, at the fame time we reflect on this, we likewife confider that there is nothing fo abfolutely in our Power, as the Improvement of our Colonies; it will moft certainly appear to be the Point, which, of all others, imports us moft ; and if I have done any thing towards proving this, I fhall account all my Labour well beftowed.
18. We are next to fpeak of the Inand of St. Cbrijo-

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pher, which was called Liamuega by the Savager, and was difcovered by Cbritopher Columbus, in the firlt Voyage he made to America. He gave it the Name of $S t_{0}$ Cbriffopber from the Figure of its Mountains, there being in the upper Part of the Inand a very high Mountains, which bears on its Summit another lefs Mountain, as $S t$. Cbriftopher is painted like a Giant, with our Saviour on his Back. It is fituated in the Latitude of 17 Degrees 25 Minutes on this Side the Line, and is about 75 Miles in Circuit; the Caribbeans inhabited it when Sir Thomas Worner, an Englifh Adventurer, went thither. Monfieur Defnambue, a French Gentleman of the ancient Houfe of Vauderop, who commanded for the French in America, arrived at St. Cbrifopber's the fame Day with Sir Thbomas Warner, and both took Poffeffion of the Inand in the Names of their refpective Mafters, that they might have a Place of fafe Retreat, and a good Haven for the Receipt of fuch Ships, of both Nations, as fhould be bound for America, it being well provided with Harbours. The Spaniards ufed to put in there in their Weft India Voyage, to take in frefh Water; and they were on fo good terms with the Caribbeans, that fometimes they left their Sick there, of whom the Savages took a great deal of Care.

The two Gentlemen before mentioned, left fome of their Men upon the Place, and returned, Sir Tkomas Warner to England, and Monfieur Defnambue to France, for Recruits. Their Mafters approved of their Conduct, and fent them back with Supplies of Men and Provifions, and Commiffions to be Governors of the new Settlements. This Company continued in France till the Year 166 r, when they fold St. Cbrijtopber's, and the other Inands, to the Knights of Malta; but in the Year 1664, the Weft India Company, by the King's Orders, bought out the laft Proprietors. Sir Thomas Warner, and Monfieur Defnambue, failed in the Year 1626, and the latter arrived there about fanuary 1627 , having had a long fickly Voyage. The Frencb were about three hundred in Number, the Englijb Colony as many; Sir Thomas had proceeded a good way in his Settlement before Monfieur Defnambue arrived; and the two Governors, to prevent Differences among the People about the Limits of their Territories, figned Articles of Divifion on the 13 th of May ${ }_{1} 627$ : They then fet Boundaries to their feveral Divifions, with this particular Provifo, that fifhing and hunting fhould be equally free to the Inhabitants of both Na tions; that the Salt-ponds, and moft valuable Timber, fhould be in common, together with the Mines and Havens; alfo a League offenfive and defenfive was concluded between them, againft all their Enemies; after which they fet to work, each in his Station, to advance his Settlement, and went on very harmonioufly.

The Englifh received Supplies of Mien and Provifions from London, by which means they throve better than the French, and not only became ftrong enough to keep what they had, but to be able to fpare Men for new Plantations at Nevis; of which Sir Thomas Warner took Poffeffion, and left People upon it for a Settlement, in the Year 1628 . And in that which followed, Don Frederick de Toledo was fent with a Fleet of twenty-four Ships and fifteen Frigates, to difpoffefs the Englifh and French of the Inland of St. Cbrifopher's. The Spaniards were alarmed at the Progrefs of the Englijs in the Caribbee Iflends, and thought it concerned the Safety of their own Plantations, to prevent thofe Nations from fettling in the Neighbourhood. Don Frederick meeting fome Englifb Ships lying near the Ine of Nevis, feized them, and then came and anchored in the Road of Marigot, under the Cannon of the Baffe Terre, where Monfieur Roffey commanded. Neither the French nor the Englifs Forts were in a Condition to oppofe fuch an Enemy; their Stores of Ammunition fell fhort, and their Numbers were not a Match for the Spanifs Army, had they been ever fo well provided with Powder and Shot. Roffey, after a fmall Oppofition, abandoned the Baffe Terre, and retreated to Cabes Terre, another Fort, where Monfieur Defnambue was in Perfon, who could not prevail with his Men , either to defend themfelves there, or to retire to the Forefts and Mountains, where a few Men might have refifted a thoufand. He remonftrated to them
that Don Proderick could not aford much Time, being bound to the Favanuob to bring home the Flota. Yet this was to no purpofe, nothing wouk content them but embarking and leaving the Place, which he was forced to comply with, and fo all the French deforted their Setclement, as did their Allies the Englifh; who were in a great Confternation, and the Diforder encreafed, upon the News of Defnambue's being gone with his Colony; fome endeavoured to efcape by Sea, others 月led to the Miountains, and all who were left fent Deputies to treat with the Spaniards. The Don knowing he had them in his Power, commanded them to leave the Illand immediately, or he would put them to the Sword; he fent them their own Ships, which he had taken at Nevis, to embark in, and was perfuaded to give leave to thofe to fay that had not room in the Slips for themfelves and their Families, till they could be tranfported; upon which Don Frederick weighed anchor, carried with him fix hundred Englifh who were fitteft for his Service, and he was no fooner gone but the Englifh rallied, and refolved to go on with their Settlement. The French, who were got no farther than Antigua and Montferrat, fent a Ship for Intelligence to St. Cbriflopber's, and underftanding the Spaniards were gone, and the Englifh bufy in rebuilding and planting, rejoiced at this happy and unexpected turn of Fortune, failed back to St. Cbriftopber's, and retook Poffeffion of their former Habitations.

The Engli/h continued carrying on their Colany till they were in a Condition to fpare more Men for Settlements, at Barbuda, Mont ferrat, and Antigua, which Sir Thomas Warner peopled and planted. And the fame Year the Dutch made themfelves Mafters of St. Euftace, and the French took Poffeffion of fome other Inands. The Englifh built themfelves good Houfes at St. Chrifopber's,
and had Wives and Families; whereas the French conand had Wives and Families; whereas the French contented themfelves with Huts, after the Caribbean Manner; few of them were married, and confequently took little, Pains to furnifh themfelves with all Things neceffary and convenient for Life. Monfieur Defnambue died about the Year 1637 , and Sir Thomas Warner did not long furvive him. Before the Englifh Governor's Death, the Colony was fo increafed, that there were between twelve and thirteen thoufand Souls of his own Nation in the Inand. He was fucceeded in his Government by Col. Rich, who, by following his Predeceffor's Steps in governing the Colony, invited more People to come and fettle there. The chief Employment of the firf Planters was cultivating Tobacco; by which they got a competent Livelihood; but afterwards, the Quantity that was made bringing down the Price, they fet themfelves in feveral Places to plant Sugar, Ginger, Indico, and Cotton, and in a little time became a rich and flourifhing People, both French and Engli/b living cordially together till the latt War broke out, when the Englifh drove the French entirely from their Settlements; and the Country being yielded to the Crown of Great-Britain by the Peace of Utrecht, all the French Territory was fold for the Benefit of the Public, which muft have produced a very large Sum, fince out of it there were eighty thoufand Pounds paid, for the Marriage Portion of her Royal Highnefs the Princefs of Orange.

There were indeed fome who pretended, that notwithftanding the French Part of the Inand of St. Cbriftopber's was by far the richeft, we were no Gainers by obtaining it; but that, on the contrary, the French received Benefit thereby, becaufe it enabled them to people the reft of their Inands more effectually; but whoever confiders that the Sugars of this Ifland are the very beft in all America; that the Plantations were in perfect Order ; and that the French ventured a War, to prevent our fettling St. Lucia and St. Vincent, will fcarce be brought to believe, that they parted with a Country ready fettled, and more valuable than both thofe Inlands, with their Goodwill. The Treaty of Utrecht was fo indifferent a Treaty that, I think, there is no fort of Neceffity for making it appear worfe than it really was. The fame Perfons who firft fettled St. Cbrifopher's likewife fettled Nevis, or Mevis, about the Year 1628 ; and notwithftanding the Mif-
fortune of being difpofefied by the $\langle$ paniards in the manner before-mentioned, in twenty Years time there were at leaft four thoufand People upon the Inand, and they continued increafing in the fame manner, by a Succeffion of prudent Governors, for a confaderable Space. After the Reftoration, when Trade and Peace flourifhed, this Ine enjoyed its Share of the Benefit, and increafed in Inhabitants and Riches; the only Enemy they had to ftruggle with was the Hurricane, which generally vifited them, once a Year.

On the igth of Auguf, $166 \%$, there was a terrible one in this Ifland; at which time Sir Gobn Berry, Captain of the Centurion Man of War, was in the Harbour with that and feveral other Ships, of which one was commanded by Capt. Langford, who having learned fome of the Prognoftics of a Tornado, from a Caribbean, perceiving them, he told Sir Fobn and the reft of the Commanders of it, who depending on his Intelligence, made their Ships ready, and in the Morning, about four o'Clock, the Wind coming very hard northerly, they put to Sea, and came all back within four or five Days time fafe to the Road again: Captain Langford was afhore, and being confident of the Hurricane, took fuch care in fecuring his Sugars and Goods in the Store-houfe, that when the Iurricane had carried away the Roof of the Houfe, all except one Hogthead of Sugar remained fafe.

When Sir Williams Stapleton was Governor of thefe Iflands he ufually made this the Place of his Refidence. Here Courts were kept, and the Governor living upon it, moft of the Affairs of this Government were tranfacted here; for every one of thefe Inands hath a particular LieutenantGovernor, Council, and Affembly ; and the general Government centers only in the Authority of Captain-General. Sir William Stapleton, who was Governor in King James's Time, made Sir James Ruffel Lieutenant-Governor of this Illand, and he enjoyed the Place till his Commiffion was fuperfeded by that of Captain-General, granted to Sir Na thaniel Fobnfon, who alfo refided at Nevis; and at this Time none of the Leeward Ilands flourifhed fo much as this; it fupplied the others with almoft all their Wines and Negroes, and was computed to have contained at that Time near two thoufand fighting Men, which will make the Number of Souls, by common Computation, to be above ten thoufand befides Negroes, of which Number there were not lefs than twenty thoufand. A prodigious Improvement of an Inand fcarce fix Miles long, to maintain between thirty and forty thoufand Men, Women, and Children !

We are to proceed next to the Inand of Montferrat, which Name the Spaniards gave to this Iland, from the Refemblance it has to a Mountain in Catalonia, not far from Barcelona; famous for a Chapel dedicated to the Blefled Virgin, in the greateft Reputation with the Roman Catholics of any, except that of Lorretto. The Englifs have not thought fit to give it another Name fince they were Mafters of it. It lies in in Degrees North Latitude, is about three Leagues in Eength, and almoft as much in Breadth; fo that it feems to be of a round Figure. It was difcovered by the Europeans at the fame time with St. Cbrifopher's ; but no Settlement was made upon it till the Year 1632 , at which Time Sir Thbomas Warner, firft Governor of St. Cbriftopher's, procured a finall Colony to fettle there, of the Subjects of Englond, for we cannot affure ourfelves they were Englyh Men, this Inand being generally looked upon as an Irifh Colony. This Inand flourifhed at firf nore than Antigua; but fince the Lord Willougbby's Time, the latter has got, and kept, the Start of it. There were feven hundred Men in Mont Jerrat, fixteen Years after it was firf inhabited; the Rolls of the Militia at this Time amounts to three hundred and fixty. We find but one Battery for the Defence of the Coaft, and other old difmounted Cannon at feveral Landing-places. As to the Climate, Soil, Animals, Trade, and Productions of this Ine, they are much the fame with thofe of the other Caribbee Iflands, only this is fuller of Mountains, which are covered with Cedars and other Trees, that make it a lovely Profpect from the Sea: The Vallies are fruitful, and better ftored with fref Water than thofe of Antigua.

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## Chap. III. of the ENGLISH in AMERICA.

A.ccording to the beit Accounts that have been received from this Inand of late Years, it is rather increafing, both in the Number of People, and in the Value of their Settlements, than not; as to the former, it is computed, there may be about four thoufand five hundred white Perfons, and about twelve thoufand Negroes, in this Country: And as for the latter, I mean the Value of its Produce, we thall have Occafion to fpeak of it hereafter.

The Inand of Barbuda lies in the Latitude of is Degrees 30 Minutes North, is about fifteen Miles long, and lies North-eaft from the Inand of which we were laft fpeaking. The Land is low and fruitful, and the Englifs began to plant it as early as Nevis, Montferrat, or any other of the Leeward Inands, St. Cbriftopher's excepted; for Sir Thomas Warner, who firft fettled there, placed a fmall Colony in this Inand, but the Caribbeans difturbed them fo much, that they were often forced to defert it and their Plantations. There hardly paffed a Year but they made one or two Incurfions, and that generally in the Night, for they durft not attack them by Day; the Damage the Entrlifh fuftained by them, made them weary of dwelling in a Place where they were fo much expofed to the Fury of thofe Barbarians, who diminifhing daily in number, and the Europeans encreafing, the Englifs again poffeffed themfelves of Barbuda, and in a few Years there were five hundred Inhabitants. There are now a thoufand or twelve hundred Souls upon it, and their Number is daily encreafing. The Proprietor is the Honourable Cbriftopher Codrington, Efq; and he puts in a Governor here, having the fame Prerogative as the other Lords Proprietors in their feveral. Jurifdictions in America. This Inand has bred great ftore of Cattle, and the Inhabitants employ themfelves moftly in that fort of Hufbandry ; Corn and Provifions coming almoft always to a good Market in the Sugar Inands. There is plenty of all Sorts of tame Cattle, as in Europe; and the Englifh live here much after the fame Manner as they do in the Countries in England; only their Labour in the Field is not fo hard as here, the Country being fo much hotter.

The next Plantation to this, if it may be properly fo called, is Anguilla, or Snake Ifand, fo called from its Figure, being a long Tract of Earth, but narrow, winding almoft about; near St. Martius, from whence it may eafily be feen: It lies in 18 Degrees i2 Minutes. The Country is level and woody; the Soil fruitful, and the Tobacco that grew there formerly was reckoned very good in its kind. There is not a Mountain in it; where it is broadeft there is a Pond, about which the Englifb fettled in the Year 1650 . Their Bufinefs, like the Inhabitants of Barbuda, was to plant Corn, and breed tame Cattle, for which purpofe they brought Stock with them. They were poor, and continue fo to this Day, being perhaps the lazieft Creatures in the World. Some People have gone from Barbadoes, and other Englifh Caribbee Ifands, thither, and there they live like the firf Race of Men, without Government or Religion, having no Minifter or Magiftrate. They are faid to make up, altogether, about one hundred and fify Eamilies, or nine hundred Souls; and their Condition in that Place is fingular enough to deferve particular Notice, if we had any room to fpare ; but as we have not, it fhall fuffice to fay that they have no great Quantities of Sugar upon the Inand, but addict themfelves rather to farming, in which they have had very good Succefs; and this it is that enables them to live in the old Patriarchal Way, every Man being a kind of Sovereign in his own Family, and no other Government there is in Anguilla.

We have now gone through all the Leeward Inlands, Antigua, or Antego, only excepted, of which we are to fpeak in the next Section, as not having been fettled within the Period to which we have confined this. As ro the general Produce or Value of thefe Inands, which may ferve to fhew of how great Confequence they are to Great Britain, the beft Account I have been able to obtain, is to the following Effect: St. Chrillopher's is the largeft of all the Ilands, but the middle Part of it being extremely mountainous, it is thought that there are not above twenty-four thoufand Acres of Land, fit for Sugar,
in che whole Inand, which produces about ten thotfand Hogtheads of that valuable Commodity. Antego contains about feventy thoufand Acres, and produces fixteen thois fand Hogheads of Sugar yearly. Nevis is faid to be about twenty Miles in Circumference, and produces fix thoufand Hogfheads, Montferrat, which is lefs than any of them, produces two thoufand five hundred, and fometimes three thoufand, Hogtheads of Sugar. In Barbuda they breed Cattle, and in Angwilla they raife Corn.
19. We are now, according to the Method that we have hitherto purfued of fpeaking of our Plantations, in the Order of Time in which they were fettled, obliged to return to the Continent of North America, in order to give an Account of the noble Colony of Maryland, which remained a Part of Virginia till the Year 1632 , which was the eighth of King Cbarles I. when that Monarch was pleafed to grant all the Country to the North of Potores mack River, not then planted, unto Cecilius Colvert, Lord Baltimore, of the Kingdom of Ireland, and his Heirs; and this Part of the Country was afterwards called Maryland, in Honour of the then Queen Confort, Henrietta Maria, youngeft Daughter of the French King, Henty the IVth. The Lord Baltimore having obtained his Grant, fent over his Brother, the honourable Leonard Calvert, Efq; with fome Roman Catbolic Gentlemen, and other Adventurers, to the Number of two hundred, to take Poffeflion of the Country ; who, fetting fail for Einland on the 22 d of November 1633 , arrived at Point Comfort in the Bay of Chefepeak, on the 24th of February following; where, being kindly received and fupplied with Provifions by the Englifh of Virginia, they continued their Voyage Northward, to the River Potowmack, appointed to be the Boundary between Virginia and Maryland, on the Eaft-fide of the Bay.
The Adventurers failed up this River, and landing on feveral Places of the northern Shore, acquainted the Na-tives they were come to fettle amongtt them, and trade with them ; but the Natives feemed rather to defire their Abfence than their Company: However, there were no Acts of Hoftility committed on either Side; and the Englifh returning down the River Potoromack again, made choice of a Place near the Mouth of a River (which falls into it, and by them called St. George's River) to fettle their firt Colony. They advanced afterwards to an Indiana Town called Yeamaco, then the Capital of the Country, and at a Conference with the Weorance or Sovereign of the Place, to whom they made confiderable Prefents, the Weorance confented that the Englifh fhould dwell in one Part of the'Town, referving the other for his own People, till the Harveft was over, and then agreed to quit the whole entirely to the Englifh, and retire farther into the Country, which they did accordingly. And the March following Mr. Calvert and the Planters were left in the quiet Poffefion of the whole Town, to which they gave the Name of St. Mory's; and it was agreed on both Sides; that if any Wrong was done by either Party, the Nation offending fhould make full Satisfaction for the Injury. The Reafons the Yoamaco Indians were fo ready to enter into a Treaty with the Englifh, and yield them Part of their Country, was in Hopes of obtaining their Protection and Affitance againft the Safquabanab Indions, their northern Neighbours, with whom they were then at War ; and, indeed, the Yoamaco Indians were upon the Point of abandoning their Country, to avoid the Fury of the Safquabanab Nation, before the Englifh arrived; from whence it appears that the Adventurers, fent over by the Lord Belizimore, cannot be charged with any Injuftice in fettling themfelves in this Part of America, being invited to it by the original Inhabitants.

The Inhabitants who were thus fettled at St. Mary's; applied themfelves, with great Diligence, to cultivating the Ground, and raifed large Quantities of Indian Corn, while the Natives went every Day into the Woods to hunt for Game, bringing home Venifon and Turkies, to the Englifb Colony, in abundance, for which they received Knives, Tools, and Toys, in return. And thus both Nations lived in the greatelt Friendfip, doing good Offices to each other; till fome of the Englifh in Virginia, envious of the Happinefs of this thriving Colony, fug.
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gefted to the Indians, that thefe Strangers were not really Englifh as they pretended, but Spaniards, and would enflave them as they had done many of their Countrymen : And the Indians were fo credulous as to believe it, and appeared jealous of Mr . Calvert, making Preparations as if they intended to fall upon the Strangers, which the Englifh perceiving, ftood upon their Guard, and erected a Fort for their Security, on which they planted feveral Pieces of Ordnance; at the firing whereof the Yoamacos were fo terrified, that they abandoned their Country without any other Compulfion, and left the Englifh in full Poffefion of it ; who receiving Supplies and Reinforcements continually from England, and having no other Enemy to contend with than Agues and Fevers (which fwept off fome of them before they found out a proper Regimen for the Climate) they foon became a flourifhing People, many Roman Catholic Families of Quality and Fortune tranfporting themfelves thither to avoid the Penal Laws made againft them in England; and Maryland has been a Place of Refuge for thofe of that Perfuafion from that Day to this.

While the civil War lafted in England, the Lord Baltimore's Family were deprived of the Government of this Province, but were reftored to their Right by King Cbarles II. foon after his own Reftoration. Whereupon the Lord Baltimore fent over his Son, Cbarles Calvert, afterwards Lord Baltimore, to be Governor of Maryland, who continued in that Poft upwards of twenty Years, and long after his Father's Death. By whofe Prudence the Colony became almoft as confiderable as Virginia, for its Tobacco and other Products of the Soil; and all the Indian Nations on that Side put themfelves under their Protection. The Indian Chiefs were appointed, or at leaft approved and confirmed in their Commands, by the Lord Baltimore the Proprietor, whofe Succefs is to be afcribed, in a great Meafure, to the Endeavours he ufed to cultivate a good Correfpondence with the Indian Nations, and to give them as little Offence as polfible.

In the reign of King $\mathcal{F}$ ames II. we are told that Father Peters, a Jefuit, whom that Prince admitted into his Councils, which contributed not a little to his lofing firft the Hearts of his Subjects, and after that his Dominions, took fuch a Prejudice to the then Lord Baltimore, though of his own Religion, but a Nobleman of great Wifdom, Juftice, and Moderation, that he refolved to deprive him of the Power of nominating a Governor, by extending the royal Prerogative at the Expence of the Grant made by the Crown, to the Anceitors of his LordThip. But before this could be effected, the Revolution intervened, but the Change of Government did not prove ferviceable to his Lordfhip; for the Crown profecuting the former Project, deprived him of his Power of Nomination, which was fo much the harder, becaufe it is univerfally allowed that no People were ever better governed than the Inhabitants of this Colony, while they depended folely upon this noble Family.

The prefent Lord Baltinaore is a Proteftant, and inherits the Virtues, as well as the Title, of his Anceftors; being in all refpects a Bleffing to that Country, as he is the Proprietor of it. His Lordfhip once took the Pains to vifit his Colony, was received with all due Marks of Refpect on account of his Quality and Intereft in that Country; but when he left it, the People gave him much ftronger Teftimonies of their Affection, and their Regret at parting with him, on account of his Mildnefs, public Spirit, and fincere good Will towards them, of which he gave them fo many Inftances, and teftified upon all Occafions, fuch a Readinefs not only to comply with, but to go beyond, their Requefts; that there was not a Planter in Maryland, who did not confider him rather as a Father and a Friend, than as their Lord Proprietor; and to fay the Truth, they had fo much Experience of him in the former Characters, and felt fo little of him in the latter, that it was extremely natural for them to behave as they did.
Whatever the great Defign might be when this Settlement was firft made, moft certain it is that no Country in America can boaft of having had fewer Difturbances on the Score of Religion. There are, indeed, of all Per-
fuafons in the Colony; but notwithftanding this, they live together in the greateft Tranquility, as if they made it their Bufinefs to forget the Points about which they differ, and to remember that they agree in thofe of being $E_{n-}$ glifbmen and Cbriftians, as fufficiently appears by their kind Behaviour towards the Indians, who have fcarce ever had any Difference with them, and of whom the Colony have no fort of Apprehenfions, though they are much more numetous in that Country than in Virginia. But after fhewing how this Country was firft planted, what remarkable Accidents have fince happened therein, and in what State the Colony now is with refpect to the Government; the next thing is to give a fuccinct View of the Place itfelf, in order to bring it the better to the Acquaintance of every Englifh Reader, who is curious on this Subject.

This Province is fituated between 38 and 40 Degrees of Northern Latitude, and between 44 and 48 Degrees of Weftern Longitude, as is generally computed; but it muft be confeffed the Weftern Boundaries are very uncertain, fome extending them beyond the Apalacbean Mountains. The North End of the Bay of Cbefepeak divides Maryland into two Parts, called the Eaftern and Weftern Shores. It is bounded, at prefent, by Part of Penfyluania and the Atlantic Ocean on the Eaf, by Virginia Proper on the South, and by the Apalacbean Mountains on the Weft. It is feparated from Virginia on the South, by the River Potowmack on the Weftern Shore, and the River Pocomoas on the Eaftern Shore, the Length from North to South being about an hundred and forty Miles, and the Breadth from Eaft to Weft, if we extend it no farther than the Country already planted, will not be fo much, though its future Limits poffibly may extend much farther. As to the Face of the Country, this, as well as Virginia, may be divided into, ift. the Lowlands next the Sea; 2dly, the hilly Country towards the Heads of the Rivers; and 3 dly, the Apalachean Mountains, which are exceeding high, and run parallel to the Atlantic Ocean, viz. from the North-eaft to the Southweft. The Lowlands heretofore confifted of Swamps or Woods, being one continued Foreft almoft, till the Engli/b cleared Part of it, either to make room for their Plantations, or for building of Ships and Houfes, and the making Tobacco Cafks and Pipe-ftaves for Exportation, which has made fuch Havock among their Woods, that fome of them begin to apprehend the Want of Timber, efpecially near their Forts and Rivers; for as to that which lies remote from the Water it is of little ufe to them, the Price of the Carriage exceeding the Value of the Wood. Towards the Meads of the Rivers there is a Mixture of Hills and Valleys, as in Virginia, well planted, with Variety of Timber and Fruit Trees; and where thefe are wanting there are large Neadows or Savanahs, where the Grafs grows to a moft furprizing Height.

This Country, like Virginia, is watered by innumerable Springs and a great many fine Rivers, of which the chief are, Ift, Potormack, which, rifing in the Mountains North-weft, runs to the South-eaft, and feparates Maryland from Virginia on the South-weft, falling into the Middle of the Bay of Cbefepeak. 2dly, The River Pocomoac, which rifing near the Ocean, runs alfo directly South, and then turning to the Weft, falls alfo into the Bay of Chefepeck, near Watkins's Point. A Line drawn from the Mouth of the River directly Eaft, to the Atlantic Ocean, is the true Boundary between Maryland and Virginia on the Eaftern Shore. 3dly, The River Patuxent, which rifing in Anne Arundel County, runs to the South-eaft, and falls into the Bay of Cbefepeak, about twenty Miles to the Northward of the Mouth of Potowmack River. 4thly, Severn River, which rifes on the North-weft Part of Maryland, running South-eaft, falls into the upper Part of the faid Bay. 5 thly, Cbeptonk, which rifes on the Eaftern Shore, runs to the South-wefts and falls into the fame Bay. Gthly, Saffafras River, which rifes in the North-eaft of Maryland, and running almoft due Weft, falls into the North End of the faid Bay. 7thly, Wicomo River, which rifes on the Eaftern Shore ${ }_{z}$ runs to the South-wert, and falls into the Bay almoft againft the Mouth of Potoremack River. The 8th and

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laft River I fhall mention is St. George, on the Weft-fide of the Bay; which, running from North to South, falls into the Mouth of the River Potorwack. Here the Engli/b firft fettled, and built the Town of St. Mary's. There are a great many more Rivers capable of receiving large Ships, which, with the numerous Bays and Creeks, that indent the Land on every Side, give the Seamen an Opportunity of bringing their Veffels up to the very Planters Doors, to receive their Freight, as in Virginia.

The Air of this Country is exceffive hot fome part of the Summer, and very cold in Winter when the Northweft Wind blows; but the Natives tell us, that they are happily fituated; that their Heats are very feldom troublefome, and then only by Accident, in a perfect Calm ; but that this does not happen above two or three Days in a Year, and then lafts but a few Hours at a time, and even this Inconvenience is made very tolerable by their cool Shades, their open and airy Rooms, Arbours and Grottos ; and in Spring and Fall the Weather is as pleafant as can be wifhed; that their Winters are not of more than three or four Months Duration, and in thefe they feldom have one Month's bad Weather, all the reft they are happy in a clear Air and a bright Sun, and are fcarce ever troubled with Fogs; it is acknowledged they have hard Frofts fometimes, but they laft no longer than while the Wind blows from the North, and North-weft, Points, which is feldom more than three or four Days.

At other times they have no Froft at all ; and their Frofts are attended with bright and ferene Weather; and in the Spring, Summer, and Winter, their Winds are only cool pleafant Breezes. Their Rains, except in the Depth of Winter, are very pleafant and refrefhing; in Summer they laft but a few Hours, and then bright Weather fucceeds : However, it is acknowledged, that the Showers which fall in Summer are very heavy for the Time they laft; and the Part of the Country which lies on the Bays of the Sea, and the Mouths of the Rivers, which is much the beft peopled, is certainly hot and moift ; indeed, higher up the Country, whither the Plantations are now extended, the Air is much more healthful efpecially fince their Lands are cleared of Wood. They have here, however, dreadful Thunder in the Heat of Summer; but as it cools and refrefhes the Air, they rather wifh for it than fear it, though it fometimes does much Mifchief, but lefs than formerly.

Since the Indians transferred, or yielded, this Province to the Englifh, it has been divided into ten Counties, fix on the Weft-fide of the Bay, and four on the Eaft-fide of it ; thofe on the Weft-fide, taking them from South to North, are, I. St. Mary's County. 2. Cbarles County. 3. Prince George County. 4. Calvert Couluty. 5. Anne Arundel County. And 6. Baltinzore County. The Counties on the Eaft-fide of this Bay, lying alfo from the South, are, I. Somersei County. 2. Dorchefter County 3. Talbot County. 4. Cecil County. As for the County of Kent, that, or the greateft Part of it, is now faid to be in Penfyluania. St. Mary, the Capital of the County of the fame Name, and, for fome time, of the whole Province, is fituated on the Eaft-fide of the River St George, in 38 Degrees and fome Minutes North Latitude This, as has been intimated, was the firft Town in Mary land built by the Englifb, who raifed a Fort for its Defence; but in its moft flourifhing State never had more than thirty or forty Houfes in it, and fince the Seat of the Government has been removed to Annapolis, feems to be upon the Decline; for the fame Humour prevails here as in Virginia, of Gentlemens living on their refpective Plantations, and not in Towns.

In this County alfo are the Parifhes of Hervington, St. Clement's, and St. Jobn's ; and here is a noble Seat of the Lord Baltimore the Proprietor, called Meitapany, fituate on the Mouth of the River Patuxent. In Princ Cbarles County, which lies North of St. Mary's, are the Parifhes of Brifol, and Pifcataway; and in that of Prince George, the Parifh of Mafierkout. In Calvert County, which is divided from Cbarles County by the River Patuxent, are theParifhes of Abington, Warrington, and Caiverton. In the County of Anne Arundel, which lies North of Cbarles County, the chief Town is Annapolis, now the Capital of the Province, and formerly called Severn, being fituate on the River of that Name

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in 39 Degrees and fome Minutes North Latitude. Here the Courts of Juftice, and the General Affemblies were ordered to be held, in the Year 1699 ; and this has ever fince been the Refidence of the Governor; notwithftanding which, there are not yet an hundred Houfes built in the Town.

In Baltimore County, which lies between Anne ArundelCounty and the Province of Penfywania, is the Parifh of Baltimore, fituate on the North-weft Part of the Bay of Cbejepeak. In Somerfet County, which is the moft foutherly County on the Eaft-fide of the Bay, are the Town and Parifh of Somerfet. In Dorchefter County, which lies North of Somerfet, are the Town and Parifh of Dorchefier, befides a great many Indian Towns. In Talbot County, which lies North of Dorchefter, are the Parimnes of Oxford, St. Michael's, Bolingbrooke, and Cecil, the moft northerly County on the Eaft-fide of the Bay, is bounded both on the North and Eaft by the Province of Penfyluania.

Throughout the whole Colony of Maryland, as in that of Virginia, the Engli/h live at large at their feveral Plantations, which hinders the Increafe of Towns; indeed every Plantation is a little Town itfelf and can very well fubfift with Provifions and Neceffaries; every confiderable Planter's Warehoufe being like a Shop, where he fupplies not only himfelf, with what he wants, but the inferior Planters, Servants, and Labourers; and has Commodities to barter for Tobacco, and other Goods, there being little Money in this Province, and little Occafion for any, as long as Tobacco anfwers all the Ufes of Silver and Gold in Trade. There are few Merchants, or Shopkeepers, who may be properly fo called, and live wholly by their Trade: The Tobacco of this Province, called Oronoko, is ftronger than that of Virginia; and no Englifman, who has not a very coarfe Relifh, will bear it; yet it is as profitable to the Planter, and to the Trade of the Nation in general, being in Demand in the Eaftern and Northern Parts of Europe, where it is preferred before the fweet-fcented Tobacco of $\mathcal{F}$ ames and $\operatorname{Yor} \neq$ Rivers, in Virginia. The Planters in Maryland, finding fo good Vent for their Commodity in foreign Markets, have cultivated it fo much, that the Province is thought to produce as much Tobacco as Virginia. The Soil is here as fruitful as in any Country, being a large Plain; and the Hills in it fo eafy of Afcent, and of fuch a moderate Height, that they feem rather an artificial Ornament to it, than one of the Accidents of Nature.

The Abundance of Rivers and Brooks is no little Help to the Fertility of the Soil, and there is no Grain, Plant, or Tree, which grows in Virginia, but thrives as well here; the Product, the Animals, and every Thing, are the fame here as there, only the black and yellow Bird, called the Baltimore Bird, goes by another Name in Virginia; it had that given it, becaufe the Colours of the Field of the Lord Baltimore's Coat of Arms are Or and Sable. It is thought that the Number of Souls in Maryland, may be about thirty thoufand, or rather more. There are feveral hundred Sail of Ships employed yearly in the Commerce between Great-Britain and this Country, and the Benefit which refults to this Nation from thence, is very large, as may be eafily computed from the Principles laid down in the foregoing Account of the Colony of Virginia; which may likewife ferve with refpect to all the other Colonies that do not interfere with their Mother-Country in their Manufactures.
20. When Oliver Cromzell, after fubverting entirely the Conftitution of his Country, took upon him the Title of Protector, he refolved to obliterate the Memory of what was paft, by undertaking fomewhat that might be of great and lafting Advantage to his Country. It was with this View, and to rid himfelf of many Officers whom he fufpected, that he framed a Project of attacking the Spaniards in the Weft Indies, and of taking from them the noble Illand of Hifpaniola or St. Domingo; in the adjufting of which Defign, he depended chiefly on the Information he received from one Father Gage a Prieft, who had been many Years in the Spanifh America, and who died in thisVoyage; for which tho' greatPreparations were made; yet they went on very flowly, and it. was certainly though the beft conceived, yet the worf exe cuted of all his Enterprizes.
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The Squadron commanded by General Penn, being ordered, to rendezvous at Portfmouth, where the Land Forces were to embark, Complaints were made to Venables of Diforders and Difcontents among the People, and more particularly about the Badnefs of the Provifions; which, by his Means, being made known to General Deflorrow, he, by very harh Expreffions, fignified his Difcontent thereat ; and particularly charged Venables with a Defign of fruftrating the intended Expedition, by being the Author of Reports which were falle; while he, on the other hand, endeavoured to juftify himfelf, and to fhew that he intended no otherwife than for the public Good; and there was a fhrewd Sufpicion that Defborrowe's Diffatisfaction herein arofe, from his being concerned with thofe who had the Management of victualing the Navy. After Venables had attended near four Months without any pofitive Affurance whether the Government was determined to go on with the Defign or not, although it was publickly difcourfed of, and the Spaniards had thereby not only the Knowledge thereof, but Opportunities of providing for their Defence; he was fome time after fent to, and directed to hold himfelf in a Readinefs to proceed; and though he then requefted that the Draughts which were to be made out of the Regiments, might be Men, in all refpects, fitting for the intended Service, yet the Colonels were permitted to pick and cull them as they pleafed, infomuch that moft of them were raw and altogether undifciplined, and amongft them many Irifh Papifts; nor had not half of them Arms in any Degree ferviceable: And fo far were the Council from permitting him to ftay till better could be furnifhed in their Room, that they fent him poftive Orders to leave the Town next Day, upon pain of Imprifonment.

Before he came to Portfmouth many of the Troops were embarked, and the reft fhipping off with the utmoft Hafte, fo that he had no Opportunity of viewing, much lefs of exercifing, them on Shore; and thereby informing himfelf of their Condition, with refpect to their Abilities or otherwife; and although he was promifed that the Store-flip, with Arms and other Neceffaries; fhould join him at Spithead, he was at laft told that no Delay muft be made in ftaying for her, but that he might expect her coming to him at Barbadoes. He was likewife affured that he fhould carry out with him, at leaft, ten Months Provifions for ten thoufand Men, but the moft Part thereof was fent back to London, to be fhipped offthere, under pretence that there was not fufficient Room for the fame in the Ships at Portfmouth, although the Officers in the Fleet found Paffage in them for no inconfiderable Quantities of Goods, with which they defigned to traffic when they arrived at the aforefaid Inland.

The Forces being embarked, and the Wind prefenting fair, the Squadron failed, and arrived at Barbadoes on the 29th Day of Fanuary, 1654 ; foon after which, General Venables wrote to the Protector, the Lord Prefident of the Council Laurence, the Lord Lambeth, and feveral others, letting them know in what a miferable Condition the Army was, and how deftitute they were, not only of Provifions, but Arms and other Neceffaries, proper for carrying on the intended Defign; infomuch that they were conftrained to make the hardeft Shifts to fupply them with the fmall Quantities, either of one or the other, that could be had in thefe Parts. The firft thing that was done after the Fleet's Arrival at Barbadoes, was the feizing fuch Dutch Ships and Veffels as were found there, and General Penn appointed a Nephew of his to take an Account of their Cargoes, and all things belonging to them, without admitting any Cheque on him as General Venables defired and infifted on, that fo no Embezzlements might be made.

The I8th of March Venables thought it neceffary to hold a Council of War of the Land Officers, to confider of the State of the Army; and it was refolved to make thefe Propofitions to Penn, among feveral others, viz. ift. That as the Officers of the Army had refolved not to defert the Fleet, he with his Officers would reciprocally refolve not to leave the Army, at leaft not till fuch time as their expected Supplies arrived from England. sdly, That it fhould be propofed to the Commiffioners,
that a fit Quantity of Shipping might be taken up for tranfporting the Forces. 3dly, That they might not proceed on Service with lefs than twenty Tons of Ball, and that they might likewife be furnifhed from the Fleet with two hundred Fire-arms, fix hundred Pikes, befides Piftols, Carbines, and two hundred Half-Pikes. To this Venables received no fatisfactory Anfwer from Penn, and the Stores not arriving from England, he again defired to know from him what Arms, Shot, Match, and other Neceffaries he could furnifh from the Fleet; General Deforrow having affured him, when in England, that the Commiffioners had Power to difpofe of what might be on board the Ships, to the neceffary Ufe of the Army; but to this Penn returned him an Anfwer, that fifteen fhot a Man, and a few Tons of Match, was all he could fpare; befides which, he at length prevailed with him to add thereunto a few Half and Quarter Pikes, which gave Occafion to one of the Commiffioners to let fall fome Words, as if he doubted they were betrayed.
Befides all thefe Difappointments, and the Badnefs of the Provifions fent from England, yet even of them the Soldiers were put to fhort Allowance, while the Seamen were at whole, which occafioned no little Difcontent, and rendered them very fickly and weak ; and as the Commif. fioners were empowered and required to difpofe of all Prizes and Booty taken towards defraying the Charge of the Expedition, and only a Fortnight's Pay was of fered to the Officers and Soldiers in lieu of whatever Booty fhould be taken at St. Domingo (whither they were firft defigned from Barbadoes) it very much increafed the Diffatisfaction of the Army ; for molt of the Officers, when they fet forwards on the Expedition, were in hopes of bettering themfelves very confiderably. At length General Venables prevailed with the Officers and Men to accept of fix Weeks Pay inftead of their Plunder ; and thereupon himfelf and Penn iffued out Orders, reftraining all Perfons from pillaging without Orders, or from concealing the fame on pain of Death, and Forfeiture of their Pay. But although the Officers were willing to fubmit to this, yet the Commiffioners refufed to fign it, infomuch that the Soldiers publickly declared they would return to England, and never more ftrike Stroke where there were Commiffioners who fhould have Power to controul the Army.

The Fleet being now in a Readinefs to fail, General $V$ enables, with fome of the Commiffioners, and the Officers of the Army, propofed that they might proceed to the Harbour of St. Domingo (but for what Reafon it dothr not appear, unlefs it was for want of experienced Pilots). That was refufed, and a Refolution taken to land the Troops at the River Hind; that fo they might endeavour to force the Fort and Trench. It was alfo refolved among the Land Officers, ift. That the Regiments fhould caft Lots which of them fhould go on Shore firft. ${ }_{2}$ dly, That two or three Regiments fhould be landed at once. 3 dly, That the Seconds to each Regiment fhould be appointed. 4thly, That the Ships wherein the Regiments were, fhould keep near each other, for their more regular landing. And it was farther determined, that if the Surges of the Sea ran high, and that the Enemy were prepared to defend the Fort and Trench, the Army fhould be landed behind the fecond Point to Leeward, and that, when on Shore, one Regiment fhould be ordered to march Eaftward of the City; provided General Penn would engage to furnifh the Army with all Neceffaries.
Lots having been caft as aforefaid, it fell to Colonel Buller's Regiment to land firf, and there was one Cox who had lived in thofe Parts many Years, was to have been their Guide, but he had been fent of fome Errand by Penn, fo that he was at this time abfent; and ViceAdmiral Goodfon declaring that he neither had Orders to go into Hind River, nor Pilots to conduct the Ship thereinto; the Army were conftrained to land at the Weft Point (which Venables protefted againft) and by that means were expofed to a tedious March of forty Miles, through a thick woody Country, without any Guide, infomuch that both Horfe and Men, by the Fatigue and Extremity of Heat, fell down with Thirft, and were mife-

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rably afflicted with the Flux, by their eating Oranges and other green Fruit, having no Water to moifter their Mouths with. After four Days March the Army came to the Place where they might firft have been put on Shore, but by that time the Enemy had fummoned in the whole Country to their Affiftance; and even now many of the Soldiers had no more than oneDay's Provifions of the three that had been promifed them from the Ships.

Colonel Buller being fent with his Regiment to a particular Station near Hind River, and ordered not to ftir from thence until the reft of the Army joined him, he was fo far from complying with thofe Commands from the General, that he marched away under the Guidance of Cox, who was now arrived from the Fleet; infomuch that for want of the faid Guide, the General miftaking the Way, marched ten or twelve Miles about; and Buller having fuffered his Men to ftraggle, they fell into, and fuffered much by, the Ambufcades laid by the Enemy. The Hardhips the Forces had undergone for want of Provifions, and their being denied what Plunder they might happen to take at St. Domingo, fo exafperated them, that the Seamen who had been firft fent afhore, and foon after thofe on the Land, were in a general Mutiny: However, in this Condition they forded the River Hind, with a Refolution to march to the Harbour, that fo they might be furnifhed with Provifion and Ammunition from the Ships, but they were Strangers to the Way, neither had they any Water to drink. At length Colonel Buller, and Cox the Guide, joining them, promifed to conduct them to a Place where they might be fupplied with Water. But fome of the faid Colonel's Men having rambled about for Pillage, encouraged the Enemy to lay Ambufcades for them in their March, who, falling upon the Forlorn, routed them, and killed feveral Officers; but they were foon after beaten back with Lofs, and purfued within Cannon-fhot of the Town; yet when the Action was over, many Men, as well as Horfes, perifhed with Thirft.

A Council of War being called to confider of the Condition of the Army, it was fouind that many of the Men had eat nothing for four Days together, unlefs it were fome Fruits they gathered in the Woods; and that they were without Water, the Spaniards having ftopped up all their Wells within feveral Miles of the Town. Neither knew they the Country, or how to get to their Ships, for Cox the Guide was nain in the laft Skirmifh ; however, after mature Confideration, it was refolved to march to the Harbour in the beft Manner they could, and at length arriving there, they ftaid three or four Days to furnifh themfelves with Provifions and other Neceffaries, and then advanced with a Mortar Piece, in order to reduce the Fort; but the Enemy having laid an Ambufcade, they charged the Van, which was to have been led by Adjutant General Fackfon, very vigorounly, and were anfwered in like Manner; whereas Fackfon's Party running away, and the Paffage through the Woods being very narrow, they fell upon the General's own Regiment, who, to no purpofe, endeavoured to ftop them with their Pikes; for they firft difordered that Regiment, and foon after Major General Haynes's: Mean while the Enemy followed very eagerly, and giving no Quarter, the faid Major General, and the beft of his Officers, who preferred Death before Flight, fell in the Action.

At length the General's own Regiment making head againtt them, as alfo that of the Seamen, commanded by Vice Admiral Goodfon, they, with their Swords, forced the Runaways into the Woods, rather chufing to kill them than they fhould diforder the reft; which the Ene-my perceiving, they retreated, and our Men kept their Ground, though the Shot from the Fort killed many of them. The Troops, neverthelefs, were fo very weak and difheartened, that not many of them could be brought to play the Mortar againft the Fort ; and though the General was reduced to a very low Condition, by the Flux, he caufed himfelf to be led from Place to Place to encourage them; but fainting at laft, was forced to leave the Care to Major General Fortefcue, who foon found that he could prevail no more than the General himfelf.

It was refolved foon after, at a Council of War, that fince the Enemy had guarded every pafs, and that the Army were under very great Neceflities for Water, they fhould march to a Place where they had been informed a Supply thereof, and of other Neceffaries, had been put on Shore for them from the Ships. But in that March the Soldiers accompanied their Officers no farther than till they found them in Danger, and then left them, infomuch that the Commiffioners owned, in a Letter they wrote to the Governor at Barbadoes, that had not the Enemy been as fearful as our own Men, they might, in a few Days, have deftroyed the whole Army; and withal they let him know, that thofe who had occafioned the greatelt Diforder, were thofe of Barbadoes and St. Cbrifo tophers, infomuch that they, the faid Commifioners, who were Penn, Winflow, and Buller, had refolved to leave the Place, and try what could be done againft the Ifland of Famaica.

2 I. The Army was accordingly in little Time embarked, but the Sick and Wounded were kept on the bare Decks for forty eight Hours, without Meat, Drink, or dreffing, infomuch that Worms bred in their Sores; and even while they were on Shore the Provifions fent to them were not watered but candied with Salt, notwithftanding they had not Water fufficient to quench their Thirft. Nay, after this Misfortune on Shore; Venables averred that Penn gave Rear Admiral Blagge Orders not to furnifh them with any more Provifions of what kind foever, fo that they eat up all the Horfes, Dogs; and Affes, in the Camp, and fome of them fuch things as were in themfelves poifonous, of which about forty died; and before the Forces were embarked, Adjutant General Fackfon was tried by a Court Martial, and not only fenténced to be cafhiered, and his Sword broken over his Head, but to do the Duty of a Swabber, in keeping clean the Hofpital Ships; a Punifhment fuitable to his notorious Cowardice. The Fleet and Troops arriving at Famaica, Orders were iffued by General Venables, that where it fhould be found any Man attempted to run away, the , next Man to him fhould put him to Death, or that if he failed fo to do, he fhould be liable to be tryed for his Life; and now all the Troops being ready for Service they advanced towards the Fort, which they made themfelves Mafters of with little Lofs; and next Mornirig when the Sun rofe, they began to march towards the Savanah, which was near the Town, when fome Spaniards came towards them, and defired to treat; but the General refufed fo to do, unlefs they would fend them a conftant Supply of Provifions, then much wanted; which they punctually did, according to the Promife they had made. The Articles agreed on at laft were thefe, viz. Ift. That all Forts, Arms, Ammunitions, and Neceffaries for War, and all kinds of Shipping in any Harbour in the Inland, with their Furniture, EOc. as alfo all good Wares, Merchandize, $\dot{\mathcal{F}} \mathrm{c}$. fhould be delivered up to General Venables, or whom he fhould appoint, for the Ufe of the Protector, and the Commonwealth of England. 2dly, That all and every of the Inhabitants of the Inand (except fome that were particularly named) fhould have their Lives granted, and as thofe who inclined to ftay had leave fo to do, fo was it agreed to tranfport the others to Nere Spain, or fome other of the Dominions belonging to the King of Spain in America, together with their Apparel, Books, and Papers, they providing themfelves with Victuals and Neceffaries. 3 dly, That all Commiffion Officers, and none others, fhould be permitted to wear their Rapiers and Poniards. 4 thly, All Artificers, and meaner Sort of People, fhould be permitted to remain on the Inand, and to enjoy their Goods, provided they conformed themfelves to the Laws which fhould be eftablifhed.

By thefe Means the noble Inand of Famaica was fubdued, and though the Spaniards continued to lurk in fome Parts of the Inand for feveral Years afterwards, and once made a bold Attempt to recover the Place;; yet Colonel Doyly forced them to withdraw, and reduced the whole Inland fo effectually, that at the Reftoration the Spaniards yielded it to the Crown of Great-Britain, to which it has belonged ever fince; and is, beyond Quefti-
on, the nobleft Poffefion we have in thefe Parts. The Hiftory of this Country, fince it came into our Pofferfion is fo well known, and would alfo take up fo much room, that we cannot enter into it here, nor indeed is it neceffary, becaufe our chief Bufinefs is to Shew the Value and Importance of our Colonies, with refpect to their Mother-Country, which is always beft done by defcribing the Plantation, explaining the Nature of its Product, and giving as good an Account as may be of the Nature of its Trade and the Number of its Inhabitants ; and as this appears to be the moft material Part, to an Englifh Reader, where we cannot infert all that relates to a Colony, we prefer this Part to any other.
22. We have a very large and accurate Account of this noble Country written by a learned, candid and indefatigable Perfon, who refided long there, I mean Sir Hans Sloone, from whom others have taken their Materials, and fo muft I ; as not knowing where to find any fo good, or that may be fo well depended upon; which Acknowledgment, as it is due to his Merit, Ithink it but Juftice to make, as I hope it will add fome Degree of Credit both to his Work and mine.

It is from him, therefore, that we learn moft of the Particulars, which follow, and are every way fufficient for our Purpofe. Famaica is fituated on the Atlantic Ocean, between I7 and I8 Degrees North Latitude, and between 76 and 79 Degrees Weftern Longitude, about twenty Leagues Eaft of Hispaniola and as many Sóuth of Cuba, and upwards of an hundred and fifty Leagues to the Northward of Porto Bello and Cartbagenc on the Coaft of Terra Firma. This Inland ftretches from Eaft to Weft one hundred and forty Miles in Length and about fixty in Breadth in the Middle; growing lefs towards each End; the Form is pretty near oval.

The whole Ifland has one continued Ridge of Hills running from Eaft to Weft through the Middle of it, which are generally called the Blue Mountains; the Tops of fome are higher than others; one of the higheft is called Mont Diabolo: Other Hills there are on each Side of this Ridge of Mountains, which, however, are much lower. The outward Face of the Earth feems to be different here from what it is in Europe, the Valleys being very level, with little or no rifing Ground or fmall Hills, without Rocks or Stones; the mountainous Part is very fteep, and furrowed by very deep Channels on the North and South Side of the higheft Hills; thefe Channels are made here by frequent and very violent Rains, which every Day almoft fall on the Mountains, and firft wearing a fmall Trough or Courfe for their Paffage, wafh away afterwards whatever comes in the way, and make their Channels extraordinary iteep. The greateft Part of the high Land of this Iffand is either Stone or Clay, which refifts the Rains, and fo is not carried down violently with them into the Plains, as the Mould proper for Tillage and friable Earths are: Hence it is, that in thefe mountainous Places one fhall have very little or none of fuch Earths, but either a very ftrong tough Clay or a Honey-Comb, or other Rock, upon which no Earth appears. All the high Land is covered with Woods, fome of the Trees very good Timber, tall and ftrait ; and one would wonder how fuch Trees fhould grow in fuch a barren Soil, fo thick together among the Rocks; but the Trees fend down their fibrous Roots into the Crannies of the Rocks, where here and there they meet with little Receptacles of Rain-Water, which nourifh their Roots.

It is a very ftrange thing to fee in how fhort a Time a Plantation formerly cleared of Trees and Shrubs will commonly grow foul, which arifes from two Caufes; one, the not ftubbing the Roots, whence arifes young Sprouts, and the other the Fertility of the Soil. The Settlements and Plantations not only of the Indians but the Spaniards being quite overgrown with tall Trees, fo that there would be no Footfteps left were it not for old Pallifadoes, Building, Orange Walks, E'c. which evidently fhew Plantations have been there. There are the fame Layers of Earth, one over another, in the fruitful Part of the Inand, as are to be met with in Europe ; and the fame Difference of Soil appears as in England, in digging of Wells, and other Occafions of opening the Ground. Moft of the Savanahs, or Plains fit for Pafture, and cleared of Wood, are like our Meadow

Land, lye near the South Side of the Inand, where one may ride a great many Miles without meeting the leaft Afcent; fome of thefe Plains are within Land, incircled with Hills. Thefe Savanahs after Rain are very green and pleafant, but after long Droughts are very much withered, and look yellow and parched.

The chief Ports in the Illand are, I. Port Royal, a fine capacious Harbour. 2. Old Harbour, which lies feven or eight Miles South-weft of St. Jago. 3. Port Morant, at the Eaft End of the Inand; and, 4. Point Negril, at the Weft End of this Ifland; befides which, are feveral more on the South and North Sides of the Illand; but it is dangerous approaching the Coaft, without a Pilot, on account of the Coral Rocks, which almoft furround it. There are near an hundred Rivers in Famaica, but none of them navigable; for rifing in the Mountains in the Middle of the Imand, they precipitate themfelves down the Rocks to the North or South, falling into the Sea before they have run many Miles, and carrying down with them frequently great Pieces of Rock and Timber. Yet frefh Water is very farce in dry Years in the Savanahs diftant from Rivers, fo that many of their Cattle die with driving to Water. Near the Sea the Well-water, as at Port Royal, is brackifh; this brackifh Water, which is very common in Wells on Sea Shores is not wholfome, but the Caufe of Fluxes and other Difeafes in Sailors by their drinking it.

Their River Water carries with it much Clay or Earth, and has an odd Tafte, which in St. Fago gives Occafion to the Spaniards to call it Rio Cobre, and the Englifb to fay it is not wholfome, and taftes of Copper; whereas, on the Trial of the Sand, there is no Metal found therein; this River-Water, however, if fuffered to fettle fome Days in Earthen Jars is good; Spring-Water, at a Diftance from the Sea, is preferred to River or PondWater. There are fome Springs as well as Rivers, which putrify their Channels, and ftop their Courfe by a Cement, uniting the Gravel and Sand in their Bottoms. There is a Hot-Bath or Spring near Port Morant, in the Eaft Part of the Inand, fituate in a Wood, which hath been bathed in, and drunk of late Years for the Belly-ach, the common Difeafe of the Country, with great Succefs. A great many Salt Springs arife in a level Ground under the Soils in Cabbage-Tree Bottom, about a Mile or two diftant from the Sea, which united, make what is called the Salt River. Salt is made here in Ponds, into which the Sea or Salt Water comes, and by the Heat of the Sun the Moifture being exhaled, leaves the Salt, which is in great Plenty; at the Salt Ponds about Old Harbour the Salt is not perfectly white, or in fmall Grains, but in large Lumps, and has an Eye of Red in it, as fome Sal Gemmo, from Spain, or what comes from the Inand of Salt Tortuga near the Main of America, which is here reckoned the ftronger and better. Salt Lagunas, or great Ponds, there are many here, one whereof, Riotitoa Pond, receives a great deal of Water by a River, which yet has no vifible Rivulet or Difcharge runs from it ; fome Rivers in the Mountains rife above and go under ground again in a great many Places. Rio daro parcicularly falls and rifes two or three times, and to it is in many others. At Abrabam's Plantation on the North Side is a River, which has fropt its own Courfe by letting a Settlement fall, and putrifying its own Bottom. It is very common to have Cataracts or Cafcades in Rivers among the Mountains fifty or fixty Feet high.

This Ifland being feven Degrees within the Tropic, has the Trade-Wind continually there, which is on the South-fide of the Illand, called the Sea-breeze. It comes about eight $0^{\prime}$ Clock in the Morning, and increafes till twelve in the Day; and then, as the Sun grows lower, it decreafes till there is none at four in the Evening. About eigit in the Evening begins the Land-breeze, blowing four Leagues into the Sea, and continues increafing till twelve at Night, and decreafes again till four. The Sea-breeze is now and then more violent than at other times, as at new or full Moon, and encroaches very much on the Land-Winds; and the Nortbs when they reign, viz. in the Months of December, Fanuary, and February, blow over the Ridge of Mountains with Violence, and hinder the Sea-breeze, which biows ftronger and longer near the Sea, as at Port-Royal, or

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Paffage-Fort, than within Land, as at St. Fago de la Vega, or Spanib-Town; as on the contrary the Land-Wind blows harder at the Town tnan at Pafjage-Fort or Port-Royal. The Land-Wind blowing at Ivight, and the Sea-Breeze in the Day-time, no Shipping can come into Port except in the Day, nor go our, but at break of Day, or very foon after.

The INorths, as they call them, come in when the Sun is near the Tropic of Capricorn, and fo fartheft off Southerl $j$, and are very coid and unhealthy Winds, more violent in the Night, becaufe it is then they have the additional Force of the Land-Wind. They check the Growth of Canes, and all Vegetables on the North-fide, but are hindered by the Ridge of Mountains from fhewing much of their Fury on the South, where it felcom rains with this Wind. The South Winds bring the moft lafting Rains. The Rains from the South are lafting on the South-fide of this Inand. As at Sea with the Trade-Winds one meets with Tornadocs, fo at Land here fometimes will be a violen: Weft, directly contrary to the Trade, Wind; but this happens feldom, and is foon over. The Sea-Breeze, when it blows hard, is thought to hinder the Rain from coming to the Plains, it for the moft part then raining on the Hills. On this account it is that there are in the Mountains many Springs and Rivers, and few or none in the Plams. And this is likewife the Caufe why there is never any Want of Wiater in the Rivers coming from them through the Plains, and likewife that, fometimes, Rivers fuffer very great Increafe and Inundations in the llains, when no Rains have fallen in the Places where fuch Inundations appear.

Earchquakes, as they are very frequent in Hifpaniola, where they have formerly thrown down the Town of St. Domingo ; fo they are too common alfo here : The Inhabitants expect one every Year, and fome of them think they folow their great Rains: One happened on Sunday the 19th of February, 1688: As if People had raifed the Foundation of the Houfes, it was felt all over the Ifland about the fame time, fome Houfes being wrecked, and very near ruined, and very few efcaped fome Injury ; the People were in a very great Confternation, and the Ships in Port Royal Harbour felt it: It was obferved, that the Ground rofe like the Sea, in Waves, as the Earthquake paffed along. But this was nothing to the Earthquake which happened at Port Royal in the Year 1692 , by which that Town was almoft fwallowed up. Thunder is heard almoft every Day in the Mountains, with the Rains there, fo that any Perfons in the Plains may hear it, as well as fee the Rain; it does not fo ordinarily accompany thofe Rains that come from the Sea, although when it does it is very violent. Lightning for the moft part precedes Thunder, in this Inand, as elfewhere; and, if it be fair Weather, efpecially in the hotteft Seafons, it lightens almoft all the Night, firft in one Part of the Sky, or Horizon, out of fome Clouds, and then out of others oppofite to them, as it were anfwering one another. Froft or Snow are never feen in this hot Climate; but fometimes Hail, and that very large; it comes with very great Norths, which reach with great Violence to the South-fide, and throw down every thing before them.

The Dews here are fo great within Land, that the Water drops from the Leaves of the Trees in a Morning, as if it had rained; a Man riding in the Night, will find his Cloaths, Hair, $\mathcal{F}^{3} c$. very wet in a fmall time; but there are feldom any Fogs in the Plains or fandy Places near the Sea. The Rains there are violent, and the Drops very large; according to the different Pofitions of Places, fo the Rains are more or lefs violent, and come at different times, but generally fpeaking the great rainy Seafons are in May and OEtober; in which Months, at new or full Moon they begin, and continue Day and Night for a whole Fortnight, fo that the Earth in all level Places is laid under Water for fome Inches, and it becomes loofe for fome Inches deep, and confequently the Roads are almoft impaffable. "In the Town of St. Fago de la Vega, "s in thofe rainy Seafons, I was forced to ride on Horfe" back (fays Dr. Sloane) although but from Door to "Door, to vifit the Sick." And thefe Seafons, as they are called, from being fit to plant in, are generally fo

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over the whole Ifland, though they are much altered in their Time and Violence of late Years, which arifes from the clearing much of the Country of. Wood. In the Month of Fanuary is likewife expected a Seafon, or Rain; but this is not fo conftant and violent as the other two, and probably may come from the violent Norths, at that time paffing over the Mountains, with part of theis Rains with them

As to the Produce of the Inand of Famaica, it is not eafy to give a very clear Account thereof in a narrow Compafs ; however, I fhall do the beft I can. In the firft place, I fhall mention Cocoa, of which there 'ftil comes more from this than from any of our Plantations; and as it is known to be a very rich and valuable Commodity, the Reader will probably be pleafed with a particular Account of it. Cocoa grows on a Tree in Cods, green, red, and yellow, every Cod having in it three, four, or five Kernels, about the Bignefs and Shape of fmall Chefsnuts, which are feparate from each other by a Subftance like the Pulp of a roafted Apple, moderately fharp and fweet, from which its Nuts are taken when ripe, and by drying cured. The Body of a Cocoa Tree is commonly about four Inches Diameter, five Foot in Heighth, and above twelve to the Top of the Tree. Thefe Trees arevery different; for fome fhoot up in two or three Bodies; others in one; their Leaves are, many of them, dead and moft difcoloured, unlefs on very young Trees; a bearing Tree generally yields from two to eight Pounds of Nuts a Year, and each Cod contains from twenty to thirty Nuts. The Manner of curing them is, to cut them down when ripe. and to lay them to fweat three or four Days in the Cods, which is done by laying them in Heaps; after this the Cods are cut, the Nuts taken out and put into a Trough covered with Plantain Leaves, where they fweat again about fixteen or twenty Days; the Nuts that are on each Cod are knittogether by certain Fibres, and have a white kind of Pulp about them, very agreeable to the Palate, as has been hinted before; by their turning and fweating; their little Strings are broken, and their Pulp is imbibed and mingled with the Subftance of the Nut: After which they are put to dry three or four Weeks in the Sun, and then they become of a reddifh-dark Colour. The Cods grow out of the Body, or great Limbs and Boughs ; at the fame Place there are Bloffoms, and young and ripe Fruit. It is planted firft in the Night, and always under Shade; fome fet them under Caffave, others under Plantain Trees, and fome in the Woocis. The Spaniards ufed a certain large fhady Plant, called by them Madre di Cocoa, the Mother of Cocoa; the Engli/h ufe the others only.

It muft always be fheltered from the Northeaft Winds. The People at Famaica feldom tranfplant it, only when it falls, as it does often, in open, poor and dry Lands; for this Tree requires to have a flat, moift, low Soil, which makes them be planted commonly by Rivers, and between Mountains. 'Tis an Obfervation, that it is ill living where there are good Cocoa Walks. In a Year's time, the Plant becomes four Feet high, and has a Leaf fix times as big as an old Tree, which, as the Plant grows bigger, falls off, and a lefler comes in its place. The Trees are almoft always planted at two FeetDiftance; and fometimes at three Years old, where the Ground is good, and the Plant profperous, it begins to bear a little, and then they cut down all or fome of the Shade The Fruit increafes till the tenth or twelfth Year, when the Tree is fuppofed to be in its Prime. The Root generally fhoots out Suckers, they fupply the Place of the old Stock when dead, or cut down; unlefs any ill Quality of the Ground, or Air, kill both.

The Manner of planting them is, in Order, like our Cherry-Gardens: They place a Plantain by every Tree, and when it is grown up it refembles a Cherry Tree; it delights in Shade, and for that Reafon has the Plantain fet by it. The Cocoa-walks are kept clear from Grafs by hoeing and weeding. The Trees begin to bear at three, four, or five Years, and, did they not almoft always die before, would come to Perfection at fifteen Years Growth, and laft till thirty; which renders them the moft profitable Tree in the World, one Acre of them having cleared above two hundred Pounds in a Year

Y y y
but the old Trees planted by the Spaniards being oone by Age, and few now thriving, as the Spanif Negroes foretold, little or none now is produced worthy the Care and Pains in planting and expecting it. Thofe Slaves afcribe its not coming to Perfection to a fuperftitious Caufe, many religious Rites being performed at its Planting by the Spariards, which their Slaves were not permitted to fee. But 'tis probable that wary Nation, as they removed the Art of making Cochineal, and curing Venelloes, into their inland Provinces, which were the Commodities of the Inlands in the Indians Time, and forbad the opening any Mines in them, for fear fome maritime Nation might be tempted to conquer them; fo in tranfplanting the Cocoa from the Caraccas and Guatamala on the Continent, they might conceal, wilfully, fome Secret in its planting from their Slaves.

There is alfo more Indico produced in Famaica, than in any other Colony, by reafon of the great Quantity of Savanah Land, for it thrives beft in fandy Ground. The Seed from whence it is raifed is yellow and round, fomething lefs than a Tare. The Ground is made light by hoeing; then Trenches are dug like thofe our Gardeners prepare for Peafe, into which the Seed is put about March: It grows ripe in eight Weeks Time, and in frefh broken Ground will fpring up about three Foot high, but in others to no more than eighteen Inches. The Stalk is full of Leaves of a deep green Colour, and will, from its firf fowing, yield many Crops in one Year. When it is ripe it is cut and fteeped in Fats twenty. four Hours, then it muft be cleared from the firft Water and put into proper Cifterns, where, when it has been carefully beaten, it fettles about eighteen Hours. In thefe Cifterns are feveral Taps, which let the clearWater run out, and the thick is put into Bags of about three Foot long, made commonly of Ozenbrigs, which being hung up all the liquid Part drops away; when it will drop no longer, it is put into Wooden Boxes, three Foot long, fourteen Inches wide, and one and an half deep; thefe Boxes mult be placed in the Sun till it is very hot, and then taken in till the extreme Heat is over ; this mult be done continually till it is fufficiently dryed. In Land that proves proper for Indico, the Labour of one Hand, in a Year's time, will produce between eighty and one hundred Weight, which may amount from twelve to fifteen Pounds to the Planter, if no Accident happen; for Indico, as well as other Commodities in thofe Parts, is fubject to many; the moft common are Blafting and Worms, by which it is frequently deftroyed.

Piemento is another Natural Production of Famaica, from whence it is called Famaica Pepper, alluding to its Figure and the chief Place of its Growte: the Trees that bear it are generally very tall, and fpreading, haveing a Trunk as thick as one's Thigh. It rifes ftrait, above thirty Foot high, is covered with an extraordinary fmooth Skin of a grey Colour ; it is branched out on every hand, having the End of its Twigs fet with Leaves of feveral Sizes, the largeft being four or five Inches long, and two or three broad, in the Middle, where it is broadeft, and whence it decreafes to both extremes, ending in a Point fimooth, thin, fhining, without any Incifures of a deep green Colour, and ftanding on Foot-Stalks an Inch long; when bruifed very odoriferous, and in all things like the Leaves of a Bay Tree. The Ends of the Twigs are branched into Bunches of Flowers, and each Stalk fuftaining a Flower bending back, within which Bend are many Stamina of a pale green Colour ; to thefe follows a Bunch of crowned Berries, the Crown being made up of four fmall Leaves, which are bigger, when ripe, than Juniper Berries: At firt, when fmall, greenifh, but when they are ripe, black, frooth, and thining; containing in them a moif, green, aromatic Puip, two large Seeds feparated by a Membrane, each of which is a Hemifphere, and both joined make a fpherical Seed.

It grows on all the hilly Part of the Inand of famaica, but chiefly on the North Side; and wherever thefe Trees grow, they are generally left ftanding when other Trees are felled; and they are fometimes planted where they neyer grew, becaufe of the great Profit from the cured

Fruit exported yearly in great Quantities into Europe. The Gamaica Pepper Tree fowers in June, Juhy, and Au guf, but fooner or later, according to their Situation and different Seafon for Rains; and after it flowers the Fruit foon ripens: But'tis to be obferved, that in clear open Grounds it is fooner ripe than in thick Woods. There is no great Difficulty in curing or preferving this Fruit for Ufe; 'tis for the moft Part done by the Negroes. They climb the Trees and pull off the 'Twigs with 'the unripe green Fruit, and afterwards carefully feparate the Fruit from the Twigs and Leaves, which done, they expofe them to the Sun, from the Rifing to the Setting, for many Days; fureading them thin on Cloths, turning them now and then, and carefuily avoiding the Dews, which are there very great. By this means they become a little wrinkled, and from a green, change to a brown Colour, when they are fit for the Market; being of different Sizes, but commonly of the Bignefs of black Pepper; fomething like in Smell and Tafte to Cloves, Juniper Berries, Cinnamon and Pepper, or rather having a peculiar mixt Smell, fomewhat a kin to all of them, from whence it is called All-fpice. The more fragrant and fmaller they are, they are accounted the better.

It is defervedly reckoned the beft and moft temperate, mild and innocent, of all Spices, and fit to come into greater Ufe, and to gain more Ground than it has of the Eaft India Commodities of this kind, almoft all of which it far furpaffes, by promoting the Digeftion of Meat, attenuating tough Humours, moderately heating and ftrengthening the Stomach, expelling Wind, and doing thofe friendly Offices to the Bowels, which we expect from Spices.

The wild Cinnamon Tree, commonly called, though fally, Cortex Winteranus, grows in this Inand ; its Trunk is about the Bignefs of the Piemento Tree, and rifes twenty or thirty Foot high, having many Branches and Twigs hanging downwards, making a very lovely Top; the Bark confifts of two Parts, one outward and another inward; the outward Bark is as thin as a milled Shilling, of whitifh Afh or grey Colour, with fome white Spots here and there upon it, and feveral fhallow Furrows of a darker Colour running variounly through it, of an aromatic Tafte; the inward Bark is much thicker than Cinnamon, being as thick as a milled Crown Piece, fmooth, and of a whiter Colour than the outward, of a much more biting and aromatic Tafte, fomething like that of Cloves, and not glutinous like Cinnamon, but dry and crumbling between the'Teeth; the Leaves come out near the Ends of the Twigs, without any Order, ftanding on Foot-Stalks, each of them two Inches in Length, and one in Breadth; near the End where broadeft and rougheft, being narrow at the Beginning, from whence it augments in Breadth to near. its End, of a yellowifh green Colour, fhining and fmooth, without any Incifures about its Edges, and fomewhat refembling the Leaves of Bay.

The Ends of the Twigs are branched into Bunches of Flowers, ftanding fomewhat like Umbels, each of which has a Fot-Stalk, on the Top of which is a Calix made up of fome little Leaves, in which ftand five fcarlet or purple Patala, within which is a large Stylix; to thefe follow fo many calyculated Berries of the Bignefs of a large Pea, roughifh, green, and containing, within a mucilaginous pale green thin Pulp, four black fhining Seeds of an irregular Figure: All the Parts of this Tree, when frefh, are very hot, aromatic, and biting to the Tafte, fomething like Cloves, which is fo troublefome, as fometimes to need the Remedy of fair Water. It grows in the Savanah Woods, very frequently on each Side the Road, between Paffage Fort and the Town of St Jago de la Vega. The Bark of the Tree is what is chiefly in Ufe, both in the Englifs Plantations, between the Tropics in the Weft Indies, and in Europe, and is without any Difficulty cured, by only cutting off the Bark, and letting it dry in the Shade. The ordinary Sort of People in the Wef Indies ufe it inftead of all other Spices, being thought very good to confume the immoderate Humidity of the Stomach, to help Digeftion, and expel Wind, E $c_{0}$. Rum loofes its difagreeable Smell if mixed with this Bark.

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The true Cortex Winteranus, for which the Druggifts fell this wild Cinnamon, was brought by Captain Winter, who accompanied Sir Francis Drake in his Voyage round the World, from the Streights of Mageblan.

There is plenty of Cotton in Jamaica, and it is finer than that in the Caribbee Iflands. The Tobacco that was planted there was better than at Barbadoes; but there's fo little it deferves not the Name of a Commodity. Very good tanned Leather is made there: The Tanners have three Barks to tann with, Mangrove, Olive Barks, and another. They tann better than in England; and in fix Weeks the Leather is ready to work into Shoes. There's abundance of Dyers Woods, as Fuftick, Red-wood, Logwood, and others; with feveral Sorts of Sweetwoods. The Iland abounds in Drugs and medicinal Herbs, as Guaiacum, China, Safaparilla, Caffia, Tamarinds, Venilloes, many forts of Miffeltoe; as alfo in falutary Gums and Roots ; the Plant of which Cochineal is made, grows in famaica; and yet the Inhabitants, for want of Knowledge how to cure it, make no Advantage of it ; befides the Eaft Wind blafts it fo, that it feldom or never comes to Maturity

It is not doubted but that there are Copper Mines in the Ifland; and the Spaniards fay the Bells of the great Church at St. Jago were made of Jamaica Metal; 'tis fuppofed there are Silver Mines in it, as well as at $C u b a$, and on the Continent; and there is a Place in the Mountains of Port Royal, or Caguag, where it is reported the Spaniords dug Silver, but the Engligh have not been fo happy as to find it. The Spaniards alfo found Ambergreafe on the Coaft, but the Engli/h have not often had that good Fortune : Yet fome Years ago an ignorant Fellow found 180 Pound Weight of Ambergreafe caft upon the Shore, at a Place called Ambergrease Point, where the Spaniards came ufually once a Year to look for it. This vaft Quantity was divided into two Parts, fuppofed by rolling and tumbling in the Sea; fome fay it is produced from a Creature, as Honey and Silk; and Mr. Tredway, who viewed this Piece, writes, he faw, in fundry Places in this Body, the Beak, Wings, and Part of the Body of the Creature, which he preferved for fome Time; he was alfo told by a Man, that he had feen the Creature alive, and believed they fwarmed as Bees on the Sea Shore, or in the Sea; others fay it is the Excrement of the Whale, and others, that it iffues out of the Root of a Tree.

But, after all, it is the Sugar Cane that is the Glory of famaica, by which the Inhabitants have acquired fuch immenfe Riches. It is generally faid, that the Sugar from St. Chriftopher's, is the beft in the Leeward Ifands; but, I think, it is agreed on all Hands, that the Sugar made in Famaica exceeds that of all our Plantations, though it is made there with much greater Eafe, fince it cures fafter in ten Days at Famaica than in fix Months at Barbadoes. There were in the Year 1670 upwards of threefcore Mills in Famaica, which were computed to make about two Millions of Pounds Weight of Sugar ; but fome Writers tell us, they make ten Times as much at prefent; whether that Computation be right or not, is imponible for me to decide; but this is certain, that there is Ground enough unoccupied in that Country to make much more, fince it is an hundred and forty Miles long and fixty broad; and it contains, according to a moderate Computation, four Millions of Acres, of which, though there may be about one-fourth, in which Englifh Subjects have Property; yet, it is certain, that not above a fourth of that fourth is actually planted, and a great deal of this is employed to other Purpofes, than that of raifing Sugar. It is impofible to fay precifely what Quantity may be made here, becaufe Seafons differ, and other Accidents intervene; fome have thought they did not rife beyond the Truth, in affirming, that it pro-
duces one hundred thoufand Hodfheads, which, duces one hundred thoufand Hogfheads, which, though it appears a moft prodigious Quantity, yet there are many Circumftances that concur to render it credible. As for the Number of People in this Ifland various Computations have been made; but according to the bert Accounts I have been able to gain, there may be, at this Time, feventy thoufand white People therein, and one hundred and twenty thoufand Negroes.

We may from hence judge of the almof inexprefible Advantages which this Inand affords to Great Britain for, as all our Hiftories of Famaica, and almoft every Voyage thither, that has been printed, fpeaks largely of the Luxury and Expence of all Degrees of People there, which is a plain Proof of their Wealth and vaft Acquifitions; fo we may reft fatisfied, that whatever Shew they may make, whatever Appearance there may be of Magnift cence there; yet the real Produce of all their Labour, and of all their Commerce, comes over here to Britain, and maintains and enriches the induftrious Part of our People; fo that there can be nothing more abfurd, or unreafonable, than to grudge or envy the People fettled there, the great Fortunes they acquire and poffefs, or to repine at the Pomp and Splendor in which they live; becaufe, whatever it may be in Appearance, it is perhaps an indifferent Reward for their dwelling at fuch a Diftance from Home, and for the Hazards and Labours they run through to acquire fuch Fortunes, but this will appear much more clearly if we advert a little to the Situation of Famaica, and confider the vaft Benefits that accrue from thence, in all Times, and under all Circumftances, of War as well as Peace.

As we are at prefent in the former Situation, we will treat firft of that. There is conftantly in time of Wai a confiderable Naval Force kept here, and though this be attended with a great Expence to the Britiß Nation, yet it certainly is, or at leaft ought to be, a great Comfort to us, that our Money is fpent with our Countrymen, that it increafes the Value of their Plantations, and which is ftill more to our Purpofe, 'that, fooner or later, all that is fpent and circulated there, by fome Channel or other returns hither, fo that at the long run the Nation lofes nothing by the vaft Charge fhe is at in maintaining Fleets upon this Coaft. We ought likewife to reflect, that in a Time of War there are many Prizes taken and carried into Famaica, which makes an unufual and almoft incredible Plenty of Silver, and is the true Caufe of the Dearnefs and high Price of Neceffaries in that Country, all which alfo in Time comes over hither ; fo that when we hear of valt Eftates raifed there in a fhort Space of Time, it ought to afford us the higheft Satiffaction; becaufe, thofe who make thofe large Fortunes, or their immediate Defcendants, come over hither, and. either veft their Money in our Funds or purchafe Lands here. Thus a State of War, which implies a Sufpenfion of Trade, produces few of the Inconveniencies that ufually attend fuch a Sufpenfion; becaufe, in Jamaica, the very Confequences of War become a kind of Trade, and the Wealth arifing from them takes the fame Courfe, and runs in the very individual Channels that any other Trade would do, that is, they finally enrich and tend to the Benefit of the Mother-Country.
But, in time of Peace, befides what we draw from Famaica, confidered barely in the light of a Sugar Plantation, we are to confider likewife whatever accrues to the Inhabitants from their Intercourfe and Dealings with other People, fince whatever they gain is for us; and therefore, it may not, in this Place, be improper to fay fomething of the Trade carried on by the Englifs at $\mathrm{Fa}_{\text {- }}$ maica with the Spaniards on the Continent, which is thus managed: The Merchant or Mafter of the Englifs Ship bound for this Voyage being furnifhed with a proper Cargo of dry Goods and Negroes, commonly makes firft for the Coaft near the Harbour of Porto Bello ; and in War at the Grout, within Monkey-Key, a very good. Harbour, within four Miles of the Town; from thence it is ufual for the Merchant or Mafter of the Ship to fend one who can fpeak Spanifb, as many of thefe Traders do to the Town, to give Notice of her Arrival to the Dealers, who appoint the Time and Place for the Spaniards Canoe to attend them; they come accordingly, and having purchafed as many Negroes and as much Dry Goods as they think fit, they return to the Town, fetch the Money, bring it aboard, and take the Goods Here fuch a Ship lies fometimes five or fix Weeks trading with the Sponiards; for after the firft Market is pretty well over, the Dealers, who have foon Information of her being on the Coaft, come from Panama over the Ift bnurs to trade, travelling like Peafants, with Mules bearing
their Silver in Jars; and if any of the King's Officers meet them nothing appears but Meal, which they pretend to be carrying to Porto Bello; but for the moft part they travel through Woods and Bye-Ways for fear of being difcovered by thofe Officers. When they have bought what Negroes and Goods their Money will purchate, which they fell again up in the Country, and get very well by it ; the Goods are made up in little Packs fit for one Man to carry, and the Englifh fupply them with as much Provifions as will ferve them Home, crofs the Iftbmus to the Soutb-Sea, for they come very far off.

A fingle familiar Inftance will make all this very plain. An Englifh Ship lying between Chagre and Porto Novo, a Signal was given from the Caftle of Cbagre, and the anchored two Miles from it. The Spaniards came to her, and one Merchant bought feventy Negroes and a good Quantity of Dry Goods, amounting to three or four thoufand Pounds, which was brought on Mules to the Water-fide, part Gold and part Silver. From the Grout the Englifh Ship failed to the Brew near Carthagena, where the lay to trade with the Merchants of that City, from which it is about eight Miles diftant. The People of the Inand Brew gave their Merchants Notice of her Arrival, and they came and traded as the others did at the Grout; this trading Ship in about two Months difpofed of one hundred and fifty Negroes and a good Cargo of Dry Goods, by which, probably, the Proprietors cleared two thoufand Pounds more than would have been got in any other Market; a plain Proof of the very great Advantage of this Trade between Famaica and Nere Spain, of which we fee the Spaniards are fo fond, that they run as great Hazards in buying the Merchandizes as the Englifh do in felling it to them.

There is likewife in time of Peace a great deal of Money brought into Famaica by the Adrento Trade, or Sale of Negroes, granted to us by the Spanierds in the Treaty of Utrecht, which, whatever it may be in other Refpects, has certainly proved a very beneficial Trade to that Ifland. I have indeed heard fome very able and intelligent Perfons intimate, that if inftead of erecting a new Company for the Management of this Trade, it had been put into the Hands of one already erected, I mean the Royal African Company, it had preferved that once famous Corporation from falling into its prefent melancholy Condition, as well as fecured much larger Profits to the Nation, which are Things that deferve to be confidered before we fet in earneft about any Negotiation with Spain, that we may indemnify ourfelves from the heavy Loffes and vaft Expences of this War by the Fruits of a folid and well regulated Peace; which, without doubt, may be as eafily obtained as one of a loofer and more precarious Nature; it being the Intereft of the Spaniards as well as of ourfelves, to have all Matters fo adjufted, as to prevent not only Wars, but Difputes for the future.
Before I quit this Subject I find it abfolutely neceffary to take Notice of another Branch of Trade carried on from Famaica, which has been made the Subject of much Debate; I mean the cutting of Logwood in the Bay of Campeacby. This Matter came to be confidered with the utmoft Care and Circumfpection by the Board of Trade and Plantations in the Year IクIク, who folemnly reported that we had an undoubted Right to that Trade, in which the Subjects of the Crown of England had been maintained and fupported by former Kings, his Majefty's Royal Predeceffors. They obferve, that Logwood is the Product of Fucatan, a Peninfula that extends itfelf an hundred Leagues into the North Sea, on each Side whereof are the Bays of Campeachy and Honduras, where the Wood is chiefly cut by the Englijh.

The Spaniards are poffeffed only of the Town of Campeachy, and two more fmall Places in this part of America, and that the reft of fucatan was an uninhabited Defart, 'till our Logwood Cutters fettled at Cape Catoch, the North Eaft Promontory of Fucatan, or at Trift, or the Laguna de Terminos in the Bay of Campeacby, before,' or in, the Year 1667, when a Treaty of Peace was concluded between Great Britain and Spain; and thereupon the Privateers of Famaica, who ufed to difturb the Spanifb Trade, being obliged to quit that way of Life, became

Logwood Cutters, and fettled with others of their Countrymen at Trif, and the Lake de Terminos aforefaid, and great Quantities of Logwood were afterwards imported from thence to Old and Nero England.
They obferved that Sir Tbomas Lynch, Governor of Famaica, under whofe Direction that Trade was carried on, in the Year 1671 , gave his Majefty King Cbarles II. the following Reafons for his encouraging this Trade. ift. That the Englifb had then ufed it for divers Years. 2 dly, That the Logwood was cut in defolate and uninhabited Places. 3 dly, That it was a Right confirmed by Treaty with the Spaniards. 4thly, That thereby we excluded the French and Dutch from that Trade. 5 thly, That the Spaniards had not then made any Complaint of it. 6thly, That this Employment made the reducing our Privateers, who ufed to commit Hoftilities againft the Spaniards, more eafy. Laftly, that this Trade employed an hundred fail of Ships annually, and encreafed his Majefty's Cuftoms, and the Trade of the Nation, more than any of his American Colonies.
Sir Thomas Modyford, the fucceeding Governor of Famaica, informed the Lords of the Privy Council, in the Year 1672, that the Englifb Logwood Cutters had ufed that Trade for three Years, and that they had planted Corn, and built Houfes, for their Conveniency; and though they frequently hunted Deer in the Country, they had never feen a fingle Spaniard, or any other Man in that Part of the Country, in all the Time they had been there; and concludes, that their felling of Wood, building of Houfes, and clearing and planting the Ground, was fuch a Poffeffion, as in the Weft-Indies gave them an undoubted Right to the Countries they thus occupied. And Sir Thbomas, to juftify his Conduct in encouraging this Trade, in the Year 1672 (when the Spaniards firft complained of it) fent home the Copies of feveral Depofitions he had taken from the Mafters of Ships, and others concerned in the Logwood Trade, with a Proclamation he had iffued for the Regulation and Security thereof, as a Confirmation of what he had afferted; and the Lords of the Council thereupon let the Governor know that they approved what he had done.
The I.ords Commifioners of Trade further obferved, that there is a Claufe in the abovefaid American Treaty, which provides that the King of Great Britain fliall keep and poffers, in full Right of Sovereignty and Propriety, all Places fituate in the Weft Indies, or any Part of America, which he and his Subjects were then in Poffeffion of; and that they actually were then, and had been for feveral Years, in Poffeffion of Trift and the Lake de Terminos, and feveral other Places in the Province of Jucatan, which the Spaniards began to fet up a Title to about this Time, notwithftanding they enjoyed the full Benefit of what Great Britain ftipulated on her Part, viz. ift. The fecuring the Trade of the Spanifh Weft Indies to them; a Point which had never before been yielded. 2dly, The obliging the Privateers to ceafe their Depredations, whereby the Spanifb Trade had been miferably harraffed; and this had been effected chiefly by the Care of his Majefty's Governors, and the employing thofe People in the Logwood Trade.

That in 1680 the Spaniards proceeded in a hoftile Manner to difpoffers the Englifb Logwood Cutters of their Settlements of Trift, \&'c. and even of the Illand of Providence, a Britifb Plantation to which they had no Pretence ; but thefe were foon repoffeffed by his Majefty's Subjects, and the Logwood Trade, in 1682, was greater than ever, and was maintained and carried on by the Englifh, till the Treaty of Uirecht I7I3; when the Adjuftment and Settlement thereof came again 'under Confideration; and it was ftipulated that only fuch Places fhould be reftored to the Spaniards, as had been taken during the preceding War (in the Reign of Queen Anne) among which, Trift could not be reckoned one, becaufe the Englifh were in Poffelfion of it many Years before that War commenced, and, indeed, had been in the actual Poffeffion of it from 1699 to 1713 , except for two or three Months in the Year 1689 , when the Spaniards furprized and expelled them by Force, as related above.

They farther reprefented it by a Claufe in the Treaty

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of Commerce, concluded in November 1713. The American Treaty of 1670 is confirmed and ratified; and it was thereby declared that this fhould be underftood to be without Prejudice to any Liberty or Power, which the Subjects of Great Britain enjoyed before, either through Right, Sufferance, or Indulgence; and the Englifs having long enjoyed the Liberty of cutting Logwood, whither through Right, Sufferance, or Indulgence, they are by this Treaty entitled to the fame, in as plain and exprefs Words as can be imagined. Then the Lords Commiffioners proceeded to fhew the Importance of the Logwood Trade to Great Britain, by the following Account of what Logwood had been imported fince the late War.

|  | Tons. | C. | Q. | lb. |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| In 17I3 | 2 I89 | 15 | 3 | 22 |
| In I7I4 | 4848 | 14 | 3 | 24 |
| In 17I5 | 5863 | 12 | 1 | 14 |
| In 1716 | 2032 | I7 | 2 | 0 |
|  | 14935 | 0 | 3 | 4 |

This is, communibus annis, 374I Tons, which cannot be computed at lefs than 60,000 l. per Annum, though the Price is already reduced from $40 \%$ to $16 \%$ per Ton. And before your Majefty's Subjects were fettled there, it was worth rool. a Ton. Nor is this Trade lefs neceffary than beneficial to your Majefty's Dominions, by Reafon of the great Encouragement it gives to our Seamen and Shipping, which at all times require a particular Attention, but now efpecially ; when it is daily obferved that very many Briti/s Mariners, either through defect of the Laws, or for want of Employment at home, or in hopes of greater Advantage abroad, enter themfelves into foreign Service.

Upon the whole, they gave it as their Opinion, that fome Time before, and long after, the Year 1670 , the Subjects of England were poffeffed of, and quietly enjoyed, Part of the Country of Fucatan, uninhabited by the Spaniards, and confequently the Right of Britijb Subjects, to cut Logwood, and even to Rettle in that Country, was not only certain and apparent, but was alfo fettled and confirmed by Treaty.

This Reprefentation is certainly more than fufficient to convince us, here at home, of our being well intitled to this Trade; and therefore it is a Point that deferves to be maturely reflected upon, before any new Negotiation for Peace, with the Crown of Spain, is commenced; for, without doubt, Care ought to be taken that our Right, in this Refpect, be acknowledged and admitted, in fuch exprefs Terms, that hereafter no Difputes may arrfe about it, or afford Pretences for fitting out Guarda Coftas to impede and difturb our Navigation. We know, and have heard, what high and loud Complaints were made againft the Miniftry in the Reign of Queen Anne, for not obliging the Frencb to reftore Cape Breton, and for not compelling the Spaniards to make fuch Conceffions in favour of our Trade, as were neceffary for the carrying it on with Safety and Advantage. But at - prefent Cape Breton is ours, and the Superiority of our naval Force in the $W e \int \mathcal{\imath}$-Indies is fo great, that it would be, certainly, an unpardonable Omiffion, fhould there be any thing left to object on any of thefe Heads for the future. The capital Trade of this Nation, at prefent, that which employs moft Ships, moft Seamen, and moft Manufactures, is our Commerce to our Plantations; and therefore the fecuring, encouraging, and improving this Commerce, ought to be the principal Object of our Statefmen; who, as they often lay heavy Burdens upon the Subjects, to carry their Projects into Execution, fo they are in Intereft, and in Confcience, bound to pay the utmoft Attention to thofe Points, which regard the filling again the Purfes of thofe to whom they have conftant Recourfe for the public Service.
23. We have now gone through this Section, and have fhewn when, how, and with what Views our Settlements, within this Period of Time, were made. It is 'eafy to perceive from thence, what prodigious Advantages have been derived from chem to the People of this

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Kingdom. If we confider that at the Death of Queen Elizabeth, we had not a fingle Cottage erected in America; and that at the Time of the Reftoration of King Cbarles II. we had fettled from Nova Scotia to the utmoft Bounds of Virginia, befides peopling many of the Iflands, it muft appear an amazing thing. The vaft Change in our Circumftances, in the Space of fixty Years; the mighty Augmentation of our Shipping; the vaft Increafe of our Coin, and all the other certain and indubitable Signs of an extended and profitable Commerce, fufficiently prove the Value and Importance of our Plantations s for I make no fcruple of affirming that we owed them all to thefe. To fay the Truth, the civil War, which was fo ruinous and fatal to thefe Kingdoms, was, by the kind Difpofition of Providence, highly ferviceable to the Plantations. In the firft Ferment of the Nation, we have feen that Newe England was planted and peopled as it were ats once; and in fucceeding times; when the Conftitution was overturned, and the loyal Nobility and Gentry, who were deprived of their Eftates, by thofe the Fortune of War had made their Mafters, and had not even the Liberty of ftarving here in Peace, Virginia and Barbadoes were their Refuge : There the Wicked ceared from troubling, and there the Weary were at reft. The Spirit' and Vigour with which they fet about improving the Places of their Exile, foon changed them into Habitations of Delight, and where they looked only for a quiet and a bare Subfiftance, the Bleffing of God upon their Induftry produced them vaft Eftates.

We may fafely venture to affirm, that a little after the Reftoration the Sugar Colonies rofe to their greateft Height, Famaica only excepted. Since then the Tobacco Colonies have encreafed greatly, and fo have the Bread Colonies likewife; for the Reader is to obferve, that Famaica, Barbadoes, and moft of the Leeward Inlands, are furnifhed with Provifions from the northern Colonies, and with Garden Stuff from the Iflands of Bermudas. But it has fo fallen out, that though thefe Colonies have fuch a natural Dependance upon each other, yet Complaints have arifen, and we have feen both Sides appealing to the Britifb Parliament, the one for Relief, and the other for Protection. The Occafion of thefe Difputes was this :

A Bill was brought into the Houfe of Commons on the Petition of the Merchants and Planters concerned in the Sugar Colonies in the Year 1731, for fecuring and encouraging the Trade of the faid Colonies. The Intent whereof was to enable them to fupply foreign Markets, with Sugar, as cheap as the French, which they fuggefted might be done by prohibiting the Exportation of Horfes, Provifions, and Lumber, from our Northern Colonies on the Continent of America, to the French and Dutch Plantations, and by prohibiting the Importation of all foreign Sugar, Rum, and Moloffes, to our Northern Colonies; for the permiting of this, they fuggefted, was giving the French and Dutch, at leaft, twenty-five per Cent, upon the whole Produce of their Sugar Colonies; and thereby enabled them to afford their Sugar, at foreign Markets, cheaper than our Sugar Colonies can. It was finding them Plantation Neceffaries, as well as Money to pay for them ; that is, the foreign Colonies paid our northern Colonies for their Horfes; Provifions, and Lumber, with Moloffes and Rum, which otherwife the French muft throw away as they did formerly. To induce the Parliament to pais this Bill, the Sugar Colonies endeavoured to thew the vaft Importance thofe Colonies are of to Great Britain, obferving that they produced, at an Average, eighty-five thoufand Hogfheads of Sugar annually at leaft, which, at ten Pound a Hogfhead, amounted to eight hundred and fifty thoufand Pounds. This Sum, or much the greatert Part of it, as they affirm, is fpent here by the feveral Proprietors of Eftates in the Wefi-Indies, who live in England, or is fent out annually in the Manufactures of Great Britain, either directly to the Sugar Colonies, or to the Coaft of Guinea, to purchafe Negroes for the Ufe of thofe Colonies.

Befides this neat Produce of Sugar, another vaft Advantage arifing from the Sugar Colony Trade, is the large Number of Ships and Seamen employed and maintained in the Courfe of our Commerce with them; and they

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calculate that there are three hundred fail of Ships fent from Great Britain (not to mention thofe from other Places) every Year, to our Sugar Colonies, which are navigated by about five thoufand five hundred Seamen; and that the Freight from the Sugars, brought hither, amounts to an hundred and feventy thoufand Pounds a Year; and the Duties, Commiffions, $\mathcal{E}^{2} c$. to little lefs than two hundred thoufand Pounds more, which upon the whole is a good one Million two hundred thoufand Pounds a Year Profit and Advantage to Great Britain. But befides this confiderable Article of Sugar, they obferve that thefe Illands produce great Quantities of Cotton, Ginger, Indico, Aloes, $E_{c}$. which are all brought to Great Britain, where the whole Profit of all our Plantation Product, does and muft centre. They have been equal, they infift, to the Mines of the Spanils Weft-Indies, and have contributed, in a particular Manner, to the Trade, Navigation, and Wealth of this Kingdom.
But at prefent they were in a very bad and languifhing Condition: Their Duties high, their Planters poor, their Soil worn out, and their Fortifications deftroyed. They obferve farther, that the French Sugar Inands are much larger, more beautiful, better inhabited, pay lefs Duties, and have greater Encouragement from France than ours have from Great Britain. And that if our Sugar Inands, for want of being put in a pofture of Defence, fhould either be taken, as fome have been, or moulder, and come to ruin, it would be one of the greateft Blows this Kingdom ever received. It would then lofe the Benefit of all their Product imported hither ; it would lofe the Exports of our Woollen and other Manufactures thither, to the amount of feveral hundred thoufand Pounds a Year ; it would lofe, in a great Meafure, the Trade to Guinea; it would lofe the employing and maintaining of many hundred Britifs Ships, and many thoufand Britifb Seamen every Year; and laftly, it would lofe one of the moft confiderable and main Branches of our Funds, the Deficiency of which muft be made good, and the Weight and Burthen fall on our Lands here at home.

To this Bill, however, many Objections were made by fuch as were employed here in behalf of the Northern Colonies, and amongft them the moft material were thefe : Ift, That fuch a Prohibition as was defired by the Bill, would put the French upon fupplying themfelves with Lumber from their own Settlements, and the Britifh Colonies on the Continent would thereby lofe the Trade in which many Ships and Seamen were employed. 2dly, That the Britib Colonies could not take off their Lumber, or fupply them with Rum for their Fifheries, their Trade with the Indians, and what they wanted in the Harveft-time. 3 dly, That the reftraining the Northern Colonies from difpofing of their Horfes, Provifions, and Lumber to the French and Hollanders, might draw them into Employments prejudicial to Great Britain. 4thly, The French would diftil their Moloffes themfelves, and fupply the Fifheries with Rum, if the Northern Colonies did not. 5 thly, If the Northern Colonies did not take off the French Sugars, they would carry them to Market themfelves. 6thly, If the Importation of French and Dutch Rum and Molofes into Nere England was prohibited, and they could go to no other Market for Rum, or fell their Lumber and Provifions any where elfe, the Englifh Sugar Colonies, like other Monopolies, would exact an unreafonable Price for their Rum, and beat down the Price of Lumber, and other Goods, as low as they faw fit. 7 thly, That the French and Dutch Colonies furnifh the Northern Colonies with Money, which they bring to Great Britain and lay out in our Manufactures. 8thly, That the Luxury and Extravagance of the Sugar Colonies was the Occafion of this Decline. And gthly, That the Trade of the Sugar Colonies, was ftill vaftly increafing; inftancing in Barbadoes, which, in the Year 1730 , imported twenty two thoufand feven hundred and fixtynine Hogfheads of Sugar into England, valued at 340,396 Pounds; and that this was the Neat Profit, they infifted, becaufe it was admitted that the Rum and Moloffes of Sugar Plantations bear the Charges of them: The Sugar Planters therefore have no Reafon to complain, when
fo fmall an Inand as Barbadoes produced fo vaft a Neat Profit.

As there is nothing can contribute more to make this Subject thoroughly underftood, and to point out effectually what the Inhabitants of the Colonies take to be their refpective Interefts, I think it will be neceffary to add the Replies or Solutions, given by the Friends of the Sugar Colonies to thefe Objections. As to the firft, That the French, if not fupplied from the Northern Colonies, 'would furnifh their own Settlements with Lumber, they faid, That the French could not be fupplied with Lumber from their own Settlements; or, if they could, it muft be at great Charge and Expence, fince the only Places they can pretend to be fupplied from, are Cape Breton and Quebec. Some indeed have gone fo far, and been fo extravagant, as to imagine that the French Inands may be fupplied with Lumber from the Bay of Apalachi, or the Settlement of Milfyippi: But we mult confider that great Snows are neceffary for drawing down Trees to the Sides of Rivers; and likewife (upon the Snow's melting) for floating them down to the Mills; and, if they had Snows, thefe Countries do not produce any Quantity of fuch kind of Wood as is proper to work into Lumber; nor have they any fuch Mills, which are expenfive to build, and the Labour and Time required to manufacture fuch Trees into Lumber, would make it extremely dear to the French; befides the Navigation to and from fuch Places, to Martinico, and the French Inands fo much to Windward, would be fo difficult and long for fuch Veffels as are proper to carry Lumber, by reafon of the Calms, contrary Winds, and ftrong Currents againft them, that fuch a Project would probably end in the Ruin of the People concerned in it ; which would put an End to fuch Endeavours of the French.

As to Cape Breton, though it has the Advantage of Snows, yet it has no other Conveniency ; it produces little Wood; they have few Rivers, and thofe longer frozen, and fooner dried, than in New England: It is thinly inhabited, and is a fmall, and, in that Light, but an inconfiderable Inland, commodious only for fifhing. And as for Quebec, allowing all the Advantages the other Places want, and all that our Northern Colonies have, with Refpect to Wood, and Mills; yet the Navigation of the River St. Laurence (which is practicable only a few Months in the Year) is fo very long and dangerous, that all the Lumber from thence muft be exceeding dear; and though fome may think that thefe Difficulties in time may be removed, and the Navigation of the River become both fafe and eafy, it may be wifhed the French had no Supply of Lumber till thefe Difficulties were removed; for thofe Difficulties muft always continue from the Nature of the Coaft, the Rocks, Sholes, and Sands, in that River, and from the Inclemency of the Air, and other natural Caufes; which will make that Navigation for ever unfafe. If then the French cannot be fupplied with Lumber, or at leaft not upon any reafonable Terms, How much will thïs give our Sugar Colonies an Advantage over the French? But let us fuppofe the utmoft and worft that can be: That they can be fupplied with Lumber from their own Settlements, yet, What muft the Lumber be bought with? Not with Rum and Moloffes, but with Money : So that if this Prohibition of foreign Rum and Moloffes takes place, fo much will be loft to the French Plantations, becaufe they can have no Vent for their Rum, as interfering with Brandy, the Product of France.

But what ftronger Argument can we have, that the Trade carried on by fome of the Northern Colonies is a prejudicial Trade, than the Permiffion of it by the French themfelves? They underftand the whole Compals of Trade perfectly well, and fteadily purfue their Interefts: They know that their Colonies either cannot be fupplied at all with Horfes, Lumber, and other Neceffaries, or elfe they muft purchafe them at a great Expence: 'They find they have them for Rum and Moloffes, which is all clear Gain to them; that they fave at leaft twenty-five per Cent. in having Lumber and Horfes fo conveniently from the Northern Colonies; and get twenty-five per Cent. by their Rum and Moloffes, which elfe would be all

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Lofs to them; and what is more, they plainly perceive that this Trade muft fhortly and effectually ruin and deftroy our Sugar Plantations, by inhancing the Price of our Plantation Neceflaries, and ftopping the Product of our Manufacture ; however fpecious therefore the Argument may be in favour of this Trade, nothing lefs than a prohibition of Horfes and Lumber, as well as of foreign Sugar, Rum, and Moloffes, will be of any real Service or Benefit to the Sugar Colonies.

For if you allow them to carry Lumber, what muft they have in Exchange for it but Sugar? And how will it be poffible, on fo long a Coaft as feven or eight hundred Miles, as that of thofe northern Colonies, where there are fo many Bays, Creeks, and Rivers, and fo few Officers, to prevent the Running of thefe Goods, let your Penalties be never fo ftrict. But it may be faid, perhaps, that France will allow them to carry their Rum to their own Settlements on the Continent; but that is altogether as improbable and as unlikely, as that we fhould fuffer Ireland to fupply our Plantations with woollen Manufactures. Thofe Colonies there are abundantly fupplied with Brandy from France, very cheap, and which is a Spirit much better liked, and what they have been ufed to.

As to the fecond Objestion, that the Englifh Sugar Colonies cannot take off the Lumber they have, or fupply them with the Rum they want, they anfwered, if the Trade and Navigation from the Britij/ Colonies on the Continent, to the foreign Colonies, be prejudicial to the Sugar Colonies, and to Great Britain, and if the reftraining it will effectually diftrefs the French in the Sugar Trade, it ought to be prohibited, though fome few Traders fhall fuffer Hardfhips ańd Inconveniency by it. As to difpofing of their Lumber, the Sugar Colonies have more Reafon to apprehend that they fhall find a Want of it, than that the New England People will have much upon their Hands; at leaft, if what they fay be true, and founded in Fact. For we have for many Years been alarmed with Scarcity of Lumber in Newe England, and we have felt the Effects of it in the advanced Price we have paid for it, for fome Time, upon this Pretence. Thofe who were principally concerned there, in the Lumber Trade, complained laft Year, 1730, of the great Want of Oak and Firr near the Rivers on which their Saw-Mills ftand; and as they are reftrained by feveral Acts of Parliament from cutting the King's Trees, they will hardly be able to fupply us long with Lumber, of private Property, at any reafonable Rate, which deferves Confideration. The other Part of this Objection, That our Sugar Colonies are not able to fupply them with a fufficient Quantity of Rum, is as groundlefs as the former. A Gentleman of Diftinction, of St. Cbrifopher's, informed the Committee, that himfelf made two thoufand Gallons of Rum a Year, but that if he had Encouragement he could make twenty thoufand Gallons; and the other Gentlemen of St. Cbrijtopber's, Nevis, and Montferrat, who made little or no Rum now, could make a very great Quantity, if there was a Demand for it. Therefore the Queftion that was afked by a New England Gentleman, whether we have any Rum left on our Hands at the End of the Year, is not at all to the Purpofe, though at firf Sight it feems fo.

The Diftillers in Newe Englond find this Trade in Spirits, made of foreign Moloffes, very profitable, and for that Rearon raife Objections which have nothing in them, in order to make Bofon the great Staple of Rum. For fhould the Prohibition take Place on foreign Rum and Moloffes, then our Sugar Colonies might fend again their Rum to Virginia, Maryland, Carolina, and Nerefoundland, as they did before, and fave the Lives of many hundred of poor Wretches, who, if this Trade be not ftopped, will probably be deftroyed by this pernicious Spirit, made of foreign Moloffes, which is very unwholfome. If we fhould admit, for Argument's fake, that the French Sugar Colonies, and Surinam (belonging to the Dutch) do take off one half of the Nere England Lumber (which by the Way is more than can be proved) the Deficiency then of the Demand of Lumber, will be one Moiety. Now if it can be proved that the Britifb Sugar Colonies, upon a proper Encouragement,
might be improved fufficiently to make as much more Rum and Sugar as they now do, it will follow that the Britijh Sugar Colonies may take off all the New England Lumber.

Barbadoes is allowed to be at its Perfection, and per ${ }^{-}$ haps incapable of being farther improved, fo as to increafe its annual Product of Sugar and Rum. Antigua is capable of farther Improvements, and may enlarge its Product of Sugar, according to the beft Computations, at leaft, one fifth Part per annum; as to the Product of Rum there, it may certainly be enlarged near one half upon proper Encouragement, for the Rum it now makes is not quite one half of its Product of Sugar: That is to fay, if Antigua makes twenty thoufand HogTheads of Sugar per annum, its Product of Rum is not quite ten thoufand. But it is evident from the Experience of Barbadoes, that out of twenty thoufand Hogfheads of Sugar, there ought to be made near fourteen thoufand Hogheads of Rum. And this Increare, both of Sugar and Rum, would certainly be made if there was proper Encouragement. Mont ferrat, Nevis, and St. Cbrijfopher's, for want of Encouragement, do not make one Hogthead of Rum for three Hogfheads of Sugar. Whereas it is evident, by the Experience of Barbadoes, that three Hoghheads of Sugar ought to produce two Hogheads of Rum ; confequently the Product of Rum in thefe three Inands might be, upon proper Encouragement, encreafed to as much more as it now is. Add to this the Improvement to be made in thofe Inlands, by which the Quantity of Sugar would be encreafed. It will follow ftill farther, that the Quantity of Rum which thofe Illands are capable of making, would be as much more as they now make, and confequently the Demand for Lumber would be proporti-. onable. Famaica, the largeft of all the Britifa Sugar Colonies, is yet but in its Infancy; having now as much Land uncultivated, as would produce above three times its prefent Product if cultivated, as it certainly would be upon proper Encouragement.

But farther it appeared by the Cuftom-houfe Books, that all the Rritijs Sugar Colonies do produce about one hundred thoufand Hogfheads of Sugar per anmum; and they ought, in proportion, to make about feventy thoufand Hogfheads of Rum; a Quantity more than fufficient to fupply the Nero England Fifhery, and Indian Trade, even according to their own Computation. But the prefent Product of the Sugar Colonies, under all the incumbent Difadvantages, is more than they of NereEngland can prove to be neceffary to both thofe Trades; nay, on the contrary, they will have a Proof fooner than defired, that their Fifhery and Indian Trade do not take off one half of the Rum, now actually made in the Sugar Colonies. Soutb Carolina trades with eight thoufand Indians, and yet nine hundred Hogfheads is the moft they ever imported in one Year, both to fupply their home Confumption, all their Trade with thefe eight thoufand Indians, and to trade to other Ports with; and yet this is a Colony that is the hotteft, has the largeft Harveft of Rice, $\mathcal{E}^{\circ}$. and is not fo well fupplied with Beer, $\mathrm{E}_{\mathrm{c}}$. as the other Northern Colonies; fo let us allow this Colony of South Carolina thefe nine hundred Hogheads; North Carolina one thoufand HogTheads; Virginia and Maryland three thoufand Hogheads; New York and Pbiladelpbia four thoufand Hoghheads; Rbode Ifland and Nerw England ten thoufand; which Calculations both by their refpective Cuftom-houfe Accounts, and by the greateft Eftimates that ever have been made, are too large, and yet the whole amounts but to eighteen thoufand and nine hundred Hog fheads; whereas the Sugar Colonies produce forty thoufand, and might fifty-five thoufand, Hogtheads. It was obferved alfo, that the Newe England People thus taking from the Frencb their Moloffes, Rum, and Sugar, and fupplying all the other Northern Colonies, as well as Nerefoundland, Great Britain, Ireland, and Africa, with large Quantities, thereof, was a very great Hurt to the Revenue ; for if thefe Places were not thus fupplied, they muft be fupplied by our own Sugar Colonies, and then every thoufand Pounds Value of Rum, or Moloffes, of our own Growth, muft pay his Majefty a Duty of
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forty-five Pounds, and every thoufand Pounds value of Sugar a Duty of one hundred and twenty Pounds. It might have been added that it was likewife a great Hurt to the Trade and Navigation of this Kingdom, as 'well as to the Sugar Colonies, that we cannot fupply thofe Places with Rum, Sugar, and Moloffes of our own Growth, and in Ships and Veffels of this Kingdom, without the Difadvantage of paying for our Rum and Moloffes a Duty of four and a half per Cent. when Nere England can fupply all the Markets with Rum, Sugar, and Moloffes, of foreign Growth, without paying any of thefe Duties. Was it not for this Advantage they have over us, a great many of our Veffels that mifs a Freight of Sugar in the Weft-Indies for London, would take fome Rum, Moloffes, and Sugar, and go to Newefoundland and barter it for Fifh or Oil, and then proceed to fome other Market with it, and might probably employ themfelves to Advantage, or might, with a little Rum, Sugar, and Moloffes, go to North Carolina, \&cc. and barter them for a Cargo of Pitch, Tar, and Skins, and bring them to Great Britain.

As to what is alledged, That the reftraining the Northern Colonies from the difpofing of their Horfes, Provifions, and Lumber to the French and Hollanders, might put them upon fome Employment prejudicial to Great Britain, it is anfwered, That it hath been fhewn already, that there is more Reafon to fear the Inlands will not be fupplied with Lumber as they ought to be, than that the Northern Colonies will want a Vent for their Lumber; but if the Britijb Colonies could not take off their Lumber, they might fend it to Spain, or Portugal, or to Great Britain, where it might be imported Duty-free. They might employ themfelves in raifing naval Stores; the Government hath given them a large Bounty upon that Trade, which would be of vaft Advantage to our Navigation, and fave the Nation three or four hundred thoufand Pounds a Year, which is fent out annually to purchafe naval Stores with from the North. But this favourite Trade with the foreign Sugar Colonies, hath diverted them from that excellent Defign, to the enriching of the French, and to the great Prejudice and almoft Ruin of our own. As to the fourth Objection : That the French would diftil their Moloffes themfelves, and fupply the Finheries with Rum, if the Northern Colonies did not ; it was anfwered, That the French diftil but very little Rum at prefent, and know little of the Matter; Worms, Stills, and other diftilling Utenfils, coft a great deal of Money; and this muft be a Work of Time and very great Expence; however, a Poffibility of an Inconvenience that might happen ought not to have that Regard paid to it, as to prevent our Colonies from being relieved in a Point fo very prejudicial to them, as well as to the Malt Spirits of Great Britain, with which their Fifheries were formerly fupplied.

To the 5th, That if the Northern Colonies did not take off the Frencb Sugars, they would carry them to other Markets themfelves; it was anfwered, The French do already carry many Sugars to foreign Markets; if fo, they may fell to Advantage, and the Surplus which foreign Markets won't take off, goes to our Northern Colonies, to purchafe what is abfolutely neceffary for them, and what they could not have conveniently from any other Place; but even here the Profit of the Freight is gained not by Great Britain, but by the Northern Colonies only ; which is a very fmall Advantage, in Comparifon of the Damage done by this Means to our Sugar Colonies, efpecially as the French can afford their Sugars cheaper than ours, and as the high Duties paid for Sugars in our Plantations, make it impoffible for us to vend any to the Northern Colonies.

To the next Objection: That if the Importation of French and Dutcb Rum and Moloffes was prohibited, and they could have none but what they bought of the Englifh Sugar Illands, or fell their Lumber and Provifions any where elfe, then the Englifh Inands would fet what Price they pleafed upon their Rum, and beat down the Price of their Lumber and other Goods as they thought fit; it was anfwered: If the Cafe was as the

Objection ftates it, the Britiff Sugar Colonies would be only upon a Level with Nere England; for, as that Place is the only Market from whence Lumber is imported to the Sugar Colonies, Nerv England, by a Parity of Reafon, is a Monopoly of the Lumber-Trade, and therefore does exact in the Price of its Lumber. But this is not, nor ever can be, the Truth of the Cafe, either with Regard to New England, or the Sugar Colonies; for as in a Place of fuch Extent as Nero England, where the Lumber Trade is carried on by a Multitude of People, with a View to each Trader's feparate Intereft, a Monopoly of Lumber cannot properly be made; fo in the Sugar Colonies that lie at a vaft Diftance from, and are Rivals to, each other, by the Production of the fame Commodities, a Monopoly is impracticable. The Nerw England Traders have no lefs than fix Britifh Inands to go to for Rum and Moloffes; each of thefe Iflands is as independent on the other in its Polity, as diftant in Situation. There is little or no Intercourfe, and lefs Commerce, between thofe of them which are fituated the neareft, and no Intercoufe at all between the remoteft of thefe Iflands; becaufe the Produce of them all being the fame, there can be no Exchange of Commodities, and confequently no Commerce or Intercourfe. It follows therefore, where there is no Intercourfe there can be no Combination, no Monopoly. On the contrary, each Infand is a Rival to its Neighbour, producing the fame Commodities, and will in common Prudence ufe all proper Means to have its full Share of Trade ; to which End nothing can be more conducive, than to fell its Produce at the cheapeft Rate poffible.
As to the feventh Objection, that the French and Dutch Colonies furnifh our Northern Colonies with Money, which they bring to Great Britain, and lay out in our Manufactures, they anfwered, That there is no Money among the French and Dutch Sugar Colonies. How therefore they can bring Money from Places, where there is not enough for the common Ufes of Life among the Inhabitants, is a Paradox which they muft explain before the World will take it upon their Word. If then that Affertion be not founded on Truth, it follows that they do not lay out Money, brought from thefe Places, in the Manufactures of Great Britain; their Traffic for Fifl in the Streights (a Trade in which they have fupplanted Great Britain) may furnifh them with Money, but we deny that fuch Money is laid out by them in the Manufactures of Great Britain. On the contrary, it is to be prefumed, that their Money is laid out with the French and Dutcb in Europe, for Eaf-India Goods, Frencb Silks, and other foreign Commodities; for, as it appears by their own Evidence, at the Bar of the Houfe of Commons, they import fuch Wares into Newe England; and we muft fuppofe they pay for them in Money or Fifh, till they can prove that Lumber is a valuable Commodity in France and Holland. But fuppofing the Nerv England People do lay out their Product of Fifh in Britijf Manufactures, is that a fufficient Compenfation to Great Britain, for robbing her of the Fifh Trade to the Streights? Do not the Nero England People, by their Confeffion, acknowledge by Implication, that they reap the Profit of it, both in Navigation and Trade up the Streights, which ufed to be enjoyed by great Britain itfelf? What Advantage is it to Britain to have this Money laid out in her Manufactures? Would it not be a far greater to be the Carrier of thefe Manufactures to the Streights, and to bring home this Money in her own Ships, navigated by her own Sailors?

The Inhabitants of the Sugar Colonies, it is faid, are very rich, and very luxurious. That the Product of thefe Colonies are of the richeft Sort, and a Mine to Great Britein, is allowed, and has been fully proved; but that the Proprietors of the Soil and Manufactures are far from being rich, is evident from the Proofs already made to the Parliament, that they do not clear five Shillings for every hundred pound Weight of Sugar they make. This the Nerw England Traders would think but a moderate Profit upon one of their fhort Voyages; but it is too much for an Inhabitant of the Sugar Colonies, who runs infinitely more rifque in the Heat of the

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Torrid Zone, does the Duty, and is liable to run the Hazard of a Camp in the Time of War, and in Time of Peace live the hardeft Life of all the Inhabitants under the Sun. That this is truly the Cafe of the Planters in the Sugar Colonies, all Mank ind that are acquainted with them will atteft; but it may be evinced from the Nature of the Weft-Indian Eftate itfelf, which is fubject to Ruin by the French, to Fire from the combuftible Nature of the SugarCanes, which are its Product ; from the vaft Expence of Materials and Edifices for making Sugar and Rum, and from the like Expence in Negroes, Cattle, and Mules; from the Rifque of Mortality in this Part of their Property, which is always half the Value of a well fettled Plantation : And laftly, the Expence of feeding, the Care, Anxiety, and prudent Conduct of governing two or three hundred Negroes, with frrict Juftice and Humanity, and with Advantage to himfelf, is the Station of a Planter: And is not this a Station that requires as much Fortitude, Induftry, and Oeconomy, as catching Fifh, or buying Skins from the Indians of New England? In fhort, without a good Share of all the Qualifications neceffary to conduct an Affair the molt complicated in its Nature, furrounded with Difficulties and Hazards, and in which the niceft Oeconomy and Order muft be obferved, it is impoffible a Planter fhould reap any Profit from his Eftate ; therefore if Planters are rich, they muft be the beft Oeconomifts, and the moft induftrious Men in the World, and therefore deferve what they acquire.

To the ninth Objection, That the Trade of the Englijh Sugar Colonies is at prefent vaftly profitable; for the little Inland of Barbadoes in the Year 1730 imported twenty thoufand feven hundred and fixty nine Hogfheads of Sugar, of which they made $340,396 \mathrm{l}$. clear Profit. It is admitted to be true, when Rum and Moloffes bear a reafonable Price; then a. Plantation may, with the niceft Oeconomy, pay its own Charges out of thofe Articles. But if the Nere England Traders take Rum from Foreigners, and Moloffes to be diftilled into Rum by themfelves, then the Rum and Moloffes will be fo far from bearing fuch a Charge ; that, on the contrary, they will bear no Price at all; but the Moloffes muft be given to the Hogs, as the French ufed to do, 'till Nero England taught them how to make a better Profit of it. Have not then the Barbadians reafon to complain ? By the Affiftance of the Nere England Traders the French now have that great Advantage, and the French Plantations are now increafed above one third of the annual Value, purely by that pernicious Trade. This Increafe to Foreigners is a proportionable Diminution of our own Sugar Colonies, and confequently a Difadvantage to Great Britain. But is the Product of that little Inand Barbadoes no lefs than 340,396 l brought into the Ports of Great Britain, in one Year, what a Fountain of Treafure muft this be to the Kingdom, even by the Confeffion of the Enemies to our Britib Sugar Colonies? Do therefore the New England Traders imagine that the Parliament of Great Britain will facrifice this immenfe Treafure to the Advantage of a few Nere England Diftillers; or if it was a Difadvantage to all Nero England (from whence Great Britain derives no Advantage in comparifon of that) would it not be juft Policy to fupport the Sugar Colonies? but when the prefent Oppofition is confidered, as founded on a Trade with the French, the natural and implacable Enemies of this Kingdom, what honeft Engli/bman will look upon it but with Difdain ? efpecially after it has appeared evident from Reafon, from undoubted Teftimony, and even by the implicit Confeffion of the Nere England People concerned in this Oppofition, that the French have increafed one third per Annum in their Wealth by this very Trade; that our Sugar Colonies have declined in Proportion, as has been proved already; and to compleat the Misfor-
tune, the New England Traders have drained even the Britifh Sugar Colonies of all their current Cafh, for no other Purpofe but to purchafe Moloffes and Rum of the French. This is a Fact known by all the Inhabitants of the Sugar Colonies, who are ready to prove it in the moft folemn Manner.

The two Houfes having heard the feveral Facts ftated, with the Proofs ; and confidered the Arguments and In-
ferences drawn from them; pafted an Act of the follows ing Tenor: That after the 25 th of December 1738 there fhould be paid a Duty of Nine-pence a Gallon for all Rum and Spirits made in the Plantations, not fubject tod Great Britain, on the Importation of them into any of the Britib Plantations; that Six-pence a Gallon fhould be paid for all foreign Moloffes and Syraps imported, and Five Shillings for every Hundred Weight, Engliflo Money, for Sugar and Paneles imported; and that no Sugar, Paneles, Syrups, or Moloffes, fhould be imported into Ireland, unlefs fhipped in Great Britain. And ant Allowance of Two Shillings per Hundred Weight more than heretofore granted, on the Exportation of refined Sugars. But the Importation of Spanibs or Portughede Sugars into Great Britain is fill permitted by the faid Act.

Since the Act, the Merchants and Planters concerned. in the Britijh Sugar Colonies preferred a Petition to the Houfe of Commons, fetting forth, that by two Acts of Parliament paffed in the 12 th and 22 d of Cbarle's II. the Inhabitants of the faid Colonies were reftrained from fending Sugar to Foreign Markets before they are firft landed in Great Britain. That how prudent foever this Reftraint may have been at the Time the Sugar Trade in the WefiIndies was entirely in our Hands, yet now our Sugar Inands are in a declining Condition from the Increafe of the French Settlements, it would be highly beneficial not only to them but to Great Britain to put the Britijb Subject in a Capacity of difputing foreign Marizets with the French, and to permit him to carry his Sugars earlier and cheaper to thofe Markets than he can do, under the Reftraint aforefaid. That the Sugar Colonies iniport yearly into this Kingdom Sugar enough for our Home Confumption, and alfo a large Surplus for Re-exportation to foreign Parts; but the Demand from Abroad has greatly decreafed within thefe few Years, and the Markets for that Commodity have been foreftalled by the French, not only to the Prejudice of the Sugar Trade but alfo of the general Trade of Great Britain, which muft affect the Balance thereof. That if BritibS Ships were permitted to go to foreign Markets under proper Reftrictions without unloading here, the whole Charge, and in a great Meafure, the Rifque, of a double Voyage would be faved; and the obliging fuch Ships to return to Great Britain, unload, and take their Clearance here, before their proceeding on another American Voyage, would be attended with this farther good Effect, that they muft afford to carry Freight at the cheapeft Rates, or return Home empty; fo that this Regulation would extend our Navigation, and contribute to make us the Carriers of Europe, without prejudicing the Revenue, all the Duties on Sugar being drawn back on the Re-exportation of it to foreign Parts. For thefe Reafons the Petitioners prayed that Liberty might be granted of carrying Britifb Sugar from our Sugar Colonies in America directly to any foreign Markets to the Southward of Cape Finifterre; upon the fame Conditions that the People of Carolina are permitted to carry their Rice to the faid Markets, and alfo of carrying fuch Sugars to any forèign Markets to the Northward of Cape Finifferre, after firt touching at Great Britain, before they proceed on another Wef-India Voyage. But the great Tendernefs the Parliament has always had for the famous Act of Navigation, has prevented thefe Indulgences from being granted, that might otherwife perhaps have been yielded to in behalf of the Sugar Colonies.
But the prefent War with France will afford the beft Means of coming at the Truth, in refpect to the Facts afferted in the Papers before-mentioned ; and therefore, whenever a general Peace fhall be made, and the Parlialiament is at leifure to look into Affairs of this Nature, we have all the Reafon in the World to expect that this Commerce will be put upon fuch a Foot as that the Inhabitants both of Great Britain and the Plantations, may reap from it the greateft Advantages poffible. In order to this, the intelligent Reader will eafily difcern that the following Steps are neceffary. In the firft Place, due Care muft be taken to give the Inhabitants of the Sugar Colonies all the Relief that is pofible from any Hiardhips
of which they have, or with good Reafon might have, complained; fuch as heavy and exorbitant Salaries to their Governors, large Sums levied upon them, without being applied for their Service, and the Difficulties they are under, in obtaining fpeedy and effectual Juftice, when Perfons in public Stations are inclined to extend their Power too far, with a View to promote their private Intereft. They fhould likewife have all poffible Encouragement given them for recovering their foreign Trade, and beating out the French and other Nations who have interfered in it; fince, in regard to both Heads, it ought to be confidered that the public Benefit, that is to fay, the enriching the Subjects of Great Britain by the Balance of Trade in general, is the great Point to be held in View ; from the attaining of which, all other incidental Advantages, fuch as advancing the Revenue of the Crown, enriching particular Families, and raifing private Fortunes, would certainly and neceffarily follow, without their entering at all into the Motives, upon which Laws for the Good of the Plantations are enacted. For if it could be once brought about, that either the old Markets for Sugar were retrieved or new Ones opened, there is no doubt that Jamaica and other Inands, where there are Lands, fit for that Purpofe, uncultivated, would be more fully planted, the Inhabitants become more numerous, and their Demands from Great Britain confequently larger than they are at prefent. On the other Hand, the fame Care, the fame Diligence and Alacrity are requifite, with regard to the Colonies on the Continent; but, at the fame Time, it ought to be remembered, that whatever is done to promote the Welfare and Trade of the Sugar Colonies, muft neceffarily tend to the Benefit and Advantage of the Plantations on the Continent, which fupply the Sugar Colonies with Lumber, and other Things requifite for the carrying on their Trade; and if, befides this, Ways and Means could be found to open new Channels for the Benefit of thefe Colonies alfo, it ought moft certainly to be done.

We have fpent a great deal of Time indeed in furveying thus far the Engli/h Poffeffions in the Weft-Indies; but in a Work of this Nature Time could not well be fpent better ; they are, if I may be allowed the Expreffion, the pacific Conquelts of this Nation. Territories acquired, and for the moft part, at leaft, acquired without fhedding Blood, which fhews that Induftry is as capable of rendering a Nation powerful, as a Thirft of War ; and that a
martial is not a more noble than a trading Spirit. What is gained by one War is frequently loft by another ; and even while it is kept, the Expences created by a difputed Title are greater than the Value of the Poffeffion; but what becomes ours, by this Method of planting, remains always ours, and paffes without Debate to our Pofterity, the very Power by which we acquire it fecures its Continuance, and the longer we hold fuch Acquifitions the more valuable they are rendered, and the more effectually annexed to our Empire. They are Out-works well garrifoned, which yet put us to little or no Expence; they are diftant Dominions, and yet clofely connected to us by the Commerce which they create, they are concinually drawing People without Prejudice to their MotherCountry, becaufe the more populous they grow the greater their Demands from hence, confequently the quicker our Trade here, which will always bring over hither People from other Countries.

We may therefore fafely affirm, that nothing can be of fuch Confequence to Britain as the Improvement of her Colonies ; and which, at the fame Time, is a Confideration that muft powerfully recommend this to our Attention, that it lies wholly in our Power. We may be difappointed in our Views, with refpect to other Branches of Trade, by the Intrigues of our Enemies, or from the want of a right Difpofition in our Friends, but with regard to this great Branch of our Commerce, nothing can injure, nothing can difappoint, us, nothing can abridge or defeat our Succeffes therein, if we are not wanting to ourfelves. We can from our Plantations bring moft of thofe Commodities that are requifite for the Support of our foreign Commerce ; and this is, as wells, or rather better, than if we had them here at Home ; we can, from our Colonies, fupply ourfelves with thofe Neceffaries, for want of which only Foreigners could diftrefs us, fuch as Iron, Plank, Hemp, Pitch, and Tar, and if we fo pleafed there are few Things we might not fetch from our Plantations; fince, it is certain, that Indico, Cochineal, and Silk, might be had from our Southern Colonies, and many Things from our Northern Settlements, that have never been fo much as talked of, but might be eafily difcovered; if Men well verfed in Minerals and Metals were fent thither. In a Word, the Plantations were an Honour of the laft Age, and it fhould be our Study to make them the Glory of this.

## S E C T I O N XIX.

## An Hiforical Account of the British Settlements in America from the Reforation of King Charles 11, to the Revolution.

1. A fuccinct Account of commercial Affairs at the King's Return, and of the Circumfances that favoured the fettling newe Colonies. 2. The State of the Country now called Carolina, from the Time of its firft Difcovery to the granting of it to the Lords Proprietors by King Charles II. and thence to the Surrender of that Patent. 3. A fort Defcription of the Country of Carolina and the principal Places in that Colony. 4. An Account of the Produce, People, Commerce, Shipping, and Importance of this Colony to the Britifh Nation. 5. The Grant of the Ifland of Antego to Lord Willoughby, the planting that Ifland, its Produce, Commerce and Sbipping. 6. The Conqueft of Nova Belgia from the Dutch, the Grant of that Country to the Duke of York, wbence is derived its prefent Name of New York, and a Defence of our Title to that Plantation. 7. An Account of that Country, its Situation, Climate and Product. 8. Of its Trade, Interefts, and Importance to Great Britain. 9. The Grant of the Eaft and Weft Jerfeys to feveral Proprietors, and the Extent, Product and Trade of thefe Plantations. 10. The Settlement of the Ifland of New Providence and the Bahama Iflands, their prefent Situation, and the Adrontages that may be expected from them. I I. An account of the Cbarter granted to the Hudfon's-Bay Company for facilitating the Difcovery of a North-wegt Pafjage, and of the Settlements that bave been made under it. 12. The Motives upon wwich were founded the Grant of the noble Country of Penfylvania to William Penn, Efq; by King Charles II. I 3. An Account of the Extent, Climate, Soil, Produce, and State of that flourifling Colony. 14. The Commerce, Interefts, and Importance of Penfylvania to Britain. 15. Remarks and Obfervations on the foregoing Events.

T the Time King Cbarles II. returned to the Pof derftood, and by very few better than the King himfelf, feffion of his Dominions, the Nature of Trade Importance of the Plantations were generally unwho had a Head miohty well turned for the comprehending whatever related to Maritime Affairs ; had improved

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his Notions on that Subject in Holland, and had converfed much with Perfons of Quality and Character, who had found it neceffary to feek Shelter from their Enemies in thofe Parts of the World. We need not wonder therefore, that foon after the Reftoration various Schemes were fet on foot for enlarging, and effectually peopling, the Colonies already planted in America, as well as for fettling new Colonies, in fuch Places as were not already occupied by our own, or any other European, Nation. The King was advifed by fome, and follicited by others, to grant Charters to new Colonies, from various Motives. Prince Robert, or as we ufuâlly call him, Prince Rupert, Duke of Cumberland, who had fpent fome Years in America, had great Notions of raifing a naval Strength there, capable of diftreffing the Spaniards, and of obtaining a Share of the Gold and Silver they bring from thence. He was likewife perfuaded, that there were very rich Mines in Florida, and was therefore for pomoting, at any Rate, Difcoveries and Settlements in that Country ; the Earl of Clarendon, Lord Afley, and feveral others of his firt Miniftry, confidered. Things in a very different Light: They thought that Plantations might be made ufeful Drains for carrying off warm, and turbulent Spirits; and that by granting Liberty of Confcience there to all the different Sects who were reftained at Home, they might fecure Peace in Britain, and at the fame time procure vaft Profit from America; for it was a fettled Maxim with them, That Induftry was the beft Cure for Entbufafm; which Experience fhewed was extremely well founded.
There were fome other Reafons that contributed not a little to render Projects of this Nature acceptable to the King; for at that time there were Numbers of People that wanted fome Eftablifhment of this kind for their Support, and whom it was much eafier to difpofe of in this manner, than to find Means of rendering them eafy and content at home. As, for Inftance, Multitudes of Royalifts who were undone by the War, and who feeing the Succefs that had attended the Planters in Virginia and Barbadoes, were better pleafed to feek new Fortunes in the Weft Indies, than to continue in a State of Indigence and Neceflity in England. Many likewife of the Army that had been lately difbanded, we alfo inclined to take the fame Method for obtaining a comfortable Subfiftance ; and were not afraid of Danger and Fatigues abroad, to which they had been long inured at home. There were a third fort of People who, either fiom a Difaffection to the Government then newly re-eftablifhed, or for fear of being called to an Account for what they had done in former Times, were very willing to tranfport themfelves into thefe diftant Parts of the King's Dominions, that they might have a Chance of raifing Eitates there, and at the fame time be fecure from any Afterreckonings for what, during our long Scene of public Confufions they had been doing here : We need not wonder therefore, that as foon as the Government was a little fettled, many Propofals fhould be made for gratifying the Friends to the Government, who had very high Pretenfions to the royal Favour, with Grants in America, which coft the Crown nothing, and which afforded. probable Means of inriching particular Perfons at the fame Time that it opened a fure and certain Means of extending the Power, increafing the Trade, and augmenting the Wealth of the Nation. We may add, that befides all thefe Reafons, Expedients, and Advantages, there were likewife fome of Neceffity; for it was evident, even to fuch as were no great Politicians, that if fome Meafures were not taken to prevent it, the Dutch and other Foreigners, would infallibly fix themfelves in thofe Countries which belonged of Right to this Crown, and which had been hitherto neglected; and therefore it was very wifely judged, that the Plantations firft fettled, fhould be in thofe Parts of the Continent that were in moft Danger of falling into the Hands of other Nations.

Upon thefe Confiderations therefore, the Adminiftration liftened very willingly to a Propofal that was made within two Years after the King was reftored, for planting the Country now known by the Name of Carolina; which feemed the more worthy of being fecured, as lying indifputably in the fineit Climate in the World; and thereby
promifing the higheit Advantages to that European Na tion which fhould fettle and cultivate it. Neither was it at all improbable, that when the Property of this Country was once fixed by a Charter from the Crown, and large Privileges offered to fuch as would go thither and fettle; it might be very foon peopled; fince amongt the many Things for which that Country was undoubtedly fit, they were likely to fall upon fomewhat that might fupport and maintain them; it is true, that many Things were given out of the Country at that time, which have not hitherto been verified by Experience; but then, as we fhall Nhew hereafter at large, it feems to be rather imputable to the Want of Induftry and Application in the Inhabitantss than to any Defect in the Soil or Climate: But to have juft Notions of this, and from thence to form a right Idea of the Value of this noble Country, than which the Globe affords not a better, it is neceffary that we fhould enter into a few Particulars, that we may thorougly apprehend. by what Right we poffels it ; how it came to be abandoned by another Nation that feized it while unoccupied by us; after what Nianner our firf Plantations were made ; what great Changes have happened in the Conftitution of the Colony; the State it is in at prefent ; the Benefits which Great Britain reaps from it, and what reafonable Hopes there are, that it may yet turn more to our Advantage. Of all which Heads we fhall treat as clearly and as concifely as it is poffible.
2. The Country of Carolina is Part of that vaft Region of North America which was formerly comprehended under the Name of Florida, a Name beftowed by Fobr Ponce de Leon, in the Year 15 I 2 ; of whofe Adventures and Difcoveries we have already fpoken largely: He advanced, however, no farther Northwards than the River of St. Matbeo, and therefore it is plain, that the Spaniards never had any juft Title to Carolina: But it is, however, very true that they flattered themfelves, that his having touched upon this Continent, gave them a Right to it ; which Notion, if well founded, would give us a better Right, fince Sebafition Cabot had been feveral Years before on the Northern Coaft of this very Country, though it is doubtful whether he advanced fo far South as St. Matbeo. The Spaniards, who defired to fecure it to themfelves eight Years afterwards, fent Vafquez de Ayllon to make a farther Difcovery of it: He came upon the North Coaft, and called the North-north-weft River by the Name of fordon. He did nothing except inviting many of the Natives on board his Ships, where, when he had got them, he hoifted Sail, and carried them into miferable Bondage. In the Year 1526, Charles V. Emperor of Germany and King of Spain, fent Pampbilio Narvaez to Florida, who ftaid fo long in the South-weft Part of this Country, which is the moft barren, that his People eat one another, his Crew having fpent their Provifions. Ten Years afterwards, Ferdinando Soto came hither in Search of Gold and Silver Mines, having a little Army of nine hundred Foot and five hundred Horfe. Himfelf and three Parts of his Soldiers died through Want, by Sicknefs, and the Indians, and the reft, were led back by Lereis Mofcos to New Spoin, though not without great Difficulty, the Natives fetting upon them feveral times in their March, and killing all that fell into their Hands. This unfortunate and expenfive Expedition fo difcouraged the Spaniards, that for feveral Years they made no more Attempts in thofe Parts, and indeed they fearched no farther than that Part of the Continent which lies oppofite to the Gulph of Nerw Spain, and not within, and beyond the Streights of Babama, which is the moft fertile and rich, abounding in many valuable Commodities.

The French perceiving the Spaniords neglected this long Tract of Land, Admiral Coligny, in the Reign of Charles IX. procured two of the King's Ships to be fent thither ; the Command of which he gave to fean Ribaut, who, after a Voyage of two Months, arrived at the River Doipbin, between that of St: Matheo and that of May; lying about the 3oth Degree. The next River to that of May he called the Seine, the next to that, the Somme, then Loire, then the Cbarente and Garonne, at the Mouth of Albemarle River, then called the Great River. The Port being fafe and commodious, he buile a Fort, which he called Cbarles

Fort, and gave it the Name of Port Royal, in 32 Degrees, bordering on Virginia, now North Carolina, where the firft Settlement was made by any European Nation. The Civil War raging in France, Ribaut's Soldiers mutinied for want of Supplies; the Natives, it is true, were very kind to them out of Hatred to the Spaniards; but they could not furnifh them with many Neceffaries that they wanted ; and the Admiral was fo engaged in Politics at home, that he had not leifure to provide for the Wants of his Colony, fo Ribaut, having made fome Difcoveries, in the North-eaft Part of Florida, returned to France ; and in his Return his Company were reduced to fuch Extremity, that they killed and eat one of their own Men, and probably would have done fo by others, had they not accidentally met with an Englifh Ship; the Mafter of which furnifhed them with fome Provifions. A Peace being concluded two Years after in France, between the Papifts and the Proteftants, Coligny, who was then in favour at Court, procured other Ships to be fent to this Country, which was now called Carolina, from Fort Cbarles, as that was from the French King.

The Command of thofe Ships and Men on board, was given to Lewis Laudoner, who was ordered to carry on the Settlement. He arrived here the 20 th of fune, 1564 , with three Ships, and was kindly received by the Inhabitants ; but could find no Gold or Silver, though he fpent much Labour and Time about them. His Provifions being almoft all gone, and the Natives either unwilling or unable to furnifh him with more, Laudoner refolved to return.alfo to France; and as he was preparing to depart, Jean Ribaut arrived with three Ships, which had fo good an Effect on the Indians, that they feemed to be as welcome to them as to the Frencls: The Kings of Homoloa, Servaratri, Almacam, Malica, and Caftri, waited upon Ribaut to congratulate his Arrival, and promifed to conduct him to the ApalacbianMountains, which part Carolina from Virginia. The French conceived great Hopes from this Settlement, but all vanifhed on the Arrival of the Spaniards, who with a Squadron of Ships and Land Forces drove the French out of their Forts, killed Ribaut and fix hundred Men, after having given them Quarter, and obliged Laudoner, with a few. of his Countrymen who remained alive, to return to France.

The French King was lefs moved with this Outrage committed on his Subjects, becaufe they were Proteltants; and indeed, 'tis thought, Coligny intended by this Settlement to fecure a Retreat for himfelf and his Brethren of the reformed Religion in cafe they were conquered in France. Peter Melanda commanded the Spaniards, who diflodged the French, and fo provoked the Indians, by his Cruelty and Injuftice, that they were very ready to revenge themfelves when Opportunity offered, as it did not long after. For Captain de Gorgues, a French Gentleman, at his own Coft, fitted out three ftout Ships, and with two hundred and eighty Men failed to Carolina, where he took the Fort, and put the Spaniards therein all to the Sword. They had built two other Forts, which he eafily reduced, and ferved the Garrifons as he did that of Fort Cbarles; he demolifhed them, and was affifted by the Kings of Homoloa and Servaratri. The French travelled into the Dominions of the Great King of Apalacba, near the Mountains, where they converted many Indians to Chriftianity. Thefe Indians were more civil than thofe to the Northward, their King's Dominions larger, and their Manners, in a great Meafure, refembled thofe of the Mexicans, from whom they were thought to be defcended. We do not find that Monfieur de Gorgues made any Settlement here, or that the Spaniards endeavoured to recover the Country, which from the Year 1567 lay deferted by all European Nations 'till the Reign of King Cbarles II. of England.

In the Year 1622 feveral Englifb Families flying from the Maffacres of the Indians in Virginia and New England, were driven upon thefe Coafts and fettled in the Province of Malica near the Head of the River of May, where they became a kind of Miffionaries among the Malicans and Apalacbites. The King of the Country is faid to have been baptized; and in the Year 1653 ,

Mr. Brigfock, an Englifman, went to Apalacba, where he was honourably entertained by his Countrymen, who were there before him, and from his Relation of the Country ours is taken.

Such was the Situation of Things, and it had been abandoned by the French for near one hundred Xears, when King Cbarles the IId made a Grant thereof, bearing Date March 24, 1663 , to Edward Earl of Clarendon, then Lord High Chancellor of England, George Duke of Albemarle, William Lord Craren, Fobn Lord Berkley, Antbony Lord Afley, Sir George Carteret, Sir William Berkley, and Sir Fobn Colliton, from the Northend of the Inand called Luck Ifland, which lies in the Southern Virginia Sea, and within 36 Degrees of North Latitude, and to the Weft, as far as the Soutb-Seas, and fo foutherly as far as the River San Matbeo, which borders on the Coaft of Florida, and is within 3 I Degrees of North Latitude, and fo Weft, in a direct Line, as far as the South-Seas aforefaid, with all Royal Fifheries, Mines, Power of Life and Limb, and every thing neceffary in an abfolute Propricty, paying a Quit-Rent of twenty Marks yearly. Thefe Proprietors afterwards obtained another Grant, which fomewhat varied the Bounds of the Province, by fixing its Northern Frontier at Carotoch River in 36 Degrees 30 Minutes North Latitude, and extending it to the Latitude of 29 Degrees to the South, within which Bounds both the Carolinas and the new Province of Georgia are included.

Thie Plan of Government for this new Colony was ftruck out by that great Statefman, Antbony Earl of Sbaftgoury, and digefted into Form by the famous Mr. Jobn Lock; fo that great Expectations were raifed by it. But without entering into a long Detail upon this Subject, it is fufficient to fay, that how fair foever it might appear in Theory, it was found by Experience impoffible to carry it into Practice; fo that after ftruggling with the Inconveniencies produced by it for about fixty Years, to the Prejudice of the Planters and Proprietors; the only Remedy that could at laft be found, was to get rid of this fine fpun Conftitution, in which it was pretended all the Errors in our own were cured, and to put the Province under the Protection and into the Hands of his Majefty, which was accordingly done; and this Remedy has anfwered all the Ends that could be expected from it in fo few Years.

This Surrender was made by the Proprietors to Edward Bertie, Samuel Horfy, Henry Smith and Alexis Clayton, Efqrs. in Truft for the Crown. The Proprietors, in their own Right, or in Truft, were then Henry Duke of Beaufort, William Lord Craven, James Bertie, Efq; Doddington Greville, Efq; Henry Bertie, Efq; Mary Danfon, Elizabeth More, Sir Fobn Colliton, Fobn Cotton and Fofepb Blake, Efqrs. who were poffeffed of Seven-Eighths of the Propriety of the Province, and fold it to the Crown for 17500 l. Each Proprietor, who had a whole Share, having 2500 l . The outftanding Quit-Rents, and other Incomes, due to the Proprietors from the People of the Province amounting to fomewhat above 9000 , alfo were fold to the Crown for 5000 l . which was paid to the above-mentioned Proprietors after the Sale and Surrender had been confirmed by a particular Act of Parliament, in the Year 1728, entitled, An Act for eftablifbing an Agreement with Seven of the Lords Proprietors of Carolina, for furrender of their Title and Intereft in that Province to bis Ma jefty. It will appear, by the following Claufe in the Act of Parliament, that the remaining One-Eighth of the Propriety, and Arrears of Quit-Rents aforefaid, were referved to the Right Honourable Fobn Lord Carteret, now Earl of Granville, "Saving and referving always to "s the faid 70 bn Lord Carteret, his Heirs, Executors, Ad" miniftrators, and Affigns, all fuch Eftate, Right, Ti"t tle, Ejc. to One-Eighth Part of the faid Province or

In confequence of the Powers granted to his Majefty by this Act, he has ever fince appointed Governors of Nortb and Soutb Carolina, and there is a great Profpect of its becoming a Purchafe highly beneficial to the Crown, which will, however, in a great meafure depend
on the Capacity and Conduct of the Governors they fend thither, who ought to have true Notions of the Interefts of King and People, and a Firmnefs of Mind equally capable of refifting Flattery and defpifing Clamour, to both which he will be as much expofed in thefe, as in any other Countries in the World, if from what has already paffed, we may form any Judgment of what will happen in fucceeding Times.
3. After having given the Reader an Account of the Time and Manner in which we became poffeffed of this Colony, and the Means by which its Government has been changed fince it was fettled, we are next to enter into an exact Defcription of the Country itfelf, that the Reader may be the better able to judge of the Value of this Plantation, and of the Certainty of thofe Rules, for determining the beft Climates, and the Commodities that may be expected, either from the Bounty of Nature, or the Induftry of the Inhabitants ; with refpect to which, more rational Hopes could fcarce be formed of any Place in our Poffeffion, or, indeed, of any European Nation in America, than of this; which, in Point of Situation, as I have hinted more than once, is as happy as could be wifhed, and in that refpect certainly merits the Reader's particular Attention. Carolina is fituated between the Extremes of Heat and Cold, but the Heat is more troublefome in Summer than the Cold in Winter, their Winters being very fhort, and their frofty Mornings frequently fucceeded by warm Days. The Air is, for the moft Part, ferene and clear, both in Summer and Winter; yet they have theirWinter Rains, and fometimes very heavy Showers about Midfummer ; and efpecially if the Wind changes fuddenly from the South-eaft to the North-weft, for then it blows exceeding cold, and brings Diftempers on thofe who do not take care to guard againt it ; but the Country is generally healthful, where People live regularly, and ufe any Precaution: Thofe, indeed, who after a hot Day expofe themfelves to the cool Breezes of the Evening, ufualIy feel the Effects of it, as others do that indulge their Appetites in eating Fruit, and drinking pernicious Liquors to Excefs.

They are fubject to Hurricanes as well as the Caribbee Iflands, but thefe do not happen every Year; and fometimes are fo favourable as not to do much Mifchief in feven Years. There was a very terrible one which happened in the Year 1729. This Province is now divided into North and South Carolina; and, as we have before hhewn, the Country now known by the Name of Georgia is alfo within the original Limits of this Colony. At prefent we fhall concern ourfelves only with the two firft mentioned Provinces, intending to fpeak more of the laft in its proper Place. North Carolina is bounded by Virginia on the North, the Ocean on the Eaft, by a Line drawn in 34 Degrees from the Ocean to the Mountains on the South, and by that Part of Florida, poffeffed by the Indians, on the Weft, and is fubdivided into fourteen Townfhips or Parifhes. But there is not one Town or Church, as I can learn, in the Country; and it is but very lately that the Society for the propagating the Gofpel has fent itinerant Preachers amongft them. Soutb Carolina is divided from North Carolina, by the abovefaid imaginary Line on the North, by the Ocean on the Eaft, by the River Savannah, which feparates it from Georgia, Weft, being fubdivided into fourteen Parifhes or Town-
We fhips, each of them having a good Church of Brick or Timber.

But the chief and almoft the only Town in both Carolina's, is Cbarles Town, fituate in 32 Degrees 45 Mi nutes North Latitude, and on the Point of a Peninfula,
formed by AJbly and Cooper Rivers; the former of which is navigable for Ships twenty Miles above the Town; and for Boats and Pettyaugers (large Canoes) near 40 Miles. The other River is not navigable for Ships fo far, but for Boats and Pettyaugers much farther ; the Bar Tide, and there is good rixing when a Ship is got clofe to the Town, the Harbour being fecured by a Fort called Jobnfon's Fort, which has about twenty Guns in it, level with the Surface of the Water, The Town was
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regularly fortified fome Years ago, and, feveral of the Baftions, near the Water, are ftill in being, and in good repair. But the Baftions, Pallifadoes, and Foffe, next the Land, being much damaged by a Hurricane, and deemed of too great an Extent to be defended by the Inhabitants, General Nicholfon caufed them to be demolifhed. The Town now contains upwards of fix hundred Houfes, generally well built, fome of them of Brick, but more of Timber, and moft of them fathed, forming regular and fpacious Streets; and their Church is much the mot magnificent in Englifh America, having three Ines, an Organ, and Gallery all round the Church.

The Town of Beaufort is fituated on the Inand of Port Royal, in 3 I Degrees 40 Minutes North Latitude, an hundred Miles South of Cbarles Town; the Continent and Inand forming a fine capacious Harbour, which might hold the Royal Navy of England. The Inand on which the Town ftands, confifts of near one thoufand Acres, and is navigable all round for Boats and Pettyaugers, and one half of it for Shipping, having four Fathom Water clofe to the high Bluff, fo that Ships may load and unload from the Shore, without the Affiftance of Boats. The Harbour is fecured by a Fort built fomeYears fince, on which twelve Culverins are mounted, but the Town and Ifland have no Fortification; nor is the Harbour fo well fortified as a Place of this Importance deferves, efpecially as it lies fo nigh Spani/b Florida, and is faid to be demanded by the Spaniards as Part of their Territories. There is not, indeed, above fifty or threefrore Houfes in the Town of Beaufort at prefent, but from its advantageous Situation, and the Goodnefs of the Harbour, it is expected that this Town will one Day be the Capital of Carolina: It is already the Station for the Britijb Squadron in thofe Seas. There is another PortTown lately erected at Wingaw, about fifty Miles to the Northward of Cbarles Town, to which they have given the Name of George Town, and the Society for the Propagation of the Gofpel have a Miffionary here.
It would be needlefs to enter into a large Defcription of this Country, or of the Towns that are erected in it ; only it may not be amifs to fay that North Carolina is within this few Years become quite a different Country from what it was, and the Number of People therein is continually increafing; fo that there is good Reafon to believe that whenever the Inhabitants are bleffed with a wife, active, prudent, and public-fpirited Governor, this Country may be fo improved, as to become infinitely more valuable than from any of the Accounts hitherto received of it could be expected. Indeed it may juftly be affirmed, that the Welfare and Profperity of all our Colonies depend fo much upon the Choice of Governors, that we can fcarce conceive any thing of fo great Importance as the Crown's being extremely careful to velt none with fuch Authority, but Men of known Capacity, eftablifhed Reputation, and competent Fortunes.
4. As to the Produce, Strength, and Commerce of Carolina, the beft Account we have, is from Colonel Purry, a Man of great Judgment, Induftry, and Integrity, who went thither with a View to fettle, as he did, and therefore his Accounts may be very fafely depended upon. He obferves that all Sorts of Trees and Plants will grow there as well as can be wifhed; particularly Vines, Wheat, Barley, Oats, Peafe, Beans, Hemp, Flax, Cotton, Tobacco, Indico, Olives, Orange Trees, and Citron Trees, as alfo white Mulberry Trees for feeding of Silkworms; and that the Lands are not difficult to clear, becaufe there are neither Stones nor Brambles, but only great Trees, which do not grow very thick, fo that more Land may be cleared there in one Week, than could be done in Europe in a Month. The Cuftom of the Country is, that after having cut down thefe great Trees, they leave the Stumps for four or five Years to rot, and afterwards eafily root them up, in order to manure the Land. It is therefore very certain that Carolina is in general an excellent Country.
It is true the Ground is fandy, but then it is a Sand impregnated with Salt or Nitre, fo that it brings forth in great abundance, as the like Soil does in diverfe Parts of Europe. But what feems peculiar to Carolina, there
are a great Number of Plantations that have been continually cultivated for near feventy Years, which yet produce great Plenty, without ever being manured by the leaft Dung, for they never lay any on their Grounds; the Planter only turns up the Superficies of the Earth, and all that he plants and fows therein quickly grows and thrives: Thofe who underftand ever fo little of Agriculture will be obliged to own, that if the Lands in Europe were not conftantly manured, their Strength would be fo exhaufted that at length the Crops would not pay for their Seed ; but a Man who has a little Land in Caro lina, and is not willing to work above two or three Hours in a Day, may very eafily live there, even on fo little Labour. Another Confideration deferving our Notice is, the Progrefs of the firf Colonies; their fudden Advance ment ; the Riches of the prefent Inhabitants ; the great Number of public Expences for which they provide; the great Trade they carry on at prefent ; and laftly, their Misfortunes and Loffes, which are entirely repaired. The better to comprehend thefe Matters, we fhall only make the following Obfervations: That there were no People in Carolina till near fourfcore Years ago ; for the Englifb did not fend any thither till the Year 1670: That they had at firft a very fatal Beginning; afflicted with Sicknefs, and even the Plague, which daily diminifhed the Number of the People: That cruel deftructive Divifions broke out amongt them : That they had a very badGovernment under the Lords Proprietors, being alfo without Juftice, Order, or Difcipline: That at a certain Time the Pirates interrupted their Trade and Navigation: That they have often had great Droughts: That a terrible Fire confumed almoft all Cbarles Town: That they have been at great Expence in Fortifications, public Edifices, Churches, $E_{0} c$. That they have often fuftained long Wars with the French, Spaniards, and particularly with the Indians, who once united together to deftroy the whole Province. That notwithftanding all thefe Misfortunes, the People of Carolina, except thofe who give themfelves up to Debauchery, are all rich, either in Slaves, Furniture, Clothes, Plate, Jewels, or other Merchandizes, but efpecially Cattle; which fhews the Goodnefs of the Country they inhabit.

Silk-worms, in Carolina, are hatched from the Egg, about the Middle of March; at the fame time that the Mulberry-leaves, which are their Food, begin to open; being attended and fed fix Weeks, they eat no more; but have fmall Bufhes fet up for them to fpin themfelves into Balls ; which thrown into warm Water, are wound off into raw Silk. Rofin, Tar, and Pitch, are all produiced from the Pine Trees; Rofin, by cutting Channels in the ftanding green Trees that meet at a Point at the Foot of the Tree, where is placed a Receiver ; the Channels are cut as high as one can reach with an Ax; and the Bark is peeled off from all thofe Parts of the Tree that are expofed to the Sun, that the Heat of it may the more eafily force out the Turpentine, which being taken from the Receiver, and melted in Kettles becomes Rofin. Tar is made thus: They prepare a circular Floor of Clay declining a little towards the Center; from which is laid a Pipe of Wood, the Upper-part of which is even with the Floor, and reaches ten Feet without the Circumference; under the End the Earth is dug away, and Barrels placed to receive the Tar as it runs; upon the Floor is built up a large Pile of dry Pine Wood fplit in Pieces, and furrounded with a Wall of Earth, which covers it all over only a little at the Top, where the Fire is firft kindled : After the Fire begins to burn, they cover it likewife with Earth, to the End there may be no Flame, but only Heat fufficient to force the Tar downward into the Floor; they temper the Heat as they pleafe, by thrufting a Stick through the Earth, and letting the Air in at as many Places as they fee convenient. Pitch is made by boiling Tar in large Iron Kettles fet in Furnaces, or by burning it in round Clay Holes made in the Earth.

Black Cattle have mightily increafed fince the firft fettling of the Colony. About forty Years ago it was reckoned a great deal to have three or four Cows, now fome People have a thoufand Head ; and for one Man to have two hundred is very common. The Cows
graze in the Foreft, and the Calves being feparated and kept in Paftures fenced in, they return home at Night to fuckle them : They are firft milked, then thut up in $\%$ Fold all Night, milked again in the Morning, and then turned out into the Woods. Here are Hogs in abundance; they go daily to feed in the Woods, where they rove feveral Miles, feeding on Nuts and Roots; but having a Shelter made at home, to keep them warm, and fomething given them to eat, they generally return in the Evening. The Beef and Pork that are raifed here find a good Market in the Sugar Inlands.

The Trade of Carolina is now fo confiderable, that of late Years there have failed from thence, annually, above two hundred Ships laden with Merchandize of the Growth of the Country, befides three Ships of War, which they commonly have for theSecurity of their Commerce; and laft Winter they had conftantly five, the leaft of which had above an hundred Men on board. It appears from the Cuftom-houfe Entries, from Marcb 1730 to Marcb I731, that there failed, within that Time, from Cbarles Town, two hundred and feven Ships, moft of them for England; which carried among other Goods, forty-one thoufand nine hundred and fitty-feven Barrels of Rice, about five hundred Pounds weight per Barrel ; ten thoufand feven hundred and fifty Barrels of Pitch; two thoufand fixty-three of Tar; and feven hundred and fifty-nine of Turpentine; of Deer-fkins, three hundred Cafks containing eight or nine hundred each ; befides a vaft Quantity of Indian Corn, Peafe, Beans, $\varepsilon^{3} c$. Beef, Pork, and other falted Flefh; Beams, Plank, and Timber for Building, moft part of Cedar, Cyprefs, Saffafras, Oak, Wallnut, and Pine.

They carry on a great Trade with the Indians, from whence they get their great Quantities of Deer-fkins, and of other wild Beatts, in exchange for which they give them only Lead, Powder, coarfe Cloth, Vermillion, Iron, ftrong Waters, and fome other Goods, by which they have a very confiderable Profit. The great Number of Slaves makes another Part of the Riches of this Province, there being above forty thoufand Negroes, which are worth, onewith another, twenty-five Pounds each. Artificers are fo fcarce at prefent, that all forts of Work is very dear; Taylors, Shoe-makers, Smiths, $\mathcal{E}^{3} c$. would be particularly accept able there; a fkilful Carpenter is not afhamed to demand thirty Shillings a Day befides his Diet, and the common Wages of a Workman is twenty Shillings per Day, provided he fpeaks Englifh, without which he cannot be underfood, and confequently not fo ufeful as others; and when a Workman has but ten Shillings per Day, he thinks he labours for almoft nothing, though he has his Maintenance befides; but this is Carolina Money. Moft of their Shoes are brought from England, and generally fell for forty Shillings per Pair; not but that they have Hides enough, and very cheap, an Ox's Hide being fold for twenty Shillings; neither are they deftitute of the Means to tan them, for they make very good Lime with Oyfter-fhells, and the Bark of Oak Trees is fo plentiful, that it cofts nothing but the Trouble of gathering; they therefore want only a fufficient Number of good Tanners and Shoe-makers. I might fay the fame of Leather-dreffers, fince they fend every Year to England above two hundred thoufand Deer-fkins undreffed; yet Carolina produces Oker naturally, and good Fifh Oil may be had from Nere York, or New England, very cheap; fo that they might be dreffed and made up into Breeches in the Country, for which thofe Skins are very proper, being cool in Summer, and warm in Winter. There is not one Potter in all the Province, and no earthen Ware but what comes from England, nor Glafs of any kind; fo that a Pot-houfe and a good Glafs-houfe would fucceed perfectly well, not only for Carolina but for all the Colonies in America. There is a kind of Sand and Earth which would be very proper for thofe Purpofes, as alfo Wood and Fern in abundance, if they had but Workmen to make Ufe of them.

It may feem ftrange to affirm this, in an Age when it is well known, that Men are inclined to go almoft any where, and may be tempted to almoft any thing, from the Hopes of Money. Thefe Facts, however, are very

## Chap. III. of the ENGLISH in AMERICA.

true, neither is it very difficult to account for them; for if without much Labour and Pains not only a bare Subfiftance may be gained, but in time alfo good Eftates may be raifed by Methods already in ufe; we are not to expect that our People in the Colonies will either run Hazards or give themfelves much Trouble to ftrike out new Ways to Wealth, even though they fhould be convinced that fuch Ways, at the fame time they increafed their own Fortunes, would prove beneficial to their Mother-Country likewife. There are indeed fome People who take a Pleafure in running down the Countries we have planted in America, and in making their Countrymen believe that they are amufed with fine Stories, without Truth, or which, at leaft, have but a fmall Mixqure of Truth in them. They fay, for Inftance, that tho' Engli乃 Wheat will grow in Carolina, yet it is apt to mildew, and almoft always runs up into Straw, and produces but a fmall Grain, and that it is very difficult to keep it from the Wevill. Thefe, however, are Inconveniencies felt in other Countries, where very good Wheat grows, for which many Remedies have been found and applied with Succefs, as doubtlefs they might be there, if the Planters went about it. The Truth of the Matter is, that Rice is raifed without fo much Trouble, and as they can exchange this in Penfylvania and New Kork, almoft Weight for Weight for Flour, they are content, and indeed think it a Happinefs they can have Brear without being at much Pains in procuring it.

The fame thing may be faid of Wine, which it is now generally agreed cannot be made there, becaufe their Grapes ripening in Fune, when their great Heats and heavy Rains come on, are very feldom fit for preffing. But it is very certain, that this is no better than an Excufe, fince the wild Grape ripens in OEfober, and Perfons fkilful in Vineyards would foon teach them the Mieans of making ufe of thefe. The very fame Objections were raifed in reference to the Country about the Cape of Good Hope; and it was as pofitively faid that no Wine could be made there, but the Dutch have fhewn what Strength there was in the Objection, by their improving into a Paradife a Place we defpifed, and thought not worth the keeping ; and while Madeira is to be had fo cheap, I am convinced no Grapes will ripen kindly in Carolina. As to Silk, the fame Objection does not lie; for, it is well known, there are Woods of Mulberry-Trees there, upon which the Worms feed and fin as well as in any Place in the World. I may add, that Silk has been brought over from Carolina, as good, in the Opinion of the beft Judges, as any that comes from Piedmont, for which we pay large Sums of Money every Year ; but it falls out unluckily, that from the End of March to the Beginning of May, when the Worms want moft Attendance, all the Hands in Carolina are employed in planting and hoeing their Rice, fo that they have no time to fpare for procuring a Commodity, of which hitherto they do not feem to know the true Value.

But all the Faults do not lye on that Side of the Water ; fince it is true, that though there comes a great deal of Pitch from thence, we have but little Tar from Carolina; whereas, there have been formerly many thoufand Barrels brought in a Year, not at all inferior to the beft Tar from Norreay; which was, by this Means, reduced from three Pounds to fifteen Shillings a Barrel, with which Reduction, it feems, we are content to have recourfe again to the North Country Tar, and no longer make ufe of what might come from this Plantation. We may from thefe few Hints fee clearly, that as great as our Trade to thefe Colonies is, it might ftill become much greater, and that how beneficial foever they may be to Great Britain, we are far from deriving from them all the Benefits we might do; and though confidered, in one light, this feems a little diftafteful ; yet, if we view it in another, it affords us a very comfortable Profpect; fince, when we are difpofed to apply ourfelves heartily to the Improvement of this Commerce, we have a moral Certainty, that our Endeavours will fucceed, and that Great Britain can never feel any fenfible Decay of Trade, while fhe preferves and cherifhes her Plantations.
5. Among other Perfons of Quality and Diftinction who were juftly entitled to the Favour of King Cbarles,
there were few who had a better Title than Francis Lord Willougbby, who was Governor of Barbadoes, and who in $166_{3}$ obtained a Grant of the Inand of Antego, in which he fettled a Colony about three Years after. The Country had been known before; and; if I am not miffaken, Sir Thomas Warner had attempted to fettle it. How it came to pafs that after the Death of Lord Willougbby, who removed hither, this Inand came again into the Hands of the Crown I cannot fay, but without all doubt, the Fact is true, and this Inand now makes a Part of the Government with the reft of the Leeward Ilands; and is faid to owe its prefent happy Situation to the Care ${ }_{\hat{p}}$ Induftry, and Skill of Sir Cbriflopher Codrington, who made it the Seat of his Government when he was General and Commander in chief of thofe Illands. It was here, that in the latter End of the late Queen's Time Governor Park was killed by the People; an Affair that will be ever remembered, both in that Part of the World and this, though it does not feem to be well underftood in either; the Fact moft certainly was barbarous and bloody enough ; but, at the fame Time, it is as certain the Provocations the Pcople had received were great; which was the Reafon that moft of thofe concerned in this Murder efcaped with Impunity.

But our Bufnefs lies not fo much with Men as witla things, and therefore we fhall proceed to the Defcription of the Ifland Antego, or as it is fometimes written Antigucs which lies in I 6 Degrees I I Minutes North Latitude, and in $\sigma_{3}$ Degrees of Longitude Weft from London. It is of a circular Form, about twenty Miles in Diameter, and near fixty in Circumference. The Climate is not to be boafted of, fince it is allowed to be hotter than Barbadoes, and very fubject to Hurricanes. The Soil too is fandy, and a great Part of the Inand is overgrown with Wood; but the worit of it is, that there are but few Springs, and not fo much as a fingle Brook in the whole Inand, fo that the People depend chiefly upon Rain-water, for which they are fometimes diftreffed: Yet, notwithftanding thefe Inconveniencies, it is a very confiderable and a very thriving Plantation.

This Inand is divided into five Parifnes, four of which are Towns; as St. Fobn's Town to the Northward, and Falmouth, Parbam, and Bridge Town to the Southward; the other Parifh is St. Peters. St. Jobn's Harbour is the moft commodious, befides which there are feveral other good Harbours, as Five Ifland Harbour, fo called from five little Inlands to the Weftward of the Ine of Carglile Bay; Engli/h Harbour, at the bottom of which is Falmoutb Town, defended by Cbarles Fort; next to it is Willougbby Bay; on the Eatt Shore is Bridge Toron, the Green Bay, off which is Green Illand ; then Nonfuch Harbour, a fpacious Bay. On this Coaft, on the North-eaft Shore, are feveral little Inands called Polecat Ifands and Goat Ifland, and more to the Northward Goana 1/and, Bird Iland, Long Ifand, Maiden Ifland, and Prickle-Pear Ihand. The Forts are now in pretty good Repair; Monkf: bill Fort is mounted with thirty Pieces of Ordnance; it has a Magazine with about four hundred and ten Mufkets and eight hundred Bayonets; in good order ; the other Fort erected at St. Fobn's Harbour, is mounted with fourteen Pieces of Cannon; there are feven other Batteries raifed for the Defence of fo many landing Places; in all mounted with twenty-fix Guns:

The Capital of the Inand is St. Fobn's Town; which confifts of about two hundred Houfes; and the Number of Souls in all this Colony are one thoufand five hundred at prefent. It has greater plenty of Cattle and other Beafts, efpecially Venifon, than any other of our Caribbee Iflands; the Animals of which are much the fame, as alfo their Productions. Sugar, Indico, Ginger, and Tobacco, were the chief Growths and Commodities of Antego, when it was firft planted, but now Indico and Ginger are very rarely cultivated there. The Sugar and Tobacco were both bad of the Sort; the former fo black and coarfe, that one would fcarce have thought any Art could have refined it; and, as if our Sugar Bakers fcorned to put fuch Dirt into their Coppers, it was generally fhipped off for Holland and Hamburgh, being fold for fixteen Shillings a hundred Weight, when other Muf-
covado Sugars fetched eighteen or nineteen Shillings a hundred. The Planters of Antego have fince improved their Art, and as good Mufcovado Sugar is now made there, as in any of our Sugar Inlands. They have alfo clayed fome Sugar which was not known to have been done in Aniego forty Years ago.

Though there is not much Tobacco planted in this Inand, what there is now is not fo bad as was formerly, when it was fold for no other Ufe but to make Snuff. The wild Cinnamon Tree is faid to grow in the Lowlands, or Savanah Woods in Antego. After Famaica and Barbadoes, this has been confidered by fome as the moft confiderable of our Inlands in America; and as there is ftill a great Quantity of Land capable of Improvement, and it is allowed the People there might make a third more Sugar than they do, we may venture to allow, that it either is, or may be fo; and if we confider what muft have been gained by our Commerce with this Inland for upwards of fourfcore Years, we cannot but judge that it has been highly advantageous to this Nation, and very well deferves all the Care and Concern that can poffibly be expreffed for its Protection and Prefervation.
6. The next Colony in America, which our Method leads us to confider, is that of Nero York, which is ours by a double Right, viz. of Difcovery and Conqueft. It was undoubtedly Part of the Country, the Coafts of which were firft viewed by Sebaftian Cabot, and as fuch made a Part of the original Province of Virginia, I mean the Country known under that Name in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, and was afterwards within the Limits of the Country, granted by King James to the Weftern Company. But before it could be fettled, that is about the Year 1608 , the famous Navigator Hudfon difcovered that River, which has fince borne his Name, and the Country adjacent, which he afterwards fold to the Dutch who planted there; but this was looked upon as illegal, becaule they had not King Fames's Licence, which it feems they afterwards obtained. There are fome Englifh Writers fo very partial in favour of this Republic, as to be angry that this Settlement fhould be looked upon by us as a kind of Invafion, but furely this is without Reafon; for if the Subjects of any Country were at Liberty to fell and difpofe of Places they had but juft feen, which was the Cafe of Captain Hudfon, the Inconveniencies would be fo great as to produce endlefs Wars, and therefore this Practice muft be underftood to be contrary to the Law of Nations.
But however that Matter might be, King James was fo great a Lover of Peace, that very probably he was glad to rid himfelf of the prefent Difficulty, by granting them a Licence: Yet if we duly confider this, the granting fuch a Licence was a thing very deftructive to the Intereft of Great Britain, and might have proved extreamly prejudicial to our Northern Colonies, and have been fuch a Bone of Contention, as muit have for ever prevented any Harmony between the maritime Powers. Thefe Reflections which rofe naturally out of the Subject, have led me a little from my Purpofe, which was to explain the firft fettling here, which the Dutch made a little before we planted New England; and from their firft coming, being feated in Iflands and at the Mouth of a good River, their Plantations were in a thriving Condition, and they begun, in Holland, to promife themfelves vaft things from their new Colony. The Englifb Puritans in Holland, who firft removed to America, intended to fettle here, having had an inviting Defcription of the River, Climate, and Soil, from the Hollanders, who did not care, however, that the Englifh fhould be fo near their Plantations, as to be tempted to encroach on them, confidering the Flaw that was in their Title. The Englifh that went from Holland, intended to fettle on the Coaft, near Foir Field County in Nere Englond, lying between Connecticut and Hudfon's River, but the Dutch apprehended they would there be too near Neighbours. Thefe Englifh, as has been already related, falling in with Cape Cod, after having refreihed a little, tacked about to the Southward for Hudfon's River: But Fones, who was the Mafter of the Ship they came in, having been bribed by the Hollanders to carry them and land farther to the North-
ward, inftead of putting to Sea entangled them among dangerous Sholes, which made them willing to get afhore where they were, and give over the Defign upon Hudfon's River. The Dutch had, two or three Years before, been infulted here by Sir Samucl Argall, in his Way from Iir ginia to New Scoiland.

He deftroyed their Plantations, and it was to prevent the like for the future, they applied to King fames for his Licence to fay there, to build Cottages, and to plant for Traffic as well as Subfiftance, pretending it was only for the Conveniency of their Ships touching there for frefh Water and frefh Provifions, in their Voyage to Brazil; but they, by little and little, extended their Limits every Way, built Towns, fortifyed them, and became a flouriming Colony. In an Inand, called Manabattan, at the Mouth of Hudfon's River,- they built a City which they named New Amfterdam, and the River was called by them the Great River. The Bay to the Eaft of it had the Name of Noffou given it; about one hundred and fifty Miles up the River they built a Fort, which they called Orange Fort, and from thence drove a profitable Trade with the Indians, who came over land, as far as from $2 u e b e c$, to deal with them. Henry Cbrifitian, the Mafter of a Ship, the fame who gave the Name to Mar tha's Vineyard, which he difcovered, as the Dutch fay, was the firft Governor there, and his Succeffor was Facob Elkin, put in by the Weft India Company in Holland, to whom the States General granted this Country. The firft Bounds of Nova Belgia were Maryland on the South, the main Land, as far as could be difcovered Weftward, which would ftretch to the Nations bordering on the Miffifippi, the great River of Canada Northward, and Nere England Eaftward; but, as will appear hereafter, the Limits of New York are not fo large at prefent.

The Dutch Colonies were in a very thriving Condition when they were attacked by the Englifh, which was at the Opening the firft Dutch War in King Cbarles's Reign. We find fome Writers very willing to reprefent this as a very unjuft War, becaufe Sir Robert Carr, was fent to attack this Plantation before they, in that Part of the World, could have any Notice of the War ; but then it ought to be remembered that it was after the Dutch Admiral, de Ruyter, attacked our Settlements in Africa, and therefore I cannot think that this is fo very bad as it has been reprefented, or that it can at all prejudice our Title to this Country. The Commiffion of Sir Robert Carr, impowering him to act againft the Dutch, was dated on St. George's Day 1664 , but he did not arrive till the latter End of the Year. He brought with him between two and three thoufand Men, and offering Protection to fuch of the Inhabitants as fubmitted, he became Mafter of the whole Country without a Blow; and it does not appear that the People were at all difpleafed at changing their Mafters. His Majefty, after it was reduced, gave leave to fuch of the Inhabitants to itay as were inclined thereto, and fuffered the reft to depart freely with their Effects. The Number of the latter was but very inconfiderable in Comparifon of the former; and Colonel Ricbard Nicbols, who was left Governor of the Province, and continued fo twenty Years, brought the People, not only to relifh, buit to be in love with, the Englifb Government; fo that there never was the leaft Difturbance among the Inhabitants on the fcore of their being Subjects to England.

The Duke of York granted away a Part of this Province, as will be fhewn hereafter; but the Remainder, which is what we now ttile New York, continued a Royal Government, as it ftill is, but very much changed for the better ; fince from being one of the pooreft, it is become one of the moft confiderable that we have in America, in Confequence of the Colony's becoming one of the moft flourifhing, and this, though it has had the Misfortune of being fometimes governed by Men of moft arbitrary Principles, and capable of doing fuch violent things, as nothing but their Diftance from Great Britain could, I think, induce them to venture upon. The laft Governor of the Ferfeys, who is lately dead, felt the Effects of fuch a Spirit, when in another Station, and rofe to that Government by fuffering with Decency and Dignity the

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Outrages of one cloathed with that Authority; but when he came himfelf to execute that Office, he fhewed, what we very feldom fee, that there are fome Natures which even Power cannot corrupt ; for he behaved fo well as to abolifh the Memory of paft Grievances, and to leave a perfect Model for his Succeffors in that Government.
7. The Country of New York, properly fo called fince it became Engli/h, is thus bounded, viz, by Canada on the North, Nerw England on the Eaft, the Ocean on the South, and the five Nations and Nero Jer fey on the Weft, and is about two hundred Miles in Length from North to South, that is, from the Mouth of Hudfon's River to the Lake of Cbamplain or Corlaer, and it might be extended two hundred Miles farther North if we poffeffed all the Country we claim, as far as the River St. Laurence : But the French having built Forts on the Lake Cbamplain, have, in a Manner, expelled us from the North Part of this Country; the Englifb only poffefs the Country South of that Lake at prefent, and this is exceeding narrow in moft Places; particularly between Connecticut Colony on the Eaft, and Nere Ferfey on the Weft, it is fcarce twenty Miles broad. But to this we muft add the Ifland Manbattan, which the City of New York ftands upon, Staten Jfland and Long Ifland, all which lie before the Mouth of Hudfon's River, and are comprehended in Nero York Proper.

This Province is divided into ten Counties, which going from North to South down Hudjon's River, are Albany, Ulffer, Ducbefs, Orange, King's County, Cbefter, Newe Tork County, Queen's County, Suffolk County, and Richmond County, which are pretty well replenifhed with Provifions and Farms, but have not many great Towns in them. The chief Towns are New York City, Scheneatida, Albany, Weftchefter, $\varepsilon^{2} c$. in all, or moft of which Towns, are Miffionaries, either Minifters, School-mafters, or Catechifts, fent over and maintained chiefly by the Society for the Propagation of the Gofpel, who have taken moft laudable Care in this refpect. Nerw York City is fituated in 40 Degrees 40 Minutes North Latitude, and 47 Degrees 4 Minutes Weftern Longitude, at the South End of York County, being an Inland at the Mouth of Hudjon's River, about fourteen Miles long and two or three broad. As this Town ftands upon an Eminence, and contains upwards of a thoufand Houfes well built with Brick and Stone, with a W.all and Forts, which ferve as well for Ornament as Defence, there is fcarce any Town in North America that makes a better, and but a very few fo good an Appearance. It has alfo an excellent Harbour, furnifhed with commodious Quays and Warehoufes, and employs fome hundreds of Ships and Veffels in its foreign Trade and Fifheries. The public Buildings are the feveral Churches belonging to thofe of the Church of England, to the Swedes of the Lutheran Perfuafion, to the Dutch Calvinits, the French Refugees, and the Englifh Sectaries; but the Church of England may well be looked upon as the eftablifhed Religion, becaufe the Conftitution of the Government is the fame as in England; the reft, however, are tolerated, and capable of Pofts in the Government, and of fitting in the Houfe of Reprefentatives, as I apprehend. The other public Buildings are the Town Houfe, and that were their general Affemblies and Courts of Juftice are held. As to their Fortifications, they are not, I doubt, capable of defending them againft an European Enemy, any more than thofe in the reft of the Plantations, for this unanfwerable Reafon; becaufe they were fome Years ago confeffed to be fo bad, that it was not fit to enquire into the State of them, left Foreigners fhould be acquainted with our Weaknefs on that Side. There are, indeed, four hundred regular Troops fent from England to garrion this, and fome other Towns of this Province; of which two Companies always are, or ought to be, upon Duty in this City; but admitting they were always compleat, and ever fo well difciplined, this feems to be but a very inconfiderable Force to defend a Province of this Importance againft an Invafion, unlefs their Country Militia be more to be depended upon than that of other Places.

As New York may be looked upon to be the frontier Garrifon in the South againft an Invafion from any mari-

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time Power; fo Scheneetida Town and Fort; in the County of Albany, twenty Miles North of the Town of Albany ${ }_{3}$ may well be deemed their Frontier on the North againft the French of Canada, and their Indian Allies, whos, in the Year 1688 , furprized and almoft demolifhed the Town with the Works about it ; but they have fince been repaired and enlarged, and Fort Nicholfon and fome other Forts erected ; in which, and in 'Albany, the reft of the regular Troops are quartered, for the Defence of that Frontier. Albany is a confiderable Town, fituated on Hudjon's River, an hundred and fifty Miles North of Nerw York, having a Fort erected for its Defence; and here it is that the Sachems, or Kings of the five Nations, meet the Governors of our Northern Colonies, to renew their Alliances, and concert Meafures for their Defence againft their common Enemy, as has been intimated al ready. South-weft of the Inand and County of Neres Tork, lies Staten IJland, being about ten Miles in Length and fix in Breadth, and in it are a great many good. Farms and Plantations, but not one Town that I can meet with in the Accounts of this Province.

Long Ifland lies Eaft of Staten Ifland, and South-eaft of that of Nerv York, oppofite to the Colony of Connecticut, being an hundred and fifty Miles in Length, and generally about twelve in Breadth, and contains three of the Counties above mentioned, viz. Queen's County, Suffolk County, and Ricbmond County; the chief Towns in Queen's County, are Famaica and. Hempftead; in Suffolk County, the chief Town is Oyfter Bay. The Town of Richmond gives Name to Ricbmond County, in which alfo is the Town of Soutbampton; in the South-eaft Part of the Inand; and there alfo are fituated the Towns of North Caftle and New Windfor. There is a celebrated Plain in the Midft of Long Ihand, fixteen Miles long, and four broad, to which they have given the Name of Salifoury Plain; having, as it is faid, as fine a Turf as that on Salifoury Plain in Old England; and there being an excellent Breed of Horfes in the Inand, they have Races here every Seafon, to which the Gentlemen of New England and New Kork refort, as they do to Neromarket with us. There are other good Towns which lie in the County of Weftchefter, on the Continent, Eaft of the Mouth of Hudjon's River, the chief whereof are Weftcbefter and Rye.
8. At the Time we became Mafters of this Country, it was very thinly peopled, in comparifon to what it is at prefent, and in no fmall Danger from the French, who fettled at the back of it, and the Indians who were fettled on its Frontiers, but, at prefent, it is fafe enough from both; the Number of People being vaftly encreafed, fome fay to fifty thoufand, taking in all Sorts, fo that the French apprehend Danger from us in their turn; and the Indians think themfelves very happy under our Protection; and fuch Care has been taken to treat them with proper Kindnefs, as to preferve them in our Intereft, as effectually as if by Force they had been reduced to be our Subjects. They fupply the Englifh, in the Summer, with Venifon, Fifh, and Fowl, very cheap. The Trade from Nerw York to the Sugar Iflands, particularly Barbadoes, which is very confiderable, is in Corn, Flower, Bread, Beef, Pork, Peafe, Bacon Gamons, Smoaked Beef, Apples, Onions, Board and Pipe-ftaves, for which they receive, in return, Sugar, Moloffes, Rum, Ginger, $E^{2} c$.

The New Kork Merchants drive alfo a very advantageous Trade with Madeira and the Azores, in Pipe-ftaves and Fifh, for which they load their Ships back with Wine and Brandy; and, generally fpeaking, there is farce a more profitable Trade in the Britifh Commerce. I am very well warranted in faying this, by what the Agents for the Colony alledged upon the Difpute with the Sugar Plantations, of which we have given fo large an Account. They affirm that their Winters being fevere they take off more of the Woollen Manufactures of this Kingdom, than all the Inands put together, Jamaica excepted; and return more Gold and Silver to pay for them, which I never heard was denied. What they alledge in Juftification of their Dealing with the Frencb Settlements is fingular enough, and deferves particulat Notice. They fay that they trade with what they have,
with thofe who will purchafe it, and that while they do this they fhall live well, clothe themfelves in Englifb Stuffs; and pay for them honeftly ; but if they are deprived of this Trade, the Profits of which enable them to pay for Englifh Cloathing, they muft endeavour to make ufe of their own Wool, and fupply themfelves as well as they can. If this fhould be prohibited, they affirm, they muft abfolutely go naked.

This perhaps is ftraining the Matter a little beyond the Truth ; but beyond all Doubt this Colony is very ufeful to Great Britain, and in Conjunction with the other Bread Colonies, as they are called, the fole Source of our foreign Sugar Trade, as in a few Words may be fhewn. The Sugar Inlands mutt depend for their Subfiftance, either upon the Britijh Iflands or upon thefe Colonies; fince it is very certain, that if they were to draw all their Maintenance from hence, granting that to be poffible, it would make Labour in thofe Inands fo dear that no Sugar at all could be exported. On the other hand, if the People of New York Phould be forced to fet up Manufactures of their own, this would employ fo many Hands as muft neceffarily raife the Price of Provifions, and this confequently would have, in a great meafure, the fame bad Effect in making Labour dear in the Inands. It is therefore the Bufinefs of Great Britain to take care of both, and not to fide haftily with either.
But it is more efpecially our Bufinefs to prevent fetting up Manufactures in the Plantations on the Continent; becaufe this would injure the Trade between us and them, leffen the Shipping employed therein, decreafe the Number of our Seamen, and detach thofe Colonies, in a great meafure, from their Mother Country; which, as they are Evils not to be borne, fo too much Diligence cannot be ufed to avoid them. As things ftand at prefent, there is not a Colony in America which makes a better Figure than New Kork, or where the People feem to have a greater Spirit of Induftry, or more hearty Affection to the Britifs Nation; and it is univerfally agreed, that the City of Nere Kork is, in point of good Government and Politenefs, at leaft equal, if not fuperior, to any thing we poffefs in that Part of the World: And as for the Inhabitants of the Inland Part of the Colony, they are our beit Defence againft the French, and are every Day gaining upon them in point of Trade with the Indians; which are certainly Circumftances that deferve the utmoft Confideration, and ought above all others, to recommend this Plantation to the Protection and Favour of the Briti/h Government ; which no doubt they will always meet with while they continue, as they have hitherto done, to ftudy by every Method to deferve it.
9. The Countries now called the Ferfeys, or, with greater Propriety, the Eaft and Weft Fer Seys, come next in our Way. Thefe fell under the Dominion of the Crown of Great Britain by Conqueft, at the fame time with, and as making a Part of, Nova Belgia; and if to this Right acquired by War, or rather vindicated by it, for I conceive that the Dominion of this Country, which was all that we gained by the War, we had a very juft Title to before; if, I fay, there was any thing wanting to fill up the Meafure of our Claim, it was certainly made up by the Peace, fince an Equivalent was then given to the Dutcb; fo that both Nations had very good Reafon to be content. In order, however, to obtain a juft and clear Notion of the Hiftory and Condition of this Tract of Country, it is neceffary to obferve, that even the Dutch were not the original Inhabitants of it: The feveral Voyages that had been made for the planting of Virginia, made thefe Coafts very well known to Multitudes of Englifh Seamen, and thefe being difperfed into different Parts of the World, carried the News of the $\int$ e rich and pleafant Lands in America along with them wherefoever they went, which infpired Strangers with ftrong Defires of occupying what we feemed to have abandoned, or the fettling of which was beyond our Strength, at leaft at that Time.
The firf Europeans that fettled here were the Sreedes, who had three Towns in this Province, Cbriftina, called by the Indians, Andaftaka, Elinbourg, and Gottembourg. Their Settlements were chiefly on the South-fide of the River towards Penfylvania; opponite to which there is a

Place, to this Day called Fort Elfinbourg ; but the Swedes made very little of their Plantation, and the Dutch, al= ways induftrious for their own Advantage, worked them fo far out of it, that Bergen, the Northern Part of the New Ferfey, was almoft entirely new planted by Hollanders. King Cbarles II. gave this Tract, in his Grant of Nova Belgia, to the Duke of York; but the Englifh never made any Settlement in it till feveral Years after they were in the Poffeffion of that Province, and had mightily extended their Plantations.

The Duke of fork having invefted this Province, by the Name of Nova Caneria, in Jobn Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret, they; or their Affignees, agreed to divide it into two Parts; denominated Eaft and Weft Nere Jerfeys, which remained two diftinct Proprieties and Governments for many Years afterwards, as will be fhewn Eaft New Ferfey, or that Part of it which borders on New York, fell to Sir George Carteret; whofe Family being of the Ine of Ferfey, this Province on that Account took its Name from thence. Weft New Ferfey, that Part of it which borders on Penfyluania, fell to the Lord Berkeley. This whole Province, containing the two Ferfeys; is thus bounded; it has the main Ocean on the South-eaft, the River de la IV ar on the Weft, Hudjon's River on the Eaft, and the main Land on the North; it lies between 39 and 40 Degrees North Latitude; extends itfelf in Length on the Sea Coafts, and along Hudfon's River, one hundred and twenty Miles, and is almoft as broad as long where it is broadeft. We muft now take fome Notice of the Province as it was under the Divifion of Eaft and Weft, and was divided into two Proprieties; of there, the largeft and moft inhabited, was Eaft Ferfey, which extended Eaftward and Northward all along the Sea Coaft and Hudfon's River, from Little Egg Harbour to that Part of Hudfon's River which is 41 Degrees North Latitude and Southward and Weftward was divided from Weft Ferfey by a Line of Partition from Egg Harbour, or Cref wick River, Stony River, and the South Branch of Raritan River: It extends in Length along Hudfon's River, and on the Coafts, 100 Miles: In Breadth it is very unequal. It is divided into Counties, for which there was little Occafion, as Bergen County, Effex County, Middlefex on the Northfide of Raritan River, and Monmoutb County on the South. According to fome Writers, Weft Ferfey is divided from the cther by a Line from North to South; contains the like Number of Counties, viz. Burlington, Gloucefter, Salem, and Cape May.

Thefe two Provinces are in the Hands of different Proprietors, who made many Affignments of their Rights, which would take up too much Room to enter into the Detail of here, and therefore we fhall content ourfelves with obferving, that the Proprietors both of the Eaft and Weft Ferseys, on the 22 d of April I7O2, put them into the Hands of Queen Anne, and they have been ever fince governed by the royal Authority, having a Governor, Council, and Affembly; which Governor has Power of appointing a Deputy. We muft alfo remark, that fometimes this Government has been granted by a feparate Commiffion to the fame Perfon intrufted with that of New York ; but at prefent they are in different Hands. The chief Towns in the Ferfeys are Perth Amboy, the Capital of the County of Middlefex, and of all Eaft Ferfey, pleafantly fituated at the Mouth of Raritan River, and, had it been built according to the intended Model, would have been one of the fineft Towns in North America; but Planters have not reforted to it, as was expected; notwithftanding it is fo commodiouny fituated for Trade, that Ships of three hundred Tons may come up in one Tide, and lie before the Merchants Doors: But the Town of Elizabeth, fituate to the North of it, flourifhes much more, and may ftill be deemed the moft confiderable Town; in the County of Bergen, the Capital of the County of the fame Name; Elizabeth Town, Capital of the County of Effex, and formerly of Middlefex; Middleton, Sbrewfoury, and Frebold, in the County of Monmoutb; Burlington or Bridlington, the Capital of the County of Burlington, and of al! Weff Ferfey: This Town is fituate 40 Degrees 40 Minutes of North Latitude, on an Illand in the Middle of the River de laWar, to the Northward of Pbiladelpbia in Penfylua-

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nia, and on the oppofite Side of the River: The Houfes are handfomly built of Brick, and laid out into fpacious Streets, with commodious Quays and Wharfs, to which Ships of two or three hundred Tons may come up: It has alfo a handfome Market-place, a Town-houfe or Guildhall, where the Courts of Juftice were heretofore held, and two good Bridges over the River ; the one called London-bridge, and the other York-bridge, and having an eafy Communication with Pbiladelpbia, and the Ocean by the River Salem, which falls into de la War Bay, it is faid to be one of the beft Towns in Weft Ferfey, whether we confider its Situation, Building, or Trade.

The Trade of the two Jerfeys, as alfo the Soil and Conveniences of Rivers and Creeks, are much the fame, except that Weft Ferfey, by its Situation on de la War River, abounds more in the latter. The Country yields Plenty of all forts of Grain, and the Inhabitants are faid to have been fo fcrupulous, that they would not enter upon a new Plantation before they had purchafed it of the $I_{n-}$ dians, which they did at no very dear Rate. It is computed that they are about fixteen thoufand Souls, and about three thoufand Men fit to bear Arms : There are not two hundred Indians in this Province, indeed neither here or elfewhere in the Britifh Empire are the Indians of any Force unlefs in Conjunction with the French at Canada, or the Spaniards in Florida. The Indians are now rather an Help than an Hurt to the Englifh, and here efpecially they wifh there were more of them than there are, fo ufeful have they found them. Befides Provifions for the Sugar Inlands, the Inhabitants drive a Trade in Furs and Skins, and a little in Tobacco; but it would be well if the Colonies cultivated that lefs, and Provifion more, or any other Commodities that are fit for foreign Markets, which are much clogged by the Product of our Tobacco Plantations: They fhip off Train-Oil, Fifh, Corn, and fome other Provifions for Portugal, Spain, and the Canaries: Ships may be built at Perth, but New England engroffes that Trade, and has the beft and the moft Materials for it ; and it muft be owned that New York is the beft Market New Ferfey has, for the buying and felling any confiderable Quantity of Goods of any kind.

This may poffibly keep the ferfeys a little under, but notwithitanding the Difficulties they have had to ftruggle with, it is very certain, that within thefe twenty or thirty Years paft they have increafed prodigiounty, and nothing can give a Check to it, except fome fudden Sufpicion of their dealing in Commodities and fetting up Manufactures which may interfere with thofe of their Mother-Country. I do not deny that if there were any juft Grounds for fuch a Sufpicion, Care ought to be taken and fome Remedy applied, but then this requires great Caution. In former Times, when we were lefs ufed to Trade, we encouraged all ; and provided our People were but employed, and Traders bufy, we took it for granted that Profit muft enfue, and fo very probably it did. But the prefent Age is fo unacquainted with the Caufe of the Increafe of our Riches, that they rather interrupt than encourage it, and inftead of inlarging lay hold of fome fmall trifling Things, which they think may touch their private Intereft rather than promote the general Good ; and if they think any Commodity from the Plantations interferes with fomething we have at Home, fome hafty Step is taken to prevent it ; fo that for the Sake of faving one Penny we often debar ourfelves of Things of a thoufand Times the Value. This Misfortune will happen to any trading Nation, if the Perfons who have the Regulation of the Commerce do not underftand it well enough to diftinguifh nicely between thofe Channels by which the Riches flow in upon them and thofe that carry them away; and therefore, when Things are carried into a wrong Channel by fome of the Planters, Merchants are afraid to mention thofe Diforders for fear the Remedy fhould prove worfe than the Difeafe. The Gentlemen that would judge of thefe Things ought to inform themfelves what this Nation was one hundred and fifty Years ago, how we have increafed in Riches fince that Time, what Price Corn, Cattle and Land bore then, and what now ; and what concurring Circumitances have put us in fo flourifhing
a Condition, who were then fo inconfiderable in Trade ${ }_{3}$ that even London, the Metropolis of this Kingdom; made but a fmall Figure, to what Bruges, Antwerp, and other Hanfe Towns did, as well as the great Cities in the Mediterranean.

If we examine into the Circumftances of the Inhabitants of our Plantations, and our own, it will appear that not one fourth Part of their Product redounds to their own Profit; for, out of all that comes here; they only carry back Cloathing and other Accommodations for their Families, all which is of the Manufacture and Merchandize of this Kingdom. If there is any thing to fpare it is laid up here, and their Children are fent home to be educated; if there is enough to fupport the Family, they come here, and only an Overfeer is left upon the Plantation to direct, and the whole Produce is remitted home; and if enough to purchafe an Eftate, then it is laid out in Old England. All thefe Advantages we reccive by the Plantations, befides the Mortgages on the Planters Eftates; and the high Intereft they pay us, which is very confiderable; and therefore very great Care ought to be taken in regulating all Affairs of the Colonies, that the Plant: ers be not put under too many Difficulties, but encou. raged to go on chearfully. They are born with us, or the Defcendants of fuch, and we know nothing but the Want of the Means to live at home keeps them abroad. There are very few trading or manufacturing Towns in the Kingdom, but have fome Dependence on the Plantation Trade. It is true, thefe, and in general all the Northern Colonies, have not Commodities and Products enough to fend us, in return for purchafing their neceffary Cloathings, $E^{\circ} c$. but are under very great Difficulties, and therefore any ordinary Sort fells with them; and when they are grown out of Fafhion with us, they are new-fafhioned enough there; and befides thofe Places are the great Markets we have to difpofe of fuch Goods, which are generally fent at the Rifque of the Shop-keepers and Traders of England, who are the great Exporters, and not the Inhabitants of the Colonies, as fome have imagined. As the Colonies are Markets for thofe Sorts of Goods, fo they are Receptacles for young Merchants who have not Stocks of their own, and therefore all our Plantations are filled with fuch who receive the Confignments of their Friends from hence; and when they have got a fufficient Stock to trade with; they return home, and other young Men take their Places, fo that the continual Motion and Intercourfe our People have into the Colonies, may be compared to Bees in a Hive, which go out empty, but come home loaded ; by which Means the Foundations of many Families are laid. The Numbers of Sailors, and other Tradefmen, who have all their Dependance upon this Traffic, are prodigioufly great.

Our Factors; who frequient the Northern Colonies, being under Difficulties to make Returns for fuch Goods as they difpofe of, what Gold, Silver; Logwood, and other Commodities they trade for upon the Spanifs Coaft, is fent home to England, as alfo Oil, Whale-Fins, and many other Goods; likewife another great Part of Returns is made by Ships built there, and difpofed of in the Streights, and other Parts of Europe, and the Money remitted to us. Now all thofe Ships are called Nerv England Ships, and our Factors, after they undertake any Bufinefs, are no longer called Englifmen, but New Englanders, and the Ships they build, we are informed, are regiftered as Nere England Ships. I Thall therefore humbly recommend it to fuch Gentlemen as are Guardians of the Trade of the Nation, that our own Intereft is not miftaken for thofe of the Planters for every Reftraint and Difficulty put upon our Trade with them, makes them have recourfe to their own Products, which they manufacture, a thing of great Confequence to us, and ought to be guarded againft; for if they are fupplied with their own Manufactures, a great Part of the Advantages we fhould otherwife receive is cut off; and therefore, as it is elfewhere obferved, if Care is taken to find them Employment, and turn their Induftry another Way, now they are in their Infancy this may with a very little Trouble be avoided.

There is another Advantage we receive by our Planta-
tions, which is hardly fo much as thought of, I mean the prodigious Increafe of our Shipping by the Timber Trade, between Portugal, \&c. and our Plantations, which ought to have all poflible Encouragement, for by it we have crept into all the Corners in Europe, and become the common Carriers in the Mediterranean, as well as between the Mediterranean, Holland, Hamburg, and the Baltic, and this is the Caufe of fo great an Addition to our Shipping, and the Reafon why the Dutch, \&xc. are fo exceedingly funk. But if ever a Stop fhould be put to the building of Ships in Neru England, \&cc. and carrying our Timber from thence, we fhould foon fink in our Navigation, and that of the Dutch flourifh in its former Height and Grandeur. The Numbers of Englifb Ships we fo often read of, that are at Lifbon, or the Streigbts, is a fufficient Demonftration of the Truth of this; doubtlefs a great many of thefe Ships are laden upon Account of the Dutch, for nothing is more common than their hiring our Ships (which difcharge their Loading in the Streigbts) to tranfport their Goods from Spain, \&cc. to Amferdam, and other Places.

We have a great many young Men who are bred to the Sea, and have Friends to fupport them; if they cannot get Employment at home they go to New England, and the Northern Colonies, with a Cargo of Goods, which they there fell at a very great Profit, and with the Produce build a Ship, and purchafe a Loading of Lumber, and fail for Portugal or the Streights, $\xi^{\circ} c$. And after difpofing of their Cargoes, they frequently ply from Port to Port in the Mediterranean, till they have cleared fo much Money, as will, in a good Part, pay for the firft Coft of the Cargo carried out by them; and then, perhaps, fell their Ships; come home; take up another Cargo from their Employers; and fo go back and build another Ship: By this Means multitudes of Seamen are brought up, and upon a War the Nation is better provided with a great Number of Sailors, than hath been heretofore known. Here the Mafter becomes Merchant alfo, and many of them gain, by this Lumber Trade, great Eftates; and a vaft Treafure is thereby yearly brought into the Kingdom, in a Way new and unknown to our Fore-fathers, and, indeed, it is gaining the Timber Trade (heretofore carried on by the Danes and Swedes) our Plantations being nearer the Markets of Portugal and Spain than they are. Thofe Advantages have made fome People think that though we efteem Nerw England, and the Northern Colonies, of fmall Advantage to us, yet if things were truly ftated, they are as profitable as moft other of our Plantations, or, which amounts to the fame thing, the Caufe of the Profits we reap from thofe other Colonies, which, however, coming to us immediately from thence, feem to enrich us more than they really do, at the fame Time that they hide from us the true Sources of their own Wealth. But,

We will now quit this Subject, in order to follow the Thread of our Hiftory, which leads us next to fpeak of the fettling the Babama Ifands, Places that have not hitherto anfwered in any Proportion to the great Expectations that were raifed upon the firft Grant of them; tho ${ }^{3}$ this is certainly fo little to be afcribed to them, that about twenty-five Years ago there was a general Difpofition in the moft knowing People of this Kingdom, to attempt a new Settlement there, which degenerating into a Bubble, all Hopes of that kind feem to be loft. Our Bufinefs, however, is not with the modern, but with the antient, State of thefe Inands; of which, and of the Motives for fettling them, we fhall give the cleareft Account we can.
10. The Lucayos, or Bohama Iflands, are fituated in the Atlantic Ocean, and to the North of the Mand of Cuba, ftretching from the North-eaft to the South-weft, between 21 and 27 Degrees of Northern Latitude, and between 73 and 81 Degrees of Weftern Longitude. The Inand of Boboma, which communicates its Name to the reft, is feated in the Latitude of 26 Degrees 30 Minutes, at the Diftance of about twenty and thircy Leagues from the Continent of Florida. It is about fifty Miles in length, but very narrow, farce any where fixteen, and in many Places not half fo broad, but very pleafant
and fruitful ; the Air temperate and ferene; the Soil remarkably rich, and the Country every where abounding with Brooks and Springs of frefh Water
Though thefe Inands were the firft Fruits of the new World, Columbus arriving firt at Guanabani, which is one of them, and to which he gave the Name of $S t$. Salvador, yet the Spaniards never thought of fettling there, but contented themfelves with extirpating the native Inhabitants; a moft barbarous Proceeding furely, fince at this Time they were the beft People of any Part of all America; fo that they wantonly murdered many thoufands to no purpofe in the world. As there Iflands lie pretty much out of the Courfe of Ships bound to the Continent of America, it was long before we had any Notice of them; but in 1667 Captain William Sayle, being bound to Carolina, was forced by a Storm amongft thefe Iflands, which gave him an Opportunity of examining them carefully, particularly a large Inand, to which at that Time he gave his own Name, and is that which has been fince known by the Name of Nero Providence.

Upon his Return to England, he acquainted the Proprietors of Carolina, with the Situation and Circumftances of thefe Inands; obferving, that in Cafe they were fettled, they might prove a great Benefit to this Nation, and at the fame Time a conftant Bar and Check to the French and Spaniards, in cafe of a Breach with either or both of thofe Nations. Thefe Reafons being fuggefted to King Cbarles the IId. his Majefty was graciounly pleafed to make a Grant of the Babama Inlands, between the Latitudes of 22 and 27 Degrees, to the following Proprietors, viz. George Duke of Albemarle, William Lord Craven, Sir George Carteret, Fobn Lord Berkeley, Antbony Lord AJbly, and Sir Peter Colliton, whofe Heirs or Affigns are, as I take it, poffeffed of thefe Inlands at this Day; by which I mean the Soil and Property, for as to the Government, it has been for fome time in the Hands of the Crown; upon a Suppofition that this Change would render thefe Iflands more beneficial to the Nation, as in Procefs of Time it very probably may ; but hitherto they have not been of any great Service to the Proprietors, the Crown, or the Nation; as we fhall fhew, by entering a little into their Hiftory, from their firt Settlement to the prefent Times, for Reafons that in this Hiftory will appear.

Providence Ifland lies in the Center of fome hundreds of Iflands, fome of them many Miles in Length, others no bigger than Knolls or little Rocks, rifing above Water; fo that one may imagine it muft be very dangerous for Ships to be forced amongft them in Tempefts. The moft confiderable Profit made by the Inhabitants of Providence, was by the Misfortune of fuch as were fhipwrecked, or fuch as, in a Winter Voyage for the Continent of America, were driven to the Babama IJlands, and put into Providence for Provifions; for want of which, after they had lain a long while beating off the Inands, they ufed to be in great Diftrefs. 'Tis true, this Ifland had little or none but what came from Carolina; however, the Traders here kept Store-houfes to fupply thofe that wanted, and they were a great Relief to the unfortunate Mariners, of whom we are fpeaking. The Ifle of Providence lies in 25 Degrees North Latitude, is twenty eight Miles long, and eleven Miles broad, where it is broadeft.
It had the Name of Providence given it by Captain Sayle, after he had a fecond time been driven upon it, when he was bound for the Continent. The firf Governor that was fent thither by the Proprietaries, was Mr. Cbillingworth: The Time of his going there was about the Year 1672; feveral People went from England, and the other Colonies, to fettle there, and living a licentious Life, they were impatient under Government; Mr. Cbillingworth endeavouring to bring them to Reafon, they affembled tumultuounly, feized him, and fhipped him off for Famaica, and lived every Man as he thought beft for his own Pleafure and Intereft. The Proprietaries found they had got an unruly Colony to deal with, and it was a very frall Encouragement for any Man to put himfelf into their Hands, after the Treatment Mr. Cbillingwortb met with from them.
However, fix or feven Years after, the Lords Propric-
taries made Mr. Clark Governor, whofe Fate was worfe ftill than his Predeceffor's; for the Spaniards, at that Time, being jealous of every new Colony of the Englifh towards the South, came upon them in Providence, deftroyed all their Stock which they could not, or would not, carry off; and burnt feveral Houfes that were upon the Place. The Inhabitants deferted it*after this, and removed to other Colonies. Mr. Trott, one of Governor Clork's Succeffors, always afferted, that the Spaniards roatted Mr. Clark on a Spit, after they had killed him ; but perhaps that is faid to increafe the Terror of the Story; but it is certain they killed him, and that after this Invafion the Illand was uninhabited till about the Time of the Revolution, when feveral Perfons removed thither from Europe and the Continent; among whom was Mr . Thomas Bulkley, who has printed a large Account of his Sufferings there, during the arbitrary Government of one Cadroallader Fones, whom the Lords Proprietaries made Governor upon this fecond Settlement of Providence in the Year 1690, where he arrived on the Igth of fune; but his Adminiftration proved very unfortunate both for himfelf and the Colony, in which there arofe fuch Troubles and Diffenfions, that he was once depofed and made Prifoner, and again reftored.

Nicholas Trott, Efq; fucceeded Mr. Fones in his Government, and he built a Fort in the Town of Naflou; notwithftanding which, the famous Pirate Avery, forced the Inhabitants to let him have what Victuals he wanted; but fome Time after, Governor Trott put the Mland of Providence into fo good a Condition, that though the French made feveral Attempts, yet they were always obliged to retire with Lofs. In I697 Nicholas Webb, Efq; was fent to fucceed Mr. Trott, and he held the Government about three Years; in which Time thefe Illands were in a better Condition than they have ever been fince; and there was, in his Time, in Providence and the adjacent Inands, near one thoufand Inhabitants: Some Tobacco was planted ; a Sugar Mill fet up, and other Improvements made: But, as we fhall fee hereafter, thefe were foon deftroyed.

To Mr. Webb fucceeded Elias Hafcott, Efq; who was fo little liked by the Inhabitants, that they took upon them to feize him, and put him in Irons; and, having fent him away, affumed the Liberty of chufing a Governor for themfelves, one Elias Ligbtgood, Efq; in whofe Time the Settlements were deftroyed; for, in $\mathcal{F u l y}$ i 708 , the Spaniards and French, from Petit Guaves, landed, furprized the Fort, took the Governor Prifoner, plundered and fripped the Englifh, burnt the Town of Nafau, all but Mr. Iightgood's Houfe, together with the Church, fpoiled the lort, and nailed up the Guns ; they carried off the Governor, and about half the Blacks, the reft faved themfelves in the Woods; but in October they came again, and picked up moft of the Negroes. Mr. Ligbtgood having procured his Liberty, by Exchange or Ranfom, came to Carolina, and going off thence in a Veffel, on fome Adventure, was never fince heard of The Englifb Inhabitants of the Babamas, after this fecond Invafion, thought it in vain to ftay longer ; fo they removed, fome to Carolina, fome to Virginia, and fome to New England, and other Places.

The Proprietors having appointed one Mr. Birch to go over Governor to Providence, who, not having heard of the Defertion of the Inhabitants, went thither; but finding it a Defart, he did not give himfelf the Trouble to open his Commiffion: He remained there two or three Months, and was all that while forced to fleep in the Woods; after which he returned back; and left the Place uninhabited. This and the other Babama Inands, were looked upon to be fo neceffary for the Security of our Trade in the $W e \Omega$ Indies, that the Parliament of England have not thought them unworthy of their Care, as well to have them cleared of Pirates, as to defend them againft both Spaniards and French, who find their Situation very convenient to annoy, or befriend, their Commerce. In Queen Anne's War both Spaniards and French, over-ran and plundered the Babama Iflands twice. Upon which, in March I7I4, the Houfe of Lords addreffed her Majefty, that the Inand of Providence might be put in a Pofture of

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Defence. Their Lordfhips obferving it would be of fatal Confequence, if the Babama Ifiands fhould fall into the Hands of an Enemy, they therefore prayed her Majefty to take the faid Inlands into her Hands; and give fuch Order for their Security, as in her royal Wifdom fhe fhould think fic; but nothing was done. And for the future Guidance of fuch as have it in their Power to do good Offices for our American Colonies, it is not improper to temember that their Lordfhips, four Years after, took notice of that Neglect in an Addrefs to his late Majefty King George; in which they fay there were not any the leaft Means ufed in Compliance with that Advice, for fecuring the Bobamos Iflands, and that then the Pirates had a Lodgment with à Battery on Harbour Ifland; and that the ufual Retreat; and general Receptacle for the Pirates, was at Providence. Hereupon his Majefty was pleafed to give Directions for dillodging thefe Pirates, and making Settlements, and a Fortification for its Security and Defence.

Purfuant to this Addrefs, Captain Woods Rogers was appointed Governor, the fame Perfon which went with the Duke and Duchefs of Brifol to the South-Sea, and made a profperous Voyage, eight Years before. He failed for Providence in April 1718, taking with him a naval Force for fubduing the Pirates; in the mean Time Colonel Bennet, Governor of Bermudas, fent a Sloop to that Inand, requiring them to furrender themfelves, purfuant to the late Proclamation. The Pirates who were then on the Iland, very gladly accepted of the Mercy offered them thereby, and promifed to furrender themfelves as foon as they could get Paffage to the Englifh Colonies; adding that they did not doubt but their Fellows, who were at Sea, would gladly do the fame after their Example. Accordingly Captain Henry Fennings, and fifteen others, immediately followed the Sloop to Bermudas, and furrendered themfelves; and Captain Laffie, and Captain Nicbols, with a good Number of their Pirates, fent Word that they would alfo furrender. The abovementioned Proclamation was brought hither by Captain Peers, in the Pbonix Frigate, then lately ftationed at New York: Befides the above, Captain Hernigold, Captain Burges furrendered, and in the whole, as many of their Men as amounted to one hundred and fourteen, which were followed by many more: However, Piracy was not fuppreffed, nor did Capt. Rogers anfwer the Expectations of thofe that employed him; though at his Arrival here he feemed very zealous in the Service he was fent for.

He arrived at Naflau, in Providence, in Fuly iyi8. $V$ ane, one of the Captains of the Pirates, knowing what Errand he came upon, to reduce thofe Robbers by the Proclamation, or by Force, caufed a French Ship of twentytwo Guns, which he had taken, to be fet on fire, intending to make ufe of her as a Fire-fhip, to burn the Rofa Frigate, which came with Governor Woods Rogers: And, indeed, the Rofe would have been in much Danger, had the not got off in Time, by cutting her Cables. But $V$ ane's bold and rafh Attempt could not have fecured him; for befides the Rofe, there was at hand the Milford Man of War, and another, aboard which was the Governor. Thefe were foon after feen ftanding in for the Harbour of Naffau, upon which Vane, and about fifty of his Men, made off in a Sloop. The Governor fent a Sloop of fufficient Force after them, but the Pirates got off; and the Milford, and the other Man of War run aground. The 27th of Fuly Mr. Woods Rogers came on Shore, took Poffeffion of the Fort, and caufed his Majefty's Commiffion to be read in the Prefence of the Officers, Soldiers, and about three hundred People, whom he found there at his Arrival; which had been almoft daily exercifed in Arms for their Defence, in Cafe of Attack by the Spaniards or French. As for the Pirates, they were not in fo great Fear of them, moft of them having been themfelves of the Fraternity, who had furrendered and made their Peace with the Government. Woods Roger's brought with him above one hundred Soldiers, and this joint Force which was, and might have been ftill farther, recruited, being fufficient to fecure the Babama Iflands, againft any En terprize of the French and Spaniards; Mr. Rogers fet himfelf to regulate the Government, and reftore Order in it, which had' been neglected feveral Years paft.

Of the Adventurers who came with him, fix were nominated to be of the Council, as alfo fix of the Inhabitants, who had never been Pirates themfelves; and thus the Appearance of Government was renewed. As foon as the Governor and Council had fettled the Board, about two hundred of thofe that had been Pirates furrendered themfelves to them, had Certificates of their Surrender, and took the Oaths of Allegiance, as did, voluntarily, the greateft Part of the Inhabitants of Providence; wherein, a few Years after, were computed to be one thoufand five hundred Souls, out of thefe were formed three Companies of Militia, under Officers of their own Inand; thefe Companies took their turn every Night in the Town Guard at Nafjau, and the independent Company was always upon Duty in the Fort here, and another of eight Guns erected at the eaftermoft Entrance into the Harbour.

It was by thefe Methods that the Face of Affairs, in this Part of the World, was entirely changed; the Town of Naffau rebuilt; a regular Force eftablifhed in Providence, and Plantations fo laid out, that the Country looked like an Englifb Settlement. Within a fhort Time after, the neighbouring Ifland of Elutbera was fettled likewife, upon which, about fixty Families fixed themfelves, erected a fmall Fort for their Defence, and raifed a Company of Militia under their Deputy-Governor, Mr. Holmes, by whofe prudent Management Matters were chiefly brought to bear; the like was done in Harbour Ifland, where the Plantation foon grew more confiderable, and a larger Fort was built for the Protection of the Inhabitants. Captain Woods Rogers returning to England, was fucceeded in his Government by Captain Fitz-rilliams, in whofe Time an independent Company, that had been fent thither, mutinied, which had like to have produced fome very fatal Confequences, but was happily fuppreffed; and by the Moderation of the Governor, only a few of the mof Guilty were made Examples.

This happened in the Year 1736 , from which Time, thefe Inands have been improving, though nlowly. It may well be wondered at by confiderate Perfons, that confidering the Number of poor People and Men out of Employment, which before the War peftered the Streets of this City, and of all the great Towns in the Kingdom; fome Methods were not taken for fending them over to thefe Inlands, which would have been a Relief to the People here, afforded them a comfortable Subfiftance, and have contributed to augment the Strength and increafe the Riches of this Nation. I fhall content myfelf with juft hinting this as it falls in my Way, and proceed to the next Corporation formed for enlarging our Commerce within the Period of Time affigned to this Section.
II. This was the Hudfon's Bay Company, erected by King Charles the IId. upon the following Occafion: Monfieur Radifon, and Monfieur Goofelier, two Frencbmen, meeting with fome Savages in the Lake of Aflimponals in Canada, they learnt of them that they might go by Land to the Bottom of the Bay, where the Engli/b had not yet been; upon which they defired them to conduat them thither, and the Savages accordingly did it. The two Frencbmen returned to the upper Lake the fame Way they came, and thence to Quebec, the Capital of Canada; where they offered the principal Merchants to carry Ships to Hudjon's Bay, but their Project was rejected; thence they went to France, in Hopes of a more favourable hearing at Court; but after prefenting feveral Memorials, and fpending a great deal of Time and Money, they were anfwered as they had been at Quebec, and their Project looked upon as chimerical. The King of England's Embaffador at Paris, hearing what Propofals they had made, imagined he fhould do his Country good Service by engaging them to ferve the Englifh, who had already Pretences to the Bay, perfuaded them to go for London, where they met with a favourable Reception from fome Men of Quality, Merchants, and others, who employed Mr. Gillam, a Perfon long ufed to the New England Trade, to perfect this Difcovery.
He failed in the Nonefuch Catch, in the Year 1667 , into Baffus Bay, to the Height of 75 Degrees, and from
thence Southward to 5 I Degrees, where he entered a River, to which he gave the Name of Prince Rupert's River; and, finding the Savages difpofed to a friendly Commerce, he erected a fmall Fortrefs there, which he ftiled Cbarles Fort. The Success of this Expedition was fo remarkable, that the Perfons concerned in fitting out this Veffel, upon the Return of Mr. Gillam, applied themfelves to King Cbarles the IId. for a Patent, who accordingly granted them one, dated the 2 d of May, in the 22d Year of his Reign, A. D. 1670. The firft Directors of what was called the ITudfon's Bay Company, were Prince Rupert, Sir Fames Ilayes, Mr. William Young, Mr. Gerrard Weymans, Mr. Ricbard Cradock, Mr. Jobn Letton, Cbrifopber Wren, Efq. and Mr. Nicholas Hayrvood.

The Bay lies from 64 Degrees North Latitude, to 5 I Degrees, and is io Degrees or fix hundred Miles in Length. The Mouth of the Streights lies in about $6 I$ Degrees North Latitude, and is fix Leagues over. At the Mouth is an Inand called Refolution; Cbarles Ifland, Salifbury Ifland, and Nottingbam are in the Streights, and Mansfield Ifland is in the Mouth of the Bay. Hudfon's Streights, which leads to the Bay, are about one hundred and twenty Leagues in Leagth ; the Land on both Sides inhabited by Savages, of whom we have little or no Knowledge. The South Coaft is known by the Name of the Terra de Labrador, the North by as many Names as Men of feveral Nations have been there, and pretend to the Difcovery. On the Weft Side of the Bay the Englifh made a Settlement, built a Fort at Port Nellon, and all that Country goes by the Name of New South Wales. The Bay here is called Button's and Hudforn's Bay, which is broadeft in this Place, and may be near one hundred and thirty Leagues. On the other Shore, or the Coaft of Labrador, lie feveral Iflands, called the Sleepers Illes, and the Baker's Dozen. The Bottom of the Bay, by which we underftand all that Part of it from Cape Henrietta Maria, in New South Wales, to Redonda, below Prince Rupert's River, is about 80 Leagues long, and all the Way between 40 and 50 Leagues over. Here are feveral Iflands to which the firft Adventurers gave the Names of fome great Men in England, or fome that employed them; as Lord Wefton's Ifland, Sir T'bomas Roe's Iland, Cbarleton Ifland, and others.

The two oppofite Shores are called the Eaft Main and Wef Main, the former is Labrador, and the latter New South Wales. The Continent at the bottom of the Bay is, by the French, pretended to be Part of Nerv France; and, indeed, to crofs the Country from St. Margaret's River, which runs into the River of Canada, to Rupert's River, at the bottom of Hudfon's Bay, is not above one hundred and fifty Miles. At Rupert's River the Englifh built their firft Fort, which they called Cbarles Fort. They never had any Towns or Plantations here, but live within their Forts in little Houfes or Huts, wherein the Builders confider nothing but how to defend them from the Cold and Rains, though they are not fo much difturbed by the latter as by the former. There's an Illand about five or fix Leagues from the Weft Main called the little Rocky The, it being a mere heap of Rocks and Stones, with fome fmall Brufh-wood growing upon it; it is fuppofed to overflow with great North-weft Winds, which make a high Tide all over the Bay; in this Ine is plenty of Gulls and Sea Swallows ; about three Miles from the South-fouth-ean Part of the Inand lies a dangerous Reef of Sand, which is dry at low. Water. Cbarleton Ifland is a dry white Sand, covered over with a white Moss, full of Trees, Juniper and Spruce, though not very large. This Ine affords a beautiful Profpect to fuch as are near it in the Spring, after a long Voyage of three or four Months, in the mof uncomfortable Seas in the World, occafioned by the vaft Mountains of Ice which drive in the Bay and Streights; againft which, if Ships happen to ftrike, they are dafhed in Pieces, as certainly as if they ran againft Rocks; for, indeed, they are Rocks petrified by the Violence of the continual Frofts. To fee one Day the Shore on the Weft Main bare, the Mountains covered with Snow, and Nature looking as if frozen to Death; and the next to behold Cbarletons

## Chap. III.

Ifand fpread with Trees, and the Branches making, as it were, a green Tuft of the whole, is a Change capable of giving the greateft Pleafure, after the Fatigues of an intolerable Winter-Voyage.

The Air, even at the Bottom of the Bay, though by the Latitude it is nearer the Sun than London, being in 51 Degrees, is exceffive cold for nine Months; the other three Months very hot; but on a North-weft Wind the Soil on the Eaft Main, as well as the Weft, bears no manner of Grain: Some Fruits, Goofberries, Strawberries, and Dewberries, grow about Prince Rupert's River. The Commodities for Trade here are Guns, Powder, Shot, Cloth, Hatchets, Kettles, Tobacco, E ${ }^{\circ} \mathrm{C}$. which the Englifh exchange with the Indians for Furs, Beavers, Martins, Foxes, Moofe, and other Skins, and Furs. The great Profits acquired by this Trade, and the Profpect of ingroffing it, wholly engaged the new Company to profecute their Meafures vigoroully, and to do all that lay in their Power to fettle a good Correfpondence with the Natives, whom they found very tractable in that Point, and willing to do any thing they could expect from them upon reafonable Terms; for the Indians about Rupert's River, and other Places in the Bay, are more Iimple than the Canadans, who have had longer Commerce with the Europeans: They are generally peaceable, and not given to quarrel, either amongft themfelves or others, except the Nodways, a wild, barbarous People on the Borders of Hudfon's Streigbts, who fometimes, in flight Parties, make Incurfions on the other Indians, and having murdered eight or ten, return in triumph.

The Indians of certain Diffricts, which are bounded by fuch and fuch Rivers, have each an Okimah, as they call him, or Captain, over them, who is an old Man, confidered only for his Prudence and Experience: He has no Authority but what they think fit to give him upon certain Occafions; he is the Speech-maker to the Englifh, as alfo in their own Councils, when they meet every Spring and Fall to fettle the Difpofition of their Quarters, for Hunting, Fowling, and Fifhing: Every Family have their Boundaries adjufted, which they feldom quit, except they have no Succefs there in theirHunting, and then they join in with fome Family who have fucceeded. Their Notions of Religion are but very flender; they fay, there are two Monetoes, or Spirits, the one fends all the good Things, and the other all the bad. Their Worfhip confifts in Songs and-Dances at their Feafts, in Honour of their Monetoes that have favoured them; but if they are fick or famifhed, they hang fome little Bauble which they fet a Value upon, on the Top of a Pole near the Tent, to pacify the Spirit offended, as they conceive.

But to return to our Hiftory: In the Year 1670 the Company fent over Cbarles Bailey, Efq; as their Governor, who with Mr. Radifon fettled at Ruperi's River, and another Factory was eftablifhed at Fort Nel Jon. Some Years after, William Iydall, Efq; was fent to fucceed Mr. Baily, and one Mr. Bridger was fent to Fort Nelfon. In 1683 , Henry Serjeant, Efq; was made Governor at Rupert's River, with Orders to be very careful of the French, who began now to fhew themfelves very jealous of the Trade carried on by the Englifb Company with the Natives; and at the fame time they were not a little perplexed by fome bad Practices among their own Servants; who confidering the Hardhips they endured in that miferable cold Country, thought they might make bold with fome Part of the Profits which were entirely owing to their Labour and Negociations with the Natives; for the Company, by their Governors and Agents, made fuch Contracts with the Captains, or Kings, of Rivers, or Territories where they had Settlements for the Freedom of Trade there, exclufive of all others, that the Indians could not pretend they had encroached upon them. Thefe Contracts were as firm as the Indians could make them by fuch Ceremonies as were moft facred and obligatory among them.

In the Year 1686 we find the Company in poffeffion of five Settlements, viz. Albany River, Hayes Ifland, Rupert's River, Fort Nelfon, and New Severn: Their Trade at each of them was very confiderable. From Albany River they had generally three thoufand five hundred Beavers
a Year, and by Mr. Serjeont's great Care and Fidelity their Commerce increafed fo much, that the French begani to be afraid all the upland Indians might be drawn down to the Bay. They knew they could do any thing with King James II. who then reigned in England; and therefore they refolved to drive the Englifh out of all their Places in the Bottom of the Bay. Firft they took Hayes Ifland, and then the Fort on Rupert's River. The Frencb Company at Canada procured a Detachment of Soldiers to be fent, under the Chevalier de Troyes, who came over Land from Quebec, and in a Time of profound Peace committed thefe Acts of Hoftilities. It is worth obferving that the French have fo good an Opinion of their American Colonies, as to take not only all lawful, but ever unlawful, Means, to preferve and enlarge them, as contemptible as they are in themfelves; whereas the Englifos who, next the Spaniards, have the richeft Plantations in this Part of the World, have been as negligent of them as if they were not worth keeping.

The 8th of Fuly, the Chevalier de Troyes came before the Fort at Albany River, where the Governor, Mr. Serjeant, then refided. Two Indions having informed him of their having furprifed the Forts at Hayes Ifland and Rupert's River, and had brought with them the great Guns from thefe Places, the Governor did all that was in his Power to defend the Place, but was not able to keep it above a Week, as appears by the Articles of his Surrender, dated 7 uly the 16 th, 1686 , which Articles were but indifferently kept. In 1693, the Hudjon's Bay Company, being affifted by the Government, retook all the Forts and Factories of which the French had deprived them in Time of Peace; but they were foon after driven out of them again by the French.

In the Year 1696 , the Company applied themfelves to King William, reprefenting their own Incapacity to maintain themfelves againft the French, and praying the Affiftance of the Crown for their Support: Upon which two Men of War were ordered to their Affiftance, under the Command of Captain Allen, who coming into the River Hayes fent to fummon all the Forts to furrender; and the French Governor, finding he could not defend them againft the Englifh, capitulated; and on the 2d of Auguft, in the fame Year, furrendered Albany Fort upon certain Articles, the chief of which were, That all thofe in the Fort, as well French as Indians, and one Englifbman, the Governor's Servant, fhould have their Lives and Liberties; and, That no Harm or Violence fhould be done to their Perfons, or any thing that belonged to them: That they fhould march out with their Arms, Drums beating, Colours fying, Match lighted at both Ends, Ball in Mouth, and carry with them the two Guns brought from France: That they fhould all embark with their Cloaths, and Goods, without being vifited or pillaged in any Thing and, if they met with any French Veffels, there fhould be a Truce between the Engliß and them; and the faid French Veffels fhould be permitted to take aboard the Perfons that came out of the fame Fort, with all that belonged to them. Thefe Conditions were a little too honourable to grant, tho' they were complied with. Cap tain Allen took the Governor, and fome of his Men, aboard his own Ship, the Bonadventure; fome he put aboard the Seaford, and the reft aboard a Merchant-man, called the Doring.

In his Return he fought the Mary Rofe Frigate, then a French Privateer of fifty Guns, and was killed in the Engagement ; which gave the Frenchrana an Opportunity to bear away. As to the other two Forts, they followed the Fate of Albany, and Mr. Knigbt was reftored to the Government of Fort Nelfon. Mir. Knight had ferved Mr. Serjeant while he was Governor of Fort Albany, and was acquainted with the Trade. In the Year 1697 , the Hamp/bire Frigate, and Ownors Love Firehip, two of the King's Ships, were loft in this Bay, and all the Men drowned. Indeed the Ice rendered it fo dangerous that the Commerce feemed not to be worth the Rifque that was run for it. Whether thofe two Ships run againft thofe frozen Mountains that float in the Sea, or foundered, is not known; but 'tis certain they were loft, and that all the Men perifhed; which was the Caufe of fome Incon-
venience
venience. After this Time it appears very clearly, that the Trade of the Hudfon's Bay Company declined extremely, but whether from any Advantage gained in Trade by the French, or from any ill Management of their Affairs at home or abroad, I cannot pretend to fay. This, however, is certain, that in the next general War the Firencb had renewed their Attacks upon the Settlements of the Hudfon's Bay Company, and this with fuch Effect, that they foon left them nothing but Fort Albany, which very well accounts for the low State of their 'Trade to the End of the War, and fome Time after. At the making the Treaty at Utrecbl, great Care was taken of this Company, who by the Ioth and I Ith Articles have every thing reftored to them that had been taken from them, and an equitable Satisfaction ftipulated for their Loffes. Since which Time the Trade of the Company has wonderfully encreafed, infomuch that it became, at leaft, treble to what it was at the Time that Peace was made, and is itill in a very flourifing Condition.

It is very natural for fuch as reap the Benefit of any Branch of Trade, to be as filent and fecret about it as poffible, which is the Reafon that till within thefe few Years both the Country and the Commerce of Hudfon's Bay were very little, and indeed fcarce at all, known here, though carried on entirely by this Nation. As for the Frerach, they had fo little Notion of it, that they treated all Mr. Iberville's Projects, upon this Subject, as mere Chimeras; and when a Memorial was prefented to the Regent Duke of Orleans, fetting forth the great Dangers the French Settlements in North America muft run, if the Englifh Phould ever lay open this Trade, or think of tranfporting their Felons into this Part of the World, it was looked upon as a mere Vifion. But fince that Time they are become much better acquainted with this Part of America, as appears from the Account I have already given from one of their Authors.

But as to the Product and prefent Condition of this Country, the beft Account I ever faw of it, is that publifhed by Mr. Dobbs, from the Mouth of one experimentally acquainted with it, and from whom I fhall borrow as much as I think may fuffice to give the Reader a general Notion of its Nature and Importance. "The In-
"s dians being obliged to go afhore every Day to hunt for
"Provifions, delays them very much in their Voyages;
"" for their Canoes are fo very fmall, holding only two
"" Men and a Pack of one hundred Beaver Skins, that
" they cannot carry Provifions with them for any Time.
"" If they had larger Canoes, they would make their Voy-
"a ages fhorter, and carry many more Beavers to Market,
"at leaft four times as many, befides other Skins of
"Value, which are too heavy for their prefent Canoes;
"" this, and the high Price of the European Goods, by
"" the Company in exchange, difcourages the Natives fo
"" much, that if they were not abfolutely under a Necef-
" fity of having Guns, Powder, and Shot, Hatchets, and
" other Iron Tools for their Hunting, and Tobacco,
"Brandy, and fome Paint for Luxury, they would not "go down to the Factory, with what they now carry.
"At prefent they leave great Numbers of Furs and Skins
"behind them. A good Hunter, among the Indians,
"can kill fix hundred Beavers in a Seafon, and can
${ }^{\text {" }}$ "carry down but one hundred; the reft he ufes at home,
"o or hangs them upon Branches of Trees, upon the Death ${ }^{66}$ of their Children, as an Offering to them, or ufe them
" for Bedding and Coverings. They fometimes burn off
"the Fur, and roaft the Beavers like Pigs, upon any
" Entertainments, and they often let them rot, having
"" no farther Ufe for them. The Beavers, he fays, are
"" of three Colours, the brown reddifh Colour, the black,
"" and white; the firft is the cheapeft, the black is moft
"valued by the Company in England, the white the
"" moft valued in Canada, giving eighteen Shillings, when
"c others give five or fix Shillings; ; it is blown upon by
is the Companies Factors at the Bay, they not allowing
" fo much for thefe as for the others, and therefore the
"Indians ufe them at home, or burn off the Hair, when
"s they roaft the Beavers like Pigs, at an Entertainment
"" when they feaft together. He fays thefe Skins are ex-
" tremely white, and have a fine Luftre, no Snow being
" whiter, and have a fine long Fur or Hair. He has feen "fifteen taken of that Colour out of one Lodge or " Pond.
"The Beavers have three Enemies, Man, Otters, and "s the Carcajon, or Quecquehatch, which prey upon them, when they take them at Advantage; the laft is "' as large as a very great Dog, it has a fhort Tail like a "Deer or Hart, and has a good Fur, valued at a "Beaver and a half in exchange. The Beavers chiefeft "Food is the Poplar, or Tremble, but they alfo eat "Sallows, Alders, and moft other Trees, not having "" a refinous Juice. The Middle Bark is their Food ; in " May, when the Wood is not plenty, they live upon a "، large Root which grows in the Marfles a Fathom long, " and as thick as a Man's Leeg, theFrench called it Volet: "B But the Beavers are not fo good Food as when they " feed upon Trees. They will cut down Trees about two "Fathoms in Girth with their Teeth, and one of them "c obferves when it is ready to fall, and gives a great "Cry; and runs the contrary Way, to give room for the " reft to get out of the Way. They then cut off all " the Twigs and fmaller Branches, two or three Fa" thoms in Length, and draw them to their Houfes, "" which they have built in their Ponds; after having. "" raifed or repaired their Pond Head, and made it " ftaunch, and thruft one End into the Clay or Mud, " that they may lie under Water all the Winter, to pre"ferve the Bark green and tender, for their Winter "Provifion. After cutting off the fmall Branches, they "cut and carry away the larger, until they come to "" the Bole of the Tree. The Beavers are excellent Food, " but the Tongue and Tail the moft delicious Parts of "s the whole. They are very fat from November until "s the End of Marcb: They have their Young in the Be" ginning of Summer, at which Time the Females are
"lean by fuckling their Young, and the Males are lean " the whole Summer, when they are making or repair" ing their Ponds and Houres, and cutting down and "providing Timber and Branches for their Winter "Store. They breed once in a Year, and have from "" ten to fifteen at a Litter, which grow up in one Sea" fon, fo that they multiply very faft; and if they can " empty a Pond and take the whole Lodge, they gene"" rally leave a Pair to breed, fo that they are fully "" ftecked again in two or three Years. The Loup Cor"" vier, or Lynx, is of the Cat kind, but as large as a "" great Dog; it preys upon all Beafts it can conquer, as "does the Tyger, which is the only Beaft in that Coun" try that won't fly from a Man. The American Oxen " or Beeves, have a large Bunch upon their Backs, which " is by far the moft delicious Part of them for Food, it "being all as fweet as Marrow, juicy and rich, and "weighs feveral Pounds.
"The Indians Weft of the Bay, living an erratic Life, " can have no Benefit by tame Fowl or Cattle ; they " feldom ftay above a Fortnight at a Place, unlefs they " find plenty of Game. When they remove, after having " built their Hutt they difperfe to get Game for their "Food, and meet again at Night, after having killed " enough to maintain them that Day; they don't go "" above a League or two from their Hut. When "" they find fcarcity of Game, they remove a League " or two farther, and thus they traverfe through thefe "woody Countries and Bogs, fcarce miffing one Day "Winter or Summer, fair or foul, in the greateft "Storms of Snow, but what they are employed in "f fome kind of Chace. The finaller Game, got by "Traps or Snares, are generally the Employment of "Women and Children, fuch as the Martins, Squirrels, "Ermins, $\mathcal{O}^{\circ}$ c. The Elks, Stags, Rein Deer, Bears, "Tygers, wild Beef, Wolves, Foxes, Beavers, Otters, "Corcajon, $\xi^{3}$ c. are the Employment of the Men. The "Indians, when they kill any Game for Food, leave it " where they kill it, and fend their Wives next Day to "c carry it home. They go home in a direct Line, never " miffing their Way by Obfervation they make of the "Courfe they take upon their going out, and fo judge " upon what Point their Huts are, and can thus direft "themfelves upon any Point of the Compars. The

## Chap. III. of the ENGLISH in AMERICA.

's Trees all bend towards the South, and the Branches "s on that Side are larger and ftronger than on the North "Side, as alfo the Mofs upon the Trees. To let their
"Wives know how to come at the killed Game, they
"t from Place to Place break off Branches, and lay them
" 6 in the Road, pointing them the Way they fhould go, "s and fometimes Mofs; fo that they never mifs find${ }^{6} 6$ ing it:
"In Winter when they go abroad, which they muft ${ }^{66}$ do in all Weathers to hunt and fhoot for their daily ' Food, before they drefs they rub themfelves all over ${ }^{\prime 6}$ with Bear's Greafe, or Oil of Beavers, which does "s not freeze, and alfo rub all the Fur off their Beaver " Coats, and then pitt them on ; they have alfo a kind " of Boots or Stockings of Beaver's Skin; well oiled " with the Fur inwards, and above them they have an "s oiled Skin laced about their Feet, which keeps out the ${ }^{6}$ Cold, and alfo Water, where there is no Ice or Snow, "c and by this Means they never freeze or fuffer any thing "s by Cold. In Summer alfo, when they go naked, "s they rub themfelves with thefe Oils or Greafe, and ex"pofe themfelves to the Sun without being fcorched, ${ }^{66}$ their Skins being always kept foft and fupple by "c it, nor do any Flies, Bugs, or Murketoes; or any "s noxious Infect ever moleft them. When they want to "s get rid of it they go into the Water, and rub them"G felves all over with Mud or Clay, and let it dry upon " 6 them, and then rub-it off. But whenever they are free "c from the Oil, the Flies and Mufketoes immediately " attack them, and oblige them again to anoint them"6 felves.
"The Indians make no ufe of Honey; he faw no «s Bees there but the wild Humble-Bee; but they are fo s* much afraid of being ftung with them, as they go naked cs in Summer, that they avoid them as much as they «can. Nor he did not fee any of the Mapple they ufe «s in Canada to make Sugar of, but only the Birch, ${ }^{6}$ c whofe Juice they ufe for the fame Purpofe : Boiling "c it until it is black and dry, and then ufing it with "s their Meat. They ufe no Milk from the Time they "s are weaned, and they all hate to tafte Cheefe, having ${ }^{66}$ taken up an Opinion that it is made of dead Men's
" Fat; they love Prunes and Raifins, and will give a " Beaver Skin for twelve of them, to carry to their " Children, and alfo for a Thrum or Jews Harp.
" He fays the Women have all fine Voices, but have "s never heard any mufical Inftrument. They are very " fond of all Sorts of Pictures or Prints, giving a Beaver ${ }^{66}$ for the leaft Print, and all Toys are like Jewels to "s them. When he got to the Natives, Southward of " Pachegoia, he had about thirty Cowries left, and a " few finall Bells, lefs than Hawks-Bells. When he " fhewed one of them, they gave him a Beaver's Skin sc for it, and they were fo fond that fome gave him ${ }^{\text {es }}$ two Skins, or three Martin Skins, for one, to give "s their Wives to make them fine. The Martins they "s take in Traps, for if they fhoot them their Skins "s would be fpoiled; they have generally five or fix at a " Litter. He fays the Natives are fo difcouraged in ${ }^{s}$ their Trade with the Company, that no Skins are "s worth the Carriage; and the fineft Furs were fold for "s very little, when they came to the Factory in fune "1742. The Prices they took for the Europican Goods ${ }^{*}$ w were much higher than the fettled Prices fixed by the
" Company, which the Governors fix fo to fhew the
«s Company how zealous they are to improve their Trade, ${ }^{6}$ and fell their Goods to Advantage. He fays they ${ }^{6}$ gave but a Pound of Gunpowder for four Beavers ; a "Fathom of Tobacco for feven Beavers; a Pound of
is Shot for one; an Ell of coarfe Cloth for fifteen; a \& Blanket for twelve; two Fifh-hooks or three Flints ${ }^{6}$ for one; a Gun for twenty-five; a Piftol for ten; a com"s mon Hat, with white Lace, for feven; an Ax for four; «s a Bill-hook for one; a Gallon of Brandy for four; a che"quered Shirt for feven; all which are fold at a monftrous "Profit, even to two thoufand per Cent. Notwithftanding ' this Difcouragement, the two Fleets which went down 's with him, and parted at the Great Fork, carried down ${ }^{6}$ two hundred Packs of one hundred each, Ewenty thoutwo hundred Packs of
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's fand Beavers; and the other Indions who arrived that " Year; he computed, carried down three hundred Packs " of two hundred each, making thirty thoufand; in all fifty
"s thoufand. Beavers, and above nine thoufand Martins.
"The Furs there are much more valuable than the "Furs upon the Canada Lakes, fold at Nerv York; for ${ }^{\text {st }}$ thefe will give five or fix Shillings per Pound, when "the others fell at three Shillings and Six-pence. He "fays that if a Fort was built at the Great Fork, fixty "Leagues above York Fort, and a Factory with Euro"pean Goods was fixed there, and a reafonable Price "w was put upon the European Goods, that the Trade "w would be wonderfully increafed; for the Natives, from "' the Southward of Pachegoia, coul't make, at leaft, "6 two Returns in a Summer, and thofe at greater Dif6 tances could make one, who cannot now come at all ; ${ }^{6}$ and above double the Number would be employed "s in hunting; and many more Skins would be brought " to Market that they can't now afford to bring, for "s the Expence and low Price given for them. The "Stream is fo gentle from the Fork to Xork Fort, on "c either Branch, that large Veffels and Shallops may be " built there, and carry down the bulky Goods, and "" alfo return again againft the Stream; and the Climate " is good and fit to produce Grain, Pulfe, $\sigma^{3} c$. and "c very good Grafs and Hay for Horfes and Cattle; and "c if afterwards any Settlement were made upon Pache:' goia, and Veffels built to navigate that Lake, which " 6 is not more Northerly than the Latitude of 52 Degrees; "s the Trade would be ftill vaftly inlarged and im"s proved, and fpread the Trade not only up the River sc and Lakes; as far as the Lake du Bois and du Pluis; "s but alfo among the ADinibouels, and Nations beyond "s them ; and the Nation de vieux Hommes, who are two "6 hundred Leagues Weftward of Pachegoia. He fays the " Nations who go up that River, with Prefents, to con"f firm the Peace, are three Months in going, and fay they "c live behind a range of Mountains beyond Allwibou" els ; he faw feveral of them, who all wanted a Joint of "t their little Finger, which they faid was cut off foon ¿s after they were born, but gave no Reafon for it.
" Whilft he was at York Fort he got acquainted with "s an old Indian who lived at fome Diftance from Nelfon's "Bay to the Weftward, being one of thofe they call "s the bome Indians, who had, about fiffeen Years ago, "s gone at the Head of thirty Warriors, to make War "s againft the Attimojpiquais, Tete Plat, or Plazcotez de
©s Cbiens, a Nation lying Northward, on the Weftern " Ocean of America; he was the only one that return"s ed, all the reft being killed, or perifhed through Fa"t tigue, or want of Food; upon their Return, when "6 they went they carried their own Families with them, " 6 and liunted and fifhed from Place to Place for two "Winters and one Summer, having left their Country "s in Autumn, and in April following came to the Sea "Side on the Weftern Coaft, where they immediately "' made their Canoes; at fome fmall Diftance they faw " an Inand, which was about a League and a half long; " when the Tide was out, or Water fell, they had no Water " betwixt them and the Inand, but when it rofe, it co"s vered all the Paffage and the Inand, as high as the "Woods upon the Shore. There they left their Wives "s and Children and old Men, to conduct them home, "6 and provide them with Provifions by hunting and " fhooting for them upon the Road; and lie, with "6 thirty Warriors, went in queft of the Enemies of the " Tete Plat.
". After they parted with their Fimilies they came to "s a Streight which they paffed in their Canoes; the Sea "Coaft lay almoft Eaft and Weft, for he faid the Sun "c rofe on his Right-hand, and at Noon it was almoft "s behind him, as he paffed the Streight, and always fet in "c the Sea. After paffing the Streight, they coafted along "s the Sea for three Months, going into the Country " 6 and Woods as they went along to hunt for Provifions. ${ }^{66}$ He faid they faw a great many large black Fifh, fpout" ing up Water in the Sea. After they had thus coafted "s for near three Months, they faw the Foorfteps of fome "G Men on the Sand, by which they judged they were 4 E
${ }^{68}$ not far from their Enemies; upon which they quitted " ${ }^{6}$ their Canoes, and went five Days through the Woods " ${ }^{6}$ and Buthes, which were but very low and fhrubby, and
" fo clofe they could with Dificulty make Way through
" 6 it ; and then came to the Banks of a River; where they ${ }^{6}$ found a large Town of their Enemies: And, after ${ }^{6}$ © making their ufual Cry, they difcharged their Arrows ${ }^{66}$ and Guns againft thofe who appeared; upon which
"t they fled; but upon finding how few they were, they
${ }^{*}$ returned and killed fifteen of them, and wounded three ${ }^{6}$ or four more; upon which they fled to theWoods, and
"6 from thence made theirEfcape to their Canoes before their
"Enemies overtook them; and, after a great deal of
"Fatigue got to the Streights, and after getting over they
${ }^{6} 6$ all died one after another, of Fatigue and Famine, except
${ }^{6}$ this old Man; leaving him alone to travel to his own
"Country, which took him up about a Year's Time, hav-
"e ing left his Gun when his Ammunition was fpent, and
"c loft all his Arrows, and upon his Return had not even
" a Knife with him; fo that he was reduced to live
"6 upon Herbs and Mofs growing upon the Rocks, and
" was almoft famifhed when he reached the River
"Sakie, where he met his Friends, who relieved him
"s when he defpaired of ever again feeing his own " Country."

This, fays Mr. Dobbs, is the Account fo far as $\mathcal{F} 0 \int$ epb la France could inform me of thofe Countries Southward of York Fort, which may be brought to trade there in time. It muft be allowed, that this Relation is equally inftructive and entertaining ; it makes us at once acquainted with the Country, and with the Reafons which fhould induce us think it worth our while to enquire about it ; it fhews us, that thefe Countries are far from being unhofpitable, or uninhabitable ; that, on the contrary, there are many Nations already known, and many more of whom the Europeans have had Notice; all of whom are fufficiently in Want, and have it at the fame time abundantly in their Power to pay us for Supplies. This, I fay, is evidently made appear, fince it is affirmed, and the Fact is fo true as not to be difputed, that the French carry on a great Trade with thefe Indians, and that they are very well able to bear the Rigour of the Seafons in thofe Parts; and if they can bear it, furely fo may we.

It may indeed be objected, that the French are very apt to boaft of much more than they perform, and therefore we ought not to give an implicit Credit to their Relations, efpecially in their own Favour.

But this is eafily anfwered, fince Mr. Dobbs has alfo furnifhed us with Englif Memoirs that prove the very fame Thing; and therefore I fhall quote from him what is fufficient for that Purpofe, and which is no lefs entertaining than the Account given us by Fofeph la France, and of no lefs Authority than his, fince it is given us by an Englifbman of Credit, who reports nothing but from his own Experience and Obfervation:
${ }^{\text {"c }} \mathrm{Mr}$. Froft, who has been many Years employed ${ }^{66}$ by the Company in the Bay, both at Clourcbill and "Moofe River Factory, and who was their Interpreter ${ }_{66}$ with the Natives, and travelled a confiderable way ${ }^{6}$ into the Country, both North-weft of Cburcbill and
"Southward of Moofe River Factory, and has refided at
"Moofe River, fince the Factory was made there in
${ }^{66}$ r730, gives a very good Account of that Climate and
"Country there, and up the River Southward of it: He
©c fays the Factory is built near the Mouth of the River,
${ }^{6} 6$ in Latitude 51 Degrees 28 Minutes, upon a navigable
"River, which, at twelve Miles diftant from the Fort,
${ }^{66}$ is divided into two Branches; one comes from the
"Southward, the other from the South-weft. Upon the
${ }_{66}$ Southern Branch, all fort of Grain thrives, as Barley,
${ }^{66}$ Beans, and Peafe do at the Factory, though expofed
"s to all the chilling Winds which come from the Ice in
${ }^{\text {os }}$ the Bay. Upon the Southern Part, above the Falls, ${ }^{66}$ there grows naturally along the River, the fame Kind ${ }^{6}$ of wild Oats and Rye mentioned already upon the ${ }^{66}$ Lake of Sieno, the Hufk being black, but the Grain ©c within perfectly white and clear, like Rice; the Indians
ee beating it off when ripe into their Canoes, as they pafs
${ }^{\text {® }}$ along the River, it growing in the Water, like Rice.
"In their Woods, at the Bottom of the Bay, at Moofe "s and Albany, as well as at Rupert's River, are very " large Timber-Trees of all Kinds; Oak; Afh, $E^{\circ} c$. as well as Pine, Cedar, and Spruce: They have exceeding good Grafs to make Hay, which improves every Day, as they cut and feed it, and may have every where within Land all forts of Pulfe and Grain, and all forts ${ }_{66}$ of Fruit Trees, as in the fame Climate in Europe; for ${ }^{6}$ all the Sorts they have tried thrive very well.
" The Ice breaks up at Moofe Factory in the Beginning ${ }^{6} 6$ of April, but higher up in the Country in March. It ${ }^{\prime 6}$ is navigable for Canoes a great way up among the Falls; ${ }^{6}$ at a confiderable Diftance there is one Fall of fifty Feet, 's but above that it is deep, and navigable for a great "s way; the Climate above the Fall is very good, and ${ }^{6}$ the River abounds with that wild Rice. The French
"s have got a Houfe, or Settlement for Trade, near the
"Southern Branch, about one hundred Miles above the
"s Factory, where they fell their Goods cheaper than the
"c Company do, although it be fo difficult to carry them
"so far from Canada, and very expenfive; and give 's as much for a Martin's Skin as they do for a Beaver, "* when we infift upon three for one; fo that the French "s get all the choice Skins, and leave only the Refufe for "c the Company. The French have alfo got another "'Houfe pretty, high up upon Rupert's River, by which "6 they have gained all the Trade upon the Eaft Main, "except a little the Company .get at Slude River." He fays, "That upon the South-fide of the great Inland "Sea, upon the Eaft Main, which has lately been dif"covered, there is an exceeding rich Lead Mine, " from which the Natives have brought very good Ore, "c which might turn to very great Advantage, as well as "s the Furs upon that Coaft, which might be vaftly in"creafed if the Trade was laid open, and Settlements " " made in proper Places. He fays, when he was at "C Cburchill, he travelled a confiderable way in the "c Country North-weftward of the River of Seals, that near "s the River and Sea-coaft there were fmall fhrubby Woods; "s but for many Miles, at leaft fixty farther into the "Country, they had nothing but a barren, white Mofs, "s upon which the Rein-Deer feed, and alfo the Moofe, "Buffaloes, and other Deer: And the Natives told him,
"s farther Weftward, beyond that barren Country, there
"s were large Woods. He was acquainted when there, "s about fifteen Years ago, with an Indian Chief, who "s traded at Churcbill, who had been often at a fine "c Copper Mine, which they ftruck off from the Rocks "s with fharp Stones. He faid it was upon Inands at the Mouth of a River, and lay to the Northward of that "Country where they had no Night in Summer.
"As to the Trade at Cburcbill, it is increafing; it "6 being at too great Diftance from the French for them " "o interfere in the Trade: In the Year 1742, it amounted " 6 to twenty thoufand Beavers. There were about one "s hundred Up-land Indians came in their Canoes to trade, "s and about two hundredNorthern Indians, who brought "s their Furs and Skins upon Sledges; fome of them "came down the River of Seals, fifteen Leagues North" ward of Cburcbill, in Canoes, and brought their Furs " from thence by Land. They have no Beavers to the "Northward of Cburcbill, they not having there fuch " Ponds or Woods as they chufe to feed upon; but they
"c have great Numbers of Martins, Foxes, Bears, Rein-
"c Deer, Buffaloes, Wolves, and other Beafts of rich Furs,
" 6 the Country being moftly rocky, and covered with "6 white Mors, upon which the Rein-Deer, or Cariboux, c feed.
"There is a great deal of fmall Wood, of the Spruce "s or Firr Kind, near the old Factory; but the Wood "s improves, as it is farther up the River from the Bay; "6 where they have Juniper, Birch, and Poplar. And "s more Southerly the Timber is larger, and there are " great Varicty of Trees; they are under great Incon"6 veniences at the new Fort, which is upon an elevated "Situation, upon a Rock without Shelter, clofe by the ${ }^{6}$ Shore, furrounded with Snow and Ice for eight Months ${ }^{6}$ in the Year, expofed to all the Winds and Storms that ${ }^{66}$ happen; where they can have no Conveniency of

## Chap. III. of the ENGLISH in AMERICA.

"Grafs or Hay, or Gardening, and yet they had four or five Horfes there, and a Bull, and two Cows, near the Factory; but they were obliged to bring their Hay from a marfhy Bottom, fome Miles up the River, to feed them in Winter; but if a Settlement was made higher up the River Southward, fome Leagues from "the Bay, in Shelter, without the Reach of the chilling Winds, they would have Grafs and Hay fufficient, and " might have alfo Gardens and proper Greens, and Roots, propagated there. They fay there is a Communication betwixt that River and Nelfon's River, at a great Diftance within Land, or a very fhort Land${ }^{66}$ carriage betwixt them; for the Indians who trade " here tell them, each Seafon, what Chiefs, with their "Followers, go down that Year to Nelfon or Albany "River."

We may juftly wonder that we never had before any clear Account of thefe Matters, confidering how long we have had Factories in thefe Parts; and that on the contrary all the Accounts hitherto given reprefent the Coafts of Hudfon's Bay, as the moft forlorn and dreadful Part of the Univerfe, hitherto difcovered; as Regions freezing and frightful, almoft beyond all Defcription, and which it would appear dreadful and cruel to fend even Malefactors to inhabit. But for this the fame Gentleman has fully accounted; and it is requifite that the Public fhould be very well acquainted with the Account that he has given; for fince the great Council of the Na tion has thought fit to encourage an Attempt to difcover a Paffage this Way into the South Seas, it is very reafonable to fuppofe that Endeavours will not be wanting to pufh that Attempt to the utmoft; to facilitate which there is nothing of fo great Importance as the proving that the Difcouragements which have been hitherto reprefented as infuperable, have been over-rated, and that notwithftanding all that has been faid of them, it is not only poflible but probable, that they may be overcome; towards which nothing furely can contribute more than the pointing out the Motives, upon which they have hitherto been conftantly reprefented, in fo ftrong a Light, which is very effectually done in the following Paffage from the fame Author; who, as he has ftudied this Point, fo it muft be allowed he has made it as clear as with Reafon could well be expected.
"The Company avoid all they can making Difcoveries to the Northward of Cburcbill, or extending their Trade that Way, for fear they fhould difcover a Paffage to the Weftern Ocean of America, and tempt, by that Means, the reft of the Englif Merchants to lay open their Trade, which they know they have no legal Right to; which if the Paffage was found, would not only animate the reft of the Merchants to purfue the Trade through that Paffage, but alfo to find out the great Advantages that might be made of the Trade of the Rivers and Countries adjoining to the Bay, by which Means they would lofe their beloved Monopoly. But the Profpect they have of Gain to be " made by trading with the E/kimauk Indians, for Whale-fin, Whale and Sea Oil, and Sea-horfe Teeth, induces them to venture a Sloop annually, as far as 62 Degrees 30 Minutes, to Whale Cove, where thefe Indians meet them, and truck their Fins and Oil with them. But though they are fully informed of a fine Copper Mine on a navigable Arm of the Sea, Northweftward of Whale Cove, and the Indians have offered to carry their Sloops to it ; yet their Fear of difcovering the Paffage, puts Bounds to their Avarice, and prevents their going to the Mine, which by all Accounts is very rich. Yet thofe who have been at Whale Cove, own that from thence Northwards is all broken Land; and that after paffing fome Inlands, they from the Hills fee the Sea open, leading to the Weftward. And the Indians who have been often at the Mine fay it is upon a navigable Arm of the Sea, of great Depth, leading to the South-weft, where are great Numbers of large black Fifh fpouting Water, which confirms the Opinion that all the Whales feen between Whale Cove and Wager River, all come there from the Weftern Ocean, fince none are feen any
${ }^{66}$ where elfe in Hudfon's Bay or Streigbt. All along this "Coaft from the Latitude 62 Degrees to 65 Degreess a ${ }^{66}$ very beneficial Fifhery of Whales may be carried on " with thefe E/kimauk Indians; who, eten without the " Ufe of Iron, can harpoon and kill Whales, and if "they were fupplied with Iron Harpoons; and proper "Cordage, they might be brought to kill great Num" bers of them. At prefent all their Nets, Lines, and "Snares, are made of Whale-bone, and moft of their ' Boats and other Neceffaries of the Seal-fkins, Fifh' bones, and Sea-horfe Teeth, and in making all things " neceffary for them, they are very neat and ingenious." ${ }^{3}$ The fame judicious Perfon, from whom we have borrowed fo much already, has taken the Pains to give, from very authentic Relations, a very clear, as well as a very copious Account of moft of the Indian Nations that lie at the back of our Northern Colonies, and between the French Settlements in Canada, and on the Mififippi River; with the Countries they inhabited, and the Product of thofe Countries, which I efteem a thing of very great Confequence, and as material a Service to this Nation, as has been rendered for many Years; the Account is too long for me to infert, but the Inferences he draws from it are fo juft, and of fo high Confequence, that I think it would be an Injury done the Reader not to report them, as it would certainly be doing both him and the Subject great Wrong; to report them in any other than his own Words, which without farther Preface I fhall ufe; only it is neceffary to premife at the Time this Gentleman publifhed his Book, the War with Fraince was not actually broke out.
" How glorious, fays he, would it be for us at the "s fame Time to civilize fo many Nations, and improve " fo large and fpacious a Country, by communicating " our Conftitution and Liberties, both Civil and Religi" ous, to fo many Numbers, whofe Happinefs and " Pleafure would increafe at the fame Time, that an In"creafe of Weálth and Power would be added to Bri* " tain.
${ }^{6}$ There is, at prefent, a Beginning of this Scheme, "s by the Zeal of Mr. Barclay, who is inftructing and "c civilizing the Mowbawks, among the Iroquefe, who " from a warlike Nation have embarked in Trade, ${ }^{6}$ and entered into Alliances with all Nations round the " Lakes Huron and Errie, and to the Weftward as far as
"s the Miffifippi, which is firmly eftablifhed by the Gain "s they make by the Trade. The Englifh, from Nero " York, have fixed at Ofwega, in their Country, upon "s equitable Terms with all the Indians, who come now " from a great Diftance to trade at that Town; Indians " coming now to Trade there, whofe Names were never " before known to the Englifh. This therefore feems to " be the critical Time to begin this Settlement, on the " Banks of Conde River. If there be a War with France, " as we are at a great Expence to fave the Liberties of "Europe, and fupport the Houfe of Aufria, fince we "can have nothing in Europe beneficial for us; in cafe "s we are fuccefsful at the Conclufion of the War, we "s ought to ftipulate for fomething advantageous in " America; and the leaft we ought to claim is our Right "to the American Lakes, and fecuring the Navigation ' of them. The French have, at prefent, two little Forts, and about thirty Men in each; at Niagara, " and the Streights of St. Fojepb; and a few Men at Mif' Sliackinac, and at the bottom of the Illinefe Lake. Thefe s we ought to have from them, either by Force or Trea-. ${ }^{6}$ ty, which would fecure the inland Trade to us, and ' prevent their future Incroachments, either there or in 'Hudfon's Bay; and to do this effectually, would be to ' make a Settlement near the Lake Errie, which may ' be done with little or no Expence, confidering our " prefent Barrier and Alliance, and Trade with the Na' tives; and whenever our Troops are difbanded, fome c of them may be fent over upon Half-pay, to fix in "s proper Places, and make good our Pofleffions, which "would be a fine Retrear to our Soldiers, wha ' can't fo eafily, after being difbanded, bring them'felves again to hard Labour, after being fo long dif6 whed to it.
*6 By thefe Settlements, and thofe adjoining to Hud'Son's Bay, and by opening the Trade to the Bay, many 'thoufands more would be employed in Trade, and a ${ }^{6}$ much greater Vent would be opened to our Manufac6 tures: Whereas, all the Trade we have at prefent, 's whilft it is thus confined to the Company, is the
${ }^{6}$ Employment of one hundred and twenty Men in all ' their Factories; and two or three Ships in that Trade,
${ }^{6}$ manned perhaps with one hundred and twenty Men in
' time of War, to enrich nine or ten Merchants at their "Country's.Expence, at the fame Time betraying the ${ }^{66}$ Nation, by allowing the French to encroach upon us ' 6 at the bottom of the Bay, having given up by that Means the greateft Part of their Trade there to the
French. It is therefore humbly fubmitted to the Go-
${ }^{6}$ vernment, whether it is not juft, as well as prudent, ${ }^{6}$ to open the Trade to all the Briti/b Merchants, and "refume, at the fame Time, the Charter, fo far as to take from them all the Lands they have not reclaimed or occupied, after feventy Years Poffeffion, leaving ' them only their Factories, and fuch Lands as they " have reclaimed, adjoining to them; and to give Grants, as ufual, in other Colonies, to all who dhall 'go over to trade, and make Settlements in the Country; for no Grant was ever intended to be made to 6 them, to enable them to prevent other Subjects of
Britain from planting thofe Colonies, which they themfelves would not plant or occupy; for fuch a Power, ' inftead of being beneficial, would be the greateft Pre' judice to Britain. It is therefore become a general - Law in all the Colonies, that thofe who take Grants of

- Land, and don't plant them in a reafonable limited
© Time, forfeit their Right to thofe Lands, and a new
Grant is made out to fuch others as fhall plant and
' improve them; and if this Grant be not immediately refumed fo far, and the Trade laid open, and fome
Force be not fent to fecure our Southern Plantations
6 in the Bay by the Government, in cafe there fhould
- be a French War, we fhall fee the French immediately
difpoffefs the Company of all their Factories but
${ }_{66}$ Cburchill, and all thefe Countries, and that Trade, will
${ }^{66}$ be in Poffeffion of the French.
"To the making fuch Settlements fome Objections
${ }^{\text {"c }}$ have been made by the Friends of the Company, as the great Difficulty of getting People to go to fettle and plant in fo cold a Country, and the Difficulty and Danger attending the making Settlements higher up upon the Rivers, and navigating them, as they are fo full of Falls and Rapids, that can only be navigated by the Natives in fmall Canoes, made of Birch Bark, which can't contain above two Men with any Cargo; and in thefe they are often overfet, and are in fuch Danger of being drowned, and of fpoiling their Goods, that
they are often obliged to carry their Canoes and Cargo
from Place to Place, which obitructs greatly and de-
lays the Navigation; and that fcarce five Men out of one hundred and twenty, which the Company now
have in the Bay, will venture themfelves in, or can conduct fuch Canoes, without imminent Danger of being drowned, and confequently thefe Hardihips and
Difficulties will counter-balance the Profit to be made of fettling higher up in the Country, upon the Rivers,
${ }^{66}$ in pleafanter and warmer Climates.
"To this I anfwer, That by the Accounts already gi-
${ }^{6}$ ven here of thefe Climates and Countries, by impartial
${ }^{6}$ Perfons, who don't want to difguife the Truth, it ap-
${ }^{66}$ pears that the Cold is tolerable, even at thefe difad-
${ }^{66}$ vantageous Settlements at prefent in the Bay; and that
${ }^{86}$ upon pafling only five or fix Leagues up the Rivers
${ }^{6}$ into the Country, the Climate is fo altered, as to be
${ }^{66}$ equal to thofe of the fame Latitudes in Europe. And
\%6 that thefe prodigious Accounts of the Effects of Cold, ${ }^{66}$ are calculated only to ferve the Company, in order to ${ }^{66}$ prevent People from going there to fettle, and encroach
${ }^{66}$ upon the Company's Monopoly of Trade. And to the
ss Difficulty they make about navigating thefe Rivers in
${ }^{66}$ thofe fmall Canoes, and the fmall Number employed
*6 by the Company, who will venture in them, or can
${ }^{66}$ conduct them, I anfwer, That their Servants being at
prefent no Gainers by Trade, won't endeavour to learn " to navigate thefe Canoes, where there is any Rifque, " and Care neceffary to prevent the Danger. Befides, the "Company allows them no Time to learn, by confin" ing them to their Factories; whilft the Indian Trade 'continues, and the Navigation is open: And at other "Times keeps them employed in cutting Wood for " firing, bringing it home, fhooting, fifhing, and dig'ging in their Gardens, to fupply themfelves with "Provifions, to leffen the Company"s Expence, fo that " they are allowed no Time to learn to navigate thefe
"Boats, or to go up the Rivers to obferve the Soil and "Climate, or what Improvements might be made in "s the Country. But if they were Mafters of their own ss Time, and could advance their Wealth by Trade, and "s found a confiderable Profit to arife to them by their "s Dexterity in managing thefe Canoes, and the great "Pleafure and Satisfaction they would have by living in " a fine Climate among thefe Lakes and Rivers; they "would be as enterprizing and dextrous as the Cu "s reur de Bois, and be as able to navigate among thefe "Water-falls, as the French. Neither is it impractica"6 ble to prevent even thofe Canoes from overfetting, by "Outlagers or blown Bladders fixed to their Sides, or ' other kind of Boats may be ufed, fuch as are made at 'Torneo in Sreeden, upon the Rivers, falling into the ' Botbnic Gulph, and Laplanders might be prevailed " upon to go there to teach them how to make and ma' nage thefe Boats, and train up Rein-Deer to draw in "Sledges in Winter, and alfo to ufe Lapland Shoes, which are better than thofe ufed in America.
" If the Trade was once made free, the Profit made ' upon it would induce many to go and fettle upon thofe " Rivers, when not only Horfes and other Convenien' cies would be had near the Water-falls, to affift the ' Land Carriage in Summer, but alfo Horfes and Rein' Deer to draw their Sledges in Winter, as in Rufla, ' which is almoft as cheap a Carriage as by Water, when the proper Roads are made through the Woods, " fo that Objection muft be of no Force to prevent our ' opening the Trade, and fettling thefe Countries. But " fuppofing the worft, that we could not manage thefe Canoes, that could not prevent our fettling to Advantage upon thefe Rivers and Lakes above the Falls, for the Natives might ftill be our Carriers, in navigating thofe dangerous Places, and taking our Goods from one Settlement to another, whilf we fhould be employed in Navigation and Trade among the Lakes and Rivers where there are no Falls, in larger Veffels, and pufh our Commerce Southward into better Climates and richer Soils, and put the Natives upon Improvements in Trade, by civilizing and inftructing them in building convenient Houfes, and affociating in Towns, making Gardens, and tilling their Lands; providing them with Horfes and tame Cattle, and Fowl, for their Ufe, and proper Tools which our Trade would furnifh them with.
"A Another Objection is, that it is a difficult and dangerous Navigation into the Bay, and the Trade is not worth the Rifque. To this I anfwer, That the Navigation is not fo dangerous as it is apprehended to be, but appears to be more fo by the Infinuations and Report of the Company and their Friends, who gave it out in order to deter others from venturing and interfering in their Trade, and for that Reafon they oblige their Captains, under a Penalty, not to publifh any Charts of the Bay and Streight. Captain Middle"ton, who was in their Service, made above twenty 6 Voyages to different Parts of the Bay, and never loft a Ship, nor had any Accident in thefe Voyages; nor " have I heard that the Company, in about twenty three Years, have loft any Ships in that Trade, but two, and the Men and Cargo were faved by Captain Middleton. Where Captains are careful in the Ice, there is not much Danger; it is of great Advantage to them that there is no Night at that Seafon they enter "s the Bay, where the Quantity of Ice is greateft; and when they return in September, or even in OEFober, all the Ice is in a Manner diffolved or paffed out of the

66 Streight
as Streight into the Ocean, and none feen that can hinder their Paffage.
ss It is probable that during the whole Winter, from "OEFober to March, there is no Ice in the Streight "s to obftruct their Paffage into or out of the Bay; for "s a Ship which chanced to be clofed up with Ice in an ss Inlet, by breaking of the Ice gotout, and came through ss the Ice at Cbrifmas, without finding any Ice in the *Streight to prevent her Paffage: For the Ice which is ss formed in Bays and Rivers, in Winter, does not "break up and get into the Channel or Streight until "s it begins to thaw upon the Shore in March or April; ss at which Time it is carried by the Winds and 'Tide ss into the Streight, and obftructs the Paffage in May or " Fune, until it is diffolved; yet, even then, good "Pilots know how to avoid it and get into the Eddy${ }^{86}$ Tide, out of the Current; where the Ice is more open, ss and not drove together by the Winds and Current, as $s 6$ it is in the Channel. But thefe Difficulties would ${ }^{6}$ leffen every Day, if the Trade were opened and the « Voyages more frequent, by the great Number of Ships, "s which would make many more experienced Pilots. © And as there is now a more accurate Chart publifhed es of the Streight and Bay, by Capt. Middleton, with is the Inlands, Soundings, Tides, and Variation; the sc Navigation will become lefs dangerous daily, and «Coves, and Places of Shelter for Ships, will be found se out, by the Number of Ships which would then pafs, * and be trading in thofe Seas which are now unknown. * I therefore apprehend that the Danger of the Ice is "s more in Imagination than Reality, when Care and s Judgment are employed; for Ships are moftly insclofed in Ice in calm Weather and Fogs, when the sc Ice prevents the Motion of the Sea; ftormy Weather sc difperfes and breaks the Ice, unlefs they get under the
as Lee of a large Ifland of Ice; and then they faften to os it, and drive along with it whilft the fmaller Ice to * Leeward is drove from them by the Wind, and the sc large Inlands, being many Fathoms deep in the Water, ss come on Ground before the Ships are in Danger of sc being forced on Shore in fhallow Water.
"The greateft Danger and Delay from the Ice is in ss the Entrance into the Streight ; for the firf forty " Leagues from thence the Quantity is lefs, and they st pafs on with lefs Difficulty; and after getting into the «s Bay, the North-weft Side is the freeft from Ice; the "Bottom of the Bay is full of low flat Ice, which is all
se diffolved in the latter end of Summer. Upon the

* Whole, except two Ships, which were loft in King
as William's Reign, and a French Ship, after an Engage-
© ment with our Ships when they attacked Fort Nelfon,
" I have heard of none, except the Ships already " mentioned, which have been loft in the Voyage. The
"Two Ships which went out with Barlow, in 1719,
es to find the North-weft Paffage, contrary to the Incli-
os nations of the Company, if they did not make the
ss Paffage, were probably, in the Winter, furprifed
${ }^{* 6}$ by the Natives, and were not loft in the Ice; for they "f fay that the Natives, in about Latitude $\sigma_{3}$ Degrees,
*s where they fuppofe they were loft, are fhyer fince
"s that Time in trading with the Company's Sloops;
* which they apprehend to be from a Confcioufnefs of
* Guilt, fearing that if it were known they fhould
"still be punifhed for it. Since therefore the greateft
"Danger from the Ice, is in paffing the Streight, and
ss fo few Accidents have happened in fo many Years,
${ }^{35}$ the Navigation, I think, cannot be called dangerous,
*s though it has been fo apprehended; and not equal to
"s the Whale-finhers, who go annually to Spitfierg and
${ }^{* 6}$ Davis's Streigbts to Latitudes 78 and 80 Degrees,
"s without any Objection to that Navigation, either
"sy the Dutch, Hamburgbers, Danes, Bifcayners, or "Englif."
He concludes from thence, that the opening the Trade and fettling in the Bay, would prove a great Benefit to, and great Improvement of, our Trade, which might be vaftly increafed, as well in refpect to Furs as to Mines, and the Whale-Fifhery; all which might be carried on with the Affitance of the Indians, and would turn to a very high Profit, even fuppofing that no

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Paffage to the North-weft fhould ever be found: -but Thould future Experience demonftrate that this Gentle man's Notions are, in this Refpect, well founded, and this long fought-for Paffage fhould actually be difcovered, it would then certainly follow that this Country, fo lietle known and fo much defpifed till very lately, would become of more confequence to us than almott any Colony in America. Here let me take the Liberty of obferving what hitherto, as far as I lknow, has never yet been confidered: That if fuch a Paffage to the North-weft fhould be difcovered before thefe Countries are tollerably planted, the French would have a fair Opportunity of fupplanting us in the Advantages expected from that important Attempt; and perhaps we fhould then be forced to fight for the Poffeffion of Countries that are now thought not worth the having.

It may likewife deferve fome Thought, whether it be not better to attempt fuch Settlements without Lofs of Time, as muft at all Events be highly ufeful and ferviceable to this Nation, by dividing the French Settlements in Canada, and on the Mififippi, from each other, than to wait till the Importance of fuch Settlements fhall appear in fo glaring a Light, as they muft immediately do if fuch a Paflage fhould be difcovered; for we ought to remember, from the famous Inftance of our being difappointed in our Defign of fettling the Inands of St. Lucia and St. Vincent, that it is a very difficult Matter, in a Time of full Peace, for us to acquire any Advantage in Point of Commerce, at the Expence of the French, who, in fuch a Cafe, would not fail to take the fame vigorous Meafures that they did in the Cafe before-mentioned. I have taken the more Pains to place this Matter in a fair and true Light, becaufe I am perfuaded this is the Time in which only it can be confidered to Advantage; for if the Cafe now in View (I mean the Difcovery of a North-weft: Paffage) fhould ever come, as I am convinced, fooner or later it will come to be the Cafe in Fact, the Face of Affairs will be quite changed, and this new Rout to the Soutb-Seas and Eaft-Indies, will produce fuch an Alteration in the whole Commercial Syftem of Europe, that Things will be feen to be then of the utmoft Confequence, which at prefent moft People look upon as Dreams andVifions, notwithftanding the late Sanction given them by the Wifdom of the Parliament.

But it becomes a prudent and fenfible People, and above all it imports a maritime Power, to confider Things in time, and while what is propofed for their Benefit is eafy, or at leaft practicable; and not to defer and delay Things till from being troublefome and difficult they come to be abfolutely impoffible. We know what harp and cutting Remarks have been made on the Meannefs of King Fames's Spirit, in fuffering the Dutcb to defpoil us of the Spice Trade : We cannot but remember the fevere Reflections on Queen Anne's Miniftry, for not fecuring to us Cape Breton, and therefore we hould be cautious of falling a third time into the fame Miftake, and of running the Hazard of making a great Difcovery, fuch as all the World allows that of the North-weft Paffage would be, rather for other Peoples Benefit than our own, fince it muft pafs for a Blunder, greater than ever was made by our Anceftors, and would render us effectually ridiculous in the Eyes of lateft Pofterity.
12. The Method we have taken in defcribing the Acquifitions of our Nation in America, leads us next to fpeak of the noble Country of Pensylvania; the beft projected, and one of the moft flourifhing of our Colonies on the Continent of North America. We have before mentioned Admiral Penn, who in Conjunction with Col. Venables, conquered the Inand of Famaica for this Nation; he became afterwards Sir William Penn, and ftood in as high a Degree of Credit with King Cbarles II. and his Brother the Duke of Kork, as any Seaman of that Time, as indeed he very well deferved; for, with Abilities fuperior to moft, he had as great Modefty as any Man, and was ready, upon all Occafions, to ferve his Country in any Station that was found practicable. It was this excellent Difpofition of Mind that fecured him from Danger under one Government, and recommended him to Preferment under another: for when the

Duke

Duke of Xork propofed to take the Command of the Englifh Fleet upon himfelf in the Dutch War, as Lord High Admiral; he made Choice of Sir William Penn as the moft experienced, and the moft capable Officer to ferve under him, which he did with equal Satisfaction to his Royal Highnefs, and Credit to himfelf; eftablifhing thereby fuch a Reputation at Court, as lafted during his Life, and proved no lefs ufeful to his Son.

But Sir William Penn did not long enjoy his high Station, and dying in the Weff Country where he was born, was buried in Redcliff Church in Brifol, having, in reward of his Services, had a Promife of the Grant of this Country from King Cbarles the IId. Sir William had a Kinfman who was one of the firft Planters in New England, and it is doubtlefs from him that he had exact and particular Information of the Advantages that might be made of Lands and Settlements in this Continent of America. But young Mr. Penn did not for fome Years apply himfelf ftrenuounly to folicit the promifed Grant, till at laft finding his Friends, the Quakers, were harraffed all over England by firitual Courts, he refolved to put himfelf at the Head of as many as would go with him and remove to this Country, of which he obtained the Grant in the Year 1679.

He gave it the Name of Penfylvania fome Time before he was actually invefted with it, and fo it is called in the original Patent, bearing date March the 4 th 1680. *s It contained all that Tract of Land in America, with all "s the Illands belonging to it, from the Beginning of the " 40 th Degree of North Latitude to the 43 d Degree, ss whofe Eaftern Bound, from twelve Englifb Miles above
"Serwcaftle, alias de la War Town, runs all along upon the "Side of de la War River." Só that 'tis bounded on the Eaft by that Bay and River, and the Eaftern Sea; on the North by Weft New Ferfey, or rather New York, for it runs a great Way above the Ferseys; on the Weft by the Indian Nations, about the Heads of Sufquabanaugh and de la Wor Rivers, by which we fee it ftretches far within Land, that River running through it about two or three hundred Miles; on the South 'tis bounded by Maryland, and reaching from Penfoury near the Falls of the River to Hanlope, near the Mouth of the Bay, above one hundred and fifty Miles directly; but 'tis narrow all along, being very much crowded in the Breadth by $M a$ ryland.

The Bounds and Extent we have mentioned are in the original Grant ; but Mr. Penn having afterwards obtained Part of Nova Belgia of the Duke of York, it was added to the Country in the firft Grant, and both together called Penfylvania, which is divided into three upper and three lower Counties; the three upper Counties, Buckingham, Pbiladelpbia and Cbefter, are the Penfylvania, fo called in King Cbarles's Grant. The three lower Counties, Nervcafte, Kent, and Suffex, are taken out of Nova Belgia, or the Province of Nerw York. The upper Counties end at Marcus Hook, four Miles below Cbefter Town; the lower run along the Coaft one hundred and twenty Miles, and are forty Miles deep towards Maryland. Thus the whole Province of Penfylvania from the Falls Townfip, to twenty Miles below Hanlope or Cape William, is in Length three hundred and thirty Miles, and in Breadth two hundred. The River de la War, above and below the Falls, for a good Length, is called the Frefies, and near the Mouth are the Marfhes, very fertile and profitable.

As foon as Mr. Pern had got his Patent, he invited feveral Perfons to purchafe Lands under it. Though he did not fatisfy himfelf with the Title granted him by Cbarles the IId. and his Brother. He alfo bought the Land of the Indians. The Swedes, who had encroached upon the Dutch, the firf Planters here, as well as at New York, fettled upon, or near, the Frefbes of de la War. The Fins, or Inhabitants of Finland, part of the Kingdom of Sweden, applied themfelves chiefly to Hufbandry. The King of Sweden appointed a Governor here, who had often Difputes with the Governor that prefided over the Dutch. The latter applied themfelves moftly to traffic, living upon, or near, the Bay, and by the Neighbourhood of Nere York. The Dutch alfo were too powerful for the

Swedes, who, finding they could not maintain their Ground, fubmitted to their ftronger Neighbours. Accordingly Fobn Rifeing, the Swedifh Governor, made a formal Surrender of the Country to Peter Styerfont, Governor for the States General, after which this Province continued fubject to their Republic till the Englifh drove the Dutch out of New Amfterdam or Nerw York, which made the Poffefion of thofe Territories the more eafy to Mr. Penn.

There were a few Englifh here before Mr. Penn fent over the firft Adventurers under his Patent, over whom he placed, as Governor, Colonel William Markbam, his Nephew, to whom both Dutch and Swedes fubmitted. Thofe that went over, were generally Diffenters, from London, Liverpool, and efpecially Brifol, for the Weft of England abounded with Diffenters more than other Counties; they fhipped themfelves at Brifol in grear Numbers for Penflluania. Mr. Thomas Gouldney, and Mr. Duddleftone, two Tobacco Merchants of that City, about this Time fitted out the Unicorn, a Ship of three hundred Tons, for this Voyage; which putting into Start, took in a great many from Bridgevater. Mr. Penn had fold twenty thoufand Acres of his Property to Mr . Fames Claypool, Mr. Nicholas Moor, Mr. Pbilip Ford, and others, who formed a Company, and had a Street, and a Side of a Street, fet out for them in Pbiladelpbia, with four hundred Acres of Land in the City Liberties. They fet up a Tannery, a Saw Mill, a Glafs Houfe, and a Whalery, of the two latter I fuppofe they never made any great Profit. The Proprictors Conditions of Sale were thefe: Buyers purchafed after the Rate of twenty Pounds for one thoufand Acres, fo that he put four hundred Pounds in his Pocket immediately, but that was a Trifle to what went out of it for the Grant and Experiments to people and fettle the Country ; the Quit-Rent was twelve Pounds for every hundred Acres. This was cheap enough, but I think the Renters were not fo well ufed, for they were to pay fo much an Acre yearly. Thus thefe twenty thoufand Acres which he fold the Company, would, if rented, have brought him one thoufand Pounds a Year. Since that Time che Value of Land is fo much rifen, that I have been credibly informed it has fold for twenty Years Purchafe, at feveral Miles diftant from Pbiladelpbia; and that near it has gone at a Pound an Acre, and in fome Places at more than a Pound an Acre yearly.

We have mentioned near four thoufand Acres to be at this Time parcelled out for Sale, fome at fixty Miles diftant from Pbiladelpbia; but none of there Parcels will fetch a tenth Part of fuch Rates as thefe. Servants, Mien and Women, were to have fifty Acres when their Times were out, and Owners of Land fifty Acres a Head for fuch Servants, Men or Women. In the Year 168 I Mr . Penn went himfelf to Penfylvania, and carried with him, and there went after him, two thoufand Souls; a prodigious Augmentation in lefs than a Year! And he might with Reafon fay as he did, it was made at once a Country. As foon as he arrived he took the Government into his own Hands, and entred upon Treaties with the Indian Kings, for purchafing his Patent-Lands, and others, as is before hinted. One may affure one's felf he gave but little for them, and if the French and Spaniards fcorned to pay fuch a Compliment to natural Right, and chofe rather to feize the Lands of the Indian Natives by Violence, it was what might have been expected from the Religion and Tyranny of the Countries from whence they came. Twenty Miles of Territory were thus bought of the Indians for lefs than an Acre of the beft Ground about Pbiladelpbia would be valued at now. But the Indians, in a little Time, obferving what Profit the Engliff made of the Land they fold them, and that by the coming over of fuch Numbers every Year, it would be more and more wanted, they raifed the Price ten times as much as as it was at firt, and yet it was unconfcionably cheap, and for a long Time purchafed by the Mile, and not by the Acre. Indeed they knew not what to do with it, they had not Hands enough to cultivate a hundredth Part; and if they could have raifed fuch a Product there was no body to buy it. The Purchafe was all clear Gains to them;
and by the coming of the Englifb, the peiltry Trade became fo profitable, that they were foon in a Condition to better their Manner of houfing, cloathing, and living, as they did very much, and are now in there Articles as weil accommodated as the European Peafantry, in many Places.

When the Province began to be planted, almoff to the Mouth of de la War, it was laid out into the beforementioned Counties, in order to chufe Reprefentatives, and eftablifh Courts for the Diftribution of Juftice. The original Draught of the Conflitution for this Province was made by that great Lawyer Sir Willian Fones, and by it the Governor and People have a legiflative Power. Sir William Fones had too much Underftanding, Virtue, and Honour, to throw the People out of the Queftion, when their Religion, their Liberty, their Well-being in this World and the next, were fo nearly concerned in it. No Law can be here made, nor Money raifed, but by Confent of the Inhabitants. The Rights and Freedom of England were to be in force. They were to make no Law againft Allegiance, and then they might enact what Laws they pleafed for the Profperity and Security of the Province. Mr. Penn held two General Affemblies while he was in the Country, and with fuch Unianimity and Difpatch, that tho' they made Laws by Scores, no lefs than Seventy, yet they had done their Bufinefs in three Weeks time. They prefented the Proprietary with an Impoft on certain Goods, but he remitted it; which was artful enough, to have a Thing given on purpofe to give it away again to thofe that gave it. He eftablifhed Courts of Juftice in every County, with proper Officers, to prevent Law-fuits and Contentions. Among thefe paffive People there are alfo three Peace-makers, chofen by every County Court, in the Nature of common Arbitrators, to hear and end Differences between Man and Man. Every Spring and Fall there is an Orphans Court in each County, to infpect and regulate the Affairs of Widows and Orphans.

Mr. Penn was vifited by the Kings, and Queens, and great Men among the Indians, of whom the greateft did not think himfelf too good to go on the Proprietaries Errands, if he had thought fit to fend him. Both the Dutch and the Swedes, within this Jurifdiction, were very well pleafed with his coming, and his Conduct ; and there were, at that Time, almoft as many Swedes and Dutch in Penfyluania as Englifb. Mr. Penn ftaid here above two Years, till he had fettled Things to his own and the People's Liking ; he then returned to England, to forward the Affairs of the Propriety there, as he had done here: He was.generous and free of his Thoughts and Exprefions, which were not always fufficiently guarded ; and after the Revolution he became fufpected, from his Credit with King fames. That we may form fome Idea of the Manner in which this truly great Man acted in this Part of the World, and eftablihed his Government upon the folid Bafis of a perfect Agreement with the Natives, let us hear what he himfelf fays upon this Subject : Mr. Perm, in a Letter to bis Friends in England, on the Situation of his Affairs at that Time, relates, That he had attended the Indian Kings and their Councils in feveral Treaties, for the Purchafe of their Lands, and for adjufting the Terms of Trade between them. And that their Order was thus: "Their King (fays Mr. Pemn) was "feated in the Middle of an half Moon, or Semi"circle; his Council, the Old and Wife, fitting on each "Hand; behind them, at a little Diftance, fat the " young Men, in the fame Figure: Having refolved "t their Bufinefs, the King commanded one of them to "fpeak to me. He ftood up, and came to me, and " in the King's Name faluted me; taking me by the "Hand, and telling me; he was ordered by his King "to fpeak to me, and that now it was not he, but the
"King that fpoke, becaufe what he fhould fay was the
${ }_{\text {"c }}$ King's Mind. He firft prayed me to excufe them,
"s that they had not complied with me in a former Meet-
" ing: He feared there might be fome Fault in the "Interpreter, being neither Indian or Enggli/h; befides, "s it was the Indian Cuftom to deliberate before they
"refolved; and that if the younger People, and Qwriers " of the Land, had been as ready as he, I had not mee " with fo much Delay." Having thus introduced his Matter, he fell to the Bounds of the Land they had agreed to difpofe of, and the Price. During the Time this Perfon fpoke, not a Man of them was obferved to whifper or fmile ; the Old were grave, the Young reverend in their Deportment; when they fpoke, which was but feldom, it was warmly and elegantly. I have never feen moic natural Sagacity, confidering them without the Help of Tradition; and he will deferve the Name of Wife that is too hard for them in any Treaty about a Thing they underftand. When the Purchafe was agreed, great Promifes paffed between us, of Kindnefs and good Neighbourhood; and that the Indians and Englifb muft live in Love as long as the Sun gave Light. Atter which another made a Speech to the Indians, in the Name of all the Sachems, or Kings ; firft, to tell them what was done; next, to charge and command them to love the Chriftians, and particularly to live in Peace with me, and the People under my Government: That many. Governors had been in the River, but that no Governor had come himfelf to live and ftay there before, and having now fuch an one that had treated them well, they fhould never do him or his any Wrong. At every Sentence of which they fhouted, and faid Amen, in their way.

This Conduct of his had fo good an Effect upon the Indians, that they had him always in the higheft Veneration, as they ftill have to his Memory, of which the Reader will find an exemplary Proof in the following Speech, made to Sir Williams Keith, Governor of this Country in 1722; only it may not be amifs to obferve, that Onas fignifies, in the Indian Language, a Pen; and therefore this is the Name the Indians have given to our Proprietor and all his Succeffors, or Reprefentatives.
" Brother Onas, You told us how William Pern, that " good Man, did, on the firt Settlement of the Pro" vince of Perryylvania, make Leagues of Friendhip "with the Indians, and treated them like Brethren; " and that, like the fame good Man, he left it in " Charge to all his Governors who fhould fucceed him, " and to all the People in Penylvania, that they fhould " always keep the Covenant and Treaties he had made " with the five Nations, and treat them with Love and "Kindnefs. We acknowledge that his Governors and " People have always kept the fame honefly and truly " to this Day. So we, on our Part, always have kept, "s and for ever fhall keep Peace and Friendfhip, with a "good Heart, to all the People of Penjlyluania. We
"thankfully receive and approve of all the Articles in "your Propofition to us, and acknowledge them to be " good, and full of Love: We receive and approve of " the fame with our whole Hearts; becaufe we are not " only made one People by the Covenant Chain, but are " alfo People united in one Head, one Body, and one "Heart, by the ftrongeft Ties of Love and Friendfhip. "Brother Onas, you defire there may be a perpetual "Friendfhip between you and the five Nations, and be" tween your Children and our Children; and that the " fame may be kept as long as the Mountains and Rivers is endure. All which we like well, and on our Parts de" fire, that the Covenant and Union made with a true " and clean Heart between you and us, may laft as long " as the Sun and Moon flall continue to give light. "And we will deliver this in charge to our Children, " that it may be kept in Remembrance with their Chil" dren and Childrens Children to the laft Ages: And we "defire that the Peace and Tranquility that is now " eftabliffed between us may be as clear as the Sun " fhining in its Luftre without any Cloud or Darknefs, " and that the fame may continue for ever.
"Brother Onas, We have well confidered all yous " have fpoken, and irke it well; becaufe it is only the "renewing former Leagues and Treaties, made betweers "the Government of Penfluania, and us of the five " Nations, which we always believed we were obliged " to keep. And as to the Accident of one of our
ss Friend
${ }^{6}$ Friends being killed by fome of your People, which " has happened by Misfortune, and againft our Will; "we fay, that as we are all in Peace, we think it " hard that the Perfons who killed our Friend and Bro-
" ther fhould fuffer; and we do in the Name of all the
" five Nations forgive the Offence, and defire you will
" likewife forgive it; and that the Men who did it may
" be releafed from Prifon, and fet at Liberty to go whi-
" ther they pleafe; and we fhall efteem that as a Miark
ci of Regard and Friendfhip for the five Nations, and as
"a farther Confirmation of this Treaty." Upon thefe Principles, which are more likely to be obferved in this than in moft of our Colonies, the Friendfhip of the Indians may be preferved as long as they remain a People; which fhews how poffible it might have been to have maintained a like Correfpondence with them in other Places, which would not only have faved a great deal of Blood-hhed, and have contributed to the quick Growth of the Colonies fettled in the Countries, inhabited by fuch Indians, but would have been very uffeful in many other Refpects: Since it is allowed where the Indians are treated as in Penylvania, with ftrict Juftice and Humanity, they are as firm Allies as any in the World; and in that Quality more capable of doing Service, than if reduced to be either Slaves or Subjects; becaufe living as they do, they preferve their Strength and Activity, and enjoy all the Liberty they can defire, and are very willing to fight for thofe under whofe Protection they enjoy it.
13. We will now proceed to a more particular Defcription of this famous Settlement, having before given an Account of the Situation of the Country in general, and of its Divifion into Counties. The chief Rivers in Penfyl vania are, the River de la War, which rifing far North in the Country of the Iroquois, takes its Courfe to the Southward, and dividing this Province from that of Nere Ferfeys, falls into the Atlantic Ocean, between the Promontories of Cape May, and Cape Hanlope, being navigable for two hundred Miles and upwards with large Veffels; but has a Cataract or fteep Fall in it above Brijtol, which renders the Navigation impracticable to the Northward of the County of Bucks. The fecond River in this Province, is that of Sufquabanaugh, which, rifing likewife in the Country of the Iroquois, runs South through the Middle of Penfylvania, and falls into the Bay of Cbefepeak, being navigable for large Ships. The third River is Scboolkill, which having its Source in the Country of the Iroquois, runs South almoft parallel to the Rivers de la War and Sufquabanaugh, and at Length turning to the Eaftward, falls into de la War, at the City of Pbiladelpbia. This River is alfo navigable for large Ships as far as the City of Pbiladelphia, and for Boats above an hundred Miles higher. Thefe Rivers, and the numerous Bays and Creeks in the Bay de la War, capable of containing the largeft Fleets, render this Country admirably fituated to carry on a foreign Trade.
In the County of Buckingbam, the moft northerly of any in this Province, the chief Town is Brifol, fituated on the River de la War, oppofite to Burlington in New Ferfey, and twenty Miles North of the City of Pbiladelpbia. In this Country alfo lies the Mannor Houfe of Penjfoury, elegantly built by Mr. Penn, the firt Proprietor, and fituate on an Eminence which commands the Country, being almoft furrounded by the River de la War. The Country of Pbiladelpbia lies South of that of Bucks, and in it is the celebrated City of Pbiladepbia, the Capital of the Province, fituated in 40 Degrees 30 Mi nutes North Latitude, being one of the fineft Plans of a Town that was ever formed. It is an Oblong of two Miles, extending from the River de la War to the River Scboolkill, the Eaft end fronting the River de la War, and the Weft the River Scboolkill, each Front being a Mile in Length. Every Owner of one thoufand Acres has his Houfe in one of the two Fronts, facing the Rivers, or in the high Street, running from the Middle of one Front to the Middle of the other ; and every Owner of five thoufard Acres, has an Acre of Ground in the Front of his Houre, and the reft half an Acre for Gardens and Court Yards. In the Centre of the Town is a Square of ten Acres, furrounded by the Town Houfe, and
other public Buildings, and each Quarter of the City is a Square of eight Acres. The high Strect, whick runs the whole Length of the Town, is an hundred Feet wide, parallel to which run eight Streets, which are croffed by twenty more at right Angles, all of them thirty Feet wide, and feveral Canals are let into the Town from each River, which add to the Beauty and Conveniency of the Place. There is alfo a fine Quay two hundred Feet Square, to which Ships of four or five hundred Ton may come up, with wet and dry Docks for building and repairing of Ships; Magazines, Warehoufes, and all manner of Conveniences for importing and exporting of Merchandize ; there are already fourteen or fifteen hundred Houfes in the City, moft of them well built with Brick, but are ftill a great many more wanting to compleat the Plan: However, more could not have been expected than has been done in fo fhort a Time, the Ground not having been laid out much above fifty Years.

The Town of Oxford is fituated likewife in the County of Pbiladelpbia, where a Miffionary is maintained by the Society, for propagation of the Gofpel. Germain Town, fituated to the Northward of the City of Pbiladelphia, alfo is faid to be a thriving populous Place, inhabited chiefly by the Dutch, or thofe of Dutch Extraction. In this County is the City of Radnor, fituated on the South-weft-fide of Schoolkill River, being the Capital of a large Country, planted by the Welch, and extreamly well improved by them. To the South of the County of Pbiladelpbia lies that of Cbefter, the Capital whereof is the Town of Chefter, fituate on the River de la War, which is about three hundred Miles broad at this Place; and to the Southward of Cbefter lies the Town of Cbicbeffer; either of thofe Ports are capable of receiving and harbouring the largeft Fleets, fecure from Storms; the County of Nerwafflle lies South to that of Cbefer, the capital Town being of the fame Name. This is faid to be a Town of the brifkef Trade in the Province, next to that of Pbiladelpbia, and has an Iron Mine in the Neighbourhood of it. The Town of Apoquinemink lies upon the River de la War, South of Newerafle, and is a Place of good Trade. The County of Kent lies South of that of Nerocaftle, the chief Town whereof is Dover, being a commodious Port. The moft Southern County is that of Sulfex, the capital Town whereof is Lewes, being a fecure Harbour and a Town of Trade.

The Air here is fweet and clear ; the Fall begins about the zoth of Oriober, and lafts to the Beginning of December; frofty Weather, and cold Seafons are frequent; but as in moft Countries where are fuch Seafons the Air is dry and hungry; the River de la War is fometimes frozen over, notwithftanding its Breadth. The Spring lafts from March to Fune, but the Weather then is more inconftant than in the other Seafons, which it generally is in other Countries. The Heats are extraordinary in the Summer Months, ${ }^{\text {Gul }}$ Fuy, Auruft, and September, but alleviated by cold Breezes, which make them very tolerable. The Wind is South-weft during the Summer, but generally Northwefterly, Spring, Fall, and Winter ; which blowing from the frolty and finowy Mountains, and Lakes of the Terra Canadenfis, is, doubtlefs, a main Reafon of the exceffive Cold here in Winter. The Soil in this Tract of Land is in fome Places a yellow and black Sand, and in others a loomy Gravel, in others a fat Earth, like the Vales in England; efpecially by inland Brooks and Rivers, where the Lands in this Country are mofly three to one richer than thofe that lie by navigable Rivers. There is alfo found a black hazle Mould, on a ftony Botom. The Earth is fruitful, fat, and eafy to be cleared, becaufe the Roots of the Trees lie almoft on the Surface of the Ground. Some Allowance muft be made for Mr. Pern's Property in the tempting Defcription he gives us of the Country. We have faid enough of the Rivers and Creeks in it, and fhewn how commodious they are for Navigation and Communication; but among other Waters, Mr. Penn mentions mineral Waters: Thefe Springs are about two Miles from Pbildedelpbia, at a happy Diftance from Water-drinkers, but the Number of them is, fince that, leffened extreamly, and we need not infift on their Virtue.

Here are Trees of almoft all Sorts, Oak, red, white,
and black Afh, Beech, Spanibh Chefnuts, Cedar, Wallnut, Cyprefs, and Swamp; the moft durable of all are Poplar, Gumwood, Hickery, Saffafras; and as for Shrubs, Snakeroot, Sarfaparilla, Salop, Spruce, and Cranberries; Wheat, Barley, Oats, Rye, Peas, Beans, Water Melons, Mufmelons, Apples, Pears, Cherries, Apricots, Carrots, Turnips, Parfnips, Onions, Cucumbers, Quinces, $\xi^{\circ} c$. are in great Plenty here; as alfo Indian Corn, Hemp, Flax, $\varepsilon^{\circ}$ c. It is common for one Bufhel of Corn fown here to yield forty, often fifty, and fometimes fixty Bufhels. One Mr. Edroard Fones had for one Grain of Engli/h Barley feventy Stalks and Ears of that Corn, in his Plantation on the Scboolkill. Of living Creatures there are for Food and Trade, Deer, the Elk as big as a fmall Ox, Rabbits, Raccoons, Beaver ; plenty of Oxen, Cows, and Sheep ; of the latter, it is common for Farmers to have four or five hundred in a Flock. Horfes, fome very good, and handfome enough. Of Fowl here are very fine Buftards forty or fifty Pounds Weight, Pheafants, Heath Birds, Pigeons, Partriges, Clouds of Blackbirds, Swans, Geefe, Braindes, Tucks, Teal, and Snipe. The Fifh here are Sturgeons, Her ring, Eels, Smelts, and Perch; the latter caught in abundance in de la War Bay; and in the River above the Fréfhes, Oyiters, Crabs, Cockles, and Mufcles. There are alfo Rock, Shat, Catfhead, Sheepfhead, and other Fifh, not worth our particular Regard.

We need not wonder, that in a Country fo fruitful and fo pleafant, and where there was fo clear a Profpect of living happily, with moderate Induftry, People fhould refort in fuch Numbers. At firft, without doubt, Religion was a ftrong Motive, and the Quakers willingly followed Mr. Penn, from a Country where they were perfecuted, to a Land of Plenty and Peace. But, in Time, and indeed in a little Time, this Argument ceafed, and People reforted thither as they did to the other Colonies, upon the ordinary Motives of Gain and Trade ; we may, however, venture to affert that Mr. Penn's original Contract, for fo the firft Contitution drawn by him was ftiled, had a very great Influence in procuring Inhabitants, fince it muft be allowed there never was a more beneficent Scheme of Government devifed by the Wit of Man.

By degrees, however, this alfo has been fomewhat altered, not by the Proprietor or thofe acting under his Authority, but at the Defire and on the Requeft of the People, with refpect to whom it may poffibly be true, that fuch Alcerations, in procefs of Time, might become neceffary. The Spirit, however, of Mr. Penn's Inftitution is ftill preferved, and the People here are as free, and as well, and as cheaply governed, as in any part of the known World. A very ftrong Proof of this may be drawn from the greateft Error in Government that was ever committed there, which was laying a Tax of Five Shillings a Head upon all new Comers; which fhews, that they were once in fome Apprehenfion of being over-ftocked; but this Law was very foon repealed, as it ought to be. At prefent it would be a very difficult Thing to pretend to compute the Number of People in this flourining Colony, but we may form fome Notion of it from the following Inftance, "which is very certain, viz. that the Inhabitants of Pbiladelphia in 1740 were full fifteen thoufand.
14. As to the Commerce of Penfylvania with refpect to Europe and America, the Cafe, according to the beft Accounts we have, ftands thus: Their Merchandize confifts of Horfes, Pipe-Staves, Pork, Beef, and Fifh, falted and barrelled up, Skins and Furs; all Sorts of Grain, viz. Wheat, Rye, Peas, Oats, Barley, BuckWheat, Indian Corn, Indian Peas and Beans, Pot-afhes, Wax, $\varepsilon_{c}$. and in return for thefe, they import from the Caribbee Iflands and other Places, Rum, Sugar, Moloffes, Silver, Negroes, Salt, and Wine ; and from Great Britain Houfhold-Goods and Cloathing of al Kinds, Hard-Ware, Tools, and Toys. They have alfo fome Rice, but no great Quantities, and a little Tobacco of the worft Sort. Their Trade with the Indians confifts but in a few Articles; they receive of the Na tives chiefly Skins and Furs of their wild Beafts, for which they givet hem Clothing, Arms, Ammunition, Rum,
and orher Spirits in return. This, as well as other Northern Colonies, has alfo a clandeltine Trade with the Spaniards upon the Coaft of Terra Firma, Esc. furnifhing them with European Goods: and Merchandize, for which they receive chiefly Dollars in return; and they alfo trade to the Bays of Honduras and Campeachy for Logwood, by Connivance, as the Spaniards fay; but the Subjects of Great Britain infift that they have a Right to that Trade, and as we have already thewn, they do not infift upon this, without juft Grounds, in the Opinion of thofe who are the beft and propereft Judges of that Matter. But after all, it mult be admitted, that Penjytranich has no ftaple Commodity, which, however, is not juftly chargeable upon the Inhabitants of this Colony; who; notwithftanding this, have never fet up any Manufac. tures of their own.
But the Point to be enquired into is, Whether they might not have fuch a ftaple Commodity if they went about it themfelves induftriounly, and received from hence proper Encouragement? It is a Point out of difpute, that no Country in the World is more proper than PenSylvania for producing Hemp and Flax; and with refpect to thefe, we ought feriounly to confider, that there is nothing plainer than that Hemp and Flax are fo ufeful in Navigation and Trade that we cannot do without them; the firft for Cordage of all Sorts, the latter for making Sail-Cloth, as well as for the Linen Manufactures carried on in this Kingdom. The Neceffity we are under for thefe Commodities ought to put us upon all imaginable Care how to provide them, that we may not fall under the fame Neceffity for them that we did in the Year 1703 for Pitch and Tar, when the Government of Sweden abfolutely refufed to let us have them for our Ready-Money, otherwife than in their Shipping; from their Tar Company here, at their own Price, and only in fuch Quantities as they thought fit. Upon that Difappointment, the Government, by allowing a confiderable Encouragement for carrying on the Manufactures of Pitch and Tar, had fufficient Quantities from our own Plantations; and it is greatly to be wifhed the like Encouragement was given for raifing Hemp and Flax; and as all Sorts of Naval Stores may be raifed with fo many Advantages to this Kingdom, it would be unaccountable to leave us dependent, and at an Uncertainty for them. It is very well known, that our Land is too dear for Hemp and Flax, and what does grow here (though it is tough, and makes ftrong Linen) neither dreffes fo kindly, nor whitens fo well as that which grows in hotter Climates. In Rufia the beft Hemp and Flax grow in the fouthermof Parts of the Empire, where the Summer is hot and the Air clear, and yet the Flax is not accounted fo good as that which grows in Egypt or Italy. Egypt has always been efteemed for its Linen, and even now fupplies Leghorn with large Quantities, and the Coaft of Syria, Afia Minor, Smyrna, Conftantinople, and other great Cities, have a Supply of Hemp and Flax from thence.

All our Colonies (which run twelve or fourteen hun= dred Miles in length, all the way bordering upon the Sea) have very hot Summers', the fouthermoft Parts of them lie near the fame Latitude with Egypt, and the North Part much about the fame with Ancona or Bologna in Italy, where Hemp and Flax grow; therefore, we have the greateft Profpect to receive mighty Supplies of Hemp and Flax from them. Part of the Land in the Colonies are very rich, and of fo fmall Value, there will be Opportunity of breaking up frefh as often as there is Occafion to change the Ground, which if laid down will recover itfelf again without the Charge of Manuring, as we do here, to the very great Damage of our Ploughing Lands. Nothing impoverifhes Land more than Hemp. and Flax; and though it is manured, that alone will not do fo well, for the Land ought to be changed after three or four Crops, and generally the fineft and fatteft Pieces are converted to that Ufe. Thofe great Conveniencies of having Land fo very cheap, and fo fine a Climate, which we know produces excellent Hemp and Flax, fo commodioully fituated along the Sea Coafts, with fuch Numbers of large Rivers running up the Country to the moft inland Settlements, where Provifions may be raifed
at fo fmall a Charge, and where Work may be done by the Labour of Slaves, almoft as cheap as in India, gives Ground to hope, that we may manufacture Linen here cheaper than any Part of Europe can import them upon us, and the Colonies be as profitable to us, by rairing rough Materials to carry on the Linen Manufacture, as the Sufex and other Downs are, for fupplying Wool for that Manufacture, the Profits of which we have valued ourfelves fo much upon, that we have fet the reft of Europe upon being our Competitors therein.

Now as theWoollen Manufucture, efpecially the coarfe Part, has fpread itfelf of late into feveral Parts of the Kingdom, which has exceeded the Demand, and caufed great Stocks to remain on Hand, if thofe rough Materials of Hemp and Flax were prepared in our Plantations, the People in North Britain, \&cc. would foon find the Advantage of falling upon that Manufacture; the Jaborious and coarfe Part being performed abroad, the reft would invite not only the Poor and Necefitous, but People of better Circumftances to employ their Time in it. If there Propofitions are fufficiently confidered, and heartily put in Practice, we may hope that by providing the aforefaid rough Materials, we fhall have the delightful Profpect of feeing Trade flourifh; for as the Silk and Linen Manufactures, where brought to Perfeetion, are altogether as profitable to thofe Nations as the Woollen is to us; and as we increafe in our Linen Manufactures, thofe of Silefia and all the Hereditary Countries of the Houfe of Auftria, whence we take fuch Quantities, muft abate of courfe; their People alfo will refort to us, and help to carry them on; for it has always been obferved, where new Manufactures are fet up, the Manufacturers will likewife remove. This was the Cafe with the Flemings when Queen Elizabetó gave fuch great Encouragement to have the Woollen Manufacture remove hither; and ours, when we had that Inundation of Cbina and Irdia wrought Silks, our Weavers went to Holland', Flanders, Frence, $\$ c$. fo that feveral Streets in Spittlefields were almoft defolate; but when thefe Silks were prohibited, the Manufacturers returned again.
It is fuppofed the Ruffinins exported to England, and all other Parts, in Hemp and Flax, above the Value of a Million a Year. If Hemp and Flax be fo valuable a Product for Merchandize with them, there feems to be a much greater Profpect of its being fo to our felves, by raifing them in our Plantations, becaufe they will not be fubject to any Land-Carriage, but fhipped immediately from the Place of Growth; becaufe Land is much cheaper in our Plantations than in the South Parts of Ruffic. The Climate, being equal with that in Egypt and Italy, is fuppofed to produce Hemp and Flax preferable to theirs. We have before fhewn, that in the Cafes of Sugar and Tobacco, every white Man employs four at home, that is to fay, finds then. Work to fupply him with Utenfils requifite for his. If Sugar and Tobacco employ fuch a Number of Hands, at home, certainly every Perion employed in the Plantations, in raifing and drefing Hemp and Flax, muft by his Labour there, return more than twice the Advantage that can be produced by Sugar and Tobacco, for they are manufactured in the Plantations: The refining the Sugar and cutting the Tobacco, with the Jittle Quantity that is rolled excepted. Whereas Flax and Hemp are Materials for employing all idle Hands; and of Confequence the Poors Rate will foon be abated, and theNation will find in a little time what they fave yearly thereby, will be more than fufficient to encourage the People to begin that Employment. And if once we come to be employed with Hemp and Flax by the aforefaid Methods, every Place will be filled with Flax-dreffers, and the Overfeers of the Poor of every Parifh where the Woolfpinning Trade is not carried on, may very eafily come at Hemp and Flax, which they will find as profitable to them, as the Woollen is to the other; and the more diftant the Employment is, the better; for many Inconveniences have attended one Manufacture interfering with another; befides, there will be an Intercourfe of Trade created, by one Part of the Kingdom fupplying the other with their diftinct Manufactures. This will give full Employment to the whole Kingdom, and an univerfal Chearfulnefs to every body: For the Poor are
never happier, nor their Minds eaflie, than when they have full Employment; and when they are employed, Riches is diffured throughout the whole Nation.
It is a common Opinion, that we have above a Million of People in the three Nations deftitute of Work; but if thofe rough Materials (fo often mentioned in this Difcourfe) fhould come to be raifed in our Plantations, there need not be one idle Perfon: Now, fuppofe one Million of People were put upon manufacturing thofe rough Materials, and each Perfon earned but one Penny a Day, and allowing but three hundred Working-days in the Year, it would amount to one Million two hundred and fifty thoufand Pounds: A prodigious Advantage to the Nation, which is ftill greatly heightened by confidering that thefe People would be then employed, at leaft in part, and fo far as they were employed, would be the Detter Subjects. That all this might be brought about with lefs Trouble than has been given the Nation by one Baltick or Mediterranean Expedition, and at the tenth Part of the Expence of a Campaign in Flanders, is a thing will be acknowledged by all who are capable of judging of this Subject ; and therefore that it ought to be done, is a Point that cannot be difputed. I would not miflead my Reader by the Comparifon, into a bad Opinion of fuch Expeditions or Campaigns; that is not my Bufinefs, or my Intention; the Juftice of my Comparifon turns upon this, that the Motives to fuch Expeditions and Campaigns are, compàratively fpeaking, near and at hand; whereas we are lefs acquainted, or at leaft lefs affected by the Connection between our Interefts and thofe of the Plantations; though, from what has been faid, I think it will plainly appear, that they concern us as much, and as nearly; as any Interefts can do without the Limits of our own Inand.
15. But it is now time to bring this Section to a Clofe, and after having given the Reader, from the beft Authorities I could find, as clear an Account as I was capable of giving of thefe noble Settlements, I come next to add a few general Remarks, not upon this or that Plantation, but upon the whole Body of our American Settlements taken together. We have fhewn how the Out-lines were drawn, fo early as in the Reigns of King Henry VII. and Henry VIII. We have taken notice of the Schemes and Preparations that were made for fettling the Countries we had a Title to in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth. We have given an Account how far thefe were carried into execution in the fucceeding Reigns. And in this Section, we have plainly exhibited the Manner in which this laft Plan was fully accomplifhed. By this Means the Reader fees, that the Difcoveries of the Cabots, though treated by fome unfkilful Writers as trifling Things, and Matters of no great Moment, were in Reality the Grounds of our Pretenfions, now converted into the actual Pofferfion of that vaft Tract of Country from the Northern Coaft of Hudjon's Streights, down to the Southern Limits of the new Colony of Georgia, or of the old Colony of Carolina; for the Limits are the fame. As for the Illands, I take the Settlement of them to have been occafioned by the old Rout to Florida, which has been fo much ridiculed; but which, notwithitanding, feems to have been the true Source of our Acquifitions in the Leerward Ifands. Fanaica is ours by Conqueft, and which is another Circumftance worth remembring, became fo, in a great meafure, by a Force raifed in our Plantations. Whether it be our Intereft to think of making fuch Expeditions for the future, I fhall not determine; but Care ought furcly to be firft taken of the Colonies we have; which it never can be till the Importance of our Plantations in gencral is thoroughly underftood, by the.Bulk of this Nation. This is the Point I have principally laboured in this Work, and I fhall clofe all I have to fay with the Confideration of three Points; which I hope will make the Matter plain to every Underftanding.
The firt of thefe Points is, What the Condition of tbis Country was before rve bad any Plantations? In regard to this, I think I may fafely affirm that it was very low and defpicable.' In the victorious Reign of Edrward the IIId. there was a Balance of Trade ftruck, and delivered into the Exchequer, by which it appeared that the Exports of
one Year exceeded the Imports by two hundred fifty five thoufand two hundred and fourteen Pounds thirteen Shillings and Eight-pence, which for that Time was a great deal. At the Time Queen Elizabetb entered upon the Government, the Cuftoms produced thirty-fix thoufand Pounds a Year; at the Rettoration they were let to Farm for four hundred thoufand Pounds; and produced confiderably above double that Sum before the Revolution. The People of London, before we had any Plantations, and but very little Trade, were computed at about one hundred thoufand; at the Death of Queen Elizabotb they were increafed to one hundred and fifty thoufand, and are now about fix times that Number. In thofe Days we had not only our Naval Stores, but our Ships from our Neighbours. Germany furnifhed us with all things made of Metal, even to Nails; Wine, Paper, Linen, and a thoufand other things came from France. Portugal furnifhed us with Sugars; all the Pioduce of America was poured into us from Spain ; and the Venetians and Genoefe retailed to us the Commodities of the Eaft Indies at their own Price. In fhort, the legal Intereft of Money was twelve per Cent. and the common Price of our Lands ten or twelve Years Purchafe. We may add that our Manufactures were few, and thofe but indifferent; the Number of Englifh Merchants very fmall, and our Shipping much inferior to what now belongs to the Northern Colonies. Thefe are plain and certain Facts: But as foon as we began to exzend our Trade, and to make Settlements abroad, the Face of our Affairs changed; the Inhabitants of the City of London were doubled by the End of the laft Period, and were again doubled before the End of this; our Shipping encreafed in a ftill greater Proportion; we coined within twenty Years after that Queen's Death about five Millions at the Tower, in twenty Years after that feven, and in the next twenty Years eight, which are indubitable Proofs that we had gained a prodigious Ballance of Trade in our Favour.

The next Point I fhall confider is, What our Condition bas been fince? and, with refpect to this, I may boldly affirm that it has altered for the better, almoft to a Degree beyond Credibility or Computation. Our Manufactures are prodigounly increafed, chiefly by the Demand for them in the Plantations, where they at leaft sake off one half, and furnifh us with many valuable Commodities for Exportation. Inftead of taking the Quantities we were wont to do of Goods from other Nations, we actually export thofe very Goods, and fometimes to the very fame Nations; Sugar, Rum, and Tobacco, are the Sources of private Wealth and public Revenue, which would have been fo many Drains, that would have beggared us, had they not been raifed in our Plantations. It is no longer in the Power of the Ruffans to make us pay what they pleafe for Flax and Hemp. The Swedes cannot compel us to pay their own Price, and that too in ready Money, for Pitch and Tar, nor would it be in their Power to diffrefs us, fhould they attempt it by raifing the Price of Copper and Iron. Logwood is funk feventy five per Cent. Indico, and other dying Materials, are in our Power, and at moderate Prices. In fhort, the Advantages are infinite that redound to us from our American Empire, where we have, at leaft, a Million of Briti/h Subjects, and between fifteen hundred and two thoufand fail of Ships conftantly employed. Such have been the Fruits, fuch is the Condition of our Plantations, and let any Man doubt of the Benefits refulting from them to this Nation if he can; or when he reflects on the Numbers maintained here by their Indultry, and even by their Luxury, let him deny or envy their Wealth if it is in his Power.

When our Plantations were in their Infancy, they were fome Burthen and Charge to this Nation, and then it was that fome wife and public-fpirited Perfons took upon them to become Advocates for a thing which they forefaw would prove highly ufeful and advantageous. I have read many of their Difcourfes with great Pleafure, becaufe I confidered them as written with a kind of prophetic Spirit, in which their Authors have exhibited to the Eye of the Ages in which they wrote, a very juft Picture of what has pafed in fucceeding Times; but with this re-
markable Circumftance, that though feveral of them were Men as remarkable for bold Flights of Imagination, as for Penetration and Judgment, yet in this Cafe they have not reached the Truth; the prefent State of the Plantations exceeding vaftly all that they promifed ${ }_{2}$ or even hoped from them; the Reafon of which I conceive to be their framing Conje ${ }^{\text {Cutures }}$ from the Siate the Nation was then in, and our Trade was at that Time fo inconfiderable in Comparifon of what it is at prefent that I think there is no wonder the Writers who flourifhed in thofe Days fhould fall fo much fhort in their Expectations from our Settlements in America. But, perhaps, it may be objected, that though they did not forefee many things that have fince fallen out in thofe Parts of the World, yet it is very evident that they believed many Advantages would arife from thofe Colonies that have never yet come to pafs; which leads me to the third Point I propofe to mention in thefe Remarks.

This third Point is, The Improvements and additional Benefits that may be fill made in, and accrue from, our Plantations. We ought, in this refpect, to confider of what a vait Extent that Country is, which we actually poffefs in the New World, to which I will be bold to fay this Illand does not bear a greater Proportion than the County of Norfolk, to the whole Kingdom of England; whence we may eafily conceive what room there is for making new Improvements in fuch a vant Tract of Coumtry. It is, indeed, true, that fome of our Sittlements on the Continent, fuch as New England, New York, Penfylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, are already tolerably well peopled; but then Nova Scotio is fcarce fettled, Nere Britain is a vaft Country, and capable of being turned to our Advantage; is fo far from being fettled ${ }^{2}$ that it is fcarce known to us; and the fame thing may be faid of all the Country bordering upon Hudjon's Bay. As to the Southern Colonies, by which I mean the two Carolina's and Georgia, they are very thinly peopled, and very little improved, though beyond all Comparifon the mof valuable Poffeffions we have in thofe Parts. In regard to the Illands of Bermudas and Barbadoes, they are thoroughly peopled, and moft of the Leeward Ifands tolerably inhabited; but then there are feveral Inlands to which we have as clear and as good a Title, as to any of thefe, that are not fettled at all, though from the Nature of their Climate, Soil, and Situation, they are not inferior to any, but on the contrary, fuperior to moft of thofe of which we are poffened, as will be hereafter fhewn. The noble Inand of Famaica, which of itfelf might ferve to inrich any Country to which it belonged, is not a third Part cultivated, fo that there is every where room for us to exert cur Induftry, for the Honour and Advantage of the Britifb Nation; which as it has already drawn fuch immenfe Profits from its Settlements in America, fo beyond all Queftion we may ftill draw much greater, if we proceed with the fame Spirit and Vigour that our Anceftors did, having much more Power in our Hands, much fairer Opportunities than they had, befides the Light and Autlority of Experience, to guide, encourage, and fupport us.

In order to this, and that we may actually add thefe Advantages in profpect to thofe which we at prefent poffefs, the Steps neceffary to be taken fall under the two following Heads: The firt is, Improving fuch of our Colonies as are already weoll Settled; and the next, Providing for the thorough Planting fuch as are at prefent but veity indifferently, or fcarce at all, peopled. It would require a large Treatife to expatiate fully on thefe Heads, and therefore I Thall content myfelf with only a few Hints as to each of them. In refpect to the firft, I cannot conceive that any thing would be more advantageous than providing every Colony with fome Staple Commodity, which would infallibly produce the following defirable Confequences: It would make the Inhabitants of thofe Colonies perfectly eafy, and at the fame Time it would vaftly inrich us. As for Virgivia and Naryland they are poffeffed of the Tobacco Trade, in which, if any Eafe, Encouragement, or Advantage can be granted them, they moft certainly deferve it: But with refpect to Nevo. England, Penfylomia, Nero Rork, and the Jerfeys, Ways and

Means

Means might be found to increafe their Commerce with England directly, by promoting their Inclinations to furnifh us with all kinds of Naval Stores, and with Iron. There was, as to Pitch and Tar, a confiderable Bounty given," and it is very remarkable for many Years this produced no Effect, which might poffibly countenance an Opinion that the Friends to the Plantations were too fanguine in their Notions on this Head; but Experience afterwards fhewed the contrary. For the Circumftances of the Public making it neceffary to try how far this might be practicable, it very foon appeared that the thing could be eafily done; and upon fending over Perfons well acquainted with the Methods of making Pitch and Tar, the People in the Colonies foon fell into it, and fuch Quantities were imported, as not only fupplied our Wants, but enabled us alfo to fupply thofe of our Neighbours; and then upon a Suppofition that the Trade was effectually eftablifhed, the Bounty was difcontinued. The Confequence of this was, that the Importation of thefe Commodities from Ruflia, Sweden, and Norway, was revived; for the People of thofe Countries building large bulky Ships, peculiarly proper for tranfporting thofe Commodities, by navigating thefe Ships cheaper than we can do ours, are thereby able to underfell our Countrymen in the Colonies, by three or four Shilling in a Barrel; fo that to keep this Trade there grew a Neceflity of granting a new Bounty upon Pitch and Tar from America, or laying a new Duty upon what was imported from the North.

We may fay the fame thing with regard to Iron, of which, at prefent, we import very near double as much from Sreeden, as is fold to all the reft of Europe, for which we pay moftly in ready Money; and yet no Queftion can be made of its being very practicable to bring the beft Part of the Iron we want from our Plantations, which has been hitherto prevented by Notions fo frivolous, that I do not care to mention them. Hemp and Flax have been fufficiently infifted upon already, and to thefe we may add Pot-afhes; fo that the Reader will eafily difcern that there is no Difficulty at all in the Way of enabling the Northern Colonies to pay us for our Manufactures, and prevent their fetting up Manufactures themfelves, but our fetting heartily about it. The fame Thoughts may, in a great Meafure, ferve for our Southern Colonies, in which Tar may certainly be made as good as any in the World; but then there are other things peculiar to thofe Colonies, fuch as the planting Coffee, Tea, Cocoa, Indico, and the Shrub that produces Cochineal ; but above all, we ought to think of Silk, for Reafons that fhall be given when we come to treat of the Colony of Georgia: At prefent we fhall only fay that there is this great and extraordinary Conveniency attends the Cultivation of the laft mentioned Commodity, that as it is proper for the fame Soil and Clinate, as Hemp and Flax, fo they may be both carried on together; the Silk Harveft, as they call it, being over before Hemp and Flax are ripe.
As to the Sugar Inands, though they have already a Staple Commodity of very great Value, yet this fhould not hinder us from confidering how that Commodity may be fill rendered more ufeful, I mean to the Planters and to us; and how far other things are capable in the fame Countries of being improved. It was the Opinion of Sir Jofiab Cbild (and I think the Subject well confidered it is not eafy to produce a better Opinion) that Sugar may be as much made the Commodity of this Nation, as the Gold and Silver of Peru and Mexico are the peculiar Treafures of Spain. The Reafons he gives are very ftrong, but it is very certain that we have not fallen upon the right Method of bringing his Doctrine into Practice; fince inftead of exporting one half of the Sugar we bring home, as we formerly did, we do not now export above a fixth, and this not from falling off of the Demand, but becaufe new Markets have been found, at which Foreigners can buy cheaper. To alter this all Heads fhould be fet to work, and all Arts tryed; and till thefe fucceed, it may not be amifs that the Inhabitants of the Sugar Colonies would try to bring fome other Goods to Market.

Thus much for the fint Head, now for the fecond: It has been computed, by fome, that there iș a Million and a half of white People in our Plantations, which Computation has been judged by others fomewhat of the higheft; perhaps it may be fo, but without all doubt it would be our Intereft to have two Millions of white People there; nor do I think that there is any Reafon to fear that this would either drain the Britib Dominions, or at all indanger the Dependancy of the Colonies. I am, on the contrary, very firmly perfuaded, that the Increafe of People in the Colonies, as it would certainly increafe our Trade, fo it muft neceffarily increafe the Number of our People at home ; and that the Methorls proper to be taken for the better peopling our Colonies, and improving them, would infallibly render them more dependent.

But to come clofely to the Point, and hew how this may be done. Give me Leave to obferve, that though the general Propofition that the Number of the People is the Riches of a Country be true, yet it is true only of induftrious and ufeful Pcople; and it is in this Senfe, that the Number of the People in Holland is quoted as an Example; fo that if there be in any Country Numbers of People ufeless, they are fo far from contributing to the Wealth of that Country, that they are in Fact the Caufes of its Poverty. Now, it is certain, that though this Nation might become more powerful and more rich, by being more numerous than it is; yet there is not any more probable Method of bringing this about than by employing our ufeful Hands, which perhaps may be eafier done Abroad than at Home. We have vaft Numbers of Vagabonds throughout the Kingdom, who many of them live by Pity, but moft of them by the Folly of better People than themfelves; there cannot therefore be any Cruelty in fending thefe People where they muft work, and confequently maintain themfelves and be ufeful to others. We have many People convicted of finall Crimes, and from the Ignominy of the Conviction and Punifhment rendered defperate; it would certainly be a great Charity to provide for thefe. We find Multitudes releafed from Time to Time out of Prifons by Acts of Grace, which fet them at Liberty, 'tis true ; but, at the fame Time, leaves them at little better more than the Liberty of ftarving; and who can fay, that it would not be highly laudable to find out fome Means for giving thefe People Bread as well as Freedom? I humbly conceive, that if a proper Fund was affigned for fending thefe People abroad, not like Tranfports or Negroes, but like unhappy Englifbmen, with due Provifion for their comfortable Maintenance in their' Paffage, and a proper Reception in the Places they are fent to, this might be found an effectual way of eafing our PoorsRates, ftocking our Colonies, and enlarging the Trade of the Nation.

But in doing this, great Confideration is to be us ${ }^{9} d$, there ought to be nothing in it of Shame, and as little of Force as may be. The Terms ought to be fuch as may encourage People in Diftrefs to accept them, ard the accepting them might be in the Nature of a Superfedeas to all Criminal Profecutions, not of a Capital Nature. They fhould be fent Abroad for a Term of Years, or till they could repay a certain Sum of Money to the Corporation intrufted with the Management of this Scheme, and confiderable Rewards fhould be given to fuch as behaved well, and gained a competent Settlement during the Time limited for their remaining abroad; and if to this certain honorary Preferments were added, it would be fo much the better. Thefe are the Outlines only of a great Defign, worthy the Attention of the Legiflature, who perhaps may think a Tax on public Diverfions a reafonable Fund for fuch a Service, there being nothing more juft than that Luxury fhould contribute to relieve Necefity, and that thofe who are able to be idle fhould. be made willing to help thofe that muft work.

Such, at leaft, are my Notions of thefe Matters, and of the Means by which our Plantations might be improved, and the Advantages we derive from them increafed and extended. If what I have faid be rational and practicable, or without much Difficulty may be altered in fuch a Manner as to become fo, I hope it will be thought worthy of Confideration; but if otherwife
let fome Perfon better verfed in thefe Things, and more capable of treating this Subject arife, and fet it in its true Point of Light. For this is the critical Time, the Seafon when the Friends of Trade and the Plantations Chould exert themfelves before a Peace takes Place, and a niew

Scene opens, of which it will be impoffible to give our Judgment immediately, and as impofible to think of executing thofe Schemes then, that are eafy as well as practicable now.

## S E C T O N XX.

## The Hifory of the British Colonies in America, from the Revolution to the Death of bis late Majeßy King George I.

1. The Aritices of the French, under the Reign of James II. defeated by the Probiry of Colonel Duns gan, Governor of New York. 2. The Indians, by their Infiggation, and with their Alfitance, attack the People of New England in 16 go, and are repulfed reith Lofs. 3. An Account of Sir William Phipps's unfortunate Expedition againg Quebec. 4. Tbe Hiftory of the Indian War continued to its Clofe, with other remarkable Occurrences. 5. The Society for the Propagation of the Gofpel incorporated by King William III. and the many Advantages flowing from that excellent Eftablifbment. 6. The Affairs of the Brition Colonies, during the Reign of Queen Anne, briefly confidered. 7. The unfortunate Expedition againf Canada, under General Hill and Sir Hovenden Walker. 8. The Methods taken by the Erench for the Benefit of their own Commerce, at the Expence of ours to the Treaty of Utrecht. 9. An Account of bis Grace the Duke of Montague's Scheme for fettling the Iflands of St. Lucia and St. Vincent. Io. The IIfory of the Expedition for that Purpofe, under Captain Uring, and bis Relation of its Mifcarriage. 11. Colonel Braithwaite's Report of bisbeing forced to abandon the Settlement of St. Vincent. 12. The in. dubitable Title of the Crown of Great Britain to thofe Ilands afjerted, and the Importance of maintainings it demonftrated. I3. Remarks and Obfervations on the mof remarkable Paffages in the foregoing Section.

I$T$ is generally agreed, that the very wortt Part of King James's Government was the Inclination that he had to French Counfels, and his falling too readily into French Meafures, which is the more extraordinary in Matters relating to Commerce; becaufe never any Prince underftood them better than King Fames. It muft therefore have been his violent Zeal for promoting the Popifb Caufe, that induced him to go the Lengths he did, in Eavour of France; contrary moft certainly to the Interent of this Nation, as he would have feen fooner than any body, if that Zeal of his had not hindered him. But from hence we fee the Difference between Englif and French Popery. Our deluded Prince, though he underftood Trade, was inclined to facrifice it, in fome Meafure, for the Sake of his Religion; the French King, though of the fame Religion, and pretending to be as zealous for it as King Fames, made ufe of it as a Colour to promote his own ambitious Defigns, and the Trade of his Subjects at our Expence. I know that this is a delicate Subject to handle, and I hould not have mentioned it.all, but from a juft Senfe of its Confequence, and a fincere Love for Truth, and the Intereft of my Country.

The French, in the Beginning of King Fames's Reign, finding their Colony of Canada in the utmoft Danger from the Iroquois, a very warlike Indian Nation, jealous of their Liberties, and very capable of defending them by Force of Arms, refolved, fince Force had hitherto failed, to try what might be done towards fubduing them by the gentler Method of Converfion; in order to which they not only employed a Multitude of artful Jefuits, but contrived likewife, under Pretence of extending the Chriftian Faith, to engage King Fomes to countenance and affift this Project. In order to this an Iribg Gentleman, Colonel Dungan, Son to the Earl of Limerick, was made Governor of New York; and he was directed, by his Mafter, to permit the French Ffefuits to preach to, and convert, the Indians under the Protection of his Government. The Scheme was certainly well laid, and one would wonder how it came not to take effect; which if it had done, mut have proved the Ruin of that Colony at leaft, the Conqueft of which had been for a long Time the Object of the French Policy. But this Colonel Dungan, unfortunately for the French, was a Man of very good Senfe, and of ftrict Honour, he obeyed his Mafter's Commands, though unwillingly, but he kept fo ftrict an Eye upon the French Fefuits, that he very foon faw to the Bottom of their Defigns; and, finding them incompatible with the Welfare of the Colony he governed, he obliged them to retire; telling them that they came to promote the

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Commerce, rather than the Religion of their Nation and that if his good Friends the Indians were fo muchs in love with $\mathcal{F e f u i t t s}$, that they could not be without them, he would fupply them with thofe who fhould make them good Cbriftians and good Englifmen at the fame Time.

This greatly provoked the French Governor of Canada, Mr. Denonville, who threatened him with the Difpleafure of his own Mafter, and of the Moft Cbriftian King; but this had no Effect upon Colonel Dungan, who would not be either cheated or bullied; and therefore when the French Governor had trapanned fome of the Indian Chiefs, and fent them over to be made Slaves in the French Galleys, by the moft notorious Breach of Faith that ever Man was guilty of ; the Colonel affifted them in the War occafioned thereby, which brought the French Colony within a Hair's Breadth of Ruin. This Story, which is very remarkable, we have from French as well as Englifh Authors, and which is no lefs extraordinary, they agree in every Circumftance of it. Only the former are fo partial, as to treat the Colonel's Character very ill, becaufe he would not facrifice the Intereft of his Country, his own Honour, and Confcience to their Views. After the Revolution, when he was become Earl of Limerick, King William, who was very well informed of his Proceedings, procured an Offer to be made him of a very confiderable Command in the Spanifb Service, but he declined it; and though he liked not the Meafures, chofe to follow the Fortunes, of his Mafter King Fames.

The French, by the fame kind of Artifices had very near difpoffeffed the Hudfon's Bay Company of that Country entirely; and, as foon as the War broke out, they actually did fo, as we have already thewn. They alfo made a bold Attempt upon the Colony of Nere York, with the Affiftance of the Indians in their Interefts, but were repulfed; and Colonel Peier Scbuyler, with three hundred Englifh, and the fame Number of Iroquois, bravely marched from Fort Albany to Quebec, which is four hundred Niles; and finding the French Governor with feven hundred regular Troops, and as many Hurons, an Indian Nation always at their Devotion in the Field, they boldly attacked them, and killed three hundred Men, and thirty Officers, with very little Lofs to themfelves; but having no Artillery, and the French retiring into their Forts, the Colonel made a very honourable Retreat, fatisfied with the Blow he had ftruck, and fecuring his own Country from any farther Depredations. But it was not only on this Side that the French attacked our Colonies at that Time, on the contrary they had framed a Defign of greater Confequence againft the Peo-
ple of Nerw England, of which, as it is a Matter of great Importance; we will give as full and clear an Account of it as we can; for tho' their Intrigues began fomewhat earlier than the Period affigned for this Section, yet as our Expedition was not made till after the Revolution, it comes in very properly here.
2. The French, in a Time of full Peace, and when, as we have obferved, they were folliciting and obtaining Favours from King Fames, excited the Indians on the Frontiers of Newe England, to furprife feveral Out-fettlements, where they committed feveral great Barbarities: Of this Complaints were made to the French Governor at Quebec, who gave very good Words, pretending that he knew nothing of what had happened; but promifed to interpofe, and check the Defigns of the Indians as far as was in his Power, which Promife was very indifferently performed. The Englijh thereupon tried what fair Means, and a peaceable Negociation with the Indians would do; in this likewife they were deceived and amufed, while their Enemies ftill perfifted in their Depredations, though they continued to treat, and pretended that all Difputes fhould be amicably fettled, well knowing that the Colony would take any Meafures rather than engage in an Indian War. During thefe Tranfactions, the Frencb and Indians entered into farther Engagements againft the Englifh, who did what they could with Honour and Juftice, to bring Matters to a peaceable Iffie, which was rendered very difficult by the Intrigues of the French, who upon King Fames's withdrawing to France, reprefented the Englijb Nation as in a rebellious and perilous Condition, which was fufficient Encouragement for the Indians to continue the War, having the Promife of powerful Affitance from 2 uebec.

They furprifed the Garrifon of 2uacbecho, by the Treachery of Mefondonit, a Sachem, whom Major Waldern, who commanded there, had generoufly entertained the Night before; and that Traitor lying in his Houfe, opened the Gates in the Morning to a Party of Savages, that lay in Ambufh not far off, and rufhing in killed the Major and twenty-two Men, burnt four or five of the beft Houfes, and carried away twenty-nine Perfons into Captivity, killing Mr. Brougbton in their Retreat. The Government ordered Capt. Noyes, with a ftrong Party, to march to Penocook, and clear the Country of the Savages; but they cleared it themfelves by running away as foon as they heard News of his coming. Captain Noyes purfued them, cut down all their Corn, burnt their Wigwams, and laid every thing wafte. A Party from Saco was furrounded by a great Body of Indians, and efcaped with Difficulty, having loft fix of their Number ; they afterwards maftered Pemmaquid Fort, by Help of Intelligence given them by one Mr. Starkey, who falling into their Hands thought to get out of them by that Service, and told of the weak Condition the Fort was in by the Abfence of Mr. Giles, and Part of the Garrifon; upon whom they fell at Giles's Farm, and killed him and fourteen Men. They then got upon a Rock, when they miferably galled the Englif, and obliged the Governor, Capt. Weems, to furrender on Promife of Life and Liberty. But the Savages broke the Capitulation, and butchered the greateft Part of them, as alfo Capt. Skinner and Capt. Farnbam, who were coming to the Relief of the Garrifon, and Mr. Pedifall, as he lay in his Sloop in the Barbran. Thefe Loffes caufed the Inhabitants of Sbeepfoot and Kennebeck to abandon thofe Places, and return to Falmouth.

It was time for the Governmentof Nerw England to look about them, and think of oppofing vigoroufly thofe Murders and Depredations of the Indians: They fent Major Swayne with five hundred Men from Malfacbufet, and Major Cburch, one of their beft Officers, from Plymouth, with five hundred more, againft the Enemy in the Eaft, where they had intercepted Lieut. Hutchin, who had drawn off a Garrifon he had in thofe Parts, to fet them to work in the Field. The Savages coming unexpectedly upon them cut them to pieces being feventeen in Number, and then came to the Fort, where were only two Boys, and fome Women and Children; the Boys defended it againft them, wounded feveral ; and when they found that the Barbarians were about to fet fire to the Houfe
that was in the Fort, and to burn them out, they would not yield but on Terms of Life; which there inhuman Wretches granted, and afterwards killed three or four of the Children, with one of the Boys; the other made his Efcape. Capt. Garner purfued the Enemy, but they were too nimble for him. Another Party of them affaulted Cano, killed Capt. Brooks, and had put the whole Town to the Sword, had not Capt. Hell come opportunely with Relief. The Defigns of Major Swayne and Major Cburch were fruftrated by the Treachery of fome Indian Confederates, who being fent out as Scouts, difcovered all that they knew to the Enemy; who underftanding theNumber of the Engli/b fled to their inacceffible Woods and Swamps: So Major Swayne, having garrifoned Blew Point, retired to Winter-Quarters. I enter not into the Particulars of the barbarous Treatment the Englifh Captives met with from the Savages, there being nothing in it but what might be expected from their Rage and Cruelty, and there was no likelihood of their learning Humanity towards the Englifh, by Leffons from their new Allies the French, who were very active in inftructing and difciplining them for the better Management of the War.
It is plain they had improved in it, both in Arms and in Action, and had continual Afliftance from 2uebec, without which the Engli/b would foon have chaftifed them for their Infolence, and taught them to be quiet. To make the French fome Returns for the many Mifchiefs the Engliff had fuffered by their Means, it was refolved in Nere England to carry the War home to them. In purfuance of this Refolution Sir William Pbipps, who commanded the Fleet and Forces, failed from Nero England the 28th of April, 1690, and on the 11th of May following arrived before Port Royal. The French had then a very flourifhing Colony in Acadia, or, as we call it, Nere Scotland, confifting of no lefs than fix thoufand People, who got a Living at leaft by their Trade in Lumber, Fifh, and Skins; but for all that the Place was fo miferably provided for Defence, the Town being covered only by a fight Pallifade, and a little Fort of no Force, that it was very foon reduced; and Sir Williain Pbipps had the Honour of recovering this Country to the Crown of Britcin. The People in Nova Scotia had Leave by the Capitulation, either to retire to Canada, or remain in the Country; and about two thoufand chofe the latter: So that Sir William not only acquired a Country, but a People; yet we did not keep the Poffeffion of either, for any Length of Time. To revenge thefe Loffes, Monfieur Artel, a French Officer from Canada, and one Hoophood a Leader among the Huron Indians, Confederates with the French, with Men of both Nations, affaulted Salmon Falls, killed thirty Perfons, and carried away fifty into Captivity ; which terribly alarmed all Nero England, it being the firf time that the French had acted openly with the Barbarians. And as Quebec was thought to be the Source of all their Calamities in this War, it was therefore refolved to attack that Place, which being reduced, the French would have no City to reft in, and carry on their ill Defigns againft their Chriftian Neighbours.
3. The Succefs Sir William Pbipps fo lately had, recommended him to the chief Command in this Expedition; but it feems to have been as ill laid and managed as the other was well contrived; for it is certain, he had a Strength with him fufficient to have driven the French out of Canada, had it been well ufed: He had thirty-two Sail of Ships, and they had aboard two thoufand Men, a prodigious Armament for fuch a Colony, and failed from Hull near Bofton the gth of Augujf; but came not within Sight of $2 u e b e c$ till the 5 th of October. Thus they were eight Weeks in a Voyage, that with good Winds and Weather, might have been made in two or three. The Englij乃 were fo long making up the River of St. Laurence, that the Governor, Count de Fontenac, had time enough to prepare for his Defence by drawing all the Strength of the Colony to Quebec, which Sir William expected would have been divided by an Army marching over Land, and attacking Mount Royal Fort on the Frontiers of Canada, while he fell upon the Capital.

This Army was to confift of two thoufand Men from

## Chap. III. of the ENGLISH in AMERICA.

Nero Tork, Connerficut, and Plynoutb Colonies; and one thoufand five hundred Indians, to whom the French gave the Name of Iroquois; but the Englifh diftinguifhed them by the Names of their feveral Nations. The Englifb marched as far as the great Lake of Canada; but as there were no Canoes provided for them to pafs it, they returned; and it is very ftrange that there fhould have been no Provifion for their Paffage fecured, fince the Succefs of the Enterprize fo much depended upon it.

When Sir William arrived within Sight of the Place, he fancied that the Conqueft would have been as eafy as that which he had made of Nova Scotia, and therefore he drew up a Paper in the Nature of a Summons to furrender, conceived in very rough Terms; for Sir William was originally a Carpenter, and afterwards a Sailor; fo that he was very blunt and unpolifhed, though a very honeft, and very brave Man : But the French Governor, Count Fontenac, was fo offended at the Style and Subject, that he caufed a Gibbet to be fet up, and would have hanged the Major that brought the Paper, had it not been for the Bifhop's Interceffion. He returned, however, a very infolent Anfwer, calling Phipps and his Company Heretics and Traitors.

On the 8th of OiFober the Englifh landed, under Lieutenant-General Whalley, to the Number of one thoufand four hundred, for to thefe they were reduced by the Small-Pox, and other Difeafes; but had their full Compliment been preferved, what were two thoufand on board the Ships to four thoufand within the City; for fo many Men Fontenac had now with him? Which Wballey underftanding, he re-embarked his Troops, though they would very fain have attempted one Affault: But their Bravery was illtimed, conndering the Inequality of their Number to that of the Enemy. Some Writers make the Lofs of the Englifh from the Oppofition they met with on Shore, to be fix hundred Men; but, I believe, that Oppofition is heightened for the Credit of our Nation, that the Troops might not be thought to abandon this Enterprize without looking the Enemy in the Face. The beft Accounts given by the French Writers of this Matter, do not afcribe the Deliverance of Quebec more to the Courage of their own People than to the Want of Conduct and Difcipline in the Englifh. The Truth of the Matter is, the Scheme was well enough laid, but thofe who undertook to execute it had not Capacities fuitable to a Defign of this Nature ; and befides, there fell out fome Accidents that were fatal to them, as well as wholly unforefeen, and to which in a great meafure we may juftly attribute their Difappointment.

The Small-Pox did not only carry off Numbers in Sir Willian Pbipps's Fleet, but broke out alfo in the other Army, that was to have marched by Land to attack Mount Royal; and this Malady infecting the Iroquois, was the true Reafon why that Expedition was abandoned; and this being foon known to the French, gave them an Opportunity of throwing their whole Force into Quebec, which was much too great for Sir William Pbipps to ftruggle with, if he and thofe who attended him, had been better Officers than they really were ; fo that there is no great Wonder the whole Expedition mifcarried. This fhews, that Matters of a military Nature cannot be carried on, efpecially againft the French, but by military Men and Officers well acquainted with Service; yet the Zeal and Courage of the People of New England, in undertaking and pufhing this Project of theirs fo far as they did, deferves great Applaufe, as it fully demonftrates the Spirit of the People, and very plainly proves that with proper Encouragement and proper Affiftance, they are both willing to endeavour and able to perform all that in their Circumftances a Britifh Government can expect from Britijh Subjects. In the prefent Cafe, their Efforts rather exceeded than fell fhort of their Abilities, for their Fleet and Army were numerous enough, well provided, and well paid; the Expence of this fruitlefs Attempt falling little fhort of one hundred and fifty thoufand Pounds, every Penny of which was furnifhed by the Inhabitants of this Colony, or, which was worfe, they ran in Debt for it, and were left to pay it: Here at home we do not fufficiently reflect upon tbe Inconveniencies that fuch Mif
forturies as thefe bring upon our Settlements, but are too apt to charge them with Want of Vigour,' Want of Application, and Want of public Spirit; whereas, in Truth, thefe Wants, generally fpeaking, lie on our Side the Water ; and it is to cover our own Neglects, that we pretend to find Faults in them of which they were never guilty.

The Ships in their Return met with no better Fortune at Sea than the Men had done by Land; fome of them were driven as far as the Leeward Iflands; one was wrecked, another was never heard of; a third foundered with all her Crew in her, a fourth was driven afhore on the defolate Inland of Anticoftä, where Captain Rinsford and hisCrew, forty at firft, were reduced through Want and Weather to half the Number in a Month's Time, and then faved almoft miraculoufly. The Lofs of Men in this unfuccefsful Enterprize amounted to one thoufand, and thofe as ufeful Hands as any in the Country. During the Progrefs of this miferable Expedition, a Party under Lieut. Clark, venturing out of Cafco, to look for the Enemy, met with a Body of four or five hundred Indians and French, who killed the Lieutenant and thirteen of his Men; the reft efcaping into the Town, were purfued by the Indians and French, who entering the Place reduced it to Afhes. The Garrifon furrendered the Fort upon Conditions of fafe Conduct to the next Englifs Town ; but the French bafely broke the Capitulation, and made them Prifoners of War under a very foolifh Pretence of their being Rebels to their lawful King.

The Governor, Major Davis, and fome of his Men; were fent to Quebec; the reft were murdered by the Savages. The Garrifons of Papocodack, Spawrwick, Black Point, and Blue Point, drew off to Caco, twenty Miles within Cafco, terrified with the Fate of that Place: Their Terror infected that Garrifon alfo, and half of them fled. Hoophood, the Huron, purfued them and deftroyed all the Country, burnt feveral Houfes at Berwick, killed thirteers or fourteen Men at Fort Point; and carried off fix Prifoners ; but Capt. Floyd, and Capt. Greenleof coming up with him routed his Party, wounded and drove him off to a great Diftance. He was afterwards fallen on by the French Indians, who taking him for an Iroquois, killed him and almoft all that were with him. The Indians and French had after that an Advantage over the Englifb under Capt. Wifreell, whom they killed with fifteen of his Soldiers near Wheetwright Pond, the reft were brought off by Capt. Floyd. Flufhed with this Succefs the Indians and French made a Defcent upon Amefoury, near to the Maffachufets, furprifed Capt. Foot and tortured him to death ; but the Townfmen retirning into the Fort, maind tained it againft them. Major Cburch paffed by Sea with three hundred Men to Cafco Bay, where he landed, and paffed directly Pectbpyot, an Indian Fort, which he found deferted, thence tờ Amonofcoggin Fort, forty Miles up Cafco River, which he burnt after having killed twenty Indians; all that ftaid in it, and releafed feven Englifb Captives. Having Notice that the Indians liad agreed to rendezvous on Pecbyfet Plain, in order to attack Wells, he haftened thither to give them Battle; which the Savages avoided, and the Engli/b went into Winter Quarters. Capt. Convers and Capt. Plaiftead, with one hundred Men remaining in thofe Parts, to fcour the Woods; and as the Englifb had no Reafon to be content with the Succefs of the War, fo they were well pleafed at the . Sight of a Flag of Truce, with which the Indians came to Wellss and a Ceffation of Arms till the May following was agreed on by Commiffioners on both Sides.

The Time of the Ceffation of Arms with the Indians was farce expired ; but the Savages, inftead of coming as they had engaged, to reftore the Captives, and turn the Truce into a Peace, began to commit new Hottilities, and killed Ceveral Englif at Berwick, Exeter, and Cape Nidduck. To prevent further Mifchief, Capt. Marel, Capt. King, Capt. Sberburn, and Capt. Waters, with four hundred Men, landed at Macquoit, and marched to Speaky; but thefe Forces not meeting the Enemy, grew fecure, and ftraggled out in Parties, which the Indians obferving, gathered in a Body, attacked them and drove
them to their Ships, with the Lofs of Capt. Sherburn and feveral Men, who could not get aboard in time They killed feven Perfons at Berwick, twenty-one at Sandy.Bear, a Family at Rowly, another at Haverbill, both in Effex County. Thus we find them drawing Southward, and extending themfelves into the Maflachufets, which they had not done before. The Garrifon of Cape Nidduck was fo thinned by Draughts from it, that the Remainder thought fit to defert it, though a ftrong Fort. A Party of Popifh Indians affaulted the Town of York, killed fifty Englifh, and drove away one hundred into Slavery, and the reft fortified themfelves; and though they were but a Handful; yet the Savages, who were feveral Hundreds, durft not attack them. Here Mr. Sbubaal Dunner, the Minifter, was thot at his own Door, to the great Joy of the French Papifts. A Ship was immediately difpatched to Sagadobook, with a Commiffion, and Effects to redeem the Captives, and thofe Men who remained in the Town were now thinking of abandoning it.
Major Hutcibinfon was in June 1692 fent with a ftrong Party under Capt. Convers, Capt. Floyd, and Capt. Thaxter, to affift them, and other Englifhmen on the Frontiers. Capt. Convers was pofted at Wells with only fifteen Men in the flight Fort there, and fifteen more in two Sloops in the River to be affifting to the others upon Occafion. Againft him came no lefs than four Indian Kings, Modenkawando, Moxus, Edgerement, Warumbo, and ftill two greater Men, Monfieur Labrocree and Monfieur Barniff, with fome French Soldiers, and five hundred Hurons. Moxus had not long before attacked Wells with two hundred Indians, and had been repulfed by Capt. Convers, who had not a Quarter of that Number of Men with him, which Modenkawonds hearing, he faid, my Brother Moxus has miffed it now, but I will go myfelf the next Year, and have the Dog Convers out of his Hole. But he was miftaken, for the Englifbmen in the Fort, and Chiefs in the Sloops, behaved fo gallantly, following the Example of their brave Commander Convers, that after feveral fruitlefs Attempts of the Indians and French to mafter them by Land and by Water, Monfieur Barniff, and the four Indian Confederate Princes, were obliged to setire. But Monfieur Labrocree did not live to bear the Reproach of fo fcandalous a Retreat, being killed in the firft of it. The Enemy happened here to take one Fobn Diamond Prifoner, whom they ufed fo barbarounly, that it would occafion too much Horror in the Reader to relate it.

Things continued, however, in this Situation, till Sir William Pbipps came over in Quality of Governor of Nere England, who immediately began to think of erecting a new Fort at Pemmaquid, to cover the Frontiers, which he compleated in fix. Months time, though it was one of the ftrongeft Places in America; but the Expence, which this occafioned, made the People uneafy; who, it feems, never forgave the raifing of the Money it coft, though they could not but be fenfible, that it was entirely laid out for their Safety: But it feems in Nere as well as Old England, and indeed in all other Countries, it is a much eafier thing to ferve a Society, than to make that Society fenfible of one's Service. In the prefent Cafe one might have expected things fhould have taken another Turn, fince by the Care Sir William Pbipps took, the Frontiers of the Plantation were better fecured than in Times paft, and the Indians more than once defeated in general Engagements; if the Difputes of between two and three hundred Men of a fide may be called fo, and I fee no Reafon why they fhould not, if we confider that the Confequences of thefe Engagements were of the fame Importance to both Nations as if they had been fought by thoufands; and I conceive, that it is the Importance of a War, and not the Number of Men employed in it, that renders it worthy of Notice.

Thefe Succeffes, the building the Forts in the Eaft, and the augmenting the Forces there, inclined the Savages to think in earneft of Peace, efpecially upon hearing the Macquas threatened to fall upon them, for killing fome of their Squas or Princeffes on Whortle-bury Plain. The Indian Sachems had a Frencb Embaffador at their Courts, who was a Friar, to ftir them up againtt
the Englifh, and keep them in Heart. This Prief dic his utmoft to perfuade them to continue the War. But the Frencb not affiting them with Men, Arms, and Ammunition, as they promifed, the Friar could not hinder them from begging a Peace, which was concluded at Fort Pemmaquid, by thirteen Segamores and the Enslifh Commifioners, who fet their Names to the Inftrument, Auguf II, 1593. By this Treaty the Indians re nounced their Allegiance with the French, owned themfelves Subjects to the Crown of England, confirmed the Englifh in the Poffeffion of all the Lands they had acquired, and fubmitted the Regulation of their Trade to the next General Affembly, which gave great Satisfaction to the People of New England; the rather, becaufe hitherto the Indians had very honeftly kept their Treaties, but it was not long before it appeared that their new fpiritual Guides the French had taught them other Principles.
4. It was not above a Year before the Jefuits excited their new Converts to break this Peace concluded with Heretics; it is true, there was then a War with France, fo that as Statefmen and Politicians the Jefuits may be juftified, but then they muft lay afide all Pretences to Chriftianity ; for it is certain, there is nothing in our Religion that countenances a Behaviour of this Kind, and therefore we may fafely fay, that all their Labours tended to make thefe poor People rather Tools to France than Chriftians. The firft breaking out of the new War, which happened in the Spring of 1694 , was without any previous Declaration, or even Complaint that the Terms had not been kept on the Side of the Englifh, nor indeed was this ever fo much as pretended. A Body of Indians and French fell fuddenly on Oytter River Towen, and feized near one hundred Perfons, twenty of which were of the Trained-Bands. One Blachford courageoufly defended his Houfe againft them, who defpairing to reduce him before Succours came, left him, and going to Mrs. Cuts's Farm near Pifcatarvay, they murdered her and her Family. They made an Incurfion into MiddleSex County, and affaulted Groton, but were bravely repulfed by Lieutenant Lukin, upon which they fell to plundering the Plantations thereabouts, killed twenty Prifoners, and carried twenty more into Captivity. They killed one of the Children of Mr . Greßam Hobert, the Minifter, and carried off another with them; they murdered three Perfons at work near Spruce-Creek and eight more at Kittery, where they barbarounly ufed a Daughter of Mr. Dorening. The Savages fcalped this young Woman and left her for dead, but fhe recovered, and was living twenty Years after. Mr. Fofeph Pike, of Newburry, Under-Sheriff of Eflex, was murdered by them, between Amefoury and Haverbill in that County.

To balance thefe Loffes the Englifb feized Bommafeen, a famous Segamore, one of thofe that figned the laft Treaty. He pretended to be juft come from Canada, and that he came on Purpofe to put an End to thefe Hoftilities. But it being proved, that he was a principal Actor in the late Murders, he was fent Prifoner to Bofton. The taking of Bommafeen tunned the Indians a little, and they were quiet for fix or feven Months. At laft a Fleet of Canoes came to an Ifland a League from Pemmaquid, and fent Propofals of Peace to the Garrifon. They owned their Guilt in breaking, the laft Articles, but threw the Blame of it on the French. As a Proof of their Sincerity now they delivered up eight Captives, when they had above one hundred fill in Captivity. However, a Truce was granted for thirty Days, and Colonel Pbilips, the gallant Major Convers, and Lietitenant Colonel Howtborn, were appointed Commiffo oners, to treat with them on the Part of the Indians, but becaufe they brought not Bommafeen with them, whofe Releafement was all they wanted, the Indian Commiffioners broke off the Conference, and went away in difguft. They had left the Einglifh Planters in their Captivity contrary to their Promife to releafe them as a Preliminary, which was a plain Indication they were not in earneft. Advice was fent immediately to all the Englifh Garrifons in the Eaft to be upon their Guard : Notwithftanding which, Major Hammond, of Kittery, fell into an Ambufcade, and was taken Pri-
foner:

Chap. III. of the ENGLISH in $A M E R I C A$.

Foner; but having the good Fortune to be tranfported to Canada, he was very civilly treated by Count Frontenac, who bought him of his Indian Mafter, and fent him to Bofton by a Veffel that came to Quebec for exchange of Prifoners. In Auguf a Party of Indians came down to Bellerica on Horfeback; this was pretty far within the Maffacbufets. They killed and took fifteen Perfons, and plundered Mr. Rogers's Houfe. This was the firf Time the Indians ever made ufe of Horfes. They took nine People out of Newbury in E/Jex, and being clofely purfued by Captain Greenleaf, a valiant and diligent Officer, they fo wounded them when they found they could not keep them, that they all died except one Lad, which , was a fignal Proof of their Barbarity.

Capain March, Governor of Pemmaquid Fort, defiring to lay down his Commiffion towards the latter End of the Year, he was fucceeded in it by Captain Cbub. He thewed the Bafenefs of his Spirit, as well as the Weaknefs of his Undertanding, in one of his firft Exploits, after he had the Command of this Garrifon, by murdering Edgeremet and Abenquid, and two other principal Segamores, who had figned the laft Treaty, and came to him on Affurance of Security, to confer about a new one. In Auguf the French landed fome Soldiers out of a Man of War, the Neroport, which they had taken from the Englifh to affift the Indians in his Neighbourhood.

This News fo frightened the Traitor Cbub, that he furrendered the new and ftrong Fort of Peramaquid, with out the firing one Gun, within or without, though he had near one hundred Men in it double-armed. The furprizing News of this Lofs caufed a mighty Confternation at Bofon, and all over New-England. Governor Stougbton, and the Council, immediately ordered three Men of War in purfuit of the French, though it was not probable that thefe Ships could be fitted for that Service time enough to come up with the Enemy, who having done their Bufinefs at Pemmaquid better than they could hope for, were gone far enough out of the reach of the Englifto. Colonel Gedney marched with five hundred Men to the Eaft, but the Indians were gone home, and he could do nothing but ftrengthen the Garrifons there. The Savages, before their Retreat, killed five Soldiers belonging to Saco Fort, who mult not be with their Garrifon. And one may obferve, that the greatef Mifchief the Indians do, is by thefe Amburhes and Surprizes, which, confidering how they were almoft intermixed with them, it is ftrange they fhould not be aware of, and guard againft; for the Country mut by this Time, and this Means, be, in a Manner, as well known to them as to the Savages. Colonel Gedney arrefted Cbub, and brought him to Bofton; but nothing treafonable being proved againft him, the Government only took away his Commiffion, and fent him thence to his Houfe at Andover, in Effex County.

Some Time after this the Indians entered Haverbill, and carried off thirty Captives, one of which was Hannab Dufian, a Woman of a maiculine Spirit. She had lain in not above a Week, yet fhe and her Nurfe walked one hundred and fifty Miles on Foot, to the Town where the Indian fhe was to ferve lived. This Woman being afterwards to travel with her Mafter and his Family to a Rendezvous of the Army of the Savages, where, according to the diabolical Cuftom of them, fhe, her Nurfe, and other Englifh Prifoners, were to run the Gantlet; Hanneb watched her Opportunity in the Night, and having animated her Nurfe, and an Englifh Boy who was with her, they three killed ten of the Indians with their own Weapons, and made their Efcapes; for which Action they received a Reward of fifty Pound from the General Affembly, and Prefents from particular Perfons to a good Value. The Indians continuing their Inroads killed a Man at York, another at Hatfield, a third at Groton, and a fourth at Exeter; which thews us that the New England Pcople were in conftant Danger, and harraffed on every Side. The Indians grew every Day more barbarous and more implacable, as having the Intrigues of the fefuits added to their own Fiercenefs and Thirft of Blood.

They furprized and Thot Major Frof, and his two Sons, at Berwick, as they were coming from Church on:

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Sunday, and going to his own Houfe about five Miles off. Two Men that rid Poft to carry this unwelcome News to the Governor of Wells, fell into an Ambufcade as they were returning, and were killed, as were three Men near Necharearnic, and a dreadful Defolation threatened the whole Province ; certainly more for want of Management than of Power. The Savages roafted a Man to Death a Mile and a half from Wells. Three Soldiers, at Saco Fort, as they were cutting Fire-wood for the Fort at Caco Ifland, were fhot dead, while Lieutenant Fletcber, with his two Sons, who were appointed for their Guard, were a fowling in the Woods: But the Lieutenant and his Sons paid dearly for their Negligence, for they fell into an Ambufcade as they returned, and were all three taken Prifoners. The Father, and onc of his Sons, died in Captivity, and the other made his Efcape.
In the Beginning of 1697 the Government of Nere England was alarmed with Advice that the French in Canada intended to make a Defcent there; that a Squadron. of Men of War was come from France to fupport the Army of the Indians and French, that was to attack the Englifb by Land. The Lieutenant-Governor, and Council, prepared for a vigorous Defence; the Forts about Bofton were repaired; the Militia throughout the whole Province were raifed and well difciplined. Major March was ordered to the Eaft, with five hundred, to fcour the Woods; the Indians, who were gathering together about Cajco Bay, retired as he approached them; but the Major having put his Men aboard fome Ships, failed up among the Eaftern Iflands, and landed on the Banks of Damafcatos River; a very prudent Meafure, for he could not have overtaken the Indians by Land, before they had been got into their Faftneffes. The Indians feeing this, fell upon his Men as they were getting afhore, but could not hinder their Landing; upon which a fharp Engagement enfued, and the Emgligh drove the Enemy to their Canoes, a Fleet of which was in the River to receive them. The Englifh had about twelve Men killed, and as many. wounded ; the Enemies Lofs was much greater; but the main Advantage to the Engl: $/ b$ was, preventing the Indians joining the French, who were approaching with the Ships of War and Tranfports for a Defcent; but hearing of the Rout of their Confederates, they made the beft of their Way home to Europe, with the French Troops on board, to their no fmall Difcredit.

A Party of Savages made an Incurfion into Middlefex, and plundered Lancafter, killing twenty IMen, among whom was the Reverend Mr. F̛obn Wbiting, the Minifter, and carried five into Captivity. A Month after they killed a poor Man in the Woods, near Oyfer River. In the Beginning of the next Year they made a Defcent upon Andover, and killed Captain Cbub and his Family. They alfo killed Colonel Dudley Bradfreet, took his whole Family, and were carrying them off; but being clofely purfued, they releafed them without doing them any Mifchief. The Savages were now in Motion to the Weftward, and killed a Man and a Boy in the Meadows near Hatficld. They were purfued by a Party of Englifh from Deerfield, of which one was killed by the Indians, who, after that, ran to the Woods. They had attempted Deerfield on Comnecticut River, but were beaten off by the Inhabitants, headed by their Minitter, Mr. Fobn Willioms. Thefe finall Actions feemed to prefage the End of this War, of which the Savages were as weary as the Englifhs and had no Profpect of making any thing of it againit a People fo much fuperior to them in Numbers, Arms and Stores; but they ended it with the better Grace, by Means of the Peace of Ry rwick, between England and France. Upon which Count Frontenac fent to the Sachem of the FIurons, and told them he was no longer to fupport them in their War againft the Englif, and advifed them to make the beft Terms they could for themfelves.

The Earl of Bellamont was by this Time arrived at Nere York, and a Treaty of a Peace with the Indians being fet on Foot, he difpatched Major Convers, and Colonel Pbilips, to confer with the Indian Sachems at. Penabscot. They began the Conferences Oftober the 6th, in which the Sachems excufed themfelves for breaking the Peace,
faying,
faying, The Jefuits would not let them alone till they had done it; and if the Earl of Bellamont, and Count Frontenac, would not banifh thefe Devils, they could not promife the next Peace would laft long. Major Convers, and Colonel Pbilips, concluded it with them on the Foot with the laft Treaty ; to which they added a more formal Submiffion to the Sovereignty of the Crown of England; wherein, after acknowledging themfelves guilty of breaking the laft Peace, and in not fulfilling their Engagements entered into thereby, while they enjoyed the Benefit of it, which they charge upon the evil Councils and Inftigations of the French, they proceed thus:
" Wherefore we, whofe Names are hereunto fubfcribed,
${ }^{66}$ Segamores, Captains, and principal Men of the $I n$ *s dians, belonging to the Rivers of Kennebeck, Amonofcog-
${ }^{6}$ gin, Saco, and Parts adjacent, being fenfible of our
${ }^{6}$ - great Offence and Folly, in not complying with the
${ }^{6}$ aforefaid Submiffion and Agreement, and alfo of the
${ }^{66}$ Sufferings and Mifchiefs that we have hereby expofed
${ }^{66}$ ourfelves unto; do, in all humble and fubmiffive
${ }^{66}$ Manner, caft ourfelves upon his Majefty's Mercy,
${ }^{66}$ for the Pardon of all our Rebellions and Violations of
${ }^{66}$ our Promifes; praying to be received into his Ma-
"s jefty's Grace and Protection; and for, and in Behalf
${ }^{66}$ of ourfelves, and of all the other Indians belonging to
${ }^{66}$ the feveral Rivers and Places aforefaid, within the So-
${ }^{66}$ vereignty of his Majefty of Great Britain, do again
${ }^{66}$ acknowledge and profefs our hearty and fincere Obe-
${ }^{66}$ dience to the Crown of England; and do folemnly
${ }^{66}$ renew, ratify, and confirm, all, and every the Arti-
${ }^{66}$ cles and Agreements contained in the aforefaid recited
\& Submiffion; and in Teftimony hereof, we, the faid
sc Segamores, Captains, and principal Men, have here-
"c unto fet our Hands and Seals, at Cafco Bay, near Ma-
"res Point, the 7 th Day of Fanuary, in the tenth Year
*6 of the Reign of His Majefty King William III.
${ }^{6}$ A. D. $1698-9$. Subfcribed by Moxus, and the reft "c of the Segamores and petty. Princes."

Thus ended, to the mutual Satisfaction of both Parties, the Indian War, with refpect to which the French Writers have undoubtedly given a very falfe Account, and a ftill more falfe Account of the Peace; for they fay pofiEively that the Indians infifted upon it, that they were not fubject to the Crown of Great Britain; that they declared againft their occupying any of their Lands; and that they openly profeffed they were, and would be, Friends to the French; every Tittle of which, as is manifeft by their Inftrument above recited, and cited for that Purpofe, appears to be a direct Falfhood; but in one thing I believe the French Writers fpeak Truth, which is, with regard to the Policy of the Indians, who made ufe of the Small Pox for a Pretence to quit the Englifh Army, in its March to attack the French Colony of Canada by Land, from a Forefight that if this Expedition had been attend ed with Succefs, the French muft have abandoned their Country, and they were unwilling to be left wholly at the Mercy of the Englifh.

Many of our Authors, indeed, reprefent the Indians as not capable of fo great a Stroke in Politics, but I have feen Papers of Governor Dudley, and William Penn, who were very well acquainted with them, that feem to countenance this Opinion; for they fay, they have ftrong natural Parts, undertand their own Intereft thoroughly, and do every thing with great Deliberation. It is, in deed, certain, that they are wedded to their own Sentiments, and to their own Manner of living, and therefore we muft refer their Politics to their Maxims, and not pretend to judge of them by our own, with which they have not the leaft Affinity or Connection.
5. We have, in the Courfe of this Work, given fo full and clear an Account of the Manner in which all our Colonies were fettled, and of the Motives upon which different Sorts of Pcople reforted to them, that the Reader cannot be furprized at hearing their religions Affairs were in a very indifferent Situation, when in refpect to temporal Concerns their Condition was moft flourifhing. Several worthy Perfons, in the Reign of King Cbarles II. had ufed their Endeavours to correft this Evil, but their pious Defires did not meet with proportionable Suc-
cefs, which, however, was far from difcouraging others from following their Example; but though they were fomewhat more fortunate, chiefly from the Affiftance given them by the pious Queen Mary, whofe Character for Religion and Virtue will live as long as there is either Religion or Virtue in the World, yet it was at laft found that nothing could be effectually done, unlefs the Encouragers of this noble Defign of fpreading the Chriftian Faith through the Briti/b Dominions in America, were incorporated by Charter, the Neceflity and Expediency of which Dr. Thomas Tenifon, then Archbifhop of Canterbury, undertook to reprefent to King William III. and upon his Reprefentation a Charter was obtained, dated the I6th of Fune, in the I 3 th Year of his Reign, by which feveral Perfons, equally diftinguifhed by their Titles and Virtues, were incorporated for that Purpofe, under the moft honourable of all Names, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in foreion Parts.

This truly, fays the Author of the Hiftory of this Society, Dr. Humpbreys, was an Action fuitable to Archbifhop Ienifon's public Spirit and honeft Zeal for the Proteftant Religion, and exceedingly becoming his high Station and Authority in the Church. The American Colonies, fure, can never, without the greateft Veneration and Gratitude, remember him, when they fhall, many Ages hereafter, feel the happy Effects of having the Chriftian Religion planted among them; and reflect how hearty and forward Archbifhop Tenifon appeared to obtain that Charter, which gave Life and Authority to fo glorious an Undertaking: Nay, that his Zeal and Spirit did not reft here, he continued to promote and guide, by his wife Councils, the Affairs of the Society; he paid them an annual Bounty of fifty Pounds, during his Life, and at his Death bequeathed them a thoufand Pounds, towards the Maintenance of the firf Bifhop that fhould be fettled in America. A Charter being thus obtained, the next endeavour was to carry their laudable Defign into Execution; accordingly his Grace the Archbifhop, as impowered by the Charter, caufed Summons to be iffued for the Members of the Corporation, to meet within the Time limited; and feveral met at the Place appointed, on the 27 th of $\mathcal{F} u n e$ I7OI, and chofe proper Officers for tranfacting the Bufinefs. At following Meetings they made divers Rules and Orders for their more regular Proceedings in the Adminiftrations of their Truft, and fubfcribed, among themfelves, near two hundred Pounds; for defraying the Charges of paffing the Charter, making the common Seal, and other neceffary Expences, they alfo ordered five hundred Copies of the Charter to be printed forthwith, and diftributed amongt the Members, to be fhewed by them to all proper Perfons, the farther to notify the Defign they were engaged in, and to invite more Perfons of Ability and Piety to affift in carrying it on.

This Step was but an Opening of the Matter to the Public; the Society were diligent to confider of farther and more effectual Ways and Means to obtain Subfcriptions and Contributions fufficient to enable them to maintain the Expence of fending many Miffonaries abroad. They immediately agreed that the beft Argument to Mankind was Example, and the moft effectual Means to engage others to contribute, was to lead the Way themfelves, by fubfcribing towards the Support of the Work. Accordingly Archbifhop Tenifon, the Prefident, the VicePrefidents, all the Bifhops and Members then prefent, did fubicribe a yearly Sum to be paid to the Treafurer of the Society for the public Ufes, according to the Form of Subfcription drawn up for that Purpofe; having now made this Advance themfelves, they gave out Deputations, under their common Seal, to feveral of their Members, and other Perfons of Figure and Intereft in the Counties of England and Wales; fignifying their being conftituted and appointed by the. Corporation to take Subfcriptions, and to receive all Sums of Money which fhould be fubferibed or advanced for the Purpofes mentioned in the Charter ; and here it is to be gratefully acknowledged, that feveral worthy Perfons did, with a public Spirit, take thefe Deputations to help on with a Work fo truly for the national Intereft, and the Honour of common Chriftianity; and did, by their Example and

Intances,

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Intances, fo influence feveral well difpofed Perfons, that confiderable Remittances of Benefactions to the Corporation were foon made, which enabled them to enter on the Work with Succefs. There were likewife feveral confiderable Sums of Money fent in to the Society by Perfons who defired to conceal their Names; and the fame Spirit and Ardour has continued; neither has the Society wanted the Encouragement and Protection of the Succeffors of their Royal Founder, particularly his late Majefty King George I. and the Society have ftill increafing Views of Succefs through the Favour of his Majefty now reigning, from his known Zeal for the Proteftant Religion, and Royal Care for the Colonies, fo confiderable a Branch of the Briti/b Monarchy.

It is a thing that will certainly excite Wonder in the Minds of all calm and confiderate People, let their religious Sentiments or Perfuafions be what they will ; that this Society, with farce any fettled Fund, fhould be able to maintain, for between forty and fifty Years, fo extenfive a Scheme as that of their Charter, which tends to correet almoft all the Errors and Miftakes that have hitherto happened in the Management of our Colonies; for by their prudent and pious Care, great Check has been given to Atheifm and Irreligion, a thing of great Confequence in our Settlements, confidered in a political, as well as Chriftian Light ; for without it there is no reftraining the Indian Traders from being guilty of fuch Immoralities, as render us defpicable in the Eyes of the Heathen Indians; which, as may be eafily conceived, muft tend vaftly to our Difadvantage, more efpecially, if at the fame Time we reflect on the Management of the French in this Particular, who are very careful in their Endeavours to convert the Indians, and keep up a great outward Appearance of Zeal for Religion, which makes ftrong Impreffions on the Minds of the Savages, even though they are not converted, nor have any Inclination to become Papitts. If by fuch Methods they fhould fo far compafs their Ends, as to convert many of the Indians, and by that Means awe and influence the reft ; it muft be accompanied with Circumftances very difagreeable to the Inhabitants of our Colonies, as from the foregoing Hiftory of the Indian War will appear.

But befides the many and great Advantages that would refult from the thorough Eftablifhment of the Proteftant Religion through the Colonies, with regard to the Conduct and Behaviour of the People, and the great Enlargement of Power that would follow in Cafe the Converfion of the Indians was undertaken by Practice as well as Preaching, by the Example of the Laymen, as well as the Exhortations of the few Clergy that are fent thither; there is yet another Point that deferves as ferious Regard. The Negroes in the Service of our Planters, are a prodigious Body of People, and as there are but too many juft Caufes given for apprehending the Deftruction of whole Countries from their Plots and Confpiracies, which have been fometimes prevented by accidental, or rather providential Difcoveries, when they were upon the very Point of being executed; fo it is certain, that if thefe People, or the greateft Part of them, could be converted, it would not only prove a Means of taking away thefe Apprehenfions, but would alfo add a great Strength to the Colonies, in which they are obliged to make ufe of Negroes; for thefe People would then conceive new Notions of their Condition, and confider their being Servants to Chriftians in the Light rather of a Bleffing than a Calamity; it would not only make them eafy, but chearful in their Servitude, and by degrees would be attended with more Advantages than we can forefee, and yet a very ordinary Degree of Forefight will not fail to fhew us a great many. That this is, and muft be, attended with many Difficulties, will be readily granted, but that it is very far from being impracticable, will appear from what Dr. Humphreys tells us has been in this refpect already done, and which I take to be as material a Point as any that occurs in the Hiftory of this Period.

The Negroe Slaves, fays he, even in thefe Colonies, where the Society fend Miffionaries, amount to many thoufands of Perfons of both Sexes, and all Ages, and moft of them are very capable of receiving Inftructions;
even the grown Peffons; brought from Gumeas quickly learn Englifh enough to be undertood in ordinary Matters ; but the Children born of Negroe Parents in the Colonies are bred up entirely in the Englifh Language。 The Society looking upon the Inftriction and Converfion of the Negroes, as a principal Branch of their Care, efteeming it a great Reproach to the Chrifian Name, that fo many thoufands of Perfons thonld continue in the fame ftate of Pagan Darknefs under a Chriftian Government; and living in Chriftian Families, as they lay before under in their own Heathen Countries; the Society, immediately, from their firft Inftitution, ftrove to promote their Converfion, and infomuch as their Income would not cnable them to fend Numbers of Catechifts fufficient to inftruct the Negroes, yet they refolved to do their utmoft, and at leaft to give this Work the Mark of their higheft Approbation. They wrote therefore to all their Miffonaries, that they thould ufe their beft Endeavours ${ }_{j}$ at proper times, to inftruct the Negroes; and fhould efpecially take occafion to recommend it zealoufly to the Mafters, to order their Slaves, at convenient Times; to come to them, that they might be inftructed.

Thefe Directions had a good Effect, and fome hundreds of Negroes have been inftructed, received Baptifms and been brought to the Communion, and lived very orderly Lives. It is a Matter of Commendation to the Cleroy, that they have done thus muchi in fo great and difficult a Work. But alas! what is the Inftruction of a few hundreds in feveral Years, with refpect to the many thoufands uninftructed, unconverted, living and dying downright Pagans? It muft be confeffed, what hath been done is as nothing, with regard to what a true Chriftian would hope to fee effected. But the Difficulties the Clergy meet with in this good Work, are exceeding great. The firft is, the Negroes want Time to receive Inftructions ; Ceveral Mafters allow their Negroes only Sundays for Reft, and then the Minifters of the Parifhes are fully employed. in other Duties, and cannot attend them. Many Planters, in order to free themfelves from the Trouble and Charge of feeding and cloathing their Slaves, allow them one Day in a Week to clear Ground and plant it, to fubfift themfelves and Families; fome allow all Saturday; fome half Saturday and Sunday; others allow only Sundayd How can the Negroe attend for Inftruction, who, on half Saturday and Sunday, is to provide Food and Raiment for himfelf and Family for the Week following: The Negroe will urge in his own Excufe, that the Support of himfelf and all that is dear to him, doth abfolutely depend upon this his neceffary Labour on Saturday and Sunday; but if this be not ftrictly juftifiable, yet it is certain the miferable Man's Plea will engage the Reader's Compaffion.

This is the Cafe in fome Colonies, in others it differs. In fome Places the Negroes do the whole Labour of the Country in the Field, in others they are ufed only as Houfe Servants. Another Dificulty arifes from the Habitations and Settlements of the Mafters being at a great Diftarice from each other in mof Places in the Colonies; for which Reafon neither can a Minifter go to many Families, if the Negroes were allowed. Time to attend him; nor can a proper Number of them affemble together at one Place, without a coniderable Lofs of Time to their Matters. But the greatef Obftruction is; the Mafters themfelves do not confider enough the Obligation which lies upon them, to have their Slaves inftrueted: Some have been fo weak as to argue the Ivegroes had no Souls, others that they grew worle by being taught and made Chriftians. I would not mention thefe, if they were not popular Arguments ftill, becaufe they have no Foundacion in Reafon or Truth.

After the Society had given the general Order mentioned before, to all their Miffionaries, for the Intruction of the Slaves, they agreed to ufe another Method, which they believed would more fuccefsfully promote this Work. They opened a eatechifing School for the Slaves at New Kork, in the Year 1704, in which City there were computed to be about one thoufand five hundred Negro and Indian Slaves, and many of their Mafters well difpofed to have them made Chritians, The Society hoped
this Example fet, might kindle a Zeal in fome other good People, to carry on this Work which they were unable to effect, and to erect Schools for the Inftruction of the Negroes, and to employ Catechifts to teach them at appointed Times; and that the Legillature of the Colonies would by a Law oblige all Slaves to attend for Inftruction. The Society found foon, it was not eafy to procure a Perfon proper to be a Catechift: Mr. EliasNeau, a Layman, then living in New York City as a Trader, was reprefented to be the propereft Perfon for that Office. He was by Nation a Frencbman, and made a Confeffion of the Proteftant Religion in France, for which he had been confined many Years in Prifon, and feven Years in the Galleys: When he got releafed, he went to Nero York, and traded there; and had the Character, from People of all Perfuafions, of a Man of Piety, of fober Deportment and ferious Life. He accepted of the Offer of being Catechift; and his former Sufferings on Account of his Religion did, with great Advantage, recommend him to be a Teacher of the Chriftian Faith, and his Humility enabled him to bear with the many Inconveniencies in teaching thefe poor People.

He entered upon his Office in the Year 1704 with great Diligence. At firft he was obliged to go from Houfe to Houfe to inftuct the Negroes; this was out of meafure laborious; afterwards he got Leave that they fhould come to his Houfe; this was a confiderable Relief. There were two Obftructions ftill; the Time was much too fhort, and the Place inconvenient, for teaching the great Number of Negroes; a little Time in the Dulk of the Evening, after hard Labour all Day, was the whole Time allowed them for Learning and for Relaxation, and to vifit their Wives and Children, which were generally in other Families, not in their Mafters. At this Time their Bodies were fo fatigued that their Attention could not be great. They were dull and fleepy, and remembered they muft rife early the next Day to their Labour; the Place alfo was incommodious, being the uppermoft Floor of Mr. Neau's Houfe, and was not able to hold conveniently a fmall Part of the Slaves that might refort thither. Befides, the Negroes were much difcouraged from embracing the Chriftian Religion, upon account of the very little Regard fhewed them in any religious Refpect. Their Marriages were performed by mutual Confent only, without the Blefing of the Church; they were buried by thofe of their own Country, or Complexion, in the common Field, without any Chriftian Office, perhaps fome ridiculous Heathen Rites were performed at the Grave by fome of their own People. No Notice was given of their being fick that they might be vifited; on the contrary, frequent Difcourfes were made in Converfation that they had no Souls, and perifhed as Beafts.

Mr. Neaus contended with thefe Difficulties, and notwithftanding all proved an Inftrument of bringing many to the Knowledge of the Chriftian Faith : He took great Pains in reading to them, in making fhort Collections out of Books on the Catechifm, and in making an $\Lambda b-$ ftract of the hiftorical Part of the Scriptures; fo that many who could not read, could yet, by Memory, repeat the Hiftory of the Creation of the World, the Flood, the giving of the Law, the Birth, Miracles, and Crucifixion of our Lord, and the chief Articles and Doctrines of Chrifianity. This was a Work of great Pains and Humanity. Mr. Neau performed it diligently, difcourfing familiarly with thofe poor People, and labouring earneftly to accommodate his Difcourfe to their Capacities. His Labours were very fuccefsful. A confiderable Number of the Slaves could give a fufficient Account of the Grounds of their Faith, as feveral of the Clergy, who examined them publickly, before they gave them Baptifm, have acquainted the Society. In the mean time, while the Society was thinking of farther Ways to advance this Work, a Calamity appeared, which mightily difcouraged this Country from promoting the Inftruction of their Slaves.

In the Year IクI2 a confiderable Number of the Negroes of the Carmantee and Pappa Nations, formed a Plot to deftroy all the Englibs, in order to obtain their Liberty, and kept their Confpiracy fo fecret that there
was no Sufpicion of it, 'till it came to the very Exectition: However, the Blow was, by God's Affitance, happily defeated. The Plot was this: The Negroes fat Fire to a Houfe in York City, on a SundayNight in Aprit, about the going down of the Moon: The Fire alarmed the Town, who from ail Parts run to it. The Confpirators planted themfelves in fiveral Streets and Lanes leading to the Fire, and fhot or ftabbed the Penple as they were running to it. Some of the wounded efcaped and acquainted the Government, and prefently by the firing a great Gun from the Fort, the Inhabitants were called under Arms, and prevented from running to the Fire; a Body of Men was foon raifed, which eafily fattered the Negroes; they had killed about eight Perfons, and wounded twelve more. In their Flight fome of them fhot themfelves, others their Wives, and then themfelves ; fome abfonded a few Days, and then killed themfelves, for fear of being taken, but a great many were taken, and eighteen fuffered Death. This wicked Confpiracy was at firft apprehended to be general among all the Negroes, and opened the Mouths of many to fpeak againft giving the Negroes Inftruction. Mr. Neau durft hardly appear abroad for fome Days, his School was blamed, as the main Occafion of this barbarous Plot. But upon the Trial of the Wretches there were but two of all his School fo much as charged with the Plot, and only one was a baptized Mian; and in the Peoples Heat, upon nender Evidence, perhaps, too haftily condemned; for foon after he was acknowledged to be innocent by the common Voice; the other was not baptized. It appeared plain that he was in the Confpiracy, but guiltlefs of his Mafter's Murder, who was Hooglands, an eminent Merchant. Upon full Trial, the guilty Negroes were found to be fuch as never came to Neou's School; and what is very obfervable, the Perfons whofe Negroes were found to be moft guilty, were fuch as were the declared Oppofers of making them Chriftians: However, a great Jealoufy was now raifed, and the common Cry was very loud againft inftructing the Negroes.

The Common-Council of New York City made an Order, forbidding the Negroes to go about the Streets after Sun-fet without Lanthorns and Candles. - This was in Effect, forbidding them to go to Mr. Neau's School; for none of them could get Lanthorns, or come to him before Sun-fet ; but fome time after, the more ferious and moderate People abated of this Violence; it appearing to be a Plot of a few only, not a general one of all the Negroes, no Confequence attended the Action, and the People grew more compofed. Robert Hunter, Efq; the Governor of the Province, obferved their Fears were ill grounded, and that Mr. Neau's Scholars were not the guilty Negroes; and therefore, in order to fupport the Defign of inftructing them, he was pleafed to vifit his School, attended by the Society's Miffionaries and feveral Perfons of Note, and publickly declared his Approbation of the Defign; and afterwards, by a Proclamation put out againft Immoralities and Vice, he recommended to the Clergy of the Country, to exhort their Congregations from the Pulpit, to promote the Infruction of the Negroes. This gave new Life again to the Work, and the Negroes frequented Mr. Neou's School as before; feveral were inftructed, and afterwards examined publickly in the Church before the Congregation, by the Reverend Mr. Vefey; and gave a very fatisfactory Account of their Faith, and received Baptifm.

The Society had Accounts from time to time of Mr. Neou's Diligence and Succefs, particularly one very ample Teftimonial, figned by the Governor (Robert Hunter, Efq;) the Council, the Lord Mayor, and Recorder of New York, and the two chief Juftices, fetting forth, That Mr. Neau had demeaned himfelf in all things as a good Chriftian, and a good Subject: That in the Station of Catechift he had, to the great Advancement of Religion in, general, and the particular Benefit of the Free Indions, Negroe Slaves, and other Heathens in thofe Parts, with indefatigable Zeal and Aplication, performed that Service three times a Week: And, that they did fincerely believe, that as a Catechift, he did in a very erninent Degree deferve the Countenance,

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Favour, and Protection of the Society. The Society were fully fatisfied with Mr. Neau's Behaviour, and continued to fend him Numbers of Catecbifms and fmall Tracts of Devotion and Inftrućtion, to give among the Slaves and Servants at his Difcretion. Mr. Neau perfevered with the fame Diligence till the Year 1722, in which he died, much regretted by all who knew his Labours.

The Society have been very careful in carrying on that great and good Work, as far as in their Power lay, ever fince; and though they have not been fo fuccefsful as they could have wifhed, yet their Difappointments have not been of a Nature to make them defpair, and we may reafonably prefume, that by degrees, and by a conftant Perfeverance, they will, in procefs of Time, overcome all Difficulties.
6. After the Acceffion of Queen Ame to the Crown, and this Nation's engaging in another general War againft France, it was thought a thing of very great Confequence to fecure the five Indian Nations bordering upon Nerv England and New York; and therefore, inftead of waiting for an Application from the Society, an Order was directed to them from the Privy Council upon this Subject; and they were directed to fend over Miffionaries without delay, with a Promife that they fhould be properly fupported; and this in Terms that very plainly Chewed the Government looked upon it as a Matter that did not only regard the Church, but the State. The Society, upon this, fent over, very foon after, one Mr. Moor, and intended to have fent over other Miffionaries if his Endeavours had met with any Succefs. The Scheme was very wife and very good, yet it did not anfwer in the Execution, for Want, as I conceive, of proper Expence about it. In a national Concern like this, Money fhould not have been fpared, and great Care ought to have been taken in Preparations before any thing had been hazarded in the Execution; fo that a Number of Miffionaries fhould have entered the Indian Countries at once, fome or other of which would certainly have fallen upon the right Way of gaining the Affection of thefe People, which it feems was not the good Fortune of Mr. Moor; who arriving at Nero York in 1704, was very well received by Lord Cornbury, who was then Governor of that Colony, and who alfo gave him all the Affiftance he could defire in his Miffion; but the Mobocks, to whom he addreffed himfelf, did not treat him as he expected; for at firft they feemed to exprefs very great Satisfaction at his Arrival, and to be extremely well pleafed with his Concern for their Salvation; but they trifled with him afterwards, and at laft gave him plainly to underftand, that his coming amongft them would be to little purpofe; for under Pretence that Religion was a public Concern, in which all their Families and little Clans had an equal Concern, fo that he could not be received by any without the common Confent, they put him off from Time to Time, and would have put him off for ever, if, after a Years waiting, he had not returned to New York; where he embarked on board a Ship for England, but was unhappily loft in his Paffage.

Thus was the Attempt fruftrated; but the Society received Accounts that this ill Succefs was owing not only to the Averfion of the Indians to Chriftianity, but was very much occafioned by the Artifices of the French Jefuits, who induftriounly obftructed the Labours of the Englifs Mifionaries among them, and left no Means untried to feduce them from their Fidelity to the Crown of England, and keep them in a continual War with the Englijh. And indeed all the Evils that the Englifh Colonies have undergone during the laft War, have been occafloned by the Indians, that is, thofe Indians which the Jefuits have by their Artifices corrupted; for among the five Nations there is a great Number of French Jefuits, who are incorporated, by Adoption, into their Tribes, and as fuch they oftentatiouny affume Iroquois Names; and the Chief of the poor filly Indions, confidering them as Perfons of their own Blood, do intirely confide in them, and admit them into their Councils, from whence one may eafily imagine what Diforders the Jefuits make in their Affairs. Befides, the Indians border-
ing on New England are the moft cruel and barbarous of all the Savage Nations, and have deftroyed all their innocent Neighbours. They are always unfixed, either rambling for feveral Months together, or hunting, or upon warlike Expeditions; and at their Return to their Villages, have generally forgot all their former Inftructions, and it is impoffible for any Minifter to accompany them in their Rambles of three or four hundred Leagues at a Time. After this good Encleavour was defeated, the Indians remained without Inftruction, except that fome few were taught by the Dutch Minifer at Al bany. But the Year 1 yog produced an Event, which the Society hoped might have had very happy Confequences, and fixed Chriftianity among the Iroquois. Four Sachems, or four chief Perfons of four Nations of the Iroquois, came in the Nature of Embaffadors to England, confirming the Peace made with the Governor of Nerw York, and requefting her Majefty would be pleafed to direct that their Subjects might be inftructed in Chriftianity, and Minifters might be fent to refide amongft them.

The Archbifhop of Canterbury received, thereupon, the following Letter from the Earl of Sunderland, then one of her Majefty's principal Secretaries of State.

## " My Lord, <br> Whiteball April 20, 1710 .

" The inclofed being a Copy of what has been given " to the Queen, by the Embaffadors lately arrived from "s the five Indian Nations; I am ordered by her Majefty " to tranfmit it to your Grace, and to fignify to you her " Pleafure, that you lay it before the Society for propa" gating Religion, that they may confider what may be " the moft proper Ways of cultivating that good Dif" pofition thefe Indians feem to be in for receiving the " Chriftian Faith, and for fending thither fit Perfons for " that purpofe, and to report their Opinion without "Lofs of Time, that the fame may be laid before her " Majefty. $I$ am, \&xc.

Sunderland, \&c."
The Archbifhop was then much indifpofed, and confined to his Houfe with the Gout, and therefore fignified to the Secretary of the Society to call a Committee to meet at Lambeth; a Committee met, and it was agreed there, and afterwards by the Society at a general Meeting, that two Miffionaries fhould be fent to the Mohock and Oncydes's Indians, with a Sallary of one hundred and fifty Pounds Sterling each, together with an Interpreter and School-mafter, to teach the young Indians; and this Opinion was humbly laid before the Queen; her Majefty was farther pleafed to direct that a Fort hould be buiit among the Mobocks, at the Government's Expence, with a Chapel and a Manfion-houfe for the Minifter, for his greater Conveniency and Security, and that the religious Offices might be performed with due Decency; a Fort was foon after built one hundred and fifty Foot Square, and garrifoned with twenty Soldiers and an Officer, and a Houfe and Chapel compleated. The reverend Mr. Andrews was appointed Miffionary, and Mr. Claufen, who had been feveral Years employed as Interpreter by the Government of Nerv Kork, in Tranfactions with the Indians, was received as Interpreter to Mr. Andrews, and Mr. Oliver made School-mafter. Mr. Andretes was particularly directed by the Society, to ufe all poffible Mleans to perfuade the Indians to let their Children learn Enolifb; and the School-mafter was to make it his whole Bufinefs to teach them. The Society was now in good Hopes this Attempt would prove fuccefsful, fince her Majefty was fo gracioully pleafed to provide for the Security of the Miffionary, by building a Fort juft by the Mohocks Caftle, to which the Men and Children might eafily refort to be inftructed; and the Sachems, the chief Perfons of this People, had been in England, received many Marks of Royal Favour, had been Eye-witneffes of the Greatnefs of the Nation, had been nobly entertained here, and carricd home to their own Countries fafely and honourably, and had themfelves alfo-defired their People might be inftructed in the Chriftian Faith.

Mr. Andrews arrived at Albany in November, 1712. The Sachems who had been carried home before he went from England, were convened by Order of the Governor of Nere York, to meet Mr. Andrews and the Commiffoners for Indian Affairs at Albany, in order to give a public Authority and Sanction to Mr. Andreies's Miffion, and that the Sachems might. receive him their Minifter with greater Solemnity. The Sachems came to Albany, met the Commifioners for Indiani Affairs, and Mr. Andretes, the Miffionary, made a long Speech to the Sachems, reminding them how gracious her Majeity was in building a Fort, fending a Minifter to them; put them in mind how earneftly they had requefted it; and fet forth what Advantages they and their Children would reap by being taught our Religion and Learning. A Letter from the Archbifhop of Canterbury was delivered to them, and afterwards read to them in Indian by Mr. Claufen, the Interpreter of the Province. Some of the Sachems made Speeches, and returned Thanks to the Queen, expreffed a great Satisfaction in having a Minifter fent them, and received Mr. Andrewes as fuch, and promifed him all civil and kind Ufage.
The whole Affair was tranfacted with much Ceremony, the Sachems returned home, Mr. Andrews ftaid fome time at Albany to refrefh himfelf; foon after he went up to the Fort, two hundred Miles from New York, accompanied by Robert Livingfon, Efq; the Mayor of Albany, Capt. Matberes, Mr. Siroopman of Schenectady, the Reverend Mr. Barclay, and feveral other Gentlemen: He was prefently vifited by a great many Indians, Men, Women, and Children, who faluted him with abundance of Joy, and bid him welcome to their Country. The Caftle or chief Town of thefe Mobocks is neighbouring to the Queen's Fort, confifting of about fifty Wigwams or Honfes: Thefe Wigwams are Huts made of Mats, or Barks of Trees put together with Poles about three or four Yards high. The Mobocks Cloathing is a fhort Cloke, like a Mantle, made of a Blanket, or Bear-fkin. Their Bed is a Mat, or Skin, laid on the Ground. They paint and greafe themfelves very much with Bears Fat clarified. They cut the Hair off from one Side of their Heads, and tie up fome of that on the other Side in Knots, on the Crown, with Feathers. The Men are very nothful, the Women very laborious, meer Servants to their Hußbands. They carry all Burdens, fetch the Venifon home their Hufbands kill (the Men are too lazy to bring it), get in the Wood to burn and drefs it ; carry their Children on their Backs in their Rambles of many hundreds of Miles; hoe the Ground and plant all the Indian Corn that is raifed. The Language of thefe People is very difficult, their Ideas are very few, and their Words therefore not many, but as long as Sentences, expreffing by a long rumbling Sound what we do in a fhort Word. There is here no manner of Conveniency of Life for a Miffionary; for four or five Months in the Year there is fcarce any ftirring abroad, by reafon of the extraordinary Coldnefs of the Weather, and the deep Snows that fall; and in the Summer-time, the Whies and Mufketoes are almoft intolerable, and the Ratrlefnakes very dangerous: The neareft Place of get aing any Provifions is at Scbeneitady, twenty-four Miles diftant, or from Albany forty-four Miles off. The Road to thefe Places is, for the moft part, only a fmall, rough Indian Path through vaft Woods, where riding is very dangerous, by reafon of the Road being in many Places, ftopped with fallen Trees, Roots, Stones, and Holes befides many feep Hills, and dead Swamps or Bogs in the Way; there was nothing defirable to be feen; the Face of the Earth rude and uncultivated, like the wild Inhabitants; no Pleafure to be found but that of doing good to the miferable Natives.

Thefe were the Circumftances of the Place and People, whither Mr. Andrews was appointed; and notwithftanding all thefe Inconveniencies he refided there, and invited the Indions to come to him; many came: He ufed very often to difcourfe with them, inftructing them in the chief Articles of Faith, and giving them fhort general Accounts of our Religion. This was done by the Help of Mr . Claufen, who always attended and interpreted to the Indians. Mr. Clausen had been formerly taken Pri-
foner by the Indians, lived long among them, and underftood their Language fufficiently. Mr. Andrewos ufed to draw up fhort Accounts of the Chriftian Doctrines, and fome hiftorical Parts of the Bible; particularly the Creation of the World, and Miracles of the Lord. The Interpreter ufed to read them to the Indians, and divine Service ufed to be performed in Englifb to the Soldiers in the Garrifon. The School-mafter, Mr. Oliver, opened his Schoal; the Indians, at firft, fent many of their Children; he began to teach them Englifh; the Parents obftinately refufed to have them taught Englifh; all poffible Endeavours were ufed to perfuade them, they ftill perfifted. Mr. Andrews fent this Account to the Society, and rather than quite break with the Indians, the Schoolmafter, and Interpreter, began to teach the Children a little in Indian. The Society were forced to comply with the Indians Obftinacy: They procured an Impreffion of Hornbooks and Primmers in Indian, for the Children, fent them great Numbers, as alfo Leathern Ink-horns, Pen-knives, a Quantity of Paper of feveral forts, and feveral other little Neceffaries. The Children were now taught in Indian, and were treated with great Kindnefs; no Correction dared to be ufed, for the Parents were fo fond of their Children, and valued Learning fo little they thought it not worth gaining, at the leaft difpleafing of their Children.

To engage them farther to learn, Mr. Andrews ufed to give the Children who came to School Victuals, and fome fmall Utenfils for their Parents. The Children ufed often to come for the fake of getting Victuals, for the Indians are frequently drove to great Extremities on account of their making little or no Provifion before-hand. The Children had a good natural Capacity, and an Aptnefs for Learning ; many of them begun to read, and fome to write. This Method of giving them Victuals, engaged the Parents to fend them for fome time to School. In the mean time Mr. Andrews proceeded to inftruct the grown Indians by help of the Interpreter, in fome of the chief Articles of Faith, and Rules of Life; Divine Service was conftantly performed on Sundays and Hollidays in Englifh, to the Soldiers, and fuch Indians as underfood any Engli/h frequently atrended in the Chapel: The Chapel was very decently adorned; Queen Anne had given a handfome Furniture for the Communion-Table, the Imperial Arms of England painted on Canvas were fixed up in the Chapel. Archbifhop Tenifon gave twelve large Bibles very finely bound, for the Ufe of the Chapel, with painted Tables containing the Creed, Lord's Prayer, and Ten Commandments. Mr. Andrewos was very civil to all the Indians who came to hear him; ufed frequently to entertain them at his Houfe, and give them Provifions home with them when they wanted very much, and that they often did.

The Society, fince they could by no Means prevail with the Indians to learn Engli/h, neither young nor old, laboured to get fome good Tranllations made of Parts of the Scripture, at leaft, into the Indian Language, though exceeding improper to convey a due Idea of the Chrittian Doctrines; as being willing, by all Methods of Compliance, to gain fomething upon them: The Society were much affifted in this by Mr. Freeman, a very worthy Calvinift Minifter; he had been five Years Minifter at Schenectady, to a Dutch Congregation, and had been employed by the Earl of Bellamont, in the Year 1700, to convert the Indians. He had a good Knowledge of the Dialect of the Mobocks, which is underttood by all the Iroquois, who reach near four hundred Miles beyond Albany. The Society applied to him for any proper Pa pers wrote in that Language, which he might have. He acquainted the Society, that he had tran!lated into Indian, the Morning and Evening Prayers from our Liturgy, the whole Gofpel of St. Matbere, the three firft Chapters of Genefis, feveral Chapters of Exodus, feveral P falms, many Portions of the Scripture relating to the Birth, Paffion, Refurrection, and Afcenfion of our Lord; and feveral Chapters of the firft Epifle to the Corinthians, particularly the fifteenth Chapter, proving the Refurrection of the Dead. He very frankly gave the Society a Copy of thefe Tranflations, which were fent to Mr . Andreqes for his

Help:

Help, and they were a great Help to him. He ufed frequently to read fome of thefe to the Indians, and they could comprehend well enough by his reading. But the Society were defirous fome Part of the Scriptures might be printed in Indian, and the Copies given to the Indians, and they taught at leaft to read that; accordingly the Morning and Evening Prayer, the Litany, the Church Catechifm, Family Prayer, and feveral Chapters of the Old and Tew Teftament were printed at New York. The Copies were fent to Mr. Andrews, and he gave them to fuch of the Indians as knew any thing of Letters.

He had Hopes now of fome Succefs in his Miflion; feveral of the Women and fome Men began to lead more orderly Lives. They were inftructed, and retained well in their Memory what the chief Articles of our Faith are, and Rules of Life; , a good Number were baptized, and particular Accounts were fent regularly to the Society. Mr. Andrewes was willing to try what good he could do in another Nation of the Indions; he travelled to the Caftle of Onydans, one hundred Miles diftant from the Mohocks; the Country all the Way was a vaft Wildernefs of Wood, and the Road through it was a narrow Path. He was forced to carry all Neceffaries with him, and at Night to lie upon a Bear's Skin. When he arrived at the Caftle he was vilited by more than one hundred People, who feemed all glad to fee him; he read feveral Papers to them, ftaid fome Time with them, and, after Inftruction, baptized feveral, whofe Names have been tranfmitted to the Society. Mr. Andrews afterwards returned to the Mohocks, his Place of Refidence. In a fhort Time the Indians grew weary of Inftruction: The Men grown would go out in Bodies a hunting for feveral Months, and forget all they had been taught ; and the young Boys, when they grew up, were taken out by their Fathers to hunt, and fo loft all they had got. This roving Life utterly deftroyed all the Miffionary's and School-mafter's Labours.

But befides this Difficulty, and the natural Averfenefs of the Indicms to Learning, two Misfortunes happened which created a Jealoufy, and afterwards a Hatred in the Indians againt all the Engligh as well as againft their Religion. Some Jefuits, Emiffaries from Quebec among the Canada Indians, adjoining to the Iroquois, had infufed into the Minds of thofe People, that the Englifb did not intend, by building a Fort among the Iroquois, to teach them their Religion, but to cut them all off at a proper Juncture; and that a Box had been found accidentally, left by the Englifh when they attempted Quebec, containing Papers which difcovered this Intention of the Englifb. The Canada Irdians believed this idle Story, and fpread it among all the Iroquois. This ftirred up fome Jealoufy, but a farther Misfortune quite fet the Indians againtt the Englifs; fome of the Tufcararo Indians who had fled from Nortb Carolina after the War there with the Englifh, came and Settled in the Country of the Onontages, one of the Iroquois Nations bordering on the Mobocks. Thefe People being enraged at the Einglifh, ftirred up the Onontages againft them, telling them they had been moft barbarounly ufed and drove out of their Country, and the Englifh watched only for an Opportunity to extirpate them too. The other Indions, were too eafily perfuaded to believe every thing the Tufcararo Indians told them; fo that when any of thefe People came by the Mobocks Caftle, and the Queen's Fort, in their Way to Albany, to trade and buy themfelves Neceffaries, they ufed only to mock at Mr . Andrews when he would offer to talk to them about Religion, and when he proferred to go to their abode they abfolutely forbad him.

In a little Time the old Mohocks left off coming to the Chapel to Mr. Andrews, and the Children came no more to School. Mr. Andrews wrote the Society Word of the ill Succefs of his Miffion, though he had fpared no Pains that the hopeful Beginnings proved of no Effect at laft and that he began to defpair of converting the Indians. The Society found now, from feveral Accounts, that the Miffion among the Indians proved fruitlefs; that it was not poffible to teach them the Chriftian Religion, before they were in fome Degree civilized; and they found the following Difficulties did only hinder that. No Way
could be found to engage the Indians to lead a fettled Life, to apply themfelves to cultivate the Ground, to build Towns, and to raife Cattle; they would ftill rove through their vaft Woods many hundreds of Miles? depending for their Subfiftance upon the Game they could kill. They would eat all Sorts of Carrion; and in fome long Rambles, when by various Accidents they could get no Game, would kill and eat one another; even their Wives, and that without any Concern or Remorfe. Generally half of a Hord or Nation went out a hunting or a warring upon a neighbouring Nation together, and on thofe Expeditions forgot all the little they had learned; and at their Return were as meer Savages as ever. They could not be diffuaded from taking Wives and leaving them at their Pleafure ; this not only hindered Religion from being fixed among them, but was the Caufe that a great many aged Men and Women perifhed miferably, as having no one to take any care of them.

They would, in their Wars, ufe the greatef Barbarities, and deftroy all the Prifoners they could take, by fuch extreme Tortures, it would move too much Horror in the Reader to repeat in this Place. It is true, they were very fond of their Children, but they perverted even fo good a Principle; they would not oblige them to learn any manual Art, or our Language, but let them live a lazy beftial Life: Nay fome of the young Children who have by Chance fallen into the Englifh Hands, and lived in Families, been taught our Language, learnt a decent Behaviour, and known fomething of Tillage or Handycraft; when they have grown up have run wild again, have thrown off their Cloaths, and chofe rather to ramble naked almoft in the Woods with their own People, than to live a fober and fettled Life. But the greateft Obftruction to their being civilized, was their Greedinefs of ftrong Liquors, efpecially Rum, and the fatal Effect Drunkennefs hath upon them. When they drink they will never leave off till they have gone to the greateft Excefs, and in this Condition they are moft wretched Objects. They grow quite mad, burn their own little Huts, murder their Wives and Children, or one another; fo that their Wives are forced to hide their Guns or Hatchets, and themfelves too, for fear of Mifchief. And if the Men, through this Excefs, fall into any Sicknefs, they perifh miferably, as having no Methods of helping themfelves by Phyfic or otherwife.
It is, indeed, Matter of great Wonder, that there wretched People who have lived joining to the Engli/fo Settlements fo many Years, and cannot but obferve that the Englifh, by Agriculture, raife Provifions out of a fmall Spot of Ground, to fupport in Plenty great Numbers of People; whereas they, by their hunting, cannot get a wretched Subfiftance out of all their Wilderneffes of feveral hundred Leagues in Extent, fhould ftill refufe to till their Ground or learn any manual Art; fhould ftill live a brutal Life, infenfible of Shame or Honour. It is true, the Engli/b have taken from them exceeding large Countries, yet this, far from being a Prejudice, would be a vaft Advantage to them, if they would but learn the Englifs Language, Arts, and Induftry. They have ftill an immenfe Extent of Land, Part of which, if duly cultivated, is able to maintain many Millions of People more than there are. It might have been imagined the Sachems; that is, thofe petty Kings who were in England in the late Queen's Time, fhould have been fo ftrongly affected with feeing the Grandeur, Pleafure, and Plenty of this Nation; that when they came to their own Countries, they would have tried to reduce their People to a polite Life; would have employed their whole Power to expel that rude Bafbarifm, and introduce Arts, Manners, and Religion but the contrary happened; they funk themfelves into their old brutal Life; and though they had feen this great City, when they came to their own Woods they grew all favage again.

Mr. Andretes wrote feveral Accounts more in $17 I_{8}$, that all his Labours proved ineffectual. That the Indians would not fend their Children to School, and no body came to the Chapel; that the four other Nations of the Iroquois, as they came by the Mobocks Caftle, infulted and threateried him; that the Interpreter
and School-mafter perceived all their Labour was loft, and that they were frequently in Danger of their Lives if they went out of the Fort. The Society received thefe Accounts with much Diffatisfaction, as being extremely contrary to what their good Defires had made them hope. However, they were fo unwilling to abandon this wretched People to themfelves, that they would not difmifs Mr, Andreres from his Mifion, upon his own Reprefentation of his ill Succefs. They wrote to the Governor of New York, Robert Hunter Efq; acquainted him with the Accounts they had received, and requefted the Favour of his Excellency to caufe an Inquiry to be made, whether Mr. Andreres's Labours were fo fruitlefs among the Indians, and fubmitted to his Judgment to difmilis Mr. Andrewes if they :fhould be fo found. The Accounts tranfmitted hither were found true upon Examination, and Mr. Andreres left that miferable Race of Men.
We have chofen to give the whole of this remarkable Account together, that the Reader may fee, and be fully apprifed of the many and great Obitacles that lie in the Way of our bringing the Indians to embrace our Intereft together with our Religion ; but there are ftill Hopes, that as the Society proceeds in the great Defign of fettling a regular Clergy in our Colonies, and thereby influencing the Planters, not only to profefs, but to fhew, themfelves Chriftians; thefe Obftacles will be leffened by Degrees, and the Indians come to have a better Opinion of our Faith, in the fame Proportion that they grow better pleafed with the Juffice and Regularity of our Behaviour towards them; but in the mean Time what has been related fhews that this important Tafk has not remained unattempted, and that if it has been in fome Meafure interrupted, this Interruption was occafioned by Accidents unforefeen, inevitable, and in their Nature hitherto unconquerable.
7. But it is now Time for us to proceed to that great and fingular Expedition, undertaken in the Queen's Reign, for difpoffefing the French of Quebec, and driving them entirely out of Canada. This was firft conceived practicable, and Meafures taken for putting it in Execution, in the Year 1707, at which Time the Earl of Sunderland, then Secretary of State, wrote to the Government of Nerv England, to prepare for giving what Affiftance lay in their Power, towards a Defign of fuch Importance to, and fo often recommended by, the People of that Colony; who from the Time Sir William Pbipps mifcarried in it, were continually wifhing for an Opportunity to recover their Credit, and to revenge their Lofs upon the French, by renewing their Attempts upon Canada. The Perfon then intended to command the Land Troops, was General Maccartney, and every thing was fettled with refpect to his Voyage, when the fatal Battle of Almanza, in Spain, made it abfolutely neceffary to fend the Troops defigned for this Service into that Country, to prevent the total Ruin of the late Emperor's, then King Cbarles, Affairs. The Circumftances of the War in fucceeding Years hindered the Revival of this Project till the Change of the Miniftry, and then it was refolved upon afrefh, as the moft effectual Means of forcing France into a fpeedy and folid Peace.

How it was executed is a very hard Tafk to fay ; but we will make ufe of the Account publifhed by the Secretary of the Admiralty, who had it in his Power to give the fulleft and faireft Relation of this Matter; and if he has not done fo, we know not where to find a better. He tellis us the Queen's Inftructions to Sir Hovenden Walker, Rear Admiral of the White, were dated the Ixth Day of April, IクII, by which he was ordered to take under his Command, the Torbay, a Ship of eighty Guns, the Edgar, Swiftfbure, and Monmouth, of feventy Guns; and Dunkirk, Sunderland, Kingfon, and Moniague, of fixty Guns, with two Bomb Veffels; as alfo the Leopard and Sapbire, one of fifty and the other of thirty Guins, fent before to North America; with all thefe, except the two laft, together with the Store-fhips and Tranfports defigned on the Expedition, he was, as foon as might be, to rendezvous at Spitbead; and when Mr. Hill, General and Commander in chief of the Forces, fhould be embarked, and the Troops on board, he was, with the firt Opportunity of the Wind, to proceed to

Bofton in Nere Emgland, without touching at any Inand, Country, or Place, if it could poffibly be avoided; and as he was required to appoint proper Signals and Places for Rendezvous, in cafe of Separation, fo was he to give ftrict Orders to the Captains of the Ships under his Command, that if they happened to be fo feparated, they fhould not inform the Enemy, or any other, on what Defign they were going.
In his Paffage to Bofton, the chief Town in Nerv England, he was, when himfelf and the General fhould judge it moft proper, to detach one Ship of War or more to convoy directly to New York the Tranfport Ships, in which were laden Artillery, Silks, Cloaths, and Accoutrements, with other Things, for the Ufe of Forces to be raifed there, as well as in the Ferfeys and Penjgl vania; the fame to be delivered as the General fhould direct ; and then the Ships of War were to be ordered to return to Bofton : But if it fhould notbe judged proper to make fuch Detachment, the Tranfports were to be fent to Nere York, under a fufficient Convoy, when he arrived at Bofon; and the faid Convoy, to bring there fuch Neceffaries and Stores as fhould be provided for the Squadron and Forces. When he arrived at New England, he was to take the Leopard and Saphire under his Command, and confider whether it might be neceflary to make any Addition to the Squadron by the Convoy to the New England Maft Ships or others ftationed on the Coaft of America, which he was impowered to do; and if the General fhould, upon advifing with him, think it practicable to fend any of the Tranfports with fome of the new raifed Troops in New England, to garrion Annapolis Royal, lately called Port Royal; and to bring from thence the Marines left there, or any Part of them, or the Artillery, or Stores of War, he was to appoint a fufficient Convoy, with Directions for them to return forthwith to Nere England.
He was, when at Bofon, to take under his Care all Tranfport Veffels, Ketches, Hoys, Boats, and other Neceffaries provided in New England; and as foon as the Forces from thence, and thofe raifed there, fhould be on board, he was to fail with them into the River of St. Laurence up to $2 u e b e c$, in order to attack that Place; and being arrived, to make a proper Difpofition of the Ship's for that Purpofe, as well of fuch as might be fit to be employed before the Town, as others ; upon confulting with the General to pafs the Place, and proceed up the River towards the Lake, not only to prevent any Communication with $Q^{\text {uebec, }}$ but to protect the Canoes and Boats with the Forces from Nerw York, to which End he was empowered to convert fome of the fmall Veffels fent from thence to Nerw England into Frigates, fuitable to the Navigation of the upper-part of the River, and to man and arm them accordingly at Newe England, or elfewhere ; he was to affift the General with Veffels and Boats proper for landing the Forces and embarking them again, but more efpecially upon his Arrival at $Q^{2 u b b e c}$, or frefh tranfporting them from Place to Place.

He was alfo ordered to fend to the General fuch Marine Soldiers as fhould be on board the Squadron, when he fhould demand the fame; which he was to have the Command of while employed on Shore : Befides which, he was to aid him with fuch a Number of Seamen, Gunners, Guns, Ammunition, and other Stores from the Ships, as he fhould demand for the Land Service; which Seamen were to affift in drawing and mounting the Cannon, or otherwife, as fhould be found neceffary. He was ftrietly required to lofe no time in proceeding to Nero Englond, and proceeding from thence to the River St. Laurence; nor in putting in Execution the Service at Quebec; but that on his Part, all Expedition fhould be ufed in the Reduction of the Place, and of the Country of Canada, or Nero France; and in the feafonable Return of the Squadron and Tranfports. Her Majefty impowered him to direct the Commiffary of the Stores to deliver to any Ship or Veffel, whether of War or otherwife, any Provifions or Liquors under his Care: He was likewife to provide any other naval Stores for the Ufe of the Squadron; and in care of Succefs it fhould be found neceffary by him and the General to

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have a naval Force left in the River of St. Laurence, he was to appoint fuch Part of the Squadron to remain there as might be judged proper for taking Care to make fuitable Provifion for the Maintenance and Repair of fuch Ships; and the like Liberty was given as to any of the fmaller Veffels, fuch as Tranfports or otherwife, or to make ufe of any of the Enemy's Ships that might be taken, if proper, to bring into Europe fuch Governors, regular Troops, religious Perfons, or others whom the General, by his Inftructions, was directed to fend away from Canada, with Commifiaries, Stores, and Provifions for their Tranfportation.

Thefe Services being directed, he was to take on board the General, if he fhould think fit to return, and fuch of the Forces as might not be left in Canada, and hatten with the Squadron and Tranfports out of the River ; and if the Seafon of the Year would permit, he was to proceed to, and fummon and attack, Placentia in Nerefoundland, in fuch manner as General Hill fhould direct; which Service being over, he was to order fuch Ships of War as did not properly belong to the Squadron under his Command, 'to return to their feveral Stations, directing the Mafters of the Tranfports which he fhould have no Occafion for, to go and feek Freight either upon the Continent of America or in the Iflands, to eafe the Public of the farther Charge of them, and for the Benefit of the Trade of Great Britain. Laftly: It was recommended to him, as it was to the General of the Land Forces, to maintain a conftant good Underftanding and Agreement, and on all Occafions to render each other all neceffary and requifite Affiftance ; and if any Differences thould arife between them, upon any Conftruction of Command, or the Nature of Command in the Service, or otherwife howfoever, the Queen was pleafed to referve the Determination of the fame to herfelf, at their Return to Great Britain, without Prejudice to either of them in fubmitting to each other for the Good of her Majefty's Service.

And that he might be fufficiently informed of her Majefty's Defign upon Canada, and of the Preparations directed to be made for the carrying it on, to the Governors of New York and Maffacbufets Bay, and New Hants ; as alro of the additional Inftructions to the Governors of New York, and of thofe to Francis Nicbolfon, Efq; and the feveral Governors of the Colonies of Conneciticut, Rbode Ifland, Providence Plantation, and Penfylvania.

Thefe were the Contents of the Queen's Orders to Sir Hovenden Walker, prepared without fo much as confulting the then Lords Commifioners of the Admiralty, either as to the Fitnefs of the Ships appointed for the Expedition, or the Nature of the Navigation; but on the contrary, the Defign on which they were bound was rather induftriounly hid from them, as may appear by fome Letters to Sir Hovenden Walker, before he failed from Spitbead, by which the Secretary feemed to value himfelf very much, that a Defign of this Nature was kept a Secret from the Admiralty, who, had they been confulted, would not, I am apt to think, have advifed the fending Ships of eighty and feventy Guns to Quebec, fince the Navigation up the River of St. Laurence, was generally efteemed to be very dangerous; nor were their Lordfhips permitted to know any thing of this Niatter, at leaft not in Form, until Advice received, that the French were equipping a confiderable Squadron at Breft, which fome of the Miniftry might be apprehenfive were defigned to intercept Sir Hovenden Walker; but it was too late to take any proper Meafures for preventing it, if the Enemy had really had any fuch Intention. Having thus given a brief Account of what Steps were taken to fet forth this Squadron, which, ere it returned, put the Nation to a very confiderable Expence, it remains that we accompany them on the Expedition, and I fhall give as particular an Account of their Proceedings as the Papers which I have before me, will enable me to do.

Sir Hovenden Walker was under Sail with the Ships of War and Tranfports off of Dunnose on the 2gth of April, I7II; but coming off of the Start the ift of the next Month, a wefterly Wind obliged him to put in at Plymouth; being the Length of the Dead Man the 4 th, he

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met with the Kent, Efex, and Plynouth, which Ships lie took with him fome Leagues into the Sea, and then left them to their former Service of cruzing from the Soundings. The 24th of June he arrived at Nantafket, near Bofion in Nere England, having then with him five Ships of the third Rate, fix of the Fourth, one of the Fifth, and two Bomb-Veffels. But not meeting with that ready Amifance which was expected from the Govermment and People of that Country; it was the 3oth of Juty before he failed from thence, and then he was on his Way to Quebec, with the Britifh and New England Forces. The 14 th of Auguft he got the Length of the Bird Illands which lie about two hundred and fifty Leagues from Cape Ann; and having fent the Cbefter, Leopard, and Saphire, to cruize between Placentia and Cape Breton, on the Inand oppofite to Newfoundland, expected their joining him in his Paffage to Quebec; the former of which Ships had taken and fent into Bofton, before he failed thence, a Ship of about one hundred and twenty Tons, with ten Guns, and had feventy Men on board, whereof thirty were Soldiers for the Garrifon of Quebec.

The Leofoff, Fever/bam's Enterprize, and Tryton's Prize, all fmall Veffels, which were ftationed at New York and Virginia, he ordered to join him off of Cape Breton, being impowered by her Majefty's Orders fo to do, if he fhould find it neceffary, and this the rather becaufe they might be of good ufe to him in his Proceeding up the River to Quebec, which Navigation moft of the People with whom he had fpoken reprefented to be very dangerous; and therefore he rightly judged the Humber and Devonßire, which mounted eighty Guns each, too big to be ventured thither; for which reafon he fent them home, and fhifted his Flag on board the Edgar, a Ship of feventy Guns, General Hill removing into the Windfor, which carried ten lefs; but fince he had Information that a Ship of fixty Guns; and another of thirty, were expected from France very fhortly; he ordered the aforefaid Ships, Humber and Devonßire, to cruize in the Opening of the Bay of St. Laurence, until the laft of Auguft, and then to purfue their Voyage home.
He had very fair Weather until he got into the aforefaid Bay, when it came changeable, fometimes thick and foggy, and other while calm and little Winds, and the Navigation appeared to be intricate and hazardous. The I8th of Auguft, when he was off Gafpe Bay, near the Entrance of the River Canada, it blew frefh at Northweft, and left the Tranfports fhould be feparated, and blown to Leeward, he anchored in that Bay; where, ftaying for an Opportunity to proceed up the River, he burnt a French Ship which was a fifhing, not being able to bring her off. The Wind veering wefterly the 20 th of Auguft, he had Hopes of gaining his Paffage; but the next Day Afternoon it proved foggy, and continued fo all Night and the Day following, with very little Wind. till the Afternoon, when there was an extreme thick Fog and it began to blow hard at Eaft-fouth-eaft, which, rendering it impoffible to fteer any Courfe with Safety, having neither Sight of Land or Soundings, or Anchorage; he, by the Advice of the Pilots then on board him, both Englifb and French, who were the beft in the Fleet, made the Signal for the Ships to bring to with their Heads Southward, at which Time it was about eight at Night, believing that in that Pofture they fhould not come near the North Shore, but rather have driven with the Stream in the Mid-channel; but on the contrary, as they lay with their Heads Southwards, and the Wind eafterly, in two Hours Time he found himfelf on the North Shore among the Rocks and Inlands, at leaft fifteen Leagues farther than the Log-line gave, where the whole Fleet had like to have been loft, the Men of War efcaping with the utmoft Difficulty; but eight Traniport Ships were caft away, and almoft nine hundred Officers, Soldiers, and Seamen perifhed.
The French Pilot, who, as it was faid, had been forty Voyages in this River, and eighteen of them in Command, informed him, that when it happens to be fo foggy as to prevent the Sight of the Land, it is impofible to judge of the Currents, or to fteer by any Courfe; for he himfelf had lof two Shipg, and been himfelf near the South, in.
fomuch

Tomuch that it was extremely difficult to procure Men in France to proceed on fo dangerous a Navigation, fince almoft every Year they fuffered Shipwreck. Thus it appeared how things had been mifreprefented in Great Britain, by thofe who pretend to aver that Fleets of Ships might fafely proceed up the River to Quebec; and it was demonftrable that the People of Bofton knew not any thing of what they propofed, when Schemes were laid for fuch an Expedition. After this unhappy Difafter, and when Sir Hovenden Walker had plied two Days with very frefh Gales, between the Weft and the South, to fave what Men and other things he could, he called. a Council of War, and upon enquiring of the Pilots (who had been forced on board the Ships by the Government of Nerw England) and duly examining into every Circumftance, it was judged impracticable for a Fleet to get up to Quebec, fince there were fo many apparent Dangers, and no Pilots qualified to take the Charge; befides it was the Opinion of them all, both Englifs and French, that had the Squadron been higher up the River, with the hard Gales they met with, all the Ships would have been inevitably loft. At this Council of War there were, befides the Rear Admiral, Captain Fofeph Soames, Captain Fobn Mitchel, Captain Robert Arris, Captain George Walton, Captain Henry Gore, Captain George Paddon, Captain Fobn Cockburn, and Captain Auguftine Roufe. The Confultation being over, the Sapbire was fent to Bofton, with an Account of the Misfortune, and the Montague, to find out the Humber and Devonbire, and to ftop all Ships bound up to Quebec; and the Leopard being left with fome Sloops and Brigantines, to take any Men from the Shore that might be faved, and to endeavour to weigh fome Anchors left behind, he proceeded to Spanifh River, in the Inand of Breton, the Rendezvous he had appointed, there to be perfectly informed of the State of the Army and Fleet, and to fettle Matters for their farther Proceedings.

But all the Ships did not join till the 7 th of September ; the Day following, by confent of the General, he called a Council of War of Sea and Land Officers, where it was confidered, whether under their prefent Circumftances it was practicable to attempt any thing againft Placentia, which all of them very much inclined to; but upon examining into the State of the Provifions on board the Men of War and Tranfports, it was found there was but ten Weeks Provifion, at fhort Allowance, in the former, and in the latter much lefs, fo that it was unanimoufly agreed not any thing of that kind could be undertaken; but that it was neceffary the Squadron and Tranfports fhould proceed to Great Britain, fince they had but barely Provifions fufficient for the Voyage, and that there was not any Profpect of a Supply from Nero England, and the Seafon of the Year being too far advanced for navigating fafely in thofe Parts of the World. At this Council of War there were, befides the Sea Officers of the laft, General Hill, Colonel Cbarles Cburcbill, Colonel William Windrefle, Colonel Campenfelt, Colonel Clayton, Colonel Kirk, together with Colonel Vetch, and Colonel Walton, who commanded the Forces raifed in Nere England.

It was in purfuance of this Refolution taken in Spanijb River, that he failed on the r6th of September for England, where he arrived the gth of OEtober following, and not long after his Return, the Edgar, a feventy-gun Ship, on board of which he hoifted his Flag, took fire, and blew up at Spithead, by fome Accident, the Caufe of which was never known; and thus ended an Expedition every Way unfortunate, and which brought nothing but Difcredit and Blame upon thofe who contrived, and thofe who were concerned in the executing, it, and particularly Sir Hovenden Walker, a very honeft plain-fpoken Man; who, if there was any dark Secret in this Bufinefs, was moft certainly ignorant of it. His Opinion always was, and he died in the full Belief of it, that though the Expedition might be juftly ftiled unfortunate, inafmuch as it mifcarried, and the Fleet never reached Quebec; yet it would have been much more fo, if they had got up the River of St. Laurence, and had actually landed their Men, as they were by their Inftructions directed to do; and the Reafons he gave for it are very well worth the hearing,
efpecially at this Juncture, when an Expedition of the fame kind is faid to be under Confideration. The Reafons that he gave for it were thefe: That in Cafe the French had retired from Quebec, they would have carried their Provifions with them, and have deftroyed what they could not carry, fo that the Englifh would have had nothing but a wild, barren, uncultivated Country before them, with the Conquelt of which they might pleafe themfelves; but in which, neverthelefs, they would find it impoffible to fubfift.
"For, continues he, our Peoples Provifions would "s have been reduced to eight or nine (perhaps to fix) "Weeks, at fhort Allowance; no Relief could poffibly
" be hoped for in lefs than ten Months, if fo foon; the "s Fever/bam, and three Store-fhips, laden with the Pro"s vifions defigned for their Supply, being caft away in "s their Paffage; fo that if they had efcaped Shipwreck, "c which would have been a very great Chance, between "s ten and twelve thoufand Men muft inevitably have "c perimed with Hunger and Cold, and the Ship have " become a Prey to the returning Enemy. On the other is hand, had the Enemy held out till our People had "s fpent all their Provifions, they muft have laid down " their Arms, and have furrendered to the French at "Difcretion, to avoid Death in its moft frightful Shape,
" Famine; or if they had taken the Place, either by
"Storm or Capitulation, the remaining Provifions of a "c fmall Garrifon would not have gone far towards fubfift"s ing fo large a Number; nor could they, at that Seafon "s of the Year, have marched through the Country in " fearch of more: And this would have been the Cafe, " had they afterwards attempted Placentia."

How far this Gentleman might be in the Right or in the Wrong, I fhall not at prefent defire the Reader to enquire ; but, moft certainly, what he fays has at the firft Sight the Appearance of Sincerity and Truth, and therefore we ought to be very cautious of running any frefh Hazards of this Nature: But the driving the French from Canada is moft certainly a Thing very poffible and very practicable, provided the Scheme be laid by thofe who are well acquainted with the State and Force of our Colonies, the Navigation of the River of St. Laurence, and the Condition of the Colony we propofe to dinlodge; and if it be executed by Seamen and Officers of Experience in their refpective Profeffions, and who found the Hopes of promoting their private Intereft on the folid Bafis of exerting their utmoft Abilities in the public Service.
8. The French, during the whole Courfe of the laft War, were particularly attentive to the Prefervation of their own Colonies, and annoying of ours, in both which Schemes they were but too fucceffful, which however was not owing fo much either to the Wifdom of their Councils or the Vigour of their Arms, as to the Faults in our Meafures, and the Mifcarriages of our Sea Officers. I fhall not pretend to enter into a ftrict Detail of thefe difagreeable Points, but fhall content myfelf with a few general Points which I flatter myfelf will be fufficient for my Purpofe. At the very beginning of the War, the gallant old Admiral Berbow was facrificed by fome of his Officers who had a Pique to him. He was a Man of great Honour and ftrict Difcipline, but had fome of the Roughnefs of a Tar about him, which rendered him very difagreeable to the fine Gentlemen of the Navy, amongft whom were three of the Captains that deferted him; their Conduct indeed had the Look of Cowardife, and of that they were found guilty by a Court Martial, and fuffered Death for it very defervedly; but they only acted the Cowards and were not fo, for they had behaved gallantly upon other Occafions, and never Man looked Death in the Face with more Intrepidity than Capt. Kirby did, which however was fo far from extenuating, that in my Opinion it heightened his Offence.

The executing fevere Juftice upon thofe three Gentlemen, which certainly was a very wife and right Step, and was taken by the mildeft Government this or perhaps any other Nation ever faw, had a very good Effect, and taught People to fear the Juftice of the Nation, in cafe they facrificed the Concerns of the Public to their particular Refentments or private Views; but that it did
not entirely put an End to the Evil is very certain, fince fomething of the fame kind happened afterwards to Sir Cbarles Wager, and prevented his taking at leaft anothe Galleon. The Admirals alfo, and great Sea Officers, that were fationed at Famaica for the Protection of the Ifland and Security of Commerce, did not behave fo well as they might have done, as appears from thofe authentic Regifters the Votes of the Houfe of Commons, where the Reader will find, that, after long and ftrict Enquiries, in which the Merchants were admitted to make particular Charges, and allowed to fupport them by Evidence, Cenfures were paffed upon thofe Officers who : appeared to be guilty; and both Houfes thewed a warm Zeal for redreffing thofe Mifchiefs occafioned by the ill Conduct of the Navy, and thereby left ample Teftimony of their Regard for the Public, though it was not attended with that Succefs that might have been wifhed.

In the mean time the French went on in quite a different way; and, when they found their Fleets were able to do little againft ours, they very wifely declined wafting their Naval Force in Combats at Sea, and applied it almoft entirely to the protecting their own Trade, and diftreffing ours. They undertook the efcorting the Spanifb Plate Fleets, and were, generally fpeaking, but too fuccefsful in that Undertaking. Notwithftanding our fuperior Force, they attempted a Commerce with the Spanifb Settlements in the South-Seas; and in this too they fucceeded, notwithftanding the dangerous Navigation round Cape Horn, and from thence they reaped two great Advantages, viz. maintaining and improving their Manufactures, even in a time of War; and bringing vaft Sums into France, without which the could not pofI fibly liave continued the War.

Yet, in fome refpects, it manifeftly appeared that her Force was very infufficient for fupporting her Views in the Weft Indies, fince, in an Attempt they made upon Carolina in 1706, they were fhamefully repulfed by the natural Force of that Colony, without any Affifance from hence. And, on the other hand, our People fucceeded in their Attempt to drive the French out of what they poffeffed in the Inand of St. Cbrifophers; which plainly fhewed what might have been done, in that War, towards deftroying their Sugar Colonies, if, as our Interefts moft certainly led us, we had confidered that Point more attentively than we did fome others, which did not concern us near fo much. For, had we ufed the Opportunity that was given us to have driven the French ou of all or moft of their Inlands, it muft have turned fo much to our Advantage, in Point of Trade, that, in all human Probability, we fhould have had no Reafon to regret the vaft Expences of that long and confuming War.

But, inftead of doing this, our Views were almoft entirely confined to Europe, where our 'Succefs was indeed very honourable for our Arms, but was very far from procuring us any Advantages in refpect to Trade which I do not fay with any Defign of reflecting on the Minifters by whom that War was managed, who perhaps might mean us well, and did for us as much as was in their Power; but to fhew where the Fault really lay, which was our entering into many Engagements that were either ufelefs or detrimental to our Commercial Interefts.

Whereas the French, who had but very lately entertained any Thoughts of Trade, kept that continually in : view, both in their Operations during the War, and ir their Negociations for bringing about a Peace. In re fpect to the former, befides what they did againft us in the Weft Indies, they attacked the Portuguese in Brazil, ruined the Commerce between the Dutch and Spaniards, and eftablifhed their own; and, befides all this, when they had actually begun to treat with us, and our Court confidered them in a manner as Friends, they fent a Fleet to diftrefs us in the Leeward Iflands; which exceffively provoked our Miniftry, though they were too far advanced in their pacific Meafures to retreat.
At the Conclufion of the Treaty, the French fhewed the same Care for, and the fame Steadinefs in, fupporting their Commerce. It was with Difficulty that they were prevailed upon to reftore what they had taken from oun Hudfon's-Bay Company. Nowa Scotia we had, and, becaufe
they could not take it from us, they left it to us; bus they plainly cheated us out of Cape Breton. And tho they pretended to renounce all Pretenfions on Newofound land; yet they preferved what they never had any title to, and what, with refpect to that Country, was all they ever wanted. By thefe Arts they fecured great Advantages to themfelves, which were all at our Expence brought a heavy Load of Reproach on the Minifters who tranfacted with them, and left the Treaty of Utrech as a Memorial to all fucceeding Minitters of the Danger of entering into any feparate Negociations with Erance.
9. After the Acceffion of his late Majefty King George I. to the Britifh Throne, there followed feveral Diturbances at home and abroad, which might very well hinder the Minifters from contriving any new Schemes for the Advantage of our Colonies, or from perfecting thofe which had been formerly laid for that Purpofe. The Rebellion in Scotland firt, and after that the Quadruple Alliance, and the Meafures which preceded and followed it, fufficiently occupied their Thoughts, and if they went on in the ordinary way, in protecting them, and providing for their Security, they might very well be excufed for poftponing Thoughts or Projects of another Nature to more favourable Times.
But the French, always watchful for their own Advantage, at the very time when they feemed moft follicitous in cultivating the Friendfhip of Britain, and were daily receiving Benefits from it, projected the Settlement of the Ifland of St. Lucia, which had been always included in the Commiffion of the Governor of Barbadoes; and for that Purpofe the French King thought fit, in the Year 1719, to make a Grant of that Inand to the Marmal $d^{\prime}$ Etree, who immediately made the neceffary Difpofitions for eftablifhing a Colony in that Ifland, and fent over People for that Purpofe. The Governor of Bar badoes, as it was his Duty, oppofed this Settlement vigoroully, and declared roundly, That, if the French per fifted in fettling, he fhould find himfelf under a Necef fity of driving them off that Ifland, which belonged to the King his Mafter, by Force.

At the fame time our Minifter at the Court of Paris prefented a Memorial, in which he fet forth the Title the Crown of Great Britain had to this Inand, and, confequently, the great Injuftice of the French King's Grant, which was very apparent from the following Particulars in relation to the Hiftory of this Inand, in which both Englifh and French Writers agree. The Englifb fettled on the Inand of St. Lucia in 1639 , and lived there near two Years without any Interuption or Difturbance ; but in 1640 they were driven off from the faid Ifland, and the Governor and moft of the Inhabitants killed by the Caribbeans, and, as the Englifb fufpected, by the Inftigation and Encouragemeut of the French which the French Generals, Parquet and de Poincy, however, both difowned. Nor did the French, at that time, or any other time, make any fort of Pretenfion to the Inand. A tacit Acknowledgment undoubtedly of the Right of the Englifs.

The Civil Wars in England breaking out, the Englif neglected this Settlement ; and Monf. du Parquet fent thirty or forty Frencbmen to take Poffeffion of the Ifland. The Sieur de Rouffelan governed here till 1694, and was fucceeded by de la Riviere, whom the Caribbeans killed with feveral of his Men, and carried off his Wife and two of his Children. He was fucceeded by Monf. le Breton, he by Monf. Agremont, who was alfo deftroyed by the Caribbeans. Atter this the Englif made a Treaty with the Caribbeans for the purchafing the Inland from them; and, in $166_{3}$, fent fourteen or fifteen hundred Men on board of five Men of War, who, being joined by fix hundred of the Caribbeans in feventeen Canoes, came before the Ifland in June 1664 , which was delivered to them without Refiftance, on Condition that the French Governor and Garrifon in the Fort, which amounted only to fourteen Men, fhould be tranfported to Martinico, with their Cannon, Arms, and Baggage. In 1666 the Englifh Governor, Mr. Robert Cook, by reafon of the Mortality of his Pcople, Want of Neceffaries, $\mathcal{E}^{\circ} c$. abandoned the Inand, and fet fire to the Fort; yet, two Days afterwards, a Bark arrived from Lord Willougbby,

Governor

Governor and Captain-General of Barbadoes, and the other Englifb Caribb̄ee IJands, to Windward of Guardaloupa, with Provifions, Ammunition, and all Neceffaries for the Colony. In this deferted Condition it remained thenceforward, but was always confidered as a Part of the Britifl Dominions. The Interpofition of our Minifter produced the delired Effect, and the French defifted at that time from their Settlement.
10. This Attempt, however, fo much alarmed our Court, that the Duke of Montague refolved, at a vaft Expence, to fettle that Ifland and St. Vincent, which was fo agreeable to the Miniftry and to his late Majefty, that by Letters Patent, dated the 22 d of $\mathcal{F}$ une, 1722 , both thofe Iflands were granted to his Grace, that he might be encouraged to put fo generous and public-fpirited a Defign in Execution; and for the farther Benefit and Advantage of the new Colonies which he was to fettle, the Duke was alfo conftituted Captain-General of the Mlands of St. Lucia and St. Vincent, which till that Time were included in the Commifion, and remained under the Government of the Governors of Barbadoes. His Grace, having appointed Capt. Uring his Deputy-Governor, and provided feven Ships and Veffels to carry over the Planters, with fuch Provifions and Neceffaries as were requifite to fettle Colonies in thofe Inands, obtained of his Majefty the Winchelfea Man of War, commanded by Capt. Orme, to convoy, attend, and protect the Planters.

Mr. Uring embarked on board the Winchelfea, on the 10th of Sepiember 1722, and failing to Ireland to take in Provifions, made it the 15 th of December before he arrived at St. Lucia. Being come to an Anchor in Pidgeon Ifland Bay, a Barbadoes Sloop foon after arrived from Martinico, the Mafter whereof communicated to Mr. Uring the Copy of a Mandate by the King of France, which he faid was publifned by Order of the French General in all the Churches of that Inand, and in all the Towns by beat of Drum; which contained in Subftance, That if the Englifh did not leave the Iffand in the Space of fifteen Days, they were to be expelled by Force of Arms. The next Morning Mr. Uring weighed from Pidigeon Ifland Bay, and food for the Harbour of Petite Careenage, which they found to be a very good one, and in it feveral Places fit for careening Ships, fheltered from every Wind; in one of which, Ships of fixty Guns and upwards may careen very conveniently: The Land is very hilly all round the Harbour, and in moft places fteep, afcending from the Water-fide. At two in the Afternoon we landed fifty Men to cut down the Trees and Bufhes on the Point that lay fit for a Battery of Guns to command the Entrance of the Harbour. The fame Day he fent Mr. Faulkner to Martinico, with Letters from the Duke of Montague and the Admiralty directed to Capt. Charles Brown, Commander of the Feverfham Man of War, and Capt. Brand Commander of the Hector; who were then at Martinico; and acquainted them, that the Duke had appointed him Deputy-Governor of St. Lucia and St. Fincent, and being come to fettle thofe Inlands under the Protection of the Winchelfea Man of War, he defired that in purfuance of the Orders they had received from the Admiralty for that Purpofe, they would join him as foon as pofible, being apprehenfive the Governor of Martinico defigned to moleft the Colony. In the mean time he proceeded to land his People, Guns, Tools, Planks, and Stores, to fortify the Harbour, and build a large Houfe to fhelter the Workmen

On the 22d of December Captain Brand, and Captain Brown, arrived from Martinico with his Majefty's Ships, the Hecior and Feverfibam, and foon after a French Sloop, which brought a Letter from the French General, to acquaint Mr. Uring that he had heard of his landing Englig Forces in the Illand of St. Lucia, and defired to know his Intentions; and at the fame Time he received the following Copy of the French King's Mandate, viz. A Mandate of the King to the Sieur Cbevalier de Feuquire, Governor and Lieutenant General of the Windward Inands in America. "His Majefty having been inform"ed that the King of Engzand has given the Inands of "St. Vincent, and St. Lucia, to the Duke of Montague, ss has made his Complaint of it to the Court of England,
" and has alledged that neither the one nor the other of "thefe Ifiands belong to that Crown. The firt of them "ought to remain to the Caribbees, according to Con"s ventions made with that People; and the fecond does "s belong to France, who has been willing to fufpend the "S Settlement of that Illand on the requeft of the King of " England; notwithftanding thofe Reafons, his Majefty
"' hath not been informed that there has not been any
" Revocation of this Grant ; on the contrary, he under"flands that the Duke of Montague is repairing to fend "s and take Poffeffon of thofe Mlands, and to tranfport
"s Numbers of Families thither. This Undertaking be" ${ }^{\prime}$ ing contrary to the Rights of his Majefty, his In"' tention is, That in Cafe the Engli/h fhould take Pof " feffion of St. Lucia, and fettle there, the Sieur Cheva" lier de Feuquire fhall fummon them to retire in fifteen " Days, in regard that. Ifand belongs to Fronce; and if "t they do not depart, he fhall compel them to it by "s Force of Arms. He fhall take Care to charge fome " of the wifeft and moft experienced of his Officers with " this Expedition. His Majefty deffres there fhould be "s as little Effufion of Blood as poffible, nor will he have "s any Pillage made; he only wifhes the Englifh would " retire, and not poffefs themfelves of a Country which " belongs to him. Done at Verfailles the 2 ift of Seplem" ber I722, figned, Ejc."

Upon reading the Mandate, and the French Governor's Letter, in which it was inclofed, Mr. Uring fent to Captain Brand, and Captain Brown, to know if he might depend upon their Affiftance if he was attacked by the French; but they would give him no pofitive Anfwer, and foon after failed to Barbadoes; he alfo fent a Letter to the Governor of Martinico, to acquaint him that he had Orders from the Duke of Montague, the Lord Proprietor, under his Britifb Majefty's Patent, to plant St. Lucia and defend it, but propofed fufpending all Acts of Hoftility, till they could hear from their refpective Courts of Great Britain and France. Mr. Uring alfo thought fit to write to the Prefident of Barbadoes, that the Governor of Martinico had threatened to drive the Englifb from the Illand, if they did not depart in fifteen Days, and to defire his Affittance to fupport this Part of his Majefty's Dominions. To which the Prefident anfwered, That he was ready to give him all the Affiftance in his Power.

But the Captains Brown and Brand remained folong abfent from St. Lucia, that the Frencb had an Opportunity of fending between two and three thoufand Men from Martinico, and landing them on the Thand; the Captains of the Men of War alfo refufed to give him Affiftance, towards fortifying and defending the Colony by Land, and a great many of the Planters falling fick, and others deferting over to the French at the fame Time, Mr. Uring had not fourfcore left to bear Arms, which compelled him at length to come to a Treaty with the French General, the Marquis of Chomprgy; and the following Articles were concluded berween thein: Firt, That the Ensli/b fhould quit the Iland of St. Iucia within feven Days, provided that the Ships of the Englif Nation fhould at all times have Liberty to come into the Ports of the faid Inand, and wood and water there, and ferve their other Occafions, as the French alfo might. Secondly, That the Englifh Colony fhould be at Liberty to reimbark all their Cannon, Stores, Arms, Baggage, and every thing belonging to them, without Moleftation. Thirdly, That all Deferters fhould be given up. And, Laftly, That immediately after the Englifh had evacuated the Tfland, the French Forces alfo fhould evacuate it, and that the Inand fould remain in the fame State it was, till the Controverfies between the two Crowns, relating to this Inand, were decided. In purfuance of which Agreement Mr. Uring embarked with his People, and failed to Antigwa, fending the Winchelfea Nian of War, and Captain Braitbrosite, in the Grifin Sloop, to take a View of the Inand of St. Vincerrt, and fee if it was practicable to make a Settlement there. In the mean Time a confiderable Reinforcement arrived at Barbadoes, from the Duke of Montague, with Ammunition and Provifion, and Orders to attempt a Settlement upon St. Vincent, if the Planters were driven from St. Lucia.

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ir. In order to this he hadi Inftuctions, and a Commiffion given him by Mr. Uring, which were perfectly well adjufted to the Defign upon which he was fent; and in the mean Time Governor Uring remained at Ans tigua, where he had all the Civilities paid him, and all the Services done him by the Governor, and other Perfons in Authority, that he could either defire or expect; which, in fome Meafure, mitigated his fharp Senfe of the Miffortunes he had met with; for he was both a capable and an honeft Man; one who had the Service very much at Heart, and who difcharged his Duty fo punctually, even in this difaftrous Undertaking, as to preferve his Reputation, and to merit a kind Reception from his generous Mafter the Duke of Montague, who was fo wife as to expect no more from a Man than was in his Power, and io good as to commend and reward him who did that, though it was not attended with the happy Confequences that might have been expected from it. This Gentleman did not remain long at Antigua, before he was made fenfible that there was as little, or rather lefs Hopes of making a Settlement at St. Vincent, than he by Experience had found there was of fixing a Colony on St. Lucia; for Capt. Fobn Braitbroaite, returning from his unfuccefsful Expedition, delivered to Governor Uring, in Juftification of his own Conduct, and for the Satisfaction of his Grace the Duke of Montague, the following Account of the Meafures he had taken for executing the Commiffion granted to him, in order to fix a Settlement on his Majefty's Inland of St. Vincent. This Paper being equally curious and important, and alfo entirely hiftorical, we fhall give the Reader an Extract of it in that Gentleman's own Words.

## The Report of Capt. John Braithwaite to Nathaniel

 Uring, $E q_{q}$.s: In Purfuance of a Refolution in Council, and your "Order for fo doing the Day you failed with his Grace's "Colony for Antigua, I failed with the Griffin Sloop, in "Company with his Majefty's Ship the Winchelfea, to "St. Vincent: We made the Inand that Night, and the "s next Morning run along the Shore, and faw feveral "Indian Huts, but as yet no Indians came off to us, " nor could we get afhore to them, by reafon there was no Ground to anchor in. Towards the Evening two Indians came on board, and told us we might anchor in a Bay to leeward, and when we were at Anchor they would bring their General on board. Here we came to an Anchor in deep Water, and very dangerous for the Slop. One whom they called General came on board with feveral others, to the Number of twenty-two. I entertained them very handfomely, and made the Chief fome trifing Prefents; but found him to be a Perfon of no Confequence, and that they called him Chief to get fome Prefent from me. Here two of the Indians were fo drunk that they would not go afhore, but ftaid on board fome Days, and were well entertained. After this, little Winds and oreat "Currents drove us off for feveral Days, but at laft we "s came to an Anchor in a fpacious Bay to the leeward of "6 all the Illand, the Draught of which I ordered to be "taken by our Surveyor, for your better underftand"s ing the Place, being the only one where a Settlement "could be made. The Ship and Sloop were fcarce "come to an Anchor before the Strand of the Shore "was covered with Indians, and amongft them we "s could difcover a white Man, who proved to be a Frenchman. I took Capt. Watfon in the Boat with me, "with a Frenchman, and immediately went on Shore. "As foon as I came amongft them, I afked why they "s appeared all armed, for every Man had aCutlafs; fome "" had Mufkets, Piftols, Bows and Arrows, E®c. They with very little Ceremony enclofed me, and carried me up the Country for about a Mile, over a little "Rivulet, where I was told I was to fee their General: I found him fitting amidft a Guard of about an hundred Indians; thofe nearelt his Perfon had all Mufkets, the "reft Bows and Arrows ; and all obferved a great "Silence: He ordered me a Seat, and a Frenchman food at his Right-hand, for an Interpreter: He demanded Vol. II. Numb. XCI.
is of me, What brought me into his Country, and of "s what Nation? I told him, Englifis; and I was put " 6 in to wood and water, as not caring to fay any thing "s elfe before the Frencbman; but told him, if he would "s be pleafed to come on board our Ships, I would leave "Englibmen in Hoftage for thofe he fhould be pleafed " to take along with him. But I could not prevail "s with him, either to come on board, or fuffer me to "s have Wood or Water. He faid, he was informed " we were come to force a Settlement. And we had no "6 way to remove that Jealoufy but by getting under fail. "As foon as I found what Influence the Frenclman's "company had upon him I took my Leave, after " making fuch Replies as I thought proper, and return"s ed to my Boat, under a Guard; and when I came to "s the Shore, I found the Guard was increafed by a " Number of Negroes, all armed with Fuzees. I got " into my Boat without any Injury, and went on "s board to Capt. Orme, and told him my ill Succefs. "Immediately after I fent afhore the Sloop's Boat "6 with a Mate, with Rum, Beef, Bread, Eic. with " fome Cutlaffes; and ordered a Frenchanan who went "s with the Mate, to defire the Guard to conduct them " 6 to their General, and to tell him, that though he de" nied me the common Good of Water, and a little " ufelefs Wood, neverthelefs I had fent him fuch Re'6 frefhments as our Ships afforded. Our People found "s the Frenchman gone, and that then the Indian Gene"s ral feemed pleafed, and received what was fent him; 66 and in return, fent me Bows and Arrows. Our Peo"s ple had not been long returned but the General fent a "Canoe with ten Chief Indians, who fpoke very good "Grench, to thank me for my Prefents, and to aik
"Pardon for his refufing me Wood and Water, and
"s affured me I might have what I pleafed ; and they " had Orders to tell me, if I pleafed to go athore again "s they were to remain Hoftages for my civil Treatment. " I fent them on board the M an of War ; and with "Capt. Watfon went afhore. I was well received, $s$ and conducted as before: But now I found the Bro"s ther, the Chief of the Negroes, was arrived with " five hundred Negroes, moft armed with Fuzees.
" They told my Interpreter, they were fure we were sc come to force a Settlement, or elfe they would not "s have denied me what they never before had denied any " Englifh, viz. Wood and Water ; but, if I thought fit, " I might take what I pleafed under a Guard. Finding "s them in fo good a Humour, I once more introduced "s the Defire I had to entertain them on board our Ships, "s and with fome Difficulty I prevailed with them by " leaving Capt. Watfon ahore under their Guard as a "Hoftage. I carried them on board the King's Ship, " where they were well entertained by Capt. Orme, who " gave the Indian General a fine Fuzee of his own, and "s to the Chief of the Negroes fomething that pleafed " him. Capt. Orme affured them of the Friendfhip of "s the King of England, \&c. The Negro Chief fpoke " excellent French, and made Anfwers with all the French "Compliments. Afterwards I carried them on board "s theDuke's Sloop; and after opening their Hearts with "Wine, for they fcorned to drink Rum, I thought it a "good time to tell them my Commiffion, and what "6 brought me upon their Coaft. They told me, it was "s well I had not mentioned it on Shore, for their Power 6s could not have protected me; that it was impofible; "s the Dutch had before attempted it, but were glad to " retire. They likewife told me, that two French "Sloops had, the Day before we came, been amongft "s them, and gave them Arms and Ammunition, and " affured them of the whole Force of Martinico for " their Protection againft us: They told them alfo, "s that they had driven us from St. Lucia; and that " we were come now to endeavour a Settlement there; "6 and notwithitanding all our fpecious Pretences, when " we had Power we fhould enflave them; but they de"clared they would truft no Europeans: That they "s owned themfelves under the Protection of the French, " but would as foon oppofe their fettling among them, " or any Act of Force from them, as us. They had.
c lately
" lately given an Example, by killing feveral; and they "s further told me it was by very large Prefents the French " ever got in their Eavour again, but they refolved never " to put it in their Power, or of any Europeans, to hurt "s them: They advifed me to think what they faid was "s an Act of Priendfhip. This being all I could get
"s from them, I difmiffed them with fuch Prefents as his
" Grace ordered for that Service, with a Difcharge of
" Cannon; and received in Return, as regular Vollies of
${ }^{66}$ fmall Shot as I ever heard. In the Night the Winchelfea
${ }^{6}$ © drove from her Anchors, which as foon as I perceived,
${ }_{66}$ and had received Capt. Wat fon from the Shore, I got
${ }^{66}$ under Sail, and ftood to the Man of War; this is a
${ }^{66}$ faithful Report of all I Fobn Braitbrwaite can recollect."
12. Mr. Uring having read the above Report of Captain Braitbwaite, he judged there was like to be little good done at St. Vincent, and the fecond Scheme on 'St. Lucia being laid afide, he determined to unload all the Stores, and difcharge the Veffels, and propofed to Lieutenant General Matiberes, to do it at Antigua; which he faid he thought could be done with more Eafe and Security, and in much lefs Time, and would fave a great deal of Charge and Trouble, and lefs Hazard than at St. Cbrifophers: the Lieutenant General anfwered, that in his Houfe at St. Cbriftopbers was room enough to hold all the Duke's Stores, and fhould coft his Grace nothing; and, that as he had the Government of that Inland, he had fuch an Infuence over the People, that the Duke's Servants would be more fecure there, and that he could better provide for the Officers, than at Antigua; and further faid, that the Servants could be kept together in Chorles Fort, where they might have an Opportunity to difcipline them againit any new Undertaking; and accordingly afked Leave of General Hart to difcipline them, which was granted. Mr. Uring taking Notice of the Advantages that the Lieutenant General propofed, and feeing him fo very earneft for the Stores to be lodged at St. Cbriftopbers, agreed to it, and accordingly ordered them down thither, during their attending the Griffin's Return from her Errand to St. Vincent and Martinico.

Mr. Uring frequently vifited the Tranfports, to fee things were in good Order; Lieutenant General Mattbews went in the Cbarles and Ereemafon, to St. Cbrifophers, with them; and as foon as they arrived at that Illand, he, in Concert with Mr. Uring, cantoned the Officers in feveral Places, as there was Conveniency, and they were ordered to their refpective Quarters. They had now four Veffels to unload at the fame Time, and at a confiderable Diftance, and a difficult Way to carry the Stores to the Store-houfes. Mr. Uring ordered fuch a Number of Servants afhore from the Veffels, as he thought ufeful for carrying up the Stores; and Officers were appointed at different Places in the Avenues, to keep the People from running into the Country; but notwithftanding all the Care they could take, great Part of them were gone by Night. He ordered more afhore next Day, and continued landing the Stores, Cannon, Arms, Ammunition, $\mathcal{V}^{2} c$. and as the Cafks very often came to Pieces in getting up to the Store-houfes, Mr. Uring, for the moft Part, ftood by till they were repaired, and was, at leaft, thirty times a Day from the Landing-place to the Storehoufes, in order to prevent any Embezzlement, and to haften the Work. The Officers thinking the Work too hard for them all Day, though they generally ftood in one Place, Mr. Uring divided them, the one half to attend in the Morning, and the other in the Afternoon; though he was obliged to attend the whole Day, in order to preferve the Stores, which he hoped was in a good Meafure done; the Goods landing from fo many Veffels at one and the fame Time, fo many Sorts loofe, as well as in Cafks, made it no eaîy Matter to keep an exact Account.

The whole Care of every thing, as well as the Stores, was upon Mr. Uring. However the Goods were landed and itored, and after the Ships were unloaded, he fearched every Ship by Warrant, to fee if there remained any thing belonging to the Duke of Montague on board them, which the Mafters faid there did not: Several Provifions were found on board the Cbarles and Freemafon,
which were put afhore. When every thing was landed out of the feveral Ships, his next Care was to put them in good Order ; many of the Cafks being broken, they would not hold the Weight in them, therefore they ftarted them into other found Caiks and Chefts, which were made for that Ufe. He alfo caufed all the Provifions to be turned out of the Store-houfes and looked over, and fuch as were in Cafks, or wanted Pickle, were put into better, and new pickled; and he directed the worft to be firft fpent. He fitted up a Smith's Shop, kept the Smiths and Armourers at Work, and cleaning the Arms. The Men were difciplined, fo that they could do their Exercife very well, and made as regular Fires as the King's Troops.

Mr. Uring paid off feveral of the Seamen belonging to the Grifin Sloop to eafe the Charge, and ordered fuch Servants on board her as were Seamen, and as many more as he dared truft. By that Time they had put things into tolerable Order, the Hoperoell arrived, with about ninety Servants and feveral Officers, a great Quantity of Provifions, with Cannon, Ammunition, and warlike Stores, which were alfo landed 'under the Care of Mr. Uring, who had Letters by this Ship from the Duke of Montague; which informed him that his Grace was in Treaty for five hundred Englijh Families, and five hundred Irifh, which he intended to tranfport to St. Lucia as foon as poffible. The Hopewell brought from Barbadoes a Number of live Sheep, which had been carried thither by the Leopard, which was arrived at that Inand, laden with Boards, Plank, and Frames of Houfes, for the Ufe of the Colony.

When Lieutenant General Mattheros returned to Antigua, he left Mr. Uring his Houfe to live in, where was Room for moft of the Officers. He fent then to acquaint them, that he had Conveniency for them, and defigned to keep a Table for their Entertainment, confidering it would be much more convenient and lefs Charge to his Grace, for them to keep together, than be feparated. All the Servants that were not lent to the Planters were lodged in the Out-houfes, and due Care was taken both of the Sick and the Well, to have their Provifions at proper times, and well ordered. Mr. Uring feldom went to Dinner before he faw all the Sick provided, and well ferved with frefh Meat and Broth, which was for the moft Part four times a Week, and thofe that were fick, every Day. The Lame, though there were a great many of them, he dreffed himfelf for feveral Days, when he had no Surgeon. The Servants were all well fupplied out of the Duke's Stores, with Cloathing and Neceffaries, though they often ftray'd about the Country and fold them, and then complained to the Planters that they were naked; for which they were punifned and again fupplied. He frequently fent out the Sergeants with Parties, to bring in the Stragglers, and had no little Trouble to keep them in a tolerable Decorum ; he alfo put up Advertifements at all the Port Towns, to warn the Mafters of Ships from entertaining or carrying any of them of the Illand; and in the beginning of May fent Captain King in the Griffin Sloop to Barbadoes, to bring down the Runaways from thence, and fuch Letters as were lodged there from the Duke of Montague for him ; and after her return he ordered Captain Watfon to careen her, in doing of which fhe funk.

Mr. Uring having Notice thereof, went to fee her Condition, and hired two Sloops to weigh her, and the Griffin was made again fit for the Sea. Mr. Uring having been informed that many of his Grace's Servants had made their Efcape to St. Euffatia, he wrote feveral Letters to the Governor of that Inand, by Officers of the Dukes, which were fent for that purpofe, to acquaint him therewith, and to defire him to fecure them, that they might be returned to St. Cbriftophers, and accordingly two Men were brought back from thence. He had ordered the Griffin Sloop to Antigua, to lie there during the hurricane Months; when he had a Letter from Lieutenant General Mattberes, which advifed him that the Duke of Montague had impowered him to have the fole Difpofal of all his Affairs in the Wef Indies, and fent him a Copy thereof. Mr. Uring then obferved his Direction,

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until his Grace had wholly laid afide the Thoughts of any new Settlement ; and had given him Orders to deliver up every thing belonging to him, into the Fands of the Lieutenant General, to whom his Grace had given Direction to difcharge all, and pay them their Salaries to that Time, with an Allowance for their Paffages for England. After Mr. Uring had delivered up all Stores, Arims, Cannon, $\mathcal{E}_{c}$. to the Agent of Lieutenant General Maitbervs, he went up to Antigua, to finifh his Affairs with him, and from thence to Barbadoes, where he was received very kindly by Mr. Worley. He ftaid a Week at that Inand, and then returned to Antigua, and from thence to St. Cbriftopbers, where he took a Paffage for England, and arrived at Dover the 28th of May 1724.

Thus we have given a large and circumftantial Account of this Expedition, from the Beginning to the End of it, from the authentic Papers of the two Gentlemen chiefly concerned in it, and very frequently in their own Words. From whence it appears, that it was in all refpects the greateft and moft expenfive Scheme that was ever undertaken by a Subject of this Crown, or of any other ; for befides the Ships, naval and military Stores, Camnon, fmall Arms, Evc. he maintained four hundred and twenty-five Servants for a Year and a Half, befides eighty-five Tradefmen and Artificers of feveral forts, who had from twenty to thirty Pounds a Year Wages; and upwards of fifty Officers, with Salaries from fifty to 'four hundred Pounds a Year, all duly paid, and themfelves victualed in a very dear Part of the World, during the greateft Part of the Time. The computing therefore of the Duke of Montague's Expence at forty thoufand Pounds is rather under than over doing the Bufineifs; and nothing can induce us to fufpect the Largenefs of the Sum but the very fingularCircumftance that attends it, of its coming out of a private Purfe for the public Service, Thisindced, and the Time at which this Expedition was undertaken, renders it almoft incredible; but whoever confiders that in Seafons of the greateft Corruption (as furely that of the Soulib-Sea, and the Bubbles that attended it, was here) Providence ufually raifes up fome extraordinary Inftances of a contrary Spirit, fuch as Pbocion in the Decline of the Athenian Commonwealth, and the younger Cato when the Roman Republic was on the Point of Ruin, will the more readily credit this, and admire it the more. I fhould infift farther upon this noble and memorable Example but for two Reafons; the firt is, that as the illuftrious Perfon to whom it relates is living, amongft the many Inftances of Freedom of Speech that may be met with in this Work, I fhould be afhamed to mix any thing that might be fufpected of Flattery. The fecond Reafon is, that the Virtues of the Duke are fo well known, and fo univerfally confeffed, that I could do no Honour to any but myfelf, by endeavouring to celebrate them.

But though I am willing to decline a Tafk to which I confefs myfelf unequal, Ithall not be afraid of obferving that this is the only proper time of reviving our Claim to thofe Inands, at leaft to that of St. Lucia, to which our Title is unqueftionable. If we were not the firft Difcoverers, we were at leaft the firft Planters of that Ifland, and befides the Title which this gives us, we have another, and perhaps a better, viz. that of Purchafe from the Natives, and original Inhabitants of it. The French, it is true, have alfo fettled upon that Inand, but as Intruders only, and as fuch were obliged to quit it in the Reign of King Cbarles II. fince which our Rights to that Inand have been confirmed by Treaties. But their laft quitting it, in 1719, is the ftrongeft and cleareft Proof of all. For had they not been fenfible of their having no juft Pretenfions to St. Lucia, it is impoffible to fuppofe that Men who fo vigorounly exerted themfelves to prevent our Eitablifhment, would fo tamely have given up their own. What their Motives might be to fo ftrange a Conduct, in the Compafs of fo fhort a time, I fhall not pretend to guefs, but this I may fafely and honeflly fay, that no Change in their Conduct could poffibly create a Change in their Title or ours: If our Right in 1719 was certain, it muft have been as certain in 1722 , and if certain then, it muft be fo ftill; which
gives us a fair Demand to have this Right of ours acknowledged by the next Treaty of Peace, that can never be concluded on good Terms for this Nation, if while we ftruggle to make Fronce do Juttice to others, we fuffer her to perfift in Acts of Injuftice to ourfelves. We fee, very clearly that the general Exprefions contained in former Treaties avails nothing againt France in Time of full Peace, and therefore common Senfe teaches us, and a due Concern for the Good of our Country requires, that we fhould have Juftice done us on this Head before the Conclufion of the prefent War, becaufe unlefs it be done now, paft Experience fhews us that we can never expect it for the future: That we may very rationally hope for it now, appears to every Man of tolerable Underftanding, who reflects that France, in this Refpect, gives us nothing of which the is in Poffeffion, or to which, in her own Opinion, fhe has any juft Title ; fo that to refufe it when fhe pretends to be in a pacific Temper, muft be a plain Proof that fhe diffembles, and then it would be Madnefs to truft her.
There is, however, one Particular in relation to this Affair that ought to be difcuffed before we leave it, which is, what Proceedings have fince happened between the two Crowns in relation to this Ifland, after the Expedition before-mentioned; and as to thefe, I have received two remarkable Papers while this was printing, which I fhall give the Reader immediately. In the mean time it is requifite to obferve, that his prefent Majefty King GeorgeII. having conftituted and appointed Henry Worley, Efq; Governor and Commander in chief of this Inand, as all his Predeceffors had been, who were Governors of Barbodoes, he was graciouny pleafed to fend him the following Inftruction, in reference to the Difputes that had happened about it.

## GEORGER.

"Trufty and well beloved, we greet you well "Whereas the Frencb for fome Years lave claimed " the Ifland of St. Lucia, and do infift that the Right "to the Iflands of St. Vincent and St. Dominico, under " your Government, is in the Caribbeeans, now inhabit" ing the fame, although we have an undoubted Right " to all the faid Illands; yet we have thought fit to agree " with the French Court, that until our kight be deter" mined the faid Inands fhall be entirely evacuated by " both Nations. It is therefore our Will and Pleafure, " and you are accordingly to fignify the fame to fuch " of our Subjects as fhall be found inhabiting any of " our faid IIlands, that they do forthwith quit the fame " until the Right fhall be determined, as aforefaid; and " that they do comply with this our Order within thirty " Days from the Publication hereof in each of the faid "Inands refpectively, under Pain of our higheft Difpleafure; and you are to ufe your beft Endeavours " that no Ships of our Subjects, or of any other Nation, "do frequent the faid Inands during the time aforefaid " except coming for Wood or Water. But it is our Will " and Pleafure, that you do not execute this our Order " until the Frencb Governor of Martinico, fhall have re"ceived the like Direction from the French Court, and " fhall, jointly with you, put the fame in Execution "without any Exception. And you are hereby further "ordered to tranfinit to us, by the firft Opportunity, a " full Account of your Proceedings, as likewife of thofe " of the French in this Behalf, taking Care by all Op" portunities to inform ourfelf whether our Subjects, and "thofe of the French King, do comply punctually with the "true Intent and Meaning of this Agreement, until fuch "time as the Right to the faid Inands fhall be abfolutely " determined as aforefaid. And for your fo doing this " fhall be your Warrant. And fo we bid you farewel. "Given at our Court at St. Fames's the zoth Day of "November, in the fourth Year of our Reign, by his "Majefty's Command.

Holles Nervoafle.
It appears plainly from this Inftruction, and it will appear ftill more clearly from the French King's Letter upon this Head, that the two Courts had come to an

Agreement about this Matter, that is, about the immediate Settlement, not as to their Rights; for our King declares fully and plainly, that he looked upon his to be wholly unimpeached by this Difpute; and fo to be fure it was, and is. But let us fee the Inftructions from France, which are referred to in the foregoing Paper, which were conceived in the Words following:

The French King's Letter or Mandate, to the Governor of Martinico, dated December 26, 1730.

## Monfieur de Champigny,

"The Englifh have, for fome time paft, laid Pre"s tenfions to the Inand of St. Lucia, which belongs to " me, and to which I have an inconteftable Kight. "The fame Pretenfions they have laid to the Illands of ${ }^{6}$ St. Vincent and St. Dominico, faid to belong to the
"Caribbeeans, Natives of the Country, according to the
"Treaty of the 3 rft of March, 1660 ; and in the Pof-
"s feffion of which it is my Intention to fupport them. I
${ }^{66}$ have, neverthelefs, agreed with the Court of England,
${ }^{6}$ that until thefe Pretenfions fhall be determined, the faid
" Inands fhall be evacuated by both Nations. And this
${ }^{6}$ is to acquaint you, that it is my Pleafure, that you " make it known, $\xi^{\circ} c$." As in the former.

Upon thefe Papers I fhall make but one Remark, which is, that they clearly unravelled and expofed the true Intention and Defign, and, indeed, the whole Workings and Policy of the Court of France. There were many who faw and faid this at the Time, but thought it indecent and improper to publifh fo much, when our Court had confented to accept of this Expedient. But now that Reafon is removed, and we are at full Liberty to fay whatever can be faid with Truth upon this Subject, I cannot avoid doing fo, and fhall difpatch it in very few Words. The Frencb had not, in their own Opinion, any Title to the Ifland of St. Lucia, but what arofe from Expediency. They faw it lay near them, and they very well knew the Confequences that would follow from its being fettledby the Englifo, and this, more than any Advantages they expected from it, put them upon the Attempt to fettle it.

The Reader may poffibly imagine that I only affert this, but the Fact is otherwife; I can really prove it. The French Writers on Geography and Trade, nay the French Politicians, never dreamed of any fuch thing, as appears from the Books; and the famous Mr. Savary, in his Dictionary of Commerce, tells us plainly, that the French poffefs or claim ten of the Caribbee Iflands, eight entirely, and two in Conjunction with the Dutch; all of which he names, but does not include St. Lucia; which fhews that fuch People in France, as muft fooneft have heard of this Claim, if they had any, knew nothing about it. When I fay that this Settlement was made to prevent our gaining the Inland, rather than from any great Hopes of Profit, I mean that thefe were the Motives of the French Miniftry, becaufe they had been long of Opinion that Hifpaniola, or St. Domingo, ought to be the great Object of their Concern in thofe Parts of the World, for many Reafons, which will fall properly in another Place. All therefore that they defired, with refpect to the Iflands, was to prevent our fettling upon them, which, befides àn immediate Lofs, might prejudice their future Views; and therefore they were willing to take Poffeffion of St. Iucia as an Out-work. If they kept it, it was well, but if they kept it only from us it was better; and this was the true Reafon of their propofing the Expedient contained in the foregoing Papers, which aftually anfwered their Ends better than if the Inand had been abfolutely yielded to them by us.

But if the Situation of Affairs in Europe fifteen Years ago was fuch, as made it reafonable for us to fufpend our Right, which I lay down as a Suppofition, but am far from afferting as a Fact; the Face of Affairs is fince changed, and gives us now the faireft Opportunity to eftablifh that Right; if the War continues we may, and we ought to, do it by Force ; and whenever there comes a Peace; the French can affign no Colour or Pre-
tence whatever, againit the confirming that Right, by renouncing their unjuft and ill-founded Claim, to the preventing our fettling on it. If they took Advantage of a paft Conjuncture, when it was not convenient for us to break with them, it is our Bufinefs, as I hinted before, to take the Benefit of the prefent Conjuncture; when, without Queftion, it is the Intereft, and will be confequently the Bufinefs, of France to deny us nothing of this Kind, if we infift upon it, that is to fay, if we fhew we have it at Heart; and that we are determined to exert our naval Power, and to employ our Negociations for the Service of our own Country, for the promoting our Trade, fecuring our Navigation, and extending our Intereft in the Wef Indies.

But the Queftion may be afked, what is the real Value and Importance of the thing for which you would have us contend? What is this St. Lucio worth? What can be made of it? Why fhould we trouble ourfelves about it? In anfwer to this, I can only fay, in few Words, that it has been computed, that the Product and Commerce of this Inand might, in a few Years, be brought to yield Great Britain an annual Rent of two hundred thoufand Pounds; but to thew the Pofibility, or rather the Probability, if not the Certainty, of this Calculation, I fhall give the Reader Captain Uring's Defcription of this Inand, who went thither on purpofe to fettle it; who was a Man of great Underftanding in Matters of this Nature, and whofe Honefty was as little queftioned as his Capacity; fo that I cannot difcern any Objection that can be reafonably made to his Account, which is alfo remarkably plain and fuccinct, and with which, as to this Subject, I fhall conclude.
"St. Lucia is about twenty-two Miles in Length, and "s eleven broad; the greateft Part of it very good Land, "6 and in many Places hilly, and many rich Valleys very "w well watered with fine Rivers all through the Inand,
"6 which makes it exceedingly pleafant and delightful, and
"6 it muft be very healthful, by its being fo narrow; and " the Hills being not fo high to intercept the continual " Trade-winds, that always fan it from the Eaftward, "s whereby the Heat of the Climate is mitigated, and "s made rather agreeable than troublefome. The Variety "6 of Situations that it affords by the Hills and Vales, "6 makes it both convenient and delightful, as well as the "Pleafantnefs of the Profpects; and it is full of all "trees, amongft which are great Quantities of good "Timber, fit for building Houfes and Windmills; " from whence both Barbadoes and Martinico have been
"6 furnifhed with very great Quantities, and are ftill; the "Cacao or Chocolate Nut grows here very well, and " there grows alfo a great deal of Fuftic, and there " is abundance of wild Fowl. It lies Weft-north-weft "6 from the Inand of Barbadoes, about twenty-four "Leagues; South from Martinico about feven Leagues; "and the fame Diftance North by Eaft from St. Vin"cent ; and hath feveral good Bays, and excellent Har" bours for Ships to anchor in: One of which is the "Petite Careenage, where we defigned the firt Settle" ment. This Harbour is on the North-weft Part of "s the Inand, and is much the fineft, and moft conve" nient in all the Caribbee IJands; great Numbers of "Ships may be there fafe in all kinds of Weather, and " 6 it is very commodious for careening Ships of War and " other Veffels. If this Ifland had been fettled, as was "6 intended by his Grace the Duke of Montague, proper "s Forts built, and Garrifons placed therein, for the Pro"stection and Defence thereof, it would have been of "s the greateft Importance for the fecuring the Leeward "I/ands, and even Barbadoes, from being invaded by "France in Time of War; for no Armament can be " made, nor any Expedition carried on by the French at "6 Martinico, againft any of thofe Colonies, but muft be " known at St. Lucia, almoft as foon as the Defign is "formed, by the Nearnefs of its Neighbourhood to that "'Illand; from whence, likewife, Barbadoes, and the Lee"w ward Iflands might have Notice to provide for their " better Defence. If St. Lucia were well inhabited by "s the Englifh, the People of Martinico would know their 'Intereft better than to enter upon any Expedition

## Chap. III. of the ENGLISH in AMERICA.

" againft Barbadoes or the Leeward Iflands, when they "6 had an Enemy fo near them; for they muft needs "s confider, if their Men were fent off that Illand to in" vade the Leeroard Iflands, the Barbadians would join "s the People of St. Lucia, and fall upon Martirico in the "s Abfence of their Men; which would endanger the " Lofs of that Inland, or at leaft the Plunder or fpoiling " of it; and would be more Damage to them than any "Benefit they can propofe to themfelves, by invading the Leeroard IJands, and fo the fame if their Defign " is againft Barbadoes; the Leeward Ilands People join" ing thefe of St. Lucia, Martinico will be in the fame "Danger, and by that Means our Plantations; in thofe "Parts, will be entirely fecured by the Poffefion of $S$ t.
"Lucia, and it will alfo be in the Power of the Englifb " to difturb the French, and not in the Power of the French to hurt the Englifh. But if both Nations fhould " fit ftill without hurting each other, yet St. Lucia will " be of the greateft Advantage to Great Britain, if it " were appointed the Place of Rendezvous for his Ma" jefty's Ships of War ; from whence they might con" tinually relieve each other, if need were, and keep "s always cruizing on the French, that they could not be " able to have a Veffel go in or out of their Harbour, " but what might be intercepted by the King's Ships, " and fo the Trade of our Plantations would thereby " become fecured, and the Martinicans would have no " Reafon to boaft as they did in the late War, that they " maintained their Inlands chiefly by privateering on the "Englifh, which is too well known to the Merchants " that have been Traders to thofe Parts. But in cafe St. " Lucia was fettled, and proper Meafures purfued, it " would entirely prevent fuch Mifchiefs for the future, " and the Englifh would foon grow too powerful for the " French, who at prefent have greatly the Advantage of " the Englifh; and the Leervard IJands are in the greateft " Danger, in cafe of a War with France, of being inva"s ded, which the Englifb Planters are moft fenfible of, "s and it is what the wifeft of them apprehend every " Day."
13. The Remarks that have been already made in the Courfe of this Section, upon the feveral Subjects to which it relates, make it unneceffary for me to detain the Reader very long with Obfervations at the Clofe. But, however, fome things are both fit and requifite to be faid here, for the Information of my Readers in general; and for reminding thofe in particular, who have it in their Power to be ufeful to the Colonies. It is certain, that from the very Time Sir Walter Raleigh, the Father of our Engli/b Colonies, and his Affociates, firf projected thofe Eftablifhments, there have been many who have either found an Intereft, or took a Pleafure, in mifreprefenting or leffening the Value of them. When the Intention of improving thefe diftant Countries, and the Advantages that were hoped for from it, were firft fet forth, there were fome who treated them not only as chimerical, but as dangerous: They faid that it was very uncertain whether we might meet with Succefs, and if we did, it might difpeople the Nation. Thefe, and many other Objections, flowing partly from a Narrownefs of Underftanding, but I am afraid chiefly from a Narrownefs of Heart, have been difproved by Experience, which has fhewn that what was then propofed was practicable in itfelf, profitable in its Confequences, and attended with none of thofe Mifchiefs that thefe timorous or ill intentioned People either apprehended or feemed to apprehend.

The Difficulties which attended, and which will always attend, Settlements at the Beginning, proved a new Caufe of Clamour ; and many fpiteful things were faid about the facrificing fo many Englifbmen, to the obftinate Defire of fixing Colonies in Countries, which at that Time did not produce any great Advantages. But by Degrees, as thefe Difficulties were overcome, thofe Complaints likewife ceafed, and we heard no more of thefe pretended Hardfhips; which, in reality, were no other than the fending fuch, as from the Perverfenefs of their own Difpofitions were capable only of doing Mifchief here; fuch as the Severity of their Creditors would have deftined to

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perpetual Imprifonment; and fuch as, either from Lazis nefs or Indigence, would have perifhed in our Streetss to be ufeful to themfelves and to the Community in the Colonies.

But when thefe Complaints ceafed, others rofe in their ftead; and when it could be no longer faid that the Colonies were ufelefs, it was alledged that they were not ufeful enough to their Mother Country ; that while we were loaded with Taxes, they were abfolutely free, and that the Planters lived like Princes, while the Inhabitants of Great Britain laboured hard for a tolerable Subfiftance. This produced Cuftoms and Impofitions upon all Plantation Commodities, which if they are grievous to the Inhabitants of the Plantations, muft turn to our Difadvantage as well as theirs, and confequently become a great Prejudice to both. At prefent there is a vaft Change in the Face of Affairs in thefe Parts of the World, which has confequently produced a Change in the Notions and Sentiments of thofe who are fettled there, and ought likewife to produce a Change in our Conduct. The principal Point in this Change is, the furprizing Growth of the French Power in America, from whence we have had many Warnings given us, which certainly were not received with fo much Attention as they ought to have been. If we had confidered, that in the Reign of King Cbarles II. when France had very little Trade, and her Colonies were of no great Confequence, fhe was almoft a Match for all Europe befide, and that too when the maritime Powers were in their moft flourifhing Condition; we might have eafily forefeen to what a Height her Power would increafe with the Help of Colonies and Commerce: But either we did not forefee it, or we fuffered ourfelves to be fo much taken up with nearer Objects, that we did not fufficiently provide againft an Evil, which of all others we ought moft to apprehend.

The very thing that has hitherto hindered us from conceiving as we ought to do of our Danger, in this Refpect, would have convinced us moft fully, if we had viewed it on the right Side, and reafoned upon it as became us. If we find that in Conjunction with the greateft Powers upon the Continent, we have not been able for fifty Years paft, to fet any Bounds to the Ambition of France in Europe, what Limits are we like to fet to her Power in America, when it comes to bear any Proportion there, to what fhe has attained here, and towards which, as we fee fhe has already made large Strides?
It may be anfwered, that at prefent the is very far from being equal to us in Strength in that Part of the World ; that the Colonies are very apt to think themfelves in Danger, long before they are fo; and that if their Fears were really fo great as they would fometimes reprefent them, as they have a Force fufficient, it is fcarce to be doubted that they would at length find a Will to help and relieve themfelves. We may anfwer to this, that if the French had a Power in America, in any Degree approaching ours, our Care might probably come too late, efpecially confidering the great Change that has happened there, where, inftead of having all the World for Allies, we have hardly fo much as a Friend in Appearance, the Spaniards being become Friends to France, and the Dutch having neither Force, nor, perhaps, Inclination to affift us. The Nature of their Government alfo, though it makes their Subjects lefs happy, makes their Colonies more formidable, and enables the Prince to protect them more effectually, and to grant them from Time to Time greater Encouragements; fo that we need not wonder they have overcome fo many Difficulties, or that the Trade of the French Illands fhould be fo much more confiderable now, than it was at the Peace of Utrecht. We may be likewife fure of this, that the more their Trade increafes, the more it will be encouraged; becaufe the French Miniftry pay a particular Regard thereto; and as we have already fhewn in our Hiftory of the Eaft India Company, they are never wanting to fuch as are not wanting to themfelves; but from the great Principle of promoting the Grandeur of France, yield all the Affiftance they can to what they vifibly perceive will increafe the Wealth, and augment the naval Power, of the Kingdom.

As to the Apprehenfions of the Colonies, Time has
fhewn
fhewn they are but too well founded; - our Settlements upon the Continent are, in a Manner, furrounded by them ; the Correfpondence between Canada and Lourifiana is in fome Meafure fettled; and, though a great length of Time may be neceffary to perfect the Defigns they may have formed on that Side, yet if we do not interpofe, as indeed we might eafily do, they will be fome time or other perfected, and then we fhall find our Circumftances very uneafy. This to every Man who will but turn his Thoughts upon the Subject, muft appear very plain and very certain; we fhould not therefore wonder that thofe who both fee and feel it, exprefs themfelves with fome Warmth upon this Topic: And at the worft, our Colonies had better alarm us too foon than number themfelves, and fuffer us to flumber till it is too late The French have already a great Power in the Inands, and if ever they fhould become entirely Matters of Hifpaniola, which we know not how foon they may, the Effects would be fatal to us. We have, at prefent, no Idea of the Importance of that Inand, or at leaft no adequate Idea of it; becaufe the Spaniards, who are poffeffed of the greatef Part of it, either from their Lazinefs or their Weaknefs, make no Ufe of it ; but we fhould find it quite otherwife if the Whole was in FrencbHands; and therefore amongft all our Guarantees, it would be very right to have a general Guarantee for the Spanifb Dominions in the Weft Indies.
As to our Colonies helping themfelves, there is no Doubt they do fo, or their Situation would be very bad. We hear daily of great Things done by their Privateers, but our Squadrons perform very little; and whoever compares the Exploits done by the Buccaneers, who were but Wef-Indian Privateers, with what has been done by regular naval Force, would fcarce believe they were of the fame Nation: Men of War in their Ports, and Commodores and Captains on Shore, do our Colonies very little Service; for they neither protect our own Trade, nor diftrefs that of the Enemy; fo that whatever Expence this may create to us we ought not to charge it upon them. If any Expedition is concerted here, we find the People in famaica and the Leerward Ifands, ready enough to expend both their Treafure and their Blood in the Execution of it ; and in Cafe of Mifcarriages, we have feldom had Reafon to lay the Blame at their Doors. As to the Northern Colonies, we have known them do fome, and attempt many, great Things; fo that it is barbarous to accufe them of being wanting to themfelves.

The Truth is, we want a proper Military Force in America; and I have often wondered that fome Way was not contrived to fend our Half-pay Officers thither: I do not mean to fend them thither upon Half-pay ; but to take fuch Meafures as that they fhould have Whole-pay, one Half from home, and the other raifed there. We might likewife make it worth the Attention of our Invalids, both Soldiers and Seamen, who, if they have common Senfe, would like a comfortable Eftablifhment in New York, Penfylvania, or Virginia, with their Wives and Families, full as well as an Apartment in any College, or being cooped up in our Garrifons, or in the Scilly Illands. If by thefe, or by any other Methods, we could eftablifh a regular Military Force, and even in time of Peace keep the Men fome way or other in Action and Difcipline, our Colonies would be a Match or Overmatch for the French, as Experience fhews from the Colony of Georgia, where we have been always a Match, and once an Over-match for the Spaniards, by mere Dint
of Military Difcipline, though we had but a very Handfull of People.

Thefe are Things that demand immediate and general Confideration. Our Colonies were always of great Confequence, but they are now of the greateft Confequence, to the Nation; for at leaft one Halt of our Commerce depends upon them, as the Whole of our Strength and Happinefs depends upon it: Our Wealth produces Liberty, and our Wealth was produced by Trade; whatever leffens that will therefore effect thefe, and if ever it fhould betaken away, we muft certainly feel what we felt before, Poverty and arbitrary Power. The wifeft Ufe therefore that we can make of Weaith while we have it is to fecure its Sources, by employing our Fleet in that Part of the Worid where their Succels muft be attended with certain and immediate Advantages; for diftreffing the Trade of the French muft benefit ours. In King William's War we had Spain for an Ally, and therefore we could not then take any Advantage from her Wealkneff. In the next general War we were neither her Friend nor Foe; we did her fome Hurt, and ourfelves no Good. But the French have been Gainers by both Wars; they had plundered the Spaniards in the firft, as open Enemies ; they ftripped them of their Money in the laft, by being pretended Friends. In the prefent War we have done pretty well, and the French have perhaps been no great Gainers by their Friendfhip with Spain. This ought to teach us the Wifdom of living with that Nation always either upon the beft Terms or the wort; as cordial Allies or as open Enemies; for whenever we are between both of thefe we are fure to be the Suffercrs, and the Frencb and Dutch run away with all.
It is our Bufinefs therefore to continue always armed in this Part of the World, where we have a fuperior Force, and where we fhould be ever ready to exert it, not againft innocent and inoffenfive Neighbours, but againtt falfe Friends and treacherous' Allies. If our legal Trade with the Spanifs Wef Indies were reftored, we ought to make it our Bufinefs to fee that it be a legal Trade; for it is certain that the Nation neither gets nor lofes, while the fame Quantity of Goods are dilpofed of by different Hands: We ought therefore to convince the Crown of Spain, that we can treat, and mean to treat, them well; and at the fame time, we fhould fhew them, that as it is not their Intereft to treat us ill, fo it is not our Nature to bear it : Illicit Trade and Conventions may do well enough for a feeble Republic, but are beneath a powerful Kingdom ; that, as it owes its Power to, ought to be always able and willing to protect, its Trade. Such are the Sentiments which ought to infpire the Breafts of BritiJs Statefmen. The reft of the World are convinced that we have not the Talents of Negociation; we ought therefore to convince them, that we do not ftand in need of fuch Talents; but that we can do our Bufinefs without them. The Dutch, whatever Language they may ufe in Europe, have always talked in this Tone in the Eaft Indies, and we ought to ufe it in the $W_{\text {eff }}$; while our Power is great there, we fhould exert and increafe it; when once it begins to decline, Advice will come too late, and therefore no Man can be blamed for giving it in time, whether it be followed or not. It is the Privilege of every Freeman to fpeak and write for the Service of his Country, and the Privilege only of a few to aft; but if the former excite, 'and the latter will perform, nothing is clearer, than that cur Country muft be ferved; which in this World is the worthieft End of Men, and therefore what we fhould all purfue.



## S E C T I O N XXI.

## The Hifory of the Rise, Progress, and Presentstate of the Colony of GEORGIA; with the Attempt made upon it by the Spaniards, and their total Defeat. Interfperfed with Original Papers.

1. An introductory Account of the Motives which gave Rife to tbis Defign of Settling to the South of Caw rolina, and the Nature of the Colony propofed. 2. A large ExtraEi of the Cbarter granted by bis prefent Majefty, for incorporating the Truftees, and enabling them to carry their Defign into Execution. 3. The Refolution taken by the Truftees woben incorporated, for fecuring Eftates in Land to the original Planters and their Heirs Male, and for the perpetual Exclufion of Negroes. 4. The firfl Colony fent over under the Direction of James Oglethorpe, Efg; the Torwn of Savannah laid out, and the firf Treaty with the Creck Indians. 5. The Return of Mr. Oglethorpe to England, in 1734, and bis bringing with bim Tomochichi and other Indians; the Acts prepared by the Truftees for the Government of Georgia, approved by the Lords of Trade and Plantations, and ratified by bis Majefy. 6. The great Embarkation, in the Year 1735, on the extraordinary Grant of twenty-five thoufand Pounds by Parliament, grounded upon a Memorial from South Carolina; with a Copy of that Memorial. 7. The Hiftory of the Colony farther continued, togetber with an Account of the Improvement made therein, and Indulgencies granted to the Plantersby the Truftees. 8. The Jame Subject purfued to the Year 1740, and a View of the Number of People Sent over by the Truftees, from the Time their Cbarter was granted to the Clofe of that Year. 9. A Proppect of the Country of Georgia as it is now Settled, the Number, Situation, and Importance of the Towns, Forts, \&c. erected there; with various other Particulars. Io. The Condition of the People int this Colony on the breaking out of the War with Spain, and the Refolution taken of acting in Conjunction with the Carolinians, offenfively, againft the Spaniards. II. A fuccinct Account of the Expedition againf Fort St. Auguftin, and the Confequences of that Expedition. 12. The Grand Invafion on that Colony by the whole Force of New Spain, and the true End of this extraordinary Armament. I3. The total and wonderful Defeat of that great Force by bis Majesty's Forces, under the Command of General Oglethorpe. 14. The Congratulations on the News of this important and decif ive AEtion, from the Governors of our $\int e-$ veral Colonies, to General Oglethorpe ; robich fheros their Senfe of the Confequences of this bappy Repulfe. 15. The prefent State of the Colony of Georgia conjidered, and its Importance demonjtrated, as a Frontier againft the French and Spaniards, as an Afylum for diftreffed Englifhmen, and foreign Proteftants; as a neceflary Means for maintaining a good Correfpondence revitb all the Indian Nations, as an excellent Support to the Iflands of Jamaica and Barbadoes, and as a Colony from whence we may reafonably expect Silk, Wine, Pot-afles, \&e.

"THE laft of the Britib Colonies in Point of Settlement, and of which hitherto we have had no accurate or juft Account, much lefs a clear and authentic Hiftory, is Georgia; of which I intend to treat with as much Perficicuity as poffible, that the Reader may apprehend the Nature of the Country, the Importance of its Situation, the Motives upon which it was fettled, the Progrefs of that Defign, the Attempts and Difappointments of the Spaniards, the prefent Situation of Things there, and the Hopes that we may rationally entertain as to its Fate and Succefs. This is certainly a very extenfive Plan; but at the fame time it is the only Plan upon which we can proceed, in order to give the inquifitive and public-fpirited Reader, a true Notion of the Nature and Importance of this new Settlement; which is undoubtedly of far greater Confequence to this Nation than hitherto it has been generally conceived to be: And therefore fuch a Hiftory as we propofe will be equally neceffary and entertaining; neceffary, as it effectually compleats the Hiftory of the Britifs America, of which this is not only the laft Colony in Point of Time, but the laft alfo in refpect to Situation, inafinuch as it extends as far fouthward as we claim any Right to, and fills up entirely the Difcoveries of the Cabots, which have been fo often mentioned; entertaining, as it confifts almoft wholly of new Matter, and as it fhews that even in this Age, when Luxury and all its Attendants, feem to be fo firmly eftablifhed in Europe, a Scheme has been formed for erecting in the pleafanteft and moft fruitful Part of North America, a Britijb Settlement, upon the trueft Principles of Virtule, Induftry, and Freedom, which cannot fail of friking firm and deep Root, and of flourinhing in fuch a manner as to do Honour to thofe worthy, difinterefted, and public-fpirited Perfons who were firft concerned in laying the Foundation of this Defign, and by whofe hearty and vigorous Endeavours it has been fo far as it is carried into Execution.
In ordier to proceed regularly, it is requifite to obferve, that about fourteen Years ago, when this Nation enjoyed a profound Peace, and when there appeared no juft Caufe to
apprehend its being fpeedily interrupted, fome Perfons of great Diftinction, from Principles of true Patriotifm, and Love to Mankind, obferving what great Numbers of People there were in thefe Kingdoms, who from a Variety of Misfortunes and untoward Accidents, found themfelves in no Condition of fubfifting, at leaft of fubfifting in fuch a Way as to be ufeful to themfelves and the Community, which is the fole Means whereby a Number of People become a Bleffing, generouly turned their Thoughts towards the Means of employing fuch Multitudes of diftreffed and indigent Perfons for their own and the public Good. Thefe Speculations produced at firft fome Thoughts of improving the moft northern Parts of our Plantations on the Continent of America; but upon more mature Reflection, and for very good Reafons, they changed their Purpofes, and turned their Thoughts to the South, particularly to that Part of America which makes properly our Frontier towards the Spaniards and the French, and which, though within the Bounds of the Province of Carolina, as defcribed in its Charter, was in reality no Part of it, as not being at all fettled; and for that Reafon, rather a Burden than an Advantage to the Province to which it belonged. Upon confining their Thoughts to this Country, they very quickly perceived, that though it had been fo long neglected, it was neverthelefs the moft valuable Part of our Poffeffions in North America, and the moit capable of being made a fruitful, populous, and ufeful Country, though at that time lying entirely wafte, overgrown with vaft Woods, which gave Shelter to a few Indians, Runaway Negroes; and other Banditti; affording great Advantages to the Spaniards in time of War, and upon the Extremities of which great Incroachments might be made before this Nation could have proper Intelligence of them. They faw that as to Climate and Situation no Country could claim a better, that it extended feventy Miles from North to South, and that it was three hundred Miles from the Midft of the: Coaft to the Apalacbian Mountains, the Country widening all the way; they were convinced that when a little opened and cleared, there could not
be a pleafanter or healthier Country upon the Face of the Globe ; that the Soil would prove fruitful, and eafy to be cultivated; that therefore People might fubfift there upon very moderate Labour; which Circumftances induced them to think, there could be no Place more proper found for the Habitation of the unhappy People before-mentioned.
But befides thefe Sentiments of private Pity, they were influenced likewife by Motives of public Utility : They forefaw that if this Project could be brought to bear, it would turn vaftly to the Advantage of Nortb and South Carolina, then lately purchafed by the Crown, by providing an effectualFrontier againit the Spaniards and the French, which they had hitherto wanted, and of the Want of which they had loudly complained: They judged by this Means, that new Alliances might be contracted with the Indians; or in cafe that could not be effected, the new Colony muft certainly keep them in Awe, and prevent their being fo terrible as within a few Years before they had been to the People of Carolina: And they faw juft Reafons to believe that this new Colony, when eftablihhed, might cultivate many rich and valuable Commodities for the Service of Great Britain. Thefe, and many other Reafons of like Nature, engaged them to think ferioufly of bringing fo compaffionate, fo practicable, and fo ufeful a Project to bear; in order to which they found it neceffary to apply themfelves to the Crown for fufficient Powers, to enable them to fet this Undertaking on foot. They did fo, and received all the Countenance and Encouragement they could defire or expect, as will appear by the following Extract from the Inftrument by which they were incorporated, and fo put into a Condition of legally executing what they had fo charitably projected.
2. "His Majefty King George II. by his Letters Pa" tent, bearing Date the gth Day of Fune, 1732, reci" ting, amongft other things, that many of his poor "Subjects were, through Misfortunes, and want of "Employment, reduced to great Neceffities," and " would be glad to be fettled in any of his Majefty's " Provinces in America; where, by cultivating the Lands " wafte and defolate, they may not only gain a com" fortable Subliftance, but alfo ftrengthen his Majelty's "Colonies, and increafe the Trade, Navigation, and " Wealth of his Majefty's Realms; and that the Pro" vinces in North America had been frequently ravaged " by Indian Enemies, more efpecially that of South Ca" rolina, whofe Southern Frontier continued unfettled, " and lay open to the Neighbouring Savages; and that " to relieve the Wants of the faid poor People, and to " protect the Subjects of South Carolina, a regular Co" lony of the faid poor People fhould be fettled and "eftablifhed in the Southern Frontiers of Carolina; and "" for the Confiderations aforefaid, conflitute a Corpora"tion by the Name of the Truftees, for eftablifhing the "Colony of Georgia in America, with Capacity to pur"chafe and take Lands; to fue and to be fued; to " have a common Seal, and to chufe Members in the " faid Corporation on the third Thurrday in March year" ly; with reftraining Claufes that no Member of the " faid Corporation fhould have any Salary, Fee, Perqui" fite, Benefit, or Profit, whatfoever, for acting therein; " or fhould have any Office, Place, or Employment of " Profit, under the faid Corporation; with a Direction " to the faid Corporation, every Year to lay an Account " in Writing before the Lord Chancellor, Chief Juftice " of the King's Bench, Mafter of the Rolls, Chief Juftice " of the Common Pleas, and Chief Baron of the Exche"quer, or any two of them, of all Money or Effects by " them received or expended, for carrying on the good "Purpofes aforefaid; with a Power to make Bye-Laws, "Conflitutions, Orders, and Ordinances; and granted, " amongft other things, to the faid Corporation, and "s their Succeffors, under the Refervations therein men${ }^{6}$ tioned, feven undivided Parts (the whole into eight ${ }^{66}$ equal Parts to be divided) of all thefe Lands, Coun"tries, and Territories, fituate, lying, and being, in that "Part of Soutb Carolina in America, which lies from the ${ }^{6}$. moft Northermoft Stream of a River there, called the
"Savannah, along the Sea Coaft to the Southward, unto "s the moft Southern Stream of a certain other great " Water or River, called the Alatamaba, and Weftward " from the Head of the faid Rivers, refpectively in direct " Lines to the South Seas. To have and to hold the "s fame to them, the faid Corporation, and their Suc${ }^{66}$ ceffors for ever; for the better Support of the faid ' Colony, under the yearly Rent of four Shillings Pro"clamation Money of Soutb Carolina, for every hundred
" Acres of the faid Lands, for every of which the faid 'Corporation fhould Grant, Demife, Plant, or Settle, but
" not to commence until ten Years after fuch Grant,
"Demife, planting or fettling; and erected and created
" the faid Lands, Countries, and Territories, into one
" independent and feparate Province, by the Name of
"Georgia; and made the Inhabitants who fhould refide
" therein free, and not fubject to any of the Laws, Or-
"s ders, Statutes, or Conftitutions of South Carolina, ex-
" cept the Commander in chief of the Militia; and au-
"s thorized the faid Corporation, for the Term of twenty
" one Years, from the Date of the faid Letters Patent,
"s to form and prepare Laws, Statutes, and Ordinances,
"s for the Government of the faid Colony, not repugnant
" to the Laws and Statutes of England; to be prefented " under their common Seal to his Majefty in Council,
"for his Approbation or Difallowance; and that the "s faid Laws fo approved of, fhould be in full Force and
" Virtue, within the faid Province. And impowered "s the faid Council for the Time being of the faid Cor-
" poration, or the major Part of them, to difpofe of, ' expend, and apply all the Money and Effects belong" ing to the faid Corporation, and to make Contracts " for carrying on and effecting the good Purpofes there" in intended; and that they hould from Time to Time " appoint a Treafurer, Secretary, and fuch other Offi' cers, Minifters, and Servants of the faid Corporation, "" as they fhould fee proper for the good Management "s of their Affairs, and at their Pleafure to remove them, "s and appoint others in their ftead; and that they fhould "6 appoint reafonable Salaries, Perquifites, and other Re" wards for their Labour or Services; and that fuch " Officers fhould be fworn before they act, for the faith" ful and dwe Execution of their refpective Offices and
"s Places; and declared that the Treafurer and Secretary " for the Time being, fhould be incapable of being
" Members of the faid Corporation ; and granted to the
" faid Corporation, that it fhould be lawful for them,
" their Officers and Agents, to tranfport and convey, "" into the faid Province, fuch of his Majefty's Subjects,
$"$ and Foreigners, as were willing to go and inhabit, and " refide there; and declared all Perfons born within the " faid Province, and their Children, and their Pofterity, " to be free Denizens, as if they had been born within " 6 any of his Majefty's Dominions; and impowered the "s faid Common Council, in the Name of the Corpora" tion, and under their common Seal, to diftribute, "s affign, transfer, and fet over fuch particular Portions " of the faid Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments, "c unto fuch of his Majefty's Subjects and others, willing "s to live in the faid Colony, upon fuch Terms, and for " fuch Eitates, and upon fuch Rents, Refervations, and "Conditions, as the fame might lawfully be granted; " 6 and as to the faid Common Council, or the major "Part of them, fhould feem fit and proper, provided " no Grant fhould be made of any Part of the raid " Lands, unto, or in truit for, or for the Benefit of, any
${ }^{6}$ Member of the faid Corporation; and that no greater "Quantity of the faid Lands be granted, either entirely " 6 or in Parcels, to, or to the Ufe of, or in truft for, any " one Perfon, than five hundred Acres; and declared ${ }^{66}$ that all Grants made contrary to the true Intent and "Meaning thereof, fhould be abfolutely null and void. 'And granted, that the faid Corporation, for the Term " of twenty one Years, from the Date of the faid Let"ters Patent, hould have Power to erect and confti"s tute Judicatures, and Courts of Record, or other Courts s6 to be held in his Majefty's Name, for the hearing and " determining all Manner of Crimes, Offences, Pleas, ${ }_{6}$ Proceffes, Plaints, Actions, Matters, Caufes, and

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"things whatfoever arifing or happening within the faid Province, or between Perfons inhabiting or refiding "there; and for awarding and making out Executions "thereupon, and directing the faid Corporation to re" gifter, or caufe to be regiftered, all Leafes, Grants, Plantings, Conveyances, Settlements, and Improvements whatfoever, as fhould at any Time be made of " any Lands, Tenements, or Hereditaments, within the " faid Province; and yearly to tranfmit authentic Accounts thereof, unto the Auditor of the Plantations, or his Deputy, and to the Surveyor of South Carolina, to infpect and furvey the fame, to afcertain the Quit-rents, which fhould become due according to the Referva"tion before mentioned. But not to have or take any "Gratuity, Fee, or Reward, for fuch Survey or Infpection, on Forfeiture of their Office; with a Provifo that all Leafes, Grants, and Conveyances, to be made of any Lands within the faid Province, or a Memorial "containing the Subftance thereof, fhould be regiftered " with the Auditors of the Plantations, within one Year " from the Date thereof; otherwife that the fame fhould " be void. And directed, that all Rents, Iffues, or Pro"fits, which Mould come to the faid Corporation, iffuing or arifing out of, or from, the faid Province, fhould " be laid out and applied in fuch Manner, as would moft improve and enlarge the faid Colony, and beft anfwer the good Purpofes therein mentioned, and for defraying all other Charges about the fame. And directed the faid Corporation, from Time to Time, to give in to one of the Secretaries of State, and to the Commiffioners of Trade and Plantations, Accounts of the Progrefs of the faid Colony. And directed that " the faid Common Council fhould, from Time to Time, for the faid Term of twenty-one Years, from the Date of the faid Letters Patent, have Power to appoint all fuch Governors, Judges, Magiftrates, Minifters, and Officers, Civil and Military, both by Sea "s and Land, within the faid Diftrict, as they fhould "think fit and needful for the Government of the faid " Colony (except fuch Officers as fhould be appointed " for managing, collecting, and receiving fuch of his " Majefty's Revenues, as chould arife within the faid Province) with a Provifo that every Governor, fo appointed, fhould be approved by his Majefty, and qualify himfelf as other Governors in America are by Law required to do, and give Security for obferving the Acts of Parliament relating to Trade and Navigation, and obeying all Inftructions from his Majefty, " or any acting under his Authority, purfuant to the faid Acts. And granted, that the faid Corporation, for the faid Term of twenty-one Years, from the Date of the faid Letters Patent, fhould have Power by any Commander, or other Officer, for that Purpofe appointed, to train, intruft, exercife, and govern a $\mathrm{Mi}-$ litia for the fpecial Defence and Safety of the faid Colony, to affemble in martial Array ; and put in Warlike Pofture the Inhabitants of the faid Colony; and in " Time of actual War, Invafion, or Rebellion, to ufe and exercife the Law Martial, and alfo to erect Forts, and fortify any Place within the faid Colony; and the fame to furnifh with all neceffary Ammunition, Provifion, and Stores of War, for Offence and Defence, and from Time to Time to commit the Cuftody and Government of them to fuch Perfon or Perfons as to "s them fhould feem meet; declaring that the Governo or Commander in Chief of South Carolina, thould have the chief Command of the Militia of Georgia, and that they fhould obferve his Orders. And granted, that " the faid Corporation fhould have Power to import and " export their Goods, at and from any Fort or Ports "that fhould be appointed by his Majefty, within the "faid Province, for that Purpofe, without being obliged "s to touch at any other Port in South Carolina. And "c declared, that after the End of the faid twenty-one " Years, fuch Form of Government, and making of "Laws and Statutes, and Ordinances, for the Govern${ }^{6}$ ment of the faid Province and its Inhabitants, fhould "s be eftablifhed and obferved within the fame, as his ${ }^{66}$ Majefty, his Heirs and Succeffors, fhould ordain and Vol. II. Numb. 9 I.
${ }^{\text {ss }}$ appoint, and fhould be agreeable to Law; and that ${ }^{6}$ after the End of the faid twenty-one Years, the Go"s vernor, and all Officers, civil and military, within the " faid Province, fhould be appointed by his Majefty, " his Heirs and Succeffors."
3. As foon as they had obtained this gracious and extenfive Charter, the following noble and honourable Perfons undertook, in Quality of Truftees, to engage vigorounly in the Execution of this Defign, viz. Antbony Earl of Sbaftfoury, Fobn Lord Vifcount Percival, fince created Eail of Egmont, Jobn Lord Vifcount Tyrconne?, Fames Lord Vifcount Lymerick, George Lord Carpenter, Edward Digby, Efq; Fames Ogletborpe, Efq; George Heatbcoate, Efq; Tbomas Tower, Efq; Robert More, Efq; Robert Hucks, Efq; William Sloper, Efq; Francis Eyles, Efq; Jobn Laroche, Efq; Fames Vernon, Efq; Stephen Hales, A. M. Ricbard Cbandler, Efq; Tbomas Frederick, Efq; Henry L'Apoftre, Efq; William Heatbcaate, Efq; Fobn Wbite, Efq; Robert Kendal, Efq; Ricbard Bundy, D. D. Their firft Care was to obtain a Fund fufficient for the fending over a confiderable Number of People, and providing them with all kinds of Neceffaries, towards which they fubfcribed liberally themfelves; ohtained confiderable Sums by way of Collection from well-difpofed People, and had befides a Grant from the Parliament of $10,000 \%$.

They next turned their Thoughts, as to the moft proper Method of fettling thefe People, when fent over to Georgia, fo as that they might be enabled to live comfortably themfelves, and at the fame Time anfwer all the Ends for which they were fent thither; it being judged highly reafonable, that thofe who were thus provided for, at the public Expence, fhould be made in every Refpect, as ufeful to the Public as poflible. They refolved therefore to confider each Inhabitant in a double Capacity, as a Planter, and as a Soldier, who were confequently to be provided with Arms for their Defence, as well as Tools for the Cultivation of their Land, and taught the Exercife of both. They alfo refolved, that upon the firft fettling of this Colony, Towns fhould be laid out, and Lands allotted each of them for their Maintenance, as near thofe Towns as poffible; that the former might ferve for their Defence, and the latter for their Subfitance. In Confequence of thefe Refolutions, it was agreed that every Lot or Portion of Land, fhould confift of fifty Acres; and that it fhould be granted them in Tale Male, as the propereft Tenure for the Colony in its Infancy, and the fittef to preferve it from thofe Inconveniencies to which it was moft obnoxious; and with refpect to any Hardfhips that might arife from this Tenure, they determined to remedy them occafionally, till fuch Time as the Condition of the Colony fhould render an Alteration neceffary.

They likewife determined to prohibit Negroes, the Ufe of them feeming abfolutely inconfiftent with the Defign of this Colony, and befides this, in many refpects, inconvenient and dangerous. Inconvenient, as the firf Coft of a Negro is about thirty Pounds; a Sum, that it was not to be fuppofed many of the People fent to Georgia could lay out for themfelves; nor was it fit that the Truitees hould do it for them, fince this would pay the Paffage, provide Tools, and defray the Expence of a white Man's Subfiftance for a Year, who would then become a Security to the Province. It was forefeen, that if a white Man kept a Negro, he would be lefs willing and lefs able to labour himfelf. If fuch as were in Circumftances to go over at their own Expence, were allowed to make ufe of Negroes, it was judged that this would difpirit the poor Planters, would incline fuch as were poffefled of Negroes to ablent themfelves, as in other Provinces; might enable them, if fuccefsful, to eat up and opprefs their poorer Neighbours; or tempt them, if unfuccefsful, to mortgage or fell their Lands to the Negro Merchants. Thefe were apparent and great Inconveniencies, but the Dangers were ftill more numerous and more certain. In the firt Place, it was evident that as the Planters in Georgia were to be fent over with their Families, if Negroes were allowed, whenever the Men were abfent from their Plantations upon any Duty, their

Wives and Children would be at the Mercy of thefe Negroes; and thus, befides the Cafe of fecuring themfelves againft foreign Invafions, they would be likewife under a Neceffity of providing for their domeftic Safety. In the next Place, it was forefeen that the Spaniords at $s t$. Augufin would be continually inticing away the Negroes, or inciting them to Infurrections; the former of which would have been very eafy, as they had only a fmall River or two to fwim over, which they might do fingly as well as in Parties; the latter was fo much the more to be dreaded, as an Attempt or two of this kind muft have greatly difcouraged, if not totally fubverted, the Englifb Colony; and the Certainty of thefe Evils was the greater, becaufe in a Time of profound Peace, the Spaniards had practifed both in regard to the Colony of South Carolina, though at a greater Diftance, from whence Negroes had often fled in little Boats to the Spamiards, and been protected; and they have likewife been incited to rife in large Bodies, to the great Terror of the Inhabitants, and to the no fmall Hazard of the Lofs of that Province: Befides, the allowing Negroes in Georgia, would have facilitated the Defertion of the Carolina Negroes, through this new Province; and confequently the Colony, inftead of proving, as it was intended, a Frontier, and thereby adding Strength to the Province of Soutb Carolina, would have proved a Means of drawing away their Slaves, to the great Prejudice of the Planters; and which was much worfe, would add thereby to the Strength of their Enemies at St. Augufin. So that taking thefe Confiderations together, viz. that Wine, Silk, Pot-afhes, and other Produces, which were expected from the new Colony, did not at all require Negroes; as the Introduction of them fo near to a Garrifon of the Spaniards, would weaken, rather than ftrengthen, the Barrier ; and as they would introduce with them a greater Propenfity to Idlenefs among the Planters, and too great an Inequality among the People; it was thought proper to make the Prohibition of them a fundamental Article of the Conflitution.

When the Truftees had made thefe Difpofitions, and were enabled, by Benefactions from the Public, and feveral private Perfons, on the 3 d of October 1732, it was refolved to fend over one hundred and fourteen Perfons, Meri, Women, and Children, being fuch as were in decayed Circumftances, and thereby difabled from following any Bufinefs in England; and who, if in Debt, had leave from their Creditors to go; and fuch as were recommended by the Minifter and Church-Wardens, and Overfeers of their refpective Parifhes ; and fomes Oglethorpe, Efq; one of the Truftees went with them at his own Expence, to fettle them. On the 24 th of the fame Month, the People were all examined, whether any of them had any Objections to the Terms and Conditions propofed to them, which they all declared they had not, but that they were fully fatisfied with them; and executed Articles under their Hands and Seals, teftifying their Confents thereto, which are now in the public Office belonging to the Truftees. But four of them defiring their Daughters might inherit as well as their Sons, and that their Widow's Dower might be confidered, the Truftees immediately refolved, that every Perfon who fhould defire the fame, fhould have the Privilege of naming a Succeffor to the Lands granted to him; who, in Cafe the Poffeffor fhould die without Iffue Male, fhould hold the fame to them and their Heirs Male for ever; and that the Widows fhould have their Thirds, as in England; with which Refolution the People being all acquainted, were very well fazisfied.

The Truftees prepared Forms of Government, agreeable to the Powers given them by the Charter ; they eftablifhed under their Seal a Court of Judicature, for trying Caufes, as well criminal as civil, in the Town of Savannab (the Name which was given to the firf Town to be raifed) by the Name and Stile of the Town Court. They alfo appointed Magiftrates there, viz. three Bailiffs and a Recorder, and inferior Officers, viz. two Conftables and two tything Men. They chofe for Magiftrates, fuch as appeared to them the moft prudent and difcreet; but amongtt a Number of People, who were all upon a Le-
vel at the firt fetting ont, it was impolible to make any Choice or Diftinction, which would not create fome future Uneafinefs among them. As I have no Relation to, or Connection with, the Truftees of Georgia, I fhall take the Liberty of making fome Remarks upon their Proceedings, which otherwife I fhould not have thought becoming either them or me. The Scheme of their Incorporation is entirely new, as was the Project of Mr. Oglethorpe's going over at his own Expence, and purely to fee thefe People put into a Way of living without him, whom he had extricated out of fo many Difficulties, and who, but for this Condefcenfion in him, muft have fallen back into thofe Difficulties again. The Attempts of Sir Walter Raleigh, for fettling of Virginia, were of this Nature with refpect to him; that is to fay, what he did was from a Motive of public Spirit; but what the Virginia Company did, was from a Principle of Gain; whereas this whole Defign rofe from the charitable and beneficent Difpofition of a few worthy and good Men, and has been hitherto conducted according to the fame Difpofition, for the Benefit of the Colony, and of the Public ; and from no other View or Intereft in the Truftees, but the making themfelves happy from the Confcioufnefs of well doing; which at the fame Time that it reflects Reputation upon them, does the higheft Honour to this Age and Country, in which the Defire I have to have fome fmall Share, produced the Pains taken in this Section, which I flatter myfelf will, like its Subject, prove of great Utility to the Public.
4. On the 15 th of November Mr. Ogletborpe fet out for Gravefend, from whence he foon failed for Carolina, where they arrived on the 15 th of January following, and were received at Cbarles Toren by the Governor, with great Kindnefs and Civility; who ordered Mr. Middleton, the King's Pilot, to carry the Ship into Port Royal, and Small Craft to convey the Colony from thence to the River Savannab. In ten Hours they proceeded to Fort Royal. On the i 8th Mr. Ogletborpe wen's afhore upon French's Ifland, and left a Guard upon Fobw's, being a Point of that Ifland, which commands the Channel, and is about half Way between Beaufort and the River Savannah. They had Orders to prepare FIuts, for the Reception of the People in their Paffage from thence. Mr. Ogletborpe went to Becufort Towon, and was faluted with a Difcharge of the Artillery, and had a new Barrac fitted up, where the Colony landed on the 20th, and were chearfully affifted by Lieutenant Wats, and Enfign Farrington, and the other Officers of the independent Company; as alfo by Mr. Ledebar, and other Gentlemen of the Neighbourhood; from thence he went to view the Savamnab River, and pitched upon a convenient Spot of Ground, ten Miles up the River, on which he defigned to build a Town. The Reader will obferve that this was exactly agreeable to the Refolutions taken by the Truftees at home ; and as there was no Time loft in fixing upon the Place, fo on the 9 th of February the Town was marked out, and the firft Houfe begun.

The chief Reafons that determined Mir. Ogletborpe in the Choice of this Place were, Health, Pleafure, and Conveniency. Before his Arrival in the Country, it had the Name of an Indian Nation, viz. Cammacraw, who inhabited here, under the Command of the Chief, Tomochichi, and who readily gave them Place, and entered into a clofe Friendfhip with him; fo much the more agreeable to both Parties, as there was no other Indian Nation within fifty Miles. But Mr. Oglethorpe called the Town by the Name of the River Savannab. It lies, according to Captain Gafcoigh's Obfervations, in the Latitude of 31 Degrees 58 Minutes, which he took off Tybee, an Ifland that lies at the Mouth of the Savannab River. It is diftant from Cbarles Town South-weft, according to the Courfe and Windings of the Rivers and Creeks, about one hundred and forty Miles, but by a direct Courfe feventy-feven, allowing Suilivan's IJand to be in the Latitude of 32 Degrees 47 Minutes; from Augufin North-eaft and by Ealt about one hundred and forty Miles; and by the Courfe of the Rivers is diftant from Fort Moore three hundred Miles; but upon a direct Line but one hundred and fifteen Miles North-

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weft and by Weft ; this Bluff is diftant ten Miles from the Mouth of the River on the South-fide; and Parrys burgb is twenty four Miles above it, on the North, and is fo fituated as to have a beautiful Profpect, both up and down the River. It is very fandy and barren, and confequently a wholefome Place for a Town or City, if Savannab fhould ever grow up and rival Pbiladelpkia.

After putting things into order here, and affigning every Man his proper Station and Employment, Mr. Ogletborpe, in Company with Colonel Bull, who came from Cbarles Town to pay him a Vifit, and teftifyed great Satisfaction at the Progrefs they made, fet out for Cbarles Town to follicit Succours for his Colony. Before we take Notice of the Succefs he met with on that Occafion, it may not be amifs to tranfcribe a Paragraph from the South Carolina Gazette, dated Cbarles Tovon, March the $22 \mathrm{~d}, 1732$, in which there is an Account given of a Journey to Georgia, which will fhew the Sentiments of the People of that Colony, at a Time when they were freed from all Prejudices, Apprehenfions, and Prepoffeffions. After defcribing the Town in the Manner we have done, they fay, "When they, that is the new Colony,
arrived, there was ftanding on it, viz. the Place "where the Town now flands, a great Quantity of the beft Sorts of Pines, moft of which are already cut down " on the Spot where the Town is laid out to build "The Land is barren about a Mile back, when you come into very rich Ground; and on both Sides, with" in a quarter of a Mile of the Town, is choice good " planting Land. Colonel Bull told me that he had been " feven Miles back, and found it extraordinary good. " Mr. Oglethorpe is indefatigable, takes a vaft deal of "Pains; his Fare is but indifferent, having little elfe at " prefent but falt Provifions: He is extremely well be " loved by all his People. The general Title they give " him is Father. If any of them are fick, he immediately " vifits them, and takes a great deal of Care of them. If anyDifferences arife, he is the Perfon that decides them: Two happened while I was there, and in my Prefence, and all the Parties went away, to outward Appearance, " fatisfied and contented with his Determination. He " keeps a ftrict Difcipline ; I never faw one of his Peo" ple drunk nor heard one fwear, all the Time I was there. " He does not allow them Rum, but in lieu gives them

Englijb Beer. It is furprifing to fee how chearfully the "Men go to work, confidering they have not been " bred to it. There are no Idlers there, even the © Boys and Girls do their Parts. There are four Houfes "" already up, but none finifhed; and he hopes when he "c has got more Sawyers, which I fuppofe he will have " in a fhort time, to finifh two Houfes in a Week. He "" has plowed up fome Land, Part of which he fowed "" with Wheat, which is come up, and looks promifing. "He has two or three Gardens, which he has fowed with "c divers Sorts of Seeds; and planted Thyme, with other "Sorts of Pot-herbs, Sage, Leeks, Scallions," Celery, "Liquorice, $\mathcal{B}^{\circ}$ c. and feveral Sorts of Fruit-Trees. He "was pallifading the Town, and inclofing fome Part of "t the Common, which I do fuppofe may be finifhed in a "Fortnight's time. In fhort, he has done a vaft deal of "W Woik for the Time; and I think his Name ought to be immortalized."
This fufficiently fhews how well pleafed the People at Carolina were, as indeed they had Reafon to be, with this new Settlement; as a further Teftimony of which, not only the Affembly, but the People in general, contributed largely to the Affiftance of the new Comers five hundred Pounds of which Money Mr. Ogletborpe laid out immediately in Cattle, and having given other Directions for providing at Cbarles-Town what his People might have Occafion for, he very fpeedily fet out on his return for Savamnah, and on his way lay at Colonel Bull's Houfe on A/bly River. There the Reverend Mr. Guy, Rector of St. Fobn's Parifh, waited on him, and told him his Parifhioners had raifed a handfome Contribution. Being arrived at Savamnab, he found that Mr. Wiggan, the Interpreter, with the chief Men of the Lower Creek Nation, had been to treat of an Alliance with the new, Colony. The Loveer Creeks are a Nation
of Indians, who formerly confifted of ten, but now are reduced to eight, Tribes, who have each their different Government, but are allied together, and fpeak the fame Language. They clain from the Savannab River as far as St. Augufins and up Flint River, which falls into the Bay of Mexico. Tomocbicbi, Mico, and the Indians of Yammacraze were of the Creek Nation and Language.
Mr. Ogletborpe received the Indians in one of the new Houfes. They were as follows: From the Tribe of Cowveta, Yaban Lakee, their King or Mico, Effaboo, their Warrior, the Son of Old Brim, lately dead; whom the Spanierds called Emperor of the Creeks, with eight Men and two Women Attendants. From the Tribe of $\mathrm{Cu}-$ fetas, Cufeta, their Mico, Tatcbiquatchi, their Head Warrior, with four Attendants. From the Tribe of Orefeecheys, Ogeefe, the Mico or War King; Neathloutbko and Ougacbi two chief Men, with three Attendants. From the Tribe of Cbeechaves, Outbleteboa, their Mico, Tblautho-tblukee, Figeer, Sootamilla, War Captains, with three Attendants. From the Tribe of Ecbetas, Cbutabeeche and Robin, two War Captains (the latter was bred among the Englijb) with four Attendants. From the Tribe of Polacbucolas, Gillattee, their Head Warrior, and five Attendants. From the Tribe of Oconas, Oueekacbumpa, called by the Englijh Long King, Koowoo, a Warrior. From the Tribe of Eufaule, Tomoumi, Head Warrior, and three Attendants.
The Indians being all feated, Oucekacbumpa, a very tall old Man, foood, and made a Speech, which was interpreted by Mr. Wiggan and Mr. Mufgrove, and was to the following Purpofe: He firft claimed all the Lands to the Southward of the River Savannab, as belonging to the Creek Indians. They then faid, though they were but poor and ignorant, he that had given the Englifh Breath had given them Breath alfo. That he that had made both had given more Wifdom to the White Men. That they were perfuaded that the great Power which dwelt in Heaven, and all around, (and then he fpread out his Hands and lengthened the Sound of his Words) and which hath given Breath to ail Men, had fent the Englijh thither, for the Inftruction of them, their Wives and Children : That, therefore, they gave them up freely their Right to all the Land they did not ufe themfelves. That this was not only his Opinion, but the Opinion of the eight Towns of the Creeks, each of whom having confulted together, had fent fome of their chief Men with Skins, which is their Wealth.

Then the chief Men brought a Bundle of Buck-Skins, and laid eight from the eight Towns before Mr. Ogletborpe. He faid thefe were the beft Things they had, and that they gave them with a good Heart. He concluded with thanking him for his Kindnefs to Tomocbichi, Mico, and his Indians, to whom he faid he was related, and though Tomocbicbi was banifhed from his Nation, that he was a good Man, and had been a great Warrior; and it was for his Wifdom and Juftice that the banifhed Men had chofe him King. He alfo faid, that he had heard that the Cberokees had killed fome Englijpmen, and that if Mr. Oglethorpe would command them, they would enter their whole Force into the Cberokee Country, deftroy their Harveft, kill the People, and revenge the Englijh. When he had done fpeaking, Tomocbicbicame in with the Yommacrawo Indians, and naking a low Obeifance, faid, I was a banifhed Man, and I came here poor and helplefs to look for good Land near the Tombs of my Anceftors, and when the Englifh came to this Place I feared you would drive us away; for we were weals and wanted Corn. But you confirmed our Land to us, and gave us Food. Then the Chiefs of the other Nation made Speeches to the fame Purpofe as Oueekachumpa's.
After which they agreed with Mr. Oglettorpe on a Treaty of Alliance and Commerce, which was figned by him and them. A laced Coat, a laced Hat, and a Shirt, were given to each King, and to each of the Warriors a Gun, a Mantle of Duffils, and to all their Attendants coarfe Cloth for cloathing, and other things. The Articles of Agreement were, I. The Truftees agreed to let their People carry into the Indian Towns all Sorts of Goods fitting to Trade at Rates and Prices fettled by the Treaty. II. Reftitution and Reparation to be made for Injuries on both Sides, and Criminals to be tried and pu-
nifhed according to the Englifh Law. III. Trade to be withdrawn from any Indian Town offending againft Treaty. IV. The Englifh to poffefs all Lands not ufed by the Indians, provided, that upon fettling of every new Town the Englifh fhould fet out for the Ufe of their Nation, fuch Lands as fhould be agreed on between the Englifb beloved Men, and the Head-Men of their Nation. V. To reftore all runaway Negroes, and carry them either to Cbarles Town, the Savannab, or Petacbuchula Garrifon, upon being paid for every fuch Negro four Blankets, or two Guns, or the Value thereot in other Goods, if taken on the other Side Ocorivy River ; and one Blanket if the Negro is killed in taking or endeavouring to make his Efcape. VI. Laftly, They promife, with ftrait Hearts and Love to their Brother Englifh, to give no Encouragement to any other white People to fettle there, and to all this they fet the Marks of their Families. This Treaty being concluded, Mr. Oglethorpe thought fit to return into England, as well to report the Situation things were in, in that Country, as to procure the neceffary Supplies for promoting the new Colony.
5. In the Month of June 1734 Mr. Ogletborpe arrived fafely in England, bringing with him Tomocbicbi, Mico or King of the Sammacraws; Senawki, his Confort, and Toonakowi, the Prince his Nephew, as alfo Hillifpilli, a War Captain, and Apakowtfki, Stimalecbi, Sintoucbi, Hinguitbi, and Umpbycbi, five other Indian Chiefs, with their Interpreter. They were lodged at the Georgia-Office, Old-Palace-Yord, where they were handfomely entertained; and, being fuitably dreffed, were introduced to the Court, then at Kenfington. Tomocbicbi prefented to the King feveral Eagles Feathers; which, according to their Cuftom, is the moft refpectful Gift he could offer, and made the following Speech to his Majefty. "This Day I fee the Majefty of your Face, and "G Greatnefs of your Houle, and the Number of your sc People, I am come for the Good of the whole Na"s tion called the Creeks, to renew the Peace they had "s long ago with the Englifh. I am come over in my " old Days; though I cannot live to fee any Advantage 's to myfelf. I am come for the Good of the Children "s of all the Nations of the Upper and Lower Creeks, that "s they may be inftructed in the Knowledge of the Eng"s lifh. Thefe are the Feathers of the Eagle, which is " 6 the fwifteft of Birds, and who flieth all round our
" Nations. Thefe Feathers are a Sign of Peace in our
"s Land, and we have brought them over to leave them " with you, O! great King, as a Sign of everlafting " Peace. O! great King, whatfoever Words you thall " fay unto me I will tell them faithfully to all the Kings "s of the Creek Nations." To which his Majefty made a gracious Anfwer, affuring thofe Nations of his Protection and Regard.

Thefe Indians, but more efpecially their Mico or Prince, gave evident Marks, during their Stay in England, of good Senfe, and of a fincere Inclination to carry on a friendly Correfpondence between their own Nation and ours; and therefore they defired of the Truftees, that the Meafures, Prices, and Qualities of Goods to be purchafed by them, with their Deer-Skins, might be fettled, as likewife the Weights ; that no body might be allowed to trade with the Indians in Georgia, without a Licence from the Truftees, in order, that if they were in any refpect injured, or defrauded by the Traders, they might know where to complain. And they further defired, that there might be but one Store-houfe in each Indian Town, for fupplying them with the Goods they might want to purchafe, from whence the Traders fhould be obliged to fupply them at their fixed Prices. The Reafon which the Indians gave for this Application was, becaufe the Traders with them had often, in an arbitrary Manner, raifed the Price of Goods, and defrauded them in the Weights and Meafures; and, by their Impofitions, had often created Animofities between the Englifh and Indians, which had frequently ended in Wars between them, prejudicial to both.

In Compliance with this Requeft of theirs, the Truftees prepared a Law, intitled, An ACF for maintaining the Peace with the Indians in the Province of Georgia; which
contained the fame Regulations and Provifions that were made in an Act paffed by the Council and Affembly in South Carolina, in the Year 1731 , which Act would have reached the Country now called Georgia, if it had not been erected into a feparate Province. They likewife prepared another Law, calculated for the fame falutary Purpofe, I mean the preventing any Dangers from the Indians, by the pernicious Effects of fpirituous Liquors, as well as the Health of the People already fettled, and that might be fettled, in their new Colony, which was intitled, An AEt to prevent the Importation and Ufe of Rum and Brandies in the Province of Georgia, or any kind of Spirits, or Arong Waters what foever. They likewife prepared a third Law, upon a very mature Deliberation, and for the Reafons before mentioned, intitled, An AIZ for rendering the Colony of Georgia more defenfible, by probibiting the Importation of Black Slaves, or Negroes, in the fame. Thefe three Acts were laid before the King in Council, in the Month of Fanuary following; and after a Report from the Board of Trade, That they were proper to receive his Majefty's Approbation, they were accordingly ratified. Two Embarkations were made this Year, whofe Numbers are hereafter mentioned, which confifted chiefly of Saltfourghers, who with the Salffurghers that went before, were fettled in a Town called by them Ebenezer, up on the River Savannah, at fome Diftance above the Town and by the Sobriety and Induftry of the People, they prove a very thriving Settlement.
6. In the fucceeding Year, 1735 , the Trutees were en couraged by an extraordinary Supply of twenty-fix thoufand Pounds, granted by Parliament, and very confiderable Benefactions, as well in Carolina as in England, to think of making very confiderable Embarkations for ftrengthening the fouthern Part of Georyia; and to obviate any Objection that might be made, as in Undertakings of this Nature Objections will never be wanting, of their fending ufeful Poor from hence, it was refolved, That thefe Embarkations fhould confift moftly of People from the North of Scotland, and perfecuted Germon Proteftants. The Reader will obferve, that by the Care taken in tinis Refpect, the Nation gained a very confiderable Advantage, fince by this Means the Overfowings of all the Northern Countries of Europe, which are known to breed robuft, hardy and induftrious People, were fecured for our Service, and carried over and fettled in that Part of his IVajefty's Dominions where fuch People were wanted moft; where, from their Circumftances, they were obliged to fulfil (as indeed they have always done) the Ends for which they were fent thither ; and fo became an Acceffion of Strength of great Confequence and Advantage, at a very fmall and inconfiderable Expence. But that the Reader may be fully apprized of, and perfectly comprehend, the true Reafons which induced the Parliament to grant fo much Money, for the Settlement and Improvement of the Colony this Year, and may likewife be enabled to judge of the Weight and Importance of thefe Reafons, it is requifite to inform him, that the Colony of South Carolina drew up a Memorial, dated the gth of April I734, figned by Robert Gobnfon, Efq; their Governor, Tbomas Broughton, Prefident of the Council; and Paul Fenys, Speaker of the Commons; containing a Reprefentation of the State and Condition of that Province, and therein fo full, fo clear, and fo authentic an Account of Facts, equally curious and important, that it is impofible to fet them ciown either in fewer or better Words than are ufed in that Memorial ; Part of which therefore we fhall give here, and fhould very willingly have given the Whole, if the Nature of our Work would have allowed us Room.
"Your Majefty's Subjects of this Province, having "s often felt, with Hearts full of Gratitude, the many " fignal Inftances of your moft facred IViajefty's peculiar "Favour and Protection to thefe diftant Parss of your "Dominions, and efpecially thofe late Proofs of your "Majefty's moft gracious and benign Care, fo wifely "calculated for the Protection of this your Majefty's Frontier-Province on the Continent of America, by " your royal Charter to the Truftees for eftablithing "the Colony of Georgia; and your great Goodn is io
" rightly and timely applied in protecting the Settlement of the Sroifs atPurryfourg. Encouraged by fuch juft Views of your Majefty's wife and paternal Care, extended to your remoteft Subjects ; and excited by the Duty which we owe to your moft facred Majefty, to be always watchful for the Support and Security of your Majefty's Intereft, efpecially at this very critical Juncture, when the Flame of a War breaking out in Europe, may very fpeedily be lighted here, in this your Majefty's Frontier Province, which by its Situation is known to be of the utmoft Importance to the general Trade and Traffic of America: We therefore, your Majefty's moft faithful Governor, Council, and Commons, convened in your Majefty's Province of South Carolina, crave Leave with great Humility to reprefent to your Majefty the prefent State and Condition of this your Province, and how greatly it ftands in need of your Majefty's gracious and timely Succour in Cafe of a War, to affift our Defence againft the French and Spaniards, or any other Enemies to your Majefty's Dominions, as well as againft the many Nations of Savages, which fo nearly threaten the Safety of your Majefty's Subjects.
" The Province of Carolina, and the new Colony of Georgia, are the fouthern Frontiers of all your Majefty's Dominions on the Continent of America; to the South and South-weft of which is fituate the ftrong Caftle of St. Augufin, garrifoned by four hundred Spaniards, who have feveral Nations of Indians living under their Subjection, befides feveral other fmall Settlements and Garrifons near the Appellacbes, fome of which are not eighty Miles diftant from the Colony of Georgia. To the South-weft and Weft of us, the French have already erected a confiderable Town near Fort Thouloufe on the Moville River, and feveral other Forts and Garrifons, fome not above three hundred Miles diftant from our Settlements; and at New Orleans on the Mififippi River, fince her late Majefty Queen Anme's War, they have exceedingly encreafed their Strength and Traffic, and have now many Forts and Garrifons on both Sides of that large River, for feveral hundred Miles up the fame. And fince his mott Chriftian Majefty has taken out of the Miffipppi Company the Government "of that Conntry into his own Hands, the French "Natives of Canada come daily down in Shoals, to fettle all along that River, where many regular Forces have been fent over by the King, to ftrengthen the Garrifons of thofe Places; and according to our beft and lateft Advices, they have five hundred Men in Pay conftantly employed as Wood-Rangers, to keep the neighbouring Indians in Subjection, and to prevent the diftant ones from difturbing their Settlements ; which Management of the French has fo well fucceeded, that we are very well aflured they have wholly now in their Poffeffion, and under their Influence, the feveral numerous Nations of Indians that are fituate near the MiffifSippi River; one of which, called the Cboctawe, by Eftimation, conffifing of about five thoufand fighting Men, and who were always deemed a very warlike Nation, lies on this Side the River, not above four hundred Miles diftant from our Out-fettlements. ' Among whom, and feveral other Nations of Indians, many French Europeanis have been fent to fettle, whom the Priefts and Miffionaries among them encourage to take Indian Wives, and ufe divers other alluring Methods to attach the Indians the better to the French Alliance: By which Means the French are become thoroughly acquainted with the Indian Way of warring and living in the Woods, and have now a great Number of white Men among them, able to perform a long March, with an Army of Indians, upon any Expedition.
s We furth
"We further beg Leave to inform your Majefty, That if the Meafures of France fhould provoke your "s Majefty to a State of Hoftility againft it in Europe, we have great Reafons to expect an Invafion will be here " made upon your Majefty's Subjects, by the French " "6 and the Indians, from thefe Miffifippi Settlements: GThey have already paved a Way for a Defign of that Nature, by erecting a Fort called the Albama Fort, Vob. II. Numb. XCII.
alias Fort Louis, in the Middle of the Upper Creek Indians, upon a navigable River leading to Moville, which they have kept well garrifoned, and mounted with fourteen Pieces of Cannon; and have already been prevented from erecting a fecond nearer to us in that Quarter. The Creeks are a Nation very bold, active, " and daring, confifting of about thirteen hundred " fighting Men (and not above one hundred and fifty
"Miles diftant from the Choclaws) whom though we
"s heretofore have traded with, claimed, and held in our "Alliance, yet the French, on account of that Fort; " and a fuperior Ability to make them liberal Prefents,
" have been for fome time friving to gain them over to " their Intereft, and have fucceeded with fome of the "s Towns of the Creeks, which if they can be fecured in "s your Majefty's Intereft, are the only Nation which your Majefty's Subjects here can depend upon, as their " beft Barrier againft any Attempts, either of the French "s or their confederate Indians.
"We moft humbly pray Leave further to inform your "G Majefty, that the French at Moville, perceiving that they "could not gain the Indians to their Intereft without " buying their Deer Skins, which is the only Commo" dity the Indians have to purchafe Neceffaries with," and " the French not being able to difpofe of thofe Skins', " by reafon of their having no Vent for them in Old "France, have found Means to encourage Veffels from " hence, Nere Kork, and other Places which are not " prohibited by the Acts of Trade, to truck thofe " Skins with them for Indian trading Goods, efpecially
" the Britifb Woollen Manufactures, which the Frencb
" difpofe of to the Creeks and Cboctaws, and other
"Indians; by which Means the Indians are much more
" alienated from our Intereft ; and, on every Occafion, " object to us, that the French can fupply them with " Shrouds and Blankets as well as the Englifh; which " would have the contrary Effect, if they were wholly " furnifhed with thofe Commodities by your Majefty's " Subjects trading among them. If a Stop were there" fore put to that pernicious Trade with the French, the
"Creek Indiens chief Dependance would be on this
"Government, and that of Georgia, to fupply them with
" Goods; by which Means great Part of the Cboczores
" living next the Crecks, would fee the Advantage the
"Creek Indians enjoyed, by having Eritibl Woollen "Manufactures wholly from your Majefty's Subjects, " and thereby be invited, in a fhort time, to enter into " a Treaty of Commerce with us, which they have " lately made fome Offers for, and which, if effected, "s will foon leffen the Intereft of the French with thefe "Indians, and by Degrees attach them to that of your © Majefty.
"The only Expedient we can propofe to recover " and confirm that Nation to your Majelty's Interef, "c is by fpeedily making them Prefents; to withdraw "them from the French Alliance, and by building fome " Forts among them. Your Majefly may be put into " fuch a Situation, that on the firft Notice of Hoftilities ". with the French, your Majefty may be able to reduce " at once the Albama Fort, and we may then ftand "s againft the French and their Indians; which if not "t timely prepared for, before a War breaks out, we " have too much Reafon to fear we may be foon over-
"s run by the united Strength of the French, and the "Creeks, and Cboctares, with many other Nations of " their Indian Allies: For hould the Creeks become " wholly our Enemies, who are well acquainted with all "s our Settlements, we probably fhould alfo foon be de"ferted by the Cberokees, and a few other Imall Tribes " of Indians; who, for the Sake of our Booty, would " readily join to make us a Prey to the Frenct and Sa" vages. Ever fince the late Indian War, the Offences "s then given us by the Creeks, have made that Nation " jealous of your Majetty's Subjects of this Province. "We have therefore concerted Meafures with the Ho"s nourable Fanes Oglethorpe, Efq; who being at the ${ }^{66}$ Head of a new Colony, will, we hope, be fuccefsful ${ }^{6}$ for your Majefty's Intereft among that People. He "s has already, by Prefents, attached the Loroer Creeks to

6 the
" the Service of your Majefty, and has laudibly under-
${ }^{6}$ taken to endeavour the fixing a Garrifon among the
" Upper Creeks; the Expence of which is already in Part " provided for, in this Seffion of the general Affembly
"6 of this Province. We hope therefore to prevent the
". French from incroaching farther on your Majefty's
" Territories, until your Majefty is graciounly pleafed
" further to ftrengthen and fecure the fame.
" We find the Cberokee Nation has lately become very
" infolent to your Majefty's Subjects trading among
" them, notwithftanding the many Favours which the
" Chiefs of that Nation received from your Majefty
"" in Great Britain; befides a confiderable Expence
" which your Majefty's Subjects have been at, in mak-
" ing them Prefents, which inclines us to believe that
" the French, by their Indians, have been tampering with
"them. We therefore beg Leave to inform your Ma-
" jefty, that the building and mounting fome Forts alfo
" among the Cberokees, and making them Prefents, will
" be highly neceffary to keep them fteady in their Duty
" to your Majefty, left the French may prevail in fe-
"d ducing that Nation; which they may the more readi-
" ly be inclined to, from the Profpect of getting confi-
s derable Plunder in Slaves, Cattle, and Commodities,
" which they very well know they have among us. Se-
"s veral other Forts will be indifpenfibly neceffary, to
" be a Cover to your Majefty's Subjects fettled back-
"s wards in this Province, as alfo to thofe of the Colony
" of Georgia, both which in Length are very extenfive.
"For though the Truftees for eftablifhing the Colony
" of Georgia, by a particular Scheme of good Manage-
" ment, faithfully conducted by the Gentleman engaged
"s here in that charitable Enterprize, have put that
"s fmall Part of the Colony which he has yet been
" able to eftablifh, in a tenable Condition againft the Spa-
" niards of Florida, which lye to the Southward; yet
"s the back Expofition of thofe Colonies to the vaft
" Number of French and Indians, which border on the
" Weftward, muft, in cafe of a War, cry greatly aloud
"for your Majefty's gracious and timely Succour. The
" Expence of our Safety on fuch an Occafion, we mult
"s in all Humility acquaint your Majefty, either for Men
" or Money, can never be effected by your Majefty's

* Subjects of this Province, who, in Conjunction with
"Georgia, do not, in the whole, amount to more than
" three thoufand five hundred Men that compofe the Mi-
" litia, and wholly confift of Planters, Traders, and " other Men in Bufinefs."

There are fome other Paragraphs in this Memorial which are ftill more worthy of Notice, and which therefore we fhall give the Reader in the Words thereof. " We muft further beg Leave to inform your Majefty,
" that amidft our other perillous Circumftances, we are
"fubject to many.inteftine Dangers, from the great
" Number of Negroes that are now among us, who
" amount, at leaft, to twenty-two thoufand Perfons, and
"" are three to one of all your Majefty's white Subjects in
" this Province. Infurrections againft us have been often
" attempted, and would at any Time prove very fatal,
" if the French fhould inftigate them by artfully giving
" them an Expectation of Freedom. In fuch a Situa-
" tion we moft humbly crave Leave to acquaint your
" Majefty, that even the prefent ordinary Expences, ne-
${ }^{66}$ ceffary for the Care and Support of this your Majefty's
" Province and Government, cannot be provided for
"s by your Majefty's Subjects of this Province, without
"c your Majecty's gracious Pleafure to continue thofe Laws,
"for eftablifhing the Tax on Negroes, and other Duties,
" for feven Years, and for appropriating the Laws which " now lie before your Majefty, for your royal Affent and
" Approbation; and the further Expences that will be
"s requifite for the erecting fome Forts, and eftablifhing
${ }^{6}$ Garrifons in the feveral neceffary Places, fo as to form
${ }^{6}$ a Barrier for the Security of this your Majefty's Pro-
${ }^{66}$ vince, we moft humbly fubmit to your Majeity.
"Your Majefty's Subjects of this Province, with Fulnefs of Zeal, Duty, and Affection, to your moft gra-
"cious and facred Majefty, are fo highly fenfible of the
"s great Importance of this Province to the French, that
"we munt conceive it more than probable, if a War
" fhould happen, they will ufe all Endeavours to bring
"this Country under their Subjection. They wonld " thereby be able to fupply their Sugar Inands with all 'Sorts of Provifions and Lumber, by an eafy Naviga" tion Trade, which, to our great Advantage, is now " not fo practicable from the prefent French Colonies:
"Befides the Facility of gaining then to their Intereft " moft of the Indian Trade on the Northern Continent, "' they might alfo eafily unite the Canadees and Choctares, " with the many other Nations of Indians which are now " in their Intereft. And the feveral Ports and Harbours " of Carolina and Georgia, which now enable your Ma" jefty to be abfolutely Mafter of the Paffage through the "Gulph of Florida, and to impede, at your Pleafure, the " tranfportation Home of the S'panif Treafure, would " then prove fo many convenient Harbours for your " Majefty's Enemies, by their Privateers or Ships of "War, to annoy a great Part of the Britibs Trade to "America, as well as that which is carried on through " the Gulpb from Jamaica, befides the Lofs which " Great Britain muft feel in fo confiderable a Part of its " Navigation, as well as the Exports of Mafts, Pitch, "Tar, and Turpentine, which, without any Depend" ance on the Northern Powers of Europe, are from " hence plentifully fupplied for the Ufe of the Britifb "Shipping.
". This is the prefent State and Condition of your Ma" jefty's Province of South Carolina, utterly uncapable " of finding Funds fufficient for the Defence of this wide " Frontier, and fo deftitute of white Men, that even " Money itfelf cannot here raife a fufficient Body of " them." The great Length of this Memorial prevents our making many Remarks thereon; fome few, however, are abfolutely requifite.

The Reader will, from hence, fee how well timed, and how well contrived, the new Settlement of Georgia was, in the Opinion of thofe who were the beft Judges; how juft and how prudent the Precaution of the Truftees in prohibiting Negroes; and how wifely and happily for the public Service they contrived to fend over, both from our own Country, and other Parts of Europe, white People, and Proteftants, by which they effectually provided for the Security of all the Northern Colonies behind it ; which, whenever this Country comes to be thoroughly peopled, as it may be in a very few Years Time in Days of Peace, if due Attention be had thereto, will be fuch a Barrier, as neither Spaniards nor French can ever break through, and confequently will for ever put an End to thofe Terrors and Apprehenfions, that are fo ftrongly and fo emphatically expreffed in the foregoing Paper. But to proceed in our Hiftory.

In the Month of Fanuary, I735, the Higblanders arrived in Georgia (and with them feveral of the fame Country, as Servants to private Grantees). They were fettled on the Alatamaba River, about fixteen Miles diftant by Water from the Ifland of St. Simon, which is at the Mouth of the River. They foon raifed convenient Huts till their Houfes could be built; and the Town, at their own Defire, was called Darien, which Name that Diftrict ftill retains; but the Town which they afterwards built they thought fit to call Newe Invernefs.

On the 6th of February following the great Embarkation, under the Direction of Mr . Oglethorpe, arrived, and the People were fettled upon the Inand of St. Simon. The Creek Indians who came down upon this Occafion, in confequence of their claiming a Right to the Country, were treated with, and agreed that the Englif fhould poffefs that, and all the Inands adjacent, which neceffary Step being taken, the Town of Frederica was foon laid out, and the People fet to work in building Houfes. When I call this the great Embarkation, it feems but reafonable that I fhould exprefs the Number of Perfons fent over, which were four hundred and feventy; and it is likewife fit to fay fomething of the Inand upon which they were fettled. In Point of Situation, a better could hardly be wifhed for in that Part of the World, lying as it does at the Mouth of a very fine River; the Size of it too was very convenient, being about forty-five Miles in

Extent, the Soil rich and fruitful, full of Oak and Fickery Trees, intermixed with Meadows and old Indian Fields.

As foon as this Settlement was made, Care was taken for its Security, and for the Fortification of the Southern Barrier, with which View a regular Fortrefs, ftrengthened by four Baftions and a Spur-work, towards the River, was erected at Frederica, and feveral Pieces of Cannon mounted thereon; a flong Battery was alfo raifed for the Protection of Iekyll Sound, where ten or twelve Fortygun Ships may fafely. ride. Another Fort was built on the South-weft Part of Cumberlond Ifand, where are feveral Pieces of Cannon pointed towards the River, fo as to command all Sloops and Small-craft navigating that Paffage; within the Pallifade which furrounds the Fort there are fine Springs of Water, and likewife a well framed Timber-houfe, with large and convenient Magazines under it for Ammunition and Provifions. But while fo much Care was taken of the South Frontier, agreeable as it was conceived to the Defign of the Parliament's Grant, and the Prayer of the before-mentioned Memorial; the Northern Part of the Colony was not neglected, fince Orders were given for erecting a Fort at Augufta, a Place fituated on the River Savannah, which is now become a very thriving Place; where the Traders with the Indians, from South Carolina and Georgia, refort, on Account of its Conveniency for that Purpofe; and where there are large Warehoufes furnifhed with fuch Goods as the Indians want, the Deer Skins taken in Exchange being fent two hundred and thirty Miles down the River, to the Town of Savannab, in Boats, which carry each about nine thoufand Weight. It may be eafily conceived from hence, how neceffary a thing it was to have a good Fort here, which was both erected and garrifoned at the Expence of the Truftees for fome Time; and a HorleRoad was made from thence to the Town of Savarizah one Way, and to the Dwellings of the Cherokee Indians, who live above the Town of Augufa, the other. By thefe Precautions the Trade of both Colonies, with thefe Indians, was facilitated, and the Country on that Side fecured againft any fudden Attempts of an Enemy, which was all that could be expected in fo fhort a Time, and in a Tract of Land in Comparifon of the Colony, of fo large an Extent.
7. The Prefence of Mr. Ogletborpe contributed greatly to the fettling and Prefervation of the Colony; which was already become confiderable enough, not only to draw the Attention, but to excite the Jealoufy, of the Spaniards; who, without all Queftion, would have been glad to have overpowered, and driven out, thefe new-come Neighbours, if it had been a thing in their Power; and if they had not been apprehenfive of the ill Confequences that muft have attended the breaking out of a War between the two Nations, on Account of the Difputes between thefe Frontier Provinces; which Circumftances were fo well improved by Mr. Oglethorpe, and the Indians who had entered into Friendfhip with the new Settlement were fo ftrongly attached to the Englif/ Intereft, that the Governor of St. Augufin, upon mature Deliberation, found it more expedient to enter into a Negociation, and to endeavour to conclude an amicable Agreement with the Englifh Colony; which Mr. Oglethorpe alfo knowing to be very convenient for the Security of Georgia, he negociated, and concluded a Treaty, upon very juft and reafonable, as well as fafe and advantageous, Terms; as will appear from the following Copy of the Treaty itfelf, and the Powers by him given for concluding and figning it.

## "To Charles Dempsey, Efg;

" I have impowered you, by Procuration, dated the 23 d of Fune, 1736 , to treat and conclude, concern" ing certain Matters of Importance, relating to thefe Provinces, with his Excellency Don Francijco del Moral Sanches, Captain General of Florida, and Governor " of St. Auguyfin, and the Council of War of the faid "Garrifon; and having, fince the Dates of thefe Letters, " received Advice from the Governor of St. Augufin, as " alfo a Meffage from his Excellency Don Yuan Fran"cifco Geumes de Horcafitos, Major General in his Ca-
" tholic Majefty's Service, Captain General of the Illand ' above, and Governor of Flavanna, by Don Antomia "de Arredondos they both impowering him to treat con"cerning the faid Matters, I do hereby impower, con" ftitute, and appoint you, to treat, conclude, and fign " the following Articles; and deliver the fame unto the "Governor and Council of St. Augutin, they figning,
"fealing, and interchanoing the faid Articles.
" Firf, That his Excellency the Governor of St. Au" gufin, fhall reftrain his Iudians, Subjects to the King " of Spain, from committing any Hoftilities upon the "Subjects of the King of Great Britain. I will reftrain " the Indian Subjects to the King of Great Britain in "this Province, from any Hoftilities upon the Subjects " of his Catholic Majeety.
"Secondly, That in refpect to the Nationis of free "Indions called Creeks, I will ufe my utmoft amicable "Endeavours upon any reafonable Satisfaction given " them, to prevail with them to abftain from any Hof"tilities whatfoever, with the Subjects of his Catholic " Majefty.
" Thirdly, That with refpect to the Fort built on the " Ifland of St. George, I will draw off that Garrifon, to" gether with the Artillery, and all other things by me " pofted there ; provided that none of his Catholic Ma" jefty's Subjects, nor any other Perfon, fhall inhabit, " people, or fortify, the faid Inand; provided alfo that " no Prejudice fhall arife to the Right of the King my " Mafter, to the faid Ifland, nor to any other Dominions " or Claim that his Britannic Majefty hath upon this Con" tinent. But that his Right fhall remain to the faid "Inand, and to all other Places whatfoever; as if the " faid Garrifon had never been withdrawn; and the faid "Garrifon fhall withdraw within fourteen Days after " the Ratification of thefe Articles.
" Fourthly, I will agree with his Excellency the Go" vernor of St. Avgufin, and the Council of War, That " his Britannic Majefty's Subjects, under my Command, "f fhall not moleft, in any Manner whatfoever, any of his
"Catholic Majefty's Subjects, provided that his Catho" lic Majefty's Subjects do not moleft any of his Bri" tannic Majety"s Subjects, nor his Allies.
"Fifthly, That concerning any Differences that have " or fhall arife, concerning the Limits of the refpective " Government and Dominions of the two Crowns, fuch "Differences fhall remain undecided, till the Determi" nation of the refpective Courts; and that the Subjects of each Crown here, fhall remain in profound Peace, " and not in any Manner moleft each other, until the Determination of the refpective Courts on this Subject.
" Laftly, That no Perfon fhall be received from any "Garrifon in either Government, without a Paffport from " the Governor to whom fuch Perfons belong.
" Given under my Hand and Seal, at Frederica " in Georgia, the 27 th Day of September, 1736.
" By the Power to me given, by his Excellency Fames "Ogletborpe, Efq; Governor and Director General of the "n new Colony of Georgia, by his Exicellency's Procura" tion, bearing Date the 27th Day of OEFober, in the tenth " Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the "Second, by the Grace of God of Great Britain, France, " and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, $\mathcal{O}^{\circ} c$. and in "the Year of our Lord ${ }^{17} 736$ : I do hereby confirm " and ratify the above Articles, with his Excellency Don "Francifco del Moral Sanches Villegas, Captain General "s and Governor of St. Augufin of Florida, and with ' the Council of War of the faid Garrifon of St. Auguf "tin; as witnefs my Hand and Seal, this 26th Day of "OEtober, 1736. ."
The Counter-part of this Treaty, executed by the Go vernor of St. Augufin, by the Advice, and with the Confent, of a Council of War, was certified by Bartbolomere Niotto, Notary-Public, and I have it before me; but as it contains only a Repetition of the foregoing Articles, it feems unneceffary to infert it here, fince what we have already given the Reader very fufficiently explains the

Nature of this Treaty: But it feems the Governor of St. Augufin was not in the Secret of the Court; for the Spanifb Miniftry at Home were very far from being defirous that a fair Correfpondence fhould be eftablifhed between the two Colonies. On the contrary, they aimed at obliging us to defift from our Defign of fetting the Colony of Georgia; and with this View Sir Thomas Geraldino, on the Ift of September, prefented a Memorial to his Grace the Duke of Newocafle, in which, among other Things, he was pleafed to fay, It is indifputable that the Colony of Georgia was fettled upon his Mafter's Dominions; fo that a plainer Proof cannot be had, that the Spaniards were determined if poffible, to oblige the Crown of Great Britain to give up this Settlement.
But as it was not very probable, that we thould be induced to do this by Sir Thomas Geraldino's Memorials, the Spanijb Miniftry were contriving to do it by Force, and by tranfporting Troops into the Spanifa Florida, from the adjacent Inand of Cuba, and other Parts of their Dominions. It is true, that thefe Orders were moftly given before they had any Intelligence of the provifional Treaty concluded between the Governor of St. Augufin and Mr . Oglethorpe; but when they did know of it, they were fo far from laying afide their former Defign, or even from fufpending it, that they highly difapproved of the Governor's Behaviour in that Particular, the rather perhaps becaufe it was altogether inconfiftent with their own Projects and Pretenfions. It is alfo very probable, that as the Spanifh Councils were at that time wholly guided by thofe of France, this might contribute not a little to their forming Views of expelling us from Georgia, which the French without doubt confider as equally dangerous to them and their Schemes, or rather more fo, than to the Spaniards, who on their Side have much more Reafon to be offended with the French Settlements on the River Mifijfippi, than at our new Colony of Georgia. But be this as it will, the Preparations they made were in their Nature fo open and extraordinary, that it was not long they could be concealed from our Governors, and other Officers in the Weft Indies, whofe Duty it was to obferve, and tranfmit Intelligence hither of Things of that Nature.

The Lieutenant Governor of Soutb Carolina, having heretofore acquainted the Truftees by a Letter, dated from the Council-Chamber in Cbarles Town, the 7 th of February, $1636-7$, That he had received Advice from Commodore Dent, of Preparations made by the Spaniards at St. Augufin and the Havanna, in order to make an Attack on the Colony of Georgia; and the Truftees having, in a Memorial to his Majefty, fet forth the Inability of the Colony to protect themfelves againft fuch a Force as was preparing at the Havanna and St. Augufin; his Majefty was gracioufly pleafed to order a Regiment of fix hundred effective Men to be raifed, and fent to Georgic, for the Defence and Protection of it.
As an Encouragement for the Soldiers good Behaviour, the Truftees refolved to give each of them a Property in the Colony, and therefore made a Grant in Truft, for an Allotment of five Acres of Land to each Soldier of the Regiment, to cultivate for his own Ufe and Benefit, and to hold the fame during his Continuance in his Majefty's Service. And for a further Encouragement, they refolved, That each Soldier who at the End of feven Years Service, from the Time of his enlifting in the Regiment, fhould be defirous of quitting his Majefty's Service, and should have his regular Difcharge, and would fettle in the Colony, fhould, on his Commanding Officer's Certificate of his good Behaviour, be entitled to a Grant of twenty Acres of Land.
The Parliament having taken into Confideration the great Expences which the Truftees had been at in making Roads through the Province, and the feveral Fortifications in it, and the Prefents made to the Indians to engage them firmer in the Britijb Intereft, and likewife the Preparations that were making by the Spaniards in order to take or diftrefs the Colony; granted thereupon for this Year the Sum of twenty thoufand Pounds, for the further fettling and fecuring the Colony, the Truftees made another Em-

## barkation, which confifted chiefly of perfecuted Gersanan Proteftants.

In Confequence of fo confiderable an Augmentation of People, all the Towns laid out in Georgia began to be improved, and to receive' confiderable Supplies; and fo mindful they were of their Sccurity, that even at Savamnab, which was leaft expofed to Danger, they traced out, and began to build, a confiderable Fort; and in all the Frontier Places, the utmoft Care was taken to put the Fortifications into the beft Pofture of Defence that the Circumftances of the Province would allow. On the Arrival of the Regiment, of which Mr. Ogletborpe was appointed Colonel, he diftributed them in the propereft manner for the Service of the Colony ; but notwithtanding this was of great Eafe to the Truftees, and a vaft Security to the Inhabitants ; yet Colonel Oglethorpe ftill kept up the fame Difcipline, and took as much Care to form and regulate the Inhabitants with refpect to military Affairs as ever. He provided likewife different Corps for different Services; fome for ranging the Woods; others, light-aimicd, for fudden Expeditions; and he likewife provided Veffels for fcouring the Sea Coafts, and for gaining Intelligence. In all which Services he gave at the fame time his Orders and his Example; there being nothing he did not, which he directed others to do ; fo that if he was the firft Man in the Colony, his Pre-eminence was founded upon old Homer's Maxims : He was the moft fatigued, and the firft in Danger, diftinguifhed by his Cares and his Labours, not by any exterior Marks of Grandeur, more eafily difpenfed with, fince they were certainly needlefs.

The ftrict Attention fhewn by the Truftees for their infant Settlement was fo remarkable, and their Punctuality in fupplying what was neceflary, fo generally known throughout America, that it was not long before it created fome Inconvenience from the Addrefs of fuch as were defirous of turning fuch Inftances of public Spirit to their private Advantage ; for feveral Merchants, and Captains of Ships, had, for their own Intereft, carried into the Colony from New York and other Places, large Cargoes of Provifions, $\mathcal{E}$ c. great Part of which (to fave Merchants from Lofles) were taken at the Store, without proper Authority from the Truftees, and an Expence created thereby, which the Truftees could not eftimate, nor have Ability to difcharge, and for which certified Accounts were returned to them ; and therefore the Truftees publifhed an Advertifement in the London Gazette, and ordered it to be publifhed. in the Soutb Carolina Gazette, and to be affixed on the Doors of the Store-houfes at Savannab and Frederica, that out of a due Regard to public Credit they had refolved, That all Expences which they had ordered, or fhould order, to be made in Amorica, for the Ufe of the Colony, fhould be defrayed and paid for in Georgia, in Sola Bills of Exchange only, under their Seal; and they gave Notice, that no Perfon whatfoever had any Authority from them, or in their Name, or on their Account, to purchafe or receive any Cargo of Provifions, Stores, or Neceffaries, without paying for them in the faid Sola Bills.
Yet they were as ready as ever in expending Money, where it was neceffary and ferviceable to the Colony; for upon a Petition of one Abrabam de Lyon, a Freeholder of Savannab in Georgia, That he had expended a great Sum in the Cultivation of Vines, which he had carried from Portugal, and had brought to great Perfection; and feveral Certificates being produced of his great Improvements, and of the Goodness of his Grapes, and their thriving in the moft barren Lands in the Province, the Truftees affifted him to proceed in his Improvements. But, to be the more able to fupply there Expences, they took Care to be frugal, where it was practicable. And the Security of the Colony being provided for by the Regiment fent over by his Majefty, the Parliament gave eight thoufand Pounds for the further fettling the Colony; therefore the Truftees fent over an Eftimate of all the Expences which they allowed to be made in the Province; by which feveral military Expences which they had been engaged in for the Defence of the Colony, and which were very great, were reduced.

## Chap. III. of the ENGLISH in AMERICA.

In the Year ${ }_{173} 8$ the Truftees fent over the Reverend Mr. Norris to Frederica, with a Salary of 50 l. a Year, and Orders that a Houfe fhould be built for him, and another provided for the Performance of public Wormip, till fuch Time as a Church could be erected. But while their Cares were thus employed, they met with fome Interruption from unforefeen Accidents, both without and within the Province: In refpect to the former, the Affembly of Soutb Carolina, having the laft Year paffed an Ordinance for raifing a Sum to indemnify their Traders, in Oppofition to the Act, which was approved of by his Majefty in Council, for maintaining the Peace with the Indians in the Province of Georgia; upon a Memorial from the Truftees, complaining of the faid Ordinance; and upon the Petition of the Council and Affembly of Soutb Carolina, againft the faid Act, there was a folemn Hearing before the Lords Commiffioners for Trade and Plantations; and afterwards before a Committee of the Lords of his Majefty's Privy Council: Whereupon his Majefty was pleafed to order, that the faid Ordinance of Affembly of South Carolina hhould be repealed, and declared void; and was pleafed to fend an Inftruction to the Truftees, to prepare a proper Act, or Ordinance, for fettling the Trade, carried on by the Provinces of South Carolina and Georgia with the Indians, on fuch a Footing, as might be for the mutual Benefit and Satisfaction of both Provinces. And his Majerty, at the fame Time, was gracioufly pleafed to give an Inftruction to Samuel Horfey, Efq; Governor, and Lieutenant General of South Carolina, to recommend to the Council and Affembly there, to pafs a Law for that Purpofe, in that Province. But Samuel Horfey, Efq; dying foon after, and no other Governor having fince gone to South Carolina, that Affair remained unfettled. The Truftees immediately fent to Colonel Ogletborpe a Copy of his Majefty's Inftructions, and defired that he would confult with Lieutenant Governor Bull in South Carolina; that Plans of proper Acts might be prepared, and fent over to the Truftees, for their Confideration, in order to anfwer the Purpofes of his Majefty's Inftructions; and that, in the mean Time, the Commiffioners of South Carolina, and the Commiffioners of Georgia, might proceed in their refpective Provinces, in concert with each other, to carry on a mutual Trade to the Indians in both Provinces.

In Reference to the other Sources of Difturbance and domeftic Difquiets, they were of different Kinds; but the greateft was owing to a Number of Perfons enjoying the Benevolence due to the Colony, without any real Merit in themfelves, or juft Title thereto; for which, however, a Remedy was fpeedily provided. The Truftees, both by their Letters and Inftructions to the Magiftrates, had conftantly exhorted and encouraged the People to a Cultivation of their Lands, on which they were to depend for their Support; and as they found that many (as well of thofe whom they had fent over as Objects of Charity, as of others, who at different Times had gone into the Country from other Colonies, for their temporary Maintenance) ftill continued in their Idlenefs, and were a Burden upon the Truftees; they gave Orders for ftriking off the Store, all fuch as having had Time to cultivate their Lands had neglected it. This carried from the Colony many of thofe who had gone thither, or joined it from other Parts of America, to gain a Subfiftance for a Year or two, and of others who had not confidered the Hardfhips attending the firft Settlement of a Country, and were weary of their Labour. The Truftees receiving an Account, dated February 12, 1738 , from their Secretary of the Province, of an Uneafinefs among feveral Perfons, upon the Tenor of their Lots being confined to Heirs Male; and they, confidering that the Colony had been fome Time eftablifhed, the People grew more numerous, and a Regiment being ftationed in it, for its Defence, whereby the former Tenures became lefs neceffary ; did, on the 15 th of March following, at their anniverfary Meeting, refolve, that in Default of Iffue Male, the legal Poffeflor of Land, might, by a Deed in Writing, or by his laft Will and Teftament, appoint his Daughter as his Succeffor, or any other Female Relation; with a Provifo that the Succeffor fhould, in

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the proper Court in Georgia, perfonally claim the Lot granted and devifed within eighteen Months after the Death of the Grantor or Divifor. This was foon after extended to every legal Poffeffor being impowered to appoint any other Perfon as his Succeflor.

The mildeft Governments are often but too fubject to Difcontents ; and though the whole Study of the Trufs tees was to make their People as eafy in their private Ca pacities, as their Duty to, and Concern for, the Public, would permit. Yet this did not hinder ignorant and malicious Perfons, who either could not, or would not, comprehend the true Interefts of the Colony, from endeavouring to raife frefh Diturbances, for the fake of obtaining what they thought might be of Service to them; and which, if they had judged rationally, they mult have perceived would have turned to their Ruins In hort, Part of the People fettled in Georgia, fent over a Memorial to the Truftees, complaining of the Want of a Fee-fimple in their Lands, and of not being permitted the Ufe of Negroes. But thofe who were fettled on the Frontier, and confequently moft expofed to the Spaniards and others, who, by their own Induftry, had improved their Plantations, fo as to draw from them a comfortable Subfiftance, fent over a contrary Memorial ; in which they reprefented the Difadvantages and Dangers that would arife from the Permiffion of Negroes.
It likewife fell out, that at the very Time fome of the People of Savannab were fo clamorous for Negroes (for feventy-five Land and Freeholders, of whom fifty-two were Freeholders, did not apply for them) the Province of South Carolina was under frequent Alarms, upon Account of the Negroes there. They had Intelligence that a Confpiracy was formed by the Negroes in Soutb Carolina to rife, and forcibly make their Way out of the Province, to put themfelves under the Protection of the Spaniards; who had proclaimed Freedom to all that fhould run to them from their Owners. This Confpiracy was difcovered at Winyaw, the moft Northern Part of that Province, from whence as the Negroes muft bend their Courfe, it argued, that the other Parts of the Province muft be privy to it, and that the rifing was to be univerfal; whereupon the whole Province were upon their Guard; the Number of Negroes in Sout\% Carolina being computed to be about forty thoufand, and the Number of white Men, at moft, not above five thoufand. As feveral Negroes who were employed in Perryauguas, and other like Craft (which they carried off with them) had taken the Benefit of the Spaniards Proclamation, and gone to St. Augufin, the Government of Soutb Carolina fent a folemn Deputation to demand their Slaves. This Deputation confifted of Mr. Braitbrwaite, a Member of the Council, Mr. Rudlidge, one of the Affembly; and Mr. Binian, Clerk of the Affembly. But the Governor of St. Auguftin, though in Time of profound Peace, peremptorily refufed to deliver them up; and declared he had Orders to receive all fuch as fhould come thither, and protect them. Upon this, and the Petitions which were fent from the Higblanders at Darien, and the Saltzburgers at Ebenezer, reprefenting the Danger, and the Inconvenience, of the Introduction of Negroes; the Truftees fent under their Seal, an Anfwer to the Reprefentation from fome of the Inhabitants of Savannab.

In this Anfwer, which is dated Fune the 20th, 1739, the Truftees fay, "That they fhould deem themfelves " very unfit for the Truft repofed in them by their Ma" jefty on their Behalf, if they could be prevailed on by ${ }^{6}$ any fuch irrational Attempt, to give up a Conftitu"6 tion framed with the greatef Caution, for the Pre" fervation of Liberty and Property; and of which the " Laws againft the Ufe of Slaves, and for the Entail of "c Lands, are the fureft Foundations; and the Truftees " 6 are the more confirmed in their Opinions of the Un"r reafonablenefs of this Demand, and that they have " received Notions from Darien, and the other Parts "s of the Province, reprefenting the Inconvenience and " Danger which muft arife to the good People of the "s Province, from the Introduction of Negroes; and as "s the Truftees themfelves are fully convinced, that be"f fides the Hazards attending of that Introduction, it
4. $Q$ would
${ }^{6} 6$ would deftroy all Induftry among the white Inhabit${ }^{6} 6$ ants, and that, by giving them a Power to alien ${ }^{6} 6$ their Lands, the Colony would foon be too like its
s6 Neighbours, void of white Inhabitants, filled with ${ }^{6}$ Blacks, and reduced to be the precarious Property of ${ }^{6}$. a few, equally expofed to domeftic Treachery, and ${ }^{6}$ foreign Invalion; and therefore the Truftees cannot sc be fuppofed to be in any Difpofition of granting this © Requeft ; and if they have not, before this, fignified is their Diflike of it, their Delay is to be imputed to ${ }^{6}$ no other Motives but the Hopes they had conceived, ${ }^{6}$ that Time and Experience would bring the Complaincs ants to a better Mind. And the Truftees readily "s join Iffue with them, in their Appeal to Pofterity, " who fhall judge between them, who were their beft "6 Friends, thofe who endeavoured to preferve for them "s a Property in their Lands, by tying up the Hands of " their unthrifty Progenitors, or they who wanted a «Power to mortgage or alien them? Who were the ss beft Friends to the Colony, thofe who, with great La" bour and Coft, had endeavoured to form a Colony s6 of his Majefty's Subjects, and perfecuted Proteftants "s from other Parts of Europe; had placed them on a "s fruitful Soil, and ftrove to fecure them in their Pof" Seffions by thofe Arts, which naturally tend to keep ss the Colony full of ufeful and induftrious People, ca"s pable both to cultivate and defend it ; or thofe, who s6 to gratify the greedy and ambitious Views of a few " Negro-Merchants, would put it into their Power to "s become fole Owners of the Province, by introducing ${ }^{6}$ their baneful Commodity ; which it is well known, "s by fad Experience, has brought our Neighbour Colo"6 nies to the Brink of Ruin, by driving out their white " Inhabitants, who were their Glory and Strength, to sc make room for black, who are now become the ${ }^{66}$ Terror of their unadvifed Mafters?"

The Truftees had great Reafon for proceeding as they did in this Refpect; fince among the Perfons to whom Grants were made, in order to their fettling at their own Expence in the Colony, fome never went over to take them up, or to fettle at all; other's were Gentlemen of Carolina, who neglected the Profecution of their Grants, and never fo much as defired to have their Lands laid out; and of the reft, feveral had quitted their Plantations, and the laborious Life of Planters, to go and refide more at their Eafe at Savannab; where, by the Exercife of their feveral Trades and Profeffions, they brought many of the People in Debt; and befides all this, Horfe-Races and other Diverfions were fet on foot, and fuch a Spirit of Idlenefs began to prevail, as very eafily accounted for their Eagernefs in defiring to have Negroes granted them; and plainly fhewed with what fatal Confequences it muft have been attended, if the Truftees had not remained firm to their firft Refolutions, and had not given fuch an Anfwer as hewed they were refolved to preferve that Spirit in the Colony upon which it was fettled, and which could alone render it worth that Care, which had been hitherto taken of it by the Public. Howeyer, to make the People as eafy and contented as they could, they publifhed an Advertifement in the London Gazette, the 8th of September, 1739, and other Papers, which were continued for feveral Days, and ordered it to be publifhed in the South Caiolina Gazette ; that they had refolved to enlarge their Grants on Failure of Iffue Male, and to make a certain Provifion for the Widows of the Grantees, in the following Manner, viz. That the Lands already granted, and fuch as fhould hereafter be granted, fhould, on Failure of Iffue Male, defcend to the Daughters of fuch Grantees; and in cafe there fhould be no Iffue Male or Female, that the Grantees might devife fuch Lands; and for want of fuch Devife, that fuch Lands fhould defcend to their Heirs at Law, with a Provifo that the Poffeffion of the Perfon who thould enjoy fuch Devife, hould not be increafed to more than five hundred Acres; and that the Widows of the Grantees, fhould hold and enjoy the dwelling Houfe, Garden, and one Moiety of the Lands their Hufband fhould die poffeffed of, for, and during the Term of, their Lives. The Truftees directed in the Advertifement, that thofe who
intended to have the Benefit given them, fhould enter their refpective Claims, in order that proper Grants and Conveyances in the Law might be forthwith prepared and executed for that Purpole; and that no Fee or Reward was to be taken for the entering any fuch Claim directly or indirectly, by any Perfon or Perfons what foever. It appears clearly from thefe Conceffions, how very deffrous the Truftees were of giving the People, fettled in Georgia, all imaginable Satisfaction, confiften with the Scheme they had formed of fecuring thefe Lands to the actual Planters, and thereby prevent thore Inconveniencies, to which others, particularly the fouth ern Colonies, were liable, and which would have been fo much the more fatal in a Colony, the chief Inducement to eftablifh which, was the making a ftrong Frontier.
9. The French, who by degrees grew more and more uneafy at the Settlement of Georgia, and our Intercourfe with the Indians, began to make ufe of every Method they could devife, in order to create Differences and Jealoufies between us and the Creeks, which was no fooner known, than it greatly alarmed, not only the People fettled in Georgia, but the whole Province of Carolina, from a juit Senfe of the Danger they fhould be in, if the French, either by their Artifices or Prefents, fhould draw over the Creek Indians to their Party, as appears by their Applications, both to Colonel Ogletborpe, and to the Government at home. Upon this Mr . Ogletborpe thought it neceffary to enter into a clofe Alliance with this Nation; and therefore refolved upon a Journey to the Coweta Town, though at the Diftance of no lefs than five hundred Miles from Frederica, where he then was, and through a Country very little known to, and very difficult for, Europeans to travel. He provided him, however, with Horfes and Prefents fit for the Purpofe; fet out for that Place, and after a painful and fatiguing Journey, reached it in Safety, where he was received by the Indians with all imaginable Marks of Friendfhip and Refpect ; and where he had an Opportunity of conferring, not only with the Chiefs of all the Tribes of this Nation, but alfo with the Deputies of the Cboctares and Cbickefarws, who lie between the Englifh and French Settlements, and who had fent their Deputies thither with that View. The Confequence of this Meeting was, the making a new, more full, and explicit Treaty with the Lower Creeks, than the former; which was of fo great Confequence, that Colonel Bull, Lieutenant-Governor of Carolina, declared, that if the Creeks could be fecured, they fhould be under no Apprehenfions from the Intrigues of the French with the other Nations; and, that this was effectually done, the Reader will perceive from the Perufal of the Treaty then concluded with that Nation; of which the following is a Copy from an Inftrument, containing the Exemplification of the faid Treaty, under the Seal of the Province of Georgia, with all the neceffary Certificates from the Magiftrates, indorfed thereupon; and which ought therefore to be confidered as the moft authentic Evidence of. that Gentleman's Diligence, Zeal, and Succefs, in the Service of his Country, and of the Britijb Colonies in America.

Proceedings of the aflembled Eftates of all the LowerCreek Nations, beld on Saturday, the IItb Day of Auguft, Anno Domini 1739 .
" By Powers from his moft facred Majefty George the "Second, by the Grace of God King of Great Britain, "France, and Ireland, Esc. General Fames Ogletborpe "being appointed Commiffoner, was prefent in the " Behalf of his Majefty, and opened the Affembly by a "Speech. There were alfo prefent at the faid Affembly "s of Eitates, the Mico, or King, of the Coweta Town; " Cbickley Ninia, Mico of the faid Town; Malacbi, Mico, "Son of Brim, late Emperor of the Creek Nation, and " the chief Men and Warriors of the Corveta Towns; "s the Mico, or chief King, of the Culjitas; and Scikeligo, " Mico, next to the King of the Cuflitas; Ifkeigo, third " chief Man of the Cufitas, and the other chief Men " and Warriors of the faid Town; and alfo Ocakcha-
pacho, and the chief Men of the Town of Polacbucbulas; Kolatto, chief War-Captain, and other chief Men and Warriors; being Deputies, fent with full Powers to conclude all Things neceffary for the faid Town. Tawmawme, Mico of the Ufawles, with feveral other chief Men and Warriors; being Deputies fent with "full Powers to conclude all Things neceffary for the faid Town. Metalcbeko, War-Captain of the Echetees, * with feveral other chief Men and Warriors; being Deputies fent with full Powers to conclude all Things for the faid Toinn. Neatbacklo, chief Man of Ocfachees, with feveral other chief Men and Warriors, fent with full Powers to conclude all Things for the faid Town. Occullavecbe, chief Man of the Cbecares, with feveral other chief Men and Warriors ; being D-puties fent with full Powers to conclude all Things for the faid. Town. Howanawge TBalacko, chief Man of the Ormulges, with feveral other chief Men and Warriors; being Deputies fent with Powers to conclude all Things for the faid Town. The Mico, or chief King, of the Occouys, with feveral chief Men and Warriors, having full Powers to conclude all Things for the faid Town. Nealboclo, a fecond chief Man of the Swales, with feveral other chief Men and Warriors; being Deputies fent with full Powers to conclude all Things for the faid Town. The faid Eftates being folemnly held, and opened at the great Square in the Town of Coweta, and adjourned from thence to the Town Cufletas; and the Deputies having drank black Drink together, according to the ancient Cuftom of their Nation (being a religious Form, tranfmitted down 6 by their Anceftors) the whole Eftates declared, by a ' general Confent, without one Negative, that they ad' hered in their ancient Love to the King of Great Britain, and to their Agreements made in the Year one thoufand feven hundred and thirty-three, with the Truftees for eftablifhing the Colony of Georgia in America; a Counter-part of which Agreement was then delivered to each Town; and the Deputies of st the feveral Towns produced the fame; and farther declared, That all the Dominions, Territories and Lands, from the River Savannah, to the River St. Fobn's, and all the Inlands between the faid Rivers; and from the River St. Fobn's to the Bay Appallache, within which is all the Appallache old Fields; and from the faid Bay of Appallache, to the Mountains; doth by ancient Right belong to the Creek Nation, and they have maintained Poffeffion of the faid Right, againft all Oppofers by War; and can fhew theHeaps of Bones of their Enemies flain by them, in Defence ' of the faid Lands. And the faid Eftates further deos clare, that the Creek Nation hath, for Ages, had the s Protection of the Kings and Queens of England, and that the Spaniards, nor no other Nation, have any Right to any of the faid Lands, and that they will sc not fuffer them, or any other Perfon, except the is Truftees for eftablifhing the Colony of Georgia in "A America, to fettle on the faid Lands. And they do "s acknowledge, by the Grant they have already made s to the Truftees for eftablifhing a Colony of Georgia "s in America, all the Lands upon the Savannab River, :s as far as the River Ogeeche; and all the Lands along the Sea Coaft, as far as the River St. Fobn's, and as high as the Tide flows, and all the Iflands as far as the faid River, particularly the Inlands of Frederica, Cumberland, and Amelia, to which they have given the Names of his Majenty's Family, out of Gratitude to him. But they declare, that they did and do referve to the Creek Nation, all the Land from Pipemakes Bluff, to Havanna and the Inands of St. Catbarina, Offebaw, and Sappalo. And they further declare, That the faid Lands are held by the Creek Nation as Tenants in common. And the faid Commiffioner "s doth declare, That the Englifh fhall not enlarge, or «s take up any other Lands except thefe granted as above "s by the Creek Indian Nation, to the Truftees: And :ss doth promife and covenant, "That he will punifh any "c Perfon that fhall intrude upon the faid Lands which so the Creek Nation hath referved, as above. Given
"s under my Hand and Seal this 2 nt Day of Aurgift, at " the Corveta. Town, I739.

Fames Ogletborpé
At this Diftance, it is a very difficult, if not impracticable, Thing, to give the Reader a clear and diftinct Intelligence of the Difficulties furmounted, and the Advantages acquired by Mr. Ogletborpe's Journey; and his Succefs in concluding this Alliance: We will, however, endeavour to reprefent them as clearly and as fully as we can. In the firft place, his making fuch a Journey as this, gained him a great Reputation with the Indians; impreffed upon them Sentiments of deep Refpect for the Englifh Nation, and of particular Affection for the Colony of Georgia. At the fame time it flruck the French with Amazement ; fome of their Governors of Canada had. indeed made confiderable Journeys from Quebec, in order to confer with the Indians, and to conclude 'Treaties with them ; but then they always thought it requifite to be well attended, and never made thefe Excurfions but at the Head of a confiderable Body of regular Troops. Whereas General Ogletborpe had no fuch Attendants, but relied entirely on the good Faith of the Indians, and of his own Behaviour towards them. He knew the Confequence of their living in fincere Amity with the Englifs; and he was willing to run any perfonal Hazard neceffary to eftablifh it. In fhort, he found it requifite for the Welfare of the Colony which he had fettled, that they fhould be able to place an intire Confidence in the Indians, and the Indians in them; which reciprocal Confidence he actually procured, by repofing himfelf entirely on their Faith; and by the Treaty that he concluded with them.
His coming to the Coweta Town diffipated all their Fears, and extinguifhed all their Jealoufies; they told him fo fairly in their firft Conferences. They faid it had been infinuated to them, that he was come into that Country to deprive them of their Land; and that they had been affured, he was actually preparing to invade them; but they were now convinced that thefe were all Fallhoods and Calumnies; that he really meant them all the Good they could expect ; and that inftead of injuring them by the Settlement he was making, it would prove a new Security to them, as well as to the Englifh; and put it out of the Power of their common Enemies to hurt either. For which Reafon they were, on theirParts, ready to do all that he could expect from them, and were perfectly fatisfied that he would perform hisEngagements towards them, with the like Punctuality. There is no Wonder therefore, if the French were exceffively alarmed on the News of this Conference, and of the Alliance which General Ogletborpe had concluded; fince they could confider it in no other light, than as the firft Step to a general Confederacy with all the Indian Nations that had met at, or fent Deputies to, the Coweta Town; from whence they forefaw many and great Inconveniencs to themfelves; for, in the firf Place, this new Treaty with the Creeks, defeated all the Meafures they had been taking, unravelled all their Defigns, and conneeted that Nation more clofely than ever with the Englifh, which in itfelf was a very great and unlooked for Difappointment.
But that was not all, they clearly comprehended that by this Means we fhould not only keep our old Friends, but draw off alfo fome of theirs. Of all the Nations that bordered upon them, they are moft afraid of the Cbico kefares, whom they look upon as the fierceft and braveit Race of Indians in America, with whom they have never been upon good Terms, more efpecially fince the Year 1731, when they difcovered, or pretended to difcover, a Defign they had formed, to furprife and deftroy all their advanced Settlements. They were alfo in a very great Fear of the Cboctaws, or as the French call them Tcboitas, both becaufe they are a very numerous Nation, and are fo fituated as to be able, at any time, to difturb and difquiet their Settlements. But it foon appeared by Experience, that the new Treaty operated fuccefsfully, fince the Governor of New York, having given Information to Colonel Bull, of Carolina, of the March of a Body of

Frencb Troops, and Indians from 2uebec, with Intent to attack the Indians in Friendfhip with England; but though this put the People of Carolina and Georgia upon their Guard, there followed nothing from it; for the Frencb found the Indians well prepared and difpofed to receive them, and therefore defifted from their Defign, for fear it fhould produce a general War, that might prove fatal to the Colonies on the Mififippi River; the People of which were exceffively apprehenfive of what might happen from the general Confederacy of the neighbouring Indians againft them.
The Truftees proceeded as vigoroufly as it was poffible in the Execution of every Part of their Scheme; and having, with fuch unwearied Diligence, provided for the Settlement of a new Colony, and for the Security of its Frontiers, they began next to employ their Skill and Pains, to promote all kinds of Improvements; and were efpecially foilicitous to obtain from thence fome Specimens of the Poffibility of raifing, in that Country, the Commodities that were expected from it. They very well knew that this required hard Labour, and that nothing had accrued to Great Britain worth fpeaking of, from any of the Colonies in America, in many Years longer than this Settlemient of Georgia had been made. But on the other Hand, they alfo knew that the Englifs Nation was naturally impatient ; that great Sums of Money had been iffued for the Service of this Colony; that great Expectations were had of it; and that, if nothing foon appeared, however certain in themfelves, and juft in their Nature, no Excufes would prevail. They therefore recommended it to their Servants in Georgia, to ufe their utmoft Skill and Diligence in promoting the Culture of Mulberry Trees and Silk, fo that it might be, at leaft, demonftrated, that they were not deceived in their Expectations; but that in due Time, and with reafonable Encouragement, the Nation might hope to fee a full Return in that Commodity, for the Expence fhe had been, and muft be, at, in bringing the Colony of Georgia to Perfection. For they perfuaded themfelves, that from the Methods they had ufed in fending over proper Perfons for the Management of that Bufinefs, their Demands, with a due Degree of Care and Diligence in their Servants, might be anfwered, which would afford them an Anfwer to all Objections.
A Parcel of raw Silk was accordingly brought this Year from Georgia, by Mr. Samuel Aug pourguer, who made an Affidavit, before a Mafter in Chancery, that he received it from the Hands of Mr. T'bomas Fones, the Truftees Store-keeper at Savannah, who told him it was the Produce of Georgia; and the faid Samuel Auggpourguer, who refided in the Southern Part of the Pro vince, faid, That when at Savannab, he faw the Italian Family there winding off Silk from the Coquons. The Silk was fhewed at the Truftees Office, to Mr. Fobn Zacary, an eminent Raw-Silk Merchant, and Mr Booth, one of the greateft Silk Weavers in England, who declared it was as fine as any Italian Sills; and that it was worth, at leart, twenty Shillings a Pound. This Mr. Samuel Augfpourguer, who joined the Colony in the beginning of the Year 1736 , left it in $\mathcal{F} u l y 1739$, with two Men Servants and their Children, on his Plantation, and came over to obtain a Grant of five hundred Acres of Land, and to get fome of his Countrymen from the Canton of Bern in Switzerland, to go with him as Servants, on his return to Georgia, in order to proceed more effectually in the Cultivation of his Lands.

The Truftees, this Year, alfo took further Methods for the Satisfaction of the People in the Province. They exxended the Tenures, by which the Daughter of a Grantee, or any other Perfon, was made capable of enjoying, by Devife, or Inheritance, any Quantity of Lands which did not increafe her or his Poffeffion, to more than two thoufand Acres. A Licence was alfo granted for all the prefent Poffeffors of Land in Geargia, to make Leafes of any Part of their Lots, for any Term not exceeding three Years, to any Perfon refiding in Georgia, and who fhould refide there, during the Term of fuch Leafe. A general Releafe was likewife paffed, by which no Ad-
vantage was to be taken againft any of the prefent Pof feffors of Land in Georgia, for any Forfeiture incurred at any Time before Cbrifmas 1740, to the Tenure or Cultivation of Land; and the Poffeffors of fifty Acres were not obliged to cultivate more than five Acres thereof, in ten Years from their Grants; and thofe of under fifty Acres in Proportion; and the Poffeffors of five hundred Acres of Land were not obliged to cultivate more than one hundred and twenty Acres thereof, in twenty Years from their Grants; and thofe of under five hundred Acres, and above fifty Acres, in proportion, to prevent any Forfeiture for want of cultivating the Quantities required. Under thefe Circumftances it is prefumed that no Complaint can now, with Reafon, be made againft the Tenure, by which the Inhabitiants at this Time hold their Lands, fince they have more Power than is generally given by Marriage Settlements, in which the Grantees are only Tenants for Life, incapable of mortgaging, or alienating, or making any Difpofition by their laft Will: Whereas the Freeholders in Georgia are now become Tenants in Tail-general, and may, with the Licence of the Common Council of the Truftees, upon Application made to them for that Purpofe, mortgage, or alien, and further, without Application, have it abfolutely in their Power, on Failure of Iffue in Tail, to difpofe thereof by their laft Will. At leaft this was all the Truftees thought themfelves at Liberty to do, confidering the Obligation they were under to the Public, as well as to the Settlement; and that they were as much bound to provide, that the Nation had a juft Satisfaction for what fhe difburfed in Favour of the Colony, as that the Inhabitants of Georgia fhould be made eafy in their Settlements, and meet with fufficient Encouragement to proceed with Induftry in all their Undertakings ; and with this double View, to the Service of the Public, and the Welfare of the Settlement, all their Applications at home, and all their Directions abroad, are to be referred.
9. We have now run through the Hiftory of this Province for above feven Years, that is, from the time of projecting fuch a Settlement as this on the South Frontier of Carolina, to the carrying that Defign into Execution, and bringing the new Province into fome tolerable Degree of Order; and, in the Courfe of our Hiftory, we have had occafion to obferve, from time to time, what Care and Circumfpection has been ufed, to render it uffeful to thofe Ends for which it was intended. We háve taken notice of the Senfe which the whole Province of Carolina had of the Neceffity, as well as Expedience, of fuch a Settlement. We have fhewn, that thofe who were fent over were difciplined in fuch a manner, as to be able to defend, as well as acquire, Property. We have fet down the Reafons why Negroes were prohibited; and thofe Reafons very clearly prove, that the Colony could not have anfwered any of thofe Ends for which it was eftablifhed, if Negroes had been permitted. We have given fome Account, and, if the Bounds of this Section would have permitted, we fhould have given a farther Account, of the Jealoufies entertained by the Spaniards and the French on Account of this Settlement, which we conceive to be fo many demonftrative Proofs of its Utility. We have given the Reader a large Extract from the Memorial of the Affembly of Soutb Carolina, fetting forth, in the cleareft and ftrongeft Terms, the Wants of that Province, and the Points in which they flood in need of Affirtance. We have fhewn, by a plain Narrative of Facts, how agreeable the Conduct of Gencral Oglethorpe was to the Demands of that Memorial; and how far, by the happy Succefs attending thofe Endeavours, they have been anfwered, more efpecially by his laft Treaty with the Creek Indians, which, as we fhall have Occafion to fhew hereafter, has effectually anfwered his Ends and theirs, fo as not only to come up to, but even to exceed and go beyond, their Expectations. We have likewif, from time to time, exhibited the Alterations that, in Compliance with the Peoples Defires, the Truftees have thought fit to make in their Conftitution, for the Eafe and Encouragement of the Planters. And we have like wife given an Inftance, that they have not been difap
pointed in their Views as to the Produce of this new Colony; but that it is both poffible and practicable to raife therein as good Silk as we can purchafe with Money (which is, generally fpeaking, the Cafe at prefent) from any Part of the World.

It remains, according to the Plan that we have laid down, to give a Defcription of this new Province in the Manner it is now fettled, that the Reader may fee what the Fruits have been of the Care and Expence of the Leginature, the Prudence and Attention of the Truftees, and the Vigilance and Activity of thofe intrufted by them in the Management of their Affairs in this Part of the World. And though, as yet, they have not received fo copious and fo exact a Defcription of their new Colony as they expect; yet, from what we are enabled to fay upon this Subject, it will inconteftibly appear, that much has been done, that many Towns have been fettled, great Improvements made in the Neighbourhood of each of them, feveral Fortreffes crected, due Care taken of the Frontiers, and, in a Word, as much performed as could be rationally expected in fo fhort a Space of Time, and all Circumftances confidered.

The Town of Savannab is about ten Miles up the River Savannab. There are, befides Warehoufes and Huts, at leaft one hundred and thirty Houfes in the Town. As thefe, for the fake of Air, and to prevent the fpreading of any Fire, are built at fome Diftance from each other, they make feveral fpacious Squares and wide Streets. There is a regular Magiftracy fettled in the Town, which the Truftees are obliged to be at the Expence of fupporting, tiil the Colony arrives at fufficient Strength to do it. There are, in the Town, a Court-houfe, a Store-houfe, a Goal, a Houfe for the Truftees Servants, a Wharf, a Guard-houfe, and fome other public Buildings. A Church is at prefent building, and a Clergyman is fettled there. The Town is excellently fituated for Trade, the Navigation of the River being very fecure, and Ships of three hundred Tons can lie within fix Yards of the Town, and the Worm does not eat into them. About four Miles from Savannab, inland from the River, are the two Villages, Higbgate and Hamfead, which lie at about a Mile diftance from each other: The People fettled there apply themfelves chiefly to Gardening, and fupply the Town of Savannab with Quantities of Greens, and Garden-ftuff: There are twenty Plantations within twenty Miles round Savannah, which have each of them from five to thirty Acres of Land, fhared.

About fifteen Miles from Savannab is a Viliage called Abercorn ; about twenty Miles further up the River is the Town of Ebenezer, where the Salt/burgbers are fettled with two Minifters; one of whom computed, that the Number of his Congregation, in $\mathcal{F u l y} 1738$, confifted of one hundred and forty-fix; therefore, as the Infants could not be reckoned in the Computation, and as feven more have fince been fent and fettled with them, it is believed the Numbers have increafed, efpecially fince the Town is fo healthy, that by a Letter fent to the Society for promoting Chriftian Knowledge, by the Reverend Mr. Bolzius, one of the Minifters at Ebenezer, dated the 26 th of Fune 1740, he declared, That in a Year's time one Perfon only had died, which was a Child fourteen Years old. The People are induftrious and Cober, they raife not only a fufficient Quantity of Corn and other Produce for their own Subfiftence; but they fell great Quantities to thofe at Savannab, who have not been fo careful of their Plantations. They have great Herds of Cattle, and are in fo thriving a Condition that not one Perfon has abandoned his Settlement, or fent over the leaft Complaint about the Tenures, or the Want lof Negroes: On the contrary, they in a Body petitioned againft the Ufe of Negroes; and their Minifters have declared, that their figning that Petition was a voluntary Act ; and at their Defire another Embarkation of their Countrymen, who are willing to go from Germany and join them, is defigned to be fent with all convenient Speed.

About ten Miles from hence, upon a River running into Savannah, is a Place called Old Ebenezer, where is a
Cow-Pen, and a great Number of Catle Cow-Pen, and a great Number of Cattle for the Ufe of
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the Public, and for Breeding. At a confiderable Diftance from hence is the Town of Augufta, before defcribed which, from the great Refort of Traders and Indians, is in a thriving Condition, and is, and will be, a great Protection to both the Provinces of Carolina and Georgia againt any Defigns of the French. In the fouthern Part of the Province is the Town of New Invernefs, upon the River Altamaba, where the Higblanders are fettled. And about twenty Miles from hence, on the Inland of St. Simon, near the Sea, is the Town of Frederica, with a regular Magiftracy, as at Savannab, fupported at the Expence of the Truftees : Strong Fortifications round the Town are almoft finifhed. And at the South-eaft Point of the Inand, are Barracks for three hundred and thirty Men. There are Settlements on the Illands of Iekyl and Cumberland, which lie a fmall Difs tance from each other to the fouthward of Frederica; and on the laft two Forts are built, one of which was defcribed before, and the other was finifhed in April 1740 .
Upon the South-end of the Inand it commands the Inlet of Amelia Sound, is Atrongly pallifaded with Flankets, and is defended by eight Pieces of Cannon: Barracks are built upon this Ifland for two hundred and twenty Men, with Store-houfes, which were finifhed in OEFober 1738. There are fix Forts in the Province, and a Battery of Cannon erected to fecure the Harbour at St. Simon's, under which Ships may fafely lie. The Indians, from the Prefents which they have annually received from the Truftees, and from the Juftice and Humanity with which they have been treated, are fecured in the Britifb Intereft, notwithftanding the Arts both of the French and the Spaniards to feduce them. By this, Soutb Carolina has been free from Wars, in which (as the Preamble to his Majefty's Charter fet forth) they had frequently fuffered, and fo late as the Year IクI5 had been laid almoft wafte with Fire and Sword; and by the Security which Soutb Carolina received by fuch a Frontier as Georgia is to it, very large Tracts of Land have been cultivated in the fouthern Part of that Province, which no Perfon would, venture to fettle on before; and a great Quantity of Rice raifed thereon.

This is a clear Proof of the Injuftice of fuppofing that the Nation hath hitherto received no Advantage from this Colony; fince whatever has been gained by Carolina, in virtue of the Protection fhe enjoys by the Settlement of this new Province, ought to be looked upon and confidered as the Produce of Georgia; and though even this may not be any greatMatter hitherto, yet as it is an Inftance of the Benefits to be expected from this Colony, it ought to be kindly accepted, as an Earneft of better Things. As to the Number of People fent over to, and fettled in, Georgia, within the Space of eight Years,' they amounted to upwards of two thoufand, talking in thofe that went at their own Expence, which, if compared. with the fnnall Number of People that were in Carolina, after it had been fettled forty Years, will enable us to diftinguifh between the Confequences of Attention to private Profit, and Concern for the public Good: To fay the Truth; of all the Methods that have been hitherto tried, in fixing Colonies in diftant Parts of the World, this may very truly and on good Ground be pronounced the beft; becaufe by it due Provifion is made, that the People fent over fhall all be carefully fettled and well taken Care of, and fupported from time to time with proper Supplies; that this Care fhould not ceafe immediately, on their having Plantations, but be continued till the People are in a Condition to fupport themfelves.
By this Method Towns are formed, not at Random and by Chance, but in proper Situations, and for good Reafons; not purely for the fake of immediate Advantages, but with Views to the general Good, and future Benefit of the Colony. By this Means, every Step made by the rifing Plantation may be directed to public Ufe, and every Meafure be calculated for the Service of the Mother-country ; which cannot be expected where Grants are made to the Ufe, and for the Service, of particular People, where Numbers of Men tranfport themfelves for the fake of a better Livelihood, at their own Expence, or where People are tranfported againft their Will; fince. in all thefe Cafes it is to be prefumed, that Men will
follow
follow the Bias of their Inclinations or Interefts; but as in this Cafe, where the Public is at the Expence, and where the Management is intrufted with Perfons of Diftinction for the Benefit of the Public, nothing of this kind can happen ; they will be fure to difcharge their Duty, and in Proportion, as the Colony increafes and anfwers the Ends of thofe who compofe it, it will be likewife fure to anfwer thofe Ends for which it was fettled. Befides all this, the Form of Government, the enacting proper Laws, and the Spirit originally infufed into the People, will render fuch a Colony more dutiful and obfervant to her Mother-country, than any that want thefe Advantages.

Laftly, we may be fure that in fuch a Colony, the Produce will be managed moft to the Advantage of the Country from whence it is fettled; as for Inftance in this of which we are fpeaking, due Care will be certainly taken that they do not run into the Cultivation of fuch Commodities as are already produced in the neighbouring Colonies, but bend their Endeavours to the promoting of fuch as have not been yet raifed to any great Advantage in thofe Colonies, though perhaps their Soil and Climate were fufficiently fit for them. Flax, which as we have before fhewn, may be cultivated here to the greateft Advantage, will be certainly attended to; and fo alfo Potafhes and Silk, which above all Things claim our Care, of which we had formerly great Hopes from Virginia; and with a View of obtaining of which Carolina was actually fettled; but in both we were difappointed for want of fome proper Authority to direct a continued Application in the Planters fettled there for that Purpofe, without which nothing that does not turn to large Profit inmediately can be brought to Perfection; but in Colonies fettled by Truftees, their Recommendation will go far, their Authority farther enforce what they defire, and Premiums enable them with Certainty to procure Succefs; as we fhall have Occafion to fhew hereafter.

Our Aim at prefent is to prove the Excellency of this Method of Settling, which far furpaffes that of eftablifhing exclufive Companies, as will be evident if we confider that they regard their own Profit folely, and as foon as they have fallen into Ways of promoting it effectually, they forget the Obligation received from the Public, as is but too evident in many Cafes, and has juftly occafioned almoft a general Outcry againft fuch Companies; whereas a Board of Truftees conftituted for a limited Time, infpe\&t the Concerns, and promote the Welfare, of a rifing Colony, and by their Commiffion ceafe to have Power over it when their Care is no longer neceffary; but as for Companies, they keep all who belong to them continually in Leading-ftrings, and never confider how Trading may be made beneficial to a Nation in general ; but how it may be ordered fo as to become mof beneficial to themfelves. But it is time to quit thefe Reflections, in order to refume the Thread of our Hiftory, and to fhew how, after a few Years Peace, this Colony became ftrong enough, not only to hold up her Head and preferve her Being; but to repulfe her Enemies, and prove a Security to all her Neighbours in time of War; a Thing wonderful in all Refpects, and of which Pofterity will rpeak with Admiration, though from an unaccountable Negligence, and want of Attention, in the prefent Age, we are fcarce fo well acquainted with that Tranfaction as it deferves.

I I. The Government in Great Britain having, after many repeated Infults and Provocations, found themfelves under a Neceflity of obtaining Satisfaction from Spain by Force, a Squadron for that Purpofe was fent to the Weft Indies, and Orders iffued to the Governors of our refpective Colonies, and others his Majefty's Officers in Anerica, to annoy the Spaniards by all Methods poffible. Thefe Orders were received by Mr. Oglethorpe, in Quality of general Commander in chief, in the latter end of the Month of September, 1739. Whereupon he immediately confidered of Ways and Means for putting them in execution; in order to which he put his own Regiment, and all the Forces he could raife in Georgia, into the beft Condition poffible. He fent to inform the Cherokees, and other Indian Allies, of the Situation that Affairs were in, and to impower them to enter into the

Spanifh Territories. He alfo fent up to Charles-Torom, to acquaint the Governor and Affembly with the prefent Potture of Things ; and to acquaint them with his Readinefs to undertake an Expedition againtt St. Auguftin; for the joint Service of Carolina and Georgia. The plain Reafon that he was defirous of beginning to act offenfively againft the Spaniards was, to raife the Spirits of his own People, to divert the Spaniards from the Defigns which they were forming to our Prejudice, and to keep the War at the greateft Diftance poffible.
It is very clear, that from the Situation of Things in Georgia, it was altogether impoflible for him to obtain a Force fufficient for the Execution of thefe Defigns, without the Affiftance of the Province of Carolina; and as it was of equal Importance to that Province, that thofe Defigns fhould be carried into Execution, it was but reafonable for him to expect, that all the Affiftance poffible fhould be given him. Governor Bull, upon the General's Application, acquainted the Affembly of Carolina with what had been propofed; and as they were very fenfible of the Importance of the Undertaking, of the Views the Spaniards had to their Prejudice, and of the Prepations they were making to annoy both Provinces, they fhewed a Difpofition to give him what Affiftance was in their Power.

But at the fame time that they had thefe Inclinations, they could not help confidering the Situation of the Province, which under its Circumftances at that time, was very far from being in a Condition to enter into a large Expence, unlefs there was a great Probability of Succefs; by which it feems they undertood the reducing the Fortrefs of St. Augufin, with the Strength of which, as it was a regular Fortification, had always in it a good Garrifon, and was highly confidered by the Spaniards, they were very well acquainted; and they knew, befides, that feveral former Attempts upon that Place had been difappointed. That they might act therefore in fuch a manner as might equally fhew their Zeal for his Majefty's Service, and their Regard for the Welfare of their Conftituents, the Afrembly directed, that General Ogletborpe fhould be defired to explain himfelf fully, as to the $\mathrm{Na}-$ ture of the Affiftance he expected, and the Ends he conceived it might anfwer, in cafe they fhould agree to grant him the Affiftance he required.

Upon which the General, by the following Letter, dated at Frederica December the 29th, 1739, laboured to give them all the Satisfaction that was poffible, as well in Regard to the Matters under their Confideration, as with refpect to his own Conduct, in Reference to the Defigns he had in View, and the Affiftance he expected. This Letter was conceived in the following Terms, viz. "I fend up with this an Officer to concert Meafures for " the Siege of St. Augufin; it will be neceffary to have "twelve Cannons of eighteen Pounders each, with two " hundred Shot for each Gun, and Powder proportion" able; one Mortar-Piece, and Bombs, with Powder " fufficient; eight hundred Pioneers, Negroes, or white "Men, with Tools fufficient for that Number of Men; "fuch as Spades, Hoes, Axes, and Hatcheis, to dig "Trenches, make Gabelines, and Fafcines. If they "s are Negroes, there muft be white Men fufficient to " guard them, and overfee them ; Veffels and Boats "fufficient to carry the Artillery-Men, Provifions, $\varepsilon^{\circ} c$. "e We fhall have one thoufand Indians; fix thoufand " Bufhels of Corn will be neceffary to feed them, or Rice " proportionable; alfo as many Horfemen as can be "had, who may pafs over the River Savonnah, and paf" fing the Oakmulgy, and Orony, and from thence to the " Ferry, on the River Alata, where they may pafs over " into the Spanifh Florida. Captain M'Pberfon, or " Mr. Fones of Ponpon, can fhew them the Path; for I " Ahould think the People of Carolina would do very well " to raife a Troop of Rangers, under the Command of " Captain $M^{\prime} P$ berfon, who is a very good Officer. "Captain Warren affured me that he would be very wil" ling to affift in convoying the Veffels, and in carrying "Cannon, $E^{\circ} c$. The Cberokee Indians have promifed
" me to be down in March; I have not heard from the
"Creek Nation lately, but I expect them down about
" the fame Time, and have had a Party of them with me for fome Months. I can march four hundred Men of the Regiment, and leave fufficient for the Garrifons behind me. I have ordered three Troops of twenty Men each to be raifed, but I have been difappointed of Horfes by Captain Cutbbert's Death, fo I have got yet only twelve. If the Carolina People will pay them, I believe they may raife fifty very good Men at Purrifourg. I fhould defire four Months Provifions for four hundred Men of the Regiment, of Rice and Meat, with Boats for carrying it to St. Aufuftin, at the Rate of one Pound of each per Diem for each Man. I have thirty-fix Cohorns, and about eighteen hundred Shells: Of the People of the Province of Georgia I cannot draught many, becaufe I mult not leave the Country naked; and, as they are poor, if they neglect their planting Seafon, it will be difficult for them to fubfift ; therefore I would only raife two hundred, which is equal to the Number of Soldiers I " Phall leave behind, and this I cannot do unlefs I can pay them. I believe they will be content with $9 l$. Carolina Currency per Month, and fix Pounds of Meat, and fix Pounds of Rice, each per Week, befides which there muft be Pay to the Officers. Therefore if the Affembly fhould grant me a Sum fufficient to pay them, and the Provifions, I would raife the Men. This is my Opinion with relation to the Preparations for diflodging the Spaniards at St. Augufin, without which we certainly cannot do it. The leginative Power of Carolina will be the bett Judges of the Service it will be to them. For my own Part, I think that 6 if we do not take this happy Opportunity of attacking 'St. Augufin whilit it is weak, the Havanna being blocked up by our Men of War, which renders them incapable of receiving Succours from Cuba, all Nortb America, as well as Carolina and this Province, will feel it feverely. As foon as the Sea is free, they will fend a large Body of Troops from Cuba. You remember the Account you fent to England, of the Preparations fome Time fince made at Havanna; every thing is there ftill, and if they fhould come up and land in Florida, we muft then make a defenfive War, and they may then chufe who they will attack feparately. They may moleft all North America with their Privateers, and if they can by any Means get the ftart of the Men of War, they can run into Shole-Water, ss where they cannot follow them. I am willing my"s felf to do all I poffibly can for annoying the Enemy "s as his Majefty has ordered, and fhall fpare no perfonal "L Labour or Danger towards freeing Carolina of a Place " from whence their Negroes are encouraged to maffacre " " their Mafters, and are openly harboured, after fuch At" tempts. The Spaniards attacked the Inand of Amelia, " and murdered two Men there: I, to return their Civi" lity, landed in Florida; the Spanifb Horfe with a Party "s of Negroes and Indians advanced as if they intended sc to attack us; but before they were within two Miles "s of us went very faft off. Our Indians purfued them to " their Forts, and killed one of the Negroes who had " run away from Carolina, within a few Miles of St. Au"guftin. I hope you will excufe this long Letter, and " believe me to be, Ėc."

It is very clear from this Letter, that the General meant to make the Affembly of Carolina perfectly acquainted with his Intentions, and with every thing relating to the Execution of them ; and that this might be more fully and effectually done, he went himfelf to Cbarles Town, where, after many Conferences, and much Deliberation on both Sides, a Scheme of Action was agreed upon, and an Act of Affembly was paffed April the 5th 1740, for carrying the fame into Execution ; the Carolina Regiment for this Service was raifed, and put under the Command of Colonel Vanderdulfen, and Mr. Ogletborpe, as General and Commander in Chief, publifhed a Proclamation, fettling the Terms of the Expedition, and amongft other things, declared that he would give whatever Share of Plunder came to him as Commander in Chief, towards the Relief of fuch Men as might happen to be maimed or wounded, towards the Affiltance of the Widows and

Children of fuch as might be killed, and towards rewarding thofe that might diftinguifh themfelves in the Service. All things being prepared for entering upon this Expedition, with the Troops of both Provinces; the Rendezvous for all the Forces was appointed at the Mouth of St. Jobn's River, where, accordingly, moft of them arrived the 9 th of May. But fome Time before this the General had attacked and taken St. Francis de Pupa, a little Spanifb Fort, wherein were a Serjeant and twelve Soldiers, about feventeen Miles from St. Augufin.

From the Mouth of St. Fobn's River the Army marched on the ioth of May to attack Fort Diegos about twenty Miles diftant; which Fort had nine Swivels, two Carriage Guns of two Pound Shot, and fifty Men; and having furrounded it, on the 12 th they fent in a Spanifb Prifoner with a Drum, to fummon the Garrifon, who immediately capitulated on the following Conditions: ift. The Garrifon to furrender Prifoners of War, and deliver up the Fort, with the Guns and Stores, to the King of Great Britain. 2dly, That they fhould have Liberty to keep their Baggage, and not be plundered. 3 dly, That Seignior Diego Spinofa, to whom the Fort belonged, being built at his Expence, and on his Lands, fhould hold his Lands, Slaves, and fuch other Effects as were not already plundered in the Field. 4 thly, That no Deferters or Runaways from Carolina, fhould have the Benefit of this Capitulation, but be furrendered at Difcretion. This Fort was garrifoned by fixty of the General's Forces; and from thence they returned to the Place of Rendezvous, where they were joined by Colonel Vanderduffen, with the reft of the Carolina Regiment, on the 1gth of May, whence they marched again to Diego the 3 Ift; and from thence, in two Days, to Fort Moofa, in view of, and near two Miles diftant from, St. Augufin, and twenty-three from Diego. The Spaniards having deferted Moofa, the General ordered the Gates to be burnt, and three Breeches to be made in the Walls, which was plainly with a Defign to prevent any of his own People from taking Poft within the Place.

They then proceeded with the whole Army to reconnoitre the Town and Caftle, after which they returned back to Diego; from thence the General ordered Colonel Vonderduffen to march with his Regiment, and take Poffeflion of Point Quartell, lying to the North of the Bar, and feparated from Port Moofa by a Creek; while the General, with about two hundred and fixty Men of his Regiment, and the greateft Part of the Indians embarked on board the Men of War, and arrived at the Inand of Anaftatia, oppofite to the Caftle; leaving behind him on the Main but between ninety and one hundred white Men, Higblanders and others, in his Pay, with forty-two Indians, and two commiffioned Officers, to alarm the Spaniards on that Side; but he gave a verbal Command of the whole to Colonel Palmer, a Volunteer from that Province. About the fame Time two hundred Sailors, from the Ships, were landed upon that Illand, which the Spaniards directly abandoned, under the Command of Captain Warren, Captain Law, and the Honourable Captain Townfend, who were all very inftrumental in that Service.
While things were in this Situation, the Spaniards, on the 1 th of fune, marched a very confiderable Body of their Forces from St. Augufin, in the Grey of the Morning, in order to attack the People, under Colonel Palmer, at Moofa, in which they were but too fuccefsful; fince they furprized the People that were there, cut many of them to Pieces, and took Part of the reft Prifoners, which was owing to the Neglest of the Orders given them not to thut themfelves up in a Place which had been difmantled and ruined, on purpofe to thew that the General did not intend to keep or ufe it as a Fortification. But the Conveniency of lying under Cover, tempted them to forget thofe falutary Inftructions, which brought on their Misfortune, and gave the General inexpreffible Concern, more efpecially for Colonel Palmer, who was a Gentleman of Experience and Intereft, as well as a Volunteer, who ferved purely out of Zeal for the public Good, and therefore juftly efteemed.

To prevent any Accident of the like Nature, and the
more effectually to block up the Place, which for want of Numbers they were not able regularly to inveft, the Carolina Regiment was fent over to Anaftatia. In this Inand there were three Batteries erected, all above à Mile from St. Auguftin: But, however, they fired from them warmly, with fome Prejudice to the Place; from whence they were as warmly anfwered, but were moft hurt from the Fire from fix Spanibh Half-Galleys that lay within the Harbour. This induced a Propofal to the Captains of the three Men of War, to attempt the burning of thefe Half-Galleys; and upon a Confultation between them and the Land Officers, this was agreed to ; but afterwards the Sea Captains declared they thought it impracticable, for want of fufficient Depth of Water at the Entrance: Yet this was difproved on the 27 th of Fune, by the going in of Captain Robert Tyerel, and his coming out again on board a Schooner, who reported that there was Water enough ; yet the Majority voted the Defign ftill impracticable, which hindered any Attempt to carry it into Execution, though the Land Oficers confidered it as a Point that would have greatly contributed to the reducing of the Place.

When it was firft propofed to attack the Galleys, it was projected in the following Manner, viz. the General was to make a Diverfion on the Main, by attacking the Town; Colonel Vanderdufen, with Part of his Regiment, was to keep a continual Fire on the Town and Caftle, from the Batteries, while Captain Tyrrel was to have fet upon the Galleys, with the Seamen and the reft of the Colonel's Regiment. The General was accordingly on the Main with his Troops, expecting that Service; but the Commodore difapproving this, and it being yet a fecond Time agreed to be attempted, upon the Remontrances of Colonel Vanderduffen, and Captain Warren; when the Commodore's Lieutenant was to have commanded the Attack, new Difficulties were further ftarted when they came on Shore, and fo it was ftill unattempted. Yet it appears, that foon after the Men of War flipping their Cables, and putting out to Sea in a Storm, the Colonel endeavoured to revive the Attempt on the Galleys in their Abfence: But propofing it to the Commodore's Lieutenant, Mr. Swanton, who appeared to be a Gentleman of Spirit, and commanded the Seamen left on Shore, he was told, "He had Orders left "s not to venture any of them before the Return of the " Shipping."
Towards the End of Fune, fome Sloops, with a Supply of Provifions for the Garrifon, got in fafe at the South Entrance, to the Harbour of St. Augufin, called the Metanfas, without having been difcovered by any of our Men of War, till it was too late to intercept them. How this happened has not been hitherto accounted for, but it was a feafonable Relief to the Garrifon, who had not then above three Days Provifion of Bread-kind in the Place; and the Hurricane Seafon coming on, the Commodore gave Notice to the General, that he muft leave his Station, and fail away with the King's Ships on the 5th of July. Upon this it was reprefented, "That fince the "Men of War were obliged to fail away, it would be ${ }^{6}$ neceffary to fend the two Men of War Sloops into "s the Metanfas, to guard that, and either fecure the Re" treat of the Forces to Anaftatia, if they fhould be re"s duced to one, or affift in continuing the Blockade, till " they fhould be enabled to act more offenfively, by a "f further Affiftance."
To this Propofal it was agreed, provided the Sloops of War had Water enough to get in there; and a Council was held $7 u l y$ the 3 d , wherein fome of the Pilots that had been fent to found,' declared upon Oath, "There ." was not Water enough on the Bar of the Metanfas for 6 the Sloops to go in, and if they could go in, they "could not lie fafe there from a Hurricane, nor could " they fight above one a-breaft, in cafe they were attack${ }^{66}$ ed by the Galleys."

But the Commodore, afterwards afking Mr. Blomfield Barradel, Lieutenant of the Wolf Sloop, who had been along with the Pilots, and happened to be aboard his Ship that Night, with fome Captains, what he had to fay in that Affair? he replied, that the Pilots had given
their Opinion, and that he was not then to be examined; but if they afked his Opinion, he would give it. They then defired he would; he affrmed, "That there was "6 Water enough on the Bar for the Sloops to get in ; "t that they could lie fafe from a Hurricane when in; " and that there was alfo fufficient Room, when in, to "fight three a-breaft, in cafe they were attacked." Upon the Pilots afterwards objecting to their lying fafe, he afked them, "Whether they remembred to have feen "fuch an Inand when they were there?" And when they acknowledged they did, he replied, " That they " ought to know they could lie fafe from a Hurricane " under that Mland." Notwithtanding which, it was refolved afterwards in Council, that they fhould take off all their Men, and fail away, leaving Captain Towenferid at Frederica; which put an End to the Enterprize.

Thus ended this Expedition, which, though not at tended with the Succefs fome expected from it, I mean the taking the Fortrefs of St. Augufin, was neverthelefs of very great Confequence, inafmuch as it kept the Spaniards for a long Time upon the defenfive; when if the Siege had not been undertaken, they would certainly have been otherwife employed; it laid all the Country open, fo that the Indians, in Friendfhip with us, made Excurfions up to the Gates of the Fortrefs; and the War being carried on in this Manner for a length of Time, and in Conjunction with the Indians, bound them fo ftrongly to the Englih Interef, that with a very little Affiftance from the People of Georgia, they kept the War at a Diftance; fo that the Inhabitants of Carolina felt none of its Effects as a Colony, except the Loffes fuffered by their Privateers, till the Spaniards executed their long projected Invafion, in 1742; in which they employed the whole of their Strength, and from which they expected to have changed the whole Face of Affairs on the Continent of America; and even then the People of Carolina fuffered only by their Fears.
12. This Expedition of the Spaniards, as has been already hinted to the Reader, was really meditated before the War commenced, and had very probably taken place, if Reprifals had not been made upon the Spaninids, on Account of the Depredations committed by their Guarda Coftas; at leaft we have Reafon to judge fo, from the Memorial of Sir Thomas Fitzgerald, before-mentioned; in which he afferted, that Georgia belonged to the Crown of Spain, and which he repeated in a fubfequent Memorial. But the Operations of our Fleet in the IVeff Indies, under Admiral Vernon, put a Stop to their Preparations at the Havanna; and the Siege of St. Avgufin, and its Confequences, retarded them likewife for fome time. Yet as the Spaniards are not apt to defift from Projects they have once formed, and as the Minittry at Madrid had very high Expectations from the Execution of this, they ftill kept it on foot, and only waited for a favourable Opportunity for performing what they imagined would have entirely changed the Scene of Things in Nortb America. As to the Manner in which they executed it at laft, and the amazing Difappointment they met with notwithftanding the vaft Force they employed, and the fmallnefs of that by which they were affifted, we had fo full, fo clear, and fo authentic an Account publifhed by Authority, that I know of no Method more fit to convey an Idea of it, or lefs liable to any Exceptions, than tranfcribing it, the rather becaufe as it ftands here connected with the Hiftory of Georgia, the Reader will have all the Lights that are neceffiry to render every Circumfance in it perfectly intelligible. Thus then that Account, tranfmitted to us by General Ogletborpe, ran: "The Be"ginning of May laft the Spaniards fitted out their "Fleet from the Havanna, confifing of fifty-fix Sail and " between feven and eight thoufand Men, with an Intent " to invade Georgia and Soutb Caroliza, and the other " northern Colonies. At their firf fetting out, in turn" ing the Moor Caftle, they loft a large Settee with one " hundred and fifty Men, and a few Days after the Floet " was difperfed by a Storm; fo that all the Shipping did " not arrive at St. Augufin. The latter end of May, or " beginning of Fune, Capt. Haymer of the Flamborcugh, " in his Cruife to the Southward, fent in to General

Ogletborpe
"Ogletborpe for Intelligence; who acquainted him, that he would probably meet with fome Spani/b Veffels to the Southward of St. Augufin; which he accordingly "did, and engaged ten Sail of the Mofquetos and drove fome of them afhore; but in the Action loft feventeen of his Men. He on his return acquainted the General with what had happened, and could not then come in for the Defence of Georgia, but proceeded to Cbarles-Town, to clean his Ship. The General thereupon fent Lieutenant Maxwell by Water, and Lieutenant Hugh Mackay over Land to Carolina, with Advice to the Governor, but no Afliftance came from thence till after the Retreat of the Spaniards. Lieute-nant-Col. Cook was at Cbarles-Toren, in his Way to London, whenLieut. Maxwell arrived with the faid Advice.

The 2 ift of fune, nine Sail endeavoured to come into Amelia Sound ; but the eighteen Pounders from Fort-William, and the Guard-Schooner with eighty Men, commanded by Capt. Dunbar, fired fo brifkly that they fheered off as faft as they could. The General, on this Advice, refolving to fupport the Forts on Cumberland, fet out with a Detachment of the Regiment on board his Boats; fent Capt. Horton with his Company of Grenadiers before, and was himfelf obliged to fight his Way with two Boats, through fourteen Sail of Spani/b Veffels which endeavoured to intercept him in Cumberland Sound. In this Engagement, feveral of the Spaniards being killed, the faid Veffels fet out to Sea, and did not join their Fleet till the Day before they left St. Simon's Sound. Lieutenant Tolfon, who .commanded the Boat of the greateft Strength, inftead of following the General, run into a Marfh, where he remained till next Morning, when he returned to St. Simon's; for which Behaviour he was put in Arreft, in order to be tried. Major Heron, from the Shore, feeing the General furrounded by the Enemy, and hid in Smoke, concluded him loft; but next Day, to the great Joy of the People, he returned in the GuardSchooner to St. Simon's, after having drawn the Command from St. Andrew's, and the Stores and Artillery that were there, and reinforced Fort William, where he left one of the Boats he had with him.
"He having laid an Embargo on all Veffels in the Harbour, took Capt. T'bomfon's Ship, which mounted twenty Guns, into the King's Service, and manned her out of the fmall Veffels which were of no Force. He alfo called in the Highland Company from Darien. Capt. Carr's Company of Marines, and the Rangers, from where they were differently detached; and fent Mr. Mullryne to Carolina, to get all the Men he could. The 28th of Fune the Spani/b Fleet came to Anchor off St. Simon's Bar, who were diverted from coming in, or landing any of their Troops, for feveral Days; in which time the General raifed another Troop of Rangers; and by rewarding thofe who did extraordinary Duty, and promifing great Encouragement to all who fhould fignalize themfelves on this Occafion, he kept up the Spirits of the People, and increafed their Numbers daily. The 5 th of $7 u l y$, with the Tide of Flood, and a brifk Gale, thirty-fix Spanifb Veffels entred St. Simon's Harbour, nine of which were large Topmaft Veffels. We received them with a brifk Fire from our Batteries and Ships, killed fome of them with our eighteen Pounders from the Fort, and our four Pounders from the lower Battery. The Spani/h Commodore, on board a Ship of twenty-two Guns, with a Settee, with an eighteen Pounder and two nine Pounders in her Bow, attempted to board Captain Thomfon's Ship; but he with his great Guns, Captain Carr with his Company of Marines, Lieutenant Wall and Enfign Otterbridge with a Party of the Regiment, made fo brave a Defence, that the Spaniards were obliged to retire with Lofs. A Snow of fixteen Guns at the fame time. attempted to board our GuardSchooner, but was alfo repulfed by Capt. Dunbor; the Engagement lafted upwards of three Hours, in which the Enemy loft feventeen Men, and had ten wounded. They paffed all our Veffels and proceeded up the River, upon which the General held a Council VoL. II. NUMB. 92.
" " War at the Head of his Regiment, where it was " the Opinion of the Whole immediately to march up to "Frederica, for the Defence of that Place.
"6 The General accordingly gave Orders for the Regi" ment to march, and ordered all the Troops that were ss on board the Veffels, to come afhore, and directed "Capt. Thompfon, with the Guard-Schooner and Prize "Sloop, to make the beft of their Way to Cbarles-Town; " and this was all done in Sight of the Enemy. The "General, during this Action, being obliged to be fome' times on Shipboard, fometimes at the Batteries, and " to act as Engineer, found himfelf under a Neceflity " of having a Lieutenant-Colonel with the Regiment; ' he therefore appointed Major Alexander Heron Lieute' nant-Colonel, in the Abfence of Lieutenant-Colonel " Cook, who was alfo Engineer, and the Sub-engineer, 's having attended him to Cbarles-Toson, was allo abfent. "Late at Night the General arrived at Frederica, after " having deftroyed all the Stores at St. Simon's, and funk " the Veffels that might be of Ufe to the Enemy, and ${ }^{6}$ rendered the Guns incapable of Service, and ordered ${ }^{6}$ the Wounded to be carried off on Horfeback. That "6 Night the Enemy landed their Forces on a dry Marfh, " about a Mile and an half from the Camp, under Cover " of their great Guns. They lay all that Night under " Arms, and the next Morning took Poffeffion of the " Camp which we left.
" 1 3. About Noon the Creek Indians brought us five "Spani/bPrifoners, from whom we had Intelligence, that " Don Manuel de Monteano, Governor of St.Augufin, com" manded in chief the Expedition; and that Major" General Antonio de Redondo chief Engineer, and two " Brigadiers, came with the Forces from Cuba; that their ' whole Number confinted of about five thoufand, and " 6 that the Night before they had landed about four thou" fand three hundred Men. One of the Prifoners the "General fent with Mr. Bedon to Cbarles-Town. The " $7^{\text {th }}$ of Fuly, at nine in the Morning, a Ranger of the "Patrol brought an Account, that the Enemy were " marching within a Mile and an Half of the Town. "Whereupon the General immediately ordered four "Platoons of the Regiment to march, and in the mean ' time went himelf with the Highland Company, " who was then under Arms. The Indians, and a Party " 6 of Rangers, came up with the Enemy about a Mile " from the Town, as they were entring the Savannab to " take Poffeffion of a Ditch they had a Mind to ufe as " an Intrenchment, but the Enemy were attacked fo " brifkly that the General foon overcame them; moft ' of their Party, which confifted of one hundred and " twenty of their beft Woods-Men, and forty Indians, ${ }^{66}$ being killed or taken Prifoners. The General took two ${ }^{6}$ Prifoners with his own Hands; Lieutenant Scroggs of "the Rangers took Capt. Sebafian Sacbio, Prifoner, ${ }^{6}$ who commanded the Party. Toeanoeowi, being thot " through his Right Arm by Capt. Mageleto, drew his "s Piftol with the Left, and fhot him through the Head. "6 The General purfued the Enemy near two Miles, ${ }^{6}$ and halted on an advantageous Piece of Ground until " the Party of the Regiment came up; he poited them " with the Higblanders in a Wood, with a large Savan" nah or Meadow in the Front, over which the Spaniards " muft pass in their Way to Frederica. After which he " haftened back to Frederica, and ordered the Rangers, " 6 and Company of Men, to make ready. In the mean " time two Companies of Spaniards of fifty Men each, ' 6 and two hundred more of the Enemies beft Troops, " came up with Shouts, and Drums beating; where" upon the General hearing Platoons firing, immediately " made hafte that way, and met three of the Platoons, " who in the Smoke and drizling Rain had retreated in "Diforder, and the Fire continuing, he ordered his Men " to rally and follow him, who haftening on, found that " Lieutenant Sutberland, with his Platoon, and Lieute" nant Cbarles Mackay, with the Higblanders, had intirely " defeated the faid three hundred of the Enemy, in " which Action Don Antonio Barba was made Prifoner, ' and mortally wounded; feveral others were killed, and ' two Grenadiers were taken Prioners. Capt. Demeret,
${ }^{6}-$ and
"s and Enfign Gibbon, rallied their Platoons, and came
"s up to the Ground. Capt. Carr, with his Company of "Marines, and Lieutenant Cadogan, with a Party of
"s the Regiment, came up at the fame time, and were " followed by Major Heron, with the Body of the Re${ }^{66}$ giment. In both Actions the Enemy loft two Captains,
"s one Lieutenant, and two Sergeants; two Drummers,
"s and about one hundred and fixty private Men; and
"s one Captain and nineteen Men were taken Prifonèrs
"s The General, with the Regiment, halted all Night,
"s about a Mile and a Half from the Enemies Camp, to
"s intercept thofe who had ftraggled in the Woods; and
' expecting the Enemy to make a fecond Attempt to
"s march in the Morning ; but the General having ad-
"s vanced with a Party of Indians, before Day-break,
" towards the Spanifh Camp, found them all retreated
"s into the Ruins of the Fort, and under Cover of their
" Cannon.
"s Next Norning, the 8th of $\mathcal{J} u l y$, the General and
" 6 his Men returned to Frederica, and he appointed a
"G General Staff, viz. Lieutenant Primrofe Maxwell, ${ }^{66}$ and Hugb Mackay, Aids de Camp; Lieutenant Sutber"land, Brigade-Major; and Sergeant Fobn Stuart, "fecond Enfign, for his brave Behaviour in the late ${ }^{6}$ Engagement. The 9 th and roth of $7 u l y$ all Hands "s were employed in the Works at Frederica, and the
"c Indians brought in fome Scalps and Prifoners. The
" IIth of July a Settee and two Quarter-Galleys came
" within Gun-fhot of the Town; but on our firing fome
"Guns and Bombs from the Fort, and the General " going towards them with his Boats, they return" ed to their Fleet, and with the reft drew up in Line " of Battle. The next Morning, being the 12 th of "'Fuly, an Englib Prifoner efcaped from them, who ${ }^{6} 6$ informed us, that the Enemy, on their landing, " had refolved to give no Quarter; but from the "6 Day their Grenadiers were defeated, they were in " great Terror, and intrenched themfelves, and gave
"Orders that none fhould go without their Sentinels,
"6 for fear of being furprized by the Indians. By
st other Prifoners and Deferters we were alfo told, that
" upon their calling over their Rolls, there were two
" hundred and forty Men and nineteen of their Indians
" milingz; that there were great Divifions among
"chem, infomuch that Don Antonio de Redondo, who
"commanded the Cuba Forces, encamped feparate
" from thofe of St. Augufin, and that the Commodore
" had ordered all his Seamen on board. That Night
"s the General and five hundred Men marched within
"r a Mile of the Enemy's Camp, intending to furprize
"s them, but was prevented by the Treachery of a
" Frenclmon, who was got among the Company of
"' Boatmen, and fired his Piece and gave Alarm to the
"s Enemy, and then deferted to them. When the Gene-
"s ral found his Intention difcovered, he ordered all "s his Drums to beat the Grenadiers March, and then re" turned to Frederica.
"TheGeneral the next Day, being the I3th of $F_{u l y}$, "6 in order to defeat the Information of the French De"f ferter, directed a Letter to be wrote, and fent by a "s Spaniff Prifoner, who, for the fake of Money the "G General gave him, and the Promife of Liberty, un"s dertnol to deliver it to the faid Frencbmon, wherein " he was inftructed to acquaint the Enemy's Com" manding Officer of the defencelefs State of Frederica, "s and encourage them to come up by Water under his "s Pilotage ; which Letter the Spainifb Prifoner delivered " to the Governor of St. Auguffin, and it had fo good an "6. Effect, that the faid Frencbman was ifnmediately "s taken into Cuftody, and looked upon as a double
is Spy, and thereupon put into Irons. The next
"s Morning, being the Ith of Fuly, the Spaniards "s burnt the Barracks and Officers Houfes at St. Simon's, s and Capt. Hortori's Houfe on Tekyll; and the fame
" Night they reimbarked with fo much Precipitation, "s that they left a Quantity of Ammunition, Provifions,
"s and fome Guns, behind them. On the 15 th all the
" large Veffels with the Cuba Forces on board failed
${ }^{6}$ Southward, and the Governor and Troops from St. Au"gufin on board the fmall Crait, went within Land,
"s and encamped in St. Andrezo's, and caught fifty Horfes
" with a Defign to carry them away; but on the Gene-
ss ral's appearing in his Boats, the Enemy fhot the faid
"Horfes, and burnt the Fort and Houfes at St. Andrewe's.
"The General the next Day, being the r6th of ${ }^{\prime} u l y$, "followed the Spaniards with all his fmall Craft, bur " was not ftrong enough to attack them. He landed a "Man out of his Boat on Cumberland, who that Night "s paffed the Enemy's Camp, and early the next Morn "' ing came to Fort-Willian, with Advice to Enfign "Stuart that the Spaniords were beat off St. Simon's, "s and that the General was conning with Succours, and "s ordered him to defend the Fort to the utmoft. On ss the 18 th of Fuly twenty-eight Sail of Spanifb appeared ${ }^{66}$ off Fort-William, fourteen of which came within Land, 's and attacked the Fort from their Galleys and othe " Veffels, and attempted to land, but were repulfed by
"s a Party of Rangers from behind the Sand.Hills,
"Enfign Stuart, who commanded with fixty Men "s in the Fort, defended it fo bravely, that after an " Atrack of upwards of three Hours, they were obliged "s to put to Sea with confiderable Lofs.
" The Eignteen Pounders there difabled two of their "Galleys. The 1gth of Fuly the General was on his "Way to Fort-William. The 20th of Fuly the Gene" ral arrived at Fort-William, and fent his Boats and " Rangers as far as the River St. Fobn, who returned "s next Day, and brought Advice that the Enemy was "s quite gone: Upon which the General gave the necef"f fary Ordens for repairing Fort William, and on the " 22 d retarned to Frederica. A few Days afterwards "s the Men of War from Cbarles-Town came off St. Si"s mon's Bar, and Capt. Tbonop fon with fome Volunteers "from Carolina; our Guard-Schooner and two Galleys "s came into St. Simon's Harbour ; and Capt. Hardy, of " the Rye Man of War, receiving a Meffage from the "General, by Lieutenant Mawwell, who went on board " him, fent for Anfwer, that he would take a Cruife "s with the reft of the King's Ships. But the General "s apprehending the Spaniards, upon recovering their " Fright, might return with more Courage and better "Conduct, continued Capt. Thompfon's Ship in the " King's Service, and fent Expreffes over Land to the " Northern Provinces on this Occafion.
" Thefe Forces were commanded by Don Manuel de 6s Monteano, Governor of St. Augufin, Commander in "chief of the Expedition; Major-General Antonio de "Rodondo Engineer-General, two Colonels with Brevits "s of Brigadiers; and confifted of one Regiment of Dra" goons difmounted, with their Saddles and Bridles;
" the Regiment called the Battalion of the Havanna, "s ten Companies, of fifty Men each, draughted off from "feveral Kegiments at Havanna; one Regiment of the "Havanna Militia, confifting of ten Companies of 100 "، Men each ; one Regiment of Negroes, regularly officered "s by Negroes; one ditto of Mulattoes, and one Com" pany of Miquelets; one Company of Train, with "6 proper Artillery; Augufin Forces confifting of about " three hundred Men, ninety Indians and fifteen Ne "g groes, who run away from South Carolina. To thefe "Accounts I fhall add the following Depofition of Samue? "Cloake, formerly belonging to his Majefty's Ship the "Flamborough, and taken Prifoner off St. Augufin by the "Spaniards in May 1742.

## Frederica in

Georcia, is.
" This Deponent, being duly fworn, faith, That he " was put Prifoner on board a Ship called the Pretty
" Nancy, taken by the Spaniards from the Englifh, fit"s ted out with ten Carriage and fix Swivel Guns, which "s was Part of the Fleet that carried the Troops from "St.Augufin for the Invafion of Georgia and South Caro" lina: That the had one hundred and fifty Soldiers on "s board, befides Sailors: That he counted forty-four Sail, " befides the Launches and thofe that went in Land, and " Pettiauguas which carried the Indians: That they failed "from St. Augufin the beginning of Fune, and met with ${ }^{66}$ very hard Gales for threeDays, which difperfed theFleet: «6 That the chief Pilot on board the Commodore was one

Parris, belonging to Port Royal in Soutb-Carolina, and who was married there, and had a Plantation in that Province: That they came to an Anchor with Part of the Fleet off Frederica Bar, to the Northward of it; and the Spaniords faid that they fhould not have found out Georgia, had it not been for Parris their Pilot: That they lay feveral Days at Anchor off the Bar, during which Time the Men were put into fmall Boats in order to land; but feeing feveral Men marching on the Beach, they were afraid to land, as they intended, and came on hoard again ; for about three Days after, holding a Council of War, they refolved not to land any Men "till they had made themfelves Mafters of the Harbour. During the Time they lay off this Bar, the Spaniards often whetted their Swords, and held their Knives to this Deponent's and other Englifh Prifoners Throats, faying, they would cut the Throats of thofe they Thould take at Georgia. They failed on the 5 th of $\mathcal{F} u$ ly with a ftrong Eafterly Wind and Tide of Flood: That the Englifh fired from the Batteries and Ships very brifkly, and the Spaniards faid that the Englifh ftood very well: That a Four-Pound Shot hulled the Ship where the Deponent was; and one Eighteen-Pound Shot from the Battery killed feven Men on board the large Ship: That there were of the Spaniards eight Three-Maft Ships ; the Commodore’s was a Twenty-Gun Ship ; there was alfo a Snow with fourteen Nine-Pounders, and a Galley with three large Guns, one of which he heard was a Twelve-Pounder, which was manned with above one hundred Men; there were alfo feveral Privateers, fome of them with ten Guns, and fome with eight: That the Spaniards "s and fome Iriflomen on board told him, that in the whole " Fleet there were about five or fix thoufand Men, and «s were come with a Defign to take Gcorgia, and after "s that go to Port-Royal in Soutb-Carolina. He farther " fays, that they had a whole Regiment of Negroes, "s with a Company of Grenadiers, in the fame Manner as other Regiments havè, and cloathed in the fame Livery as other Spaniff Regiments; they were com" manded by Negro Officers, and he faw the Officers walking along with the Governor of St. Auguffin afthore; that they were dreffed in gold and filver-laced Cloaths, like other Officers, and that they were kept s in the fame Pay as the other Regiments. He further faith, that the Ship where this Deponent was, was os loaded with Grenadiers and Dragoons, who had on " board Saddles, Bridles, Piftols, and all Accoutre© ments: That they landed all them from on board his "Ship, and put a fimall Guard of ten Men on board: "6 That two or three Days afterwards one of the Captains " and one Sergeant of the Grenadiers came on board, " and this Deponent afking the Sergeant whether he had " been at Frederica, he anfwered, that the Woods were " fo full of Indians that the Devil could not go through " them, and that the Indians had killed about one hun"s dred and fifty of their beft Men, and that there were " but very few Soldiers: Thofe who came on board were ss fo down-hearted that they could hardly fpeak a Word: "s That upon this they were ordered to get Water on " board, in order to get to Sea in a Hurry, which this ' Deponent took the Advantage of, and made his Efape to General Oglethorpe.

Mark.
Samuel $\times$ Cloake.
14. It may be truly faid, that there never happened in this Part of the World, any thing more honourable for the Englifh Nation, or more likely to ftrike a Terror into their Enemies, than this entire and total Defeat of fo formidable an Invafion, by fuch a Handful of Forces. Inftead of raifing and heightening this Succefs, to do Honour to the General's Character, we ought rather to leffen or diminifh fome of its Circumftances, to render it in fuch an Age as this more credible; but we have taken no Liberties at all, the Facts are reprefented Step by Step as they happened; and the Reader is left to judge how far it appears from hence that Georgia is a true Frontier, in refpect to Carolina; and what Advantages are to be hoped for in cafe the new Colony fhould increafe in a
reafonable Proportion, for twenty Years to come; but to help the Reader's Judgment in this Refpect, and to fhew him in what Light this Tranfaction was confidered by all our Colonies in America; the Imhabitants of which were certainly the ableft, and moft equitable Judges; it is requifite to obferve, that Jobn Tinker, Efq; Governor of the Babama Iflands; Lereis Morris, Efq; Governor of Nere Ferfey; William Gooch, Efq; Governor of Virginia; George Clark, Efq; Lieutenant Governor of Neto York; Gabricl Fobnfon, Efq; Governor of North Carolina; Tho mas Bladen, Efq; Governor of Maryland; and George Thomas, Efq; Governor of Penfylvania; all wrote to Ge-neral Ogletborpe upon this miemorable Occafion, to congratulate him upon being the happy Inftrument in fo honourable and fo important a Service; to affure him of the Share they took in the Honour he had acquired, and of the true Senfe they had of the great Deliverance that Providence had wrought for all the Britifh Colonies in North America, by his Conduct and Courage. Stronger: Teftimonies than thefe, with refpect to the Confequence of the Action he had performed, it was impoffible for him to receive, and better Evidence than thefe Letters afford it is likewife impoffible that we fhould have here at home; and therefore to fet this Fact in its true Light, and that the People of Great Britain may have a juft Notion of the Advantages arifing from this wife and well condueted Defence, in which the Bravery of Britibl Soldiers, their Affection for, and Confidence in, their Commander, is fo clearly expreffed, I thought it reafonable to annex the Copies of the Letters written by the three firf mentioned Gentlemen, as being equally honourable for them, and for the Perfon to whom they are addreffed; and if I add no more, it is to avoid being tedious, and that I may have an Opportunity of clofing the hiftorical Part of this Section, with Papers that do fo much Honour to the new Colony of which it treats.

Copy of a Letter from bis Excellency John Tinker, Efq; Governor of the Bahama Inands, to Generdl James Oglethorpe.

S I R,
N. Providencë, Nov. 6. 1742.

I am favoured with both of your Excellency's Letters, of the 3 Ift of 7 uly $y$ and 16 th of September, with an inclofed Account of the Spaniards Defcent upon your Province, and your fortunate Victory over them: Upon which I beg leave to congratulate you, and to affure you none of your Acquaintance can receive more real Satiffaction at an Event that muft contribute fo much to your Honour and Reputation as this laft. I rejoice too for the Public, becaufe I am fure if you had not given fo good an Account of them, the neighbouring Provinces would have been in imminent Danger. ' I know the General had Orders to attack this Inand upon their Return, fo I may juftly thank you for faving me a great deal of Trouble.
If there is any thing in this Government that can contribute to your Pleafure, and facilitate the Continuance of our Friendfhip and future Correfpondence, I fhall, with Joy, embrace the Propofition. The Bearer has been a long Time here, and can give you an exact Account of the Carte du Pais. We are, at prefent, employed in repairing the Fortifications, and making fome additional ones, which will, I hope, be compleated this Winter. I have the Honour to be, with great Regard and Truth ${ }_{3}$

## Your Excellency's <br> moft obedient bumble Servant, <br> (figned) <br> John Tinker:

Copy of a Letter from bis Excellency Lewis Morris, Efq; Governor of New Jerfey, to General James Ogles thorpe.

S I R,
Burlington, the 2 d of Nov. 1 年 42.
I received the Honour of yours of the 3rft of $7 u l y$
laft, by the Exprefs you fent, along the Continent, who is now got thus far back in his Return to you. The Contents of it gave me very great Pleafure, as it informed me of your Health, and of the great (or rather wonderful) Succefs God has been pleafed to give to his Majefty's Arms under your Conduct : And I doubt not has effectually convinced the Agreffors how unable they are to cope with refolute Britifb Troops; and I hope will be a fufficient Difcouragement to a fecond Attempt of that kind; which, if the firft had fucceeded, might prove of dangerous Confequence to his Majefty's Plantations on the Continent, efpecially the moft fouthern ones.

You have gathered unenvied Laurels, and well deferve to wear them. I take Leave to affure you no body can be better pleafed with your Succefs, than,

## $S I R$,

Your moft bumble,
and obedient Servant,
(figned)
Lewis Morris.
ExtraEt of a Letter from the bonourable WILLIAM Gooch, Efq; Governor of Virginia, to General James OgleTHORPE.

## S I R,

October the 12 th, 1742.
I received the Letter of the 3 Ift of $7 u l y$ your Excellency honoured me with, by the Hands of your trufty Courier, Mr. Watkins, and with it a very fenfible Satiffaction: I rejoice to hear your Courage and Conduct have had their deferved Succefs, in fo unequal a Trial. Your prudential Behaviour on the Occafion, cannot be too much applauded, nor Actions fo truly laudable too much admired. The whole Continent is under lafting Obligations to you, for your extraordinary Vigilance and Magnanimity, when, not thinking your Services to your King and Country compleated, nor your Valour fufficiently proved in the Defence of your infant Settlement, againft the repeated Attacks of cruel and inhuman Foes, more than could be expected, confidering their Numbers; with an uncommon Refolution you forced them in the Field to a precipitate Retreat, and effectually defeated the defperate Defigns of an Enemy that had the Vanity to flatter themfelves with the Hopes of making an eafy Conqueft of fome, at leart, of the Britifh Provinces.

As thefe great Actions are to be attributed to your Fortitude, fo in my Judgment the unexpected' and vigorous Oppofition they met with, ending in fo fevere a Rebuff, has thrown them into fuch Diforder, that I am confident thofe Troops, were they all together in St. Auguftin, could not fo foon recover fufficient Courage to animate them to the like Undertaking: The Confufion and Hurry in which they reimbarked, are fuch evident Tokens of their being terrified and difmayed, that with your ufual Watchfulnefs you may reft fecure from further Difturbance, $\varepsilon^{2} c$.

## I am,

$S I R$,
Sour moft obedient,
and moft bumble Servant,

## (figned) William Gooch.

15. We have now compleated the Hiftory of the Englifb Colonies in America, in fuch a Manner, that the Reader cannot help difcerning their intrinfic Value and great Importance; there is therefore no Neceflity of our adding any thing on this Subject here, and therefore we will confine our Remarks entirely to the Colony of Georgia, and endeavour to fhew from what Views, upon what Hopes, and in how great a Degree the Public is interefted in the Maintenance and Support of this new Colony. In the firft Place, we have feen that the Truftees originally defigned it for a Boundary or Frontier to cover
the other Provinces upon the Continent; that it was extremely proper for this, the very Situation of it fhews; that it was extremely wanted we may gather from the Hiftories of the other Provinces, in which we find various Inftances of the Ruin of their advanced Settlements from their leaving fo large a Country as Georgia uncul tivated, a plain Sign of their Fear of becoming nearer Neighbours to the Spaniards; and from the Names of Places, fuch as Bloody Point, which commemorate the Maffacres that have been heretofore committed in thofe Parts; but the ftrongeft and cleareft Proof'of all, is the Memorial from the Affembly of Carolina, in which the Reader has feen this Matter fated in the fulleft and faireft Light; from all which I infer, that the eftablifh ing of fuch a Barrier, was a Point worthy of public At tention; and that the Benefits accruing from it to Carolina, and all the Provinces to the Northward, might very well be confidered as a fufficient Recompence for any Expence that might attend the eftablifhing of fuch a Frontier. That the Public were not amufed in the Hopes that were given them by the Truftees of Georgia in this refpect; that the fending a Regiment thither, was not a needless or ufelefs Expence; and that the Money employed in fortifying there, was not either wafted or thrown away, manifeftly appears by their repulfing the Spaniards in the late Invafion. If this was folely owing to the Bravery, Firmnefs, and Strength of the new Colony, then furely there is no room to find Fault with it; and if the Province is as fome People would have it, thinly peopled, and very little capable of Defence, what Applaufe is due-to the General? Who, without the leaft Affiftance from any other Place, could repel fuch a Force, and thereby fecure all our Colonies in North America: Take it either Way, we are fure of a Barrier while we have Georgia under his Direction.

In the fecond Place, this Country was defigned as an Afylum for diftreffed People in our own Country, and for fuch induftrious foreign Proteftants as fhould be willing to go thither. If we confider the thing in this Light, the fupporting this Defign was no Favour in the Government; for it is the Duty of every Government to provide for fuch of its poor Subjects as are willing to work; and the leaft they can do, is to fend them to the Colonies, fince it muft be owing to their Mifmanagement that they have not Employment at home ; but it is not their Duty only, it is their Intereft alfo; for Men active and induftrious, who can find nothing to do, and are at a Lofs to find any thing to eat, are not apt to remain long in fuch a Condition: And furely it is better to fend fuch People abroad, though at a fmall Expence, than fee them, for want of fuch Care, fend themfelves to the Gallows. In times of general and continued Peace, there will, however, be fuch Overflowings in moft Nations; under arbitrary Princes from Mens Averfion to Slavery, under free Governments from a fuperabundance of People. In both Cafes that Government is to be commended, which laying hold of thefe Cverflowings, applies them to its own Ule. 'To give luch People Territories, is to acquire, though it feems a Solecifin in Speech, the very Territories yous give; for Land without People is of no Ufe; but Land inhabited and cultivated by white People, let it lie where it will, is of great Value; and that Value is much enhanced when that Land is cultivated, and thofe People are fettled precifely where you want them moft. This is the Cafe of Georgia; for the Corolina Memorial tell us, that white Men were not to be raifed there for Money ; which was the fame thing as if they had told the Government, that the beft Way they could employ their Money, was in fending of white People thither. But when we confider the Expence of fending white $\mathbb{M e n}$, and compare it with the Purchafe of Negroes, the Cafe appears ftill more advantageous: Since the white Men come cheaper, and are of much greater Auvane: By fetting them you acquire ufeful Sybjecic, and colnuumdy increafe your Force; by purchafing IVegroes, you only gain fo many Slaves that increafe your Danger and Terror, by leffening your Force. Your own Pcople and foreign Proteftants will be always yours, but Negroes are any body's that
will but promife them better Conditions than they liave under you, which may be very eafily done; and of what ill Confequence this may prove, appears from the Negro Regiment in the Spanifh Service; for had they fucceeded in their Invafion, and once penetrated into a CoIony full of Negroes, they might have raifed new Regiments by barely beating their Drums; Regiments that would have been equally terrible to us, and ufeful to them, from their Knowledge of the Country, and from their Hatred of their old Mafters.

There was a third Advantage propofed in the fettling this new Colony where it is fettled, and from the Terms upon which it was fettled; and that was, the fecuring the Nations of Indians which inhabited the vaft Countries to the South and South-weft of Georgia, in the Britibl Intereft. A thing fo much the more neceffary, confidering the Views that the French had of the fame kind; and of , vaft Importance to all the Colonies, as the maintaining of Friendfhip with there Nations, muft neceffarily interrupt the Correfpondence between the French Colonies of Canada and Louvifinana, upon which their being formidable to us North America abfolutely depends; fince if ever they complete it, every Child that can be brought to comprehend a Map, will fee that they will furround all our Colonies on the Main, from Nova Scotia to Georgia; but by this laft Colony, we have bid fair for interrupting their Defign, by engaging in our Intereft thofe Indian Nations moft capable of doing us good, and them hurt: As for Inftance, the Lower and Upper Creeks, a Nation fo called from their Country being interfected with Rivers, which Country extends from the River Savannab to the Lakes of Florida, Southward and Weftward, to the Cbe(rokee Mountains, and the River Coufa; fo that we may eafily difcern how ufeful their Friendfhip muft be to the Colonies of Georgia and Carolina, more efpecially when it is confidered that they are a very brave, a very numerous, and a very faithful Nation, as appears from their Conduct in the prefent War; in which they have fhewn as heroic Courage as any the Greek Hiftory records, and a Fidelity to their Allies, equal to that of the early Roimans, which has been owing to Alliances concluded with Equity and fupported by Integrity, and the fame Conduct conftantly purfued towards them, will for ever bind them to our Service.

The Cberokees poffefs the mountainous Country Weftwards to the River Miffifpppi, as the Cbickefares do the Plains to the Southweft of the Country of the Cberokees, both brave and numerous Nations, enthufiaftically fond of Liberty; in which it is our Intereft to fupport and maintain them againft the French. Hence it appears, that in this Light the Truftees were both well informed, and have happily fucceeded; the Reafon of the thing, and the Hiftory of the Country, plainly proves this; and, befides, they have the only kind of Evidence in Credit with the Moderns: I mean, that all they promifed themfelves has been verified by the Event.

By the happy Situation of this Country, the Inhabitants of it will not only be enabled to protect and defend the Northern Colonies that lay behind it, but may be alfo of great Ufe to Famaica and the Leeward Iflands. I am fenfible that there are many that will affect to treat the firft Part of this Affertion as ridiculous, and to fneer at the latter as chimerical; but I have confidered very well what I have afferted, and am from thence convinced of the Truth of what I fay. I can very eafily forefee that it may be objected, my own Book fhews that there are thoufands and ten thoufands in Virginia, Penfyluania, New York, the Ferfeys, and New England; and therefore it is a Jeft to fay that thefe great and populous Countries are to be protected by a handful of poor People juft fettled in Georgia: Yet for all this the Fact muft be true, or that Colony abandoned. If we, here at home, continue to protect and to fupport the People of Georgia, and in Confequence of that Protection and Support, induce them to confult their private Intereft, by purfuing fuch Schemes as are moft for the public Advantage, Georgia will very foon be full of Pcople, and of ufeful People, who muft have their Tools, their Cloathing, and other Neceffaries from hence; and who will be in a Con-

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dition to pay us plentifully for all they liave. Georgid, if attended to, may become as populous as Barbadoes, or the Babama Ilands, and that in a very fhort Space of Time; for if a large Bounty were given for a certain Number of Years, upon every Pound of Silk imported from thence, we fhould fee it a rich and thriving Colony, and People would flock thither from all Parts; who, by maintaining their Treaties with the Indians, might eftablifh an effectual Barrier againft both the French and Spaniards, with all their Indian Allies. All this is highly pofible and practicable, nay, and very probable too; and when once it comes to be a Fact, there will be no Sort of Abfurdity in faying the People of this Colony, and their Indian Allies, will afford Shelter and Protection to the Settlements that lie to the North of them. But this is not all, for, as I obferved before, if the Inhabitants of Georgia once become numerous, they will then, in Confequence of their Situation, be moft able to help famaica, by a Supply of ftout, well difciplined, white Men, in Cafe of any Attack by the French or Spaniards; or, which is an Evil they are not altogether fecure from, any fuidden Infurrection of their Negroes. I very readily grant that I argue from an Uncertainty, that is to fay, we are not fure that this Colony will be fo protected and fupported; but if it be, the Confequences are abfolutely certain; and the Confideration of thefe Confequences ought to be no mean Argument with our Government to maintain and fupport it.

We are now come to the very laft Article of our Remarks, which is the Hopes that may be rationally entertained of the Produce of this Country. We will begin with what the Truftees certainly defigned fould be the Staple Commodity of Georgia; I mean Silk: 'That this Country is very happily fituated, that its Soil and Climate render it very fit for producing Silk, cannot be denied by any who are at all acquainted with this rich Branch of Commerce, which fome very good Judges have affirmed to be much more confiderable than either the Linen or the Woollen Manufacture. This Country lies along the Sea-fide, is well watered within Land, has a Soil extremely proper for the Culture of the Mulberry-Tree, and is feated in a Latitude and Climate we might judge would prove agreeable to the Silk-worm. Thefe Circumftances might very naturally lead one to expeet that the Inhabitants might fet about the Production of Silk in this Country, for their own Advantage. With a View to this, proper Perfons have been fent thither : The Experiment has been tried, Silk made in Georgia has been fent over, and Sir Thbomas Lombe, and other excellent Judges of that Commodity have declared, that it is in all Refpects as good, and works to the full as well, or better, than any Piedmont Silk, which ftands us in twenty Shillings a Pound. At the very Time that this Section is under my Hand a Letter has been received from the Reverend Minifter of the Proteftant Congregation at Ebenezer, by which it plainly appears, that Silk may be produced in the greateft Perfection, and without any confiderable Difficulty in this Country, provided the People had proper Encouragement. We are not to underftand by this, that the People in that Country affect to make Terms with us, and refufe to raife Sills unlefs we will give them more for it than it is worth; for the Fact is quite otherwife, the Encouragement they demand, is not fo much on their own Behalf as for the fake of the Commodity.

All Beginnings are hard, and thefe People, in undertaking this Work, are beginning two Things at the fame time, viz. to raife Silk, and to raife a Subfiftance: If thefe interfere with each other, 'tis very plain that the former muft give way to the latter. It is natural for People to wifh to live well, but it is neceffary that they fhould live fome way or other; and therefore this poor Clergyman honeftly tells us, that his People having now got into a Way of winding the Silk off the Cocones, they would apply themfelves more diligently to this Bufinefs, if they were not called off by other Cares, that is, to get wherewithal to live upon. If therefore we really mean to promote the raifing of Silk in general, and aim, inftead of Curiofity, to make it a Commodity, we need only declare a Bounty upon it: This would fpeedily do the Bu-
finefs:
finefs; it would encourage every body there to turn their Hands to this Work, and it is a Work to which all Hands may be turned, Women and Children as well as Men ; and no fuch hard Labour as to render Slaves neceffary. What this might produce we may in fome meafure guefs, from what the Culture of Silk produces in Italy; where four and five Pounds an Acre are common Prices for Lands that bear Mulberry Trees, where the Leaves are fold at a high Rate, and where the poor People willingly give their Time and Labour, in feeding and attending the Worms, for half the Price of the Silk; which is but divided between the Labourer and the Landholder; amounting commonly to between three and four Pounds a Tree. If once this Bufinefs was effectually fet a-going, there is no Queftion but the Progrefs would be very fpeedy, and the Bounty paid for a few Years, would moft effectually eftablinh both Commodity and Colony.

## On the other hand it ought to be confidered, that the

 Price of Georgia Silk, and the Bounty upon it, would be both paid in our own Commodities, whereas we pay now for Piedmont Silk wholly in ready Money; fo that the Difference to the Nation will be but a very Trifle; perhaps I fhould not carry the Thing too far, if I faid nothing. It is very poffible, that when this Trade came to flourifh in Georgia, it might alfo be fet up in Carolina, and even in Virginia, there being no fort of Doubt, that with due Attention and Application, Silk might be produced in both thefe Colonies; neither is this any new Difcovery, but what has been obferved by all the Writers upon the Affairs of the Plantations for many Years paft ; but if it fhould be the Cafe, it would not be at all detrimental to this Nation; but on the contrary, this very Thing will lay us under a new Obligation to Georgia, for then we thould have the Silk Manufacture as much in our Hands, if not more, than we have the Woollen; and how vaft an Alteration this would make in the Balance of our Trade, may be eafily fhewn.It is to be obferved, that in all Silk Manufactures there are two Kinds of Silk employed, one for the Warp or Cane, which is the very Silk that our Colonies would produce; but before this Silk can be ufed, it muft be thrown by an Engine into what is called Organzine, for which there is at prefent but one Engine in this Kingdom, which is the famous Silk-mill at Derby; fince the erecting of which his Sardinian Majefty has prohibited the Exportation of raw Silk from his Dominions; fo that what we have from his Country is Organzine. He has done ftill more for the Benefit of his Subjects; for he has laid fuch high Duties upon our Manufactures, as amount almoft to a Prohibition; fo that as I have more than once faid, we are obliged to pay for this Silk in ready Money, for it is fo neceffary to us, that our Silk Manufactures cannot be carried on without it; and by this Means his Subjects take annually from this Nation about two hundred thoufand Pounds in Money. Befides what we receive from Piedmont, we have likewife confiderable Quantities of raw Silk of the fame Kind with that from Genoa, and other Parts of Italy; which is thrown into Organzine by the Engine at Derby.
As to the other Kind of Silk, which makes the Woof or Shute, it comes to us from many Places, but particularly by the Way of Turky; fo that if we had the former Kind of Silk from our Plantations, it would enable us to confume a much greater Quantity of this other Silk that cometh to us by the Way of Turky, for which we pay in our Woollen Manufactures: So that here is plainly a double Advantage; firft, of faving the ready Money which is paid for one Kind of Silk ; and next, increafing the Exportation of our own Goods, for which we bring Home in exchange that other Kind of Silk; and if once we were in poffeffion of thefe Advantages, there would follow a third, equal, if not fuperior, to both; for we fhould be then inconteftibly able to fabricate all Kinds of wrought Silks at fo cheap a Rate as to under-fell moft Parts of Europe; which would draw a Demand from Germany, Flanders, Spain, and Portugal, to the inconceivable Benefit of the Merchants and Manufacturers of this Kingdom, who are beyond all Queftion, in Con-
junction with the Seamen, who muft thrive when they do, the moft valuable People in it, and by whofe Induftry the reft are maintained. Thus we fee that the Defign of eftablifhing the Bufinefs of raifing Silk in Georgia, is in itfelf a Matter of vaft Moment, not to the Truftees or the Inhabitants of that new Colony only, but to the whole Nation; a Thing that would give a new Turn to our Trade; employ a Multitude of Hands at Home, by promoting both the Silk and Woollen Manufactures; enlarge our Commerce Abroad; increafe our Shipping; augment the Number of our Seamen, and enable us the better to bear thofe vaft Expences into which, it is faid, the Circumftances of Affairs Abroad have neceffarily plunged us.
Before I part with this Subject; I think it becomes me to add fomewhat with refpect to the Conduct of the King of Sardinia, which, from what I have faid above, may be thought in fome meafure unkind towards this Nation ; whereas, properly underftood, nothing of that fort will appear. The firft and great Concern of every Prince, or at leaft of every wife and good Prince, is the Welfare of his own Subjects; and with refpect to the Monarch of whom we are fpeaking, he has purfued it with greatSteadinefs and Prudence. His Duties upon French Commodities are very low; fo that his Subjects are furnifhed from thence with Woollen Manufactures at very reafonable Rates, and by putting our Goods under a very high Cuftom his Subjects fell their Silk dear, and for ready Money : And thus, by the Interpofition of the Government, they make the moft of their Goods; and are as rich as the Nature and Extent of their Country will permit them to be. It muft indeed be allowed, that as Things frand at prefent his Sardinian Majefty's political and commercial Concerns are in a manner oppofite to each other ; but this does not hinder him from purfuing both. The Balance of Power in Italy is a Thing of vaft Importance to him, fince, if it fhould be loft, he would fcarce be able to keep his Dominions ; but the Trade of his Subjects is likewife of very great Importance, for without that his Dominions would be hardly worth keeping. His Conduct therefore, in both Refpects, is wife and juft, though it falls out to be in fome meafure prejudicial to us, and that too in our tendereft Concerns, our Manufactures and our Trade.

But what then, ought we to differ with or blame him ? Nothing like it: We ought, on the contrary, to admire and imitate him; we ought to make the fame Diftinction that he does, between our political and commercial Interefts; we ought to fhew ourfelves firm in fupporting the former, and in order to it we mulf be vigorous in promoting the latter. We fee very plainly and clearly, or at leaft we may fee it if we will, that there is nothing more practicable in the World, than the raifing the Silk Trade in Georgia ; the Country is fit for it, the Climate is fit for it ; we have raifed, and may raife, what Quantities of Mulberry-trees we will: The Silkworm thrives there wonderfully well, which however is the Cafe of very few Countries; and the Silk brought from thence has been found excellent. If all this does not pafs for Demonftration in a Matter of this Nature, it is in vain to look for Demonftration. On the other hand, that the raifing of Silk in Georgia would fill that Country with White People; would fecure to us the Affection, and the Affiftance of the neighbouring Indian Nations, and fo render it an effectual Frontier, is beyond all Difpute; and that the Advantages accruing to this Kingdom, by enabling that Plantation to furnifh us with Silk equal in Quality to the Italian, are fo plain and certain that I make no Scruple of affirming, that if due Care was taken in this Refpect, all the Expence neceffary to eftablifh the Silk Trade there, would not amount to above one Year's Purchafe of the Profits, five and twenty Years hence: By which I mean, that the Advantages accruing from this Colony to Great Britain, in 1771 ; fuppofing the Silk Trade immediately fettled there, and by immediately, I mean no more than as foon as poffible, will equal all that the Public has, or may lay out upon that Settlement before it becomes able to maintain itfelf. We manure our Lands before we expect Crops from them; we manufacture our Goods
before we fend them to Market ; we educate our Children before we expect they fhould provide for themfelves; and why fhould not we take the fame Care of this Colony, before we expect public Advantages from thence?

It has been already fhewn what may be expected from the different Method purfued in the eftablifhing this and other Colonies; and how eafily, and how entirely, it may be turned to the Service of Great Britain, fo as in the Compafs of a few Years to anfwer national Expectations, better than Colonies that have been much longer fettled. But we muft keep thefe Points in View; we muft proceed as we have begun, or all that we have hitherto done will be thrown away; and if it fhould, we can blame no body but ourfelves. We have feen the Silk Trade planted there; we have feen it take Root, and even bring forth Bloffoms, which, if the beft Judges may be trufted, promife the faireft Fruit ; let it not then be loft for a little Care or a little Expence, if that be neceffary, in pruning and watering it.

I might likewife take Notice of the raifing Wine here; indeed I have promifed it, but I have infifted fo long upon Silk, that I can be but fhort upon this Head; yet fomething I will fay. There were great Hopes that this Improvement might foon have been brought to Perfection, but fome Difficulties have been found in the Way, and they are chiefly thefe: The Coat of the natural Grape is not ftrong enough, and therefore when it grows ripe they burft. The Froft, about the vernal Equinox, frequently kills the Vines when they are fhooting ; and as to the European Grapes, it is found that the Infects of the Country deftroy them. Yet Experience has Thewn, that by grafting the European on the wild Vine, all thefe Inconveniencies are in a great Meafure prevented; for then it fhoots later, and fo efcapes the Froft better ; the Grape Skins become thicker and ftronger, and Infects do it lefs Prejudice: So that there are ftill Hopes that Wine may be made there, both in great Plenty, and in great Perfection; and if we reflect on the Miftake we made, with refpect to the Cape of Good Hope, which we abandoned as worth nothing, and which the Dutch, by their Induftry, have made one of the fineft and moft valuable Plantations in the World; we fhall not be hafty in llighting thefe Hopes.

Befides, there is nothing wanting in this Country but a fufficient Number of Inhabitants, to render it, in every refpect, a fertile and a pleafant Settlement. They reap very good Wheat here in May; they mow their Grafs in Fune; they might cultivate Rice here-to great Advantage, if that was judged proper, which, however, for many good Reafons is thought not fo; Olives flourifh there in the greateft Perfection; and fo do Oranges in the South Part of the Province, where (I fpeak on the Credit of Eye-witneffes) an Orange Tree has been known, in feven Years Time, to have been fifteen Foot from the Root to the Branches.

Thefe Confiderations, with Refpect to the Confequences that may follow from the Improvement of this laft Settlement, which I look upon to be the Honour of the prefent Age, have proceeded folely from a regard to Truth, and to the public Service, which are the fame Motives that have directed me through the Courfe of this Undertaking. It appeared to me that there were many things, in relation to moft of the Colonies, and
particularly in refpect to this; about which the World in general was either mifinformed or not informed at all $\frac{1}{3}$ and therefore I thought it would be doing fome Service to Trade, to the Colonies, and to the Public, if thefe Points were fully and fairly treated; for which Purpofe I took Pains to procure the belt Materials I could, and have dis gefted them in the beft Method I was able, but in fuch a way that the principal Facts appear all along with their proper Authorities; fo that the Reader fees to what he gives Credit, and is not obliged to take any thing upon Truft from me; all my Reafonings being fubmitted, as they ought to be, to his Judgment, with full Liberty to admit as little or as much as he thinks fit, when he has duly weighed the Arguments that are offered in fupport of them. It is in this way, and in this way only, that fedentary Perfons can make themfelves ufeful to Society, and in this way they may be very ufeful, by furnifhing others with an Opportunity of viewing and reflecting upon things which otherwife might never have come to their Notice.

One thing more I muft obferve before I conclude this Section, which is, that if there be any thing in it, or in $\rightarrow$ deed in any of thofe relating to the Britifb Plantations, which ought, in a particular Manner, to claim the Attention of the Public; it is, in a great Meafure, due to the Lights afforded by the Honourable Fames Ogletborpe, Efq; from whom, if the Author has caught any Part of that generous Spirit, which inclines a Man to bend all his Thoughts, and turn all his Labours, to the Service of his Country, it is but juft that he fhould acknowledge it; and this he is the more ready to do, becaufe if there be any Merit in his Performance, capable of making it known to, and efteemed by, Pofterity; he would willingly confecrate it as a Mark of his Efteem and Gratitude, for the many Informations he has received, and the right Turn that has been given to his Inquiries, by that knowing and worthy Perfon, who is equally happy in rendering the greateft perfonal Services himfelf to the Community, and by infufing the like Difpofition in others, both by his Example and Converfation.

There remains, in order to complete our Hiftory of the Weft Indies, no more than an Account of the French and Dutch Settlements in that Part of the World, in reference to which we may have leave to be the fhorter in our Relations, as we have already taken Occafion to deliver many things concerning the former, and there cannot be a great deal faid with refpect to the latter. In treating both, however, we fhall endeavour to reprefent all things fairly and agreeable to Truth, without exaggerating, as fome have done, the Power of the French, or as others, the Induftry of the Dutch: Both indeed are worthy our Notice and our Attention, but neither as things ftand at prefent can juftly provoke our Envy, fince there is no Comparifon between our Condition and theirs; nor can we juftly apprehend any confiderable Alteration in our Circumftances but what muft follow from our own Negligence, rather than from any Attempts of theirs; though it mult be confeffed that both are ready enough to catch at any Advantages for promoting their Interefts in that Part of the World, though it fhould be at the Expence of their Neighbours; things that ought to teach us Care and Circumfpection, which are as neceffary to fecure Profperity, as to obtain it.

## S E C TIO N XXII.

A fuccinet Hifory of the Discoveries, Settlement's, and Coneuests, made by the French in America; a View of their Policy, Numbers, Commerce, and Strength, in that Part of the World; and fome Conjectures as to the Event of their Defigns; extracted cbiefly from their own Authors.

1. An introductory Account of the firft Voyages made, or faid to be made, by the French to America, weith a more particular Detail of that of John Verazzano, or Verazani, under the Reign of Francis I. 2. The Voyage of James Cartier of St. Malo's, who difcovered Canada; and a curious Account of the Etymo$\log y$ of that Word. 3. The firft Efablifbment of the French on the Banks of the River of St. Laurence; the building of the Town of Quebec, and the Diffculties found in fixing a Colony in thofe Parts. 4. A Defcription of the Savages, Natives of Canada, their Cuffoms, Manners, Superfitions, and entbufiafic Fondnefs for their cwen Way of Life. 5. A concije Account of the Jllinois, by Mr. Joutel; and a larger Relation of the Cuffoms and Manners of the fame Nation, by Father Marquette. 6. Amore particular Defcription of the Colony of Canada, or New France, the City of Quebec, and other Places therein, with an Account of the French Commerce weith the Indians, and their Force in thofe Parts. 7. The prefent State of that Colony, its Strength, Produce, Shipping, and Importance to France fairly reprefented. 8. The Confequence of Acadia, Placentia, and Inle Royal to France, in refpect to their Fifbery, \&cc. Set in its true Light. 9. The firft Expeditions of the French to the Weft Indies, their Vierus, and the Confequences of thofe Expeditions in relation to Commerce. 10. The Settlements made by that Nation in the Leeward Illands; the Situation, Extent, Produce, Strength and Importance of thofe Iflands. II. Their Trade with our Northern Colonies, their owen, directly to France, and the Value of the Sugars they export, with otber Particulars. 12. A brief Relation of the firft fettling of the Subjects of France on the Iland of Hifpaniola, or St. Domingo; the amazing Progrefs of their Colony there; a true Reprefentation of its prefent Condition and vaft Importance. 13. A Sort Account of the various Attempts of the French, to jeize Part of the Southern Coafts of Florida; their repeated Difappointments; and nere Project of finding the Courfe and Mouth of the great River of Miffiffippi. 14. The Conjequences of the Je Inquiries; the making this Affair a Bubble; the Refolution of Settling Louvifiana croing to that Bubble; the Nature of that Settlement, and what may be probably expected from it in Time, both as to the Benefit and Dijadvantage of the French Trade. 15. A fair Proppect of the prefent Situation of the French Colonies, Affairs and Commerce throughout all America, revith fome Bort Obfervations and Remarks, in order to Set the Subjeet of this Section in the cleareft and jufteft Light pofible.

"THE national Vanity of the French is in nothing more vifible, than in the Accounts that fome of their Authors have given us of their Settlements in America. William Poftel has had the Affurance to affert, that the French were not only the firlt Difcoverers of America, but that the ancient Gauls carried on the Fifhery on the Banks of Nerwfoundland, before the coming of Fefus Cbrif; but, that finding thofe Countries without Corn, without Cities, and but very thinly inhabited, they defpifed and neglected thefe Difcoveries ; which Dream of hiis is as ridiculous and abfurd, as it is groundlefs and without Foundation. We have fome Accounts of Frenchmen who vifited North America at the Clofe of the fifteenth, and the Beginning of the fixteenth, Century ; but the Relations we have are very uncertain, and at moft prove no more than this, that fome French Seamen and Pilots that had been employed in the Nerwfoundland Fifhery, had fome Knowledge of the adjacent Continent, which is not a thing of very great Confequence.

At length, in ${ }^{5} 523$, Francis the Ift, one of the wifett and greateft Monarchs the French ever had, began to think of making Fitablifhments on the Coaft of America; and with this View he fitted out Fobn Verazzano, a Florentine, who had, under his Command, only one Ship, with fifty Men on board, and Provifions for eight Months; he returned to Dieppe in Fuly 1524; but we know nothing of his Difcoveries at that Time. He failed, towards the latter end of the fucceeding Year, on the fame Defign, and arrived on the Coant of North America, and it is not very clear upon what Part of that Coaft he arrived. He feems to have been a timorous Navigator; for he did not care to venture himfelf within any of the Bays or Ports that he faw before him ; but wanting Water, and lying in a Road very near the Shore, he perfuaded one of his Seamen to fwim thither; and by the Help of Prefents, with which he furnifhed him, procure what they ftood in need of from the Natives, who came down in Crouds upon the Strand, to gaze upon the

Ship. The poor Fellow, when he got on Shore, and came to have a nearer View of the Savages, was fo exceffively amazed at their uncouth Appearance, that throwing his Prefents down upon the Ground, he ran as faft as he could to throw himfelf again into the Sea, that without lofs of Time he might recover his Ship. But the Waves difappointing his Defign, threw him back upon the Shore, with fuch Force, that he lay breathlefs upon the Sands, and had, in all probability, been drowned, if the Savages had not haftened to his Relief; they took him up, carried him in their Arms to a Place at fome Diftance, and took all the Pains they could to bring him to himfelf.
But when he recovered his Senfes a little, and faw there were none but Savages about him, he fet up fuch a Cry, as made the Woods ring; and the poor Indians, hoping to quiet him, cried as loud or louder than he, which terrified him ftill more. At laft they began to make a great Fire, before which they undreffed him, admiring greatly the Whitenefs of his Skin, and the Hair on feveral Parts of his Body; the Seaman taking it for granted, that they were going to eat him, or burn him, trembled exceffively, and thofe on board the Ship were alfo very much frightened, for they faw every thing that was done, and expected every Moment when he fhould have been facrificed; by degrees, however, they were all fatisfied that the Savages meant him no manner of Harm; for after drying his Cloaths, they fuffered him to put them on again, and having given him fomething to eat, conducted him, at his Requeft, to the Sea-fide, and, retiring to fome Diftance, looked on till he fwam fafely aboard the Ship, and then quietly departed; as for Verazzano, he returned home to France, reported nothing but this Story, and that it happened in the Latitude of fifty Degrees. This very plainly fhews, that neither he nor his People were of a Difpofition fit for the Tafk they had undertaken.
However, they engaged the next Year in a third Voyage,
but what becane of him was very uncertain; fome fay that he was loft ; others, that he went afhore with Part of his Crew, and that falling into the Hands of the Savages, they killed and eat them, which, however, is very improbable; certain it is, that in this Voyage he was loft: And from what the Reader has feen, he will be of Opinion, that the French have no great Caufe to boaft of his Expeditions, which were thirty Years later than thofe of the Cabots.
2. After this unlucky Adventure, it was fome Years before the French thought of fitting out any more Ships for Difcovery; but at length Admiral Cbabot prevailed upon Fames Cartier, an experienced Pilot of St. Malo's, to undertake another Expedition: Upon which he failed from that Port the 20th of April I 534, with two Ships of fixty Tons each, and one hundred and twenty Men. He arrived on the Ioth of May on the Coaft of Nerefoundland, and finding the Country covered with Ice and Snow, failed to the Southward, and entered into a Bay, which bears, at prefent, the Name of Spanifh Harbour; where, liking both the Country and the People, he went afhore. It is reported that the Spaniards had long before vifited this Coaft, and there are fome Authorities to prove it ; but finding no Signs of any Minerals, they were in a Hurry to go off again, crying out, in their Language, Aca Nada! that is, there is notbing bere, meaning the Country was good for nothing; which Words the Indians retained, and when the French came afhore, cried out Aca Nada! Aca Nada! which they took for the Name of the Country, fo that it has been called Canado ever fince. This is a very ftrange Derivation, but as we find it in the beft French Authors, it is worth fetting down.

He afterwards difcovered a good Part of the Gulph of St. Laurence, and of the Inands that are fituated there in; after which he returned to France, where he arrived fafely on the 5th of September. The next Year he was fent again with three large Ships, in order to make a Settlement ; and becaufe he entered the Gulph on the Feaft of St. Laurence, he gave it that Name, which was afterwards extended to the River, which in his firf Voyage he had called the River of Canada. He was very fuccelsful in this Expedition, and went up as high as the Fall of St. Louis, giving Names to the Inands and Rivers as he thought proper; and it is certain that he fhewed himfelf, in the Courfe of this Voyage, a very expert Seaman. But though at firft he was extremely well pleafed with the Country, yet the Scurvy getting among his People, and bringing them into a very low Condition, fo that twenty-five of them died in a very fhort Space of Time; he began to alter his Sentiments, and to fancy that it was a very unwholefome and bad Climate. At laft, however, when he found himfelf attacked with this Diftemper, he applied to the Inhabitants, and enquired of them, as well as he could, whether they knew of any Cure for this Diftemper? Upon which they taught him to make an Infufion of the Leaves and Bark of the White-thorn-tree, by which they were all very fpeedily recovered.

As foon as the Seafon of the Year would permit, he returned into France, where he arrived in the Spring of $153^{6}$; but there is no obtaining any Certainty as to the Account he gave of the Country which he had difcovered: If we truft to his written Memoirs, it will appear, that he gave King Francis I. a very juft and fair Account of the Places he had vifited, and reprefented the fettling a Colony in that Part of the World, as an Action extremely worthy of the moft Chriftian King; but if we adhere to what is generally reported in France, either he, or fome who came home with him, acted a very different Part, and gave fo difcouraging a View of this new-found Country, that the King looked upon it as not worth the keeping, or troubling himfelf about.
However, three or four Years after, the Project of fettling in this Country began again to be talked of, and a Gentleman of Picardy, whofe Name was Francis de la Roque, Lord of Roberval, undertook to accomplifh this Defign; to qualify him for which, King Francis I. by Letters Patent, dated Fanuary I5, 5540 , granted him

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abundance of fine Titles, fuch as Viceroy, and Lieutenant General in Canada, Hockelaga, Saguenay, Nerofoundlands Bellifle, Cape Breton, Labrador; the grand Bay and Coatt of of Baccalces; giving him the fame Power and Authority in thofe Places that he had himfelf, which was very eafily done, fince there was not a Frenchman, or a Cottage, ind any one of the Places, nor had he any more Title to moft of them, than to Lands in the Moon. However this Gentleman, who had a good Eftate, and was a Man of Family, refolved to purfue this Expedition, and prevailed upon Fames Cartier, by the large Promifes he made him, to undertake another Voyage to the Coafts of $\mathrm{Ca}-$ nada in Quality of his Pilot.
3. It was this Gentleman that, in two or three Voyages he made, firft fixed fome French Settlements in America, which however were afterwards abandoned. After this Time the Navigation of the River St. Laurence fell into different Hands, and from time to time Voyages were made thither to very little Purpofe. In 1608 , or thereabouts, they laid the Foundation of the City of Quebec. after having fettled, and abandoned; feveral other Places. It was fome time after, that Cbamplain beftowed the Name of Nere France upon this Country; but then he took in likewife Acadia, and other Coafts, that had long before been difcovered by us; for the French, according to a Maxim natural enough with them, thought every Country which they had not feen before, unknown to all the reft of the World, and fo fet up Croffes and the French Arms, to fhew that they had taken Poffeffion of them. It muft be obferved, that moft of thefe Expeditions were made in the Reign of our King Fames I. when the Englif/ Colonies were but thin, and far enough from being ftrong; and yet his Subjects afferted their prior Rights to thofe Places of which the French had takeri Poffeffion, demolifhed their Croffes, drove away the People where they found them, and forced them to confine their Views to the Gulph and River of St. Laurence, where, with much-ado, in the Space of twenty Years, they raifed three or four Settlements, of which 2 uebec was, as it ftill is, the chief.

In 1629 the Englifh, under the Command of Sir David Kerk, followed them even thither, as looking upon Canada to be within the Limits of the Engli/b Dominions, and made themfelves Mafters of Quebec, and of all their Settlements. When this News arrived in Fronce, that new difcovered Country was looked upon to bé of fo little Confequence, that it was long debated in the French Councils, whether they fhould demand the Reftitution of this Colony, though they already had eftablifhed a Company for managing that Commerce ; but at laft it was refolved, that it fhould be demanded; and it was accordingly reftored by the Treaty of $1_{6} 6_{2}$, but in a very bad Condition, and as a Place hardly worth the keeping. Mr. Cbamplain was the firft Governor after it fell again into the Hands of the French, and from this Time forward they purfued their Difcoveries and Settlements in thofe Parts, without any Moleftation from us; but ftill with many and great Difficulties ; fo that though they have often changed their Manner of conducting their Affairs in thefe Parts of the World; have applied to, and received the Protection of the ableft of their Minifters; and have had Company after Company fet up, on purpofe to promote and to encourage their Commerce, yet have they been able to make no greater Matter of it, though, befides their Pains and Attention, thefe Settlements in Canada have actually coft the French vaft Sums of Money.

The Reafons of thefe many and great Difficulties are very eafy to be found; for with refpect to France itfelf, though it be a very large Country, and tolerably well peopled, yet it is the Inhabitants only of Part of its Coatts, that are inclined to naval Expeditions, or, to fay the Truth, are capable of them, and they have not a Force fufficient for any great Undertakings. In the next place, the Country of Canada is very far from being agreeable to French Conftitutions, more efpecially before there were any regular Settlements made there ; fo that of Numbers of People fent thither, a great Part perifhed by the Hardfhips they endured; many of them took the firf Opportunity of returning; and at their Return gave
ruch a dreadful Account of the Colony they had left, as difcouraged others from going thither, and made the Miniftry repent of the Pains they had taken about it ; but the greateft Obftacle of all was, their continual Wars with the Natives, of which they have given us very large Accounts, that, in my Opinion, do no great Honour either to the particular Perfons who have had the Direction of their Affairs in thofe Colonies, or the French Nation in general. Before we proceed, however, to an exact Defcription of this Country, it will be very requifite to fay fomething of its original Inhabitants, their Cuftoms, and Manners, and the rather becaufe what we fhall offer on that Subject, will be equally ufeful and entertaining
4. Among all the French Writers who have taken upon them to treat of this Subject; and to defcribe the Indians with whom they had converfed, the moft fenfible and moft worthy of Credit that I have met with is Mr. Foutel, who accompanied the famous Monf. de Sale, in his Dif coveries on the River Mifferppi. He behaved himfelf in every refpect fo as to obtain an eftablifhed Reputation and as no body had better Opportunities than he to be acquainted with the Nations he defribes, fo I fee not the leaft Reafon to doubt of what he has delivered about them. As to the Accounts of Labontain, and Father Hemnepin, they have been formerly very much admired, yet we are now very well fatisfied that they are rather Romances than Relations, and that their Authors had their particular Schemes fo much in View, that they have made no manner of Scruple of abufing the Confidence of Mankind; fo that if we except fome Parts of their Writings which relate to Matters in which they could not fo well deceive their Readers, they are not much to be depended upon. But for Mr. Foutel, he did not fet up for a great Politician, but confined himfelf barely to the reporting what he faw; which he does in a very plain, natural Way: Whereas moft of the Miffionaries either magnify the Savages at the Expence of Europeans, or elfe mon them down, as if they were very little better than Beafts. Our Author comes neareft to the latter Opinion, which by comparing him with later Writers, appears to be moft confiftent with Truth; and if we follow the Lights he gives us, we muft regard them as Men as much diftinguifhed from the reft of the human Race, as the Country they live in is from the reft of the World : He fpeaks of them thus :

Allowing, fays he, that there are fome Barbarians leis wicked and brutal than the others; yet there are none good, nor thoroughly capable of knowing fuch Things as are above the Reach of our Senfes: There is no relying on them; there is always Caufe to fufpect them: And, in fhort, before a Savage can be made a Chriftian, it is requifite to make him a Man; and we look upon thefe Savages as having neither King nor Laws, and, what is moft deplorable, no God; for if we rightly examine their Sentiments and their Actions, it does not appear they have any fort of Religion, or well formed Notion of a Deity; if fome of them; upon certain Occafions, do fometimes own a firlt or fovereign Being, or pay fome Veneration to the Sun; as to the firt Article, they deliver themfelves in fuch a confufed manner, and with fo many Contradictions and Extravagancies that it plainly appears they neither know or believe any thing of it; and as for the fecond, it is only bare Cuftom, without any ferious Reflections on their Part. The fame Traveller, fpeaking of an Interview he had with the Chiefs of another Na sion, to the weftward of the River Miflfippi, fays, their Elders came to meet us in their Formalities, which confifted in fome Goats-fkins dreffed, and painted of feveral Colours ; which they wore on their Shoulders like Belts, and Plumes of Feathers of feveral Colours on their Heads like Coronets; fix or feven of them had fquare Sword-Blades, like the Spanifh, on the Hilts whereof they had faftened great Plumes of Feathers, and Hawks-bells; fome of them had Clubs, which they called Head-breakers; fome only their Bows and Arrows; others Pieces of white Linen, reaching from Shoulder to Shoulder: All their Faces were daubed with black and red: There were twelve Elders, who walked in the

Middle, and the Youth and Warriors in Ranks, on the right and left of the old Men. Being come up to us in that Manner; he that conducted us made a Sign for us to halt, which, when we had done, all the old Men lifted up their right Hands above their Heads, crying in a moft ridiculous Manner; but it behoved us to have a care of Laughing. That done, they came and embraced us, ufing all Sorts of Endearments. The whole Company conducted us, afterwards, to their Chief's Cottage, and after we had ftaid there a fhort Time, they led us to a larger Cottage, a quarter of a League from thence, being the Hut in which they had their public Rejoicings, and great Affemblies: We found it furnifhed with Mats for us to fit on. The Elders feated themfelves round about it, and they brought us to eat fome Sagamite, which is their Portage, little Beans, Bread made of Indian Corn, and another Sort they made with boiled Flower; and at laft they made us fimoak. The Cottages that are inhabited, are not each of them for a private Family, for in fome of them there are fifteen or twenty, each of which has its Nook, or Corner-bed, and other Utenfils to itfelf, but without any Partition to feparate it from the reft: However, they have nothing in common befides the Fire, which is in the Midft of the Hut, and never goes out: It is made of great Trees, the Ends whereof are laid together, fo that when once light ed, it lafts a long Time, and the firt Comer takes Care to keep it up.

The Cottages are round at the Top, after the manner of a Bee-Hive, or a Rick of Hay; fome of them are fix Foot in Diameter: In order to build them they fet up long Poles as thick as a Man's Leg, tall and frait; and placing them in a Circle, join the Tops together; shen they faften and cover them with Weeds. When they remove their Dwellings, they generally burn the Cottages, and build new ones on the Ground they defign to inhabit. Their Moveables are fome Buffaloes or Bullocks Skins well cured, fome Mats clofe wove, wherewith they adorn their Huts, and fome Earthern Veffels, which they are very fkilful in making, and wherein they boil their Flefh, Roots, and Sagamite Pottage. They have alfo fome fmall Bafkets made of Canes, ferving to put their Fruit and other Provifions in. Their Beds are made of Canes, raifed two or three Feet above the Ground, handfomely fitted with Mats and Bullocks Hides, or Goats Skins, which ferve them inftead of Feather-beds, Quilts and Blankets, and thefe Beds are parted one from another by Mats hung up. Their Tillage confifts in breaking up juft the Surface of the Earth with a wooden Inftrument like a Pick-ax, which they make by fplitting the End of a thick Piece of Wood, which ferves for the Handle, and putting another Piece of Wood fharp-pointed at one End into the Slit. This Inftrument ferves them intead of a Hoe or Spade; for they have no Iron Tools. When the Land has been thus broke up, the Women fow and plant the Indian Corn, Beans, Pompions, Water-Melons, and other Grain and Garden-Stuff. The Indians are generally handfome, but disfigure themfelves by making Streaks on their Jaws, from the Top of the Forehead down the Nofe to the Tip of the Chin, which is done by pricking the Skin till it bleeds, and then ftrewing fine Charcoal on the Skin, which finks in and mixes with the Blood. They alfo make, after the fame Manner, the Figures of living Creatures, of Leaves and Flowers, on their Shoulders, Thighs, and other Parts of their Bodies; and paint themfelves, as has been faid before, with Black or Red, and fometimes both together. The Women are generally well-hhaped, and would not be difagreeable did they adhere to Nature; but they difguife themfelves as ridiculouny as the Men, not only with the Streaks they have like them down their Faces, but by other Figures they make at the Corner of their Eyes and on their Bodies, particularly on their Bofoms. The Women do all the Work in the Cottage, either in pounding the Indian Corn and baking their Bread, drefling their other Provifion, drying, parching, and fmoaking their Flefh, fetching the Wood they have Occafion for, or the Flefh of wild Beafts killed by their Ifufbands in the Woods, which are often at a great Diftance. I did not obferve that their Women were natu-

# Chap. III. of the FRENCH in AMERICA. 

rally given to Leudnefs; but their Virtue is not Proof againft fome of our Toys when prefented to them, as Needles, Knives, and more particularly Strings of Beads, whereof they make Necklaces and Bracelets: That Temptation is rarely refifted by them ; and the lefs, becaufe they have no Religion or Law to prohibit that Practice. It is true, their Mufbands, when they take them in the Fact, fometimes do punifh them, either by Separation, or otherwife.

The Country of thefe Indians being generally warm, almoft all of them go naked, unlefs when the North Wind blows; then they cover themfelves with a Buffalo's Hide, or a Goat's-fkin Card. The Women wear nothing but a Skin, or fome Sort of Clout, hanging round them like a Petticoat, and reaching half way down their Legs before and behind: On their Heads they wear nothing but their Hair platted and knotted behind. As for their Temper, it may be faid of thefe as of all other Irdians of that great Continent, that they are not mifchievous, unlefs wronged or attacked, in which Cafe they are fierce and revengeful. They watch all Opportunities to be revenged, and never let any nip when offered, which is the Caufe of their being continually at War with their Neighbours, and of that martial Humour fo predominant among them. As to the Knowledge of God, they did not feem to us to have any fixed Notion of him ; it is true, we met with fome in our Way, who, as far as we could judge, believed there was fome fuperior Being which was above all things, and this they teftified by lifting up their Hands and Eyes to Heaven, yet without any Manner of Concern, or believing that the faid exalted Being does regard at all what is done here below. However, none of them having any Places of Worfhip, Ceremonies, or Prayers, to manifeft their Devotion, it may be faid of them all, that they have no Religion at all, at leaft, thofe that we faw. They obferve fome Ceremonies it is true, but whether they have any Regard to a fuperior Being, or whether they are only popular, and proceeding from Cuftom, is what we were not able to difcover. Thofe Ceremonies are as follow: When the Corn is ripe, they gather a certain Quantity in a Bafket, which is placed on a Stool dedicated to that Ufe, and ferving only upon thefe myfterious Occafions, which they have a great Veneration for. The Bafket with the Corn being placed on the venerated Stool, one of the Elders hold's out his Hands over it, and talks a long Time; after which, the faid old Man diftributes the Corn among the Women, and no Perfon is allowed to eat of the new Corn till eight Days after the Ceremony. This feems to be in the Nature of offering, or blefling, the firft Fruits of their Harveft.

At their Affemblies, when the Sagamite, or Pottage, which is the moft effential Part of their Meal, is boiled in a great Pot, they place that Pot on the Stool abovementioned, and one of the Elders ftretches out his Hands over it, muttering fome Words between his Teeth for a confiderable Time, after which they fall to eating. When the young Folks firft take upon them to be Soldiers, their Garment, confifting of fome Skin or Clout, together with their Bow, Quiver, and Arrows, are placed on the fame Stool, an old Man ftretching out his Hands over them, muttering the confecrating Words, and then the Garments, Bows, Quivers, and Arrows, are given to the Perfons they belong to. The fame Ceremonies are ufed by them in the cultivating their Grain and Product, but of the Tobacco particularly.

There is one Particular relating to thefe People, which he does not mention ; and that is, the ftrong and general Paffion for Liberty, which prevails through the whole Nation; which is born, and grows up, with them, governs all their Actions, and is never to be extinguifhed but with their Lives. It is their Notion of Liberty, that induces them to prefer their own Manner of living, to that of the Europeans; and they fay fometimes, what is not altogether deftitute of good Senfe, that if they poffefs fewer Conveniences, they have the lefs Trouble in acquiring what they think neceffary, and confequently the more Time to themfelves, which their middle-aged and old Men ufually fpend in converfing together ; and
if we may truft to fome of our own Cotuntry, as well as the French Writers, there are as great Politicians among them, as in any Nation in Europe, the IFalians themfelves not excepted. There is another Indian Nation of whom Mr. Foutel has given us a Relation, which deferives to be confidered, becaufe they are thought to be very different in their Manners from the Iroquois:
5. As for the Manners and Caftoms of the Ilinoiss they are, in many Particulars, the fame as thofe of the other Nations before-mentioned; they are naturally fierce and revengeful, and among them, the Toil of fowing; planting, carrying of Burdens, and doing all other things that belong to the Support of Life, appertains peculiarly to the Women; the Men have no other Bufinefs; but going to the Wars and hunting. The Nations I have fpoken of before, are not at all, or very little, addicted to thieving, but it was not fo with the Illinois; it behoves every Man to watch their Feet as well as their Hands, for they know how to turn any thing out of the Way very dextrounly. They are fubject to the general Vice of other Indians, which is, to boaft very much of their warlike Exploits, that is the main Subject of their Difcourfe, and they are very great Liars. They pay a Refpect to the Dead, as appears by their Care in burying them: This is alfo practifed among the Accanceas, but they differ in this Particular: That the Accanceas weep and make their Complaints for fome Days, whereas the Cbabouanous, and other People of the Illinois Nation, do juft the contrary; for'when any of them die, they wrap them up in Skins, and then put them into Coffins, made of the Barks of Trees; then fing and dance about them for twenty-four Hours; thofe Dancers tying Gourds about their Bodies, with fome Indian Wheat in them, to rattle and make a Noife; and fome of them have a Drum, made of a great earthen Pot, on which they extend a Goat-fkin, and beat thereon with a Stick; during that rejoicing, they throw their Prefents on the Coffin; fuch as Bracelets, Pendants, or Pieces of Earthen-ware, and Strings of Beads, encouraging the Singers to perform their Duty well. If any Friend happens to come thither at that Time, he immediately throws down his Prefents, and falls a finging and dancing like the reft. When the Ceremony is over, they bury the Body with Part of the Prefents, making Choice of fuch as may be moft proper for it: They alfo bury with it fome Store of Indion Wheat, with a Pot to boil it in, and repeat the fame Ceremony at the Year's-end.

With refpect to this People, there is a very large and curious Account in the Travels of Father Marquette, a Man of good Senfe and fair Character ; and therefore I fhall fubjoin it, that we may not be obliged to dwell longer upon this Subject. His Account in his own Words runs thus: "The Word Illinois, in their Lan" ${ }^{\text {g guage, fignifies Men, as if they fhould look upon the }}$ " other Savages as Beafts; and truly it may be confeffed, "6 that they are not altogether in the wrong, for they "' have more Humanity than' all the other Nations that I " have feen in America; the fhort Time I remained with "6 them, did not permit me to inform myfelf as much as "I defired of their Cuftoms and Manners, but here is " what I was able to obferve: They are divided into " feveral Villages, whereof fome are very remote from " thofe that I have feen, they call them Perouarea. But " as they live fo far one from the other, their Language " is alfo very different: However, it is a Dialect of the "Algonquin, and therefore we were able to underftand " what they faid, and to converfe with them. They are " good-natured Men, tractable and eafy. They keep " feveral Wives, and yet they are exceeding jealous; " they obferve with very great Care their Behaviour, and " if they find them in any Fault as to their Chaftity, they " cut their Nofes and Ears; and I faw feveral of them, " who carried upon their Faces thefe Marks of their In${ }^{66}$ fidelity
" The Illinois are very well fhaped, and very dextrous. " They are good Marks-men with their Arrows and " fmall Guns, with which they are fupplied by the Sa${ }^{66}$ vages, and have a Commerce with the Europeans. This ${ }^{66}$ makes them formidable to the other Nations, inhabiting
ss to the Weftward, who have no Arms. The Illinois know-
${ }^{6}$ ing how much they are frighted at the Noife of their
${ }^{6}$ Guns, make Excurfions very far to the Weftward, and
" bring Slaves from thence, which they barter with other
" Nations for the Commodities they want. Thofe Nations
© are altogether ignorant of Iron Tools, and their Knives,
"Axes, and other Inftruments, are made of Flints, and
" other fliarp Stones. When the Illinois go upon any
"Expedition, the whole Village muft have Notice of
" it, and therefore they ufe to make an Out-cry at the
" Door of their Huts the Evening before they go, and
66 the Morning they are to fet out. Their Captains are
"s diftinguifhed from the Soldiers by red Scarffs, made
${ }^{66}$ with the Hair of Bears, or wild Oxen, that are curi-
"s ounly wrought. They have abundance of Game; and
${ }^{6} 6$ their Soil is fo fertile, that their Indian Corn never
" fails, and therefore they never labour under Famine.
"s They fow Beans and Melons, which are excellent, and
${ }^{66}$ efpecially thofe whofe Seed is red.
"s They efteem much their Citruls, though they are
${ }^{66}$ none of the beft; they dry them up and keep them
" till the Winter and Spring. Their Cabbins are very
${ }^{6}$ large, they are made covered, and paved with Mats
© of Marfh Rufhes. Their Difhes are of Wood, but
${ }^{6}$ their Spoons are made with the Bones of the Skulls
${ }^{6}$ of wild Oxen, which they cut fo as to make them
"s very convenient to eat their Sagamite. They have
"Shyficians amongft them, towards whom they are
"very liberal when they are fick, thinking that the
" Operation of the Remedies they take, is proportiona-
"s ble to the Prefents they make unto them, who have
"s prefcribed them. They have no other Clothes but
"Skins of Beafts, which ferve to cover their Women,
"' for the Men go moft of the Year ftark naked. I
" don't know by what Superftition fome of the Illinois,
" and Nadoneflians, wear Womens Apparel; when they
"s have taken the fame, which they do in their Youth,
© they never leave it off. And certainly there muft be
" fome Myftery in this Matter, for they never marry,
${ }^{* 6}$ and work in the Cabbins with Women, which other
" Men think it below them to do. They may go, how-
" ever, to the Wars, but they muft ufe only a Club,
${ }^{6}$ and not Bows and Arrows, which are fit, as they fay,
" only for Men. They affift at all the Superftitions of
"s their Jugglers, and their folemn Dances in Honour of
sc the Calumet, at which they may fing, but it is not
"s lawful for them to dance. They are called to their
" Councils, and nothing is determined without their
" Advice; for becaufe of their extraordinary way of
" living, they are looked upon as Manitoas, or, at
" leaft, for great and incomparable Genii.
"s I muft fpeak here of the Calumet, the moft extraor-
is dinary thing in the World. The Scepters of our Kings
${ }^{66}$ are not fo much refpected; for the Savages have fuch
© a Deference for this Pipe, that one may call it the
"God of Peace and War, and the Arbiter of Life and
's Death. One, with this Calumet, may venture among
${ }^{6}$ his Enemies, and in the hotteft Engagements, they
"6 lay down their Arms before this facred Pipe. The
© Illinois prefented me with one of them, which was
${ }^{66}$ very ufeful to us in our Voyage. Their Calumet of
"Peace is different from the Calumet of War. They
" make ufe of the former to feal their Alliances and
©Treaties, to travel with Safety, and receive Strangers;
6 and the other is to proclaim War. It is made of a
${ }^{6}$ red Stone, like our Marble: The Head is like our : 66 common Tobacco-Pipes, but larger; and it is fixed to "s a hollow Reed to hold it for fmoaking. They adorn " it with fine Feathers of feveral Colours, and they " call it the Calumet of the Suin, to whom they pre-
of fent it, efpecially when they want fair Weather, or
©Rain ; thinking that that Planet can have no lefs Reos fpect for it than Men have, and therefore that they
"thall obtain their Defires. They dare not wafh them-
a Selves in Rivers in the Beginning of the Summer, or
"s tafte the new Fruit of Trees, before they have danced
. 66 the Calumet, which they do in the following Manner:
${ }_{6}{ }^{6}$ This Dance of the Calumet, is a folemn Ceremony

- . 6 annongft the Savages, which they perform upon im-
" portant Occafions, to confirm an Alliance; or make "s Peace with their Neighbours. They ufe it alfo to en${ }_{6 s}$ tertain any Nation that comes to vifit them; and in ${ }^{6}$ this Cafe we may confider it as their Balls. They per"form it in Winter-time in their Cabbins, and in open "Fields in the Summer. They chufe for this Purpofe a "s fet Place among Trees, to fhelter themfelves againft "s the Heat of the Sun, and lay in the Middle a large "Mat, as a Carpet, and fet upon it the God of "s the Chief of the Company who gave the Ball; for "every one has his peculiar God, whom they call "Manitoa: It is fometimes a Stone, a Bird, a Ser" pent, or any Thing elfe that they dream of in their
"Sleep; for they think that this Manitoa will profper
"s their Uundertakings, as Fifhing, Hunting, and other Enterprizes. To the Right of their Manitoa they "s place the Calumet, their great Deity, making round " about it a kind of Trophy with their Arms viz.
"Their Clubs, Axes, Bows, Quivers, and Arrows.
"Things being thus difpofed, and the Hour of Dance" ing coming on, thofe who are to fing take the moft "" honourable Seats under the Shadow of the Trees, or "c green Arbours they make, in cafe the Trees be not " thick enough to fhadow them. They chufe for this
"Service the beft Wits amongft them, either Men or
"Women. Every body fits down afterwards round "s about, as they come, having firft of all faluted the "c Manitoa, which they do by the blowing the Smoke of "s their Tobacco upon it, which is as much as offering " to it Frankincenfe ; every body, one after another, "6 takes the Calumet, and holds it with his two Hands, sc dances with it, following the Cadence of the Songs.
"s This Preludium being over, he who is to begin the " Dance appears in the Middle of the Affembly, and " having taken the Calumet prefents it to the Sun, as if " he would invite him to fmoke; then he moves it into "s an infinite Number of Poftures, fometimes laying it "s near the Ground, then ftretching its Wings as if he "w would make it fly, and then prefents it to the Spec"s tators, who fmoke with it one after another, dancing "s all the while: This is the firft Scene of this famous "c Ball. The fecond is, a Fight, with Vocal and Inftru"6 mental Mufic; for they have a kind of Drum, which "s agrees pretty well with the Voices; the Perfon who " dances with the Calumet gives a Signal to one of "s their Warriors, who takes a Bow and Arrows with an " Ax from the Trophies already mentioned, and fights "s the other, who defends himfelf with the Calumet alone, " both of them dancing all the while. The Fight being "s over, he who holds the Calumet makes a Speech, "6 wherein he gives an Account of the Battles he has sc fought, and the Prifoners he has taken, and then re"ceives a Gown, or any other Prefent, from the Chief "s of the Ball: He gives then the Calumet to another, " who having acted his Part, gives it to another; and fo " to all the others, till the Calumet returns to the Captain, "s who prefents it to the Nation invited unto the Feaft, "s as a Mark of their Friendfhip, and a Confirmation of 6s their Alliance. I cannot pretend to be fo much Mafter "s of the Language, as to judge of their Songs; but " methinks they are very lively and witty."

6. This Country of Canada, as we find it defcribed by the beft French Writers, is faid to be half as big as Europe, reaching from the Latitude of 39 Degrees to that of 65 ; that is, from the Lake of Errie to the North of Hudfoin's-bay, and from the Longitude of 284 Degrees to 336; viz. from the River Mifflippi to that Part of the Continent which fronts Cape Rafe in Nervfoundland. According to this Defcription, it has Hudjon's Bay on the North, the Sea on the Eaft, the Engli/h Colonies on the South, Louvijiana on the South-eaft, and the Territories of the Crown of Spairs on the Weft. This we muft allow is a very large and noble Plan of New France, if it were in any Degree in the Poffeffion of the Subjects of that Crown; but the Truth of the Matter is, that a great Part of this Tract is not fo much as known to them, and, at the very moft, there is not a twentieth Part of the Country that can with any Propriety be faid to be under their Turifdiction. The great River of St. Lau-
rence, which at its Mouth is about fixty Miles big, and runs through the Middle of this Country, but the Source of it is ftill unknown, though fome of the French Buccaneers affirm, that they have gone eight hundred Leagues up it; but then they take it for granted, that it paffes through five or fix great Lakes, which are thofe of Frontiniac, Errie, the Lake of the Hurons, the Upper Lake, the Lake of Leuemipagon, and that of the Afinipouals; beyond which the Indians tell them there is another Lake ftill greater than any of thefe, out of which this River originally comes.

But the Truth however feems to be, that the River of St. Laurence flows from the Lake of Frontiniac, and from thence runs a Courfe of two hundred Leagues, to the Sea. At the Mouth of the River of St. Laurence lies the Illand of Anticofly, which fome fay was formed, but all agree, was very much enlarged by an Earthquake; the French have a very fimall Settlement upon this Ifland, for the fake of trading with the Indion Nations on both Sides, for Seal-fkins and Furs; in exchange for which they give them Fire-arms and Ammunition. The Town or City of Quebec lies upon the great River of St. Laurence, at the Diftance of about a hundred and ten Leagues from the Sea. The Foundation of it was laid, as we faid before, in the Year 1608; and that which is now called the Lower Town, was formerly the Bed of the River, which has fince funk fo far below this Place. It muit be allowed to be both a large Town and a ftrong one, for befides a Fortrefs or kind of Citadel, in which the Gonernor refides, the whole Extent of the Place is covered by a regular Fortification, with feveral Redoubts well furnifhed with Artillery ; there is a Cathedral, and epifcopal Palace, which are very ftately Buildings; the Jefuits have a fine College here, and there are feveral other religious Houfes; but after all, if we confider that this is not only the Capital, but almoft the only Town in New Fronce, it is no great Affair, fince according to the laft Account which the French themfelves have publifhed of it, there are not in it above feven thoufand Inhabitants, and none of thefe are faid to be very rich.

From Queber, which lies in the Latitude of 47 Degrees 56 Minutes, to Montreal, which is in the Latitude of 44 Degrees 30 Minutes, the Banks of the River are pretty well fettled; but without either Towns or Villages; and the French diftinguin this Part of the Country by the Name of the Coafts. Some of their Writers, indeed, making uife of that Licence which is allowed to Travellers, fpeak of two Villages between $2 u e b e c$ and the Illand of Montreal, each of fifty Leagues in Extent, by which they mean, that both Sides of the River are fo thoroughly planted, that the whole on each Bank may be confidered as a Village. The Town of Montreal is ftrong by Situation, but is only furrounded with a Pallifado, and is looked upon to have about a third as many Inhabitants as 2 थebec. The Savages come down hither in Boats, and fell their Skins; for the fake of which Trade the Place was built; but this Commerce is not now any thing comparable to what it was.

The Manner in which this is carried on is fingular enough to deferve Notice: When the Savages who are in Amity with the French come thither to trade, their Chief, firft of all, demands Audience of the GovernorGeneral, and if he is not there, of the Governor of Montreal, to which he is with great Ceremony admitted. This Audience is generally given in the great Square or Court, in the Middle of the Town; where a Chair of State is placed for the Governor, and the feveral Indian Nations, each by itfelf, take their Places round him, with their Pipes in their Mouths: After a due Silence kept, the oldeft Chief of the Indions lays down his Pipe, then ftands up and addreffes himfelf to the Governor, to this Purpofe: "He tells him, that his Brethren are " come to vifit him, and to renew their ancient League
" and Friendfhip with his Nation: He adds, "s and Friendfhip with his Nation: He adds, that having " nothing in View but the Eafe and the Advantage of "the French, they have brought down with them good
"Quantities of Skins and Furs, being fenfible that the
"French could not obtain fo many, or fo good, if they " did not bring them down to their Settlements; that Vol. II. Numb. 93 .
"s they are fenfible how much thefe Things are valued ${ }^{6} 6$ and efteemed in France, and know, that what they ${ }^{66}$ are to take in Exchange are but paltry Things, and of " ${ }^{6}$ little Value ; but however, that their good Friends, "s the French, may not be without Furs, they are con"s tent to deal with them; and therefore hope, that in "6 order to enable them to bring a greater Plenty of their " Goods the next Year, as well as to put them into a ${ }^{66}$ Condition to fall upon the Iroquois, in cafe they "6 fhould attack or difturb their good Friends, they will
" let them have Guns, Powder, and Ball, upon reafonable "Terms." At the Clofe of his Speech he lays a String of Beads, and a Packet of Skins, at the Governor's Feet, and defires " that he will fecure them a free and "fair Trade, and protect them from Thieves." Thers retires to his Place, and takes up his Pipe again. The Governor fpeaks next, affures them of his Protection; and makes them a Prefent in return. The next Day the Trade begins, and is foon over; by which the French gain very confiderably; but they are not allowed to fell either Wine and Brandy to the Savages, becaufe they are extremely apt to drink to Excefs, and are then furious and mad, and at fuch times, if they do any Mifchief to one another, or to the French, they can farce be brought to give any Satisfaction; for they affirm, it was the Liquor, and not the Man that did the Mifchief; and that it is unjuft to punifh a Perfon for what he does when he is out of his Senfes.

Cbambli was formerly as great a Place of Trade as Montreal, and there was a pretty good Town there, but now the French have only a Port, to hinder the Natives, and their own People, from trading with the Englifh. They have, befides, three other Towns, none of them of any great Size, at the three Rivers, at a Place called Tadoufas, and at Ricblieu; and yet, according to theirComputation, there are two hundred thoufand Souls in Canada, but perhaps this is pretty largely reckoned; but their regular Troops and Militia, which are able Men and well difciplined, amount to eight or ten thoufand, and this renders them formidable to their Neighbours, both of the Englib Colonies, and Indians. They fometimestalk of drawing Lines, and extending a Chain of Fortifications from their advanced Settlements to the River Miffispi; but whoever confiders the Extent of that Country, and compares it with their- Force even as fated by themfelves, will plainly fee that this is impoffible and impracticable, or rather, to place it in its true Light, abfurd and ridiculous. But this, however, is no Reafon that we fhould grow carelefs or negligent; for there is no doubt they will extend themfelves as faft as they can, and therefore it is our Bufinefs to interrupt their Defigns as much as it lies in our Power.
7. Though this Country of Canada is fituated in the midft of the North temperate Zone, yet the Air of it is exceffiyely fharp, fo that their Winter, which fets in about the Middle of November, and lafts to the Middle of May, is exceflively fevere. It is not very difficult to affign the Caufes of this Cold, which feems fo little confiftent with the Climate; for we ought to confider, in the firft Place, that the Winds which blow from Hudfon's Bay, and from the Ocean, that is, from at leaft half the Points of the Compafs, pafs over vaft Tracts of Snow and Ice, and are confequently loaded with prodigious Quantities of nitrous Particles, which is one great Caufe of their rigorous Seafons. Secondly, there are vaft Forefts in this Country, of which, but a very fmall Part is cultivated, and this is another great Caufe of Cold; becaufe, as Experience fhews us, in all northern Countries, where the Lands are well broken and tilled, the Climate becomes milder, by the fulphurous Exhalations from the Earth, which are totally bound up in barren Soils, by the Influence of the Cold. I reftrain this to the northern Countries, becaufe Experience has alfo fhewn in the Weff Indies, that the cutting down of the Wood alters the Seafons, and where it is done without Judgment, has a very bad Effect, which is owing to the different Degree of Heat. A third caufe of Cold is, the too great Quantity of Water; the Exhalations from thofe vaft Lakes and Rivers, which are found in this Country, occafion 4 X

Fogs

Fogs, Mifts, and Rains, which are extremely prejudicial. But notwithtanding thefe Inconveniencies, the French boaft very much of the Fertility of this Country, and, indeed, where it is cultivated, it yields Indian, and other Sorts of Corn, Peas, Beans, and, in fhort, all kinds of Herbs and Vegetables in great Plenty.
As for Trees and Fruits, they are much the fame here as in Nero England, and the like may be faid of Animals; fo that with a reafonable Degree of Labour, there is no Doubt that People may fubfift there tolerably well; and as they are not burdened with Taxes, and as the Gentry are allowed great Privileges in their Eftates, the People of Canada live, as the French Authors themfelves exprefs it, very much at their Eafe, and exercife a generous kind of Hofpitality, which is very laudable, and makes them fome amends for living, as it were, out of the World; as to the Produce of this Colony, it confifts of Furs, efpecially Caftors, which they purchafe from the Indians; in feveral kind of Hides or Skins, which they likewife purchafe from the Natives; in Fifheries, which, however, are of no great Confequence; in fome Sorts of Drugs, and in what we call Lumber, that is, Planks, Pipe-ftaves, and other things of that Nature. The greatef Part of the Commerce of the Country is carried on in light Canoes, made of Bark, proper for the navigating their Lakes and Rivers, incumbered with Water-falls, which render them unfit for other kind of Veffels; fo that whatever Improvements are made here, no Increafe of Shipping or Seamen can poffibly be expected from them. In Winter they make ufe of a kind of Sledges, which are drawn either by Horfes, or by Dogs, and are very proper for paffing over vaft Tracts of Snow and Ice, and enable them to continue their Commerce with the Indians all the Winter, which, however, the French tell us is attended with one great Inconveniency.

The Perfons who carry on this Trade muft have Licences granted by the Governors, which are confined to a certain Number every Year; and though this brings them in large Sums, yet by hindering the Refort of Indians to their Fairs in the Summer, when every Man is at Liberty to make the moft of his Goods, this Practice turns to the Prejudice of the Colony in general. The Normans were the firft who ingroffed the Trade of Canada, and for many Years there were no Ships feen in the River of St. Laurence, but from Rouen, Dieppe, and Havre du Grace. The Trade then fell into the Hands of the Inhabitants of St. Malo's and Nantes, and laft of all it is become, in a great Meafure, the Property of the the People of Rochelle, except that fome Ships are fent from Bourdeaux and Bayonne, which are freighted with Wines, Brandies, Tobacco, and all Sorts of Iron and Steel Wares.

There are two Seafons in which Ships fail from France to this Country, viz. towards the End of April, or the Beginning of May, and at the Clofe of Auguf, or Beginning of September; the Reafon of which is, that they may arrive as the Ice is jult broke, or a little before it is formed, for with refpect to the reft of the Year, there is no going thither. The Veffels employed in this Trade export all their Goods from France Cuftom-free, neither are they liable to any Duties in Canada, except for Brazil Tobacco ; upon which there is five Pence a Pound, or about twenty Shillings Sterling per hundred Weight; the Cargo of thefe Veffels is pretty much the fame with what is fent to the French Inands, and as we fhall fpeak of them hereafter, there is no need of mentioning them here; but it is proper to obferve, that Tobacco, Sugar, and fome other Weft Indian Commodities, make a Part of thofe Cargoes, the Soil and Climate of Canada not allowing its Inhabitants to raife any of thefe Commodities for their own Ufe; and we muft likewife remark, that for the fame Reafon there is a Difference in the Woollen Goods exported thither, coarfe Cloths being fent to Canada, and thin and light Stuffs to the Mands; the Profits upon thefe Goods are very large, feldom lefs than fifty per Cent. and thofe that go off beft are of leaft Ufe, fuch as Ribbands, Laces, Snuff-Boxes, Watches, Rings, Necklaces, and fuch kind of things, of which there
are never too many, though they are commonly fold for four times their Worth, all Charges included.

As foon as the Veffels arrive at Quebec, the Merchants there fend away the greateft Part of their Cargoes that are fit for the Indiain Trade to Montreal, and the three Rivers, where they have Factors; but the fineft Goods, more efpecially thofe before-mentioned, remain at Quebec, and are fold amongtt the French themfelves; all thefe different Sorts of Merchandize are paid for in Money, in Bills of Exchange upon the Merchants of Rochelle, in Furs, or in Lumber.

It muft, however, be obferved, that it is feldom or never thefe Ships return full laden into France, becaufe the Colony does not produce what is fufficient for that Purpofe; and therefore, that their Voyages may turn to Account, they generally run down to Cape Breton, and there take on board a large Quantity of Coal for the French Sugar Inands, where they are fure to complete their Cargoes with Eafe. We may gather from all this, that whatever our own, or the French, Writers may fay upon this Head, the Advantages received from Canada, by the French, are very far from being fo great as moft People imagine. If ever there is any Money in the Colony, it comes thither from France, in virtue of the Eftablifhment on the King's Account; this amounts to about one hundred thoufand Crowns of their Money, which makes fomewhat more than twelve thoufand Pounds of ours, which is generally drawn off again by the Over-Ballance of their Trade with Old France. This royal Eftablifhment accounts, likewife, for the Bills of Exchange, but at the fame Time it moft evidently fhews that this cannot be accounted a thriving Colony, when it cannot bear its own Expences, or even keep a Part of the Money that is fent thither to pay the King's Officers; for it appears by the beft Accounts that can be had from thence, that the running Cafh of Canada amounts but to a very inconfiderable Sum, and is fometimes reduced even fo low as a thoufand Crowns, and there is always three fourths of that at 2 uebec. The Calculations of the whole Trade of Canada are fo various, that there is no reckoning upon any of them with tolerable Security; but I perfuade myfelf that I rather exceed than fall fhort in my Computation, when I eftimate the Amount of this Trade at eight hundred thoufand Livres a Year, or at thirty-five or thirty-fix thoufand Pounds Sterling.

The Reader will eafily fee from hence, that the Calculations, with refpect to the People in Canada, which we have taken from French Authors, are exceffive, and that after all there cannot be above half the Number of Souls they fpeak of. The Danger, therefore, of our Colonies does not at all arife from the Trade carried on between Old and New France, but from the Number of Inhabitants in the latter; who, while they can fubfift themfelves there, will be always very dangerous and troublefome Neighbours, and therefore we need not wonder that the People of New England are fo uneafy about them ; but could we once people Nova Scotia, and fecure the Poffeffion of the Inand of Cape Breton, I muft confefs that, in my Opinion, our Fears would be foon over, fince the Trade between Old and Nero France, in the Space of a few Years, would be leffened half in half, and perhaps in a few Years more would decline to little or nothing.
8. While the Frencb were in poffeffion of Acadie, or Nova Scotia, they raifed that Colony to a much greater Degree of Perfection, than they are ever like to do Cand$d a$; and, indeed, a great Part of the Trade of the latter was owing to the former, and to the Settlement of Cape Breton; the Lofs that the French have fuffered by the Ceffions made to us by the Treaty of Utrecht, and the true State of their Affairs in this Part of the World and ours, will beft appear from the foilowing Account taken from Father Cbarlevoix, who is, beyond Comparifon, the moft accurate Writer that I have ever met with upon this Subject; the Perfon who knew moft, and has fhewn the greateft Sincerity in fpeaking what he knew, and not over-valuing things, as is the Cuftom with mot of
the Writers of his Nation, and, indeed, of all other Nations, when fpeaking of their own Concerns.
By the Ceflion of Acadia and Placentia, fays he, to the Englifh, there remained to France no other Place to carry on the Fifhery of Cod-Fifh, or at leaft to dry their Fifh in, but the Inand of Cape Breton, which is now only known by the Name of Ifle Royal; this Inand is fituated between 45 and 47 Degrees of North Latitude, and forms with the Ifland of Newfoundland (from which it is diftant but about fifteen Leagues) the Entrance of the Gulph of St. Laurence; the Streight which feparates Cape Breton from Acadia, is about five common Leagues of France in Length, and about one in Breadth, it is called the Paffage of Fronfac. The Length of the Inand, from North-eaft to South-weft, is not quite fifty Leagues; its Figure is irregular, and it is in fuch a Manner cut through by Lakes and Rivers, that the two principal Parts of it hold together only by an Ifthmus of about eight hundred Paces in Breadth, which Neck of Land feparates the Bottom of Port Touloufe from feveral Lakes, which are called Labrador. The Lakes empty themfelves into the Sea to the Eaft, by two Channels of unequal Breadth, which are formed by the Iflands Verderronne, and la Boularderie, which is from feven to eight Leagues long. The Climate of this Inand is pretty much the fame with that of $2 u e b e c$, and although Mifts and Fogs are more frequent here, yet no one complains that the Air is unwholefome. All the Lands here are not good, neverthelefs they produce Trees of all Sorts There are Oaks of a prodigious Size, Pines for Mafts, and all Sorts of Timber fit for Carpenters Work; the moft common Sorts, befides the Oak, are the Cedar, Afh, Maple, Plane Tree, and Afpin; Fruits, particularly Ap ples, Pulfe, Herbs, and Roots; Wheat, and all other Grain neceffary for Suftenance; Hemp and Flax abound here lefs, but are every whit as good as in Canada.
It has been obferved, that the Mountains may be cultivated up to the Tops, that the good Soil inclines always towards the South, and that it is covered from the North and North-weft Winds by the Mountains which border upon the River St. Laurence. All the domeftic Animals, fuch as Horfes, Horned-cattle, Hogs, Sheep, Goats, and Poultry, pick up a good Living here. What is got by Hunting, Shooting, and Fifhing, is able to maintain the Inhabitants a good Part of the Year This Inand abounds in Coal-pits, which are in the Mountains, confequently the Trouble and Expence of digging deep, and making Drains to carry of the Water, are generally faved; here is likewife Plaifter in great Abundance ; 'tis faid that there is no Part of the World where more Cod-fifh is caught, nor where there is fo good Conveniency for drying it ; formerly this Ifland was full of Deer, they are now very fcarce, particularly Elks; Partriges are here almoft as large as Pheafants, and in their Feathers not unlike them: In a Word, the Fifhery of Sea-Pike, Porpoifes, $E \mathcal{c}$. is in great Abundance here, and carried on with great Eafe.

All its Ports open to the Eaft, turning a little to the South, and within the Space of fifty-five Leagues, beginning at Port Daupbin, and continuing to Port Touloufe, which is almoft at the Entrance of the Paffage of Fronfac. In all other Ports of the Ifland it is difficult to find Anchorage for fmall Veffels, in fmall Creeks, or amongit the Inands. All the Northern Coafts are very high, and almoft inacceffible ; and it is very difficult to land on the Weftern Coaft, till you come to the Paffage of Fronfac, out of which you are no fooner got, but you meet with the Port Touloufe, known formerly by the Name of St. Peter. This Port is Atrictly between a kind of Gulph (which is called Little St. Peters) and the Inand St. Peter over againft the Iflands Madame, or Maurepas. From thence afcending towards the South-eaft, you find the Bay of Gaborie, of which the Entrance (which is near twenty Leagues Diftance from St. Peter's Ifland) is a League broad, between Inlands and Rocks. It is not very fafe to come near thefe Inands, fome of which advance a League and a half into the Sea. This Bay is two Leagues deep, and the Anchorage very good.

The Harbour of Lowifoourg, formerly called the En-
glib Harbour, is not above a League from the above Bay, and is, perhaps; one of the fineft in America; it is near four Leagues in Circumference, and every where there are fix or feven Fathom Water; the Anchorage is very good, and you may; without Danger, run a Ship a-ground upon the Mud. The Entrance is not above two hundred Fathoms wide, and lies between two finall Inlands: It is difcovered at the Diftance of twelve Leagues at Sea, by the Cape of Lorember, which is but at a fmall Diftance from it, to the North-eaft. Two Leagues farther up is the Port de la Baleine, the Entrance of which is very difficult, occafioned by many Rocks which the Sea covers when it runs high; no Ships of greater Burden than three hundred Tons can go into it, but they are quite fafe there when they are got in. From thence, in lefs than the Diftance of two Leagues; you come to the Bay of Penadou, or Medanou, the Entrance of which is about a League broad, and the Bay itfelf is about two Leagues deep. Almoft over againft this Bay, is the Inland Scatari (formerly called Little Cape Breton) which is above two Leagues long; the Bay of Mire is feparated from it by a very narrow Neck of Land; the Entrance of this Bay is likewife near two Leagues wide, and it is, at leaft, eight Leagues deep: It grows narrower the further you go into it; however, large Ships may go into it about fix Leagues, and find there good Anchorage under Cover of the Hills.
Befides the Inland of Scatari, there are many other fmall ones, and Rocks, which the Sea never covers, but may be difcovered a great Way off. The largeft of the Rocks is called the Forillon; the Bay of Morienne is higher up, feparated from the Bay of Mire, by the Cape Brule; and a little higher is I'Ile Plate, or l'Ifle a Pierre de Fufil, dire $\mathcal{E}$ ly in the Longitude of 46 Degrees $8 \mathrm{Mi}-$ nutes. There is, between all thefe Iflands and Rocks, very good Shelter, and you may go amongft them, and near them, without Fear or Danger. From hence proceeding for about three Leagues to the North-weft, you find a very good Harbour, which is called I'Indiane, but is fit only for fmall Veffels; from thence to the Bay des Efpagnols there are two Leagues. This Bay is a very fine Harbour ; its Entrance is but about one thoufand Paces wide, but it grows wider, and at the Height of a League divides itfelf into two Branches, which may 'be failed up for two Leagues; both thefe Branches are excellent Ports, which might be made better at a very fmall Expence. From this Bay, to the leffer Entrance of Labrador, is a Gulph about twenty Leagues long, and is above three or four wide in its greateft Breadth. It is counted a League and a half from the large Entrance of Labrador to Port Daupbin, or St. Anne, and you may come to an Anchor almoft any where amongft the Inands of Cibou; a Neck of Land almoft entirely covers the Port, and leaves Room for no more than for one Ship at a Time to go in. The Port Daupbin is about two Leagues in Circumference, and Ships hardly feel the Wind there, by reafon of the Height of the Mountains which furround it. They may come as near the Shore as they pleafe. All the Harbours and Ports being fo near each other, it would be very eafy to make Roads by Land from one to the other ; and nothing could be more advantageous to the Inhabitants, than thefe Communications, which would fave them the Trouble in the Winter Seafon of going fo far about by Sea.

This is the Defcription given of this Ifland in general, by the above-mentioned Jefuit, who has been a long time there, pretends to be very exact in his Enquiries, and publifhed his Hiftory a very little while before this important Illand was conquered by the Englifh Nation: He afterwards proceeds to defcribe more particularly Come of the above Ports, fuch as that of Louifourgh, and that of St. Anne or Port Daupbin.

After the Ceffion of Placentia and Acadia to the Crown of England, it is certain, the French had no other Place where they could dry their Fifh, or even fifm in Safety, but the Illand of Cape Breton; they were therefore drove by Neceffity to fettle an Eftablifhment there, and to fortify it. They began by changing its Name, and called it the

Royal;

Roval; they next debated upon the Choice of a proper Place to fettle the general Quarters in, and they were for a long time divided between Louifburgb and Port Daupbin. It has been already faid, that the former is one of the fineft Harbours in all Awerica, that it has near four Leagues in Circumference, that there is Anchorage that is good, and that one may run a Ship a-ground in the Mud, without Danger. Its Entrance is not two hundred Fathoms wide between two little Inlands, which may eafily defend it, by having Batteries erected on them.

The Cod-fifhing is there very abundant, and one may fifh from the Beginning of the Month of April to the End of December; but then it was faid, that the Land about this Port is barren, and that it would coft immenfe Sums to fortify it, becaufe all the Materials muft be broughe a great way ; befides which it had it feems been remarked that there was no fandy Bottom in this Harbour for more than about forty fifhing Veffels. It has likewife been obferved, that the Port St. Anne, or Daupbin, has a fure and fafe Road for Ships at.its Entrance, amongft the Inands of Cibou ; and that a Neck of Land, almoft entirely fhuts up the Port, leaving a Paffage for no more than one Veffel at a time.

This Port, thus fhut up, has near two Leagues Circumference, in an oval Form ; Ships may here lie juft as they pleafe; for the I and, and the Mountains that furround it, keep off the Winds in fuch a manner that they 'are hardly felt. They who were for opening this Port for the chief Settlement alledged, that it might be rendered impregnable at an eafy Rate; that more might be done here for two thoufand Livres, than at Louifourgh for two hundred thoufand; becaufe every thing neceffary for building a large City, and fortifying it, was at Hand. It is further certain, that this fandy Bottom is as extenfive here as at Placentia; that the Fifhing is very good; that there is a great Quantity of excellent Timber about this Place, fuch as Maple, Beech, and Wild Cherry-tree, but above all, Oaks of above thirty Feet high, fit for Building, $\varepsilon^{\circ} c$. It is likewife true, that Marble is here very common; that the Lands are generally good; that about the great and fmaller Entrances of Labrador, which are about the Diftance of a League and an Half, its Soil is very good. In a Word, this Port is but four Leagues from the Bay of E/paniola, which is likewife a very good Harbour, where the Lands are excellent, and covered with Woods, fit for almoft all Ufes : It is true that here is no fifhing in fmall Boats, on Account of the wefterly Winds which generally blow here, but one may fifh here, as in Nere England, in large ones; the only Inconveniency in Port St. Anne is, that the Entrance is difficult, and this Inconveniency alone determined the Controverfy in favour of Louifourgh, where, fays he, neither Pains nor Expence have been fpared to render it both convenient and impregnable. With refpect to the former, this Author was right ; but in regard to the latter, Experience fhews us that he was abfolutely in the wrong.

The French reaped many great Advantages from their Poffeffion of this Ifland, and promifed themfelves many more ; which might, however, be all reduced to thefe three Points: Firft, That this Inland might be planted to great Advantage, as containing in itfelf Commodities of confiderable Value; fuch as Cod-fifh, Oil, Coals, Plaifter, Timber, and other Things. Secondly, it was capable of being made a Magazine, or Staple, between Old and Newe France, and of becoming thereby of very great Advantage to both. And laftly, a Fifhery might be erected there, or rather feveral Fifheries, from whence vaft Benefits might be derived. It was with a View to the Execution of all thefe Projects, that fo great Care was taken of this Inand, fuch mighty Fortifications erected at a very large Expence, and fuch Encouragement given to thofe who would fettle there. And as their Plan was well laid, I think there is very good Reafon to believe that the French were actually great Gainers with refpect to every one of the three Heads before laid down, but more efpecially with regard to the laft, though I am alfo of Opinion, that the Calculations that have been made of their Profits by their Fifhery, the Numbers of their Ships, and Seamen employed therein, very much
exceed the Truth; but at the fame time I readily admit; that in the Space of a few Years, thofe Calculations would have been made good.

The Inferences I would draw from all that has been faid on this Subject, are three, which I efteem of very: great Confequence, as being perfectly fatisfied in regard to the Truth of every one of them : The firft is, that Canada confidered independently, and by itfelf, never was, or ever can be, of any great Confequence to the French, either as to its Product, its Commerce, or the Number of Shipping and Seamen that are, or can be, employed thereby. My next is, that Nova Scotia and Cape Breton, which I efteem but one, the latter being but lart of the former, and belonging to us of Right as much as any of our Colonies, were of far greater Ufe and Benefit to France, than Canada, and the Poffeffion of them all that could poffibly have rendered Canada itfelf of any Ufe or Importance, and were, therefore, very dangerous to us, and what we could never fuffer to remain in French Hands, without being wanting to ourfelves, and facrificing, at once, our Honour and our Intereft. Our Honour, as thefe Places were indifputably Part of our American Dominions ; our Intereft, as they were the only Countries by the Poffefion of which the French might be able to increafe their naval Power, and become troublefome to us in that Parrt of the World. The third Obfervation I have to make is, That as Providence has put in our Power to remove thefe Inconveniencies, and to rid ourfelves of thefe Dangers, it would be inexcufable in us not to take the utmoft Care to improve the Advantages gained in this War, or to neglect fecuring them, when a general Peace fhall be made; becaufe by this means we may be entirely fafe, and France can have no right to expect we fhould reftore what we always claimed as our own, and what fhe kept only by deceiving or deluding our Minifters, at the making the laft general Peace at Utrecht. A thing fo notorious to this Nation, that there is no great Reafon to fear any other Miniftry will ever be guilty of the like Miftake, with which Remarks I fhall clofe this Part of my Subject.
9. We have already obferved, in the Account we gave of the Inand of St. Cbrifopbers, that the Englifs and French took Poffefion of that Inand the fame Day, and from thence we are to date the Power of the French in the Weft Indies. The Reader muft remember, that the Leeward Ifands were originally difcovered by the great Columbus; but after the Spaniards had fettled themfelves in Cuba, Hifpaniola, Porto Rico, and other great Iflands, they neglected the reft; and it was the Knowledge that the Englifh and French had of this that induced them to think of fettling thefe leffer Inands. It was in the Year 1625 , that Sir Thomas Warner, on our Part, and Mr. Defnambue, for the French, took Poffeffion of this Inand; but, in the Space of two Years, both the Englifh and the French, who agreed very well together, were attacked and driven out of the Inand by the Spaniords, and this was more fatal to the French than to us; for our Colony, after a fhort Time, returned; the French being once feparated, fcattered themfelves through all the adjacent Inlands, and began to apply themfelves to the very worft Sort of Methods, in order to get a Living; and from this Accident, as the French Writers with great Probability affirm, fprung up two Sorts of People, that proved afterwards the Curfe and Plague of the Weft Indies. We generally fpeak of them under one Name; but the French Writers feem to have diftinguifhed them rightly enough into Boucaniers, or, as we write it, Buccaneers, and Flibrufiers, whom we call Freebooters. The firft of thefe were a kind of Huntfmen, and confifted of fuch of there People as fettled on the North-fide of the Inland of Hijpaniola, where, by killing wild Cattle of all forts, they obtained an indifferent Livelihood; but fome of thefe People growing weary of the Hardfhips to which they were expofed, applied themfelves to the $D u t c h$, to whom they fold their Skins, to furnifh them with Veffels to cruize upon the Spaniards, which they very readily did, and thofe Veffels being originally Flyboats, the Privateers who made Ufe of them received their French Name from thofe Veffels; whereas we affirm from the Trade

## Chap. III.

they carry on of robbing and fpoiling all they meet with, they had the Name of Freebooters, which, as I apprehend, means pretty much the fame thing with Pirates.
But Mr. Defnambuc, who was a Gentleman of a very good Family, was very far from being guilty of any thing of this fort ; but with thofe that remained faithful to him returned to St. Cbrifopher's, fortified himfelf there, and laid the Foundations of a good Colony, for the Support of which there was a Company already formed in France. He faw with extreme Regret, that Sir Tbomas Warner had got the Start of him; that the Englifh Colony was in a much better Condition than his own, and that they had already made themfelves Mafters of feveral of the adjacent Inands. He refolved therefore, and indeed he had no other Choice to make, to fend over fome of the principal Perfons in his Colony to France, that they might fecure Supplies, and chiefly with a View of fettling the Inand of Guardaloupe. Amongft the Perfons he fent over there was one Mr. Olive, a bold enterprizing Man, and one who had nothing in View but his own Intereft. He had it feems fome Notice of the French Governor's Defign, in' which he refolved to fupplant him ; and having entered for that Purpofe into a Treaty with one Mr. áu Plefis, and fome other Merchants of Dieppe, who formed a Company for the Support of this Scheme; thefe two were fent over Governors, with joint Authority to the Illand of Guardaloupe, where they arrived on the 8th of Fune 1635 , with about five hundred Men. It fo fell out that in the very Beginning of their Enterprize they committed two Miftakes; the firft was, they fettled on the wrong Side the Inand, where the Soil was very bad; the fecond, that they fell out with the Natives before their Colony was in a Condition to fubfift. The bad Confequences that actually attended thefe Errors, and the Forefight he had of what muft certainly follow, foon broke the Heart of Mr. du Pleflis. As for Mr. Olive, who was now fole Governor, his Haughtinefs and Pride had certainly brought the Colony to Ruin, if he had not fallen blind. Upon which the Company fent over one Mr. Aubert, a very difcreet and prudent Gentleman, who, in a few Years time, put the Affairs of this Colony into Order, and eftablifhed it fo effectually, that the Inhabitants have fubfifted very happily ever fince. But though Mr. Defnamurc had the Misfortune to fee this Country thus taken out of his Hands; yet he had, the Pleafure before his Death to fettle the Ifland of Martinico, of which, by that Means, he became Proprietor, and by his Laft Will and Teftament left it to his Family.
At this time Cardinal Richlieu came to the Head of the French Councils; and having received an Account of the Advantages that were like to arife from the fettling of thefe Inlands, he thought proper to fend over a Perfon of Diftinction, to take the Direction of the whole Ifland, and accordingly made choice of Mr. de Poincy, a Knight of Malta, whom he fent over thither, with the Title of Governor and Lieutenant General of the Intands in America: He embarked at Dieppe on the 15th of Fanuary, 1639 , and after a very fhort Paffage arrived at Martinico, from whence he went to Guardaloupe, and afterwards to St. Cbriftopber's. He was a Man of very great Parts, had read much, and was well acquainted with the World; and with all this he had the Qualities that rendered him the fitteft Man in the World for his Office: He was very fevere in the Execution of his Authority againft thofe who were for making hafty Eftates, at the Expence of the Public: He was extremely kind and good to the induftrious Part of the Inhabitants who were willing to difcharge their Duty, and let their private Fortunes depend upon the flourifhing State of the Colonies: He had a true Notion of Religion, caufed Churches to be built in all the Inlands, took care that the Priefts were well maintaned; but would have no Monafteries or Monks: He eftablimed alfo an excellent Form of Juftice, granted Commiffions to Privateers, and hanged up Pirates with very little Ceremony. His Concern for the Public Good was fo apparent, that without any Affiftance from the French Government he was in a manner abfolute, and his Orders were obeyed with the utmoft Alacrity, becaufe the People were fenfible that he had nothing in View but

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their Intereft. In fhort, he changed the whole Face of Things in that Part of the World, fettled defart Inlands, and though he made many hundreds of People rich and happy, contented himfelf with the Pleafure of doing it, without making any Fortune of his own.

But after the Death of Cardinal Ricblieu, and the Difturbances that followed in France, the Colonies funk, by the ill Management of the Company; and then the Chevalier de Poincy, in the Year 1651 purchafed the Iflands of St. Cbrifopber, St. Bartbolomere, St. Martin, and of the Holy Crofs, for the Order of Malta. In the like Manner other Inands were difpofed of by the French Company, to fuch as would give any thing for them; which, as may be eafily conceived, was of very bad Confequence, and brought the Affairs of the French, in that Part of the World, into a very ftrange Situation. The Dutch, always attentive to their own Intereft, takeing notice of the Condition things were in, eftablifhed Magazines at Flufbing and Middlebourgh, for Weft India Commodities; and employed, in the Trade of the French Inands, upwards of one hundred Ships every Year. This continued till about the Year 1664 , when a new Company was fet up in France, which, with the Affiftance of the Government, purchafed back from the Iland of Malta, and from the other Proprietors, the Rights that they had acquired, put an End to the Dutcb Trade, and brought the Commerce of the Colonies once more into a right Channel, which was what the Government had chiefly at Heart; for when after ten Years Poffeffion of their Grant, they began to increafe their own Profit, by Methods prejudicial to the People, the Miniftry thought fit to interpofe again; and as they had made uife of the Company to deliver the Inhabitants from the Oppreffion of Foreigners; fo when once it was difcovered, that they meant to become Oppreffors themfelves, that was put out of their Power, and every thing fo fettled, that fuch as were diligent and induftrious might be fecure of reaping the Fruits of their own Labours, and the Profits of the Trade in general be fecured to the French Nation. Thefe new Regulations took Place about the Year 1680; fince which, the French Inands have been in a very flourifhing Condition, and are, at this Day, of very high Confequence to the Crown of France; as they contribute greatly to the promoting Manufactures at home, and are the Source of a very extenfive and profitable Commerce abroad.
10. This general View of the Manner in which thefe Inands were firft fettled and fecured to France being given, we thall next proceed to a very fhort Account of the Iflands themfelves, as they lie from South to North; and then we. Thall give a more particular Detail of their Commadities, which will fhew the general Value and Importance of thefe Settlements, and rectify fome Miftakes that have been made about them; a thing as ufeful and neceffary to us, as to the Frearbi themfelves.

To begin then with Granada; it is fituated in 12 Degrees North Latitude, about thirty Leagues South-weft of Barbadoes, and about the fame Diftance North of Caribiana, or New Andalufia; this Inand is twenty-five Leagues in Circumference, and has feveral good Bays and Harbours, fome of which are fortified. It is efteemed a fruitful Soil, and well watered; producing Sugar, and fuch other Plants as are found in the reft of the Caribbee Iflands; there are abundance of very fmall Inands that lie at the North End of Granada, which are called the Granadillas.

Martinico is fituated between 14 and 15 Degrees of North Latitude, and in 6I Degrees of Weftern Longi= tude, lying about forty Leagues North-weft of Barbadoes. It is twenty Leagues in Length, but of an unequal Breadth; the inland Part of it hilly, and, at a Diftance, appears like three diftinćt Mountains, being exceedingly well watered by numerous Rivulets, which fall from the Hills; and there are feveral commodious Bays and Harbours on the Coaft, fome of them fo well fortified, that they bid defiance to the Englifh, when they made a Defcent there, with feveral thoufand Men in the laft War. They were forced to return to the Ships
after they had burnt and plundered fome Plantations in the open Country. The Produce of this Inand is the fame with that of Barbadoes, viz. Sugar, Cotton, Ginger, Indigo, Aloes, Piemento, $\varepsilon_{\sigma} c$. and as it is much larger, it has many more Inhabitants, and produces greater Quantities of Sugar than Barbadoes. This Illand was replenifhed with Indians, when the French firft attempted to fettle here, anno 1635 , and many Battles were fought between them and the Natives, with various Succefs. But the French, at laft, overpowered and extirpated the ancient Inhabitants, and it is now the Chief of all the Frencb Caribbee Iflands, and the Seat of their Governor-General.

Marigalante is fituated in 16 Degrees North Latitude, a little to the South-weft of Guardaloupe, and is about five Leagues in Length, and four in Breadth: It was difcovered by Columbus, in his fecond Voyage to America, anno 1493, and named by him Marigalante, or the Gallant Mary, after the Name of his Ship. The French began to fend Colonies thither about the Year 1647; and having expelled the Natives, after feveral Years Wars, the French remained in the peaceable Poffeffion of this Inland, the Produce of which is the fame with the reft of the Caribbees.
Guardaloupe, fo named by Columbus, from its Hills refembling thofe of that Name in Spain, is fituated in 16 Degrees North Latitude, and 6I Degrees of Weftern Longitude, about thirty Leagues North of Martinico, and almoft as much South of Antigua. It is faid to be the largeft of all the Caribbee Iflands, being twentytwo Leagues in Length, and half as much in Breadth at each End; but almoft cut in two by a deep Gulph or Bay on each Side, fo that the Ends are joined together by a narrow Ifthmus. This, like Martinico, abounds in Sugar, Cotton, Indigo, Ginger, $\mathcal{E}^{c}$. and is in a very flourifhing Condition, and, agreeable to the Confequence it is of to the French, they have taken Care to fortify it with feveral regular Forts and Redoubts, which were in fo good a Condition, when the Englif Admiral Benbow made a Defcent here, with a confiderable Body of Land Forces, anno 1702, that he did not think fit to attack them; but he deftroyed a great many of their Plantations, and open Villages. The French began to fend Colonies to this Ifland about the Year 1632 , but knew fo little what the Soil was good for then, that for many Years they were in Danger of ftarving ; and afterwards the Planters, by their Divifions, almoft ruined one another; fo that this Inand did not make any great Figure till the prefent Century; fince the Beginning of which it has vaftly increafed, and makes more Sugar now than any of the Britifh Iflands, except Famaica.

Defiada, or Diferada, the defirable Ifland, fo called by Columbus, becaufe it was the firft Land he difcovered in his fecond Voyage to America, anno 1493. It is fituated about ten Leagues North-eaft of Guardaloupe, a little inconfiderable Ifland, not fo fruitful as fome others which belong to the French. St. Bartbolomew's is a finall Inand, about ten Leagues North of St. Cbriftopber's, taken by the Englift, under the Command of Sir Ti*notby Thornbill, in the Year $\mathbf{1 6 8 9}$, but reftored to the French at the Peace of Ryfwick. St. Croix, or Santa Cruz, another fmall Inand, fituate in 17 Degrees 30 Minutes North Latitude, about twenty Leagues Eaft of St. Cbriftopher's, and has been contended for by the Englifh, Dutch, Spaniards, and French; but it is now in the peaceable Poffeffion of the French Weft India Company. St. Martin's, another Inland of no great Confequence, belonging to the French, fituate a little to the North-weft of St. Bartbolomerv's.

The Illand of Martinico is the chief of the Frencb Settlements : The Governor-General, and Intendant,' refide there; it is alfo the Seat of the fovereign Council, which has Jurifdiction, not only throughout the Antilles, but alfo over the French Settlements in St. Domingo and Tortugo. The Number of People in this Inand, by which we are obliged to compute the reft, are affirmed to be ten thoufand Whites, and twenty thoufand Negroes. It appears from hence, that the French are very numerous in thefe Inlands, and though they have been
expofed to many and great Difficulties in raifing and eftablifhing thefe Plantations, yet they are now brought to a very fair and flourifning Condition, carry on a great Trade, and are daily improved. The principal Commodity they raife at prefent in thefe Iflands, is Sugar, whereas formerly it was Tobacco. Mr. de Poincy, be-fore-mentioned, was the firft who taught them the Are of raifing the Sugar-Cane, and curing the Juice of it. He was a Man of fuch extraordinary Genius, that he improved upon the Methods then in Ufe at Brazil, and the Madeiras; the Mills he caufed to be erected, were ftronger, neater, and better fitted for Ufe; and his Fur= naces likewife were contrived to much greater Advantage; fo that he not only introduced it, but carried the Art of Sugar-making to a very high Degree of Perfection. Befides Sugar, they raife alfo a great deal of Indigo, in which they did not fo foon fucceed as in Sugar which, I find, the French Writers attribute to the intolerable Stench with which the making that Commodity is attended. But they were more happy in raifing Cotton, which requires very little Pains or Labour.

They alfo cultivate Cacao to great Advantage, and draw confiderable Profit from the Ginger, Caflia, and Piemento, which is what we call 7 amaica Pepper, or Allfpice, of which they export confiderable Quantities. They likewife manufacture Rocou, for the Ufe of Dyers, and fend home Variety of medicinal Gums, and wet Sweet-meats of feveral kinds. Thefe Inands produce alfo feveral kinds of valuable Woods, which are ufed for dying, inlaying, and Cabinet-Work; fuch as Rofe-wood, which, when wrought and polifhed, has a very beautiful Appearance, as well as a fine Smell. The Indian Wood is alfo of the fame Nature, and the Iron Wood, fo called from its being exceffively hard, is efteemed preferable either to Cedar or Cyprefs; BrazilWood they have in great Quantities, and Brazilleto, yellow Wood, or Fuftick, and green Ebony, which is both ufed by the Cabinet-Makers and the Dyers. We may add to thefe Commodities, raw Hides, and Tortoifefhell, and then the Reader will have a tolerable Comprehenfion of all the Wealth and Riches of the French Weft Indies. But to execute our Defign effectually, it is neceffary we fhould give an Account of the Commerce of thefe Inlands, which is what we fhall endeavour to do in as few Words as poffible, and in fuch a Me thod, as may take in the full Extent of their Trade, a thing that has not hitherto been attempted, at leaft in our Language.
11. In the firft Place then, it is to be confidered, that though thefe Inands produce fo many rich and valuable Commodities, yet they ftand in need of very large Supplies of various Kinds of Neceffaries, without which they could not poffibly fubfift, fuch as Horfes, and Cattle of all Kinds; Corn, Roots, dry Finh, and all forts of Lumber, of which they receive confiderable Quantities from Canada, and the reft from our Northern Colonies, in Exchange for Sugar, Tobacco, Indigo, and other Goods, which are fent to Canada, and for Melaffes or Moloffes, to our Colonies, where it is diftilled into Rum, of which Kind of Commerce we have fpoken largely elfewhere, and therefore there is no need that we fhould dwell upon it here. The Inhabitants of this Ifland ftand always in want of Negroes, with which they were formerly fupplied by their own African and Senegal Companies, which, as we have already fhewn, have been long ago united to the French Eaft-India Company, by whom this Slave-Trade is now carried on with great Regularity, and much Profit. The Negroes are fent to Martinico, where they are purchafed by the Inhabitants of the other Iflands, at a fettled Price of fo many Hogfheads of Sugar a Head, as in the Spanifb Ports they are bought for fo many Pieces of Eight.

Before we fpeak of the direct Trade between thofe Inlands and France, it will be proper to give a fhort Account of the Quantities of Sugar, that, according to the beft Computations, are raifed in them; becaufe this being the Staple Commodity, it will enable us to form fome fort of Notion of the whole Extent and Value of their Exports. In Martinico it is computed that they make, one Year with another, ten thoufand Hogtheads of Sugar,

## Chap. III of the FRENCH in AMERICA. <br> each of about fix hundred Weight; in Guardaloupe; <br> 12. We referved the Ifland of St. Domingo to be treared

about four thoufand Hogfheads; and in the other Inands, about one thoufand Hogfheads all together. The French, employ in this Trade annually between two and three hundred Ships, from the Burden of one hundred to three hundred Tons. The time in which they fail from France is between September and February, that they may avoid as much as poffible the Hurricanes, and arrive in a fit Seafon for compleating their Cargoes.

The Veffels from Rocbelle and Bourdeaux are, generally fpeaking, laden with falt Beef and Pork, Flour, Brandy, all forts of Wines of the Growth of that Part of France, and alfo. Madeira, which they take in at that Inand; dried Cod, pickled Herrings, Oil, Cheefe, Butter, Tallow, Iron, Linen, and moft forts of Mercery Goods. The Ships from Rouen feldom carry Provifions, but are freighted with Woollen and Linen Goods, Silk, Ribbons, Shoes, Stockings of all Sorts, Hats, Tin, Copper, and Brafs Ware, fmall Arms, and Sword Blades, Pewter, Pins, Needles, Paper, Pens, Cards, and an infinite Number of other Things of the fame Kind. The Ships from Mar $\operatorname{seillles}$ and $\mathcal{T}_{\text {oulon }}$ are freighted with Oils, dried Fruit, Wines, and feveral Kinds of light Stuffs, that are manufactured in Provence. Thus we fee what prodigious Advantages thefe Settlements bring to France, by encouraging Induftry, employing a large Number of Ships, and confequently raifing and maintaining many hundreds of Seamen. It is no Wonder therefore that the French Government pay fo much Attention to this important Branch of their Traffic, and are fo careful in taking every poffible Method to encourage thefe Colonies, and to protect their Trade, which, however, fuffered confiderably in the two laft Wars, and ftill more confiderably at the Beginning of this.

As to the general Amount of their Trade, it is a very difficult thing to make fo much as a probable Calculation, but if we may depend upon that of Mr. Savary, who was allowed to underftand thefe Matters as well as any Man in France, the Goods exported from that Country rife to the Value of about four Millions of Livres, or two hundred thoufand Pounds of our Money, annually; for which he computes they bring home very near double the Value in Weft India Commodities; and if we take in the other Branches of Trade before-mentioned, we may fairly compute the Profits of thefe Inlands at half a Million Sterling, provided the Calculations before-mentioned are tolerably exact.

We may venture, before we quit this Subject, to make fome few Remarks, for the Service of the Engli/h Reader : As for inftance, That it appears clearly from this Account, we were very confiderable Gainers, by fecuring to ourfelves that Part of the Inand of St. Cbriflopher, which had been almoft one hundred Years in the Poffeffion of the French, and in their Part of which they raifed more and better Sugars than in any of the Inands they now poffers, Martinico and Guardaloupe excepted; and perhaps we fhould not carry the Matter too far, if we faid, more Sugar than in all their Inands, exclufive of thofe before-mentioned. We may likewife obferve of how great Confequence it would be to us to plant the other Illands to which we lay claim; as this would increafe our Trade and our Strength in that Part of the World, at the fame time; and contribute alfo, in the Time of a Frencb War, to curb and annoy out Enemies. The French themfelves, for Reafons that have been already affigned, do not feem very defirous of extending their Plantations, and therefore cannot offer any juft Reafons why we fhould be debarred any longer from fettling thofe Illands that belong to us, and which they do not defire to fettle themfelves. We may alfo confider it as a Thing very practicable in any French War, to reduce thefe Inlands to the greateft Extremity, by the proper Diftribution of our naval Force in the Weft Indies, which in Proportion to the Value of their Commerce, would diftrefs the Merchants in France to the laft Degree, and give our own Colonies vaft Advantages in fupplying thofe Markets which are at prefent fupplied by Judges of our Strength and theirs, who think very good might be entirely ruined by us in a few Years.
of feparately, as being a diftinct Government, and indeed a diftinct Concern to the French from all their other Iflands. When this Country was firft difcovered by Columbus, in 1492, it was called by the Inhabitants in their own Language Ayty; but their Followers gave it the Name of Hippaniola, or Little Spain ; the Admiral himfelf intended to call it Ifabella; but the City he founded in 1494 being dedicated to St. Dominic, the Name was firft extended to that Quarter, and, in Length of Time, to the whole Inand; fo that it is now equally well known in Europe and the Weft Indies, by the Appellation of St. Dow mingo, and is generally fo called in Charts: This Inland is reckoned four hundred Leagues in Circumference but if all the Creeks, Inlets, and Bays, be meafured, it will be found fix hundred at leaft; it is allowed to be the moft fruitful, and by much the pleafanteft, in the Weft Indies; the Forefts are vaft in Extent, and the Trees taller and larger, the Fruit more lovely to the Eye, and better tafted than in the other Inlands; the Meadows or Savannahs, as they are called, are extremely large, and in a manner boundlefs, in which there are innume; rable Herds of Black Cattle that belong to the Country, as alfo wild Horfes, and wild Hogs, produced from the Stock of thofe Animals' brought over by the Spaniards. There is farce a Country in the World better watered, either by fmall Brooks or by navigable Rivers, all of which are full of Fifh. Add to this, that there are many rich Mines of Gold, Silver, and Copper, which were formerly wrought with great Profit; but the Spaniards being now too weak to carry them on for their own Advantage, conceal them with all imaginable Care, to prevent any other Nation's driving them out, and reaping the Advantage of thofe Treafures which by their Indolence and ill Management are no longer in their Power.

The Reafons that induced that Nation to abandon fo rich and valuable a Country, were chiefly thefe: Firft, the Severity of the Government; for the fovereign Council of the Indies being eftablifhed at St. Domingo, kept the Inhabitants more within Bounds than in other Places. Secondly, the vaft Riches gained by their Countrymen in Mexico, the Noife of which drew Numbers to forfake this Inland, in Hopes of coming in for a Share of this Wealth that was to be had elfewhere. Thirdly, the great Demands for People to maintain and fecure their Conquefts on the Continent. Fourthly, the Deftruction of the Indians, which put it out of the Power of the Spaniards to cultivate their Lands; for as yet, the Ufe of Negroes had not reached the Spanih Settlements; but was confined intirely to the Portuguefe in Brazil. And, laftly, the Defcents of the Englifb and French on the weftern Part of the Inland, which by Degrees obliged the Spaniards to abandon all the Country between Montcbrito and Cape Mongon.

This made Way for the Settlement of the Buccaneers in thofe Parts, but chiefly in the little Inland of Tortugo, where they foon raifed a kind of Settlement, which, however, the Spaniards deftroyed in the Year 1638 , with inexorable Cruelty; notwithftanding which the Buccaneers were not hindered from returning, and refettling in that Inand, under the Command of Captain Willes, an Englifbman of eftablifhed Reputation, whofe Courage and Conduct foon put them out of Fear of being difturbed by the Spaniards. It was not long however that they continued in this Situation, for Monf. de Poincy, whom we have fo often mentioned, thought fit to fecure this Illand for the French; and with that View fent thither one Mr. Vaffeur, with whom the French Buccaneers that were already in the Inand joining, Capt. Willes, with the Forces under his Command, found himfelf under an $a b-$ folute Neceffity of abandoning the Place.
This put the French in Poffeffion of it for that Time; but the Spaniards harraffed them for many Years, and drove them out of the Inand more than once; however, being conftantly fupported from their Inlands, and being joined from Time to Time by Adventurers of all Nations, they ftill kept up their Claim, and not only fixed themfelves effectually upon this little Inand, but began alfo to make Settlements upon the Weft End of St. Doo mingo; where, in twenty Years Time, they became fo
ftrong, that the Spaniards were glad to live upon good Terms with them. Yet they never confidered them in any other Light, than as Ufurpers, and Men whom Force maintained in a Country to which they had no manner of Right. The Way in which the French fettled themfelves was very fingular, for they might well be divided, and, indeed, the French Hiftorians have divided them into three very diftinct Sorts of People.

Firft, The Buccancers, or Hunters, who, for the Conveniency of killing black Cattle, and felling their Skins, fixed upon the Continent of Hifpaniola, and built fome Villages for their Retreat, and feveral Fortrefles for their Security. Flibuftiers, or Privateers, who were furnimed by Commiffions from the French Governor of Petit Guaves, to cruize upon the Spaniards, and who were moftly at Sea, fometimes in finall Veffels, every Crew - upon its own Account, and fometimes in large Squadrons, with fifieen hundred or two thoufand Men on board them, but of all Nations, and who reforted from Time to Time into the French Ports, to careen their Ships, difpofe of their Prizes, and to recruit. The third Sort of People were, Men of a more fober way of Living, who fettled in the Country, laid out Plantations, in which they raifed Tobacco, and other valuable Commodities, whom the Frencb therefore ftile Inbabitants. Thefe three Sorts of Pcople were very ufful to each other; for the Hunters furnifhed Provifions and Hides in vaft Quantities; the Privaieers brought in Prizes of great Value, and fpent their Money very freely; and by enriching increafed the Number of Inhabitants, fo that in a fhort Space of Time, the French extended their Settlements all along the South-weft Coaft of St. Domingo; and as for the Tortoife Inand, fo called from its being thought to refemble that Animal ; it was very thoroughly planted, and the Tobacco they raifed there was very good, and grew into great Efteem.

It is true, that in Time of Peace, both the Spaniards and the Englifb complained loudly of the Conduct of the Erench Governors, under Colour of whofe Commiffions the Privateers committed great Diforders, took Ships of all Nations, and difturbed the whole Commerce of America. But the French did not give themfelves much Pain upon this Head; on the contrary, though they fometimes gave good Words, and promifed fome Redrefs, yet they fuffered the Governors to go on in the fame Way, becaufe they found that it drew numbers of People to their Settlements, and was like to fecure them the Poffeffion of the Weftern Part of St. Domingo. In $166_{+}$they fet up a particular Company for managing the Trade of thefe Parts, but that was foon found ineffectual; and therefore in about two Years Time they let it fall. It was not till the Year 1697 that they gained a legal Poffefion of this Country, by the Treaty of Ryfroick, by which the Spaniards yielded to them one half of the Inand; and the Boundaries between them and the French were fettled, by a Line drawn crofs the Country, from North to South; fo that the French enjoy all the Weftern half of St. Domingo, which they have fettled very effectually. In the Year $I_{7} 6$ the Number of People there was computed at thirty thoufand Whites, and one hundred thoufand Negroes, and Mulattoes. The principal Place they have on the North Side of the Inland is Cape Francoife, which is very happily fituated, and has a very good Port; the Town is large and well peopled, and is thought to contain four thoufand white, and as many Negro, Inhabitants; on the Weft Side they have the Town and Port of Leogane, which is the Seat of the Government ; and, befides thefe, they have feveral other good Ports and great Towns.

The principal Trade of St. Domingo, for many Years, confifted in Tobacco, in which it is faid there have been from fixty to one hundred Ships employed; but upon the eftablifhing an exclufive Farm of this Commodity in France, the Trade of St. Domingo for that Commodity began to decline, and is, at laft, funk to nothing. Inftead of Tobacco, they fell to planting of Sugar, and though at firft they met with fome Difficulties, which was occafioned by the too great Fertility of the Soil, yet thefe were foon got over, and Sugar became, in a fhort

Space of Time, the itaple Commodity of the Inand; it is, in the Opinion of fome, the very beft Sugar made in the Weft Indies, and, generally fpeaking, yields three or four Shillings a hundred more, than the Sugar from any of their other Iflands, which has occafioned a furprizing Progrefs in the Cultivation of this Commodity in St. Domingo, which, in 1726, food thus: There were then two hundred Sugar Works in the Mand, which, it was computed, yielded, one with another, four hundred Hogfheads of Sugar, each Hogthead of about five hundred Weight. At this Time Sugar yielded, upon the Spot, from twelve to thirteen Livres per hundred Weight; fo that from this Computation, it appears that the Sugar of this Iland produced the French, annually, about two hundred thoufand Pounds, and the Indigo is faid to produce near half as much; they raife, likewife, Cacao, Ginger, and Cotton. Coffee grows there very well, and fome are of Opinion, that Cinnamon, Clove, and Nutmeg Trees might be raifed in this warm Climate; but the great Profit the Inhabitants make at prefent of their Sugar and Indigo, hinders them from running into any new Improvements; and as the French Ships that come hither return well laden with the Commodities beforementioned, and raw Hides, it is very probable they will continue to go on in the Way they are in, till fuch Time as the Price of the Sugar falls confiderably. The French are thoroughly perfuaded that there are confiderable Mines of feveral Sorts in their Part of the Inland, but as one of their. Writers expreffes it, while the Sugar Mine, and the Indigo Mine, produce fo much, and with fuch Certainty, they are never like to look for any other Mines.

Corn has been fown here, but is faid to ripen at different Times, fo that it cannot be reaped with any Profit ; and though their Grapes are very fine, yet it is pretended they will neither make Wine, nor Raifins ; but the Truth of the Matter feems to be, that the Government difcourages raifing either, and this from very juft and reafonable Motives; for fay they, if France takes off all the Sugar and Indigo, made by the Inhabitants of St. Domingo, it is but reafonable that the People of that Colony fhould take Corn and Wine from France; we may very well fuppofe, that from the fame Motive they difcourage Silk, of which the Spaniards made great Quantities, and very good. It is very apparent, from what has been faid of this Inand, and what might be faid of it, that it is, beyond Comparifon, the moft confiderable, and moft important, Colony, that the French have; which is the Reafon they are fo defirous of obtaining the Ceffion of the other half from the Spaniards; which, fome Time or other, it is more than probable they will obtain, unlefs the other Powers of Europe provide againft it, by a fpecial Claufe in their Treaties with the Houfe of Bourbon, which appears to me a Matter of the greatelt Confequence.

For fhould the French once carry their Point, and become fole Mafters of this Illand, we may very reafonably believe, that in the Space of fifty or fixty Years, it would become the richeft and moft valuable Country in that Part of the World, efpecially if the French fhould abandon their other Inlands, and tranfport their Inhabitants thither ; and even in that Cafe, there would be no Danger of its being over-peopled, and its Fertility is fuch, that they would all find Room to exercife their Induitry, and that Induftry would be richly rewarded; befides, this would afford them many Advantages; for whereas their other. Iflands are fubject to many Inconveniences, but more efpecially the Want of Provifions; thefe would be all remedied there, and it would afford them an Opportunity of encreafing their Strength to fuch a Degree, as would put it out of the Power of any of their Neighbours to give them much Difturbance; on the contrary, they would foon become formidable, both to us and to the Spaniards; which is an Evil, that as it has been forefeen in Time, it is hoped Care will be taken to prevent its ever coming to pafs.

Before we quit this Subjer, it is neceffary to obferve, that on the South Side of the French Part of St. Domingo there lies, a little Inand, called Avaches at the Diftance of
about twelve Leagues from the Continent; this Inand is about nine Leagues in Compafs, the Soil very good, and there are two or three tolerable Ports, one of which is capable of receiving Ships of three hundred Ton. This Inland lies very convenient for carrying on a Trade with the Spanifh Colonies on the Continent of America, and fooner or later the French will, in that refpect, make it turn to good Account. It is alfo very commodious for maintaining an Intercourfe with the only Settlement they have on the Coaft of South America, I mean the Ifland of Cayenne, of which it is requifite that we fhould next give the Reader an Hiftory, and Chort Defcription; becaufe that in Time, likewife, this may become a troublefome Settlement, though hitherto the French have not drawn from it any very confiderable Advantages.

The Inand of Cayenne has been a French Colony ever fince the Year 1625 , it lies clofe by the Continent of Guiana, and only cut off and made an Inand by the Rivers Ovia on the Eaft, and Cayenne on the Weft, from which laft it takes its Name, as may be feen in the Map. The Town and Fort where the great Road is, at the Mouth of the River Guiana, are exactly in 4 Degrees 50 Minutes of North Latitude, and 332 Degrees of Eaft Longitude from Ferro. It is reckoned about eighteen or twenty Leagues in Compafs, ftanding high on the Coaft, and looks, at a Diftance, like Part of the Continent. The Length of the Ifland, from the River of Ovia, to the River Cayenne, is about feven Leagues, and the Breadth about three. The River Cayenne fall's into the North Sea, on the Weft Side of it, dividing the Country of the Caribbees, from that of the Galibis. The Inand forms three principal Capes or Promontories, being thofe of Fort Lewris, Seperon, and Matiuri; it has much meadow and patture Ground in feveral Parts, the reft is low and marfhy, efpecially in the Middle, fo as to be almoft impaffable. The Edges of it are moftly covered with Trees, which we call Mangroves, having that peculiar Quality of growing in Salt Water, fo deep, thick, and wide rooted, that from thefe very Roots other Trees rife up without End, fo wonderful clofe, interwoven with one another, that in fome Parts of the Inand a Man may walk Leagues on them without touching the Ground.

About fix Years ago the Ifland was extraordinary unhealthy, by reafon of the long Rains, which lafted above nine Months in twelve, but efpecially from December till Fune; as alfo becaufe the Ground was clofe wooded, and fo marfhy, that it occafioned feveral Sorts of Difeafes among the Inhabitants, which in a more particular Manner affected young Infants, infomuch that many died almoft as foon as born, and others at a very tender Age; for which Reafon the moft fubftantial Planters ufed to fend them over to France very young, to preferve them from the Malignity of that bad Air; which is now nothing near fo pernicious to thofe young Babes, fince the Land has been grubbed up, fo that they grow up healthy and ftrong; befides, the Women are fafer in Childbed, and the generality of the Inhabitants are lefs fubjeet to the Diftempers than they were before the Ifland was cleared of moft of the Wood; however, it is ftill, and always will be, an uncomfortable Place to be in, becaufe of the long rainy Seafon every Year, and fcorching clofe Air Night and Day, which dif-fpirits a Man; and the heavy Showers and Vapours exhaled from the fwampy Grounds, which ftill occafion Diforders in Men and Beafts, though not fo much as formerly ; large Cattle, particularly, can farce live there. They are alfo continually tormented with Gnats, Flies, and Worms, Ants, Bugs, and other Sorts of Vermin; all which, together, render the Place very difagreeable and uneafy; for which Reaion feveral Planters, when grown rich, retire into France, and let their Plantations.

The Soil of Cayenne, by reafon of the continual Rains, produces plenty of Sugar Canes, which, though fmall and fhort jointed, yield very plentifully; alfo Mandioca , or Caffibi, Indian Wheat, Rocou, Cotton, AccajouApples, Banillas, Pete, Ebony, Letter, and Violet Wood, Ananas, Tubèrofes, very fine and large Papaias, and feveral Sorts of Americaiz and European Grain and

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Seeds, befides Lemons, Oranges, Indigo, and Figs, $\forall \hat{c}$ The Country abounds in wild Boars, called there Packs, Deer, Agontils, Woodcocks, Ortolans, Nightingales, Arras, Occos, Toucans, Parrots, Parroquets, and other Birds, only remarkable for their Feathers: Alfo Flamingos, Birds about as big as a Hen, flying in Swarms like Ducks or Cranes; large wild Ducks with red Tufts on their Heads, Lizards, Cameleons, and very large Serpents, fome of them above twenty-five Feet long, befides many fmaller. The chief Town of Cayenne ftands on the Weft Part of the Ifland, in an advantageous Situation, Nature and Art having equally contributed to the fortifying of it. It is of an irregular hexagon Figure; the Fortifications of the Town, which are extenfive, were moftly caft up with Earth by the Hollanders, after they had driven the French from the Inand, and have feveral Batteries mounted with Cannon, and a dry Ditch quite round, befides rows of Trees that furround it in a Triangle, which makes a handfome Profpect at a Diftance; within this flight Fortification fand above two hundred Houfes, difpofed in fuch a Manner, as to make two different Streets or Lanes; all built with Planks of a certain Tree, by the French called Poirier, and of other Sort of Timber, and thatched: Which is the Reafon they are now and then burned down fo faft, that nothing can be faved, to the great Lofs and Damage, not only of the Owners, but of feveral Inhabitants round the Town. On the North-eaft Part of it, towards the Gate of Armire, the Jefuits have a little Chapel ftanding in an open Place by itfelf, and before it a Grove of Lemon Trees, which afford a pleafant Shade to walk under; the Chapel is adorned with a fmall Spire of Planks, with good Bells.

On a pretty fteep Hill, or Eminence, ftands the Fort of St. Lerwis de Caperoux, built by order of Lewis XIII. King of France, on the Sea-fide, commanding every Way, mounted with forty-two Iron Guns; the Garrifor whereof commonly confifts of four Companies of regular Forces, befides near five hundred Inhabitants, moftly French, and divers Indians, who retire into the Inland with their Canoes, and there make their Cottages and Carbets, living either in the Town, or on the Inand round about, as far as mount Sincry, becaufe of the Goodnefs of the Soil, and the Wholefomenefs of the Air, as it lies much higher than the Ifland. Thefe, upon the leaft Alarm, are obliged to ftand to their Arms; the Signal to give Notice to them to come together, being to fire off fome Cannon, efpecially in the Night-time. The weakeft Places of this Ifland are alfo defended by fome Batteries and Guns. The next Town in the Ifland to this, is Armire, diftant about three Leagues Eaftward, but fmall and thinly peopled, where the Jefuits have a Chapel alfo for the Conveniency of the Inhabitants of that Part of the Ifland; and about a League farther Eaft is the Point Maturi, and near it a very fine Plantation for Sugar, and is a fit Place to land at. Weft of this Plantation ftands an Indian Carbet. There are all the remarkable Towns of Cayenne, except here and there fome few Cottages and Plantations about the Inand; the fourth Part of which is fored with fine large Meadows, or pafture Ground, called Savannabs, and three Rivulets; they have ufually a Watch-houfe, and a Battery of fome Iron Guns at Armire, to give Signals when they difcover Ships coming from the Eaftward. Fort Lerois commands both the Town and the Sea; the anchoring Place for Ships is under the Cannon of the Fort, within Mufket-fhot from Land, in three Fathom and a half muddy Ground, Southweft of the Water-gate, which has four good Guns to defend the Road.

The Colony is partly fubfifted by Provifions brought from France in Merchant Ships by way of Trade, which commonly are Wine, Brandy, Meal, and powdered or falt Meats, for Beef is very fcarce there, befides that: they are not allowed to kill any, nor Calves neither, without Leave of the Governor, or his Subftitutes, that Cattle may multiply in the Inand: All forts of LinenCloathing, Stuffs, Silks, Shoes, and other wearing Apparel, are alfo carried thither from Fronce, for the Ufe of Men, Women, and Children; and all forts of Tools, and fimall Wares, either for the Service of the Colony, or 42
for
for the Amazons and Indion Trade, are bartered for Sugar, Rocou, Indigo, Tortoife-fhells, Tyger-fkins, and other inconfiderable Curiofities of the Country, which did once turn to grear Profit to the Traders there. The other neceffary Provifions of the Product of the Inand are Manetada or Caffibi, and Indian Whear, of which each Planter fows large Quantities, both for the Subfift ance of their own Families and Slaves, and tofell to the other inferior Inhabitants. The Sea and River Fifh, Poultry, Pidgeons, Quefts, or Ring-doves, whereof there is great Plenty, and delicate Turkeys, Venifon, Hares, Agontils, Hogs, and Packs, that is, wild Boars, are alfo a Part of their Subfiftance.

But Lamentins and Sea-Tortoifes are their chief Provifion, and may well be called the Manna to the poorer fort; the Manati's Flefh ufed at Cayenne is brought ready falted from the River of the Amazons, feveral of the principal Inhabitants fending the Barks and Brigantines thither with Men and Salt, to buy it of the Indians for Beads, Knives with white Hafts of a low Price, fome Linen, Toys, and Iron Tools. When thefeVeftels have entered the River of the Amazons, the Indians, who always follow the Manati-fimery, go on board, take the Salr, and with it run up the River in Canoes or Frigates, to catch the Manaties, which they cut in Pieces, and falt as taken, returning with that falt Fifh to the Brigantines, which go not up, becaufe the Portuguefe who dwell to the eaftward, at Para, and other Places of Brazil, claim the Sovereignty of the North-fide of that River, and give no Quarter to the French, or other Europeans, they can take in their Liberties; which has occafioned many Difputes and Quarrels between them. That Controverfy was decided by the Treaty of Utrecbt, in the Year 17I3, which fixed that Boundary.

They have ever fince been ufing all the Arts imaginable, to render this Colony of fome Ufe, but hitherto they have been able to make no great Matter of it, the Expence being fo large, that by their hardeft Labour the Inhabitants find it difficult to gain wherewithal to purchafe their Subfiftance. As for the Trade carried on from France, it confifts chiefly in Provifions, fuch as falt Meats; Flour, Wine, Brandy, Lieen, Stuffs, and Mercery Goods ; in return for which they export Sugar, Dying-woods, and for the moft part, the fame Kind of Commodities they do from the Leervard Iflands. It is thought, that the Number of Whites upon this Inand may amount to twelve or fifteen hundred, and that the whole Number of the People, taking in Soldiers and Slaves, may amount to three thoufand, or thereabouts; amongtt thefe there are fixty or feventy Fews, who, befides cultivating their Plantations, carry on a kind of underhand Trade with the Dutch and the Portuguefe; and what little Quantity of Gold and Silver they have in that Country is in the Hands of thefe People, who notwithitanding are far enough from being rich.
13. We have already, in the Hiftory of the French Eaft India Company, mentioned the feveral Attempts made by Monf. de la Salle, for the Difcovery of the Mifflippi, and therefore we may be allowed to be the fhorter here. This Gentleman was certainly a Perfon of great Worth and good Underftanding; and the Notion he had of fixing Colonies in this Part of the World, was, in general, well enough founded; but it does not appear that he was fo well qualified to govern or conduct a Colony: He had paffed down the River he fought, in the Spring of the Year 1683, to the very Mouth of it ; he afterwards remounted that River, and returned to Canada, in the Month of October the fame Year ; from whence he took his Paffage back to France, where he gave a large Account of the mighty Advantages that would certainly accrue from the fettling of a Colony in thofe Parts; upon which a new Company was formed in the Beginning of the fucceeding Year, for the carrying thofe great Defigns into Execution; and on the 24th of Fune, 1684 , he failed with a Squadron confifting of four Veffels, having on board a fufficient Number of Perfons, and all kind of Goods and Provifions neceffary for the Service of the new Colony, which he propofed to fix at the Mouth of the Miffifippi; but when he arrived in the

Bay of Mexico he was not able to find the Mouth of the River, as he expected; and therefore attempted to fix a Colony at the Bay of St. Lerevis, which is one hundred Miles to the Weft of the River Mififippi; where they endured fuch Hardfhips that moft of them perifhed miferably; while Monf. de la Salle, ftill intent upon Difcoveries, made various Excurfions with fuch of his Company as were ftill able to move; in one of which he was barbaroufly murdered by two of his own People, which put an End to the Defign for the prefent.

Seven Years after, Monf. d' Ibberville undertook to perform all that Monf. de la Salle had promifed; and, as he was a Man who had already performed grear Things, the Court encouraged him; and he was really as good as his Word. He carried his People very fafely and happily to the Mouth of the great River, and there laid the Foundations of the firt Colony the French ever had on the Mififippi. He took Care to provide them with every Thing neceffary for their Subliftance, and obliged them to erect a ftrong Fort, for their Protection againft the Indians, before he would return to France in order to obtain Supplies. The Succefs of his Voyage made him extremely welcome to the King, who promifed him all the Affiftance he could defire; fo that he was foon in a Condition to put to Sea again; and his fecond Voyage was as fortunate as the firft ; but very unluckily for his Colony, he fell fick and died, as he was preparing for the third. This had very near overturned the whole Defign, if it had not been for the Generofity and public Spirit of a private Man, who undertook to fupport it at his own Expence, receiving from the Government an Authority to act.
In the Grant of Louvifiana to Mr. Crozat, by Lewis XIV, anno I7I2, the Bounds of it are faid to be the River and Lake of Illinois on the North, Carolina on the Eaft, the Gulph of Mexico on the South, and Neres Mexico on the Weft. As to Canada, or New France, the French would fcarce admit it had any Bounds to the North on this Side the Pole, till they were limited on that Side by an Article in the Treaty of Utrecbs: which affigns New Britain and Hudjon's Bay on the North of Canada to Great Britain; and Commiffioners after wards on both Sides, afcertained the Limits by an imaginary Line, running from a Cape or Promontory of New Britain to the Atlantic Ocean, in 38 Degrees 30 Seconds, North Latitude, and running from thence South-weft to the Lake Mifcofink or Mifiafim, and from thence farther South-weft directly to the Iatitude of 49 Degrees. All the Lands to the North of the faid Line, being affigned to Great Britain ; and all the South of that Line, as far as the River of St. Laurence, to the French. Thefe are the trueLimits of Louvifiana and Canada.

This Grant to Mr. Crozat did not fubfift long, for it being neceffary to have fome plaufible Pretence for fetting on Foot a Project for changing the Face of public Affairs in France, this Settlement was thought the moft convenient; and therefore all imaginable Pains were taken to reprefent it as a Paradife, and a Place from whence inexhauftible Riches might be derived, provided due Encouragement could be obtained from the Government ; and for this Purpofe it was thought requifite, that a new Company fhould be erected; to make Way for which Mr. Crozat was to refign his Grant, and this he accordingly did, as we have hinted in another Place.
14. This occafioned that Noife that was made abour the Mififippi, not in France only, but throughout all Europe, which was filled with romantic Stories of the vaft Fruitfulnefs of the Banks of this great River, and the incredible Wealth that was like to How from thence. It was thefe Indies in the North Seas that produced our Notions of finding Indies in the South; but in the End both proved Bubbles, partly from the Falfhood of thofe Relations, and partly 'from there being no fixed 'and fettled Refolutions of promoting the Trade to either. This Miififippi or River of St. Lereis, according to the French Account, rifes in the North-weft Part of Canada, taking its Courfe firft to the South-eaft, and in 45 Degrees, turning almoft due South, continues that Courfe till it difcharges itfelf into the Gulph of Mexico in 30 Degrees

North

## Chap. III.

North Latitude, and 95 Degrees of weftern Longitude. By four or five Mouths of feveral large Rivers falling into it, both from the Eaft and Weft, the Mififippi is fwelled into a very large deep River; and fome French Writers add, that it is a gentle Stream, and navigable for large Veffels from the Source almoft to the Mouth; but other French Writers, and fome Englifs Seamen, affirm, that it has a very rapid Stream; and that there are Cataracts in feveral Parts of it, which obftruct the Navigation, and that there are fuch Shoals at the Mouth of the River, that large Ships cannot enter it.

The Country upon the Banks of this great River has nothing very extraordinary to recommend it, except that the Air is milder, and the Soil more fruitful than that of Canada, which might be reafonably expected from its Situation. There is no fort of Queftion that People may live there with the Help of their own Induftry, in Peace and Plenty; but perhaps they might live with as little Pains and Trouble in France itfelf. But as to what was pretended when fuch a Noife was made about the Miffillppi, that the Country abounds with Silver Mines, and that it was not improbable that Gold might be found here, it was a mere Fable; and thofe that have been fent from France to make Trial of the Mines have reported, That they are far from being valuable, and that it would be very difficult, if not impracticable, to work them ; fo that now we hear no more of the Metals in this Country; but they are content to talk of Furs, raw Hides, Tobacco, Corn, and Silk, of which indeed there is more Probability; but no very great Progrefs has been hitherto made in raifing any of them. As this Country lies in the Middle between the Sparifb Settlements on one Side, and the Englifh on the other, the French have fancied to themfelves a Poflibility of driving out both; but this muft certainly arife from their national Vanity, fince there is no great Probability of their becoming in fome Ages very formidable to either, unlefs both fhould become very negligent, and the French more happy than they have hitherto been in their Improvements.
At prefent they have divided this Country into nine Provinces, in each of which they have fome finall Pofts, but the only Place they have of any Confequence is, Nerw Orleans, fo called from the late Regent, who was the Parent of this new Settlement. It is feated about one hundred and twenty Miles from the Mouth of the Mifispppi, in a very fruitful Part of the Country, where the Inhabitants raife Corn fufficient for their Subfiftance, and fome Tobacco. The Expence they have been at from time to time about their Colonies in this Country has been very large, but the Profits clrawn from them very inconfiderable, and no way anfwerable to their Expectations ; yet it muft be allowed, that in its prefent Situation, Nere Orleans is a confiderable Place, both with refpect to its Size and Strength, and the Jefuits fent from Europe thither have taken a great deal of Pains to bring over the Indian Nations to the French Intereft, the only Means by which they can become troublefome to their Neighbours; but notwithftanding this, they are not able to rely much upon their new Converts, there having been frequent Inftances of their revolting, attacking, and deftroying, their new Mafters or Allies, when they leaft expected it: So that on what Grounds they build their Hopes of eftablifhing a powerful Empire in this Part of America, mult be left to their own Writers to declare.

To fay the Truth, I fee but one Way that any Thing worth mentioning can ever be brought about here ; and that is at the Expence of their own Colony of Canada; for if it fhould ever appear that an eafier Livelihood is to be gained in the Colonies on the Banks of the Mififippi, than in thofe on the River of $S$. Laurence, it is not at all impoffible, that the People fettled on the one may by Degrees remove to the other. This would become daily more and more practicable, and perhaps more neceffary, if we proceed, in the Settlement of Nova Scotia, and preferve the Poffefion of the Inand of Cape Breton; for then, as I have before obferved, Canada will rather become a Burden than an Advantage to France; and the wifeft Step the could take would be to remove the Inhabitants hither. At the fame time that I fay this, I defire the Read-
er will confider it as a pure Conjecture, and as a Thing barely poffible; and not at all as a Defign thought of by the French, or that is ever likely to come to pafs: But, however, this we may be allowed to affirm, that if they do not take this Step, it is not at all likely that either of thofe Colonies will become more confiderable than they are at prefent. We have already obferved, that the Computations they have given the World of the Inhabitants of Canada are very extravagant, and much beyond the Truth; and.I doubt the fame Thing may be with equal Truth affirmed, of what they report as to the Numbers of thafe fettled in LouviSiana, which fome of their Authors raife to twelve thoufand Souls, while many intelligent People think there are not much above half that Number.
15. The Obfervations and Remarks upon this Period may be the more concife, fince we have already taken Occafion to deliver fomething of that Nature, in refpect to each of the Colonies we have mentioned. The French have not been very fortunate in the Management of their Interefts in this Part of the World; for their Settlements are as unconnected and ill placed, as their Enemies could wifh them. Canada is at a vaft Diftance from their Iflands, and the Navigation of the River of St. Laurence fo difficult, that they cannot make above two Voyages in a Year. We may fay the fame with refpect to the Inand of Cayenne, which lies out of the way of all the reft of their Colonies, and for that Reafon has little or no Correfpondence with any of them; and it is pretty much the fame with their Settlements on the Mififfoppi, which is a great Difadvantage to them; as may appear from the Confideration of our own Colonies, that flengthen and fupport each other, by their mutual Commerce, there being feveral hundred Veffels employed in the American Trade only, in which the French employ very few or none. We may, therefore, with ftriet Regard to Truth, divide the French Settlements into thofe which are profitable, and thofe which are not; the former including their Inands, and the latter all the reft.
It muft, indced, be owned, that it is very polfible to raife feveral Commodities of Value, both on the River of St. Laurence, and on the Mififippi; but, as the French are at prefent circumftanced, it may very well be doubted, whether they will be ever able to do this, becaufe it does not appear that they could do it to their own Advantage. While our Northern Colonies fupply their Sugar Inands with Lumber, in Exchange for their Moloffes, it will hinder their taking, except in Time of War, thofe kind of Goods, even from their own Colonies, and nothing but an open and advantageous Market can tempt the Inhabitants to raife them. As for Tobacco, Wine, and Silk, in Lowvifana, they may ferve to talk of, but there is little Reafon to fuppofe they will ever apply to the Cultivation of them in earneft. For, firft, in regard to Tobacco, it is not at all likely that they fhould raife it better or cheaper than in Virginia, from whence the French take that Commodity at prefent, in Preference to what might be raifed in St. Domingo, and the adjacent Iflands; and, with refpect to Wine and Silk, though they would be valuable Commodities to us, they could fcarce be fo to them; confidering how much of their own Wine they export to the Colonies, and what Quantities of Silk they raife in their own European Dominions. It is their Iflands therefore that the French chiefly concern themfelves about; and as to the reft, it is rather for the Credit of their Crown, and for the Sake of dif tant and very improbable Expectations, that they make a Point of maintaining their other Colonies.

It may be, if they were to transfer the People of Ca nada to their Settlements in Louvifana, and be at fome Pains to eftablifh a Correfpondence between that and their Sugar Illands, they might render both more beneficial than they are at prefent; but even in that Cafe, perhaps fome infurmountable Difficulties might be found, which are not at prefent forefeen; and though they, are not ${ }_{3}$ yet even the Poffeffion of St. Domingo entire, if ever they Chould obtain it, would make that Commerce decline. Upon the whole, though the Frencb have great Views in Americas and feem indefatigable in purfung thofe Views,

Yet, to fpeak impartially, there is very little Ground to believe, if we mind our own Affairs, and could once come to a right Underftanding with Spain, they will be ever able to fucceed. I may add farther, that if ever we come to form right Notions of the Importance of the Sugar Trade, and in Confequence thereof give all necef-
fary Encouragement to the Inhabitants of our Mands, in Time of Peace, and make it our Bufinefs, in Time of War, to diftrefs the French in this tender Point; it is poffible we may drive them out of a great Part of that Trade, which would be the happieft Event that could be for us, as well as the greateft Difappointment to them.

## S E C TION XXIII.

The Discoveries, Conquests, Settlements, and Present State of the Dutch Colonies in America; the Nature and V alue of their Commerce with the Spaniards, and the Manner in wobich their Returns are made to Europe; to which is added ans Account of the Danih Settlement; the wwole collected chiefly from the Dutch Writers.

1. A bort View of the Scbeme formed by Count Maurice of Naffau, for erecting a Dutch Empire in America, equal, if not Juperior, to that of the Spaniards. 2. The Expedition of General Brewer, in order to the Execution of that Scheme; and bis Succelfes in Chili, to the Time of bis Death. 3. The Hifory of that Expedition continued, in wobich the principal Caufes of its Mifcarriage are clearly pointed out. 4. The Dutch Settlements on the Continent of South America, at Surinam, Boron, Berbice, and Approwack, defcribed; together with an Account of the Commodities raifed there, and the Importance of thofe Settlements. 5. A View of the Iflands poffefled by the Dutch in the Weft Indies, viz. Tabago, St. Euftachius, St. Martin, Curacao, and its Dependencies; their Produce, and the Nature of their Commerce witth Holland. 6. A large and exact Relation of the clandefine Trade, carried on by the Inbabitants of thefe Ifands, with the Spaniards, 7. The prefent State of the Weft India Company in Holland, and the Caufes of its declining Trade. 8. A Defcription of the Ifland of St. Thomas, of the Danifh Settlement there; its Produce, Commerce, and Importance. 9. Obfervations and Remarks on the foregoing Section, which concludes the Hijtory and prefent State of the Continent of America and the Weft Indies. Pains to explain the Rife, Progrefs, and Extent of the Dutch naval Power; which, if I am not altogether miftaken in my Judgment, was much fuperior to any thing of the fame Kind, that we read of in ancient or modern Hiftory; fo that if their Project of eftablifhing aWe fI India Company had fucceeded, as well as that did for erecting one for managing the Trade of the Eaft Indies, I fee no Reafon to doubt of their becoming the moft formidable Power in Europe. It would take up a great deal of Time, which we have not to fpare, to fhew how this mifcarried; but there is a particular Incident, which falls in with the Subject of this Section, that will fully prove the Truth of both thefe Affertions. The Reader may remember that we infiited in the Hiftory of Brazil very largely, on the Conduct and Meafures of Prince Maurice of Naflau, as able a Captain, as great a Statefman, and I muift have leave to fay, becaufe I am convinced of it, the honefteft Man, and the beft Patriot, that Family ever produced. In that Section we clearly proved, that the running him down by the republican Faction in Holland, was the Ruin of their Affairs in Brazil, and, at prefent, it fhall be our Bufinefs to fhew, that it loft an Opportunity of making them as great in the Weft Indies, as they are now in the Eaff; for that Prince had formed a Scheme of raifing fuch an Empire at once in America, as, had it been as fteadily purfued as it was wifely projected, would have defied the Rage of Enemies, defeated the Power of Accidents, and, perliaps, would have efcaped the Teeth of Time itfelf.
He faw plainly, that their Eftablifhment in Brazil, as fair and as flourifhing as it feemed, under his wife and glorious Adminiftration, would fink to nothing, if it was not fupported by new Acquifitions; for he knew that a naval Power is, of all others, leaft at a flay; and that if it did not proceed, it would decline with the fame Rapidity with which it rofe; and, to prevent this, he formed Project after Project, all of which fucceeded but one; and, had that one fucceeded, he knew that there had been need of no more. This Project we are to give an Account of here, and in few Words; it was this: He was informed that the Inhabitants of Cbili, which lies at the back of Brazil, fronting the South Seas, as this does the North, and the richeft Country in America, had revolted from, and driven out, the Spaniards; he conceived therefore a Defign of fixing a Dutch Colony there,
which he thought might be eafily done, under the plaufible Pretences of affifting the Natives againft their late imperious Lords the Spaniards.
He communicated this Defign to the States General ; he fhewed them the Utility of it; he explained to them the Advantages with which it would be attended, and which were chiefly three. Firf, That it would give them the Poffeflion of a large, fruitful, and agreeable Country, abounding with the Neceffaries of Life, and with what is capable of fupplying Neceffaries in any and all Countries, the richeft Gold Mines in the World. Secondly, That it would humble the Spaniards, by diftreffing them in the tendereft Part; fecure, as well as open, a Commerce in the South Seas; and render their two great Empires in Mexico and Peru precarious, unlefs fecured by a Peace with the Dutch. Thirdly, That it would complete, and firmly cement, the Circle of their Commerce; for the Slaves, procured by their Settlements in Africa, would be taken off by that Colony and by Brazil. The Paffage from thence to the Eaft Indies, and from them round to Europe, would, in Time, become common; that this new Trade would fill that Country with People, and facilitate a Correfpondence between their Dominions on both Sides the Continent of Soutb America; which would foon put them in a Condition of rooting out all their Enemies, and enable them to keep the beft and moft valuable Part of the new World entirely to themfelves. Vaft and prodigious as this Defign was, every competent Judge will, at firt Sight, perceive, that in the State things were then, it was both poffible and practicable, and therefore we need not at all wonder that the States General readily embraced it, and chearfully difpofed all things requifite for the carrying it into Execution, without much regarding either the Dificulty or the Expence.
2. The States, however, thought it requifite, that a great Part of the Charge fhould be borne by their Weft India Company, becaule in Cafe of Succefs they were to reap the greateft Part of the Benefit, fince, in' Virtue of their Charter, the new conquered Country was to belong to them; but, however, the regular Troops that were to ferve in this. Expedition were to remain in the Pay of the States. The Perfon fixed upon to command in chief, with the Title of General, was Captain Henry Brewer, a Man of great Abilities, and remarkable for his perfonal Courage; which had, however, a ftrong Tincture of

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what the Dutch called Severity, which, in any other Language, would have been denominated Cruelty. He had ferved with Reputation in the Eaf Indies, and was allowed to have a furprizing Power over the Seamen. He had under him four Captains of eftablifhed Character, and his Squadron confifted of five Sail of ftout Ships, on board of which he had eighteen hundred Men, with every thing that was thought neceffary, either for making a Defcent, or for eftablifhing a Colony.

General Brewer, and his Squadron, failed from the Texel the 6th of November, 1642, and arrived at Fernambuco on the Coaft of Brazil, in 9 Degrees of South Latitude, on the 22 d of December following; where, having confulted with Count Maurice of Naffau, General and Commander in chief for the Dutch in Brazil, he failed from Fernambuco with five Ships well equipped, and provided with Neceffaries, on the 16 th of Fanuary 1642-3; and, on the 5 th of March, they came in Sight of the Streights of La Maire, as they were then called, which is only a Paffage between States Ifland and the moft Eafterly Point of Terra del Fugo, in 45 Degrees fome Minutes South Latitude, and fince ftiled Brewer's-Streigbts, in Memory of this Expedition. They came to an Anchor in a Bay of States Ifand, to the Eaftward of the Streights of La Naire; where', having remained till the $25^{\text {th }}$ of Murch, they failed round Cape Horn, fuffering pretty much by formy Weather ; and lofing the Company of one of their Ships, called the Orange Tree, and arrived with the other four on the Coaft of Cbili, on the 30 th of Mpril 1643; and on the gth of May they came to an Anchor in a Bay of the South Sea, in 4 I Degrees 30 Minutes South Latitude, to which they gave the Name of Ereroer's-Haven.

An Officer being fent on Shore with a Company of Soldiers, they difcovered great Herds of Oxen, Sheep, and Horfes, and fome Houfes; but the Inhabitants were fled. However, they fuppofed that Part of the Country to be in the Poflefion of the Spaniards, by the large wooden Croffes they faw fixed at the Entrance of the Houfes; and going afhore the next Day they difcovered a Party of Spanifb Horfe, and fome Cannon-flot were fired at the Boat. A Company of fifty Soldiers being fent afhore again, the 2oth of May, they difcovered the Town of Carelmappa, and had a fmart Engagement with a Spaniflo Party, confifting of ninety Men, Horfe and Foot, whom they defeated; whereupon the Spaniards abandoned the Town of Carelmappa, and the Dutch took Poffeffion of it, where they remained till the 25 th, and then fetting fire to the Town, and killing the Horfes they had taken in the Engagement, they retired to their Ships. They afterwards failed to the Town of Caftro, on the Inand of Cbiloe, where they arrived on the 6 th of yune.

There appeared a good Body of Spanift Horfe and Foot on Shore; but the Dutch no fooner landed fome Soldiers, than the Inhabitants fet fire to the Town, and abandoned it, having before carried away every Thing that was valuable. This Place, called Caftro, had been a fine Spanifh Town, adorned with magnificent Buildings pleafantly fituated on a Hill, furrounded with fruitful Orchards and Gardens, and the Fields beyond well cultivated, and at the Time when the Dutch arrived there, the Fruit then remained on many of the Trees, though it was in the Beginning of their Winter. The Dutch, taking an hundred Sheep and fome Hogs off the Inand, re-embarked on the Iyth of 'June and returned to Brewer's-Harbour. From hence they propofed to fail to the River Baldivia; but the NorthWind blowing hard in their Teeth, they altered their Minds, and came before Carelmappa again; where landing a Company of Soldiers, on the i 6 th of $f u l y$, they took three Spani/b Prifoners, who informed them, that the Winters on that Coaft were ufually tempeftuous, but that the moft ftormy Month was paft: That there were Gold Mines at Orfornio, and more at Baldivia; but that the Mines were not wrought of late, and that at Caftro there were none to be feen, the Indians not having been compelled to work in the Mines fince the general Revolt in 1595.

They learned alfo, from an old Spanifb Woman they
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had taken, that before the faid general Revolt, the Spar niards lived in great Splendor at Orformo, that the meaneft of them had three'hundred Indian Vaffals at leaft; who were compelled to pay their refpective Lords a certain weekly Tribute in Gold, and were ufed fo cruelly by the Spaniards, that the Cbilefe arofe as one Man, drove them from Orforno, and other Spanif Towns; and they poffeffed little more in this Part of Cbili, than Carelmappa and St. Micbael de Calembuco ; fince which, however, the Indians of. Orforno, Baidivia, Fillerica, Inperial, Jucafel. Aurauco, and Puren, had lived in a pretty good Intelligence with the Sponiards till very lately, when the Indions took up Arms again, and they were actually here in a State of War with the Spaniards, which was confirmed by five Indian Caziques, who came on board the zoth of Fuly, and affured the Dutch they were extremely rejoiced that they were come to afiit them againft their ancient Enemies the Spaniards.

The Dutch anfwered, They had brought good Store of Arms to exchange with their Countrymen of Orforno, Bal. divia, and otherPlaces, for fuch Merchandize as C̈bili afforded, that they might be enabled to carry on that War againft the Spaniards, and were ready to affint them to the utmoft of their Power. The Cbilefe replied, They lived very uneafy under the Spanifb Government of Carelnappa, and were contriving how to get to their Friends at Orforno and Baldivia; but the Spaniards had poffeffed all the Paffes, and the Country was fo overllowed by the Winter Rains, that they found it impracticable to go by Land at prefent ; and therefore defired the Duitch, that they would carry them to Baldivia in their Ships; which the General agreeing to, they returned afhore, to give their Friends an Account of it, and make Preparations for their Voyage. The next Day, more Cbalefe went on board, and one of them brought the Head of a Spaniard with him whom he had killed, and declared they were determined to thake off the Spanifb Yoke. Whereupon the General made a Prefent to them of fome Spears and Swords, as alfo Mufikets with Powder and Ball ; and the Cbilefe fent fome black Cattle on board in Return.
3. Thus far this Expedition had fucceeded perfectly well, as being entirely under the Management of one who was altogether equal to the Project he went upon; for it is effential to great Defigns that fucceed, that they are contrived and concerted by great Men, and that they are exceuted by great Men alfo; for when once People of mean Parts and narrow Underftandings come to be lifted up into Employments beyond their Capacities, they foon ruin all that wifer Heads have been long framing; and this, notwithftanding they do their beft, and ufe their utmoft Endeavours to profecute their Predeceffor's Plan.
The Dutch Officers, who perlaps never confidered this Maxim, were experimentally taught the Truth of it, by the Death of their General Hemry Brezeer, which happened on the 7 th of Auguf ; a fatal Day to them, though they did not perceive it at the Time. He had fet his Heart upon the Undertaking, and died in the full Perfuafion, that it might have been accomplifhed. Though Capt. Hackerman, who fucceeded him in the Cor:mand, might have no lefs Zeal to ferve his Country, yet he certainly mifcarried for want of proper Addrefs. He too foon difcovered to the Natives with what View the Hollauders vifited their Coafts, and created Jealoufies in them, which he found it imponible afterwards to remove, as will appear hereafter. The late General was fo confident of the Succefs of the Enterprize, that he directed his Countrymen to take his Corpfe with them, and bury it at Baldivia, which he had intended to fortify; and appointed the Cbilefe to rendezvous there and meet the Fleet, not doubting of a general Revolt in their Favour. His great Ambition was, to have a Tomb erected in that Place, which might perpetuate the Memory of his being the Author of fo great a Good to his Country. But to proceed: The Dutch having taken four hundred and feventy Cbilefe on board, who had furnifhed themfelves with Corn and Cattle, and other Provifions for the Voyage, fet fail for the River Baldivia on the 2 If of Auguf, where they arrived the 24 th of the fame Month.

The River is about a League over at the Mouth, and 5 A
the Dutch having failed half a League up it, they obferved three Channels, of which, taking the Middlemoft they run aground, and it was two or three Days before they could get all their Ships afloat again; fo that it was the 28 th before they arrived at the Town of Baldivia, where they orily found the Ruins of the ancient Gates, which were very high, and ftrong built; but the Place was now over-run with Bufhes and Weeds, and more like a Wildernefs than a City: Here they found three or four hundred Cbilefe Horfe and Foot armed with Spears, eighteen Foot long, fome of whom came on board, and welcomed them at their Arrival. The Dutch General harangued them by an Interpreter, and acquainted them, That the Hollanders were now in the Poffeffion of Brazil, upon the fame Continent, not above two Months fail from them, and were in a Condition to fupply them from time to time with Arms and Ammunition, and would affift them to drive their Enemies, the Spaniards, out of the Country, defiring they would enter into a League offenfive and defenfive with them. He alfo prefented them with the Letters from the Prince of Orange, of the like Tenour; which were interpreted to the Indians; for it is to be remarked here, that neither the People of the Eaft or Wefl Indies have any Notion of a Republican Form of Government, and therefore the Hollanders, in all Negociations with thofe diftant Nations, pretended to be authorized to treat with them by the Prince of Orange, or fome fingle Perfon, whom they infinuated to be their Monarch.

The Caziques gave the General no other Anfwer to his Propofitions at prefent, but, That they would confult their Brethren of Or forno and Coneo, and then return to Baldivia. Whereupon the Dutck proceeded to land their Soldiers on the ad of Sepiember, and the General took a View of the Ground, in order to erect a Fort. The fame Evening arrived above one thoufand Cbilefe from Orforno and Coneo, to treat with the Hollanders; and the next Day the General, by his Interpreter, made them another Speech: He acquainted them, That the chief Motive of their Voyage was to affitt the Cbilefe, the Fame of whofe great Actions had reached as far as Holland: That the Dutch had been at War with the Spaniards for upwards of fourfcore Years, as well as the Cbilefe, for the Prefervation of their Liberties, and had met with the like Succefs, extending their Conquefts as far as Brazil; and if the Chilefe would now enter into a Confederacy with the Hollanders, they were ready to fupply them with Cannon, fmall Arms, and Ammunition; which they would exchange for the Product of their Country; and the Cbilefe would be enabled thereby, not only to defend themfelves, but to expel the Spaniards from their Coafts. After which a Letter was delivered to every one of the Caziques, as fent them from the Prince of Orange. To which the Caziques anfwered, That they thought themfelves extremely fortunate to meet with a Supply of Arms from fo diftant a Country as Holland, at a Time when the War with the Spaniards was revived; and that they would confider of what was propofed.

The Dutch thereupon enquired if the Cibilese could fupply their Fleet with Flefh and other Provifions, if they continued on their Coaft to protect them againft the Spaniards? To which they unanimounly anfwered, They would not fail to bring them all the Provifions they wanted, for they had Plenty of Corn and Cattle ; provided the Fleet did not fir from the Coaft. And they readily entered into a verbal Alliance Offenfive and Defenfive, with the Hollanders againft the Spaniards; but would not be perfuaded to execute written Articles, which were offered, and interpreted to them ; declaring, That this was not cuftomary amongft them; but, that Promifes were ever looked upon as facred, and of equal Obligation with written Contracts. The Hollanders then proceeded to build a Fort at Baldivia, for their Security; which the Natives did not feem to oppofe; but when the Dutch propofed the Trafficking with the Cbilefe, and exchangeing Arms for their Gold, the Caziques immediately appeared jealous of their new Allies; and declared, they had no Gold Mines, nor was there any fuch Thing as Gold in Ufe amongft them : They remembred indeed
that, heretofore, they had been obliged to pay heavy Taxes to the Spaniards in Gold, on Pain of lofing their Ears and Nofes, as many of them actually did who could not procure as much as was expected; and this had given them fuch an Abhorrence of that Metal, that they could not bear to hear it named amongft them; that they were very far from valuing or coveting it as they found all Strangers did; and that it was the Caufe of many Mifchiefs to them, from which the Indians were free.

The General finding the Natives were not ignorant of his Views, replied they were not come to exact any thing of them, as the Spaniards had done; but were ready to pay them with Arms, or whatever Merchandize they liked beft for their Gold ; and every one was at Liberty to exchange what he pleafed. Whereupon the Caziques ftared at one another without returning one Word of Anfwer; and the Dutch relate, they did not think fit to urge them any farther on that Head, left they fhould imagine they had a Mind to. ferve them as the Spaniards had done, though they were certain there were very rich Mines in that Part of the Country. 'The Dutch General, therefore feeing now he could expect but little Affiftance from the Natives, and that it would be impoffible to maintain his Ground long againft the Spaniards, and the reft of the Cbilefe in Alliance with them, difpatched Captain Cbrifpinfon, with two of his Ships, to Fernambuco, in Brazil, to give their Friends an Account of the State of their Affairs, and to defire a further Reinforcement; and, in the mean Time, continued to fortify the Poft he had taken at Baldivia, where he hoped to defend himfelf till thofe Supplies arrived. In the Letter che Dutch General fent by Captain Cbrifpinfon to Brazil, he informs the Government, that the Spaniards had nor more than fifteen hundred Soldiers, either on the Continent or Inlands of Cbili, viz. three hundred in Valperifo and St. Fago; one hundred in Serena or Coquimbo; one hundred on the Bank of Riolio; eighty in Tucupel; five hundred in the Forts in the Valley of Arauco; one hundred and twenty in the Inand of Cbiloe, Carelmappa, and Calembuco; what the Number of the Spanifb Inhabitants were, he does not fay, only that they were more numerous than the Garrifon Soldiers; and it is evident, that many of the Cbilefe profeffed the Chriftian Religion, and were intermarried with the Spaniards at this Time; and therefore were, in a Manner, one People with them, and that fome Tribes or Clans that were not under the Spanifs Government, were in Alliance with them, though mont of them were in a State of War with the Spaniards. And in thofe Circumftances the Dutch General informs the Government of Brazil, that in Cafe ten Ships, and three Yachts, with eight hundred Soldiers, Seamen, Cannon, and Ammunition in Proportion, were fent to his Affiftance, he did not doubt of making himfelf Mafter of all the Spanijh Settlements above-mentioned; and fhould have no Occafion to be afraid of all the Force the Spaniards had, either in Cbili or Peru ; and if he could make himfelf Mafter of Cbili, by this Means, it might encourage the Natives of Peru to throw off the Spenifb Yoke.

Thefe Indians having entertained an inconceivable Averfion to the Spaniards, he informs lis Employers alfo, that they had received the Advice, that the Natives of the neighbouring Provinces of La Plata, had rofe upon the Jefuits (the then Sovereigns or Ufurpers of that Country) and had murdered many of thofe Fathers, which was looked upon as an Indication of a general Revolution againft the Sponiards; and then repeating his Importunities for a fpeedy and effectual Supply, concludes, that when the War was once kindled on that Side, it might fpread over all the Spanifb Wefs Indies; and the Hollanders might fupplant them in the Weft, as they had done the Portuguefe in the Eaft Indies and Brazil. This Exprefs had not been difpatched a Week, before the Dutch General became fenfible of his Miftake ; and that whatever Mifunderftanding there might be between the Cbilefe and the Spaniards, the Natives were much more afraid of the Hollanders, than of their ancient Enemies, and would probably join with the Spaniards to expel them their Country. For the next Conference he had with the Caziques, they gave him to underftand, that he muft expeet no Pro-
vifions

## Chap. III. of the DUTCH in AMERICA.

vifions from them ; and endeavoured to terrify the Dutch, by reporting that the Spaniards were affembling their Forces, by Sea and Land, to drive them from Baldivia; and it is probable that the Dutch General expected no Affiftance from their new Alliance, but were rather apprehenfive they would betray them to the Spaniards; for he foon after demolifhed his new erected Fortification; and, having reimbarked his People, fet fail for Brazil on the 28th of October, 1643 ; and, having doubled Cape Horn, repaffed the Streights of La Maire on the 2 Ift of November; and on the 28th of December arrived at Fernambuco in Brazil; fo that they were but juft two Months in their Voyage from Boldivia to the northern Part of Brazil.
This fhews how eafily the Communication might have been maintained between the two Colonies, if the Dutch had been fo fortunate as to have effablifhed themfelves in Cbili; but at the Time the Fleet arrived at Brazil, Prince Maurice had refigned the Government; fo that they were no longer at a Lofs for the Reafon of their not bcing fupported in Time, as with great Juftice they expected, and as , the Importance of the Enterprize deferved. We have been more particular and circumftantial in the Hiftory of this Expedition, becaure it appears to have been of the higheft Confequence in itfelf, and in all refpects the beft concerted and contrived, of any in which the Dutch were ever concerned; and in Cafe it had fucceeded, would abfolutely have been a Means of giving, not only a new Face to their Affairs, but to the general Situation of things in Anerica; nor is it eafy to fay with what Confequences it might have been attended. But it is Time to proceed from this Detail of the Ruin of their projected Empire, to an Account of the fmall Remains of their Territories in America; which, though they would be of very little Ufe to any other Nation, are, notwithftanding, highly beneficial to them.
4. We will begin with their Settlements upon the Continent ; the firt, and moft confiderable, of which, is Surinam, that formerly belonged to us, and was the fole Remains of Sir Walter Raleighb's Difcoveries in Virginia, of which we have given an Account already, and of the Manner in which it was exchanged for New York, which we had taken from the Dutch; this Settlement of Surinam, while in our Hands, was a Place of very little Confequence or Advantage; but, however, we met with very little Difficulty in keeping it, as living upon very good Terms with the Natives; whereas the Dutch have been always upon fo bad a footing with them, that they have been obliged to erect a ftrong Fort, and to keep in it a good Garrifon, in order to cover their Settlements ; without the Limits of which, if the Indians meet with any Dutcbman, they are fure to give him no Quarter. The Commodities they raife, are Sugar, Indigo, Ginger, and Cotton; for the Improvement of which they have conflant Supplies of Negroes from their Colonies in Africa; where a Part of their Goods likewife are taken off, and when it amounts to more than the Value of their Negroes, the Ballance is commonly paid in Gold Duft. This, however, returns into Europe, in Payment for the Goods fent over to the Colony, by the Merchants of Amfierdam, who have ingrofled almoft all this Trade to themfelves.
They have, befides this Settlement, three others upon the Continent, viz. Boron, Berbice, and Approwack, which are at no great Diftance fromi each other; and in which they raife, for the moft Part, the fame Commodities as in Surinam, except that at Berbice, befides an extraordinary Quantity of Cotton; they have likewife the Advantage of preparing of a very rich Dye, called Orlane, from an Herb of the fame Name, much in the like Manner as they prepare Indigo. They have likewife the good Fortune to have for their Neighbours in that Colony, a Race of mild and good-natured Indians, with whom they trade for Provifions, Hides, and other kind of Merchandize.
But as thefe Colonies lie on the Frontiers of the Country of Guiana, the Reader will, very probably, be well pleafed to fee fome Account of this Region, from thofe who actually inhabit it ; and the Relations they give
us of it, amount to this: That this Country is, in many Parts, very wild and thinly peopied, efpecially the loweft Lands, which are often over-fiowed by the Rivers; but the upper hilly Countries are very populous, the Soil being watered by fo many Rivers, very commodious for Travellers. The Air in that Up-land Country is much colder than towards the Coaft' ; and the Hills are very rich in Mines of feveral Sorts. Fruit is very plentiful and good; and all Sorts of Grain grow there all the Year round, except Wheat, coming up in a fhort Time, and with little or no Diftinction of Seafons; for there being no Winter, the Trees are always green and fuil of Leaves, Bloffoms, and Fruit. Though this Country is between the Line and the Tropic of Cancer, that is, within the Torrid Zone, the Climate is pretty temperate, and the Air wholefome; the Heats being generally allayed by a frefh eafterly Wind, which reigns the greateft Part of the Year, during the Day; and at Night the LandBreezes prevail, but do not reach to two or three Leagues out at Sea. The Waters are, likewife, excellent, and of fuch a particular Nature, that they will keep fweet and frelh during the longeft Voyages, as has been often found by Experience. On the Sea-Coafts, which, as has been faid, are generally low, there are many large Illands, fit, if improved, to feed Cattle.

The Sea, about the Coafts, abounds in Fifh, the moft common is that which the French call Machoran, and the Englifh Cat-fin, being of a yellow Colour, and very large, fweet Mullets, and Thorn-backs, Lamentynes, and Sea-Tortoifes. Fowl is alfo very plentiful, either tame or wild, and other Game, with all which they fupply the European Settlements at the Sea Coafts, exchanging for Toys and Iron. This Country produces divers Sorts of Phyfical Gunns, Woods, and Roots, as well as feveral Sorts of Woods for dying, and for making of Cabinets, and inlaid Works; among which is the Let-ter-wood, by the French called Bois de la Cbine, and which grows no where in the World but here. Yet the Natives cut and carry it quite to the Water-fide, fo cheap, that a Tun Weight of it does not coft above ten Shillings; and in Europe, a Tun of that Wood has formerly yielded fifty Pounds Sterling, or more, and never under twenty-five or thirty Pounds to this Day. There is Ebony of a different Sort from the Letter-wood, and one Sort called Bois de Violet, and feveral others very common. There are alfó prodigious large Trees, whereof the Indicns make Canoes, which carry twelve or thirteen Tuns in Cafks; befides a prodigious Store of very lofty large Trees, the Wood of which is exceffively hard and weighty, but has the Advantage of refifting Worms in Salt-water.
Here are alfo incredible Numbers of Monkeys of divers Sorts, among which is the Sort, called by the Indians, and after them by the French, Sapajous; a kind of little yellowifh Ape, with large Eyes, a white Face, and black Chin: It is of a low Stature, and of a lively and diverting Nature; but fo tender in cold Weather, that it is, with great Difficulty, they can carry fome over to Europe alive: where they are there much efteemed, and yield a confiderable Price among Perfons of Quality. There are Tamerinds, Sagovias, Parrots, Cameleons, Agontils, Arras, Ocos, Tocaus, or Toucans, Flamans, and wild large Ducks, with red Feathers at their Head, but not in great plenty, which eat very well, being ftewed, and feveral other Birds, which have nothing remarkable in them befides their Feathers. It likevvife abounds in fmall Tygers, Deer, Pigs, little Porcupines, large and moniftrous Serpents, and divers other Sorts of Animals.

As to Fruits, befides Sugar Canes (which grow very well in Guiana) the Cafia, Papaye, Accajou-Apples, Vanillas, Tobacco, Pete, and Rocou, it produces alfo Indian Wheat, Mandioca, Cotton, Indigo, and the other Fruits common in Brazil, and feveral others among the Plants, which the Indians cultivate in their Plantations. Cotton is one that abounds moft, and is ufed by the Women, who adorn themfelves with it, and can fpin it as fine as they pleafe. There is fuch Plenty of it every where, that if it were poffible to have Women enough there to fpin it, to fave the great Trouble and Expence
of trantporting it in the Wool to Europe, which renders the Profit very inconfiderable to the Planters, it might furnifh all Europe, without cofting the Dutch any other Trouble than purchafing it of the Indians, for very inconfiderable Toys, and Haberdafhery Ware of little Value. The Indians efteeming a Grain of Cryftal, to adorn their Necks or Ears, as much as a Diamond of the fame Bignefs is valued among the Europeans; and if the Diforders which have happened in the European Settlements in Guiana, at feveral Times, had not hindered the eftablifhing a regular Commerce, this advantageous Trade would have been already fettled, and a vaft Number of People enriched by it; but in a more peculiar Manner the Inhabitants of Cayenne, becaufe of the Situation of their Inland, their Sea-port Town, and great Intereft with the Indians.

The Pete is an Herb that can be peeled, as Hemp and Nettles with us, but the Threads are finer than Silk, and would have long funce fupplanted it, if it had been allowed to be tranfported into Europe. The Vanilla is a Weed that creeps up Trees as Ivy does; the Leaves are of a bright Green, long, ftrait, thick, and pointed at the Ends. When it has been feven Years fet in the Ground, it begins to bear a kind of Hunks, full of an oily Matter, and Seed much fmaller than that of Poppy, which they ufe there to perfume Liquors and Tobacco, and is ufed in fome Parts of Eutope, in Chocolate. The Papaye is a thick Fruit, tafting fomewhat like a Cucumber, of a round Shape, the Stem tall, but nender, with large Leaves, cleft like Vine-leaves; the Tree is hollow, and grows fifteen Foot high in one Year. The Accajou-apple is long, thick, and of an Orange-red; it has a Tharp Tafte, and is commonly eaten baked. At the End of this Fruit is a green Nut, which taftes like Spanifh Nuts or Filberts, much in the Shape of a litule Sheep's Kidney; the Shell whereof is oily; the Oil ftaining the Skin black, fo as it does not rub off in a long Time, and is medicinal and very laxative. The Plant is a round Sort of Tree like a Chefnut Tree, and the Leaves in Shape and Form refembling thofe of the Bay-Laurel. The Wood is very fine, proper to make all Sorts of Hounhold Goods. The Indians make their long Canoes, which they call Piraguas, of it; though thefe are commonly forty or fifty Feet long. It has been obferved that wherever the Juice of this Apple falls, the Stain cannot be taken away till the Seafon of the Apple is quite over.

We will now proceed from the Country and its Produce, to the People, of whom the Dutch Writers fpeak to this Purpofe: The Indians are generally red, and of a middling or rather low Stature, of a robuft ftrong Conftiuntion, having black, long, and lank Hair, going all naked, their Privy-Parts covered only with a little Cotton-wool hanging down, to the Legs: The Women are fhorter generally than the Men, and of a red Colour, but tolerably handfome; their Eyes for the moft part blue, and very regular Features in their Faces, and well framed; they ufe a Piece of Cloth about fix Inches fquare, which they call Camifa, ufually wove in Stripes of divers Colours, and efpecially white, which is the mont valued among them.

The Men cut off their Beards, dye their Faces with Rocou, and cover their Arms and Faces with feveral Folds of the kind of Cloth before-mentioned. They wear, by way of Ornament, a fort of Crown, or Garland, of Feathers of fundry Colours, and bore a Hole between their Noftrils, where they hang a little Piece of Money or a large green Stone, or rather Cryttal, brought from the River of the Amazons, which they put a great Value on. Thefe Indions are generally of fuch a robuft Conftitution, and live fo long that they reckon a Man dies young at a hundred Years of Age. They are endued with pretty good Senfe, their long Lives ferving them to gain Experience, and improve their Judgments in fuch Things as are within the Reach of the Light of Nature ; they are judicious, ingenious, patient and fkilful in fifhing and hunting, and fpend the greateft Part of their Time in thofe Exercifes, and Spare no Pains to get their Living, being more inclined to Peace than War, which yet they engage in, either upon a jult Quarrel, or Revenge, in

Poine of Honour. They perform their Promifes to eacis other exactly, and will not do to others what they would not have others do to them.
It once happened that feveral of thofe Nations near the River of Amazons entered into a League againft another, and were, about a Year in making great Preparations for War, which at laft ended in one Night's Expedition, by furprizing two or three Carbets, fo they call their Hamlets or Villages, where they burnt about an hundred Perfons of all Sexes and Ages, and returned home as proud and fierce as if they had conquered the whole Country; other Wars are feldom concluded till they make forty or fifty of their Enemies Prifoners, whom afterwards they cither kill, boil in their Pots, and eat as the Noragues do, or fell them to the Europeans at the Coaft, for Slaves. This Barbarity feems in them to be rather the Effect of an ancient ill Cuftom, to eat the Flefh of their Enemies, than a natual Difpofition; for they feem to be ahhamed of it, when the Europeans reprefent to them, in their Language, That by the Laws of God we are forbid to kill an Enemy when he is taken Prifoner, and much more to eat him. And they did not offer to reply to it, and fome of the Alquas have appeared full of Indignation when they heard that fome Galibis infinuated, they would be roafted by them, if the Europeans Should venture to travel through their Country. Whence it may be inferred, that though this barbarous inhumane Practice is fo much eftablifhed and received among thefe Afoquas and Noragues, yet it feems to be no difficult iMatter to reftrain them from it.

They are generally great Eaters, and drink little or nothing at their ordinary Meals till they have done, and then commonly drink one Draught; but when they affemble together for warlike Enterprizes, or to begin a Canos, or to launch it, or to admit one into their Council after they have expofed him to feveral hard Trials, they make extraordinary Rejoicings, which frequently hold three or four Days, continuing till they have drank up all their Liquors; for upon thofe Occafions they make three or four different forts of Drink, fome of which become very ftrong by Fermentation, as that which they call Polinot, which they make of Caffibi, that is, baked more than ordinary; their common Diet is that they call Caffibi, being Cakes made of the Mandioca Root baked on the Embers, as alfo Indion Wheat, Fifh, and Fruit.

Thefe Particulars fhew, that the Accounts formerly publifhed, when it was propofed to fix an Englifb Colony on thefe Coafts, were perfectly well founded, and that there are no very confiderable Obftacles to be furmounted by the Dutch, in order to render Surinam, and the reft of the Places they poffefs on the Coaft of South America, much more advantageous than they are at prefent; the greateft Difficulty is, to quiet the Minds of the Natives ; the greateft Part of the Nations in Guiana having conceived an excefiive Hatred to the Dutch, which is believed to arife chiefly from the Stories told them by the Frencb and Portuguefe Mifionaries, who make no fort of Scruple of affirming any thing that may ferve their Turns, and hinder the Indians from convering or trading with Heretics. We are told that the Natives pretend to this Day a great Efteem and Veneration for the Englifb; and that they tell a great many romantic Stories about them, which are fuppofed to be owing to the Correfpondencies formerly fettled there by Sir Walter Raleigh. In a Time of profound Peace perhaps it might not be impofible to attempt, and fucceed in, fixing an Englifh Colony upon one of the two great Rivers, by which Cuiana is bounded ; at leaft it is right to keep alive the Memory of our having a Right to do this, and that we have a much better Title to this large and agreeable Country than any other Nation in Europe.
5. The Ifland of Tobaga lies in the Latitude of If Degrees $5_{5}$ Minutes North, and is the moft to the Eaft of all the Inlands called Antilles: It is about twelve Leagues in Length, four in Breadth, and thirty in Circumference. It originally belonged to us; for in 1628 we find that King Cbarles I. granted it, together with Trinity Ifland, Barbuda, and St. Bernard, to Pbilip Earl of Pembrcke and Montgomery; but it does not appear that ever any

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Settlement was made thereon, in Confequence of this Grant. In 1642, or thereabouts, the Dutch, from Fiufbing, fent a confiderable Colony thither, who fixed themfelves very commodiouny; and though at firft they found the Climate fickly and unwholfome, yet by Degrees, as they cleared it, the Air agreed with them better, and they began to extend their Settlements. The Spaniards, however, from the Inand of Trinity, in Conjunction with the Savages from St. Vincent, fell upon the Dutch, murdered chem to a Man, and deftroyed their Plantations: After which the Inand lay for feveral Years defert.

About the Year 166+ Mr. Adrian Lampsin, a Dutch Eaf-India Director, and his Brother Mr. Cornelius LampSin, Burgomafter of Flu/bing, one of the Deputies to the States-General, from the Province of Zealand, formed a Defign of re-fettling this Mand entirely at their own Expence. Mr. Cornelius Lampfrn, after obtaining a Licence for that Purpofe from the States, applied himfelf to the Crown of France, in order to prevent, if poffible, any Danger to his new Colony from the Subjects of that Kingdom; and Leweis XIV. out of his great Generofity, from a Defire of fhewing his Affection to the Dutch, and from a Principle of Indulgence to Men of noble Difpofitions, created Mr. Lampfin Baron of Tabago, with all the Privileges of a Baron of France, and affigned him alfo a fair Coat of Arms fprinkled plentifully with Flower-de-Luces. Upon thefe Encouragements the two Brothers proceeded, and entirely at their own Charge, and by their prudent Management, from a wafte and defart Country, in the fhort Space of eleven Years, rendered it the moft flourifhing for its Size of all the Leeward Ifarids; they called it, from one of the largeft Ines in the Province of Zealand, New Walcheren, raifed a very good Town, and a flrong Fortrefs, cailed Lampfinberg, and two other good Forts, Beveren and Bellevifte; and, which is very amazing, they fettled, during their Adminiftration, twelve hundred white People in that Inand, where they fucceeded in raifing all the Commodities that are brought from the Wcff Indies, viz. Tobacco, Sugar, Ginger, Indigo, Cotton, Caffia, Cacao, Rocou, Fuftic, Citrons, Oranges, Ananas, E ${ }^{\circ}$. And befides thefe, they had fome very valuable Cominodities which were not in the other Inands; fuch as an excellent Kind of Saffafras, a Kind of wild Mace and Nutmegs, and a great Quantity of Gum Copal.

They raifed, befides, all forts of Grain and Provifions in Quantities fufficient for their own Ufe, and for Exportation to the other Iflands. But in 1678 . Marfhal $d \cdot E f r e e s$, by the exprefs Command of his Mafter Lewis XIV. failed with a great Fleet to deftroy this very Settlement, notwithftandiug it had been made under his Protection, and by his Encouragement; for it feems it is one of the Privileges of the Barons of France to be beggared and deftroyed whenever theirgrand Monarch pleafes, which with fome Difficulty was accomplifhed; for the Dutch defended themfelves obftinately ; but after two hard-fought general Engagements, they werc defeated or rather over-powered by Numbers, and the Colony totally ruined, not more to the Lofs of the induntrious Planters than to the eterna! Infamy of that barbarous Prince, who placed his Glory in making better Men than himfelf miferable. This Ifland was reftored to the Dutch by the Treaty of Nimeguen; and they have repaired fome of their Settlements; but it is now a Place not worth fpeaking of, and very probably will never be, in any Degree, reftored to its primitive Condition, becaufe, lying within Reach of the Savages of St. Vincent and the Continent, it will be a very difficultMatter to fettle there with Safery, unlefs a new Colony was undertaken in the fame Manner, and carried on with the fame Spirit, as the laft.
The Inand of St. Euffacbius lies to the North-weft of of St. Cbrifophber's, in the Latitude of 17 Degrees 40 Minutes North. It is but fmall, being no more than five Leagues in Compafs; it appears, to the fouthward, like a high Mountain rifing out of the Sea, but ftretches out northward into an indifferent good Country. The Dutch took Poffeffion of it in the Year 1635y, and the States granted the Propriety of it to Mr. Vanree, and fome other Merchants of Fhufling, who very foon fettled
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a Colony there of about fix hundred Families. In the yeat 1665 the Englifh in Famaica difpoffeffed the Dutch, and fent Colonel Morgan with three hundred Buccaneers to keep Poffefion of the Place. He foon after, making an Attempt upon the Frencb Part of the Inland of St. Kitits, was killed; and the next Year the Dutch and French, both ther engaged in a War againft Great Britain, attacked and made themfelves Matters of this Ifland, which by the Treaty of Breda was reftored to the Dutch.
In 1689 it was taken from them by the French, but was reftored to them again by the Treaty of Ryfwick, fince which they have remained in the peaceable and quiet Poffeffion thereof. The Number of Plantations thereon, and the comfortable Condition of its Inhabitants, do very great Honour to the Dutch Induftry; for without Doubt in any other Hands it would be a very indifferent Place; all the Sides of the Hill are laid out into fmall Settlements, and cultivated; the Houfes are well built and well furnifhed; moft of the Inhabitants are in good Circumftances, and have Warehoufes well filled with Eurcpeans Commodities, with which they fupply their Neighbours at a round Price, whenever they are difappointed of Supplies from France and England. They likewife raife greas Quantities of excellent Tobacco, which comes to a good Market in Holland, and fome other Commodities ; yet there is not a Drop of Water in the Inand, but what they are fupplied with from the Clouds', which they preferve fo carefully in Cifterns, that they are very feldom diftreffed. The Top of the Mountain is covered with a vaft Wood, and in the Midft of it, inftead of the Point one would expect, as it rifes in the Form of a Sugar-loaf, there is a wide and deep Cavern, whence fome have imagined that it was formerly a Vulcano, or burning Mountain.

To the North-weft of this Inland lies that of Saba, in the Latitude of 17 Degrees 35 Minutes, which appears at firt Sight to be a Rock; but the Dutch Governors of St. Euftacbius have fent a fmall Colony thither, who have found a tolerable Valley, where they raife Tobacco, and other Things. It is a great Misfortune to both thefe Illands that they have not fo much as a Port; but in the former there is a good Road, to command which there is a pretty frong Fort, and there all the Ships ride.
The Illand of St. Martin lies in the Latitude of 18 Degrees 15 Minutes, is in Length about feven Leagues, and in Breadth four: The Climate is very far from being wholefome, and the Soil cannot be very fertile, fince there are no Rivers, and very few Springs, in the Inand, which are alfo dried up in the hot Seafons; and then the Inhabitants are forced to have recourfe to their Cifterns of Rainwater; yet, as infignificant as this Place may appear, it has been contended for by three, and is actually inhabited by two, powerful Nations; fo that the Hiitory of it is extremely curious, and very, well deferves our Notice. The Spaniards in Right of Conqueft took poffeffion of it, built a Fort there which was very ftrong, not fo much for the fake of what they were able to make of the Illand, as to prevent any other Nation from fettling there; but when they perceived that the French, Englijh, and Dutch, had feized the more valuable Inands, they thought it ridiculous to be any longer at the Expence of keeping this, and therefore refolved to quit it. This Refolution was taken in the Year 1648, and was executed very foon after. They deftroyed their Cifterns, burnt their Houfes, blew up their Fort, and then retired to Porto Rico.
It fo fell out, that in this Garrifon there were four Frencbmen, five Dutch, and a Mulatto, and all thefe ten hid themfelves in a Wood, till the Spaniards were embarked, and then courageounly fallied out and took Porfeffion of the whole Inland of St. Martin. But they very foon made choice of different Places to fettle in, and, by a very folemn Treaty, agreed to divide the Country between the French and Dutch Nations. The Dutch made a little Canoe, and fent one of their Number to St. Euffacbius, to inform the Governor of their Situation ; and they promifed the French, that Care fhould be taken to fend the like Notice to the Governor of St. Cbriftopher's; the former, being their own Affair, was performed very exactly; but the later, concerning their Neighbours only, flipped out of their Heads. The Dutch did not

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neglect
neglect this new Acquifition; on the contrary, one Martin Thomas was fent from St. Eufacbius, to take Poffeffion of their Part of the Inand, with a confiderable Number of new Planters. After this they began to treat the French but very indifferently, who, receiving no News from their Countrymen, began to fufpect the Reafon; and therefore, though with fome Difficulty, found the Means of fending a Perfon to St. Cbrifopber's, to inform M. de Poincy of the Agreement they had made, and the Hardfhips they laboured under; whereupon he fent an Officer and thirty Men, to take Poffeflion for the Crown of France; but the Dutch would not fuffer them to land, declaring, that they looked upon themfelves as the legal Ponteffors of that Ifland.

They founded this Claim upon a prior Poffeffion; of which it may not be amifs to fay fomething. The French were the firft who attempted to fettle this Inland; but, allowing the Dutcb to trade with them, they furprized and drove them out of it, and built a Fort for their own Security; but the Spaniarids, not liking their Neighbourhood, drove them out in their Turn, and erected a ftrong Fortrefs on the Inland, as has been be-fore-mentioned. As foon as the French Officer returned to St. Cbrifopher's, M. de Poincy fent his Nephew, with three hundred Men, to put an End to this Difpute, and he did it very effectually; fo that the Dutch Governor was glad to fettle the Divifion of the Inland, according to the firft Agreement; by which all that Part of the Inland, which looks towards Anguilla, was to belong to the French; and the other Side of the Inand, in which formerly ftood the Spanifb Fort, remained to the Dutch. The former was the better half in every Refpect, except the Salt-pits, which belonged to the Dutch. The Contract was fettled on the Top of an Hill, the higheft on the Inand, which was from thence called la Montange des Acordes.

From this Time, to the War in the Year 1688, the two Nations lived together in ftrict Friendfhip, till the French called off the greateft Part of their Inhabitants to people that Part of the Illand of St. Cbriftopber's, out of which they had driven the Englifh; and being afterwards driven out by them, thefe poor People were, for the moft Part, undone; fo that when they endeavoured to perfuade them in the next general War, to take the fame Step, they would not liften to the Propofal at all, but refolved to remain where they were; and the Dutch and French lived, while that War lafted, in great Quiet and Tranquility; neither would they fuffer the Privateers of either Nation to injure the other. The French Settlement is of very little Confequence; but the Dutch are in a mighty good Condition, have large Warehoufes, and carry on a confiderable Trade, efpecially in Tobacco, which is very much efteemed, and the Place would be ftill more confiderable, if they had a tolerable good Port; but they have only a Road, where Ships are much expofed, and, befides, it lies fomewhat out of the Way, as being too much to the Leeward, which renders the Commerce to the Windward Inands very difficult. There is great Plenty in this Inland of a kind of Tree, which both the Dutch and French call Candleroood. When it grows dry, and fit to burn, it yields a very pleafant Smell ; and the fmall Sticks of it, when lighted, ferve for Candles; and at the fame Time that they light the Room, yield a very pleafant Scent, which arifes from a fragrant Gum in the Tree, which cannot otherwife be extracted.

Thefe are all the Poffeffions of the Dutch in this Part of the World, and it is equally furprizing that they have Lept thefe fo long, and that they have not been able to acquire better; fince it is certain, that they have fucceeded as well as any Nation, in thofe they have fettled, and carry on a confiderable Trade to Holland, in all Kinds of Wefi India Commodities; as on the other Hand, they maintain a very confiderable Commerce in America, from the great Warehoufes of European Commodities, which they keep always full, and have fmall Veffels ready to carry their Goods wherever they hear of a Market, more efpecially in the Time of War between Great Britain and France: for then they have an Oppor6unity of Eupplying the Colonies of both Nationss in ex-
cliange for Sugar, and other Weft India Goods, which they tranfpott in their own Veffels into Furope; fo that in a very few Years fuch a War cannot fail of making all the Dutch Planters prodigiounly rich. We are now to proceed to their other IMands, which lic nearer the Spanifla Coalt, and are confequently of more Value to them.

Curaçao, or as the Dutch pronounce; and fometmes write it, Curraffaw, is a Imall Inand in the Latitude of I2 Degrees 40 Minutes North, about nine or ten Leagues in Length, and about five in Breadth; the Soil of which is far enough from being fruitful, and the Climate fill farther from being either wholefome or agreeable; but notwithftanding thefe Difadvantages, fuch have been the Care and Induftry of the Dutch, that they have always drawn great Advantages from this fmall, and feemingly inconfiderable, Country, in which formerly there were large Paftures, and a great Quantity of Cattle; but of late they have turned thefe into Sugar and Tobacco Plantations, fo that at prefent it is thought the Provifions of all Sorts, that are raifed in this Inand, would fcarce maintain its Inhabitants for one Day; yet fuch is the Prudence of the Dutch Government, that the Inhabitants are fo far from being expofed to Want, that there is not a more plentiful, or better provided, Place in the $\begin{aligned} & \text { eft } \\ & \text { eft } \\ & \text { Indies; }\end{aligned}$ but, at the fame Time, it is to be underfood that every thing fetches a high Price there, which is fo far from being a Difadvantage, that, in reality, it is the principal Source of the great Wealth of the Inhabitants. On the South-fide of the Eaft End of this Inand, there is an Harbour called Santa Barbara; but the chief Harbour is about three Leagues from the South-eaft End, on the South-fide, where the Dutch have a very good Town, and a ftrong Fort. Ships bound in thither muft be fure to keep clofe to the Harbour's Mouth, and have a Haufar, or Rope, ready to fend one End afhore to the Fort; for there is no anchoring at the Entrance of the Harbour, and the Current always fets to the Weftward; but, being got in, it is a very fure Place for Ships, cither to careen or lie fafe; at the Eaft End are two Hills, one of them is higher than the other, and fteepeft towards the North-fide.

The Dutch Town, upon this Mand, is, for its Size, one of the faireft and fineft in America; and there are in it every thing requifite to render it commodious and agreeable, as far as the Climate and Soil will admit ; public Buildings there are of all Kinds, very neat and commodious; the Port is rendered as fafe as it is poffible, and though the Entry is dangerous, yet the Precautions taken for the Service of Strangers, by the Government, are fuch, as not only free them from all Difficulties, but render them alfo, in a great Meafure, infenfible of any Hazard; fo that though Nature has made it as inacceffable as any, yet, by the Skill and Induttry of the Dutch, it is become one of the moft frequented Ports in the Weft Indies. All kind of Labour here is performed by Engines, and that with fuch Dexterity, that Ships are lifted at once into the Dock, where they are carefully and effectually careened, and furnifhed with Provifions, naval Stores, Ammunition, and even Artillery if they want it; and all this is done with equal Readinefs to all Nations, the Dutcb being in perpetual Alliance with ready Money, let it be Englif, French, or Spanifb; as appeared clearly in our late Expedition to Laguira, and Porto Cavallo, where they furnifhed us with Cables, Ammunition, and even Men, for attacking the Spaniords, whom they had before furnifhed with Powder and Ball, fufficient to render that Attack ineffectual, and, but for the Neighbourhood of this Dutch Settlement, the Spani/b Fortreffes before-mentioned had been infallibly reduced, and in our Poffeffion.

Bonaira and Aruba are two Inands likewife in the Poffeffion of the Dutch, and dependent upon the Inland of Curacao; the former, which is twice as big as Curaça, lies ten Leagues to the Eaftward of it, and is about feventeen in Compafs; the Dutch have a Deputy-Governor here, a Guard of Soldiers, and confiderable Number of Indions; of late Years there is a Fort built for the Protection and Security of the Place, in which the Soldiers do Duty. The Indians are Fubandmen, and plant

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Maize and Guiriea Corn, and fome Yams, and Potatoes; but their chiefeft Bufinefs is about Cattle; for this Inand is plentifully ftocked with Goats, and they fend great Quantities every Year in Salt to Curaçao. There are fome Horfes, Bulls, and Cows, but no Sheep or Hogs all over the Inand, or any Animals, but thofe before-mentioned; the South-fide is plain Low-land, and there are feveral Sorts of Trees, but none very large; there is a fmall Spring of Water by the Houfes; which ferves the Inhabitants, though it is brackihn ; at the Weft End of the Inand there is a good Spring of frefh Water, and three or four Indian Families live there, but there is no Water or Houfes in any other Place.

On the South-fide, near the Eaft End; is a good Saltpond, where Dutch Sloops come for Salt, which is now become a very confiderable Commodity, and the Dutch are contriving Methods for turning it to ftill greater Advantage. The Inand of Aruba lies feven Leagues Wert from Cuccao, and is not very confiderable; however, they breed fome Cattle there, and a great many Horfes, which makes it ufeful to their chief Colony; to which it alfo furnifhes a great Quantity of Garden-ftuff, without which the People, at Curaçao, could not fubfift; for amonglt other Methods they have of getting Money, one is, allowing Strangers to erect Hofpitals afhore for their Sick, in which they confume a great many Greens and Roots, and pay for them very largely, as indeed they do for every other Conveniency.
6. As this Inand is not above feven Leagues diftant from the Spanifb Coaft, a more convenient Station cannot be wifhed for the carrying on a clandeftine Trade; it was firt introduced by the Sale of Negroes, brought thither by the Dutch, from their numerous Settlements on the Coaft of Guinea. Thefe the Spaniards brought, in a Manner, openly, and have tranfported, in their own Veffels, fifteen hundred at a Time. But fince the Englifh, from Famaica, have interfered in this Trade, it is funk very confiderably, though they ftill fupply the neighbouring Provinces, and reap a great Profit thereby, becaufe no body underftands the Management of this Bufinefs better than they do, can bring Slaves at a cheaper Rate, or vend them at a higher Price. Some Writers have afferted, that in its moft flourifhing Condition, the Slave Trade alone drew from the Spaniards confiderably above a Million of Pieces of Eight per annum.
The Dealers at Curaça, and their Correfpondents in Holland, were too knowing, and too converfant in Bulinefs, to let the Declenfion of the Slave Trade rob them of the Benefit of this Inand. In order to replace what was loft by the Englifb interfering with them, they built vaft Magazines, and ftored them with European Goods, which had a very good Effect: In the firf Place, it preferved to them the Remainder of their Slave Trade, for the Spaniards knowing that this, of all others, was moft winked at by their Governors, refolved to keep, up a Pretence of buying Slaves, in order to have an Opportunity of purchafing other things. Secondly, It tempted the Spaniards to run all Hazards, that they might, at a reafonable Price, obtain any Sort of European Merchandize they wanted, and that too whenever they pleafe. It is incredible what vaft Sums have been annually traded for in this Way; befides, the Inhabitants of Curaçao, to keep up a good Correfpondence with their Neighbours, and, as far as poffible, to fix their Affections, refufed to fuffer any Privateers to enter their Ports; nor would, upon any Terms, purchafe their Plunder, which, at the fame 'Time, was publicly fold at Famaica, where the Privateers ufually ipent their Money ; this Spirit of Self-denial, however, did not hinder the Traders of Curaçao from directing the Privateers to put into the Inland of St. Thomas, whither they inftantly fent Slaops with Money and Agents on board them, to purchafe what the Privateers had to Kell; taking Care to fend the Effects as foon as pofibie to Europe, that the Spaniards might have no Intelligence of this Contrivance.

It is to be obferved, that in refpect to this clandeftine Commerce, it is chiefly carried on by the Spaniards themfelves, who tun all Hazards, come in Perfon to the

Illand, and carry awdy whatever they have bought, in their own Ships. In proceis of Time, however, fóme Merchants devifed another Way of carrying on the fame kind of Commerce, by Ships fent directly from Europa to the Spanifh Coafts. Thefe Veffels were of fuch Force, that thofe aboard them flood in no Fear of any Precautions the Governors could take; and, on the other Hand, as their Cargoes paffed immediately from their original Owhers to the Spaniards, they could be afforded confiderably cheaper than thofe configned to Factors in America. The Metliod of trading, was by a Signal from the Ships, or from the Shore. The Long-boat was then fent off well manned, brought the Merchants aboard with their Money; and carried them back with their Goods. The Reader has been elfewhere told, with what Obftinacy one of thefe Ships was defended againt two Guarda Coftas, and, to fay the Truth; thofe aboard them chofe rather to fink than be taken; a very extraordinary kind of Courage, for which, however, it is not impoffible to account ; and, as it may be ufeful as well as pleafant, I think: it not amifs to enter into the Particulars thereof.

At the Time one of thefe Ships is fitting out, Notice is given to all Sailors, that they may have an Opportunity of entering; which they do with great Alacrity, there being, generally fpeaking, twice as many who offer themfelves, as cain be made Ufe of; when the Proprietors have their Complement of picked Seamen, they not only allow every Man his proper Cargo to a certain Value, but alfo furnifh it themfelves on Credit, at prime Coft; by this Means every private Man aboard becomes a Proprietor; and if the Ship is attacked, fights for his own Property, which is the Reafon that he will drown fooner than part with it, and is one Caufe why Guarda Coftas are not over-fond of meeting with thofe Veffels, but chufe rather to prey on fair Traders, who have fewer Men, and are of lefs Force. The Scheme I have mentioned is certainly a right one, though in a wrong Caufe. The only Way to fupport the Spirits, and fix the Affections, of ordinary People, is to confult their Intereft; and thofe who imagine that Juftice, Honour, or any thing elfe, will anfwer the fame End, without a due regard to this, muft not expect much Pity when they find their Miftake; fo true in all Cafes is that divine Maxim, That the Cbildren of this World are wifer in their Generation than the Cbildren of Light.

In a Time of full Peace, it has been computed that the Trade of this Inand did not produce lefs to the Dutch than five Millions of Florins per annum, which is about half a Million Sterling; and confidering that they derive this from a Parcel of Rocks; that any but they would fcarce think worth keeping, it is a prodigious thing, and muft, in the Opinion of every competent Judge, pafs for the cleareft Proof of the Dutch Skill and Induftry that can poffibly be given. In time of War the Profit is much larger; for then every Article of their Commerce is vaftly increafed, they fell more Slaves, more naval and military Stores, and more European Goods to the Spaniards; and the Governors are themfelves lefs Itrict in Point of Licences; for thefe are things that muft be had, and there is farce any other Market. Befides, at fuch a Time, they drive a good Trade with the Engli/h Squadrons, that come upon thofe Coafts, and have alfo confiderable Dealings with their Privateers, for which, in Time of War, they always keep a regular Factory at St. Thomas, as will be fhewn hereafter.

The Reader may collect from hence the true Reafon of thofe Difputes, fo often mentioned in the Dutcb Gazettes, between the Crown of Spain, and the Republic; the former looking upon all the Commerce of Curaçao as a kind of contraband Trade, which ought to fubject the Veffels employed in it to frequent Seizures, by the Law of Nations, which the latter will by no Means allow, pretending that the Tobacco, Indigo, and Hides, aboard thofe Veffels, are the Produce of their own Colonies; and that the Silver found in them, is nothing more than the Balance of their Trade with other Nations. The Spaniards, indeed, know, but are not always able to prove, the contrary, and therefore are fometimes obliged to releafe the Dutch Ships, taken by their Guarda Coftas,
and for thofe that afe confifated, though the Dutch always make a great Noife about it, yet they are fenfible enough, that they have not much Reafon; and this is the true Caufe, hotwithftanding all their loud Complaints, that they never proceed to Extremities upon this Subject, but are content with what Reftitution they can get, and ftill keeping up a Claim to what they know will never be reftored.
7. We have, in feveral Parts of this Work, had Occafion to fpeak of the Dutcb Weft India Company, and therefore we thall not repeat here what has been already faid upon that Subject, but content ourfelves with obferving that the $W$ ef India Company, which fubfifts at prefent in that Country, is not the fame that formerly made to great a Figure in the World, were Mafters of Brazil, and the Scourge of the Spaniards; but another Company erected on the Ruin of that, in the Year 1674, into which the Proprietors of the Old Weft India Company were indeed admitted, but admitted upon fuch Terms, as fhewed plainly enough how low they were fallen, and how near becoming Bankrupts, for they were allowed no more than fifteen per Cent. in the new Capital; that is to fay, if a Member of the Old Weft India Company was poffefed there of one hundred Florins in Property, it gave him a Title to no more than fifteen Florins in the new Stock; neither could they think this hard, fince fome of their Creditors bore a great Proportion in the Lofs. Thofe that had lent Money upon the Stock, had no more than thirty per Cent. allowed them ; but as to the fair Creditors, with whom the Company had rin in Debt for the Support of their Commerce, they had their Demands converted into Stock at par ; fo that the Proprietors of the New Company were three different Sorts of People, in Favour of whom the Republic granted all the Privileges and Emoluments which the Old Company had enjoyed; and they entered, likewife, into the Poffefion of all the Fortreffes and Colonies which belonged to the fame Old Company.

The Affairs of this New Company were managed, as they ftill are, by Directors, in the fame Manner as thofe of the Eaft India Company; and though by feveral Calls they raifed confiderable Sums of Money, and carried on their Trade with tolerable Spirit for fome Years, yet they could never retrieve their A ffairs, but have been always endeavouring to unite themfelves to the Eaft India Company, as the only Means left for preferving their Sectlements in Africa and the Weft Indies. As for Surinam, there is a particular Company eftablifhed for the Management of its Commerce ; and the Trade to Curaçao is managed by private Perfons, who pay the Company for their Licences, and a fmall Duty upon all the Goods exported or imported. The only exclufive Trade they now enjoy, is that of Negroes, which of late is very much declined. The Reader will cafily perceive, that the great Caufe why this Company has funk fo low, is the Lols of the Colonies in the Weft Indies; for if they had more Plantations there, and thofe of greater Extent, it would occafion a Demand for Negroes; and as the African Trade is ftill in the Hands of this Company, they would be great Gainers thereby, and a confiderable Part of the Commodities brought from the Weft Indies, muit neceffarily enter their Warehoufes.

As it is, the Dutch drive a large and a beneficial Trade to that Part of the World, fo that the Nation in general fuffers very little, if any thing, by the Company's being in a low Condition; which, in all probability, is the true Caufe why the Republic is at fo little Pains to recover, or reftore, the Affairs of that Company; and, perhaps, would be glad to fee it united to that of the Eaft Indies, as a Means, and, indeed, the only Means, of reviving and fupporting the Slave-Trade. There was a Probability, as we have fhewn in another Place, of feeing this accomplifhed, upon the Propofal made by the Weft India Company for that Purpofe, in IクI4, when they made it appear, that their Funds amounted to near one hundred and fifty thoufand Florins a Year, exclufive of a legal Demand they have upon the Crown of Portural for a large Sum of Money; but, fince that Time, the Affair feems to have been no more thought of, or is it at all likely that it
will hereafter be brought to a Conclufion. Upon the whole, therefore, we have very good Reafon to fuppofe ${ }_{3}$ that as their Affairs now ftand, the Dutch will never make any great Progrefs in this Part of the World; for ${ }_{3}$ except their Colonies upon the Continent, they have none that are either capable of being improved or extended. Tabago can hardly be refettled, uniefs we fhould expel the Indians out of St. Vincent, St. Eufacbius and Saba are down-right Rocks, of which it is wonderful that they. make fo much as they $\mathrm{do}_{2}$ but it is impoffible that they fhould make more; and the fame thing may be faid of Curaçao, and the Inands which depend upon it; fo that how much foever private People may gain by the contraband Trade, carried on from thence with the $S p a-$ niards, yet it is not at all probable that they fhould ever become formidable to us, or to the Frenco in the Wef Indies.

We may add to this, that even a great Part of that Trade is now carried on with the Spaniards from Holland directly, fo that many of the Ships employed therein barely touch at Curaçao, that they may have a Pretence for ftanding over to the Spanifb Main, where, efpecially in Time of War, they find a Way to trade, in the following Manner: They bear away directly for a Spanif Port, and as they enter it make Signals of Diftrefs, pretending, commonly, that they have fprung a Leak, and that they are in imminent Danger of perifhing at Sea, which obliges them to feek for Shelter and Protection in the Port of a Crown allied to the Republic. As foon as they come to an Anchor, the firft thing that is done, is to give Notice to the Governor of their great Diftrefs, and, as a full Proof thereof, to fend a very confiderable Prefent. By this Means Leave is obtained to come afhore, to erect a Warehoufe, and to unload the Ship; but then all this is performed under the Eye of the King's Officers, and the Goods are regularly entered in the Regifter, as they are brought into the Warehoufe, which, when full, is fhut up, and the Doors fealed; all thefe Precautions taken, the Bufinefs is effectually carried on in the Night, by a Back-door, and the European Goods being taken out, Indigo, Cochineal, Vanillas, Tobacco, and above all, Bars of Silver, and Pieces of Eight, are very exactly packed in the fame Cafes, and placed as they ftood before.

But then, that fuch as have bought may be able to fell publicly, a new Scheme takes place, a Petition is prefented to the Governor, fetting forth the Strangers Want of Money to pay for Provifions, building the Warehoufe, Timber for repairing the Ship, and a proportionable Number of public Items; in Confideration of all which, Leave is defired to difpofe of fome fmall Part of their Cargo, in order to difcharge thofe Debts; thefe being obtained in the ufual Manner, fomething of each Sort of Goods, which has been privately fold, is now publicly brought to Market, and purchafed by thofe Perfons refpectively who had large Quantities in their Warehoufes before. Thus this whole Scene of Iniquity is tranfacted with all the formal Solemnity which could attend an Act of Juftice and Compaffion. The larger Concern the Dutch have in this Kind of Trade, the lefs they will be inclined to planting; that is to fay, while they lave this Channel for the bringing in of Wealth open, they will be the lefs ready to think of fettling new Colonies, or of extending and improving thofe that they already have ; and indeed, if they were to think otherwife upon this Subject, they would find infinite Difficulties in the Execution of any Defign of that Nature, at a Time when all the Nations in Europe are thoroughly convinced of the Importance of their American Sett.ements, and are extremely jealous of each other's Progrefs therein.
8. There remains now but one little Iland more in this Part of the World, of which the Nature of our Defign obliges us to give an Account: This is, the fnaall Inand of St. Thomas, which lies in the Latitude of 18 Degrees North, and is one of the largeft of that Clufter of Inands which are called the Virgins. This Illand is not above feven Leagues in Circumference, but has the Advantage of a very good Situation in all Refpects: The Port is excellent, the Form of it an Oval, almoftentirely
furrounded

## Chap. III. of the DUTCH in AMERICA.

furrounded by two Promontories, which defend the Ships are ftiled Pirates. This paffes in the Eye of the World that lie within from almoft all Winds. In the Centre of the Port there is a fmall Fortrefs, which ftands in the Middle of a Plain; it is a regular Square, with four good Battions though very little, but has neither Outworks or Ditch ; and the only Security, befides its Walls, is a Pallifade, with which it is furrounded. On the Right and Left of the Fort, there are two fmall Eminences, which in our Plantations would be called Bluffs, and feem by Nature defigned for Batteries, which would command the whole Harbour ; but whether the Danes have miftaken her Intention, or are unwilling to be at any Expence that may be avoided, certain it is, that there are no Batteries here. The Ifland belongs to the King of Denmark, who has a Governor and a Garrifon here; but there is befides, a large Factory on the Illand, which belongs to the Brandenburgbers, or Subjects to the King of Prufia.
The Neighbourhood of the Spanifs Inland of Porto Rico, which is at no greater Diftance than feventeen Leagues, fecures the Inhabitants of St. Thbomas, from any Danger of wantirg Provifions, to which otherwife they would not fail to be expofed; for though the Soil of their Inand be tolerably grod, and every Foot of it cultivated, yet it would not produce fufficient for the Maintenance of the Inhabitants, which for the Size of the Place, are very numerous. The Town of St.Themas confifts of one long Strect, at the End of which is the Danifl Magazine, which is a very large, magnificent, and convenient Building, wherein there is room for Stores, Slaves, and Goods of all Sorts. The Brandenburgh Factory is alfo very confiderable, and the Perfons belonging to it are chiefly Frenid Refugees, who fled thither when the Proteftants were expelled from the Frencb Inands. The chief Produce of their Plantations here is Sugar, which is very fine-grained, but is made in finall Quantities, and the whole Amount cannot be very confiderable; yet the Dani/h Governor is generally a Man of fome Rank, lives in a Manner very fuitable to his Character, and generally acquires a very good Fortune in that Station. The Director of the Daniff Trade becomes likewife rich in a few Years; and the Inhabitants in. general, by the Neatnefs of their Houfes, and the Condition of their Plantations, fhew plainly enough that they are in eafy Circumftances.
All this is cerived from their Trade, which is very large and extenfive, and of very different Kinds; of all which, however, we will do the beft we can to give the Reader a tolerable Idea. In the firt Place, the Spaniards fend hither large Veffels continually, for the Purchafe of Slaves, which is the chief Support of the Danifb and Brandenburgh Commerce, as they draw the Slaves which they fell, from their Settlements, upon the Coaft of Africn, and which, if they had not this Vent for them, would leng ago have become ufelefs, and confequently have been deferted. But befides Slaves, the Spaniards buy here, as it Curaga, all Sorts of European Goods, of which there is always a vart Stock in the Magazine, which belong chiefly to the Dutch, who carry on a prodigious Commerce here, by which they are great Gainers. Befides this Trade with the Spaniards, there is a very great Refort of Englifh, French, and Dutch Veffels to this Port, where there is a common Market for them all ; where they can always depend upon the Sale of fuperfluous, and the Purchafe of, neceffary Commodities; and this cannot be done without confiderable Advantage to the Inhabitants of the Place where thefe Dealings are tranfacted. But if in Time of Peace there is a vatt deal of Bufinefs done at St. Thomas, and immenfe Sums of Money turned in the Space of a Year, in Time of War this is vaftly increafed; for being a neutral Port, the Privateers of all Nations refort thither to fell their Prizes; and the Dutch, who will not receive any thing taken from the Spaniards at Curacao, buy thefe Goods without Scruple at St. Thomas, and have always an Agent and large Sums of Money there, ready for that Purpofe.

This Manner of dealing, in Time of War, is fo advantageous, that in Time of Peace the People of St. T.homas can hardly leave, it off, but are a little too apt to
deal with that Sort of Privateers, which deal with that Sort of Privateers, which, in plain Englijh,
Yow. II. NUMB. XCV.
are ftiled Pirates. This paffes in the Eye of the World
for the Work of the Danes, but the Truth of the Matter is, that the greateft Part of this Commerce is driven by their Neighbours, who are not fcrupulous of dealing with any Sort of People, provided always they can deal to Advantage. It was here that the famous Captain Avery or fome of his Companions, difpofed of the greateft Part of the rich Goods, taken in aShip belonging to the Mogul, about forty Years ago, when the Magazines at St. Thomas, were fo excefively crouded with Indian Goods, that they were not entirely emptied in twenty Years after, though they generally fold them at low Prices; and it was by this Accident, that Pieces of Arabian Gold, which were, properly fpeaking, Pagodas, were long current in the Weft Indies, under the Name of Sequins, for they knew not what to call them, at the Rate of about fix Shillings, and Nutmegs, Cloves, Cinnamon and Mace, were likewife bought there very cheap, for many Years after.
9. We have now run through the entire Hiftory of America, from its firt Difcovery to the prefent Time: We have fhewn how, when, and by whom, all the different Parts of the Continent; and all the feveral Inands of this new World were difcovered, planted, or conquered; but we have been more particularly careful to explain the prefent State of its Commerce, and the Importance of their Settlements to the feveral Nations in Europe which have Territories in that Country. All therefore that we have now to do is, to add fomewhat by Way of Conjecture, as to what may be the future State of thefe vaft Countries, and what Changes may poffibly happen in the Affairs of their prefent Poffeffors. It is very certain, that a Writer runs a great Rifk, who hazards his Credit upon fuch Contingencies, and is commonly but very little pitied, if he is fo unfortunate as to fall into Miftakes, becaufe he might have avoided, if he had been wife, the running any fuch Rifk; but there is great Difference between an Author who has nothing fo much in View as raifing his own Character, and one who confiders only the Benefit of bis Readers, and the Advantages that may refult from his Writings to others. The latter I freely own is all I aim at, and as I am very certain, that whether the Event juftifies my Conjectures or not, the Public will be Gainers, I am very little concerned about my Character as a Writer, and therefore am very willing to take my Chance, whether what I am going to fay upon this Subject may raife, or ruin, my Reputation.
The Spaniards have undoubtedly; the faireft, largeft, and richeft Countries in Amerita; but I am very far from thinking that they are the moft powerful Nation in thofe Parts, or that they draw greater Advantages from their Settlements, than are derived from their Colonies to the Britijf Nation. This will appear to many an abfurd and ridiculous Affertion, and will appear to moft a Paradox hardly to be maintained; but to me it feems a Truth, and therefore I venture to lay it down; and fhall next offer my Reafons in the Support of it. In the firtt place, though the Spanifb Empire in America be very wide, yet it is alfo very weak: In the Kingdom of Mexico, where they are ftrongeft, the Government is in a very ticklifh Situation, the People in general are difcontented, and even thofe entrufted with the Government are far enough from being pleafed; infomuch that I am very certain, if any Attempt had been made with a reafonable Force upon that Country, in the Beginning of the prefent War, a general Infurrection would have enfued. In Peru or Soutb-America their Situation is much worfe, their Force being not near fo great, and the Difpofition of the People not at all better; fo that if any Notice had been taken of a Project publifhed when we firft declared War againft that Nation, under the Title of A Propofal for bumbling Spain, we might have made ourfelves Mafters of Buenos Ayres, with as little Lofs as was fuftained in the fruitlefs Attempt upon Laguira and Porto Cavallo, which could not have turned to any great Account if we had fucceeded. The Spaniards, on the contrary, had it not in their Power to hurt us, as appears from their being defeated in an Attempt upon the leaft and weaket of our Colonies, with all the Force

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they
they were able to raife. Such is the Difference between the Strength of their Governments in that Part of the World, and ours.

But to enter more clofely into the Matter, let us confider the vaft Extent of the Country they have, and the Number of People they have in it, and compare it with our own Territory and Force. The Spaniards, on one Side of the Continent; poffefs a Tract of Land, from 37 Degrees of North Latitude, to 53 Degrees of South; that is to fay, from Cape Sebaftian, the moft northern Part of Califormia, to the Streights of Magellan, which makes about two thoufand Leagues; and on the other Side of the Continent, from the River of Plate, to the Head of the Bay of Mexico, their Territories lie directly along the Shore, or immediately behind it. Yet to guard this immenfe Tract of Ground, they have not above fix hundred thoufand white People of all Ranks; Sexes, and Ages, and not above three Millions of Subjects of all Colours; and of thefe it is generally reckoned that a fixth Part are Ecclefiaftics, and confequently ufelefs to the State for its Defence; on the other Side we have five or fix hundred Leagues Coaft, in which we have very near as many white People as the Spaniards, and thofe continually increafing, both by the Number of Perfons bred and born in thofe Countries, and by the Acceffion of People from other Places, drawn thither by the Hopes of Profit. The Spanifh Colonies have been always held dangerous and deftructive to Old Spain, by draining that Country of its People; but this is fo far from our Cafe, that, as I have already obferved, our Numbers have not only encreafed, fince we began to make Settlements in America, but have really been encreafed by them, that is, in Confequence of the Navigation and Trade which thofe Colonies have produced.

At the Time Spain difcovered the Weft Indies, and for fome Time after, fhe was the greateft maritime Power in Europe; but the Maxims fhe laid down for fecuring her Dominions in the New World, ruined her naval Strength in the Old; fo that inftead of great Fleets and numerous Squadrons, She is now reduced to a few Ships of War of no great Strength; and the whole Trade of her Weft Indies is, as to Shipping and the breeding of Sailors, very inconfiderable. On the other Hand, our naval Power took Rife from our Difputes with them, grew in Proportion as theirs declined, and is, at this Day, fupported and maintained by what has weakened them, our Americon Settlements, where, comparatively fpeaking, we carry on as great a Trade, and employ as much Shipping, as in Europe.
The Spanifh Subjects in America are, generally fpeaking, a weak, lazy, and effeminate People; fo that whatever good is derived from them to their Mother Country, arifes not from their Induftry, but from the Labour and Pains of their tributary Indians or Negro Slaves. With refpect to our People, it lis the very Reverfe; they are generally active and bufy, engaged in different Methods of getting their Living, and very feldom remain fixed to one Spot for their whole Lives; and whenever there is a War in that Part of the World, and tolerable Encouragement given them, they are able to raife confiderable Armies, and fit out Numbers of Privateers. The Weaknefs and Declenfion of the Spanifh Power, is vifible in all Parts of their Empire; where feveral great and flourifhing Cities, erected by their firft Conquerors, are either funk into Villages, or totally deferted; but is more efpecially apparent in their Inands, which were formerly the beft peopled, and the moft flourifing Parts of their Dominions; whereas they are now fallen fo low, that it is with Difficulty they keep them, and there is no direct Trade between them and Old Spain at all. Our Colonies are fo far from being in fuch a State, that they are daily increafing; and fome of them, fuch as the Inlands of Bermudas, are rather over than under peopled; and whenever a long Peace, and a wife Adminiftration, with refpect to our Settlements, fhall take Place, they will become infinitely ftronger, and more confiderable, than they are at prefent; and perhaps it will be found both practicable and expedient to make new Settlements, a
thing unthought of by the Spainiards, who can fcarce keep what they have.

Upon the whole, all thefe Circumftances confidered, I flatter myfelf it will not be thought the mere Effects of Partiality, in Favour of Britain, that have led me into this Notion, but rather a ferious and attentive Confideration of the Situation and Circumftances of both Countries, with refpect to their American Dominions. I am very well aware of one Objection, which is, the general Computations made of the Profits of both Colonies. It may be faid, what Proportion does the Trade, or rather the Ballance of Trade, from the Englifh Settlements, bear to forty Millions of Pieces of Eight, which in a Time of Peace, it is computed, are annually brought home by the Spanifb Flota and Galleons; and how idle and ridiculous a thing is it, to compare fuch immenfe Treafures of Gold and Silver, with our Cargoes of Sugar, Tobacco, naval Stores, and Fifh? But, perhaps, when we confider this more attentively, it will neither appear fo ridiculous, nor fo much to our Difadvantage, as at firft Sight it may feem.

We might, in the firf Place, difpute the Matter of Fact; for it is certain, that if we examine it nicely, and require all the neceffary Proofs, it can never be brought any thing near that Sum; but this we are content to wave, becaufe if the fraudulent, as well as fair, Trade, be taken in, it is not impofible, in Time of Peace, that there may be in Jewels, Gold, Silver, and Goods, the Value of eight Millions of our Money exported in one Year, from America into Old Spain. But the next Queftion is, does it remain there? Does this prodigious Wealth belong to the Subjects of Spain? Does it circulate throtigh that Nation? All thefe Queftions muft be anfwered in the Negative, and I believe it will be allowed me, That to fuppofe two Millions Sterling, or, at moft, ten Millions of Pieces of Eight, become Spanifb Property, is over-doing the thing, and allowing them more Riches than really comes to their Share. But admiting the Cafe to ftand thus, the Comparifon between what they gain by their Colonies, and we by ours, is far enough from appearing ridiculous.

But it may be objected, that we do not bring home Money or intrinfic Riches, which is all that can add to the real Wealth of a Nation. Yet this very Objection, which feems to fet us farther back than ever, confirms our Argument. The Commodities we receive from our Colonies, are the Produce of Labour and Induftry; they are returned us for what was the Produce of Labour and Induftry here, become, when imported, the Objects of Labour and Induitry again; and after fupplying our home Confumption, for the Supply of which we muft otherwife have fent out ready Money, the Overplus is once more exported, and actually produces ready Money. Now if we reflect, that every Fact, and every Circumitance attending each of thefe Facts, is ftrictly true, with refpect to ourfelves, and that nothing can be replied to it on the Behalf of the Spaniards, who have the Goods and Manufactures they fend to the Weft Indies carried to them in foreign Veffels, and the Money which pays for them again, exported from Spain in foreign Veffels; we Thall be fatisfied that this is no delufive Scheme of the Advantages derived to Great Britain from her Colonies in America. No fpecious Dream of imaginary Treafures, but a clear and ftrict Demonftration that Labour, Induftry, and Commerce, are more valuable Mines than any in Mexico or Peru.
But all this is not faid with any Defign to lift us up, or render us proud, lazy, and negligent, but quite the contrary; it is exhibited to the. View of the Reader, that he may fee the real Value of Induftry and Navigation, and why the Author is of Opinion that the Englifh are as powerful as any Nation at prefent in America, and may become, out of Comparifon, more fo, if they are not wanting to themfelves. The Frencis come certainly next, but with regard only to their Inands; for as to their Plantations on the River of St. Laurence, I cannot believe they will ever turn much to their Advantage; and as to their Settlements on the Mififippi, I am perfuaded
they will never irrich the prefent Generation, and a thoufand Accidents may fall out that will hinder their turning so the Advantage of Pofterity.

Two Points thoroughly laboured, would fet us free from all Apprehenfions of the French, and confequently of any other Nation in America. The firft is, giving Relief to the Sugar Planters, which either muft be done, or, by degrees, that Trade will be loft, at leaft as to us, and fall, entirely, into the Hands of the Frencb and Dutch. People do not go into the Weft Indies to work for others, but for themfelves; and if it once comes to pafs, that they find they cannot do this in our Colonies, they will go where they can; we have certainly no Power, and I think it very doubtful whether we have any Right, to hinder them. To oblige People to work for little or nothing, at fo great a Diftance from their Country, and in fuch uncomfortable Climates, fuppofing it could be done, would be degrading them into white Negroes, which, except to fome modern Governors, would not, I prefume, appear a thing reafonable to any of the Inhabitants of the Britijb Ines. We are free by Birth, by the Law of Nature, and the Law of thefe Realms, and therefore Freedom is our Inheritance, in the moft diftant Part of the Britijh Dominions, as well as in the County of Middlefex; and the Interefts of Britijo Subjects, wherever they are fettled abroad, ought to be the Care of the Government at home, becaufe they ate the Interefts of the People at home; and therefore I take it for granted, that the Reports of laying new Duties upon Sugar are abfolutely falfe and groundlefs; and that as foon as the War is over, proper Meafures will be taken for removing fome of thore Duties that have been laid upon this Commodity already, which are juft as ferviceable to the French, as prejudicial to our own Subjects.
The other Point neceffary to be confidered is, the raifing of Silk, which would open a new Branch of Trade, equal in Value, perhaps, to half of what is now gained by our Trade to the $W_{e f t}$ Indies. It is very probable that the introducing and eftablifhing this Commodity, may coft us a great deal of Trouble and Expence; but if Silk can be raifed in our Colonies, upon any Terms, whatever, it is worth our while to be at all this Trouble and Expence; fince if we once have it, we fhall, in Time, molt certainly have it cheap. It was with vaft Difficulty that Silk was introduced into France, nor was it done without Trouble and Expence; but it has paid that Nation abundantly for both, and there is no doubt, could we but get it, it would pay us as well. Befides, laying out our Money is nothing with us, we lay it out every Day, not only for ourfelves, but other People, and in fome Cafes lay it out vifibly to our Prejudice; the only Queftion therefore ought to be, when we are laying it out, what we lay it out for? 'And if, as in this Cafe, it can be anfwered, that we lay it out to get more, all is well. The Sugar Trade preferved, and the Silk Trade acquired, I, for my Part, fee no more that can be wifhed, except it be the improving and preferving them, in order to make us an active and wealthy, as well as keep us a free and happy, People.
But if we fhould neglect thefe Advantages, I take it for granted that the French would grow upon us in the Wef Indies; for if once they become Mafter of the Sugar Trade, it will be very difficult, if not impoffible, to get it from them : Becaufe it is much eafier to preferve a flourifhing, than to raife a declining, Commerce. If they get the Sugar Trade, and the Inand of St. Domingo, they will certainly rival us in the Tobacco; and as their Plantations grow rich and populous, the very Overflowings of them may, for any thing I know, make their Settlements, on the River Miififippi, turn to a good Account; which, without fome fuch lucky and unforefeen Accident, they never will. Thus I make the efficient Caufe of the French Greatnefs, in thofe Parts, our Negligence, and not their own Power or Abilities, for thefe can do nothing, unlefs we give them room to work; then, indeed, they may, 'and certainly will, prove dangerous; for where they have the Capacity, we know they never want Will to hurt us.

As for the Dutch, whatever they may be ellewliere, 站 is certain they need not be here the Objects of our Apprehenfions; for they can neither extend their own Trade to a Degree of provoking our Jealoufy, nor is there any juft Reafon to fear they will ever hurt ours, unlefs by our ill Management we drive the moft Induftrious of our Sugar Planters to take Shelter in Surinam, which, with all its Inconveniences they would be apt to prefer to nearer and better Countries, under an arbitrary and popifh Government. To conclude the Whole, I cannot forbear faying, that I look upon the Spani乃 Empire in Ainerica, as a decaying Structure which cannot fubfint long, unlefs its Neighbours will charitably contribute to its Support, in which perhaps they may confider their own Intereft enough, to be fufficiently compenfated for their Labour. I look upon the Engliff Acquifitions there, as the Glory of our Crown, and if we manage them prudently, the inexhaurtible Treafures of the Nation. The French, in my Apprehenfion, thrive; but not in fuch a Degree as to be very formidable hitherto. And as for the Dutch, I reckon their Trade more beneficial, but lefs valuable, than that of the French, as being more precarious, and depending entirely upon the good Pleafure of Spain, which if her Difputes were thoroughly adjufted with Great Britain, might prove but a fandy Foundation.
We might eafily ftrengthen thefe Remarks if it was neceffary, by many others of the fame Nature, and perhaps it may not be amifs, for the fake of Perfpicuity, to give the Reader a few; the rather becaufe they will ferve to illuftrate this Subject in many other Refpects. The Inhabitants of the Spanifb America have it certainly in their Power to make ftill great Difcoveries, and to extend their Conquefts in that Country confiderably, if they had Men, or if they had not addicted themfelves fo much to their Mines, which has been equally the Ruin of their Indian Subjects, and of themfelves. In the Mand of Hippaniola it is faid to have deftroyed Millions, and many more Millions in Mexico, which is the true Source of their own Weaknefs; for had they performed what they pretended in their Applications to the Court of Rome, on the Subject of their Difcoveries in the Weft Indies, had they ftudied the Converfion of the People to the Chriftian Faith, inftead of converting them into Slaves, and had they contented themfelves with Settlements upon the Coafts, their Power would have been fufficiently great ; the Induftry of the Spani/s Nation had been encouraged, and their Navigation extended; whereas, in the prefent State of Things they are Lords indeed, but precarious Lords only of wide Territories, which are diminifhing daily; and at the fame time have the Mortification of feeing mighty Acquifitions practicable, if they had but Force fufficient to keep them ; but inftead of grafing thefe, they are forced to withdraw their Colonies in the more diftant Parts of their Territories, to fuftain the main Body of their Dominions, which fhew their Government to be in a kind of paralitic State, likely to fubfift long, though part all Hopes of Recovery. The Englijh, as they have Numbers of People in America, fo taking Things generally, they are not at all in Danger of wanting Rooin for their Inhabitants. To the North they have Nova Sootia and the Country of Nero Rritain; to the South they have Caroiza and Georgia, thinly peopled. A great-Part of the Inand of famaica, is fill uncultivated, and many of the Leevard IJlands that we claim are unplanted; fo that as our Power is greater than that of the Spaniards, by being more connected at prefent, fo it is very eary for us to extend that Power by Degrees, without leffening this neceffary, this falutary Connection. The Frencb have indeed Room enough, and to fpare, in Canada; but the more People they fend there, the more they lofe to their Country; for if that Colony was twice as numerous as it now is, it would be very little, if at all, more advantageous to France, unlefs fhe confiders its being troublefome to us in the Light of an Advantage, and of fuch an Advantage as may balance the valt EXpence fhe muft be at in maintaining and fupporting its Her Illands are already as well peopled as the can wifh, unlefs fhe knew better how to furnifh thein with Pro-
vifions,

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vifions, their Wants often putting them entirely into the Power of their Neighbours, and rendering, not their Trade only, but their very Subfiftance precarious. In St. Domingo, indeed, they have more Room, but, perhaps, there may be Reafons why, unlefs they can 'procure the entire Poffefion of the Illand, they may be unwilling to fend more People there, than they have in it already. Upon the River Miffifippi they might certainly eftabiifh twenty times the Number of People they have there, but this they will be hardly able to do, if they cannot give them better Encouragement than thofe Planters have had they have fent thither already; fo that take it altogecher, the French have confiderable Difficulties to frriggle under, but more efpecially thefe three: The firft is, the great Ditance of their $\mathrm{Co}_{0}$ lonies from each other, and their being fituated in fuch a Manner, as to have their Correfpondence eafily interrupted by an Enemy more powerful than themfelves at Sea. The fecond is, the Dangers and Inconveniencies that'attend their Navigation, from their refpective Colonies to each other; fo that even in Time of Peace, they are very far from being either fafe, regular, or expeditious. Thirdly, their Want of proper Commodities in their moot Northern, and mof Southern, Colonies, to create, or to continue, fuch a Commerce; which therefore is farce to be apprehended, notwithtanding
the Power and Policy of the French will be always bent to promote it. As for the Dutch and Danes, they are at their Ne Plus ultra; they may, indeed, increafe their Traffic occafionally, and by Intervals; but it is impofible they fhould extend their Dominions, or, confequently, that their future Power, in thofe Parts, fhould ever become much greater than we now fee it. And though it may inrich themfelves, it can give their Neighbours no Umbrage.

Thus in parting with the Subject, I have endeavoured to give the Reader a Profpect of the future Condition, as in the foregoing Sections I have endeavoured to exhibit the prefent State, of this great Country, the Difcovery of which gave Chriftians an Oppoittunity of propagating their Religion, which they miferably abufed. If any thing that is faid herein could contribute to the redreffing this and other Evils, and infpire Men with free and generous Sentiments of promoting Virtue, Induftry, and Peace, it will fully anfwer the Author's Intention, and, which is of far greater Confequence, tend to the Welfare and Benefit of the Human Species; which it is our Intereft, our Duty, and our Glory, to promote, the only good Thing we can defire here, or hope to be rewarded for hereafter.





## Navigantium atque Itinerantium Bibliotheca.

Or, A Complete Collection of

## VOYAGES and TRAVELS.

# B O O K II. <br> Voyages and Discoveries towards the NORTH, and through moft of the Countries of Europe. 

## C H A P. I.

The Discoveries made directly towards the NORTH, and the Attempts hitherto made for finding the North-east and Nortil-west Paffages.

## SECTIONI.

The History of the Countries lying round the North Pole; their Climate, Soil, and Produce; together with an Account of the Cuftoms, Manners, and Irade of their Inbabitants.
i. A fuccinct Introduction to the Hiftory of the northern Parts of the World, Serwing the Reafon of conjidering them in this Part of the Work, rather than in any other. 2. The 'firf Difcovery, Situation, and Plantation of Groenland, or old Greenland, and the Accidents by wbich the Knoweledge of that Country was afterveards loft. 3. The Several Voyages for the Recovery of that Country, from the Reverend Mr. John Egede, a Danih Mifionary, who refided there fifteen Years. 4. The Soil, Produce, Plants, \&cc. in this Country, and the Probability of its being anciently much more fruitful than at prefent. 5. The Climate, Seafons, Length of the Days, Fogs, Mountains of Ice, \&cc. in tbis Country, and in the Seas adjacent.

- 6. Of the various Animals in Groenland, and of the Manner in which the Inbabitants bunt the RainDeer in the Inland Part of the Country. 7. The different Metbods praEtijed by the Inbabitants in Fijbo ing, particularly the various Inventions made ufe of for catcbing Seals, and other ampbibious Anmals. 8. Their Ingenuity in making Hooks, Lines, and other fflbing Tackle; their Metbod of confructing Boats of feveral Sorts, and their furprizing Manner of navigating them. 9. Their Houfes in which they live in Winter; their Beds, Lamps, Kettles, and other Furniture; their Tents in wobich they live in Summer, and their Manner of tranfporting them. Io. Their Cuftoms, Manner of Living, Virtues, Vices, Civility, to Strangers, and whatever elfe concerns the Bebaviour of the Natives. In. Their Cloaithing, Neatnefs, and Conveniency of it; Diference in the Habits of Men and Women, and tbe Cbanges wrought in this Refpect, by the Settling a Danifh Colony in that Country. I2. The Commodities and Commerce of Groenland; the Religion of the Inbabitants; their Notions of Affronomy, and furprizing Pafion for Poetry. I3. Remiarks upon the foregoing Particulars; and the Reafons wobich induced the Englifh, Dutch, and Vol. II. Numb. 95
ofber Nations, to make I'oyages for Difcovery in thefe northern Parts. 'I4. The Difcovery of Spitzbergen, or Greenland, more properly New Greenland ; and a Soost Account of the Difpute between the Englinh and Dutch, about that Difcovery. I5. A Defcription of this Country, wis Iflands, Bays, Sounds, Harbours, and the uffal Places where the Englith and Dutch fix themfelves afbore, during the Whale Fifbing. It. The Soil, Climate, and Seafons, in this Country; with fome curious Remarks on the Colcur of the Sea Water. 17. Of the Animals that are found bere, particularly Deer, Bcars, Foxes, \&xc. with the Method of dreffing their Skins upon the Spot. I8. A diftinct Account of the Whale; the Size, Strength, and Manner of Swimming of that Creature; and the vaft 2uantities of Oil cxtracted from the Fat, or Blubber. 19. An accurate Account of the Manner of catcbing the Wbale, cutting up, and making Train Oil, and Bone, from it, as praEzijed in this Fiflery. 20. Of the other valuable Fijb in thefe Seas, fuch as the Fin-ffo, Morfe, Horfe-wbales, Dragon-fifh, White-fijh, Sword-fif, Sea-unicorn, Hay-fjh, and the Profits derived from then. 21. Of the Countries adjacent to Spitzbergen, or Greenland, fuct as Mayen's Ifland, Nova Zembla, Gic. the Reafons why they revere formerly frequented, and bave been funce deferted. 22. Of the Land of Yedzo, or Jedzo, fubject to the Emperor of Japon; fuppofed to join to, or to be divided by a narrowe Streight from, the North Continent, either of Greenland or Nova Zembla. 23. Of the undifcovered Parts of the World, from the Borders of the Land of Yedzo, to the Frontiers of North America towards Hudfon's Bay. 24. Of the Advantages that migbt attend the farther and more complete Krowededge of thefe Countries, towards the perfect underfanding of the terrieftrial Globe, and the mutual Relation between its Parts. 25. A circumpantial Account of the prefent State of the Whale-ffbery, and a Computation, as near as may be, of the Sbare of feveral Nations in the annual Produce of that Fijbery.


HE RE is hardly a general Rule that admits of fewer Exceptions than this; That no Sort of Knowledge is burthenfome, or appears, upon Reflection, not worth obtaining. If there were any fuch dark and ufelefs Spot in the noble Science of Cofmography, or general Knowledge of this Globe, one might expect it fhould lie in this very Quarter, upon which we are now entering; I mean the Hiftory of thefe Northern Countries lying round the Pole, of which, hitherto, we cannot, with any Certainty, fay whether they belong to this or that Quarter of the World, or whether they do not form a fifth Part diftinct; that is to fay, divided from Europe, Afa, Africa, and America; and, if fo, there may be, very probably, a fixth Part lying in the like Manner round the South Pole.
But Experience has taught us, that the Knowledge of thefe dark and dreary Regions is very far from being ufelefs and unprofitable, and ftill farther from being dry or unentertaining. We have thrown them into a Section by themfelves, for the Reafon before affigned; becaufe there is no Certainty of thefe Countries being joined to any Part of the known World, and we have chofen to place them at the Head of this Book, becaufe all we know of them is from their being vifited by Europeans.
It is for the fame Reafon that we begin with Groenland, which, for any thing that appears from Hitory, was the firft of them that was difcovered. The Reader is to obferve, that though Groenland and Greenland be the fame Words, the former being only the Daniß Way of pronouncing and writing the latter, yet they are now made ufe of to denote two different Countries, fometimes alfo diftinguiihed by the Names of Old and Nero Greenland; for want of attending to which, many modern Authors have fallen into great Miftakes and Abfurdities. We fhall begin with the firtt of thefe, and after giving the beft Account of it we can, we fhall then proceed to the latter.
2. Groenland lies but forty Miles to the Weft off of Iceland, beginning from the 59 th Degree 50 Minutes of North Latitude. The Eaftern Coaft extends itfelf to the North, as far, probably, as Spitzbergen; or Greenland, between 78 and 80 Degrees, which is thought to be an Inand feparated from the Continent of Groenland. The Weftern Shore is difcovered as far as 71 or 72 Degrees. Whether it be a large Inand, or borders upon Countries to the North, is not yet found out. There feems great Reafon to believe it is contiguous to America on the North-weft Side, becaufe there we meet with the Bay or Inlet, which in the Sea Charts is called Davis's Streigbt, from that famous Englifbman, who in the Year 1585 , was the firt Difcoverer of it, and is yearly frequented by Ships of different Nations, on Account of the Whale Fifhery, but no body, as yet, has been able to find out the bottom of
it. And according to the Notice we have endeavoured to gather from thofe Groenlanders, who live fartheft to the North, there is either but a very narrow Paffage between America and Groenland, or, as is moft likely, they are quite contiguous; and one is the more inclined to believe this, becaufe the farther you go Northwards in the faid Streight, the lower is the Land, contrary to what wè obferve where it borders on the Sea or main Ocean, where it never wants lofty Promontories.
It is faid to have been firft difcovered by a Norvee gian, named Eric Rotcop, who, having committed a Murder in Iceland, refolved to fy to fome flrange Country. He landed here, and becaufe of its Greennefs, called it Groenland; he fent his Son to Olaus Trugger, King of Norway, to get his Pardon, which was obtained. Upon this many Gentlemen ventured to plant there, fettled Chriftianity, and built two Towns, called Garde and Albe. The King fent thither a Viceroy, who had his Seat at Albe, which was alfo made a Bilhop's See, and had a Cathedral. They write alfo of a Monaftery, dedicated to St. Thomas, which they pretended was built of Pumice-Stone, and that it had a Spring fo hot, as to boil their Meat, and being conveyed into the Rooms by Pipes, warmed them as well as Stoves: But this feems fabulous. This fmall Colony failed in I 349, whether by a Difeafe they call the Black Plague, or the Barbarity of the Natives, is not certain. In I 406 the Bihhop of Drontheim fent one Andreas to bring an Account of the State of Chriftianity there, but he never returned.
The fabulous Accounts after this Period are not worth preferving, becaufe they contain nothing certain, ufful, or entertaining; as to Sir Martin Frobiber's Voyages, we fhall have Occafion to mention them in another Hace. It is fufficient for our Purpofe to take Notice here, that his Difcoveries upon the Coaft of Groenland put the Danes upon attempting fomething on that Side alfo, but with very little Succefs; what they have fince done, from that Time to this, is much more within our Power, and worthy of the Reader's Notice; which therefure we fhall give him in the Words of the Reverend Mr. Fobn Egede, a Dani/h Miffionary, who has written a Hiftory of this Country from his own Knowledge, and in his own Language, wherein, as to that Matter, he gives us the following, curious, and authentic Account.
3. "After the Expeditions of Frederick II. Clriftion "IV. his Succeffior, with great Coft, ordered four dif" ferent Expeditions for this Difcovery. The firft was "" undertaken under the Command of Godjke Lindenow, " with three Ships. And, as the Hiftory tells, Linde" now, with his Ship, arrived upon the Eaft Coaft of "Groenland (which I can hardly believe) and found " none but wild, uncivilized, People there, like thofe "Frobifer is faid firft to have met with. He - ttaid " there three Days, during which Time the wild Groen" "f landers came to trade with him, changing Furs, Skins,

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lying round the NORTHPOLE.
${ }^{6}$ and precious Stones, againft all Kinds of fmall Ironware; fuch as Knives, Sciflars, Needles, common sc Looking-Glaffes, and other fuch Trifles. When he fet
" fail from thence, there were two Groenlanders remain-
" ed in the Ship, whom he carried off, and brought
" them home with him. Thefe, as they endeavoured
" to get away from him, and fometimes would have " jumped into the Sea, they were obliged to tie and
" fecure, which, when their Countrymen obferved, who
" flocked together on the Shore, they made an hideous
"Out-cry and Howling, flung Stones, and fhot their
"Arrows at the Sailors; upon which thofe from the
"Ship fired a Gun, which frightened and difperfed
"s them, and fo the Ship left them. The two other Ships
" that fet fail in Company, and under the Command, of
"Lindenow, after they had doubled Cape Farewell, fteer" ed directly for the Streight of Davis, in which Navi" gation they difcovered many fine Harbours; delightful "green Meadow Lands, but all the Inhabitants along " the Coafts wild and favage. It is pretended alfo, that " they, in fome Places, found Stones which contained " fome Silver Ore, which they took along with them ; " of which one hiundred Pound yielded twenty-fix "Ounces of Silver. Thefe two Ships alfo brought four
"Savages home with them to Copenbagen.
"The fecond Expedition was made by order of the " fame King, in the Year 1606 ; with five Ships, under " the Conduct of the afore-mentioned Admiral Linde" now, carrying along with him three of the Savages " (one of them dying in the Voyage) which they had " brought off the Year before from Groenland. But " this Time he directed his Courfe to the Weftward of "Cape Farewell, ftanding for the Streight of Davis, "c where, coafting along, he took the Survey of feveral "Places, and then returned home again. The third and " laft Expedition of this glotious King, was only of two "Ships, commanded by Captain Carten Ricbards, an "Holfenian by Birth. He efpied the Land, and its high cc and craggy Rocks afar off, but could not come near " it on Account of the Ice, and fo returned home. The "" fourth Expedition of King Cbriftian IV. under the
"Conduct of Captain Fens Munck, in the Year 1616,
"was not made for the difcovering of Groenland, but
"t to find out a Paffage between Groenland and America
"t to Cbina, the Misfortunes of which Expedition are re-
" lated by the faid Commander.
"There were befides thefe four Expeditions at the "King's Coft, a fifth, undertaken in the fame King's "Reign, by a Company fettled in Copenbagen, in the
" Year 1636; of which Company, the Prefident was the "Lord HighChancellor Cbriftian Friis. Two Ships, fitted "Out by this Company, directed their Courfe for the " Weftward of Groenland, fell in with the Streight of Davis, " where they traded for a while with the Savages; but this "was not the main Defign of the Commander, who was "، acquainted with a Coaft whofe Sand had the Colour and
"Weight of Gold, which he accordingly did not mifs, "" and filled both their Ships with the fame. After their "Return to Copenbagen, the Goldfmiths were ordered to " make a Trial whether this Sand would yield any Gold "s or no; who not being fkilful enough to make fuch a "Trial, condemned it to be all thrown over-board ; "which was done by Order of the High Chancellor,
"Prefident of the Company. Some Part of the faid
"Sand was yet kept out of Curiofity, out of which an
"Artificer, who afterwards came to Copenbagen, did ex-
"ctract agood deal of pure Gold. The honeft and well-
" meaning Commander who went upon this Adventure
"\% was turned out of Favour, and foon afterwards died
"" of Grief, whereby not only the Treafure they had
" brought home, but alfo the Knowledge of the Place
" where it was to be found was entirely loft, as he
" kept this abfolutely a Secret to himfelf.
"In the Year 1654, during the Reign of King
"Frederick III. a noble and wealthy Adventurer, Henry
" Muller, fitted out a Ship for Groenland, under the
"Command of David de Nelles, who arrived fafe in that
"Country, and brought from thence three Women, ${ }^{\S}$ whofe Names were Kunelick, Kabelau, and Sigokou,
"who, according to the Opinion of Bithop quorlais, who " had perufed the faid Captain's Journal, were taken " in the Neighbourhood of Herjolfnefs, on the eaftern "Shore; but which I cannot believe. My Opinion is, " they were brought from the wellern Shore near Baal"s " River, as fome of the Inhabitants who are ftill living " had in frefh Remembrance, telling me their Names, " as they are laid down in the afore-mentioned Journal. "The laft Adventurer that was fent upon the Difcovery " of Groenland, according to Torfous in his Hiftory of "Groenland, was Capt. Otto Oxelfon, in the Year 1670 , "" in the Reign of Cbrijtian V. of glorious Memory ; but " what Succefs this Adventurcr met with he leaves us to " guefs ; neverthelefs we find, in a Manufcript Defcrip"s tion of Groenland, written by Arngrim Vidalen, That his " faid Majefty did invite, and with great Privileges en"courage, Mr. George Tormunten, Counfellor of Com${ }^{6}$ " merce at Bergen, to fit out Ships for the faid Difcovery; " whereupon the faid Counfellor, not only got ready "Shipping well-ftored for fuch an Expedition, but alfo " got together a Number of Paffengers, who refolved " to go and fettle in thofe Parts; whom he provided with " all Things neceffary for that Purpofe, both Provifion "، and Ammunition; as well as Houfes made of Timber, " ready to be erected in that Country; but this great
"D Defign mifcarried, the Ship being taken by the French, and carried into Dunkirk.
"Thus for a long while it feemed that all Thought " of Groenland was laid afide, until the Year 172 I, when, "، after many well-meant Invitations and Projects pro" pofed by me to the Groenland Company at Bergen in "Norzeay, approved and authorized by lis late Majefty "Frederick IV. of glorious Memory, the Company "t thereupon refolved, not only to fend Ships,' but alfo " to fettle a Colony in Greenland in the 64th Degree ; " when I went over with my whole Family, and re" mained there fifteen Years. During my Stay, I endea" voured to get all the Intelligence that could be, both " by Sea and Land, of the prefent State of the Country, " and did not lofe my Labour; for I found fome Places ' that formerly were inhabited by the Norweegians on the " weftern Shore.
" But whereas my main Drift and Endeavour has " been all along to difcover the eaftern Diftrict of Groen"t land, which always was reckoned the beft of our ancient "Colonies; accordingly I received a Letter from the " above-mentioned Groenland Company at Bergen, in the " Year ${ }^{1723}$, in which I was told, that it was his Ma" jefty's Pleafure, That the Eaft Diftrict might likewife " be vifited, and difcovered; which, the better to effect, "I took the RefoIution to make this Voyage in perfon, "c and accordingly I coafted it fouthwards as far as the "States Promontory, looking out for the Streight of "Frobijber, which would have been my fhorteft way " according to thofe Charts, which lay the faid Streight "d down in this Place; but fuch a Streight I could not " find. Now, as it grew too late in the Year for me to " proceed further, the Month of September being near at " an End, when the Winter Seafon begun in thofe Parts, " accompanied with dreadful Storms, I was obliged to " return. In the Year ェ 724 the Directors of the faid "Bergen Company, according to his Majetty's Good-will ' and Pleafure, fitted out, a Ship to attempt a Landing "s on the eaftern Shore, as had been formerly practifed 's on that Coaft which lies oppofite to Iceland; but. the " furprifing Quantities of Ice which barricaded the Coaft " made the Enterprize abortive and quite mifcarry, as " many others had done, as there was no Convenience for "Ships to approach this Shore.
"The fame King, in the Year 1728 , refolved, be"، fides other very confiderable Expences, to have Horfes " tranfported to this Colony, in hopes that, with their " Help, they might travel by Land to this eaftern Dif" trict: But nothing was more impoffible than this "Project, on Account of the impáffable, high and "c craggy Mountains, perpetually covered with Ice and "S Sows, which never thaw. Another new Attempt " by Sea was, by Order of the fame King, made in the ${ }^{66}$ Year 1729 , by Lieutenant Richard, who with his
"s Ship paffed the Winter near the new Danifh Colony in "Groenland; and in his Voyage back to Denmark made
${ }^{66}$ all the Endeavours he could, to come at the afore $=$
${ }^{6}$ faid Shore oppofite to Iceland, but to no Purpofe, be" ing herein difappointed like the reft before him.
" 6 All thefe Difficulties and continual Difappointments
${ }^{56}$ have made moit People lofe all Hopes of fucceeding in
" this Attempt ; neverthelefs I flatter myfelf to have hit
sc luckily on an Expedient, which to me feems not im-
"s practicable, though hitherto not tried, or at leaft but
" nightlyexecuted, viz. To endeavour to leave the Land,
" from the StatesPromontory, (or as we call it) Cape Prince
"Cbrifition, northwards. The Information I have had
" from fome Groenlanders, who in their Boats have coafted
" ${ }^{6}$ a great Part of the Eaft-fide, confirms me in my Opi-
" nion; for although an incredible Quantity of driven
"Ice, yearly comes from Spitzbergen, or New Greenland,
" along this Coaft, and paffes' by the States Promontory,
"which hinders the approaching of Ships, as far as the
"Ice ftretches, where about the beft Part of the Nor-
" reegian Colonies were fettled, yet there have been found
${ }^{66}$ Breaks, and open Sea, near the Shore, through
" which Boats and fmall Veffels might pafs accord-
"s ing to the Relation of the Groenlanders, as well
"s as agreeable to my own Experience, the Current
" that comes out of the Bays and Inlets, always
" running along the Shore South-weftwards, hinders the
"Ice from adhering to the Land, and keeps it a
" Diftance from the Shore. By which Means the Groen-
" landers at certain Times, without any Hindrance, have
"s paffed and re-paffed part of this Coaft in their Cone-
"boats (fo they call their large Boats) though they
${ }^{\prime}$ 'have not been fo far as where the oid Norway Colonies
" had their Settlements, of which, no doubt, there are
" ftill fome Ruins to be feen on the Eaftern Shore.
"Furthermore : I have been credibly informed by
"Dutcb Seamen that frequent thofe Seas, That feveral
"of their Ships have at times found the Eaft-fide of
is Groenland cleared of the Ice as far as the 62d Degree ;
${ }^{*}$ "and they had tarried fome time among the Out-rocks

* on that Coaft, where they carried on a profitable Trade
" with the Savages; and I myfelf, in my Return from
"Groenland homewards, in the Year 1736 , found it to
" be fo when we paffed the States Promontory and Cape
"Farewell, and ftood in for the Shore, where at that
" time there was no Ice to be feen, which at other Times
" is very uncommon; but as this happens fo feldom, it
${ }^{66}$ is very uncertain, and unfafe for any Ship to venture
" fo far up under the Eaftern Shore.
"B But, as I obferved a little before, it is more fafe and
"practicable to coaft it from the Promontory along, the
"Shore in fmall Veffels, efpecially if there was a Lodge
"s erected in the Latitude of between 60 and 6 I Degrees;
" 6 and it would be ftill more convenient, if there could
"6 be Ways and Means found likewife to place a Lodge
" on the eaftern Shore, in the fame Latitude; for accord-
" ing to the Account the Ancients have left us of Groen-
" land, the Diftance of Ground that lies uncultivated,
"s between the Weft and Eaft-fide is but twelve Norway
s6. Miles, by Water; or, according to a later Compu-
" tation, it is a Journey of fix Days in a Boat; and as
"s the Ruins of old Habitations, which I have difcovered
"b between 60 and 6I Degrees, are without doubt in
" 6 the moft foutherly Part of the Weft-fide, it of Necef-
${ }^{66}$ fity follows that the Diftance cannot be very great from
"s thence to the moft foutherly Part of the eaftern Side.
"Now, if it fhould be found practicable at certain
"Times to pafs along the Shore with Boats or fmall
*Ships to the Eaft-fide, to the Latitude of $\sigma_{3}$ and $\sigma_{4}$
ss Degrees, little Lodges might be made, though larger
©Ships could not yearly vifit one of them, but only
"s touch at the moft fouthern ones, I am alfo perfuaded
of that the Thing is poffible, if it fhould pleafe God in " his Mercy to forward this Affair, Colonies might be
${ }^{\text {os }}$ eftablifhed here, which without great Trouble might
os be fupplied yearly with all Neceffaries.

4. As to the Soil, we are informed by ancient Hiftories that the Groenland Colonies bred Cattle, which afforded Milk, Butter, ${ }_{3}$ and Cheefe, in fuch abundance, that a
gteat Quantity was brought over to Norway, and, for its particular Goodnefs, was fet apart for the "King's Kitchin, which was practifed until the Reign of Queen Margaret. We alfo read that fome Parts of the Country yielded the choiceft Wheat; and in the Valleys the Oak Trees produced Acorns of the Bignefs of an Apple, very good to eat. The Woods afforded plenty of Game, fuch as Rain-Deers, Ecc. The Rivers, Bays, and Seas, furnifhed an infinite Number of Fifhes, Seals, Morfes, and Whales, of which the Inhabitants made a confiderable Trade. And though the Country, at prefent, cannot boaft of the fame Plenty, as it lies deftitute and uncultivated, yet, no doubt, but the old dwelling Places, formerly inhabited and manured by the ancient Norway Colonies, might recover their former Fertility, if again peopled, as about thefe Places there grows fine Grafs, efpecially from the Latitude of 60 to 65 Degrees.

In the great Bay, which at prefent is called the Bay of Good Hope (from the Danib Colony fettled near the Entrance of this Inlet) there are on both Sides of the Colony many good. Pieces of Meadow Ground, for the grafing of Numbers of Cattle; befides plenty of Provifions, which the Sea, as well as the Land, yields. Woods of any Confideration are rarely to be met with, yet there are Underwoods and Shrubs in great Quantity, efpecially of Birch, Elm, and Willows, which afford fufficient Fuel for the Ufe of the Inhabitants. The largeft Wood is in the Latitude of 60 and 6I Degrees, where the Birch Trees are two or three Fathom high, fomewhat thicker than a Man's Arm. Small Juniper Trees grow here in abundance; the Berrics of which are of the Bignefs of Grey-peafe.

The Herb called. Quaun, which is our Angelica, is very common, as well as wild Rofemary, which has the Tafte and Smell of Turpentine, from which is extracted a fine Oil and Spirit, of great Ufe in Medicine. That precious Herb Scurvy-grafs, the moft excellent Remedy for the Cure of the Diftemper which gives its Name, grows every where on the Sea-fide, and has not fo bitter a Taite as in fofter Climates. The Country alfo produces a Grafs with yellow. Flowers, the Roots of which fimell in the Spring like Rofes, and are very wholefome. In the Bays and Inlets you have wild Time, on the Side of the Mountains, which, after Sun-fet, yields a fragrant Smell. Here alfo you meet with the Herb Tormentil, and a great many other Herbs. Their moft common Berries, are thofe called Blew-Berries, TittleBerries, and Bramble-Berries; Mult-Berries, which are common in Norway, do not come here to any Perfection, on Account of the Fogs that hang upon the Inand at the Time thefe Plants bud.

This Country yields the pleafanteft Profpect about the Latitude 60 to 64 Degrees, and feems fit to be manured for the Produce of all Sorts of Grain, and there is to this Day Marks of arable Land to be obferved. The Author, himfelf, made a Tryal of fowing Barley in the Bay joining to their new Colony, which fprung up fo faft, that it ftood in its full Ear towards the latter End of $\mathcal{F u l y}$; but did not ripen on Account of the Night Frofts which nipped it, and hindered its Growth. But as this Grain was brought over from Bergen in Norrvay, no doubt it wanted a longer Summer, and more Heat to ripen. Turnips and Cole are very good here, and of a fweet Tafte, efpecially the Turnips, which are very large. It is to be obferved, that all that has been faid of the Fruitfulnefs of the Groenland Soil, is to be undertood of the Latitude from 60 Degrees to 65 Degrees, and differs according to the different $\dot{D} e g r e e s$ of Latitude; for in the moft Northern Parts, you find neither Merbs nor Plants; fo that the Inhabitants cannot gather Grafs enough to put in their Shoes to keep their Feet warm, but are obliged to buy it from the Southern Parts.
5. The Natives of Groenland have no Reafon to complain of Storms or Rain, which feldom trouble them, efpecially in the Bay of Difco, in the 6gth Degree of Latitude, where they commonly have clear and fettled Weather during the whole Summer Seafon. But when foul Weather falls in, it rages with an incredible Violence, chiefly when the Wind comes about Southerly, or South-

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weft, and the Storm is fucceeded by fair Weather, as foon as the Wind Thifts to the Weft and North. The Country would be exceeding pleafant and healthful in Summer-time, if it was not for the heavy Fogs, efpecially near the Sea Coaft, for it is as warm here as any where, when the Air is clear, which happens when the Wind blows Eafterly; and fometimes it is fo hot, that the Sea-Water, which, after the Ebbing, has remained in the hollow Places in the Rocks, before Night, by the bare Heat of the Sun, is coagulated into a fine white Salt.
Sometimes for three Months together they have fair fettled Weather, and warm fun-fhiny Days, without any Rain; the Length of the Summer is, from the latter End of May, to the Midft of September ; all the remaining Part of the Year is Winter, which is tolerable in the Latitude of 64 Degrees; but to the Northward of 68 Degrees, and even there, the Cold is fo exceffive, that the moft fpirituous Liquors, as French Brandy, will freeze near the Fire-fide. At the End of Auguf the Sea is all covered with Ice, which does not thaw before April or May, and fometimes not till the latter End of June. It is remarkable, that on the Weftern Coafts of different Countries, lying in one and the fame Latitude, it is much colder than on the Eaftern, as in fome Parts of Groenland and Norsway. And though Grociland is much colder than Norway, yet the Snow never lies fo high, efpecially in the Bays, where it is feldom above half a Yard higher than the Ground; whereas the Inland Parts, and the Mountains, are perpetually covered with Ice and Snow, which never melt, and not a Spot is bare, but near the Shore, and in the Bays; where, in the Summer, you are delighted with a charming Verdure, caufed by the Heat of the Sun; reverberated from Side to Side, and concentred in thofe lower Parts of the Valleys, furrounded by high Rocks and Mountains, for many Hours together, without Intermifion. But at Sun-fet the Air is changed at once, and the cold Ice Mountains make you foon feel the Nearnefs of their Neighbourhood, and oblige you to put on your Furs.
Befides the Ice that covers the whole Face of the Land, the Sea is almoft choaked with it : Some large and flat Fields of Ice, and fome prodigious Mountains of an aftonifhing Bignefs, lying as deep under Water as they foar high in the Air. Thefe are Pieces of the Ice Mountains on Land, which lie near the Sea, and, burfting, tumble down into the Sea, and are carried off. They reprefent to the Beholders, afar off, many odd and flange Figures, fome of Churches, Caftles with Spires and Turrets; others you would take to be Ships under fail, and many have been deluded by them, thinking they were real Ships, and going to board them. Nor do their Figures and Shape alone furprize, but alfo their Diverfity of Colours pleafes the Sight; for fome are like white Chryftal, others as blue as Saphires, and others again green as Emeralds. One would attribute the Caufe of thefe Colours to Metals or Minerals, in Places where this Ice was formed, or of Waters of which it was coagulated; but Experience teaches, that the blue Ice is the Concretion of frefh Water, which at firft is white, and at length hardens and' turns blue. But the greenifh Colour comes from Salt-water. For it is obferved, that if you put the blue Ice near the Fire, and let it melt, and afterwards remove it to a colder Place to freeze again, it does not recover its former blue Colour, but becomes white ; from whence it feems that the volatile Sulphur which the Ice had attracted from the Air, by its Refolution into Water exhales and vanifhes.

Though the Summer-feafon is very hot in Groenlond, it feldom caufes any Thunder and Lightening; the Reafon of which may be the Coldnefs of the Night, which allays the Heat of the Day, and caufes the fulphúrous Exhalations to fall again, with the heavy Dew, to the Ground; as for the ordinary Meteors, frequently feen in other Countries, they are common in Groenland, as the Rainbow, flying and fhooting Stars, and the like; but what is more peculiar to the Climate, is the Northern Light, or Aurora Borealis, which, in the Spring of the Year, about the Time of the new Moon, darts Streams of Light all

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over the Sky, as quick as Lightening, efpecially if it be a clear Night, with fuch a Brightnefs, that you may read. by it as by Day-light. The Air is not at all unhealthy, for if you except the Scirvy, and Diftempers in the Breaft, they know nothing here of many other Difeafes; and thefe pectoral Infirmities are the Effects of that nafty foggifh. Weather, which this Country is fubject to; which we may impute to the vant Quantities of Ice that coven the Land, and drive in the Sea, from the Beginning of April, to the End of $\mathcal{F u l y}$, which is therefore called the foggy Seafon, and from that Time the Fog decreafes.

But as in the Summer-time they are troubled with the Fog, fo in the Winter-feafon they are likewife plagued with, the Vapour, called Froft-fmoak, which, when the Cold is exceffive, rifes out of the Sea, as the Smoak out of a Chimney, and is as thick as the thickeft Mift, efpecially in Bays where there is any Opening in the Ice; 'tis very remarkable, that this Frof Damp, or Smoak, if you come near it, will finge the very Skin off your Face and Hands ; but when you are in it, you find no fuch piercing or finging Sharpnefs, but warm and foft, only it leaves a white Froft upon your Hair and Cloaths. There is a wonderful Correfpondence obferved in Groenland, between Fountains and the main Sea, viz. That at Springtides, in new and full Moon, when the ftrongeft Ebbing is at Sea, the hidden Fountains or Springs of frefh Water break out on Shore, and difcover themfelves often in Places where one could fcarce expect to meet with any fuch, efpecially in Winter, when the Ground is covered with Ice and Snow. Yet at other Times there are no Water-fprings at all in thofe Places.
6. There are no venomous Serpents, or ravenous wild Beafts, in Groenland, if you except the Bear, which fome will have to be an amphibious Animal, as he lives chiefly upon the Ice, in the moft Northern Parts, and feeds upon Seals and Fifh. He very feldom appears near the Colony in which our Author lived. He is of a very large Size, and of a hideous and frightful Afpect, with white long Hair, greedy of human Blood. Rain-Deer are, in fome Places, in fo great Numbers, that you will fee whole Herds of them; and when they go and feed in Herds, they are dangerous to come at. The Natives fpend the whole Summer-feafon in hunting them, going up to the innermoft Parts of the Bays, and carrying, for the moft part, their Wives and Children along with them, where they remain till the Harveft Seafon comes on. In that Space, they, with fo much Eagernefs, purfue and deftroy thofe poor Deer, that they have no Place of Safety but what the Groenlanders know; and where they are in any Number, there they chafe them by Claphunting, rufhing upon them on all Sides, and furrounding them with all their Women and Children, to force them into Defiles and narrow Paffages, where the Men lie in wait for them and kill them. And when they have not People enough to furround them, then they put up white Poles with Pieces of Turf to head them, which frightens the Deer and hinders them from efcaping.

There are alfo vaft Numbers of Hares which, are white; Summer and Winter, very fat, and of a good Tafte. There are Foxes of different Colours, white, grey, and blewifh; they are of a leffer Size than thore of Denmark and Norway, and not fo hairy, but more like Martens. The Natives commonly catch them alive in Traps built of Stones, like little Huts ; the reft of four-footed Animals, which ancient Hiftorians tell us are found in Groenland, are Sables, Martens, Wolves, Lofies, Ermins, and feveral others, but none on the Weftern Side; domeftic Animals there are none, but Dogs in great Numbers, and of a large Size, with white Hairs, or white and black, and ftanding Ears. They are, in their Kind, as timorous as their Mafters, for they never bark, but howl only. In the Northern Parts they ufe them inftead of Horles to drag their Sledges, yoaking four or fix, and fometimes eight or ten, to a Sledge, loaden with five or fix of the largeft Seals, with the Mafter fetting upon them himfelf, who drives as faft with them as we can do with good Horfes, for they often travel fifteen German Miles with them, in a Winter Day, upon the Ice; and though the poor Dogs are of to great Service "to
them ${ }_{2}$
them, yct they don't ufe them well: For they are left to fubift themfelves as wild Beafts, feeding upon Mufcles thrown upon the Sea-fide, or upon Berries in the Sum-mer-feafon ; but when they catch a multitude of Seals, they give them their Blood boiled, and their Entrails.

As for Liand-Fowls, or Birds, Groenland knows of none but the Rypper, which is a Sort of large Partrige, white in Winter, and grey in Summer-time, and thefe they have in great Numbers; Ravens feem to be domeftic Birds with them, for they are always about their Huts, hovering about the Carcaffes of Seals that lie upon the Ground. There are likewife very large Eagles, their Wings fpread out, being a Fathom wide, but they are feldom feen in the Northern Parts of the Country; Falcons or Hawks, fome grey, fome of a whitifh Plumage, and fome fpeckled, as alfo large fpeckled Owls. There are different Sorts of little Sparrows, Snow-Birds, and Ice-Birds', and a little Bird not unlike a Linnet, which has a very melodious Note. Amongtt the Infects of Groenland, the Gnats are the moft troublefome, whofe Sting leaves a fwelling and burning Pain behind it ; and this Trouble they are moft expofed to in the hot Seafon, againtt which there is no Shelter to be found. There are alfo Spiders, Flies, Humble-Bees, Wafps. They know nothing of any venomous Animals, as Serpents and the like; nor have they any Snakes, Toads, Frogs, Beatles, Ants, or Bees; neither are they plagued with Rats, Mice, or any fuch Vermin. In regard to the Fifh in thefe Seas, more efpecially Whales, and other large Fifh, valued for the Sake of Oil, we thall have Occafion to fpeak of them fo fully, when we come to treat of the Whale-fifhing hereafter, that for the Readers Benefit, as well as our own, we fhall, to avoid Repetitions, forbear fpeaking of them here, and proceed to the Manner of thefe Peoples living, providing for their own Subfiftance; and acquiring wherewithal to trade with Strangers.
7. If we meafure the good Senfe, prudent Behaviour, and polite Carriage of other Nations, by what is efteemed Wifdom, Prudence, and Politenefs amongft ourfelves, which is the ordinary Way of fettling the Standard of thofe things, it is very certain that thefe Groenlanders will pafs for a Race of ftupid, barbarous, and brutifh People. But if we meafure their Conduct, by the Situation of the Country in which they live, the Neceffities they are under, and the Want of Communication with any other Race of Men but themfelves, which we may juftly call the Standard of Nature; we fhall find they are neither defpicable with refpect to their Capacities, nor liable to Reproach from their Manner of living, which, however oppofite to ours, is very confiftent with their Circumftances, and the Helps with which Providence has furnifhed them. Their ordinary Employments are Hunting and Fining: On Shore they hunt the Rain-Deer, and at Sea they purfue the Whales, Morfes, Seals, and other Animals. As for their hunting, we have fpoke of it already, and fhall therefore only add here, that their Bow is commonly of Fir-Tree, which, in Norway, is called Tenel, and on the Back ftrengthened with Strings made of Sinews of Animals, twifted like Thread; the String is made of a good ftrong Strap of Seal-Skin, or of feveral Sinews twifted together, and the Bow is a good Fathom long; the Head of the Arrow is armed with Iron, or a tharp-pointed Bone, with one or more Hooks, that it may keep hold when thot into a Deer's Body. The Arrows they thoot Birds with are covered with one or more pieces of Bone, blunt at the End, that they may承ill the Fowl without tearing the Flefh. The Sea-Fowls are not fhot with 'Arrows, but ftruck with Darts, headed with Bones, or with Iron; which they throw very dextrounly, and with fo fteady a Hand, at a great Diftance, that no body can hit furer with a Gun.

They are more frequently employed at Sea than on Shore, and they furpafs therein moft other Nations; for their Way of taking Whales and other Sea Animals is by far the moft fkilful and eafy. When they go a Whale-catching they put on their beft Apparel, as if they were going to a Wedding Feaft ; the Groenlanders fancying that if they did not come cleanly and neatly dreffed, - Whale would thun and fly from them The Manner
of their Expedition is thas: About fiffy Perfons, Men and Women, fet out together in one of the large Boats, called a Cone Boat. The. Women carry with them their Sewing Tackle, confifting of Needles and Thread, to few and mend their Hufbands Spring Coats or Jackets, if they fhould be torn or pierced through, as alfo to mend the Boat in Cafe it fhould receive any Damage. The Men go in fearch of the Whale, and when they have found him, they ftrike him with their Harpoons, to which are faftened Lines or Straps, two or three Fathoms long, and made of Seal-Skins; at the End of which they tie a Bag of a whole Seal-Skin, filled with Air like a Bladder, that the Whale, when he finds himfelf wounded, and runs away with the Harpoon, may the fooner be tired, the Air-Bag hindering him from keeping long under Water. When he grows tired, and lofes Strength, they attack him with Spears and Lances till he is killed, and then they put on their Spring-Coats, made of dreffed SealSkin, all of one Piece, with Boots, Gloves, and Caps, laced fo tight together, that no Water can penetrate them. In this Garb they jump into the Sea, and begin to flice the Fat of him all round the Body, even under the Water; for in thefe Coats they cannot fink, becaufe they are always full of Air; fo that they can, like the Seal, ftand upright in the Sea; nay, they are fometimes for daring, that they will get upon the Whale's Back while there is yet Life in him, to make an End of him, and cut away his Fat the fooner.

They go much the fame Way to work in killing the Seals, except that the Harpoon is lefs, to which is faftened a Line of Seal-Skin, fix or feven Fathom long, and at the End is a Bladder or Bag, made of a Seal-Skin, filled with Air, to keep the Seal, when he is wounded, from diving under the Water, and being loft again. In the Northern Parts, where the Sea is all frozen over in the Winter, they ufe other Methods in catching of Seals. They firt look out for the Holes which the Seals themfelves make with their Claws, about the Bignefs of a Half-penny, that they may fetch their Breath; after they have found any Hole, they feat themfelves near it in a Chair made for that purpofe; and as foon as they perceive the Seal coming up to the Hole, and putting his Snout into it for Air, they immediately ftrike him with a fmall Harpoon, which they have ready in their Hand; to which Harpoon is faftened a Strap of a Fathom long, which they hold in the other Hand. After he is ftruck, and cannot efcape, they cut the Hole fo large that they may get him up through it; and as foon as they have got his, Head above the. Ice, they kill him with one Blow of the Fift. But befides thefe there is a third Way of catching of Seals. They make a great Hole in the Ice, or in the Spring they find out Holes made by the Seals, through which they get upon the Ice to lie and balk themfelves in the Sun. Near thefe Holes they place a low Bench, upon which they lie down upon their Belly, having firit made a fmall Hole near the large one, through which they let foftly down a Perch, fixteen or twenty Yards long, headed with a Harpoon, a Strap being faftened to it, which one holds in his Hand, while another, -who lies upon the Bench, with his Face downwards, watching the coming of the Seal, which, when he perceives, he cries $K_{a}$, whereupon he who holds the Pole pufhes and itrikes the Seal. The fourth Way is this: In the Spring, when the Seals lie upon the Ice near Holes which themfelves make to get up and down, the Groenlanders, difguifed in Seal Skins, and a long Perch in their Hand, creep along upon the Ice, moving their Head forwards and backwards, and fnoring like a Seal, till they come fo near him, that they can reach him with the Perch and ftrike him. A fifth Manner of catching Seals is, when in the Spring the Current makes large Holes in the Ice, the Seals flocking in great Shoals there; the Natives watch their Opportunity to ftrike them with their Harpoons, and hawl them upon the Ice. There is yet a fixth Way of catching them; when the Ice is not covered with Snow, but clear and tranfparent, then they lay under their Feet Foxes or Dogs Tails, or a Piece of a Bear's Hide to ftand upon, and watch the Animal; and when by his blowing and froring, they find whaz

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lying round the NORTH POLE.

Courfe he takes, they foftly follow, and ftrike him. All thefe Methods prove, that the Greenlanders are fo far from being ftupid, that they are fubtile and ingenious.
8. As this Affair of their Fifhing is in a manner the fole Concern of thefe People, fo, from thence we are beft enabled to judge of their Characters and Capacities. It is true, that this appears to us a very infignificant Thing; but it is not fo to them; for upon their Ability in Hunting and Fifhing depends their Subfiftance, both as Individuals, and as a Nation, which alters the Cafe extremely, fince with refpect to every People -upon Earth, the right Management of their principal Concern is what contributes moft to their own Happinefs, and ought confequently to fix the Notions of the reft of the World about them. In Fiihing they make Ufe of Hooks of Iron, or Bones; their Lines are made of Whalebones cut very fmall and thin, and at the End tacked together ; and with fuch Lines they will draw a hundred Fifh, to one that our People can catch with their Hemp-Lines; but to catch Holy-Butts, they make ure of ftrong Lines made of Seal-fkins, or thick Hemp-Lines. Their Way of fifhing for fmall Salmon, or Sea-Trout, is this: At low Water they build fmall Inclofures with Stone, 'near the River's Mouth, or any other Place where the Salmon runs along; and when it begins to flow, and the Tide comes in, the Salmon retreats to the River, and in high Water , paffes over the Enclofure, and remains in the River till the Water falls again ; and then the Salmon ftrives to return to the Sea; but theFinhermen way-lay him at the Inclofure, and ftop his Paffage; and foon after, when the Water is quite fallen, and it is low Ebb, the Salmon remains upon dry Land, and may be caught with Hand; and when they are left in Holes, they take them with an Infrument made for this Purpofe, viz. a Perch headed with two fharp-hooked Bones, or with one or two Iron Hooks.
The Rogn-fifh, or Roe-fifh, fo named from the great Quantity of Roe that is found in it; as he is commonly found in flallow Water, and upon the Sands, fo is catched like the Salmon with the afore-mentioned Inftrument. There is fuch abundance of thefe Fifh that, as they cannot confume them while frefh, they are obliged to dry them on the Rocks, and keep them for Winter Provifion: When catching of them is over, which happens in the Month of Mey, the Groenlanders retire into the Bays and Creeks where the Stint-fifhing then takes place ; there are fuch numberlefs Shoals of them near the Shore, that they catch them in a kind of Sieves fartened upon long Poles, and throw them upon the Shore. They open and dry them upon the Rocks, keeping them for their Winter Stock. This Fiifh is not either agreeable or wholefome when eaten frefh; befides, they have a naufeous Smell, but when dried they are tolerable; the Natives eat them with a bit of Fat, or foufed in Train-oil, and fo they do all other forts of Fifhes. What the Groenlanders cannot confume freth, they dry upon the Rocks in the Sun, or in the Wind, and lay then up for Winter's Provifions.
As to the Groenlanders Boats, there are two forts of them ; the one, of which the Men alone make ufe, is a fmall Veffel, fharp, and pointed at both Ends, three Fathom in Length, and at moft but three Quarters of a Yard Broad, with a great Hole in the Midft, juft large enough for a Man's Body to enter it and fit down : The Infide of the Boat is made of thin Rafts, tacked together with the Sinews of Animals, and the Outfide is covered with Seal-fkin dreffed, and without Hair ; one only can fit in it, who faftens it fo tight about his Wafte, that no Water can enter it. In thefe frnall Boats they go to Sea, managing them with one Oar of a Fathom's length broad at both Ends, with which they paddle, fometimes on one fide, and fometimes on the other, with fo much Strength and Swiftnefs, that they are faid to row ten or twelve Norzvay Miles in a Day; they chiefly make ufe of them in catching of Seals and Sea-Fowls, which they can approach on a fudden and unawares: Whereas in our large Boats we can very feldom come fo near as to touch them. They have no fear in venturing out to Sea in them in the greatelt Storms, becaufe they fwim as light upon the largeft Waves as a Bird can ly: and when the

Waves come upon them with all their Fury, they onif turn the Side of their Boat towards them, to let them pafis without the leaft Danger of being funk; for though they may be overfet, yet they eafily raife themfelves up again with the Paddle; but if they are overfet unawares,' as if often happens, and the Boat be not clofe and tight about their Wafte, they are inevitably drowned.
The other Kind of Boats are large and open, like ours, fome of them twenty Yards long, and thofe are called Cone-Boats, that is, Womens-Boats, becaufe the Women commonly row them, for they think it unbecoming a Man to row fuch a Boat, unlefs great Necefity requires it. And when they firt fet out for the Whale-fifhing, the Men fit in a very negligent Pofture, with their Faces turned towards the Prow, pulling with their little ordinary Paddle; but the Women fit in the ordinary Way, with their Faces towards the Stern, rowing with long Oars: The infide of thofe Boats is compofed of thin Rafts, and the Outfides covered with thick Seal-fkins. In thofe Boats they tranfport their Baggage, as Tents, and the little Houfhold Furniture, when they go to fettle in fome diftantPlaces, for Conveniency of Provifion; in thefe Boats they alfo carry Sails made of the Infide of Seals-Guts, faftened to the Deck at the lower-end; fo they neither want Braces, Bowlines, or Sheet-ropes, and with thefe Sails they fail well enough with the Wind, but not otherwife : Thefe Boats, as they are flat-bottomed, are foon overfet. The Men meddle, at home, with nothing but what concerns their Tools for hunting, and their Fihing-Tackle, viz. their Boats, Bows, Arrows, and the like'; all other Work, even of building and repairing their Houfes, belong to the Women, who are to the full as induftrious, dextrous, and fearlefs as the Men.
9. As to their Houfes, they have one for the Winter, and another for the Summer-feafon: Their Winter-habitation is a low Hut, built with Stone and Turf, two or three Yards high with a flat Roof: In this Hut the Windows are on one Side, made of Seals Guts dreffed, and fewed together, or of the Maws of Holy-butts, and are white and tranfparent: On the other Side the Beds are placed, which confift of Shelves or Benches, made of Deal-Boards raifed half a Yard from the Ground : Their Bedding is made of Seals and Rain-Deer Skins. Several Families live in one of thefe Huts, each Family occupying a Room by itfelf, feparated from the reft by a wooden Poft, by which the Roof is fupported ; before it there is a Hearth, in which there is a great Lamp, in the Form of a Half-Moon; on a Trivet, over this, are hung their Kettles, of Brafs, Copper, or Marble, in which they boil their Victuals; under the Roof, juft above the Lamp they have a fort of a Shelf to put their wet Cloaths upon, to dry.
The Fore-door, or Entry of the Houfe, is very low, fo that they muft creep upon their Hands and Feet to get in at it, which is contrived fo to keep the cold Air out as much as it is poffible; the Infide of the Houfe is covered, or lined with old Skins, which before have ferved for their Boats; fome of thefe Houfes are fo large that they afford Lodgings for feven or eight Eamilies. Upon the Benches, or Shelves, where their Beds are placed, is the Seat of the Women, attending their Work of fewing, and making up of the Cloathing. The Men, with their Sons, fit on the foremoft Parts of the Benches, turning their Backs to the Women. On the oppofite Side, under the Windows, the Men belonging to the Family, or Strangers, take their Seats upon Benches placed for that Purpofe. I cannot forbear taking Notice that though in one of thefe Houfes there are ten or twenty Train-Lamps; one does not perceive the Steam or Smoke thereof to fill thefe fmall Cottages -; the Reafon probably is, the Care they take in trimming thefe Lamps, viz. They take dry Mofs rubbed very fmall, which chey lay on one fide of the Lamp, which, being lighted, burns foftly, and does not caufe any Smoke if they do not lay it on too thick, or in Lumps. This Fire gives fuch a Heat that it not only ferves to boil their Victuals, but alfo heats their Rooms to that Degree, that they are as hot as a Bagnio; but to thofe who are not ufed to this Method the smell is very difagreable, as
well by the Number of birning Lamps, all fupplied with Train Oil, as on Account of diverfe Sorts of raw Meat, Fin, and Fat, which they heap up in their Habitations; but efpecially their Urine Tubs fmell moft infufferably, and frike one that is not accuftomed to it, to the very Heart.

Thofe Winter Habitations they refort to immediately after Michaelmas, and leave them again at the Approach of Spring, which is commonly about the latter End of March; and all the warm Part of the Year lodge in Tents, which are their Summer Habitations. Thefe Tents are made of Rafts or long Poles, fet in a circular Form, bending at the Top, and refembling a Sugar-Loaf, fenced by a double Cover, of which the Innermolt is of Seal or Rain-Deer Skins, with the hairy Side inward (if they be rich) and the Outermoft alfo of the fame Skin, without Hair, dreffed with Fat, that the Rain may not penetrate them. In thefe Tents they have their Beds, Lamps to drefs Meat, and a Curtain made of the Guts of Seals fewed together, through which they receive the Day-light, inftead of Windows. Every Mafter of a Family has fuch a Tent, and a great Woman's Boat to tranfport their Tents and Luggage from Place to Place, where their Bufinefs calls them, in the Manner before-mentioned.

- io. They are, undoubtedly, as good-natured, and as inoffenfive People in their Behaviour, as any in the World; Hatred and Envy, Strife and Anger, are never heard of among them; and though it may happen that one bears a Grudge to the other, yet it never breaks out into any fcolding and fighting; neither in their Language have they any Words to exprefs fuch Paffions. It has, indeed, happened, that a very wicked and malicious Fellow, out of a fecret Grudge, has killed another, which none of the Neighbours have taken Notice of, but all let it pafs with a furprizing Indolence, fave the next of Kin to the Dead, if he finds himfelf ftrong enough, revenges his Relation's Death upon the Murderer: They know no other Punifiment. But as for a Sort of old Women, called Witches, and fuch as pretend to kill or hurt by their Conjuration, to fuch they fhew great Rigour, making nothing of deftroying and killing them without Mercy. And they infift on it, that it is very well done, thofe People not deferving to live, who by fecret Arts can hurt others. They have as great an Abhorrence of ftealing among themfelves, as any Nation upon Earth, and therefore they keep nothing under Lock and Key, but leave all free that every body can come at it, without Fear of lofing it.

This Vice is fo much hated among them, that if a Maid fhould fteal any thing, fhe would forfeit all Hopes of a good Match. Yet if they can lay Hands upon any thing belonging to Foreigners, they make no great Scruple of Confcience about it. But as the Danes have now lived fome Time in their Neighbourhood, and are looked upon as fettled Inhabitants of the Country, they at lait have forbore to moleft them any more that Way. As to any Trefpaffes in point of Chaftity, cither in Words or Deeds, they are never guilty, except what paffes amongft the married People in their public Diverfions. They never enter any Houfe where they are Strangers, unlefs they are invited; and when they come in, the Mafter of the Houfe, to whom they pay the Vifit, fhews them the Place where they are to take their Seat. As foon as a Vifiter enters the Houfe, he is defired to ftrip ftark naked, and fit down in this Manner, like all the reft; for this is the grand Fafhion with them to dry the Cloaths of all their Guefts.

When Vifuals are put before him, he takes Care not to fall to eating immediately, for fear of being looked upon as ftarved, or of paffing for a Glutton. He muft ftay till all the Family be gone to Bed before he can lie down, for to them it feems unbecoming, that the Guefts fhould go to reft before the Landlord, When ever a Stranger comes into a Houfe, he never afks for Victuals, though never fo hungry, nor is there any need he thould; for they exercife great Hofpitality, and are very free with what they have, and, what is highly to be admired and praife-worthy, they have moft things in
common; and if there be any among them who cannot work or get his Livelihood, they do not let him itarve, but admit him freely to their Table; in which they ought to confound, with Shame, fuch as are called Chriftians, who fuffer, notwithftanding, fo many poor and diftreffed Creatures to perifh for Want of Neceffaries.

But after all, the Groenlanders, as to their Manners and common way of Life, are very flovenly, nafty, and filthy; they feldom wafh themfelves; will eat out of Plates and Bowls after their Dogs, without cleaning them; and, what is moft naufeous, they eat the Vermin which feed on them. They do not blufh to fet down and eafe themfelves in the Prefence of others; every Family has an Urine-Tub placed before the Entry, in which they make Water, and leave it fo ftanding till it fimells infufferably; for they put all the wet Skins which are to be dreffed, to fteep in it, which affords a loathfome Scent; to the increafing of which, the rotten Pieces of Flefh and Fat, thrown under their Benches, contribute a great deal. Yet notwithftanding this nafty and moft beaftly way of Living, they are very good-natured and friendly in Converfation. They can be merry and bear a Joke, provided it be within due Bounds; never any of, them offered to hurt the Danes, unlefs provoked to it; but on the contrary, reverence them as a Nation fuperior to themfelves.

I I. The Reader will not fuppofe thefe Folks are overnice in their Apparel, and yet they are far from being deficient in that Point. Their Cloaths are, for the moft Part, made of Rain-Deer and Seal Skin, as alfo of Birds Skin nicely dreffed and prepared, for in this lies their greateft Ingenuity. The Mens Drefs are a Coat or Jacket, with a Cap or Hood fewed to it, to cover the Head and Shoulders, in the Fafhion of a Domino or Monk's Hood. This Coat reaches down to the Knees; their Breeches are very fmall, not coming above their Loins, that they may not hinder them in getting into their fmall Boats; and as they wear no Linen, the Hair of the Skins the Coat is made of is turned inward, to keep them warm. Over this Coat they put a large Frock made of Seal Skin, dreffed and tanned without Hair, to keep the Water out; and thus they are dreffed when they go to Sea. Between the Leathern Frock and the under Coat they were a Linen Shirt, or for want of Linen, one made of Seal-Guts, which alfo helps to keep out the Water from the under Coat; of late they appear fometimes in more fhewy Dreffes, as Shirts made of ftriped Linen, and Coats and Breeches of red and blue Stuffs, which they buy of Danifh or Dutch Merchants, but fafhioned. after their own Way. In thefe they make Parade when they keep Holidays afhore. The Stockings they wore formerly were made of Rain-Deer or Seal Skin, but now they are better, fuch as worfted Stockings of different Colours, white, blue, and red, which they buy of the Danes; their Shoes and Boots are made of Seal-Skins, red or yellow, well dreffed or tanned. They are nicely wrought with Folds behind and before, without Heels, and fet well upon the Feet.

The only Difference in Drefs between the Men and the Women is, that the Womens Coats are higher on the Shoulders, and wider than the Mens, with higher and larger Hoods. The married. Women, that have got Children, have got much larger Coats than the reft, moft like Gowns, beaufe they muft carry their Children in them upon their Backs, having got no other Cradle or fwadling Cloths for them. They wear Drawers which reach to the Middle of their Thigh, and over them Breeches. The Drawers they always keep on, and fleep in them. Their Breeches come down to the Knee; thefe they do not wear in the Summer, nor in the Winter, but when they go abroad, and as foon as they come home they pull them off.

Next to their Body they wear a Waftecoat, made of a young Fawn's Skin, with the hairy Side inward. The Coat, or upper Garment, is allo made of fine coloured SwanSkins, trimmed and edged with white, and nicely wrought in the Seams, and about the Edges, which looks very well. Their Shoes and Boots, with little Difference, are like

## Chap. I. lying round the NORTH POLE.

thofe of the Men. Their Hair, which is tery long and thick, is braided, and tied up in a Knot, which becomes them; they commonly go bare-headed, as well without as within Doors; nor are they covered with Hoods, but in Cafe it rains or fnows. Their chief Finery is to wear Glafs-Beads of divers Colours, or Corals about their Neck and Arms, and Pendants in their Ears; they alfo wear Pracelets of black Skin fet with Pearls, with which they alfo trim their Cloaths and Shoes.

The Groenland fair Sex have, befidesthis, another Sort of Embellifhment, viz. they make long black Strokes beeween the Eyes, on the Forehead, upon the Chin, Arms, and Hands, and even upon the Thighs and Legs. Thefe they make with a Needle and Thread made black, and though this to others feems disfiguring and frightful, yet they think it very handfome and ornamental; and they fay thole who do not thus decorate or deform their Faces, their Heads fhall be turned into Train-Tubs, which are placed under the Lamps in Heaven, or rather in the Land of Souls. They keep their Cloaths pretty clean, though in other things, efpecially in their Victuals, they are not fo nice, particularly the Women, who have got Children are very dirty, well knowing that they cannot be repudiated or divorced. But thofe which are barren, or whofe Children are dead, and do not know the Moment they may be fent away, are obliged to be more careful in point of Cleanlinefs, that they may pleafe their Hufbands, and enjoy Maintenance and Protection from them.
12. The Commodities Groenland affords, for the entertaining of Commerce, are Whale-Blubber or Fat, and Whale-Bones, Sea-Unicorn-Horns, Rain-Deer Skins, and Bears, Seal and Fox-Skins. Thefe Wares they ufed to barter againft the following Merchandizes, viz. Coats and Shirts, made of white, blue, red, and ftriped Linen, or Woollen-Cloth ; as alfo Knives, Hand-Saws, Needles, Hooks to angle with, Looking-glaffes, and fuch other Merchandizes, or hard Wares; befides what they buy of Wood, as Rafts, Poles, Deal-Boards, Chefts; and of Brafs and Copper, as Kettles, and the like; Tin Difhes and Plates, for which they pay to the full Price. At the Beginning of the Danifh Settlements in thofe Parts, the Trade was much brinker than at prefent, and much more profitable; for foreign Traders flocking there in great Numbers, fo over-ftocked them with Goods, and underfold one another, to draw the Natives to them from others, that the Trade is now conftantly flackened and fallen. Yet fays Mr. Egede, from whom we take this, if we once become Maiters of this Trade, as it in juftice belongs to us, by the Right the King of Denmork claims to thefe Countries, as much as to any Kingdom or Province fubject to him; I truft, continues he, that with this Provifo, the Trade to Groenland would prove as profitable as any other Trade whatfoever, which has been evidenced not long ago; when, by his Majefty's fpecial Order, the foreign Trade has been prohibited within a certain Diftance on each Side of the Colonies. For if the lading of fome Ships with Fifh and Train, from Finmark, and others with Fifh, Train, Salt-Meat, and Butter, from Iceland and Ferro, bring to the Traders confiderable Profit ; who would queftion but the fame, or better Advantage, may be expected from the importing Quantities of WhaleTrain, Whale-Bones, Rain-Deer Hides, Fox and SealSkins, which are of more Value than the Iceland or Ferro Commodities? And if the Produce of Groenland was formerly reckoned of that Importance, that it was efteemed fufficient to maintain the King's Table, why not alfo at prefent, provided Groenland may, by Settlements and Improvement, receive its former Abundance, which is not impolible?
If the old Lands, formerly inhabited and manured by the Noxway Colonies, were again peopled with Men and Itocked with Cattle, they would, without doubt, yield as much as either Iceland or Ferro, feeing there is as good Pafture Ground as in thofe Inlands. I fhall forbear to mention Salmon and Cod-fifhing, as it feems at prefent to be of little or no Importance, efpecially on the Weft-fide; though I am credibly informed by the Natives, that on

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the Southern Coaft they catch abundance of fine Large Cods ; yet this may be more than fufficiently compenfated by the Whale-fifhery on the North, and the Capture of Seals on the South, which, if rightly undertaken, and with Vigour fet on foot, will bring as much; nay far more, Profit than the Salmon and Cod-catching does in other Places, chiefly the catching of Seal, which can be undertaken at very fmall Expence, viz. at the Coaft, with ftrong Nets, with which they may catch many thoufands in Groenland, which if hitherto not practifed, ought to be imputed to Negligence, and want of a good Regulation. In hhort, Groenland, as we fee, is very convenient for trading, and may be very well worth one's while to take in hand, but there is little to be done without an eftablifhed and formed Company of Men of Subftance as well as Refolution, it being altogether impofible for any private Man to mafter and go through with it.

The Ignorance Thewn by thefe People of a Creator would make one believe they were Atheits or Naturalifts; for when they have been afked whence they thought that Heaven and Earth had their Original? they have anfwered nothing but that it had always been fo'; but if we confider that they have fome Notion of the Immortality of Souls, and that there is another much happier Life after this; as they are addicted to different kinds of Superftition, and that they hold there is a Spirit, which they call Torngarfuk, to whom they afcribe a fupernatural Power, though not the Creation or the Production of Creatures, one would think they did own a God. But notwithftanding all their 'Superftitions are grounded upon the Notion they have of Torngarfuk, whom their lying Angekuts or Prophets hold for their Oracle; yet the Commonality know little or nothing of him, except the Name only; nay even the Angelkuts themfelves are divided in their whimfical Ideas they have formed of his Being; fome faying he is without any Form or Shape, others giving him that of a Bear, others again pretending he has a large Body, and but one Arm, and fome make him as little as a Finger, $\varepsilon^{3} c$.

They affign him his Abode in the lower Regions of the Earth, where they tell you there is conftantly fine fun-hiny Weather, good Water, Deer and Fowls in abundance. They alfo fay he lives in the Water, wherefore when they come to any Water; of which they have not drunk before, and there is any old Man in the Com ${ }^{-1}$ pany, they make him drink firft, to take away its Torngarfuk, or the malignant Quality of the Water, which might make them fick and kill them. They hold likewife that a Spirit refides in the Air, which they name Innertirror $\int 0 k$, that is, the Moderator or Reftrainer, be-caufe it is purfuant to his Order, that the Angekuts command the People to reftrain or abftain from certain earthly things or Actions, that they may not come into HarmsWay. According to their Theology, there are Spirits that govern all the Elements, and their Conjurers pretend ta have familiar Spirits, and to be able to do great Matters. They are, however, a Crew of Knaves and Lyars, and it would give very little Satisfaction to the Reader to infert their Fables, which are not at all more falle than they are foolifh, and ferve to fhew us that tho Reafon may go a great Way in teaching Men how to manage their Affairs in this World, yet it is far from being ftrong enough to penetrate into the Secrets of the other World, and of a future State.
Their Notions of the heavenly Bodies ate very whim: fical; they fay the Moon was once a young Man, and the Sun a young Woman his Sifter, with whom he was familiar in the Dark; but that fhe, being defirous to find out her Lover, rubbed her Hands with Soot, with which the marked his white Deer-Skin Coat, and hence they fay are the Spots in the Moon. The Sun, flying from his Embraces, afcended into the Air, whither the Moon followed her, and ftill continues to purfue, without being able to overtake her.

Yet for all this Nonfenfe, they have given Names to many of the Stars, and Conftellations, viz. The three Stars in the Belt of Orion they name Sickiur, that is Separated, becaufe thefe three, they fay, before their Metempfychofis, or rather Metamorphofis, were three honeft

Groenlandersy

Groenianders, who being out at Sea a Seal-catching, were bewildered, and not being able to find the Shore again, were taken up into Heaven. Urfo Major, the great Bear Star, is ftiled by thofe who dwell in the 64th Degree, Tugto, or Rain-Deer; while they that live in the Bay of Difco, at 99 Degrees, call it Affelluit, the Name of a Tree to which they tie their Line when they fhoot Seals, Taurus, the fecond Sign in the Zodiac, is named Kelluckturfet, or Kennel of Hounds, who feem to have a Bear among them; by this Conftellation they reckon their Hours by Night. Iverfuck, that is two Perfons that contend with Songs or Verfes in taunting one another, as is cuftomary among the Groenlanders. Thefe two Stars are in the Conftellation Tourus, of which we have already fpoken, and there too is Aldeboren, or Nennerroak, that is, a Light who lights the two Singers.

Canis Major is called Neleragnek, which is a Name of a Man amongft them. This they fay has got on a Coat ef Rain-Deer Skin. Gemini, Auriga, and Cupella, are named Killoub Kuttuk, that is the Breaft-Bone of Heaven. When two Stars feem to meet together, they fay they are vifiting one another; others will have it to be two Women, who being Rivals, take one another by the Hair. Concerning Thunder and Lighening, they fay that two old Women live together in one Houfe in the Air, who now and then fall out and quarrel about a thick and ftiff out-ftretched Seal-Skin; becaufe fuch a Skin, if beaten as a Drum, has fome Likenefs to the Noife of Thunder; whilf they are thus by the Ears together, down comes the Houfe with great bouncing and cracking, and the Lamps are broken, the Fires and broken Pieces fly about the Air, and this, in their Philofophy, is Thunder and Lightning. In their aftronomical Syftem, the Heaven turns about the Point of a huge Rock.

The Snow, according to their Fancy, is the Blood of the Dead, on account that it turns reddifh if you keep it in the Mouth. The Rain comes from a Ditch or River above in Heaven. When it overflows there, it rains here below. They have no Kalendar or Almanacks, nor do they compute or meafure the Time by Weeks or Years, but only by Months, beginning their Computation from the Sun's firft rifing above their Horizon in the Winter, from whence they tell the Month, in order to know exactly the Seafon in which every fort of Fifh, SeaAnimals, or Birds, feek the Land, according to which they order their Bufinefs. As to their Diverfions, they have many, fuch as Running, Leaping, Wreftling, Football and Dancing.

The moft fingular Circumfance however in this Reipect is, their Talent for, and mighty Delight in, Poetry. Inthis, from the Specimens we have received in the Relations of Groculand lately publifh'd, it appears that they are far from wanting either Genius or Method. The Poems they compofe are a kind of Lyric Odes, the Harmony of which depends both upon Rhyme and Quantity, there being a vifible Regularity in the Number of Syllables of which their Verfes are compofed, and a plain Regard to Cadence even in our Manner of reading them. They ufe this fort of Poetry, which, all Things confidered, is as far from being rude as it is from being exact, to exprefs all their Paffions, fuch as Love, Joy, Grief, but more efpecially Anger; for when two People quarrel in this Country, they challenge each other not to fight, for that they never do but in Jeft, or by way of Diverfion, but to contend in Verfe; and he who firft wants Words to exprefs himfelf in this poetical Duel, is held to be conquered, and fo the Controverfy ends without either Blood or Law-fuit.
13. We have given this large Defcription of this Country, and thefe People, becaufe both were very much wanted; nothing of this kind having occurred in any of our Collections of Voyages. It accounts for what happened to Capt. Davis and his People, which we have related in the former Book; as alfo, for what befel Capt. Hudfon's Crew, after they had bafely deferted their Captain. It fhews how confiftent thofe Relations may be with Truth, which feem to be inconfiftent with themfelves, by fhewing that Savages, that are gentle, kind, and humane to each other, may be faithlefs, thievifh,
and cruel to Strangers, as thefe People really are from Principle; becaufe they look upon the reft of Mankind to be of a different Race, and therefore they don't think that they are obliged to treat them as they do one another.

We may likewife fee from hence, how ingenious thofe People are in providing Neceffaries for themfelves, who difcover, notwithftanding, very little Genius or good Senfe in contriving for the Conveniencies of Life. The Boats of the Groenlanders are'very perfect in their Kind; their Cloaths not only fufficient for Covering, and very warm and ftrong, but alfo well-fhaped and neatly put together ; and their Inftruments for Hunting and Fifhing admirably contrived in every refpect; but then their Houfes are very poor, their Manner of living very wretched, and the Bounds of their Knowledge almoft as confined as the Animals upon which they feed. Their Skill and Succefs in former Inftances plainly fhew that they they do not want Capacity; and the Rudenefs of their Condition in other Refpects, is plainly owing to theirWant of Education; or, if I may be allowed to ufe the Word, becaufe it exprefles my Meaning better, Cultivation: Their Minds are not barren, but produce few Things for Want of a Variety of Seed fown in them; and this fhews the Advantage of Commerce, not only for improving the Circumftances, but for enlarging and bettering the Underftandings, of any People.

Trade will not mend the Climate of Groenland, but it may enable the People to live more comfortably there: Fifh, Train-Cil, Skins, Furs, and whatever elfe the Country produces, or can be made to produce, when converted into Commodities, will bring the Inhabitants Variety of Conveniences, will enable them to convert their Huts into Houfes, and change their inhofpitable Deferts, not into a fine and pleafant, but into a tolerable, Country and at the fame time will enrich thofe who take the Pains to trade with, and civilize, thefe People. If this could be done effectually, they might be made ure of to perfect thofe Difcoveries, that politer and wifer Nations have not hitherto been able to make. They may be employed to find out how far the Country behind them is inhabited to the North; and whether, after advancing nearer the Pole, the Climate continues to grow more rigorous, or, as fome have imagined, not altogether without Reafon, becomes milder.
Our general Notions, with refpect to the Situation of the different Parts of the Globe, are not always confirmed by Experience: The Ancients thought the Torrid Zone uninhabitable, on the Score of Heat, but we now know with Certainty, that they were miftaken; neither is it impofible that in thinking the Land or Sea abfolutely frozen under the Pole, we may be miftaken likewife. That an Experiment of this Kind would not be impracticable to the Groenlanders, appears from hence; that as cold as their Country is in 69 Degrees, there are Perfons living, who have advanced full ten Degrees farther North, without finding the leaft Inconveniency from the Cold, in the Day-time. Upon this Occafion, I will take the Liberty of obferving, that there is no Country in the World, the Inhabitants of which might make Difcoveries of more Importance than the Groenlanders, as may appear from what the Reverend Mr. Egede tells us he learned among them: "According, fays he, to the Relation "s and Opinion of thofe that inhabit the Gulph of Dijco, "s their Country is an Inand, which they incur from the "s frong Current that runs from the North, and keeps "s the Ice open, even in the Midift of the Sea. They "s will alfo tell you, they have fpoken with People dif"ferent from themfelves, on the other fide of the Ice, "6 and haled them. Their Language, they fay, is the "f fame, but the Perfons different; fo that a fmall Streight " only divides Groonland from America. The Streights "c are fo narrow, that Men on both Sides can fhoot, at " one and the fame Fifh. The Continent fartheft to the " North, is all covered with Ice, the Ifland's only un"s covered, where Rain-Deer, Geefe, and other wild Birds, "6 are found in great Numbers."

I muft confefs, I am not very well fatisfied with this Account, and believe that the Danes may with little

Trouble,

## Chap. I.

 Sying round the. NORTH POLE.Trouble, engage the Groenlonders to gain them in time a better, and more certain Account; for, without doubt, in one Summer, they might do more towards the fettling the Poffibility, or' Impoffibility, of finding a North-welt Paffage by their Difcoveries on Land than we have been able to do, in upwards of one hundred and fifty Years, by Sea; befides, they might alfo make. Difcoveries on the oppofite Coaft, looking towards Spitzbergen; which would lead us to a Certainty, whether there be an open Sea on that Side, or not; a Thing which, as the Reader will fee hereafter, is a Matter of far greater Importance than is commonly imagined. It was to penetrate into thefe Secrets of Nature, and to open to Mankind the entire Knowledge of the Univerfe, that fo many Expeditions were made towards the North, by the Englija and Dutch, in the Beginning of the laft Century ; but which, after all, ferved only to difcover another Country to the Eaft of Groenland, which, for any thing that is hitherto known, is abfolutely uninhabited, but mutt not therefore be left undefrribed, efpecially as we want not fufficient Materials for that Purpofe.
14. The Country of Spitzbergen, or Greenland, lies the neareft to the North-Pole of any yet examined by Seamen, that is, from 76 to 82 Degrees North Latitude; but whether it be Continent or Inands is not yet difcoveed. It received its Name of Greenland from the Englifs, on Account of its being thought Part of Old Groenland; but the Dutch call it Spitzbergen, that is, fharp Mountains, becaufe the icy Rocks of this Country mount like Pyramids, one behind, or rather, above another, to marvellous Heights. There are great Difputes as to the Difcovery of this Place: For, on the one hand, we affert that it was found out by Sir Hugh Willougbby, in 1553 ; which the Dutch deny, and have invented a Country called Willougbby Land, and placed it in their Maps, to quit themfelves of this Difficulty. He was afterwards frozen to death, with his Ship and Company, in the River Arzana in Lapland, leaving upon his Table an Account of his Difcoveries, drawn up in very concife Terms: Wherein he mentions failing for feveral Days on the Weft-fide of a Country, in a very high Latitude, which it is believed, and on very good Grounds, could be no other than Greenland. After this, Mr. Stepben Burrows, in the Year 1556, arrived in the Latitude of $7^{8}$ Degrees, and failed along a Coaft altogether defolate, the Ice blue, and abounding with Birds, to the Latitude of 80 Degrees IIMinutes; which was certainly no other than Greenland.
The Dutch Difcoverers were William Barentz, and Fobn Cornelius, who vifited this Country in 1595, and called it Spitzbergen. Our Maps differ from the Dutch, becaufe the Names of Places in them are all Englifh; whereas, in the Dutch Maps, they are in their own Language; which however determines nothing as to the Matter of Fact, or who were the firt Difcoverers. If we decide the Points according to Evidence, the Difcovery perhaps ought to be adjudged to the Englif/; but the prefent Poffeffion, and the Profits refulting from thence, are moft undoubtedly wholly in the Dutch.
15. Spitzbergen is actually undifcovered on the North, fo that it is not poffible to fay with Certainty, how it is bounded: On the Weft it has the Northern Ocean ; on the South, the fame Ocean between it and the Mufcovite Lapland; on the Eaft an undifcovered Country, to which It is joined by an Ifthmus ; on the Weft-fide of it lies Cbarles Ifland, which is divided from the main Land by a narrow Streight called Foreland Ford, between which and Muscle Haven are the higheft Mountains, moft of which are of a red Colour, and reflect the Sun-beams fo as to feem all on fire; but feven of the Mountains, all of a remarkable Sharpnefs, are of a fine Sky-blue. SoutbHaven is the moft commodious Place on the Inand, affording all the Conveniences neceffary for repairing leaky or damaged Ships, and is fo large that thirty or forty Sail may ride at Anchor there very conveniently; here alfo may be had frefh Water, from the melting of the Snows ; for as to the Rivers they are brackifh, as far as hitherto they have been difcovered, and no Springs or Wells have been yet found.

The Mountains about Soutb Haven are very high, efpecially on the Leift; and in the Midit of the Harbour is an Iland called Deadiran's Ifland, becaufe fuch as die in the Voyage are ufually buried here; if the Bodies can be preferved from the Bears, they remain uncorrupt for many Years. There are feverai Inlands in this Neighbourhood, called Foroll flands, from the prodigious Number of Birds that are bred there. The next capacious Haven is that called by the Dutch, Mourice Bay, where fome have wintered: , Near this Place were a few Cottages built by the Dutch, for the Convenience of making their Oil, and this Place they call Smearbourg, or the Haerlems Cookery. In the North Bay there is an Inand which the Dutch call Voegelfang, from the great Noife which the Fowls make when they take their Flight; whence fome have imagined the famous Problem of our Birds of Paffage may be eafily folved, fince they fuppofe they are bred in the Fowl-Ifands, and at a certain Seafon of the Year fly fouthward from the Illand before-mentioned. Deer Sound is fo called from the Abundance of Deer which feed about it, though the Soil feems to be all Slates fet edgewife. Mufcle Heven lies at the Nicuth of the Waygate. Martens a Fumburgher, who has given us the beft Account of this Country, failed as high as 8 I Degrees North, where the Ice hindered him from approaching.
I6. The Soil of Greenland is for the moft part nothing but Rocks, or Heaps of vaft Stones, fo very high, that half of them are loft in Clouds; the Valleys between them are full of Stones and Ice, which fall from thofe prodigious Mountains. About Deer Sound and Mufcle Flaven there is fome low Land, which is alfo itony, and, for the moft part, covered with Snow and Ice; and this being melted, as ir fometimes is in the Summer, difcovers nothing but a barren Soil, covered with Heath, Mofs, and very few Plants. Such of the Mountains as are expofed to the warm Air and Sun-beams are likewife covered with Heath and Mofs; and, in the Clifts of thofe Rocks, there are infinite Numbers of Fowls, that reft there all the Year.
The Dung of thofe Birds, with the Mofs wafhed down by the melted Snow, makes a rich kind of Mould on fome Places near the Shore, where it produces a kind of Lettuce, Scurvy-grafs, exceeding mild and pleafant, Sorrel, Snakeweed, Moufe-ear, Heart's-eafe, wild Strawberries, Houfe-leeks, Wall-pepper, and fome Plants unknown to us. The Sea is obferved not to be fo falt here as in other Places, and changes (as it does every where) its Colour with the Sky. If the Air be clear, the Sea is blue; if cloudy, green; if foggy, yellow; in ftormy Weather, quite black: But there is one thing remarkable, which is, that, in fair Weather, the Sea is fo clear, that you may fee ten or twelve, or even fourteen Fathom deep. The Air is fo coid, that there is almoft a continual Froft, which is ffrongeft in April and May, and then in a manner intolerable, efpecially if the Wind blows from the North or Eaft; South or Weft Winds bring Snow or Rain, and moderate the Cold. In Fune, Fuly, and Auguft the Weather is ufually calm; and in the laft two Months, but efpecially in futy, the Sun fhines fo hot, as to melt the Tar between the Seams of a Ship, if the Wind cannot come at it.

The Sun appears about the Middle of February, and difappears about the ift of OEfober; but they have-a Twylight when he comes near their Horizon. From the Beginning of May to the ift of Auguff the Sun never fets; yet they reckon Day and Night very eafily: for, when he is in the Weft, they call it Night; and, when he comes about again to the Eaft, they reckon aroother Day begins. It is obferved, by Martens, that the Light of the Sun is then like that of the clear Moon, fo that Men may look upon it without dazzling their Eyes.
17. The Beafts of this Country are white Bears, very differently fhaped from thofe that are feen eifewhere; they have long Heads like Dogs, and bark like a Dog that is hoarfe. They are leaner and fwifter than other Bears, and very bold. Some of them are fix Feet high, and fourteen Feet long; and there has been fometimes an hundred Weight of Fat taken out of one of them. When any of them are killed and not carried off, the reft eat
them; but when they are attacked, and begin to howl, fuch as are within hearing run to their Affiftance, and the old ones will rather fuffer themfelves to be killed,' than defert their Young. The largeft are thofe which are called Water-Bears, which live upon what they can get at Sea, and have been fometimes found fourteen Miles from Shore. The Skins of thofe Creatures make very comfortable Cloathing for fuch as travel in the Winter, and are drefled at Spitzbergen, by treading them in hot Sawduft.

The Deer in Greenland are grey and fhaggy in Spring, afterwards of a dunky Colour, with cleft Feet, and Horns like a Hart, or Elk. They have three or four Branches on each Side, about two Inches broad, and a Foot long; their Ears are long, and their Tails fhort. By feeding upon the ycllow Mofs, they grow fo very fat in three Months, that they cut fomctimes four Inches deep on the Ribs, which enables them to hold out during the Winter; and yet many of them are ftarved, and in the Spring they are all very lean. At the Sight of a Man they fly; but, if he fops, they ftop too, and this gives an Opportunity for thooting them. Their Flefh is exceeding good roafted. There are Foxes here of various Colours, and prodigious Numbers of Seals, or Sea-dogs, and Seahorfes, which are the fame that, in the South-Seas, are called Sea-lions; Animals which we fhall hereafter defrribe. There are very few Land Fowl; but of Water Fowl abundance, yet none fo curious as to merit a Defcription here.
18. As for the Fifh on this Coaft, they deferve Notice, becaufe the taking them is the fole Motive that brings Ships into thofe Seas, where the Whale-finhing is carried on with great Profit. The true large Whale differs from the reft of the Fith fo called by his having no Teeth, inftead of which, on each Side of the upper Jaw, grows the Whale-bone, in four or five hundred different Blades, at equal Diftances, fome exceeding twelve Feet in Length, and a Foot broad at Bottom, growing narrow upwards, like the Sticks of a Fan inverted, the largeft of them weighing about twenty Pounds.

He contracts and dilates the Diftances of thofe Blades at the fhutting and opening his Mouth, making them ferve as Strainers, to feparate the Water from the Shrimps, Prawns, and fuch fmall Fifh as his Food confifts of; and, for the fame Purpofe, on the Infide of the Bone, next the Tongue, grows a Quantity of Hair, to make ftill a finer Percolation, which is the more neceffary, becaufe, notwithttanding the Bulk of a Whale's Body, the Throat of the largeft is not above a Foot wide. His Bones are hard, like thofe of four-footed Beafts; but, inftead of having one large Cavity in the Middle, are porous, and full of Marrow. His Eyes meafure about fix Inches over, with Eye-lids and Hair like a Man's. His Belly and Back are quite red; his Flefh is coarfe and hard, like that of a Bull, mixed with many Sinews, and is very dry and lean, becaufe the Fat lies between the Flefh and the Skin. The Fat is mixed with Sinews, which holds the Oil as a Spunge does Water ; the other ftrong Sinews are about the Tail, with which he turns and winds himfelf, as a Ship is guided by a Rudder.

He fwims as fwift as a Bird flies, and makes a Track in the Sea like a large Ship under fail. Befides the uppermoft thin Skin, there is another almoft an Inch thick; but neither of them are very ftrong, which is believed to be the Reafon why the Whale does not exert that mighty Force that might be expected from a Fifh of its Size. They are mightily tormented with Lice, which makes them fometimes foring out of the Sea in an Agony. It is alfo believed they feel great Pains in their Bodies before a Storm, which makes them twift and tumble violently while the Wind blows from the Eaft; but, notwithftanding their violent Agitation, they are naturally very timorous. The middle Sort of them are from fifty to fixty Feet long, and yield from feventy to a hundred Barrels of Blubber; though fometimes they are much larger. Martens mentions one that yielded a hundred and thirty Hogheads. This Blubber lies immediately under the Slin; they cut it into thin Slices, which are put into hot Coppers. The Oil foon melting out, the Skin is thrown away. The Tail
ferves for a Chopping-block, upon which they cut the Blubber before it is boiled. The Manner of taking the Whale deferves a particular Defcription.
19. As foon as the Fihhermen hear a Whale blow, they cry out, Fall, fall! And then every Ship gets out its Long-boat, in each of which there are fix or feven Men; they row till they come pretty near, then the Harpooneer ftrikes him with his Harpoon, which is a fharp Iron, refembling the Head of an Arrow, fixed to a Stick ; and this requires great Dexterity. Through the Bone of his Head there is no ftriking; but, near his Spout, there is a foft Piece of Flefh, into which the Iron finks with Eafe. As foon as he is fruck, they take care to give him Rope enough; for otherwife, when he goes down, as he frequently does, he would inevitably fink the Boat: and this Rope he draws fo quick, that, if it were not well watered, it would fet the Boat on fire. The Line faftened to the Harpoon is fix or feven Fathom long, and is called the Forerunner. It is made of the fineft and the fofteft Hemp, that it may nip the eafier. To this they join a Heap of Lines, of ninety or a hundred Fathom each; and, when there are not enough in one Long-boat, they borrow from another.

The Man at the Helm obferves which Way the Rope goes, and fteers the Boat accordingly, that it may run exactly out before; for the Whale runs away with the Line as faft as the Wind, and would overturn the Boat if it were not kept ftrait. When the Whale is truck, the other Long-Boats row before, and obferve which Way the Line ftands, and fometimes pull it: If they feel it ftiff, it is a Sign the Whale ftill pulls in Strength; but if it hangs loofe, and the Boat lies equally high before and behind upon the Water, they pull it in gently, but take Care to lay it fo that the Whale may have it eafily again, if he recovers Strength. If he runs out one Level, as he fometimes does, they take Care not to give him too much Line, becaufe he fometimes intangles it about a Kock, and fo pulls out the Marpoon. The fat Whales do not fink as foon as dead, but the lean ones do, and come up fome Days afterwards. They begin to ftink as foon as they expire, and their Fleff ferments, creating fuch a Steam as inflames weak Eyes. When they fee him fpout out Blood, they know that he draws towards his End, and then prepare for cutting him up. In order to this, they hawl him clofe to the Shipficle, and with great Knives flice his Sides, raifing the Blubber by a Hook and a Pully, which they lift up as they cut. Many of thefe great Flakes they ftring upon a Rope, and fo drag them on Shore, where they are heaved up by a Crane laid upon the Whale's Tail, and chopp'd into fmall Pieces; afterwards hew'd into Pieces no bigger than Trenchers, and fo thrown into Coppers; and as foon as they become brown, are called Fritters, taken out, and caft away.

The Liquor is then laded out into a Boat half full of Water to cool and cleanfe it; and thence, by long Troughs, that it may be more cool, conveyed into Hogfheads clofe to the Shore. In the mean time the Head is cut off, and drawn as near as can be to the Shore, and hoifted up by a Crane till the Whale-Bone is cut out, and tied up by Fifties, and then the reft of the Head is boiled for Oil. The Tongue, which in its Figure refembles nearly that of a Wool-Pack, is craned up with great Care: That of a large Whale will weigh about eight Ton, and will yield from fix to eleven Hogfheads of Oil, tho? there have been Inftances of their yielding twenty-four Hoghtheads ; but this is look'd upon as a Thing very extraordinary. The Ships that ufe this Trade carry thirty or forty Men, five or fix Sloops, and from four-hundred to eight-hundred Hogtheads of Blubber. Their Arms conffit of fixty Launces, fix Sea-Horfe Launces, forty Harpoons, ten long Harpoons for friking Whales under Water, fix fmall Sea-Horfe Harpoons, and thirty Lines of ninety or a hundred Fathom each.
20. There are in thefe Seas feveral other kind of valuable Finh, many of which are looked upon to be of tha Whale-kind; of thefe the mort remarkable is the FinFifh, which is full as long, tho' not fo thick, as the Whale, by two Thirds: He blows Water higher than a

Whale


The Whale Fishery and Kilifig the Bears.



## Chap. I. lying round the NORTHPOLE.

Whale of his Size, thence called the Trumpeter; his Lips are brown, and twifted like a Rope, and the WhaleBone hangs to his upper Lip; in Colour he refembles a Tench; and is fo nimble, as well as ftrong, that the Fifhermen dare not ftrike him with a Harpoon near the Ice, becaufe by a fudden Jerk he is able to pull them and the Boat under it. When thefe Fifh come upon the Coafts it is a Sign that the Whales are gone. The Horfe-Whale, which is alfo called the Morfe, the Whalerufh, or the SeaHorfe, in Shape refembling the Seal, but in Size is full as big as an Ox; the Head is thick, round, and exceeding ftrong; the Neck is covered with fhort Hair, and with a Skin near an Inch thick; upon the reft of the Body the Hair is longer, but the Skin thicker; in their upper Jaw they have two long Teeth, from twelve to twenty-fix Inches, which are clofer, whiter, and keep their Colour better than any kind of Ivory. This Creature feeds upon Herbs and Fifh, and is very bold, making toward the Boat as foon as he is attacked, and endeavouring to overfet it, by leaping into it; and when he cannot effect this, he fometimes beats Holes through it with his Tufks. They are not eafily killed either with Shot or Blows, and therefore the Seamen ufually difpatch them with Launces.

When Whales happen to be fcarce, the Oil and Teeth of this Creature make up the Voyage. The DragonFifh has two Fins on his Back, and two Holes in his Neck, through which he fpouts the Water; his Body is long and thin, his Skin greyifh, and glitters like Silver. The Buthopf, or Place-head is another Fifh of the Whale-kind, with a Spout-hole in his Neck, his Back brown, his Belly white; in Length from fixteen to twenty Feet: And it is to be obferved that they fwim along by the Shore-fide. TheWhite-fifh is as large as the Buthopf, and is very fat. When there is Plenty of there Finh, it is a Sign of a good Whale-Seafon. The Sea-Unicorn has no Fin upon his Back, but a Spout-hole in his Neck, their Bellies are white; they are from fixteen to twenty Feet long, and are chiefly valued for their long and wreathed Hom, which proceeds from their Snout, and is exceedingly white and firm; which Horn, when they are purfued, they fometimes thruft above Water. His Danifs Majefty's Throne is compofed entirely of thefe Horns, which were formerly efteemed as Specifics againft Poifon. All thefe Fifh fwim againft the Wind, and are obferved to tumble againft Storms, which fome attribute to their having the Cramp in their Bellies.

The Saw-Fifh, or Sword-Fifh, is of all Sizes from two to twenty Feet long: He is fhaped like a Man's Arm ; his Eyes ftand high out of his Head; his Sword is fometimes fmooth and fometimes ribbed or indented like a Saw. This Creature is by Nature an Enemy to the Whale and Fin-Fifh, purfuing them with the greateft Eagernefs. A few of them will difpatch a great Whale, and then they eat no part but the Tongue. In calm Weather the Fifhermen are often Spectators of the Combat; and when they perceive the Whale dying, they row towards him, upon which the Sword-Fifh retreats and leaves his Prey in their Mands. The Hay is another Enemy to the Whale, and of thefe there are feveral forts; they are generally of a grey Colour, and from one to three Fathom in Length. Of all Fifh the Hay is the moft voracious, for it bites great Pieces out of the Whale, as if they had been dug with Shovels, infomuch that fometimes Fifhermen take Whales that have half their Blubber torn away in this Manner. The Liver of this Fifh abounds in Oil, and is exceffively large. The Flefh of their Back, when dried fome Days in the Air, is accounted tolerable Provifion eicher boil'd or roafted, and the lefs the Fifh the better. They are caught by a large Hook, baited with Flefh, and faftened to a ftrong Iron Chain; and in the Sea, if Men fall over-board by Accident, the Hays in their Turn devour them.
21. There are, befides Spitzbergen or Greenland, fome other Illands in thefe Seas that deferve our Notice, fuch as Cherry-Iland, which lies directly South of Spitzbergen, in the Midft between it and the Continent of Europe. It was fo called in, 1603 , in honour of Sir Francis Cberry, by a Ship's Crew which he had fitted out. There were

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for many Years after many profitable Voyages made to this Place, which lies in the Latitude of 74 Degrees and. 5. Minutes; and where, in one Seafon, they made ttrentytwo Tons of Oil out of the Fleih, and got three Hogfheads of Morfe's Teeth. In the Year 1610 , the Ruffar Company took Poffeffion of it, and that Year they killed. a thoufand Morfes, and made near fifty Tons of Oil: They likewife difcovered three Lead and Coal Mines upon this and the fmall Iflands near it, and found the Country fo hot towards the End of the Month of Jume, that the Pitch ran down the Side of their Ship. This Inand alfo abounds with feveral forts of wild Fowl and Seals; and there are likewife in it a vart Number of Bears. It does not appear that for the laft hundred Xears any Ships have-vifited this Coaft.
On the South-Eaft of Spitzbergen lies the great Country of Nova Zembla, which has been difcovered from 58 to 68 Degrees of Latitude. It is very uncertain whether it be an Inand, or joined to the Continent; for that which is called the Streights of Weygatz, and is fuppofed to divide this Country from Rufia, is but a frefh Water Bays In the Mufcovite Tongue, Nova Zembla fignifies New Land. It is a moft wretched Country, and yet not altogether deftitute of Inhabitants. This Land was firft dif covered by the Englifh, and afterwards frequented by the Dutch; and their famous Pilot, William Barenz, perifhed in a Voyage made hither in I596. Some Maps lately publifhed in Ruffa, fay, that this Country is joined to that of the Sammoieds by the Pater-nofer Mountains; and there are fome Maps that join it with Spitzbergen or Greenland on the North. However, all this is very uncertain at leaft, and I think very improbable. The Dutch, who winter'd therein, affert, that this Country produces neither: Leaves nor Grafs; but Mr. Hudfon, who vifited it in the Summer, fays, The high Land was very green and pleafant, on which he faw large Herds of Deer grazing. Farther Difcoveries are expected from the Incluftry of the Ruflans, who have already made great Progrefs in their Searches on this Side.
Fobn Mayens Ifland, as the Dutch call it, lies to the South-weft of Spitzbergen; it lies from South-weft to North-eaft ; the Extremity of it is in the Latitude of 7 I Degrees 23 Minutes. There were formerly abundance of Whales in the Sea which wafh the Shore of this Inand, but their being removed farther northward, is the Reafon that this Illand is in a Manner forfaken: There is a Mountain towards the northern Part of it, which extends quite a-crofs the Inland: It is of a prodigious Height, and abfolutely perpendicular, being difcernable thirtyMiles off, at Sea; Beerenbergen; i. e. Bear-mountain, from the prodigious Numbers of thofe Creatures that have been feen upon it; there are feveral good Bays, the Names of which I need not fet down, becaufe, they are no longer vifited. This Coaft, though it is allowed that the Land is habitable, and abounds with Stone; Fifh, and in all Kind of Deer, is forfaken. The greateft Inconveniences attending the Navigation thereabout, is the vaft Quantities of Ice which float on all Sides, but efpecially towards the Eaft, where, in the Spring, it is abfo: lutely inacceffable.

The many Hardfhips and Difficulties to which People are expofed in Voyages to thefe Places, and the many Loffes and Misfortunes that happened to fuch as were employed in the Fifheries upon thefe Coafts, brought them into Difcredit with us, and by Degrees occafioned their being totally deferted, notwithftanding the great Pains that had been taken to promote thefe Difcoveries originally; yet it is very certain, that the Confufions which happened here, in the Time of the Civil War, contributed not a little to check Endeavours of this fort ; and one may very fafely affirm, that thofe unhappy Times were very prejudicial to our Navigation, by confining Mens Thoughts and Endeavours to Things of immediate Profit which are foon worn out, and diverting them from Difcoveries which, how hard and difficult foever, in the Beginning, commonly turn in the End to the greateft Account. Thus we were brought by Degrees to abandon thefe Northern Expeditions, as dangerous, ufelefs, and unprofitable, though we had feveral Advantages over other

Nations:

Nations; and from perffting in which the Dutcb have actually raifed one of the moft confiderable Branches of their Commerce; forfuch, next to their Herring, the Greentand Finhery is efteemed, and very juftly too, as thall be fully hewn in its proper Place. This Advantage however may be faid to have refulted to us from thefe Difcoveries, that it has given us an indubitable Right to refume and purfue them whenever it fhall be judged neceffary or expedient; and perhaps there may come a Time when this will be thought an Undertaking worthy of Encouragement.

Cberry IJland, before-mentioned, lies in the Latitude of 74 Degrees; the Weather in Fune, July, and Auguft, is not only warm, but extreamly hot, fo that, in 1610 , the melted Pitch is faid to have run down the Ship-fides. In this Ifland thère are both Lead and Coal Mines, and in the Seafon of the Year a very profitable Fifhery might be carried on there; perhaps too, greater Advantages might be found out by leaving People to winter in that Inland, which is very well feated for Difcoveries. But it may be faid, that this can never be attempted, becaufe there is no Reafon to imagine that any Englifs would be prevailed upon to ftay in fuch a miferable Place. But to this I anfwer, That two Things ought to be confidered; the firft is, that Cberry Ifland, in all Probability, cannot be a worfe Place than fome of the Factories belonging to the Hudfon's Bay Company; where fome People actually refide at no very confiderable Expence; and that in the Compafs of a Year, we have many condemned in England that, either from the Nature or Circumftances of their Crimes, are very juftly held to be no fit Objects of Royal Mercy ; but if fuch Perfons would make it their Choice to go and winter in this Inand, in order to obtain their Pardon, in cafe they furvived, it might turn to the Advantage of their Country. And I do not doubt, if the Profits that might be probably acquired by a regular Voyage thither every Year were clearly ftated, there would be People enough found willing to furnifh the Expences neceffary for recovering this Trade, which in a few Years would become equally beneficial to them, and to their Country in general. I hint this Matter here for the Employment of their Thoughts, who have a truly public Spirit, and would be glad to fee any thing attempted that may encourage Induftry, promote our Navigation and encreafe our Commerce. I fhall add but one thing more upon this Head; which is, that fo long ago as King Alfred, the Founder of our naval Force, thefe Seas were vifited, and a very profitable Fifhery carried on.; and therefore I can fee no Reafon why we fhould fuppofe that it is impracticable now; and if not impracticable, why it may not be attempted with reafonable Hopes of Succefs, by the prefent Generation : We confider ourfelves as much more knowing, and at the fame time as much more powerful, than our Anceftors were in thofe Days, and therefore it ought to be thought fcandalous in us, to fall Thort of them in Induftry, which every one muft acknowledge to be the Cafe, when Branches of Commerce which were enjoyed by them are loft to us, and that Lofs too abfolutely unregarded.
22. We are very far from having any Certainty that Greenlan! 'is united, on the Eaft, to any other Country whatever : Some have imagined that it was joined to Nova Zembla, but the Difcoveries made by the Dutch in 1670 , have difproved this; for they advanced a great way behind the laft-mentioned Country, and found nothing but Snow and Ice. In order therefore to give fome Account of the Arctic Regions lying next to Greenland on this Side, we mutt have Recourfe to the Expeditions made for Difcovery from Japon. We have, in our former Volume, given fome Account of the Land of Yedzo , or Fe efo, which lies to the North of the great Inand of Nipbon, which is the largeft of thofe known to us by the general Name of Fapon, and from which it is moft probable that Word was framed. The Faponefe are very bad Sailors, and confequently have not been able to make any great Difcoveries on that Side. Our Countryman Mr. Willian Saris, of whom I have given the beft Account I was able, in the former Part of this Work. had a, Commifion from the Government of

Fapon to make Difcoveries on that Side; but it does not appear that he had any Opportunity of executing this Commifion; if he had we hould probably have had a better Account of this Country than we have at prefent, or indeed are ever like to have, in confequerce of any Difcoveries made from Fapon by the Natives.

This Commifion was granted to Mr. Saris in the Year 16I3; and about feven Years after, Father Angelis, a Sicilian Jefuit, adtually went thither to plant the Chriftian Faith, and from him we had the firft tolerable Account of this Country. Some other Miffionaries followed him, and from their Accounts it appeared, that $\mathcal{F} f \int J o$ was neither a very excellent nor a very defpicable Country, in fome Things very far fhort, in'others rather better, than Fapon. The Climate they found to be very cold, but withal very wholefome; the People lefs fprightly, but much honefter, than the faponefe; the Produce of the Place they found not much to be boatted of, but as they came to be better acquainted with it, they were well informed that it was very rich in Silver Mines, and that prodigious Quantities of this precious Metal were yearly tranfported to Japon; notwithfanding which the Traders from this Country brought thofe People, annually, confiderable Quantities of filver Ear-rings, and other Toys; for which they paid a high Price. I mention this Circumftance becaufe fome of the Portugueze Writers would perfuade us, that becaufe filver Rings are brought from Fapon to Feffo, there can be no Silver Mines in the laft-mentioned Country; whereas, by comparing the original Authors, from whom they take their Accounts, it is very evident that the Fact is as we ftate it; neither is there any thing ftrange in it; for in Mexico, where Silver is the principal Commodity, Silver-Toys, and indeed all forts of wrought Plate, fell very dear.

Thefe Miffionaries however deliver it as their Opinion, that the Country of $7 e f f_{0}$ is an Inland, which agrees very well with the foponefe Accounts; but then they diftinguifh better the Upper and Lower Jeffo; the latter they make an Ifland, the former a Contment, the Northern Parts of which they fay are not difcovered, that is, they are not known to the Faponefe; but, as we fhall fhew hereafter, they are not only known, but have been conquered by the Ruffians, who have extended their Empire to the Frontiers of that of Fapon, if we allow the Country of Feffo to make a Part of the Faponefe Dominions; and that it is really dependent upon the Empire of $7 a p o n$, is no longer to be queftioned.

But it is now time to fpeak of the Dutch Difcoveries on this Side; and in order to have a clear Notion of thefe it is requifite to obferve, that the Dutch Eaft India Company, after they had eftablifhed themfelves in the Inand of Formofa, and had fettled their Commerce in Gapon, began to think that it would contribute greatly to the Advancement of their Affairs, if they could find a nearer Paffage into Europe from thofe Countries, and therefore they determined to try whether a North-weft Paffage might not be found on that. Side, which would have been the fame Thing as finding a North-eaft Paffage from Europe. In 1643, the Company fitted out from Batavia two Sloops for this Difcovery; the firft was called the Bufkins, commanded by Capt. HenryCornelius Scbaep; the other, the Caftricoom, under the Orders of Martin Heritfzoom Van Uriez. The Inftructions that the Commanders received were, that they fhould fail on the moft Northern Point of the Illand of Fapon, and from thence to the Height of 56 Degrees; but the former of thefe Veffels being feparated from the latter in a Storm, and obliged to feek for Shelter in one of the. Ports of $\mathcal{F} a p o n$, there was an End of their Expedition, it being feized, and the Crew made Prifoners; but Capt. Uriez, in the Caftricoom, continued his Voyage, and made thofe Difcoveries which will render his Name immortal. In the Latitude of 42 Degrees he difcovered Land, and failed to the Height of 43 Degrees, along a Coaft which was tolerably well peopled, and landing feveral times, was informed by thofe People, that there were feveral rich Mines in their Neighbourhood.

As he failed higher, he found the Country mountainous, covered with very high Trees, and, as the People informed him, abounding with Silver Mines; he called
the higheft of the Nountains Pico Antonio; and tells us fornia and Gapon, is a Point I believe no reafonable farther, That the Country thereabouts was very like that of England, that is to fay, a rich Clay, covered with Grais and Herbs, and at a Diftance he faw very wide Downs. There is no fort of Doubt, that this was the Faft Coaft of the Continent of Geffo. He proceeded from thence through a Gulph, which in the Latitude of 55 Degrees 50 Minutes difcovered itfelf to be a Streight about fourteen Leagues, or fomewhat more than forty of our Miles broad, in the Midft of which was an Inand, and two vaft Continents on each Side. He called the Inand States Land ; the new difcovered Continent, Company's Land; and to the Streights he gave his own Name, which they have ever fince borne, and thefe are the famous Streights of Uriez; which are fuppofed to divide the Continent of Afa from that of 'America; the Land of Feffo, which belongs to Afa, lying on the Left-hand, and Company's Land, which is fuppofed to be Part of America, on the Right.

If this Notion be well founded, then the Country between California and the Streights of Uriez, comprehends no lefs than 80 Degrees of Longitude, and is confequently one thoufand fix hundred Leagues in Extent. The Account that Capt. Uriez gives of States Ifland is, that it is full of high Mountains, the Tops of which are covered with Rocks, without Trees or Grafs: He gives us a large Defcription of the Country on the Left-hand, which is the Land of $\mathcal{F}$ effo; but I do not find that he landed upon the Company's Land at all, or made any farther Difcoveries about it; we muft therefore confine ourfelves at prefent to this Land of Feffo, with which the Mufcovites have brought us better acquainted; for they, by travelling from Siberia, have difcovered that, in the Latitude of 59 Degrees, there is a Gulph which feparates the Continent of Great Tartary from a Peninfula, which they call the Country of Kamt fchatcka which extends from the 42 d Degree of Latitude, which is the moft fouthern Part of the Continent of $\mathcal{F e} / \sqrt{0}$, to 65 Degrees 30 Minutes, and there is bounded by the Ocean.

This Country is divided from the Peninfula of Corea and Great Tartary, by a Gulf of its own Name, and from Company's Land by the Streights of Uriez; fo that we need be in no farther Perplexity about the Land of $\mathcal{F} f l 0$, fince it appears plain to be the fouthern Extremity of this vaft Country, of which the Ruflans are in a great meafure Mafters, and actually navigate that great Sea which feparates Afa from America, in which they have difcovered large Iflands, well peopled, and abounding with various rich Commodities.

- All thefe Difcoveries plainly fhew what vaft Advantage would accrue to the maritime Powers, if a Paffage to the North-eaft were practicable; and perhaps, whoever confiders thefe Difcoveries attentively, will be apt to think it might be done, more efpecially when it is remembred that the Dutch, who were employed in 1670 , in endeavouring to find a North-weft Paffage, advanced within a very few Degrees of that open Sea which is commonly navigated by the Ruffans, and which had infallibly brought them to the Coafts of Fapon and Cbina; fo that it feems equally ftrange that in former Times, when there was no Sort of Knowledge in our Part of Europe, of the Vicinity' of thefe Countries to the Rufian Doniinions, fo many Attempts fhould be made (as will appear hereafter) to the North-eaft, and that none at all fhould be made now, when there is a kind of moral Certainty that fuch a Paffage might be difcovered.

The only fatisfactory Reafon that, as I apprehend, can be given is, the Dutcb are now of Opinion, that the Difcovery of a North-eaft Paffage, or indeed of any other Paffage to the Indies, except that by the Cape of Good Hope, would be extremely prejudicial to them, and therefore think no more of it; and as we are generally governed in our Notions of Things by what the reft of the World thinks, we likewife have quitted all Thoughts of finding fuch a Paffage ; but the Confideration of this Matter belonging properly to another Place, we will fay nothing more of it here, but proceed to the proper Bufinefs of this Section.
23. That there is fome Country or other between Cali-

Man ever doubted, though it muft be confeffed, that no fuch Country has been ever hitherto clearly difcovered: I fay, clearly, becaufe fome obfcure Hints we have both of Continents and Ilands within the Extent before* mentioned. I have, in fome Spanibh Authors, met with an Account of one Frederick de Gama, who in paffing from the Pbilippines to Mexico, difcovered in a high Latitude a very fine Country, along which he failed for a few Days together, and if I am not miftaken, there are in fome Spanifb Charts the Coafts of this Country laid down; but as it is many Years ago fince I faw thefe Charts, I cannot take upon me to fpeak of this Matter with any Degree of Certainty. I mint however obferve, that there is no great Weight in the Objection commonly made to this Suppofition, as if the Spaniards muft certainly have difcovered thefeCountrles, or fome of them at leaft in their Acapulco Ships, and this for two Reafons; firft, becaufe it is certain they really have difcovered feveral Iflands; and next, becaufe for the fake of an expeditious Paffage, they fail in too low a Latitude for making any of thefe Difcoveries that we expeet, fince, I think, it is not probable that any Part of the Country between'Afia and America lies farther to the South than forty-five Degrees, and confequently is not within their Rout from the Pbilippines: but we are not entirely deftitute of Accounts relating to thefe Countries, though it muft be confeffed they are not fo diftinct and clear as we could wifh, yet, fuch as they are, the Reader will very probably be glad to fee them, and it is our Bufinefs to give them.

The firft that occurs is from the Account publifhed by Dr. Cox, in his Defcription of the Province of Carolana, of which he looks upon himfelf as the Proprietor, in virtue of feveral Grants from the Kings of England, the Validity of which I am fure I hall not difpute; and which takes in all, or the greateft Part, of the French Settleménts on the Mififippi. The Defign of the Doctor's Book is to fhew the Importance of this Country to the Crown of Great Britain, which I think he has unqueftionably made out, and in the fifth Chapter thereof he gives us a very large Account of a Part of that Country now under our Confideration, and therefore we fhall make no Scruple of inferting it here for the Reader's Perufal, who will very probably find many Things therein not eafy to be credited, but which, notwithftanding, deferve to be known and examined, and which certainly ought not to be abfolutely explöded, till by fome kind of pofitive Evidence the Facts he afferts are actually difproved.
"It will be one great Conveniency of this Country, "if ever it comes to be fettled, that there is an eafy "Communication therewith and the South-Sea, which " lies between America and Cbina, and that two Ways. «6 By the North Branch of the great yellow River, by "s the Natives called the River of Malforites, which " hath a Courfe of five hundred Miles, navigable to its " Heads or Springs, and which proceeds from a Ridge " of Hills fomewhat North of New Mexico, paffable "s by Horfe, Foot, or Waggon, in lefs than half a Day; "s on the other Side are Rivers which run into a great " Lake that empties itfelf, by another great navigable " River, into the South-Sea. The fame may be faid, "s of the River Mifchaouay, up which our People have "been, but not fo far as the Baron le Hontain, who "s paffed on it above three hundred Miles almoft due "Weft, and declares it comes from the fame Ridge "s of Hills above-mentioned; and that divers Rivers "s from the other Side foon make a large River, which, "s enters into a vaft Lake, on which inhabit two or three "s great Nations, much more populous and civilized "s than other Indians. And out of that Lake a great "River difembogues into the South-Sea, which is, " doubtlefs, the fame with the before-mentioned, the "Head of the two Rivers being little diftant from each " other.
"About twelve or fourteen Years fince, I had im" parted unto me a Journal, from a Gentleman ad" mirably well fkilled in Geography, efpecially of Ame"r rica; who had made thither divers Voyages from
${ }^{6}$ New England, and all our Englifh. Plantations in Ame${ }^{6}$ rica, and vifited moft Parts of the Gulph of Mexico; is where he became acquainted with one Captain Cox-
"s ton, a famous Privateer, who, towards the latter End
os of the Reign of King Cbarles II, was entertained in
"s his Majefty's Service. But whether he was difo-
"s bliged, or his Genius prompted him to follow his old
${ }^{66}$ Trade, having with his Carpenters fitted up a Ship
${ }^{66}$ of twenty-fix Guns, he failed to the South-Sea, with "s a Defign to take the Ship which comes annually
"from the Manillas, or Pbilippine Ifands, in the Eaft-
"r Indies, to Acapulco, the chief Port of Mexico; which
"s Ship, as he had been well informed, ufually made that
"s Part of the Continent that lies between Fapon and
os America, at a famous Point in 42 Degrees; but when
sc he came to the Head of the Ifland, or Peninfula of
© California (it being too foon, by fome Months, for the
${ }^{66}$ putting in Execution his intended Defign) rumaging
${ }^{6}$ o the Coaft, he difcovered a great River in about -

* Degrees North Latitude, which entered a great Lake
${ }^{66}$ near the Mouth, whereof he found a very conve-
©s nient Inand, where he ftaid two or three Months
${ }^{6} 6$ to refit himfelf, happening to have a Man aboard
${ }^{66}$ who underftood the Language of the Country.
cs The Natives finding he was engaged in Expedi
ec tions againft the Spaniards, treated him very kindly,
${ }^{6}$ fupplying him very chearfully with whatfoever he
© wanted, and he contracted great Friendfiip with
"s them: He calls them the Nation Thoya. The Spa-
${ }^{6}$ niards, as. I find, in divers of their Expeditions, call
${ }^{6}$ it Theyago, fometimes Tejago; they are often at War
${ }^{6}$ with the Spaniards, who have been always repulfed
"s by them. They bring thirty or forty thoufand Men
${ }^{6} 6$ in one Body into the Field. Thefe, and two other
"s neighbouring Nations, not much inferior unto
cs them, are accounted the moft Penfible and civilized
© Indians in America. When the Seafon came fit for
© 6 their Expedition, they failed Weft by South, and
"s happened to ftop, upon fome Occafion, at an Inand
"called Earinda, or Carinda; there were five in all
"c near each other, like the Canary Ilands, bur lay
"s rounder, and were thought, one with another,
${ }^{66}$ about fifty or fixty Miles in Compafs. The Inha-
©s bitants were not Thy of them, but fupplied them
${ }^{6} 6$ with Provifions, and brought them Gold to barter,
© for fuch Commodities of ours as they liked, and in
© 6 three or four Days, they purchafed eighty-fix Pound
${ }^{6}$ Weight of that Metal. The Natives told them they
"s were forry they had no more. They taking Care to
si provide only againft a certain Time of the Year, for
is Perfons who come from the Sun-fetting, at a particu-
"c lar Searon, and bartered divers Commodities with
s them for Gold.
"6 Thefe Traders, or Merchants, muft certainly be
© 6 the Inhabitants of Fapon, which I gather from a large
${ }^{6}$ Relation in the Hiftory of that Inland, publifhed by
cs the Dutch, and tranflated into our Tongue, and "s makes the fixth Volume of Ogleby's Collections. They
"s theirein declare, That they fent from Batavia two
${ }^{6}$ Ships (as they prétended) to difcover a Paffage for
"6 the North-eaft Part of Fapon, round Tartary, to
sc Europe, though 'tis very probable they had other
«6 Views. Thofe Ships were feparated a little Eaft of
© Fapon, by a Storm; the Caftricoom proceeded, and
es found the Streight entering into the Gulph of Tarta-
"c ry or Felfo, and fearched the Gulph on the Weft-fide
is to 49 Degrees. The other Ship, the Blefkints, having
s fuffered much by the Storm, put into the Port of
os Nambo, near the North-eaft End of Japon, not "6 doubting they fhould be kindly received, being in
© League, and having a free Trade with their Empire
"s but while they were refitting, they were unexpectedly
so furprized by the Faponefe, fent to Court, and very
os ftrictly examined, whether they had not been at, or
ss went not to difcover, the Gold Illands, as they called
66 them, lying to the Eaft, of which the Emperor
os is fo jealous, that it is capital for any to go thither es without his Permiffion, or to declare to others the Diftance and Situation of them; and had not the Dutch given uncontroulable Evidence ${ }_{3}$ that they had
's not been, nor were they going thither, but only upon ' the formentioned Difcovery, they had been all exe6 cuted.
" There are, upon the Coaft, between America and " Fapon, divers very large and fafe Harbours, and a " very good Climate; the Coaft ftretching South-weft " moitly from 40 to - Degrees of North Latitude.
" The Seas abounding with Fifh, and the Land with
"6 Fowls and Venifon ; the Inhabitants are fociable and
" hofpitable. I have a Draught and Journals of all the
\& Coafts from America, with thofe of diverfe Harbours, " until you are within about one hundred Leagues of the "6 Streight of Uriez, which the Dutch difcovered about
"f fixty or feventy Years fince; and which is the En"s trance of the Sea or Gulph of Tartary, lying one " hundred and twenty Leagues North-eaft from Nam" boe, the moft Northerly Haven or Promontory of c Japon. This Streight, or rather thefe Streights (there " being two made by a long Illand) are the Inlets into "s a great Sea or Bay, into which difembogues a vaft " River on the Weft-fide of it, between 49 and 50 " Degrees of North Latitude; navigable many hundred " Miles, by the biggeft Ships, and is made by the Con" flux of many large Rivers, fome of which come "from the South-weft, as Cbingola, Hiluras, Ola, Sun"goro, and their Fountains near the great Wall of Cbina, " and run through the Dominions of the Eaftern Tar-
" tars, who are now Mafters of Cbina. Other Rivers
"s from the North-weft, proceed from the Territories of ss the Czar of Mufcovy, who hath built divers large " and well fortified Cities, on the main River of " mour, and feveral of its Branches, as Negovim, Ne" pebou, Albazin, Argun, Nettinfkoy, \&c.
" This River of Xamour, or Amura, hath a Courfe © from its furtheft Fountains above one thoufand two "c hundred Miles, without any Interruption by Cata"s racts, fo frequent in all the other great Rivers in Muf"covy, as the Oby, Feneffeg, or Feneflca, \&xc. By this " River you may trade with the Inhabitants of Fed $\int$ "s for Furs, who have great Store, and thofe very rich; "6 they inhabit all the Coaft on both Sides the Mouth "s of the River, and a confiderable Way upit. You " may likewife traffic with the Mufcovites for the fame "Commodities, who fell them there for a fourth Part " of what they yeild in Mofcow, or Arcbangel; thefe " Parts being above 40 Degrees almoft due Eaft from
${ }^{6}$ Mofcore, their capital City, a moft prodigous tedious "s, and difficult Journey, as appears by divers large and "s accurate Journals, which have been many Years pub-
"6 lifhed in Print; and by means of the Rivers which
«s come from the South-weft, you may correfpond with
" the Eaftern Tartars, Cbinefe, and the great rich
" Kingdom of Tanguth, all now united under one and
" the fame Emperor, being very civilized Nations, and
" kind to Strangers. To fay nothing of the great and
" rich Pesinfula of Corea, which is contiguous to one
"s or two Branches of this River, was once a Province
ss of Cbina, hath the fame Manners and Language, and
"s is now tributary to the prefent Emperor. This Ri-
cs ver, and its Branches, are in a good Climate; it
"s never varying above two or three Degrees from a
"s due eafterly Courfe. Three or more Ships may be
"f fent every Year, who may part at the Streights of "6 the Tartarian Gulph, or Sea; one for Yedzo and the " River, another for Fapon, and a third for Nortb Cbi" na, to the great City Truxo, and the Port of Pekin, "s the Capital of that Kingdom, from which it is not
"، above one Day's Journey by Land or Water ; and
"s there is not a better Commodity, or of which more " Profit may be made, than of the Furs, which are fo "s eafily procured, and fo foon brought into that impess rial City, where, in the Court, and among the Gran" dees, there is a prodigious Confumption of them, and " moft extravagant Prices given for them, efpecially "s thofe of the better Sort, though even the meaneft "s come to an extraordinary good Market."

It muft be confeffed that there are fome very ftrange and fingular Paffages in this Relation, to which fome Objections might be made; but, however, I think it better to pafs thefe by at prefent, that we may bring in
all our Obfervations at once; fo as that they may affift and give Light to each other, and render the Subject upon the whole more intelligible. I fhall therefore proceed to another very curious and entertaining Relation, publifhed many Years ago, and fince revifed; and fome Remarks added by the ingenious Mr. Dobbs, to whom his Country is fo much obliged for the Pains he has taken to revive the Concern taken for, and Endeavours to find out, a North-weft Paffage. This Narrative is very clear in itfelf, and there is therefore no Sort of Neceffity that we fhould trouble the Reader with any farther Introduction; only it may be right to obferve, that it relates alfo to that Part of the Northern World of which we are now fpeaking.

The Viceroys of Nerv Spain and Peru, having Advice from the Court of Spain, that the Attempt for the finding a North-weft Paffage, which had been tried before by Hudfon and fames, was again attempted in 1609 , by fome induftrious Navigators from Bofon in New England, Admiral de Fonte received Orders from Spain, and the Viceroys, to equip four Ships of Force; and being ready to put to Sea the 3 d of April, 1640 , from Lima; the Admiral in the Ship Spirius, the Vice-Admiral, Don Diego Penelofa, in the St. Lucia, Pedro de Bernarda, in the Roffaria, and Pbilip de Ronquillo, in the King Pbilip, the 7 th of April, at five in the Evening, he got to St. Helen, in 2 Degrees South Latitude, where he took in a Quantity of Bitumen or Tar, by way of Medicine againft the Scurvy and Dropfy.' The Ioth he paffed the Equinox at Cape del Paffao, the I ith Cape St. Francijco, in I Degree 7 Minutes North I, atitude, and anchored at the Mouth of the River St. Fago, and took in there feveral Refrefhments. The 16 th he failed from thence to the Port and Town of Ralco, three hundred and twenty Leagues Weft-north-weft, Wefterly about II Degrees i4 Minutes North Latitude. It is a fafe Port, covered from the Sea by the Inands Ampallo and Mangreza, both well inhabited by Indians. Ralco is but four Miles over Land to the Head of the Lake Nicaragua, that falls into the North Sea, in 12 Degrees North Latitude, near the Corn or Pearl Iflands; here being plenty of fine Timber, he bought four Shalops, built exprefly for failing and rowing, about twelve Tons each, and thirty-two Feet in the Keel.
The 26th he failed from thence to Saragua, within the Iflands and Sholes of Chamilly, in 17 Degrees $31 \mathrm{Mi}-$ nutes North Latitude, four hundred and eighty Leagues North-weft by Weft from Ralco. From Saragua, and Compoffello, near this Port, he took in a Mafter, and fix Mariners ufed to trade on the Eaft-fide of California for Pearl; which the Natives catch on a Bank in Latitude 29 Degrees, North from the Baxas St. Juan, in 24 . Degrees North Latitude, twenty Leagues North-north-eaft from Cape St. Lucas, the South-caft Point of California. The Mafter the Admiral had hired, with his Veffel and Mariners, informed him that two hundred Leagues North from Cape St. Lucas, a Flood from the North had - met the South Flood, and he was fure it muft be an Inand. Don Diego Penelofa. undertook with his Ship and four Shallops, to difcover whether Califormia was an Inand or not, along with the Mafter and his Mariners, they hired at Saragua; but Admiral de Fonte, with three Ships, failed from them, within the Ines of Cbamilly, the roth of May, 1640 ; and having got the Length of Cape Abel, on the Weft-fouth-weft of California, in 26 Degrees North Latitude, one hundred and fixty LeaguesNorth-weft by Weft from the Ines of Cbamilly, the Wind fprung at South-fouth-eaft a fteady Gale; that from the 26 th of May, to the 14th of fune, he had failcd to the River of Rays, in 53 Degrees North Latitude, not having Occafion to lower a top Sail in failing eight hundred and fixty-fix Leagues North-north-weft, four hundred and ten Leagues from Port Abel to Cape Blanco, and four hundred and fixty-fix to Rio los Reys, and failed two hundred and fixty Leagues in crooked Channels, amongft the Iflands, named the Arcbipelago de St. Lazarus, where the Ship's Boats always failed a Mile a-head, founding to fee what Water, Sand, and Rocks there were.

The 22d of June Admiral de Fonte difpatched one of
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his Captains to Pedro de Bernarda, to fail up a fair River, a gentle Stream, and deep Water; he went fiift North-north-eaft, and North-north-weft, into a large Lake full of Inands, and one very large Peninfula, full of In habitants, a friendly honeft People in this Lake. He named it Velafoo, where Captain Bernarda left his Ship, nor all up the River was it lefs than four, five, fix, feven, and eight Fathom Water; both the Rivers and Lakes abounding with Salmon, Trouts, and WhalePearch, very large ones, fome two Foot long; and with three large Indian Boats, called Piragues, made of two large Trees, fifty and fixty Foot long; Captain Bernarda firft failed from his Ships in the Lake Velafoo, one hundred and forty Leagues Weit, and then four hundred thirty-fix Eaft-north-eaft, to 77 Degrees North Iatitude. Admiral de Fonte, after he had difpatched Captain Bermarda on the Difcovery of the North and Eaft Part of the Tartarian Sea, failed up a very navigable River, which he named Rio los Reys, that ran neareft North-eaft, but on feveral Points of the Compafs, fixty Leagues at low Water, in a fair navigable Channel, not lefs than four or five FathomWater; it flowed in both Rivers near the fame Water, in the River los Reys, twentyfour Foot, full and change of the Moon, a South-foutheaft Moon made high Water; it flowed in the River de Haro twenty-two Feet and a-half, full and change.

They had two Jefuits with them, who had been on their Miffion to 66 Degrees North Latitude, and had made curious Obfervations. The Admiral de Fonte received a Letter from Captain Bernardd, dated the 27 th of fune, 1640, that he had left his Ship in the Lake - Velafco, betwixt the Ifland Bernarda, and the Lake Conibaflet, a very fafe Port; he went down a River from the Lake, three Falls, eighty Leagues, and fell into the Tartarian Sea, in 6I Degrees with the Pater Jefuits, and thirty-fix Natives, in three of his Boats, and twenty of his SpaniJS Seamen; that the Land trended away North-eatt; that they fhould want no Provifions, the Country abounding with Venifon of three Sorts, and the Sea and Rivers with excellent Fifh (Bread, Salt, Oil, and Brandy, they carried with them); that he flould do what was pofible. The Admiral, when he received that Letter, was arrived at an Indian Town called Conalfet, on the South-fide of the Lake Belle (where two Pater Jefuits, on their Miffion, had been two Years) a pleafant Place. The Admiral, with his two Ships, entered the Lake the 22d of Fune, an Hour before high Water, and there was no Fall or Cataract, and four or five Fathom Water, and fix and feven generally; in the Lake Belle there is a little Fall of Water till half Flood, and an Hour and a Quarter before high Water the Flood begins to fet gently into the Lake Belle. The River is frefh at twenty Leagues Diftance from the Mouth or Entrance of the River los Reys. The River and Lake abound with Salmon, Salmon-Trouts, Pike, Perch, and Mullets, and two other Sorts of Fifh, peculiar to that River, admirable good; and Lake Belle alfo abounds with all thofe Sorts of Fifh, large and delicate; and Admiral de Fonte fays, the Mullets, catched in los Reys and Lake Belle, are much delicater than are to be found in any other Part of the World.
The firt of $\mathfrak{F u l y}, 1640$, the Admiral failed (from the Ships in the Lake Belle, in a good Port, covered by a fine Inland, before the Town Conafet) from thence to a River he named Parmentiers, after his Comerade Mr. Parmentiers, who had exactly marked every thing in and about that River, and paffed eight Falls, in all thirty-two Feet, perpendicular from its Source; out of Lake Belle. it falls into the large Lake he called Lake de Fonte, at which Place he arrived the 6th of $7 u l y$. This Lake is one hundred and fixty Leagues long, and fixty broad; the Length is Eaft-north-eaft, and Weft-fouth-weft, twenty, thirty, and in fome Places fixty, Fathom deep. The Lake abounds with excellent Cod and Ling, very large and well fed; there are feveral very large Inands, and ten fmall ones; they are covered with fhrubby Woods, the Mofs grows fix or feven Feet long, with which the Moofe, a very large Sort of Deer, are fat in the Winter, and other leffer Deer, as fallow, \& ${ }^{3}$. There are abundance of wild Cherries, Strawberries, Hurtle-

5 H
Berries,

Berries, and wild Currants, and alfo of wild Fowl, HeathCocks and Hens, likewife Partriges and Turkeys, and Sea-Fowl in great Plenty. On the South-fide of the Lake is a very large, fruitful $\ddagger$ fland, which had a great many Inhabitants, and very excellent Timber; as Oak, Ahh, Elm, and Fig-Trees very large and tall.

The +4 th of fuly, they failed out of the Eaft-north-ealt End of the Lake de Fonte, and paffed a Lake he named Eftricho de Ronquillo, thirty-four Leagues long, two or three broad, twenty, twenty-fix, and twenty-eight Fathom Water : They paffed this Streight in ten Hours, having a fout Gale of Wind and whole Ebb. As they failed more eafterly, the Country grew very fenfibly worfe as it is in the North and South of America; from thirty-fix to the extreme Parts, North or South, the Weft differs not only in Fertility, but in Tenperature of Air, at leaft ten Degrees; and it is warmer on the Weft-fide than on the Eaft, as the beft Spaniff Difcoverers found it, whofe Bufinefs it was, as it is noted by Alvarez Acofto and Mariana. The iyth they came to an Irdian Town, and the Indians told their Interpreter, Mr. Parmentiers, that a little way from them lay a great Ship, where there never had been one before; they failed to them, and found one Man advanced in Years, and a Youth: The Man was the greateft Man in the mechanical Parts of the Mathematics he had ever met with; the Admiral's fecond Mate was an Englifbman, an excellent Seaman, as was his Gunner, who had been taken Prifoner in Campeachy as well as the Mafter's Son.

They told him the Ship was of New England, from a Town called Bofon, and the whole Ship's Company came on board the 3oth, and the Navigator of the Ship, Capt. Sbapley, told him his Owner was a fine Gentleman, and Major-General of the fineft Colony in New England, called the Maflachufets, fo he received him like a Gentleman, and told him his Commiffion was to make Prize of any People feeking a North-weft or Weft Paffage into the South-Sea; but he would look upon them as Merchants, trading with the Natives for Beavers, Otters, and other Furs and Skins; and fo for a fmall Prefent of Provifions, he had no need of, he gave him his Diamond-Ring, which coft him one thoufand two hundred Pieces of Eight, (which the modeft Gentleman received with Difficulty) and having given the brave Navigator Capt. Shapley, for his fine Charts and Journals, a thoufand Pieces of Eight, and the Owner of the Ship, Seamor Gibbons, a QuirterCafk of good Poruvian Wine, and the ten Seamen each twenty Pieces of Eight, the 6th of Auguft, with as much Wind as they could lly before, and a Current, they arrived at the firft Fall of the River Parmentiers; the IIth of Auguf, eighty-fix Leagues, and was on the South-fide of the Lake Belle, on board their Ships; the 16th of Auguf, before the fine Town Conaflet, where they found all Things well; and the honeft Natives of Conaffet had, in his Abfence, treated his People with great Humanity ; and Capt. de Ronquillo anfwered their Civility and Juftice.

The 26th of Auguf an Indian brought a Letter from Conaffet on the Lake Belle from Capt. Bernarda, dated the IIth of Auguf, where he fent him word, he was returned from his cold Expedition, and did affure him, there was no Communication out of the Spanifb, or Atlantick, Sea, by Davis's Streigbt, for the Natives had conducted one of his Seamen to the Head of Davis's Streight, which terminated in a frefh Lake about thirty Miles in Circumference, in the 8 oth Degree of North Latitude; and that there were prodigious Mountains North of it ; befides, North-weff from that Lake the Ice was fo fixed from the Shore, to a hundred Fathom Water, for aught he knew, from the Creation; for Mankind knew little of the wonderful Works of God, efpecially near the North and South Poles: He wrote farther, that he had failed from Baflet Ifand North-eaft, and Eaft-north-eaft, and North-eaft by Eaft, to the 7gth Degree of Latitude; and then the Land trended North, and the Ice reited on the Land.

He received afterwards a fecond Letter from Captain Bernarda, dated from Minbanfet, informing him he made the Port of Arena twenty Leagues up the River del Roye,
the 26th of Auguf, where he waited his Commands. The Admiral having good Store of falt Provifions of Venifon, and Fifh, that Capt. de Ronquillo had falted by the Admiral's Orders in his Abfence, and an hundred Hogtheads of Indian Wheat, or Maize, he failed the 2 d of September, $6_{4} \mathrm{O}$, accompanied with many of the honeft Natives of Conaffet; and, on the 5 th of September in the Morning, about eight was at Anchor between Arena and Minbanfet in the River of Reys; after that he returned home, having found there was no Paffage into the Soutb Sea by that they call the North-wefl Paffage : The Charts will make this much more demonftrable.
" The Style of the foregoing Piece, fays Mr. Dobbs
"s very juftly, is not polite (being wrote like a Man whofe
" Livelihood depended on another Way, but with
" abundance of Experience, and like a Traveller) yet
" there are in it fo many curious and hitherto unknown,
"Difcoveries, that it was thought worthy a Place in thef
"Memoirs, and it is humbly prefumed, it will not be
"s unacceptable to thofe who have either been in thofe
" Parts, or will give themfelves the Trouble of reviewing
"s the Charts. By this Abftract of de Fonte's Voyage, "w which has all the Appearance of being authentic, it is " plain, that there is a navigable Paffage from Hudfon's "Bay to California, and though it has not had Juftice "c done to it in the Tranflation, and probably has not been "s exactly copied, or printed; yet, making an Allowance "for Errors of that Kind, it has throughout the Air "s of Truth: There may be, probably, fome Errors in " the Figures relating to the Degrees of Latitude and "Leagues in their Courfe, for the Length of the Lake " de Fonte is faid to be one hundred and fixty Leagues, "s and the Streight Ronquillo thirty-four. Upon his Re" "urn from the Bofon Ship, he is faid to have got again "s to the Mouth of the River Parmentiers in five Days, "s with a ftotit Gale and brifk Current, which, he fays, "s was eighty Leagues; which plainly ought to have " been one hundred and eighty, otherwife, with that "s ftout Gale and Current ; it would have been but fixteen, "Leagues in twenty-four Hours, and the other would " be but thirty-fix, which was reafonable failing. As to "s his faying there was no Paffage, although he met the "E Bofton Ship, I take his Meaning to be, that either "Bernardo found no Paffage by the North-weft of Davis's "Streigbts, the Way probably the Spaniards expected it, " or, that by his paffing upon a River ta Lake Belle, "s and down another to Lake de Fonte, by what he called "Sharps or Falls, he apprehended there was no navigable " Paffage for Ships the Way he went ; or he defired to "s difguife it, to prevent other Europeans from attempting *s it to his Country's Prejudice; and therefore he did not " publifh his Chart which he refers to in his Letter.
"s It is plain that it was an Inand below the Lake Belle, " which divided the River los Reys from the River Par" mentiers, and as the Seain Lake de Fonte was upon a " Level with the Sea at the Mouth of Rio los Reys, and "s the Tide flowed up that River into the Lake Belle, it ' muft alfo flow up the River Parmentiers, and the Sharps " and Falls be obferved in that River, were only the "Sharps occafioned by the feveral Ebbs he had in failing " down the River, being five Days in paffing to the Sea,
"fo that the great and true Paffage was without that "Illand, which the Admiral miffed, by getting among ss the Inands in the Arcbipelago of \$t. Laurence. It is a "Misfortune his Chart was not publifhed, which would " have given more Light as to the Lands, Lakes, and " Rivers he mentions, row we can only guefs in the " dark, and may be miftaken.
"However, I fhall venture to give my Opinion of "s their Situation, though I may not judge right. As I "s apprehend it the Arcbipelaga of St. Lazarus, and Rio " los Reys, and Lake Belle, and alfo the Lake of Velafco, "s are no Part of North America, but a Country diftinct " from it; the Paffage lying betwixt thofe Lands and "America; for in his Journal he fays he failed eight " hundred and fixty-fix Leagues North-north-welt from "Cape Abel, in California, in Latitude 26 Degrees, "s the laft two hundred and fixty of which was in crook" ed Channels, among Illands, until he got to Rio los
"Reys, in Latitude 53 Degrees; fince by all other Ac" counts the Coaft of Anzerica falls off North-eaft from "Cape Blanco. This muft have been a Country diftinct " from America; here he found two Rivers, one came " from the North, from the Lake Velafco, which Ber" narda failed up, and the other came from the North" eaft, from the Lake Belle, which lay betwixt Latitude " 45 and 55 Degrees. Upon what Point the Par" mentiers ran out of the Lake Belle is not mention" ed, but at Rio los Reys it ran South-weft. We may " fuppofe the other ran Eaft, or South-eaft, and fell " into the Sea, which he calls the Lake de Fonte, in " near the fame Latitude, that Lake, or Arm of the " Sea, ftretching thence Eaft-north-eaft one hundred and " fixty Leagues, if there was any Weft Variation, as " there is now, the North-eaft End of that Lake might " be in Latitude 57 or 58, almoft Weft of Cburchill ; " and the Streight Ronquillo running ftill North-eaft, " might end in Latitude 59. In two Days from thence " he came to an Indian Town, probably about Latitude " 60 , near which the Bofon Ship lay ; fo that it may be " imagined the Bofton Ship had paffed into fome of the
"Openings near Whale Cove, and got to Latitude " 60 , or, perhaps, to 59 Degrees, and was trading " for Furs, and the Ship might have been afterwards " loft or furprized by the E/fimaux, upon her return, " having but twelve or thirteen Hands aboard, fince no
" Account of this Voyage was ever tranfmitted from
"Bofon. Upon Enquiry, made by Order of Sir Cbarles
"Wager, whether any one of the Name of Shapley, which
" was the Mafter's Name, lived at that Time in Bofon, " it appeared from fome Writings, that fome of that
"Name then lived in Bofon, which adds to the Weight
" of de Fonte's Letter, and confirms its being an au"thentic Journal."
24. We have now gone compleatly round the Globe, making the North Pole our Centre; and have, fo far as the beft Difcoveries would enable us, given the Reader a Defrription of the Countries which lie in thefe cold Climates; this, for any thing I know, is a Work never before performed, or at leaft not fo fully and circumftantially. I mult, however, admit there would be no great Merit in doing this, if no Ufe could be made of it ; but this is very far from being the Cafe; for in the firt Place it opens to us the entire Knowledge of the terraqueous Globe; I fay the intire Knowledge, becaufe if we were once thoroughly acquainted with the Manner in which the Countries are difpofed about the North Pole, we might, from thence, gain tolerable Satisfaction with regard to the antarctic Regions, in refpect to which, from actual Difcoveries, we know very little. In the next Place, we ought to confider, that hitherto no new Countries have been found without confiderable Advantages refulting to thofe who difcovered them; and before we conclude this Section, we fhall fhew that the Whale-fifhing, in thefe Northern Seas, is an abundant Recompence to fuch as take the trouble of failing on them. There is yet a third Confideration, which is the Means of finding a Paffage, this Way round the Globe, which every body knows would be not only a great, but a gainful, Difcovery, more efpecially to us who lie fo conveniently for taking the Advantage of it, and to whom the bleak and barren Inands of the Orkneys, would become a kind of Indies, if once fuch a Difcovery was made. We can never, however, rationally hope for this, unlefs the Situation of all the Countries round the Globe, confidering the Pole as the Centre of the Northern Hemifphere, be tolerably well known.

What can be done with refpect to this, from the Pe sufal of actual Surveys has been already fhewn; we will now therefore endeavour to carry it a little farther, by adding Reafon to Experience, and refecting upon the Lights we have received. It is certain, becaufe it is felf-evident to every Reader, that the Countries round the Pole muft be difpofed in one of thefe three Manners : Firft they may be joined together, and alfo to fome of the great Continents already known. Or, 2 dly, they may be joined together, and make a diftinct Continent. Or, 3 dly, they may be feparated from each other, and
from all the other Continents. We muft allow, that there are Authorities, in favour of each of the three Dirpofitions, and therefore we will fpeak of them feparately, though very briefly. Firft then, that they are joined to gether, and to the known Continents, there are two Matters of Fact alledged in the Nature of Proofso The firlt is, that the People of Groenland, by which I mean the old Chriftian Colonies, had a Tradition of a Harald Goat, that travelled into their Country from Norway, which, whether true or falfe, by the Way proves nothing, or at leaft proves nothing to the purpofe. If the Story of the Goat be a Fable, there is an End of it; but if it was Truth, which, however, is very improbable, then it came by Sea, that is, in the Winter-Seafon upon the Ice; for that Groenland is not joined to Norwoy, is as certain as any thing can be. Tradition may probably prove fomething, where there is no other Evidence; but Tradition againft Evidence is Nonfenfe. The other Point of Fact is, that a Jefuit, who had been in California, going afterwards to the Pbilippines, and from thence to Cbina, fays there he faw a Woman whom he had known in the firft of thefe Countries, who faid fhe was brought thither over Land, except one or two little Streights which fhe paffed in fmall 'Veffels; but this does not come up to the Point, fince, however fmall thefe Streights might be, they moft certainly disjoin the Countries of each Side of them.

As to the fecond Opinion, that thefe Lands join together, though disjoined from the great Continent, I know nothing that has been faid for it, except the Tradition of the Groenlanders, about the narrow Streight between their Country and America, and of there being great Countries to the Eaft of them, of which they own they know nothing. The third Opinion, though it cannot be fully proved, feems to be very probable, and if it be not confiftent with Truth, looks, at leaft, very like it. It is thought that Groenland is disjoined from America by Davis's Streights, and that it is actually disjoined from Greenland we have tolerable Evidencee from thofe who have vifited the laft mentioned Coaft, none of them fpeaking of any Land on the Weft. It was formerly thought that Greenland, or Spitzbergen, and Nova Zem$b l a$ were the fame Continent, and that they were feparated from Rufia, or Tartary, by the Streights of Waygatz; but we are now fatisfied it is not fo, but that in all probability Greenland is an Inand, or rather a Clufter of Inlands, feparated by the Ocean, from the Land of Yedzo, as that Country moft certainly is from Companies Land, by the Streights of Uriez; as on the other Hand, this Arctic Continent is thought to be feparated from California, by the Streights of Anian. The Truth of the Matter feems to be, that there are a multitude of Inands of different Sizes, lying all round the North Pole, but how difpofed we cannot yet fay; and it is upon this Suppofition, that the Hopes of finding a North-eaft, or a Northweft, Paffage has been built.

What Reafons may be offered in both Cafes? What Attempts have been made? And how they have ended? the Reader will hereafter fee. At prefent we will content ourfelves with obferving, that fome very great Men have been of Opinion, that the moft probable, the moft feafible, and fhorteft Paffage, muft be by failing directly North, and under the very Pole itfelf. A bold and amazing Propofition at firlt Sight, and which we have more than once promifed the Reader fhould be fairly examined; for ftrange and furprizing as it feems, it is not all impoffible that it may be true. It has been already obferved, there are really fufficient Reafons to perfuade us, that the Countries round the Pole, are fo many Inands feparated from the known Continents, as well as from each other, it will thence appear highly probable that there may be an open Paffage immediately and directly under the Pole, becaufe it is plain there can be nothing but Sea there.
It may, indeed, be faid, that though there be Sea, there may, for all that, be no Paffage; in Proof of which it may be alledged, that the Dutch, in 1679 , found it impoffible to pafs for Ice, to the Northward of Nova Zembla; and if the Sea be thus frozen, in 79 or 80 Degrees,
what Reafon is there to believe that it is not much more ftrongly frozen in a higher Latitude? The Reafon feems to be clearly this: That freezing does not depend fo much upon the Latitude of Places, as upon their Situation, in other refpects; as is very plain from hence, that the moft intenfe Cold is felt in fome Parts of Hudfon's Bay, which lies very near in the fame Latitude with London. Now that under the Pole the Sea fhould not freeze, fome very ftrong Reafons may be given : Firft, it is not known that the main Sea ever freezes. Thofe vaft Mountains of floating Ice, that frequently render the Coaft of Groenland inacceffible, are formed three Ways: Firtt, by the falling of vaft Rocks of Ice, from the Mountains, into the Sea. Next by the Tides breaking up the Ice at the Mouths of great Rivers. And, laftly, by the Addition of Snow and frefh Water to the Sea Water, which weakens its Force, and difpofes it to freeze. We may alfo take Notice of what we have before heard of the Froft-Fogs or Vapours arifing from the Sea, through the Ice, which are allowed to be warm, and from whence we may, in fome Meafure, difcern the Caufe why the Ocean does not freeze.
Secondly, under the Pole itfelf, for fix Months, the Sun is continually above the Horizon, and confequently mult have a very great Effect, more efpecially on the Sea; fo that if we confider this Matter attentively, we cannot but be convinced that it is abfolutely impoffible the Sea fhould be frozen; ' on the contrary, there feems to be more probable Grounds to fufpect that the Heat may be troublefone. Thirdly, thefe Reafons are fupported, thefe Conjectures are verified, by daily Experience; for on the Coafts of Greenland, in the Latitude of 82 Degrees, the Heat is known to melt Pitch, when great Quantities of Ice, are unmelted on the Coaft in 69 Degrees. We may, from thefe Reafons, therefore conclude, not only with Probability, but with Certainty, that during the Summer, at leaft, there is a clear and open Sea under the Pole, and, if fo, the Paffage that Way is indifputably the fhorteft, the eafieft, and the moft practicable, that has been hitherto thought of. This was long ago obferved by the famous Sir William Monfon, as great a Seainan as this Nation could ever boaft, who affirms that the Paffage, this Way from England, to Cbina, does not exceed fifteen hundred Leagues.
But we will now proceed to Matters of Fact, and fhew that this not only may be done, but that it actually has been done; as will appear from the following Paper, communicated to the Royal Society, by Mr. 7ofepb Moxon, one of its Members; which therefore we flall tranfcribe, as a Piece that cannot fail to give the Reader, on this Head, as full Satisfaction as he can defire. Thus then it runs: "Among the many Effays that have been " made to find a clear Paffage to Fopon, Cbina, \&c. " the moft probable and likely, hath as yet (in my "Opinion) been overfeen, or, at leaft, not attempted; " and therefore I hall, hereby, communicate my Con"c ception to public Approbation or Cenfure; it is, that " a Paffage may very probably be about the North "Pole, and the Reafons inducing me to conceive fo is: " That we have no Certainty, from all the Difcoveries "c that have been made of any Land lying within eight "Degrees about the Pole; but on the contrary, I have " been credibly informed, by a Steerfman of a Dutch "Greenland Ship, that there is a free and open Sea un"s der the very Pole, and fomewhat beyond it; and I, " for my own Part, give Credit to his Relation, and " do conceive that any fober ingenious Man would do the "c like, did he know in what an honeft Manner, and by " what an Accident, I happened to hear it; for thus it ${ }^{6}$ was:
" Being about twenty-two Years ago in Amferdam, « I went into a public Houfe to drink a Cup of Beer "for my Thirft; and fitting by the public Fire, among "s feveral People, there happened a Seaman to come in, "c who feeing a Friend of his there, who he knew went in is the Greenland Voyage, wondered to fee him, becaufe " it was not yet Time for the Greenland Fleet to come es home, and afked him what Accident brought him "chome fo foon? His Friend (who was the Steerman.
${ }^{6}$ aforefaid, in a Greenland Ship that Summer) told that "t their Ship went not out to fifh as ufual, but only ". to take in the Lading of the whole Fleet, to bring it " to an early Market, E'c. But, faid he, before the "Fleet had caught Fifh enough to lade us, we, by Or"der of the Greenland Company, failed unto the North "Pole, and came back again. Wherenpon I entered " into Difcourfe with him, and feemed to queftion the "Truth of what he faid; but he did affiure me it was "s true, and that the Ship was then in Amferdann, and " many of the Seamen belonging to her ready to juftify " the Truth of it; and told me, moreover, that they "" had failed two Degrees beyond the Pole. I afked him " if they found no Land or Tliands about the Pole? He "s anfwered no, there was a free and open Sea. I afked " him if they did not meet with a great deal of Ice? " He told me no, they faw no Ice. I afked him what "Weather they had there? He told me fine warm "Weather, fuch as was at Amflerdam in the Summer" time, and as hot. I fhould have afked him more "Queftions, but that he was engaged in Difcourfe with " his Friend, and I could not, in Modefty, interrupt " them longer. But I believe the Steerfman fpoke Mat" ter of Fact and Truth; for he feemed a plain, honeft, " and unaffectatious Perfon, and one who could have ، no Defign upon me.
"But though I believe this Story, yet methinks I " hear many object againft it, and are apt to urge " three plaufible Reafons to prove it falfe, or, at leaft, " fome Particulars of his Relation : And firt, That it "cannot be warm under the Pole, becaufe that about "Greenland, and many other Parts lefs northerly, the Sea "s is fo full of great Bodies of Ice that Ships can hardly " fail for it. Secondly, if warm, yet not fo warm as at "Amferdam in the Summer-time, becaufe the farther "، northerly, the colder 'Weather. Thirdly, If they were " under the Pole, they could not tell how to come back, " but that they might as well go farther as return nearer " to home; becaule the Needle always pointing North, " they mutt therefore lofe themfelves in the North Pole, " where it mult refpect all Points of the Horizon " alike.
"One Anfwer may ferve to the firft and fecond Ob" jection, That it cannot be warm under the North "Pole, E $c$. If we confider the Experience of Travellers "" and Navigators, we are told, that between the Tro" picks, nay, under the Equinoctial, is generally as " moderate Weather as here in England in Summer-time; " why may it not then be as warm under the Pole as " here, or at Amferdam, in the Summer-time? The fnall "Height the Sun has there can be no Exception, for " then we, having the Sun, in its Summer-Soliftice, in " leffer Altitude than between the Tropicks, it muft " needs be colder here; which is contradicted: But one "Reafon why it is as warm here as between the Tropicks " is, becaufe between the Tropicks the Sun remains "above twelve Hours of twenty-four above the Ho"rizon, to warm it; when, as here, it remains al" moft feventeen Hours of twenty-four above the Ho" rizon, and therefore leaves a greater Impreffion of "Heat upon it ; and the farther northward we go, the " longer it remains above the Horizon, and lefs under " the Horizon every twenty-four Hours, till we come "within the Arctic Circle, where the Sun remains for " half a Year together; viz. all the Summer above the "Horizon, and never fets; and therefore, though his "Beams are not fo perpendicular, yet they muft needs "caufe a great Degree of Heat upon the Horizon. "And if it be argued, that it is fo cold about Green" land, \&xc. and the Seas fo full of Ice that Ships can " hardly fail for it, yet cannot that Argument prove that " it is fo about the Pole; becaufe the Ice is made about "Shores of Land, but never in open Sea, and comes " here only by Strength of Currents, or high Winds, "which do indeed carry it fome fmall Diftance from "the Shore;, but as this Relator faid, there is under " the Pole a free and open $\mathrm{Sea}, \mathcal{E}^{3} c$. and confe"quently clear of Ice, in Summer-time, at leaft.
"B Befides, Experience tells us, that all Land-breezes

## Chap. I.

lying round the NORTH POLE.
" are colder than thofe that come from the Sea, and "therefore it may be cold about Greenland, becaufe of "s the Land, yet warmer under the Pole while the Sea is " open, $\delta^{2} c$. The third Objection is, That if they were under the Pole they could not tell how to come back, " becaufe of the Indifferency the Needle fhould bear " to every Point of the Horizon. I examined not my "Relator upon this Argument, though when I was " parted from him I was forry I did not ; but it is eafy
" to apprehend how to guide a Ship either forward or " backward, by an Obfervation of the Sun a little before
" they enter the Pole; for by finding in, or near, what
" Meridian it is; or upon what Part of the Ship it bears, " whether on the Head or Stern, or Star-board or Lar" board; you may meafure Time near enough with " a Glafs, to know feveral Days after, in, or near, what " Meridian the Sun is, at any known or eftimate Time, " "and confequently know how to proceed, or come back
" with your Ship: Or, if the Moon have North Lati-
"s tude, you may do the fame by the Moon; but if the
"Pole were traded, in a fhort time it might be found by
" Variation of the Needle ; for there is doubtlefs Varia-
" tion in it, and in all the Meridians about it feveral
"Variations.
" Thus far it appears there is a free and open Sea in
" Summer-time (at leaft) about the North-Pole. But I
" thall add another Relation of Games Ben, whofe Eather
" lived about five Years ago in Crown-court in Ruffel-
" fireet, Covent-gerden, and himfelf now lives in Wap-
"ping : This Mr. Ben failed to Fapon with the Dutch, as
" a Carpenter of the Ship, and he told me that that
"Year, viz. 1668 , he was newly come home from Fapon.
"I afked him how long they were on their Way home from
"thence? He told me he could not very well tell.;
"becaufe when they failed from Fapon, the Captain
" commanded the Steerfman to fail due North, and they " did fail fo from thence for about four hundred Dutch
" Viles, which is almoft twenty-feven Degrees due
" North. I afked him if they met with no Land or " Illands, as I had done before the Dutch Greenland Steerf" man? He told me, No, they faw no Land; but "6 there was a free and open Sea; fo far as they failed no "Land appeared. I afked him, why they failed fo far "s northward? He told me he could not tell, only the
"Captain commanded it, $\varepsilon_{\vartheta} c$. but I fuppofe the Eaft
"India Company commanded the Captain, either to
${ }^{66}$ make a Difcovery of Land to increafe Trade, or to " fatisfy themfelves with the Knowledge of another Sea, "s that when they faw Reafon they might expedite their
"V Voyages between Holland and thofe Parts that Way.
"I was thus inquifitive' with him, becaufe ever fince I
"s heard the former Relation of the Greenland Steerfman,
"s harped on a Paffage through, or about, the North-Pole " to Fapon, Cbina, \&x. And by thefe two Difcoveries " it appears very probable there is fo, and that it is paffa" ble in Summer-time."

It is very ftrange, that a Paper of this Confequence fhould not be more confidered; more, efpecially, as it is certain, that to this very Time the Dutch Men of War, when any are fent with the Greenland Fleet, cruize conftantly very far to the northward, without meeting either with Obftructions or Inconveniencies from Ice or Cold. And I have been informed by a Gentleman who was Surgeon to one of thefe Men of War, that in the Latitude of 82 Degrees, the Sea to the North was open, and the Weather very hot in the Month of June. I cannot fay exactly what Year this was in; but by a Comparifon of Circumftances I am led to think, that it might be in 1718 or 1719. There being an open Sea at that Seafon very plainly fhews it to be always open; for it is impoffible, if it had been frozen in the Winter, that it fhould have thawed fo foon, or that there fhould have been no Inands of Ice floating in it, as has been obferved from the Iatitude of 57 Degrees, or thereabouts, to 80 .

The Reader will eafily obferve, that the Difcoveries that have been lately made, as to the true Figure of the Earth, and its being flatted towards the Poles, favour this Opinion and Account for the Sea's being always open. Vore II. Numb. $g^{6}$.

It may alfo deferve fome Notice, that perhaps there is no Occafion for failing fo high as go Degrees; for if a Paf. fage is to be found either to the Eaft or Weft, and the Sea be open, a Ship might fail cither Way, perhaps in the Latitude of 85 Degrees, which would make this fhorter and eafier, by bringing the Veffels fooner upor known Coafts. While I am upon this Subject I will take the Liberty of obferving, that if any Attempts fhould be made of this kind by us, the moft probable Method of doing it would be in concert with the Coure of Rufia, by procuring an Order from the Emprefs, to the Govern ors of the frontier Countries towards Fapon, to give fuch Affiftance or Relief as might be neceffary, to any Vef fel that arrived upon thofe Coafts; and it would be requifite that fuch an Order fhould be procured, and expedited the Year before the Attempt was made from hence; and that the Commander of the Frigate employed in this Expedition, might carry with him an authentic Copy of that Order, for hisown Security and Advantage.
I am very fenfible that a Multitude of Objections may be raifed againft fuch an Undertaking; but I am very confident they may be very eafily anfwered, and whoever confiders that fo long ago as 1553, Sir Hugh Willougbby difcovered the moft Northern Part of Ruflia; and though he perifhed, in the Attempt, opened thereby that Trade which has been fince of lo great Advantage to this Nation, we may very well hope, that at this Diftance of Time, and with all the greut Advantages that modern Navigators have, farther and more ufetul Difcoveries may be made, with much lefs Hazard: Atleaift, it is very right to fuggeft Defigns of this Nature to the Public, whether they, may, or may not, be thought practicable for the prefent; becaufe the very mentioning fuch Things, and thereby creating Difcourfes about them cannot but be attended with good Effects, becaufe we know that they were the very Means by which former Difcoveries were brought about, and we cannot think fo meanly of our Countrymen as to fuppofe that either their Courage, their Judgment, or their Spirit, is inferior to that of their Anceftors, though Accidents and Circumftances may induce fome weak People to think or encourage fome wicked Men to fay fo, in order to ferve their own Purpofes. But perhaps we can never entertain any probable Hopes of Succefs in this great Affair, until we engage once again in the Whale Fifhery; and that we may be encouraged to think ferioully of that, we will conclude this Chapter with a clearer and more perfect Reprefentation of this Trade, than to our Knowledge has been hitherto publifhed, which cannot therefore fail of giving the ingenious and inquifitive Reader great Pleafure and Satisfaction.
25. We are to obferve then, that it was towards the latter End of the fixteenth Century, that the Whalefifhing, on the Coaft of Spitzbergen, became confiderable, and was entirely in the Hands of the Englifh, till the Year 1573. This Commerce was, by a Company, which fent thither annually a few Ships, and they actually excluded the reft of their Countrymen, and endeavoured to exclude Foreigners. In the Year $\mathrm{I}^{6} \mathrm{I}_{3}$, they fent a Squadron of feven Sail, which found there fifteen Dutch, French, and Flemifb Ships, befides Englifb Interlopers. And the next Year, the Dutch fent eighteen Sail, of which four were Men of War. And, in 1615 , the King of Denmark fent a Squadron of three Men of War, to affert. his exclufive Right, but with fuch indifferent Succefs, that he thought fit to give up the Point. In 1617 our Company were more lucky than in any other Year, and actually made one thoufand nine hundred Ton*of Oil. The Dutch made, for many Years after, very indifferent Voyages ; and as their great Statefman, M. de Wit, well ob ferves, had certainly been beat out of the Trade, if it had not been laid open by the Diffolution of their Greenland Company, to which he attributes their having beat the Englifh, and almoft all other Nations, ont of that Trade, which they carry on to a prodigious Advantage. And as the fame great Author obferves, it is the beft Nurfery of their boldeft and moft hardy Sailors. But as we do not affect to deal in general Terms, which never can convey any clear and diftinct Notions of any Subject, we

Thall endeavour to diefcend to fuch Particulars, as may fet this Matter in the cleareft Light poffible.

It is agreed by the Dutch Authors, who have written on Whale-fifhing, that the moft fortunate Seafon they ever had, was in the Year 1697 . We will therefore confider the State of this Fifhery, for that Year, in order to fettle the Profits of it; and will afterwards compare it with Accounts received from Holland, of the Fifhery for 1744, communicated while this Section was writing, that we may the better judge how things now ftand. In 1697 there were one hundred and eighty-nine Veffels, of feveral Nations, employed in the Finhery on the Coaft of Greenland; of thefe the Dutch made one hundred and twenty-nine, but feven were loft upon the Coaft. The Hamburgbers had fifty-one, of which they loft four. The Sreedes had two; the Danes four; the Bremeners twelve; the Embdeners two; and the Lubeckers one. The Number of Whales taken that Year amounted to one thoufand nine hundred and fixty-eight, which the Dutch, and the Ships of other Nations before-mentioned, caught in the following Proportions, viz.

| Nations. | No. of Whales. | Calks of Oil. |
| :--- | :---: | ---: |
| The Dutch | 1255 | 41344 |
| The Hamburgbers | 449 | 16414 |
| The Swedes | 113 | 540 |
| The Danes. | 52 | 1710 |
| The Bremeners | 96 | 3790 |
| The Embdeners | 2 | 68 |
| The Lubeckers | $\frac{8}{2}$ | 17 |
|  |  | 1968 |

The Total Value of the Fifhery of $1697^{\circ}$
The Cank of Blubber fold that Year for thirty Florins; the whole Number
thereof came to
The Fins, reckoning thofe of eachWhale? at 2000 l . and the Current Price being 50 f . a Quintal ; the whole there- $\}$ f. 1916490

## f. 1868000

 fore came toIn our Money l. $\underline{f 73784490}$
The particular Account of the Dutch Fifhery ftated. Calks.
Their 41344 at $30 f$. per Cafk, came to $f .1240320$
Their 25100 wt. at $50 f$. per C. wt. came to $f .1255000$
f. 2495320

In our Money l. ${ }^{2} 4953^{2}$

According to a Letter from Amferdam, dated the 26 th of $7 u l y$, the Whale-fifhery, for the "Year I744, was pretty near over, and the Proportions ftood then as follows, viz.

| The Dutch had caught | 662 |
| :--- | ---: |
| The Hamburghers | 45 |
| Thofe from Altena | 20 |
| The Bremeners | 18 |
| The Embdeners | 8 |
|  | In all |
|  | $\underline{753}$ |

I have not been able to procure, hitherto, as clear and diftingt an Account of the Whale-fifhery, for the two laft Years, as for that before given; but I am very well informed, that the Whale-fifhery farce ever anfwered better than it did in this prefent Year 1746, more efpecially to the Dutch, who had more Ships, and better Luck with their Ships, than any other Nation. It is worth obferving, that the wife Inhabitants of Holland have continually maintained and practifed this Fifhery, as de Witte advifed them; and have thereby added immenfe Sums to the Wealth of their People, as well as to the Strength of
their State, confidered as a maritime Power. We will reflect a little upon both there Points, that we may be the better fatisfied, as to the real Importance of the Whalefifhery. He judged it to be very beneficial to his Country, becaufe of the Eafe and Expedition with which it was performed; for in fix Day's Time the Ships failed out of Harbour, and were, actually, if the Seafon was favourable, engaged in their Fifhery. The whole Time it continues, does not exceed four Months; during which a great Number of Veffels are employed, in which abundance of hardy and experienced Seamen are bred, by whom alfo the whole Bufinefs is performed abroad, and, upon their Return, a much greater Number of People find work at home; fo that there is no great Reafon to doubt, that de Witte's Calculation, of twelve thoufand Perfons maintained by this Trade only, is very agreable to Truth, and not at all tinctured with Partiality towards his Country. He very juftly obferves, that what renders this Trade ftill more valuable, is the Exportation of the greateft Part of its Produce ; and if we confider this attentively, and make the neceffary Allowances in fuch kind of Calculations, we fhall be able to form to ourfelves a tolerable Notion of what the Dutch have got by the Greenland Fifhery, from that Time to this.

It is now fourfcore Years fince de Witte framed his Computation, and we thall certainly run no Hazard of over-valuing the Induftry of our Neighbours in this Particular, if we fuppofe that the Whale-fifning has brought them in, one Year with another, in Whale-Bone and Oil, two Millions of Florins, of which we may alfo allow that they have exported, at leaft, one Half; fo that they have faved fourfcore Millions of Florins in what they have ufed themfelves in thefe Commodities, which they muft otherwife have purchafed, and have drawn befides, from other Countries, into their own, as much in ready Money, which amounts to eight Millions Sterling. A prodigious Sum indeed, and which ought to cover us with Shame, confidering that we have had, at leaft, as great Opportunities as they, of making a like Advantage of this Finhery, of which, for many Years paft, however, we have not made one Shilling. Whence this arifes is very hard to fay, and the more fo as it is certain we were once the fole Proprictors of the Whale-fifhing, which we pointed out as worthy other Peoples Concern, and have fince neglected ourfelves, though many of our beft Writers upon Commerce, have taken Pains to expofe the grofs Abfurdity and inexcufable Negligence of fuch a Conduct. At prefent, perhaps, an Opportunity might be gained of reviving this Fifhery, if the Government fhould think fit to erect a Fortrefs, and open a Port in the Orkneys, which might, in many refpects, prove very beneficial; but more efpecially in this, becaufe it would give us, immediately, very great Advantages over the Dutch, Hamburgbers, and all other Nations that at prefent frequent the Greenland Seas, as we might have all kind of Utenfils neceffary, erected in any of thefe Inlands, which would enable us to make more, and better Oil, than any of our Neighbours, from the fame Quantity of Fifh; as it would alfo give us an Opportunity of vifiting the Coafts of Greenland earlier, and remaining there later, than other People. There is no Doubt that, if any Attempt of this Sort was once made, at the Expence of Englifh Merchants, they would be very foon able to raife a prodigious Number of fout and able Seamen in thofe Parts, as capable and as enterprizing as thofe of any other Nation whatever. It might alfo prove the Caufe of opening to us fome other Branches of Commerce hitherto not known, or which have been long difufed; and it might prove likewife a Means of renewing that 'Thirft for Difcoveries, for which this Nation was formerly fo famous, and to which fhe certainly ftands indebted for the moft valuable Branches of her Commerce. Thefe, I mean the Orkney Iflands, are the Illands, Sbetland excepted, the leaft known, but not the leaft valuable Part of the Britifo Dominions; for befides this Greenland Fifhery, for the eftablifhing of which there is not in Europe a Place fo proper, and a confiderable Fifhery round them, they might be made a general Magazine for fuch Commodities as fell to Advantage to the

North,

North, by which our Trade to feveral Parts of Germany, as well as to Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Poland, and Ruflia, might be rendered twice as valuable to us, as it is at prefent. But it is now Time to clofe the prefent

Section, and to proceed to the Hiftory of the Attempts made for the Difcovery of a North-eaft and North-weft Paffage into the Ocean; the latter of which, perhaps, may be difcovered before this Volume is concluded.

## S E C TION II.

The rational and pbiloopphical Motives for feeking a Paflage into the South Seas, by the North-weft, examined and explained; togetber with the Hifory of the Attempts made with that Vierw, for the Space of one bundred and thirty Years.

## Collected from Engli/h, Dutch, and Dani/ß Writers.

r. An Introduction herwing the Nature and Defign of this Section, and the Method purfued therein. 2. Tbe Importance of a North-weft Paffage, if it could be found; and the Advantages that reould refult from thence to our Navigation, which fully jufifies the Endeavours of fuch as have laboured to find this Paffage. 3. An Account of the Reafons, Arguments, and Prefumptions in favour of fuch a Paflage; in which the Strength or Weaknefs of each Motive is hewn fairly, and in its proper Light. 4. The Hifory of the Attempts made for the Difcovery of this Paffage, by John Cabot, Sir Martin Frobifher, Captain Davis, Mr. Henry Hudfon, Mr. James Hall, and Mr. William Baffin, from Anno Domini 1497, to 1615.5 . The Expedition of Sir Thomas Button into Hudfon's Bay, in 16 II, with a fuccinct Account of his Difcoveries. 6. The Attempts made for the like Purpofe by the Danes; and the unfortunate End of Captain John Monk, one of the ableft Navigators ever bred in Denmark, occafoned by bis undertaking and failing in an Expedition for this Purpofe. 7. The Expedition of Captain Luke Fox, in bis Majefy's Pinnace, the Charles, in the Year 1630 ; with the Reafons wobich induced feveral Perfons of the firft Diftinction, and fome of the greateft Merchants in this Kingdom, to enter into an Aflociation for the Difcovery of the North-weft Paffage; and the Meafures taken by themfor carrying this Defign into execution.

AFTER the Difcovery of America, by Cbrijtopher Columbus, and the publifhing to the World, the Reafons which induced him to look upon this Difcovery as a thing practicable; fuch as were well acquainted with Cofmography, and fuch as were practical Seamen, began to emulate his Succefs, and to think of raifing like Reputations to themfelves by Difcoveries of the fame Nature. Amongft thefe, Fobn Cabot, whom we have often had Occafion to mention, was the firt that fuggefted the Poffibility of a Paflage to the new found World, by the North-weft. His Son, who lived to be a very old Man, was the moft expert Mariner of his Time, and died Governor of our Rufia Company, always maintained this Opinion; which the more it was confidered and examined, by Men of the brighteft Parts, and greateft Experience, the more it grew into Credit, and the more it was generally believed. This Notion has prevailed to our Times, and if we follow the Opinion of Cicero, this alone is a confiderable Argument in its Favour; for he obferves that Truths founded in Nature, grow ftronger in length of Time, and from a Courfe of Obfervations; whereas weak and groundlefs Opinions are foon deftroyed, and become quickly out of date. There is, certainly, a great deal of good Senfe and found Reafon in this Obfervation; which, I believe, will be found to have ftood, generally fpeaking, juftified by Experience; and, perhaps, fooner or later this may be ranked among the Number of Truths, that ought to give Weight and Authority to this Maxim.
At prefent it is our Bufinefs to exhibit to the Reader as full and clear an Account of this Matter as it is pofble; the rather becaufe it is not only a Matter of great Importance in itfelf, and a Subject of general Enquiry, but alfo from a late'Act of the Legillature, and a great Undertaking founded thereupon, become the Topic of common Diicourfe, and of almof univerfal Expectation. In order therefore to difcharge our Duty effectually, and to reprefent the Reafon and Hiftory of this Matter with the utmof Perfpicuity; we fhall firft of all enquire into the Nature of thofe Advantages, that may be expected from the Difcovery of fuch a Paffage, fuppofing it to be practicable. We fhall next fet forth the Reafons that have been afigned in Favour of this Opinion, that fuch a Paffage may be found, by thofe who have maintained it. And laftly, we fhall give a diftinct hiftorical Ac-
count of the Attempts that have been made, for the find-: ing fuch a Paffage, and the Confequences with which thefe Expeditions have been attended. We have, indeed, already had frequent Occafions to touch this Subject, both in our former Volume, and in this; but wherever we have mentioned it, we have referred the Reader for a clearer and more particular Account to this Section; and we fhall herein take all imaginable Care to avoid all unneceffary Repetitions, by making the requifite Allowances on thofe Heads, which have been incidentally. examined and explained already.
2. The Reader will perceive, from what has been laid down in the foregoing Section, that if fuch a Paffage could be difcovered, it would open a Communication between the North and South Seas, infinitely fhorter and eafier than the only one that is at prefent known round Cape Horne, or through the Streights of Magellan. We have feen, in the Hiftory of the Circum-navigators, how very tedious and troublefome that Method of reaching the Coafts of Mexico and California is, with how many and great Inconveniences it muft be always attended, and how far it lies out of our Power, all thefe Circumftances confidered, to make any confiderable Ufe of it; which is the true Reafon why the Spaniards enjoy, with fo little Difturbance, fo many fine Countries, and hinder others from difcovering many more, the Knowledge of which might be highly advantageous to this NorthernHemifphere.

But if ever a Paffage could be this Way found into the South Seas, we might, very probably, reach, in fix Weeks, Countries that we cannot now vifit in twelve or fifteen Months ; and this by an eafy and wholefome Navigation, inftead of thofe dangerous and fickly Voyages, that have hitherto rendered the Paffage into the Soutb Seas a thing fo infrequent and ingrateful to Briti $\beta$ Seamen. If fuch a Paffage could be found, it would bring us upon the unknown Coafts of North America; which we have many good Reafons to believe are very populous, inhabited by a rich and civilized People, no Strangers to Trade, and with whom we might carry on a very great and beneficial Commerce; for this is, apparently, that Country, concerning which we have had fome dark Hints given us by the Savages that come to trade at Hudfon's Bay, mentioned by feveral of the French Writers; from the Information of the Indians inhabiting about the Lakes beyond Canada; from Doctor Cox, in the Account cited.
from
from him in the former Section, concerning the Advantages that might be drawn from fettling his Province of Carolana; from various Paffages in almoft all the Spanif Hiftorians, in reference to the Extremities of North America, of which they acknowledge themfelves to have very indifferent Accounts; and are, perhaps, not much inclined to gratify the reft of the World, even with the beft Accounts they have; from the memorable Fragment of the Spanijs Admiral's Voyage, quoted in the former Section, with Mr. Dobb's judicious Remarks, and a multitude of other Paffages, which it is needlefs to enumerate; all of which agree in this, that the Part of America, to which this North-weft Paffage would lead us, is a rich, fertile, and well inhabited Country, which would abundantly reward our Pains taken for the Difcovery of it, even fuppofing this Paffage would lead us to no other Country befides.
Yet this is far from being the Cafe; fince it is evident that it would likewifé bring us to an Acquaintance with thofe Countries that lie oppofite to America, whether Continents or Ilands, and that fill up that vaft Space between California and the Land of Yedzo, of which, at prefent, we have heard fo much, and yet know fo little. But though we know fo little of them from actual Difcoveries, yet we may be confident from Reafon, and the Confideration of the Climate in which they lie, that thefe Countries abound with valuable Commodities, and that the Inhabitants living, as they do, in a cold Country, would be very glad to deal with us for Wool-len-Goods, Egc. and perhaps for Iron Ware, and many other Commodities. If to this it be objected, that in the few Accounts we have of this Country, and thefe People, it is exprefly faid, they are well cloathed, ufe large Ships, and have Arms, and various Utenfils of Iron, and other Metals, as well as the Europeans; which they barter with the Inhabitants of North America for Gold and other things ; if I fay this fhould be objected, then the plain and eafy Anfwer is, they are a mercantile People; and confidering the vaft Diftance between us and them, there is no doubt that a very great and profitable Trade may be driven between us; and this is more than fufficient to prove the great and general Propofition, that the Difcovery of fuch a Peffage would be very profitable to, this Nation, though we fhould be ever fo much miftaken as to the Nature of the Commodities in which this Profit may. lie. Some Benefit we fee refults to the Danes, by their Commerce with the poor barbarous Groenlanders, and can we doubt of bringing things to a better Market among a rich and civilized People? The former, indeed, part with what they have for a Trifle, but then they have not much to part with; the latter may not be fo foon over-reached, but they have more to trade for, and confecuently more is like to be got by them.
There is ftill another great Advantage, which would refult from the Difcovery of a South-welt Paffage; and was that originally propofed from it, which is, the reaching Jopon, the Land of Yedzo, \&c. by a much eafier and fhorter Rout, than either that by the Cape of Good Hope, or round by Cape Horn; fo that the finding it would give us a much more facile Paffage to the Eaft Indies, as well as the Souttb Seas, and which is more, to thofe Parts of the Eaft Indies, with which we have no Correfpondence, and confequently would, in that refpect, be abfolutely a new Branch of Commerce, probably of much greater Benefit to this Nation, than the whole of our Eaft India Trade, as it is now carried on. All thefe Benefits are fo far from being hazardous or uncertain, that at firft Sight, and from the bare Infpection of the Globe and Charts of the Northern Hemifphere, they appear certain and indubitable; neither have they hitherto been called in queftion, by any who have fought to difcredit this Paffage, who all bend their Endeavours to prove the Difcovery impracticable, without infinuating any thing to the Prejudice of the Expectations raifed from it, in cafe it could be difcovered and failed through. We need not, therefore, wonder at all that fo much has been written on this Subject, fo many Undertakings fet on Foot, fuch a variety of Attempts made on all Sides, and by all means, to come at this North-weft Paf-
fage, fince, in refpect to this Part of Europe, it would be a kind of maritime Philofophers Stone; a Difcovery every Way equal, if not fuperior, to that of Columbus. I do not mean in regard to the Subject of the Difcovery, but in refpect to us; and what I would fay is, that we fhould, for our Part, owe as much Obligation to whoever fhould find this new Paffage, as to Columbus, who found out the new World; to which it is a Paflage, and fuch a one, as to us would double the Value of that Difcovery. So much may fuffice as to the firt Point we promifed to examine, let us now proceed to the fecond, and fhew why this Paffage is thought practicable.
3. We have already obferved that Cabot firtt projected this Paffage, in the Life-time of Columbus; and from the fame Motive which ergaged that illuftrious Perfon in the Difcovery of the new World, viz. to find a fhorter way to the Eafl-Tudies, than that practifed by the Portugueze, by the Cape of Good Fiope; he offered many Arguments to prove this was practicable by the North-weft; and fince his Time, and from the mighty Improvements that have been made in Navigation, there have been added many more. That we may reduce thefe within the narroweft Compafs poffible, without Prejudice to the Subject, we will propofe them feparately, not in the Order in which they were from Time to Time advanced, but in the Method the moft eafy, moft natural, and beft connected in our Power; fo that the Reader may very fairly judge of the Merits of the Caufe, though perhaps fome frivolous or doubtful Evidence may remain unexamined, in order to fpare Time and Trouble.
Firft, It is thought probable there muft be a free Circulation of the Waters at the Pole, becaufe if it were otherwife, it would not be eafy to conceive how the Equilibrium of Land and Water is maintained, or that Regularity which is obferved in the Tides, where the Shores are not covered by Inands, Rocks, or broken Lands. Becaufe if it was otherwife, there muft fall out great Changes in the Tides, the nearer we approached the Pole, as is feen in the Mediterranean and Baltic, which are clofe Seas, and therefore differ from the Ocean, there being a fenfible Tide only in fome Parts of the former, and that too not very confiderable, and none at all in the latter; whereas in the moft Northern Seas, the Tides are high and very regular, which renders it apparent there muft be fome Paffage, or rather Communication with the reft of the Ocean.
Secondly, This Argument becomes more preffing when confined to Hudfon's Bay, where there are not only Tides, but fuch irregular Tides in forne Places, as feem to indicate the Reception of more Water into that Bay, than comes from Hudfori's Streigbts, or any other Paffage into it hitherto known. But from the Nature and Height of thefe Tides, and the Situation of the Places where they are obferved, it feems almof indifputable that they come by the Weft, either through fome large and practicable, or through fome icy and impaffable, Channel; the former is Mr. Dobb's Sentiment, and the latter the Opinion of Captain Cbriffopher Middleton, a very knowing and ingenious Gentleman, who did not embrace this Notion, however, till he made a Voyage for the Difcovery of this Paffage, and failed in it.

Thirdly, We may difcern the Cogency of this Argument, from what has been actually difcovered towards the South Pole, where the Situation of the Streights of Magellan agrees perfectly with this Notion, and fuggefts according to the Analogy of things, a like Communication between the Seas towards the North Pole. We may alfo obferve, that thofe Streights are through broken Lands and Illands, in a very cold Climate, and, in many other refpects, agreeable, as far as hitherto has been diffcovered, to the Countries lying round the North Pole, more efpecially under the Latitudes where of late this North-weft Paffage has been fought for.

Fourthly, It has been generally believed, from the great Difference between the Productions of all kinds, and even between the Animals, in America, and the other Parts of the World, that they are abfolutely feparate; and as to its Southern Extremity, Experience has juftified the Conjecture, and fo renders the Prefumption flrong,

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that there is a like Separation on the North, and that this Country is not contiguous to any of the other Continents.

Fifthly, The Situation of the Northern Parts of America, fo far as they are yet difcovered, afford very ftrong Prefumptions in favour of this Opinion. The great Ridge of Mountains beyond the Lakes of Canada, have many Rivers running from them into thofe Lakes, and we may from thence conclude, and the Teftimony of the Natives fufficiently confirm it, that there are alfo Rivers running on the oppofite Side, and thefe muft therefore neceffarily. fall into this Weft Sea, or Channel, which we feek: Part of this Argument is real and certain, viz. that there are fuch Mountains, and though we cannot affirm as much, in refpect to the other, as no European has yet reached thofe Mountains, yet there is nothing in it abfurd or improbable, but rather quite the contrary.

Sixthly, We have no Tradition, either on the Groenland or American Side, of any Communication between them ; but quite the contrary: The Groenlanders never fpeak of any civilized Nations near their Country diftinct from the Europeans; whereas the Americans do, and have always perfifted in a Story of Perfons coming in very large Canoes, or Ships, to the North-weft Coaft, and trading there with the People, who, according to their Accounts are alfo more civilized than any other Nation, Natives of America. If any Credit be due to this Account then we muft conceive that thefe Traders come from Fapon (which is very improbable) or from fome northern Country' hitherto unknown, equally feparated from America and Afa.

Seventhly, It is afferted that this Streight has been paffed before and fince the Difcovery of America, and that various Memorials of thefe Tranfits are ftill preferved in authentic Hiftories. Gemma Frifus reports, that it was paffed by three Brethren, and thence received the Name of Fretum Irium Fratrum; but he does not tell us when or where thefe Brethren lived, whence they failed, or whither they returned after performing this Voyage. It is reported by an ancient Latir Author, that certain Indians being caft on Shore in Germany, were prefented by a barbarous King, into whofe Dominions they came, to Quintus Metellus Celer; and it is taken for granted they came through this Paffage. It may be queftioned whether thefe Indians were any other than Groenlanders; and if fo, without queftion, their being caft upon the Coaft of Germany, proves nothing. About the Year 1160 , under the Reign of the Emperor Frederick Barbaroffa, certain Indians alfo are reported to have been wrecked on the German Coaft, and of thefe we may fay the fame thing. William of Newberry has a Story of much the fanne Nature, only accompanied with fome very incredible, not to fay ridiculous, Circumftances, of two Green Children, which in the Reign of King Stepben came hither from the Land of St. Martin, which, by their Defcription, appears to be Iceland: So that take them all together thefe Stories prove little or nothing, One Cortereal, a Portugueze, is alfo faid to have paffed this Streight, and to have beftowed upon it his Name; but how, when, or where, is not to be enquired, or at leaft not to be refolved. One Gomez is faid to have offered the Difcovery of this Paffage to the Emperor Cbarles V. which muft not be underftood, as grounded on his own Knowledge, but from a Perfuafion of Mind that the finding fuch a Streight was practicable, in which however upon Trial he failed. Some flying Reports of much the fame kind we meet with in manyWriters, but though they have, without Caufe, been urged as Proofs of fuch a Paffage, yet this by no Means turns againft it; nor can it be alledged, that fince thefe Stories are fome of them abfurd, others dark, and the reft incredible, therefore the North-weft Paffage they are brought to prove is fabulous. If Truths were to fuffer by the bringing of improper or improbable Arguments to fupport them, fome even of greater Confequence than this, of which we are at prefent fpeaking, might run no fmall Rifk; but as debafing Gold or Silver does not deftroy them, fo the Addition of Falfhoods, though they may fometimes difcredit Truths, cannot change their Nature.

Nol.II. NuMb, 96 .

Eighthly, There is one Argument in favour of this Paffage, which may be drawn even from thofe Fabless without being at all tinctured with Fiction : It is this, that the general Opinion amongft the Learned in favour of it was ftrong; which induced them to refer every thing of this Nature to the North-went Streight: In the like manner, the Notion of the Garden of Hypperedes made way for the Difcovery of the Canories; the Rumour of an Atlantis, or weftern World, proved the Means of unfolding America; nay, in the prefent Cafe, though thefe Tales have not hitherto helped us to this fo much defired Paffage to the North-weft, yet they may be faid to have. guided us to the oppofite Streight of Magellan; for it was upon the Reafons affigned by Cabot, in favour of this Way of going round the Globe, that Magellart formed his Project to difcover a Paffage into the fame Seas, by failing fouthward; which he happily effected at the firft Trial, and by doing this, gave fome Degree of Evidence that the original Scheme of opening a Way by the North-weft, is neither againit the Analogy of the MundaneSyftem, nor in its Nature impracticable from the Difficulties to which thofe employed to find it may be expofed; for though it appears that many have fuffered exceffively in the Attempts hitherto made for that Purpofe, yet no Account of Voyages to the North-weft reprefents the Cold more intolerable, or the Troubles occafioned by the Ice, greater than in going round Cape Horing through the Streights of le Maire, or thofe of Magellan. If therefore the Reafons perfuading this Paffage have (generally fpeaking) appeared fo conclufive to the Learned, as to give Credibility to ill-founded Stories; if they have actually led to the finding a Pafiage at the oppofite Extremity of the Globe, and this Streight be practicable, notwithftanding its being full of Ice, and the Weather rigorous beyond Defcription, why fhould we fufpect that an Opinion having fo many Circumftances in its Favour is notwithftanding abfolutely groundlefs, becaufe it is as yet unfupported by Experience, as if every thing not hitherto performed muft be in its Nature impoffible, which though Warrant enough for a vulgar Notion, cannot be thoughta fitFoundation for a philofophical Principle ; yet granting it were, even this Foundation perhaps might be fhaken; for if nothing but Experience will prevail, there are fome Inftances independent of thofe romantic Tales beforementioned, which look very ftrongly that way.

Ninthly, There was, fo long ago as A. D. 1567 , a Perfon in Portugal who affirmed, he had actually failed through this Streight into Europe, and publifhed immediately, on his Return, a Relation of his Voyage, which, had it been falfe, might have been eafily confuted; but inftead of that, by the King of Portugal's Command, the Book was called in, and very carefully fuppreffed. The Proof of this Fact, as it is very extraordinary and decifive, is thus fet down by the laborious Purchas, in the third Part of his Pilgrims, Pag. 840 ; viz. "I Tbomas Cowles "s of Bedminfter in the County of Somer Set, Mariner, do "6 acknowledge, that fix Years paft, at my being at "Liflon, in the Kingdom of Portugal, I did hear one " Martin Cbacke, a Portugueze of Lifbon, read a Book "s of his own making, which he had fet out fix Years " before that Time in Print, in the Portugal Tongue, "declaring, That the faid Martin Cbacke had found, ". twelve Years now pait, a Way from the Portugat " Indies, through a Gulph of the Nequforndiand, which " he thought to be in 59 Degrees of the Elevation of ${ }^{66}$ the North Pole by Means that being in the faid " Indies with four other Ships of great Burden, and he ${ }^{66}$ himfelf in a fmall Ship of fourfcore Tons, was driven " from the Company of the other four Ships, with a ${ }^{68}$ wefterly Wind; after which he pafted along by a great "s Number of Iflands, which were in the Gulph of the faid "Nerefoundland. And after heover-fhot the Gulph, he "s faw no more of any other Inland until he fell in with the " North-weft Part of Ireland, and from thence he took "s his Courfe homewards, and by that Means he came to "Libon, four or five Weeks before the other four Ships "c of his Company that he was feparated from, as "before-faid. And fince the fame time, I could
${ }^{56}$ never fee any of thafe Books, becaufe the King com-
${ }^{66}$ manded
"6 manded them to be called in, and no more of them to " be printed, left in time it would be to their Hindrance. "In Witnefs whereof I fet to my Hand and Mark, the "9th of April, Anno 5 579."
There is no doubt fomething ftrange enough in this Story; and one might be tempted to furpect, that either the Englifh Seaman had made fome Miftake, or that the Portugueze Pilot had boafted of more than he had done, if in thofe Days thefe kind of Points had not been much more thoroughly underfood, as well as more narrowly enquired after than they are at prefent: fo that if, there had been any juft Grounds for rejecting this Story; we fhould hardly have found it mentioned by thofe judicious Writers who feem to lay great Strefs upon it ; but it fo falls out, that I think I am able to join to this another Proof that has been very little taken notice of, and which notwithftanding feems very ftrongly to corroborate this Report, from which I do not at all doubt that it was derived.
The Fact upon which I depend is this. Captain Fames Lancafter, afterwards Sir James Lancafter, commanded the firft Fleet fent to the Eaft Indies by our Company, which failed in the Month of February 1600, and a very profperous Voyage he made: While this Gentleman was in the Indies, he heard a Report of another Paffage into thofe Parts, which, as I hinted was probably that through which the Portugueze Pilot had failed; and this Gentleman, who was a very experienced Mariner in Theory as well as Practice, was entirely perfuaded of the Truth of it, as appears from the following remarkable Accident which will do Honour to his Memory, as long as any Records remain of our maritime Affairs. In his Return to England, on board the Dragon, a very fine large Ship, with a moft valuable Cargo, he met with fuch a Storm off the Cape of Good Hope, as tore away his Rudder, and put him in fuch Danger that he very much doubted the Poffibility of his returning home; yet, inftead of quitting his Ship in this Diftrefs, he contented himfelf with writing a fhort Letter to the Company; which he fent on board the Heetor, and to this Letter he added the following remarkable Pofffript : The Paffage to the Eaft Indies lies in 62 Degrees 30 Minutes by the North-weft, on the American Side. Upon comparing this with the Map prefixed to Mr. Dobbs's Account of the Countries adjoining to Hudfon's Bay, I find it falls in precifely with an Opening called there by the Name of Lovegrove. And it agrees perfectly well with the Portugueze Pilot's Account; fince he might very well fail through broken Lands and Iflands from thence, as he did to Nerefoundland, or perhaps to Labrador, and thence to Ireland. I mention all thefe Facts together becaufe they feem to relate to the fame Thing, and to confirm each other. I fhall now proceed to another Inftance.

Tenthly, Mr. Michael Lock, a very intelligent Perfon, who refided at Venice in 1596 , obtained there, by a very fingular and extraordinary Accident, an Account of this very fame Paffage from a Man who had himfelf difcovered it on the American Side, of which, from hisown large Difcourfe preferved in Purchas's Pilgrims, I fhall give as fhort and true an Extract as I am able. In the Month of April, in the Year before-mentioned, he met with $\mathfrak{F} u a n$ de Fuca, a Native of the Illand of Cepbalonia, then about threefcore, who had long ferved the Spaniards in Quality of a Pilot in the South Seas, and in this Station was taken in the St. Anne, an Acapulco Ship coming from the Pbilippines, in A.D.1587, by Capt. Candifh, and by that Accident loft fixty thoufand Ducats. He told Mr. Lock that he was Pilot of three fmall Ships fent by the Viceroy of Mexico to fortify the Streights of Anian, to prevent the Englifh from penetrating that Way into the South Seas, which mifcarried by the Commander's being guilty of fome foul Practices that raifed a Mutiny. He was afterwards employed again for the fame Purpofe, in 1594, with a fmall Ship and a Pinnace; and having failed along the Coafts of New Spain, California, and, as he exprefly affirmed, Part of the Continent beyond, to the Height of 47 Degrees, and finding that the Land trended there North-north-eaft, with a broad Inlet of the Sea, between 47 and 48 Degrees, he
entered into this Streight, and failed therein more thar twenty Days; and found that Land trended fill fometimes North-weft and North-eaft, and North and Eaft, and South-eaftward, the Sea growing much broader than at the Entrance, and having in it many Iflands fmall and great, by which he paffed. He alfo took notice, that at the very Entrance of the Streight, there was a great Headland, or Inand, in which there was a prodigious large Rock, like a Pillar or Pyramid. He further affirmed, that he landed feveral times, and faw many of the Inhabitants, who were cloathed in Beaft-fkins, or Furs ; and as to the Country, he defcribed it as exceedingly fruitful, and rich in Gold and Silver, Pearl, and other valuable Commodities, and with every Thing that was to be found in Nere Spain.
He reported farther, that he having entered thus far into the faid Streight, and being come into the North Sea, and finding the Paffage wide enough every where, and about thirty or forty Leagues wide in the Mouth of the Streights where he entered; he thought he had now well difcharged this Office, and done the thing which he was fent to do; and that not being armed to refift the Force of the Savage People, he therefore fet fail, and returned homewards again, towards Newes Spain, where he arrived at Acopulco, A.D. 1594, hoping to be rewarded largely of the Viceroy, for the Service done in this Voyage. Alfo he faid, that after his coming to Mexico, he was welcomed by the Viceroy, and had great Promifes of great Reward; but that having fued there two Years Time, and obtained nothing, the Viceroy told him that he fhould be rewarded in Spain by the King himfelf, very largely; and defired him therefore to go into Spain, which Voyage he performed. He added, that when he was come into Spain, he was well received there at the King's Court, in Words after the Spanifs Manner; but after long Time of Suit there alfo, he could not get any Reward. And that therefore, at length he Itole away out of Spain, and came into Italy to go home again, and live among his own Kindred and Countrymen in his old Age. He likewife owned, that he thought the Caufe of his ill Ufage by the Spaniards was, becaufe they did underftand, very well, that the Engli/h Nation had now given over all their Voyages for Difcovery of the Northweft Paffage, wherefore they need not fear them any more to come that Way into the South Sea, and therefore they needed not his Service for the future.

This old Greek Pilot, offered Mr. Lack to go over to England; and in cafe Queen Elizabetb would have been pleafed to make him Compenfation for the Loffes fuftained when taken by Captain Candifh, in cafe of Succefs, he would, in her Majefty's Service, attempt the Difcovery of this North-weft Paffage from Europe, which, with a Veffel of forty Tons and a Pinnace, he doubted not to perform in thirty Days. At the Time of his making this Offer, Mr. Lock had it not in his Power to bring him over, but he acquainted the Lord Treafurer Cecil, Sir Walter Raleigh, and Mr. Richard Hackluit therewith, who approved his Defign, but fent him no Money. At laft, in 1602 , his own Circumftances being mendied, he refolved to bring this Man over, with whom he had all this while kept a conftant Correfpondence on his proper Expence; but upon his Arrival at Zant, to his great Grief and Difappointment, found him dead.

Eleventhly, Yet thefe Difcoveries by Sea are not all that is in our Power to produce on this Subject; we have likewife fome Proofs that are no lefs conclufive, drawn from Difcoveries made by Land, of which we have partly fpoken in another Place; but which it is abfolutely neceffary we fhould again mention here, though in Terms as fuccinct as it is poffible. In the Year 1568 Sir Jobn Hawkins, after an Expedition attended with indifferent Succefs againft the Spaniards, found himfelf obliged to fet about one hundred of his Crew anhore, about fix Leagues Weft of the River la Mina, and about one hundred and forty Leagues Weft by North of Cape Florida'; amongtt thefe was David Ingram, of Barking in Ef. fex, who, with fome of his Companions, travelled Northwards through many unknown Countries, where they faw vant Riches, as well as precious Stones, as of Gold and

Silver.

## Chap. I.

Silver. In the mof Northern Countries, through which they paffed, the People ware cloathed with Bear-Skinsand fine Furs. In the Month of May they came into a rich and fertile Country, which is particularly defcribed in his Travels, preferved by Hackluit. And in this Country he affirms he faw Elephants, and other ftrange Beafts, not knowin in Anserica; and after marching, according to his Computation, near two thoufand Miles; and paffing over feveral large Rivers, fome four, fome fix, fome eight, and fome ten Miles over ; and one fo large, that they were twenty-four Hours in croffing it in a Canoe; they came to Cape Breton, where himfelf, and two of his Companions, embarked aboard a French Ship, one Mr. Cbampaigne, to whom one of Ingram's Companions, Richard Brown, gave a very large Pearl, that he had picked up in this Journey. They landed at Nere Haven in France, in 1569 , and foon found a Paffage to England; where, within a Fortnight after their Arrival, they came to their old Captain Hawkins, to whom they related this Story, affirming that they had travelled to the North Sea, by which they meant the Sea that wafhed the Northern Part of America, oppofite to the Bay of Mexico; and they likewife affirmed, that for two Days together they travelled along the Shore of this Sea, and that the Inhabitants gave them to underftand, that they were not unacquainted with. Ships, drawing the Figure of them upon the Sand, with their Mafts, Sails, and Flags.
This Account of Ingram's was not digefted into writing till feveral Years after, as appears by his affirming that Richard Brown was flain five Years before, in a Ship called the Elizabeth, belonging to one Mr. Cockins of London ; and that his other Companion, Richard Trvide, died three Years before, at the Houfe of Mr. Sbeerwood, in Ratcliffe; but they had all given this Account upon their firft Arrival, to Captain Hawekins. It cannot be denied that there are fome very ftrange and improbable things in this Relation of Ingram ; which fhew him either a very weak and credulous Man, or one that delighted in ufing the Privilege of Travellers, of exceeding the Truth. Notwithitanding all this, Mr. Hackluit was of Opinion, that his Relation amounted to a ftrong Proof of a Northweft Paffage; as to which, however, it does not appear that the Man himfelf had any Notion, for otherwife he might have pretended, that the River he was twentyfour Hours in paffing was it ; for fo in all probability it really was. I mult acknowledge, that upon reading and confidering his Narrative, I was once in very great doubt, whether it deferved any Credit at all, or whether it ought to find a Place amongft thofe Matters of Fact, that deferve to be mentioned as Proofs of the Poffibility and Probability of there being a Paffage to the Soutb Seas by the North-weft ; but I was at laft determined to give it a Place, by meeting accidentally with another Account no lefs ftrange and extraordinary, and which the Reader will perceive has fuch an Agreement therewith, that is not eafily to be accounted for, without allowing that there is at leaft a confiderable Mixture of Truth in them both; for that the one fhould be copied from the other, confidering the Perfons by whom both Relations were made, is, in my Judgment, abfolutely impoffible. Befides they feem alfo to be confirmed, both by the moft ancient, and by the more modern Spani/b Authors, who mention the Northern Extremities of America. But it is Time to come to the Matter of Fact.

Twelfthly, The Author of the French Mercury Galant, for the Year 1712 , gives us the following Relation, viz.
"That ten Frenchmen, and two Savages, fet out from
"Montreal in Canada, and having continued for fome
5s. Time in the Country of the Illinois, and on the Banks
us of the River $M i \sqrt{2} / 2 p p i$, they refolved to proceed farther

* on new Difcoveries. They made ufe of three Canoes
${ }^{s} s$ of Bark of Trees, to remount the Miflifippi, and be-
* ing gone up the fame one hundred and fifty Leagues,
" they were ftopped by a Fall, which obliged them to
${ }^{66}$ carry their Canoes over Land, and then they embark-
es ed again on the faid River, and went up the fame
" forty Leagues more, without meeting any People;
- they fpent a Month and a Half in hunting, and conti-
st nuing their Defign of attempting fome new Difcoves ry, they met, fifteen Leagues from thence, with a " River running to the South-fouth-weft, from whence 'they conjectured it difcharged itfelf into the South "Sea, its Courfe being oppofite and contrary to thofe "s which fall into the North Sea. They refolved there"upon to carry their Canoes into it, and in their Way "faw Lions, Leopards, and Tygers, which did not of "s fer to attack them. They fell down that River about " one hundred and fifty Leagues, and met with a Na"t tion called Efcaaniba, which poffefs a Country of is two hundred Leagues at leaft, in which they faw feve"c ral Forts, Towns, and Villages, whereof the Houfes "s are built of Timber, and Bark of Trees. They have "s a King who pretends to defcend from Motezuma, and "6 who is commonly cloathed with Beafts Skins; which "s is alfo the ordinary Cloathing of the Inhabitants:
"They feem, in their Manner, to be under fome "Rules of Policy. They are Idolaters, and their Idols; "s which are in their Kings Palace, are frightful, and of " 6 prodigious Size. There are two amongft others, "s whereof one is the Figure of a Man armed with "Lances and Arrows, having one Foot upon the " Ground, and the other lifted up, with a Hand on "s the Figure of a Horfe, as if he were going to mount ${ }^{6} 6 \mathrm{it}$. They fay that this is the Statue of one their "Kings, who was a great Conqueror. That Statue holds " in its Mouth a large fquare Carbuncle, which cafts a "s Light in the Night as Fire. The other Figure is a " Woman, who was a Queen, fetting on a Saddle, upon "6 an Unicorn, having four great Dogs on one Side. "Thefe Figures are of maffy Gold, but very ill made. "They are fet on'a raifed Place, being a Square about "6 thirty Feet, covered with Gold. Between thofe two "Statues is the Way into the King's Apartment; and " at the Door of the fame ftands his Guards, confifting ss of two hundred Mens The Palace is very large, and 6 is three Stories high. The Walls are eight Feet high, " and of mafly Gold, cut in fquare little Bricks, and " laid one upon another, faftened with Hooks and Bars "s of the fame Metal. The reft of the Building is of " Timber, and covered with the fame. Thofe People "c have a great Trade for Gold, but our Difcoverers ${ }^{6}$ could never guefs with what Nation, unlefs it be with "s the People of Japon; for they carry their Gold to "s fo great a Diftance, that they told the French, that "s they fpent fix Months in their Journey to that Nation. "Our Adventurers were prefent at the fetting out of one "6 of their Carravans, which confifted of above three hun${ }^{6 s}$ dred Oxen laden with Gold, and guarded by the like "s Number of Men, armed with Lances and Arrows, " and with a kind of Poniard.
${ }_{66}$ They barter their Gold for Iron, Steel, Lances, $E^{\circ} c_{0}^{\prime}$
"They are altogether Strangers to writing, but ufe a "Sort of Bark dreffed for that Purpofe, on which they "s mark the Quantity of Gold intrufted to each of the " Men aforefaid, for which he muft be accountable at " his Return. The King is called Agauzan, which fig"s nifies, in their Language, the great King; and though "s he is at War with nobody, he keeps a flanding Army ${ }^{66}$ of one hundred thoufand Men. Their Trumpets are s6 of Gold, and ftrait, and they found the fame, in "s difagreeable Manner. Their Drums are large Kettles "s of Gold, covered with Hart-Skins, and fo large, that "s they muft be carried by Oxen. Thefe Troops exercife " once a Week in the King's Prefence. The Inhabitants " are of a brownifh Complexion, and look frightful, "chaving a long narrow Head, which they form into "s that Shape, by preffing the Heads of Children between "s two pieces of Board. The Women are handfome, "s and as white as in Europe: They have, as well as the ${ }^{6} 6 \mathrm{Men}$, large Ears, which they account a great Beauty, "s and adorn them with Gold Rings. They let their "Nails grow as long as they can, and this is, amongft "t them, a mark of Diftinction. The moft hairy Men, "s are looked upon to be the moft handfome. Polygamy ${ }^{6} 6$ is in ufe, and they fhew little. Concern for the Con${ }^{4}$ duct of their Daughters. They love Rejoicing and 66 Dancing, and are great Eaters. They make a Sort of
${ }^{66}$ Wine of Palm-Trees, and have feveral other Sorts of ${ }^{6}$ Liquors. They fmoak very much, and have good ${ }^{66}$ Tobacco, which grows in their Country without any ${ }^{6}$ Culture.
${ }^{66}$ The Climate is very temperate, and the Inhabitants ${ }^{66}$ live to a great Age, without being troubled with Dif-
"c eafes. The Country affords all forts of Fruits both of
© the Indies and of Europe. They have Abundance of ${ }^{6}$ Indian Wheat, and wild Oats, which are as white ${ }^{\text {sc }}$ and as good as Rice. They make Bread of both, but ${ }^{66}$ cultivate only the former. They have large Plains, ${ }^{6}$ which afford excellent Pafture for all forts of Cattle. ${ }^{66}$ Their Rivers are full of Fifh, and their Woods abound ${ }^{66}$ with all forts of Birds, efpecially Parrotss They have
${ }^{6}$ Monkies and Animals peculiar to that Country. Their
${ }^{66}$ capital City lies within fix Leagues of the River Miffr,
"6 which fignifies the River of Gold. The French, upon
"taking their Leave of that King, promifed to return
${ }^{66}$ in 36 Moons, i.e. in threeYears, and to bring with them
" fèveral Goods from Canada, to barter with their Gold,
${ }^{66}$ which they value fo little, that the King bid them take
${ }^{66}$ as much as they pleafed, which they did, and brought
"s away each fixty Bars, weighing about two hundred and
"forty Pounds. Two of the Adventurers had the Cu-
${ }^{*}$ riofity to go to the Place from whence they bring their
" Golds and informed the others, that the Mines are
${ }^{66}$ within the hollow Parts of the Mountains, from which
" 6 the Gold is carried away by Rivers, and is found on
${ }^{\text {s }}$ the Banks of themi. Thofe Rivers are almoft quite
${ }_{66}{ }^{6}$ dryed up for four Months in the Year. Moft of thefe
"Adventurers returning home, were killed at the Mouth
"6 of the River St. Laurence, by an Englifh Pirate, and
"two of them only efcaped, who, after a long Captivity,
"s during which they had been in feveral Bays in the Eaft
os and Weft Indies, and in Cbina, at laft arrived at Breft;
©s and offered, upon pain of their Lives, if conducted
${ }^{6}$ to the Mififippi, eafily to find back again from thence
" the Way leading to that New Peru."
It would be no very difficult Matter to affemble other Paffages of a like Nature from the Works of various Authors, Englifh, French, and Spanifh, all concurring in the Report, that there are very great Nations in the moft Northern Parts of America, and that they trade and have Correfpondence with the Inhabitants of fome other Country abfolutely unknown; but that this feems to be unneceffary after what lias been before related. One Thing however I will take the Liberty of hinting to the. Reader, becaufe I think it máy contribute to give fome Light to thefe Stories of a civilized Nation in Nortb America; and it is this, that the Mexicans themfelves always acknowledged, that they came from the North, and were not the original Inhabitants of that Country where the Spaniards found them: So that if we fuppofe the French Adventurers above=mentioned fpoke Truth, we may very well conclude that it was not the laft Motezuma, but a former Prince of that Name thefe Indians fpoke of; and that inAtead of being the Mexicans expelled by the Spaniards, they may be the original Nation from whom thofe Mexicans were derived that contended with the Spaniards. This I do not pretend to lay down as a Thing certain, but as a Thing poffible, if not probable, and therefore worthy of future Confideration.

Thirteenthly, The laft Argument I fhall offer is from the conferring and comparing together thofe that have gone before; for I think it can hardly be efteemed poffible, that Nature, Art and Tradition, fhould confpire to lead Mankind into Error in this Refpect, by affording fo many probable Inducements to look upon the finding fuch a Paffage to the North-weft as not only probable but practicable. The wifeft Philofophers, as well as Cofmographers, have admitted this Propofition, confidering only the Reafon of the Thing. The moft able Seamen have been of thatOpinion, after repeated'Trials and Experiments; fuch as Cabot, Davis, Hudfon, Button and Baffin, not to mention others that have been employed in the Danifb Service. We find the Rumour of fuch a Paffage fpread every where in Italy, Spain and Portugal, as well as in Great Britain, Denmark and Holland. In the Eaft Indies, and in the Weft, amongtt the Indiak Natives, as well as

European Planters: Whence I conclude, that as no Fiction was ever fo generally believed, this will fooner or later be found a Truth, and then the Wonder will be that it was found no fooner. But let us now proceed, from the Reafon of the Thing, which I have laboured to make as clear as I could, to an Hiftorical Account of the Expe ditions which the Perfuafion that there is fuch a Paffage by the North-weft has occafioned; in difcourfing of which I fhall be as concife as it is poffible.
4. The firft who attempted this Difcovery, as has been often faid, was the famous Fobn Cabot, towards the latterend of the fifteenth Century, but was prevented from finifhing his Difcovery by a Mutiny on board his Ship. He conftantly retained his Opinion that there was a Paffage this Way, and that he fhould have found it if this Accident had not happened. It was however fifty Years before another Attempt was made, and then Sir Martin Frobihber, in I576, failed with two Barks in fearch of this Paffage. He difcovered in the Height of $6_{2}$ Degrees, on the Coaft of Groenland, a large Inlet, to which he gave the Name of Frobiher's Streigbts, through which he failed about fixty Leagues, with main Land on both Sides, and faw fome of the Inlabitants. He made a fecond and a third Voyage, and called the Country he difcovered Meta Incognita. In 1583 Sir Humpbry Gilbert failed to the River of St. Laurence, took Poffeffion of that Country which the French call Canoda, and fettled our Fifhery upon that Coaft. In 1585 Capt. Fobn Davis, of whom we have given elfewhere a large Account, made an Attempt to find this North-weft Paflage, and difcovered a Part of Groenland, to which he gave the Name of the Land of Defolation. He failed afterwards as high as 64 Degrees 15 Minutes, through that which has been fince called Davis's Streigbts, ard thence to the Latitude of 66 Degrees 40 Minutes. In 1586 he made another Voyage, in which he made farther Difcoveries, and returned full of Hopes that a third Voyage would compleat his Defign. Accordingly in 1587 he proceeded through Davis's Streights to the Height of 72 Degrees 12 Minutes, and found an open Sea to the South-weft.

In 16 Io Mr. Henry Hudfon, after he had in vain made Trial of the North-eaft Paffage, attempted a Difcovery to the North-weft, and made a great Progrefs therein; paffing through the Streights that have fince bore his Name into a large open Sea, called Hudfon's Bay, and would have proceeded further, but was hindered by a Mutiny among his Seamen, who bafely deferted him, as we have formerly mentioned. In 1612 Fames Hall and William Baffin made a like Attempt, in which the former was killed by a Savage. This Accident did not hinder Mr. Baffin from going thither in the Year 1615 , who proceeded to the utmoft Extremity of that Sea, which communicated with Davis's Streights, and found it to be no other than a large Bay, which has been fince known by his Name. He went thither again the next Year, and difcovered an Inlet, which he called Sir T'bomas Smitb's Sound, in the Latitude of 78 Degrees, but returned to England without Succefs, though he remained firm in his Opinion of a North-weft Paffage to his Death, which happened in the Eaft Indies, yet his Mifcarriage difcouraged for a long Time any Attempts from hence.
5. Mr. Henry Button, (afterwards Sir Henry) in the Year 1 6II, having been encouraged by Prince Henry to attempt a more perfect Knowledge of that Sea which had been found by Mr. Hudfon, went thither accordingly, and proceeded 200 Leagues farther to the South-weft ${ }_{3}$ coafting along a great Continent, to which he gave the Name of New Soutb Wales, and winter'd at Port-Nelfon: then failing crofs that Sea, which has fince been called Button's Bay, he difcovered another Country, to which he gave the Name of New North Wales, which feems to be only an Inand in that great Sea, which opens into the Northern Ocean by the Paffages of Hudfon's Streights and Davis's Streigbts, and of which Hudjon's Bay, Button's Bay, and Baffin's Bay, are only Parts, bounded by the Continents of Groenland and North America. In his wintering at Port-Nelfon, which is in the Latitude of 57 Degrees io Minutes North, he loft the beft Part of his Crew through extreme Cold, notwithftanding all the Presau-

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NORTH-WESTPASSAGE.
tions he could take to prevent it ; but it does not appear that he was in any Degree diftreffed for want of Provifions, fince he affures us that befides Deer and other wild Beafts, there was fuch vaft plenty of Partridges, and other Fowls, that they killed upwards of one thoufand eight hundred Dozen; and he likewile obferves, that the Natives fifhed in their Seal-Skin Boats, without appearing to be much incommoded by the rigorous Seafon. He, for Caufes elfewhere related (efpecially the Tides) concluded a Northweft Paffage certain, and thereby reftored the Hopes of it, then fallen very low.
6. The King of Denmark, believing that the Vicinity of his Country gave him greater Advantages than any other European Power, refolved to perfect thefe Difcoveries, which the Englifb had begun ; in order to which he caufed two Ships and a Pinnace to be fitted out in 1605 , under the Command of Captain Yobn Cunningbam, a Native of Scotland; with whon one Lindenare, a Danibb Nobleman, was joined in Commiffion; Fames Hall, and Fobn Knigbt, both Englijbmen, were Pilots. The Dane very foon returned, but Cumning gam proceeded a little Way through Davis's Streigbts, to a Place called Cunningbain's Ford; from whence he brought away a kind of Stone, which he took to be Silver Ore; out of one hundred weight of which there were extracted twentyfix Ounces of fine Silver. In 1607 another Ship was fent from Denmark, of which Fames Fall had the Command; but before they had advanced as high as Cunninggam's Ford, the Dani/S Seamen mutinied, and forced them to return. His Danifb. Majefty, however, perfifted fo obftinately in this Defign, that he fent for Seamen from Norway and Iceland, fuppofing that they were better able to endure Cold than other People; and having fitted out two Ships for Difcovery, gave the Command of them to one Cbrifian RicbardJon, a Native of Holfein. Thefe People, however, behaved worfe than the Danes had done, for they mutinied before they faw the Coaft of Groenland, and fo difappointed that Voyage. In 1619 Captain Fobn Munk undertook this Voyage, and arrived fafely at Cape Farewell, in the Latitude of 60 Degrees thirty Minutes, where, though their Tackle was fo frozen, and full of Ificles, that they could not handle them; yet the next Day was fo hot and fultry, that they were forced to work in their Shirts. He gave here Names to feveral Places in Hudfon's Bay, but made no great Difcoveries, though he was obliged to winter in the Latitude of 63 Degrees 20 Minutes, in a Place which has fince retained his Name, on the Weft-fide of the Bay before-mentioned.
The Hardfhips this Man endured in the long Winter he paffed there, are almoft incredible. In the Month of May, 1620, he found himfelf alone in a Hut, fcarce alive himfelf, and almoft morally certain that all his Mariners were dead: He collected his Spirits, however, as well as he could, crawled out, and found, of all his Crews, no more than two left, and thofe in almoft as weak a Condition as himfelf; however, they removed the Snow in fome Places, and finding frefh Herbs underneath, recovered from the Scurvy by eating them; and when the Seafon permitted, and they had collected a little Provifion, they left their Ship behind them, and ventured to retum in their Pinnace, with which, after overcoming great Difficulties, they fafely arrived in Norway. This Captain Munk was not only a great Seaman, but a very ingenious Mathematician ; and fome Years after revived this Defign of finding a North-weft Paf fage, of which he gave fo good an Account to feveral of the Danijb Nobility, and made it fo probable to fome of the richeft Merchants in Norway, that they raifed a joint Stock to defray the Expences of his Voyage.

When all things were in a Manner ready, Munk himfelf was taken off by a very odd Accident. The King afked him how he came not to difcover the North-weft Paffage the laft Time, upon which he gave him a large Account of his Misfortunes. The King told him that he had deftroyed a great many Men already, to which Captain Munk made a quick Reply, and provoked the King to ftrike him over the Stomach with his Cane. This Indignity had fuch an Effect upon the Man's Spirit, that as foon as he came home, he obftinately refufed all

Refrefhnent, and died in two or three Days. The unfortunate Iffue of this Affair fo difcouraged the Danes, that we hear nothing more of their Attempts, though it is certain, that with refpeet to fuch Expeditions, they enjoy much greater Advantages than almoft any other Nation.
7. As long as the Greenland Trade was carried on with Advantage to this Nation, the Endeavours for a Difco ry were kept up, and a feecial Committee was appointed by the Merchants concerned in that Trade, for drawing Inftructions to the Commanders of fuch Veffels as were fent abroad in that Service, and Sir Fobn W-olfe enbome the younger was appointed their Treafurer. We have a great many Letters and Papers tranfimitted to this Committee, in the third Part of Purchas's Pilgrims, and of thefe there are fome that are very well worth the readings It appears from them, that Thomas Marmaduke; of Hull, had failed as far as the Latitude of $8_{2}$ Degrees North, which was to the utmoft Extent of Greenland; but he feems to have kept too near the Shore, which was the Reafon that he found himfelf much incommoded by Ice; whereas if he had kept a little to the Weftward, it is allowed that he would have met with an open Sea. But by this Time other Nations began to interfere in the Greenland Trade, and the Company found themfelves under a Neceffity of having recourfe to the Crown for Protection and Affiftance, as well for defending their Fifhery, as for profecuting their Difcoveries; and accordingly they addreffed themfelves to King Cbarles I. upon both Heads, who very readily granted them all that they defired, particularly a Frigate, called the Cberles, under the Command of Captain Luke Fox; which, being manned and victualled for eighteen Months, failed in the Spring of the Year 1631, in order to make Difcoveries towards the North-weft; and, as he tells us himfelf, this was the fixteenth Voyage that had been undertaken exprefly for this Purpofe.
He traced Frobiber, Hudfon, Davis, Bafin, and Button, meeting with Whales, much Ice, and foul Weather He built a Pinnace in River Nelfon, where he found feveral Remains left there by Sir T'bomas Button. He obferved abundance of fmall fpruce Firr-Trees on both Sides the River, almoft covered with Mofs, and other Sorts of Trees, but fmall. The Valleys had good Grafs, Blackberries, Strawberries, Vetches, Venifon, $\mathcal{E}_{6}$. but no Natives or Inhabitants to be met with in this Place; tho in other Parts of the Sea he faw feveral Savages. Captain fames departing from England foon after Captain Fox, upon the fame Defign, they both met, and careffed each other, near Port Neljon, in the Month of Aug. 163 I Fox got home before Winter, and fome cime afterwards publifhed a large Account of his Voyage, under a pompous Title, which, however, was never much efteemed; and funk frill lower, in the Opinion of Mankind, aftes Mr. James's Voyage was made public, which every body allowed to be an excellent Performance, and to have all the Merit that could be expected from a Work of that kind.
It appears from hence, that there was a furprizing De gree of Vigilance and Steadinefs in the Conduct of the mercantile Part of the Nation at that Time. They applied themfelves to the Study of Navigation and Commerce, as to Sciences capable of raifing their Fame and Reputation, as well as their Fortunes; and this made them jealous of feeing themfelves rivalled, or out-done, by any other Nation whatever. The King too had great Knowledge in thefe Matters, conferred about them with the principal Commanders in his Navy, and the moft able Seamen throughout his Kingdom; offering freely whatever Affiftance his Prerogative enabled him to give, and encouraging the wealthier Sort of Merchants to continue thefe Kinds of Expeditions, by his own Example. It was this that became a kind of Law to the Nobility and Courtiers, who, in imitation of the King, interefted themfelves deeply in Attempts of this Nature, as manifeftly appears by the Names given to Roads, Sounds, Bays, Inands, Headlands, Promontories, and Coafts in Hudfon's Bay, and other Northern Regions, by which the Titles of fome noble Families are preferved, which are now extinguifhed, and their Memories alfo almof totally forgotten.
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## S E C T I O N III.

The accurate and admirable Voyage of Captain Thomas James, for the Difcovery of a Passage into the Soutir Seas, by the North-weft; bis rointering in Charlton Illand, and wonderful Return with bis Ship, and moft of the Crew, into England.

## Extracted from his own Account, and delivered in his own Words.

i. An Intiroduction containing the Reafons of this Expedition; and the Motives and Preparations of Captain James, for undertaking this Voyagei 2: The Autbor departs from Brifol, and arvives upon the Coafl of Groenland. 3. Finds bimfelf and bis Crevo expofed to great Danger, and prodigious Inconvertiencies, by the vaff quantitites of Ice in thofe Parts. 4. An Account of their landing at feveral Places, the mijerable Barrennefs of the Country, and the Sea deffitute of Fijb. 5. They fall into newo Perils from the Ice, from wobich they free themfelves by incefliant Labours. 6. A fartber Account of the Country, Coaffs, and Seas. 7. The Metbods taken by Captain' James, to encourage and keep up tbe Spirits of bis Seaminen, in the Midft of fo many Difficulties. 8. Their. Dangers and Labours fill increaffe, notroitbjianding all the Precautions that could be taken to avoid them. 9. A Misfor tune happens in tbe revighing of tbeir Anchor, by which feveral of the ableft Men in the Sbip are mijerably burt. Io. They meet weitb Captain Luke Fox, zubo bad been fent outt the Year before upon the Jame Difcovery; and after mutual Civilities, part from, and fee, each otber no more. II. A violent Storm, by webich they are in great Danger; from which they are delivered by tbeir cown Induyfry, and the Care of thbir Conmander, woith the Blefing of God. 12. The Ship runn afoore by an Accident, webich put them into fo great Danger, that they bad Thougbts of quititing their Veffel, and making their Efaape in their Boat; but afterwards are fo lucky as to get the Ship off. I3. Anotber Storm in whbich they loft their Shallop, and weve driven to fuch diffrefs, that they weere forced to think of wintering in thofe Seas. 14. They are mijerably incommoded with Fogs, Arong Currents, and floating Iflands of Ilce, by wehich they are put in tbe utmoft Danger for feveral Days togetler. 15. The Captain lands upon an IJand in order to make Difooveries; to procure Wood, Water, and otber Correceriencies, and to fearch out a proper Place for tbeir wintering in. I6. Their Houff is fet up, a Deer taken, and one of tbeir Men loft in feeking for Refrefloments. 17. An Account of tbeir various Precautions taken to aroid fuch Accidents for the future; their Diftrefs from the Severity of the Weatber; and the Death of their Gumner. I8. Captain James inclines to rum bis Ship aground; the Reafons which induced bim to think of tbis Expedient, and the Accidents rwbich bindered bim from putting it in execution. 19. They refolved, after mature Deliberation, to fink the Ship, as the fureft Meens of preferving ber; this Refolution executed, and tbe Difficulties they met weith in getting afoore. 20. Captain James's Speech to bis Creew, in Relation to tbeir Wintering; the Afjurances given binn by them, of their Fidelity and Obedience, togetber weitb the Diftribution made of the Men to feveral Employnnents. 2T. Farther Precautions taken for fecuring thennflves in this uncomfortable Country, getting thbir Boat afbore, and rajing a Storeboufe for their Provifions. 22. A large and very curious Account of their Habitations in this defert IJand, and of the Metbods taken for the Eafe and Refrefloments of the Sick. 23. Obfervations on the Cold, Ice, Snowes, Spring-Tides, and other things, at the Beginning of the Xear 1632. 24. The Mijeries cudured by the webole Creew, from the dif fnal Effects of the Scurvy; and the great Pains taken by their Chirurreion to give thben all the Relief in bis Power. 25. The Dificulties that attended the getting of Wood; and various Metbods pracijifed to overcome thofe Dificulties. 26. The Captain refloved to dig a Paflage through the Ice to the Ship, which, weith inexprefible Labour, woas effected, and the Veflel found fafe and found. 27. The Order in wobich their Provifions were ferved to them, wobile they contimued afbore; and the Danger their Sick zeere in of being farved, for weant of a Power of eating. 28. The Death of their Carpenter; their Rudder recovered; and the IJland named, from 'tbeir wintering' upon it, Charles Town, or Charlton Inland. 29. The Ship cleared; the Men recover chiefly by the Help of Sallads; the Nature of the Sprinis in this Country. 30. The Ship begins to float; Captain James takes Poffefion of the Ifland for King Charles I. and begins to tbink of his Departure. 31. The Captain in Danger of being burnt by a very Arange Accident; ereels Tombs for bis dead Men; the Nature of Freezing in this Country. 32. The Manner of the Waters Thawing deforibed; woith a Viewo of the Country in the Spring, and otber Particulars. 33. They labour to leave Chariton Inland, but are bindered by tbe Ice, 34. Put to Sea vivith much Dificulty, and meet with great Tempelfs, and other Misfortunces. 35. Undergo vafk Varieties of Har djhips, thbrougb Storms, Rocks, Ice, \&cc. 36. In much greater Danger than ever; fo tbat not only the Creew, but the Captainn bimfelf, began to deppair of the Poplibility of returning. 37. He lays bold, notwitbfanding, of the fivf Opportunity that offered, for profecuting the intended Dijcovery. 38. Expoped to newo Dififulties and Dangers, wwbich engage them, after mature Deliberation, to refolve upon Japping their Courfe bome, wwbich waas accordingly done. 39. Captain James changes bis Sentiments, woith recpect to the Poffibility of funding a North-weff Pajage; Motives affigned by bim, in Suipport of that Change; and bis Recfons for tbinking the Paflage ifjelefs cund unprofitable, if it could be difccovered. 40. His Notions uponn this Subjeck confidered and confuited. 4.1. Conchufon of ibis Voyage, woith Obfervations and Remarks.

A$S$ curious and inftructive as the Hiftory of the Expeditions made for finding a North-wef Paffage murt certainly be eftecmed by all competent Judges of a Collection of this kind, yet it is very natural for them to expect to fee fome Voyage entire, by which they may judge of the Nature of fuch an Expedi-
tion; the Method of purfuing it; the Difcoveries that incidentally fall in; the Difficulties that occur; the Na ture of the Climate and Coafts; and other Singularities which render fuch kind of Pieces equally ufeful and entertaining. The Forefight of this, and the Defire of complying, as far as pofible, with the Expectations of

## Chap. I.

my Readers, induced me to think of giving Place to the Voyage of Captain Thomas Fames, undertaken for the Satisfaction of King Cbarles 1. at the Expence of the Merchant Adventurers of Brifol. And this for various Realons: Firf, Becaufe the original Edition of 1633, publifhed by the Author himfelf, from whence this, with the Omiffions only of fome obfolete Phrafes, and fome Verfes, not much to the Purpofe, is literally taken, is become exceeding fcarce, and, indeed, hardly to be met with. Secondly, Becaufe it is very juftly looked upon as the very beft Work of its kind that ever was publifhed, and this in every refpect; the Author being a knowing, careful, and experienced Seaman, one who wrote every thing as it occurred, and framed the Hiftory of his Voyage while it was making, and not after his return Home, from loofe Papers, or a bare Sea Journal. Thirdly, Becaufe the giving this Voyage will fatisfy the Reader in all the Points of Enquiry that he can poffibly frame, and this upon the Authority of fo judicious and candid a Writer, that the famous Mr. Robert Boyle chiefly depended upon the Extracts he made from his Work, in framing one of the moft valuable Pieces that he publifined, I mean his Hiftory of Cold. Fourthly, Becaufe it will free us from the Neceffity of inferting any more Voyages into thefe Northern Parts, as containing every thing that is worth reading in the reft of them ; digefted clearly and plainly, fo as to carry Conviction throughout, and leave us no room to queftion either the Abilities or the Sincerity of its Author. And Fifthly, Becaufe it affords us an Opportunity of exhibiting, at once, the Reafons from which it was for many Years after this believed, that the finding fuch a Paffage was impracticable, and adding thereto the Motives that have induced able and experienced Perfons in later 'Times to conceive, that how formidable foever thefe Objections may at firft Sight appear, they are not abfolutely conclufive, but that fuch a Paffage may be ftill fought for with rational Hopes of Succefs.

After having given this Account of the Caufes of inferting this long Voyage, I fhall next prefent the Reader with an Account from Captain $\begin{aligned} & \text { Fames's Preface, which is }\end{aligned}$ to be found only in his original Edition; of the Manner $\cdot$ in which this Voyage was undertaken, containing many Particulars that are very well worth Notice, and which will not fail to convince the Reader that never any Enterprize of this kind was better concerted, or more Deliberation ufed in providing for its Succefs, Captain Games had been employed, as he tells us, in fome Northern Voyages before, whence he came to be thought the fitteft Perfon in the Kingdom, for attempting this fo long wifhed for Difcovery; which, however, he was not determined to undertake, till it was fignified to hinn on the Part of the King, that it would be highly fatisfaciory to his Majefty. After he was once come to a Refolution, he fignified to the Merchants of Brifol, in whofe Service probably he had been formerly employed, both his own Inclination to venture on this Voyage, and the Encouragement he received from his Majefty ; upon which they very readily raifed fuch a Sum of Money as was requifite, and depofited it in the Hands of a Treafurer, for carrying it on with the utmoft Facility and Expedition.
Captain Fames defired only a fingle Ship, and that a fmall one, of the Burden only of feventy Tons. She was built for this Voyage; and it will appear from what follows, that fhe was as well and ftrongly built as cver any Veffel of her Size was. The Number of Perfons that he defired for the Execution of fo difficult and fo dangerous a Defign, was no more than twenty-two; and the Provifions and other Neceffaries that he required, was for 18 Months; and he acknowledges that they were provided for him in the full Proportions he demanded, and that in their feveral kinds they were as wholefome and as good as he could wifl. He had the free Choice of the Men that were to ferve under him, but he abfolutely refufed all Volunteers that had never been at Sea, in which there is nothing Atrange; but it muft be allowed that it was fomewhat furprizing, that he thould reject alfo fuch as had failed in , thofe Seas before; for which he fays he wanted not good

Reafons, though it feems they were fuch as he did not think fit to difclofe. The Qualities he required were, that they flould be unmarried, approved, able, and healthy Seamen; he likewife took care that they flould not have the leaft Knowledge or Acquaintance with each other; and, infead of entering them all at once, he frot fixed upon a Boatfwain and his Crew for rigging the Ship, and put them aboard before the reft of the Scamen ; then he fripped the common Men, and laftly his Officers; fo that all things were ready at once; the Expence kept as much within Bounds as it was poffible, and the wifeft Precautions taken to prevent Factions, and Mutinies, with which, as we fall fee, he was never troubled, notwithtanding all the Miferies and Misfortunes that he and his People endured.
When all things were ready he made a fhort Journey to Loridon, to receive his Majefty's laft Commands, and fuch Letters and Commifions as he judged might be of Service to him; and, upon his Return to Brijol, he went directly aboard his Ship, with a Refolution of failing the firt fair Wind. After his Return he drem up the following Hiftory of his Voyage, for his Mafter's Satisfaction; and prefixed to it the following Dedication, which is alfo not to be met with, entire and correct, in any but the original Edition.
"Moof gracious Sovereign: That my unfkilful felf was " made Choice of for this Employment, and my Un"dertaking in it encouraged by your gracious Com"" mandment, I muft ever account of, as the greateft "Honour ever yet befel ime. Many a Storm, and " Rock, and Mift, and Wind, and Tide, and Sea, and "s Mount of Ice, have I in this Difcovery encountered "withal; many a Defpair and Death had almoft over"whelmed me; but fill, the Remembrance of the Ac-
"count I was to give of it, to fo gracious a Majefty, put " me in Heart again, made me not to give Way to iny " own Fears, or the Infirmities of I Iumanity. Your " Majerty, in my Employment (like a true Father of "your Country) intended the Good of your Subjects, "s and who is not bound to blefs God for your royal "Care in it, had it now been my Fortune to have done ". my Country this Service, as to have brought home the "News of this fuppofed and long-fought for Paffage; " then fhould the Merchant have enjoyed the Sweetnefs "s of the hoped Profit, and the Subjects have been fen"" fible of the Benefit of your Majefty's Royal Intention " in it. I have done my Good-will in it, and though "I have not brought home the News, yet fhall I here di"s vulge thefe Obfervations, which may (I hope) become " fome Way beneficial unto my Country. The Account of them I here in all Humility offer unto your moft judi"cious Majefty; your gracious Acceptance of what I " had done, though I had not done what was expected " emboldneth me to do fo; and fince your Majefty was "pleafed to fignify your Defires of having a brief Ac"count of my Voyage prefented unto you, that Word " became a Command unto me, to draw this rude Ab " ftract of it. Your Majefty will pleafe to confider, that "they were rough Elements which I had to do withal, "" and will, with Favour, vouchfafe to pardon, if a Seaman's Stile be like what he moft converfeth with. In the Plainnefs therefore of well meaning, fince your "" Majefty hath been fo gracious to me, as to appoint me y your Servant, I am now bound to vow you my Ser"vice, and it flall be my Honour to be commanded "it; and I flall account no Danger too great in the going through it. There are the Relolutions of "Your Majefty"s humbleft Subject and Servant Thoomas " James."

But it is now Time to proceed to the Captain's Narrative, which is delivered mofly in his own Words, becaufe it was found impoffible to exprefs his Senfe in Words better chofen, or that could bring the Facts he relates into a narrower Compafs.
2. The 2 d of Moy I took my Leave of the MerchantAdventurers in this Action, in the City of Brifol; and being accompanied by the Reverend Mr. Palmer, and feveral of the Merchants I repaired aboard; where Mr. Polmer made a Sermon, exhorting us to continue bra-
therly Love, and to be bold to profefs the Chriftian Religion, wherever we flould come in this our Peregrination. After they had received fuch Entertainment as I could afford they departed for Brifol. This Afternoon - I made a Review of all Cloaths, Neceffaries, and - Victuals. The 3d of May, after Prayer, about three in the Afternoon, we failed down the Severn to the weftward of Lundy, where the Wind oppofed us fo ftrongly, that we were obliged to anchor in Lundy Road ; where we 'remained till the 8th in the Morning, when we failed; but were forced to put into Milford, where we anchored about Midnight: Here we remained till the I 7 th, when, in the Morning, with the firft fair Wind we proceeded, and doubled Cape Clear, off Ireland. The 22d we were in Latitude 51 Degrees 26 Minutes, and the Blafes bore from us North-eaft about twelve Leagues off; which Blafkes is in Latitude 52 Degrees 4 Minutes; here I ordered the Courfe that fhould be kept, which was generally Weft-north-weft, as the Wind would permit, which in this Courfe and Diftance is very variable. The 4th of Fune we made the Land of Groenland, ftanding in with it, to have Knowledge of the trending of it: It proved very foul Weather, and next Day, by two in the Morning, we found ourfelves encompaffed with Ice; and endeavouring to clear ourfelves of it we were the more engaged, and ftruck' many fearful Blows againft it. At length we made faft to a great Piece, and, with Poles, wrought Day and Night to-keep off the Ice; in which Labour we broke all our Poles.

The 6th, about two in the Morning, we were befet with extraordinary Pieces of Ice, that came upon us with great Violence, and doubtlefs would have crufhed us to Pieces if we had not let fall fome Sail, which the Ship prefently felt. In efcaping the Danger we ran againt another great Piece, that we doubted whetier our Ship had not been flaved to Pieces; but by pumping we found fhe made no Water. The former Pieces of Ice had cruthed our Shallop all to Pieces, wherefore I caufed our Long-boat to be had up from betwixt the Decks and put over-board, by the Help whereof we recovered our broken Shallop, and fet her uporí the Deck, intending to new-build her. All this Day we beat, and were beaten amongft, the Ice, it blowing a perfect Storm. In the Evening we were enclofed among great Pieces as high as our Poop, and fome of the fharp blue Corners of them reached quite under us. In this Extremity I made the Men let fall, and make what fail they could, and the Ship forced herfelf through it, though fo toffed and beaten as I think never Ship was. When we were clear we tried the Pumps, and found them ftaunch; upon which we went inftantly to Prayer, to praife God for his merciful Delivery of us.

The feventh and eighth Days we endeavoured to double about Cape Farcwell, being ftill peftered with much Ice. The gth we were in the Latitude of 59 Degrees, and we made Account the Cape Farecwell bore off us due Eaft, and fome ten Leagues off. The Blafies in Ireland is in Latitude $5_{2}$ Degrees 4 Minutes, and Cape Farewell in Latitude 59. The Courfe is Weft-north-weft, and the Difance about four hundred and ten Leagues: I know very well thefe Latitudes, Courfes, and Diftance, do not agree with mathematical Conclufions; but thus we found it by Practice. The Variation of the Compafs in Latitude 52 Degrees 30 Minutes, and thirty Leagues to the weftward of Ireland, is about 3 Degrees to the eaftward; in Latitude 57 , about three hundred and ten Leagues Weft-north-weft from the Blafkes, the Compals doth vary nine Degrees to the weftward; in Latitude 59 Degrees $I_{5}$ Minutes, fome forty Leagues to the eaftward of Cape Farezell, the Variation is 14 Degrees 45 Minutes. In this Courfe I have been obfervant whether there were any Current that did feit to the North-eaft, as fome have have written there did, and that as well in calm Weather as otherwife, but I could not perceive any. The Winds here are variable, and the Seas of an unfearchable Depth; we have not feen from Ireland hitherto any Whales, or Qther Fifh; the Weather for the moft part was foggy.
3. On the roth all the Morning was very foul, and high Sea, although we had Ice about us, and fome Pieces
as high as our Topmaft Head. Our Long-boat, which we were forced to tow a-ftern, broke away, and put us to fome Trouble to recover her. This we did, and brought her into the Ship, though much bruifed, and had two Men much hurt. By eight in the Morning we were fhot up as high as Cape Defolation; for finding the Land to trend away North and by Eaft, we certainly knew it to be the Cape : It ftands in Latitude 60 Degrees, and the Land from Cape Farervell to it trends North-weft the Diftance about forty Leagues, the Courfe Weft half a Point North. The Latitude of the South-end of the Ifland being 6 I Degrees 20 Minutes, fome twelve Leagues to the weftward of Cape Defolation, the Variation 16 Degrees. In this Courfe we were much beaten with the Ice, many Pieces being higher than our Topmaft Head. In our Way we faw many Grampuffes amonglt the Ice, and the Sea is full of them; the Weather, a ftinking Fog, and the Sea very black; which I conceive to be occafioned by the Fog.

The Iyth, at Night, we heard the Tract of the Shore, as we thought; but it proved to be the Rutt of a Bank of Ice. It made a hollow and hideous Noife, like an Overfall of Water, which made us to reafon among ourfelves concerning it, for we were not able to fee far, it being dark-night and foggy; we ftood off from it till break of Day, then in again; and about four in the Morning we faw the Land above the Fog, which we knew to be the Illand of Refolution. This Night was fo cold that all our Rigging and Sails were frozen. We endeavoured to compafs the fouthern Point of the Ifland, where runs a quick Tide into the Streight; but the Ebb is as firong as the Flood. The Fog was of fuch apierceing Nature that it fpoiled all our Compaffes, and made them lag, and fo heavy that they would not traverfe; wherefore I would advife any that fhall fail this Way, to provide Compaffes of Mof core Glafs, or fome other Matter that endures the Moifture of the Weather. As the Fog cleared up we could fee the Entrance of the Streight to be full of Ice clofe wedged together ; endeavouring to go forward we were faft enclofed amongft it ; and fo drove to and again with it, finding no Ground at two hundred and thirty Fathoms, four Leagues from the Shore.
The 2oth in the Morning we had got about the fouthern Point of the Inand; and the Wind at Weft drove both us and the Ice upon the Shore; when we were driven within two Leagues of the Coaft, we came among the ftrongeft Whirlings of the Sea that can be conceived. There were great Pieces of Ice aground in forty Fathoms Water, and the Ebb coming out of the broken Grounds of the Inand among thofe Infes of Ice, made fuch a Deftruction that we were carried round fometimes clofe by the Rockś, and fonetimes fo clofe by thefe high Pieces, that we were afraid they would fall upon us. We made faft two great Pieces of the Ice to our Side, with our Sledges and Grapnels, that drew nine or ten Fathoms; that fo they might be on Ground before us, if we were driven on the Shore; but that Defign failed us. And now from the Top feeing in among the Rocks, I fent the Boat to fee if fhe could fird fome Place of Security ; but the was 110 fooner parted but fhe was inclofed, and driven to trail upon the Ice, or clfe fhe had been dafhed to Pieces; they ran her over the Ice from Place to Place, and in the mean while, with the whirling of the Ice, the two Pieces broke away from our Sides, and 'carried away our Kedger and Grapnels : Then we made Signs to the Boat to make all the hafte fhe could to us, which fhe perceiving, did ; the Men being with much Difficulty forced to flide her over many Pieces of Ice. In the mean time we made fome fail, and got to that Piece of Ice which had our Grapnel on it, which we recovered.
By this time our Boat was come, and we put a frefh Crew into her, and fent her to fetch our Kedger, which The endeavoured with much Danger of Boat and Men. By this time the Ship was driven fo near the Shore that we could fee the Rocks under us, and about us, and we were carried by the Whirlings of the Watèr clofe by the Points of Rocks, and 'then round about back again; and all this notwithftanding the Sail we had aboard, and we expected continually when fhe would be beaten to

Pieces. In this Extromity I made them open more Sail, and fo forced her in among the Rocks and broken Grounds, and where there were many large Pieces of Ice aground. We went over many great Pieces of Rocks that had but twelve or thirteen Feet Water on them, and fo let fall an Anchor; this Anchor had never been able to wind up the Ship, but that by good Fortune the Ship ran againft a great Piece of Ice that was aground: This Shock broke the main Knee of her Beakhead, and a Corner of it tore away four of our main Shrouds, and an Anchor that we had at her Bow; and fo ftopped her Way that the did wind up to her Anchor.

We faw the fharp Rocks under us, and had but fifteen Feet Water; being alfo in the Tides Way, where the Ice would drive upon us. Our Boat we could not fee, which made us doubt fhe had been crumed to pieces; in her was the third Part of our Company; but foon after we faw her come about a Point among the Rocks, the had recovered our Kedger, which made us joyful; with all Ipeed we laid out Hawfers to the Rocks, and cvery one worked to the beft of his Strength to warp her out of this dangerous Place to the Rock's Side, where we had three Fathom Water, and were under the Shelter of a great Piece of Ice that was aground, which kept of the ftraggling Ice that otherwife would have driven upon us. Here we lay very well at the Ebb, but when the Flood came we were affaulted with Pieces of Ice, that every half Hour put us into defperate Diftrefs ; we worked continually to keep off the Ice: At full Sea cur great Piece of Ice which was our Buckler was afloat, and do what we could got away from us, and left us in imminent Danger from the Ice that drove in upon us; but the Ebb being once made, this grat Piece of Ice came again aground, very favourable to us, and Theltered us all the reft of the Ebb. All Night we wrought hard to fhift our Cables, Hawfers, and to make them faft aloft on the Rocks, that the Iee might the better pais under them. All Day and Night it nowed hard, and blew a Storm at Weft, which drove in all the Ice out of the Sea upon us. In working againft the Violence of the Ice, the Hook of our Kedger was broken, two Arms of our Grapnels, and two Hawfers, our Shallop being again very much bruifed; whereupon we went to work to repair it. This Tide the Harbour was choaked full of Iee, fo that it feemed firm and immoveable, but when the Ebb came it moved; fome great Pieees came aground, which altered the Courfe of the other Ice, and put us on the Rocks.
Here, notwithtanding our utmoft Endeavours, the fettled upon a fharp Roek, about a Yard above the main Maft, and as the Water ebbed away, fhe hung after her Mead, and held to the Ofing: We made falt Cables and Hawfers aloft to her Mafts, and fo to the Rocks, ftraining them tough with our Taekles; but as the Water ebbed away fhe was turned over, that we could not ftand in her. Having now done to the beft of our Underftandings, 'but to little Purpofe, we went all upon a Piece of Ice and fell to Prayer, befeeching God to be merciful unto us. It wanted yet an Hour to low Water, and the Tide wanted a Foot and Half to ebb to. what it had ebbed the laft Tide: We were careful Obfervers of low Water; and had Miarks by Stones and other Things which we had fet up, fo that we could not be deceived. The Ship was fo turned over that the Portlefs of the Forecaftle was in the Water, and we looked every Minute when fhe would overfet; indeed at one Time the Cables gave way, and the funk down half a Foot at that Slip; but unexpectedly it began to flow, and fenfibly we perceived the Water began to rife apace, and the Ship withal; then was our Sorrow turned to Joy, and we all fell on our Knees, praifing God for his Mercy in fo miraeulous a Deliverance. As foon as the was freed from this Roek, we wrought to get her farther off. All the Flood we were pretty clear from the Ice, but when the Ebb came the Ice came driving again upon us, which drove us to great Extremity: We got as many Pieces between us and the Rocks as we could, but there came a great Piece upon our Quarter, which was above three hundred of my Paces about, but it came aground. Thus came divers great Pieces befides; which was the Oc-

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cafion that this Tide the Harbour was quite choaked up fo that a Man might go any Way over it from Side to Side.
When it was three Quarters Ebb, thofe great Pieces that came aground began to break with a moft terrible thundering Noife, which put us in great Fear that thofe about us would break us all to Pieces; but God preferved us. This Morning the Water veered to a lower Ebb than the laft Tide it had done by two Feet, whereby we faw God's Merey appear to us in our late Extremity. That Flood we had fome Refpite from our Labours, but after full Sea our Hopes ebb'd too. The great Piece that was by us fo ftopt the Channel that the Sea came all driving upon us, fo that now undoubtedly we thought to have loft our Ship.

To work we went with Axes, Bars of Iron, and any thing proper for fuch a Purpofe, to break the Corners of the Ice, and to make way for it to go from us. It pleafed God to give good Succefs to our Labours, and we got fo much of the fofter Sort of the Ice betwixt us and the Rocks, that we thought ourfelves pretty fecure: But at low Water thofe Pieces that were aground breaking, kept a moft thundering Noife about us. This Day I went afhore, and built 'a great Beacon with Stones upon the higheft Place of the Inand; and put a Crofs upon it, and named this Haven, The Harbour of Good Providence.
4. On the 23 d in the Morning with the Flood the Ice drove up among the broken Grounds, and with the Ebb drove all out except one great Piece, which coming aground not far from us, fettled itfelf in fuch a Manner that we much feared it: But there came no more, otherwife we muft have expected as great Danger as heretofore. I took the Boat and weint afhore upon the Eaftern Side, to fee if I could find any Place free from Danger, and where, among the Rocks, I defcried a likely Place. From the Top of the Hill where I was I could fee the Ship. It was now almoft lowWater: At whieh Inftant the great Piece of Ice broke with a terrible Noife in four Pieces, which made me afraid it had fpoiled the Ship, it being full half Maft high. I made what Hafte I could to the Boat, and fo to the Ship to be fatisfied, where I found all well, God be thanked. I inftantly fent away the Boat to found the Way to a Cove which I had found, which was a very dangerous Pafage for the Boat. At her Return we unmoored the Ship, and with what Speed poffible warped away from among this terrible Ice. We were not a Mile from them before they broke all to Pieces, and would furely have made us bear them Company, but that God was more merciful to us.

We got round the Rocks, and fo in to this little Cove. Here we made faft to the Rocks, and thought ourfelves indifferently fafe; which being done, I went afhore again to wander up and down, to fee what I could difcover: I found it all broken rocky Ground, and not fo much as a Tree, Herb, or Grafs upon it. Some Ponds of Water there were upon it, which were not yet thawed, and therefore not ready for the Fowl. We did not find in the Snow any Footing of Deer or Bears, but Foxes we faw one or two. We found where the Savages had been, but it appeared to have been long fince: They had made five Hearths, and we found a few Fire-brands about them; and we found fome Heads and Bones of Foxes about them, with fome Whale-bones. I could not conceive to what Purpofe they fhould have come thither, for we could find none or very little Wood on the Shore-fide, and no Fifh at all, though we endeavoured to take fome. But it may be the Seafon was not yet come. I called this Cove by the Mafter's Name of my Ship, Price's Cove: The Latitude of it is 6 I Degrees 24 Minutes. The Firebrands and Chips, which I fpoke of, had been cut with fome Hatchet or other Inftrument of Iron. From the Top of the Hills we could fee the Illands that are on the South Shore, commonly called Sir Tbomas Button's Ifands. They bear South and by Eatt, half a Point Eafterly, fome fourteen or fifteen Leagues Diftance. Upon the Change-Day it flows here at feven $0^{\circ}$ Clock and a halfs and the Tide higheft' at moft three Fathom. The Flood comes from the Eaftward, and thither it returns. I have 5 M
been
been obfervant from the Top of the Hills, and defcried the great Pieces of Ice two or three Leagues from the Shore, drive to and againt the Flood and Ebb indifferently : Hence I collected that affuredly no Current fets in liere, but that it is a mere Tide. Near the Shore the Eddies whirl in twenty Manners when the Ebb is made, which is becaufe it comes out of the broken Ground amongft the Ice, that is, a Ground near the Shore; befides which Reafon there are divers Rocks lying under Water, on which you fhall have thirty, then twelve, and anon but eight, and then twenty Fathoms; and thofe Uncertainties occafion fuch Diftractions, I would therefore advife no one to come near thofe dangerous Shores, for fear he lofe his Ship.

This Morning, being the 24 th, there fprung up a frefh Gale of Wind at Eaft; and after Prayer we unfaftened our Ship, and came to fail fteering betwixt great Pieces of Ice that were a-ground in forty Fathoms, and twice as high as our Top-maft-head. We failed out of this Cove upon the Flood; and had none of thefe Whirlings of the Waters as we had at our going into it. We endeavoured to gain the North Shore, kept ourfelves within a League of the Shore of the Ifland of Refolution, where we had fome clear Water to fail through. In the Offing it was all as thick wedged together as poffible. By tweive o'Clock we were faft inclofed, and notwithftanding it blew very hard at Eaft, yet we could make no Way through it, but the Ice grated us with that Violence that I verily thought it would have wrenched the Planks from the Ship's Sides. Thus we continued in Terror till the 26th Day, driving to and fro in the Ice, not being able to fee an Acre of Sea from Top-mafthead. The 26 th was calm funfhiny Weather, and we took the Latitude and Variation, and had Ground, at a hundred and forty Fathom, fmall white Sand. I caufed the Men to lay out fome Fifhing-Lines, but to no Purpofe, for I could not perceive the Bait had been fo much as touched. The Nights are very cold, fo that our Rigging freezes, and frefh Ponds of Water ftand upon the Ice about haif an Inch thick.

On the 27 th there fprung up a litcle Gale at South-eaft, and the Ice did fomething open. Hercupon we let fall our Fore-fail, and forced the Ship through the Ice. In the Evening the Wind came contrary, at Weft-north-weft, and blew hard, which caffed us to faften to a great Piece, to which we remained moored till the 2gth. I an fatiffied here is no Current by many Experiments I have made; fuch as thefe, by making Marks on the Land, and noting our Drift to and again, with Ebb and Flood, for many Days together, as well in calm Weather as ocherwife. By all thefe Experiments I found that the Tide was no ftronger there than that betwixt England and France. This Morning there fprung up a fine Gale at Eaft, and the Ice opened fomething, fo that we forced the Ship through it with her Fore-fail. By twelve o'Clock we were got into fome open Water, with a fine Gale of Wind at Eaft, and fo clear Weather that.we could fee the Inand of Refolution, the Eaft End bears Eaft-north-eaft, fome twelve Leagues off.
5. From the 29 th to the 5 th of $7 u l y$ we failed continually through the Ice, with variable Winds and Fogs, and fometines calm. The 5 th at Noon we had a good Obfervation, and were in Latitude 63 Degrees 15 Minutes, and then we faw Salijbury. Ifland bearing Weft-by-north, fome feven. Leagues off, with much Ice betwixt it and us, to weather which we were driven to fand to the northward. Soon after we faw Prince Cborles's Cape, and MillIfand; and to North-north-weft (and indeed round about us) the Sea moft infinitely pefter'd and cumber'd with Ice. This grieved me very much; for as I had determined to profecute the Difcovery to the North-weftward, I faw it was not poffible this Year. We were driven back again with contrary Winds, ftill clofed and peftered with Ice, and with all the Perils and Dangers incident to fuch Adventurers, fo that we thought a thoufand times the Ship had been beaten to Pieces. By the 15 th of July we were got betwixt Digg's Ifland and Nottingbam's Ifland, not being able to get more Northward. There, for an Hour or two, we had fome open Water.
But-before I proceed further, it will not be amifs in
fome manner to defribe the Streight which begins at the Ifand of Refolution, and ends here at Digg's Ifland. - If yout go down into the Bay, the Streight is about a hundred and twenty Leagues long, and trends Weft-north-weft and Eaft-fouth-eaft. Generally in the Entrance it is about fifteen Leagues broad, and then on the fouthward Side is a great Bay: About the Midft it is likewife about fifteen Leagues broad, and then the Land opens fomething wider; fo that betwixt Digg's Ifland and Cape Cbarles it is about twenty Leagues broad, betwixt which two ftand Salifbury Ifland and Nottingbam Ifland. If it be clear Weather, you may fee both the South and the North Shores. The Depth in the Middle of the Streight is a hundred and twenty Fathoms, white Sand, a certain Tide runs in $\mathrm{it}_{2}$ and no Current. The North Shore is the ftraiteft and the clearefl from Ice. Along this North Shore you have many low fmall Inlands, which cannot be feen far from Land, and in many Places the Land appears as if it had fmall Sounds into it: The main Land on both Sides is indifferent high Land.
Being now convinced of the Impofibility of doing any thing to the North-wefward, for the Reafons aforefaid, I gave Orders to the Miafter of my Ship to fteer away Weft-fouth-weft, to have a Sight of $\operatorname{INansfield}$ Ifond, which the next Day by three o'Clock in the Afternoon we had; having fo much dangerous foul Weather among the Ice, we ftruck more fearful Blows againft it than we had ever yet done. This was the firft Day that we went to Half-allowance of Bread on Flefh-Days, and I ordered Things as fparingly as I could. Two of our Men likewife complained of Sicknefs, but foon recovered. In the Evening we came to an Anchor, and fent the Boat afhore to try the Tides: They brought me word whilft the Boat was afhore it flowed about three Feet, as we found by the Ship and by the Ice. The Water at that Time came from the Weft-fouth-weft; and the higheft Tides, fo far as they could perceive, had not fwelled above two Fathoms. They found that the Savages had been upon it by certain Fires which they left, and Heaps of Stones, Tracts of other Beafts, but Foxes they could not find. The Wind was fo contrary, and the Weather fo foggy, that we were forced to fpend fome Powder to recover our Boat again.
6. Next Morning being the 17 th, the Wind came favourable, and we weighed the Shore, being fomething clear of Ice, though very thick all to the Offing. We itood along it South-and-by-weft ten Leagues. In the Afternoon the Wind came contrary, and we came again to an Anchor within a Mile of the Shore, for out to Sea was all thick Ice and impaffable. I went afhore myfelf, to be well refolved of the Tide, and found whiltt I was ifhore that it flowed two Feet, and at that Time the Flood came from Southweft-and-by-weft. I doubted it was a Half-Tide, which afterwards I found to be true. I found where the Savages had been upon the Inand, but could find little or no Drift-wood on Shore, no Beafts on the Inand, or Fifhes in the Sea. It flows on the Change-Day about eleven o'Clock. We faw fome Fo 1 on it, one of which we killed, and returned on board. This Illand is very low Land, little higher than a' Sand-bank; it hath Ponds of frefh Water, but no Grafs, and is utterly barren. On the 18 th in the Morning the Wind came favourble, we weighed and made fail, for the Ice was all come about us.

We endeavoured to proceed to the Weftward, intending to fall in with the Weftern Land about the Latitude of 63 Degrees; by twelve $0^{\circ}$ Clock, having been muck peftered, we were come to a firm Range of Ice; but it pleafed God that the Wind larged, and we flood away to Weft-fouth-weft. At Noon in Latitude 62 Degrees, by four in the Evening, having efcaped dangerous Shocks, we were come as we thought into an open Sea, and joyfully fteered away Weft and Weft-by-North, though the Joy was foon quell'd, for by ten $0^{3}$ Clock at Night we heard the Rut of the Ice, and it grew a thick Fog, and very dark with it; neverthelefs we proceeded, and the nearer we came to it the more hideous Noife it made. On the 1gth by three in the Morning we were come to it, and as it cleared a. little we could fee the Iee as thick as

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any we had yet feen, thefe being impaffable, and moreover the Wind at North-weft. We ftood along it hoping to weather it to the Southward, but at laft we became io blind with Fog, and fo encompaffed with Ice, that we could go no farther.
7. On the 20th in the Morning, notwithftanding the Fog, we endeavoured to get to the Weftward, our Ship beating all this while dreadfully. In this Wilfulnefs we continued till the next Day, when, being faft among the Ice, I obferved we were in Latitude 60 Degrees 33 Mi nutes, and then looking what Damage our Ship might have received, we could perceive that below the Plate of Iron which was before her Cut-water fhe was all bruifed and broken, the two Knees the had before to ftrengthen her fpoiled and torn, and many other Defects which we could not by any means come to mend. Notwithftanding all this, and the extraordinary thick Fog, that we could not fee a Piftol-fhot about us, we proceeded with the Hazard of all till the 27 th, which was the firt Time we had clear Weather to look about us. The Wind withal came up at South, and the Ice opened fomething, fo that we made fome Way through it to the Weftward.
In the Evening we were faft again, and could go no further, the Wind veering from the South to the Eaft and blowing a frefh Gale. This occafioned our Grief the more that with a good Wind we could not go forward. Putting therefore a Hawfer upon a great Piece of Ice, to keep the Ship clofe to it, we patiently expected better Fortune. Since we came from Mansfeld Ifand our Depth was conmonly a hundred, and a hundred and ten Fathoms, ouzy Ground. Now the Water began to fhallow, for driving faft to and again in the Ice we had but eighty Fathoms. On the 28 th and 2 2th we were fo fart inclored in the Ice, that notwithftanding we put abroad all the Sail that was at Yards, and it blew a very hard Gale of Wind, the Ship ftirred no more than if fhe had been in a dry Dock. Hercupon we went all boldly out upon the Ice to fport and recreate ourfelves, letting her ftand ftill under all her Sails. It was flat extraordinary large Ice, the worft to deal withal that we had yet found. I meafured fome Pieces, which I found to be one thoufand of my Paces long.
This was the firft Day that our Men began to murmur, thinking it impofible to get either forwards or backwards. Some were of Opinion that it was all fuch Ice betwixt us and the Shore: Others, that the Bay was all covered over, and that it was a Doubt whether we could get any Way, or to any Land to winter in. The Nights were long, and every Night it freezed fo hard that we could not fail by Night, nor in the thick foggy Weather. I comforted and encouraged them the beft I could; and to put away thofe Thoughts we drank a Fealth to his Ma jefty on the Ice, not one Man in the Ship, and the ftill under all her Sails. I muft confefs that their Murmuring was not without Reafon; wherefore doubting that we fhould be frozen up in the Sea, I ordered that Fire fhould be made but once a-Day, and that with but a certain Number of Shides that the Steward fhould deliver to the Cook by Tale, the better to prolong our Fuel whatfoever fhould happen.

On the zoth we made fome way through the Ice, heaving the Ship with our Shoulders, and with Mauls and Crows of Iron, breaking the Corners of the Ice to make way as we got forwards. The Water fhoaled apace, fo that I believed it to be fome Illand. At Noon we obferved through the Fog, with the Quadrant upon a Piece of Ice, and were in Latitude 58 Degrees 54 Minutes, our Depth thirty Fathoms. We put out Hooks to try to catch fome Fifh, but to no Purpofe, for there are none in this Bay. On the 3 Ift we laboured as before, and got fomething forward. At Noon we were in Latitude 58. Degrees 40 Minutes, our Depth twenty-three F'athoms. It was very thick hazy Weather, or elfe I think we fhould have feen the Land.
8. On the ift of Auguf, the Wind came up at Weft which drove us to the Eatward where our Depth increafed to 35 Fathom. At Noon, by Obfervation with the Quadrant on the Ice, we were in Iatitude 58 De-
grees 45 Minutes. At $60^{\circ}$ Clock this Evening we might perceive the Ice to heave and fet a little, which was occafioned by a fwelling Sea that came from the South-s weft. This did comfort us very much, hoping fhortly we flhould get out of the Ice. On the 2 d it blew hard at South-weft, and yet we could not feel the fwelling Sea, which did again quench the Hopes we had formerly conceived. On the 3 d we faw a little open Water to the North-weftward and felt a Sea from thence, which doth affure us that there is an open Sea to the Wefto ward. On the 5 th we faw the Sea clear but could by no Means work ourfelves to it with our Sails, wherefore about 6 in the Evening we let fall an Anchor in 50 Fathom Water, and food all with Poles and Oars to fend off the Ice and let it pafs to Leeward, and continued this Labour all Night. In the Morning the Wind came up at North-weft and we weighed with much Joy, as hoping now to get into an open Sea to the Southward. This by Noon we had done and were in Latitude 58 Degrees 28 Minutes, very free of Ice. The Wind larged upon us, fo that we ftood away North-weft to get us as high Northward as we could, and fo come coafting to the Southward. We went to Prayer and to give God Thanks for our Delivery out of the Ice. On the $9^{\text {th }}$ being in Latitude 59 Degrees 40 Minutes, we came again to the Ice which lay very thick to North, fince we, came out of the Ice our Depth increafed to 11O, and fince decreafed again, fo that I think we approached towards the Shore. The ioth proved very foggy Weather, the Wind contrary, and the Water flallowing apace, we came to an Anchor in 22 Fathom. On the It th in the Morning we weighed and made in for the Shore, and about Noon faw the Land our Depth being 16 Fathom in Latitude 59 Degrees 40 Minutes. The I.and to the North of us did trend North by Eaft and fo made a Point to the Southward, and trending away Weft by South, which we followed taking it for that Place which was formerly called Hubbart's Hope, and fo it proved indeed, but it is now hopelefs. The Tide fet in the Miiddle of the Bay Eaft and Weft, as we have often tried by our Lead aground but near the Shore, as they forced by the Land; I am of Opinion, that in the Ocean or large Bays the Tide naturally fat Eaft and Weft, and that this gives little Hope of a Paffage. The greateft Depth we' had in the Bay was rio Fathom, and to flooaling as you approach the Land, we coafted round this forementioned little Bay which is 18 Leagues deep in 8 and 6 Fathom, and in the Bottom of it we were two Fathom and a half Water, and faw the firm Land almoft round about us. Then we proceeded to the Southward 6 and 7 Fathoms Water, within Sight of the Breach of the Shore keeping the Lead continually going, and in the Night we came to an Anchor.
This Night having little Wind we came to an Anchor with our Kedger, but in weighing of him we loft him, having no more aboard us. The 12th we were in Latitude 58 Degrees 46 Minutes, fome two Leagues from the Shore, the Variation is about 17 Degrees. On the 13 th in the Afternoon it being fomething hazy, we faw fome Breaches a-head of us, our Depth was 9 and 10 Fathom, and loofing to clear ourfelves of them, we fuddenly ftruck upon the Rocks, the Ship being under our two Top-Sails, Fore-Sail and Sprit-Sail with a frefh Gale of Wind. In this dreadful Accident we ftruck all our Sails amain, and it pleafed God to fend two or three good fwelling Seas, which heaved us over the Rocks into three Fathorin, and prefently into three Fathom and an half, where we chop'd to an Anchor and tried the Pumps, but we found fhe made no Water, tho' fhe had three fuch terrible Blows that we thought her Maft would have fhivered to Pieces, and that fhe had been affuredly bulgesd. . We hoitted the Boat over-board and double mann'd her to go arid found a Way out of this perilous Place, fhe was no fooner gone but there arofe a Fog, fo that we were obliged to fpend fome Powder that fhe might hear whereabouts we were. The Wind dull'd fonething, otherwife it had been doubtful whether the could ever have recovered us again. After fhe had been abfent two or three Hours fhe brought us word that it was all Rocks and Breaches round about us, and that withal, fhe had found a Way where there was
no lefs than two Fathom and an half Water, and that afterwards the Water deepened; we prefently weighed and followed theBoat, and paffed over two Ledges of Rocks on which there were but is Feet Water, then it deepened to three, or four, and fo to 14 Fathom, then it fhoaled agrain to nine.

It being now dark, we came to an Anchor where we rid all the Night. In the Morning the Wind came contrary, fo that we could not go that Way we intended to clear ourfelves; and therefore we went to work to fit our Holds, to fplice our Cables, and made ready two Shot, and fo placed them in the Hold that they might on all Occafions run clear, the Ends of them being faftened to the Main-maft. We alfo looked to our Anchors and fitted our fpare ones. We got out our long Boat from betwixt the Decks, which was very much broken and bruifed. The Carpenter went to fit her, for I intended to tow the Shallop a-ftern and to have the Boats ready at an Inftant, either to lay out Anchors, or to be ferviceable to what God fhould be pleafed to try our Faith and Patiènce with, for in him was our only Trut and Hope.
At Noon, in Latitude 57 Degrees 45 Minutes, we could fee the Land from the North-weft to the Southeaft by Eaft, with Rocks and Breaches, and the Rocks that we came over dry above Water, whereby I knew it flows here above two Fathoms at leaft. At Noon I fent the Boalt off to found to the Eaftward, becaufe the Water fhallowed when we came to an Anchor. She brought us Word the thalloweft Water the had been in was leven Fathom: We intending thereupon to weigh, the Wind came Eaft early, fo that we could not ftir, but lay here the 14 th all Night with a ftiff Gale of Wind. On the 15 th in the Evening, our Cable rubbed off, by Reaton of which perilous and fudden Accident, in which we had not Time to put a Buoy to it, we loft our Anchor, and were driven into four Fathom Water before we could fet our Sails. When we had done we food South-fouth-eaft, the Wind being at Eaft, but the Water fhallowed to three Fathom Water, then we frood North-north-eaft, and it deepened by Degrees to xo Fathom, and becaufe it grew dark they came to an Anchor, and rid there all Night.
9. On the 16 th in the Morning, the Wind came up at North, a frefh Gale, and we weighed and made fail; by $90^{\circ}$ Clock it came to a very Storm, and we turned to and again in 10 Fathom Water. In the Evening the Wind dulled, and we ftood South-weft to have a Sight of Port Nelfon, which Courfe we ftood all Night, by the Stars being in the Latitude 57 Degrees 25 Minutes, the Variation about in Degrees. On the s 7 th in the Morning we ftood South, and our Depth decreafed to eight Fathom ; at Noon we had good Obfervation, being in Latitude 5? Degrees is Minutes, and made Account that we were come fix or feven Leagues of the Southern Side of Port Nelfon. Here the Appearance of the Water changed, and was of a fandy red Colour: We ftood into fix Fathoms, and could not fee the Land from Top-maft Head; fo Night coming on, and it begining to blow hard at Eaft by South, we ftood in again to ten and twelve Fathom, where the Water was again of the ufual Colour of the Sea.

On the 18 th, as the Wind and Weather favoured us, we ftood in again South and came into thick Water, into eight, feven, and fix Fathom, and then off again, fo it grew foggy Weather, keeping our Lead continually going Night and Day. The Igth being clear fun-fhiny Weather, we food in again into the thick Water into eight Fathom, where we came to an Anchor to try the Tides, for from the Top-maft Heads we could not fee the Land; we were at Noon, by good Obfervation, in Latitude 57 Degrees 20 Minutes, and the Tide fet North-weft-and-by-weft, and South-eaft-by-eaft. It ran two Knots and a half in two Glaffes; I perceived that there were nothing but Sholes to the Land. In the Afternoon it began to blow, fo that we had much ado to get up our Anchor; this done, we ftood Eaft-foutheaft, but the Water hallowed apace, and then we ftood Eaft and deepened a little. In the Evening the Wind came up at Weft, and then we ftood Eadt-fouth-eaft
into ten and eight, and afterwards South-eaft as our Depth guided us by our Lead and the Colour of the Water into feven and fix Fathom.

On the 2oth at fix in the Morning we faw the Land it being very low Land, we ftood in to five Fathom to make it the better, and fo ftood along it. At Noon we were in Latitude 57 ; we named it the Principality of South Wales, and drank a Health, of the beft Liquor we had, to his Royal Highnefs Prince Cbarles, whom God preferve; we ftood along it, and came to a Point where it trends to the Southward, near to which Point there are two fmall Inlands. In the Evening it was calm, and we came to an Anchor; the Tide came as before. There we rid all that Night and the next Day. About nine at Night it was very dark and it blew hard.

We perceived by the Lead that the Ship drove, wherefore bringing the Cable to the Capitang to heave in our Cable, for we thought we had loft our Anchor, the Anchor lritched again, and. upon the Chopping of a Sea threw the Men from the Capttang; a fmall Rope, in the Dark, had gotten foul about the Cable and about the Mafter's Leg too; but by the Help of God he cleared himfelf, tho' not without bruifing. The two Mates were hurt, the one in the Head, the other in the Arm ; one of our luftieft Men was ftruck on the Breaft with the Bar, that he lay fprawling for Life, another had his Head betwixt the Cable, and hardly efcaped. The reft were flung where they were much bruifed, but our Gunner, an honeft and diligent Man, had his Leg taken betwixt the Cable and the Capitang, which wrung of his Foot, and tore the Flefh all off his Leg, and criulhed the Bone to Pieces, and bruifed his whole Body, in which miferable Manner he remained crying till we had recovered ourfelves, and had Strength to clear him. Whilft we were putting him and the reft down to the Chirurgeon, the Ship drove into fhallow Water, which put us all in Fear, we being fo forely weakened by the Blows which had hurt eight of our Men. It pleafed God that our Anchor held again, and the rid it out all Night. By Midnight the Chirurgeon had taken off the Gunner's Leg at the gartering Place, and dreffed the others that were hurt and bruifed, after which we comforted each other as well as we could.

On the 22 d we weighed and ftood a little off into deeper Water, expecting a better Wind, which in the Afternoon favoured us; we ftood in again for the Shore and we proceeded along it; it is very fhallow about 14 Leagues off and full of Breaches. On the 23 d at Noon we were in Latitude 56 Degrees 28 Minutes; in the Evening the Wind came contrary, and we were fain to turn to and again. All this Month the Wind was very variable, and continued not long upon one Point, yet it happened fo that we could get but little forward.

Io. On the 26 th there fprung up a fine Gale at Weft, but thick Weather neverthelefs; we food in to feven and fix Fathom, the Water very thick. At Noon it cleared, and we could fee that we were in a little Bay, the Land being almoft round about us; we ftood out of it, and fo along it in Sight till the $27^{\text {th }}$ in the Morning, when we came to higher Land than we had yet feen fince we came from Nottingham Iland; we ftood in to it and came to an Anchor in five Fathom; I fent off the Boat well manned and armed, with Order in Writing what they were to do, and a Charge to return again before Sun-fet. The Evening came, and no News of our Boat; we fhot, and made alfo Fires, but had no Anfwer, which much perplexed us, fearing there had fome Difafter befallen her through Careleffnefs, and in her we fhould lofe all, we aboard at prefent not being able to weigh our Anchor nor fail the Ship.

At laft we faw a Fire upon the Shore, which made us the more doubtful, becaufe they did not anfwer our Shot nor falfe Fires with the like; we thought it liad been the Savages that triumphed in their Conqueft; at length they came all fafe and well, and excufed themfelves, that upon their coming on Shore it ebbed fo fuddenly, that a Bank of Sand was prefently dried, fo that they could not come away till that was covered again, and with that they pacified me. They reported that there was great Store of Drift-wood on the Shore, and a good

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 and wintering in Charlon Illand.Quantity growing on the Land. That they faw the Tracts of Deer and Bears, and ftore of Fowl, of which they killed fome, but no Sign of People. That they paffed over two little Rivers, and came to a third, which they could not pafs. That it flowed very near three Fathom fometimes, as appears by the Shore. That it was low Water at four o-clock ; that the Flood came from the North-weft a and that it flowed half Tide, which both they and we had perceived by the Ship. At low Water we had but three Fathoms where we fid.
On the 29 th in the Morning we made Account we had driven back again fome fixteen or eighteen Leagues, and in the Morning, as it cleared, we faw a Ship to Leeward of us three or four Leagues, fo we made fail and bore up with her; the was then at anchor in thirteen Fathom. It was his Majefty's Ship, commanded by Captain Fox; I faluted him according to the Manner of the Sea, and received the like of him; fo I ftood in to fee the Land, and thought to tack about, and keep the Weather of him, and to fend my Boat aboard of him ; but the Wind fhifted, fo that for that Time I could not. Yet in the Evening I came to weather of him, who prefently weighed, and ftood off with me till Midnight, and then we ftood in again. In the Morning Captain Fox and his Friends came aboard of me, where I entertained them in the beft Manner I could, and with fome frefh Meat I had gotten from the Shore. I told him that I had named the Land the Principality of Soutb Wales. I fhewed him how far I had been to the Eaftward, where I had landed, and, in brief, I made known to him all the Dangers of this Coaft, as far as I had been. He told me he had been in Port Nelfon, and had made but a curfory Difcovery hitherto; and that he had not landed, nor had many times feen the Land. In the Evening after I had given his Men fome Neceffaries, with Tobacco, and other things they wanted, he departed aboard his Ship, and the next Morning ftood away South-fouth-weft, fince which Time I never faw him. The Wind fometimes favouring me, I food in for the Shore, and fo proceeded along. The Month of Auguf ended with Snow and Hail; the Weather being as cold as at any Time I have felt in England.

Ir. September the ift we coafted along the Shore in ten Fathom, when it cleared in fight of Land; at length the Water fhallowed to fix and five, and, as it cleared, we faw it all Breaches to Leeward, fo we hulled off North-north-eaft, but ftill raifed Land; by Night we had much ado to get out of this dangerous Bay. At Midnight the Wind came up at South, and fo we took in our Sails, and let the Ship drive to the Northward, into deeper Water. This Day was the firt Time the Chirurgeon told me that there were diverfe of the Men tainted with Sicknefs. At Noon we were in Latitude 55 Degrees 12 Minutes.

On the 2 d we ftood in for the Shore ; but as we came into flallow Water it began to fhew the Weather threatening a Storm, wherein we were not deceived; for in ftanding off we had a violent one. By Midnight it broke up, and the 3 d in the Morning we ftood in for the Shore, and by eleven we faw it; here we found the Land to trend South-fouth-eaft, and South, fo that we knew that we were at a Cape Land, and named it Henrietta Maria, by her Majefty's Name, who had before named our Ship. At Noon we were in Latitude 55 Degrees 5 Minutes, and that is the Height of the Cape. From Port Nelfon to this Cape the Land trends generally Eaft-fouth-eaft, but makes with Points and Bays, which in the Particulars doth alter it, a Point two or three; the Difance is about one hundred and thirty Leagues. The Variation at this Cape, taken by Amplitude, is about 16 Degrees, a moft fhallow and perilous Coaft, in which there is not one Harbour to be found. The 3 d Day in the Afternoon, we had a Storm at North, which continued till Midnight with extreme Violence. The 4th in the Morning the Storm being broke up, we ftood in again South-weft, the Weather being very thick, and we continued founding. By Noon it cleared, and we faw the Land; here it trended South-eaf, and the Tides fat Vol. II. Numb. 97.
along it with a quick Motion. In the Evening there came a great rolling Sea out of the North-north-eat, and at eight o-clock it blew very hard at South-eaft; and by Realon of the Encounter of the Wind, and this greas Sea, the Sea was all in a Breach; and to make up a perfect Tempeft, it did fo lighten, fnow, rain, and blow all the Night long, that I was never in the like. We fhipped many Seas, but one more dangerous, which racked us fore and aft; and I verily thought it had funk the Ship, it ftruck her with fuch Violence. The Ship did labour moft terribly in this Diftraction of Wind and Waves; and we had much ado to keep all things faft in the Hold, and betwixt Decks.

The 5 th in the Morning the Wind fhifted South-weft, but changed not its Condition; in the Afternoon it changed again to the North-weft, with that tearing Violence, that not I, nor any that were then with me, ever faw the Sea in fuch a Breach. Our Ship was fo tormented, and fo laboured with taking it in on both Sides, and at both Ends, that we were in moft miferable Diftrels, in this fo unknown a Place; at eight o-clock in the Evening the Storm broke up, and we had fome Quietnefs in the Night following, not one having flept a Wink in twenty Hours before. If this Storm had continued Eafterly, as it was at firft, without God's Goodnefs we had all perifhed.
On the, 6th the Wind was at South-weft, fo that we could do no good to the Windward. We fpent the Time therefore in trimming our Ship; we brought all our Coals, which for the moft part was great Coal, aft, as we alfo did fome other things, and all to lighten her afore. Others picked our Bread, whereof there was much wet; for do what we could we fhipped abundance of Water between Decks, which ran into the Hold, and into our Bread-Room; for the Sea fo continually overracked us, that we were like Fonas in the Whale's Belly. We overlooked our Tacks and Sheets, with other Riggings of Strefs, becaufe that henceforward they were to look for no other but Winter Weather. This Evening our Boatfwain, a careful Man, and one that had laboured extremely thefe two or three Days, was very fick, fwooning away three or four Times, infomuch that we thought he would prefently have died.
The 7 th in the Morning the Wind came up to Southweft, and we ftood away South-weft, under all the Sail that we could make. In this Courfe we faw an Ifland, and came clofe aboard it, and had twenty Fathom Water, which was fome Comfort to us; for hitherto we could. not come within four or five Leagues to the Shore at that Depth. This Illand flands in 54 Degrees io Minutes. The Afternoon we ftood away South-weft, and in the Evening had the fhallowing of the Weftern Shore, in eight, ten, and feven Fathom, but it was fo thick, that we could not fee the Land. It is about fourteen Leagues between this Inand and the Main. The 8th was foggy and calm, which fo continued till the gth in the Morning, the Wind then coming up at South-fouth-weft. In the Evening the Water fhallowed to ten and nine Fathoms, wherefore we ftood off and on all Night. The roth we made it, finding it an Inand of about eight or nine Leagues long. It fands in Latitude 53 Degrees 5 Minutes, and about fifteen Leagues from the Weftern Shore. The Part of it that we coafted, trends Weft-north-weft, I named it my Lord Wefton's IJand. We ftood ftill away to the Eaftward, it being foggy Weather. In the Afternoon we defcried Land to the Eattward of us, which made like three Hills. Towards them we failed, keeping our Lead ftill going and very circumfpect.

At length we alfo faw Land to the Southward of us, whereupon we loofed up and made to that by Courfe, as we had fet it in the thick Fog. We came in among fuch low broken Grounds, Breaches, and Rocks, that we knew not which Way to turn us; but, God be thanked, it was but little Wind, and foon came to an Anchor. Soon after it cleared, at which Time we could fee nothing but Sands, Rocks, and Breaches, round about us, that Way only excepted which we came in. I fent prefently the Boat to found among the Sholes and Rocks, that if we

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fould be put to extremity, we might have fome Knowledge which Way to go. This Night proved calm, and fair Weather, and'we rid quietly.
12. On the i th, in the Noming, I went in the Boat afhore myfelf, and fent the Boat about among broken Grounds, to found: I found the Land utterly barren, even of that which I thought eafily to, be found ; which was Scurvygrafs, Sorrel, or fome Herb or other, to have refrefhed our fick People. I could not. perceive that the Tide flowed here ordinarily above two Feet. There was much Drift-Wood on the Shore, and fome of it drove up very high in the North-fide of the Ifland, where I judged that the Storms were very great at North, in the Winter. Thus I returned aboard, and fent many of our fick Men to another Part of the Iland, to fee if themfelves could fortunately find out any Relief for their Grief. At Noon, by good Obfervation, we were in Latitude 52 Degrecs 45 Minutes. In the Evening our Men returned comfortlefs, and then we weighed, and ftood to the Weitward, coming to an Anchor under another Illand, in twenty Fathom.

The 12 th in the Morning it bergan to blow hard at South-eaft, which was partly off the Shore, and the Ship began to drive, it being foft oozy Ground. We heaved in our Anchor thereupon, and failed under two Courfes. Whilf moft were bufy in heaving out the Top-Sails, fome, that fhould have had efpecial Care of the Ship, ran her afhore upon the Rocks, out of mere Careleffnefs in looking out and about, or heaving of the Lead, after they-had feen Land all Night long; and mighe even then have feen it, if they had not been blind with Self-conceit, and been envioufly oppofite in Opinion. The firf Blow ftruck me out of deep Sleep, and I, running out of my Cabin, thought no other, at finf, but I had been wakened to provide myfelf for another World.

After I had controuled a little Paffion, and had chocked fome bad. Council that was given me to revenge myfelf upon them that had committed this Error, I ordered what fhould be done to get off thefe Rocks. Hinf we hawled all our Sails back, but that did no good, but made her beat the harder. Whereupon we ftruck all our Sails amain, and furled them up clofe, tearing down our Stern to bring the Cable through the Cabin, to Capftang, and fo laid out an Anchor to heave her aftern. I ordered all the Water in the Hold to be ftaved, and fet fome to the Pumps to pump it out, and intended to do the like with our Beer; others I put to throw out all our Coals, which was foon and readily done. We coiled out our Cables into the Long-boat, all this while the Ship beating fo furioully, that we faw fome of the Sheathing fwim by us. Then we ftood, as many as could, to the Capftang, and heaved with fuch a good Will, that the Cable broke, and we loft our Anchor, but with all Speed therefore we put another. We could not now perceive -whether the leaked or no, and that by Reafon we were employed in pumping out the Water, which we had bulged in Hold, though we feared the had received her Death's Wound. Therefore we put into the Boat the Carpenter's Tools, a Barrel of Bread, a Barrel of Powder, fix Mufkets, with fome Matches, and a Tinder-Box ; FifhHooks and Lines; Fitch and Oakham; and, to be brief, whatever could be thought on in fuch an Extremity. All this we fent afhore to prolong a miferable Life for a few Days. We were five Hours thus beating, in which Time fhe fruck an humdred Blows, infomuch that we thought every froke had been the laft that it was poffible the could have chdured. The Water we could not perceive all this while to flow any thing at all.

At length it pleafed God the beat over all the Rocks, though yet we knew not whether the was ftaunch; whereupon we went to pumping all Hands, till we made the Pumps fuck, and then we faw how much Water fhe made in a Glafs. We found her to be very leaky, but we went to Prayer, and gave God Thanks it was no Worle; and fo fitted all things again, and got further off and came to an Anchor. In the Evening it began to blow very hard at Weft-fouth-weft, which if it had done whilf we were on the Rocks, we had loft pur Ship with-
out any Redemption. With much ado we weighed our Anchor, and let her drive to the Eaftward, among the broken Grourid and Rocks, the Boat going before founding; at length we came among Breaches, and the Boar made Signs to us that there was no going further among the Rocks, therefore we again came to an Anchor, where we rid all Night, and where our Men, which were tired out with extreme Labour, were indifferent well refrefhed. Here I muft obferve, that when the Wind was at South; it flowed very little, or no Water at all, fo that we could not bring our Ship a-ground to look to her, for we pumped almoft continually.

I3. The isth at Noon we weighed, and food to the Weftward, but in that Courfe it was all broken Ground, Sholes, and funken Rocks; fo that we wondered how we came in among them in a thick Fog. Then we fhaped our Courfe to the Northward, and after fome Confultations with my Affociates, I refolved to get about this Land, and fo to go down into the bottom of Hudfon's Bay, and fee if I could difcover a Way into the River Caroda; and if I failed in that, then to winter on the main Land, where there is more Comfort to be expected than among the Rocks or Inands. We ftood along the Shore in Sight of many Breaches. When it was Night we food under our Fंore-fail, the Lead ftill going. At laft the Water fhallowed upon us to ten Fathom, and it began to blow hard. We tacked about, and it deepened to twelve or fourteen Fathom, but by and by it fhallowed again to eight Fathom; then we tacked about again, and fuddenly it hallowed to fix and five; fo we ftruck our Sails amain, and came to an Anchor, refolving to ride it for Life and Death. We rid all Night, and thought our Ship would have been torn to Pieces. At Break of Day, the I4th, we were joyful Men when we could look about; we defcried an Ifland fome two I_eagues off at Weft and by North, and this was the Shole that lay about it. Here ran a diftracted, but yet a very quick, Tide, of which we taking the Opportunity, got up our Anchor, and food North-weft, to clear ourfelves of this Shole; in the Afternoon the Wind came up at Northeaft, and we ftood along the Weftern Shore, in Sight of a multitude of Breaches. In the Evening it began to blow a Siorm, and the Sea went very high, and was all in a Breach. Our Shallop, which we now towed at Stern, being moored with two Hawfers, was funk, with her Keel up. This made our Ship to hull very broad, fo that the Sea did continually over-rack us. Yet we endured it, and thought to recover her. All IVight the Storm continued with Violence, and with fome Rain ; in the Morning it was very thick Weather.

The Water fhoaled apace, with fuch an over-grown Sea withal, that a Sail was not to he endured; and what was worfe, there was no trufting to an Anchor. Now therefore we began to prepare cir felves, how to make a good End of a miferable tormented Life. About Noon, as it cleared up, we faw two Inands under our Lee, whereupon we bore up to them, and fecing an Opening betwixt them, we endeavoured to get into it before Night, for that there was no hope of us if we continued out at Sea that Night, therefore come Life, or come Death, we muft run this Hazard. We found it to be a good Sound, where we rid all Night fafely, and recovered our Strengths again, which were much impaired with continual Labour; but before we could get into this good Place, our Shallop broke away, being moored with two Hawfers, and we loft her to our great Grief. Thus now we had but the Ship's Boat, and fhe was all torn and bruifed too. This Ifland was the fame that we had formerly coafted the Weftern Side of, and had named Lord Wefon's Iland. Here we remained till the 19 th, all which Time it did nothing but fnow and blow extremely, infomuch that we durft not put our Boat overboard.

This Day the Wind Mifted North-north-eaft, and we weighed and ftood to the Southward, but by Noon the Wind came up at South, and fo we came to an Anchor under another Ifland; on which I went on Shore, and named it The Earl of Brifol's Ifand. The Carpenter wrought hard in repairing our Boat, whilt I wandered
up and down in this defart Ifland. I could not perceive that there had been any Savages on it, and in brief, we could neither find Fifh, Fowl, or any Herb upon it; fo that I returned comfortlefs again. The Tides high, about fome fix Foot, now the Wind is northerly. The Flood comes from the North, and it flows Half Tide; the full Sea this Day was at one $0^{\circ}$ Clock. Here, feeing the Winds continue fo northerly that we could not get about to go into Itudfon's Bay, we confidered again what was beft to do, to look out for a wintering Place; fome advifed me to go for Port Nelfon, becaufe we were certain that there was a Cove where we might bring in our Ship. I liked not that Counfel, for that is a moft dangerous Place, and it might be fo long ere we got thither, that we might be debarred by the Ice ; moreover, feeing it was fo cold here that eivery Night our Rigging froze, and fometimes in the Morning we fhoveled away the Snow, half a Foot thick, off our Decks; and in that Latitude too I thought it far worfe than the other Place: I refolved thereupon to ftand again to the Southward, there to look for fome little Creek, or Cove, for our Ship.
14. On the 2 Ift the Wind came up at North, and we weighed although it was a very thick Fog, and ftood away South-weft, to clear ourfelves of the Sholes, that were on the Point of this Inand. This Inand is in Latitude 53 Degrees io Minutes. When we were clear we fteered away South. At Noon the Fog turned into Rain, but very thick Weater, and it thundered all the Afternoon, which made us fear a Storm, yet we ventured to proceed. In the Evening the Wind blew hard, therefore we took in all our Sails, and let her drive to the fouthward, heaving the Land every Glafs. Our Depth, when we took in our Sails, was thirty Fathom, and it increafed to forty-five, which was a great Comfort to us in the dark. At Midnight our Depth began fuddenly to decreafe, and as faft as the Lead could be heaved it fhoaled to twenty Fathom, wherefore we hop'd to come to an Anchor, and trimmed our Ship aft, to mount to the Sea, and fitted all Things to ride it ont. There was no Need to bid our Men watch now. We rid it out all Night although it blew very hard.

The 22 d in the Morning, when we could look about us, we faw an Inand under our Lee fome Leagues off, all Sholes and Breaches between us and it. At Noon, by the Help of the windward Tide, we attempted to heave up our Anchor, although the Sca went Mountains high; joining all our Strength therefore with our beft Skills, God be thanked, we had it up; but before we could fet our Sails we were driven into nine Fathoms, endeavouring thereupon to double a Point, to get under the Lee of this Illand, the Water fhoaled to five Fathoms; but when we were about it, deepened again; and we came to an Anchor in a very good Place, and it was well for us that we did; for the Wind increafed to a very Storm; here we rid well all Night, and recovered our Strength again. The laft Night, and this Morning it fnowed and hailed, and was very cold; neverthelefs I took the Boat and went athore to look for fome Creek or Cove to carry in our Ship; for the was very leaky, and the Company became very fickly and weak with much pumping and extreme Labour. This Inand, when we came to the Shore, was nothing but Ledges of Rocks and Banks of Sand, and there was a very great Surf on them; neverthelefs I made them row through it : And on Shore I got with two more, and made them row off without the Breaches, and come to an Anchor and ftay for me. I made what Speed I could to the Top of a Hill, to difcover; but could not fee what we looked for; and becaufe it began to blow hard I made haite toward the Boat again. I found that it had ebbed fo low that the Boat could not, by any Means, come near Shore for me, fo that we were forced to wade through the Surf and Breaches to her, in which fome got fucli a Cold that they complained of it to their dying Day.

But now it began to blow hard, fo that we could but get little to Windward toward our Ship, for the Wind was fhifted fince we went afhore; and return to the Shore we could not, by Means of the Surf. We rowed for Hife: They in the Ship let out a Buoy by a long Warp,
and by God's Affiftance we got to it, and fo halled up to the Ship, where we all rejoiced together. This was a Premonition to us to be careful how we fent off the Boat in fuch Weather. I named this Inand Sir Thomas Roe's Ifland; it is full of fmall Wood, but in other Benefits not very rich, and ftands in Latitude 52 Degrees io Minutes. At Noon we weighed, feeing an Ifland that bore South-fouth-eaft of us fome four Leagues off, which was the higheft Land we had yet feen in this Bay; but as we came near, it fuddenly thoaled to fix, five, and four Fathom; wherefore we ftruck our Sails amain, and chopped to an Anchor, but it was very foul Ground; and when the Ship was wound up we had but three Fathom Water at her Stern; as it cleared, we could fee the Breaches all, along under our Lee; holding it not fafe therefore to ftay long here, we fettled every thing, in order for the Ship to fall the right Way. We had up our Anchor, got into deeper Water, and ftood up again for Sir Thomas Roe's Ifand, which by Night we brought in the Wind of us, fome two Leagues off; which did well fhelter us. The Tides run very quick here, and the Times of running Ebb or Flood, Fery uncertain; their Currents are likewife fo diftracted that in the Night there is no failing by the Compafs, therefore we were forced to feek, every Night, fome new Place of Security, to come to an Anchor.

The 24th in the Morning, it lowered, and threatened a Storm, which made us, with the windward Tide, weigh; to get near under the Ifland. It was very foggy Weather; and as we food to the North-eatward we came to uncertain Depths; at one Caft twenty Fathom, the next feven; then ten, five, eight, and three ; and coming to the other Tack, we were worfe than we were before. The Currents defeating our Judgments in the thick Fog; when we could fee no Land-marks. It pleafed God that we got clear of them, and endeavoured to get under the Lee of the Mand; which being not able to do, we were obliged to come to an Anchor in thirty-five Fathom fome two Leagues off the Shore: All this Afternoon, and indeed all Night too, it fnowed, hailed, and was very cold. The 25 th we weighed, and thought to get to the eaftward ; but as we tacked to and, again, the Wind fhifted fo in our Teeth, that it put us within a Quarter of a Mile of the very Shore, where we chopped to an Anchor, and rid it out for Life and Death. Such Miferies as thefe we endured among the Sholes and broken Grounds, or rather more defperate than I have related, with Snow, Hail, and formy Weather, and colder than ever I felt in England in my Life. Our Sheet-Anchors were down twice or thrice in a Day; which extreme Pains made a great Part of our Company fickly. All this lafted with us until the 30 th of this Month September, which we thought would have put an End to our Miferies, for now we were driven among Rocks, Sholes, Overfalls, and Breaches round about us, that which way to turn we knew not, but there rid among them in Extremity of Diftrefs.
15. The Ift of OEtober was indifferently fair Weather, and with a windward Tide our Boat went to found a Channel, to help us out of this dangerous Place; the Boat within two Hours returned, and told us the had been a Way where there was not lefs than ten Fathom; we thereupon weighed, but found it otherwife, and came among many ftrange Races and Overfalls, upon which there went a very great and breaking Sea; as we proceeded, the Water fhoaled to fix Fathoms. Well! there was no Remedy, we mutt go forward, feeing there neither was any riding, and as little Hope to turn any way with a Sail, but that there appeared prefent Death in it: It pleafed God fo to dired us that we got through it. The Water fometimes deepened to twenty Fathom, then upon a fudden it fhoaled to feven, fix, and five Fathoms, fo that we ftruck all our Sails amain, and chopped to an Anchor, where we rid till Midnight for Life and Death, it blowing a mercilefs Gale of Wind; and the Sea going very lofty, and all in a Breach; the Ground was foul Ground too, infomuch that we doubted our Cable every Minute.

The ad in the Morning there was little Wind, where-
upon, taking the Opportunity of the Tide, the Boat went forth to found, which returning again in two Hours told us, they had founded about that Shole, and had found a Place of fome Safety to ride in, and had been in no lefs Water than five Fathom. We weighed, and found our Cable galled in two Places; which had foon failed us if the Weather had continued. We ftood the fame Way that the Boat clirected, us; but it proved fo calm that we came to an Anchor in 18 Fathom, hooked the Boat, and went on Shore on an Ifland that was on the fouthward of us; which I named the Earl of Danby's Ifland: From the higheft Place in it I could fee all broken Grounds and Sholes to the fouthward, and rather worfe, than any thing better, than that which I had been in. I found that the Savages had been upon it, and that it was full of Wood. I made hafte to found the Bay, for fear of Sholes and funken Rocks; but found it indifferent good.

Toward the Evening it began to blow hard, wherefore we made towards the Ship; fhe put forth her Buoy, and a Warp, and we rowing for Life reached her, wore to Leeward of her ; but by getting hold of the Warp, we hauled up to her. The Boat we left half full of Water, ourfelves being as wet as drowned Rats ; and it made us the more rejoice that we had efcaped fo great Danger ; all Night it blowing a moft violent Gale of Wind, with Snow and Hail. On the 3d, about Noon, the Wind dulled, and we had up her Anchor, ftanding farther into the Bay in four Fathom and an half Water; here we came again to an Anchor with our fecond Anchor, for many of our Men are fick, and the reft fo weakened that we can hardly weigh our Sheet-Anchor. I took the Boat and went prefently on Shore to fee what Comfort I could find: This was the firft time that I put Foot on this Inland, which was the fame that we afterwards wintered upon; I found the Tracks of Deer, and faw fome Fowl; but that which rejoiced me mot was, that I faw an Opening into the Land, as if it had been a River. To it we made with all Speed, but found it to be barred, and not a Foot Water at full Sea, on the Bay, and yet within a moft excellent fine Harbour, having five Fathom Water. In the Evening I returned aboard, bringing little Comfort for our fick Men, more than Hopes.

On the $4^{\text {th }}$ it fnowed very hard, yet I got afhore and appointed the Boat to go to another Place (which made like a River.) and to found it; in the mean time I went with four more fome four or five Miles up into the Country, but could find no Relief for my Sick, but a few Berries only. After we had well wearied ourfelves, I returned to the Place I had appointed them to tarry for me; where at my coming I ftill found her, fhe having not been where I ordered her, for it had blown fuch a fevere Gale of Wind that the could not row to Windward; thus we returned aboard with no good News. It continued foul Weather with Snow and Hail, and extremely cold till the fixth, when with a favourable Wind I ftood in nearer to the Shore and moored the Ship. On the 7 th it fnowed all Day, fo that we were fain to clear it off the Decks with Shovels, and it blew a very hard Storm withal; it continued fnowing and very cold Weather, and it froze fo that all the Bows of the Ship with her Beak-head were all Ice; about the Cables alfo was Ice as thick as a Man's Middle; the Bows of the Boat were likewife frozen half a Foot thick, fo that we were fain to beat it off. The Sun fhined very clear, and we bore the Top-fails out of the Tops which were hard frozen in them into a Lump, fo that there they hung a funning all Day in a very Lump, the Sun not having Power to thaw one Drop of them. After the Boat was fitted we rowed towards the Shore, but could not come near the Place where we were ufed to land, for it was all thick. Water with the Snow that had fell upon the Sands that are dry at low Water; this made it fo difficult to row that we could not get through it with four Oars; yet fomething higher to the Weftward we got afnore. Seeing now the Winter to come thus extremely on upon us, and that we had very little Wood, I made them fill the Boat and went aboard, and
fent the Carpenter to cut Wood, others to carry it to the Water-fide whilft the Boat brought it on board; for I doubted that we fhould not be able to go to and again with the Boat. It was miferable cold already aboard the Ship, every Thing froze in the Hold and by the Firefide; feeing therefore we could no longer make ufe of our Sails, it raifed many Doubts in our Minds that we muft ftay and winter.

After we had brought as much Wood on board as we could conveniently ftow, and enough, as I thought, to have lafted two or three Months, the fick IMen defired that fome little Houfe or Hovel might be built on Shore, whereby they might be the better iheltered to recover their Healths: I took the Carpenter and others whom I thought fit for fuch a Purpofe, and chufing out a Place, they went immediately to work upon it ; in the mean time, I accompanied with fome others wandered up and down the Woods to fee if we could difcover any Signs of Savages, that we might the better provide for our Safeties againft them; we found no Appearance that there were any upon this Illand nor near it; the Snow by this Time was half Leeg high, and through it we returned comfortlefs to our Companions, who had all this Time wrought upon our Houfe; they on board our Ship took down our Top-fails the mean while ; and made great Fires upon the Hearth in the Hatch-way; fo that having well thawed them, they folded them up and put them betwixt Decks, that if we had an Occafion they might bring them again to Yard.
16. The 12 th we took our Main-fail from the Yard which was hard frozen to it, and carried it on Shore to cover our Houfe withal, having been forced to thaw it by a great Fire; by Night they had covered it, and had almoft hedged it about, and the fix Builders defired to lie in it afhore that Night, which I condefcended unto, having firft fitted them with Mufkets and other Furniture, and a Charge to keep good Watch all Night: They had on Shore two Buckhounds, a Dog and a Bitch, which I had brought out of England, to kill us fome Deer, if happily we could find any. By the Izth at Night our Houfe was ready, and our fix Builders defired they might travel up into the Country to fee what they could difcover. On the I4th by Times in the Morning, being fitted with Ammunition and their Order to keep together, but efpecially to feek out fome Creek or Cove for the Ship, they departed. We on board took down our two Top-mafts and their Rigging, making Account, if we removed, to make ufe of our Fore-fail and Mifen.

The 15 th in the Evening our Hunters returned very weary, and brought with them a fmall lean Deer in four Quarters, which rejoiced us all, hoping we fhould have more of them to refrefh our fick Men withal; they reported that they had wandered above twenty Miles, and had brought this Deer above twelve Miles, and that they had feen nine or ten more. The laft Night they had a very cold Lodging in the Woods, and fo it appeared, for they looked almoft ftarved, nor could they recover themfelves in three or four Days after; they faw no Sign of Savages nor of any ravenous wild Beafts, nor yet any Hope of Harbour.
The 19th my Lieutenant and five more defired they might try their Fortune in travelling about the Inand, but they had far worfe Luck than the others, although they endured all Night, and had wandered very far in the Snow, and returned comfortlefs and miferably difabled with the Cold. But what was worfe than all this, they had loft one of their Company, Fobn Barton, our Gunner's Mate, who beirg very weary, merely to fave the going about, had attempted to go over a Pond that was a Quarter of a Mile over, where when he was in the very Middle the Ice broke and clofed upon him, and we never faw him more. Confidering thefe Difafters, I refolved to fifh no more with a golden Hook for fear I fhould weaken myfelf more with one Hunting than twenty fuch dear Deers could do me Good. Being now affured that there were no Savages upon the Inand, nor yet about us on the other Inands on the Main, as far as* we could difcover, and that the cold Seafon was now in
that Extremity that they could not come to us, if there were any, we comforted and refrefhed ourfelves by neeping the more fecurely.

We changed our Inand Garrifon every Week, for other refrefhing we were likely to have none till the Spring. From the 19 th to the 20th it fnowed and blowed fo hard that the Boat could hardly venture on Shore, and but feldom land unlefs the Men waded in the thick congealed Water, carrying one another; we fenfibly perceived withal, how we daily funk into more Miferies. The Land was all deep covered with Snow, the Cold ftrengthened and the thick Snow Water encreafed, and what would become of us, cur moft merciful God and Preferver knew only. The 2gth I obferved an. Eclipfe of the Moon with what Care poffible I could, both in the Trial of the Exactnefs of our Inftruments, as alfo in the Obfervation. This Month of Oftober ended with Snow and bitter cold Weather
17. On the firft of November, I caft up Accounts with the Steward concerning Vićtuals, the third Part of our Time being this Day out. I found him an honeft Man; for he gave me an Account every Week what was fpent and what was ftill in the Hold remaining under his Hand. I would take no Excufe for Leakage or other Wafte, unlefs he daily fhewed it to me. Every Month I made a new Survey, and every fix Months put what he fpared by itfelf, which now was at leaft a Month's Provifion of Bread, and a Fortnight's Peafe, Fifh, $\varepsilon^{\circ} c$. The 3d Day the Boat endeavoured to get on Shore, but could not go through the congealed Water.

On the 4 th they found a Place to get on Shore, and fo once in two or three Days till the gth, bringing Beer to our Men on Shore in a Barrel, which would freeze firmly in the Houfe in one Night; other Provifions they had fore. The Ice Beer being thawed in a Kettle was not good, and they broke the Ice of the Ponds to come at Water to drink. This Pond Water had a moft loathfome Smell with it, fo that doubting leaft it might be infectious I caufed a Well to be funk near the Houfe; there we had very good Water, which tafted, as we flattered ourfelves, like Milk. The Ioth, havino enough Boards for fuch a Purpofe, I fet the Carpenter to work to make a Boat which we might carry over the Ice, and make ufe of her wherever there was Water. At Noon I took the Latitude of this Illand by two Quadrants; which I found to be 52 Degrees. I urged the Men to make Traps to catch Foxes; for we daily faw many; fome of them were pied black and white, whereby I gathered that there were fome black Foxes, whofe Skins I told them were of great Value, and I promifed that whoever could take one of them fhould have the Skin for his Reward; hereupon they made divers Traps, and waded in the Snow, which was very deep, to place them in the Woods.

The 12th our Houfe took Fire, but we foon quenched it; we were obliged to keep an extraordinary Fire Night and Day, and this Accident made me order a Watch to look to it continually, fince if our Houfe and Cloathing fhould be burnt we fhould be in a woeful Condition; I lay afhore till the 17th, all which Time our Miferies increafed.
It fnowed and froze extremely, at which Time we looking from the Shore towards the Ship, fhe appeared a Piece of Ice in the Fafhion of a Ship, or a Ship refembling a Piece of Ice; the Snow was all frozen about her, and all her Fore-part firm Ice, and fo the was on both Sides, alfo our Cables frozen in the Hawfe. I got me aboard, where the long Nights I fpent with tormenting Cogitations, and in the Day-Time I could not fee any Hopes of faving the Ship. This I was affured of, that it was impoffible to endure thofe Extremities long; every Day the Men muft beat the Ice off the Cables, while fome within, with the Carpenter's long calking Iron, digged the Ice out of the Hawfers: In which Work the Water would freeze on their Cloaths and Hands, and would fo benumb them that they could hardly get into the Ship without being heaved in with a Rope. The rgth, our Gunner who, as you may remember, had his Leg cut off, languifhed irrecoverably, and now grew very weak, defiring that for the little Time
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he had to live, he might drink Sack altogether, which ordered he fhould.
The $22 d$ in the Morning he died, an honeft and a ftrong hearted Man. He had a clofe boarded Cabin in the Gun-room, which was very clofe indeed, and as many Cloaths on him as was convenient; and a Pan of Coals and a Fire continually in his Cabin, notwithftanding which Warmth, his Plaifters would freeze at his Wound, and his Bottle of Sack at his Head; we committed him, at a good Diftance from the Ship, unto the Sea.
18. On the 23 d the Ice increafed extraordinarily, and the Snow lay in Flakes as it fell, much Ice alio drove by us, yet nothing hard all this while. In the Evening, when the Watch was fet, a great Piece of Ice came athwart the Hawfer, and four more followed after it, the leaft of them a Quarter of a Mile broad, which in the Dark very much aftonifhed us, thinking it would carry us out of the Harbour upon the Shole's eaftern Point, which was full of Rocks. It was newly congealed two Inches thick, and we broke through it, the Cable and Anchor enduring an incredible Strefs, fome time ftopping the whole Ice. We fhot off three Mufkets, fignifying to our Men afhore that we were in Diftrefs; who anfwered us again, but could not help us. By ten o'Clock it was all paffed, neverthelefs we watched carefully, and the Weather was warmer than we had felt it any time this Month.

In the Morning by break of Day I fent for our Men aboard, who frut up the Houfe and arrived by ten, being forced to wade through the congealed Water, fo that they received the Boat with Difficulty. There drove by the Ship many Pieces of Ice, tho' not fo large as the former, but much thicker: - One Piece came foul of the Cable and made the Ship drive. As foon as we were clear of it we joined our Strength together, and had up our eaftermoft Anchor; and now I refolved to bring the Ship aground, which I had delayed for the following Reafons. Firft, It was all ftony Ground, fome Stones lying dry three or four Font above the Water, fo that it was to be fufpected that it was the like all round. Secondly It ordinarily flowed but two Foot and a half here, and if fhe fhould bed deep in the Sands we could not ever come to dig her out again, for that fhe would not be dry by four or five Foot. Thirdly, it was a clofe Sand which might rife with the Surface, or fo mount about her, that ail our weak. Powers could not heave it away the next Spring. Fourthly, We doubted the Tides would not rife fo much in the Summer as they did now. Fifthly, We could not bring her out of the Tide's Way, which ran fomething quick here, and the Ice befide might drive and mount up upon her, and fo overfet her, and tear her, and carry away her Planks and Iron Work; and alfo that we fhould have nothing left to finifh our Pinnace with. Sixthly, If it blew a Storm at North-weft or thereabouts, the Water would flow ten Foot and upwards, and that Wind being off the Shore, it would blow away all the Ice, and there would come in an extraordinary great Surf about the Shole to the eaftward Point, which was occafioned by a deep Overfall, befides the would beat extremely, and if the were put up by the Sea or that Surf, it was very doubtful that we hould never heave her off again; for thefe Reafons we endured all, ftill hoping for fome fortunate 'Accident : But now all our Defigns we faw Foolifhnefs, and that a great deal of Labour had been fpent in vain by us. With the Flood we weighed our weftermoft Anchor, perceiving God's Affiftance manifeftly, becaufe it happened to be, fine warm Weather, otherwife we had not been able to work.

The Wind was now South, which blew in upon the Shore, and made the loweft Tides. We brought the Ship into twelve Feet Water, and laid out one Anchor in the Offing, and another in Shole-water, to draw her on Land at Command: Our Hope alfo was, that fome Stones that were to the Weftward of us would fend off fome of the Ice; we then being about a Mile from the Shore. About ten o ${ }^{9}$ Clock in the dark Night the Ice came driving upon us, and our Anchors came home. She drove fome two Cables-length, and the Wind blowing
on the Shore, by two $0^{\circ} \mathrm{Clock}$ fhe came aground and flope much Ice, yet fhe lay well all Night, and we took fome Reff.

The $25^{\text {th }}$ the Wind fhifted Eafterly, and put abundance of Ice on us. When the Flood came we encouraged one another, and drew home our Anchor by main Force, under great Pieces of Ice, our Endeavour being to put the Ship to the Shore: But to our great Difcomfort, when the Half-Tide was made, the Ship drove among the Ice to the Eaftward, do what we could, and fo the would on the Shole of Rocks. As I have faid before, thefe two Days and this Day was very warm Weather, and it rained, which it had not yet but once done fince we came hither, otherwife it had been impoffible we could have wrought. Withal the Wind flifted alfo to the South, and at the very Inflant blew a hard Puff, which fo continued half an Hour. I caufed the two Top-fails to be had up from betwixt Decks, and we hoifted them up with two Ropes in all Hafte, and we found the Ship afhore when the had not half a Cable's Length to drive on the rocky Sholes. In the Evening we broke way through the Ice, and put an Anchor to Shoreward in five Fect Water, to keep her to the Shore if pofible. Here Sir Hugb Willougbby came into my Mind, who without doubt was driven out of his Harbour in this Manner, and fo ftarved at Sea. But God was more merciful to us. About nine at Night the Wind came up at North-weft, and blew a Storm. This Wind was off the Shore, which blew away all the Ice from about us long before we were afloat. There came in a great rolling Sea withal about the Point, accompanied with a great Surf on the Shore. And now we were left to the Mercy of the Sea on the Ground. By ten the began to roll in her Deck, and foon after began to beat againft the Ground. We ftood at the Capitang as many as could, others at the Pumps, for we thought that every fifth or fixth Blow would have ftaved her to Pieces. We heaved to the uttermoft of our Strength to keep her as near the Ground as we could.
By reafon of this Wind it flowed very much Water, and we drew her up fo high that it was doubtful if ever we got her off again. She continued thus beating till two o'Clock the next Morning, and then fhe fettled again, whereupon we went to feep, feeing the next Tide we expected again to be tormented.
19. The 25 th in the MorningTide ourShip did not float. After Prayers I called a Confultation of the Mafter, my Lieutenant, the Mate's Carpenter and Boatfwain, to whom I propofed, that now we were put to our laft Shifts, and therefore they fhould tell me what they thought of it, viz. Whether it were not beft to carry all our Provifions on Shore; and when theWind fhould comeNortherly, to draw her further off and fink her? After many Reaforings, they allowed of my Purpofe, and fo I communicated it to the Company, who all willingly agreed to it; and fo we fell to getting up of our Provifions: Firf, of our Bread, of which we landed this Day two Dryfats, with aHoghead of Beef, having much ado to get the Boats thro' the congealed Water. In the Evening the Wind came up at North-caft and Eaft, and filled the Bay full of Ice.
The 27 th the Bay continued full of Ice, which I hoped would fo continue and freeze, that we fhould not be forced to fink our Ship. This Day we could land nothing. The 28 th at Break of Day three of our Men went over the Ice unknown to me, and the Wind coming up at Weft drove the Ice from betwixt us and the Shore, and moft part of the Bay alfo; and yet not fo but the Boat could go afhore for any thing. I made the Carpenter fit a Place againft all fudden Extremities, for that with the North-weft or Northerly Wind I meant to effect our laft Project. In the Run of her on the Starboard Side he cut away the Cieling and the Plank to the Sheathing fome four or five Inches fquare, fome four Feet high from the Keel of her, that fo it might be bored out at an Inftant. We brought our Bread which was remaining in the Bread-Room up into the great Cabin, and likewife all our Powder, fetting much of our light dry Things betwizt Decks.
The 2gth at five in the Morning the Wind came up at Weft-north-weft, and began to blow very hard. It was ordinary for the Wind to Bhift from the Weit by the

North round about: So firt I ordered the Cooper to go down into the Hold, and look to all our Cafks; thofe that were full to mell in the Bungs of them, and thofe that were, empty to get up, or if they could not be gotten up to fave them; then to coil all our Cables upon our lower Tire, and to lay on our fpare Anchors, and any thing that was weighty, to keep it down from rifing. By feven o'Clock it blew a Storm at North-weft. The Ship was already bedded fome two Feet in the Sand; and whilft that was a-flowing the muft beat. This I before had in my Confideration, for I thought the was fo far driven up that we fhould never get her off. Yet we had been fo ferreted by her laft Beating that I refolved to fink her right down, rather than run that Hazard. By nine fhe began to roll in her Deck with a moft extraordinary great Sea, which I found to be occafioned by the forementioned Overfall. And this was the fatal Hour that put us to our Wits-end: Wherefore I went down into the Hold with the Carpenter, and took his Auger and bored a Hole in the Ship and let in the Water. Thus with all Speed we began to cut out other Places to bore through; but every Place was full of Nails. By Ten, notwithftanding the lower Tire was covered with Water, tor all which fhe began fo to beat in her Deck more and more, that we could not work nor fland to do any thing in her, nor would fhe fink fo faft as we would have her, but continued beating double Blows, firft abaft and then before, that it was wonderful how the could endure a Quarter of an Hour with it.
By Twelve her lower 'Tire rofe, and that did fo counterbeat on the Infide, that it bored the Builk-Heads of the Bread-Room, Powder-Room and Fore-piece, all to Pieces. And when it came betwixt Decks, the Chefts fled about, and the Water did flafh and fly wonderfully, fo that now we expected every. Minute when the Ship would open and break to Pieces. At One fhe beat off her Rudder, and that was gone we knew not which Way. Thus fhe continued beating till Three, and then the Sea came upon the upper Deck, and foon after The began to fettle. In her we were fain to fink the moft part of our Bedding and Cloaths, and the Chirurgeon's Cheft. Our Min that were on Shore ftcod looking upon us, almoft dead with Cold and Sorrow to fee our Miferies and their own; we looked upon them again, and both upon each other with woeful Hearts. Dark Night drew on, and I ordered the Boat to be hawled up, and commanded my loving Companions to go all into her, who expreffed their tuithlul Affection to me, as loth to part from me. I told them that my Meaning was to go afhore with them, and thus laftly I forfook the Ship. We were fourteen poor Souls now in the Boat, and we imagincd tiuat we were leaped out of the Frying-pan into the Fire. The Ebb was made, and the Water extraordinary thick with Snow, fo that we thought affuredly it would carry us away into the Sea. We thereupon double manned four Oars, appointing four more to fit ready with Oars; and fo with the Help of God we got to the Shore, hawling up the Boat after.

One Thing was moft itrange in this thick Water, that there went a great fwelling Sea. Being arrived upon the Land we faluted our Fellows the beft we could; at which Time they could not know us, nor we them, by our Habits and Voices, fo frozen we were, Faces, Hair and Apparel. And here I miean to take Breath a-while, after all this long and unpleafant Relation of our miferable Endeavours, craving Leave firt of all to fpeak a Word or two in general. The Winds fince we came hither havs been very variable and inconftant, and till within this Fortnight the Southerly Wind was the coldef. The Reafon I conceive to be, that it blew from the main Land, which was all covered with Snow; and the North Winds came out of the great Bay, which hitherto was open; fo that we were under a. South Bank, that fheltered us fo that we were not fenfible of it.
20. After we had hawled up the Boat on the 2gth of November, we went along the Deach-fide in the Dark towards our Houfe, where we made a good Fire, and with it and Bread and Water we comforted ourfelves, beginning after that to reafon one with another concerning our Ship. I required that every one flould fpeak his Mind
freely.

## Chap. I.

freely. The Carpenter efpecially was of Opinion, that the was foundered, and would never be ferviceable. He alledged, that fhe had fo. beaten that it was not poffible but that all her Joints were loofe and Seams open; and that by Reafon it flowed fo little Water, and no Creek being near to bring her agtound, he could not devife how he might come to mend it ; moreover, her Rudder was loft, and he had no Iron-Work to hang on another. Some alledged, that we had heaved her up fo high on the Sands that they thought we fhould never get her off again, and that they were affured the was already docked three Feet; others, that fhe lay in the Tide's Way, and that the Tides might tear her to Pieces off the Ground. Befides which, two of our Anchors we could not now get from under the Ice, which, when the Ice broke, would break them to Pieces, and then we fhould have no Anchors to bring us home withal, provided we got off the Ship, and that the proved found alfo. I conforted them thic beft I could to this Effect.
" My Mafters and faithful Companions, be not dif"c mayed for any of thefe Difafters, but let us put our "whole Trurt in God. It is he that giveth and he that " taketh away; he throweth down with one Hand, and " raifeth up with another. His Will be done. If it be " our Fortunes to end our Days here, we are as near "Heaven as in Eygland, and we are much bound to " God Almighty for giving us fo large a Time' of Re"s pentance, who, as it were, daily calls upon us to prepare " our Souls for a better Life in Heaven. I make no "d doubt but he will be merciful unto us both here on "Earth and in his blefied Kingdom. He doth not in " the mean time deny that we may ufe all honeft Means "c to fave and prolong our natural Lives; and in my "Judgment we are not fo far paft Hope of returning " into our native Country, but that I fee a fair Way by "c which we may effect it. Admit the Ship be foun"c dered, (which God forbid, I hope for the beft) yet " have thofe of our own Nation and others, when they " have been put to thofé Extremities, even out of the "Wreck of their loft Ship built a Pinnace, and re"turned to their Friends again. If it be objected that "they have happened into better Climates, both for "Temperatenefs of the Air, and for pacific and open "Seas, and provided withal of abundance of frefh. Vic"c tuals, yet there is nothing too hard for courageous "c Minds, which hitherto you have fhewn, and I doubt " not will ftill do to the uttermoft of your Power."

They all protefted to work to the utmoft of their Strength, and that they would refure nothing that I fhould order them to do to the utmoft Hazard of their Lives. I thanked them all, and to the Carpenter for his chearful Undertaking I promifed to give him fo much Plate prefently as fhould be worth $10 \%$ and if fo be I went to Englond in the Pinnace, I would give him her freely, and 50 l . in Money over and above, and would moreover gratify all them that I hould fee induftrious. Thus we refolved to build us a new Pinnace with the Timber we hould get upon the Inand, that fo in the Spring, if we found the Ship not ferviceable we might tear her up, and plank her with the Ship's Planks; and fo for this Night we fettled ourfelves clofe about the Fire, and took fome Reft till Day-light.

The zoth, betimes in the Morning, I caufed the Chirurgeon to cut off my Hair fhort, and to fhave away all the Hair of my Face, for it was become intolerable, and becaufe it would be frozen fo great with Ificles. The like did all the reft, and we fitted ourfelves to work. The firlt Thing we were to do was to get our Cloaths and Provifions afhore, and therefore I divided the Company. The Mafter and a convenient Company with him were to go aboard and get Things out of the Hold. The Cockfwain with his Garg were to go into the Boat, to bring and carry Things athore. Myfelf with the reft to carry them half a Mile through the Snow, unto the Place where we intended to build a Store-houfe. As for the heavier Things, we propofed to lay them on the Beach. In the Afternoon the Wind was atSouth-fouth-weft, and the Water veered fo low an Ebb that we thought we might get fomething out of the Hold. We launched out our Boat therefore, and with Oars got through the thick congealed Water. It froze extreme hard, and I tood
on the Shore with a troubled Mind, thinking verily that with the Ebb the Boat would be carried into the Sea, and then we were all loft Men: But by God's Aniftance they got all fafe to the Ship, and made a Fire there to fignify their Arrival on board. They fell prefently to Work, and got fomething out of the Hold upon the Decks, but Night coming on, they durft not venture to come on Shore, but lay on the Bed in the great Cabin being almoft ftarved.

2I. The Ift of December was fo coid that I went the fame Way over the Ice to the Ship where the Boat had gone Yefterday. This Day we carried upon our Backs in Bundles five hundred of our Fifh, and much of our Bedding and Cloaths, which we were fain to dig out of the Ice. The $2 d$ was mild Weather, and fome of the Men going over the Ice fell in, and very hardly recovered; fo that this Day we could land nothing, neither by Boat nor Back. I put them therefore to make us a Storehoufe on Shore. In the Evening the Wind came up at Weft, and the Ice broke and drove out of the Bay. In was very deep and large Ice, that we were afraid it would have fpoiied the Ship. The 3d Day there were divers great Pieces of Ice that came athwart the Ship and fhe dtopt them, yet not fo as we could go over them. We found a Way for the Boat, but when fhe was laden fhe drew four Feet Water, and could not come within a flight Shot of the Shore; the Men therefore muft wade through the congealed Water, and carry Things out of the Boat upon their Backs. Every time they waded in the Ice it was moft lamentable to behold. In this extreme cold Evening they cut away as much Ice from about the Boat as they could, and picked it with Handfpikes out of her, and endeavoured to hoift her into the Ship, there being fmall Hopes that the could go to and again any more: But ufe what Means they could, fhe was fo heavy that they could not hoift her in, but were forced to leave her in the Tackles by the Ship-fide.
The 4th being Sunday we refted and performed the Sabbath-Duties of Chriftians. The 5 th and 6 th were extreme cold, and we made Bags of our Store-Shirts, and in them we carried our loofe Bread over the Ice on Shore upon our Backs: We alfo digged our Cloaths and new Sails with Hand-filkes of Iron out of the Ice, and carried them afhore, which we dried by a great Fire. The $7^{\text {th }}$ Day was fo exceeding cold, that our Nofes, Cheeks and Hands, did ficeze as white as Paper. The 8 th and 9 th it was extremely cold, and it fnowed much; yet we continued our Labour in carrying and rolling Things on Shore. In the Evening the Water raifed the Ice very high, and it broke two Thawghts of our Boat, and broke in the Side of her, but for that Time we could not help it.
The roth our Carpenter found Timber to make a Keel and a Stern for our Pinnace, the reft wrought about our Provifions until the 13 th Day, and that we fpent in digging our Boat out of the Ice, which we were fain to do to the very Keel, and dig the Ice out of her, then we got her up; indoing which many of their Nofes, Cheeks and Fingers, did freeze. The Cold now encreafed moft extremely. By the 1gth we could get no more Things out of the Hold, but were fain to leave five Barrels of Beef and Pork, all our Beer, and divers other Things, which were all frozen in her. The 2 ift was fo cold that we could not go out of the Houfe. The 23 d we went to get our Boat afhore, running her with our Oars, but by ten $0^{\prime}$ Clock there came fuch a thick Fog that it was as dark as Night. I made them give over, and we made what Hafte we could to the Shore, which we had much ado to find without lofing one another, At laft we met all at the Houfe, the molt mifcrable and frozen that can be conceived. Upon divers the Cold had raifed Blifters as big as Walnuts. This we imagined to come by Reafon that they came too haftily to the Fire. Our Well was now frozen up, fo that dig as deep as we would, we could come at no Water. Melted Snow-Water is very unwholefome, either to drink or to drefs Victuals: it made us fo fhort-breath'd, that we were fcarce able to fpeak.
All our Sack, Vinegar, Oil, and every thing elfe that was liquid, was now frozen as hard as a Piece of Wood, and we cut it with a Hatchet. Our Houfe was all frozen
on the infide; and it froze hard within a Yard of the Fire-fide. When I landed firt upon this Inand, I found a Spring under a Hill's fide, which I then obferving, I cauled fome Trees to be cut, for Marks to know the Place aggain by. It was about three Fourths of a Mile from our Houfe. I fent three of our Men which had been with me thither. Upon the 24 th thefe wandering through the Snow, at laft found the Place, and fhoveling away the Snow they made Way to the very Head of it. They found it fpring very ftrongly, and brought me a Can of it, for which I was right joyful. This Spring continued all the Year, and did not freeze, but that we could break the Ice and come to it. We labouted very hard thefe three or four Days to get Wood to the Houfe, which we found to be very troublefome, through the deep Snow.
22. We then fettled our Bedding and Proviions, providing to keep Chriftmas-Day holy, which we folemnized in the joyfulleft Manner we could. So likewife did we St. Fobn's Day, upon which we named the Wood we did winter in, in Memory of that honourable Knight, Sir Fobn Winter, Winter's Foref, and now, inftead of a Chriitmas Tale, I will defcribe the IFoufe that we did live in, with thofe adjoining. When I firft refolved to build a Eloufe, I chofe the warmeft, and convenienteft Place, and the neareft the Ship withal. It was among a Tuft of thick Trees, under a South Bank, about a flight Shot from the Sea-fide. True it is, that at that Time we could not dig into the Ground to make us a Hole or Cave in the Earth, which had been the beft Way, becaufe we found Water digging within two Feet, and therefore that Project failed; it was a white light Sand, fo that we could by no Means make up a Mud-Wall.
As for Stones there were none near us; befides we were' all now covered with the Snow. We had no Boards for fuch a Purpore, and therefore we muft do the beft we could with fuch Materials as we had about us. The Houfe was fquare about twenty Feet every Way, as much namely as our main Courfe could well cover. Firft we drove long Stakes into the Earth, round about which we wattled with Boughs, as thick as might be, beating them down very clofe. This, our firt Work, was fix Feet high on both Sides, but at the Ends was almoft up to the very Top. There we left two Holes for the Light to come in at, and the fame Way the Smoak did vent out alfo. Moreover I caufed, at both Ends, three Rows of Bufh Trees to be ftuck up, as clofe together as pofible. Then, at a Diftance from the EIoure, we cut down Trees, proportioning them into Lengths of fix Feet, with which we made a Pile on both Sides, fix Feet thick, and fix Feet high; but at both Ends ten Feet high, and fix Feet thick. We left a little low Door to creep into, and a Portal before that, made with Piles of Wood, that the Wind might not blow into it. We next faftened a rough Tree aloit, over all, upon which we laid our Rafters, and our main Courfe, over them again; which lying thwartways over all, reached down to the very Ground on either Side; and this was the Fabric of the outfide of it.
On the infide we made faft our Bonnet Sails round about, then we drove in Stakes, and made us Bedftead Frames, about three Sides of the Houfe, which Bedfteads we doubled one under another, the lowermof being a Foot from the Ground. Thefe we firt filled with Buoughs, then we laid our fpare Sails on that, and then our Bedding and Cloaths. We made a Hearth in the Middle of the Houfe, and on it made our Fire ; fome Boards we laid round our Hearth to ftand upon, that the cold Damp fhould not ftrike up into us. With our wafte Cloaths we made us Canopies and Curtains, others did the like with our fmall Sails. Our fecond Houfe was not more than twenty Feet Diftance from this, and made, for the Wattling, much after the fame Manner, but it was lefs, and covered with our fore Courfe. It had no Piles on the South-fide, but, in lieu of that, we piled up all our Chefts on the infide; and, indeed, the Reflex of the Heat of the Fire againft them did make it warmer than the Manfion-Houfe. In this Houfe we dreffed our Victuals, and the fubordinate Crew did refrefl themfelves
all Day in it. A third Houfe, which was our Storehoufe, was twenty-nine Paces off from this, for fear of firing.

This Houfe was only a rough Tree fattened aloft, with Rafters laid from it to the Ground, and covered over with our new fuit of Sails. On the Infide we had laid fmall Trees, and covered them over with Boughs, and fo Atored up our Bread and Fifh in it, about two Feet from the Ground, the better to preferve them; the other things lay more carelefsly. Long before Chriftmas our Manfion-Houfe was covered thick over with. Snow, almoft to the very Roof of it; and fo likewife was our fecond Houfe, but our Store-houfe all over, by Reafor we made no Fire in it.

Thus we feemed to live in a Heap and a Wildernefs of Snow; for out of our Doors we could not go, but upon the Snow, in which we made us Paths Dividdle deep in fome Places, and in one fpecial Place the Length of ten Steps. To do this, we muft fhovel away the Snow firt, and then, by treading, make it fomething hard under Feot. The Snow, in this Rath, was a full Yard thick under us. And this was our beft Gallery for our fick IMen, and for my own ordinary Walking; and both Houfes and Walks we daily accommodated more and more, and made fitter for our Ufes. On the 27 th we got our Boat ahhore, and fetched up fome of our Provifions from the Beach-fide, into the Store-houre, and fo by degrees did we with the reft of our Provifions, with Extremity of Cold and Labour, making Way with Shovels through the thick Snow, even from the Sea-fide to our Store-houfe; and thus concluded we the old Yeas 1631.
23. The firt of Ganuary, 1632 , and for the mont part all the Month, was extreme cold. The 6th I obFerved the I, atitude with what Exactnefs I could, it being clear funfhiny. Weather, which I found to be 5 I Degrees 52 Minutes; this Difference is by Reafon that there is a great Refraction. On the 2 ift I obferved the Sun to rife like an Oval along the Horizon ; I called three or four to fee it, the better to confirm my Judgment; and we all agreed that it was twice as long as it was broad. We plainly perceived withal, that by Degrees, as it got up higher, it alfo recovered its roundnefs. The 30 th and 3 Ift there appeared, in the Beginning of the Night, more Stars in the Firmament than ever I had before feen, by two Thirds; I could fee the Clouds in Cancer fuil of finall Stars. About ten o'clock the Moon rofe, and then a Quarter of them were not to be feen. The Wind, for the "moft Part of this Month, hath been Northerly, "and: very cold. The warmeft of which Time' we employed curfelves in fetching Wood, working upon our Pinnace, and other things. In the Beginning of this Month the Sea was all firmly frozen over, fo that we could fee no Water any where. I hope it will not feem tedious to the Readers, if I here deliver my Opinion, how this Abundance of Ice comes to be ingendered.

The Land that incircles this great Bay, which lies in a broken irregular Form, making many little Shole-Bays and Guts, full of Inands and dry Sands, is, for the moft Part, low and flat, and hath Sholes adjoining to it half a Mile or a Mile, that are dry at low Water. Now yous mult know that it flows half Tide, that is, from whence the Flood cometh, the Water returneth two Hours before it is high Water, or full Sea. It feldom rains after the Middle of September, but then falls Snow, and that Snow will not melt on the Land, or Sands. At low Water, when it fnows, the Sands are all covered over, which the half Tide carries twice in four Hours into the great Bay, which is the common Rendezvous of it. Every low Water the Sands are left clear, to gather more to the Increafe of it.
Thus it daily gathers together in this Manner, till the latter End of Oztober; and by that Time it brings the Sea to that Coldnefs, that as it fnows, the Snow will lie upon the Water in Flakes, without changing Colour; bur with the Wind is wrought together, and as the Winter goes forward, it begins to freeze upon the Surface of it, two or three Inches or more in one Night; which being carried with the half Tide, meets with fome Obftacle,
and then it crumples, and for runs upon itfelf, that in a few Hours it will be five or fix Feet thick. The half Tide ftill flowing, carries it quite away, that by December it is grown to an infinite Multiplication of Ice. And thus, by this foring of it up, the Cold gets the Predominancy in the Sea, which alfo furnifhes the Springs and Water in the low flat Lands, that it cools it like itfelf. This may appear by our Experience; though in all this I freely fubmit myfelf to the more Learned.

Our Men found it more mortifying cold to wade through the Water in the Beginning of Fune, when the Sea was full of Ice, than in December, when it was increafing; our Well, out of which we had Water in December, dried up in $7 u l y$; the Ground, at ten Feet deep, was frozen. The Quantity of Ice may very eafily be made to appear by matheinatical Demonftration; and yet I am not of the Opinion that the Bay freezes all over. For the 2 If the Wind blowing a Storm at North, we could perceive the Ice to rife fomething in the Bay.
24. Februcry 1632 . The Cold was as extreme this Month as at any Time we had felt it this Year, and many of our Men complained of Infirmities; fome of fore Mouths, all the Teeth in their Heads being loofe; their Gums fwoln with black rotten Flefh, which every Day was to be cut away; the Pain was fo great, that they could not eat their ordinary Meat; others complained of Pains in their Heads and their Breafts; fome of Weaknefs in their Backs; others of Aches in their Thighs and Knees; and others of Swellings in their Legs. Thus were two thirds of the Company under the Chirurgeon's Hands; and yet, neverthelefs, they were forced to work daily, and go abroad to fetch Wood and Timber, notwithftanding moft of them had no Shoes to put on. 'Their Shoes, upon their coming to the Fire out of the Snow, were burnt and forched upon their Feet, and our Storefhoes were all funk in the Ship. In this Necenity they made this. fhift to bind Clouts about their Feet, and endeavoured, by that poor Help, the beft they could, to perform their Duties. Our Carpenter likewife by this time fell fick, to our great Difcomfort.

I practifed fome Obfervations by the rifing and fetting of the Sun ; calculating the Time of his rifing and fetting, by very true running Glaffes. As for our Clock and Watch, notwithftanding we fill kept them by the Firefide in a Cheft, wrapped in Cloths, yet were they fo frozen, that they could not go. My Obiervations by thefe Glaffes, I compared with the Stars coming to the Meridian. By this means we found the Sun to rife twenty Minutes before it fhould; and in the EVvening to remain twenty Mlinutes, or thereabouts, longer than it fhould; all this by Reafon of the Refraction. Since now I have fpoken fo much of the Cold, I hope it will not be taken ill, if I, in a few Words, make it fome Way appear to our Readers.

We made three Differences of the Cold, all according to the Places. In our Houf, in the Woads, and in the open Air, in our going to the Ship. For the laft, it. would be fometimes fo extreme, that it was almof unindurable; no Cloaths were Proof againft it; no Motion could refift it ; it would fo freeze the Hair on the Eyelids, that we could not fee; and I verily believe that it would have ftified a Man in a very' few Hours. We daily found, by Experience, that the Cold in the Woods would freeze our Faces, or any Part of our Flefh that was bare, but it was not fo mortifying as the other. Our Houfe, on the outfide, was covered two third Parts with Snow, and, on the infide, frozen and hung with Ificles. The Cloaths on our Beds would be covered with Hoar-Froft, which in this IFabitation was not far from the Fire. The Cook's Tubs, wherein he watered his Meat, ttanding about a Yard from the Fire, and which he all Day plied with 'Snow Water; yet in the Night Seafon, whilf he feeped but on watch, they would be frrm frozen to the very Bottom. And therefore he was forced to water his Meat in a Brafs Kettle, clofe adjoining to the Fire. And I have many times both feen and felt, by putting my Hund into it, that Side which was next the Fire very warm, and the other Side an Inch frozen.

The Chirurgeon, who had hung his Bottles of Sirrups,
and other liquid things, as conveniently as he could, to preferve them, had them all frozen. Our Vinegar, Oil, and Sack, which we had in fraall Cafks in the Houfe, were all firm frozen. It may further, in general, be conceived, that in the Beginning of Fune the Sea was not broken up, and the Ground was yet frozun; and this we found by Experience, -in the burying of our Men, in fetting up the King's Standard, towards the latter End of Fune, and by our Well; in coming away in the Beginning of $\mathcal{F u l y}$, at which Time, upon the Land, for fome other Reaions, it was very hot Weather.
25. March 1632 . The firft of this Month, being St. Dovid's Day, we kept Holiday, and folemnifed it in the Manner of the ancient Britons; praying for the Happinefs of his Royal Highnefs, Cbarles, Prince of Woles, aiterwards Cbarles II. The I $5^{\text {th }}$ one of our Micn thought he had feen a Deer, whereupon he, with two or three more, defired that they might go to fee if they could take it. I gave them leave, but they returned in the Evening fo difabled with Cold, which rofe up in Blifters under the Soles of their Feet, and upon their Legs, to the bignefs of Walnuts, that they could not recover, their former State, which was not very well, in a Fortnight after.

The 26th three others alfo defired to go out to try their Fortunes, but they returned worfe difabled, and even almoft tifled with the Cold. This Evening the Moon rofe in a very long Oval along the Horizon. By the laft of this Month the Carpenter had fet up feventecn Ground Timbers, and thirty four Staddles, and, poor Man, he proceeded the beft he could, though forced to be led to his L.bour. In fhort, all this Month it was very cold, the Wind about the North-weft, the Snow as deep as it was all this Winter. But to anfwer an Objection that might be made; you were in a Wood (fome Mien may fay unto us) and therefore you might make Fire enough to keep you from the Cold. It is true, we were in a Wood, and under a South Bark too, or ocherwife we had alt ftarved.
But I muft tell you withal, how difficult it was to have Wood in a Wood. And firt I will make a Mufter of the Tools we had. The Carpenter, in his Chef, had two A xes indeed, but one of them was fpoiled in cutting down Wood to pile about our Houre before Chriftmas. When we firft landed we had but two whol, Hatchets : which, in a few Days, broke tivo Inches beiow the Sockets. I called for three of the Cooper's Hatchets. The Carpenter's Ax, and the Cooper's beft Hatctict I caufed to be locked up; the other two Hatchets to be new helved; and the Blades of the two broken Hatchets to be put into a cleit Piece of Wood, and then to be bound about with Kope Yarn, as foft as might be, which was to be repaired every Day; and thefe were all the -curting Tools we had. Befides, the 6th of Febriary the Carpenter had out his beft Ax about fomething, and one of the Company, in his Abfence, by his indifcreet handling of it, broke that too two Inches below the Socket; we were henceforward forced to ufe theie Picces of Tools the beft we could. Wherefore I gave Orders that the Carpenter fhould have one of the Cooper's Hathits, they that looked for Timbur in the Woods to have the other; and they that cut down Wood to burn, were to have the two Pieces; and this was before Chritumas.
The three that were appointed to look crooked Timber, ftalked and waded fometimes on all fours through the Srow, and where they faw a Tree likely to fin the Moull, they heaved away the Srow, and then faw if it would fit the Mould, and then they mult make a Fire to it to thaw it, otherwife it could not be cut ; then they cut it down and fit it to the Mould, and then with other Help get is home, a Mile through the Snow. Now, for our firing we could not burn green Wood, it would fmoke fo intolerably; nay, the Men. would rather ftarve withour in the Cold than fit by it; as for the dry Woote that alfo was bad enough, for it was full of Turpentine, and would fend forth fuch a thick Smoak that would make abundance of Soot, which would make us all look as if we had been free of the Company of Chimney-Sweepers.

Our Cloaths were quite burnt to Pieces about us, and, for the moft part, we were without Shoes.
5 P
our Fuelers again: They mutt firf, as the former, go up and down in the Snow till they faw a Tree ftanding, for the Snow covered thofe that were down-fallen; then they mult hack it down with their Pieces of Hatchets, and then others muft carry it home through the Snow. The Boys with Cutlaffes muft cut Boughs for the Carpenter; for every Piece of Timber that he worked, muft firft be thawed in the Fire, and he muft have a Fire by him or he could not work. And this was our continual Labour throughout the forementioned Cold, befides our cending upon the Sick, and other neceflary Employments.
26. April 1632 . 'The firft of this Month being Eafterday, we folemnized it as religioully as God gave us Grace to do. Both this Day, and the two following Holidays were extreme cold; and now fitting all about the Fire, we reafoned and confidered rogether about our Eftate; we had five Men, whereof the Carpenter was one, not able to do any thing; the Boatfwain and many more were very infirm and of all the reft we had but five that could eat of their ordinary Allowance. The Time and Seafon of the Year came on apace, and the Cold very little abated. Our Pinnace was in an indifferent forwardnefs, but the Carpenter grew worfe and worfe. The Ship, as we then thought, lay all full of folid' Ice; which was Weight fufficient to open the Seams of any new and found Veffel, efpecially one that had lain fo long upon the Ground as fhe had done. In fhort, after many Difputes and laying open of our miferable and helplefs Eftates, I refolved upon this Courfe, that notwithftanding it was more Labour, and the Men weaker and weaker, yet with the firft warm Weather we would begin to clear the Ship, that we might have the Time before us to think of fome other Courfe: This being ordered, we looked to thofe Tools we had to dig the Ice out of her; we had but two Iron Bars on Shore, the reft were funk in the Ship, and one of them was broken too.

We fell to fitting of thofe Bars and four broken Shovels that we had, with which we intended, and afterwards we did, to dig the Ice out of her, and to lay the Ice on a Heap upon the larboard Bow, and fo fink ir down to the Ground, fo faft that it Thould be a Barricado to us when the Ice brake up, which we feared would tear us to Pieces. The 6th was the deepeft Snow we had had all this Year, which filled up all our Paths and Ways by which we were ufed to go to the Woods; this Snow was fomething moifter and greater than any we had had this Year, for formerly it was as dry as Duft and as fmall Sand, and would drive like Duft with the Wind: The Weather continued with this Extremity till the I5th, at which Time the Spring was harder frozen than it had been all the Year before. I had often obferved the Difference betwixt clear Weather and mifty refracting Weather, in this manner, from a little Hill which was near adjoining our Houfe; in the clear Weather when the Sun thone with all the Purity of Air, that I could not fee a little Inland which bore off us South-fouth-eaft four Leagues, but if the Weather was mifty as aforefaid, then we could often fee it from the loweft Place.

This little Inand I had feen the laft Year when I was on Danby Ifand. The 1 3th I took the Height of it by an Inftrument ftanding near the Sea-fide, which Ifland I take to be 34 Minutes, the Sun being 28 Degrees high; this fhews how great a Refraction here is ; yet this may be noted by the Way, that I have feen the Land elevated by Reafon of the reflected Air, and neverthelefs the Sun hath rifen perfect round. The 16th was the molt comfortable funfhiny Day that came this Year, and I put fome to clear off the Snow in the under Decks of the Ship, and to clean and dry the great Cabin, by making Fire in it, others I put to dig down through the Ice to come by our Anchor that was in Shole-water; which the 17 th in the Afternoon we got up and carried aboard. The 18 that put them to dig through the Ice near the Place where we thought our Rudder might be; they digged down and came to Water, but no Hopes of fnding it.

We had many Doubts that it might be fanded, or that the Ice might have carried it away already the laft Year. $\mathrm{O}_{\mathrm{E}}$ if we could not recover it by digging before the Ice
broke up and drove, there were little Hopes of it. The Igth we continued minding our Work aboard the Ships and returned in the Evening to Supper afhore. This Day the Mafter and two others defired they might lie aboard, which I agreed to; for, indeed, they had lain very difcommodioufly all the Winter, and with fick Bed-fellows, as I myfelf had done, every one in that kind taking their Fortunes. By lying aboard, they avoided the hearing the miferable Groanings and Lamentations of the fick Men, all Night long, enduring, poor Souls, miferable Torments. By the 24 th we had laboured fo hard, that we came to the Sight of a Cafk, and could likewife perceive that there was fome Water in the Hold. This we knew could not be thawed Water, becaufe it froze very hard Night and Day aboard the Ship, and on the Land alfo. By the 23 d in the Evening we came to pierce the fore-mentioned Cafk, and found it full of very good Beer, which much rejoiced us all, efpecially the fick Men, notwithftanding it tafted a little of the bulged Water. By this we thought that the Holes we had cut to fink the Ship were frozen, and that this Water had ftood in the Ship all the Winter.

The 24th we went betimes in the Morning to work, but we found that the Water was rifen above the Ice where we had left work, above two Foot, for the Wind had blown very hard at North the Night before. In the Morning the Wind came about South, and blew hard, and, although we had little Reafon for it, we yet expected a lower Veer of Water. I thereupon put them to work on the outfide of the Ship, that we might come to the lower Hole, which we had cut in the Stern-Shoots; with much Labour, by Night, we digged down through the Ice to it, and found it unfrozen, as it had been all the Winter ; and, to our great Comforts, we found that on the infide the Water was ebbed within the Hole, and that on the outfide it was ebbed a Foot lower. Whereupon I caufed a Shot-board to be nailed upon it, and to be made as tight as might be, to try if the Water came in any other Way; to the other two Holes we had digged on the infide, and found them frozen. Now I did this betimes, that if we found the Ship foundered, we might refolve on fome Courfe to fave or prolong our Lives, by getting to the Main before the Ice was broken up; as for our Boat it was too little, and bulged befides that.

Our Carpenter was by this Time paft Hopes, and therefore little Hope had we of our Pinnace. But which was worft of all, we had not four Men able to travel through the Snow over the Ice, and in this miferable State were we at this prefent. The 25 th we fatisfied our longing; for the Wind now coming about Northerly, the Water rofe by the Ship's-fide, where we had digged down a Foot and more above the Hold, and yet did not rife within Board. This fo encouraged us, that we fell luftily to digging, and to heave the Ice out of the Ship. I put the Cook, and fome others, to thaw the Pumps, who, by continual pouring of hot Water into them, by the 27 th in the Morning had cleared one of them, which we proving, found it delivered Water very fufficiently. Thus we fell to pumping, and having cleared two Feet Water, we left the other to a fecond Trial, continuing our Work thus in digging the Ice. By the 28th we had cleared our other Pump, which we alfo found to deliver Water very well. We found likewife that the Water did not rife any thing in the Hold.

The 2gth it rained all Day long, a fure Sign to us that Winter was broken up. The 3oth we were betimes aboard at Work, which Day, and the 3 Ift, were very cold with Snow and Hail, which pinched our fick Men more than any Time this Year. This Evening being May Eve, we returned late from our Work to our Houfe, and made a good Fire, and chofe Ladies, and ceremonioully wore their Names in our Caps, endeavouring to revive ourfelves by any Meanis.
27. At our coming from England we were ftored with all forts of Sea-provifions; as Beef, Pork, $\varepsilon \xi^{\circ}$ c. but now, as we had little Hopes of recruiting, our Cook ordered it in this Manner: The Beef which was to ferve on Sunday Night' to Supper, he boiled on Saturday Night in a Kettle full of Water, with a Quart of Oatmeal, about
an Hour ; then taking the Beef out, he boiled the reft to half the Quantity; and this we called Pottoge, which we eat wich Bread as hot as we could, and after this we had our Ordinary of Fifh. Sunday, for Dinner we had Pork and Peare, and at Night the former boiled Beef made more Pottage. In this Manner our Tiuefday's Beef was boiled on the Monday Nights, and the Tburfday's upon Wedrefdays ; and thus all the Week, except Friday Night, we had fomething warm in our Bellies every Supper; and furely this did us a great deal of Good: But foon after Cbriftmas many of us fell fick, and had fore Mouths, and could neither eat Beef, Pork, Fifh, nor Pottage. Their Diet was only this; they would pound Bread in a Mortar to Meal, then fry it in a Frying-pan with a little Oil, and fo eat it. Some would boil Peafe to a foft Pafte, and feed, as well as they could, upon that ; for the moft part of the Winter Water was our Drink. In the whole Winter we took not above a Dozen Foxes, many of which would be dead in the Traps two or three Days oftentimes; and then, when the Blood was fettled, they would be unwholefome; but if we took one alive, and he had not been long in the Trap, him we boiled and made Broth for the weakeft fick Men; the Flefh of them being foft boiled they eat alfo. Some white Partridges we killed, but not worth mentioning.

We had three Sorts of fick Men; thofe that could not move, nor turn themfelves in their Beds, who muft be tended like Infants; others were, as it were crippled with Aches; and others that were fomething better; moft had fore Mouths. You may now afk me, How thefe infirm Men could work ? I will tell you : Our Surgeon, who was a diligent and fweet conditioned Man as ever I faw, would be up betimes in the Morning, and whilft he picked their Teeth, and cut away the Pieces of Flefh from their Gums, they would bathe their Thighs, Knees, and Legs. The Manner of it was thus; there was no Tree, Bud, or Herb but we made Trial of it; and this being firft boiled in a Kettle, and then put in a fmall Tub and Bafons, they put it under them, and covered them with Cloths upon it. This fo molified the grieved Parts, that though, when they rofe out of their Beds, they would be fo crippled that they could fcarce ftand, yet after this was done half an Hour they would be able to go, (and go they mult) to wade through the Snow to the Ship, and about other Bufinefs; by Night they would be as bad again, and then they nouft be bathed, anointed, and their Mouths drefed again before they went to Bed; and in this Diet, and in this Manner we went through our Miferies.

I was always afraid that we fhould be weakeft in the Spring, and therefore I referved a Tun of Alicent Wine unto this Time: Of this, by putting feven Parts of Water to one of Wine, we made fome weak Beverage, which, by reafon that the Wine had been froze and loft its Virtue, was little better than Water. The ficker Sort had a Pint of Alicant a Day by itfelf, and of fuch poor Aqua Nite too as we had, theyhad a Dram allowed them next their Hearts every Morning: And thus we made the beft Ufe of what we had, according to the Seafons. May 1632 , the 1 ft , we went aboard by-times, to heave out the Ice ; the 2 d , it did fnow and biow, and was fo cold that we were forced to keep houfe all Day. This unexpected Cold, at this time of the Year, did fo vex our fick Men that they grew worfe and worfe; we could not now take them out of their Beds, but they would fwoon, and we had much ado to keep Life in them.

On the 3 d, thofe that were able, went on board ivetimes, to heave up the Ice; the Snow was now melted in many Places upon the Land, and food in Plafhes; and now there came fome Cranes and Geefe to it. The $4^{\text {th }}$, while the reft wrought on board, I and the Surgeon went with a Couple of Pieces, to fee if we could kill any of thofe Fowls for our fick Men; but never did I fee fuch Wild Fowl; they would not endure to fee any thing move ; wherefore we returned in two Hours, not being able to endure any longer ftalking through the Snow and the wet Plafhes. I verily thought my Feet and Legs would have fallen off, they fo tormented me with aching. The 6th, Fo.mn Wardon, the Maiter of my Ship's Chief

Mate, died, whom we buried in the Evening, in the moft Chintian-like manner, on the Top of a bare Hill of Land, which we called Brandon-bill. The Weather continued very cold, it freezing fo hard in the Night that it would bear a Mian. By the gth we were come tos, and got up, our five Barrels of Beef and Pork, and had found four Butts of Beer and one of Cyder, which God had preierved for us; it had lain under Water all the Winter, yet we could not perceive it was any worfe. God make us ever thankful for the great and feafonable Comfort it gave us.
The roth it fnowed, and blew fo cold that we could not ftir out of the Houfe, yet neverthelefs, by Day, the Snow vanifhed apace on the Land. The I ith we were on board betimes, to heave out Ice. By the 12 th at Night we had cleaned out all the Ice out of the Hold, and found likewife our Store Shoes, which had lain foaked in the Water all the Winter, but we dried them by the Fire, and fitted ourfelves with them. We ftruck again our Cables into the Hold; there ftood a Butt of Wine alfo, which had been all the Winter on the Upper-deck, and continued as yet all frozen. We fitted the Ship alfo, making her ready to fink again when the Ice broke up. We could find no Defect in her, and therefore we hoped that fhe was ftaunch; the Carpenter neverthelefs argued to the contrary, alledging that now fhe lay on the Ground, in her Deck the Ice had filled her Defects, and the Ice was the thing that kept out the Water; but when fhe fhould come to labour in the Sea, fhe would certainly open, and indeed. we could now fee quite through her Seams betwixt Wind and Water; but that which troubled us moft was, the Lofs of her Rudder, and fhe now lay in the very Strength of the Tide, which whenever the Ice drove might tear her to Pieces ; but we ftill hoped the beft.
28. The I 3 th, being the Sabbath-day, we folemnized it, giving God Thanks for thofe Hopes and Comforts we daily had. The Weather in the Day-time was pretty warm, but it froze by Night, yet now we could fee fome Land. The I4th we began a new fort of Work: The Boatfwain, and a convenient Number, brought on Shore the reft of our Rigging, which was much fpoiled by pecking it out of the Ice, and this they now fell to fitting, I fet the Cooper to fit our Calk, although, poor Man, he was very infirm; my Intent being to pafs fome Cables under the Ship, and fo to buoy her up with thofe Cafks, if we could not get her off otherwife; fome others I ordered to go and fee if they could kill fome wild Fowl for our fick Men, who now grew worfe and worfe; but this is to be remembred, that we had no Shot but what we made of the Aprons of our Guns, and fome old Pewter that we had; for the Carpenter's Sheet-Lead we durft not ufe.

The'I 5 th I manured a little Patch of Ground that was bare of Snow, and fowed it with Peafe, hoping to have fome fhortly to eat; for as yet we could fee nó green Thing to comfort us. The 18 th our Carpenter Williams Cole died; a Man beloved of us all, as much for his innate Goodnefs, as for the prefent Neceffity we had of a Man of his Quality: He had endured a long Sicknefs with Patience, and made a very godly End. In the Evening we buried him by Mr. Wardon, accompanied with as many as could go, for three more of our principal Men lay then expecting a good Hour. And now were we in the moft miferable State that we were in all the Voyage. Before this extreme Weaknefs, he had brought the Pinnace to that pafs, that fhe was ready to be bolted, $\xi^{2} c$. and to be joined to receive the Planks ; fo that we were not fo difcouraged by his Death, but that we hoped, ourfelves, to finifh her, if the Ship proved unferviceable. This Pinnace was twenty-feven Feet by the Keel; She had feventeen Ground-Timbers, thirty-four principal Staddles, and eight fhort Staddles: He had contrived her with a round Stern, to fave Labour, and indeed fhe was a well-proportioned Veffel; her Burden was twelve or fourteen Tons.
In the Evening the Mafter of our Ship, after the Burial, returned aboard, and, looking about him, difcovered fome Part of our Gunner under the Gun-Room Ports. This Man we had committed to the Sea at a good Dif-
eance from the Ship, and in deep Water, near fix Months before. The 19 th, in the Morning, I fent Men to dig him out. He was faft in the Ice, his Head downwards, and his Heels upwards, for he had but one Leg; and the Plaifter was yet at the Wound. In the Afternoon they had digged him clear out, and he was as free from Noifomnefs, as when we firft committed him to the Sea. This Alteration had the Ice, and Water, and Time only wrought on him, that his Flefh would nlip up and down, upon his Bones, like a Glove on a Man's Hand. In the Evening we buried him by the others. This Day one George Ugganes, who could handle a Tool beft of us all, had pretty well repaired our Boat, and fo ended this mournful Week. The Snow was by this time pretty well waited in the Wood; and we having a high Tree on the highett Place of the Inand, which was called our Watch-Tree, from the Top of it might fee into the Sea*, but found no Appearance of breaking up yet.

The 2oth, being Whit funday, we fadly folemnized it, and had fome Tatte of the Wild-fowl, but not worth the writing. The 2 Ift was the warmeft funfliny Day that came this Year. I fent two a-fowling; and myfelf, the Maifter, Chirurgeon, and one more, with our Pieces and Dogs. We went into the Woods to fee what we could find; we wandered from the Houfe eight Miles, and fearched with all Diligence, but returned comfortefs; not an Herb or Leaf eatable could we find. Our Fowiers had as bad Succefs. In the Woods we found the Snow partly melted away, fo that it was paffable. The Snow does not melt away here with the Sun or Rain, and fo make Land-Floods, as in England, but is exhaled by the Sun, and fucked full of Holes like the Foney-combs; fo that the Sand whereon it lies will not be wetted. The like Obfervations we alfo made, that let it rain ever fo much you fhall fee no Land-Floods after it. The 22 d we went aboard the Stip, and found fhe had made fo much Water that it wis men above the Ballaft, which made us doubt again of her Soundnefs. We fell to pumping, and pumped her quite dry. And now by Day fometimes we have fuch hot Glooms that we cannot endure the Sun, and yet in the Night it freezes very hard. This Unnaturalnefs of the Seafon tormented our Min that they grew worfe and worfe daily.
The 2 3d our Boatfwain, a careful Man, having been long fick, which he had heartily refifted, was taken with fuch a Pain in one of his Thighs, that we thought he would have died prefently. He kept his Bed in great Extremity. And it was a Maxim among us, that if any one kept his Bed he could rife no more. This made every Man to frive to keep up for Life.
The 24th was very warm Sun.hine, and the Ice confumed by the Shore-fide, and cracked all over the Bay with dreadful Noife. About three in the Afternoon we could perceive the Ice with the Ebb to drive by the Ship, whereupon I fent two with all Speed to the Mafter, with Order to beat out the Hole and to fink the Ship, as likewife to look for the Rudder betwixt the Ice. This he prefently performed; and a happy Fellow, one David Hammon pecking betwixt the Ice, ftruck upon it, and it came up with his Launce, who crying that he had found it, the reft came and got it upon the Ice, and fo into the Ship. In the mean time the little Drift which the Ice had began to rife and mount into high Heaps againft the fhole Shores and Rocks, and likewife againft the Heap of Ice which we had put for a Barricado to our Ship, but with little Harm to us; yet we were forced to cut away twenty Fathom of Cable which was frozen in the Ice. After an Hour the Ice fettled again, not having any Vent outwards. This was a joyful Day to us all, and we gave God Thanks for the Hopes we had of it.
The $25^{\text {th }}$ was a fine warm Day, and with the Ebb the Ice drove againft the Ship and ftruck her foundly. The 26th I took the Chirurgeon with me, and went again to the Wood, and to that Bay where laft Year we had loft our Man Fobn Barton, but we could find no Sign of him. The 28 th it was pretty clear betwixt the Ship and the Shore, and I hoped the Ice would no more opprefs us; wherefore I caufed the lower Holes to be firmly ftopped,
the Water then remaining three Feet above the Ballaft The 2 gth being Prince Cbarles's Birth-day, we kept Holiday, and difplayed his Majefty's Colours both on Land and aboard, and named our Habitation CbarlesTown, by Contraction Cbarlion, and the Inand Cbarlion Jhand.

The 3oth we launched our Boat, and had Intercourfe fometimes between the Ship and the Shore by Boat, which was new to us. The laft Day of this Month we found fome Vetches to appear out of the Ground, which I made our Men pick up and boil for our Sick. This Day we made an end of fitting all our Rigging and Sails, and ic being a very hot Day we dried our Fifh in the Sun, and aired all our other Provifions. There was not a Man of us at prefent able to eat of our falt Provifions but myfelf and the Mafter. It may be remembered that all this Winter we had not been troubled with any Rheums nor Phlegmatic Difeafes. All this Month the Wind was variable, but for the moft part Northerly.
29. Fune 1682. The firt four Days fnowed and hailed, and blew very hard, and it was fo cold that the Ponds of Water froze over, and the Water in our Cans was frozen even in the very Houfe. Our Cloaths alfo that had been wafhed and hung out to dry did not thaw. All Day the 5 th it continued blowing very hard on the broad side of the Ship, which made her fwag and wallow in her Dock, notwithfanding fhe was funk, which fhook her very much. The Ice withal crove againft her, and gave her many fearful Blows. I refolved to endeavour to lang the Rulder, and when God fent us Wiater, notwithfanding the abundance of Ice that was yet about us, to heave her further off. In the Afternoon we under-run our frmall Cable to our Anchor, which lay a-ftern in deep Water, and fo with fome Difficulcy got up our Anchor. This Cable had lain flack under Foot, and under the Ice all Wintur, and we could never have a cleai Slatch from Ice to have it up before now. We found it not a Jot the worfe. I put fome to make Coal-rakes, that they might go into the Water and rake a Hole in the Sand to let down our Rudder. The 6 th we went about to hang it ; and our young luftieft Men took it by Turns to go into the Water and to rake away the Sand, but they were not able to endure the Cold half a Quarter of an Hour, it was fo mortifying; and ufe what Comforts we could, it would make them fiwoon and die away. We brought it to the Stern-Poft, buit then we were forced to give it over, being able to work at it no longer. Then we plugged the upper Holes aboarl, and fell to pumping the Water out of her again.
The 7 th we wrought, about our Rudder, but were again forced to give over, and fo put our Cables over board with Menergers unto them, the Anchor lying to that Pafs that we might keep her right in the Dock when we had brought her light. By the 8th at Night we had pumped all the Water out of her, fo that at high Water the would float in hor Dock, tho' the were ftill docked in the Sand almoft four Feet.' This made us confider what was to be done. I refolved to heave out all the Ballaft; for the Bottom of her being fo foaked all the Winter, I hoped was fo heavy that it would bear her. If we could not get her of that Way, I then thought to cut her down to the lower Deck, and take out her Nafts, and fo with our Cafks to buoy her off. The gth betimes in the Morning we fell to work, we hoifted out our Beer and Cyder, and made a Raft of it, faftening it to our Shore-Anchor. The Beer and Cyder funk prefently to to the Groind, which was nothing ftrange to us, for any Wood or Pipe-ftaves that had laid under the Ice all the Winter would alfo finl: down as foon-as ever it was hove over board.
This Day we heaved out ten Ton of Ballaft; and here I am to remember God's Goodnefs towards us, in fending thofe forementioned green Vetches; for now our feeble fick Men, that could not for their Lives ftir thefe two or three Months, could encure the Air, and walk about the Houfe. Our other fick Men gathered Strength alfo: And it was wonderful to fee how foon they were recovered. We ufe them in this manner twice a Day; we went to gather
the Herb or Leaf of thofe Vetches as they firft appeared. out of the Ground, and then we waihed and boiled them; and fo with Oil and Vinegar that had been frozen we eat them. It was an excellent Suftenance and refrefhing; the moft part of us eat nothing elfe. We likewife bruifed them, and took the Juice of them and mixed it with our Drink: We alfo eat them raw with our Bread.

The inth was very warm Weather, and we hung our Rudder. The Tides now very much deceived us, for a Northerly Wind would very little raife the Water. This made us doubt of getting off our Ship. The I 3 th I refolved to know the Latitude of this Place; fo having examined the Intruments and practifed about it this Fortnight, I found it to be 52 Degrees 3 Minutes. The 14 th we had heaved out all the Ballaft, and carried all ourYards and every thing elfe on Shore, fo that we now had the Ship as light as pofible it could be.

The isth we did little but exercife ourfelves. By this Time our Men that were moft feeble grew ftrong and run about, the Flefh of their Gums being fettled again, and their Teeth faftened fo that they eat Beef with their Vetches. This Day I went to our Watch-Tree, but the Sea, for any thing I coald perceive, was ftill firm frozen, and the Bay full of Ice, having no Way to vent it.

The 16th was wondrous hot, with fome Thunder and Lightning, fo that our Men went into the Ponds athore to fwim and cool themfelves, yet the Water was very cool ftill. Here had lately appeared divers forts of Flies, as Butter-flies, Butchers-flies, Horfe-fies, and fuch an infinite Number of blood-thirfty Mufketoes, that we were more tormented with them than ever we were with the hot Weather. Thofe I think lie dead in the old rotten Wood all the Winter, and in Summer they revive again. Here are likewife infinite numbers of Ants and Frogs in the Ponds upon the Land, but we durft noteat of them: They looked fpeckled like Toads. By this Time there were neither Bears, Foxes, nor Fowl to be feen.
30. The 1 th the Wind came Northerly, and we, expecting a high Tide, in the Morning betimes put out our fmall Cable aftern out at the Gun-Room Port, but the Morning-Tide we had not Water by a Foot. In the Evening I had laid Marks by Stones, $\mathcal{E}^{\circ} c$. and thought that the Water flowed apace: Making Signs therefore for the Boat to come afhore, I took all that were able to do any, thing with me aboard; and at high Water, although fhe wanted fomething to rife clear out of the Dock, yet we heaved with fuch Good-will, that we heaved her through the Sand into a Foot and an half deeper Water, and further we durft not bring her ; for the Ice was all thick about ias. After we had moved her we all went to Prayers, and gave God Thanks that he had given us our Ship again. The 18th we were up betimes, the Cooper and fome with him to bring frefh Water, myfelf with others to gather Stones at low Water, which we piling up at low Water, the Cockfwain and his Gang fetched them aboard, where the Mafter with the reft fowed them. to the Offing, by which means we could the better come and flop the two upper Holes firmly: After which we fitted other convenient Places to make others to fink her, if Occafion were.

The igth we were all up betimes to work as afore fpecified. Thefe two Days our Ship did not float, and it was a very happy Hour which we got her off, for we never had fuch a high Tide all the Time we were here. In the Evening we went up to our Watch-Tree; and this was the firf Time I could fee open Water any way except that little by the Shore-fide where we were. This put us in fome Comfort that the Sea would Chortly break up, which we knew muft be fo to the Northward, feeing that Way we were certain there were about two hundred Leagues of Sea. The zoth we laboured as formerly, the Wind at North-north-weft. The Tide rofe fo high that our Ship floated, and we drew her off into a Foot and half deeper Water. Thus we did it by little and little, for the Ice was ftill wonderfully thick round about us.

The 22d there drove much Ice about us and within us, and brought home our Stem-Anchor at high Water.
Val. IL Numb. 98.

Notwithftanding all the Ice we heaved our Ship further off, that fo fhe might lye afoat at low Water. The next low Water we founded all about the Ship, and found it very found Ground. We difcovered Stones three Feet high above the Ground, and two of them within a Ship's-breadth of the Ship, whereby did more manifeft-s ly appear God's Mercy to us; for if when we found her on Shore fhe had ftruck one Blow againft thofe Stones; it had bulged her. Many fuch Dangers were there in this Bay, which we now firft perceived. In the Evening we towed of the Ship into the Place where fhe rode the laft Year, and there moored her, fteering the Ship Night and Day, Flood and Ebb, among the difperfed Ice that came athwart us.

The 23d we laboured in fetching the Provifions on board, which to do we were forced to wade to carry it to the Boat a full Bow-fhot, and all by reafon the Wind was Southerly. This Morning I took an Obfervation of the Moon's coming to the South, by a Meridian Line of a hundred and twenty Yards long, which I had rectified many Weeks beforchand.

The 24 th I took another Obfervation of the Moon's corning to the Meridian. I had formerly cut down a very high Tree and made a Crofs of it: To it I now faftened uppermoft the King and Queen's Pictures drawn to the Life, and doubly wrapped in Lead, and fo clofe that no Weather could hurt them. Betwixt both thefe I affixed his Majefty's Royal Title, viz. Chorles the firft, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, as alfo of Newfoundland, and of thefe Territories, and to the Weftward as far as Nova Albion, and to the Northward to the Latitude of 80 Degrees, $\mathcal{E}^{\circ} \mathrm{c}$. On the Outfide of the Lead I faftened a Shilling and a Sixpence of his Majeity's Coin; under that we faftened the King's Arms fairly cut in Lead, and under that the Arms of the City of Briftol: And this being IVidfummer-day, we raifed it on the Top of the Bar-hill, where we had buried our dead Fellows, by this Ceremony taking Poffeffion of thefe Territories for his Majeity's Ufe. The Wind continuing Southerly, and blowing hard, put all the Ice upon us, fo that the Ship now rode among it in fuch apparent Danger, that I thought verily we fhould have loft her.

We laboured Flood and Ebb with Poles and Oars to heave away and part the Ice, but it was God that protected and preferved us; for it was paft any Man's Underftanding how the Ship could endure it, or we by our Labour fave her: In the Night the Wind fhifted to the Weftward, and blew the Ice from us, which gave us fome Reft.
31. The $25^{\text {th }}$ in the Morning the Boatfwain with a convenient Crew began to rig the Ship, the reft fetching our Provifion on boaid. About ten o' Clock when it was fomething dark, I took a Launce in my Hand, and one with me with a Mußket, and went to our Watch-Tree to make a Fire on the moft eminent Place of the Ifland, to fee if it would be anfwered. Such Fires I have formerly made to have Knowledge if there were any Savages on the Main or the Iflands about us. Had there been any, my Purpofe was to have gone to them to get Intelligence of Chriftians, or fome Ocean Seas thereabouts. When I was come to the Tree I laid down my Launces and fo did my Confort his Munket, whilft I climbed up to the Top of the Tree. I ordered him to put Fire to fome low Tree thereabouts. He unadvifedly put Fire to fome Trees that were to Windward, fo that they and all the reft too, by reafon it had been very hot Weather, being dry, took Fire like Flax and Hemp; and the Wind blowing towards me, I made hafte down the Tree; but before I was half-way down the Fire took on the Bottom of it, and blazed fo fiercely upward that I was forced to leap off the Tree and down a fteep Hill, and in fhort with much ado efcaped Burning. The Mofs on the Ground was as dry as Flax, and it run moft Atrangely, like a Train along the Earth. The Mufket and Launce were both burnt. My Confort at laft came to me, and was joyful to fee me, for he thought verily I had been burnt: And thus we went homeward together, leaving the Fire encreafing and burning moft furioully.
I flept but little all Night after, and at Break of Day ordered all our Powder and Beef to be carried aboard
this Day. I went to the Hills to look to the Fire, where I faw it fill burn both to Weftward and Northward, leaving one upon the Hills to watch it. I came home inmediatcly, and made them take down our new Suit of Sails, and carry them to the Sea-fide, ready to be caft in if Occainon were, and to make hafte to take down our Houfes. About Noon the Wind fhifted Northward, and our Centinel came running home, bringing us Word that the Fire followed him at his Heels, like a train of Powder. There was no Occafion to bid us pull down, and carry all to the Sea-ficie. The Fire came towards us with a moft terrible rattling Noife, bearing a full Mile in Breadth; and by that Time we had uncovered our Houfes, and going to carry away our laft things, the Fire was come to our Town, and feized it, and, in a Trice, burnt it down to the Ground. We loft nothing of any Value, for we had brought all into a Place of Security. Our Dogs, in this Condition, would fit down on their Tails, and howl, and then run into the Sea, and there ftay. The Wind inifted eafterly, and the Fire ranged to the Weftward, feeking what it might devour. This Night we lay together aboard the Ship, and gave God Thanks, who had been thus merciful unto us.

The 27 th, 28 th, and 20 th, we wrought hard in fetching our things aboard, as likewife our Water, which we towed off with the Ebb, and fent it to the Ship, with the Elood: we were forced to go about the Eaftern Point for Driftwool, for the Tools were all fo fpent, that we could cut none. Therefore about three Days before I had caufed our Pinnace to be fawed to pieces, and with that we ftowed our Cank, intending to burn it at Low-water; and fuch other times as we could not work in carrying things aboard, I employed in fetching Stones; and we built three Tombs over our three dead Companions, filling them with Sand, in a decent and handfome Manner. The leaft Tomb had two Tons of Stones about it. The 3oth we earneilly continued our Labour, and brought our Sails to Yard; and by eleven o'Clock at Night had made a pretty Ship, meaning to have finifhed our Bufinefs with the Week and Month, that we might the better folemnize the Sabbath afhore, and fo take leave of our wintering Iland.

The Wind had been variable a great while, and the Bay fo clear of Ice, that we could not fee a Piece of it, for it was all gone to the Northward. Hoping that it may give Content to fome Readers, I will relate the Manner of the breakiug of it up. , It is firt to be noted, that it did not freeze naturally above fix Feet, the reft is, by Accilent; fuch is that Ice, that you may fee here fix Fathom thick; this we had manifeft Proof of, by digging the Ice out of the Ship, and by digging to our Anchors before the Ice broke up.
32. In May, when the Heat increafeth, it thaws firft on the Shole by the Shore-1ide, which when it hath done round about, then the Courfes of the Tides, as well by the Ebb and Flood, as by their rifing and falling, do fo thake the main Ice, that it cracks and breaks it. Thus, when it hath got room for Motion, then runs one Piece of it upon another, and fo bruifes and grinds itfelf againft the Sholes and Rocks, that a Ship may run through it. Befides this, much of it is thruft upon the Sholes, where it is confumed by the Heat of the Sun. The Seafon of this Climate is moft unnatural; for in the Day-time it will be extueme hot, nay intolerable, by Reafon it is a fandy Countiy. In the Night again it will freeze an Inch thick in the Ponds, and in the Tubs about, and in our Houfes; and all this towards the latter End of June. The Mukketoes, upon our coming away, were infup portable. We tore an old Flag in Pieces, and made us Bags of it to put our Heads in, but it was no Fortification againt them; they would find ways and means to fing us, that our Faces were fwoln out in Pimples, which would fo itch and fmart, that we muft needs rub and far them; and thefe Flies, indeed, were more tormenting to us, than all the Cold we had endured before.

July 1632 . The Ift of this Month we were up betimes, and I caufed our Ship to be adorned the beft we could. Our Flag in the Poop, and the King's Colours in the Main-Top. I had provided a fhort Account of all the

Paffages of our Voyage to this Day. I likewife wrote in what State we were in at prefent, and how I intended to profecute this Difcovery, both to the Weftward and to the Southward, about this Mland. This brief Difcourfe I had concluder, with a Requeft to any noble minded Traveller that thould take it down, or come to the Notice of it; that if we fhould perifh in the Action, then to make our Endeavours known to our Sovereign Lord the King. And thus, with our Arms, Drums, and Colours, Cook and Kettle, we went afhore, and firt we marched up to our eminent Crofs, adjoining to which we had buried our dead Fellows. There we read Morning Prayers, and then walked up and down till Dinnertime. After Dinner we walked up to the higheft Hills, to fee which way the Fire had wafted; we deforied that it had confunsed to the Weftward fixteen Miles at leaft, and the whole Breadth of the Inand. Near our Crofs and Dead it could not come, by reafon it was a bare Sand. After Evening Prayer I happened to walk along the Beach-fide, where I found an Herb refembling ScuryyGrafs; I had fome gathered ${ }_{2}$ which we boiled with our Meat to Supper.

It was moft excellent good, and far better than our Vetches. After Supper we went to feek for more of it, which we carried off to the Quantity of two Bufhels, which did afterwards much refrefh us; and now the Sun was fet, and the Boat came afhore for us; whereupon we affembled ourfelves together, and went up to take the laft View of our Dead, and to look to their Tombs, and other things. So fattening my Brief, which was fecurely wrapped up in Lead to the Crofs, we prefently took Boar and departed, and never put Foot more on that Inand. This Ifland, and all the reft, as likewife the Main, is a light white Sand, covered over with a white Mofs, and full of Shrubs and low Bufhes, excepting fome bare Hills and other Patches: In thefe bare Places the Sand will drive with the Wind like Duft. It is very full of Trees, as Spruce and Juniper, but the biggeft Tree I faw was but a Foot and a Half Diameter.

At our fint coming hither we faw fome Deer, and killed one, but never any fince; Foxes all the Winter we faw many, and killed fome Dozens of them; but they went all away in Mey; Pears we faw a few, but killed none; we faw fome other little Peafts. In May there came fome Fowl, as Ducks and Geefe, of which we killed very few; white Partridges we faw, but in fimall Quantities, nor had we any Shot to thoot at them. Fifh we could never fee any in the Sea, nor no Bones of Fifh on the Shore-fide, excepting a few Cockle-Shells, and yet nothing in them neither.
33. Sunday being the 2d of $\mathcal{F}_{112},{ }_{1} 632$, we were up betimes, about ftowing and fitting our Ship, and weighing our Anchors; which, when the laft was a Trip, we went to Prayers, befecching God to continue his Mercy to us, and rendering him Thanks for having thus reftored us. Our Ship we found no Defect in. We had abundance of fuch Provifions as we brought out of England, and we were in indifferent Health, and gathered Strength daily. This being done, we weighed and came chearfully to fail. The Wind at North-weft, bad to get away, wherefore we flood over to Danby Ihand, to take in more Wood, and there to be ready to take the Opportunity of a fair Wind. I went afhore with the Boat, for fome of the Company had told me they had feen fome Stakes the laft Year driven into the Ground, where we came afhore, whilft fome gathered Wood. I went to the Place, where I found two Stakes drove into the Ground a Foot and $\bar{a}$-half, and Fire-brands, where a Fire had been made by them. I pulled up the Stakes, which were about the thicknefs of my Arm, and they had been cut Sharp at the Ends with a Hatchet, or fome other good Iron Tool, and driven in as it were with the Head of it. They were diftant about a Stones-throw from the Waterfide. I could not conceive to what purpofe they fhould be there fet, unlefs it were for fome Mark for Boats. This augmented my Defire to fpeak wiin the Savages, for, without doubt, they could have given us Notice of fome Chriftians with whom they had Commerce.

About four in the Evening I returned with a Boat's

## Chap. I.

 and wintering in Chariton Ifland. 427Lading of Wood, and the Wind fomething favouring; we weighed with our Lead, feeking out a Channel amongtt thofe dangerous Sholes. In the Evening the Wind oppofing itfelf, we came to Anchor betwixt Cbarlion Ifloud, and that Inand we named the latt Year, in memory of that honourable Gentleman Mr. Thomas Cary, one of the Bed-chamber to the King, Cary's IJland, where we rid all Night. On the 3d, at Break of Day, we weighed, with a bare Wind, and, founding up and down for a Channel, we were many times in five and four Fathom Water. The Wind larging upon us, we flood away Weft by Noon; we faw all the Ice Southward of us, endeavouring therefore to compafs about the Weftern Point of Cbarltoin Jfland, and fo to feek to the Southward, we found it all Sholes, Rocks, and Breaches. By four in the Afternoon we faw the Weftern Land, but all full of Ice; whereupon, as the Wind favoured us, we ftood along it in Sight to the Northward.
The fourth was calm, but fo very thick and foggy withal, that we could not fee a Piftol-Shot about us; we knew not which Way to turn us. Now to avoid telling the fame thing twenty times, we were continually till the 22 d fo peftered and tormented with Ice, that it would feem incredible to relate it ; fometimes we were fo blinded with Fog, that we could not fee about us; and we did fo ftrike againft the Ice, that the Fore-part of the Ship would crack again, and make our Cook and others to run up all amazed, and think the Ship had been beaten all to Pieces. Indeed we did hourly ftrike fuch unavoidable Blows, that we left the Hatches open, and twenty times in a Day the Men would run down into the Hold to fee if fhe were bulged. Sometimes when we had made her faft in the Night to a great Piece of Ice, we Thould have fuch violent Storms, that our faftning would break, and then the Storm would beat us from Piece to Piece moft dreadfully ; other times we fhould be faft inclofed among great Ice as high as our Poop: This was made, as I have formerly faid, by one Piece running upon another, which made it draw eight or ten Fathom Water; befides which the Lowermoft would rife from underneath, and ftrike us under the Bulge with Pieces of five, fix, nay of eight Tons, that many times we have pumped clear Water for an Hour together, before we could make the Pump fuck. Among thefé feveral and hourly Dangers, I overheard the Men murmur, and fay, That they were happy that I had buried, and that if they had a thoufand Pounds they would give it, fo they lay fairly by them; for we, fay they, are deftined to flarve upon a piece of Ice. I was forced to fuffer all this with Patience, and to comfort them again, when I had them in a better Humour.
34. The 22d, having been vexed with a Storm all Night, and this Morning with a thick Fog, we drove in thirteen Fathom Water. About Noon it cleared, and swe faw the Land, and at that Inftant had a good Obfervation, whereby we kneyy it to be the Cape Henrietta Maria. I made the Mafter ftand in with it, and in the mean Time we fitted a Crofs, and faftened the King's Arms, and the Arms of the City of Brifol to it. We came to an Anchor within a Mile of the Shore, in fix Fathom Water, fo we hoifted out our Boat, and took our Arms and our Dogs, and went afhore. Upon the moft eminent Place we erected the Crofs; and then feeking about we foon faw fome Deer, and by and by more and more. We,ftole to them with the beft Skill we had, and then put our Dogs on them, but the Deer ran clear away from them at Pleafire, We tired the Dogs, and wearied ourfelves, but to no purpofe, neither could we come to thoot at them. I faw, in all, about a Dozen old and young, very goodly Beafts. We took half a Dozen young Geefe on the Pools, by wading into them; and fo returned to our Boat, vexed that we had found a Place where there were Refrefhments, and we could get none of them. Whereas we had kept our Dogs with a great deal of Inconvenience aboard the Ship all the Winter, and had pardoned them many Mirdemeanours (for they would fteal our Meat out of the fteeping Tubs) in Hopes they might hereafter do us fome Service; and fee-
ing they now did not, and that there were no Hopes they could hereafter, I caufed them to be left afhore. They were a Dog and a Bitch, Buck Dogs, of a very good. Breed. The Dog had a Collar about his Neck, which, perhaps, hereafter may come to Light.
I fav no' Sign of any Sarages, nor could we find any Herbs, or other Refrefhments here. In the Evening, being returned aboard, and the Wind blowing fair at South, I caufed the Mafter to weigh, and come to Sail, and to lofe no Time, for we hoped for an open Sea to the North-weft. This Cape has a very Shole Point that lies off it, which we endeavoured to compafs. Sailing therefore upon fhattered Ice, we came to very Thole Water, four and five Fathom deep, and could not avoid it. At length, flanding North, the Water deepened, but we came withal among great Pieces of Ice, which by reafon of fome open Water there were a pretiy Sea. Thefe hard Pieces of Ice made a moft dreadful Noife. It proved a fair Moonfhine Night, otherwife it had gone ill with us. We turned among this Ice, ftaying the Ship, fometimes within her Length of great Pieces as bad as Rocks; but by Reafon we were often forced to bear up, we let fall an Anchor, and ftood all on the Decks to' watch the Ice, fheering off the Ship to and again to avoid it. Thus having Poles and Oars to fend it, we could not keep ourfelves fo clear, but many Pieces came foul of us. We broke two of our great Poles with it, which were made to be handled by four Men, befides fome other Damage. At Break of Day we weighed and fought all ways to clear ourfelves of Ice, but it was impofible. I conceive it impertinent to relate every particular Day's Paflage, fince they were much alike to us. Our Endeavours were fometimes with our Sails, giving and receiving five hundred dreadful Blows in a Day.
Sometimes we ftopped at an Anchor, when we could get a little open Water, and fo fuffer the Ice to drive to Leeward. Other times we fhould be enclofed among it, and then it would fo break and rife, and leap up under us, that we expected every Hour to be beaten to Pieces. Befides we had fuch Storms in the dark Nights, as would break our Moorings we had made faft to fome pieces of Ice, for Security in the Night Seafon; and then we were beat moft dangeroully from Piece to Piece till Day-light, that we could fee to make her faft again. I forbear to fpeak of the Fogs which we had daily, which froze our Rigging Day and Night; befides all which, we fhould coine into moft uncertain Depths, fometimes twenty Fathom, next Caft ten, next fifteen, then nine; rocky foul Ground; the great deep Ice withal, driving on thefe uncertain Depths, did fo diftract the Tides, and deceive us -fo much in our Account, that by the zoth we were driven back fo far to the Eaftward, and to the Southward of the Cape, that at five o'Clock in the Evening it bore North-weft of us fome three Leagues off, contrary to our Expectations.

With all thefe Mifchiefs, our Ship now became very leaky, that we pumped every half Watch. Here I called a Confultation, and after confidering all our Experience, we were of Opinion that it was impofible to get to the Northward, or to the Eaftward, by Reafon of the Ice; wherefore I refolved upon this Courfe; when the Wind blew South, it would blow the Ice off the South Shore, then we would feek to get to the Weftward, betwixt it and the Shore. I muft confefs that this was a defperate Refolution, for all the Coaft we knew to be fhole and foul Ground, all Rocks and Stones; fo that if the Wind fhould fhift to the Northward, there would be, without-God's Mercies, little Hopes of us. But here we muft not ftay, the Nights grew long, the Cold fo increafed, that betwixt the Pieces of Ice the Sea would be frozen. I caufed the Ship to be fitted, and Places again prepared to fink her a fecond Time, if fo be, we were put to Extremíties. We prefently put our Project in Execution (the Wind being at South) and got about the Sholes of the Cape, ftanding then into the Shoreward, to get betwixt it and the Ice. We came into four Fathom Water (very foul rocky Ground) thinking to come to an Anchor all Night, and let the Ice drive to Leeward. But ftill there was to much Ice betwixt us
and the Shore, that we were forced to bear up againft it into deeper Water, and to let the Ship drive among it; the Wind increafing we endured a mot dangerous dark Night of it.

In the Morning we fell to work to get the Ship again out of the Ice into fome clear Water, which we faw Weit by South of us. Some of our Company went out upon the Ice to heave her with their Shoulders, whilft others flood aboard with their Poles; the reft flood to fill and fill the Sail. By nine in the Morning we had got into fome clear Water, and food. Weft and by South into four Fathom Water, foul Ground ; but being not able to weather fome Rands of Ice which drove, we were forced to ftand off again, and when the Evening grew dark to come to an Anchor. About Midnight there came a great Piece of Ice (which we could not avoid) athwart of our Cable, and made her drive and drag her Anchor: This drove her into fhole Water, it being very rocky and foul Ground: We brought the Cable to Capftang, and heaved with fuch a Courage that we heaved home our Anchor from under it. Thus we endeavoured the beft we could to keep ourfelves in eight or ten Fathom Water. It then pleafed God that the Wind blew along the Shore, otherwife it had gone far worie with us.
35. Auguf 16 32. The ift of this Month, at break of Day, when we could fee all about us, we were forced to fruggle again with the Ice, and to get in nearer to the Shore, by reafon the Wind was oppofite, to come to an Anchor; we let the Ice drive to leeward, hoping there was a clearing Sea to the weftward: The Ice drove very thick upon us, and one Piece came foul of us, which touched our Sprit-fail Yard, and made the Ship drive; but we foon cleared ourfelves of it. Then we weighed, and flood in nearer to the Shore; but the N Water fhoaled, and there were fo many thick Rands of Ice betwixt us and the Shore that there was no coming to an Anchor, fo we turned betwixt the Ice, many Pieces of it being aground in fhole Water, and few Pieces diflant one from the other a Cable's Length: This Day we faw two Sea Mawes on the Ice. The 2 d in the Morning we were glad at break of Day, having moft dangerounly turned among the Ice, and endured many a Blow; we ftood in zgain to the fhoreward, to fee if we could get fome clear Water; for to the northward it was all impaffable Ice: We ftood into five and four Fathom, but ftill all impaffable with Ice, fo we ftood off again into deeper Watcr ; and in the Evening we were inclofed with extraordinary great Pieces; it was a very thick Fog withal, fo that we made faft the Ship to a great flat Piece and went to neep, after our extreme Painstaking.

The $3 \mathrm{~d}, 4$ th, and 5 th we were inclofed among very great Ice, and it blew fuch a Storm of Wind that we, endeavouring to get forward to the weftward, ftruck fuch heavy Blows that made all the fore-part of the Ship crack again; then we gave over working, and let her alone among it, but then the Ice would break and rife under us, and that endangered us as bad as the former. Our Ship made now above a Ton of Water every Watch, which we pumped out before our other Labour. God e merciful unto us among all thefe Dangers.
The $5^{\text {th }}$ at Noon we were in Latitude 55 Degrees, the Cape bearing off us South-eat by Eat, twelve Leagues off, and this all we have got fince the 22 d of Fuly; all Night it blew a violent Gale of Wind at Weft-north-weft, and about Midnight our Hawfer (by which we made fant to a Piece of Ice) broke, and we lof four Fathom of it. We beat all Night moft fearfully, being toffed from Piece to Piece, becaufe in the Dark we durt not venture our Men to go on the Ice, for fear of lofing them. All the 6 th the Storm continued, and drove us again quite with the Ice almoft to the Cape. The 7 th was the moft comfortable Day we had fince we came out of our Wintering-place. The Wind came up fair at Eait,' and we got, although with our former Inconveniences and Dangers, nearer the Shore, and into fome open Water, making good way to the Weftward. Add to this that our Leak now ftopped of
its own Accord, fo that we pumped but little. We failed all Night, keeping good Watch on the Forecaftle, bearing up from one and loofing from another. Thus we did the 8 th alfo; but then the Wind fhifting to the North-weft, it drove the Ice on the Shore, and we came to an Anchor in eight Fathom Water. The main Ice we had fome two Miles to windward of us; but the Set of the Tide kept it off from us. At Noon we were in Latitude 55 Degrees 34 Minutes. In the Evening a Range of Ice drove upon us, which made us weigh, and ftand in nearer the Shore into fix Fathom, and there come to an Anchor. The Wind increafing about Midnight, the Ship drove, and was quickly in five Fathom Water, wherefore we let fall our Sheet Anchor, and both held her ; but what troubled us was, we expected every Minute that the main Ice would come upon us, then there would be no Hope but to run on Shore.

The gth in the Morning we weighed our fecond Anchor, the Ice being within lefs than a Mile of us. About eight in the Moning a Point of it came foul of us, which we prevented by weighing, and came to Anchor in three Fathoms and a Half Water. The Wind continued North-north-weft, which was in on the Shore. This Morning I caufed all our empty Cafks to be filled with Water, and the Ship to be left unpumped, and the Place. looked to that we had prepared to fink her, for we were at prefent in as apparent Danger as any time this Voyage, and to our great Grief it was all full of foul rocky Ground. The Danger of this was, if we made fatt to a Piece of Ice that drew deep Water, then as foon as it came to Ground on the Rocks it would break all to Pieces and betray us to cur Deftruction. About Noon there came foul of us the Point of a Range of Ice, which we refolved to endure the Extremity of with an Anchor, thinking to ride and break through it, we now perceiving fome open Water beyond it; thrufting therefore, and fencing with our Poles, at laft a great Piece of Ice came athwart our Hawfer, and there was a brifk Sca among it: The Ship now fell upon it fo violently that I expected every Blow fhe would beat out her Bows; at length fhe drove with it fo that I thought the Cable had been broke; we brought it to Capftang to heave it in, but found that our Sheet Anchor vas broke in the Middle of the Shank. We prefently fet our Sails thereupon, endeavouring that Way to edge in amongt the Ice off of this dangerous Shore. It pleafed God to favour our Labour fo, that by eight in the Evening we got off into feven Fathoms Water, and a dark Night coming on we made fant to the biggeft Piece we could find. It blew all Night, but at Midnight the Wind came up at North, which was more on the Shore than before.
By break of Day, on the 10 th, we were driven into four Fathom very foul Ground, fo that the Lead fell off the Rocks three or four Foot, we fet our Sails and ufed our utmoft Endeavour's to edge off. Some of us went upon the Ice to haul her, others food with Poles to thrut by Night. At Night we got off to eight Fathoms, and made faft to the biggeft Piece we could find. If any Man fhould alk, Why we kept fo near the Shore in this continual Danger ? I anfwer, becaufe in the Offing, the Ice was fo extraordinary thick that we could make no Way through it ; befides, when we were in that great thick Ice, and the Wind came up fair at South, or South-eaft, or Eaft, we could not get out of it ; therefore we chofe to run this Adventure, and fo prevent and overcome all Dangers with God's Afliftance, and our extreme Labour.
36. The IIth in the Morning was a thick Fög, yet there fprung up a Gale of Wind at Eaft, and we made in for the Shore. From the inth to the 14th the Wind continued fair, and we made all the Sail we could Night and Day as the Ice would fuffer us; we had the Shore in fight by Day on one Side, and the Ice within two Miles on the other; and we failed among difperfed Pieces loofing from one, and bearing up for another. The 14 th at Noon we were in Latitude 57 Degrees 55 Minutes. In the Evening we were embayed in Ice, and ftood South-eaft to clear ourfelves of it, but could not; but feeing from the Topmat-head clear Water over it, we put up to it .

But there arofe a very thick Fog, and Night came on withal, that we were forced to faften to a Piece of Ice expecting Day, and better Weather.

The I 5 th in the Morning, although the Fog was very thick, we would endeavour to get out of the Ice, and ftood away Weft; but within two Hours the Water fhoaled from forty to twenty-five Fathoms; whereby we knew that we had the Shoaling of the weftern Shore. Then we fhaped our Courfe to the northward; the Fog continued fo thick, that we could not fee a Piftol-fhot about us. We had not food this Way two Hours, but we heard a Rut of Ice ahead of us, which made the moft hideous Noife of any I had heard this Voyage. We hauled our Tacks aboard, and ftood to the weftward in this Day-darknefs; hearing it fometimes, and feeing it fometimes, which was very large, deep, and high Ice above the Water; we weathered it all except fome few Pieces, and got into open Water. About Sun-fet there came a fudden Guft at North-north-weft, and before we could handle our Sails it was with us, and put us into fome Trouble ; it dallied with us, by Gufts, till nine $0^{5}$ Clock ; and then it fell into a moft violent Storm. We confidered where we might have the cleareft Drift, and fo took in all, and let her drive her Head to the fhoreward. Before Midnight the Water fhoaled on us unto fifteen Fathoms.

Then we turned her Head to the eaftward, and fet our main Courfe low-fet, but as much as fhe could bear. The Water deepened but little, and we knew that we were on thofe rocky Sholes which we ftruck on the laft Year ; God be merciful unto us. Here was the firft great breaking Sea we had this Year. The 16 th, in the Morning, we were driven to a great Rand of Ice ; to avoid which we fet our Force and Courfe too; and ftood to the thoreward in fifteen Fathom Water, and then about again. We flood in a Mile to the Ice, but there was a great fwelling Sea in it, that it was not durable; fo we ftood out again. About three in the Afternoon the Storm broke up, and blew fair at North-weft, which produced Good for us, for we had not Drift for four Hours, befides, it was but five Leagues betwixt the Sholes and the Ice: We fet all our Sails, and endeavoured to weather the Ice, but in the Evening we were ftill peftered with it. By Midnight we knew not which Way to turn, nor what to do ; fo we took in all our Sails, and let her drive among it. The Ice beat us on every Side, for there went among it a very great full Sea. The I gth in the Morning, when we could fee about us, we were in the Midft of it; but in the laft Storm it was all broken to Pieces, as big as a Boat of three or four Ton, which gave us many a heavy Blow in the dark Night. If this Storm had taken us among it, it had broken us all to Pieces without God's miraculous Prefervation. We made fail, and endeavoured to clear ourfelves of it to the northward, which, by eight in the Morning, we had done ; we then went to Prayer, and gave God hearty Thanks, that had delivered us out of it; for we were hourly, for the Space of fix Weeks, as it were in the Jaws of Death; yea, never had any, that I have heard of, been for fuch a Space in fuch long Nights upon a foul Shore, tormented with Ice, as we have been.

At Noon we were in 58 Degrees 20 Minutes. Now, as touching the Difolution of the Ice, we found that this Storm had torn and fhattered this Rand of Ice which was on the Outfide, although it mut have a long time to work into the main Body of it. I have in fuly, and in the Beginning of Auguf, taken fome of the Ice into the Ship and cut it fquare, two Foot, and put it into the Boat where the Sun fhone with a very ftrong Reflection about it, and notwithftanding the Warmth of the Ship, for we kept a good Fire, and all our Breathings and Motion, it would not melt in eight or ten Days. It was our Practice, when we thould be two Days together faft to a Piece of Ice, to fet Marks to it, to fee how it confumed, but it yielded us fmall Hope of diffolving; we could not in that time perceive any Diminution by the finking of it, or otherwife; neverthelefs, I think that it is ruined by Storms, or confumed by Heat fome Years, or elfe the Bay would be choaked up; but I confefs thefe Secrets of Nature are paft my Comprehenfion. Being out
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of it (but we yet faw it from of the Decks to the Eaftward) I ordered the Mafter to fteer away North and by Eaft, keeping the Shoalings of the weftern Shore. The 18th at Noon we were in Latitude 53 Degrees $3^{6}$ Minutes.
37. The Igth we continted our Coirfe betwixt the North-north-eaft, and the North and by Eaft, and by Noon were in Latitude 6I Degrees 7 Minutes, fome twelve Leagues off the Shore: I ordered the Mafter to Thape his Courfe North-eaft, to look into that Place bewixt Cary's Swans-neft and Ne plus ultra. The 2oth we were in Latitude 6 I Degrees 45 Minutes. This Day we faw fome few Seals about the Ship. The 2 Ift the Water fhoaled fo that it was concluded we were near Land; but about Noon the Wind came up at North-ealt, directly oppofite; we loofed as near as we could, and as it larged we came to ftand Eaft, and Eaft and by North. The 22d we fell with the Land to the Weftward of Cary's Swans-neft, where we had forty Fathoms three Leagues off. We ftood in within a League of the Shore into eighteen Fathoms, and feeing the Land to the Southward of us, we compaffed about it, it being Cary's Swansneft, which is in the Latitude of 52 Degrees. All the 23 d we failed North-eaft, and, for the moft part, in Sight of Land.

The 24th at Noon, by Judgment, we were in Latitude 69 Degrees 30 Minutes, having failed a North-eaft Courfe: All this' Day was a very thick Fog, which about one $0^{\circ}$ Clock cleared a little, fo that I expected to fee the Land; fome of our Men, better fighted, fpied it about two Leagues off. I knew it could be none other than Nottingbam Ifland, though it was fomething contrary to the Expectation of our beft Mariners: We ftood in to make it, it was the North-end of it, and it bore off us due Eaft; I was foon affured of it , and I ordered the Mafter to Shape his Courfe North-weft and by North. Both he and others were unwilling, but without muchado fubmitted themfelves : It was very foul, thick Weather. The Reafons of my Refolution were thefe: The Time of the Year was far fpent, and the Winter came upon us, therefore I would make the fhorteft Way betwixt the Lands already difcovered. If I found an open Sea, I had my Defire, and then I intended to proceed to the utmoft of our Power.

If I met with Land, I fhould then finifh the Difcovery; it being not above fifteen Leagues from Land to Land, and not above ten Leagues from Nottingbam Ifland to the Main of the North Shore, we made what fail we could, it blowing a very ftiff Gale of Wind till eight in the Evening; then it began to blow fiercely, and we took in our Topfails, and ftood under our two Courfes and Bonnetts; at nine it blew a violent Storm at South-fouth-eaft, fo that we took in our Forefail, and let her drive North-weft. All Night it continued an extraordinary Storm; that we heaved the Lead every half Watch: but the Ship drove fo faft that the would be paft the Lead before there were two Fathoms of Line out, all the Night being exceeding cold withal. The 25 th the Storm continued, and fo perplexed us, that there were but few that could neep or eat for twenty-four Hours. About fix in the Afternoon the Storm began to abate, yet there blew a frefh Gale of Wind between the South and South-weft: we flood Weft-north-weft, and made a North-weft Way; when fuddenly the Sea became very fmooth. We reafoned thereupon among ourfelves, What might be the Caufe of it? We all thought it to be a Leeward Tide, nothing doubting what we afterwards encountred; the Ship had a very quick Way in the fmooth Water.
38. The 26th by two in the Morning we were fudden ly got among the Ice, and it pleafed God that the Moon at that Inftant gave us fo much Light that we could fee a little about us. We would have ftayed the Ship, but it was fo thick to the Windward, and fo near us that we durft not. We then bore up in this unexpected Accio dent, and I verily believe did not efcape ftriking the Length of a Foot againt the Ice, as hard as Rocks, two or three times, as the Ship now having Way after twelve Leagues a Watch. Then we ftood clofe by the Wind to the Eaftward, expecting Day' that we might fee about ${ }_{5} \mathrm{R}$
us. We could from Top-maft Head fee the Ice from the North-north-weft, the North-weft, and fo round about by the South to the Eaft; and fome there was to the Leeward of us. It was all flat found Ice, and the Sea as fmooth as a Wall amongtt it. This ftruck us all into a Damp, whereupon I called a Confultation of my Affociates, namely, Artbur Price, Mafter; William Clements, Lieutenant; $\mathcal{F}$ obn Wbittered, Mafter's Mate; Natbaniel Bilfon, Chirurgeon; and Fobn Palmer, Boatfwain; requiring them to advife and counfel me how to profecute our Bufinefs to Effect. Thefe went all together and reafoned amongft themfelves, and then brought me their Opinions in Writing under their own Hands, viz. Our Advice is, that you repair homeward from this prefent 26 th, and that for thefe Reafons:
Firft, That the Nights are long, and fo extreme cold withal that we can hardly handle our Sails and Rigging. Secondly, The Seafon is now fubject to ftormy and gufty Weather, as witnefs the prefent, it having continued a Storm ever fince the 24 th , and yet doth continue no Weather to difcover in. Thirdly, We doubt whether Hudjon's Streights be fo clear of Ice that it may be paffable in convenient Time, Winter coming on apace, before we are frozen up, feeing the Ice lies here all over the Sea. Fourthly, We muft, have fair Weather to pafs the Streight, for which we may flay à long Time, if we neglect the firt Opportunity. Fifthly, Our Ship is fo very leaky that in foul Weather we are forced to pump every Glafs, which is great Labour. Moreover, we know her to be fo bruifed with Rocks and Blows of the Ice that fhe is no more to be adventured among it, but in faving our Lives homewards. Befides all this our Men grow very weak and fickly with extreme Labour. Sixthly, The Seafon of the Year is fo far fpent that we can expect no other Weather than we have had both lately and at prefent; that is to lay, Snow and Fog freezing our Rigging, and making cvery thing fo flippery that a Man can fcarce ftand, and all this with the Wind Southerly, which if it hould come to the Northward then we are to expect far worfe. Seventhly and laftly, That the Ice lies all in thick Rands and Ranges in the very Way we fhould go, as you and all Men here may fee; and therefore we conclude as aforefaid, that there is no Poffibility of proceeding further : Wherefore we now counfel you to return homeward, hoping that God will give us a favourable Paffage to return to our native Country, if we take 'Time and not tempt him too far by our Wilfulnefs.
Indeed moft of thefe Difficulties were in view, and I could not reafonably oppofe them, nor any Reafon could I give for proceeding further; wherefore with a forrowful Heart, God knows, I confented that the Helm fhould be borne up and a Courfe fhaped for England, hoping that his Majefty would grácioully confider our Endeavours, and pardon our Return. And although we have not difcovered populous Kingdoms, and taken fpecial Notice of their Magnificence, Power, Policy, $E^{c}$ c. brought Samples home of their Riches and Commodities, pried into Myfteries of their Trade and Traffic, nor made any great Fight againft the Enemies of God and our Nation ; yet I hoped that our. Willingnefs in thofe defart Parts may be acceptable to our Readers.

When we bore up Helm we were in Latitude $6_{5}$ Degrees $30^{\circ}$ Minutes, at Weft-north-weft and by North from Nottingham-Ifand. Sume were of Opinion that we were farther to the Northward; but by rearon it was my Judgment, I chofe to fet down the leffer Diftance. The 27 th the Wind came up at North-weft, with which we could not have gone on with our Defign.. That Wind made nơ great fwelling Sea. By Noon we were athwart of Cape Cbarles, fo that we went in between that Cape and Mill-Ifands. The laft Night it fnowed very much, and was very cold, fo that all our Rigging and Sails were frozen, and all the Land covered with Snow. And here it will not be amifs to confider the Reafons of it: When I was upon Cbarles-Ifand (our Wintering-place) and in Fune when the Snow was cleareft off the Ground, I have in the Nights, and fome of them following the hotteft Days, obferved whether there fell any Dew or no, but I could never perceive any, and from Mofs and

Sand little I thought was to be expected. Now of what was exhaled from the fnowy Ice and cold Sea could there probably be returned but the like again? Generally we continued on our Courfe blinded with Fog and dirty Weather, and that internixed with Snow and Froft among difperfed Pieces of Ice, many of them higher than our Top-maft Head. With great variety of Windfalls we were driven within three Leagues of both Shores; fo that the laft of this Month we were in the Narrow of the Streight, which is about fifteen Leagues over ; the South Shore was much peftered with Ice.

September 1632 . The ift and 2 d we endeavoured to get on our Way. The 3 d in the Evening, as the Weather cleared up, we faw the South-End of the Ifland Refolution. Thefe three Days and Nights had been extreme cold with Fog and Froft, infomuch that our Men in the Evening could hardly take in our Top and Sprit-fails. We have failed through much mountainous Ice, far higher than the Top-maft Head, but this Day we failed by the higheft I ever yet faw, which is incredible indeed to be related. Now as the Wind comes Eafterly, we feel another Sea out of the Ocean, and the Ship labours with another Motion than fhe hath done with any that we ever obferved to come out of the Weftward. From the 3d to the 8 th we had variety of Winds, and were got clear out of the Streights, but were now come into fuch a tumbling Sea, the Weather dirty and windy, and by Intervals calm again, that the Ship did fo labour and roll that we thought verily fhe would have' rolled her Mafts by the Board. This made her fo leaky that we were forced to pump every Glafs; nay, her Seams fo opened aloft that we lay all wet in her.
39. This was the laft Day we faw any Ice. The Wind now favouring us we made all the Hafte we could homeward, by the Way having endeavoured, obferved, and experimented fome Things in this our unfortunateV oyage. I perfected my Obfervations, which being afterwards commanded to publifh, I here moft fubmiffively offer unto the judicious Reader. What hath been long ago fabled by fome Portuguefe that fhould have come this Way out of the South Sea, the mere Shadows of whofe miftaken Relation have come to us, I leave to be confuted by their own Vanity ; thefe Hopes have firred up from. Time to Time the more active Spirits of this our Kingdom to refearch that merely imagined Yaffage. For my part I give no Credit to them at all, and as little to the vicious and abufive Wits of later Portuguefe and Spaniards, who never fpeak of any Difficulties, as SholeWater, Ice, nor Sight of Land, but as if they had beeri brought home in a Dream or Engine; and indeed their Difcourfes are found abfurd; and the Maps by which fome of them have prackifed to deceive the World mere Falfities, making Sea where there is known to be main Land, and Land where there is nothing but Sea.
Moft certain it is, that by the Induftry of our own Nation thofe northern Parts of America have been difcovered to the Latitude of 80 Degrees or upwards; and it hath been fo curioully done, the Labours of feveral Men being joined together, that the main I and may be feen and fearched; and they have brought this fuppofed Paffage to this Pafs, that it mult be to the North of 66 Degrees of Latitude, a cold Climate, peftered with Ice and other Inconveniencies, and where the Spaniards Difpofitions and their weak Ships can hardly endure it: And withal it is known, that the Entrance of Hudfon's Streights is but fifteen Leagues broad, and in the Middle not fo much; and between Saliffury Ifand and the Main it is but eight Leagues. Then proceeding to the Northward toward the forementioned Latitude, it is but fifteen Leagues from Main to Main. This in Length is about a hundred and forty Leagues, as will more plainly appear by the Map, and infinitely peftered with Ice until Auguft, and fome Years not paffable then ; and I believe the Streight is never clear of. Ice entirely. Now it is mof probable there is no Paffage for the following Reafons; Firft, There is a conftant Tide, Flood and Ebb, fetting in to Hudjon's Streigbts, the Flood ftill coming from the Eaftward, which, as it proceeds, correfpondent to the Diftance, it alters his Time of full Sea. This alfo entering into Bays and broker Ground, it becomes difturbed, and overfets with Half-

Tides.

## Chap. I.

 and wintering in Charlton Illand.Tides. Secondly, Here are no fmall Fifhes, as $\operatorname{Cod}, \varepsilon^{2} c$. and very few great ones, which are rarely to be feen, nor are there any Bones of Whales, Sea-Horfes, or other great Fifh to be found on the Shore, nor any DriftWood.

Thirdly, we find the Ice in the Latitude 65 Degrees 30 Minutes, to be lying all over the Sea in Rands, and I am inoft certain that the Sholes, and Shole Bays, are the Mother of it. Had there been any Ocean beyond, it would have been broke all to Pieces, for fo we found, it coming through the Streight into the Sea, to the Eaftward. Fourthly, The Ice feeks its Way to the Eaftward, and fo drives out at Hudfon's Streight; which I - have often obferved upon' the Inland of Refolution, and driving among the Ice in the Streight. Admit there were a Paffage, yet it is known that it is narrow for one hundred and forty Leagues, and infinitely peftered with Ice, as every one has found who has gone that Way; comparing therefore fome Obfervations taken at Bantam, Gilolo, and Firando, in Fapon; and the Diftance between Fapon and the Weftern Part of California; with the Obfervations taken at Cbarlton IJand, referring all to the Meridian of London; and then the Diftance betwixt the Meridians of Cape Cbarles, and the Weftern Part of Cabifornia, will be found to be about five hundred Leagues, in Latitude 66 Degrees, where yet the Meridians incline very much together. 'To this may be added, that near about Cape Cbarles the Variation is 29 Degrees to the Weft, which is a probable Argumient that there is much Land to the Weftward, and that this Streight muft be very long, and that you have no Time to pafs it, but in Auguft and September; when the Nights are fo long, and the Weather fo cold, that it will not be bearable. Add to this, that neither can any great Ships, which are fit for carrying of Merchandize, endure the Ice, and other Inconveniencies, without extraordinary Danger.

Moreover, one thoufand Leagues is fooner failed to the Southward, and about the Cape de Bona Speranza, where the Winds are conftant, and that with Safety, than one hundred in thefe Seas, where you muft daily run the Hazard of lofing Ship and Lives. Add hereunto that Comfort for the Sick, or Refrefhment for your Men, here is none to be had in thefe Quarters. Towards the latter End of Auguft, and in September, the Weather grows tempeftuous, and the Winds incline to be Wefterly, that there will be but fmall Hopes of performing your Voyage this Way. But let us, by way of Imagination, enlarge this Streight in this Latitude, and free it of Ice. Yet what Advantage in fpeedy Performance will be got by this Paflage, if the Winds be withal confidered, to Fapon, Cbina, and the Northern Parts of Afa? It may be the nearer Cut, but in Navigations the fartheft Way about is well known, in fewer Days, to be performed, yea with leffer Pains, and more Safety of Ship and Goods. Again to the Eaft-Indies, and other Parts, where we have the greateft Commerce and Employment of Shipping, the other Way is as near.

What Benefit of Trade might have been obtained in thofe Northern Parts of Afia, I will not prefume to fpealk of? Holding that there is a great Difference betwixt thofe Parts, and the Northern Parts of America, whereas I am fure that there is none in any Place where I have been in all this Voyage.
40. "Before we proceed to the Account our Aulsc thor gives us of his return home, it will be requifite
"to confider the Force of his Arguments againft the
"Probability of finding any fuch Paffage; becaufe if
"s they were as conclufive as he imagined, they muft ab-
"s folutely prove that all future Aitempts of this kind,
ss are weak and rafh in themfelves, and will appear ab-
${ }^{6}$ folutely abfurd and ridiculous in their Confequences.
${ }^{6}$ In this refpect, however, we differ from him. And
${ }^{66}$ though we are very far from pretending, That Cap
${ }^{66}$ tain 7 ames's Temper might be fo far fowered by Dif
sc appointment, as to miftake things difficult for things
${ }^{6}$ impracticable; yet we may have leave to fay, that the s6 want of Succefs in his Voyage, had fome Influence on
${ }_{66}{ }^{66}$ his Judgment; becaufe it is very evident that he ${ }^{66}$ now treated as light and idle Fables, thefe Portu-
"s guefe Relations, which he had formetly confidered as "c carrying a great degree of Evidence; for otherwife "6 one can hardly account for his taking up the Opinion "s of a North-went Paffage, and that fo ftrongly, as to ${ }^{66}$ offer his own Service for the Difcovery of that Paffage.
" Let us next then confider the Reafons by which he re" futes the Portuguefe Relations.
" He fays, Firf, that they proceed from their Vanity; "s next, that they are inconfiftent with Experience; and, " Laftly, that their Maps and Charts are falfe and "groundlefs, and therefore not to be irufted. With re" fpect to the firft, if what the Portuguefe delivered, ${ }^{68}$ had been the pure Effeets of a vain-glorious and boaft* " ing Temper, their Government would not have fup" preffed fuch Relations, but rather have taken Pains to " difcover their Falfhood, which had been no difficult "Tafk, and would have effectually anfwered their Pur${ }^{66}$ pofe; for at this Time there was no Nation in the ${ }^{6}$ World fo much concerned in Point of Intereft, to dif, "s credit- the Belief of a North-weft Paffages as the Por"tugue e. If, therefore, the Pilot before-mentioneds "s. publifhed, as perhaps he did, an Account of his Paf. "s fage through this Streight, out of Vanity ; the Coure "s need only have fhewn that the Fact was falfe, as, if it ${ }^{6}$ had been fo, was in their Power, and it had done their: "s Bufinefs; whereas the calling in, and fuppreffing his " Book, was a kind of Proof, that what he faid was "6 true. As to the Inconfiftency of fuch Accounts, be' caufe they do not mention any Hardihips fuftained in "s the Voyage, or Troubles that they met with from Ice "a and Snow; we hould be able to fpeak of them more "clearly, if we had thofe Accounts, or if we were fure "s that Captain James had himfelf perufed them at large " any more than we.
"c But fuppofing the thirig as he ftates it, perhaps we "s - fhall not find any good Caufe to conclude that they "s talked idly, and as if they came in an Engine, becaufe "s they mentioned no fuch Difficulties. It is very poff-
"s ble, That Voyages between the fame Places may be "s performed at very different times, and under very dif*, "c ferent Circumftances: As for Inftance, the Spaniards "s fail from Acapulco to Manilla, in thirteen Weeks; but "from Manilla to Acapulco, is commonly a Voyage of "6 thirty Weeks; in failing to Cape Breton, in the Sum"s mer Months, able Seamen Iteer one Courfe, but when "s they go later in the Year, they fteer another; and by " this Management they generally avoid any Difficulties ${ }^{6}$ in either Seafon.
"S We do not know at what Seafon of the Year the " Portuguefe Pilot made his Voyage through the North"s weft Strcight, but we know that he failed in a pretty " high Latitude; and as he tells us, had a fair Wind "s through the whole Paffage ; if fo, there is nothing im"s probable in fuppofing that he reached the Streight in of the fame Time, that the Sponiards make the fame "Tranfit. from the Weft to the Eaft Indies, and then ${ }^{6}$ there is nothing ftrange in his reaching Nerofoundland ${ }^{6}$ in fixteen Weeks, which will account for his arriving 's at Lifon a Month fooner than the Fleet that came "chome by the Cape of Good Hope; and if he came. "6 through the North-weft Streight in the Month of $A t$ "s guft, which is alfo very probable, he might not be is much incommoded by the Ice.
"Befides, we know that Captain Candifte made the "Tour of the Globe, in much lefs Time than any, " other Circum-navigator ; and we find fome Voyages, ${ }^{6}$ round Cape Horn, much more eafy and fortunate than "s others; fo that if this Portuguele Pilot was remarkably " lucky, the thing is very poffible, and there is no "Ground at all for denying the Fact, becaufe hitherto " no other Man has met with the fame Succefs. As to " falfe Charts and Maps, we are far from denying the "Fact, but we know another. Reafon has been given for ${ }^{66}$ this, directly oppofite to, an'd yet no lefs probable than, " that afligned by Captain fames, viz. that by thefe falfe " Reprefentations they may conceal this Paflage from " the Knowledge of Strangers, and difcourage them from ${ }^{66}$ looking for it. This laft Reafon may be fupported ${ }^{86}$ by Facts, becaufe it is apparently againft their Intereft
"to have fuch a Paftage difcovered, and becaufe we " have authentic Proofs that the Spaniards have actually "c taken all the Precautions in their Power, to guard "s againt the Englifs coming, by this North-weft Paffage, © ${ }^{6}$ into the South Seas.
"As to what he fays of the Coafts being examined as
${ }^{\text {ct }}$ far as the Latitude of 66 Degrees, and that all the "Coafts of America had been fearched, as far as 80 De-
"s grees, by Englifmen, is only in Part agreeable to Fact;
" fome great Navigators having, indeed, failed fo far, ${ }^{66}$ and reported that they had examined the Coafts, but * it has been fince found that they had not done this, at co leaft, very accurately; and that it was very poffible,
"6 and very probable too, that the Streight lay to the
"S Southward of 66 Degrees; neither is this a Matter yet
"cleared up, for other Sea Officers who have been fent
© upon this Expedition, have fallen into Captain James's
"S Sentiments, and upon their Return have reported the
"Coafts thoroughly fearched, and no Streight to be met ${ }^{6} 6$ with.
"c The thing, indeed, is natural enough ; for when a
${ }^{\text {ec }}$ Man has attempted the Difcovery of this Paffage, and
se failed, why fhould he not endeavour to confole him-
"c felf, by pretending to have difcovered that all former
er Hopes were in vain, and that in reality there is no fuch
©s Paffage to be found? By this he fecures a Reverfion of
" Fame, and exchanges one kind of Reputation for
${ }^{\text {cs }}$ another; if he cannot be tranfmitted to Pofterity as a
"c fortunate Man, he may, at leaft, tranfmit the Me-
" ${ }^{6}$ mory of his Prudence, by which an Error long receiv-
${ }^{66}$ ed was detected. But if we fhould ever refolve to be
" fatisfied, at all Events, of the Truth of the Fact, not-
${ }^{66}$ withftanding Difappointments at Sea, it muft be by
"6 fixing Colonies upon Hudfon's Bay, and offering a
" large Reward to any that fhould have Boldnefs enough
"s to traverfe the Countries behind the great Lakes, and
"s bring us an Account of them, which would effec-
es tuaily clear up all our Doubts and Difficulties; which
${ }^{6}$ till this be done, 'or the Paffage difcovered by Sea,
${ }^{\text {ec }}$ mult remain ftill, and prove, as fatiguing to Pofte-
" rity, as they have been to paft and prefent Ages.
"But let us now proceed to the reft of his Argu-
${ }^{\text {se }}$ ments. As to the Regularity of the Tides in Hudjon's
${ }^{6}$ Bay, fubfequent Difcoveries fhew plainly, that not
${ }^{6}$ only no Argument can be drawn from them againft a
${ }^{6}$ Paffage, but quite the contrary; for Hudfon's Streight,
s6 at the Entrance, is only thirteen to fourteen Leagues
"s wide, from the South-fide to Refolution Ifle; and a
"s fmall Channel, fome Leagues wide, to the Northward
${ }^{66}$ of that Illand, in which is no great Current; it runs ${ }^{e}$ in the Entrance about five or fix Miles an Hour, and

* rifes about eighteen Feet at Spring-Tide. At Cape
"C Cbarles, in the Middle of the Streight, it is about
©s fifteen Leagues wide, and has there loft nigh half its
«F Force. At Cape Diggs, the Weft End of the Streight, " it is about twenty Leagues wide, and is ftill more "c diminithed in its Heighth and Current ; and when it
" enters the Bay at Cary's Swans Neft, it rifes but fix
«s Feet. Now it is very reafonable it fhould be diminifh-
"s ed fo; when it is confidered what Space it has to fill
"s in its Courfe fo far, for there is a great Bay or Inlet ic on the South-weft-fide, within Button's Ifle, and fe"s veral others betwixt Cape Cbarles and Cape Diggs, and ${ }^{6}$ great Inlets on the North-fide; and the Streight be«ing one hundred and forty Leagues in Length before
\&s it reaches the Bay, it requires a great Current even to
${ }^{66}$ fill the Streight; when to thefe is added the Space it ${ }^{66}$ has to fill in the great Bays and Inlets above Mill Ifles,
is by Cape Comfort, and Wefland's Portland, it may be
${ }^{66}$ eafily conceived to be almoft fpent, before it pafles
${ }^{6}$ Manfell's Ithe and Cary's Sroans Neft.
" How then is it poffiblé that a Tide or Current, runsc ning through fo narrow a Paffage, only five or fix *s Miles an Hour, which is not above thirty Miles each " 'Tide, fhould raife a high Tide, not only for one hun${ }^{66}$ dred and forty Leagues, befides all the Bays and In-
os lets on each Side the Streight, and above Mill Ifles, but
${ }^{6}$ alfo fill a great Inland Sea, above eight hundred Miles
sf long, and five hundred broad: and after it is expand-
"e ed in the Bay; and thie Current loft, fhould be able " to raife a Tide on the Weft and Nortlh-weft Side of the
"Bay, from twelve to fixteen Feet, nay fometimes to
" $w$ twenty-two Feet? And if Norton and Scroggs are to
" be believed, even to five Fathom, and Occafion fuch "rapid Cursents, as at Brook Cobbam, Marble Ifland, "Wager River, \& \& . fo as to run there from four to fix "s and feven Miles an Hour, if only filled from Hudjon's "s Streigbt; when at the fame Time the Tide flowing "through Davis's Streights, which are above forty
" Leagues wide up into Baffn's Bry, in Latitude feventy " eight Degrees, does not there exceed. five or fix Feet ${ }^{6}$ any where. Since therefore no other inland Sea has any "s fenfible Tide, and even the Tide in the South End of "Hudfon's Bay, does not rife above four Feet without a " ftrong Wind at North; how can thefe high and rapid 6 Tides beat the North-weft Side, withoit a Communication with fome other Ocean than that which flows through Hudfon's Streight? When it is alfo known
"s that a North and North-weft Wind raifes a higher
"Tide on the Weft-fide of the Bay at neap Tides, than "s an Eafterly or South-weft Wind does at Spring-Tides, "6 which blows from our Ocean; does not that almoft "s amount to a Demoniftration, without further corobora"s ting Proofs? And yet of thefe there want not many, as "s the Reader will fee as we proceed in anfwering his " Reafons.
"His fecond Objection is, that no Fifh, more efpeci"6 ally Whales, are to be met with in thefe Seas, or " Drift-wood; whence he infers they have no Commu"s nication with the Ocean Weftward. This Objection "c is very juft in itfelf, and well founded, neither can it " be denied that it proves very ftrongly, that no fuch "Paffage was to be expected near Cbarlton Illand; but "c when this is admitted and allowed as a negative Ar "s gument, it follows that the contrary, viz. the feeing "Fifh, more efpecially large ones of the Whale kind, is " an Indication of fuch an Opening, Paffage or Streight, " 6 and a Proof that there is a Communication between "s the two Oceans in this Bay. But we know from all " the later Voyages into this Bay, that on the North" weft there are abundance of Whales, though it is true "s there are none in other Parts of the Bay; whence, ac"s cording to Captain James's Method of Reafoning, it is "s plain fuch a Paffage there is; and as from about fixty " Degrees to that Inlet, which Captain Middleton called " lately Wager River, thofe great Fifh abound moft, it " is very rational, on the Principles laid down by both " thefe great Seamen, to conclude that this Paffage is "fomewhere thereabouts. Thus it plainly appears, "s that when duiy weighed, this Objection extends no ${ }^{6}$ farther than to the Seas and Country about Cbarltona "I Iland; and as it affords a Proof there is no Paffage there, "c it alfo affords a Prefumption that fuch a Paffage there is " on the North-welt Side of the Bay; where, for many " other Reafons, it was moft likely to expect it.
"His next Motive for concluding no Paffage, is the * Quantity of Ice, and its driving Eaftward. But, in re"s fpect to this, granting him all he lays down, it proves " nothing. For as to the vaft Quantities of Ice formed s6 in that Part of the Bay, where he navigated, no doubt, " 6 as he obferves, it proceeded from Shole-water, and "s there is as little Doubt that this Ice paffes out at the "Streights ; but this fignifies but little, fince the very "s fame thing happens in regard to Magellan's Streigbts "6 into the South Seas, where no ftronger Signs are to be "s met with than here. I muft, upon this Occafion, ob"Serve, that if Magellan's Streigbts had not been difco"6 vered at once, there might have been as many, and as " ftrong, Reafons given, why no fuch Paffage fhould have " been expected at the Soutb Pole, as our Author, or any " other Man, could alledge againft this Paffage by the " North-weft ; which ought certainly to afford us a Caul' tion againft too hafty Conclufions upon this Subject, let 'them be grounded on any Reafons or Authority whatever. For though human Reafon is fufficient to give ' us a juft Senfe of the Wifdom of the Creator, in difpofing all Parts of the terraqueous Globe, yet we know by Experience, that Reafon is not always capable of
penetrating


## Chap. I.

${ }^{6}$ penetrating the Difpofition of the different Parts of the Globe, independent of Difcoveries which frequent-
"s ly owe as much to Accident as to Reafon: In regard
to Authority, Americus Vefpucius, who had the beft ' Genius for Theory of any Man of his Time, and ", gave his Name to the new difcovered Continent, not becaufe he firft found it, but becaufe he firft laid it down
" handfomely in a Map, and was miftaken in reference to
"the Southern Paffage ; therefore though we may al-
" low Capt. Fames to be as great a Man, in doing which " perhaps we pay him no great Compliment; yet this " will give no great Sanction to his Authority; for he ' may as well be miftaken in the North, as the famous "Florentin in the South: Befides, Difappointment gives " a Bias to moft Mens Opinion, and, Why may we not
"s fuppofe fomething of this in both Cafes? The Paf-
"6 fage from the North Seas into the South, by the Streights
"s before mentioned, and the Coaft to the Northward in
"6 the fame Latitudes, refembling, in all Refpects, that " to the Southward, being low broken Iflands before a " bold rocky Shore, fuggeits very naturally, that there " is fome fuch Paffage there.
"But after laying down thefe Reafons, Capt. James "s very plainly difcovers how much they have operated ${ }^{66}$ upon his own Mind, and to how great a Degree he
" 6 is fatisfied no North-weft Paffage is to be found; he
${ }^{6}$ attacks the very Expediency of finding it, and feems
" to think it an Argument there is no fuch Paffage, be-
"caufe he has wrought himfelf into a Notion that it
"" would be of no great Confequence, if there was fuch
"s a Paffage. Why be it 10 : But there was no fort of "Occafion for making his perilous Voyagुe into Hud" Jon's Bay, to know this ; he might have faid all that he "s has faid againft the Expediency of enquiring any farther
" after the North-weft Paffage, without fturring from "Brifol. It is therefore manifeft, that his failing in " his hoped-for Difcovery changed his Mind, and in" duced him to fee Things in a different Light, than " he did before ; becaufe otherwife, thofe very Argu"6 ments which he urges at laft againft making any future Attempts on this Side were as ftrong, to have diffuad' ed his going. If before he went he never thought of, "s or regarded, thefe Arguments, he did not fufficiently " weigh and examine the Nature of the Expedition in "s which he rifqued his Life, and on which he fet his "s Reputation at Stake. But if he had (which is certain"s ly much more probable) taken Pains to examine all " thefe Reafons; then his very going, his wintering, and "s the Confancy he fhewed in aiming at the Profecution "s of the Difcovery afterwards, vifibly demonftrate thofe
"R Reafons made no Impreffion on him then; if they had,
" he would have ftaid at home, and never have given ' the King, or the Briftol Adventurers, fuch Encourage" ment as was requifite for the fitting him out for that "Voyage ; but this we muft own would be not much si to the Purpofe, if the Reafons he gives us were ab"folutely conclufive ; for whether he bethought him"s felf of them firft or laft, makes nothing for or againft ${ }^{66}$ the Reafons themfelves ; but it fo falls out that when ${ }^{66}$ maturely confidered, they will be found to have very
*s little or no Weight at all. As to the Narrownefs, or
" Inconvenience, of the Streight, if there be one, that is " mere Matter of Conjecture, fo is the Length of it;
sc the Hardhips of the Voyage are now known to be " very inconfiderable; and as to its being no fhorter "Rout to the Eaft-Indies than by the Cape of Good Hope, "' no body ever faid that it was. He acknowledges it is " much nearer to the South Seas, to Terra Borealis Incog"s nita, to Fapon and Cbina, which is all that is defired, ${ }^{6}$ and more than fufficient to recommend it.
${ }^{6 c}$ It is clear enough, from the Whole of Capt. Fames's
${ }^{6}$ : Account that he had a very indifferent Opinion of
ss his Expedition, and confidered it in no other Light than s6 as tending to fatisfy the Englifo Nation, that it was to
${ }^{66}$ no fort of Purpofe to venture any more Veffels into
os thofe Seas, and upon thofe Coafts, upon that or "6 any other Defign; for it is plain that he thought a more barren, a more inhofpitable, and more worthlefs, Part of the World was not to be found ; yet ExVoL. II. Numb. 98.
' perience has fince fhewn us, that as wild and wafte as ' the Countries about Inudfon's Bay were and are, yet they ' have been found to deferve both Notice and Keeping : ' and I dare fay, have produced this Nation full as much? if not more, than the Colony of Canada, frictly and di' ftinctly confidered, ever did to the Freneb; which is a ' Proof that no Mian's Authority ought to be regarded ' where it tends to difcourage a Nation from extend' ing its Navigations or Difcoveries. It is not intended ' by this, to leffen the Reputation of Capt. Fames, or ' that Efteem which his Work has very juftly procured " him from the very beft Judges. There is no doubt, 's that he did what he could, and much more than moft ' other Men could have done; and there is as little " Reafon to doubt, that he fpoke what he thought, and what he fpoke was upon good Grounds; but notwith' ftanding this, we fee he was miftaken, and miftaken in many Refpects. He doubtlefs conceived, that a more perilous Navigation could not be, and that it would be ' a very difficult Thing to fend Ships into this Bay con' ftantly without lofing them ; yet this is a Thing now ' fo common, that there is nothing of Wonder in it: " he apprehended that there muft be always an infinite Difficulty in failing amongft Mifts and Ice, but we fee from Capt. Middleton's Letters, that there is now very little in this, and that the Seamen and Officers ufed to the Hudfon's Bay Trade, have fo far overcome all
${ }^{6}$ Inconveniencies, that taking it with every Circumftance, ' there is, perhaps, no Navigation now ufed, fo fafe as this; and from the Account he has given us of his 6 Wintering, we may very fairly infer, that he never fo ' much as furpected that an Englifh Factory would be ' fettled in a higher Latitude than Cbarlion Iland, and ' yet the Factory of Fort Cburcbill has fubfifted for many Years. There is one Paffage in his Voyage which Shews his very great Sagacity; for by pulling up fome 'Stakes in a defart Inand, and perceiving they were cut by a tharp Inftrument, he judged that the Savages " muft have had fome Communication with Chriftians, "s in which he judged very right; but it was near half a ${ }^{66}$ Century after, before this Riddle could be explained,
"s or any body could guefs, that thefe Savages had thofe
" Hatchets from the French.
But to return to the North-weft Paffage. The Ex"t perience we have of thefe Countries has convinced us " of many things, that to Captain fames, without doubt, ' after his Return from this Expedition, would have ap. peared abfurd and incredible. As for Inftance, that "the Continent Weft and North-weft from Cbarltors " Ifland, is inhabited by feveral Nations, and that the " moft Northern of thefe Nations are the beft clad and "the moft civilized. Amongft thefe there is a Nation, " diftinguifhed by the Name of the Mofemleek Indians, "6 who are not only a very rational People themfelves, " but who conftantly affirm, and there is no Reafon to "fufpect that they affirm a Falfoood, there are large "Towns, and a civilized Pcople, to the North-weft of " them, who trade upon a large falt Lake, in Veffels " twenty times as big as their Canoes; and what Nations "6 may live beyond thefe, is, indeed, to us uncertain; ' but this is very certain, that if there be a North-weft " Paffage they muft inhabit the Confts of it ; and there ' never yet was a Country found inhabited, but it was
" found alfo that thofe Inhabitants might be traded with
"s to Advantage. But this is not all, the oppofite Coaft ' muft, very probably, be inhabited too, and it is very " likely that the Streight that falls into the South Seas, "s may be under a Climate, milder, in many refpects, " than Cberlton Ifland in the Summer. Upon the whole, " therefore, all the Difficulties and Difcouragements, "s which, from too ftrong a Senfe of his own Difappoint" ${ }^{6}$ ment, Captain fames has conjured up, fink to nothing, " when duly confidered and compared with the Circum"s ftances that later Difcoveries have brought to light; fo "s that there feems to be no Reafon his Conjectures thould ${ }^{6 s}$ have any Weight to deter us from profecuting Attempts "s on this Side, even though they fhould fill continue to "s prove, in feveral Inftances, as they have hitherto done ${ }_{3}$ 6 abortive.

5 S
${ }^{6} 6$ Thefe
"Thefe Reflections may, to fome Readers, appear "long, but I hope to very few they will appear ufelefs "c or unentertaining; for I will freely confers, that if I " had not intended thefe Reflecions, I would not have " inferted this Voyage, though in all refpects the beft of " its kind that ever was written. 'But the Excellency of "Ranufio"s Collection, is allowed to confift in his Re" marks; and without Remarks, this Voyage, as well "wwitten as it is, might do a great deal of Mifchief. "Nay, I am perfuaded did do a great deal of Mifchief; ${ }^{6}$ ' for from the Time of his Return in 1632 , to 1667 , there
"" ncver was any Voyage made into thefe Parts, nor pro-
" bably ever would have been made, but for the Saga-
"s city of Mr. Montague, our Embaffador in Fronce, af-
"terwards Duke of Montague, and Father to the prefent
: Duke, both eminent Friends to the Commerce of this
${ }^{6}$ Nation. He it was that furnifhed us with the firft Lights
' that revived our Correfpondence to IFudfon's Bay, to
" which Captain Guillam was fent in 1668 , and we have
" been poffeffed of the Trade thither ever fince. A Trade "G granted to private Perfons, by a Charter in Truft for "؛ the public Benefit, which was to arife from their En-
"c deavours to find a North-weft Paffage; which public
"Advantage they have neglected in the very fame Pro" portion they have been ftudious after their own; a "thing fo very common with Companies, that they " might certainly be acquitted, if Cuftom could be "eftcemed a juft Excufe. Yet from their fettiing a " Trade in thefe Parts, it has been found extremely ad" vantageous, as drawing to their Factories Indians from "very diitant Countries, who bring them very rich Furs, "but who deslared alfo that a much larger Trade ' might be carried on, provided their Factories were " more in Number, and fixed more conveniently; nay, "t they have brought down and fold, at fome of the Set"tlemenrs, Copper Oar, fo very rich, that by barely " beating it between two Stones, it has been reduced into
"Metal. But neither what they faw, nor what they " heard, could tempt them to alter their Manner of " proceeding; they judged, and no Queftion judged "right, that as they were circumftanced, the Method "s they are in was the moft beneficial that could be, sc and that by extending their Commerce they muft oper
s it, and fo render it lefs beneficial.
"All this was natural enough, and I do not repeat " it here (for I know that I have touched it often before) " out of any Spinit of Malice or Ill-will; for I really ' wifh the Hudlon's Bay as well as I do any Company;
" but only as it makes for my Purpofe; which is to fhew "that notwithftanding Capt. F̛ames was a very honeft
" Man, a very experienced Seaman, and one who very
" probably had no private Views; yet, in his Conclufions " from this his perilous Expedition, he was abfolutely
" wrong, and by his Authority gave Credit to many "Falfhoods, of which thefe Inftances may fuffice
" 1 . He thought the Hardfhips in navigating thefe Seas,
"، and wintering on thefe Coafts, were invincible; but
"" we know the contrary. 2. He judged the Country
" fo barren as to furnifh no Subfiftance, and the Inhabit-
" ants fo poor as to have nothing worth feeking; in
" both which Experience fhews he was miftaken.
" 3. Fie firmly believed, that if any Streight was dif-
" covered more to the North than about the Place he
" wintered, it would be impaffable, and its Coafts unin-
" habited; but we are fatisfied this is groundlefs, from
"the many Openings difoovered along the Welcome; "and their being all in the Neighbourhood of very " friendly and tractable Indion Nations. 4. He was " clearly fatisfied, that from what he had feen and " difcovered in his Voyage, there no longer remained
ss any Hopes of finding fuch a North-weft Paffage through
"Hudfon's Bay: But here too his Art failed him; for even
"Capt. Middleton, who I think his Equal as a Mariner,
${ }^{4}$ thought it highly probable, till very lately. 5. He
" does not appear, from what he has written, to have
" had any diftinct Notion of what Part of the World he
"s was in, or how the Countries lay round about him ;
"6 but to the prefent Navigators all this is very clear and
"certain; we know that from Canada to New Mexico,
"and probably even to Coliformia, is all one Continent,
"the Weft-fide of which only remains undifcovered; " and we further know, that all that has been hitherto "found, agrees exactly with, and is every way conform"s able to, the Notions that have been entertained of " fuch a North-weft Paffige, and even with all the tra" ditional, and othier kind of Accounts, that we have "received of it. But having now made this Piece as "ufeful as we can, without curtailing or interpolating " it; let us return to Captain Fames's Conclufion, and having attended him through his long and dan"gerous Voyage, his cold and comfortlefs wintering, his "difficult and wonderful Paffage homewards, let us fee " him fafe afhore, and fo take our leaves."
41. The 22d of OEzober we arrived in the Road of Brifol, having been hindered and croffed with much contrary and tempeftuous Winds and Weather. The Ship being brought into Harbour, and haled on dry Ground, to look to her, it was there found, that all her cut Water were torn and beaten away, together with fourteen Feet of her Keel; much of her Sheathing cut away, her Bows broken and bruifed, and much Timber cracked aboard, and under the Starboard bulged; fharp Rocks had cut through the Sheathing, the Plank, and an Inch and an Half into a Timber that it met withal. Many other Defects there were befides; fo that it was miraculous how this Veffel could bring us home again. Being all arrived we went to Church, and gave God Thanks for his Prefervation of us amidft fo many Dangers. I very well know that what I have here hafily written, will never difcourage any noble Spirit, that is minded to bring this fo long-tried Action to abfolute Effect; and it is likely withal, that there be fome who have a better Underftanding, and a furer Way of profecuting it than myfelf have, to whofe Defigns I wifh a happy Succefs.

And if they do but make a Review of what hath been done, and give more celeftial Obfervations, hydrographical Defcriptions, or exacter Practice in Navigation, it will be a moft commendable Labour; for although' I have fpent fome Years of my ripeft Age, in procuring Intelligence from foreign Nations, and have travelled with diverfe honourable and learned Perfonages of this Kingdom, for their Inftructions; have bought up whatever I could find in Print or Manufcript, and what Maps or Papers foever conducive to this Bufinefs, that poffibly I could procure; and have ferved voluntary befides, and fpent fome time in rendering a Relation fince my coming home, and expended withal, of my own Money, in my aforefaid Endeavours, and in furnihing extraordinary Neceffaries, above 200 l . in ready Money; yet I repent not, but take a great deal of Comfort and Joy, that I am able to give an Account, in fome reafonable Way, of thofe Parts of the World, which heretofore I was not fo well fatisfied in.
Thus ends this Voyage, which, as I have hinted before, has been feveral times abridged, and more than once reprinted at large, but never, that $I$ know of, compleat, and as it fands in the original Edition of 1633 ; which is the Reafon this Book has been fo much valued. I have feen many Copies that concluded with Profeffor Gellibrand's Obfervations aftronomical ; but I never met with more than one Copy that had the Addrefs to the Univerfity of Cambridge; which, though printed in a different Character, and in fuch a Manner as if it were a Piece by itiflf, yet is thus mentioned in the Title Page of this Book : An-Advice concerving the Pbilofophy of the fe late Difcoveries, by W. W. though the Difcourfe itfelf is fubfribed X. Z. Who was the Author of it I cannot fay; but whoever he was,' it is plain that he had the Correction of Captain fames's Work, and was himfelf, for thofe times, a Perfon of furprizing Knowledge and Freedom of Thought; and therefore I judged the preferving this little Piece, by reprinting it, would be highly agreeable to all true Lovers of Learning; and therefore it is here fubjoined.
To the venerable Artists, and younger Students in Divinity, in the famous Univerfity of Cambridge.

[^0]"demians, whofe Excellency, in all kind of Learning, "s all foreign Univerfities do admire, and none attain unto. I here prefent you a Voyage to Cbolcos, though not the Golden Flece with it. The Search I mean, but " not the finding, of that fo much talked of, fo often fought for, Noitb-weft Paffege, and nearer Way into the Soutb Sea. That wherein fo much Time and Irea-
" fure hath been expended, fo many brave Spirits em" ployed, and yet none difcovered. Perchance there is no fuch Paffage to be found; and that the Spaniards, by the Gullery of their falfe Sea Cards, and the Fable " of an old Greek Pilot, have but diverted our Englif " and Dutch Seamen from the Golden Indies. This Plot " of theirs has taken for thefe many Years, and it " appears to be but a Plot; 'for that themfelves never made ufe of this Paffage. For mine own Part, I fup". pore that the Pbilofopher's Stone is in the Nortb-rwef "Paflage. My Argument for it is, that there is fo " much Pbilofopoly in the Way to it.
"So much and fuch Variety, and that fo vari" ous (I think) from what is received in the Schools, " that it were well worth the Difquifition of an Uni"verfity (and I wifh you the firt Honour of it) " either to find out how thefe Obfervations may be reduced to Arifootle's Pbilofopby, or whether they need any other Enquiry, and ought to be examined by " fome other Ruiles than Arjfotle hath, yet lit upon. " This is my Purpofe of infcribing it unto you. Of " this one thing am I confident, That you are all fo "rational and ingenuous, as to prefer Trutb before Au"thority; Amicus Plato, amicus Arijfoteles, but magis "amica veritas. Your Sciences then being liberal, your "Studies I know have fo far paffed into your Manners, " that your Minds are fo too; and that fuch as have " already profited beyond the Credulity required in a " young Learner, and are themfelves prompted to be " Mafters of the Arts', though they ftill reverence their " oid Greek Iutor, yet they will not fuffer that of Pytba" goras's Scbool, fo to domineer in Arijfotle's, as to let an " ipfe dixit go away with it; much lefs allow it the Au" thority of a Mayor's Hammer, with one Knock to fi" lence all Arguments.
" Upon this Confidence, I, with all due Refpects, " here prefer two Propofitions unto your difcuffing. "The firft this, Whetber there Rules of Ariftotle's Pbilo"Sopby be to be allorved So univerfal, tbat they bold all the "World over. The fecond this, Whetber they ought to "be so magiterial as to prefrribe againfl all otber Exa' minations. The firf of thefe I fhall but problemati"c cally propound unto you; but in the fecond, I hope " a Mian of my cloathing may be allowed the Free" dom of being fomething more earneft.
"" But that I may not come with Prejudice to the " making of theie Niotions, or be thought upon fome " Ignorance or Ambition to fpeak againft the incomparable "Arifootle, I fhall defire all my fellow Academians to al" low me fo much Difcretion, as to know, That he that " fhall in your Hearings, oppofe your Arifotle, does "" like the Ship here fpoken of, run againft a Rock, en" danger his own Bulge, and the ftaving of his Veffel. " NO , I fo far honour the old Ariftotle, that I will allow " "him to be Nafter and Moderator of the Schools; anid " that there is the fame Reipect due to him in the Schools, which, by Rerfon of long Cuflom, is due to one of the King's Sbips in the narrow Seas. That in Acknoweledg"ment of Sovereignty, every other Nome ougbt to frike "Sail to binn. Arifotle (it muit be confeffed) hath made all Learning beholding to him. No Man hath learned ' to confute him, but by him, and unle's he hath plowed with his Heifer. He had the moft incomparable "Wit, and was the moft logical and demonftrative " Deliverer of himvelf, of all the Sons of Nature. One " who beft of all deferved to be called her principal Se"cretary: One who not only adorns a Library, but " makes it Qui babet Arijotetem, babet Bibliotbecam, is " truer of him than of the great Comparer. This is my "Opinion of him, and I wifh him more ftudied.
'Tis not therefore the Name, or the Authority, of $\because$ the great Arifootle, that my Propofitions meddle with-
" al ; but whether his Propofitions, gathered out of this "Part of the World alone, could, like a royal Pafs, " or a Commiffion, carry a Man all the World over.
" It muft be confefled, that in refpeef to the Equi" nocial, and the Latitude that Arifoole lived in, he was "but a Nortbern Mon, and it was his own Rule, that " nibil agit extra Spharam aetivitatis fuce, fo then is "would be put to Voices to confider, whether he " that knew but thofe Northern Parts, and the Medi"terranean Sea, could poffibly make fuch Collections " by what was there to be learned, as fhould be infalli" ble in the SoutbernHemifpbere, and the two Indies. Plain-
" ly, thofe that are converfant in the Navigations and "Books of Voyages into thofe Parts, have found fo many "Contrarieties to obferve, that it was rather tedious than " difficult to fill up a Note-Book with them.
"The Ancients we know (as if they had meafured the "World by the Yard-Wand) reftrained the Limits of "Temperature and Habitation by the five Zones, withour "Confideration of any interloping or concurring Caufes, " which Experience hath now found out to have quite alter" ed their Cblervations. Iadd, that a good Leifure and Di" ligence might obferve how, in a contrary Part of the "World, there be found clean contrary Coufes and Effects unto there in this Part of the World. The Soutb Wind " there brings Ciold, and Winter; and the Nortb is the rainy Wind. How will the Thunder and Wind be made ' to agree with Arifotle's. Difinction of a Mcteor? In " fome Places of the Mountains Andes, by Peru, it "thunders ever. The Eaft Indies have their Monfons, "" and their Steady Winds, conftant for fix Months toge"ther, and Who fhall affign their Caufes? Then the " Doeirines of the Tides, nothing fo uncertain which ebb " and fow in fome Places different, and in others con" trary to the Moon and her Motions. This (as I re" member) is Arifotle's Diftinction of a Moteor; that it " is an imperif fect mixed Body generated out of cin infrom and inconfant Concretion of Elements, which therefore can" not be durable. Now the Monfons are both conftant in " their Continuance this Year ; and in their Return next " Year, moft conftantly keeping their Seafons half Year " one Way and half another Way, for all A.ges nothing " more conftant and durable, and therefore nothing like Arifotle's Meteor. And fo for the T'bunder upon the "Andes; it is firf perpetual; and fecondly, not caufed " by a dry Exbalation (as Arijotle wills); but hanging " over fuch Hills as are covered with Snow, and a per" petual Winter; witnefs the Thunder on the Alps alfo; " yea, and that in the Middle of the Sea, five hundred "Leagues from Shore, or any thing that is dry; 'nay, it frequently both frowes and thunders upon the "Andes at the fame Inftant; and in dry Places, that are " hard by, fcarce ever tbundering.
"But not to pafs the Line forit: You fee in this little Book " how Charlton Ifland, which is no more northerly than " your Combridge, yet is fo unfufferably cold that it is not " habitable, and that there encounter fo many different (at
" leaft fo feeming) Occurrences of Nature, as were well "worthy the Difquifition of a Pbilofopher. I could (in " my fmall Reading) inftance in many other Particulars, "which I had rather fhould be found out by fome in"duftrious Searchers after Nature in the modern Relations " of our Difcoverers, than in this my fhort Propofition. "، 'Tis not to be doubted but that the careful reading of " our Books of Voyages would more illuftrate the Fiftory " of Nature, and more conduce to the Improvement of "P Pbilofop, hy than any Thing that hath been lately thought " upon. Thefe Navigations have in part fulfilled that of "" of the Propbet: Many 乃all pafs to and fro, and Knowe" ledge Joll be increafed. This I fuppofe might be ob"ferved from this Study, That the great and infinite "Creator hath fo difpofed and varied every thing, that " it is impofible for Man's Reafon and Obfervation to conclude him; and therefore though the vulgar and receiced Pbilofopby may give a Man a general Efint all the World over; yet no univerfal and unfailing Certainty.
"This brings me to my fecond Propofition': That feeing "God will not have his Works (no more than his King-
as dom) to come by Obfervation, Whether then ought "c any Human Diefates to be fo magifterial as to prefcribe "t againft all oiber Imagination?
"No Human Study more conduces to the fetting ${ }^{66}$ forth of God's Glory, than the Contemplation of his ${ }^{66}$ great Works in Pbilofophy; for though a fmattering " Knowledge in fecond Caufes works the Mind towards
" Atheifm, yet a higher Speculation of them brings it "s about again to Religion. No Man I believe will think
"s it fit for us to have a Pope in Philofophy, one that " no body fhall prefume to cenfure; but all be bound ${ }^{* 6}$ to advance his Decretals above the holy Scripture.
${ }^{6}$ This is the Scandal that myfelf and divers good Men
${ }^{\text {ss }}$ take at the undue Authority in fome Heats pinned
*s upon the Stagerite.
"' I am forry that the Ifraelites Dotage upon Solomon's
${ }^{\text {"s }}$ Philofophy, fhould have caufed the zealous Hezekiab
"to call in and fupprefs thofe invaluable Phyfics, for
${ }^{66}$ fear, I fuppofe, left their Credit fhould have as much
"s derogated from the Authority of the holy Scriptures, as
"s the brazen Serpent (which he deftroyed about the fame
"6 time) had done from Religion; none will believe that
"Solomon's Pbilofopby was contrary to the Scriptures,
"feeing the Scriptures commend Solomon for them. It was
"s not Hezekiab's Fear therefore (or not only) left there
${ }^{56}$ might have been a Competition between them, but a
${ }^{36}$ Neglect of one of them: He was zealous, left the
"Scripture might have any Writing fet upon by it,
${ }^{6} 6$ though not againft it.
"Can Divines then be blamed for fpeaking, when
"s they hear Arifotle's Pbilofophy to be folely magnified,
${ }^{6} 6$ and the Study of the Scripture Pbilofophy difrefpected;
${ }^{66}$ or, that when 'tis confeffed that fuch a Thing is true
${ }^{6}$ in Divinity, and yet the moderating the Point deter-
"s mine for Pbilofopby? Nay, to hear it called abfurd and
"s ridiculous to have Scripture urged at all in Point of
"Pbilofophy? No doubt there is but whatfoever is
"s falfe in Divinity is alfo falfe in Nature, how much
"Shew of "Truth foever it paffes within Pbilofophy: Pbi-
" lofopby hath taken its Turn in the Scbools, and the
"6 holy Texts, by the Schoolmen, have even been fubmitted
${ }^{*}$ " unto Arifotle's; yea, to the great Corruption of The-
os ology, as the Complaint is, hath this Man been fo far
"s advanced, that Contra eft Pbilofopbus, EO contra eft
" Apoftolus, have familiarly paffed up and down for
© equal Oppofitions; fo that it hath been a meafuring Caft
"s oftentimes, betwixt the Propbet and the Peripatetic;
"s and by foul Play hath the Meafure been made to ftand
"s the harder at the Peripatetic, for that the Prophet hath
" been forced to comply with him by a wrefted Inter-
© pretation. Thus had St. Paul need give his Caveat
${ }^{6} 6$ unto Theology as well as unto Theologues; Beware left
"c any Man fpoil you tbrough Pbilofopby.
" All this were to no Purpofe, unlefs the Text of
" God were excellent in this Kind, and embellifhed here
ac and there with moft admirable Pbilofopby; what in-
"s comparable rare Footfteps of it have we in the Books
"s of Genefis, $\mathcal{F}$ ob, and the P Salms? How noble a Study
\$t then were it, and how worthy the Leifure of fome
${ }^{6}$ excellently learned Men to beftow fome Time upon it?
ss Valefus the Pbyfician hath, in his Sacra Pbilofoplia,
© done fomething in this Kind, who yet might have
${ }^{6}$ done better here and there for the Honour of the
${ }^{6}$ Scriptures. I am not fo fottifh, to believe that every
"Particular is to be drawn out of the Scriptures; 'tis
© none of my Dotage that; or that God, in Scripture, did
or intend every where the Accuratenels of Pbilofophy, or
se ftand to be focurious in Definitions and Difcuffions;
' nor that nothing fhould be determined on till a Text c confirmed it. But this perchance might profitably be ' thought upon; that where the Scriptures have any s: thing of this Kind, it fhould more reverently be ' efteemed; Collections out of fcattered Places (as is done " out of Ariftotle's) made ; thefe compared, and their " Refultances obferved. This furely would amount to "6 more than is yet thought of; and in God's Name let "Scholars be fo bold with Ariftotle as to examinehim upon "s goodAffurance by what is Truth's Touchjfone: Received "Pbilofophy is a moft neceffary Handmaid to the Scrip-
"tures; but let her not be fet above her Lady; nor no " Competition be made betwixt them.
"Something elfe remains to be thought of. That
" feeing the fame God who gave Arifotle thefe good
" Parts, hath, in like Manner, raifed up many excellent
"Spirits more; whether it were not injurious to what is "d done, and a Difcouragement to what might be done, "s to have the Inventions, or Obfervations, of thofe ex"cellent Wits, and great Induftries, fo abafhed with ": Arifotle's Authority, that they can have no Credit in ${ }^{6}$ the World; for that his Dictates have pre-occupated 's all good Opinion? Let it not then be thought unequal 's to examine the firft Cogitations of the old Pbilofopby, by " the Second Thoughts of our more modern Artits; for "s that the fame Improvement may by this means accrue " unto the Pbyfics, that hath advanced our Geograpby, "' our Mathematics, and our Mechanics; and let it nos "s be thought fo infolent to refufe Arifotle's Authority " fingly, where his Reafon is not fo concluding. Seeing "s other Men have taken the Boldnefs to do that before "s in feveral Kinds; fome have perfected, and others " controlled his Etbics, by the Scriptures, as Scultetus "Wallous, and fome others. Fufin Martyr, firnamed " the Pbilofopber, hath purpofely written contra Dog" meta Arifotelis. Baffon and Gaffendus (two brave Men)
"" have newly written point-blank againft him, nor have
" they taken away all Liberty from thofe that are to fol${ }^{6} \cdot$ low them.
" And thus, with renewing my former Proteftation " for mine own Refpect to Arifotle, I conclude my " two Propofitions; which I defire may receive a fa"s vourable Conftruction from all ingenuous, incapri" cious Scbolars; I mean them out of Good-will to "s promote Learning; to encourage and countenance " future Undertakings; and, in fuch a Cafe, a little too "s much faying may be thought not to have exceeded an "s boneft Rbetorication ; for I would not be thought too " earneft in it. The Hint, for all this, I took from this " Book, which in mine own, and fome better, Judg. "6 ments, is (to fay no more) as well done, and inrich" ed with as fure and ufeful Obfervations, as any in this "' kind. I was defired by the able Author, and fome "s other Friends, to overlook the written Copy of it, and "s to amend the Englifh here and there, in which I did "s not defpair of doing fomething: For that in my "s younger Time, I had a little acquainted myfelf with " 6 the Language of the Sea, that which put me in the "Head to infcribe it unto your Names (moft excellent " learned Academians) was, for that the Place of this, " wintering was within a Minute or two of the Height of "6 our Cambridge: Which my Prayer to God is, that your "Studies may make famous.
" Yours,
"X. Z ${ }_{n}{ }^{n}$

## S ECTION IV.

The late Attempts made for the Discovery of a Passage to the South Seas, fromit Hudfon's Bay ; more particularly that of Captain Christopher Middieton, Commander of his Majefty's Sloop the Furnace.

## Interfperfed with original Papers.

1. The Reafons why there bave not bitberto been any great Difcoveries made from Hudfon's Bay, notwitho Fanding our Seitlements in, and Trade :tbereto. 2. Capiain Chriftopher Middleton's accurate and curious Account of the Erange Effects of Cold; the Nature of Animals, and manner of living on the Coafts of Hudion's Bay. 3. Mr. Middleton enters into a Correfponderice rwith Arthur Dobbs, Efq; for the Difcovery of a North-weft Pafjage. 4. Reafons afigned by bim, to Joero the Probability of finding fuch a Paffage, rebich actually produced this Voyage. 5. An Account of the Undertaking, and of the Impediments throwen in the Way, to binder Captain Middleton's going, or meeting with Succefs, in Caje of attempting this Difcovery. 6. Captain Middleton's Gournal of bis V.oyage for Difcovery, from bis Departure to bis Return. 7. The Point of FaCl as to the Streight, by bim called Wager River, more clearly fated, with Copies of original and amended Declarations. 8. An Account of Mr. Dobbs's Exceptions taken to the Relation given by Captain Middleton of bis Difcoveries, and Opinion grounded on them, that there is no Streigbt, or that it is not practicable. 9. Mr. Dobbs's Reafons weby the River Wager ought ratber to be confidered as a Streight; Captain Middleton's Anfwer, and Replies, to them. 10. Captain Middleton's pofitive Proofs that this Opening is a frefb Water River, and not a Streight, communicating with any Ocean or Sea, except Hudfon's Bay; weith Refutations of thofe Proofs. II. An Account of a late. AEt of Parliament, for encouraging the Difcovery of a North-weft Paffage.

"N the two foregoing Sections, we have given the Reader as full and as fair an Account as it was in our Power, of the Motives which induced the moft knowing and able Perfons, in the laft Century, to fuppofe that a Paffage might be found, through Hudfon's Bay, into the South Seas; and how this Notion, after prevailing long, and being generally entertained, grew into Difcredit, by the Mifcarriage of Captain $\mathcal{F}$ ames, and by the Account he gave of the Nature and Caufes of his Difappointment. We have alfo touched upon the Foundation of the Hudfon's Bay Company; but having confidered that Point more largely in another Place, we thought there was no Neceffity for dwelling upon it here. In this Section we propofe to fpeak of the late Expeditions made that Way, and particularly of Captain Cbrifopher Middleton's, which has afforded Occafion to the Legiflature to pais a Law for encouraging Attempts for this Difcovery, which fooner or later there is great Reafon to hope will be attended with Succefs.

One would have imagined, that after the Company was eftablifhed, for carrying on the Trade to Hudfon's Bay, with a View to the finding a North-weft Paffage, continual Attempts would have been made for that purpofe, agreeable to the Petition upon which that Charter was granted, and to the Preamble of the Charter itfelf, which has been fo often mentioned; but fo far has this been from the Practice of the Company, that they have taken all Methods poffible to prevent the Notion of a Paffage being found that Way from reviving in the World, by preventing their Captains from publihing their Journals; and as by their Charter they have an exclufive Trade, if they do nothing in this Matter, it is impofirible any body elfe fhould. There was, indeed, one Captain Barlow employed for this Purpofe about twenty Years ago, but he was never heard of more; and whether he made the Paffage, and never returned, or whether he was loft as the Company's Servants report, in the Latitude of 63 Degrees, is what we can give no Account of, at leaft with any Degree of Certainty. The Reader will hereafter find fome Account of another Attempt, made by Mr. Fobn Scroggs, which, though not attended with Succefs, was far from giving any Difcouragement to future Endeavours of the fame kind. But what gave Occafion to the laft Attempts, was the Informations receivs ed from Captain Middleton before-mentioned.

This Gentleman had been for many Years in the Service of the Hudfon's Bay Company, which gave him an Opportunity of making all the Enquiries neceffary, and acquiring all the Lights poffible, to direct him in an Affair of this Nature; and of his Capacity and Knowledge Voi. II. Numb. XCIX.
in this refpect, the Reader will find an ample Teftimony in the following Extract of a Relation delivered by him, to the worthy Sir Hans Sloane, then Prefident of the Royal 'Society ; from whom he received the Prize Medal which, by the Will of the late Sir Godfrey Copley, is annually beftowed by the faid Society. A Relation equally curious in itfelf, and extremely fuited to our Purpofe; as it very fully fhews how much better we are now qualified for making Difcoveries in thofe frozen Climates; than in the Days of Captain Fames; and how far the Difficulties, which that Gentleman looked upon as infupportable, are in the prefent Age overcome. But this Paper has fo much Merit, that it really needs no farther Introduction.
2. It is obferved that the Hares, Rabbets, Foxes, Partridges, in September, and the beginning of OEFober, changed their native Colours to a Snowy-white, and that for fix Months in the fevereft Part of the Winter. I never faw any but what were white, except fome Foxes of a different Sort, which were grizled, and fome half red half white.

That Lakes and ftanding Waters, which are not above ten or twelve Feet deep, are frozen to the Ground in Winter, and the Fifh therein all perifh.

Yet in Rivers near the Sea, and Lakes of a greater Depth than ten or twelve Feet, Fifh are caught all the Winter, by cutting Holes through the Ice down to the Water, and therein putting Lines and Hooks. But if they are to be taken with Nets, they cut feveral Holes in a ftrait Line, the Length of the Net, and pafs the Net with a Stick faftened to the Head-line from Hole to Hole, till it reaches the utmoft Extent; and what Fifh come to thefe Holes for Air, are thereby entangled in the Net; and thefe Fifh, as foon as brought into the open Air, are inftantly frozen as ftiff as a Stock-fifh. The Seamen likewife frefhen their falt Provifions, by cutting a large Hole through the Ice in the Stream, or Tide of the River; which they do at the Beginning of the Winter, and keep it open all that Seafon. In this Hole they put their Salt-meat, and the Minute it is immerfed under Water, it becomes pliable and foft, though before its Immerfion it was hard frozen.

Beef, Pork, Mutton, and Venifon, that are killed at the Beginning of the Winter, are preferved by the Froft for fix or feven Months, entirely free from Purrefaction, and prove tolerable good eating; fo likewife Geefe, Partridges, and other Fowl, that are killed at the fame time, and kept with their Feathers on, and Guts in, requirc no other Prefervation but the Froft, to make them good wholefome eating, as long as the Winter continues. All kind of Fifh are preferved in the like Manner.

In large Lakes and Rivers the Ice is fometimes broken by imprifoned Vapours, and the Rocks, Trees, Joifts, and Rafters of our Buildings, are burt, with a Noife not lefs terrible than the firing off a great many Guns together. The Rocks which are fplit by the Froft; are heaved up in great Heaps, leaving large Cavities behind, which I take to be caufed by imprifoned watery Vapours that require more room when frozen, than they occupy in their fuid State. Neither do I think it unaccountable, that the Froft hould be able to tear up Rocks and Trees, and fplit the Beams of our Houfes, when I confider the great Force and Elafticity thereof. If Beer or Water is left in Mugs, Cans, Bottles, nay, in Copper Pots, though they were put by our Bed-fides in a fevere Night, they were furely fplit to Pieces before Morning, not being able to withftand the expanfive Force of the inclofed Ice.

The Air is filled with innumerable Particles of Ice, very marp and angular, and plainly perceptible to the naked Eye. I have feveral times tried this Winter, to make Obfervations of fome celeftial Bodies, particularly the Emerfions of the Satellites of Fupiter, with reflecting andrefracting Telefcopes; but the Metals and Glaffes, by that Time I could fix them to the Object, were covered a quarter of an Inch thick with Ice, and thereby the Object rendered indiftinct ; fo that it is not without great Difficulties that any Obfervations can be taken.

Bottles of Strong-Beer, Brandy, ftrong Brine, Spirits of Wine, fet out in the open Air for three or four Hours, freeze to folid Ice. I have tried to get the Sun's Refraction here, to every Degree above the Horizon, with Elton's Quadrant, but to no Purpofe, for the Spirits freeze almoft as foon as brought into open Air.

The Froft is never out of the Ground, how deep we cannot be certain. We have dug down ten or twelve Feet, and found the Earth hard frozen in the two Summer Months; and what Moifture we find five or fix Feet down, is white like Ice. The Waters, or Rivers, near the Sea, where the Current of the Tides flow ftrong, do not freeze above nine or ten Feet deep.
All the Water we ufe for Cooking, Brewing, $E^{\circ} c$. is melted Snow and Ice. No Spring is yet found free from freezing, though dug never fo deep down. All Waters on Land are frozen faft by the Beginning of Oitober, and continue fo till the Middle of May.

The Walls of the Houfe we live in are of Stone, two Feet thick; the Windows very fmall, with thick wooden Shutters, which are clofe fhut eighteen Hours every Day in Winter.

There are Cellars under the Houfe, wherein we put our Wines, Brandy, Strong-Beer, Butter, Cheefe, $\varepsilon^{\circ} c$. Four large Fires are made in great Stoves, built on purpofe; every Day, as foon as the Wood is burnt down to a Coal, the Tops of the Chimnies are clofe ftopt with an Iron Cover. This keeps the Heat within the Houre (though at the fame Time the Smoak makes our Heads ach, and is very offenfive and unwholfome.) Notwithftanding which, in four or five Hours after the Fire is out, the infide of the Walls of our Houfe and Bed-Places will be two or three Inches thick with Ice, which is every Morning cut away with a Hatchet. Three or four times a Day we make Iron-Shot, of twenty-four Pounds weight, red hot, and hang them up in the Windows of our Apartments. I have a good Fire in my Room the major Part of the twenty-four Hours; yet all this will not preferve my Beer, Wine, Ink, E $\sigma^{\prime} c$. from freezing.

For our Winter-Drefs we make ufe of three Pair of Socks, of coarfe Blanketting, or Duffel for the Feet, with a Pair of Deer-Skin Shoes over them; two Pair of thick Englifs Stockings, and a Pair of Cloth Stockings upon them; Breeches lined with Flannel; two or three Englifh Jackets, and a Furr Coat, or rather Gown, over them; a large Beaver Cap, double, to come over the Face and Shoulders, and a Cloth of Blanketting under the Chin; with Yarn Gloves, and a large Pair of Beaver Mittens, hanging down from the Shoulder before, to put our Hands in, which reach up as high as our Elbows. Yet notwithftanding this warm Cloathing, almoft every Day, fome of the Men that ftir abroad, if any Wind blows from the Northward, are dreadfully frozen. Some have their

Arms, Hands, and Face, bliftered and frozen in a terrible Manner, the Skin coming off foon after they enter the warm Houfe, and fome have loft their Toes. Now their lying indoors for the Cure of thefe frozen Parts, brings on the Scurvy in a very lamentable Manner: Many have died of it, and few are free from that Diftemper. I have procured them all the Help I could, from the Diet this Country affords in Winter; fuch as frefh Fifh, Partridges, Broths, E $\sigma^{\circ}$ and the Doctors have ufed their utmoft Skill in vain; for I find nothing will prevent that Diftemper from being mortal, but Exercife and ftirring abroad.

Coronce and Parbelia, commonly called Halos and Mock-Suns, appear frequently about the Sun and Moon here. They are feen once or twice a Week about the Sun, and once or twice a Month about the Moon, for four or five Months in the Winter ; feveral Coronse of different Diameters appearing at the fame Time.

I have feen five or fix Parallel Corone concentric with the Sun, feveral times in the Winter, being for the moft Part very bright, and always attended with Parbelia or Mock-Suns. The Parbelia are always accompanied with Coronce, if the Weather is clear, and continue for feveral Days together, from the Sun's rifing to his fetting. Thefe Rings are of various Colours, and about 40 or 50 Degrees in Diameter.

The frequent Appearance of thefe Pbenomena, in this frozen Clime; feems to confirm Defcartes's Hypothefis, who fuppofes them to proceed from Ice fufpended in the Air.

The Aurora Borcalis is much oftner feen here than in England; feldom a Night paffes in the Winter free from its Appearance; they fline with a furprizing Brightnefs, extinguifhing all the Stars and Planets, and covering the whole Hemifphere. Their tremulous Motion from all Parts; their Beauty and Luftre are much the fame as in the Northern Parts of Scotland, Denmark, \&cc.

The dreadful long Winters here, may almoft be compared to the Polar Parts, where the Abrence of the Sun continues for fix Months; the Air being perpetually chilled and frozen by the Northerly Winds in Winter, and the cold Fogs and Mifts obftructing the Sun's Beams in the fhort Summer we have here; for notwithftanding the Snow and Ice is then diffolved in the Lowlanids and Plains, yet the Mountains are perpetually covered with Snow, and incredible large Bodies of Ice, continue in the adjacent Seas. If the Wind blows from the Southern Parts, the Air is tolerably warm, but infufferable cold when it comes from the Northward; and it feldom blows any otherwife, than between the North-eaft and the North-weft, except in the two Summer Months, when we have for the major part light Gales, between the Eaft and the North, and Calms. The Northerly Winds being fo extremely cold, is owing to the Neighbourhood of high Mountains, whofe Tops are perpetually covered with Snow, which exceedingly chills the Air paffing over them. The Fogs and Mifts that are brought here from the Polar Parts in Winter, appear vifible to the naked Eye, in Ificles innumerable, as fmall as fine Hairs or Threads, and pointed as fharp as Needles. Thefe Ificles lodge in our Cloaths, and if our Faces or Hands are uncovered, they prefently raife Blifters as white as a Linnen Cloth, and as hard as Horn: Yet if we immediately turn our Backs to the Weather, and can bear our Hand out of the Mitten, and with it rub the bliftered Part for a fmall Time, we fometimes bring the Skin to its former State, if not, we make the beft of our Way to a Fire, and get warm Water, wherewith we bathe it, and thereby diffipate the Humours raifed by the frozen Air, otherwife the Skin would be off in a fhort Time, with much hot ferous watery Matter, coming from under it along with the Skin; and this happens to fome almoft every time they go abroad, for five or fix Months in the Winter; fo extreme cold is the Air when the Wind blows any thing ftrong.

Now I have obferved, that when it has been extreme hard Froft, by the Thermometer, and little or no Wind that Day, the Cold has not near fo fenfibly affected us, as when the Thermometer has fhewed much lefs freezing, having a brink Gale of Northerly Wind at the fame Timer This Difference, perhaps, may be occafioned by
thofe fharpopointed Ificles before-mentioned, ftriking four Months; in the Winter; at Canada, about five more forcibly on a windy Day than in calm Weather, thereby penetrating the naked Skin, or Parts but thinly covered, and caufe an acute Senfation of Pain or Cold. And the fame Reafon, I think, will hold good in other Places; for fhould the Wind blow Northerly any thing hard for many Days together, in Englond, the Ificles that would be brought from the Polar Parts, by the Continuance of fuch a Wind, though imperceptible to the naked Eye, would more fenfibly affect the naked Skin, or Parts but lightly covered, than when the Thermometer has fhewn a greater degree of freezing, and there has been little or no Wind at the fame Time.

It is not a little furprizing to many, that fuch extreme Cold fhould be felt in thefe Parts of America, more than in Places of the fame Latitude, on the Coaft: of Norway; but the Difference I take to be occafioned by the Winds blowing conftantly here, for feven Months in the twelve, between the North-eaft and North-weft, and paffing over a large Tract of Land, and exceeding high Mountains, $\mathcal{E}^{3} c$. as before-mentioned. Whereas at Drontheim in Nor way, as I obferved fome Years ago in wintering there, the Wind all the Winter comes from the North and North-north-weft, and croffes a great Part of the Ocean, clear of thofe large Bodies of Ice we find here perpetually. At this Place we have conftantly, every Year, nine Months Froft and Snow, and unfufferable Cold, from October to the Beginning of May. In the long Winter, as Air becomes lefs ponderous towards the polar Parts, and nearer to an Equilibrium, as it happens about one Day in a Week, we then have Calms and light Airs all round about the Compats continuing fometimes four and twenty Hours, and then back to its own Place again, in the fame Manner as it happens every Night in the Weft Indies, near fome of the Iflands.

The Snow that falls here is as white and fmall as Duft, but never any Hail except at the Beginning and End of Winter: Almoft every Full and Change of the Moon, very hard Gales from the North.

The conftant Trade-Winds in thefe northern Parts, I think undoubtedly proceed from the fame Principle which our learned Dr. Haley conceives to be the Caufe of the Trade-Winds near the Equator ; and their Variation. " Wind, fays he, is moft properly defined to be the "s Stream or Current of the Air, and where fuch Current " is perpetual and fixed in its Courfe, it is neceffary that "s it proceed from a permanent and unintermitting Caufe, " capable of producing a like conftant Effect, and agree"s able to the known Properties of Air and Water, and "the Laws of Motion of fluid Bodies. Such an one is, "I conceive, the Action of the Sun's Beams upon Air © and Water, as he paffes every Day over the Oceans, ${ }^{66}$ confidered together with the Nature of the Soil, and *S Situation of the adjoining Continents: I fay therefore, ${ }^{66}$ firft, that according to the Law of Statics; the Air ${ }^{66}$ which is lefs rarefied and lefs ponderous, mutt have a © Motion towards thofe Parts thereof which are more " rarefied, and lefs ponderous, to bring it to an Equili" brium," E'c.

Now that the cold denfe Air, by reafon of its greater Gravity, continually paffes from the folar Parts to the Equator, where Air is more rarefied, to preferve an Equilibrium, or Balance of the Atmofphere, I think is very evident from the Wind in thofe frozen Regions blowing from the North and North-weft, from the Beginning of Obzober until May; for we find that when the Sun, at the beginning of fune, has warmed thofe Countries to the Northward, then the South-eaft, Eaft, and variable Winds continue till October again; and I do not doubt but the Trade-Winds and hard Gales may be found in the Southern polar Parts, to blow towards the Equator when the Sun is in the Northern Signs, from the fame Principle.

The Limit of thefe Winds from the polar Parts towards the Equator, is feldom known to reach beyond the 30 th Degree of Latitude; and the nearer they approach to that Limit the fhorter is the Continuance of thefe Winds. In Nero England it blows from the North near

Months ; at the Dawes Settlements in Streight Davis, in the 63 d Degree of Latitude, near feven Months; on the Coaft of Norreay, in 64 Degrees, not above five Months and a Half, by reafon of blowing over a great Part of the Ocean, as was before mentioned; for thefe northerly Winds continue a longer, or fhorter Space of Time, according to the Air's being more or lefs rarefied, which may very probably be altered feveral Degrees, by the Nature of the Soil, and the Situation of the adjoining Continents
The vaft Bodies of Ice we meet with in our Paffage from England to Hudfon's Bay, are very furprifing; not only as to the Number, but Magnitude. It is in truth unaccountable how they are formed of fo great a Bulk, fome of them being immerfed a hundred Fathoms or more under the Surface of the Ocean, a fifth or fixth Part above, and three or four Miles in Circumference : Some hundreds of thefe we fometimes meet in our Voyage here, all in Sight at once if the Weather is clear; fome of them are frequently feen on the Coafts and Banks of Nerefoundland and Nere England, though much diminifhed.

When I have been becalmed in Hudfon's Streights, for three or four Tides together, I have taken my Boat and lain clofe to the Sides of one of them, founded, and found a hundred Fathoms Water all round it. The Tide floweth here above four Fathoms, and I have obferved upon a Body of Ice, the Tide to rife and fall that Difference; which was a Certainty of its being a-ground: Likewife, in a Harbour in the Inand of Refolution, where I continued four Days, three of thefe Inands of Ice (as we call them) came a-ground; I founded along by the Sides of one of them quite round it, and found thirty-two Fathoms Water, and the Height above the Surface but ten Yards, another was twenty-eight Fathoms under, and the perpendicular Height but nine Yards above the Water.

I can in no other manner account for the Aggregation of fuch large Bodies of Ice; but that along the Coafts of Streight Davis, both Sides of Baffin's Bay, Hudfon's Streights, Anticofic or Labradore, the Land is very high and bold, and a hundred Fathom and more clofe to the Shore. Thefe Shores have many Inlets or Firths, the Cavities of which are full of Ice and Snow by the almoft perpetual Winter there, and frozen to the Ground, in creafing for four, five, or feven Years, till a kind of Deluge, or Land-flood, which commonly happens in that Space of Time throughout thofe Parts, breaks them loofe and launches them into the Streights or Ocean, where they are driven about by the variable Winds and Currents, in the Months of Fune, $\mathcal{F} u l y$, and Auguf, rather increafing than diminifhing in Bulk, being furrounded (except in four or five Points of the Compafs) with fmaller Ice fos many hundred Leagues; and Land covered all the Year with Snow, the Weather being extreme cold for the moft Part in thofe Summer Months. The fmaller Ice that almoft fills the Streights and Bays, and covers many Leagues out into the Ocean along the Coaft, is from four to ten Fathoms thick; and chills the Air to that Degree that there is a conftant Increafe to the large Ines, by the Sea's wafhing againft them, and the perpetual wet Fogs like fmall Rain, freezing as they fettle upon the Ice; and their being fo deeply immerfed under Water, and fuck a fimall Part above, prevents the Wind's having mucla Power to move them; for though it blows from the North-weft Quarter near nine Months in twelve, and confequently thofe Ines are driven towards a warmer Climate, yet the progreffive Motion is fo flow, that it muft take up many Years before they can get five or fix hundred Leagues to the Southward: I am of Opinion, fome hundred Years are required; for they cannot, I think, diffolve, before they come between the 50 th and 40 th De grees of Latitude; where the Heat of the Sun confuming the Upper-parts, they lighten, and wafte in Time; yet there is a perpetual Supply from the Northern Parts, which will fo continue as long as it pleafes the Author of all Beings to keep Things in their prefent State.

Obfervations of the Longitude, Latitude, and the Declination of the Magnetic-Needle at Prince of Wales's Fort, Churchill River.

Having obferved the apparent Time Hou. Min. Sec. of an Emerfion of Fupiter's firft Satellite at Fort Cburcbill, on $\}$

II: 55
Saturday the zoth of March laft,
1741-2, at
I find the fame Emerfion happened at Iondon, by Mr. Pound's Tables
compared with fome Emerfions 18 : 15 : I actually obferved in England, near
the fame Time, at
Whence the horary Difference of Meridians, between Fort Cburchill $\}$ $06^{\circ}:$ and London, comes out
Which converted into Degrees of
the Equator, gives for the Diftance $\} 94: 50: 00$ of the fame Meridians

Wherefore, fince the Time at London was later in Denomination than that at Cburcbill, it follows that, according to this Obfervation, Churchill is 94 Degrees $50 \mathrm{Mi}-$ nutes in Longitude Weft of London.
I took feveral other Obfervations, which agreed one with another to lefs than a Minute; but this I looked upon as the moft difinet and beft.

The Obfervation was made with a good fifteen Foot refracting Telefcope and a two Foot Reflector of Gregory's Kind, having a good Watch of Mr. Grabam's that I could depend upon; for I have frequent Opportunities of difcovering how much its Variation amounted to, and contantly found its daily Deviation or Error to be fifteen Seconds too flow; by which Means it was as ufeful to me, for all Purpofes, as if it had gone moft conftantly true, without any Change. This Watch I kept in my Fob in the Day, and in Bed in the Night, to preferve it from the Severity of the Weather; for I obferved that all other Watches were fpoiled by the extreme Cold.

I have found, from repeated Obfervations, a Method of obtaining the true Time of the Day at Sea, by taking eight or ten Altitudes of the Sun or Stars, when near the prime Verticle, by Mr. Smitb's or Mr. Hadley's Quadrant, which I have practifed thefe three or four Years paft, and never found, from the Calculations, that they differed one from another above ten or fifteen Seconds of Time. This Certainty of true Time at Sea, is of greater Ufe, in the Practice of Navigation, than may appear at firf Sight; for you not only thereby get the Variation of the Compafs, without the Help of Altitudes, but likewife the Variation of the Needle from the true Meridian every cime the Sun or Star is feen to tranfit the fame. Alfo, having the true Time of Day or Night, you may be fure of the Meridian Altitude of the Sun or Star, if you get a Sight fifteen or twentyMinutes before or after it paffes the Meridian ; and the Latitude may be obtained to lefs than five Minutes; with feveral other Ufes in aftronomical Obfervations, as the Refraction of the Atmofphere; and fo allow for it by getting the Sun's apparent Rifing and Seting, which any-body is capable of doing; and from thence you will have the Refraction.

If we had fuch a Telefcope contrived as Mr. Smith recommends to be ufed on Shipboard at Sea, now we can have an exact Knowledge of the true Time of the Day or Night, from the above Inftruments, and a good Watch, we fhould probably be able to obferve the Eclipfes of the firft Satellite of fupiter, or any other Phrnomenon of the like Kind, and thereby find the Diftance of Meridians or Longitude at Sea.

The Variation of the Magnetic-Needle, or Sea Compafs, obferved by me at Cburcbill in 1725 (as in No 393 of the Pbilofopbical Tranfaciions, for the Months of March and April, 1746) was at that Time North 21 Degrees wefterly; and this Winter I have carefully obferved it, and find it no more than Iy Degrees; fo that it has differed about one Degree in four Years; for in 1738 I obferved it here, and found its Declination 58 Degrees wefterly. I have carefully obferved, and
made proper Allowance for the Sun's Declination and Refraction, and find the Latitude here to be 58 Degrees 36 Minutes North ; but in moft Parts of the World where the Latitudes are fixed by Seamen, they are; for ehe moft Part, faifely laid down, for want of háving regard to the Variation of the Sun's Declination, which computed at a diftant Meridian, when the Sun is near the Equator, may make a great Error in the Sun's rifing and fetting, Azimutbs, \&c."
s 3. We cannot, after the Perufal of this ingenious Difcourfe, full of fo much curious Matter, and containing fuch pregnant Proofs of the Author's perfect Acquaintance with his Subject, doubt, that fuch a Perfon fhould be received with all the Marks of Efteem and Confidence poffible; by one who had formed a Defign of reviving this fo long neglected Difcovery, by an Attempt through Hudfon's Bay. The Gentleman who had then, and fill has, this Matter at Heart, was Artbur Dobbs Efq; a Man born to revive the old heroic Spirit, of turning all our Endeavours to the Service of the Public. This had led him to obferve, that the fureft and moft effectual Means of improying our naval Force, and extending our Navigation (things that have hitherto gone, and, indeed, muft always go together) was to open fome new Branches of Commerce, to which, as we fhould thereby have a better Title, fo by getting the Start of other Nations, we might be able to manage to greater Advantage.
He faw, likewife, that with whatever Expence this might be attended to the Public, it would not only repay the fame abundantly, but would alfo be, at the Bottom, much lefs chargeable than in Appearance; for there is in this refpect, fuch a Difference between public and private Expence, as deferves to be thoroughly examined; becaufe the comprehending of it is a thing of much greater Confequence, than can, at firf Sight, be eafily conceived. For if private Men embark in any Undertaking which demands the Difburfement of large Sums of Money, they can do it only with a View of Profit to themfelves; and confequently if they are either miftaken in their Defign, or mifcarry in the Execution of it, they are real Sufferers in proportion to the Lofs with which fuch an Attempt is attended; but the Cafe is very far from being the fame, when Undertakings of the like Kind are managed by the Public; for then the Money difburfed falls into the Hands of Individuals, and confequently though the Attempt may be difappointed, yet the real Lofs is little or nothing ; becaufe thofe who furnifh the public Expences receive the Money that is thus fpent, and it is no more than a different kind of Circulation, which, in the End, comes to very near the fame thing, as if the original Undertaking had coft little or nothing.

On the other Hand, the Views of private Perfons tend to their particular Advantage; ', and though this turns to the general Good of the Society, yet this is in a very fmall Proportion in Comparifon of what may be expected, and, indeed, muit neceffarily follow from Undertakings of fuch a public Nature, when attended with Succefs. An Inftance will make this plain. The Hudjon's Bay Company has now fubfifted near fourfcore Years, within which fpace of Time the Proprietors have been very large Gainers, but the Advantage to the Public has been very far from being great. They have expörted our Manufactures, but in very fmall Quantities; their Profit, upon fuch Exportations, has been very confiderable; but the Gain to the Public would have been much greater, if thofe Exportations had been larger, though the Balance, in favour of the Company, would then have been lefs. They employ but a few Ships, and a fmall Number of Seamen; their Factories are few and thin, all which may anfwer their Purpofes very well; but 'tis plain they do not anfwer the national Purpofe of enlarging our Navigation, and encreafing our Seamen.

Yet this is not all; we ought to confider the wide Difference between the Advantages accruing to the Public from the Trade of the Company, and the Advantages that would have accrued if a North-weft Pafiage had been fearched for and found; for if ever this hould be brought about, it is very clear, that for a great Part of this Time the Nation has loft all that might have been
acquired

## Chap. I. for difoovering a North-west Passage.

acquired thereby. It may be anfwered that this is founded upon a Suppofition only, to which I anfwer, that it is founded upon the fame Suppofition with their Charter; and therefore it was their Duty to look for it, which they have not donie. But let us now fee what Hopes Captain Middleton gave Mr. Dobbs of the finding fuch a Paffage and thefe we fhall give in this Gentleman's own Words, which are as follow.
4. "In his Letter to me of OEFober the 18 th, 1739 , ${ }^{66}$ he fays I was this Year at Cburcbill Factory, where Mr.
${ }^{\text {" }}$ Norion is Governor; he was along with Scroggs in the
"Year 1722 , and remembers very well, that when they " came to an Anchor in the Welcome, near the Latitude " of 65 Degrees, they had twelve Fathom at high ${ }^{6}$ Water, and but feven Fathom at low Water; and he
" feems confident, from a View that he took from a Pro-
${ }^{* 6}$ montary afhore, that there muft be a clear Paffage.
${ }^{6}$ "The Land is very high, and falls off to the Southward
${ }^{36}$ of the Weit. This Year fome of the Natives, who
" came down to treat at Churchill, and had never been
"6 before at any of our Englifh Settlements, informed
" him that they frequently traded with Europeans, on
"s the Weft Side of America, near the Latitude of Cburcb-
"ill, by their Account, which feems to confirm the
${ }^{66}$ two Seas muft meet. I remain, $E^{2} c$. Cbrifopher Mid-
st dieton.
"In another of his Letters of the 2 Ift of Fanuary,
" 1737 , he fays, That the Company think it their In-
" tereft, rather to prevent than forward new Difcove-
" ries in that Part of the World ; and for that Reafon
" they won't fuffer any of our Journals to be made pub-
" lic. All the Intimation I am able to give is, that the
*Tides rife more with a North and a North-weft Wind,
" at neap Tides, than ever the Spring-Tides do at
"Cburcbill or Albany, with a Southerly or Eafterly Wind;
" and as there is little or no Tide between Mansfield
" and Cary's Sxaans Neft, nor any in the North, or North-
" north-weft of Mill Ifles; in that Bay, it muft come
"from the Welcome, which cannot be far from fome
"Weftern Ocean. Alfo in Mr. Fobw Scroggs's Journal of
" 1722 , he mentions, that in Latitude $6_{4}$ Degrees 50
" Minutes, the Tide ebbed five Fathoms, but gives no
*Account which way, or from whence, the Tide came,
" and they all agree that a great many Whales are feen
" in the Welcome. Whereas I don't remember to have
" feen any in other Parts of Hudfon's Bay, and I have
" been in all Parts of it except the Welcome; all which
st are favourable Circumftances. I fhall be glad, at all
" times, to contribute what I can to your Information,
${ }^{46}$ and beg you will believe me to be, Sir, EGc. Cbrifopber
" Middleton.
"In another of his Letters of November the 5th, " 1737 , he mentions the Company's having fent out two "Sloops (at my Sollicitation) upon the Difcovery; they
" profecuted their Voyage no farther than Latitude 62
" Degrees 15 Minutes North, and returned without
" making any new or ufeful Difcovery; fo far as I can
" learn, they found a great many Inands, abundance of
" black Whales, but no very great Tides, the higheft
"s about two Fathoms, the Flood coming from the
As Northward.
" In his Extract from Siroggs's Journal, of the Wel-
"come, he alfo fays, that he had two Northern Indians
" aboard, who had been entertained in the Factory all
"t the foregoing Winter, upon the Account of his Dif-
"c covery; they gave us Information of a rich Copper

* Mine that lay near the Surface of the Earth, and faid
os they could direct the Sloop or Ship to lay her Side to
"it, where fhe might land very foon. We had feveral
"Pieces of Copper brought to Cburchill, and made it
"s evident there is a Mine fomewhere in that Country.
"Thefe Indians fketched out the Lands with Charcoal,
"s upon a Skin of Parchment, before they left the Fac-
${ }^{\text {sc }}$. tory, and as far as they went they found it agree very ${ }^{56}$ well.
"He afterwards fays, when they returned, which was ${ }^{66}$ in a Month's Time, or thereabouts, I examined the
${ }^{66}$ Officers and Men; feveral had been my Scholars, in
©s the Winter, to learn Navigation. They told me they Vol. II. Numb. 99.
${ }^{6}$ law nothing at thofe times they were afhore to hinder "s their going farther; for when they were eight or ten "Miles from Wbale-bone Point, which bore Eaft-north" eaft from them; they faw an open Sea, and the Land "s Atretched away to the Southward of the Weft. This "6 they faid to Scroggs's Face, as foon as they were got " aboard our Ship at Cburcbill; though while they were "s under his Command they diffembled it, and faid what " he pleafed to have them. From this; and all other Ac"counts, it appears there muft be a Paffage for the "Tides, from the Weftern Ocean."

We need not at all wonder, that upon having fuch Lights as thefe, Mr. Dobbs refolved to proceed, and to make ufe of all his Intereft at the Admiralty Board, to procure fuch Affiftance, and fuch Encouragement; to Captain Middleton, as fhould appear requifite for carrying this Defign into Execution. It is very evident that there was nothing precipitate, rafh, or hafty, in this whole Proceeding ; bur Mr. Dobbs acted with all the Caution and Difcretion, that in a Matter of fo great Importance to the Public, and of fo great Confequence to his own Character, it became him to do. He had advanced as far in this Enquiry, as it was poflible for a Man to do, without going to Hudfon's Bay in Perfon; and his Acquaintance with Captain Middleton feemed fufficient to fupply thar Defect; for he was allowed to be an excellent Seaman, and therefore a very proper Judge of the Probability, or Improbability, of fuch a Paffage; he had confidered that Point of his own Accord, and as we have โeen before, had collected Reafons fufficient to determine him to believe it probable. He had been, not once, but twenty times, at Hudfon's Bay. and confequently appeared one of the fitteft Men living, to be intrufted with the Direction of this Difcovery. Mr. Dobbs, therefore, acted with Wifdom and Prudence, as well as Honour and Gratitude, in recommending him to the Admiralty, as the rioft proper Perfon to be employed in an Expedition for the difcovering a North-weft Paffage. All thefe Facts I have related as they appear to me, and with the Impartiality becoming an Hiftorian. I have no perfonal Knowledge of either of thefe Gentlemen, and I never fought it, that I might not fall tinder any Prejudices, or Prepoffeffions. I report all things as fairly as I can, and if there be any Errors or Miftakes, they muft proceed, not from any Fault in my Will, but in my Underftanding. And with this $I$ thought it neceffary to acquaint the Reader, as well as that I am not at all a Party in this Difpute; and that my only Motive to meddle therewith, is for his Service.
5. It was natural for Mr. Dobbs to expect this Expedition fhould meet with fome Checks and Difcouragements; from thofe who were moft capable of promoting it, I mean the Hudfon's Bay Company; but it is certain that he did not expect near fo much Trouble in this Affair, as he met with. Speaking of it after the Return of Captain Middleton, he throws all the Paffages relating to this Matter together; and having firft obferved that this was an Undertaking the Company was by their Charter bound to promote, goes on in the following Nianner :
" This, fays he, they have not only neglected to do, "but have concealed the Knowledge or Prefumptions " they had of it as much as poffible; and have not "6 only chicaned when applied to, but have actually, by " Letter from their Governor, refufed to look for it, "when applied to tipon that Account; and have alfo
"difcouraged the Attempts of others; not only by con-
"cealing the Navigation into thofe Seas, by obliging
"s their Captains, under a Penalty, not to make or pub-
"c lifh any Charts or Journals of thofe Seas and Coafts, "6 orVoyages thither, but alfo by putting all the Difficulties
"s they durft, upon the King's. Ships lately fent upon the "Difcovery; having claimed, and taken from Captain "Middleton, an Indian Boy, whom he had brought to "England, and having learned the Englifs Tongue, " would have proved a good Interpreter; and made his " Clerk a Governor of one of their Factories, to induce " him to leave him, and alfo fent away their Ships a " Month earlier than ufual, to lie in the Orkneys, left he " fhould have gotten any of the Sailors, who had been is accuitomed to, and acquainted with, the Navigation;
${ }^{66}$ but
" but even went farther, to tempt the Captain to quit "s the King's Service,' and not to attempt the Difcovery; " and offered him 5000 l. either to return into their Ser-
"s vice, or look for it in Davis's Streight, or Baffin's Bay,
"A and hot to look for it in Hudfon's Bay, or at the TWe elcome.
"Alledging it would coft the Company fo much to Tup-
". port their Right againt the Crown ; and as the had
"been their Friend, and knew all their Concerns, it
" would be better to give him that Sum; than to give it
"to the Lawyers.
"When they found him Proof againt their Bribery,
" they then thought to diftrefs him another Way, by
"s writing to their Governor at Cburcbill, which was the
" moft convenient Harbour for the King's Ships to
" winter in, anid was neareft to the Paffage, not to re-
"ceive him into their Port. And afterwards, when the
". Company was applied to by the Lords of the Admi-
" ralty, to allow him to winter there, if it was neceffary
"for him, and to give him what Affiftance they could,
" in fupplying his Wants, which they would thankfully
"repay the Company in London; after deliberating
" fome Time upon an Anfwer, they wrote to the Lords
" of the Admiralty, that they had fent fuch a Letter as
" their Lordfhips defired, to their Governor at Cburcbill,
" and difpatched it by Poft to their Ships at the Orkneys.
"This being no way fatisfactory to Captain Middletorn,
"who had been informed of their Letter to the Governor
" not to admit him, he applied for a Duphcate, to car-
" ry it with him, in cafe the other fhould mifcarry, there
" being no fettled Poft to the Orkneys; upon which
" they gave him a Duplicate fealed up, and, upon Ap-
"plication, a Copy of it, to know what it (contained,
" which was in thefe Words:
Hudjon's Bay Houle, London, May 15, I74.
Mr. Fames I/bam, and Council, at Prince of Wales's Fort, Clourcbill River.

## Gentiemen,

" Notwithftanding our Orders to yoit, if Captain ${ }^{6}$ Middleton (who is fent abroad in the Government's Ser"s vice, to difcover a Paffage North-weft) Mould, by in"s evitable Neceffity, be brought into real Diftrefs, and "Danger of his Life, and Lols of his Ship; in fuch Cafe "y you are then to give him the beft Affitance and Relief "you can. We remain,
"s Tour loving Frieit?s,
"Biove Lake, Governor, "Willian Ederton,
" F. Winter,
"Atwoell Lake,
"Fobir Antbony Merle,
"Fobn Meriry.
" Upon fo extraorainary a Difcovery of the Incli${ }^{56}$ nations of the Company, to baffe the Attempt of find"s ing out the Paffage, and to difcourage Captain Middle" 6 ton from profecuting the Difcovery; the Lords of the "Admiralty thought it neceffary to apply to the Lords "s of the Regency, that the Secretary of State might, by s6 their Orders, write to the Company, to require that "s Affiftance which they refufed to the Admiralty, which "6 was fent, and upon that the Company gave a Letter to "s the Captain, in a more humane and friendly Stile; but ${ }^{6}$ in Confequence of their Offer, it is plain that he ftifled os and difguifed the Difcovery of the Paffage. By this it "s is evident that the Company believe there is a Paffage, os which they want to conceal; for otherwife it had been "s their Interelt to have had the Attempt made, and if not ${ }^{66}$ found, there would have been an'End put to the pro"s fecuting it any farther; and they might probably have
${ }^{66}$ enjoyed their Trade to the Bay, without its being cos6 veted or enquired into. ${ }^{33}$

When all Difficulties were overcome, and things fo difpofed that nothing was wanting to Captain Middleton'ṣ purfuing his Voyage, but his Initructions from the Ad-
miralty, with refpect to the Meafures he was to purfue in his intended Difcovery; thefe were very foon procured, and appear to have been drawn up with great Circumfpection, and the moft perfect Knowledge of the Subject to which they relate, as the Reader cannot but allow, after the ferious Perufal of them.

Thefe Inftructions ran thus: "Whereas we have, in "Obedience to his Majefty's Commands, ordered the "Furnace Sloop, whereof you are Commander, to be "s fitted out, in a proper Manner, to proceed on a Voy "s age towards Hudfon's Streight, in order to attempt a "Difcovery of a Paffage, that Way, into the Weftern "American Ocean; and have appointed the Difcovery "s Pink, William Moor, Mafter (who is hereby required, "s and directed to follow, your Orders) to attend you on ${ }^{6}$ the Service: You are hereby required and directed, fo "foon as the faid Sloop and Pink are ready for the Sea, "s to fall down to the Nore; and when they have been "s paid what is due to their Companies, to proceed to
s Leith, and deliver the inclofed Packet to Captain Hol-
"born, Commander of his Majetty's Ship the Dolpbin; "containing Orders for the faid Captain to proceed, in
" Company with you, as far as the Inands of Orkney, for
" your better Security againft the Privateers of the Ene my, faid to be cruizing thereabout.

You are accordingly to proceed with the faid Ship "Dolpbin, as far as the aforefaid Inands, and then to st make the beft of your Way with the Sloop and Pink, ' under your Command, towards Hudfon's sitreight; and; "s after palling the fame, to proceed to Cary's Szians Nefe, "s and then fteer North-wefterly, fo as to fall in with the
"North-weft Land, at Sir Thomas Roe's Welcome, or ne "ultro, near the Latitude of 65 Degrees North.
"You are there to make the beft Obfervations you sc can, of the Height, Direction, and Courfe of the "s Tides, bearing of the Lands, Depth and Soundings of " the Sea and Sholes, with the Variations of the Needle. "6 When you come up with Wbalebone Point, in $6_{5}$ "D Degrees, you are to try the beft Paffage in doubling "s that Land, whether to Weftward or Eattward, in cafe "s it be an Ifland; and on which Side foever you meet "s the Tide and Flood, to direct your Courfe, fo as to ss meet the Tide, whether North-wefterly or Souths wefterly.
"If after, in doubling that Cape, you find either a
"Streight or an open Sea, you are to keep on your "Courfe, till meeting the Tide of Flood; and if it be
" fo wide as to lofe Sight of Land, then keep to the
"Larboard or American Shore, fteering South-weiterly,
" fo as to take the Bearings of the Lands and Sound-
" ings, and obferve whether there are any Inlets, Bays, "s or Rivers, to fhelter the Ships in, in cale bad Wea" ther, or contrary Winds, oblige you to take Harbour; "s and there make the beft Plans you can of fuch Har"s bours, and the Charts of the Coaft.
"You muft make no fay any where, whilft Wind "، and Weather permits (except for making Obferva" cions for your Safety in your return) until you get to "s the Southward of 60 Degrees North; and then, if you "continue to find an open Sea, make more careful Ob"fervations of the American Coaft or Iflands, and of "s the Head-lands, Bays, and Rivers, until you make "s the Latitude of 50 Degrees, or any more Southerly "Latitude, in cafe you find it convenient to winter on "s the Weftern Side of America. But if you hould find "s it more convenient to come into the Bay to winter, or "s can make your Paffage home in Time, after making " a Difcovery of the Paffage to the Weftern American "Ocean (which is more eligible) in order to profecute " the Difcovery to Advantage next Seafon; then you ${ }^{6}$ need proceed no. farther Southerly than 50 or 60 De" grees Latitude, and make all proper Obfervations of 's the Tides, Bays, Head-lands, Sholes, and Rocks, on " both Sides, if the Paffage be narrow, on which ever "s Side the Wind and Weather permits you; with the
"Variation, or any other curious Obfervations you can ' make.
"I If you find any Inhabitants upon the Coaft, or any "populous Nation to the Southward, you are to endea-
${ }^{6}$ vour, by all proper Means, to cultivate a Friendfhip "s and Alliance with them ; prefenting them with fuch
"t Trifles as they value, and fhewing them all poffible
"Civility and Refpect; but to take Caution, if
" they be numerous, not to let yourfelf be furprifed;
"c but to be conftantly on your Guard againft any "Accidents.
" If you find it proper to winter on the other Side of " the Paffage, get to a warm Clinnate, not more ". northerly than 42 Degrees, in fome fafe Harbour that "" may be of Ufe in a future Settlement, and rather "s make an Ifland, if there be a good Harbour, which
"s would be fafer than on the Continent for an Infant
"Settlement.
" If your Place of wintering is within a proper Diftance " to be fupplied by the Natives on the Continent, take " proper Seeds of Fruit-Trees, Plants, Grain, and Pulfe,
" and fow them in the Spring ; or in cafe you find any
"civilized Nation who want fuch Kinds, you may pre-
" fent fome to them, and make them fenfible of their
"Ufe and Manner of Culture.
" In Places where you meet with Inhabitants, make
"Purchares with their Confent, and take Poffefion of
" convenient Situations in the Country, in the Name of
" his Majefty of Great Britain.
"But when there are no Inhabitants, you muft take
"Poffeffion by fetting up proper Infcriptions as Firft
"Difcoverers and Poffeffors.
" If in your Paffage you meet with any Ships trading
" to the weftern Countries eaftward of Japon, or any
"Faponefe Ships, and you apprehend any Danger from
"them, either from their Force or Number, you are to
"c proceed no farther in the Difcovery, but are imme-
"d diately to return, that Ships of fufficient Force may be
" fent out the next Seafon to begin a Trade, or to make
" a Settlement without any Apprehenfion of Difturbance
"' from any powerful Nation on that Side, left any Ac-
"cident fhould prevent your Return, and difcourage any
" farther Attempts to be made for the future. If you
"f hould arrive at California without any Apprehenfion
"s of Danger, and chufe to winter in 42 Degrees (where
"Caxton is faid to have found a civilized Nation and a
" good Harbour) or more foutherly, then endeavour to
" meet Capt. Anfon in the Month of December, before
"t the Arrival of the Manilla Ship at the Cape St. Lucas,
" the fouthern Cape of Californic, and leave a Copy of
" your Journal with him, left any Accident fhould
" happen to you upon your Return, and fo the Difcovery
" be loft, and it might prevent Ships being fent out to
" your Relief in cafe of Shipwreck.
" But forafmuch as in an Undertaking of this Nature,
" feveral Ennergencies may arife not to be forefeen, and
" therefore not io particularly to be provided for by $\mathrm{In}_{\mathrm{n}}$ -
"ftructions before-hand, you are in fuch Cafe to pro-
"c ceed as upori Advice with your Officers you fhall
" judge may be moft advantageous to the Service on " which you are employed.
"When you return home, you are to proceed into
" the River Tbames, and fend our Secretary an Account " of your Arrival, and Proceedings, for our Inform" ation. Given under our Hands the 20th of May, " 174 I .
"Cbarles Wager,
"Thbomas Frankland.
"Glenorchy.
"To Capt. Middleton, Commander of His Majefy's Sloop " the Furnace, Deptford.
"By Command of their Lordfhips.
"Thomas Corbett.
"By the Commifioners for executing the Office of Lord "High Admiral of Great Britain and Ireland, Esc.
" You are hereby directed, during the Courfe of your "" intended Voyage, not to give any. Difturbance or Mo" leftation to any of the Ships or Sloops employed in the
"Service of the HudJon's Bay Company; but to give "them all Protection and Affiftance that lies in your
"Power, whenever any Oppertunity offers of your be= " ing ferviceable to them. Given under our F-Iands the 2 2 th Day of Mcy, 174I.

〔Charles Wager,<br>"Vere Beauclerk,<br>"Glenorchy.

${ }^{6}$ By Command of their Lordfhips.
"Thomas Corbett." ${ }^{\text {T }}$
We may plainly fee from thefe Inftructions, that nothing was wanting on the Part of the Admiralty to further this important Difcovery, but that however Captain Middleton was leff fufficientiy at his Liberty, as indeed it was very reafonable he fhould, to profecute whatever Methods his own Circumfances and the Situation of Things fhould fuggeft to him for the Furtherance of the Defign when he came to be engaged in the Execution of it, and which it was impoffible to forefee and provide for before that time. It is plain alfo, that all due Care was taken of the Hudfon's Bay Company, in that they had not the leaft Reafon to complain that this Expedition made by the King's Ships, within the Limits of their Charter, could in any Degree turn to their Prejudice. But it is now time to fee what Effects a Scheme executed with fo much Judgment and Deliberation produced, and this will be beft feen from an Extract of the Captain's own Journal which we fhall give the Reader; and fhall then furnifh him with with fome other Lights, in order to thew why the want of Succefs in this Undertaking did not entirely deftroy all Thoughts of finding fuch a Paffage as Captain Middleton fought for through Hudfon's Bay.

## An Abtract of Captain Chrifopher Middleton's Fournal.

6. I failed from Cburcbill the Ift Day of July, and continued failing with a fair Wind till the 3 d, when we faw an Inland, the two Extremities bearing North by Eaft, and Eaft by North, lying in the Latitude of 63 Degrees North, and Longitude from Cburchill ${ }_{3}$ Degrees 40 Minutes Eaft; which I took to be the fame which Fox named Brook Cobbam. On the 5th Day I faw'a Head-Land on the North-fide of the Welcome, bearing North-weft by North, feven or eight Leagues diftant, in the Latitude of 83 Degrees 20 Minutes, and Longitude from Cburcbild 4 Degrees. Here I tried the Tides feveral times, and found clofe in with the Land the Tide to run two Miles an Hour from the North by Eaft, which I took' to be the Flood ; and by the Slacks, from feveral Trials, I found that a Weft, or Weft by North Moon, made high Water, having a Full Moon that Day. On the 8th Day I faw the North-fide of the Welcome, with much Ice in Shore: I tried the Tide, and found it fet Eaft north-eaft, two Fathoms. On the oth, continuing my Courfe, and failing through much Ice, I was obliged at length to grapple to a large Piece, the Tender did the fame, to keep off from Shore, the Wind blowing us right upon it : I tried the Tide frequently, and could difcover neither Flood nor Ebb by my Current-Log: Here we were faft jammed up in Ice, being totally furrounded for many Miles, and the Wind fetting it right upon us: It was all Ice for ter Leagues to windward, and we were in great Danger of being forced afhore; but it happily falling calm after we had lain in this Condition two or three Days, the Pieces of Ice feparated, or made fmall Openings; we being then within two Miles of the Shore, and with no fmall Difficulty hauled the Ship from one Place to another, till we got amongft what we call Sailing Ice, that is, where there are fuch Intervals of Water as a Ship, by feveral Traverfes may get forward towards the intended Courfe. In this Manner we continued till we faw a fair Cape or Head land to the northward of the Wbalebone Point, in the Latitude of 65 Degrees io Minutes; Longitude from Churcbill 8 Degrees 54 Minutes Eaft; and this named, after my worthy Friend, Cape Dobbs.
I had very good Soundings between the two Shores of the Welcome, having forty-fix, forty-eight, and forty-nine Fathoms Water. At the fame time that I faw Cape Dobbs I faw a fair Opening bearing North by Weft, which, ac-
cording
cording to my Inftructions, I ftood in for, among the failing Ice; it was juft Flood when we entered it, the Tide running ftrong; which, by Obfervations afterwards I found to run five or fix Miles an Hour. I run over fome Rocks on the North-fide of it very luckily, being juft high Water, and anchored in about thirty-four Fathoms; but fo foon as the Tide of Ebb was made, it ran fo ftrong, and fuch Quantities and Bodies of Ice came down upon us, that we were obliged to fteer the Ship all the time, and keep all Hands upon their Guard with Icepoles, to thove off the Ice; notwithftanding which we brought our Anchor home, and taking hold again, one of the Arms of the Anchor was broke off.

The next Day I fent my Lieutenant in the Boat, to feek out fome fecurer Place for the Ships, it being impoffible to keep afloat where we were. Some Ufkimay Savages came off to us; I ufed them civilly, made them Prefents, and difmifed them. As foon as I got the Ships fecured, I employed all my Officers and Boats, having my felf no little Share in the Labour, in trying the Tides, and difcovering the Courfe and Nature of this Opening; and after repeated Trials, for three Weeks fucceffively, $I$ found the Flood conftantly to come from the Eaftward; and that it was a large River we had gor into, but fo full of Ice there was no fteering the Veffel with any Probability of Safety, while the Ice was driving up and down with the ftrong Tides.

Here I lay not a little impatient to get out, went feveral times in my Boat towards the Month of the River, and from a Hill that over-looked Part of the Elcome, fidw that Place full of Ice, fo that I found there was no Time loft by our being in Security; however, I fent my Lieutenant and Mafter, in the eight-oared Boat, to look out for a Harbour near the Entrance of the River, but they found none'; and it was no fmall Miracle they got on Board again, for they were fo jammed up with Ice, which driving the ftrong Tides, would inevitably have fove the Boat to Pieces, and all muft have perifhed, had it not been for an Opening in a large Piece of Ice, into which they got the Boat, and with it drove out of the River's Mouth; but when the Tides nacked, the Ice opened as ufual, and they rowed over to the North Shore, fo got in with the Flood. I feveral Times fent the $I_{n}$ dions afhore to fee if they knew any thing of the Land, but they were quite ignorant of it. 'In this vexatious Condition I continued three Weeks, refolving to get out the firf Opportunity the River was any thing clear of Ice, and make what Difcoveries I could by meeting the Flood-tide. This River, of which by frequent Tryals of the Lands, Soundings, Tides, E' $c$. I was able to take a Draught, I named the River Wager, after the Right Honourable Sir Cbarles Wager.

On the 3 d of Auguf the River, for the firft Time, was a little clear of Ice; and accordingly, in Purfuance of our Difcovery, on the 5 th by Noon I got into the Latitude 66 Degrees 14 Minutes; we had then got into a new Streight, much peftered with Ice, and on the North-fide of which we faw a Cape or Head-land bearing North; we had deep Water, and very ftrong Tides within four or five Leagues of it: I named this Head-land Cape Hope, as it gave us all great Joy, and Hopes of its being the extreme North Part of America. Seeing little or no Land to the Northward of it, we turned or. worked round it the fame Night, and got five or fix Leagues to the North by Weft, before we could perceive any otherwife than a fair Opening; but about Noon the 6th Day, having got into the Latitude of 66 Degrees 40 Minutes, found we were embayed, and, by two in the Afternoon, could not go above three Leagues further, and having tried the Tides all the Forenoon every two Hours 'till two o'Clock in the Afternoon, found neither Ebb nor Flood, yet deep Waters. From this it was concluded, that we had overfhot the Streight on the North-eat Shore, from whence the Flood came; and as there was no. Proceeding above three or four Leagues further, it was agreed upon by all, to turn back and fearch narrowly for a Streight or Opening, near where we found the ftrong Tides.
On the $7^{\text {th }}$, after we were confirmed the Flood came in at the North-eaft from the Eaft by South, I went on

Shore in the Boat, and found it flowed fifteen Feet thre Days after the Full, and a Weft by South Moon made high Water. I travelled twelve or fifteeen Miles, from Hill to Hill, in Land, 'till I came to a very high Mountain, from whence I faw a Streight or Opening the Flood came in at, and, the Mountain I food on being pretty near the Middlè of this Streight, I could fee both Ends of it, the Whole being about eighteen or twenty Leagues long, and fix or feven broad, and very high Land on both Sides; but it was all frozen faft from Side to Side, and no Appearance of its clearing this Year, and near the 67 th Degree of Latitude, and no anchoring the Ships, being very deep Water clofe to the Shore, and much large Ice driving with the Ebb and Flood, and but little Room if thick Weather fhould happen, which we continually expected in thofe Parts, it was agreed upon in Council to make the beft of our Way out of this dangerous narrow Streight, and to make Obfervations between the 64 th and $6_{2} \mathrm{~d}$ Degrees of Latitude. The frozen Streight I take to run towards which Bylot named Cape Comfort, and the Bay where Fox had named a Place Lord Wefton's Portland; it is in the Latitude of 66 Degrees 40 Minutes, and 12 Degrees 49 Minutes Eaft from Churcbill.
Purfuant to this Refolution we bore away, and tried the Tides on the other Side the Welcome, founding and obferving clofe in Shore, but met with little Encouragement. On the Ith of Auguft I once more faw the Inand of Brook Cobbaw, and continued trying the Tides; and ftill finding the Flood come from the Eafward, and by coafting along the Welcome was certain of its being the main Land, though there are feveral finall Inands and deep Bays, and faw feveral black Whales of the right Whalebone Kind, I worked off and on by Brook Cobbam, fent the Northern Indians on Shore upon the Inand, who, at their Return, gave me to underftand, it was not far from their Country, and defired I would let them go Home; being tired of the Sea. I kept them with Affurances that I would act according to my Promife, and finding no Probability of a Paffage; in two or three Days after I gave them a fmall Boar, well fitted with Sails and Oars, the Ufe of which they had been taught, and loaded it with Fire-arms, Powder, Shot, Hatches, and every thing defireable to them; they took their Leave of me, and I fent another Boat for Water, which accompanied them on Shore, the Southern Indian being with them.
The Southern Indian, who was Linguift for the Northern ones, returned with the Boat ; being ufed to the Englif Cuftoms at the Factory, and defirous of feeing England, being a willing handy Man, I brought him with me; and the fame Evening, which was the I5 th of $A u$ guf, I bore away for England, thinking to have tried the Tide at Cary's Sroans Neft, but could not fetch it. On the 2oth I faw Manfells Ifle, on the 2 Ift Cape Diggs was in Sight; on the 26th made Cape Refolution, and arrived at Carrifon, in Pomona, one of the Inands of Orkney. Moft of my Men being fo very much afflicted with the Scurvy, and otherwife fick and diftempered, that I was obliged to leave Part of them behind me, and only wait to imprefs Hands to carry the Ship fafe to London.

This Account appeared very clear and very fatisfactory, even to Mr. Dobbs for fome Time; but upon re-confidering the Motives which induced him to believe there was fuch a Paffage, the Accounts given him by Captain Middleton formerly, and what he delivered upon this Subject in his Journal, he began to fufpect that Things were not fo clear as they feemed to be, but that fomewhere or other there was a Miftake; yet without charging Captain Middleton with any Breach of Duty, or fo much as fufpecting a Defign in him to conceal any Part of his Difcovery.
7. By Degrees, however, the Scene began to change. Mr. Dobbs came into an Opinion, that the Opening to which Captain Middleton had given the Name of the River Wager, was, in Reality, the Streight he was fent to difcover. He fuggefted this to that Gentleman, who adhered to his former Opinion, that it was a River and no Streight, that it was frefh Water and not falt, and that th. Whales which were feen in it, came through the frozen

## Chap. I. for difocering a North-west Passage.

Streight from the Eaftward. But while Mr. Dobbs and Captain Middleton were difputing this Matter in Letters, a new Affair broke out, which made a great Noife; for fome of the Ogicers who had ferved under Captain Middleton declared pofitively, that in their Judgment there was a Paffage, and that the Captain's Journal was calculated to conceal it. This produced a long Controverfy, attended with many perfonal Reffections on both Sides, into which it is not my Bufines's, nor have I any Inclination, to enter ; but fhall content myfelf with giving the Reader what I take to be the moft material Part of Mr. Dobbs's Charge, as it fhews upon what Grounds he believed the River Wager to be a Streight, and the Methods which, in his Opinion, Captain Middletori had taken to conceal its being thought fo; and this I fhall give in Mr. Dobbs's own Words, that I may not feem prepoffeffed in Favour of one Side, or prejudiced againft the other.
8. "In Captain Middleton"s going out, fays Mr. Dobbs, " he faw much Ice from Latitude $6_{3}$ Degrees 35 Minutes "to Cape Dobbs, as well as to Deer Sound in Wager River, " and in the Streight and Bay near Cape Hope this "Year; but none was feen in the Welcome by Button, " Fox, and Scroggs, the feveral Years they were there at "the fame Seafon, though Button and Scrogos were as " high up as.Whalebone Point, in Latitude 65 Degrees, " and Foo faw as far from Latitude 64 Degrees ro Mi"sutes, without feeing any Ice in the Sea, or Snow up" on the Land, but faw great Numbers of fmall Fih
" leaping, as well as many Whales near Brook Cobbam. "C Captain Middleton had, during his whole Voyage out
"from Cburcbill and back again to Brook Cobbam, very
" fine Weather, without any Storm, or Froit; or Snow,
"the Winds for the moft Part blowing from the Eaftern
"Quarter, fo that he had no Pretence upon his Return
"to avoid fearching the Weft-fide of the Welcome. It "" was thefe Eafterly Winds that Year which carried fo
" much Ice into the Welcome from the South-eaft as well
" as from the Bay and Streight near Cape Hope, all which
"was forced by the rapid Tide into Wager River; and
" it appears from che Journal, that it was thefe Winds " which caufed fo great a Quantity of Ice in the River " as far as Deer Sound, and not from the breaking out " of the Ice above in a Frefh-water River as he gave out; " and he would have made the Flowing-in of the Tide "fo far from the South-eaftward, to have been a Confirm-
"s ation of it; whereas, by what he has mentioned in
" his Journal, it is by all Circumftances a Salt-water

* Streightor Paffage; for the Increafe of itsWidenefs from
" feven Miles at its Entrance to eight Leagues, and of " its Depth from fourteen to eighty Fathoms, the Bold" nefs, Height, and Craggednefs of the Coaft, without
"t Tree or Shrub, and without any Snow or Ice in the "Valleys or Hills, are all Symptoms of its being a Salt-
"water Paffage; but the Number of Whales and other
" Fifh feen above in the Streight, at leaft twenty Leagues " up the River, when none were feen below, or in the "Welcome or Streight, and Bay above Cape.Hope, is a "Demonftration they did not come under the Ice into "Wager River from the Eaftward, and there being "none ever feen in the Bay or Streights of Hudjon, " but by broken Lands on the North-weft Coaft, it is " next to a Certainty that they came from the Weftern "Oceaz to that Place; for it is contrary to Reafon and "Fact, to fuppofe that Whales and other Sea-fifh fhould ${ }^{26}$ go up a Frefh-water River, as he affirms it to be; " but it was very natural for the Whales to be there, if " they come in from the Weftern Ocean, which was not " fo liable to be frozen as an Inland Bay, for they would "pufh their Way through the Streights and broken "Lands, until they were prevented by the Ice, which ${ }^{\text {s6}}$ "the Eafterly Winds drove into the Streight from the "Welcoine along with the Flood; and this was jammed "c in among the Iflands in the Paffage, and appeared to "t to be firm Ice, as it alfo appeared from the Hills to be " fo below them to the Mouth of the River.
"This alfo cafily accounts for the Number of Whales "feen from Whalebone Point to Brook Cobbam, and even "to Whalecove, in Latitude 62 Degrees 30 Minutes, where many are caught by the Efkimaum Indians, when none Vor. II. Numb. 99.
${ }^{66}$ are feen in the other Parts of the Bay, on in the "Streights; for if there be a Communication between "the Weflern Ocean and the Bay in this Place, the Pre"fumption is, that it is not by one Paffage, but that is " may be all a broken Land, interfperfed with Mands, " as the Inands of Terra del Fuego are at the Streights of "Magellan, which is almoft a parallel Inftance; and " therefore this Streight of Woger may not be the only " Inlet into the Bay, but from Wbalecove unto that Ri" ver may be all broken Lands, with feveral Sounds a" mong the Iflands which are mentioned by Scroggs and "Fox, and cannot be controverted from this Journal; ;o " that the Whales might get to that Part of the Bay "fooner, as there was no Ice there to obftruct their Paf "fage, when there was much Ice in the Welcome and "Eaft Entrance of Wager Streight, which prevented "thefe Whales getting any farther than Deer Sound. " This, I think, makes it highly probable, that there " is a better and eafier Paffage Southward of Cape Dobbs "betwixt that and Whalecove, in Latitude 62 Degrees " 30 Minutes, where there is no Ice to obitruct the Paf" lage from the Middle of ${ }^{\text {Fune }}$ to OETober: and if the "Trade was once opened, this might be difcovered by any "Ships who would go there to fifn for Whales, or would " trade with the Natives for Fin or Oil, who might fol" low them into Inlets, through which they come into " the Bay; and this may be done without wintering " in the Bay; for they may return any Time in Septem"ber or Oitober, fafe from any Obftruction from the " Ice."
The only feeming Objection to this, and which gave a Hand to Captain Middleton to reprefentWager Streigbt as a Frefl-water River was, the Tide flowing into it from the Eaftward, when if it had been a Streight, he imagined he might have met a Tide of Flood from the Weftward, and therefore reprefented it as if the Ice was but breaking up in the River after he had entered it. But fince this is a Streight, and not an immediate Communication with the Weftern Ocean, he could not expect to meet the Weftern Tide 'till he had got half Way through the Streight; for each Tide flows up its own End of the Streight, and meet in the Middle. This is not only founded upon Reafon, but upon Fact, in the only parallel Inftance we know, that is, in the Magellanic Streigbt ; though, by Appearance, this Streight is a greater and bolder Streight than the other.
The Tide at the North-eaft Entrance of Magellan Streigbt flows from the Eatward, and rifes four Fathoms before it comes to the firft Narrow, which is but half a League wide, and from thirty to thirty-five Fathom deep; after a League or two it increafes to fix or feven Leagues wide, to the fecond, where it is about a League wide, and thirty Fathom deep. Within the fecond Narrow it increafeth again to five or fix Leagues wide, and the Tide ftill flows from the Eaftward, and rifes about ten Feet. In the middle Channel, about thirty Leagues within the Streight, it is two hundred Fathom, and the Channel but three Leagues wide, and from thence to the Middle of the Streight it leffens to two L.eagues wide, and about a hundred Fathom deep, and the Tide ftill flows from the Eaftward for above fifty Leagues. As they come near the Middle of the Streight, the Current of the Tide is not above an Hour at each Tide, and the Tide rifes nine Feet. Near Cape Quad, beyond the Middle of the Streight, it is but two Leagues wide, and for about thirteen Leagues farther it is rather lefs, fometimes not four Miles wide, from whence it gradually widens to the Weft Entrance, where it is five Leagues wide: So that Wager Streigbt is much larger fo far as they were in it, which was about thirty Leagues; it being by the Account, as mentioned in the Journal, fix or feven Leagues wide, and eighty Fathom deep; which, if there be no other, is a noble Paffage. But there is a great Probability of there being a better and fafer Paffage to the Southward of Whalebone Point, by which the Whales get into that Part of the Bay.
Thus, fays Mr. Dobbs, from the former Accounts, and. what has been divulged by Captain Middleton in his Journal, there feems to beftrong Prefumptions of a Paffage. But after fhewing what he has concealed, and falfified in his Jour-
nals and his whole Conduct from his going to Cburchill, until his Return to England, and even fince his Return, it will appear plainly that he intended to ferve the Company at the Public Expence, and contrived every Thing fo as to ftifle the Difcovery, and to prevent others from undertaking it for the future, fo as to fecure the Favour of the Company, and the Reward he faid they promifed him before he began the Voyage.

As to his Declarations and Conduct. during the Voyage, it appears by underiable Evidence, that he declared, in Prefence of fome of his Officers, to the Company's Governor at Cburcbill, that he fhould be able to make that Voyage, and none on board him fhould know whether there was a Paffage or not, and he would be a better Friend to the Company than ever.

The Lieutenant finding one of the Men at the Factory, who very well underftood the Northern Indian Language, and would have been of great Ufe upon the Difcovery, offered to take him with him at his own Rifque, faying, he would anfwer it when he came back, it being for the Good of the Service they were upon; but the Captain would not allow of it, for fear of difobliging the Company. The Captain in going Northward from Churcbill, never once went athore, nor fent his Boat to look out for any Inlet, or 'try the Tide, having only once tried the Current at Sea in Latitude $\sigma_{3}$ Degrees 20 Minutes, where he found a very rapid Tide, although he found much Ice to the Northward, and had Time enough before he entered the Ice, to try all the Coalt, but ftood off to the Faftward, until he paffed Cape Dobbs, and though he then found an Opening North-weftward, he only went in with a View to Chelter his Ships, but not to look out for a Paffage ; and therefore, when he went in, got to the North-eaft Side out of the Tide inftead of out of the South-weft Side, where he ought to have gone, if he had pufhed for a Paffage; and though he lay there three Weeks, he never but once went crofs to the Weftern Shore, and that only one Day or two before he quitted the River, pretending he could not do it for the Ice; and even this he does not mention in his Journal, although he found there an excellent Cove for fheltering his Ships. He once pretended to crofs the Streight from Deer Sound, where he had no Ice to prevent him; but after going two Leagues he returned and faid," it was too far, and he had tafted the Water, which was frefh, afking the Boat-men if it was not fo, which they contradicted, faying only, it was not very falt. When the Iieutenant went up to Deer Sound, he difcovered from a Mountain an Opening South-weftward, upon the other Shore, ten Ieagues diftant betwixt a high and low Headland, and alfo obferved the Ice there, when it was a Quarter Flood at Wager River, move down the River againft that Tide. Upon his mentioning this to the Captain, he was laughed' at, who afked him, From whence that Tide could come? and no farther Enquiry was made into it.

Afterwards, when from the Numbers of Whales, and Breadth and Depth of the River, it was given out among the Ship's Company, that they believed it was a Streight and no River, he rated feveral of them for pretending to fay fo againft his Opinion, faying, his Clerk was a double-tongucd Rafcal; that he would cane the Lieutenant, broomftick the Mafter, and lafh any others who hould concern themfelves about the Voyage, and threatened that if any kept private Journals, he would break up their Boxes, and take then from them; and though he allowed his Clerk to take the Bearings of the Land, and Profpects in other Parts of the Voyage, yet, when in the Wager River and at the Welcome, he forbid him from taking any. This happened when the Lieutenant and Mafter were down the River to look out for a Cove for the Ships, when they fhould fail out of the River. When they returned, he, imagining that Rumour would turn out to his Prejudice, in cafe no farther Enquiry was made about its being a Streight or River, faid they might go up and try the Tide, and fee if there was any other Way out into the Welcome, which was into the Bay, not into the Weftern Ocean; but by his Warrant limitted them to go to Deer Sound, or thereabouts, which was only where he had been himfelf before, and ordered
them to come back with the utmoft Difpatch the Nature of the Service would allow. This was the 28 th of $\mathfrak{f}$ uy. When they were gone he faid, he fuppofed the Lieurenant would bring back fome romantic Account of a Streight or a Paffage, but for his Part he would not take the Ships a Foot farther; and accordingly before their Return ummoored, and was preparing to warp out of the Cove, which he did the Morning after they returned. The Lieutenant, upon his Return, gave the following Report under his Hand, viz. July 27, 1742, I was ordered with the Mafter to take the fix-oared Boat, and to go up Savage Sound as high as Deer Sound, and try the Tides. I found that, the Flood there comes from the River Wager. It flowed there ten Feet Water.

We then failed from Deer Sound from the high bluff Land on the Weft-fide of the River Wager. The Courfe from the Inands off the North-fide of Deer Sound is NorthWeft, and North-Weft by North. By Compafs Variation allowed Weft by North. We founded all the Way over, and had no Ground with a Line of fixty-eight Fathom to the high bluff Land. We then ran up a Branch of the main River, and founded and found fifty Fathom one third, over that Branch; there were feveral Inands in it founded about a Leagme off an Inland on the North Side, and found thirty. Fathom Water, in running between the Iflands and the fuppofed Main, which was on the Weftfide of that Branch; the Frefhes fuddenly turned againft us, the Boat altering the Land very much before, founded, and had no Ground at fixty-eight Fathom; as we run up it we founded near a fmall Inand, and had twenty nine Fathom. We fteered Weft North-weft, between the Illands and the Weft Land, by Compafs (Weft by South) there being feveral Inands in the Fair Way, and no Ground in the Middle of the Channel at fixty eight Fathom. We went about fifteen Leagues above Deer Sound, and faw a Frefh or Run of Water coming againft us; and the Wind being fair, I was afraid of ftaying any longer, for fear of hindring the Ships from going to Sea; there is a great Probability of an Opening on the Weftfide, by the coming in of the Whales; but I could not go higher up to try it, for the above-mentioned Reafons.

We went to the Top of a high mountainous Land, from whence we faw a great Run or Fall of Water between the Weft Land and the Inands. It was very narrow, and, feemingly, not a Mile broad; and at the fame Time faw a fair Channel or Streight to the Northwards of the Inands, with Land on both Sides, as high as the Cape of Good Hope, running away to the Weftward, with many bluff Points and broken Lands; in coming down we faw feveral very large black Whales, playing about the Boat and afhore.

> Auguft I.

Jobn Rankin.
1742.

This being a ftrong Proof of an open Channel or Streight going to the Southward of a Wett, the Captain thought it too flagrant, and therefore there being fome little Variation between his Account and the Mafter's, made them cook up the following Report between them, which both were to fign; which being not fo particular, did not appear fo ftrong for the Yaffage. It run in thefe Words:

Purfuant to an Order from Captain Cbriftopher Middleton, Commander of his Majefty's Ship the Furnace, bearing date the 27 th of Fuly, 1742, We whofe Names are hereunto fubfcribed, took the Furnace's Six-oared Boat, and went from Savage Sound, where his Majefty's Ships, Furnace and Difcovery, then lay; and on the 28 th, at one in the Morning, arrived at Deer Sound, where we tried the Tide, and found the Flood came into that Place from the River Wager, and rofe at that Time ten Feet. At fix o'Clock the fame Morning we left Deer Sound (where we put the two Northern Indians afhore to kill fome Deer) and failed for a high bluff Land, on the North-weft Side of the River Wager. Our Courfe from the Inands on the North Side of Deer Sound, to the high bluff Land, was North-
welt

## Chap. I. for difoovering a Northewest Passage en.

weft by North, by Compafs. We founded frequently, and had no Ground with a Line of fixty-eight Fathom, all the Way over. When we were a-breaft of the high bluff Land, we fteered Weft-north-weft keeping the MidChannel, and ftill found no Ground at fixty-eight Fathom, excepting fome Inands that lay in the fair Way, about one third over the River, and thirty Fathom within a League of one of them. This Courfe we kept until we got about fifteen Leagues from Deer Sound; but finding the Tide or Frefh againft us, and the Wind coming fair, we were afraid of faying any longer, for fear of hindring the Ships from going to Sea. However, we came to a Grapnel with the Boat, and went up a high mountainous Land, where we had a fair View of the River, from whence we faw a great Run or Fall - of Water, between the fuppofed main Land, and the dforefaid Inand, very narrow feemingly, not a Mile broad, about a League from where the Boat lay. But to the Northward we difcovered a large Collection of Waters, in which were many Iflands, and high mountainous Lands on both Sides of it; the Weft-fide of it having many bluff Points and broken Lands. In our Return towards the Ships, and not far from Deer Sound, we faw feveral large black Whales, of the Whale-bone kind, fome of which came very near the Boat; fo that upon the whole, we think there may be fome other Paffage into the Sea, from the River Wager, befides that which his Majent's Ships, Furnace and Di/covery, came in at; and imagine there is a great Probability of an Opening or Inlet into the Sea, fomewhere on the Eaftfide thereof, though we cannot fix the Place. Given under our Hands this ift Day of $A$ Aggut, 1742.

Fobn Rankin.
Robert Wilfon.
It may be eafily feen with what View the Report was altered, the molt material Points being changed; for when they got beyond the North-weft Bluff, inftead of faying that the Current or frefh Water fuddenly turned againft them; it is here faid, being againft them, the firft being a Tide, the other a Stream. Again, inftead of mentioning a fair Channel or Streight over the Illands, running between the high Lands to the Weftward, it is here altered to a large Collection of Water to the Northward, in which were feveral Inands with high Land on each Side of it ; the Weft-fide having bluff Points and broken Lands, without determining the Courfe of the Streight ro the Weftward. And inftead of faying there was a great Probability of an Opening on the Welt-fide, by the coming in of the Whales, it is here altered to, Upon the whole, wethink there may be fome other Paffage into the Sea, from the River Wager, befides that which his Majefty's Ships came in at, without determining it to the Weftward, as in the other; but on the contrary, to make it feem otherwife, they fay, and imagine, there is a great Probability of an Opening or Inlet into the Sea, fomewhere on the Eaft-fide thereof, though we cannot fix the Place. This Change feems wholly calculated with a View to leave it undetermined, that the Captain might have it in his Power to fay, that the Opening was to the Northward or Eaftward, from Boffins's Bay, and pretend that the Whales came from thence. But both the Lieutenant and Mafter have fince confirmed that the Streight beyond the Inands, was four or five Leagues wide, free from Ice, and its Courfe ran Weft South-weft; and the Mafter having feen further than the Lieutenant, from the Top of a Mountain, where he killed two Deer, was for going further; but the Lieutenant, his Provifions being fpent, and he having exceeded his Orders by fifteen Leagues at leaft (for he computed it twenty Leagues, but the Captain would not allow it to be fo far) and had alfo out-ftaid his Time, he was afraid he fhould be put in Arreft, if he proceeded farther, and durft not proceed. However, he took a Bottle of Water filled there at the Shore, and two Botthes filled further down the Streight Eaftward. And the Captain, when he came aboard, owned that the Bottle of Water, taken up at the Weftern End of the Streight, near the Current or Fall of Water, was the falteft, which
the Mafter faid was as falt as any he had faited in thofe Seas, which was alfo confirmed by others who had tafted it aboard: The Lieutenant is now convinced that it was a Tide or Ripling, which came from the Went Sonth* weft, which ftopped the Way of the Boat, and made them come to a Grapnel, and that it was the Tide of Flood; for it was then flowing Water, and flowed fix Feet when he was afhore. But the Captain, under pretence it was brackifh, would not purfue the Difcovery of that South-Weftern Streight or Paffage, but immediately warped out of the Cove; and on the 4 th of Augufts the beft Month in the Year to perfect the Difcovery, he failed out of the River to make the Difcovery Northeaftward, the quite contrary Courfe he fhould have taken, according to his Inftructions. Nor did he call a Council to warrant him for quiteing the Difcovery s though on all Emergencies, or where it was likely to turn out to Advantage in promoting the Difcovery, he was directed to call one, and act for the beft of the Ser vice he went upon; but quitted the Paffage without Advice, by his own Authority and Pleafure; pretending all the while he was in the Paffage, to regret that he could not get out off the River for the Ice in it and the Welcome, in order to profecute the Difcovery. After this, in order to have an Excufe, and to pretend that he had followed his Inftructions, which was to proceed, without lofs of Time, to Wbalebone Point, and there to endeavour to meet the Tide of Flood, on cither Side of that Point he found the beft Paffage, in cafe it were an Inand, whether the Flood came from the North-weft or South-weft ; and if he found, after doubling the Cape; either a Streight or open Sea, to purfue his Courfe, ftill meeting the Tide of Flood; though this limited him to meet the Tide, if it came from any Part to the Weftward, yet he finding the Tide did not meet him; but followed him into Wager River; and having taken no Pains to know how the Flood was at the Weft End of the Streight, beyond Deer Sound, defpifing the Lieutenant's firft Report, which mentioned a Tide from the Weft South-weft meeting them; thought if he could find a Tide, or have a Probability to account for a Tide's coming from the North Eaftwards into Wager Rivers he might then fay he followed his Inftuctions in meeting the Tide, although it came from the North-eaft; and accordingly, without allowing any Boat to go amore to try the Tide, until he himfelf landed at Frigid, at what he calls the Frozen Streight, he, in his Journal from his own Obfervations of the Current, always affirms the Tide of Flood came from the North-eaft, by Cape Hope or Wager River ; and affirms, that at Cape Firigid a Weft-by-fouth Moon made high Water, and that it flowed from the South Eaftward, through a frozen Streight, from four to feven Leagues wide; and accordingly he has laid it down fo in his new Chart, fince his Return, and pointed all the Darts in it ; fhewing the Courfe of the Flood through the Frozen Streigbt, up into Wager River, and as far as Brook Cobbam, along the Welcome, where he pretends the South Eaftern Tide meets it.
9. Now I fhall plainly make it appear from Reafon, and from the Obfervations of experienced Men aboard him, his own Officers, and from his Caution in preventing any aboard him from knowing the Time, Current, and Heighth of the Tide, by his making his Obfervations only aboard, and regulating and minuting them down only in his Log-Book and Journal, only as he thought proper ; that there was no fuch Tide from the North-eaft, and that he muft have known that there is no fuch. Tide; but endeavoured to conceal the true Tide from his People aboard. I thall alfo fhew that the Tide of Flood came the contrary Way from the South WeItward, near Brook Cobbam, and fo went up Part of Wager River. I fhall alfo fhew there was no fuch Frozen Streight as he has laid down in his Chart, but the whole is falfely laid down, and the only Streight there was round the Ifland he food upon, which was but three Leagues wide, and full of fmaller Inands, which Streight went round the Illand from North by the Ean, and came out again by the South and Weft. between the Inland he was on, and the low Beach of Cape

Hope; in that to make out the Point, that he had fo far followed his Inftrutions in meeting the Tide of Elood, he has manifefly and falfely impoled upon the Public in his Chat, by making a Streight and Tide where there Was none.

To fhew that he has given a falfe Account of this Tide and frozen Streight I muif obferve, That when he fent down the Lieutenant and Mafter to look out for a Cove at the Mouth of IV ager River, they were inclofed in the Ice, and drew up the Boat upon a large Piece of Ice, which was carried by the Tide of Ebb to the Southeaftward, clofe by the Shore, about Cape Dobbs; and when the Tide flacked they rowed over with the Flood to the North Shore, to get into the Eddy out of the Current, and next Day went up the River. Again, When the Ship failed up the River they were becalmed, and were afraid of being forced up again by the Return of the Flood; upon which they towed with their Boats ahead, and plied with the Ship's Oars with all their Force to the North-eaftward to get out of the way of the Tide of Flood; but if the Flood had come from the Northeaft, they would have been juft in the way of the Tide of Flood, and to have avoided it they ought to have fteered their Courfe South-eaf, to Cape Dobbs; fo that both the Accounts tally, that the Flood came from the Southweft round Cape Dobbs. At half an Hour after two, on the 6th of Auguf, he ordered the Lieutenant afhore at the low Beach, to try the Tide, being then four Miles from the Shore; at three he made the Signal for him to come on aboard before he got to the Shore; but he was fo near as to report, That the Tide had fallen two Feet ; fo that he feemed to repent his having fent him to try the Tide, left he. fhould find a contrary Tide to what he gave out. 'Tho' the Lieutenant, when he got aboard, told him it was ebbing Water, and that the Ebb went to the South-weftward, yet he minuted it down in his LogBouk, and printed it fo in his Defence, that it was flowing Water, and the Flood came from Eaftward; but in his Journal he fays, it had ebbed two Feet, and the Flood came from the Eaftward.

The Captain's Clerk, Gunner, and Carpenter, went afhore at Cape Frigid the 8th of Auguf, about ten in the Morning; and after going fifteen Miles into the Country returned to the Boat about feven at Night, when he found it was low Water, and rofe fifteen Feet, which being three Days and a half after the Full Moon, a Weft-fouthweft Moon made low Water, and confequently a North-north-weft Moon made high Water ; and having afcertained that a Weft by North Moon made high Water in Wager River, the Tideat Cape Frigid being five Points later, could not raife that Tide; for the Tide, the further it flows, is always the later in flowing; and therefore the Tide in Wager River, being at leaft three Hours fooner than at Cape Frigid, it could not poffibly be caufed by any Tide from thence, nor could the Tide near Brook Cobbam, where a Weft Moon made high Water, be caufed from that Tide for the fame Reafon, it being above four Hours fooner than the Tide at Cape Frigid.

It appears alfo, that there was no Tide or Current in the Bay above Cape Hope; and the Gunner, who was afhore with the Captain, went with the Carpenter two or three Miles farther than the Captain and Clerk, even to the very Shore of what he called the Frozen Streight, and confequently knew it: better than the Captain. He fays it was an Inand they were upon, and the Streight was only an Arm of the Sea that furrounded the Inand, and detached it from the low Beach; that it was not above three Leagues wide on the Eaft fide, and full of Inands ; that the Ice was frozen faft from Side to Side: fo that it is impofible fo great a Quantity of Water could pafs through that Paffage if it had a Communication with Hudfon's Streigbts by Cape Comfort, as would fill fo large a Bay as that above Cape Hope (the Streight from Cape Hope to Wager River) all that River for thirty or forty Leagues, which was from four to twelve Leagues wide, and the whole Coaft of the Welcome to Brook Cobbam above fixty Leagues, and that from a Streight which was but three Leagues wide, and had many Inands in it : fo that the Streight, exclufive of the Inands, was not
probably four Miles wide. Befides, had fo much Water flowed from that Streight, as he has laid down in his Chart, it muft have caufed a very rapid Current in the Bay above Cape Hope, it being in the direct Courfe of the Tide. The Captain of the Difcovery alfo, in his Anfwer allows, that the Opening of the Streight he faw, which was betwixt Cape Firigid and the Low Beach was not above three Miles wide, and no fuch Tide flowed there as in Wager River, although it was fo narrow in that Place.

This alfo accounts for thatArm of the Sea's being frozen which furrounded the Inand, becaufe there was no Tide or Current there to break it up. It alfo appears from the Lieutenant who was left on board to command when the Captain went afhore, that, at eleven $0^{\circ} \mathrm{Clock}$, after the Captain left the Ship, a ftrong Current forced him to northward, which muft have been the Flood, as it was not high Water until one o'Clock. And it appears alfo the fame from the Men who were left with the Boat; for upon the Captain's Return to the Boat he afked them which way the Flood fet, and they faid to the North ward; which he contradicted, and faid, they were miftaken, for it could not be fo. So that from all thefe Facts, as well as from Reafon, it appears, that the Tide of Flood came from the South-weftward to that Place and the River Wager ; and that the Tide and Streight which he has laid down in his Chart, and publifhed in his Journal, is falfe, and an Impofition upon the Public, and only calculated to ferve his Purpofe of concealing the Paffage, by endeavouring to make out that no Tide came from the Weftward, but all through Hudforn's Streight and Baffin's Bay; and that Wager was a frefh Water River, and that the Whales feen there came all in through that frozen Streight from Baffin's Bay or Cumberland's Inlet, he having allowed that none came in through Hudjon's Streiglot, or round Cary's Sevans Neft.

But as a further Confirmation of this South-weftern Tide, and that it came from the weftern Ocean, it appears that, after the Captain had neglected looking into the Bays and Inlets in the Weft fide of the Welcome, from Cape Dobbs to Marble Ifland (aithough it had been ordered in Council) in thefe Words, " It was agreed upon " to make the beft of ourWay out of this cold, dangerous " 6 and narrow Streight, and to make further Obfervations " between the Latitude of 64 and 62 Degrees on the
" North-fide of the Welcome, having feen large Openings,
" broken Land, and Illands, with ftrong Tides; but " had not an Opportunity of trying from whence the "Flood came, in our Paffage hither. Given under our " Hands this 7 th of Auguf, I 742 .
"Cbr. Middleton.
" F. Rankin.
"Rob. Wilfon.
"Geo. Axx.
"F. Hodgton.
"W. Moor, Mafter of the Dijcovery."
When he came to Marble Ifand, which he called Brook Cobbam, having called another Inand io upon his going northward, the fame Fox had called fo before, on the 12 th, at three in the Morning, he fent the Lieutenant afhore to try the Tide, and to look out for a Place of Safety, to water the Ships before they returned to England. The Inand was feven Leagues long and three over in the broadeft Place. It lay Eaft by South, and Weft by North, the true bearing Variation allowed, and about three Leagues from what they called the Weftern Main. The Lieutenant on the South-fide found an excellent Cove fafe from all Winds, with a fmatl Inand lying crofs the Entrance : He founded without and within the Cove, and found two and a half Fathom in the Entrance at low Water, and deep and fafe lying within it; whilft he was founding, taking a Draught of the Cove, and upon the Illand taking a View of an Opening, he obferved on the Weft Main the Indians killed a Deer and a white Bear; and about eight at Night, as they were taking of the Bear-Skin, a ftrong Tide of Flood came from the North-weft by the Compars, and had almoft carried the Bear away; which proves that the Tide of Flood came from the Weitward. This I fhall

## Chap. 1. for difcovering a NORTH-WEST PASSAGE.

give in his own Words, as he minuted it down at Marble Ifland at the fame Time it happened, annezed to the rough Draught he made of the Cove, riz.
This is the Cove upon Brook Cobbamz or Marble Ifland; it was almoft dark; my Men were taking the Skin off the Bear they had killed in the Water.
The Tide came fuddenly from Weft-north-weft, round the North-weft-end of the Ifland, upon us, and flowed fo faft that we had almoft loft the Bear ; we were forced to throw it into the Boat, our Men up to the Middle in Water, by the fudden Flowing of the Tide; as all the Men can prove.
I am very certain that there is a great Probability of a Paffage or Streight leading to fome Weftern Ocean, from the above Reafon; for I did obferve an Opening to the Weftward of Marble Ifland, and defired I might go there : But he told me it did not fignify much to go thither; but if I had a Mind to go to Marble Ifand tor Water, I might. So I did not come near the Opening I perceived to the Weftward; it was almoft calm all the Day we lay there.

Auguff : 12,<br>1742.

Fobn Rankin.

After the Lieutenant returned aboard, the Mafter was fent afhore ; upon his Return, he told him, the Tides rofe there very high, and wanted to go afhore again, to obferve them, which he refufed, under Pretence he had ftaid too long afhore before. It appears from the Journal, that by the Marks on the Shore, it fometimes rofe there twenty-two Feet.
It is allowed alfo, that a North-wefterly Wind, at Cburchill, always raifed the Tides higher at Neap Tides; than a South-eafterly Wind did at Spring Tides.

The two Northern Indians, who were aboard Captain Middlleton, were very intelligent Men; and the other Indian being a very bad Interpreter for them, Mr. Thompfon the Surgeon, who could fpeak fome of the Southern Indian Tongue, was endeavouring to learn their Language, and to teach them Englifh; and was making out a Vocabulary of their Language, which the Captain obferving, threatened to ufe him ill, or crop him, in cafe he had any Correfpondence with them; fo that he was obliged to meet them in private; and for that Reafon could not know fo much from them, as he otherwife would; but from the beft Account he could get from them, they told him, that the Copper Mine, which they generally went to once in two Years, was not far from the Coift where they were, between Latitude 62 De grees and 64 Degrees; that it was upon an Arm of the Sea, the Water being falt; that they were five Days in paffing it in their Cances; that it was fo deep, that if they cut a Deer's Skin into Thongs, it would not reach the Bottom ; that the Streight went towards the Sun almoft at Noon, and that there were many large black Fifh in it, fpouting up Water. Lovegrove, one of the Factory Men at Cburchill, who had been often at Whalecove, in Latitude 62 Degrees 30 Minutes, in the Company's Sloop, trading for Whale-Fin with the Natives, alfo told them, that the Coaft there was all a broken Land and Illands; and that upon his going upon one of thefe Illands, he faw an open Sea Weftward of it. Wilfon alfo, who has been Maiter of the Sloop which goes to Whalecove, for feveral Years, told, at Cburcbill, that he had the Curiofity to pars in through thofe Inands, near the Whalecove, and found the Opening enlarge .itfelf Southweft, and became fo wide, that he could fee no Land on either Side. Yet though the Captain might have known this, and much more, which he had from Norton and Scroggs's Crew, as well as Accounts from the Indians before this Voyage to the fame Purpofe, he never once made an Effay to land upon the Weftern Coaft, or to look out for a Weftern Tide or Inlet.
What was fill as unpardonable as neglecting the Difcovery, was his putting the two Northern Indians afhore, at Marble IJand, againtt their Inclinations, when they were defirous to come to England, in a very bad Boat he got at Cburcbill, which they did not know how to manage in an Inand three Leagues from the fuppofed
Yol. II. Nuabr. g9.

Main; the Efimaux Indians, their Enemies living upon that Coaft, and fome hundred Miles diftance from their own Country, infomuch that one of them, who was about forty Years old, when he parted with Mr. Thomp fon the Surgeon, with Tears, told him, he did not know what would become of them. He told them, he was very much concerned at it, but fince it was the Captain's Pleafure, it muft be complied with.
The Captain gave them fome Provifions, Ammunition, Hatchets, and Toys; but leaving them in a defolate Ifland, with a bad Boat among ther Enemies, at fo great a Diftance from their own Country, was unpardonable ; when by a Day or two failing to the Southward, he could have landed them in a Country they knew, where they had no Enemies to be afraid of. The Excufe he made for not bringing them to England was, That upon his Return his Friends might be out of the Admiralty, and as he had no Orders to take them home, they would be left a Charge upon him; and when they learned to fpeak Englifh, they would be talking of the Copper Mine and Paffage, and would put the Public to the Expence of fending out more Ships in queft of it. And this, no doubt, was the true Reafon for that Piece of Cruelty; for he thought if they came to England, he fhould not be able to conceal the Parfage.

It is, however, to be obferved, that Captain Middleton, being an excellent Seaman, has very vigorounly defended himfelf againft all thefe Objections and Imputations; and has offered many plaufible Arguments to deftroy the moft weighty of thofe Reafons alledged by Mr. Dobbs, to prove, that what he calls a River, ought to be accounted a Streight. Thus, in anfwer to what Mrr. Dobbs fays of its increafing in Breadth and Depth the farther they advanced, Captain Middleton obferves, that this happens frequently in Rivers, more efpecially on the Swedifh and Norvergion Coafts; where, though they are narrow, and have no great Depth at their Entrance, perhaps, but ten or twelve Fathoms, yet they afterwards grow wider, and difcover no Ground with Lines of two or three hundred Fathoms.
All this may be, and yet this Inlet may be a Streight and not a River; for though there may be Rivers with there Properties, yet Experience fhews us that they belong alfo to Streights; and though the Argument, urged by Mr. Dobbs, muft be allowed not to be conclufive, if what the Captain fays be true, yet it ftill has great Weight, taking it in Conjunction with the other Reafons offered; becaufe if it is a Streight, we fhould naturally expect to find things fo ; and therefore their being found fo, ftill argues this to be a Streight, till fome pofitive Reafon can be fhewn that it is not fo. In fhort, what Mr. Dobbs fays amounts to no more than that probably it may be a Streight; and what the Captain anfwers, allowing it to be true, proves no more than that pofibly it may be a River; not that it is fo.
As to the Height of the neighbouring Lands, the Captain fays, that the Lands about the Sweedif/a and Norwegian Rivers, are as high as any he faw about the River Wager. But allowing this alfo, it is not at all conclufive. If the Lands had been low, it would have been very improbable that this fhould be a Streight; but as it is on all Hands allowed that they are high, it is very probable it may be fo; the Proof makes one Way as ftrong as the other, but then it depends entirely on the Strength of the Captain's Memory ; and it would have been ftronger in his Favour, if he had mentioned the particular Rivers, on the Banks of which he had feen as high Lands, as he owns to be on this.

As to the want of Trees and Shrubs, Captain Niddleton fays, that all who have travelled the Country between the Latitude 58 and 66 Degrees 30 Minutes by Land, agree, that higher than 6I Degrees they faw neither Tree nor Shrub, but only Mofs, even among frefh Rivers and Lakes. This again is only a general Affertion, and does not at all prove that it is not a Streight; perhaps, however, Trees and Shrubs might be fhewn to grow on the Banks of Rivers in a more Northerly Latitude, at lean fome Travellers tell us fo; but the thing is not very material cither Way; but if these had
been Trees or Shrubs, they would have been efteemed Proofs of its being a River; and therefore, among the Arguments of its not being fo, there was no Impropriety in mentioning the Want of Trees and Shrubs on all the Lands near it.

As to the black Whales, Seals, and Sea-Horfes, feen at twenty Leagues above the Entrance, the Captain gives a very large Return. He fays it does not appear, from any Journals, Reports, or Anfwers, that one Whale was feen higher than Deer Sound, which is but fifteen Leagues up; whereas the Weftward is above thirty Leagues; or that one Sea-Horfe or Seal was feen in any Part of the River; but that feveral were feen juft without the Mouth of the River, in the Welcome, is attefted by the Log-Book, and by the Affidavits of Torens, Van Sobric, and Grant ; and Captain Middleton has traded for Whalebone in all Parts of the Bay and Streights where the Efkimaux frequent, which could not be if the Whales, from whence they get it, were not killed there; becaufe in ten or twelve Days after they are dead, the Bone all drops from their Mouths; all which amounts, together, to almoft a Demonftration, that the Whales, both in the Bay, and Wager River, come from the North-eaft; which is alfo fomewhat confirmed from the great Number of Indian Store Houfes, of Oil, Fin, and Blubber, not above eight Leagues upon the North-eaft Coaft of the River; whereas their proper Habitations are on the Main, on the other Side the River. Moreover if thefe Whales come out of any Sea from the Weftward, they would have been feen in plenty the higher they had gone up, which was not fo. However, Conclufions drawn from Whales being feen in any Place, are, at the beft, but very precarious.

In Reply to this, it is neceffary to take Notice of a Fact which feems directly oppofite to the Account given in Captain Middleton's Anfwer. Mr. Rankin, in his Report, has the following Paffage: "We went above fif"teen Leagues above Deer Sound, and faw a Frefh or ${ }^{6}$ Run of Water coming againft us; and the Wind being * fair, I was afraid of ftaying any longer, for fear of " hindering the Ships from going to Sea. There is a "great Probability of an Opening on the Weft Side, by the "coming in of the Whales; but I could not go higher up "t to try it, for the above-mentioned Reafons." In the amended Report this Paffage is entirely left out ; for as to what is faid therein, I mean in the amended Report, figned by Rankin and Wilfon, of their feeing large black Whales in their Return from the Ships, not far from Deer Sound; this is alfo contained in the original Report, wherein Mr. Rankin fays, In coming doron we fare feveral very large black Whales playing about the Boat, and aforere; fo that nothing can be plainer, than that the Meaning of Rankin, was to diftinguifh between thofe Whales, the Sight of which induced him to believe there was an Opening to the Weft, and the black Whales that he faw in returning to the Ships. And why the former Whales were left out in the amended Report, is a Matter that deferves Confideration; but it is very plain, that as it ftood in the original Report, it is irreconcileable to the Captain's Anfwer; and therefore he was in the right to guard againft it, by faying, However, Conclufons drawen from Whales being feen in any Place, are at the beft but very precarious. It may be fo; but it is very evident that Mr. Rankin concluded from therice, that there was an Opening to the Weft; and thofe who incline to believe him, will conclude fo ftill, though, as the Captain fays, that Conclufion be but precarious. And yet their other Conclufion of their coming in from their Frozen Slreight muft be allowed to be altogether as precarious.
As to the laft Reafon affigned by Mr. Dobbs, viz. from broken Lands North-weftwards, and a vaft Collection of Waters, full of Iflands on the South-weft-fide, this Anfwer is given by Captain Middleton, viz. It is moft likely that thefe watery Places, feen at a Diftance, are the fame Sort of Lakes of melted Snow from the Mountains, as were every where feen from the Eminences they af cended in that Country, to over-fpread the 'Vallies; but be that as it will, there was no coming nigh them for the Rapidity of the Water-falls, that hindered the Boat from
going higher up then fhe did, and the immenfe Quantities of Ice along the South-weft Shore.
This Anfwer is plainly conjectural, and Captain Middleton only offers a Suppofition to refute what others had affirmed to be a Fact; for Mr. Dobbs tells us, that when the Lieutenant and another Perfon were examined before the Lords of the Admiralty, they pofitively affirmed that they had feen a fair open Channel, with Lands on each Side, as high as the Cape of Good Hope. It likewife appears, that the Lieutenant was preffed to go up this Clian nel ; and the Reafon he gave for not complying with this Requeft, was, that he had already exceeded his Orders in extent of Time, and of the Difcovery, which he had profecuted farther than he was directed to do ; and therefore declined what was propofed from an Apprehenfion of being punifhed upon his Return, if he had complied with it.
10. But we are now to come to thofe Arguments, which have been produced by Captain Middleton in the Affirmative, and in Proof of his Affertion that this is no Streight, buta Frefh-water River. In the firf Place, he fays, that he conceives it can have no Communication with the Sea Weftward, becaufe the Tide of Flood comes in at its Mouth Eaftward. To this Mr. Dobbs replies, that it was to be confidered as a Streight, like the Magellan, and therefore he was not to look for the contrary Tide, till they were in the Middle of the Streight. In Confirmation of this, Mr. Dobbs farther obferves, the Tide at the North-eaft Entrance of Magellan Streigbt flows from the Eaftward, and rifes four Fathom before it comes to the firf Narrow, which is but half a League wide, and from thirty to thirty-five Fathom deep; after a League or two it increafes to fix or feven Leagues wide to the fecond Narrow, where it is about a League wide, and thirty Fathom deep; within the fecond Nurrow it increafes again to five or fix Leagues wide, and the Tide ftill flows from the Eaftward, and rifes about ten Ficet. In the Middle Channel, about thirty Leagues within the Streight, it is two hundred Fathom, and the Channel but three Leagues wide; and from thence to the Middle of the Streight, it is leffened to two Leagues wide, and about one hundred Fathom deep, and the Tide ftill flows from the Eaftwards for above fifty Leagues. As they come near the Middle of the Streight, the Current of the Tide is not above half an Hour at each Tide, and the Tide rifes nine Feet near Cape Quad; beyond the Middle of the Streight it is but two Leagues wide, and for about thirteen Leagues farther it is rather lefs; fometimes not four Miles wide; from whence it gradually widens to the Weft Entrance, where it is five Leagues wide, fo that Wager Streight is much larger; for fo far as they were in it, which was about thirty Leagues, it being by the Account as mentioned in the Journal fix or feven Leagues wide, and eighty Fathom deep; which if there be no other, is a noble Paffage; but there is a great Probability of there being a better and fafer Paffage to the Southward of Whalebone Point, by which the Whales get into that Part of the Bay.
The fecond Reafon offered by Captain Middleton is, becaufe of the gradual Declenfion in the rifing of the Tides, which flowed eighteen Feet at the Entrance, but thirteen at Deer Sound; and the higheft the Boat could go for Water-falls, was no more than five or fix Feet. But whoever confiders what is before replied to the Argument, drawn from the Tides coming in from the Eaftward, will very eafily fee, that allowing all the Captain fays to be true, this is very far from being conclufive; fince it appears to agree well enough with what happens in the Streight of Magellan; and, befides all this, Mr. Dobbs fays, that in the Captain's Journal, the Tide at Savage Sound is faid to have rofe but twelve Feet fix Inches, inftead of fifteen, and at the fame Time it yofe ten Feet in Deer Sound. He likevife fays, that when they were behind the Weft Bluff, they did not ftay a Tide, and could only conjecture how much it flowed; nor did they obferve in their Report, whether the Eaftern or Weftern Current was Ebb or Flood; though upon Recollection, the Lieutenant was pofitive it was the Tide of Flood from the Weftward, which brought the Boat to
a Grap-
a Grapnel, it having flowed fis Fect immediately after he anchored the Boat.

The third Reafon afigned feems the ftrongeft of all; for the Captain therein afierts, that the Water was found to be fo frefh in the Mid-Channel, above Deer Sound, that the Men freely drank it, along-fide the Boat, inftead of Beer; and the higher they went they found it the frefher. But it has been before obferved, that the Lieutenant, in his Expedition, filled a Bottle of Water at the Shore, and two Bottles farther down to the Eaftward; and that the Captain, when he came aboard, own'ed, that the Water, taken up at the Weft-end, near the Fall of Water, was the falteft; and the Mafter faid, that it was as falt as any he tafted in thofe Seas, which was confirmed by all thofe who tafted it aboard. It is alfo affirmed, that when the Captain caufed the Water to be taken up, which he fays was frefh, the Crew did not come entirely into his Opinion, but only faid that it was not very falt.
The Captain urges next, that no Whales were feen there ; but at the Entrance of the River, and at Deer Sound ; this being an Argument that they came not from any Sea to the weftward, but entered by fome Inlet from the North-eaft. We have already taken notice, that the Lieutenant contradicts this in his original Report, by afferting pofitively that the Whales came from the Weft. And Mr. Dobbs, in anfwer to this very Argument of Capt. Middleton's, expreffes himfelf thus: "The next " Falfity he would have impofed upon me was, That the " Whales came in certainly at the Eaft Entrance of Wa"ger River, for he faw feveral in the Welcome and Cape " Dobbs, before they came in and after they went out, " which none of them faw but himfelf. And the Journal exprenly fays, when they came up with the Ice, "Hi" therto have been feen no Whales, except one white "Whale as big as a Grampus, and five or fix Seals: "And both Log-Book and Journal are entirely filent a" bout any when they came out, until they came near "Brook Cobbam. When 1 taxed the Captain with this, " all he could fay was, he lieard one or two blow; yet " in the Log-Book which he has printed, he fays he heard "two or three blow in that Watch, though nothing of it " is entered in the Original large Log-Book, rior was "any feen by any other Perfon on board the Furnace; "t nor did Capt. More, in the Difcovery, fee any, though "two on board him took upon them to fwear, they faw "6 or heard two or three blow."
Another Reafon made ufe of by Capt. Middleton is, becaufe Travellers which have gone from Churcbill by Land, as high as the Arctic Circle, affirm, that they met with neither falt Water, River, nor Sea, in any Part of their Journey. This Argument would alfo be very conclufive if the Fact was abfolutely certain; but if it was, it is not eafy to conceive why Capt. Middleton, by his Letters to Mr. Dobbs, written before the undertaking of this laft Expedition, fhould give him any Hopes of Succefs in fuch an Undertaking ; for had he known and confidered the Force of this Argument at that Time, in its full Extent, he mult have feen that it proved any fuch Paffage as he went in Search of, if not impoffible, at leaft impracticable, and therefore not worth the feeking. When the Reader reflects upon the Obfervations made in the very laft Article upon the Conduct and Sentiments of Capt. Fames, after his Return from Cbarlton Ifland, he will probably fee good Grounds to believe, that Difappointment operates very powerfully upon fome Mens Underttandings, and engages them to treat as Vulgar Errors what themfelves formerly efteemed undoubted Truths, either from an Over-weaning Fondnefs for their own Abilities, or from an envious Defire to put that out of the Thoughts of others, which by Accident was put out of their own Power.
II. It was however natural enough for Mr. Dobbs, after examining this Matter attentively, to wifh that all the Doubts about it might be removed by a fubfequent Expe-
dition, and one would have thought that this Scheme muft have been alfo fatisfactory to Captain Cbrijtopboer Middleton and the Hudfon's Bay Company ; becaure being fo firmly perfuaded as they feem to be, that no fuch Paffage can ever be found from Hudfon's Bay into the Weft Oceen, they fhould liave been willing to have had this Truth, as they efteem it, fo fairly and fully made out as to leave no Grounds, or, if poffible, no Colour, of Sufpicion about it, as this would have entirely juftified that Gentleman's Conduct, and have faved the Company all future Trouble.
But it does not appear that this actually was the Cafe; on the contrary, fuch Objections were ftarted, and fo many Difficulties fuggefted, as quite overthrew all Hopes of obtaining fuch Affiftance from the Admiralty as they had before ; but the Spirit of the Nation being awakened, the Opinion of there being fuch a Paffage gaining Ground; and the Defire of finding it increafing daily, produced an Application to Parliament in 1744 , when, after mature Deliberation, a Law paffed upon that Subject, in Confequence of which another Expedition has been fet on foot.

The Preamble of this Act takes Notice, that as the difcovering another Weft Paffage through Hudjon's Streight to the Weftern American Ocean, would be of great Benefit and Advantage to this Kingdom; and that it would be of great Encouragement to the Adventurers to attempt the fame, if a public Reward was given to fuch Perfons as fhould make a perfect Difcovery of the faid Paffage, it is therefore Enacted, that if any Ships or Veffels belonging to his Majefty's Subjects fhall find out, and fail through any Paffage by Sea, between Hudfon's Bay and the Weftern Ocean of America, the Owners of fuch Ships or Veffels thall be intitled to receive as a Reward for fuch Difcovery, the Sum of Twenty Thoufand Pounds. The following Perfons are, by the faid Act, appointed Commifioners for examining the Claims that may be made under it; viz. the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Prefident of the Council, the Lord Privy-Seal, the Lord Steward of his Majefty's Houfhold, the Lord Chamberlain, the firt Commifioner of the Treafury, the firt Commiffioner of the Admiralty, the principal Secretaries of State, the Speaker of the Houfe of Commons, the Chancellor of the Exchequeir, the firft Commiffionier for Trade and Plantations; the Treafurer of his Majefty's Navy, and the Admirals of the Red, White, and Blue Squadrons for the Time being; and thefe Commifioners are empowered to examine the ClaimantsWitnefles upon Oath ; and the Certificate of the Majority of them (of which the firft Commiffioner of the Admiralty fhall be one) under their Hands and Seals given, flall intitle the Perfon or Perfons, having fuch Certificate, to receive of the Lord Migh Treafuret, or Commiffioners of the Treafury, the faid Sum of $T$ wenty $T$ boufandPounds, after the faid Difcovery fhall be completed, and the Certificate thereof produced as aforefaid. As a farther Encouragement, and to promote the executing of, and finding oit, fuch Paffage, It is further Enacted, That all Perfons, Subjects of his Majefty, refiding in any Place where the raid Adventurers may come, in the Profecution of this Difcovery, fhall give the faid Adventurers all Affiftance: and Perfons, Subjects, as aforefaid, fhall no Way obftruct, moleft, or refufe the faid Adventurers reafonable Succour in any Diftrefs they may fall into in the profecuting this Difcovery. A Provifo is added, that nothing in this Act fhall extend to prejudice the Eftate, Rights or Privileges of the Governor and Company of Adventurers of England, trading into Hudjon's Bay.
Such is the Hiftory of the Defign for penetrating into the Weftern Ocean, by a Paffage to the North-weft; fuch have been the Steps taken for putting it in Execution; fuch the Difappointments with which Expeditions of this Sort have been attended ; and fuch, finally, the Provifion made by the Legilature, that whoever fhall be at the Expence and Hazard of this Difcovery for the public Service, fhall receive a public Reward.

## SECTION V.


#### Abstract

A fuccinet Account of the Grounds upon which a North-east Passage into the Sea of Japon bas been expected and Sought for. The Attempts of the Englifh and Dutch on ithat Side, with the Reafons why all Thoughts of a Paffage that W ay bave been for many Years given up.


## Collected from Dutch as well as Engli/h Authors.

1. A View of the Advantages propofed from the Difcovery of a North-eaft Paffage, and of the principal Reafons which bave induced Jkilful Geographers, and able Seamen, to believe that fuch a Paflage might be found. 2. The Attempts made by Sir Hugh Willoughby, Captain Stephen Burroughs, Captain Arthur Pett, and Captain Charles Jackman, for the Difcovery of that Paflage, zoithout Effect. 3. An Account of three Voyages made by the famous Dutch Pilot, William Barentz, for that Purpofe, and with no better Succefs; the Reafons that induced Barentz to die in the Perfwafion that fuch a Paflage might fill be found ; and the Motives upon which the Hopes of difcovering tbis Paflage were revived, after all Thougbts of it bad, for a long Time, been laid afide. 4. A fhort Account of Captain Wood's Voyage, in Search of that Paffage, by the Direction of King Charles II. and bis Mifcarriage. 5. The Reafons publibed by bim, after bis Difappointment, to prove the finding fuch a Paflage impoflible, or at leaft impracticable. 6. The Difcoveries made by the Ruffans in their Affatic Dominions, and more particularly their late important Difcovery, that there is a very eafy Paffage that Way to North America. 7. The Conclufion of this Subject, with fome free Thoughts thereupon, tending to prove, that if we are difappointed in all Attempts of fuding either a North-weft or North-eaft Paflage, it will amount to a Demonfiration that there is a clear Pafage by the North, in or near the Pole.

THE Advantages propofed by the Difcovery of a Paffage to the North-eaft, may be reduced to three. The firt is, That it would fave a great deal of Time; for, whereas we are now obliged to go round by the Cape of Good Hope, or, which is fill a longer Navigation, by the Streights of Magellan, we might then pais by the Coant of Muscouy, and Great Tartary, into the Sea of Fapon, in iittle more than three Months. The fecond turns on the Wholefomenefs of the Voyage, which, according to the Methods now in Ufe, confumes abundance of Seamen; but by this means would become as healthy as any Navigation can be, and be performed with very little Hazard. In the third Place, there is good Reafon to hope that it would change the very Nature of the Eaf India Trade, by bringing the Balance over to the Side of Europe; whereas in the Way we now carry it on, it is morally certain, that if the We/t Indies had not been difcovered, the Eaft India. Trade muft have eat up and deftroyed us, I mean the People of Europe in general ; for whatever there may be gained by us, or by the Dutch, it is an uncontroverted Point, that immenfe Sums in Silver are annually fent from Europe to balance the Accounts of our Traders with thofe in the Eaft Indies; but if a Paf fage fhould be found to this Country by the North-eaft, we might then hope to gain as much by cloathing the Inhabitants of the Northern Countries as would balance our Commerce with thofe in other Parts. We are next to examine the Reafons why fuch a Paffage has been expected and fought for ; and this may be likewife reduced under threeHeads. The Firft is grounded on the Difpofition of the terraqueous Globe, which feems to require a perfect Circulation of that great Body of Water which is intermixed with the Earth; and as we find this Conjecture verified towards the South Pole, it makes the Argument fo much the ftronger with refpect to the North. The'Second arifes from Obfervation, which affords Variety of Inftances, in Confirmation of the fame Notion We will mention one or two: All theWood that is thrown on the Coafts of Greenlard, Nova Zembla, Lapland, and other Northern Countries is worm-eaten; which is a Proof that this Wood came from a warmer Climate; fince it is certain that Ships are not worm-eaten in the Northern Seas. There is likewife a Kind of Molucca Bean thrown almoft by every Tide upon the Northern Coants, which is with great Probability believed to be the

Product of the Eaftern Climes ; and, what fill more ftrongly corroborates this Manner of Reafoning, fome Dutch Seamen, who were fhipwrecked at Corea, obferved a Harpoon in the Head of a Whale caft upon that Coaft, which muft therefore have come thither from the Northern Seas. Laftly, there are fome Fazts which, if they could be depended upon, would put this Matter out of Difpute, fince they relate to Ships which have actually paffed this Way, or at leaft have difcovered an open Sea through which they inight have paffed; but as this cannot be verified by proper Vouchers, they ought to be confidered only as Reports, and as fuch I lay no great Strefs upon them.
2. The firt who attempted the actual Difcovery of fuch a Paffage to the North-eaft, was Sir Hugh Willoughby, in 1553 . He advanced as far as 72 Degrees North Latitude; but finding himifelf blocked up by the Ice, he retired, as well as he could, into the Mouth of the River Arzina, in Lapland; , where he and all his Company were frozen to Death, and were the next Year found in that Condition. This did not difcourage Captain Stephen Burroughs, afterwards Comptroller of the Navy, in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, from purfuing this Difcovery; on which he failed in 1556 , and having doubled the North Cape, entered the Streights of Weygatz, between the South of Nova Zembla, and the Country of the Samoieds, believing the Gulph, on the Eaft of that Streight, to be a free and open Sea, in which Opinion he returned to England. This occafioned a third Voyage, by the Direction of that glorious Queen, who, in 1580, fent Captain Artbur Pett, and Captain Cbarles Jackman, to perfect this Difcovery. They entered the Strcight, but found themfelves fo embarrafied among the Ice, that after long ftruggling, with much Difficulty, they got out again, and refolved to return home; but meeting with very bad Weather, they were feparated, and Captain Pett was never heard of afterwards, which gave a Check to all farther Thoughts of fearching for a Northeaft Paffage, by our Countrymen.
3. But the Dutch, who were extremely fenfible of the Benefits that might refult from fuch a Difcovery, and being withal very emulous of thie Englifb Glory, refolved to try what might be done in this Refpect; and with this View they fent the famous William Barentz thither, in 1594, who paffed the Streights of Weygatz, and having
examined the Gulph into which they open, abandoned The fame Perfon that gave me this Date acquainted mes the Defign, after having obferved that the Water was frefh, which had not been taken notice of before. He thought, however, that fomething might fill be done, though not that Way, and therefore undertook a fecond and a third Voyage to Nova Zembld, in Hopes of fucceeding better. In 1596, which was his laft Voyage, he and his Crew wintered in that Country, in the Latitude of 78 Degrees. After having loft their Veffel, they got off the next Spring in their two Shallops, defigning for Cola in Lapland, where they fafely arrived; but Barentz died in the Paffage. He remained to the laft Moment in the Sentiments he entertained after his firft Voyage, and declared if he had lived, he would have made another Voyage, from a thorough Perfuafion, that notwithftanding all he had fuffered, there was a free and open Sea between Nova Zembla and Greenland.

The beft Accounts we have of this Undertaking, and of the Extremities of Norreay, Lapland, Nova Zembla, Wcygatz, the Mouth of the River Oby, the Coaft of T'artary at the Mouth of that River, and of the Wbite Sea, are in the Works of the famous Linfchooten, who made this Voyage at the fame time with Barentz. Our great Navigator Henry Hudjon had fome Thoughts of difcovering the Paffage, and actually made a Voyage for that Purpofe in 16 Io; but the Fate of Barentz, and the unpromifing Appearance of the Frozen Coafts, obliged him to abandon very foon fo troublefome an Expedition. In 1653 the King of Denmark fitted out three Ships for the finding the North-eaft Paffage, and directed the making an exact Chart of their Difcoveries: Thefe Ships paffed the Streights of Weygatz, and in the Bay beyond them found fome of the Inhabitants of Nova Zembla in their Canoes; which were the moft brutal and intolerable Savages that were ever feen: Their Garments were made of the Skins of Penguins, Pelicans, and other large Birds, with their Feathers on: They lived upon raw Fifh, and Iad the utmoft Abhorrence of more civilized Nations ; which was not by any Means to be foftened by Prefents or kind Ufage. This made the Danes foon weary of fo inhofpitable a Coaft, and fo put an End to the Expedition, which brought fuch a Difcredit on the North-eaft Paffage as prevented any farther Attempts for near twenty Years. At laft, after the Royal Society was founded here, by which Means Subjects of this fort came to be more known and more freely examined, the Hopes of finding a North-eaft Paffage was again renewed, and feveral Papers were written, to fhew both the Utility of fuch a Paffage, and that the finding of it was practicable.

The firf that revived, at leaft with any Degree of Vigour, the Notion of difcovering a Paffage to the North-eaft, after that Scheme had lain fo long under Difcredit, was a Company of Merchants in Holland, who fitted out a Ship for the Difcovery; which, upon its Return, brought an Account, That they had failed to the Height of between 70 and 80 Degrees, and had difcovered a fair open Sea, without any Ice to the Eaftward of Nova Zembla, which feemed fo plain and fo perfect a Proof of the Probability of a fafe Navigation on that Side, that the Merchants concerned in that Undertaking applied to the States for a. Charter, that might fecure to them the Advantages that might refult from this new-found Paffage. But the Eaft India Company having Notice of this Application, and forefeeing how far it might affect their Trade, inftantly petitioned the States on their Side, fetting forth the great Services they had done the Republic, the Nature of the Charters which had been granted to them, and the Confequences that muft attend the beftowing on this new Company, the Privileges that they demanded. The States had Regard to their Reprefentations, and refufed the Charter applied for. The Merchants, upon this, applied to the King of Denmark, and having obtained his Licence, an Expedition was made for Difcovery; but by reafon of a Mutiny on board the Ship, it came to nothing. A large Account of all thefe Tranfactions was printed in the Memoirs of our Royal Society, in the Year 1675 , but without any Date; one, however, I have with much Difficulty recovered, which is the Voyage wherein the Dutch Merchants were fuccefsful, and which I find was in 1670.

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that at the Time this Application was made to the States, it was afferted that there was no Difficulty in failing North about Greenland; that feveral Dutch Ships had actually done it, and that the Merchants being required to verify this Fact, they defired that the Journals of the Greenland Squadron in 1655 might be produced; in feven of which there was Notice taken of a Ship, which that Year had failed as high as the Latitude of 89 , within one Degree of the Pole; and three Journals of that Ship being produced, they all agreed as to an Obfervation taken by the Mafter, Auguft the Ift, $1655^{\prime}$, in 88 Degrees 56 Minutes; and it was farther fet forth in thofe Journals, that the Sea was entirely clear of Ice, and was a hollow rowling Sea, like that of the Bay of Bijcay.

4. Soon after the publifhing the Accounts before-mientioned in the Pbilofopbical Iranfactions, Capt. Jobn Wood, an experienced Seaman, who had accompanied Sir $\neq 0$ in Narborough in his Voyage through the Streights of Magellan, offered his Service to attempt the Difcovery of the North-eaft Paffage; which was accepted, and the eight following Perfons, viz. Thomas Dike of York, Lord Berkley, Sir Jofeph Williamfon, Sir fobn Bankes, Mr. Samuel Peeps, Capt. Herbert, Mr. Dupey, and Mr. Hoopgood, at their own proper Charge, bought a Pink called the Profperous, of the Burden of one hundred and twenty Tons, fitted her to Sea, with Men, Ammunition, Provifion, and Merchandize, which was fuch as was reafonably propofed to vend on the Coaft of Tartaria, or at $\mathcal{F} a$ pon, if a Paffage had been found. The Command of this Veffel was given to Captain William Flawes, and a new Ship of the King's called the Speedroell, manned and victualled at the King's Expence, was given to Captain Wood, who had the Conduct of the Expedition.

They failed from the Buoy at the Nore, May the 23 th, 1676, but the Voyage was very unfortunate; for the Speedruell was hipwrecked on the Coaft of Nova Zernbla, and Captain Wood, and his People, returned aboard the Profperous, which put an End to all Thoughts of Expeditions of this Nature; for Captain Wood, like other difappointed Commanders, "changed his Opinion upon his Return, and undertook to prove that it was impolible to find any Paffage to the North-eaft, There is nothing very remarkable, either in his Journal, or in that of Captain Flarves; but his Relation of his Shipwreck; of the Country of Nova Zembla, and his Reafons for changing his Sentiments, are, in themfelves, very curious, and therefore deferve the Reader's Notice.
5. "After giving both thefe Journals, fays he, mean"s ing his own, and that of Captain Flawes, I intend to "s Thew my Conceptions of the faid Voyage, and a true " Relation of our Mifcarriage, with fome Obfervations "s made in the faid Voyage. The firft was, the follow" ing the Opinion of Willian Barentz, that was to fteer " directly North-eaft from the Nortb Cape, and fo fall " in the Middle-way, between Greenland and Nova Zenir" blo; fo having made the Land to the Weftward of the "North Cape, the Igth Day of Fune, I fteered away
"North-eaft by Compafs, which was not fo much by " the true Courfe, becaufe of the Variation that is there "6 Wefterly; and the 22 d Day at Noon we faw the main "Body of Ice, being in the Latitude 76 Degrees, and " about fixty Leagues to the Eaftward of Greeinland. At " the firft feeing of Ice, I did imagine it had been the "Ice that joined to Greenland, and that if I went more "Eafterly there might be a free Sea; fo I'ran clofe by "" the Ice, it lying away Eaft-fouth-eaft, and Weft-north"weft; and every League or lefs that we ran, we mee " with a Cape of Ice; fo when we were about that we " could fee no Ice to the Northward; fo ftanding in "North-eaft fometimes two Glaffes, that is one Hour, " we could fee more Ice ahead, and then we were forced " to go out the fame Way we came in, and thus I "continued coafting the Ice, fometimes in Hopes of a "clear Sea, and then again difheartened by feeing more " Ice, till at laft I had no Hopes at all; which was s when I faw the Land of Nova Zembla and the Ice join ' to it. So here the Opinion of William Earentz was " confuted, and the reft of the Dutch Relations, which
$5 \mathbb{Z}$
". certainly
© certainly are all forged, abufive, Pamphlets, as alfo the © Relations of our own Countrymen.
"But certainly if Mien did really confider the many er inevitable Dangers and Mifchiefs that come upon the
os broaching of fuch Untruths, they would never do it ;
"s for I do now verily believe, that if there be no Land
${ }^{66}$ to the Northward of the Latitude of 80 Degrees, that
" 6 ' the Sea that is there is all frozen, and always continueth
is fo; for $I$, that could get no farther than $j 6$ Degrees,
os found it fo frozen without Intermifion, and fonse of
"s the Ice that we faw, that was on the main Body, if it
${ }^{56}$ had been conveyed io Degrees more Southward,
"" would have taken fome Centuries of Years to thaw it;
${ }^{66}$ for the loofe Ice that lay about the Edges of the main
"Body, was not more than a Foot thick, in fome Pieces,
"s above the Superficies of the Water, and the reft of the
sc Cake that was funk, was more than 18 Feet below;
"foI conclude that thofe vaft Mountains that were on the
${ }^{66}$ main Body, were all afhore, as of Neceflity they mutt
" if they hold the fame Proportion; and confidering the
"Shallowners of the Water, which I found all along the
" Ice, which in the Mid-way, between the two Lands,
"I found to be no more than ten Fathom, was doubt-
" lefs a Sign that to the Northward is Land, and that
" the main Body of Ice, that lycth cluftered about the
ss Shore, may be twenty Leagues or more; and that
"Nova Zembla and Greenland are the fame Continent;
"s for if there had been any Paffage, there would have
" been fome Current, which I could never, or very hard-
" ly , find to be any; and the little there was run Eaft-
"fouth-eaft along the Ice, which is nothing elfe but a
"s fmall Tide, which rifes fome eight Feet. Thus the
"Ice having been an Obftacle in our Way, as alfo the
" Caufe of my coming fo far to the Eaftward, which, be-
" fore I never intended, I will come to the Misfortune
" that happened to us in the Lofs of our Ship, which was
"s thus: Being long amongtt the Ice, the 2gth Day of
"f June, in the Morning, we had like to have been in-
"c clofed in it; it proving likewife foggy Weather, I
" ftood out to the Southward, thinking to lie there till
"s fairer Weather, or to fpend fome Time to the South-
"s ward, and then come to the Ice again, to fee if there
" might be any Alteration in it, as to its Removal,
" either to the Eaft, Weft, North, or South; but all
"s this Day it proved foggy dirty Weather, the Wind
"s being at Weft, fo we lay South-fouth-weft with the
"Stern, and by our Judgnent and Reckoning, the Weft-
" ermoft Land of Nova Zembla bore from us Eaft-fouth-
"ceaft, that was four Points under our Lee-Bow; but
"fuch was our Misfortune, that it proved not fo; for
" about ten o'Clock, Captain Flarees, being upon our
" Weather Quarter, fired a Gun, and bore to me, and
" called out that there was Ice ahead; then I looked
"s out ahead, faw fomething white juft under the Bow,
$\because$ which prefently I perceived to be a Breach and no Ice;
"t now if I had ftaid with the Ship, Captain Flawes be-
"s ing to the Windward, I fhould have been aboard of
" him, and then certainly we had been both loft; fo I
"6 was forced to bear up with Hope that I might get
"clear of it; but the Ship being a great while wearing
" fruck on the Rock, herHead lying to Seaward, which
"s if it had not, but that the Broad-fide had been to the
" Sea, we had all perifhed, without God's great Mercy. "Captain Flawes, in the mean Time (being a fhorter "Ship) wore round, and came clofe under our Stern,
cs and with great Providence efcaped and ftood off to
"Sea; here we lay beating on the Rock in a moft cruel
${ }^{66}$ Manner, for the Space of three or four Hours, ufing
"s all poffible Means to fave her, but all in vain; for it
"s blew fo hard, that it was impoffible to carry out an
"A Anchor, capable of doing us any Service; though
"s we had an Opportunity to carry out a fmall Anchor,
"6 and Warp to haul another out by, which fignified but
"s little; the Ship all this while lay, and at the End of
" four or five Hours we faw Land clofe under our Stern,
" to the great. Amazement of us all, which before "s we could not fee for foggy Weather; fo I commanded
"s the Men to get out our Boat before our Maft came by
es the Board; which was done. I fent the Boatfivain
' toward the Shore in the Pinnace, to fee if there was any Poffibility of landing, which I much feared, becaufe the Sea ran fo high. In half an Hour he returned " with this Anfwer: That it was impoffible to fave a
"Man the Sea ran fo high; and the Snow being in high
"Cliffs on Shore it was inacceffible, which was but bad
«Tidings; fo then it was high time to think on the
"Safety of our Souls, and we all went together to
"Prayers, to befeech God to have Mercy on us; for here "s nothing but inevitable Ruin appeared before our Eyes.
" After Prayers were done it proved a little clearer
"Weather, and I, looking over the Stern, faw a fmall
" Beach directly with the Stern of the Ship, where I thought
"s there might be fome Poffibility of landing; fo I fent the
"s Pinnace again with fome Men, to be landed; but they " durft not venture on Shore : fo I fent the Longboat " with fome twenty Men, to land, who attempted it, " and got fafe on Shore; fo they in the Pinnace feeing "s that followed them and their Men likewife, and both
"s returned on board again. Now the Men on the Shore " fent to me to defire fome Fire-arms and Ammunition; " for there were many Bears on Shore: So I caufed to " be put into the Pinnace two Barrels of Powder that we " had faved dry, before the Ship was bulged, and fome " fmall Arms and Provifions, with my own Papers and
" Money; but as the put off from the Ship-fide a Sea
" overfet her, fo that all was loft, with the Life of one
" Man, by Name Jobn Bofman, being Cooper's Mate, "s and feveral others, taken up for dead. The Longboat " being then on Shore to land more Men; and they
" hearing us call from a-board (when, as then, we could " not fee the Shore) they came on board, and faved the " Men ; but the Pinnace was all broken to Pieces, which
"s was no fmall Grief to us; fo the Lugboat being on
" board, and the Sea running prodigious high, the "Boatfwain, and fome others, would compel me and the
"Lieutenant to leave the Ship; faying, It was impoffible
"s for the Boat to live any longer in that Sea; and that
"s they had rather be drowned than I; but defiring me
" when I came afhore (if it was poffible) to fend the
"Boat again for them; fo I being half way on Shore, " the Ship overfet, fo I made all the hafte poffible to " land the Men I had in the Boat ; and, having landed " them, I went off to the Ship again, to fave thofe poor " Men that had been fo kind to me ; and, with great "Hazard, I got with the Boat to the Quarter of the "Ship, and they came down the Ladder into the Boat, " only one Man who was left for dead, which was one " that had been caft away in the Pinnace, whofe Name "was Alexander Frazer, a very pretty Sailor; fo I re" turned to the Shore, and got fafe to Land, though "s very wet and cold; fo we hauled up the Boat on " Shore, and went up the Land about a Flight" Shot, where our Men were making a Fire, and a "Tent with Canvas and Oars, which we had faved " for that Purpofe; fo we lay all that Night very cold, wet, and weary.
" The next Morning, the Man that was left on board "s recovered, and got unto the Mizen-top, for that Maft "s was left ftanding when we came away, the others we " had cut all down. The Ship laboured, and beat vio-
" lently, but it blew fo hard, and the Sea ran fo high, " that it was impoffible to fave him; fo the Weather " continuing blowing, with extreme Fogs, and with "Froft and Snow, and all the ill-compacted Weather "s that could be imagined together; we built more Tents " to preferve ourfelves, and the Ship breaking in " Pieces came all afhore to the fame Place where "s we landed, which ferved for Shelter and Firing ; befides, there came to us fome Hogtheads of Flower, " good Store, which was no fmall Comfort in our great "Extremity ; and we lay betwixt Hope and Defpair, " hoping for fair Weather, that Capt. Flawes might find "us, which was impoffible that ever he fhould, if it "c continued foggy ; fome defpairing of his being fafe; " but that he might be loft as well as me.
"But fuppofing we were never to fee him again, I was "refolved to try the utmoft to fave as many as I could ${ }^{6}$ in the Longboat; in order thereunto we raifed her two

## Chap. I.

North-éast Passage.
${ }^{6}$ Feet higher, and laid a Deck upon her, to keep the "Sea out as much as polfible; and with this Boat and s6 thirty Men (for fhe would carry no more) I intended
"s to row and fail to Rufia; but the Crew, being not fatif" fied who thould be the Men, began to be very ss unruly in their Minds and Behaviour, every one
" having as much Renfon to fave himfelf as another,
"fome holding Confultation to ftave the Boat, and all
" to run the like Fortune; but here Brandy was our
" beft Firiend, for it kept them always foxed; fo that in
"s all their Defigns I could prevent them. Some were of
"s the Mind to go by Land; but that I knew was impof-
" fible for any "Man; neither had we Provifions or
"Ammunition to defend ourfelves from the wild Beafts;
"s and if it had been paffable, that is, any going on
" the Ground for Bogs, they would have met with
"Rivers, that they knew not whither to go ; fo there
" being no Probability of going by Land, nor for any " to attempt going by Boat with forty Men, leaving the
"e reft to be deftroyed, I will fubmit to the Confideration
"s of any, whether we were not in a very miferable Condi-
" tion, without the Intervention of divine Providence. To
"s write my Thoughts I had at that time, to fave as ma-
" ny Men as I could, it is not pertinent at all to the Dif"s courfe, fince it cannot but be tragical.

The Weather continued ftill very bad, with Fogs " Snow, Rain, and Froft, till the ninth Day of our be" ing on Shore, which was the 8th Day of $\mathcal{F} u l$, when,
" in the Morning it cleared up; and to our great Joy
" one of the Sailors cried out, A Sail; which proved
" Capt. Flazees, as reafonably may be imagined; fo we
"fet Fire to our Town, that he might fee where we
"s were, which he prefently faw, fo came, and fent his
" Boat to us; but before I went off I wrote a brief Re-
" lation of the Intention of the Voyage, with the Ac-
" cidents that had befallen us, and put it into a Glafs
" Bottle, and left it in the Fortification I had there built.
${ }^{66}$ So by twelve o'Clock we all got fafe on board, but left
" all on Shore that we had faved from the Ship, for we
${ }^{6}$ much feared it fhould prove fogrgy Weather again.
" Now I intend to give a brief Defcription of the Land, 6s and the Obfervations I made there.
' Nova Zembla is fo called by the Ruflans, which
" fignifies Nerv Land, in their Language. To prove either "s that it is an Illand, or whether it joineth to the Continent "s of Tartaria, would be a very hard Tafk, nor is it cer-
"s tainly known to any; for by Circumftances I think it
"impoffible to prove; and by Experience, the Search
" thereof is fo impoffible that it will hardly be tried;
" but let it be either, I think the Matter is not much,
" fince it is the moft miferable Country that lieth on the
" Foundation of the Earth ; a Country, moft part of it
" covered perpetually with Snow ; and that which is bare,
" is not to be walked on, being like Bogs; upon
"s whofe Superficies grows a Kind of Mofs which
" beareth a fmall blue-and-yellow Flower ; and this is " all the Product of the Earth of this Country. Under
" the Superficies of the Earth, about two Feet deep, after
"s we had dug fo low, we came to a firm Body of Ice;
" which, as I think, was never heard of before; fo
" thofe Men that did imagine, if they were forced to
" winter to the Northward, to dig Caves in the Earth
"t to preferve themfelves from Cold, would find here
" but very bad Lodging. The Snow lieth here contrary
" to what it doth in any other Country; for in all other
" Climates the Snow melteth fooneft away near the Sea-
" fide, but here in fome Places it rifes as high as either " of the Forelands in Kent.
"The Sea has wafhed underneath the Snow a prodigi"s ous way, and the Snow from the Weftern Sea, upon "s the high Ridge, over-hanging, is moft fearful to be" hold, and up from the Water-fide, upon the firft
" Ridge of Hills, the Snow was melted, till you came " to the next Ridge, which are mountainous, and they " all the way up are covered with Snow, which I believe
" hath lain there ever fince the Creation; but after we " had afcended this, which in fome Places was almoft ' perpendicular, we came to the Top of all the Mountains, as we fuppofed, for we could not fee far, for we could hardly fee one or the other, the Fog was fo thick,
and remained fo all the Time we were in the Country 's but on the Top of the Hills we found it bare from "S Sow, and indifferent good walking. The Beafts that I " found in the Country were only Bears. I continued on the " Top of thofe Hills fome two Hours, and went as far as "t was convenient, that we might find the Way back again. ${ }^{6}$ Here I found the Track of many large Deer; alfo we " found an Horn or Branches of Deer. Befides Deer, there " are abundance of large white Bears, and fome Foxes " and a little Creature much like a Coney, but not fo big "s as a Rat; and fome few little Birds like Larks; and " thefe are all the Beafts or Fowls we found in the Coun" try. Every quarter of a Mile there runneth down from " the Hills, into the Sea, a fimall Rivulet of very good "Water, which is melted from Snow. Upon the Hills " we found abundance of Slate-Stone, which made it "s good walking; but at the Sea-fide, where the Rivuler " came down, we found very good black Marble, with ' white Veins in it.
" The Point where we loft our Ship I called Speedill; "' the high Hills I called King Cbarles's Snow Hills; and "s the next Point to the Southward, which is the Wefter" molt Point of Nova Zembla, I named Fames's Fore" lond, and the Point to the Northward, York Point. "Speedill lieth in the Latitude of 74 Degrees 30 Mi "s nutes North, and in the Longitude, Eaft from the Ci" ty of London, $\sigma_{3}$ Degrees; the Variation of the Com" "pafs is $I_{3}$ Degrees Weft, and it is full Sea at the South"weft Moon. The Tide rifeth eight Feet, and fetteth " directly upon the Shore, which is a certain Sign that "6 there is no Paffage to the Northward. The Sea "Water, about the Ice and Land, is very falt, and " much falter than any I ever tafted, and a great deal " heavier, and I may certainly fay, the cleareft in the " World; for I could fee the Ground very plain in "s eighty Fathom, which is four hundred ànd eighty Feet, "t there being few Steeples fo high as that was deep, "s and I could fee the Shells at the Bottom very plain."" Upon this Account, and thefe Reflections, I have only a few of thefe Obfervations to make. In the firt Place, it is owned by Captain Wood, that he did not fail fo high as the Dutch did by 4 Degrees; in this he fays he was hindered by Ice, and no doubt he might be fo; but his Conclufions from thence, that it is impoffible to proceed higher that Way, and that the Accounts we have of thofe who have proceeded farther, are to be regarded as fictitious, is very wild and extravagant; for that it is poffible to fail to the South of Greenland is notorious, and that there may be a Channel between this broken Land and Nova Zembla, is more than probable; but that this Channel may be very difficult to find, may be free from Ice but for a fimall Part of the Year, and that in fome hard Winters it may not be free at all, is very poffible.
In the next Place, I muft take notice, that notwithftanding we fee it laid down, that fearching higher than fixty-four Degrees on the North-weft-fide is to no parpofe; becaufe if a Paffage could be found in a higher Latitude, it would be impracticable on the Score of Ice and Cold, yet we fee that a Paffage has been fought on the North-eaft-fide; and as a Company of Dutch Merchants affirm, without any Reafon for affirming it if it was not true, that fuch a Paffage has been found into a Sea free from Ice; his thews that Opinions ought not to be too haftily taken up, which limit the Intelligence and Power of Mankind ; and that we fhould not be overready to liften to fuch Doctrines in Geography or Navigation, as are evidently dictated by Difappointment

My laft Obfervation is, that on the North-eaft, as well as on the North-weft, there appear to be broken Lands, which, if we confider the Nature of things, feem to indi cate a Paffage ; and that fuch a Paffage on either Side is worth feeking, by the Inhabitants in the Northern Part of the World, will appear plainly to any Man who confiders the Nearnefs of that Paffage, in Comparifon of the Streight of Magellan; and therefore we need not at al wonder, that from Tinse to Time new Attempts are made, notwithitanding repeated Difappointments. I muft confefs, that with refpect to us, a North-weft Paffage deferves the Preference, becaufe of our Poffeffions in Hudfois's Bay, which would enable us the better to fecure it
and therefore I confers it appears to me highly reafonable, that if a Reward of 20000 l. fhall be found not to produce the defired Effect, it fhould be enlarged to $100000 \%$. for this plain Reafon, that the Benefit of this Paffage, when found, would refult to the Public; and the Reward for finding it, however large, as it would be paid to our own Subjects, ought not to be efteemed either a Burden or a Lofs to the Public.
6. The Situation of the Dominions of Ruffa is fo favourable for Difcoveries on this Side, that it may be juftIy wondered we have not long ago had a clear and cersain ${ }^{\circ}$ Relation from the Subjects of that Empire, in Reference to their Commerce with the Nations inhabiting the Northern Parts of "Afaa; but partly from our Want of Correfpondence formerly with the Ruflan Court, partly from the great Ignorance of the People inhabiting the Northern Provinces of that Empire, and partly from the frequent Revolutions to which their Government has been always fubject; fo it has fallen out, that till within this laft Century we have never had any confiderable Informations from thence; and even now we are very far from having fuch clear and diftinct Accounts, as are neceffary to refolve this great Queftion, whether there is, or is not, a Paffage to the North-eaft?

Thus much, however, is pretty clear, that the Streights of Weygatz, as they were called, do not open into the Sea of Tartary, or the Nortbern Ocean, but into a Gulph which is bounded on the North-eaft by a high mountainous Country, by which it is joined to the Continent ; neither have we any abfolute or pofitive Account, that the Sea, to the North of Nova Zembla, is navigable or free from Ice. But in the Reign of Peter the Great, and fince his Time, vaft Difcoveries have been made to the Eaftward, and through that Sea, into which Ships muft neceffarily come, if a North-eaft Paffage could be found. The River Lena falls into the Northern Ocean very near, if not under, the Polar Circle; and from thence the Continent extends two hundred Leagues to the Mouth of the River Kebuma, all which is fubject to the Ruffons.

Beyond this River lies the Country of the Tychalt/ki, a sery barbarous and warike People, who poffefs a Country one hundred and twenty Leagues in Extent, from Weit to Eaft, and is the utmoft Bounds of Afia on that Side. This Country, which reaches as far North as 66 Degrees, is alfo the Extremity of that great Peninfula, to which the Ruflans have given the Name of Kamfobat$k a$; the Weft-fide of which is, in a good Meafure, under their Power, and fome Settlements they have on the Eaft. The Southern Extremity of this Peninfula, is that Country fo well known to the World, by the Name of the Land of Fedzo, directly over againt Fapon; fo that this great Peninfula has the Ocean on the North and on the Eant, the Sea of Fapon on the South, a Gulph of its own Name, which divides it from Corea, Cbinese Tortary, and the Dominions of Rufia, to the Weft; it extends from the Latitude of 39 to 66 Degrees, and contains 15 Degrees of Longitude, or thereabouts.

On the Eaft-fide of this Country lies a very large Inand, called $P_{u c h o c h o t / k i}$, extending from the Latitude of 59 to 63 Degrees; the Inhabitants of which are tributary to the Rufians. To the South of this lies another large Inand, from 5 r to 55 Degrees; the Inhabitants of which are a very warlike People, hitherto unfubdued, and with whom the Ruffians trade for Caftors, and other rich Furs. It is from this Inand that one Mr. Stoller, a famous Botanift, failed laft Year upon Difcoveries, and is faid to have found but a very flort Paffage to the Coafts of Nortb America. The Reader will eafily apprehend this, if he pleafeth to confider what we have heretofore delivered, of the Situation of the Countries on this Side, from the Frontiers of the Ruflan Dominions, to California; for, without doubt, in the Accounts we have from Peterfburgb of this Matter, they can mean no more by North America, than that Mr. Stoller had difcovered Inlands to the Eaftward of thofe with which the Ruffans were hitherto acquainted; but whether thefe belong ftrictly to -America or not, is a Queftion, that, till we are better acquainted with the Nature of this Difcovery, cannot be tefolved. The Reafon I have mentioned it is, becaufe it
affords a clear and certain Proof, that if we could pafs to
the North-eaft of Nova Zembla, we thould find a fhort and eafy Way to Japon and Cbina; notwithftanding al! that has been before afferted by Captain Wood, who, from his own Account, appears not to have failed far enough to the North, to be able to contradict, with any tolerable degree of Affurance, the Truth of what was afferted by the Dutch Navigators, upon the Faith of actual Difcoveries; for he was fhipwrecked in the Latitude of 74 Degrees, and they paft to the North of Nova Zembla, in the Latitude of 80 Degrees; and if they could have perfected that Difcovery, there is no doubt but that, by this Time, all the Trade of Cbina and Fapon had been carried on that Way; for it appears clearly, from the Ruflan Accounts, that thofe Dutch Navigators were aftually advanced into that Part of the Nortbern Ocean, which wafhes the Coaft of Kamfchatka, and confequently had no great Impediments to hinder them in their Paffage to Fapon, and from thence to Cbina.
7. We will conclude this Section, with oblerving, that from the Nature of the Tides in Hudfon's Bay, on the Coaft of Greenland, and in other Parts of the North Seas, it is apparent that fome Way or other they have a Communication with the Ocean, for otherwife it is fimply impoffible they fhould rife fo high as they do; and therefore if after all our Endeavours no Paffage fhould be found to the North-weft or North-eaft, we may reft fatisfied, that this Communication is from the North; and that by paffing round Spitzbergen or Greenland, we might enter what is called the Tartarian Sea, or that Part of the Ocean which wafhes the Northern and-Eaftern Extremities of Afa. This might always have been difcovered by dint of reafoning, fince the Figure of the Globe, and the Difpofition of the feveral Parts of it, have been tolerably known; but in Proportion as the true Figure of the Earth has been found out, by the Skill and Labour of Mathematicians; and as their Accounts of this Matter have been juftified by Experiments, this has grown clearer and clearer; fo that at prefent there can remain few or no Doubts about it, in the Minds of thofe who are competent Judges of the Subject.

It feems therefore to be a Point of the greateft Importance to make the beft and fpeedieft Ufe of the feveral Lights we have received that is poffible, in order to obtain a Share, at leaft, in the vaft Advantages that muft neceffarily accrue from the being able to extend our Na vigation through any of thefe Paffages. We have certainly, in this Refpect, as great or greater Opportunities than any of our Neighbours; and there feems to be, at prefent, fuch a Spirit in the trading Part of our People, as would difpofe them to be at any Expence that fhould be neceffary to carry Attempts of this Nature into Execution. There is, likewife, another Motive to excite our Induftry in this Refpect, which is the Incertainty of our being able to fecure any Advantages we might defire from a Trade throngh Ruffic, which we are told, of late, is become more and more precarious. But if we could once perfect this Defign, of penetrating into the Eaft by a new Paffage, we fhould not only be lefs dependent upon the Courtefy of that Government, but likewife have it in our Power to make it more dependent upon us, in cafe we fhould be able to fix a confiderable Settlement on any Inand in thofe Parts.

There is no doubt but abundance of Objections may be raifed to a Scheme of this Nature, which at prefent would be very difficult to anfwer, becaufe we muft proceed on both Sides, merely upon Suppofition; but if the Difcovery was once made, the Cafe would be altered, and the Advantages flowing from it would encourage us to take fuch Meafures, as by the Help of our great maritime Power, which can never be better employed than in fupporting the Commerce of the Nation, might fecure to us the Trade of thefe New Indies. If any thing delivered in this Performance, either now or at any Diftance of Time, fhall fortunately lead to promote or facilitate fuch a Difcovery, it would fully anfwer the Ends of its Author; and if not, he muft be content with the Satisfaction of having offered all that occurred to him upon a Subject, which he thought might be improved to the Benefit of his Country.


## C H A P TERII.

Comprehending fuch Voyages and Travels, as relate to the Northern Parts of Europe, and fuch of the Countries adjacent, as are fubject to any of the European Powers.

## S E C TION 1.

$A$ Voyage to the North, containing an Account of the Sea Coasts and Mines of Norway, the Danifh, Swedifh, and Mufcovite Laplands; Borandia, Siberia, Samojedia, Zembla, and Iceland; witth fome very curious Remarks on the Norwegians, Laplanders, Ruffians, Poles, Circaffians, Coffacks, and other Nations.

Extracted from the Journal of a Gentleman employed by the North-Sea Company at Copenbagen; and from the Memoirs of a French Gentleman, who, after ferving many Years in the Armies of Rufia, was at laft banifhed into Siberia.

I: Introduction to this Secrion; an Account of the Author; the Occafion of bis Voyage; bis Arrival in Norway; and Obfervations made by bim on the Country; its Produce and Inbabitants. 2. His Arrival at Berghen; Yourney from tbence to the Copper and Silver Mines; woith otber currious and entertaining Particulars. 3. He profecutes his Voyage from Drontheim; the Practice of the Laplanders in felling Winds; and the Nature of that Impofure detected. 4. FTe is driven by a Storm on the Coaft of Danih Lapland; an Account of that Country; its Produce and Inbabitants; their great Poverty, and their Willingnefs to exercije Hoppitality Jo far as is in their Poweer. 5. The Autbor's fourney, from the Danifh to the Mufcovite Lapland; a Defcription of the Sledges, Rain Deer, and other Singularities of thofe Parts. 6. The Profecution of this Sulbject; an Account of the Kilops, the moft brutal and favage of any of the Lapland Nations; and thbe Autbor's Airrival at Kola, the Capital of the Mufcovite Lapland. 7. His Departure from Kola, ond his Adventures in bis Return; rwith a Defrription of the Manner in wobich the Laplanders travel in their Snow-Sbocs. 8. A Defrription of the Coafs of Borandia; the Manner of his frif $/$ Interviewo weith the People of tbat Country; the Motives wobich induced him to think of making a Yourney from thence by Land, to Siberia. '9. The Manner in webich be and bis Cominpanions travelled to Vitzora; their Reception by a Ruffian Governor; Trade with bim for Furs; and obtain his Leave and Afiftance for continuing tbeir intended Yourncy. 1o. They proceed from thence to Petzora, trade by the Way, and are kindly treated by the Inbabitants. 11. The Author enters Siberia; Defcription of that Country; Manner in webich thofe People live, wobo are exiled; bis Conference with a French Gentleman banilhed thither, wobo made him a Prefent of bis Memoirs. 12. An Account from thofe Memoirs, of the Manners, Cayfoms, and Vices of the Ruffians; their Religion, Contempt for Learning, and Obfinacy in adbering to their own Sentiments. 13. The Jecret Hifiory of a Ruffian Princefs, wobo, by a malicious Contrivance, zwas hindered from efpouffing the Czar Alexis, Fatber to the late Peter I. and other Particulars. 14. Of the Dignity of the Patriarchs of Ruffia ; the flange. Superffition of the People; the Manner of tbeir punijbing Heretics, and other things woorthy of Notice. ${ }^{15}$. Of the Circaflians and Coflacs; of the Lawes of Ruffia ; of the Ruffian Letters; Manner of writing; and a Cbaracter of the then reigning Emperor. 16. The Rije and Progrefs of the Ruflian Empire; the Hiflory of John Bafilowitz; and a remarkable Story of the Englif Embaflador, Sir Jerom Bowes, zuith other Eveents during bis Reign. 17. The Derivation of the Word Czar ; the Stile of the Ruffian Emperor; and an Account of his Family and Court. 18. Of the Czar's Revenues; the Empref's Court ; and the Manner in wobich Ladies of Quality travel in that Counn try. 19. Of the Nature of the PuniJmments in Rufiaa; Manner of inflicting them; weith various otber Particulars. 20. Some Account of the Poles; the frange Difeafes to whbich they are fubject; and a Comparion between the Polifh and Ruffian Language. 21. The State of the Ruffian Empire at that time; the principal Favourrites and Miniters; weith fome very curious and remarkable Paffages relating to the Politics of tbat Court. 22. Of the Commodities and Trade of Ruffia; and of tbe Meetbods ufed by tbe Dutch to recommend their owen Wares, and prejudice thofe of the Englifh. 23. A large Defoription of Siberia; the Manners of the Inbabitants, and tbofe evbo live amonget them; weith an Account of the Produce of that Country. . 24. This Subject continued; and a Defcription of the Fruits, Aringe Beaffs, Birds, \&cc. 25. A foort Account of Tartary, and fome of its Inbabitants, particularly the Calmucs, ©c. 26. The Hifory of the Autbor's Travels refumed; bis Arrival at Papinogorod; and his Yourrey thence into Samojeda; Defoription of tbat Country, and its Inbabitants. 27. He profecuites bis Travels to Zembla; Account of that Country, its Inbabitants, and the Fifbery upon its Coaffs. 28. This Subject fartber profeVol. II. Numb, 100. Arrival in Greenland, an Account of the Herring Fiflery, and bis Voyage thence to Iceland. 30. A Defoription of that I/land, and its Inbabitants, with various otber Particulars. 31. The Author's Safe Return to Copenhagen; the Rarities prefented to the King of Denmark; and bis Majely's Satisfaction with the Account given bin of this Voyage. 32. The Autbor's Remarks, on the erroneous Accounts formerly publifhed of the Countries tbrough webich be travelled. 33. Some fartber Obfervations upon the Facts de-
livered in this Section.


HE following Voyage, though written juft a Century ago, has, notwithftanding, a great Variety of Circumftances, which ought effectually to recommend it: As for Inftance, it relates to Countries that have been very little vifited fince; and therefore what is written about them here may be confidered as new, though penned at fuch a Diftance. The Author appears plainly to have been a Man of great Curiofity; one great End of his Travelling being to inform himfelf; to which his principal Motive was the Defire he had of informing others. He was remarkably fortunate in the Opportunities that offered themfelves for this Purpofe; and he was no lefs diligent and affiduous in improving thefe Opportunities to the utmoft. The Accounts he gives us are equally candid and circumftantial; he fhews much Wil lingnefs to acquaint us with what he faw, and with his Notions upon every Subject; he has added to his own Performance, that of another Perfon; who had the fame Occafions to make himfelf acquainted with the interiour of the Country, that he had to examine the Sea-Coaft; he tells us very fairly how he came by thefe Memoirs; fo that we have all the Reafon in the World to be fatisfied with his Conduct, and to think ourfelves obliged for the Care and Circumfpection he has ufed. There is no doubt, that many things will occur in the Perufal of this Section, which critical Readers may fee juft Caufe to dinike; but we cannot expect that Men, who, like our Author, are driven all the World over for a Subfiftance, fhould have the fame Qualifications with thofe who fpend all their Days at Eafe, and in the quiet Purfuit of Learning, in a regular Method. We muft take Mankind as they are, and judge of their Writings according to their Capacities; making fuch Allowances as are reafonable, and as we fhould expect if we were in their Places. Thefe Travels follow very naturally, and may ferve as a proper Supplement, in many refpects, to what is laid down in the former Chapter; and having thus fhewn the Nature of this Performance, and why we give it a Place here, let us proceed next in the Words of our Author:
About the Year 1647, Frederic the IIId. King of Denmark, being defirous to advance and increafe the Trade of his Kingdom, eftablifhed two Companies of Merchants at Copenbagen, his capital City; the one was an Iceland Company, and the other was a Company of Traders to the North. The latter, having obferved that the Trade to Norway was very beneficial, obliged all that were concerned in that Company to fign a Petition to his Dani/b Majefty, in February 1653 , reprefenting that a great Profit would arife to his SubjeEts, by encouraging that Trade more, and enabling them to enlarge it, by making further Difcoveries to the North, whence feveral rich Merchandizes might be imported. His Majefty liftened to their Requeft, granted it, and allowed them to extend their Commerce as far Northward as they fhould think fit; upon which they fitted out feveral Ships, to make a Voyage to Norway and the North. It happened I was at Copenbagen when one of the Northern Fleets was outward bound; and underftanding the King had commanded the Undertakers of this Enterprize to make all pofible Difcoveries of the Countries to which they came, and to bring back the moft rare Curiofities that they could find, I took a Fancy to the Voyage; one of the Company being my Friend, I went to him, defired him to recommend me to his Partners, as a Perfon qualified to go Surgeon of one of the Ships. It was not difficult for him to fucceed in procuring that Employment; the Company entertained me, and I entered into their Service.

All our Merchandize, Provifions, and Neceffaries, be-
ing aboard, we embarked in the Beginning of Aprit, 1670, weighed Anchor, and fet fail with two Ships in our Company, and fair Wind and Weather, from the Port of Copernagen. We had a frefh Gale at South-eaft, till we arrived at Kat-Gat, a Streight which divides the German Ocean from the Baltic Sea. It is a very dangerous Paffage, full of Rocks, and is forty Leagues in Length, from Elfenore to Scbagerbort. When we came over againt Mailfrand, a little City and Sea Port about thirty Leagues from Copenbagen, the Wind turned Northward, drove us back ten Leagues, and forced us to make fome Port on the Coaft. The firft we came at we put into, and that was Scbalot, a Creek; where we caft Anchor, and rode fafe under the Caftle, which looked rather like a heap of Ruins, than a Place that was inhabited : 'Tis famous only for its Promontory; well known to Mariners who ufe the Baltic. We Itaid there neas three Days; on the fourth, an Hour before Sun-rifing, the Wind fhifted again to the Eaft, fo we weighed Anchor to proceed on our Voyage. We had not been at Sea above "four Hours before the Wind varied to the Northeaft, and blew fo ftiff a Gale, that we were obliged to leave the Coaft of Gottenburgb, on which Shore we were then, and to fteer directly over to that of futland. The Sands being frequent and fhallow in thofe Parts, we were obliged to be almoft always cafting our Lead. As we failed along this Coaft, a Guft of Wind drove us to a Place where there were but three Fathom and a half Water; and we fhould certainly have run aground, had not our Pilot, who was a very dextrous Seaman, immediately tacked; when, getting the Advantage of the Wind, in half an Hour we founded, and had fifteen Fathom Water.

By the Help of a fide Wind, we held on our Way for near two Leagues from the Sands; here we found ourfelves in an Eddy, where we were as fteady as if we had been at an Anchor. We prefently furled all our Sails except the Top-Maft, endeavouring to keep ourfelves out of it; but all our Endeavours would have been in vain, had not the Wind varied a Point or two to the South-eaft. We then loofed our Sails, got through it, the Wind blowing frefh, and failed towards the Coaft of Babus; we continued our Courfe feveral Days and Nights; and about eight $0^{5}$ Clock one Morning difcovered the Promontory of Chriftian Sand, in Norway. The Village that gives Name to the Mountain is fmall, the Port, however, is commodious. We did not ftay long there, for the next Day we arrived at Cbrijfiana, or Oblo, the capital City of one of the five Governments of that Kingdom. As foon as we were got into Port, we went afhore to deliver our Letters to the Company's Agents; who received us with Joy, for the good News we brought them, of the King's giving Encouragement to the Norzoay Company, to make their Difcoveries, and enlarge their Trade in the North. One of thefe Agents hearing I was a Stranger, and had been recommended to his Principals, by one of their Society, and not the leaft confiderable Merchant among them, was very civil to me, fhewed me all that was worth feeing, and told me all that was worth knowing, relating to the Place at which we arrived. He alfo commanded a Servant of his, who fpolse French tolerably well, to go with me into the Country three or four Leagues, that I might fee more of it. Early next Morning we took Horle, and rode to Wijby, a large Village, nine Miles from Cbrificiana, which flands between two Mountains ; the Houfes are very low, and of Wood, without Iron-work or Windows. There is a fort of Lattice on the Top of the Houfes, to admit the Light, and they are all covered with Turf.

The Reader is defired to take notice, that this is not
Wijby,

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Wfly, the Capital City of Gotbland, where the Marine Laws were made, which are fo famous. The Norwegian Peafants are fimple, and very hofpitable: They are all Fifhermen; 'their only Trade is in Herrings, ${ }^{\text {Cod }}$, Stockfifh, and other Finh frefh falted or dried: They are Slaves to the Nobility. The Norvegian Women are very handfome, though they are red-haired; they love Strangers, and are good Houfewives : They fpin, and make Cloth for their Families; they look after the Cattle, of which there are great Numbers of all Kinds, as in France. There is alfo Plenty of Gane in this Country ; as Elks, Stags, Roebucks, Boars, Goats, Rabbets, Hares ; all Sorts of wild Fowl, Otters, Linxes, and wild Cats of divers Colours. All Norvary is a mountainous Country, and confequently Bread-Corn will not grow there in any Quantity; but the Inhabitants are abundantly fupplied from other Parts, by their Commerce, and what they want of Corn-Ground, is made up in Paftures and Woods. As we were returning towards Cbrificina, we met a Gentleman of the Neighbourhood, followed by two Servants and fome Dogs, going a Hunting: He knew the Man that was with me, and alked him if he would divert himfelf with an ElkChace, bidding him afls the fame Queftion of me. We had Time enough upon our Hands, fo we readily accepted his Propofal. After we had rid about a Mile we met his Huntiman, fome other of his Servants, and ten or twelve Boors, who led us three Miles further, to a Wood full of Bulhes; when we came to the Entrance of it we alighted, and gave our Horfes to one of his Domeftics.

The Chace had been prepared the Day before by the Gentleman's Vaffals, or rather Subjeets; for theNobility of Noorway are Sovereigns under the King, in their own Territories. We were faarce forty Yards within the Wood, before we perceived an Elk running towards us; but before we could fire a Piece he dropped. I afked of my Guide and Interpeter, how the Beaft came to fall down dead in that manner? He anfwered, It was the Nature of that Animal to be taken thus with a kind of Falling-Sicknefs, which often feized him in the Beginning of the Chace. I did not fland to refleet whether his Fears might not contribute to his Dittemper. I feemed to doubt the Truth of it, and thought it to be an Accident which did not often happen ; my Guide affiured me to the contrary, adding, that from this Difeafe they were called Elks, or miferable Creatures. The Beaft is as big as a great Horfe, his Body like a Stag's, but larger and longer; his Legs are long,' his Feet broad and cloven, his Anters great, hairy, and broad, like a Fallow-Deer's, but not fo well furnihed with Horns as a stag. Had he not dropped as he did, I believe it would have been hard for us to have brought him down, as I perceived foon after when we had rouzed another, which we chafed above two Hours before we could catch him; and we had never caught him had he not dropped down dead, as the other did. He killed three of the Gentleman's beft Dogs with his Forefeet ; the Gentleman was extremely forry for the Lofs of them, and would hunt no more. He fent to a Farm of his a Mile off for a Cart, to carry the Game we had caught to his Caftle; we accompanied him thither at his Requeft : It was built like the reft in that Country, after an odd manner; ftood four Miles from Wijly, and he treated us there very fplendidly.
My Guide elling the Lord of the Cartle that I was a Frenchman, employed by the Norroay Company at Copenkagen, he made me a Prefent of the two hinder Left-legs of the two Elks we had killed, or rather feen die of themfelves; giving me to undertand it was no finall Favour, thoof Leegs being an infallible Cure of the Falling-Sickneis. I repied by my Interpreter, I wondered, fince the Foot of an Elk had fo much Virtue in it, why the Animal that carried it always about with him, did not cure himfedf. The Gentleman reflecting on what I had faid, laughed out aloud, and told me I was in the right; for that he had given it to feveral Perfons afficted with the fame Difeafe, and it did not cure them; wherefore he had a Iong time furpected that the pretended Virtue of the Elk's Foot was a vulgar Mittake; of which, he faid, he did no more coubt than that the eating of the Flefh of the Beart infected People with their Dittemper. He gave me many

Infances of the bad Effeets eating Eliks Flefh had on Human Bodies. I anfwéred, the Nails of thefe unhappy Perfons would be a more fovereign Cure in an Epileppy, than thofe of an Elk.
The Gentleman obliged us to lodge with him that Night; and early the next Morning, after we had made a good Breakfaft, we took our Leaves of him and returned to Cbrijfiena, where we flaid four or five Days ; and having received further Orders and Directions from the Company's Agents there, embarked, weighed Anchor, and made the beft of our Way for Bergben. We had a frefh Gale at North-eaft till we arrived at Strafanger, where we were on a fudden becalimed; and having nothing elfe to employ ourfelves about, owe fell all to fifhing ; there is abundance of all Sorts of Filh on the Coafts of Norroay ; we got fuch Store by our Fifining that we were forced to keep Lent a long while after, being unwilling to throw the Fifh overboard: The Calm lafted five Days. On the 6th, towards Evening, it blew up a brifk Gale South-eaft, by which in a Sew Days we reached the Port whither we were bound to unload the Merchandize we had taken in for that Place.
2. We anchored in the Port of Bergben, one of the fineft in Europe; and when our Cargo was unladen, I went to fee the City, which is as large as $A b$ beville; ;it is divided into the high and low Town; the one built on Rocks, the other on the Sea-Shore. It is full of Merchants, and was formerly an Archbifhopric, which was abolifhed upon the Reformation of Religion in the King of Denmark's Territories. The Epifcopal Palace was given to the Hanf-Fowins, the principal of which are Hamburgb, Lubeck, and Bremen, for the antient Merchants to live in ; and the greateft Part of the Houres were turned intoWarehoufes, from whence they are called Clojiers, and the Merchants Monks, though they do not wear a Cowl, nor obferve the Rules of any Order. This Place, in the Popif Times, belonged to a Convent adjoining to the Epiicopal Palace; and when it was granted to the Merchants, trading to and from the Harj $f_{- \text {-Towns }}$, the King obliged them to keep up theForm of a religious Houre fo, far, that no-body fhould marry who lived in it.
He that will have a Wife murt leave the Cloitter, and live elfewhere; however, he may deal and correfpond with his Brethren, whofe principal Trade is in Herrings, Cod, and Stock-fifh, Commodities that gooff in great Quantities, in Muffcory, Swedern, Poland, Dennmark, Germany, Holland, and other Parts of Europe. As foon as we had dircharged the Cargoo we had to deliver at Bergben, we fet fail for Drontbeim with a South-wefterlyWind; we were to unlade above half our Lading there; it was con? figned to the Surveyor of the Copper and Silver Mines, for the Ufe of the Workmen and Miners whom he employed in that Service, and confifted in a Supply of Bread and Beer. We were farce half way thither when the Wind blew fo fliff, that in fifteen or fisteen Hours we found ourfelves over-againt Stora, where it ceafed on a fudden, and the Storm was followed by a Calm, the moft. uneafy Thing in the World to Mariners. We were obliged to return to our former Diverfions, and fo fpend the Time, that we could not tell how to pafs away better, in fifhing. We took fuch a prodigious Quantity of Klip Fifh, that we were forced to falt and barrel a great Part of them up; and they were very ferviceable to us in the Courfe of our Voyage. Klip Fifh are a Sort of Cod, bigger than thofe of Newfoundland; they never leave the Rocks, lying always upon or under them, from whence they are called Kip Fijb in Germany, which fignifies Rock Fijb.
The Calm held feveral Days, and then the Wind blew a frefh Gale Weft-fouth-weft, which was fair for us, and in three Days we arrived at Drontbeim. When we came afhore we delivered our Leeters to the Surveyor-General of the Mines. By thefe Letters the Surveyor was ordered to unlade our Ships as faft as poffible, that we might purfue our Voyage. He told us he could not go to work until the Officers who were to receive the Provifions came back from the Mines, whither they were gone about thofe Works: We preffed him to haften our Difcharge, and
he offered to fend a Meffenger on purpofe to fetch an Officer to unlade us. I defired Leave of our Mafter to accompany the Meffenger, which having obtained, the next Day by times in the Morning the Surveyor's Man and I mounted on Horfeback, and departed for the Mines. When we came to Steckby we were obliged to put up, the Night coming on, and we had a long Wood to go through, wherein were Boars, Wolves, and Linxes, in great Numbers, very dangerous for Paffengers to encounter.

The Road was fo rocky, that we could reach no farther in a whole Day, though that Town was fcarce eighteen Miles from Drontbeim. The next Morning, before Sun-rife, we left Steckby, and proceeded towards the Mines, where we arrived juft as it was Night, and lodged at the Forges; we were entertained by the People who had the Charge of the Mines, according to the Cuftom of the Country, with Tobacco, Beer, and Brandy.
Our Hoft believed we would not think ourfelves welcome unlefs we were made drunk, and therefore plied us fo faft with Bumpers that there was no avoiding a Debauch. I met with an Officer there who fpoke French, having waited upon a Norwegion Gentleman in France. $I$ told him that I came out of Curiofity to fee the Mines, and I begged him to let me enter them; he promifed I fhould do it on the Morrow ; and after two Hours drinking and talking, he permitted me to go to bed. The next Day as foon as it was light, the Meffenger that came with me to the Mines pofted for Drontbeina with one of the Officers who were to receive the Provifions we brought for the Mines. I was left at the Houfe of a Mafter-Miner, who went to Drontbeim the next Day, and I was glad of the Opportunity of his Company, by which Means I had a whole Day to fpare to vifit the Mines and Miners. When I rofe I went to the Officer that fpoke French, and he had provided a Breakfaft for me and the Mafter Miner, my Landlord, whom he defired to fhew me the Way down into the Mines, that I might fee them work. When we had breakfafted; and it is obfervable that the Norwegians are much given to Drinking and Good-cheer, we went fifty or fixty Paces from the Forges, which are on a high Mountain; there we came to the Mouth of one of the Mines; over which was erected a Machine like a Crane, turned by two Men in two great Wheels, to draw up Pieces of the Mine, as Mafons draw Free-ftones out of the Quarries near Paris, or Potters their Clay, in many Places in France. The MafterMiner and I were put into a wooden Tub, and our Hands into Iron Bands fattened to it: Thus we defcended into the Mine above fifty Fathom deep.

When we got to the Bottom of it, it looked like Pluto's Kingdom ; there was nothing to be feen all round but frightful Caverns, flaming Fire, and Creatures more like Devils than Men: They were cloathed with black leathern Jackets, each having a Camail, fuch as our Priefts in France wear in Winter; a P Piece of patched Leather about the Head of each Miner, a little above the Nofe, and hangs down to his Breaft like a Muffer ; they have all Aprons of the fame. The Miners are conftantly and differently employed; fome ufe the Chiffel, fome the Hatchet, to knock out the Copper Stones; others look after the Veins of Copper, or found, to try if they can difcover any Waterplace, which fometimes is hid in the Bowels of the Earth, and breaking forth on a fudden drowns them all that don't take care. The Mafter-Miner who defcended with me into the Mine, perceiving I was afraid, and that I was taken with a cold Fit, rung a Bell; which was to give Notice to the People above, that they fhould draw us up again; accordingly we got up with the fame Eafe that we went down. I was very glad to breathe the ferene Air, free from the unwholfome Damps of thefe fubterranean Dwellings. I had feen enough to fatisfy my Curiofity, and could I with Safety have ftaid longer, there was little more to be feen.
We went to the Officer's Houfe, who could difcourfe with me in my own Language, and were entertained very handfomely and generounly by him; his travelling having rendered him more polite than his Brethren at the Mines; after Dinner he ordered Horres to be got ready, to ride
to the Silver Mines. The Officer, the Mafter-Miner, and myfelf, went thither; where we waited on the Surveyor of the Works, who made us heartily welcome, prefented each of us with a great Glafs full of Brandy, drank off one of the fame Size to fhew us the Way, and then gave us the fecond Courfe in the Norwegian Colla tion, Beer and Tobacco. When we had fmoaked and drank as much as the Surveyor thought fit, he conducted us to the Forges, a Mile off his Houfe; at which, as in the Copper Mines, there are feveral Workmen always employed. Some break the Stones, orhers wafh them, others melt and refine the Ore, and others coin the Money for the King of Denmark. Thefe Mines turn both very well to account, and are not the leaft Part of his Dani/b Majefty's Revenue. From the Forges we went to the Mine that was next to it ; ${ }^{\text {'twas on a high Moun- }}$ tain; the Mafter Miner and I were let down, as at his own Mine, and I faw nothing there which I had not feen before in that of Copper. Thefe Miners are cloathed like the others; and their Work and Habitations feemed much the fame. They, both the one and the other, leave off working in the Mines in the Winter; Spring, Summer, and Autumn, being the only Time of their Bufinefs. They work in the Spring and Fall three Hours in the Forenoon, and three after Dinner ; in the Summer, fourHours in the Morning, and five after Dinner; the reft of their Time they fpend in Mirth and Feafting. They delight much in dancing, and have their Hautboys, Violins, and other Inftruments, for that Purpofe.
When I returned to the Copper Forges, I found the People at their Sports, and was not a little pleafed to fee the Variety of their Humours and Paftimes. For three Months, in the dead of the Winter, they don't work at all; neverthelefs they receive their full Pay, at the rate of a Crown a Day. Having feen all that was to be feen at the Silver Mines, the Surveyor took us home with him, gave us fuch another Collation as we had before, and a good Supper after it. When we had all of us fufficiently refrefhed ourfelves, we went to Bed; and the next Morning the Mafter-Miner and I took our leaves of the Surveyor, who had provided a plentiful Breakfaft againft we got up ; and rode from his Houfe to the Copper Mines, where I thanked the Officer, that fpoke French, for his Civiilities; and the Mafter-Miner, and myfelf, fet out for Drontbeim. Night overtook us by the Time we were got eight Miles from the Mines, which put us on a Neceffity of taking up our Quarters at a Boor's Houfe, in the next Village we came to. The Peafant knew my Companion, and thought himfelf highly honoured in fuch a Gueft : He therefore did his utmoft to treat us to our liking.
He provided two Pheafants, and a Hare he had lately killed, for our Supper; that Game being free for the Boors in thofe Parts, they are feldom unfurnifhed with it. Before we fat down he brought us his Tobacco, Beer, and Brandy, made of Malt Spirits. After Supper we all of us fell to fmoaking like Dragons, and drank Brandy and Beer almoft all Night, which was the moft beaftly one I ever faw in my Life; but 'tis the Cuftom of the Country ; and both the Gentry and People, by Converfation and Merriment, mean only Lewdnefs and Debauchery. The Peafant perceiving the Mafter-Miner was quite drunk, was fo rejoiced at it, that he foon became in as bad a Condition himfelf. We had all now had our Dofe, and fome clean Straw was brought and fpread in the Middle of the Chamber, to ferve us inftead of Beds. We lay down together and fiept till Morning. The Sun was up before the Mafter-Miner and the Boor waked. I ordered, as well as I could, our Horfes to be got ready; refolving, if poffible, to get to Drontbeim that Day. I made the Boor's Sons guefs at my meaning by Signs. Our Horfes were faddled, and then I waked my Companion and his Hof. They were no fooner up, than we muft again fall to eating and drinking; that Work done we mounted on Horfeback, took our Leaves of the Peafant, and made the beft of our Way to Drontbein; where we'arrived before it was dark.
3. Two Days after I thus returned to Drontbeim, all our Cargo was unladen, and we had taken aboard the


## Chap. II. Northern Coafts of EUROPE.

Provifions the Surveyor General of the Mines was to furnifh us with; the Wind fetting fair we embarked, and 2 few Hours after fet fail to continue our Voyage to the North. :The Wind held fair feveral Days, till we were under the Arctic Polar Circle, where we were becalmed on the Coaft; fome of our Crew were fo fuperflitious, as to give Credit to the common Tradition, that the Inhabitants of the Country, under that Circle, as well as thofe that dwell on the Coafts of Finland, are Wind Merchants, and can raife and fell a Gale when they; pleafe: Certain it is they are almolt all of them Wizards, and, as Children of the Prince of the Air, pretend to difpofe of the Winds as their proper Merchandize. We were impatient of lying on that Coaft, and that Impatience put us upon trying any Means, however improbable to fucceed, rather than flay there any longer. The Captain of our Ship was for trading with the Wizards; accordingly he fent his Long-boat athore with his Mate, to traffic with thefe Traders, and purchafe a Wind of them, the Commodity we ftood moft in need on at that Time. Though I believed nothing of the Matter, I had the Curiofity to accompany him. We landed at the firft Village we came to, applied ourfelves to the chief Necromancer, told him what we wanted, and anked if he could furnifh us with a Wind that would laft till we arrived at Mourmanfincre. The Mate could fpeak enough of his Language to underftand him, and to be underttood. The Conjurer gravely replied, No; his Power extended no farther than the Promontory of Rouxella. We had a great Way thither, and if we reached fo far, we thought we might eafily make the North Cape ; fo the Mate defired him to go aboard with us, and drive a Bargain with our Captain. The Wizard confented to the Propofal, took three of his Comerades with him, leapt into a fmall Fifher-Boat, and went aboard our Ship.

Our Captain and he foon agreed upon the Price; he was to give him ten Kronen, about five or fix and thirty Shillings in Englijb Money, and a Pound of Tobacco; for which the Wizard was to furnihh a fair Wind as far as Rouxella. When the Bargain was made, and the Money paid, the Wizard tied a Woollen Rag to the Corner of our Forematt; 'twas about half a Yard long and a Nail broad; it had three Knots; and this was all our Captain had for his ten Kronen. When the Necromancer had done this Feat, he returned in his Boat to the Village with his Companions. The Captain of our Ship, according to the Inftructions he had received from the Conjurer, untied the firft Knot in the Rag, and immediately the Wind ftruck up Weft-fouth-weft a brifk Gale, and drove us, and the other Ship in our Company, thirty Leagues beyond Maelfroom, without giving our Captain any Occafion to untie the fecond Knot; and this Accident confirmed our Crew in their diabolical Superftition. This Maelfroom is the greateft Eddy or Whirlpool in the Norwegion Sea; in which many Veffels that approached too near it have perifhed. For this Reafon, fuch as are acquainted with thofe Coafts, keep out to Sea eight or ten Leagues to avoid it, and the Rocks that lie off Oftraford, oppofite to Maelfiroom. There are feveral fuch Eddies, five, fix, and feven Leagues from the Shore; and this. Danger obliges all Pilots to keep far out to Sea.

The Wind beginning to fhift a little, and inclining to the North, our Captain untied the fecond Knot, which kept it in its old Corner, till we made the Promontory of Rouxella. When we had paffed it, the Needle of our Compafs turned back half an Inch, by which fome fancied that there was Loadfone in the Mountain; and had not we "had a very dextrous Pilot, we flould certainly have loft our Courfe. Knowing that the other Ships in our Company were in the fame Trouble as ourfelves, our Pilot fhut up his Compafs, and hung out a Flag on his Foremaft Top, as a Signal for the other Ships coafts and Cous; he was. very well acquainted with the Coalts and Courfe, having often piloted the Dutch Ships trading that Way; in which he had no other Helps than his Sea Charts. We were two Days and two Nights in this dangerous Condition, having nothing to depend on but the Pilot's Experience. On the third Day, being far
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diftant from the Mountains of Roureella, the Needle of our Compafs pointed again to its Object; from whence we concluded that we drew near the North Cape; where the Wind failing us, our Captain untied the third, Knor, at which there arofe a North-north-eaft Wind, fo furious, that we thought the Heavens would fall down upon us; and that God would juftly punifh us with Deftruction, for dealing with infernal Artifts, and not trufting to his Providence ; we could bear no fail during the Tenipeft ; ous Ship drove at the Mercy of the Winds and Waves, which toft us fo violently, that' we expected every Minute to go to the Bottom.
The Reader - will, doubtlefs, wonder at thefe ftrange and extraordinary Paffages, in regard to the Witchcraft of thefe Northern People; and therefore it is neceflary to inform him, that their Witchcraft, like moft other forts of Witchcraft, is downright. Fraud and Impofture. They have in thefe Countries many deep Caverns, and fubterraneous Grottoes; by their Obfervations in which, they are able to judge of the Variation of Winds for feveral Days to come; and they talke care to ftart fo many Difficulties in making their Bargains, that they are fure never to come to a Conclufion till the Signs appear, by which they are morally certain that thofe Winds will blow which they pretend to fell. In the prefent Cafe it is evident, that the pretended Conjurer made a very prudent Obfervation before he made his Bargain with the Captain $\frac{1}{3}$ which was, that his Power extended only to a certain Cape; but the Truth of the Mater was, that he very well knew, by Experience, that Cape was the Limit of his Obfervations, and that he fhould rifque his Credit if he prefumed to exceed his Bounds. The People in Iceland are the mof famous of any for carrying on this Trade of felling of Winds; and they fell them with lefs Limitation, becaufe living in an Inand, they are more able to judge of the Variation of Winds in all the Seas round about them; and therefore it is from the Accounts given by fenfible People who have lived in that Inand, and who have taken Pains to enquire into this Matter, that we are able to give fo good an Account of it. This Sort of Knowledge is kept in the Hands of a few People, who thereby awe their Neighbours, and cheat Foreigners. All this may be very naturally expected in a barbarous Country, where Learning and Religion are at a very low Ebb; and I believe it will be generally found, that in Proportion as People are little acquainted with the Word and Works of God, they are moft apt to pretend to converfe with the Devil ; and this feems to be confirmed by the declining of fuch Notions, wherever the Lights of Reafon and the Gofpel prevail.
$\because$ 4. Though we were not above ten or twelve Leagues from the Coaft of the Danijs Lapland, yet we did not imagine the Storm would throw us upon it; we feared the Winds fo much, we did not think of Land; and when we thought ourfelves fecure from the Rocks, we were almoft driven upon one, by a fudden Blaft thirty Leagues above the Cape, and four from Shore; every Man fell upon his Knees, and begged Pardon of God, believing we fhould, at that very Inftant, be dafhed to pieces; I confefs I never was fo afraid in my Life, and I believe all the Crew was in as great Confternation as myfelf; when by good Luck, or rather through divine Mercy, the extraordinary Force and Agitation of the Waves prevented our ftriking, and drove us a Mufket Shot from the Rock. Our Ship having received no Damage, only by a little night. Touch on the Skirt of the Rock, fprung a Leak a little above the Keel, and two or three Planks were fomewhat bulged in the Bottom of the Ship's Hold; the Water entered, and we were obliged to pump inceflantly. On the fourth Day the Wind fell ; however we could not heartily rejoice for our Safety, having loft Sight of our Friends in the other Veffels, who, we feared, were at the Bottom by this Time. Notwithftanding we continued our Courfe with a favourable Gale; we had feveral Feet Water in our Hold, and had much ado to live. The Wind was pretty fair, wherefore we refolved to make the firft Port, to flop our Leaks and refito.

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But the Coalts of the Sea, all over the North, are fo full of Rocks, that the Ports and Creeks are inacceffible; and we were forced to fail on two Days longer, before we could find any Place for our Purpofe; the next Morning we arrived on the Coait of Wardbus, the chief Town of the Government of Danifb Lapland; where the King of Denmark has a Caftle garrifoned by two Companies of Soldiers. Here is alfo a Collector to receive the Duties impofed on Foreigners trading to, or from, Archangel, on the White Sea; this Officer fuffered us to pals. without examining us, believing, by our Colours and the Guns we gave him to falute the Caftle, that our Ship was a Dane: We then failed to Varanger, and calt Anchor half a League from the Town. We prefently put our Long-boat by our Ship"s Side, to carry fome of the Crew athore; no body aboard had any Knowledge of the Place, which feemed to us to be very wild; wherefore our Captain took eight Men well armed with him, and refolved to fee whether there was any Conveniencies for us there to refit, or any Trade to be driven with the Inhabitants. In lefs than half an Hour we arrived at Varanger, a populous Town, and a convenient Port; but fo little frequented, that the Inhabitants were amazed to fee us. Whether their Aftonifhment proceeded from the Sight of Men armed, or of Nien lefs barbarous than themfelves, I Thall not pretend to determine.

But our Captain addreffed himfelf to thofe who feemed to have moit Authority among them; demanding if they would permit us to enter their Port, and affift us to refit our Ship, and were difpofed to trade with us. They gave him little Encouragement for Traffic; but underttanding. we were Merchants, who were going to carchWalrus, they offered us their Affitance to refit our Ship, which we thankfully received. Having oblerved the Commodioufnefs of the Harbour, we returned to our Ship, weighed Anchor, and entered the Port; where we difcharged our Ballaft, which wasi only Sand, to ferve for Counterpoife to fome bundles of Tobacco, and Bales of Cloth, which were the Cargo we were to trade with. When the Ship was unladen, we fecured the Goods in a Houfe near: the Shore, that was locked up'; and the Captain and Supercargo ordered a Wacch to be let over it. To gain the Good-will of the Inhabitants of the Country, who, as I have faid, were Laplanders, fubject to the King of Denmark, we gave them fome Rolls of Tobacco, a more grateful Prefent to them than Gold. To retaliate our Kindnefs, they treated us with the beft they had, fome dry: Fith, that lerves inftead of Bread; fome Venifon, not very extraordinary, being the Flefh of Rain-Deer, an Animal that is often co be met with in Lapland, Borandia, Samojedia and Siberia. They brought us Bear's Flefh, and the Flefh of other wild Beafts which we had no Knowledge of; allo. frefh Finh, boiled without Salt; the Sauce to this Difh, is either the Oil of other Fih, or a four Drink; which is one of the beft of Liquors in their Opinioin. We could none of us bear them Company at this. Repaft; their Ragouts were not to our liking, fo we fent for Provifions from aboard, and endeavoured to be as merry as we could in fuch a Place, and among fuch Barbarians. Salt-Beef and Bifket was our choiceft Difh; we offered fome of it to the Laplanders, but when they had tafted: it, our Food feemed as unfavoury to them, as theirs did to us.

Our Beer was more acceptable; they drank of it-freely, and were pleafed with the Brandy we gave them; yet their own four Drink they had more Gouft to, than either our Brandy or Beer. It confirts of an Infufion of Juniper Berries, and of a Grain like Lentils, the Name of which I have forgot: It grows there in abundance, as Juniper Trees do. I never faw any thing fo like that Grain as Lentils ; and our Botanifts have made no mention of it in any of our Difcoveries; they make Brandy with the fame Grain; it has the like Effect as ours that is drawn off of Grapes; and their common Drink is as ftrong as our common. Wine, and ferves for the fame Ufes.

1. Thofe Laplanders are Lutberans, and have Priefts to inftruct them; they are faid; however, to deal ftill with the Devil; almoft all of them are Wizards, and fo fuperAitious, that if they meet a Beaft in the Way, whofe Ap.
pearance is reckoned ominous, they return home, and do not fir out all that Day; and when they go a fiffing, if they have but one Fifh in the firft Draught; they take it for an ill Augury, pack up their Nets, and leave Work for that Time. Both Men and Women are low of Stature, yet ftrong and active: Their Faces broad and flat ; they are flat nofed; their Complexions fwarthy, like the reft of the People in the North; their Eyes are like a Hog's and their Eyeleds are almoft all like thofe that are bleareyed. They are ftupid, brutal, and lafcivions, efpecially the Women, who proftitute themfelves to all Comers, if they can do it unknown to their Hufbands. The Womens Cloaths are made either of coarfe Cloth or RainDeer Skins, with the Hair outward; their Stockings are of the fame ; their Shoes of Fifh Skins, the Scales hanging on them; they have no Straps, and refemble fomewhat the wooden Shoes worn by the Poor in France. Their Coifs are like the Norqegian Womens; their Hair is twifted up in two Rolls, one hangs down on one Shoulder, and the other on t'other. They wear a Cornet Coif on their Heads, made of coarfe Canvas; all their Linnen is of the fame Finene $f_{s}$; fome of them wear a Sore of Ruff eight Fingers broad, which they tie behind as the Gypfies do in other Countries.

As for the Men they are cloathed in Rain-Deer Skins, the Hair outwards; their Coats are flort, and come down but half way to their Thighs, like a, Waiftcoat; their Breeches and Stockings are of the fame, the Hair always outwards. On thefe they wear a Sort of Boots, made of Fifh Skin, which though rough and coarfe, are fitched fo neady, that the Seams are not to be feen. Some of them wear no Boots at all, but Stockings, like the Women: their Bonnets are round like a Seaman's Cap; they are always made of Rain-Deer Skins, the Hair ftill outwards and edged with a Band of a Fox's Skin, fome white, fome grey. Thefe Laplanders Lodgings are like thofe of the Boors about Cbriftiana.

They have no Light but what enters by a Hole at the Top of the Hut. They don't make ufe of Beds to lie on, any more than the other Laplanders, the Borandians, Samojedians, Siberians, Zemblians, Ilanders, or the reft of the Northern Nations. The whole Family of a Dani/h Laplander, Mafter, Miftrefs, Children, Men and Maids, lie down altogether very familiarly; on Bear-Skins fpread in the Middle of the Room; and when they rife in the Morning the Bear-Skins are taken up, and laid by till they are wanted again at Night. In each Houfe there is a great black Cat, which is highly valued by them; the Laplanders talk to it as if it was a reafonable Creature; every Night they go out of their Huts with it, to confult it alone; and it will follow like a Dog, either in Fifhing or Hunting. Though this Animal looks like a Cat in Appearance, yet if I had a little more Superftition, I hould have believed it to have been a familiar Spirit.
5. We unloaded our Ship the next Day after our Arrival at Varanger; the Inhabitants helped us to haul her afhore, that we might refit her; the Captain found her much more damaged than he expested, and defired the Laplanders to provide him Timber proper for the Carpenters ufe; they readily anfwered his Requeft, and went to a neighbouring Mountain to fell fome for him. Our Supercargo, as he found the Ship would be fome time refitting, thought it would not be improper to take a Journey into the Country, to try there whether any Trade could be had; to this Purpofe he picked out myfelf and two more of the Ship's Company, to accompany him. Early the next Morning, being the I2th of May, we fet out for our Journey, taking with us fome Tobacco and Cloth to trade with; and Bifket, and falt Beef, and Pork, to ear. We defired three of the Inhabitants of Varanger to go along with us, as well to fhew us the Way, as to help to carry our Goods and Provifions to the next Village. The Laplanders were willing enough to ferve us; fo we followed them through the Woods, and Mountains, and Valleys, without meeting any living Creature, till towards four $0^{\circ}$ Clock in the Afternoon, when we perceived two white Bears of an exceffive bignefs, coming, as we Strangers thoughts to devour us:

## Chap. II.

Northern Coafts of EuRoP̀。

Our Guides perceiving the Terror we were in, bid us not be afraid, for we need only have our Arms ready to defend ourfelves, in cafe they approached too near us; which we did, cocking and priming our Pieces, and hacking our Flints. Whether or no the Bears were frightened at the Fire we ftruck out of the Flints, or with the Smell of the Powder, I hall not undertake to decide; but they prefently fled away from us fo faft, that in a Moment they were out of Sight. An Hour before Night, as we defcended a Mountain, we efpied a Dozen Houfes at the Foot of it ; they were at a great Diftance one from another. Somewhat farther off we faw a Herd of Beafts like Stags, which our Guides told us were RainDeer. When we came to the Village, the Laplanders that travelled with us conducted us to a Hut, where, being very weary, we were glad to reft ourfelves, for we had a long Journey in very bad Way, with Luggage on our Backs, that incumbered and tired us. We gave a Piece of a Roll of Tobacco to our Hofts who received it with Joy, affuring us he had not had fo valuable a Prefent in nine Months before; to make us Amends he brought out his Brandy Bottle, fome Rain-Deers Flefh dreffed without falting, and fome dried Fifh; which we gave to our Guides, and fupped ourfelves with the Victuals we brought with us; when we had made an End of our Supper we went to our Repofe, and laydown on Bears-Skins, after the Country Fafhion. When we rofe in the Morning, we afked our Hoft if he had nothing to barter with us for Cloth and Tobacco ; he replied he had fome Woif, Fox, and white Squirrel Skins, and his Neighbours had fome of the fame Commodities, and would gladly truck with us. We bid him, by our Interpreters, bring out his Skins; and if he had any Cloaths made of Rain-Deer Skins, we would deal with him for four Suits, which we wanted to keep us warm ; accordingly, he brought forth his Merchandize, and we bought it of him, paying him Part in Tobacco, and Part in Cloth. We trucked alfo with his Neighbours, as long as they had any thing to offer us worthy our buying; and when we had drained that Market, we prayed the Hoft to lend us fome Rain-Deers, to carry uss farther up the Country ; and he was very willing to help us to the atmoft of his Power.
TheTobacco we gave him having gained his, Friendfhip intirely, he took down a Horn that hung up in his Cottage, went out and blew it to call the Rain-Deer to him. Immediately fourteen or fifteen of thofe Animals came running towards the Hut: He put fix of them to fix Sledges, each Sledge made.fomewhat like a Gondola ; it was placed on four Pofts joined together by other crofs Pofts nailed to them, and this was faftened to two Pofts two Feet longer than the Sledge that run on the Ground. We put our Merchandize in one Sledge, each of us had one for himfelf, and the other we affigned to one of our Guides, who underftood the Language of the $M u f$ covite Laplander, and that of the Kilops; him we took with us; the other two Inhabitants of Varanger we difmiffed, having paid them in Tobacco for their Trouble. We put on our Lapland Cloaths, and lay down each of us in his Sledge covered with a Bear-Skin ; at the Back of the Sledge there were two Girts made of Rain-Deer Skin Leather, in which we thruft our Arms up to the Shoulders, to keep ourfelves fteady; and we had each a Stick with a ftrong Ferrel to it, to fupport the Sledge if it fhould be likely to overturn by Stumps of Trees, or Stones lying in the Way. When we were ready to fet out, ourHoft muttered fome Words in the Ear of the RainDeer; I enquired afterwards of our Guide, what he meant by it. He faid, it was to tell them whither they fhould carry us; fo filly are thefe barbarous Wretches.

Cuftom had made that muttering fo familiar to the Beafts that drew us, that when our Hoft had gone to all fix, they ran away with us fo fwiftly, that we thought we were drawn by fo many Devils; they continued their Pace over Hills and Dales, without keeping the beaten Road all Day long, till feven o'Clock in the Evening, when they brought us to a large Village fituate between two Mountains, near a great Lake; here they ftopped fhort at the fourth Houfe in the Place, which though large
was very ordinary and clownifl. They beat the Ground with their Feet; and the Man hearing a Noife; came forth with his Servants, to take us out of the Sledges; and unharnefs bur Cattle, and one of them brought out a little Juniper Can, full of Brandy, of which he gave each of us a Brimmer, out of a Bowl made alfo of Juniper Wood. This was to put us in heart; for our Guide had informed him that we were afraid of our Lives, being drawn away fo fwiftly by thefe Animals in Sledges, which was a Way of Travelling we were not ufed to. The Horns of thefe Beafts, both Male and Female, are fomewhat higher than the Stags; but more crooked, hairy, and not fo well furnifhed with Sprouts as a Stag's are; they are of the fame Colour as Stags; and not much bigger; their Feet are cloven like theirs; but as big as Hoofs of Oxen: They live upon Mofs; which grows every where in thofe Parts: The Females yield Millk like Cows ; the Laplanders make Butter and Cheefe of it, and both are very good. Their Harnefs is a Collar of Rain-DeerLeather, by which they are faftened to the two Shafts of the Sledge, not much unlike our Horfes to a Coach; thus they draw. it with incredible Speed directly to the Place whither you are to go, without being guided by him who rides in it
6. When we got out of our Sledges; we were conducted by our Hoft into his Hut, which; like the reft of the Cottages in the Place, was very little, low, and covered with the Bark of Trees, the Light entering in at a Hole at the Top of it, as we have elfewhere obferved. Thefe Laplanders were cloathed in a manner little differing from thofe of Varonger; their Apparel was of the fame Make and Materials, but longer ; their Coats were of Rain-Deer Skins, the Hair turned outwards. The Women were dreffed in Garments of the fame Skin, their Hair twifted as the Womens of $V a$ ranger; on their Heads they wore a high Bonnet inftead of a Coif, which was made of the fame Skins with their Cloaths, and the Hair ftill outwards:

We gave our Hoft an End of Tobacco about two Inches long, with which he was mightily pleafed, and thanked us heartily for it: We gave an End not quite fo long to each of the Inhabitants of the Place, to make them our Friends, and to fecure us the better againft any Attempts of thefe Barbarians, who were more brutal than thofe we laft deal with. We. fupped on the Provifions we brought with us, and our Guides eat fome of our Hofts falt Fifh, and frefh Rain-Deer Venifon. We afked him how many Leagues we had come that Day? he anfwered, about thirty; and that we were in the Ter ritories of Mourmanfeimore. The Inhabitants talked a Language quite different from thofe at Varanger; bue our Guide had been often in the Country, and underftood them, and was underftood by them. After Supper we lay down on Bear-Skins to take our Reft, as we had done the Night before, having firft bartered away our Lapland Habits with our Hoft for others that were longer, and a. Parcel of Tobacco for a hundred grey Squirrels, a Fur very much efteemed in Denmark, and other Parts of Europe. The next Day, being the rith of May, we told our Hoft, by our Interpreter, that we defired him to provide Sledges to go farther into the Country; this he did accordingly. The other Inhabitants of the Village came to help us forward in our Journey, bringing Brandy with them to drink to us at parting. They put fix Rain-Deer to fix Sledges, in one of them we ftowed our Merchandife and Provifions: and our Hoft having performed the Ceremony of muttering in the Ears of the Beaits, we were drawn along with the fame Swiftnefs as before. We came to no Place that was inhabited till about three $0^{9}$ Clock in the Afternoon, and then we arrived at a Village, wherein were eight Cottages, built on a high Mountain by a Woodfide, where our Cattle ftopped; by which we gueffed that there were fome Inhabitants; but feeing no-body come to us, we baited our Rain-Deer with Mofs, which grew there plentifully, and refrefhed ourfelves with falt Beef and Bifket; our Interpreter regaled himfelf upon fome Rain-Deer, Venifon, and dried Fifh: All of us making merry with the Brandy we had given us in ${ }^{\text {L }}$ laft Village. We ftaid in this Place near an Hor
then our Guide, who underftood the Way of making Rain-Deers go as well as the other Laplanders did, endeavoured to get them forward; but he had much-ado to effect it.

This Place being their ufual Stage, he was forced to perform feveral myiterious and ridiculous Ceremonies; he went alone into the Wood, and coming out again, muttered fomeWords in the Ears of thefe Animals, which whether they undertood or not, had little Effect upon them, for they did not ftir. He did fo four or five times, and then he began to proceed, though not fo fwiftly as before. We anked him the Reafon why we faw no body in the Village? He replied, 'twas a very common thing in that Country; thefe Dwellings belong to the Kilops, a Nation of Laplanders more wild than the others; who often change their Habitations; fly from Strangers, and fubfift only by what they get by hunting. Continuing our Journey, we defcended the Mountain; about nine o'Clock we fpied four Kilops not far off, returning from hunting, in Sledges drawn by Rain-Deer; to avoid us they turned afide out of our Way, and took another. In lefs than half an Hour we entered a long Wood, in which we heard terrible howlings and cryings, but faw nothing; when we got through the Wood, we had another Mountain to defcend, at the Bottom of which we perceived there was a Village ; our Cattle carried us to it, and ftopped and beat the Ground at what Cottage they pleafed. Our ufual Prefent of Tobacco, purchafed us our ufual Welcome of the Mafter of the Houfe; we made a good Supper on our Provifions, as our Guide did on his, and down we lay, according to Cuftom, to talke our reft on Bear Skins; which, though homely, was a welcome Repofe to our wearied Limbs, fufficiently jogged in the Sledges.

In the Morning we rofe as early as the Hort, and demanded of our Interpreter how many Leagues we had travelled the Day before? He replied, at leaft, forty. But he muft be out, either in his reckoning, or the Leagues muft not be fo long as they are generally calculated to be; for forty of their Leagues make one hundred and fixty of thofe between Paris and Lyons; each Laplanid League being as long as a German: Let a Man be ever fo well mounted, he cannot ride on Horfe-back above five a Day. Our Guide alfo informed us that we were in the Mufcovite Lapland; we bid him afk the Inhabitants of the Village, whom we had prefented with Tobacco, and been treated by them with Brandy, whether they had any Commodities to truck with us for Tobacco and Cloth? We had fome Rolls of the former left, and moft of our Bales of the latter. Tobacco being by much the better Commodity, the Laplanders replied, they had fome Furs, we afked to fee them, and they brought them out to fhew us: They were white Fox Skins, black and grey Fox Skins, grey Squirrels, and Sables, though not of fo fine a Colour as thofe of Borandia, Samojedia, and Siberia. Thefe Merchandizes were what we wanted, fo we foon ftruck a Bargain, and paid the Inhabitants in Cloth and Tobacco. When our Market was over, we fell to drinking with them; they were not quite fo brutal as the other Laplanders we had dealt with, but they were very rude and indecent in Converfation, doing things before us that Decency will not permit me to name. It growing late, and we defigning to proceed yet further, to difpofe of the few Rolls of Tobacco we had left; we prayed our Hoft, by our Interpreter, to furnifh us with Sledges and freh Rain-Deer.

- He harnefled and prepared as many as we had Occa-fion-for; we mounted our Sledges and departed at one $o^{\prime}$ Clock; we ran with our former Speed, through different and unbeaten Paths, till fix, without meeting with one Habitation; half an Hour after we were defcending a Hill, we fied two Huts under a Rock, a little out of the Way; our Guide told us that two Kilops lived there, who, as foon as they faw us, fled with their Wives and Families. We travelled two Hours longer, and came to no Houfe, or any thing like a dwelling Place; till at laft we difcovered a great Village on the Side of a Hill, and on the Banks of a River; here we arrived at
eleven o'Clock at Night, and went to the Cottage for a Lodging, whither our Cattle were pleafed to conduct us. It happened to be in the Middle of the Village; the Mafter of the Houfe received us very kindly, made a Fire in the Middle of his Hut, gave us Brandy, dried Fih, and Rain-Deer-Venifon falted, at which we were a little furprized, having not met with any in our Travels hitherto, who made ufe of Salt as thefe did; he alfo gave us Milk and Salt-Butter, very good, and it would have been better, had we had any Bread to eat with it; but we had confumed our Store, and thould have been very much put to it, had we not met with fo good Entertainment here. Our Guide would not tafte a bit of SaltMeat, fo he was obliged to live on the frefh Venifon he brought with him. Having fupped plentifully, we lay down on Bear Skins, and nept till Morning; we rofe early the next Day, took our Leave of our Hoft, and there being rio trading in that Village, paffed the River to proceed to Kola, on the other Side of that Stream, which is as big as the Seine.
We came to another Village, and went to the moft likely Houfe to hire Sledges and Rain-Deer, to carry us to Kola, for we could get none in the Place where we lodged; here we furnifhed ourfelves, and about Noon arrived at Kola, a little City, or rather a great Town; built among Mountains, on the Side of a River, near ten Leagues from the North Sea. To the Eaft of it are large Forefts and Defarts; Mourmanfkeimore to the Weft, and prodigious high Mountains to the South. The Houfes are very low, built of Wood, and handfomely covered with Fifh-bones: On the Top of them the Light enters in at a Hole, as in other Places in Lapland. There is but one Street in it, and that no fine one. The Inhabitants, like the other Mufcovites, are fevere, fufpicious, and fo jealous, that they lock up their Wives, that Strangers may not fee them. Our Hoft took all our Cloth off our Hands, for which he gave us, in Exchange, two Lynx-Skins, fpotted like a Leopard's, three Dozen of white Fox-Skins, half a Dozen of Wyetfras, an Animal which fomewhat refembles a Badger, but its Hair is longer and rougher; his Colour is a blackifh red, and his Tail like a Fox's; we had alfo fome Ermines of him. There were fome Ells of Cloth above what we were to give him, for which he obliged himfelf to fupply us with Provifions for our Journey back to Varanger, and to help us to Sledges, as far as the River we lately paffed; he treated us as weil as he could, and we fupped, and flept as we had done elfewhere.

7. The next Morning, as we were preparing to depart, our Hoft, having provided Bifket, Ginger, Bread, and Rain-Deer-Venifon falted and dried, as alfo a Barrel of Brandy, to ferve us in our Return; before we had quite packed up our Furs in Bales, his Neighbours underftanding we had ftill a few Rolls of Tobacco left, came to ank if we would truck them for more Skins? We replied, with all our Hearts; fo they fetched them, being a Dozen of Ermines, two white Foxes Skins, and four Lynxes, not fo good as thofe we had of our Hoft. The Bargain made, we took their Furs, and gave them the refidue of our Cargo of Tobacco, except feven or eight Rolls, which we referved for our own Ufe, and to pay :or the Hire of our Rain-Deer and Sledges in our Way back. Tobacco is more neceffary than Money, to thofe who travel in that wild and unfrequented Country; the Laplanders valuing an End of Tobacco as long as ones Finger, more than a Crown Piece. The Kings of Denmark and Sweden, and the Czor of Mufcouy, have laid feveral Taxes upon it; and there are Officers fettled in their frontier Towns, to collect their Impofs upon it. When we had done our Bufinefs, according to the Cuftom of the Place, we muft drink with our Chapman; our Entertainment every where was Brandy, and it held till two o' Clock in the Afternoon. We then intreated our Hoft to get the Sledges, we had hired of him, ready; which he did in one Minute. We flored our Merchandize in one of them, got into the other ourfelves, drank a full Glafs at parting with our Dealers, bid them adieu, and fet out for the Village on the other Side of the River we
paffed the Day before. Our Rain-Deer, to our Apprehenfion, ran fafter than any we had hired in our Journey to Kola.
We arrived at the firft Village by feven o' Clock; we paffed the River and came to the fecond; where we put up at our old Landlord's, who received us with Joy, hoping that we had ftill an End of Tobacco left, to give him for the Hire of fome Rain-Deer and Sledges. He prefently gave each of us a Cup of Brandy, for they tols it off there as we do Beer in the South; and afked us if we would have the Rain-Deer put to the Sledges? We replied, we had rather reft ourfelves till Morning, for there was no Village befides in fome fcores of Miles from this. He filled out another Cup, which when we had drank, he offered to take us with him to the Funeral of one of his Neighbours, who had been dead about four Hours. We were very glad of the Opportunity of feeing their Ceremonies on this Occafion, hearing much talk of them. We accompanied him to the Houfe of the Deceafed; we faw his Corpfe taken from the BearSkins, on which it lay, and removed by fix of his moft intimate Friends, into a wooden Coffin, being firft wrapped in Linnen, his Face and Hands only bare. In one Hand they put a Purfe with Money in it, to pay the Fee of the Porter at Paradife Gate, and in the other a Pals, figned by a Prieft, to be given to St. Peter, as a Certificate that he was a good Chrititian, and ought to be admitted into Heaven. They alfo put into his Coffin a Barrel of Brandy, fome dried Fiih, and Rain-DeerVenifon, to ferve him to eat and drink on the Road, haveing a long Journey to take. They then lighted fome FirTree Roots, piled up to a convenient Diftance from the Coffin, wept and howled plentifully, making ftrange Geftures, and turring themfelves in a thoufand different Poftures, to fhew the Extravagance of their real and affected Sorrow. When this Noife and Gefticulation was over, they marched round the Corpfe feveral times in Proceffion, afking the dead Man why he died? if he was angry with his Wife? if he wanted any thing? if he was hungry or a-dry? if he had loft his Game at hunting? or had bad Luck at fifhing? or had not Cloaths to his Mind? Then they fell a howling again, and ftamping like fo many Madmen. One of their Priefts, who affifted at the Solemnity, every now and then fprinkled fome Holy-water on the Corple; the fame did the Mourners. I forgot to inform the Reader, that having an extraordinary Veneration for St. Nicholas, they, as well as the Mufcovites, are Nicholatians by Religion, and always place the Image of that Saint near the Bodies of their Dead, inftead of a Crucifix. This Saint is not the fame for whom we celebrate a Feftival in France; but Nicholas, one of the feven Deacons, mentioned in the Atts of thé Apofles. His Image is dreffed up by them in a Pilgrim's Habit, in a long Robe, with a Camail hanging down over his Shoulders, a broad Girdle about his Middle; and a Staff in his Hand.

The Noife they made having almoft deafened us, and being weary with looking on their barbarous Rites, we left the Cortage of the Defunct, to go to our Hofts, where we found only our Hofteis at Home. She had made a Sally out of the Place to which her Hufband had confined her, on our Arrival; as foon as fhe faw us, fuppofing he was with us, the would have retired to her Corner; but our Guide and Interpreter, giving her to undertand the good Man was at the Funeral, and would not come home prefently, fhe ftayed and viewed us all round, one after another, looked very kindly on us, drew her Seat near us, and fhewed us a Bonnet of her own embroidering, done very curioufly with Tinfel Threads. The Work of all the Mufcovite Laplanders, is to make Cloaths for themfelves, their Hubbands, and their Children. The Edges of them are all emoroidered with Tinfel Thread. They draw them between their Teeth, as fine as the Wiredrawers do their Gold and Silver Threads with their drawing Iron. They work with a good Grace. They are handfome, well fhaped; and good humoured, and, if they did not very well know how jealous their Hubbands are of them, and fear their Refentments, they would willingly proftitute themfelves to Strangers; for which Reafon they
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are thut up when any come among them. While aut Hoft was bufied about the Funeral, we pulled out fome of our Provifions, and gave our Landlady fome of every Sort to tafte. She liked all, but efpecially the Gingerbread; the drank two or three Glaffes of Brandy, and then withdrew to the Place of Confinement, fearing her Hufband might furprize her with us, which would have. raifed his Jealoufy to fuch a Degree, that he certainly would, have ufed her very indifferently. When our Landlord came home, he obliged us to take a Cup or two more with him, to finoak a Pipe, and fup together: for us he brought forth the Victuals he had in the Houre, which he thought would be moft grateful to our Tafte, as Salt-Butter, which we ear with Bread ; our Guide would not touch it, and for him the Man of the Houre got fome Bear's Flefh, which he broiled on the Coals, and fome dried Fifh.
All the Cottages in this Village were like the others we had obferved elfewhere, built of Wood, and covered with Turf; but they were handfomer and better fet off than any we had feen in the Country; being both within and without adorned with Works of Finh-bones, curiounfy inlaid. We made as good a Supper as we could, and, according to Cuftom, lay down with the Family on Bear's Skins; our Landlady only was miffing, and fhe was to do Penance by herfelf in a Corner, till we were gone. In the Morning early, on the I8th of May, our Hoft provided our Rain-Deer and Sledges. We ftowed. our Bales, feated ourfelves, and away went our RainDeer, running as faft as thofe we hired at Kola. In two Hours they carried us fix Leagues, where, paffing between two Hills, we fpied a Laplander going a Hunting; he came up towards us, fliding on the Snow, which, in that Country, does not melt till Midfummer, as faft as we rid in our Sledges; his Skates were made of the Bark of a certain Tree; they were feven Feet and a half long, only four Fingers broad, and flat at Bottom; he was dreffed like the other Laplanders, in a Garment made of Rain-Deer-Skin, with the Hair outwards; his Cap, his Gloves, his Coat, his Breeches, and Boots, were embroidered with Tinfel; he had a Girt of Rain-Deer-Skin about his Waift, a Dart in one Hand, and a Bow in the other, a large Quiver hanging at his Back, and a black Cat followed him. He kept Company. with us about half a League; wie parted at the Foot of the next Mountain; we defcended it, and he ftruck off another Way. We continued our Rout three Days, flopping at the fame Places where we lay in our Journey outwards; and, meeting with no new Adventures, our Entertainment, our way of Travelling, and every thing was the fanie as before.
About nine $0^{\circ} \mathrm{Clock}$ at Night, on the 2 Ift of May , we arrived fafé at Varonger, having received many Services, and no W.rong, throuighout the whole Country of Danif/ Lapland; for though the Inhabitants are poor and ignorant, they are, however, faithful, and given to no Manner of Theft or Fraud. Their Honefty is their greateft if not their only, Virtue. They are fo dextrous in throwa ing a Dart, that they will put a Crown Piece, thirty Paces off, and ftrike through it; as for the Bow, they are fo fkilful, that they will fhoot their Game in what Part they pleafe. They don't much care to go to the Wars; and whenever the Kings of Sweden and Denmark, or the Czar of Nufcovy, have Occafion for Soldiers, for fear of being forced to ferve, they leave their Dwellings, and fly to the Woods. - They have plenty of Fowl, as Geefe, Ducks, Pullets, and other Sorts. They feed them not with Juniper Berries, but with another Grain, of which they make their Drink; and when that is fcarce, or for Variety, they give them Fifh to eat. The greateft Part of the wild Beafts in Lopland are white; as Bears, Wolves, Foxes; and Hares; and even their Crows are fo white, that they may be compared to the Swan, having nothing black about them, but their Bills and Feet.

The Fifh they dry to eat inftend of Bread, is very broad, and two or three Ells long, without Bones, and, excepting the Fat, has a very good Tatte; it is firm and fubftantial, and they call it Raff. As for other Finh they

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eat boiled, they have all Sorts among them. Their UtenRils, within Doors, are made of Copper or Wood; and though they eat no Salt, and in general hate it, yet they boil all their Meat in Sea-Water, if they are near enough co get it conveniently. They have a kind of Dogs a Foot long, and four Inches high; their Hair is an Inch long, of a yellowifh white Colour, rough, and fanding up like a Hog's Briftes. They have curled Tails, ftrait Ears like a Wolf; Head and Snout like a Rat; are very fit to catch Mice, which they watch like our Cats ; and when they have caught them, eat them; for this Reafon the Laplanders value them at an high Rate, though they are very ugly. There is alfo a Sort of wild Bird in Lapland of a grey pearl Colour, as big as a Sheep; his Head is like a Cat's, his Eyes red and fparkling, his Claws and Beak like an Eagle's, with which he will take up Hares, and other fimall Game.
8. Our Captain began to caulk the Ship the fame Day we returned to the Port. In two or three Days after, it was in a Condition to put to Sea, and we loaded our Ballaft. In the mean Time we treated the Inhabitants with Tobacco and Brandy, to keep them in good Humour; for our Crew fancied, that if we did not bribe them to be our Friends, they might, in revenge, raife contrary Winds by their Conjurations. They were very good to us in the Opinion of our Mariners; for five Days after, being the 26 th of May, there fprung up a Wind the moft favourable for us in the Compafs, to carry us out of the little Sea of Varanger; wherefore we weighed anchor, and failed at feven o ${ }^{\circ}$ Clock in the Morning. The Wind fhifting afterwards from one Quarter to another, we were obliged to caft Anchor under the Shore, over againft the Inland of $W_{v}$ ardbus. The Captain of the Caftle fpying us, and knowing who we were, came to us in a Shallop; when he was aboard we entertained him as well as we could, and he returned to the Caftle very well fatisfied with his Reception. The next Day the Wind fettling to a Point, we kept out to Sea, and held our Coürfe North-north-eaft, with all our Sails loote. In three Days Sail we were got into a Climate where was no Night ; we never loft Sight of the Sun there, it always fetting on one Side or the other of us, before us, or behind us.

- On the laft Day of May we fpied the Mountains called Spitzbergen; at which Time a North Wind blew fo violently, that we could not keep to Sea, and were forced to leave them to the North-north-weft, and fteer our Courfe Eaft-fouth-eaft, endeavouring to make the Shore, that we might lie under it, and be fheltered from the Weather. We continued our Courfe three Days longer, very much incommoded by the Ice; which being broken, and toffed by the Tempeft, beat againft our Ship's Stern and Sides, fo furiouny, that we expected every Minute to founder. On the 4th of June we fpied fome high Mountains to the Eaft; we fteered that Way to make them, and fhelter ourfelves under a Promontory; but the Wind blowing frefher and frefher, and ftill North, we were obliged to tack about towards the Coafts of Borandia. We arrived at a Bay, and entered it in a few Hours. The Haven was very commodious; we lay there fafe from all Weather, in twelve or thirteen Fathom Water. We had fcarce caft Anchor before we fpied two Ships in the Bay, about a Murket Shot of us. We perceived they were two of our Company, from whom we were feparated, in the Storm that drove us into Varanger. We were extremely glad to meet with them, fired three Guns, and hung out our Flag in the Stern, as a Signal of our Arrival. They rejoiced as much to fee us fafe; for we reciprocally believed, that they and we were gone to the Bottom. They anfwered our Guns by twice as many, hung out all their Flags and Pendants. We did the like, wifhing for an Opportunity to throw out our Long-boat and go aboard; but the Wind blew fo ftiff we durf not attempt it till four and twenty Hours after. They were as impatient as we, to know how we efcaped in the Storm, in which we were feparated from them; and as foon as the Wind flackened, a. Boat came off from each of them to board us. We embraced one another with extraordi-
nary Affection and Joy, as People that had found Priends whom they thought had been buried in the Deep.
They told us how the Storm drove them on the Coaft
 becaufe of the Rocks, which they difcovered by founding. They had fcarce three Fathom Water, and were forced to tack about immediately, for fear of running: upon them. By the Favour of a Point of Wind North-north-eaft, they continued their Courfe, keeping to Sea as well as they could, though with much Difficulty. In three Days time they reached the Bay, where we met them, and anchored under the Promontories of Borandia, eight or nine Leagues from the Inand called Kildomovia We told them, in our Turn, what Perils we had run and that we were forced to enter the Sea of Varanger, and to anchor there to refit our Ship, or we fhould not have been able to have performed our Voyage. We informed them alfo of our Supercargo's and my Journey into, and through, all Lapland, both Danifs, Swedifh, and Mufcovite; and of our Traffic and Adventures. The Account we gave them of our Trade, encouraged them to go afhore, and try if they could find any body there to trade with them. We held a Council, and refolved, that a Captain, a Supercargo, two Accountants, who underftood both the Language of the North and the Ruffian; twenty Seamen out of all our Crews, and myfelf, well armed, fhould land, taking with us feveral Days Provifions.

Purfuant to this Refolution two Long-boats were got ready, we went into then, and failed to Shore; where we landed and afcended a Hill, to fee if we could dif cover any Habitations; bur feeing none, we marched to a neighbouring Mountain, half a League from thence; where we fpied five or fix Perfons, at two or three Leagues Diftance, among Bufhes of Thorns and Briars; they came towards us till they perceived us advancing, then they turned their Backs, and fled away fo faft, that we loft Sight of them in an Inftant. However, we followed their Tracks fo diligently, imagining it would lead us to fome Village, that in two Hours March, as we defcended a Mountain, we faw fome Huts in the Vale below, and advanced towards them, and faw thirty or forty Men, armed with Darts and Arrows, prepared to receive and give us Battle; for the Inhabitants feeing us come in fo ftrong a Body, took us for Enemies. We halted a while, and confulted what we had beft to do, whether we fhould retreat to our Ships, or attack them. They were wild and bold, and nothing was to be got by defeating them, which inclined us to retire; but one of ous Accountants offered to go up to them by himfelf, and let them know that we were Friends and Merchants who came to trade with them, if they had any Commodity to truck with us for ours. All the Company approved of this Propofal
He approached nearer to them, carrying two Rolls of Tobacco, and a little Barrel of Brandy; when he was fo near that he might hear what they faid, one of them, who feemed to be their Captain, afked him, in the Mufcovite Language, who we were, and what we would have? The Man replied, we were Merchants and Friends, and defired nothing but their Friendhip, and to trade with them, if they had any thing to fell us that was for our Purpofe. They immediately abated of their Fury, feemed very well difpofed to deal with us, and made Signs to the Man to come up to them. He returned the Signal to us, and we joined Companies, to our mutual Satisfaction. When we came near them, I was amazed to fee them much fhorter than the Laplanders; their Eyes were little, the white of them inclined to a reddifh Yellow; their Faces flat and broad ; their Heads great; their Nofes flat; their Legs thick, and their Complexion fwarthy; their Cloaths were a Jerkin that reached down to their Knees, a ftrait Pair of Breeches, a Cap and Stockings, all of white Bear-Skin, the Hair turned outwards; their Shoes were made of the Bark of Trees. Their Huts were all built and covered with Fifh-Bones, very low and oval; their Light entering only at the Door, which was made like the Mouth of an Oven.

They fubfit by hunting and fifhing, eat all their Meat soafted, without Salt, and ufe undried Fifh inftead of Bread; they drink Water after they have infufed fome Juniper Berries in it, without boiling or any other Preparation; they put the Berries and the Water into a Tub together, and let it fand till the Berries rot there, which gives the Water an agrecable Tafte, at leaft in a Country where there is nothing better to be got. The Borandion Women are as ugly as the Men; they are dreffed alike, and go as well as them a fifhing and hunting. They have no Notion of Religion, and live . like Beafts. We bartered away all the Tobacco and Brandy we brought with us, for Fox-Skins, Wolf-Skins, and a few Ermines; they had a great many more Skins of all Sorts, and would fain have trucked with us for Brandy and Tobacco. We told them we had enough of both Commodities on board; if they would go with us we would be fure to give them all poffible Satisfaction. They agreed to it, took up their Skins, and carried them to the Shore, where they ftood admiring our Ships. We made a Signal to them to fend us off Boats to fetch our Chapmen; each Ship fent ustwo. I went in one of them, with the Supercargo, the Accountant that treated with the Borandians, the Borandians with whom he firt treated, and another of them, who underftood the Mufcovite Language, having been in Mufcovy; the other Borandians ftood on the Sea-fhore. When they came on board ${ }_{3}$ our Captain underftanding what fort of Perfons they were, how wild and brutal; to tame them a little, and render them ferviceable ${ }^{\text {c }}$ to $u s$, gave each of them an End of Tobacco about an Inch long, which they took with Joy; he alfo filled out a Brimmer of Brandy to each; and Inever faw to many of the Borandions fo much tranfported as they were at this Entertainment.

They brought fome Furs with them, which we bought for Tobacco and Brandy. We demanded of them if there was any Conveniency of travelling in their Country to trade with the Inhabitants. They told us there was; but that we muft expect nothing but Furs. We replied that was the Commodity we wanted. They anfwered, we might have what we would of that Kind, for Tobacco, Brandy, and Money; and, if we pleafed, might trade as far as Siberia, whither they would conduct us. We hired them to be our Guides forwards and backwards, and to furnifh us with what Conveniences the Country afforded in our Journey, for two Rolls of Tobacco and two Quarts of Brandy, promiling then further Rewards in caf du Trade turned to Account, and they affifted us in it. They faid that we muft pay for our Rain-Deer and Sledges, and as for other Things, they would take care to provide what we thould think neceffary. Our Captain made the Bargain with them, gave them another Brimmer of Brandy and fent them áfhore, to prepare what was proper for our Journey. They got Things ready in an Inftant, and made fuch a Report of our Kindnefs to them aboard, and our Generofity, that their Countrymen were very much our Friends; two Boats Crew went ahore, and our Supercargo with them, to truck with the other Borandians, Brandy and Tobacco for Furs. They were unwilling at firtt to come on board our Ships; but afterwards, when we were better acquainted, they came freely, if they had any Opportunity. We bought their Furs of them, treated them with Brandy; and in return they invited us by fezeral Signs to their Habitations.
9. In feven or eight Hours we had provided ourfelves for our Journey, and our two Borandians had brought down fix Sledges, drawn by fix Rain-Deer, to the Waterfide. We akked them why they did not bring more? They aniwered, there were no more to be had in thole Parts. Obferving that thefe Rain-Deer were larger than the Rain-Deer of Lapland, we demanded if they were alfo ftronger? They replied, Yes; and that one of their Rain-Deer would draw two Men, whereas thofe of Lapland could draw but one. There was Convenience in the Borandian Sledges for two Men to fit. Upon this our Captain called a Council of all the Officers, and it was agreed, That our Supercargo, the two Accountants that could fpeak the Rufian Language, myfelf, and a Seaman out of each Ship, fhould go with the two Borandians, to
trade. One of the Sleciges we loaded with Tobacco, Brandy, Gold, Silver, and Copper, to the Value of three or four thoufand Pounds. Our Supercargo and myself rode to" gether in one of thefe Sledges; one Accountant and 2 Borandion in another; the other Accountant and alye othet Borandian in a third; two Seamen in the fourth, the other Seaman in the fifth; and he riding by himfelf we fowed fome Barrels of Brandy and Tobacco in his Sledge; the fixth carried our Provifions and other Merchandize. We fat one at one End of the Sledge and the other at the other, facing each other. The Rain-Deer ran away witl us as faft as thofe of Lapland. In eight Hours time they drew us twenty Leagues over Hills and Dales, through Woods and Valleys; and we met no-body in our Way. At the Village we baited our Rain-Deer with Mofs, and ourfelves with Bifket and Beef; our Borandians eat dried Fifh dipped in Fifh-oil, for they would not touch our falt Meat, and did not love our Bifket. They drank at a neighbouring Fountain, and then cheared themfelves with a Glafs of Brandy; we did the like: And being refrefhed mounted our Sledges, fet our Rain-Deer a gcing, and travelled three Hours longer; when we perceived a large Village at the Foot of a Mountain. The Huts were better built. and clofer together, and thither we hafted to take up our Lodging that Night: We were obliged to divide our Company, for one Cottage would not hold us alls We met with the fame Reception from our Hofts as we had in Lapland; we gratified them with an End of Tobacco and a Cup of Brandy. Our Guides took Care of our Rain-Deer, and we lay down to reft on Bear-Skins: I diftinguin one Part of the Day from the other by Day and Night; though really there was no Night at all ; but I do it to make myfelf the better underftood by the Reader. We nept fix or feven Hours, then rofe to fee if we could trade with the Inhabitants of the Village: Our Guides informed them what our Bufinefs was there, and that we would barter our Commodities for theirs. They prefently produced fome Wolf-Skins, white Fox-Skins, two dozen of Ermines, three hundred grey Squirrels, and feven Pair of Sables. They did not care to deal for Tobacco fo much as the Laplanders did, nor as the Borandians dwelling on the Coafts; they were not fuch good Fellows; Hunting was their only Diverfion and Employment. In the Summer they eat their Meat frefh boiled, or broiled on the Coals: in Winter they eat it dried, providing enough in Summer to laft them the whole Seafon; their rvianner of drying it is thus: They cut it out in Pieces, fpread it on the Tops of their Houfes, and leave it in the Sun. Their Huts are flat at Top; covered with Branches of Trees and Turf; they are very low, having no Place but the Door for the Light to enter at : the Doors of their Huts are like the Mouth of an Oven. Thefe Borandians, as our Guides told us, change their Dwellings from time to time, like the Kilops; they, like Beafts, live without any Knowledge of Religion; they are Atupid and ugly ; their Shoes are made of the Bark of a Tree; their Stockings, Breeches, Caps; Coats, which come down below the Calf of their Legs, and are tied round their Waift with a Girdle four Inches broad, are all of white Bear-Skin, the Hair outward.

One cannot diftinguifh the Women from the Men but by their Hair, which is twifted, and hangs down on their Shoulders; they are as dextrous at hunting as the Men, and only carry a Stick, fharp at one End, in their Hands; it is of a tough Wood, and ferves them for a defenfive Weapon; the Strings of their Bows are made only of the Paring of a Tree: they hang a Quiver at their Backs, and a Stone that will cut like a Razor at their Girdles. We bought the Furs the Inhabitants had to fell for Money and Copper, and ordered our Rain-Deer to be put to the Sledges, mounted them, and having drank each a good Glafs of Brandy, which may be called Liquor of Life, in the North, we proceeded on our Journey. We ran eight or nine Hours before we came to any Habitation: At laft our Guides fpied three or four Huts, and turned our RainDeer up to them. We found no-body in them; however, thither we went and refrefhed ourfelves on our own Prom vifions, while our Cattle bited on the Mofs, which grew
there
there in abundance. We refted three Hours, and then mounted again, to proceed on our Journey: We went Iffteen Hours before we came to any Dwelling, or faw any human Creature ; when we had been fo long on our way we efpied three Hunters riding before us: We overtook them under a Hill. One of them was dreffed in a long Robe, after the Mufcovite Fafhion, tied round his Waift with a Girdle four Inches broad. It was all Bear-Skin, Hair outwards, and as white as Snow, the Edges black as a Coal. His Cap was like a Seaman's, made of black Fox-Skin. His Breeches and Stockings were of Rain-Deer-Skin. His Shoes of Fifh-Skin, fomewhat like chofe we faw at Varanger. The two others were dreffed as we were; their Robes were of white Bear-Skin, the Hair outwards. They had each a dozen of Furs at their Backs, Bear-Skins, Wolf-Skins, and white FoxSkins, fome Ermines, and very fine Sables; the Bears Tails hanging ftill to the Skin. The firft of them carried only a dozen of white Crows and feven Sables hanging at his Gircles. When we came up near enough, one of our Guides ftopt to talk with him. He lighted out of his Sledge, and the other went into it. While our Accountant rode with him, we admired to fee our Borandian leave us, and this Man fupply his room. Our Supercargo could not tell what to make of it. The Hunter travelled with us for above an Hour, and we had as bad Luck as before in this uninhabited Country. We met with neither Houfe nor Man. At laft we drew near the Brow of a high Mountain. We perceived the Sea at a Diftance, and at the Foot of the Mountain feveral Houfes built clofe together, which looked like a little Town. Thither our Rain-Deer carried us. We alighted to repofe our wearied Limbs at that Man's Door who had taken our Guide's Place in one of our Sledges. We found he was a Man of Authority in the Place by Office, and defired of the Inhabitants to ferve us as his Friends.

The Name of the Village was Vitzora; the People that belonged to it, as foon as they faw that Perfon in our Company, ian to help us out of the Sledges, and to unharnefs our Rain-Deer. He bartered all his Skins with $u s$ for Tobacco and Brandy, except his Bear-Skins; which we did not care to buy, and his Sables, which he would not fell; indeed, he durft not. The Great Duke of Mufcovy, in whofe Territories we were, and whom his Subjects call Czar, referves that Commodity for himfelf. Thofe who fell it without Iicence from him, in any Ian of his Dominions, are feverely punifhed: He appoints certain Officers to take thofe Furs of fuch as have them. Thofe Officers have Ware-houfes in feveral Places of his Empire, and only they trade in that Merchandize. If any one elfe fells a Sable-Skin, it is by Stealth and in fecret, and thofe that buy it muft be careful how it is feen 3 for if the Officers we have mentioned, or the Governors of Places that Strangers go through, find any Sable-Skin, or Skins among their Goods which were not bought of the proper Officer, all their Merchandize will be feized, and condemned. Having dealt with the Borandian Gentleman, if any of that Country deferve the Name, for all the Furs he had by him that were to be fold, he fent two of his Servants about the Village to tell the Inhabitants, That if they would bring us their Skins to his Houfe, they might have Brandy and Tobacco for them, as their Mafter had already had for his. The Borandians of Vitzora were glad to hear of fo good a Market; they brought us all their Furs immediately, and we gave them Tobacco and Brandy in Exchange for them. We bought in this Place fifteen hundred Skins of all forts; and our Cargo being too great for a Sledge, we defired our Landlord to do us the Favour to lend us a Bark, which he had, and fome of his Servants to go in it with one of our Seamen, who was a good Sailor, and one we could truft to carry our Goods a-fhip-board. Our Ship; it is true, lay above an hundred Leagues off; but the Sailor and the Borandian's Servants, who were ufed to the Coafts, could eafily manage that fimall Veffel, and convey our Merchandize to our Companions on the Coaft of Borandia. The Gentleman agreed to lend us the Bark at fuch a Price, and his Servants to help our Sailor.

We paid him in Tobacco and Brandya as currene as ready Cafh at Vitzora.

The Bark was built in the Form of a Gondola, broad in the Middle, and tharp at each End. It was all of Wood. There was in it no Iron or Nails. It had a FirTree Maft in the Middle, and a quare Piece of coarfe Cloth, the Thread of it wove of the Rind of a Tree, tied to the Maft to ferve for a Sail. The Cordage was of the fame Make as the Sail. The two Anchors were of Wood, and very heavy. The Cables that held them were made alfo of Ropes of the fame kind as the other Cordage. He lent us two of his Servants to affift our Sailor: And when they were about to put to Sea, he Thewed them privately thirty Pair of Sable-Skins, which we bought with Ready Money, clapped them aboard, and fent them away. We were glad we had got them fo; for otherwife he would not have fold them to us; the Bark being ready to fail was a fair Temptation ; and feeing there was no Likelihood of the Officers fearching, he let us have them. The Veffel was now put off immediately, and there was no Officer near to examine it. It was a dangerous Rifk, had there been any Searchers at hand, for himfelf would have been corporally punifhed, and he and all his Family fent Slaves into Siberia. Our Seaman and the two Borandians fet fail with our Merchandize; and our Supercargo and Accountants fell to drinking with the Borandian Gentleman. While they were making a Debauch, I went about the Town with our other two Seamen. I was pleafed with its Situation between two Mountains, each of them almoft a League high. All the Houfes were built and covered with Fifh Bones very artificially; the Crannies were every where ftopped up with Mofs as faft as a Ship new caulked; and above all, Turf was laid handfomely in fome Places that were moft expofed to the Wind, which had no Paffage into the Houfes, except at the Doors, which were like Ovens Mouths, as in other Places in Borandia. At the Top of the Houfes where were Lattices or Windows for the Light to enter, I faw abundance of Women and Children at work, fome making Fifhing Nets of the Rind of Trees; others were making of Sails, which looked like fine Mats ; others ufing their I-Iatchets; others Knives. Their Needles were of Fifh Bones. All of them are ugly, dwarfifh, flatnofed and fwarthy.
10. When we returned to our Lodgings, we confultod with nur Supercargo and Accumulants, what we had beft to do ; our commodities were not half difpofed of, and we were in a Country that was full of Furs; the farther we went, the Plenty was the greater, and confequently the Markets the more encouraging. We had a great deal of Cafh, and our Commiffons being as large as our Captains, who were to go whither they thought fit, for the Service of the Company ; we refolved to proceed as long as we found the Trade to be good. We fent our Guides back with the Rain-Deer, and Letters to our Captains, to acquaint them with our Intentions, and give them an Account of our Succefs. We then hired a Bark to carry us to Petzora, the Capital City of a Principality of the fame Name, on the North Coaft of the Mufcovite Sea. Our Landlord got us a fmall Veffel and two Men. We embarked on board it with our Cargo, and by the help of an Eafterly Wind, coafted along Shore till we arrived at Petzora. We got there in fifteen Hours.

The City is not very big, it is fituated on the Coaft, and gives Name to the Sea as well as the Province about it. We went to wait on the Governor at the Caftle. He affumes that Title's tho' in reality he is no more than a Collector of Cuftoms. Indeed all the Czar's Governors are fuch fort of Perfons, for there are few Noblemen or Gentlemen in Mufcouy. They are all uncivil and jealous; Qualities that are incompatible with Nobility. This Governor was a Mufcovite ; he was drefs'd after the Fafnion of his Country, in a Robe of Violet-coloured Cloth, with a Mixture of Red. He gave us fome excellent Metheglin, which went down very pleafantly, and was as racy as Sack; after that we had Brandy and Gingerbread, the common Collation in Nuwfovy. Knowing he
had the Charge of the Czar's Sables, we anked him if he would fell us fome? He anfwered, he would, enquiring how many we wanted? We anfwer'd, all he had, if he would let us have them a Pennyworth. He then carried us to the Warehoufe, where there were five Zimmers, each Zimmer fifty Pair; among which there were two Zimmers of the fineft I ever faw, as black as Jet; for which we paid him five hundred Ducats; and we had the other three Zimmers for eight hundred Crowns, or four hundred Ducats. We bought all the Skins he had; they were fealed with the Czar's Arms. After we had paid him his Money, he would treat us again at the Caftle

He ordered two Boats prefently to get fome frefh Fifh for us; he killed a young Rain-Deer, and roatted fome Wild-fowl that his Servants had brought in. We had a noble Entertainment of Fifh, and Fowl, and young RainDeer Venifón, which is good Meat; we drank Brandy and Metheglin eight Hours together; and the Fumes had got up into my Head fooner, had I not every now and then eat a Mufcovite Bifket, the beft Bread in the World. The Governor and his Guefts at laft began to be tup-heavy; and we all lay down to reft on white Bear-Skins, for he had no Beds to lodge us in. We flept fix or feven Hours, and then rofe. Our Hoft prefented each at our Uprifing with a Brimmer of Brandy.

We then went about the Town to try if there was any Trade to be driven with the Inhabitants. The Governor ordered one of his Under-Offcers to accompany us; and we bought of Several People two thoufand grey Squirrels, four Dozen of Ermines, five hundred Fox-Skins, the greateft Part of them as white as Snow, fix fore of white Wolf-Skins, two hundred Martens of a greyifh Colour. All of them coft four hundred Ducats. We obliged them to take half in Copper, becaufe it incumbered us, and half in Cafh. We went back to the Caftle, whither we fent our Merchandize, and where we packcd it up in Bales. The packing Cloth was made of the fame fort of Stuff as the Sails of the Bark fent to the Ships. Our Goods being thus taken care of, we refolved that one of our Accountants fhould return with them to our Ships. To that end we entreated our Hoft the Governor to furnifh us with a Bark, which he did; and we hired, three Borandions to affift the Accountant in his Voyage ; the Governor paffing his Word for them that they fhouid be trufty and do us no wrong. For the Hire of the Bark and the Borandians Wages, we paid him ten-Ducats more, and prefented the Borandians with fome Ends of Tobacco. The Governor engaged to facisfy them farther for their Trouble when they came back.
Our Accountant embarking, fet fail, the Wind Eaft-foutheaft, and we fell to drinking again with our Hoft the Governor. The Gentleman who had entertained us at Vitzora, accompanied us to Petzora, and drank fo hard, that I could not imagine where he found Stowage for fo much Brandy and Metheglin as he fwallowed. We continued tippling four Hours together, and then lay down, according to Cuftom, on Bear-Skins to repofe ourfelves. As foon as we awoke, our Supercargo defired the Governor of Petzora to hire us fome Rain-Deer, to carry us into Siberia, a Province which fome Geographers place in Europe, and others in Aqa. He furnifhed us with feven Rain-Deer and feven Sledges; one for our Supercargo, one for our other Accountant, one for myfelf, two for our two Seamen, one for our Guide, and the other to load our Tobacco and Prandy. The Provifions he fupplied us with, were to laft till we arrived at Papinowgorod, another City in the Province of Petzora, on the the Borders of Siberia. Our Factor took what Money he had left with him; and the feven Rain-Deer being put to the feven Sledges, the Governor ordered another to be got ready for one of his Domeftics, whom he commanded to wait upon us feven Leagues of our way to a Village, where we were to change our Rain-Deer, and give them to the Governor's Servant to carry back. For all which he was to have four Ducats. He would not let us go till we had drank five or fix Glafles of
Brandy at parting - Brandy at parting

We gave both him and our Hoft of Vitzora hearty Thanks for their kind Entertainment, and then got into
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our Sledges. The Ways were very difficuit to pafs. We had no beaten Road, and were four Hours before we could fee any living Creature ; at laft we met four white Bears, of an exceffive Bignefs; they croffed our Ways and feeing us, fled into a Wood. Two Hours after we came to a Village, confifting of feven or eight Cottages 3 there was no body in them, the Inhabitants being all gone a Hunting. We alighted out of our Sledges to bait a little on the Provifions we brought with us. While we were eating, five or fix Men, with their Wives and Children, returned from hunting, which it feems had been very lucky to them, for they brought in with them fix Bear-Skins, four Wolf-Skins, a couple of Ermines, and eight Sables. The People of the Place were furprized to fee us there, and would have fled from us, had not the Governor of Petzora's Servant affured them we were Friends and Merchants, bound for Papinowoorod, When they underftood we were Traders, they came up to us, and viewed us narrowly. They wondered to fee fo many Strangers in a Place fo unfrequented. They were aftonifhed at our Way of Drefs, our Looks and Shape, as alfo at our Language, fo different from theirs, and fo unintelligible to them; however, we deale with them, by the Affiftance of our Interpreter; we bought all the Skins that they darcd to fell us; and they. lent us Rain-Deer and Siedges, to carry us as far as the Mouth of the River Papinowegorod.
11. When we parted from them, we left the Courfe of the River Petzora, and proceeded to that of Papinoregorod, the Ways were almoft unpaffable, yet, with much Difficulty and Fatigue, our Rain-Deer drew us over Mountains and Valleys, through Woods and Forefts, for three Hours before we met with Man, Woman, or Habitation. When we had travelled fo long, and approached near a thick Wood, we efpied five Men in white Bear-Skin Robes, after the Mufcovite Fanhion; each of them had a Fuzee on his Shoulder, a Pouch on one Side, and a Knife and Sheath on the other, like the Borandian Huntimen. They feemed to make up towards us, for which Reafon our Guide, who underfood the Management of Rain-Deer, immediately fopped them; and by that Time the five Men were advanced fo near us, that we could hear them; one of them perceiving that we were Strangers, bid us Good-morrow in the German Language, withing they were as free as we were. Our Supercargo, who was a Native of the Lower Saxomy, hearing him talk his own Tongue, afted him what Countryman he was? The Man anfwered him to his Satisfaction; and, entering, into a longer Converfation, they recollected things in their Minds, by which they undertood that they liad formerly been intimately acquainted. Our Supercargo alighted out of his Sledge, embraced him, and demanded how he came there? The Man replied, he was one of thofe whom the Grand King, or Czar, had lately banifhed for hunting Sables.

This is a Crime that is punifhed with Banifhment, and that in Mufcory is equivalent to the Galleys in France. Some are banihhed for ten Years, fome for fix, fome for three, fome for more, and fome for lefs; after which they have their Liberty to go where they pleafe. The more Ilooked on one of the five Men, the more I thought I had feen him before, and alighted out of my Sledge to fatisfy my Curiofity. As foon as I was on the Ground, the Man who remembered me better than I did him, ran to me and embraced me; fighing, afked me, in the Frencb Tongue, whence I came, and whither I went? I was fomewhat furprized at it, becaufe I could not yet call to mind who he was; his Habit had ftrangely altered him; his Beard was long, and his Head bald; befides, he was fo fallen away, he was nothing but Skin and Bones. Seeing I could not recollect where I had known him, he told me his Name, and that he had drank very often with me at Stockbolm. I then remembered that, indeed, he was the Man to whom I had been very much obliged, for the many Civilities I had received from him in Srweden: He was a Gentleman by Birth, a Lorrainer, and was Lieutenant-Colonel of a Regiment of Mufcovite Horfe. He would fain have perfuaded me to go with him to Moforev , promifing to procure me an

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honourable
honourable and profitable Place, in the Service of the Czar, but I did not think fit to accept of his Propofal.
The fine Appearance he made at that Time, the Refpect that every one paid him, as well on Account of his Eftate, for he was rich; as for the Place he enjoyed, and the Character he bore, of a Man of Courage and Honour, and the miferable Condicion I now faw him in, made me figh; when I embraced him again with extraordinary Affection and Tendernefs, afking him what was the Occafion of his Difgrace? He anfwered, the Czar furpected he had not been fo zealous in his Service as he might have been, and for that Reafon only banifhed him to Siberia for three Years; that he was to endure Miferies which are not to be expreffed, befides the Dangers to which all banifhed Perfons are expofed in hunting wild Beafts for their Subfiftance; as likewife Hunger, and the Rigour of the Seafon, which they were forced to fuffer, and none durft relieve them. He faid they were almoft every Day attacked by wild Beafts, which they met in Herds, feeking for Pafture; and that they had often much ado to defend themfelves: And further, if they did not each of them catch fuch a Number of Sables, as they were condemned to furnifh the Czar's Officers with, they were each of them lafhed with a Whip made of Leathern Thongs, thick and hard, on their naked Backs, and fometimes all over their whole Bodies, till they were all in a gore Blood.

Our Supercargo's Acquaintance told him the fame Story, fo did the other three, who fpoke the German and French Tongues tolerably well. One of them had been Receiver-General of the Czar's Revenues, in one of his Provinces ; the fecond had been a Major General, and the third a Man of Note. They all deplored their Mif fortune, affuring us, that when the Time of their Banifhment was out, they would get far enough from the Czar's Power. We were extremely touched with the Relation of their miferable Condition. We fet down on the Mofs, took out the beft Provifion we had, and defired them to take Part of it. We offered them our Help to make their Efcapes, but they told us it was impracticable; for that they were known to all the Governors of the Forts and Places through which they and we muft neceffarily pais: And in cafe they fhould be taken, all our, and their, Lives mult pay for their Attempt to get off. That Death would certainly be our Punifhment, and theirs; and the moft cruel Death, which boundlefs Power, and northern Barbarity, could inflict. This increafed our Concern for thofe poor unfortunate Gentlemen; we all weeped heartily at the fad Sight of what they fuffered, and the Idea of what they were fill to fuffer.

We could not think of parting prefently with Perfons in their difconfolate State. We had feen them when Fortune fmiled on them, at leaft fome of them; we had been their Friends, and we thought it had been cruel to leave them, without endeavouring to render a Day or two, of the difmal Time they were to pafs, pleafant to them ; the Society of fuch as they had formerly had a Friendinip for, would contribute towards eafing them a little of the Load of Grief that hung at their Hearts. We told them what we wifhed, and that we were loth to part fo foon; our Trade was not in fo much hafte, confidering the two large Parcels of Goods we had already fent to our Veffels, as to hinder us fpending a Day or two with Men in their Circumftances, whom we equally loved and efteemed. The meeting them in fuch a Place, and in fo fad a Condition, had fomething romantic in it; and as much as we were Merchants, we had more of Heroes than to fly from our Friends in Adverfity, without taking a few Days to condole with them, and endeavour to alleviate their Sorrows.

Befides thefe Confiderations, I had another. My Defign, in the Beginning of my Voyage, was more to make Obfervations on the North Parts of the World, than to reap any Benefit by it. I had formerly made more beneficial Voyages to the Indies and Africa, than any thing I could propofe to myfelf by Travelling into the North. But having feen thefe two Parts of the World, I had a Curiofity to vifit that in which I was
now trading, and to inform myself of the Manners and Cuftoms of a People lefs known to us than the Indians in the Eaft and Weft, though they are at a greater Diftance from us. I knew the Gentleman of Lorrain to be a fenfible Man, who had lived a long Time in Mufoov, under the State of the Empire, and the Court of the Czar, as well as any Man; and intending to communicate my own Obfervations to the World, I thought I could not better fecure the Reader's Satisfaction, than by giving him his, which would make my Account of the North complete; wherefore I refolved to flay a Day or two with him, and his poor Brethren in Adverfity, and learn of him what he could inform me of, as to the more noted and more populous Part of Mufcovy; the City of Moforw, and the Czar's Court. Our Bufinefs obliged us to keep as near the Coaft as poffible; and the Countries that lay near the Sea came within my own Knowledge; but the Inland Provinces were out of our Way, and we had no Pretence to vifit them; my Companions travelling for Profit, and not for Pleafure. Our unhappy Friends rejoiced mightily at our offering to fpend fome Hours with them.
To encourage us, they told us they had built themfelves five little Huts in the Wood, which they came out of, where each of them retired when he chofe to be alone; that there was room enough to entertain us all ; and if we would be fo kind as to go thither with them, they fhould be infinitely obliged to us. They knew our Bufinefs, and we fhould not lofe our Time; all the Skins they had were at our Service, except the Sables, which they were forced to referve for the Czar; but they were little to be valued, in refpect to the Joy they fhould have in our Company. They faid, the very Remembrance of the happy Hours they fent with us, in their profound Solitude, would make many future Months glide on the more fweetly. Our Supercargo and I confented to ftay with them, out of refpect, as the reft of our Company did out of Hopes of Profit, hearing them offer to give us their Furs. The banifhed Men told us we mutt travel fome fcores of Leagues before we could meet with a Market for our Commodities. We readily agreed to the Propofals they made us. When we had refrethed ourfelves on our own Provifions, we ordered our Guide to unharnefs the Rain-Deer, and convey our Goods into the Huts the Gentlemen had built to defend them from the Weather. Their Neceflity made them ingenious, and nothing could be better contrived, either for Pleafure or Convenience, in fo wretched a Place.

They were built of Fir, higher than any we had feen in our Travels; there were two or three Rooms in each of them, and Lattices to let in the Light at the Side. They were each fhaded by a Tuft of Trees, and paved wi h broad Finh-bones, fo artificially, that they looked as if the Floors were inlayed with Ivory. They had digged a Trench round them, and pallifaded the Circumference of the Ground, on which they were built, with ftrong Pofts, which were joined together with crofs Sticks of ftrong Wood, and on the Top were Spikes of Fifhbones. By this means, when the Gate, that was the Entrance into it, was fhut, they were fafe againft the Infults of wild Beafts, and as fecure as in a fortified Place. They had all Sorts of hunting and fifhing Tackle, Store of Metheglin, Bifket, and falted Rain-Deer-Venifon. The Lorrainer was a temperate Man, but the others loved drinking ; fo they and my Companions fell to it. I I always abhorred the Debauches we were forced to make in the North, and was very glad I had an Excufe to avoid tippling now.

My Friend and I withdrew to converfe together, and the Company perceiving we were old Acquaintance, permitted us to do fo. We retired into his Hut, and left the reft with the Saxon in his; where they drank away Sorrow at that Time; and after fix or feven Hours fpent over Brandy and Tobacco, they all lay down on Bear-Skins to take their Reft. The Lorrainer and I, in the mean Time, entered into a Difcourfe on his own Adventures. He told me how he intended to return home, after his Time of Exile was expired, and how I might hear of him
in France. Our Converfation was tender and pleafant; it ran partly on our former Acquaintance, and partly on the Wildnefs of the Country, and the Barbarity of the Inhabitants; upon which I took occafion to defire him to communicate to me the Obfervations he had made of the Court, Country, and Cuftoms of Mufcovy; telling him I intended to publifh my Voyage to the North; and wanted only fome Account of the inland Provinces, to render it, in fome Meafure, perfect.

He replied, he was loth to. fpend any of the little Time we had to be together, on fo general a Subject: But if I thought his Reflections and Remarks would be of any Ufe to me, he would give me the Memoirs he had collected when he came firft into Mufcovy, for his private Satisfaction. He could not recommend them to me as things that did not require to be carefully digefted and methodized: But he affured me the Obfervations were as juft and entertaining as any he had been able to make fince, in fifteen or fixteen Years Refidence in that Country.

He then went to a Cheft he had in a Corner of an inner Room, and took out about twenty Sheets of Paper, containing the Subftance of what I infert in the following Pages, relating to the Manners and Policy of the Rulfans; as alfo the Account I give of Siberia, which I took entirely from his Memoirs. I would fain have excufed myfelf, and not accepted his Prefent, believing he could finifh his Work, and make it ufeful to the Public, with more Succefs than I could : But he obliged me to take the Memoirs, faying, The things in it were now fo common to him, that he needed no Remembrances; and his Sufferings had given him fuch a Difguft to the Country, that he fhould never more have any, Curiofity concerning it, or defire to let the World know any thing of it. And as to thefe Memoirs, though probably they might be of Service to me, they could not be fo to him: In a Word, he obliged me to take them with me, and I refolved to add them to my own, when I returned to France, and fhould put the Journal of my Voyage into order for the Prefs. I have not publifhed above half the Obfervations the Lorrain Gentleman gave me: However, they are the moft uffeful and diverting of them, and what'I doubt not the Reader will be pleafed with. The Perfon that made them being a Perfon of good Senfe, and very curious in his Refiections on Places and Perfons; he mingled feveral Paffages of the Mufcovite Hiftory with his Memoirs, which he took from their own Books; for he undertood their Language as well as the Natives; fpoke it and wrote it as well as their beft Scholars; who, indeed, are not the moft learned or elegant Perfons in Europe: For Learning is held in Contempt by almoft all the Ruffans; their Clergy being as brutal and illiterate as their ILaity. When my Friend and I had tired ourfelves with talking, we lay down as ufual, on Bear-Skins, and flept found till the next Morning.

We rofe early, and at the Defire of the five banifhed Gentlemen, took each of us, our Guide excepted, a Fuzee in our Hands, which they lent us; and we went with them into the Woods, to their Walks, to fee if their Game were caught in the Snares we had laid for them. We killed among us ten or twelve white Foxes, and half a Dozen grey Martens; we met with none of the larger Game; and both the Gentlemen and we were loth to fpend any more Time about it, for we intendto proceed on our Journey when we had dined; fo we returned to their Huts, brought forth our Provifions, the fame did our Hofts, and refrefhed ourfelves, as well as could be expected in fo wretched a Place. After we had drank plentifully, the Gentleman forced us to take feven Bear-Skins, ten white Fox-Skins, two Pair of Ermines, and eight Wolf-Skins; they would not have any Money for them, and it was with Difficulcy that we could perfuade them to accept of fome Brandy, Tobacco, and Cloth, to the Value of their Furs. We were fo grateful to them for their Civilities to us, that we took care our Commodities fhould be rather worth more than lefs than theirs. Having eat and drank fufficiently, we took our Leaves of them, embracing them heartily, and wifhed
them Patience to endure their Sufferings, and a happy Deliverance out of them, and faluting them all round, wept reciprocally at parting. Our Rain-Deer and Sledges being got ready we mounteds and bid them all adieu; the like did the Gentlemen to us. Our Rain-Deer, at our Guide's Signal, ran away with us ; and the unfortunate Exiles went to their Huts.
12. The Territories of the Czar or Emperor of Rufia are fo little known, that we have few Defcriptions of them worth reading, which proceeds from the little Commerce there is between his Dominions and other Parts of Europe, and indeed between fome of his Provinces with the reft ; his Country is the largeft in Europe befides what he poffeffes in Afa, but moft of it is thinly peopled; and being uninhabited in many Places, it is confequently unfrequented. By this Means Travellers never give themfelves the Trouble of going far beyond the Coaft, or the Province of Mofcow; and the Czar's Subjects are fo illiterate they can give no Account of Things, for they are fo ignorant that they know as little of their own Country as thofe that were never in it. I found very few Obfervations on the geographical Part of Mufcovy among my Friend's Papers ; but feveral Remarks on the Cuftoms and Religion of the Mufcovites, with which I believe the Reader will be diverted; for they were made by one who had more Opportunities of informing himfelf than ever any other Man had before him.

Every body that travels into $N u f c o v y$, with a Defign to fatisfy their Curiofity, about the Manners and Polityso Ecclefiaftical and Civil, of the Mufcovites, will meet with many Difficulties that they will hardly have Patience to furmount: The People of Ruffic are naturally jealous, and miftrultful; they have no Knowledge of the World, and but very little in any kind of Affairs either Spiritual or Temporal ; wherefore they fufpect all that make any Enquiries into the State of their Government or Religion, and yet know not why or for what. Printing was brought into Mijcovy in the Year 1560, and the Czar then reigning erected a College for teaching Grammar, and the Latin Tongue; but it came to nothing in a few Years. The Priefts, the moft ignorant, illiterate Creatures that ever affumed that Office, ruined it, for fear it might in Time ruin them : Thefe Priefts are only Laics of good Lives and Converfation, who are for that Reafon chofen into the Priefthood. The Occafion of the Mufcovites embracing the Chriftian Religion, was from the Prayers of a Prieft of Cbioff, who praying to Almighty God for the Duke, who was dangerounly ill, his Prayers were heard, and that Prince miraculoully recovered to his Health. Their Liturgy is taken from that of the Greeks in the Sclavonian Language, the Knowledge of which is as rare among them as that of the Latin among the Roman Catholics. They imitate the Greeks in the Manner of building their Churches.

They have Pictures in them, and formerly had Images richly adorned with Jewels, and other coftly Ornaments; but this is not fuffered now, all Sorts of Sculptures being forbidden; and they looked upon the Worfhip rendered them by the Papifts to be Idolatry. They don't kneel at their Prayers, but proftrate themfelves on the Ground. On the Eve of certain Feafts celebrated among them, they fpend the whole Night at Church in their Devotions. They often throw themfelves on the Floor, fign themfelves with the Sign of the Crofs, and beat their Heads againft the Ground. Amidft the feveral Parts of their Services, there are Intervals in which they difcourfe of their temporal Affairs. The Emperor feldom miffes affifting at the Public Worfhip; he is generally attended by the whole Court: He difpatches Bufinefs at Church, and if any of the Courtiers are not prefent he feverely reprimands them.

On Wbitfunday their Churches are filled with Maple Boughs, which the Ruffans miftake for Sycamore. Whenever they proftrate themfelves, they verily believe the Holy Ghoft defcends on thofe Boughs, as Manna fell on the Leaves of Oak in the Defart. Mufical Inftruments are not ufed in Churches; the laft Patriarch abolifhed that Cuftom. Their Prayers, which are performed three

Hours

Hours after Sun-rifing, are called Obedni ; thofe that are made after Sun-fetting are called Vackerny; and thofe an Hour after Midnight, Zaoutrinys.

Their Obedni, or Morning Prayer is: Have Mercy upon me, OLord, according to thy loving Kindness, and blot out niy Iranfgreflion, according to thy Greatnefs, and Multitude of thy Bounties.

Their Vackerny, or Evening Prayer is: O Lord! bear my Prayer when I call upon thee, and let my Cry come unto thee.

Their Zaoutrinys, or Prayer an Hour after Midnight is: We put our Truft in Cbrif, our Saviour; and all our Hope is in bim.

They repeat the Miferere, which they call Hofpody Pomelee, a hundred times over, and the Prieft who can repeat it ofteneft in a Breath is reckoned the beft Man; five or fix of them will read aloud together; one a Chapter, the other a Pfalm, the third a Prayer, and the reft fo many other different Things, with Noife and Confufion inexprefible. Every Prieft is called Pope, or Father; as Pope $70 n$, or Pope Peter; every Bifnop is ftiled a Metropolitan, and the Chief-Prieft, Proto-Pope: the Parifh-Priefts are commonly cloathed in red Veftments, fome wear green and others blue, according to their feveral Fancies; the Form of their Garments is diftinguifhed from that of Laymen, by two little Piecès of Stuf fewed on each Breaft.

They wear a red Leather Cap on their bald Pates, and that is all the Difference between their Drefs and the Laity; the Hair of their Heads and Beards is never fhaved, only the Crown of their Heads, which is always fhorn; they muft have Wives, but, according to the Apoftle St. Paul's Rule, no Prieft is allowed to have any more than one during his whole Life: Thus their Priefthood depends on their Wives, and when they die it ceafes; for which Reafon they marry young, that they may have a Benefice early, and ufe their Wives better than "other Men. Their Wives Garments are diftinguifhed like the Hufbands, by two little Pieces of Stuff fewed on each Breaft. Their Manner of Baptifm is much like that of the Roman Catholics, except that they always dip the Children they baptize quite under the Water. The Cuftom of buying Foreigners, on Purpofe to oblige them to turn Chriftians, which was very much practifed by them formerly, is now out of Ufe. When any Man, either Proteftant or Papift, renounces his own Religion to embrace the Ruflan, he muft renounce his firft Baptifm, his Father and Mother, and fpit three times over his Shoulder. Some antient Inhabitants of the Country have obferved, that of two hundred Englijh, Scotch, and Dutch, who have made Profeffion of the Rufian Religion, hardly one died a natural Death.

The greateft Part of the Marriages in Mufcovy are brought about by third Perfons, and without much Solemnity. Five or fix of the young Woman's Friends who is to be married, examine her ftark naked before the is further engaged, to fee if the has any bodily Infirmity; and if they find any, they do what they can to cure it: As for the young Man, he never fees her, perhaps till he meets her in the Chamber where the Marriage is to be confummated. The NuptialCeremonies are not very great, a few Perfons of both Sexes wait on the Bride about three $0^{3}$ Clock in the Afternoon to Church. When the Prieft has done hirs Office, the Panama, or Sexton, throws Hops on her, and wifhes that the may be as fruitful as that Plant; another Officer of the Church, cloathed in GoatSkin, the Wool outwards, accompanies her Home, praying all the Way, that the may have as many Children as there are Hairs on his Habit. Young Men lead the Bridegroom home, and old Women the Bride, who is veiled fo that nothing of her Perfon is to be feen. The Parim Prielt carries the Crofs before her to her Hufband's Houfe.

The new married Couple fit down at the Table together; fometimes they have Bread and Salt laid before them; but they don't eat a Bit. In the mean time, a Chorus of Boys and Girls fing an Epitbalamium, or Wedding Song, fo lewd and impudent, that it is a Shame to repeat it. When this Ceremony is over, an old

Woman and a Prieft conducts the Bride and Bridegroom to their Chamber, where the old Woman advifes the Bride to be loving and obedient to her Hufband, and the Bridegroom to be kind to his Wife; , the Bridegroom in one of his Bufkins has a Whip, and in the other a Jewel, of Purfe of Money; he commands the Bride to pull them off, and if it happens fhe lights upon that Bufkin firt where the Jewel or Purfe of Money is, he gives it to her, which is looked on as a happy Omen for the Wife; but it is reckoned unlucky for her to pull off that Bufkin firft in which the Whip is; and the Bridegroom gives her a Lafh with it to punifh her for it, as a Token of the Treat ment fhe is like to meet with. When this is done, they are fhut up in a Chamber for two Hours; then the old Woman goes in and examines if the Signs of Virginity are apparent, and in fuch Cafe the ties up her Hair in Treffes that before hung loofe about her Shoulders, and goes to her Parents to demand the Albricia, or MarriagePortion.
13. To keep the Chambers warm in Ruffia, they are covered with Earth two Feet deep ; but when a Couple is newly married the Earth is taken away from the Place where the Marriage is confummated; for Earth being an Image of Mortality the Muffovites think it is not proper for the Man or Woman to have it in their Thoughts at that Time. The Children of the Ruflans, young Men or Maids, dare not refufe Hufbands or Wives propofed to them by their Parents; nor thofe that depend on any great Man, thofe defigned for them by their Superiors. Boaris Fuanowitz Morifo, the fecond Perfon in the Empire, having refolved to marry one of his Friends to a rich Widow, a Dutch Woman born, who had embraced the Ruffan Religion, the Widow went to Boaris's Wife, Sifter to the Emprefs, threw herfelf at her Feet, and prayed her to prevail with her Hufband not to put fuch a Conftraint upon her Inclination, nor oblige her to break a Vow fhe had made never to marry again. All her Prayers and Tears were ineffectual. Boaris's Wife replied, What would you Befcbeat; as much as to fay, difhonour my Hufband fo far as to refufe one that he offers you, and make him worfe than his Word to his Friend.

The Manner of the Ruffans ufing their Wives is very fevere and inhumane, though it is much lefs fo now than formerly: Four or five Years after my Fricnd came to Mufcovy, a Tradefman in Mofcow, after having beaten his Wife unmercifully, forced her to put on a Smock dipped in Brandy, to which he fet fire and burnt her to Death. What is more ftrange even than his Barbarity is; that no-body profecuted him for his Wife's Murder. It feems there is no Law in Ruffa to punifh a Man for killing his Wife if it was in Correction. Some of thefe Barbarians tie up their Wives by the Hair of the Head, ftrip them ftark naked, and whip them till they are almoft dead: It is true, they never chaftife them fo feverely unlefs it be for Adultery or Drunkennefs, and incleed it is very feldom now that they deal fo by them at all. The Fathers of young Women who are married, now take the neceffary Precautions to prevent their Daughters being fo ill ufed ; they oblige their Hurbands to Narriage Articles to treat them according to their Quality, to maintain them with good Victuals and good Drink; not to whip them, nor fcratch, nor kick them.

That Woman who kills her Hufband is buried alive all but her Head, and fo left to expire in that miferable Condition. There is feldom any Marriage celebrated in Nufcovy, efpecially among Perfons of Rank, without fome conjuring, and ufing Charms: The Friars and Nuns are accufed as the moft guilty of this wicked Practice, which, it is faid, they ftudy in their Solitude. My Friend writes, that he has feen a Man come out of the Wedding-chamber like a mad Man, tearing his Hair and crying, he was undone and bewitched. The Cure in thefe Cafes is to apply to fome, commonly called, wbite Magicions, who for a fmall Matter of Money diffolves the Charm, and unties the Knot that others had tied This Man was fo ferved, fo diftempered, and fo cured, as my Papers report; but Credulity perhaps infects even Strangers in Rufiae The Mufcovite Canon forbids any Man

## Chap. II.

Mian to have conjugal Commerce with his Wife, three Days in the Week, as Monday, Wednefday, and Friday. Thofe who break this Law, muft bathe themfelves before they enter the Church Door. No Man is admitted into the Church that has had two Wives; every fuch Perfon muft ftay in the Porch; and he who marries a third Time, is excommunicated.

If a Woman is barren, a Man may do what he can to perfuade her to retire into a Convent willingly, and if the will not, he may beat her till the gives her Confent to it. It is reported that the laft Emprefs would have been thut up in a Monaftery, had the not at laft brought forth the Czaroroitz, or Prince Royal, who was born nine Years ago, on the 2 d of Fune, 1661. The Emprefs had feveral Daughters, but that would not have excufed her, unlefs fhe had had a Son and Heir. When the Czar of Mufcovy is willing to marry, there are feveral young and beautiful Ladies prefented to him, out of which he generally chufes one to be his Wife.
The laft Czar on this Occafion made Choice of a young Lady who was not at all liked by Boaris Fuanosvitz, the reigning Favourite and Minifter. This Lord would fain have had his Mafter accept of a Wife of his chufing, and endeavoured to fet him againft the Lady he had himfelf chofen. He propofed to him the Daughter of Elich Danelowitz, a Man of obfcure Birth, who had got into fome Credit, by Means of a good Eftate left him by his Uncle, one Gramatin, Secretary of the Embaffador's Office. The young Gentlewoman's Name was Mary, fhe was not extraordinary handfome; but witty and cunning, modeft and devout, at leaft in Appearance. Boaris thought if the was advanced to the Emperor's Bed, by his Procurement, fhe would be governed by him; and his Favour with the Czar made his Hopes the more probable. He intended to marry the younger Siter himfelf, to ftrengthen his Intereft by that Alliance. The Propofal he made to the Emperor, was not, at firft, approved of. He was very much troubled at it, , but thought it would be his fafeft Way to diffemble his Difcontent; and knowing the Emperor's Inclination for the young Lady he had chofen was too powerful for him to refift openly, and that it might, perhaps, irritate him, if he difcovered his Averfion for the Match; he refolved to break it off by Treachery, to prevent any Sufpicion of his Defigns. He bribed the Women that were, according to Cuftom, to prefent her with the Crown, and they tied the young Lady's Hair fo hard, that the fell down into a Swoon ; the Women gave out that fhe had the falling Sicknefs; her Father, who brought her, was feized, accufed of Treafon, whipt, and banifhed into Siberia.

The Gentlewoman, when the came to herfelf, found fhe was a vaft Diftance from the Throne, to which a few Minutes before the was fo near: However, fhe valued herfelf fo much on the Emperor's Choice of her, that fhe would never afterwards marry, though feveral beneficial Matches were offered her. She was not troubled with the falling Sicknefs any more. The Ring and a Pocket Handkerchief which the Czar gave her, fhe always kept as Tokens of her Preference in his Favour, though of fo Chort Duration. When the Emperor underftood it was only an Accident occafioned by the tying her Hair too ftrait, he was very much troubled at it, and affigned her a confiderable Penfion to make amends for the Lofs of a Crown, and the ill Ufage her Father had fuffered on her Account. Boaris prevailed with him to marry Danelowitz's Daughter, to which he was the rather induced, becaufe he was afraid of being bewitched. if he refufed; and the Favourite married Ame the Czarina's Sifter, as he intended to do, if the Czar confented to marry Mary the eldeít Sifter.

Though he got feveral Advantages by this Marriage, he loft one that was more valuable than all the reft, which was his Quiet. He was old and jealous. His Wife handfome and young. They quarrelled in a fhort Time; and he caufed Mr. William Barnley; an Enelifhman of Worcefter/bire, to be banifhed to Siberia, becaufe he fufpected that he was too familiar with her. Barnfley lived twenty Years in Exile, and afterwards was recalled;

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he turned from the Proteftant Religion to the Rufran married a great Fortune, and lived at Mofcow in Splendour. Eliab, the Emperor's Father-in-law, durft not fay that the Emprefs was his Daughter, nor any of the Family, that they were related to her, even not her Un $\rightarrow$ cle, Fobn Paolowitz Martifcba, who was preferred to feveral Pofts, one after another. When the Czarowitz, or Prince Royal, is fifteen Years old, he is carried to the Market Place, and fhewn on Mens Shoulders, that he , may be known; thereby to prevent any Impofture, there having been many Cheats impofed on the Mufcovites for real Princes. Till he arrives at that Age nobody fees him, but thofe who are intrufted with his Education, and fome of the Chief of his Domeftics.

Even the ordinary Sort of People, in Mufcovy, hide their Children from every body, but their intimate Friends, and neareft Relations; they having a Superftition among them, that Strangers have certain Looks that are unlucky. Their Children are ftrong and robuft; they never fuck above a Month, or two Months at the moft; after which they give them a Horn, or a Sort of Silver Cup, made like a Horn, with a dry Dug of a Cow tied to the End of it, for them to fuck.

At two Years old they make them obferve Fafts, which are-very ftrict. They have four general ones in a Year. In Lent they faft three Days in a Week; Wednefdays, Fridays, and Saturdays. On which Days they don't fo much as eat Fifh, living on Cabbage, Cucumbers, and Rye-bread. They then drink nothing but Quafl, a Sort of Beverage, weaker than Small-beer. They won't drink after a Man who has eat Flefh; and when they are fick, they will take no Phyfic in the Compound, of which there is either Cor Cervi, or Pil. Lepor; fo fcrupulous are they in the Obfervation of their Fafts.

Their ufual Penances are, to bend their Bodies crooked ; to ftrike their Heads againft an Image ; fometimes to eat nothing but Bread, Salt, and Cucumbers, and to drink only fair Water. They never eat any thing that they call Pagano, i. e. impure; as Horfe-flefh, Hares, Rabbets, Elks, or Mares-milk, Affes-milk, $\xi^{\circ} c_{\text {}}$. in which they obferve the Mofaical Law in fome Mea. fure. The Emperor's Magazines being burnt lately, no lefs than fix thoufand Flitches of Bacon were burnt with them. By which we may fee there is fome Difference between their Religion, and that of the Tartars, who abhor all Manner of Swine's Flefh. Veal is reckoned impure, yet Lamb is not. Venice Treacle is alfo not allowed by them, becaufe there is Viper's Flefh in the Compofition of it; nor will they eat any thing, if there is the leaft Murk, Civet, or Caftor Flefh in it ; though the Barbarians feed on it in the North very frequently. Sugar, and Sugarcandy, are Scarmunas, i. e. forbidden on Faft Days; and a Knife that has cut Flefh, muft not be ufed for twenty-four Hours after.

The Regularity that the Mufcovites obferve in their Faits is of great Advantage to them ; they would not, without it, have Meat enough to ferve their Occafions; becaufe they are forced all the Winter long to fhut up their Cattle in Houfes, for five or fix Months together; and the Peafants, who are perfect Slaves, don't much care to trouble themfelves about encreafing their Stock of Cattle, for fear their Lord fhould come and take them away from them, which is very common for them to do.

I4. The Patriarch is Chief of all the Ecclefiaftics. The Perfon who executes that Office at prefent left the Court two or three Years ago, on fome Difguft he took at the Minifters. It was faid he began to make Innovations, and that he did not love Pictures; to which the Nufcovites have a great deal of Refpect. The patriarchal See has been ever fince vacant. But the Metropolitan, or Bifhop, or rather Coadjutor, performs all the Duties of this Office. And the Czar dares not fill the patriarchal Chair, fo long as the abdicated Prelate lives; fo highly is his Perfon reverenced in Rulfa. Of all the Mufcovite Ceremonies, that of Palm Sunday is the moft extraordinary. A hundred Men are ordered to clean the Streets, for the magnificent Proceffion.

The Emperor marches afoot, richly dreffed in Cloth of Gold; the Train of his Robe born up by Princes, and
all the Court waiting on him. The firft that goes before him, is the Officer that carries his Handkerchief, lying on another embroidered all over, which hangs on his Arm. The Servants of his Houfhold going before him. In this order they proceed to the Church, called Ferufalem, but they ftop by the Way, at a Place built of Free-Stone, in the Manner of a Platform, where he fays his Prayers, bends his Body almoft double, turning towards the Eaft; and then he enters the Church of 'ferufalem, which is not far off. He ftays there an Hour, and then returns back to his Palace; holding on his Arm the Bridle of the Patriarch's Horfe, caparifoned with white Linnen, on which the Prelate rides afide, carrying a Crofs in his Hand, and giving his Benediction to the People. The Reins of his Bridle are three Ells long, fupported by three Gentlemen, marching behind the Emperor. Inftead of a Mitre, the Patriarch wears, at that Time, a flat Cap on his Head, adorned with Diamonds and Gold Loops, edged round with Ermines. A Band of young Men carry feveral pieces of Stuff, of three or four Ells long, before him ; fome red, fome blue, fome green, fome yellow, and fome of other Colours. The Metropolites, the Protopopes, and the Popes, have all of them Chafubles, or a Sort of Caps ufed by the Popifh Priefts, when they fay Mafs. The Gentlemen and Lawyers have Boughs of Willow, inftead of Branches of Palm, in their Hands.

The Czar's Guards, who are pretty numerous, proftrate themfelves flat on the Ground, and a triumphal Arch is born along with a Tree on it, from which feveral Boys, in the Machine, frive to reach the Apples. When the Ceremony is over, the Patriarch fends the Emperor a Purfe, with a hundred Rubles in it. The Bells in the Church, called ferufalem, are faid to be the biggeft in the World. There is one of them that weighs thirty Ton; and when it is rung, it almoft deatens all that ftand near it. The Czar delights mightily in hearing them. There is a Niche in the Church, where the Patriarch ftands to give the People his Bleffing; after which he fays thefe Words: Go and eat notbing thefe three Doys. As for him himfelf he lies proftrate on the Ground all Night, and continues in Prayer till Eafter Day. The Gentleman of Lorrain, from whofe Memoirs this Account is taken, told me a Story of an Accident that happened to an Englifh Merchant's Servant on this Occafion.

The Servant was a Rufian by Birth, but born far in the Country; and having never feen fuch a Ceremony before, when he went to Church, he came back fo very melancholy, that his Mafter took notice of it, and afked him the Reafon of it: The Ruffan told him the Orders that were given by the Patriarch, that no-body fhould eat any thing in three Days Time, and was afraid, in the mean Time, that he Chould die of Hunger. He fafted two or three Days, and was ready to eat himfelf, not being ufed to fuch Penance: However, he held out, and then fwore he would never go to Church to hear the Patriarch's Bleffing again. On Eafter Day the Mufcovite Men and Women falute one another with a Kifs, give a red Egg, and cry, Cbrifos vas Cbrejch, God blefs you.

In Eafter Week all the Emperor's Gentlemen and Domeftics kifs the Patriarch's Hand, and he prefents them with red Eggs, or thofe that are gilt. Thofe of the higheft Quality have three; thofe of the Middle Rank two; and thofe of the loweft one. The Patriarch's Palace joins to that of the Emperor's; but it is built of Stone, and, for its Largenefs, is very ftately; but elfe it is a mean Building. The greatef Sign of Joy in the Rufians, on their Feftivals, is their drinking; and their moft folemn Days are thofe in which they make the moft Debauches. It is no great Shame among them, for Men, Women, Priefts, and Lawyers, to be feen reeling in the Streets. When the Women of Quality have a merry meeting together, the who makes the Encertainment, fends to all of them, the next Day, to know how they got home, and how they paft the Night? The common Anfwer to this Compliment is, I thank your Miftrefs for our good Cheer, I was fo
merry laft Night, I can't tell how I found our Houfe out.

The Burials of the Ruffians are very particular. As foon as a Man has given up the Ghoft, all the Windows in the Chamber, in which he died, are fet open. A Bafon of Holy Water is brought for him to bathe his Soul in; a Piece of Bread is put on the Crown of his Head, that he may not die of Hunger, in the long Journey he has to take. They put a Pair of black Shoes on his Feet; fome Copeaks, or Pieces of Money in his Mouth; and, in his Hand, a Certificate, figned by the Metropolite of the Place, to inform St. Nicholas of his Life and Conyerfation. When that is done his Body is carried to Church, where it is kept a very little while before it is interred. The Wife of the Deceafed is obliged to fhew an inconfolable Affliction, and to hire other Women to mourn with her. The moft pompous Funerals are thofe at which a great Number of thefe mercenary Mourners affift.

Thefe Women have feveral mournful Queftions which they afk of the Deceafed, in a difmal Tone, as, $A b m y$ Dear! why bave you left us? did not your Wife do every thing you would bave ber? did She not take Care of your Houfe? did he not bring you Several pretty Cbildren? did you want any thing? Or elfe they ank him, Why did yous die? bad you not a bandfome Wife, lovely Cbildren, and as much Brandy as you could drink? For it feems Brandy is fo divine a Liquor with them, they fancy it will make them immortal. When a Man dies without having confeffed himfelf, or received the extreme Unction, he muft not have Chriftian Burial.

Such as have been killed, or are ftarved to Death with Cold, are removed to a Place, where the Zemgky procaus is; there they lie expofed for three or four Days; thofe that own them in that Time are permitted to bury them, or elfe they are fent to Bofke, or Bogzi Dome, that is, the Houfe of God; where, in a vaulted Cave, may fometimes be feen three or four hundred Carcafes at a Time, which the Priefts bury, one after another, in St. Fobn's Church-yard. They read a Pfalm over their Graves every Day for a Month after they are buried; during all that Time the Dirt is not thrown in upon them, but their Graves are covered with a thick Mat, to keep out the Rain. All the Carnival Time the Mufcovites abandon themfelves to all Manner of Debauchery, and drink fo exceffively the laft Week before Lent, that one would think they ought to drink no more as long as they lived. There is a Sort of Brandy drank among them, fo ftrong, and fo fubtle, that it will take Fire in their Mouths; from whence I have been told, that fometimes Flame will iffue out, and the Country People fancy it would kill them prefently, if they had not Milk ready at Hand to extinguifh it. Many of them, after a Debauch, in the Time of Carnivals, going home, fall down on the Snow, and would freeze to Death, if others, fomewhat more fober, did not meet with them:

It is a very melancholy Sight, at that Time, to fee ten or twelve dead Men drawn along on a Sledge, one having a Shoulder eaten off by Dogs, another his Face, and fome nothing but Bones left. There feldom paffes a Carnival without two or three hundred fuch terrible Accidents. If a Rufian finds any one of his Acquaintance in Danger of Death, he will not affift him to get out of it ; becaufe if he dies in his Hands, he muft pals Examination by the Judge of the Zemfky presaus, who always takes Care to make him pay feverely before he acquits him.

The Mufcovite Images, while they had any, were like the ancient Greeks, only they were more ugly and courfe. My Friend afking them, Why they reprefented their Gods under fuch deformed Figures? they replied, Tbeir Gods were not proud. When the Painting of any Images was worn out, it was carried to a Place, called Goas Market, where thofe that bought it had another given them in Exchange, for which they paid fome Money. If the Man who made the Image was not fatisfied with it, he gave the Perfons that would exchange the Image a Pufh on the Back, which was a Toker that he did
not like the Sum, and the Perfons gave him more, till he was content. This Traffic was carried on without any Words, to fave Decencies, for they would not have it thought they fold their Gods. It was a great Crime for any one to fay he bought an Image; he only called it exchanging. Thofe Images that were done with were thrown into the River, with a Piece of Silver. Thofe that flung them in, making the Sign of the Crofs, and faying, Profti; in Englifh, Adieu Brotber; or elfe, Profii Grandi, that is, God be with you my Brotber. When there happens a Fire any where, the firft Care of the Inhabitants was to fave their Images; and if by Chance they were burnt, they did not fay they were burnt, but vanifhed on high. When a Church is burnt, they do not call it burning, but afcending; as that, Such a Cburch is afcended. They give to their Nicbolas's, fo their Images were named, becaufe, generally, they were that of St. Nicbolas, their moft precious Treafures. A Wuman who had dreffed up her Nicbolas very rich with Pearls and Diamonds, being fallen to decay, went to Church to beg him to lend her fomething, reprefenting the Neceffity fhe was in.

The Nicbolas made her never a Word of Anfwer. She took his Silence for Confent, and prefumed upon it to take away a Ruby or two. The Priefts watching her narrowly, faw her take it off, feized her, and carried her before a Magiftrate, who condemned the poor Woman to have both her Hands cut off; which Sentence was executed accordingly. As for the Images that were in private Houles, they put Jewels upon them, and took them away as they thought fit; and when they were ftreightened in their Affairs, they fometimes ftript them to their very Shirts. When one is convicted of Herefy, he is put upon the Top of a low Houfe, whence he is to be thrown down headlong into a Fire, and there confimmed to Afhes. The Rules of the Mufcovite Monks and Nuns are not very ftrict. The Monks are great dealers in Wheat, Barley, Hops, Horfes, and every bling they can get a Penny by. The Nuns take a great deal of Liberty; they go out of their Nunneries when they pleafe, vifit their Friends, and commonly live with more Licence than becomes their Sex, as well as their Profeffion.

The Rufluan Mufic is very bad, notwithftanding they have feveral Schools where their Children are taught to Sing and play upon mufical Inftruments, with Care and fevere Difcipline. They borrowed their Notes, either from the Greeks or Sclavonians; their Gamot is not at all waried; inftead of Sol fala, they fing, Ga ga ge. Their Cadences are the moft extravagant of any in the World; and nothing can be more ridiculous, or rather monftrous, than their awkward Imitation of the Italian Recitativö. The laft Patriarch having forbidden the making mufical Inftruments, and it being thought by fome of the Ruffan Miniters, that the Ufe of them was prejudicial to the good of the State; they have very few Inftruments, of any Sort, left among them: However, they fill referve the Bag-pipe, which is in great Reputation there. They have fome Violins, the Bellies of which are made like a Lute ; but they can't play above four or five Notes upon them.

Elich, the Emperor's Father-in-law, being fent Embaffador to the Hague, the Dutch, who were willing to gain his good Graces, prepared an Entertainment for him; at which their beft Muficians, and beft Voices, performed their utmoft to divert him. Some Gentlemen, alking him, How be liked the Mufic and Singing? he anfwered, Very well ; for the Beggars in bis Country afked Alms after the fame Manner; meaning the Beggars there always fing when they beg, as they really do in Mufcovy. The warlike Mufic of the Mufcovites, is the Kettle Drum, whofe dull Sound agrees with the melancholy Genius of the Nation. They have fome Trumpets which they found very ill, and hunting Horns made of Brafs. I have feen fome Anthems of theirs fet by the Patriarch of one of their Choirs, for fo the chief Mufician is called. The Rufians do not know how to dance; they imagine it does not fuit well with their Gravity. Their chiff Dancers are their Tartarian and

Polifh Slaves, whom they call in to divert them at their Debauches with rude Dances.
15. The Circaffians inhabit Part of Tartary. They are barbarous in their Manners, and fwarthy in their Complexions. The Circaffan Women are fat; and extremely given to drinking; they fometimes get drunk at a Feaft, before they fet down to Table; grow fober with eating; get drunk a fecond Time, as foon as their Meal is over; and a fecond Time grow fober, either with dancing, or fome other Exercife. They are all, in general, fo much in Love with dancing, that he who has not a Fiddle in his Houfe, is looked upon as a very pitiful Fellow. Their Government is entirely an Anarchy. The People, in an Infurrection they made, deftroyed all the Nobility ; and they are now governed by Chiefs or Colonels, chofen among themfelves, with whom the Vulgar are as familiar as they pleafe. Though their Religion is the fame, they don't like the Ruflans; forbid all the Strangers to enter their Church-doors; on the contrary, they are open to all Nations, and they receive every body with all poffible Demonftrations of Good-nature and Hofpitality.

Their Soldiers are called Coffacs, in the Language of the Country; from whence fome Perfons have imagined, that the Coffacs are a Nation of themfelves, whereas they are only the Militia of the Circaflans. The Soil of Ruffa is not fo fruitful and warm as that of Circafia. Witchcraft is very common among them, and the Women of the higheft Rank', ftudy what they efteem fo. The Governmènt of Mufcovy is an abfolute Monarchy. There are feveral Courts of Juftice, called Precauces; and the Judgments they pronounce are decifive. The Ruflians have few written Laws; and their Judges, when not biaffed with Bribes, which have more. Power over them than Right and Precedents, govern themfelves in all Caufes by Cuftom. . Their Clerks write always kneeling, notwithftanding they have Tables before them. They leave a great Space between each Line, to wafte Paper, of which prodigious Quantities are confumed amongft them, and thus pick their Clients Pockets. Podiack is a Name given to the Clerks, or Secretaries of their Courts; and their principal is called Diack.

All their Bufinefs at Law runs in the Nature of Petitions. They are rolled up in Rolls. The Advocate prefents them to the Judge, over whom there is commonly a Boyar fet, to oblerve his Actions, and to interpofe his fuperior Authority, when he thinks fit. If the Boyar fits in Perfon, all Petitions are prefented to him, who gives it to the Secretary, if he does not incline to return an Anfwer prefently; and the Secretary will not put him in Mind of it, unlefs the Advocate bribes him. They have two and forty Characters in their Alphabet, and mort of them Greek.

Thie Czar now reigning, Anno 1670 , was born ins the Year 1630. He defcended, by his Mother's Side, from Fobn Bafilowitz, and had an elder Brother that died young, who was a Prince of great Hopes, only he fhewed too much Inclination to Cruelty. He took Delight in plucking out Pidgeon's Eyes, calling them Rebels and Traitors, and fometimes to pull off their Heads; faying, they had betrayed his Father and himfelf, and deferved to be fo ufed. The prefent Czar is fix Feet high ; his Mien is lofty and majeftic ; he is fat, and of a fanguine Complexion. His Hair is of a light-brown Colour ; he never fhaves his Beard. When he is angry he is very cruel, but otherwife goodnatured. Being one Day preffed very hard by the Officers of his Army to condemn a Deferter, he anfwered, It was not reafonable to do its for God bath not givens Courage alike to all Men. He loves his Wife tenderly, and is given to no Manner of Debauchery; he is very kind to his Children and Sifters. He has an excellent Memory ; is very devout ; and never miffes to go to Morning and Evening Prayer. If he is not well, he has divine Service performed in his Bed-chamber; but if his Health permits him, he conftantly goes to Chapel at Prayer Hours, to be prefent at the public Worfhip.

In general Fafts he always affifts at the Midnight Devotions, and ftands upright two or three Hours together; on fome Occafions proftrates himfelf to the Ground a thoufand times; and on others more folemn, fifteen hundred times: He never makes any fet Meal during the general Fafts, except on Sundays, Tuefdays, and Saturdays; on the other Days he eats only a Bit of brown Bread and Salt, fome Cucumbers and pickled Mufhrooms, and drinks only a little fmall Beer ; in Lent he never eats Fifh above twice; he obferves an exact Faft for the feven Weeks; during which time he lives on Eggs and Milk; befides the great Fafts, and fome little ones particular to the Rufians, every Monday, Wednefday, and Friday, throughout the Year, he wont touch a Bit of any thing that comes from Flefh Meat; fo that of the twelve Months he farts eight: In public Proceffions he walks with his Head bare in dry Weather. Though he is thus a great Bigot to his own Religion, neverthelefs he will not fuffer his Subjects, when they die, to bequeath large Legacies to his Church; nay, in time of War, and fometimes under the Pretence of Borrowing, he takes away the Church Plate, and never returns it; if he did not fo, his Revenues would not anfwer his Expence, the Church being in Poffeffion of two Thirds of the Riches of his Empire.

There is an Hofpital for old Men in his Palace, in which fome have lived to be one hundred and twenty Years old; he takes a Pleafure in vifiting them, and talking with them of Events that happened in the Reigns of his Anceftors. On Good Friday, at Night, he vifits all the Prifons, pays fome of the Prifoners Debts, pardons fome Criminals according to their feveral Deferts, or the Smallnefs of their Offences, and gives Alms to all that are in Want. All the Ecclefiaftical Benefices in the Empire are in his Gift; but he was fo angry with the laft Patriarch, that he would not nominate another to fucceed him ; wherefore he ordered, that the Pretenders to the Patriarchate fhould caft Lots; which Cuftom is fince abrogated. In fhort, the Emperor has a great many good Qualities, and was it not that he has abundance of ill Counfellors about him, who turn him from the good Way he would otherwife chufe to walk in, he might be reckoned amongft the greateft and wifeft Princes of his Age.

His Father's Inclinations tended to Peace, his own to War; he has had feveral Quarrels with the Tartars, Swedes, and Poles; by which his Dominions have been fo impoverifhed and depopulated, in ten Years time, that they will not recover their Lors in forty, nor be in the flourifhing Condition they were in at his coming to the Crown. The laft Plague in Mufcory carried off, in fix Years time, feven or eight hundred thoufand Men, Women, and Children: The Cham of Tartary, in four or five Years, led above four hundred thoufand into Captivity, who never will return to Mufiovy more; and three hundred thoufand at leaft were killed in the Wars. The beft Lands in Ruffia are worn out, and the worft cannot be cultivated for want of Labourers. Thofe who fail up the Volga, all the Way meet with fix Women to one Man. The Price of all Commodities are rifen to fix times the Value before thofe Troubles; and Copper Money, which formerly ufed to pafs current among them, is now in no Credit, the Englifh and Dutch refufing to take it in all Payments.
16. The Ruflians were freed from the Slavery of the Tartars in the Year 1479, by Fobn Duke of Volodomir, who at firft had only the Sovereignty of that Duchy ; but at laft he extended his Conquefts, feized the City of Mofow, the Capital of the Rufion Empire, and expelled the Tartars out of his Territories. His Succeffor, Fobn Bafilowitz rendered the Rufian Name, which had for feveral Ages been the Contempt of the North, formidable to their Neighbours. He was cruel, and therefore was called the Tyrant, however, that Cruelty was exercifed moftly on the Enemies of his Empire, whom he fubdued, and made way for its future Growth. He was brave, but of a very whimfical Humour: One Day he went to his Diack, or Secretary of State, and prefented him with a Petition drawn up in form in his own Name, and addreffed to the Diack; wherein he prayed him to
furnifh him, by fuch a Time, with an Army of two hurdred thoufand Men; which would extremely oblige him, and engage him to mind him always in his Prayers.
The Diack, who knew his Humour, received the Petition, and faid it fhould be anfwered. He raifed the Men with extreme Diligence ; and it was with this Army he conquered Cafon and Afracan, and made himfelf Mafter of Sibcria. The Mufcovites loved him for his Valour and Familiarity with them. He affected to be as kind to the Populace as he was fevere to the Boyars; he always held a Stick in his Hand, with an Iron-fpike in it, the Point of which was very fharp; and often, as he talked with them, he would prick them in the Legs. If they endured the Pain with Conftancy, he ever after took them into his Favour, and ever after had a great Efteem for them. Complaint being made to him, that a Wayvod, or the Governor of a Province, had received the Prefent of a Goofe full of Ducats, he fent for him to Court, making as if he knew nothing of the Bribe: When he came there, he took him to a Place where Criminals were commonly executed, and commanded the Hangman to cut off his Arms and Legs, and at every Blow he afked him, bore be liked Goofe-Flefh?

Hearing the Inhabitants of Bologda cheated their Cuftomers by fhort Meafure, he fent Orders to his Officers there to get them a certain Yard or Meafure, to fee whether it was fo long as it fhould be, and finding it fall fhort of the lawful Length, he fined them feverely. SomeEnglijh and Scots Men laughing at fome ofhis Freaks, he commanded they fhould be brought before him ftripped naked, and in that Condition he forced them to pick up five or fix Burfhels of Peafe one by one, which he had thrown about his Chamber on Purpofe. When they had done he let them go, having firit made them drink, and admonifhed them not to laugh at him another time: He ordered a Perfon of the Province of Cafan, whofe Name was Plebafve, or Baldpate, to be fent for: His Secretary miftook him ; for inftead of writing to the Wayvod of the Province to fend up Plebafve, he wrote for one hundred and fifty baldpated Men. The Wayvod could find but fourfcore, which he fent to the Secretary with a Letter of Excufe, that he could not complete the Number he required of him. The Einperor reading the Letter was amazed at it, and could not imagine what he meant by fo many Baldpates. At laft the Secretary's Overfight was found out, and the Czar was fo far from being angry at it, that he made them drink ; and fo difnifired them.

He had fuch an Efteem andFriendfhip for Q. Elizabeth, that he took hold of all Opportunities to fliew it. It was thought by fome Perfons of thofe Times, who pretended to be very good Politicians, that he defired to marry her, though we fuppofe they had very little Grounds for their Conjectures; nor was it likely, that the greateft and moft polite Princefs of Europe, would marry a Barbarian; however it was faid, when his Affairs were in a bad Condition, and he was obliged to fly with his Treafures to Wologda, which City he fortified, that he defigned to make his Efcape to England, in cafe he had been forced to quit Mufcovy, of which he was not without Fear, in a Tumult of the People, and an: Incurfion of the Tartars; but he triumphed over all his Enemies. It was this Prince who ordered a foreign Embaffador's Hat to be nailed to his Head, for daring to wear it in his Prefence. Notwithftanding which Sir Feremy Bows, the Queen of England's Embaffador coming to Mofowe foon after, not only put on his Hat before him, but cocked it boldly: The Emperor afked him, if be bad not beard bore anotber Embelfador had been ufed for the like, or lefs Prefumption? Sir feremy replied, Yes, Sir; but I am the Embaljador of Queen Elizabeth of England, who neitber takes off ber Bonnet, nor Atands barc-beaded to any Prince whatfoever: Her Perfon I reprefent, and 乃ee will revenge to the utmoft webatever Affront is put on ber Miniffers. Upon this the Emperor turned about to his Courtiers, and faid: Here's a brave Man for you, that dares talk and aid tbus for the Honour and Interefo of bis Miftrefs: Which of you would do as mucb for me?

Sir feremy Bozus was envied by the Boyars on this

## Chap. II.

 Northern Coafts of Europe.Account, and thofe of them who had the Czar's Ear moft, perfuaded him to give the Knight a wild Horfe to back, hoping he would break his Neck in attempting it. Bowes undertook the Tank, and managed the Beaft with fuch Addrefs, that he mounted him, rode him, and fo tired him, that he lay down under him, loft his Mettle, and did not long furvive the Experiment. After which the Czar highly honoured Sir fercmy, and gave him feveral particular Marks of his Efteem.

Fobn Baflowitz making a Progrefs through feveral Provinces of his Empire, divers Boyars, and fome other Perfons, prefented him with fuch Gifts as they thought would be moft acceptable to him. Among the reft, a Shoe-maker confulted with his Wife what Prefent he hould make his Majefty; a Pair of Lopkies, or Shoes, the thought was too little by itfelf, and the advifed him to root up a great Turnip they had in the Garden, and carry it with the Lopkies to the Czar. The Emperor was fo well pleafed with the Prefent, that he ordered all his Attendants to buy Shoes of him, and to give him for them, twice as much as they were worth: He bought a Pair of them for himfelf. By this Means the Shoemaker got into a Condition to drive a better Trade, and growing rich in a fhort time left off his Shop. His Children, who inherited his Eftate, became Gentlemen, and are known to this Day by the Name of the Lopoftkies. There is a Tree near the Place where the Houfe ftood, which, when any one comes by, he throws off his old Shoes, in Remembrance of the Shoemaker: A Gentleman who underftood how well it had fared with this honeft Man, thought if he prefented the Emperor with fomething confiderable he might have a proportionable Recompence; fo he gave him a very fine Horfe; and the Czar, in return, made him a Prefent of the Turnip the Shoemaker had given him.

This Emperor difguifing himfelf one Day, rambled into the Country near Mofcow; and coming to a Village enquired at it for a Lodging: Every body refufed to take him in, except a poor Man whofe Wife was crying-out, and was delivered in the Prefence of the Emperor. He returned to Mofow early the next Morning ; promifing his Landlord to bring him fome Godfathers and Godmothers the next Day:He was as good as his Word; he went to his Houfe attended by his whole Court, made him feveral rich Prefents, and fet fire to all the Houfes in the Village, except his, only warning the Inhabitants to be more charitable for the future, telling them that the beft Way to teach them how to treat Strangers hereafter was, for them to experience themfelves how pleafant it was to be driven to Neceffity and lie out in the Air in Winter.
He often took delight in affociating himfelf with Robbers. He advifed them once to rob the Enperor's Treafury, afturing them he knew how it was to be done: How? fays one of the Thieves, giving him a Box on the Ear, You Rafcal, you, Would you rob the Emperor, who is fo good and generous a Prince. Had we not better fall upon one of the rich Boyars, who cheat and plunder him every Day? The Czar was fo well pleafed with his Anfwer, that he changed Caps with him, and bad him meet him the next Day at Duretz, a Place by which he ufed to go frequently; he told the Thief they would be very merry, and drink a Cup of Brandy and Metheglin together. The Robber came at the Time appointed; the Czar feeing him, called him to him, and advifed him to change his Courfe of Life; gave him a Place at Court ; and made ufe of him to difcover and punifh the other Rogues of his Gang.
17. The Word Czar is fo like that of Cafar, that it is apparently derived from it, and fignifies Emperor in the Mufcorite Tongue: The Ruflans fay it means a Title above a King: They called David Czar, and the other King of Europe, Kyrlos, which feems to come from Carolus Quintus, whofe Hiftory they have among them. The Name of the Czar now reigning is Alexis Micbaelowitz Romanore, i. e. Alexis the Son of Micbael the Roman. He has feveral Titles; thofe in the Great-Seal run thus: We Alewis Michaelowitz, by the Grace of God, Great We Alewis Michaelowitz,
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Lord, Czar, Duke of Great, Litile, and Wbite Rufra, Sovereign of Miofoov, Kiovia, Uladomir, and Novogorod, \&zc. Czar of Cajan, Czar of Afracan, Czar of Siberia, Lord of Plafcow, Great Duke of Smolenfleo, Twer $\sqrt{2} 0$, Ugofko, Perinko, Vealko, Bolgariko; Lord and GreatDuke of Novogorod, of the Provinces of Cbarnigora, Refan, Roftore, ' Yaraliave, Bclouzer, Odouria, Obderia, and Condinea; Lord of all the Countries lying to the North; Lord of the Land of 2 averia, of all the Duchies of Cartileran, of Grenzintan, and of feveral other Countries and Sovereignties Eaft, Wef, and North, which we inherit of our Lord and Monarchs our Predeceffors, our Father and Grandfather.

TheCzar's Arms are the fame with the German Emperor's, viz. a Spread Eagle; but the Ruffan Spread Eagle has a St. George on Horfeback on its. Breaft, and a Mitre with a Crown on it between the two Meads. Some Perfons pretend Fobn Bafilowitz added the George to his Coat, on Account of the Order of the Garter, which he received from Queen Eilizabetb of England. The Czar never marries a Woman out of his own Dominions; he chufes one to his Liking, generally among the Nobility, fometimes among the Gentry and Commonality: Eliah, the Emperor's Father-in-law, kept a Tavern twenty Years ago, and his Daughter, the Emprefs, fold Mufhrooms in the Market. As foon as the Czar's Wife is dead, all her Family lofe their Credit, and all their Hopes die with her. The Emperor never fhews himfelf to his People but on certain Days of public rejoicing: When he appears it is always with Pomp; he is very magnificently dreffed, his Robes glittering with Gold and Jewels; and his Attendants are numerous, all of them handfomely apparelled: It is very feldom that he dines in public; when he does, his Nobles dine in his Prefence; his Guards are pofted all round his Palace ; they ftand like fo many Statues, not daring to ftir or fpeak, for fear of making a Noife. One would think, by the profound Silence that is always there, that the Place was a Defart; no-body enters the Innercourt, but his Domeftics, and fome Lords, whofe Offices require their perfonal Attendance in the imperial Palace.

He is very fober, drinks little or nothing, and fometimes puts Oil of Cinnamon or Cinnamon-water into his fmall Beer, to make it the more pleafant; for Cinnamonwater is as much ufed by Perions of Quality, in Rufia, as Rofe-water is elfewhere. The Smell of Ambergreafe, or Munk, is not much valued by them; they have a Drink called Brague, which he commonly drinks; it is what in England is called Oat-Ale. His Bread is all made of Rye, which the Ruffans imagine to be more nouriming than Wheat. When he has a Mind to treat his Domeftics, he commands them to fit round about him, and plies them with a Sort of ftrong Water double and treble diftilled. Thofe that are not ufed to it are apt to be very fick with it. He will often put a little Opium in it, and takes Pleafure in making them drunk. At each Meal he fends a Difh from his Table to his Favourites. On Eafter-day all the Courtiers, and the Nobility and Gentry in and about Mofoore, wait upon him, kifs his Hands, and he gives them Eggs. He never paid a Vifit to any one of his Subjects except his Governor, and he being fick he went once to feéhim.

When he goes out of Town, the eaftern Gate of the outer Wall is fhut, and fo remains till he comes back again; he generally goes out at that Gate, unles upon an extraordinary Occafion, as happened a few Years ago, when the Wall fell down on that Side, and fo he was forced to go another Way: He lies in his Shirt and Drawers, under a rich Quilt make of Marten-Skins; he has but one Sheet under or over him. His greateft Recreation is in Hunting Fallow-Deer; he does not mind killing of them, provided he can but hunt them down: He lowes Fowling, has three hundred Faulconers, and the beft Ger-Faulcons in the World; they are brought out of Siberia. He hunts wild Ducks with them. The Son of the Emperor is called Czarowitz, and fo are all hisChildren. When the Emprefs is brought to-bed, the People, to fhew their Joy, prefent the Czar with fomething or other: which he commonly returns: If he likes any Prefent,

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and
and keeps it, he pays a great deal more for it than it is worth.
18. As the Czar's Dominions are very large, fo likewife are his Revenues. In the firf Place, he is Mafter of the Eftates and Goods of all his Subjects. No Heir can enter upon his Father's Lands, on his Death, without the Emperor's Confent ; to obtain which, he muft prefent a Petition to a Court erected for that Purpofe, to give Poffeflion to the Children of fuch as die, and have made their Wills; and to feize the Eftates of fuch as die inteftate, or without Heirs, or are convicted of any Crime, by which their Eftates become forfeited to the Czar. Secondly, His Cuftoms on all Goods exported, or imported, are very confiderable. Thirdly, The Ca bucks, or Shops where Brandy is fold, as alfo thofe of Strong-beer, belong to him, and he lets them at what Rent he pleafes. Some pay one thoufand Piftoles, and others two thoufand, a Year, according to their Abilities and Trade. Fourthly, His Baths and Stoves bring him in a good deal; becaufe the Mufcovites, both Men, Women, and Children, are obliged to bathe often, out of a Principle of Religion. When the Water of the Bath is too hot, they throw cold Water upon thofe that are in it. And fome of them, before they enter the Stove-Chamber, rowl themfelves in Snow. Fifthly, The Emperor is the chief Merchant in his Territories. Sixthly, The Trade of Siberia, in Marten and SableSkins raifes prodigious Sums; thofe that are fent to get them, are either Slaves or Criminals. In fhort, there is a Tax almoft upon every thing in Ruffa; that on the Caviare of Afracan only, of which I fhall fay more hereafter, is enough to maintain the Expence of his Houfe. All that hold Lands immediately of the Emperor, are obliged to furnifh him with Provifions. He ingroffes all the Merchandize that is brought to Mofcore, by the Greeks and Perjíns. He fends vaft Quantities of Furs to Arcbangel; as alfo Pot-ahes, Hemp, and Flax, which he barters for Silk, Sables, Velvets, and Cloths of Gold, Satin, broad Cloth and Damafk; which Commodities he wants moft, becaufe he makes all his Prefents of thofe things. All the Servants of his Houfhold, have each a Portion of Meal, Oats, Honey, Fifh, Nut-Oil, Beer, and Metheglin, delivered out to them.

The Strelficks and Lanlarics, who are regular Troops, have nothing but Corn and dryed Fifh, of which the Czar has very large Stores; they have very little Money given them, becaufe they trade and have great Privileges allowed them. The imperial Palace is very large, and all built of Stone and Brick, except the Czar's Winter-Lodgings, which are three Stories high; thefe are built with Timber, becaufe boarded Floors are reckoned, with them, more wholefome in coldWeather, than others; filthy Damps being apt to afcend from the Vaults of thofe Stoves, where the Walls are Stone. The whole Palace is incompaffed with a Brick-Wall, in the Circuit of which there are fourfcore Churches and Chapels, the greateft Part of which have Cupolas and gilt Croffes upon them. The Princes and prime Minifters have alfo their Palaces within this Wall; as, Facob, a Circaffan Prince; Boaris Fuanowitz Morolos, who was the Emperor's Governor, during his Minority; Knez Alexis, Mafter of the Fur-Office; Irebotky, General of the Czar's Army; Eliab Danelowitz, the Emprefs's Father: Knez 'Juan Vaffilowitz, a Prince of the Blood, and others of the firt Rank. There, are five Monafteries, two or three Nunneries, the greateft Part of the Precauces or Courts of Juftice, and the Magazine of Arms and Ammunition for War. The Tower called Velichy, ftands by itfelf; it is built of Brick and Free-ftone; Fobn Baftloreitz began it, and his Succeffor finifhed it, as it is at this Day; there is a very fine gilt Cupola upon it, and a Ring of Rells in it; it is as high as St. Mark's Tower at Venice.

The Czar, as well as other Princes, has his Minifters of State, but they are not fo much refpected as in other Places. The Gentlemen of his Bedchamber never enter it; they wait two or three Rooms off, and further when he is at Dinner. The City of Mofcow takes up a great
deal of Ground; it is incompaffed with three Walls, befides that about the imperial Palace. The firft, and that which is neareft the Heart of the Town, is of red Brick; the next to it is of white, and the third of Earth, fupported by Planks and Boards of Fir ; it is fifteen or fixteen Miles about, and was built in four Days, on Report of the Approach of the Cham of Crim Tartary. Since the Czar's Journies that he has lately made to Poland, where he faw the Manners and Houfes of the Poliß Princes and great Lords, his Court is grown a little more magnificent; his Apartments are hung with Tapeftries, very rich and beautiful; and he has feveral Country Houfes and Palaces. There is no Prince in the World has more Jewels than he; it is true, moft of them have Flaws in them, but the Ruflans don't mind that, provided they are large.

All the Difference between the Czar's Cloaths, and thofe of his Nobles, is, that the Emperor's is a little richer ; it is the fame with the Emprefs, and other Women of Quality; her Head-drefs is only a little higher than that of other Ladies, and her Shift-Sleeves a little longer. They are about fix or feven. Ells in Length; and her Gown, and the Gowns of her Ladies of Honour, are made like our Judges. The Emprefs generally travels in a Chariot, and by Nioht, attended by moft of her Ladies of Honour, her Women of the Bedchamber, her Embroiderers, and ali her Women Attendants, that are neceffary to her Perfon. Lately they rid on Horfe-back, very much a Cuftom, mightily ufed formerly amongft them, but was a long Time difufed upon the bringing in of Chariots into Ruflia. The prefent Eimprefs has revived it: She and her Train-ride as Men do, aftride, when they hunt; which is very rarely: They then wear a white Hat on their Head, and a Skain of Silk about their Necks. Men or Women, rich or poor, drefs after one Manner. There is but one Language, and one Religion, thoughout all that vaft Empire. They differ from all other Nations, even in the leaft Actions, and are no more like the other Northern Kingdoms, than they are to the Southern or Weftern.
19. They wear their Shirts above their Drawers, tied round about their Middles, a little above the Navel. They believe a Girdle makes them ftrong, and that if they did not wear one, they fhould be unlucky. When they fpit, one would think they fneeze. Their Language and their Accent are quite different from other People's. They whiftle with their Teeth, and not with their Lips. They fhake their Heads, when they fhew a Sign of Admiration. It is a great $\operatorname{Sin}$ in them, as they fancy, not to wafh their Hands after making Water. Even in their neceffary Occafions, they do not do like other Men; they make no ufe of Paper, but have little Spatula's of Tin, well fmoothed, to fupply the Place of other Conveniencies ufed elfewhere. As the Hands of our Clocks turn round, in theirs, the Hours turn about the Hand. They imagine it a very finful thing, for a Mufcovite to lie with an Englifb or Dutch Woman; but they believe a Ruffian Woman may lie with any Strangers, without committing a Crime worth taking notice of, becaufe the Children the has by them, are born and bred up in the Ruffian Religion.

They love Rye better than Wheat, for the Reafon I have already mentioned; and ftale Fifh better than frefth. They count their thoufand by fo many four-fcores and tens, and not by fo many hundreds. The firt of September is their New-Years-Day. Their Æra from the Creation amounts to feven thoufand and fixty odd Years. They are very credulous, and any thing will go down with them, let it be never fo incredible; things that are probable and reafonable, do not find fo eafy Belief among them. When they kifs a Woman they do it on the right Cheek. Lands that have not been above twenty Years in a Family, fall to the younger Children, proportionably with the eldeft. When they fow, they thrunt the Needle in with the Fore-finger. They eat Carrots without fcraping, and Peafe without fhelling. They don't gather them as we do, but tear them up Roots and all, and fo fell them in the Market. To fay that a Man has an inconftant Wife, they fay he lies on a Bank
of Sand. A Man's bare Word that has got a Beard, is more valued among them, than an Oath of one that has none.

Their fineft Pieces of Painting are not better than what is commonly done on Dutch Chimneys with red Oker and Spanifb white. They are as careful to keep their Teeth black, as we are to whiten ours; they have an Art of painting them, as alfo their Eye-balls. They reckon long Eyes, and little Foreheads, handfome. The Ruffan Women hide Part of theirs in their Coifs. Little Feet, and a flender Shape, are Deformity with them. They do their utmoft to grow fat; for which purpofe they eat exceffively, and will lie in Bed whole Days together; that they may increafe in Bulk, by much eating and much fleeping. Brandy, which one would imagine fhould rather walte than plump them, is thought to be a great Fatner by them. There is fo much Confufion in the Ways of Proceeding of the Ruflan Judicature, that it is almoft impoffible to give a clear Account of it.

There is a Precauce, or Court of Juftice, in each Province, in which a Boyar, or Lord, prefides, to reprefent the Emperor's Perfon. He has under him a Chancellor, a Dyack, or Secretary ; feveral Sub-fecretaries and Clerks. If a Plaintiff brings a Suit before the Judge, and he is not corrupted by the Defendant, the former is almoft fure to carry the Caufe; for that it is fuppofed the Right commonly lies on his Side. Criminals are feldom condemned to Death in Ruffia; they are feverely whipt; and, befides, there is a Sort of Punifhment worle than Death. A Murder may be bought off with Money. If one Man kills another, and no-body profecutes him, the Magiftracy takes no Notice of it. If there be a thoufand Witneffes againtt a Man accufed of a Capital Crime, he cannot be convicted, unlefs he confefles himfelf. It is true, to extort that Confeffion from him, he is expofed to the moft cruel Torture that can be inflicted on the Body of Man. They firft give him the Strapado. If he confeffes nothing he is whipt, and the Hangman does it fo terribly, that he can kill the Criminal with fix or feven Lafhes. Sometimes they pierce his Sides with red hot Irons, or elfe they flit his Bones, falt them, and put them, hanging to his Body, on the Fire to broil. If he fays nothing ftill, they cure him as well as they can; and twenty Days after, if he furvives the Torment, they renew it again. Sometimes they will half flea them, and if they endure all with Refolution, which rarely happens, they pour boiling Lead, Drop by Drop, on the Crown of his Head, clofe fhaven, which is the laft Trial of his Conftancy.

The Punifhment of Coiners, is to melt fome of the Metal of which their falle Money was made, and force them to fwallow it. A young Man fhooting an Owl in the Court of the imperial Palace, had his left Leg and his right Hand cut off; becaufe fome of the Shot glanced into the Emperor's Chamber. If a Confpiracy againft the Government be detected, the Confpirators are feverely tortured ; after which they are fent to Siberia, and are either fuffered to ftarve to Death with Cold on the Way, or elfe have their Eyes plucked out, or their Ears cut off; and are left in that difmal Province fifteen hundred Miles from Mofcoro. It is but lately that the Rufrans have hanged their Criminals; the Reafon why they would not permit any fuch Execution before, was out of a foolih Fancy, that when the Man was ftrangled, his Soul departed downwards, and that defiled it. The Criminal ties the Rope about his own Neck, and flings himfelf off from the Ladder, when the Executioner bids him. The Hangman's Place is hereditary, and he is careful to inAtruct his Children in his Trade; which, however, is not fo reputable as in fome Parts of France, where the Executioner pretends to be a Gentleman by his Office. The common People in Mufcovy are very ignorant, and much given to Idolatry. Thofe that live in the Northern Provinces, about Arcbangel, Cola, \&x. know no other God but St. Nicholas, who, they believe, governs the World. They affirm he failed upon a Mill-Stone, from Italy to a Place near Arcbangel, now called. St. Nicbolas's Port; and if a Ruffian feemed but to fufpect the Truth of this Story, he would be in no fmall Danger of his Life. They
celebrate the Feftivals of their own Saints with more Devotion than thofe of the Apoftles. St. Nicbolas, they fay, is Nafba Bradt, i. e. one of their Bretbren, who, being of their own Country, has more Kindnefs for them than either St. Peter or St. Paul, who never knew them. Thofe who have made Inroads on other Nations, or plundered Strangers, think they expiate all their Offences, by building a Church, furnifhing it with a good Ring of Bells, and Store of St. Nicholas's, adorned and fet off with Jewels. The greateft Part of the Ruffians are rude and barbarous, except fome of them, who are civilized by their Commerce with Foreigners, or who have travelled to Poland and feen that Court.
20. The Poles are lefs barbarous than the Mufcovites. Some of them improve their Minds by Study ; and Arts with the Ruffans, Enemies to the Sciences, are never encouraged. The Gentemen of Poland are at Liberty to travel whereever they pleafe. The Mufcovites cannot go out of their own Country without Leave of the Emperor, which is not eafly obtained. However, with all thofe Advantages, the Poles are not fo refined a People as other Nations. They are proud, infolent, felf-conceited, and have high Opinions of themfelyes, and their cwn County, which they fancy excels all others. They are whimfical in their Drefs, vain, prodigal, and very oftentatious. Their Horfes are fine, and their Furnicure magnificent. They affect this, becaule it is what is mof feen. They are civil to Strangers, and entertain them very handfomely, for two or three Days, till they have feen all they have to fhew them, and have made them drunk for four or five times. They drink harder than the Ruffans, and are fo quarrelfome over their Liquor, that there is fcarce a Gentleman, in the whole Kingdom, but one time or other has' been wounded in a Debauch. Their Laws are barbarous to the laft Degree. Murder is only punifhed by a pecuniary Mulkt.

They pay no more than four or five Crowns for killing a Clown; the Price rifing higher according to the Diftinction of the Perfon murdered. Their Kings are, in Truth, but Shadows of Monarchs. Henry III. was King of Poland before he reigned in France. He had Reafon to be weary of their Crown, and would not, by any'Perfuafions they made ufe of, be prevailed upon to keep it. A thing of the highelt Confequence, when debated in their general Diet, may be ftopped by one Senator's Vote, who has Power to proteft againt it, without giving his Reafons for it. The Ceremony is, he fets his Hand to his Scymitar, and that fignifies he is ready to oppofe that Propofition, in difpute, to Death; which damns it for that Seffion; and though, perhaps, the next Day the protefting Senator changes his Opinion, yet he cannot revoke his Proteftation. The Pox is very common and dangerous in Poland.

The Mufcouites got it of the Polif Women, at the Time they conquered Vilna, and fome other Towns and Provinces on the Frontiers of Poland; before which Expedition the Ruffians did not know what that Difeafe was. The Scurf, or Plica, is ftill more common than the Pox. The Caufe of it is, that moft of their Springs are poifoned by Mines of Arfenic, very frequent in thofe Parts; by which it is almoft impoffible to travel thither and not have it. When once it gets into a Family, it goes round it, no-body efcapes the Infection. It is the filthieft and loathfomeft Diftemper in the World. A Man cannot look upon fome Polanders, who have it in Extremity, without turning his Stomach. Befides that, the Symptoms of this Diftemper are terrible to the Eyes, the Stench of it is abominable; there is no old Wound or Ulcer fmells fo intolerably. I have feen fome Monks, whofe Heads have been all over Scurf, and their Hair clotted together, than which there can be nothing more beaftly and fhocking to the Sight; neverthelefs it is taken no Notice of in Poland; the Poles, thinking it a Sign of Healch; and Gentlemen being moft troubled with it, it is alfo taken for a Token of their Quality. Thofe Horfes that have it, whofe Mianes are matted, and whoe Tails are glewed together with it, are efteemed the more bold, and the moft fit for Service; and if never fo little of this Scurf is cut off, the Beafts die, or run mad, immediately, on
elfe fall lame or blind. It is faid the Poles were the firft who brought up the Fahion of powdering Hair to hide their Plica, which is the more probable, as Starch is the Manufacture of Poland. They are more faithful in obferving their Treaties than the Ruffons, the Latter making no Scruple to break the moft folemn Alliances, when it is for their Interefts: And yet in their private Negociations, the Mufcovites are very exact in making good what they fwear to, and careful how they take a falfe Oath, or indeed how they take any.

The Polifh and Rufran Languages differ one from the other, as the Englifb does from the Scots. The Polifb Tongue paffes for the more copious and polite; and yet the Pronunciation is not fofter, nor the Orthography lefs rude than the Ruffan Language. In fome of their Words there are fix Confonants for one Vowel; they can hardly fpeak without fputtering in the Faces of thofe to whom they Tpeak. They are flately in their Salutations, and do not bow fo low, as the Rufians. The Tartars falute their Superiors by embracing their Knees. The Common People falute one another, by putting the Fore-finger on the Mouth of the Perfon faluted, and thaking the Head a Jittle. The Manner of the Circalfans in this Cafe, is odder fill ; they afk the Man whom they would falute, if his Servants, his Cows, his Sheep, his Horfes, his Goats, his Hogs, his Cocks, his Hens, and his Turkeys, are all fafe and well.

2I. I thall not pretend to write a complete Hiftory of the Houfe of Komanzore now reigning in Mufcow, what is faid here hiftorically, being a fort of Digreffion; but believing the Reader will be diverted with a hort Account of the prefent Czar's Family, I thought fit to give it ${ }_{2}$, and fome other entertaining Occurrences which I met in the Memoirs fo often mentioned before. It would be too tedious to give, as the Gentleman who wrote them has done, a long Etymology of the Word Czar, and how the firft Romanzorw was advanced to the Title, or how Bafilowitz, having reduced all the petty Dukes that had Sovereignties in Mufcovy,' erected a Monarchy on their Ruins. Fobn Bafilowitz, his Son, followed his Steps, was fuccelsful, and fubdued the Kings of Cafan, Aftracan, and Siberia. To write all thefe Events, would make a long Hiftory of itfelf, Bafilowitz reigning many Years. And though he was the greateft Tyrant in the Word, he was alfo one of the moft happy Monarchs, if Victory alone can make a Prince happy.

The Czar Micbael, Father to the prefent Czar (Anno ${ }_{1}$ 670) was a very merciful, religious and good Prince, courteous to Strangers, and one who delighted in maintaining a friendly Correfpondence with all Chriftian Potentates. Count Wolmer, the laft King of Denmark's natural Son, would have married his Daughter, but the Clergy of Rufia oppofed it, faying, Wolmer was a Heretic, and therefore the Princefs could not lawefully marry bim. The Danib Prince refenting that the Rufian Priefts fhould oppofe his Match, challenged them to difpute with his Chaplains, whofe Religion was the trueft, his or theirs. The Ruflans refufed his Challenge. The Czar was highly enraged againft them for it, demanding, wbat Sort of Faith they profeffed, that they could not defend it by Reajon and Argument: Some Daysafter, as he was going to Bed, he was taken with a Vomiting, and died the next Morning, not without Sufpicion of being poifoned, the Priefts apprebending he would maike Innovations in their Religion. The Czarina or Emprefs, did not long furvive him, and Count Wolmer thereupon gave over all Thoughts of the Marriage.

This Emperor often recommended to his Son Alexis Nicbaelowitz to follow the Advice of Boaris Fuanowitz his Governor. There is an odd Story of the Fate of this Boaris's Father, being a Widower, and the Emperor Baflowitz's Favourite. He defired him to beftow one of his Concubines upon him in Marriage. Bofilowitz granted his Requeft, without naming any of them in particular. The Favourite having a Licence at large, took the handfomett of them all. At which Bafilowitz fell into a violent Paffion; and hearing they were retired together to one of his Stove-Chambers or Hummums, to enjoy themfelvas with the greater Liberty, as they thought they
might lawfully do, having the Emperor and the Prieft's Confent ; the Czar commanded. a Bear to be let loofe upon them; which was done; and the two Lovers were immediately devoured by him. Boaris and Cleab, the unhappy Favourite's two Sons, were bred up with the Emperor Micbael: And Boaris gained fuch an Infuence over him, by a long Familiarity, that he governed all things as he thought fit, and was more abfolute than his Mafter. He leffened the Czar's Officers; and thofe he kept in their Pofts were glad to ferve for half Pay; even the very Embafiador's Penfions were retrenched: He impofed new Taxes, and fent thofe Dukes, who having been Sovereigns formerly were moft dangerous, to diftant Governments, as to Pripnin, to Bolgorod, to Coraibin, and to Cafan: In fhort, he was fo fevere in his Miniftry, that the Nobility hated him as much as they envied him; and he, defpifing their Intrigues to depofe him from his exalted Station of chief Favourite and Minifter, depreffed them to raife his own Creatures.

The People murmured at the new Impofitions; there was an Infurrection upon it ; they required Juftice, and that the Emperor fhould deliver Boaris over to them to be made an Example on for his Mal-Adminiftration. The Czar was furprized at their Demands, not expecting any fuch Infolence from his Slaves, for fo his Favourite had reprefented all his Subjects. He endeavoured to molify thofe of them who were moft outrageous. And to gain time, and fave his Favourite's Life, he fwore he would banifh him from Court for ever. This Compliance appeafed them; Boaris was ordered to retire, and the Nobility were reftored to the Czar's Favour, which they managed as little to the People's Satisfaction as Boaris had done, who being a cunning Statefman, obferved their Difcontents, and improved them to his Advantage, by encouraging the Clamour againft the Nobility, who oppreffed the People fo much, that thofe who were lately moft for banifhing the Favourite, were now hotteft for recalling him. They found it no difficult Matter to fucceed in their Enterprize; the Czar, on their Petition, did readily what they would have him do; fent for Boaris to Court: And he was afterwards very kind to thofe that had been inftrumental in his Reftoration. Ever after, he careffed the People on all Occafions, and favoured them to the utmoft of his Power : He undertook to protect all Foreigners, and was equally beloved by Natives and Strangers. He died about fixteen Years fince, i. $e$. in 1650, in a very old Age, beloved by his Prince, and regretted by his People. Hie had the Character of an able Politician, whofe Councils were fuccefsful. He died lamented by every body but the ancient Nobility, whofe ambitious Defigns he always thwarted.

It was he that made Eliah Danelowitz General of the Czar's Army; who, before he had a Fit of the Apoplexy, was reckoned a Man of great Worth and Capacity. He was bold, daring, and vigilant: His Memory was fo good, that he knew every one's Bufinefs in all the Employments Civil and Nilitary. He could 'diftinctly tell the feveral Quarters of an Army of fourfcore thotifand Men: He could tell the Names and Characters of all his Officers; but the Accident that happened, as we have already faid, weakened him extremely both in Body and Mind: And his Memory is now fo bad, that he hardly remembers thofe Perfons with whom he was moft familiar. He was Treafurer, and held five or fix more great Offices, which he managed with equal Skill and Succefs. 'Tis true, he plundered a great deal, and the Emperor, who feared more than he loved him, winked at it more willingly, becaufe whatever Eliab fcrap'd up, would fall to him in right of his Wife, Elich's Daughter. Neverthelefs, after the Death of Dovelowitz's Wife, obferving that he was too kind to fome Tartarian and Polifh Women, he ordered him either to marry or leave the Court. On which Occafion, I cannot help remarking, that Marriages are in high Eiteem in' Rufia, either out of Policy to encourage what helps to people the Country, or to prevent the Ruflazs abandoning themfelves to Boys and Beafts, to which they are not a little inclined; nor is that Crime punified with Death there, as in other Countries.

## Chap. II.

Northern Coafts of Europe.

It is called Ne Niibeay, and it got that Name by this Means: A young Rafcal which was furprized committing an abominable Action with a Cow, cryed out to the Perfon that fpied him, Ne Mibeay, Do not difturb me. This was done about eight Years ago; and ever fince, that horrid Sin has been fo called.

Eliab's Misfortune would have been regretted more, had not Na/bokin fucceeded him in the Adminiftration of Public Affairs. This Lord is one of the wifeft Minifters in Europe; he is a Man of Temper and Integrity; he is indefatigable in the Difcharge of his Offices committed to his Management, and a hearty Afferter of monarchical Government; he is Chancellor of the Office of Embaffadors, and Governor of Rufla Minor; and has feveral other Employments, which his Predeceffor Eliab held before him. It was Najbokin that concluded the Peace with Poland, very honourable to his Mafter. He alfo formed the Swedifs Alliance, and erected the Silk Manufacture throughout all Rufict; and by his Means Rufia is made the Mart of the Silk Trade; moft of that Commodity either from Perfia or the Indies being brought thither, and fent from thence into other Parts of Europe; but this Commerce did not laft long.
His next Work was to reform the Emperor's Houfhold, and the Laws of the Empire. He contrived it fo, that no Suit fhould be long depending; and every Governor of a Province, affifted by his Council, had a Power given him of Life or Death. Before that Order, Criminals of all forts were brought to Mofcow to be tried, which was very troublefome and inconvenient for the Czar. The laft Summer a Feres, who had turned Turk, and was Interpreter to the Perfian Merchants, accufed Nafhokin on their Behalf, before the Emperor, for doing them fome Injuftice in the Precauce, or Court of Embaffadors, of which he was Chancellor : The Emperor anfwered, That Nafhokin had the Management of all Affairs relating to Trade; that he referred them to him; and if he was unjuftly accufed, their Interpreter fhould pay dear for it. The Czar was as good as his Word; the A ccufation being found to be groundlefs; and the Renegado Ferw had thirty Lafhes with a Whip, which threw him into a miferable Condition. Na/bokin has often told my Author, That it was the Czar's Intereft to keep up a friendly Correfpondence with the King of England, more than with any other Prince in Cbriftendom; and it will not be improper in this Place to mention fomething relating to him. Some Englifb Merchants petitioned Nafbokin, that they might land fome Goods which were on board the Ships lately arrived from England:
" He told them, he had a Paper printed, giving an " Account of the Plague in London; that probably " this Merchandize might come out of Houfes that " were infected, and they knew very well a Spark s might fet a whole City on Fire; that he thought "their way of publifhing their Infirmities was very
os ftrange ; adding, that if the poor and miferable expofe
"s their Mifery and Poverty, it is to excite Compaffion, ${ }^{6} 6$ and get fomething by it; but the Englifh, fpread os it about every where, that the Plague laid their © Country wafte, and gave the World a fair Warning "6 not to have any thing to do with them ; as Lanthorns
${ }^{\text {ss }}$ or Light-houfes near the Coafts warn the Pilots not "t to come near them for fear of being fhipwrecked." He faid one Day, "He wondered any Princes fhould © fend Letters of Recommendation in Favour of their "Subjects, demanding Juftice in their Behalf, as if the "Czar did not know how to deal jultly by Strangers as "well as by his own Subjects. Sure fuch mult be very "s cheap in Denmark, continued he, becaufe I receive * more from thence than from any other Kingdom. I "I I do not know what they might coft in England, but - I am very well fatisfied they are all to no Purpofe. "The Mufcovites do not govern themfelves like the "Englifh, by the Cuftom of their Countries; and if the "Ruffian Drefs becomes them, theirs will never become "the Ruffians." Being once difcourfing on the Affairs of England, and particularly on the Succours fent by the Kings of France and Denmark to the Dutch againtt the King of England, he declared, "He could not penetrate © into the Politics of thofe Monarchs, who in other

Yol. II. Numb. 102.
"s things were difcrect, in doing fo prepofterous an Acs "s tion; that in his Opinion, the beft thing for them "s had been to have joined with the King of England, "s and other Princes of Europe, to form an Alliance for "s the rooting up all Republics, which are good for "s nothing, but to ferve for an Afylum to Rebels and " Heretics."

There have lately been a greát many feres admitted into the Czar's Court, by means of a Fervifh Surgeon, who pretends to be a Lutheran. He was bred up in Poland, and advanced himfelf in the Court of Mufcovy, by furnifhing Bogdan Matfeig, high Steward of the Emperor's Houfhold, with PolighGirls, of whom he is very fond. This Minifter was the Companion of the Czar's Youth, and has infinuated himfelf fo far into his good Graces, that for fome Time he has been the reigning Favourite ${ }_{3}$ and managed all the Concerns of the Houmbold as he pleafed. His Wife obferving his Intrigues, and underftanding that he met Polifh Girls, and other handfome young Women, Slaves, as well as thofe that were free, was fo jealous of him, that her Ill-humour became infupportable to him, and he poifoned her to get rid of it. The People murmured at the Murder, and the Czar commanded Matfeig, either to quit his Poft or marry, and leave his 'Miftreffes. It is faid he intended to take one of his Concubines to be his Wife. He cannot agree with Nafbokin, and does not love the Englifh, becaufe the Dutch have drawn him to their Intereft by rich Prefents.
22. The Czar has lately built a Work-houfe, about a League from Mofcow, where the Poor are employed in Manufactures of Hemp and Flax. The Houfe is beautiful, large, and fo well contrived, that all the Beggars in his Empire may be employed there; for whofe Maintainance the Emperor has fettled Lands upon it, to a confiderable Value. The Czaritza, or Czarina, manages the Woman's Work, and employs them for her own Benefit. The Czar is every Day bufy in contriving the Increafe of Manufactures, how to invent new ones, or improve the old. His Workmen coft little or nothing for their Subfiftance; he rather gets than lofes by them; So that he faves his Revenues arifing by the Cabacks, the Bagnio's, and Stove-Chambers, Pitch, Hemp, Flax, Honey, Wax, Caviare, Sturgeons, and the falted and dried Fifh that comes from Aftracan, Cafan, the Lake of Belfire, and feveral other Lakes and Rivers in his Dominions, particularly in Siberia, where there are abundance of them, and. yield plentifully.

The Czar goes every Year, about the End of May, to a Country Houfe about three Miles from Mo fcow, called Obrafank/ky, or the Transfiguration, to which it is dedicated in Obedience to what is faid by the Evangelift St. Luke, Cbap. ix. I3. Mafter, it is good for us to be bere, let us make tbree Tabernacles, one for thee, one for Mofes, and one for Elias, \&c. The Emperor ordered feveral magnificent Tents to be fet up; his own was of Cloth of Gold, lined with Sables; that of the Czarina of Cloth of Silver, lined with Ermine; and thofe of the Princes and chief Lords, of other Stuff, and other Linings, according to their feveral Ranks. The Czar, and Czari$n a$ 's Tents, thofe of their Children, ten in Number, and their five Sifters, were round; in the Middle ftands one which ferves for a Church, and, all together, make one of the fineft Sights in the World. Guards are pofted round about them, at a Mufket-fhot Diftance.

There are Pallifadoes placed to keep off the People. None durft pafs beyond thefe Bounds; for the Czar will not fuffer his Recreations to be prophaned by vulgar Eyes. When the Emperor goes into the Country for his Pleafure, no Man is permitted to prefent any Petition unto him. A Captain of White Rufla, when Peter Selticoro, Governor of the Province, refufed his Pay for above three Years, not knowing how to have Juftice, thought his beft Way was to addrefs himfelf immediately to the Emperor. He came up to him where he was in the Country, and approaching too near his Coach to give him his Petition, the Czar miftrufting he had fome ill Defign, perhaps that it was to affaflinate him, thruft him to the Heart, with a Cane that had an Iron Spike at the End of it. He fell down dead on the Spots
and the Emperor ordering him to be fearched, to fee what Arms he had about him ; there was nothing to be found but the Petition. The Emperor having read it, fmote his Breaft, and appeared mightily concerned that he had murdered an innocent Perfon, faying, "His Blood fhall lie at Selticoro's Door, who was the real Caufe of his Death." He fent for him, and not being fatisfied with giving him a fevere Reprimand, banifhed him the Court, turned him out of all his Places, which he gave to Nafookin, with an Exprefs command to enquire out Selticoro's Mifdemeanours.

This Accident happened not long ago, and yet is not much talked of. For it is Death to tell what is faid or done in the Czar's Court. The Author going once to view the Workhoufe, built for thofe that were to manufacture Hemp and Flax, juft as it was finifhed; and afking the Workmen, what Ufe it was defigned for, not one of them durft make any Anfwer, though they knew what was the Defign well enough? All that he could get out of them was, That God and the Czar only knew. The Czar ufed every Night to vifit the Chancellor's Regifters, to examine what Decrees had paft, and what Caufes were depending. Such poor Gentlemen as have nothing to maintain them, but what he gives them, are his Spies, of whom he has many in all Places. In his Armies, at all wedding Feafts, in all Embaffadors Houfes, in all public or private Affemblies, they tell him what they hear or fee, and he governs himfelf accordingly. The Czar's Children are ferved by other Children, who are bred up with them, and are well educated in all Sorts of Knowledge, fuitable to their Birth.

Trade is now very low in Mufcory; two ffths of all the Inhabitants having perifhed in the late War ; befides the new Impofitions laid on all Merchandize, the Cuf-tom-houfe Officers take away Merchants Goods by Force, and compel then to fell them for Copper Money, which has funk the Price of feveral Commodities, and raifed others as inuch, and put a Stop to the Currency of Commerce in general. Several great Traders were undone by it ; fome of them fell fo in Defpair upon it, that they hanged themfelves; and others fpent what they had, in Cabacks and Brandy-fhops, to drive away Care; which not being ufed to before, their Debaucheries foon put an End to their Lives. Englifh Cloth is not fo good a Commodity in Rufla, as that of Holland; and though the Latter Chrinks above a fixteenth Part when 'tis wet, yet the Ruffans prefer it to the former, becaufe they are of Opinion that it is only new Cloth which fhrinks. The Englifh are to blame to give way to their Fancy, and to carry on a Trade with them, which the Hollanders manage fo much more to their Intereft; their ordinary Cloth and Trifles turning to better Account than the beft Commodity the Englifb can bring them, by the wrong Judgment of the Ruffans. If the Trade for Silks to Perria and the Indies fhould increafe, the Englifh will find it a hard Matter to recover their former Privileges and Immunities in Ruffa; for the Ruffians are grown fharper, and corrupted by the Duich correfponding lo long with them. They are more numerous in Mufcooy, and richer than the Englifh. They jpare for nothing to ruin the Trade of England in RuJfra, and fucceed in it more than fome imagine. They bribe the Nobility, by Prefents, to defend and protect them, and render the Eugli/h contemptible and ridiculous, by fcandalous Libels and abufive Pictures.

They looked upon the Englifh, a few Years ago, as a loft and undone People. They are fuch perfect Slaves, that they have a mean Opinion of all thofe who are free. The Dutch would fare no better, did not they pay dearly for the Friendfhip of the Favourites and Minifters in Mufcovy. They reprefent the Englifh Nation by a Lion without a Tail, with three Crowns on his I-Iead, turned upfide down, or by Maftiffs, with their Ears and Tails cut off. Thefe foolifh droll Pieces were done at a Time when they had no Reafon to fpeak very well of the Enelifh, who had begun a War with them for the leaft Provocation in the World. The only Way for the Englifs to recover their Reputation and Trade in Ruffa, and to leffen the Credit and Commerce of the Dutch, would
be for them to fuffer no-body to deal there, but fuch as could trade with ready Money, and not upon Truft, as their Merchants have done for this twenty Years; and to fend an Embaffy to the Czar; to inform him of the flourifhing Condition of the Englifh Dominions; of their Strength, Greatnefs, Revenues, and their Colonies in both the Indies; to fhew him Maps of all their Territories over the whole Earth, and Plans of their Forts and Cities. They ought alfo to undeceive Affanafty Nalbokin, to whom their Nation has been vilely mifreprefented by the Hollanders, and to prefent Cogden Matfeig with fome Curiofities that he loves. The firt would make it a Point of Policy to encourage them, when he underftood the true Nature of the Cafe; and the other would procure them the Emperor's Favour, of which he is always fure. The Author's Arguments on this Subject are of no Weight now; the Figure the Englifh Nation has made abroad fince the Revolution, needs no Embalfy to found its Fame. The Enc's of the Earth have heard of it with Wonder, and the Czar, as the Queen of Sbeba did to Ferafalem, came in Perfon to be a Witnefs of its Glory.
23. Siberia is a large Province, the greateft Part of which is Terra Incognita, which reaches to the Walls of Cathay. Befides what Account of it I had from the Gentleman of Lorrain, I met with feveral Perfons in my Travels in thefe Parts, who had been over a great Part of Siberia, and on whofe Relations I can depend. One of them in particular, had travelled fo far, that he traded with the Cbinefe; and the other, who was more ignorant, though not lefs faithful, affured me that he went fo far, that he faw a Sea with Ships, and Men aboard them, who wore no Hair but on their upper Lips, who were richly dreffed, and covered all over with Gold and Jewels. Their Garments being quite different from thofe of the Ruffans, by the Defcription he gave of them, in all Probability, they muft be Cbinefe Merchants; for the Sea could be, no other than that of the Kaimocbites, on the North-eaft Part of Great Tartary, or that of the Gulph of Nankin in Cbina. The latter brought fome Cbay and Bourdian out of Siberia with him. The former is what we call Tea, the latter, Anifum Indicum Stellatum, a phyfical Drug.

The Cbinefe Merchants have taught thofe of Siberia to drink the Chay with Sugar as we do ; and they take it to be an excellent Remedy for all fuch as are troubled with any Difeafe of the Lungs, with Hypochondriacal Flatus's, and ill Difpofition of Stomach. They bring it to them in Papers, containing each a Pound, the Weight and Name being written on each Paper, in Cbine ee Characters. Thofe that would travel through Siberia, are fix Years on their Journey, occafioned by the extraordinary Heat and Cold of the Climate, which obliges them to lodge all the Winter in certain Places, and all the Summer in others. Tumbut, or as others fay, Siber, is the Capital of this valt Province ; here the chief Wayvod, or Viceroy, refides. Furs, Marten-Skins efpecially, which are to be had nowhere elfe, are the principal Commodities of this Country. They eat dried Finh inftead of Bread, which is not to be feen in all the Province, unlefs the Traveller carries it along with him. There is plenty of all Manner of Fifh in their Lakes and Rivers, in which they abound. They feed their Dogs with it, and even their Cows in cold Weather, which is exceffive in Siberia, by which means their Milk, generally fpeaking, has a fifhy Tafte.

There is abundance of Filbert-trees of a prodigious Bignefs, and the Kernel of the Nut is of a Size anfwerable to that of the Tree that bears it. They go a hunting in Troops, for fix or feven Weeks together, covered over with three or four Skins, and drawn along in a Sledge, by thirty or forty huge Dogs. They lie in the open Fields all Night, in the midft of Winter; but they make good Fires about them to warm themfelves, and broil their Fifh. Their Dogs are very expert in finding out Martens; and when they have found them, they never mifs taking them. When once the Siberians have fhot them, which they do with a Culs, fo dextroully, that they always wound them in the Nofe, that they may not prejudice the Skin. Befides, if they do not hit them in that Part, it is rare that they catch
them;
them; for it is a robuft Animal, and will efcape them, fometimes, though he be fhot quite through the Body. The River Ob runs through this Province; it is very broad, and falls into the Mare Glaciale; it is ftored with Sturgeons and Belugas. The latter is a Fifh, twelve or fifteen Feet long, refembles a Sturgeon, but is not fo pleafant, tafted when it is falted, as the former. The Meat is whiter than Veal, and as delicious as Marrow, while it is frefh.

The Volga is ftored with that Fifh, and with Sturgeon, moft of all the Rivers in the North. When the Flood comes down the Mountains, by the melting of the Snow, and the Stream grows the more rapid, thefe Fifh fwallow great Stones to make them the heavier, that they may ftem the Torrent the better. They throw them up again when the Waters abate, and the Current is not fo ftrong. It is out of the foft Roes of thefe Beluga's and Sturgeons, mingled together, that the Peo. ple of Aftracan make Caviare, in this Manner: They put their Roes in a heap of Salt, and when they have fermented a little, they fqueeze them, and barrel them up. There are fome who. will not fqueeze them at all. That Caviare is the moft delicious, but will not keep fo long as the other. The Turks make it with the Eggs of the Sturgeon, which are black and clammy. This the Rufians call Fekra. There is another Sort, which is nothing but the Roe of a Beluga. The Armenians, who I believe firf made Caviare, do it after another Manner. They begin with cleaning the Roe, and throwing away all that is ufelefs in them, then falt and lay them on crooked Planks, that the fat oily Parts may be drained off; after which they pack them up in Barrels, and beat them down till they are hard. The Beluga has one hundred and fifty Roes, and two hundred weight of Eggs, which the Armenians call Arminfko Fekra.

The Northern Part of Siberia is called Samojedia, or Tafambeida, which fignifies Canibals or Men-eaters, becaufe the Inhabitants are faid to eat all the Prifoners they take in War. They live in round Tents, covered with Mats and Stags-Skins. They make their Fires in the Middle, and lie about them. There is but one Hole to a Tent, befides the Door, and that is on the Top, to let out the Smoak. In Summer-time they remove to the Banks of Rivers, for the Conveniency of fifhing. They live altogether upon Fifh, which they often eat raw. In Summer they dry it, to keep for their Winter ftore. Young Dogs are accounted one of their niceft Difhes. Their Cuftoms, Language, and Religion, are entirely barbarous. They worfhip the Sun and Moon. Both Men and Women are dreffed in Cloaths made of Stags-Skins, theHair outwards, which they fancy is the warmeft Way of wearing it. The Men have no Beards. The Women are abominably ugly, and fo hard-favoured, that they can fcarce be diftinguifhed from the Men, the one being often taken for the other by Strangers. Yet as deformed as they are, they do well enough for the Canibals, who like them better than thofe we think handfome. The Riches of the Samojedas confift in Stags. There are fome of them fo tame, that they graze in Troops, ftand ftill to be harneffed, and draw Sledges fourfcore Miles a Day, fo incredible fwift are thofe Creatures.

Before the Inhabitants go a hunting of Stags, they confult a Prieft, who tells them the Place where they Shall find their Game; and it is rare that they are out in their Guefles. Young Girls are a confiderable Part of their Father's Wealth; they are never feen till they are betrothed in Marriage, and that is frequently done when they are fix or feven Years old; for at that Age, fomebody or other will buy them for a certain Number of Stags, that they may be fure to have their Maidenheads. Hutbands are there fo jealous of their Wives, that they lock them up clofer than they do in Italy; and when they go a hunting, they have a Device to fecure them from making them Cuckolds in their Abfence. The Emperor does not chink thefe People worthy of living under his Government; they are liable to no Impofts; what they pay is voluntary, and generally is in Stags; which from Time to Time they deliver to the Czar's Officers on the Frontiers. No-body underftands their

Language, nor their Laws, which they execute with great Severity. When they fell a Stag to a Foreigner, they preferve the Enttails and eat them, even the filthieft Part of them, after they have fqueezed out the Excrement. Thofe who underftand Magic, are the moft honourable Perfons among them. They are very dextrous in that fallacious Art, and exercife it very commonly towards Strangers; but they dare not play the Ruffians any Tricks for fear of being feverely punified. An Englifh Merchant inviting fome of them to Dinner, one 'f them got fo drunk that he could not ftand; fpeak, nor fit; and his Drunkennefs continued for, till an old Woman touched his Forehead, and muttered fome Words in his Ear; after which, if we may give Credit to Eye-witnefles, from whom I had it, he grew as fober as ever he was in in his Life.
24. In the South Part of Siberia there is a Foreft, or ${ }_{3}$ as called by them, a Step about fix or feven hundred Wrefts long, where there are few Rivers; and yet the Soil is extremely fertile. One may ride there feveral Days Journey in vaft Fields full of Cherry-Trees not above two or three Feet high; not that they won't grow taller, but they were hindered by the Negligence of Travellers, who having made Fires in the Middle of the Fields, go their ways without think: ing of putting of them out, andithe Grass of the Foreft being very loing and very'dry, catches Fire, and burns up every thing that lies in its way. It is no uncommon, thing to fee a Fire burn for thirty or forty Wrefts together, and purfue Travellers fo nimbly that often they have not time to fave themfelves. Thefe Cherry-Trees bear red Cherries fair to look to, but four. The Fruit of fome of thefe Trees that have been tranfplanted has been very good. I have talked with feveral Perfons who have feen Tulips, red Rofes, Rofes like Damank-Rofes, Afparagus larger and finer than ours, Onions, Marjoram, Thyme, Succory, Sage, Endive or white Succory, and other Flowers, Herbs, and Roots in the Foreft, which we with a great deal of Care raife in our Gardens. The Turnip is very frequently met with there; they have good Carrots and Parfnips in Samojedia, and the Merchants of other' Nations export a great deal of Nitre and SalGemet from thence. Elks are larger there than any where elfe. There is a little Animal called Zouricks, and another whofe Name is Perivoßicks, which are pretty Creatures.
The Zourick is fomething maped like a Badger, but different in the Face; his Skin is of an agreeable Colour ; it is black, fleek, and fpotted a little, and his Legs fhort, his Back almoft a Foot long ; they live like Coneys in Burrows under Ground. The Ruffrons tell a great many Stories of the Wars of thefe Animals, one with another's of their Dexterity in taking Prifoners, and fending the Enemy away into Captivity; that they force their Slaves to fetch in Hay and Oats for them to lay up againft Winter : It is faid their Burrows are very clean, neat, and artfully contrived; and if one of them dies the others carry out his Body and bury it elfewhere. Colonel Craivford's Regiment quartering near the Place where they are to be found, thefe Creatures met one Day, to a prodigious Number, and made fuch a frightful Noife as terrified the Soldiers and their Horfes fo much that they ran away from their Pafture near the Place ten Miles, without ftopping. The Perivofkicks Skin is brown inclining to yellow, being a Mixture of white and black: The Ruffans make Coats of them, but they are not mucla valued becaule the Fur is not. long, nor the Skin warm. I have heard; they take a great deal of Pleafure to carry Squirrels and Ermines from one Side of the River to the other, on their Backs; from whence they derive their Name Perivofkicks, i. e. to carry a Thing from Place to. Place. Several Perfons have affured me, that the Squirrels in Siberia, when they can get nothing to eat on one Side the Water, will pafs over to the other on a little Piece of Wood, and make ufe of their Tails inftead of a Sail. If the Wind fets fair, they get over fometimes; but if it changes they are infallibly drowned. There are many more Reports as extravagant, which have been averred to be true, relating to Siberia; but I will not impofe farther on the Faith of the Reader.

There

There is a Bird in the Neighbourhood of Cafan and Affracan, about the Bignefs of a Woodcock, whofe Beak and Legs are like a Snipe's, and his Neck like a Cock's both for Feathers and Size: They fight like the Game-Cocks in England; they ftand on their Guard when they put their Beaks to the Ground, and when they can do it to Advantage they leap at the Enemy with Vigour, and attack him as violently as the Enolifh Cocks of the Game do. They are better to eat than Quails. Sometimes one may catch this Bird near Arcloangel; where is alfo to be found a Bird as big as a Blackbird refembling a Hawk; like him he fies after little Birds, takes them, pulls them, cleanfes them, and then eats them. There is another Sort of Fowl as tall as a Swan, which is brought from Aftracan ; his Body and Feet refembles thofe of a Swan, his Neck is fhort, thick, and fo wide, that he will fwallow a Fifh fix Inches broad.

Some Travellers make mention of a Plant in thofe Parts called the Lamb; which deftroys all the Herbs that grow near it, and then dies; but as this Quality agrees very ill with its Name of a Lamb, fo the Story is accounted fabulous by Perfons of Judgment. This deferves to be more particularly confidered, and therefore we fhall take the Liberty of adding fomewhat to the Author's Remarks upon this Subject : This vegetative Animal is called Borometz, or Barannetz; the latter is the true Name, the Word Baran fignifying, in the Sclawonian Tongue, a Sheep, and the Word netz being a Diminutive makes it fignifies a little Sheep or Lamb: The Baron de Heberftein defcribes it thus: He fays, That it is of the Figure of a Lamb, grows to be very large, with a very foft Down, and deftroys all the Grafs round it. We have Relations of the fame Kind in other Travels, which are to the full as ftrong, and fome of them are pretended to come from Eye-Witneffes. We thall perhaps have Occafion hereafter to mention fome of thefe Accounts in fpeaking of the Countries to which they belong; but at prefent it may be fufficient to clear up this Wonder, with which fo many Naturalifts have been puzzled, and fome very ingenious and well-meaning Travellers abufed.

The Truth then of the Matter is this: Some People in thefe Countries, for the Sake of Gain, have had Recourfe to a moft wicked and barbarous Practice: They have opened their Sheep when at the very Point of Yeaning, and then taking out the Lamb they flea it, cleanfe the Wool ; and while the Skin is wet extend it gently, and on all Sides, as faft as they are able to ftretch it upon the Grafs; and then, by the Affiftance of Dew and four Milk, with which they fprinkle it as it grows dry, bleach it in the Sun-fhine till it is as white as Snow itfelf. By thefe Contrivances they obtain a Lamb-fkin wonderfully thin, fmooth and foft, and extremely fit for lining the under Garments of the Great and Wealthy. But as in all Mobammedar Countries, they look upon the Skins of Beafts as an impure kind of Cloathing, and therefore abftain from them on the Score of Religion, the People who take all this Pains have been forced to invent this Story of a vegetative Lamb, a Kind of Plant-Animal. And Travellers feeing the Skins, and hearing the Tale roundly affirmed, have fuffered themfelves to be fo far impofed upon as to lend their Authorities to impofe this Cheat upon Mankind, than which, without doubt, there never was a greater or more groundlefs; which is the Reafon that we have taken the Pains to expofe it ; as we fhall not fail to do whatever occurs of the like kind in any of the Voyages or Travels that we publifh; for Credulity and Incredulity are alike dangerous, and without a cautious and judicious Enquiry not eafy to be diftinguifhed. As in the prefent Cafe it would be equally wrong to believe, that no fuch Skins as Travellers fpeak of were ever feen or met with, as on the other hand it would be to fwallow the whole Story upon the Credit of fuch Skins having been feen.
25. The City of Crim, from whence the Prince of Tartary is ftiled the Grand Cham of Crim, the Capital of his Empire, is fituated on the Tartarian Sea, built of Stone and Brick, and encompaffed with ftrong Walls. The Tartars are tributary to the Turks; and it is not long
fince that the Czar of Mufcouy paid the Cham of Tartary Homage, as being obliged by Oath to feed his Horfe with Oats out of his Cap. The City of Mofcow alfo paid the Tartarian a Tribute of ten thoufand Coats made of Stags-Skins. The Mufcovites have for ten Years palt refufed paying it, alledging, that the Tartars made void the Treaty by Inroads into Rufia, and Robberies on their Borders. Indeed they are very troublefome Neighbours; if they are routed they vanifh in a Moment, and difperfe; notwithftanding which they meet again at Night at the Place of Rendezvous, and the next Day renew their Incurfions with as much Violence as ever: They will march fourfcore Miles a Day, in which time they change Horfes thrice, each of them having three or four Horfes. If any one of their Cattle dies, either of Fatigue or Sicknefs, they cut the Flefh out in Pieces and diftribute it amongft their Comerades, who eat it with as much Appetite as we do Beef or Mutton; they often devour it raw, but their common Way of cooking it is to put it between the Saddle and the Back of the Horfe, on which the Tartar rides, and that foddens the Flefh enough for them to feaft upon.

Thofe Horfes that are in the Fields are very difficult to be caught, becaufe it is almoft impoffible to take them from their Company. If a Tartar falls fick, they give him Mares-Milk, and the Blood of a Horfe, whofe Veins they open on purpofe. The reafon why they eat no Bread nor Salt, is that they believe Bread to be coarfe Feeding, which renders fuch as eat it heavy and unactive ; and that Salt is bad for the Eyes. It is certain their Sight is better than any Peoples in the World; they can fee forty or fifty Miles when the Profpect will admit it, and can difcern a fingle Man at the fame Diftance where the Ruffans could not difcern a Troop of Tartars. They are excellent Horfemen; they ride with a loofe Rein; lift themfelves up in their Stirrups, and thoot backwards on their Enemies that purfue them. The Colmuck Tartars, among whom Tamerlane was born, have a large Extent of Territory: They dwell in Tents, and live in their Paftures: They are bigger and more fwarthy than the Crim Tartars, and are not at all like them in the Face: Some Part of their Country is fubject to the Emperor of Rufia: Their Women are as fit for War, and accuftomed to it as well as their Men : Lately an Army of them defeated the Crim Tartars, who had carried away fome of their Children into Captivity.

The Crim Tartars are flat-nofed; their Eyes are little and funk into their Heads ; their Foreheads are narrow; their Shoulders low and broad; they are middle-fized; as to their Shapes and their Make, they are every way fo fingular, that it is eafy to difcover a Tartar at firft Sight among an hundred other Men. They flat the Nofes of their Children as foon as they are born, thinking it to be a Piece of Folly to let their Nofes ftand in their Light: They are all Mobommedons; they laugh at theW orfhip the Mufcovites pay their St. Nicbolas; and maintain that they had better adore the Sun, who is a glorious Body, the Life and Light of the World, than fall down before wooden Images. "See, fay they, what your Gods come " to. When the Painting is worn out, you throw them " into the River with a Coptack or two, and a little Bit " of Olibanus; thus they fail down the Volga to the "Cafpian Sea; there we take them up, dry them, and "s burn them to roaft our Horfe-flefh by the Fire. Are " not they very fine Gods that ferve us inftead of Fag" gots, and that cannot refift thofe that deftroy them ?" Before I have done with my Relation of Ruflia, I will fay a Word or two of feveral forts of Mufhrooms that grow there and no where elfe in that Form. There are feven which are moft remarkable in their Figures and Qualities. The fort called Rizbiees, are a little black and red, and fpring iup in a Night in the Marfhes. The Smitz/kies or Honey Mufhrooms, which Gerrard calls Fungi farinof $\mathfrak{t}$, reckoning them among Poifons, are excellent, and very dear in Ruffa; it is the moft delicate Difh that is brought to the Tables of Perfons of the higheft Quality ; they put it in Soups and Pies. They come up before the other forts in April and May.

The Gribbeys are of a brown Colour, or rather of a black Yellow; the Tail of one is like a Pilafter, and
fwells

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fwells out in the Middle; they come up before the Somizfies. The Volnitzies are brown and black, mixed with red, and grow tharp at top. The Grouzbdys are the biggeft fort of all of them, as hollow as a Honey-comb; and whiter than a Tulip when they are dead: Before they are boiled they are full of Juice, fo tart and bitter, that it will blifter the Mouth of thofe that tafte it. I thought I fhould have died after I had put a little of it within my Lips. The Maftamicks are fo called from Mafta, which fignifies Butter, Oil, Sewet, or any thing that is fat and oily. Mafta Conova is Milk or Butter. Denavanna mafta is Oil of Olives, or rather the Oil of a Tree; for Denawa is in Englifh a Tree. There are fo many forts of Mulhrooms belides, and fo many of thofe I have mentioned, that I have been told, a thoufand Waggon Loads a Year are brought to Mofcow: The Poor live upon them, and the Rich make them a fecond Courfe. Almoft all the Ruffian Mufhrooms are good to eat, and there are very few of thofe kinds which the Botanifts call venomous. But to return to our Voyage.
26. We took our Leaves of thefe unhappy Exiles with reciprocal Tears, and mounting our Sledges, travelled on three Hours before we met with any Habitation: We then difcovered five or fix Huts together, in which were about a dozen Perfons: We anked by our Interpreter, if they had any thing to truck for our Money or Brandy? They brought us out what Skins they had, and we dealt with them for them. We followed the Courfe of the $\mathrm{Ri}-$ ver Petzora, which gives the Name to the Town; and near the Banks of it came to fmall Villages pretty often; in fome of which we found Inhabitants, in fome others none. Where we met with any body to trade with us, we bought their Furs with Money of fome, but more with Brandy. They would not part with their Sables for fear of being detected by the Governor of Papinogorod, whither we were going, who always fearches whatever Merchandize is brought thither, to fee if there are no Sables among it. We croffed the Mountains which divide Borandia from Siberia. That was one of the worit Journeys we had in all our Undertaking ; thofe Mountains being difficult to pafs, and fo barren, that no Creature, Man or Beaft, can live upon them: Befides, they are almoft always covered with Snow; and towards the Afcent and Defcent, there are fuch vaft Numbers of Bears and white Wolves, that we were afraid of our Lives, expecting every Minute when they would have fallen upon us; though, perhaps, we needed not to have been in fo much Fear, for thofe Animals were, probably, as much terrified at us, as we at them.

They fled before us, fome on one hand, and fome on the other, miftaking us by the glittering of our Arms to be Hunters, and not Merchants. We were twelve Hours in croffing the Mountains, and our Cattle had much ado to draw us over them. At laft we reached the Defcent, and arrived in a Village in Siberia, where the Inhabitants were all cloathed in Bears-Skins, with the Hair outwards, having Linnen Shirts on and clofe Bufkins, by which we perceived we were come among People that were not fo barbarous as thofe we had parted from: They, in Effect, received us more civilly, afked whence we came, and whither we were going. We eat and drank together of the beft we and they had; ours was Rice-cake and Brandy; theirs, dried Wolfs and Bears Flefh, Ginger-bread and Spirits. We bought all their Furs, except their Sables, with ready Money.

We refted in their Houfes, which were built after the manner of the Laplanders. We flept on Bears-Skins, after having drank each of us a Cup of Brandy. When we awaked, we got upon our Sledges, and travelled without any further Delay for about twenty hours together, till we came to Papinogorod. The Governor of the Place, hearing of our Arrival, ordered us to come to his Caftle to examine for what, and from whence, we came. We waited upon him as we were commanded, and entered the Caftle; he faluted us in a very friendly manner; and our Accountant, who underftood the Mufcovite Language, gave a fatisfactory Anfwer to all the Queftions he demanded of him. When he knew that we were Danes, and Dealers, whofe Bufinefs it was to buy Furs, he entertained us as handfomely as he could; and to fhew us

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that he had a great Kindnefs' for, and Confidence in's uss he fent for his Wife to come and fee us; which fhe did; bringing in one Hand a Bottle of Brandy, and in the other a Silver Cup, according to the Mufcoviice Fafhion as alfo a Plate of Ginger-bread, which a Maid brought after her. We faluted her, as is the Cuftom of the Country; by bowing our Heads. She prefently untied the Knot of her Smock-Sleeve, and let it fall to the Ground: Our Supercargo prefently took it up, and kiffed it, and our Accountant did the like, and fo did I; then fhe furled it up again with the left hand; and taking the Bottle and Cup, which the had fet down to pay this Ceremony gave to each of us a. Brimmer of Brandy, and a Piece of Ginger-bread, herfelf ftanding at the End of the Table, by the Side of her Hufbanid. She then returned to her own Chamber, and the Governor afterwards regaled us with good Cheer.

When we had done Supper, we were condueted to our Lodgings prepared for us in the Caftle, and, confidering the Country, lay in very good Beds. We flept about feven Hours, and then rofe; which the Governor having Notice of by one of his Servants, he got up, and came to fee us, and brought alfo a Bottle of Brandy with him; one of his Domeftics held another in his Hand, and filled us out a great Cup for our Morning's Draught. We each of us drank one; after that, we fell to Bufinefs. The Governor demanded if we would buy his Skins? our Supercargo faid he would, if he liked them, and could agree on the Price. His Furs were extraordinary well chofen, and though they were the deareft we met with in all our Travels, yet they were the beft worth our Money. Having feen them bought and paid for them, he ordered one of his Men to call in fome of the Inhabitants who had Skins to difpofe of; but he would not fuffer them to fell one fingle Skin till he had driven his Bargain. While our Supercargo was dealing with the Governor and his Neighbours, I walked up and down the Town.

It is fituated in a very fine commodious Place, in a little Plain, the Country about it fruitful, furrounded with high Mountains, and near it runs a large River, well ftocked with Fifh; the Houfes are built very poorly, they are low, and the Walls are of Wood or Mud; caulked between the Beams with Mofs. The Town is paved with Pieces of Timber laid clofe together. The People of Fafhion in Papinogorod are dreffed in Breeches and Stockings of Cloth, and a long Robe over them of the fame, which comes down to their Toes. Their Sleeves are made as clofe as poffible, fome of one Colour; fome another: Their Shoes are like the Polanders, they are rather Boots than Shoes, buttoned a-top, and the Leather is dyed, fome of it blue, fome red, and fome yellow : Upon their Heads they wear Cloth-Caps, lined and bordered, fome with black Fox-Skin Fur, fome with Ermines, and fome with Sables. As for the Women, they are beautiful, fair, and fat; their Hairs are of a light Chefnut Colvur, and their Mien gallant for Mufcovites; their Robe or Upper-Garment, like the Mens, comes down to the Toes; it is alfo made of Cloth, either red, blue, or Violet Colour ; the Shape of it refembles our long Waftecoats ; it is lined with white Fox-Skin or Sable; they have long Sleeves pinned to it, for they cannot put their Arms into them, becatufe their Smock-Sleeves are of fuch a prodigious length; fome of them are five Ells long; they are made of fine Calico, and plaited up from their Wrifts to their Shoulders; their Head-drefs is an oval Cap, their Hair hangs a long way down their Backs: their Shoes are made of Ruffa Leather, and they have a Girdle of Pearl, pretty large, round their Waftes. Thofe that are Natives of Siberia, differ as to their manner or way of Living from the Samojedas, Borandians, and other Natives of the North. All the Mufcovites are Nicbolatians by Religion.

They are grave, robuft, fwift, and dextrous at fhooting with the Crofs-Bow. There are no Pettyfoggers in Rufia; no. Villains who rob the Poor, under Pretence of recovering theirRight; who ruin the Fatherlefs by feigned Attempts to fave their Inheritance, and enrich their own Families with the Spoils of their Neighbours. The Mufco* vite Law is all Equity, and all Courts of Juftice are Courts of Chancery; but there is fuch Care taken to expedite of Chancery; but there is fuch Care taken to expedite

Caufers.

Caufes, that there is no Occafion of Complaint given, as in fome Countries more polite. Falfe Witneffes are feverely punifhed, fo are Traitors and Robbers; and the Friends of the Deceafed profecute Murderers. The Ruflians, efpecially in Siberia, aré ignorant, felf-interefted, Drunkards, churlifh, and fo jealous, that their Wives are almoft always locked up in theirChambers; nor dare they to ftir out when they are more at Liberty, unlefs they are commanded by their Hufbands: They are afraid to thew the leaft kind Look or Action to Strangers; and if their Hurbands do not beat them, it is fo cuftomary to do it, that they believe they do not love them. When we had bought up all the Furs we liked at Papinogorod, confifting of white Wolf-Skins, white Fox-Skins, black of the fame, Lynxes, and Sables (for fome we had of the Governor by Stealth) Ermines and grey Squirrels, we packed up; and with what we bought at Petzora, had enough to load one Sledge, and almoft half another. We had ftill fome Tobacco, and about five thoufand Ducats left; wherefore our Supercargo refolved to go farther to get more Furs, and to return to our Ships through Samojeda.

Our Brandy falling fhort, we bought the beft the Governor, our Hoft, had, and bargained with him for Provifions fufficient to laft twelve Days, and for Rain-Deer to carry us to our Journey's End. When we had quite done dealing, and paid our Money, we muft have a drunken Bout at parting; without which, there is no getting away from a Houfe in Ruffia. We eat and drank for ten Hours together, and then lay down to reft eight more, when we got up and harnefled our Rain-Deer, baled and loaded our Merchandize and Provifions, we mounted our Sledges, took our Leaves of our Hoft, and departed. We ran feventeen Hours; and all the way we went bought up what Furs we could light on of the siberians. We then croffed the Riphoan Mountains in fix Hours more, after which we entered Samojeda, a defolate mountainous Country, full of Juniper Trees, Pine Trees, and Firs. It abounds in Mofs as well as Snow, Wolves, Bears, and Foxes, all white, we met every Moment, to our no fimall Terror. When we afcended the Mountain Stolphoen, out of which rifes the River of Borfagatz, we came to eight or nine Houfes, where we ftopt, as well to bait our Cattle as to reft ourfelves. We trucked with the Inhabitants Brandy for white and black Wolf and Fox-Skins, Caftor and Otter-Skins ; they had feveral Dozen of Ermines, which they would not fell us upon any Terms, notwithftanding our Boravdian Guide affured them with a thoufand Proteftations, that there was no manner of Danger, we being Traders that were going to our Ships, and could not be fearched before we got to the Coafts, becaufe we were not to pafs through any Place where there were any Officers to fearch for prohibited Goods. They would not hearken to us till we had drank them all down; and when the Liquor was gotten up into their Heads, they grew bold, brought out their Sables, and fold us the beft and moft that we picked up in our whole Journey.

We ftaid to reft ourfelves in one of the chief Huts of the Village ; the Mafter of the Houfe, his Wife, and Children, lay all together, without Diftinction, and we among them, on Bear-Skins. After we had flept four or five Hours, I awoke at a Noife our Hoft made to raife his Family. They all rofe and went out; I had the Curiofity to obferve them; I followed them at a little Diftance, and perceived they all fell down on their Knees behind the Cottage, lifting up their Hands and Eyes to Heaven to adore the Sun, whom they believe to be God. The Samojedas are fhorter and thicker than either the Laplanders or Borandians; their Heads are big, their Faces flat, as alfo their Nofes; they have fcarce any Hair at all, and are as fwarthy as the Ground itfelf; their Drefs is a round Cap, furred like a Lamb-Skin, a Pair of Breeches, and a white Bear-Skin Coat that comes down no farther than their Knees; they wear about their Middle a Girdle four Inches broad; their Shoes and Stockings are made of the fame fort of Skin, with the Hair outwards; under their Shoes they wear a fort of Skates two-foot long, made like a Gondola, with which they nide prodigiouny faft on the Snow, that lies almoft always on the Moun-
tains; inftead of a Cloak, they hang a Bears-Skin with black Hair upon it over their Shoulders, the Feet dangling down at the four Corners; it hangs more on the left Side than on the right, to leave their Hands at Liberty for the Management of their Bows. Upon this Skin they tye their Quivers.
The Samojedian Women are uglier than the Men; they will endure a great deal of Hardfhip, and take care to breed up their Children well in the handling of their Bows; at which they teach them to be very dextrous; they are dreffed like Men, only their Upperr-Garment is a little longer; their Caps are the fame with the Mens; and all the Difference in their Head-drefs is, that the Women have a Lock of Hair twifted, which hangs down on their Shoulders; at the End there is a Knot of Ribbons made of the Rind of a Tree, and that reaches down to their Heels: This is all their Finery; they hunt as ivell! as the Men, and are armed with Bows and Arrows, as they are; the Hurbands are true to their Wives, and the Wives to their Hufbands. If any one among them is found guilty of Adultery, either Man or Woman, the Criminal is immediately foned to death.
27. Having traverfed Samojeda, bartered all our Wares, and loaded ourfelves with Skins, we returned, and met with no Adventures worth remarking. We made what hafte we could, and reached the Coafts of Borandia. In twelve Days after our Departure from Papinogorod, our Ships rendeלvoufed at a Place on that Shore, where we had appointed them to meet us. We loaded all our Merchandize aboard them, paid off our Borandian Guide, and embarked. We weighed Anchor two Hours after, and failed with a fair Wind for Zembla, where we arrived the next Day in the Afternoon: We caft Anchor in a convenient Place, near which we fpied, upon the Shore, a Company of about thirty Perfons, with Quivers at their Backs, on their Knees, worhipping the Sun that was then fetting. Our Mafter and Supercargo confulted together, what Courfe they fhould take to come at the Speech of them. They thought them to be more wild than any they had yet feen, and that it would be difficult to get them to deal with us. They refolved to fend out three Long-boats, with ten Men, well armed, in each, to defend themfelves in cafe they were attacked. I was commanded to make one among them. We rowed to Shore; when we came about a quarter of a Mile off Land, all the Savages, who were filil on their Knees, got up, let fly at us; after which they ran away, like fo many Stags before Hunters. They fhot at us when we were at too great a Diftance from them to receive any Hurt by their Arrows.

We landed, and purfued them to the Place whither we thought they were fled, in Hopes that we might be able to catch one or two of them, which, however, was not to be done. We loft. Sight of them, and could not tell which Way they were gone; yet we followed them till we came near fome Mountains covered with Snow. We advanced farther into the Country, where, on a fimall Hillock, we perceived a Piece of Wood cut out in the Figure of a Man, but very wretchedly. Before it were two Zemblians on their Knees, their Arms lying by them. They were worfhipping this Idol, as the others on the Shore were adoring the Sun. They fled from us, and it growing Night, we did not care to purfue them very far; they ran into a Fir-wood, and we thought it would be in vain to go after them. Wetherefore concluded our beft Way was to return to our Ships, and make a Report of what we had feen and done. This Idol is called Fetizo; one of our Mafters had been there before, and feemed to believe that the Devil entered the Idol fometimes, and from it pronounced his infernal Oracles.

Seven or eight Hours after I was got aboard again, I was taken with a violent Pain in my Head, and a Vomiting, which lafted three Hours; after that I had a fore Throat, infomuch that I could fcarce fwallow any thing. The Glands were fwoln to a high Degree. I felt a great Ebullition of Blood, and an Itching over all my Body; my Gums fwelled, and bled mightily; my Teeth fhook; and I was fo faint, that I could fcarce keep upon my Legs. I loft my Stomach, and eat nothing;

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Northern Coafts of Europer
became extreme weak, and had a Fever almoft always upon me. My Breath was fhort and offenfive. I was very dry, and to quench my Thirf I often drank Water and Vinegar. Perceiving my Diftemper continued the two following Days, and confidering that it was caufed partly by excelfive Cold, and partly by eating falt Meats, which had inflamed my pituitous Glands in fuch a Manner, that my Phlegm had infected my other Humours, inftead of Oxycrate, or Water and Vinegar, I refolved to take fome Brandy and Syrup of Liquorifh, of which I drank a Spoonful every Hour. I eat no falt Fifh, all my Food was frefh. I gargled my Mouth fometimes with Brandy, and fometimes with Vinegar, to ftrengthen my Gums, and rubbed my Teeth with Mel Rofat. The greateft Part of our Ship's Crew was taken with the fame Difeafe as well as myfelf. I prefcribed the fame Remedy; and in fifteen Day's Time I cured them and myfelf too. Our other Ship's Crew were as much troubled with it as our own; their Surgeons did whatever their Art fuggefted to them, by way of bleeding and purging to cure them; but thofe Remedies rather increafed than helped the Difeafe; two of their Sailors died of it, and one of their Accountants was likely to die of it, as alfo feveral other Mariners, upon which I was fent for to a Confultation. I advifed them to do as I had done, and to give over purging and bleeding, which are mortal in that Cafe.

It was obferved, in a very hard Winter, in France, that in this Diftemper, which fome took for the Plague, and was occafioned by the Rigour of the Seafon, that feveral Perfons, died immediately upon bleeding, which is of no Ufe in Cacochymical Diftempers. Bleeding and purging in fuch Cafes, are good for nothing but to weaken the Sight, to injure the Nerves, to confume the radical Moifture, to diminifh the natural Heat; and ${ }_{3}$ in hort, to diflodge Mens Souls from their Bodies, fooner than they ought to go; and to fill the Church-yards. However, I would not be underftood to fpeak againft bleeding; in fome Diftempers it is good, as in all hot and plethoric Cafes, provided it is not ufed above twice or thrice. Being once at Algiers, feveral of our Crew were taken with this Difeafe, which I call the Scurvy; their Glands were fo fwoln, that one would have thought that they had had a Piece of Flefh in their Throats. They had the fame Symptoms as I had on the Coafts of Zembla; their Phlegm was fharp and corrolive, it affected their other Humours, and efpecially the Mafs of Blood, as the Pox does, which is a Species of it; and I was forced to deal with my Patients as if they had really been poxed, not with Mercury, which by its cold, moift, and venomous Quality, exafperates the Humours of the Body; and infects the Ventricles of the Brain, inftead of cleanfing them, caufing a Flux at the Mouth, by which, without Danger, one may cure the Itch, but not the Pox; the latter being caufed by a cold, moift, venomous Humour, oppofite to the Nature of Mercury ; and this the Mercurialitts cannot deny.

This Scurvy, with which fea-faring Men are fo troubled, proceeds from grofs Vapours which come from the bad Water they drink, the bad Bread, and the bad Victuals they eat; the melancholy, clofe, and foul Air which they breathe: And the Infection of Scorbuticks is only to be remedied by Cordials. I could not forbear making this Reflection, which, as it relates to the Diftempers incident to fuch as go the Northern Voyage, I hope it will meet with a favourable Reception.

We ftaid fixteen Days on that Part of the Coaft of Zembla, where we at firft caft Anchor; where our Crews were all cured, except three or four, who were on the mending hand. Our Mafters feeing there was a fair and frefh Gale, refolved to fail to Weygatz to fifh for Walrus, the Fifh by us called a Sea Horfe. We failed about fix Leagues, then cruifed up and down for the Conveniency of our fifhing. We kept near Shore, and put out our Long-boats, and fent our Harponiers and Fifhers in them, eight in each, without reckoning the Rowers. We were three Days a fifhing, without catching any thing ; at laft we fpied two large Fifh approaching us one of them had a Horn in his Forehead, that was of
a good Length ; our Fihers prepared to feize him; they came within a Stones's Caft of him; our Harponiers threw their Harping-Irons at him, fome on one Sides and fome on the other, letting loofe the Ropes by which they were faftened, and then they got off as nimbly as they could, for fear of the Monfter. When our Harponiers and Fiffers faw that the Harping-Irons ftuck in the Fin, they made towards our Ship's Sides, being fure they had him faft, becaufe he fwam above Water' which is a Sign of his Weaknefs; they drew him nearer and nearer, by the Ropes that were faftened to the Harp-ing-Irons. The Monfter endured all without ftruggling ; he had loft fo much Blood, he had no Strength left.

The Fifhers doing their Office, cut off his Head; which we kept, and flung the Body into the Sea, it being neither good to eat, nor for Oil. People fifh for the Sea-Horfe, purely for the fake of his Teeth, which are as good as Ivory, and fomewhat in a Pound dearer, being whiter than Elephants Teeth, and not fo apt to turn yellow as Ivory is. The Horn of the Sea-Horfe we took, was ten Feet long, very heavy, winding, and as big as a Man's Arm near the Shoulder; very fmall and fharp a-top, growing bigger and bigger downwards to the Root. One of our Boats coming too clofe to the other Fifh, thinking to make fure of him, the Monfter, as foon as he felt the Iron in his Sides; ftruck his Tail againft the Boat with fuch Violence, in ftruggling to free himfelf, that he over-fer the Boat ; and the other Boats were fo far off, that before they could get thither to take up the Men, two of them were drowned; for whofe Deaths we were troubled, the Prize being by no means a Recompence to us for the Lofs. The Fifh was taken and his Head cut off, as the other was. I faw it had no Horn, but, to make amends, his Teeth were whiter and larger than that of the former.

We cruized up and down four Days before we fpied any more Fifh, wherefore it was refolved to change our Station. As we were preparing to depart, we faw four of the fame Fifh, which feemed to be bigger than thofe we had caught ; fo we furled our Sails, and made our Harponiers go out in our Long-boats; with the other Fellows that were employed in the Fifhery. We took three of them ; one efcaped us; that which our Fifhers brought aboard the Ship I belonged to, had no. Horn ; neither had the other two any. Twelve Hours after we difcovered five Fifh more. Our Harponiers and Fifhermen got prefently into their Boats, to endeavour to take them, efpecially one of them, which had a Horn in his Head. But though the Fellows did whatever Men could do to catch then, three of them made their Efcapes; among which was the horned Fifh; and the other two were taken, and had their Heads cut off. Two Hours after we fpied three more; our Fifhers went out after them ; they took one, whofe Head was brought aboard us, and was fo big, that each of his great Teeth weighed twenty-nine Pounds:

Two Days after we faw feven or eight more of thefe Fifh, and a horned one among them. We put out all our Boats, and our Fifhers were fo fortunate as to catch five of them, of which one was the horned Fifh; it was our Lot to have him; his Horn was like that of the firft Fifh we caught, but not fo heavy or fo large, it being farce feven Feet long. We ftaid there five Days longer, and feeing nothing all that while, took Advantage of a North-north-eaft Wind, which fprung up, and failed towards Weygatz, in Hopes to pafs thofe Streights. We kept our Courfe pretty well for thirty-fix Leagues; but then we could go no farther, becaufe of the huge Pieces of Ice that oppofed our Paffage, and the Mountains of Ice covered with Snow, called Pater Nofters, which lie at the Mouth of the Mare glaciale (the frozen Sea) and the great Sea of Tartary. If a Ship could pafs through thofe dreadful Streights, a Paffage to the Eaft-Indies would not be above a Quarter fo long, as it is now, through the Allantic Ocean. For this Reafon the Streight is called Weygati, as much as to fay, in Engli/h, a Place one cannot pars through.
28. We came to an Anchor in thole Streights, near
the Shore, on the Eaftern Coaft of Zembla; one of our Seamen landing there, and going about his neceffary Oc.cafions, a Bear came behind him, and ftruck him down with his Paw, and would have certainly deftroyed him, had we not perceived it. We immediately fired a Fuzee, and by good Fortune fhot him dead, otherwife the poor Sailor would not fo eafily have got out of his Clutches; he was not fo foon eafed of his Fears, and the reft of his Comerades were fo terrified by his Example, that they durft not venture afhore. A little while after there came three Bears to our Ship-Sides, and ftrove to come aboard. We cut off the Paws of one of them, with our Hatchets, and fhot the other with a Mufket. While we were difpatching thefe two, the third mounted the Side of our Ship, and entered it ; a Sailor who ftood near him, cryed out as if he were about to be devoured; and well he might, for the Bear was at his Heels. We all took up Oars and Pieces of Timber, with which we knocked him down, others fhot at him, and two more that were fwimming towards us, and killed them. We thought this Deftruction would hinder any more from coming towards us, but we were miftaken; for four or five Hours afterwards we difcovered eight or ten more upon the Ice, and taking the Water they fwam towards us, which obliged us to handle our Arms, and fire at them. We aimed fo well that not one of them efcaped us. More and more ftill approaching from the high Mountains, as if they had declared War with us, we refolved to retreat before fuch a terrible Enemy.

We weighed Anchor, and returned to the Place where we firft anchored, on the Weftern Shore of Zembla. After fifteen Hours fail, we got out of the Streight, by favour of an Eafterly Wind. We had much ado to avoid running againft Rocks of Ice that lay in our Way. At the Mouth of the Streight there is an Inand which looks very green, covered with Fir and Juniper-Trees. Some of our Crew went afhore, and faw a fort of Birds there fo big they could hardly, fly. They came and told us what they had feen; upon which I defired Leave to go afhore, with about forty Men detached from the Crews, to hunt thofe Birds, and make Difcoveries. We killed about fixty of them, fome we fhot, and fome we knocked down with Clubs; their Carcaffes were carried aboard with us. The Mafter of our Ship, called thefe Birds Penguins. They are not much higher than Swans, but a great deal bigger. They are Tharp-beaked, of a brown Colour ; their Feet are webbed like thofe of a Goofe, and at their Gullet there hangs fomething like a Bag, about a Foot long; it begins juft under their Beaks, and comes down to their Breaft, widening as it lengthens; it is not unlike an Urinal, only it is bigger. In this Bag they put their Victuals, and take it out of it when they have a Mind to eat. We were forced to fkin them before we could eat them; their Skin being very tough, and we had much ado to pull them and drefs them. The Flefh was extraordinary good, it taftes like that of wild Duck, only it is fatter. We eat heartily of it, and had not had fuch a Feaft in all our Voyage. We ftaid at Anchor off of the Inand, where we caught the Penguins two Days, and then a South-eaft Wiud fpringing up, we weighed again, and held on our Courfe North-north-weft; in a few Hours we got out of the Streight, then the Wind varied, and we coafted it along to a high Cape, where we arrived in about thirty Hours. That Cape is not far from the Place where we faw the Zemblians adoring the Sun.
His Dani/b Majefty having commanded our Captains and Officers to bring off fome Zemblians, if they could ponibly, that he might learn of them what was the Growth and Riches of their Country, they dropped Anchor, and refolved to do the utmolt to obey the King's Command. As foon as we were ready, fome of us went athore, in our Long-boats, to fee what we could difcover; there were thirty Perfons in all, of whom I made one. We had fcarce got over the Ship's Side before we difcovered a Zemblian in his Canoe, about half a League off Land; who, feeing us make towards him, rowed fo nimbly, that it was impoffible for us to get up with him; as foon as he fet foot ahore, he took up
his Canoe and ran away with it on his Shoulder, fo fwiftly, that we perceived it would be a difficult Matter for us to overtake him'. He held his Dart in his Hand all the while, and yet did not feem to be incumbered in his Flight. We landed, and purfued him towards a Hill which we faw him mount, but he was nimbler than we, and it was in vain for us to follow him, when we had once loft Sight of him. We therefore gave over all Thoughts of taking him, and returned to our Ships, very forry that we had miffed our Prize. As we were failing back to our Ships we faw two Zemblians in a Canoe out at Sea, they fpying us rowed toward the Promontories and Rocks, on the Coafts, to hide themfelves; but we took to our Oars fo brifkly, that we came up with them as they were rowing, with all their Might, towards a Rock. We furrounded them, being in four Boats; and when they found they could not efcape us, they fet up a hideous Howling, the moft horrid Noife that ever I heard in my Life. We carried the Men aboard with us, towed the Canoe along, having faftened it to one of our Boats. It was like a Gondola in Form, fifteen or fixteen Feet in Length, and two and an half in Breadth. It was made of the Rib-bones of Fifh, very artificially; the Sides were of Finh-Skins fewed together, it all looked like a huge Purfe, from one End of the Canoe to the other; the Bottom was of the fame Materials with the Sides. The Zemblians are fhut up in it as high as their Waftes; a drop of Water cannot get into it ; and they expofe themfelves in the fouleft Weather, without Fear of foundering. We perceived one of the Zernblians we had taken was a Man, and the other a Woman. We made all the friendly Signs we could to them, and careffed them, to find out where their Habitations were, but we could learn nothing.

Upon this thirty of us landed again, took feveral Days Provifions with us, and went in two Troops, well armed, at about an hundred Yards Diftance one from another, 10 try if we could meet with any more of the Inhabitants. We hid ourfelves in Caverns under the Rocks, pofting Sentinels near Trees, in open Places, proper for difcovering, if any of the Zemblions came that Way; where we intended to feize them, and force them to Shew us their Habitations. We were two Days before we could hear of any thing to our Purpofe; at laft our Sentinels gave us Notice that they fpied two coming down a Hill, fowards the Sea fide. Six of our Company ftaid in the Cavern; five more, and myfelf, removed to one a little farther off; and a quarter of an Hour after, thefe two Zemblians paffed by our Caverns without perceiving us; one of our Companions thot off a Fuzee, to give Notice to thofe in the other Cavern, that they were hemmed in between us and them; when they came near their Cavern, they fallied out, and we did the like from ours. The Savages being thus trapped, faw it was in vain to Ay, fo we eafily took them. Their Garments were of Penguins-Skins, the Feathers outwards; they had each a Pair of ftrait Breeches on, which came down no farther than their Knees; a Waftecoat of the fame; the Sleeves no longer than to the Elbows. The reft of their Arms was naked; their Waftecoats were picked before and behind; their Caps were in the Form of a Sugar-loaf; their Stockings of the Skin of a Sea-Calf, the Hair outwards. Though their Drefs was the fame, yet we foon perceived which was the Man, and which the Woman. The Man feemed to be about twenty-four Years of Age, his Face like the reft of thofe Savages, was very broad, his Complexion fwarthy, his Nofe lat; he had neither Beard on his Chin, or Hair on his Head. At his Back hung a Quiver full of Arrows, and on his Shoulder he carried an Axe ; in his other Hand he held a Bow. The Woman was about twenty Years old, her: Hair hung down on each Shoulder, twifted in two Locks. She had blew Streaks on her Chin, and four or five on her Forehead; her Ears and Noftrils had Holes bored in them, in which fome blue Stones, or Rings of Finh-bone, were hung. Thofe in her Ears were as big as a Filberd, and thofe in her Nofe as a Pea. She held a Dart in her Hand.

We tried all the Ways we could think of to oblige

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them to thew us where they dwelt, but they would not give us the leaft Token to direct us; they were as ftubborn as thofe we had taken in the Canoe, and we were forced to carry them on board without making any further Difcoveries: When we brought them to their FellowPrifoners, we perceived they knew one another, though their Garments were quite different : Thofe we took in the Canoe being dreffed in Sea-Calf Skin Cloaths ; and there in Pengnins Skins. The Hair of the Sea-Calf Skin was put outwards; the Waftecoats of thefe Zemblians were made of two Skins joined together, the Tails dangling, the one before and the other behind, almoft as low as their Knees; their Drawers were very ftrait: The oldeft was about fifty Years of Age; he had a round Beard of a Chefnur Colour; he had no Hair on his Head. The Woman that was with him, feemed to be about thirty Years old; her Ears and Nofe were bored, as the other Woman's were, and blue Stones hung in them ; her Hair was twifted, and dangled like the Country Woman's: They were both extreme ugly, and the Man and Woman fhorter and fquatter, than either the Laplanders, Samojeds; Borandians, or Siberians: They had fqueaking Voices, and ftinking Breaths, which latter was caufed by eating of Fleh without Salt, or Fifh dipped in Fifh-Oil. They drank nothing but Water. We could never make them eat any Bread, falt Meat, or Fifh, nor drink any Beer ; they talted Brandy now-and-then, but hated the Smell of Tobacco: Their Needles, the Points of their Darts and Arrows, and all their other Intruments were made of Fifh-bones : The Wood-work of their Bows and Darts was very heavy, of a red-brown Colour ; that of their Arrows is much lighter and whiter. When they go, they waddle along like a Duck, and are the moft defpicable Creatures I ever faw of the Race of Men.
29. The Summer Seafon being very far advanced, for it was now the latter End of Auguf, and the Days growing thorter, we having half an Hour's more Night than we had; the Cold alfo increafing, and all our Companions longing to fee their own Country again, we weighed Anchor, the Wind at North north-eaft, and held our Courfe South-weft. We failed before the Wind feveral Hours, and then veered to the South-fouth-eaft, which obliged us to make our Way northward, to endeavour to reach fome Shore. We coafted along with a South-fouth-eaft Gale till we came to Greenland, where the Wind fhifted again to Weft-fouth-weft, and forced us to drop Anchor near a Fleet of Frencb and Dutcb Ships that were come thither a fifhing; the Whale-fifhery being the Trade of that Place. The Ships did not lie far off Shore, for the Whate, as well as the Sea-horfe, is caught near Land; they are taken after the fame manner as we took the Sea-horfes, and when they are caught they are cut to Pieces, and the Greafe taken out of them; which is put into an huge Kettle, and melred to Oil; near fome Huts which the Fifhermen built for their Conveniency along the Sea Shore. It was very wel! for our Zemblians, that we came where there was fome Whale-oil to be had: They had loft their Stomachs, and could eat nothing for want of it ; they could get nothing down unlefs it was foaked in that Oil ; and all our Store was out.

I faw a Whale dreffed that had no lefs than three hundred and fifty Pound-weight of Bone in her fit for Bodicemakers, befides the Oil that came out of her Greafe. We ftaid but two Days in Greenland. The Wind fpringing up North-eafterly we weighed Anchor, and proceeded on our. Voyage homewards. We had a fair Gale all that Day and the following Night till five $0^{3}$ Clock the next Morning, when we faw three Suns in the Heavens one above the other; thefe Meteors were fo like the Sun in Brightnefs that we could not diftinguifh the one from the other; we alfo perceived foul Weather gathering from the fouthward, and foon after we were overtaken by a violent Storm, which obliged us to furl moft of our Sails, and fire a Gun, for a Signal to our Company of the Danger we were in, thereby warning them to do as we had done. We gave ourfelves over for loft, and entirely fubmitted to the Will of Heaven; three Hours after it blew terribly South-fouth-eaft; it thundered with louder Claps than ever I heard it before.

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The Sea was fo rough, and our Ship fo tofled that wie could only carry our Mizen-fails the Yard lowered almoft to the Ship's Deck; two Sailors were forced to tug at the Oar with Ropes, we having much to do to manage the Ship. We failed thus all that Day; and the next Night the Wind continuing as ftiff as at firt; our Captain commanded one of the Men to get upon the Main-top; to fee if he could fpy Land, and difcover whereabouts we were : The Sailor looking round him, cried out he faw a great Fire; our Mafter laid it was Mount Hacla in Iceland, a Mountain that burns like 庄tna and Vefuvius. The Weather being ftill foul, we refolved to make Land as faft as we could, though we had nothing to do there; we were afraid to keep out to Sea, our Ships having fuffered much by the Storm. We arrived near the Shore about Night; and as we lay by, heard dreadful Noifes at Land; they were like the Fire of feveral Cannons, after which we faw Flames iffue out of Mount Hecla in abundance. We found fo many Rocks on the Coaft of this Ine, and the Sea was fo rough, that we did not care to venture nearer the Land than a League; but our Pilot affuring us he underftood the Coafts well, we made into Cape Heri, where by the Skill and Care of the Pilot we anchored in Safety. One of our Company broke her Beakhead againft a Rock, and had like to have fplit; the other received no more Damage than we did. We immediately went afhore; our Mafter, Supercargo, myfelf, and fifteen of our Crew, the Mafter and Merchants of the other Ships acs companying us.

We landed at a Village called Heri, and hence we went to Kirkebar, a little City or large Town of Iceland, where we met eight or nine Danijh Merchants ; who were fur. prized to fee us there. They entertained us very cordially; and told us, that the Day before the whole Inand fhook foo violently that they thought they fhould be all fwallowed up; They gave us good Wine, good Bread, and good frefh Meat. There is Plenty of all Sorts of Cattle in this Inland, which abounds in rich Paftures ; and the Beafts that feed on them delight fo much in Caitopbe Herb, that the Inhabitants are forced to ftint them to fuch a Meafure, or they would eat till they burlt; which they would certainly do if they were fuffered to eat their Fill, as in other Countries.
30. Our Captain, Supercargo, and the others of our Company, gave the chief Merchant at Kirkebar an Intimation, that they would fain fee what was to be feen in the Ifland that was rare. The Merchant prefently ordered Horfes to be got ready for all of us that were wil. ling to go far into the Country: I faid I would make one, and we mounted eight in all; the reft, not having fo much Curiofity as we, chofe rather to ftay and drink at this Merchant's. The Merchant fent one of his Servants and two Inanclers along with us, to be our Guides, and furnifhed us with a Horfe-load of Proviftons. We tra: velled two Days together in Bye-ways very difficult to pafs, rugged, and unfrequented: At laft we came near Mount Hecla ; five Miles off it we found the Ground ftrewed with A fhes and Pummice-Rtones ; over which we paffed, by the Foot of the Mountain. The Weather was very ferene and calm, and we faw neither Fire nor Flames come out of the Mountain: Upon this we refolved to go up to the Top; but our Guides informed us that; if we went farther, we fhould be apt to fall into Pits of fiery Fumes, and it was impoffible to pull us out. Thus all our Company except myfelf declared againft proceed. ing. I told them if they would ftay for me, I would go up myfelf: They promifed they would; fo I alighted, and prepared to afcend the Mountain. One of the Dani/b Merchants whom we met ar Kirkebar, and who accompanied us out of Curiofity, faid he would go along with me.

We gave our Horfes to our Guides, who ftaid behind with the others who came out with us: We footed it over Afhes and Pummice-ftones, and fometimes we were up to the Calves of our Legs in Afhes, and yet we ftill went forward, as we refolved to reach the Top of Hacla. We had not gone far before we efpied a Flight of Crows and Vultures, that had their Nefts in the Top of the Mountain: We afcended half a League, and then felt the 6 I

Ground

Ground fhake under tis; we alfo heard fuch a terrible Noife in the Bowels of the Earth, that it feemed as if it would burft open : At the fame time there appeared, on all Sides, Chinks; out of which there iffued bluifh Flames, which fmelt like the Stench of burning Brimftone. This Sight made us turn back, for fear of being confumed to Anhes by them. We had fcarce got down thirty Yards, before a black, fmoky Cloud afcended out of the Mountain, fo that it darkened the Light of the Sun, and covered us fo that we could not fee one another; our Fears grew upon us every Step we took; for behind us. came Flames of Fire, Showers of Afhes, and Pummice-ftones, which fell as think as Hail; and this dreadful Storm was attended with horrible Noifes, which made us cry out in a frightful Manner, fancying that the infernal Furies were coming out of the Mountain to devour us; befides, we expected every Moment that the Earth fhould open, and fwallow us up, which added Wings to our Flight, and we ran as faft as we could, to efcape the Danger, to which our idle and ridiculous Curiofity had expofed us.
Fear made us fo nimble, that in a Quarter of an Hour we defcended fo much of the Mountain as we were a full Hour in afcending. When our Companions perceived us come down fo faft upon them, they burft out a laughing at us, and their Laughter grew louder when they faw us in fuch a Pickle, as black as if we had been plunged in Soot ; but their Mirth abated as foon as we came nearer them and dropped down dead, for fo they thought us, we being neither able to ftir nor fpeak. They rubbed our Temples, Noftrils, and Hands with Vinegar, and did what they could to bring us to our Senfes again: It was not long before we came to ourfelves; they gave us a good Cup of Canary; and when we recovered Strength, we told them what had happened to us ; and they rejoiced that we came off fo well. We all left the Foot of the Mountain, to go to fee two Fountains ten or twelve Miles off; the one is always boiling, and the other always fo cold that it turned every Thing that was put into it to Iron. About a hundred Yards off the Foot of the Mountain we found a Pummice-Stone as big as a Wine-Hogthead, which had lately been caft out of Hecla. Our Guides feeing that we were aftonifhed at the Bignefs of the Stone, faid, they had feen feveral much bigger than that, which ten Men could not flir ; and that inftead of Flames, Arhes, and Pummice-Stones, there fometimes iffued out Floods of Water, as out of Spouts; formetimes nothing but Flames, fometimes nothing but Afhes, and fometimes nothing but Stones. After three Hours riding we drew near to the Fountains ; they are about thirty Yards Diftance from each other: We came to the cold one firft, and put in a little Cane I had in my Hand, when I took it out again I was furprized to fee the End of it which bad touched the Bottom, metamorphofed into Iron, and weighing as heavy as that Metal.

From thence we went to the boiling Fountain. $\cdots$ At ten Yards Diftance from it we faw a Parcel of Animals as big as Ducks, moft of them red, whichwere frifking about and playing together. We ftood looking on them awhile, pleafed with the Novelty of the Sight; when we came nearer to the Place we faw nothing, and when we were gone they appeared playing and frinking, as before. They do fo when they fee no-body, but if any body appears they plunge down to the Bottom of the Fountain, which, as our Guides informed us, is fixty Fathoms deep. From the boiling Fountain we travelled towards the Seafide, and arriving within half a League of it, we heard Noifes like the Voices of Perfons complaining. Our ignorant Guides, Natives of the County, would fain have perfiuaded us that thefe Noifes were the Lamentations of the Damned whom the Devil tormented, and that when he had roafted them in the Flames of Hacla, he cooled them in the Ice of. the Coafts. Though we did not give much Credit to this Iceland Tradition, we refolved to fee thofe Seas of Ice which bound that Part of the Inand and no other. When we arrived at the Coaft, I found that thofe imaginary Complaints were occafioned only by the Agitation of the Wind and Water, the Ice beating againft it, and the Ice againft the Rocks. This Ice, fay
our Guides, comes on their Coaits in $\bar{F}$ une, and goes away the fifteenth of September.
It was the thirteenth when we were there; and having feen all that was worth feeing, we returned to Kirkeber, where we arrived three Days after; we faid a few Hours in Town, and then went aboard; where we found the Governor of the Ihe accompanied by the Bifhop of Sceltbott, who came to fee our Ships, and difcourfe with us, znderftanding we had been at Zembla. The Inlanders for the moft part dwell in Caverns cut out of Rocks, the reft live in Huts built after the Manner of thofe in Lapland fome with Fifh-bones, and others with Wood covered with Turf: They and their Cattle lie under the fame Roof: They are all ugly, both Men and Women; they are fwarthy, and dreffed like the Norwegians; their Shifts and Smocks are made of Packing-Cloth, or Sarplier ; and fome few wear Coats made of Sea-Calf-Skins, with the Hair outward. They live very plainly, as do all the Nations of the North; they lie on Hay or Straw in their Cloaths with Skins upon them, and make but one Bed for the whole Family. All their Work is fifhing; they are nafty and brutal; they are almoft all of them Wizards or Witches. They worfhip the Devil by the Name of Kobald: It is faid he often appears to them under a human Figure. They have alfo a Sort of IIoufhold God or Idol cut out of a Piece of Wood with a Knife, very hideous to look on, which they adore privately, and hide for fear of the Lutberan Priefts, who teach them as they can, the Chriftian Faith, and endeavour to deliver them from the Bondage of Satan: But thefe Barbarians were fonder of their diabolical Idol, and more conftant to him than fome Chriftians to the Profefion of their moft holy Religion. Though the Fields in Iceland look fair, and there is Plenty of Pafture, no Wheat grows there, nor any other Grain fit to make Bread with; the Cold is fo extreme it kills the Seed, or green Corn, by a North-eaft Wind; which is very violent in thofe Parts.
31. Three Days after our Return from our Journey to Mount Hecla, and that we were a Ship-board, we took the Opportunity of a North Wind which ftood fair for us, weighed Anchor and fet fail, holding our Courfe South-fouth-eaft. We failed before the Wind feveral Days, and then it blowing a very ftiff Gale, it drove us on the Conft of Norway, where we made the Promontory of Talfo, a little City built on an Eminence four Leagues from the Sea, there is a fine Caftle in it ; and we rejoiced that we were fo near Land, hoping that we fhould foon fee an End of our Voyage. We coafted along Shore about twelve Hours, and then the Wind changed with the Moon, which obliged us to keep out to Sea, for fear of being driven back; notwithftanding our Caution, it blew fo hard that we were forced to drive before the Wind forty Leagues backward.
Then the Weather grew a little more caIm ; foon after that, we had not Wind enough in our Sails to ftir us. Nothing is fo tedious to a Sailor as a Calm, efpecially upon a long Voyage, when he has been out a confiderable Time, and is impatient to reach home; a Storm would be more welcome to him: He cannot tell how to erreploy his Time, all his Thoughts run upon his Country, made dearer to him by many Months Abfence; and his Impatience to fee it, torments him more under the Delay of a Calm, than the Fear of Shipwreck in a Tempeft. In about two Hours we had a Water Cloud to the South-weft; our Marincts were prefently ftruck with a dreadful Confternation, apprehending it would fall upon us. We were obliged to furl all our Sails, and lower our Yards down a Port, fearing it would pour upon uis; but it did not come nearer than two Leagues; we faw it fall at about that Diftance. Thefe Clouds are in Form like a black Column or Pillar, 'which appears in the Heaverns over the Sea; and if by Chance they fall on Ships, they fink them to the Bottom, with the Flood of Water, which pours down from them like Cataracts, efpecially if it chance to fall perpendicularly. The Wind fpringing North-north-eaft, we proceeded on our Voyage, fo happily, that in ten Days Time we arrived at Copenbagen; where, having faluted the Cafte, we dropped Anchor, put out our Boat, and went to Shore.

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When we entered the City, his Majefty being informs ed that we had brought fome Zemblians with us, he commanded us to bring them to Court; which we did, every body gazing at them as if they had been born in another World. The King himfelf admired the Oddnefs of their Drefs, and the Strangenefs of their Figures. He ordered the Steward of his Houfhold to give Directions that they might be carefully kept and provided for, and be taught the Danifb Language, hoping he might then get fomething out of them, relating to their Country, that would be beneficial to his own. He commanded us to give him an Account of the feveral Places we had been at; of the Manners of the People, and their Way of living. We gave his Majefty full Satisfaction in all his Demands, and went then to wait upon our Owners, to inform them what Markets we had met with, and what Returns we had brought them home; which proved mightily to their Advantage and Content. Our Ships were ordered up to Cbrifian Haven, to be unladen, which was done in two Days time. One of the chief Merchants of the Company trading to the North, prefented the King in the Name of the reft, with the two Sea Horns, which we brought home with us. He received them as Rarities, that were of ineftimable Price, believing they were really Unicorns-Horns, of which abundance of Authors have written, and pretended there is a great Virtue in them. The King commanded they fhould be depofited in the Treafury Chamber, and promifed to grant the Company, in return, as many Privileges as it was in the Power of his Prerogative to beftow on them. The Merchant who prefented the Horns, was rewarded with a Chain of Gold, with his Majefty's Picture hanging to it ; and had a Licence to trade, Cuftom-free, for a certain Term of Years.
32. As I have mentioned the Unicorn, whofe Horn is fo much fpoken of, and valued for, the Virtues that are attributed to it, I fhall take this Occafion to fpeak my Thoughts of this Matter, after I have given the Reader an Account of the Sentiments of others. It is very difficult to decide what Creature it is which is properly the Unicorn. There are feveral Animals, called by the Greeks, Monoceros;' and by the Latins, Unicornu. Among the four-footed Beafts, feveral wild Affes, and wild Bulls, particularly the Bull of Florida. Among Serpents, it is the horned Afp, and the red Salamander. Among Fifh, the Sea-horfe, and many more, whofe Names are unknown to Europeans. There are fome Fowl, and even fome Infects, that have been thought to be Unicorns; fuch as the Flemiff and Englifh Beetle, both which are frequently mentioned by Naturalifts; and befides thefe, other Animals of different kinds in the Indies have been, by fome, cancied to be the Creature, called by the Laiins, Unicornu. Some Authors will have it to be a Land-beaft; others aWater-Animal; and fome again an amphibious Creature, that lives either on Land or in Water.

Pliny fays, the Unicorn is like a Bull, fpeckled with white Spots; her Hoof hard, and clofed like a Horfe's. Munfer writes, that it refembles a Colt of three Years old, of the Colour of a Weazel; her Head like a Stag's; her Legs and Feet little, and her Horn growing out in the Middle of her Forehead, about two Cubits long. Marco Paulo, the Venetian, fays, fhe refembles an Elephant, only fhe is fomething lefs; that her Colour is the fame, and alfo her Shape or Form, excepting her Tail, which is like a Bull's; and her Head like a Hog's, but fo heavy, that the cannot' hold it up; this evidently is the Rinoceros. Pbiloforgius writes, that her Head is like a Dragon's; that in the Midf of her Forehead, her Horn grows out of an indifferent Size, refembling that of a Snail; that the has a Beard like a Goat; a long. Neck; her Feet like thofe of a Lion, and the reft of her Body much like that of a Stag, excepting her Skin, which is like a Snake's. Helidorus adds, that he is fo nimble a Beaft, the Hunters can never come at her. Louis Paridis will have it, that fometimes fhe is taken, and that her Food, afterwards, is Peafe, Lentils, and Beans; that Ihe is not much bigger than a large Greyhound, but is not of fo flender a miake; her Skin, in Colour, like a

Caftor's, only fleek; her Neck fmall, but long; and her Feet cloven, like a Stag's; her Tail hort; her Muzzle like a Cow's; her Eyes great; her Ears little; and between them grows her Horn, about a Foot long.
'T"bevet affirms, that the Unicorn is as big' as a BullCalf fix Months old, that her Legs and Feet refemble thofe of an Afs; her Ears like a Rain-Deer's, and that her Horn grows up ftrait on the Top of her Head. Louis de Bartheme imagines the Unicorn is like a Bay Horfe, cloven footed; and that her Horn grows in the middle of her Forehead. Some fay, that the Rinoceros is the Unicorn ; Kircher, that it is the Sea-Horfe, which he alfo calls Lamia; wherein he is very much miftaken; for the Lamia is another Sort of Fifh, called by the Englifs Rahen, of which the Inhabitants of Martinicos Guardaloupe, St. Cbrifiopbers, and the other American Inands, ftand in great fear; for they are in danger of being devoured by them, as often as they bathe in the Sea.

Authors differ widely about the Size and Shape of this Horn. Albertus fays, that at the Bottom, or Root, it is as broad as one's Hand; that from thence it rifes taper to a Point, and that it is ten Foot long. Mumfer will have it only three Cubits in length, which is only four Feet and a half. Marco Paulo fhortens it to lefs than two Foot. Paradis reduces it to a Foot and a half. Nicolaus Venetus brings it down to a Foot: And the famous ferom Cardan will have it the length but of three Inches. We find as great or greater Differences as to Colour. Pliny is very clear that the Unicorn's Horn is black. Solinus fays it is of a purple Colour. Paradis fays it is red, or of a reddifh yellow. Albertus Magnus thinks it may be like a Stag's Horn : But other Writers are very pofitive that it is much whiter than any Ivory. We are likewife affured, by fome, that it is quite frait and fmooth ; others perfuade us, that it is finely wreathed, and fhines as if it was polifhed ; neither are there Authorities wanting to prove, that fome are very finely fpot- ted with brown and black, but they do not tell us where. When I reflect on the feveral. Opinions of thofe who have written of the Unicorn, and how they differ from one another, I fometimes believe that each of them fpoke after his own Invention, to raife the Admiration of the Reader.

As for the imaginary Virtues of the Unicorn's Horn, they are confequently fictitious; but fuppofing that what has been pretended to be the true Horn was really fuch, I will venture to affirm, there is no more Virtue in it than in that of a Stag, a Goat, or Elephant's Tooth, which is made ufe of to ftop the fpitting of Blood and à Bloody-flux, which is done by the aftringent Quality of thefe Horns, and that cannot fo properly be called a Virtue as a Malignity. The Unicorn's Horn, or what has been faid to be fo, has neither Smell nor Tafte, and of courfe can have nothing in it of fuch cordial Virtue as is pretended.

Since my Voyage to the North I have looked over feveral Charts drawn by the moft celebrated Geographers, and I wonder to fee they placed Zembla no farther to the Eaft-north-eaft of Laplond. It is more to the Northward than they make it. They are alfo in the wrong to divide it from the Continent, and to place it twelve hundred Leagues from Greenland, as many of them do ; for indeed it is contiguous with it. The Coafts of Greenland join to thofe of Zembla; and were it not for the prodigious Snows that fall there, and the Rigour of the Seafon, which render the Place uninhabitable, one might eafily go from Greenland to Zembla by Land, and from Zembla pafing the Pater Nofers, a Ridge of vaf Mountains, enter Samojeda, and thence either into the Great Tartary or Mufcory.

I admired alfo, that they did not make the Streights, called Weygatz, above ten French Leagues long; whereas they are five and thirty German Leagues in length. They fhew by their Charts that Ships may by that Streight enter the great Sea of Tartary; which, whatever they pretend to, is not to be done. Some have faid, that in the Days of Prince Maurice a Ship paffed the Streights of Weygatz, and failed into the Tartarion $\mathrm{Se}_{\mathrm{a}}$, which is a
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plain Fallity, as I fhall make appear. This Streight, as I have faid, is bounded by the Pater Nofer Mountains, the leaft of which is half a League high ; and it is agreed, on all Hands, that they are of Ice which never melts. I am of the fame Opinion, having been in the Streights near thofe Mountains in the Dog-Days, the hotteft Seafon of the whole Year, and was as cold then as ever I was in France in the coldeft Winter; which Seafon lafts there all the Year.
33. The many curious Particulars contained in thefe Voyages and Travels may very well attone for fome Deficiencies and Miftakes in them. It appears from hence, that there are no Countries in the World through which Men travel with more Expedition than in thofe frozen Climates, where one would imagine that Men could fcarce travel at all; and this induces one to wonder, that they have not been more thoroughly and effectually examined, efpecialiy confidering with how great Eafe this might be done, if the Court of Ruflia interefted itfelf in the Matter. Our Author appears to be a Man of great Sincerity, and relates every thing he faw diftinctly; and at the fame time tells us his Sentiments of the Matter. The Account he has given us of Ruffia is prior in Point of Time to the Reign of Peter the Great; who, in fome meafure, changed the Nature of his Subjects: But, however, as this has been done very flowly, there is good reafon to believe, that with refpect to the Bulk of the People in the diftant Provinces of the Ruffian Empirc, they are not much altered from what they were. It is not eafy to guefs what part of Circaflia he means, when he fpeaks of the Inhabitants of it in the manner he does; and for my own Part, I am apt to think he calls the People of the Ukraik, Circaffians; and myReafon for thinking fo is, that both in their Language and in that of the Poles, the Word Colfack fignifies a regular Soldier, a Man trained to War, and in conftant Pay. It is very true, that we now confider the Coffacks as a Nation, and not as a Militia; and this with Propriety enough, becaufe the Poles having given that Country to their Soldiers, they ftill retain the Name of Coffacks. Though they are no longer regular Troops.

By the way, it may not be amifs to obferve, that it was breaking through their military Tenures, and endeavouring to make thefe People pay a rack Rent for their Lands, that induced them to rebel againft the Poles, and to put themfelves under the Protection of the Czar. His Account of Siveria is very entertaining and curious, and the Tinquifes he fpeaks of are the Inlabitants of the very Extremity of Afa, towards the Sea of Fapon, a very brave, though a very barbarous Nation, with whom the Mufcovites have been long at War, but whom hitherto they could never fubdue. The manner in which the Exiles live in that dreadful Country, is alfo very well and very truly defcribed. The Mines that have been fince difcovered there, have indeed furnifhed another and
more laborious kind of Employment. But the fhooting wild Beafts and collecting their Furs, ftill continues to be the principal Bufinefs of the unhappy Perfons who are banifhed thither ; and thefe are not only Men of as great Rank as any this Gentleman mentions, but fome alfo of much fuperior Quality; fuch as Prince Menzicoff, the Duke of Courland, the High Chancellor Ofterman, whom we remember fent into thofe Defarts as Vietims of State rather than Criminals.
The Account he gives us of Nova Zembla is very curicus and circumftantial ; and what he fays about the Eirors in the Maps publifhed before his time may be very juft, but we have had better fince that. I cannot, by any Means agree, that this Country is contiguous with that of Spitzbergen or Greenlend, though it may be true, that it extends itfelf farther to the North than is generally imagined : Neither do I think that the Seas beyond this Country, are always choaked up with Ice; but if a Parfage is to be fought this way, my Opinion is, that inftead of fearching the Coafts of Zembla, the thorter and better Method would be to make the South Point of Greenland, and then to fteer North-eaft, into as high a Latitude as fhould be judged convenient ; Experience having fhewn that the Weather is not more rigorous, or the Ice more troublefome, the farther People fail towards the Pole.
What he fays concerning Unicorns and their Horns, feems rather calculated to difplay his Learning than for any other Purpofe; fince it is now univerfally agreed, that the Horns which are fhewn in Europe under this Title are the very Horns he fpeaks of, and are taken from the Heads of Fifh called Sea-Unicorns; but which, in reality, are a kind of Sword-Fifh. The Shape of their Body is like a Seal, but the under Fins and the Tail refemble thofe of a Whale. They fwim in Shoals, and generally carry their Horns out of Water, but then they fwim fo fwiftly, that they are very feldom taken; there is another kind of Sword-Fifh, which may be alfo ftiled a Unicorn, but is generally called a Saw-Fifh, becaufe the Bone is filled with Teeth or Pegs from the Root to the Top. It was formerly thought that thefe Horns had great Virtue ; but Experience has fhewn, that they are of no farther Ufe in Phyfic than as Abforbents; and in this refpect Oyiter-fhells or Crabs-eyes do as well. There is one Obfervation more that may be made on this Section worth Notice, and that is, the Poffibility of making fuch Voyages for Difcovery, they bearing their own Expences, as this plainly did; and a great deal of public Spirit there would be in fending a Ship or two now and then to trade in this way, which fooner or later, would produce us more Advantages than we are able to forefee : Of this, at leaft, we are certain, that by Voyages of this kind we eftablifhed a Trade to Arcbangel, which was the Foundation of our Ruffia Company; but it is now time to proceed. to Countries better known, and into Climates more agreeable than thofe of which hitherto we have been fpeaking.

## SECTION HI:

## A fuccinct and impartial Account of the Kingdom of Sweden, weith refpect to its Cli= mate, Soil and Produce; as alfo of the Temper, Genius, Cuftoms, Policy, Form of Government, Force, and Trade of its Inbabitants.

## Collected from the Writings of an Englifh Minitter refiding theré

1. A fort but necefiary Introduction to the fubfequent Section. 2. A clear and comprebenfive. Vieco of the Kingdom of Sweden and Duchy of Finland; the Soil, Climate, Woods, Lake, Rivers, Produce, Birds, Beafs and Fijh found thercin. 3. An Account of the Mines in Sweden, their Value, Metbods of woorking them; as alfo of the Weather and Seafons of the Year in Sweden. 4. A more particular Account of the feveral Provinces and Cities of this King dom, efpecially that of Stockholm. 5. A difinct and copious Detail of the Courts of Yufice, Lawes, and Domeffic Government, as adminjifered in the Time of Charles XI. 6. The Tcmper, Genius, Manner's, Cuftoms and way of living of the People in that Country. 7. A fuccinct View of the Ecclefaffical State of Sweden; the Arcbbifhoprics, Bifaoprics, Deaneries, Parocbial Benefcess, Number and Maintenance of the Clergy. 8. The Confiritution, Government and Revenues of the Kingdom. 9. A curious and circumfantial Relation of the Military Efablifment and Force of the Kingdom of Sweden, the only Country in wwich a large flanding. Army is kept up, weitbout any Danger to the Liberties of the People. Io. Of their Trade more particularly woith England, its Atvantages and Difadvantages, and fome particular Grievances to whicch Mercbants are fubject in that Country. II. A few additional Obfervations and Remarks upon the foregoing Seciion, and on tbe Alterations whicb bave jince bappened in the Government of that Country, and the Condition of its Inbabitants.

THE fhort Stay that Travellers make in Countries through which they pafs, very feldom affords them an Opportunity of looking into the Temper, Genius and Cuftoms, nuch lefs into the Religion, Laws and Government of the People with whom they converfe; which is the Reafon that in moft Books of Travels there are a kind of Blanks leff for thefe important Paffages ; or if they are filled up, it is done at random, according to the good or bad Imprefiions of the Author, received from the particular Ufage he met with, or from hearfay : So that if either our Traveller has a bad Tafte, or has the ill Luck to keep indifferent Company; we, who are his Readers, are fure to feel the Effects of it, and to have all Things impofed upon us, under the fair and fpecious Pretence of a clear and candid Relation of the naked Truth.

But to prevent the bad Effects of this, and to provide againft both Evils; that is to fay, the want of thofe Informations, which a judicious Perufer would be mooft defirous of finding; and to fecure him from meeting with hafy or falfe Reprefentations in their Stead, we have thought it our Duty in refpect of the northern Kingdoms ; the Conflitutions of which are beft worth our Knowledge, and yet are very fuperficially treated in moft Books of Travels, to have recourfe to Authors of known Veracity and Experience, who have had - Leifiure and Opportunity to confider the Subjects of which they wrote, and a fincere Intention to treat them as they ought to be treated. By this means the Defeets will be fupplied which occur in the fubfequent Travels; and the Reader will be enabled to judge, with critical Exacteref, of the Truth or Falfity of the Remarks and Obfervations thofe Writers make; a farther Advantage, becaufe thefe Countries lie at too great a Diftance to be frequently vifited, and yet near enough for us to be confiderably affected by whatever Revolutions happen in them, with refpeet either to their Syltems of Politics or Government. We will begin with sweden, a Country always famous for the Bravery of its Inhabitants, and perhaps by a natural Conifequence, no lefs famous for its Conquefts Abroad and Changes at Home, than which no Nation of its natural Force has either atchieved or fuffered greater.

The following Remarks were made by a Minifter of our own, who reficed there on the Part of King William in the Reign of Cbarles XI. a Man in all Refipects qualified for his Minitity in that Country, as having a folid Underftanding, great Uprightnefs of Heart, and a hearty
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Defire to ferve both Nations. In order to this, he thought no Method fo proper, as that of inquiring ftrictly, and forming an impartial Notion of the Manners, Laws and Policy of the People amongt whom he refided. It was with this View that he undertook the compofing that Work, the moft curious and ufeful Parts of which we have digefted into this Section; and as the Nation, to whom it relates, are very fteady in their Tempers, and are not much affected in their Cuftoms by their Coms merce with other Nations; it is like to preferve its Character for Truth, as long as they preferve theirs as a People. Thus much by way of Introduction; let us now proceed to this worthyPerfon's Account, for the moft part in his own Words.
2. The Kingdom of Sweden and Dukedom of Finland have the Baltic Sea on the South, the unpaffable Mountains of Norway on the Weft, Lapland on the North, and Mufcory on the Eaft; being extended from 56 to 69 Degrees of northern Latitude, and from 32 to 55 Degrees in Longitude, and confequently are more than twice as big as the Kingdom of France; but the Abatements that mult be made for feveral Seas and many great Lakes, fome whereof are above eighty Englijh Miles long and twenty broad; as alfo for Rocks, Woods, Heaths, and Morafles that cover much of thefe Countries, will reduce the habitable Part to a very fmall Portion comparatively to the Extent of the Whole. The Soil, in Places capable of cultivating, is tolerably fruitful ; though feldom above half a Foot deep, and therefore more eafily ploughed, as it frequently is by one Maid and an Ox, and is generally beft where there is leaft of it, that is, in the little Spaces betwixt the Rocks; and frequently the barren Lands are enriched with Afhes of Trees growing on the Places, which are burnt, and the Seeds baked amongtt the Afhes produce a plentifil Crop without further Cultivation.

This Practice is fo antient, that their Writers derive the Name of Sweden from a Word in their Language that expreffes it; but the Danger of deftroying the Woods has of late occafioned fome Laws to limit that Cuftom. If the Inhabitants were induftrious above what Neceffity forces them to, they might at leaft have Corn fufficient of their own; but as Things are managed, they cannot fubfint without greatImportations of all forts of Grain from the Country of Leifland, and other Parts of Germany adjacent to the Baltic Sea. And notwithftanding there Supplies, the pooreft Sort, in manyPlaces remote from Traffic, are forced to grind the Bark of Trees to mix with their Corn, and make Bread, of which they have not always plenty.

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The Cattle, as in atl other northern Countries, are generally of a very fmall Size; neither can the Breed be bettered by bringing in larger from Abroad, which foon degenerate ; becaufe in Summer the Grafs is lefs nourinhing than in the Places from whence they come, and in Winter they are half ftarved for want of Fodder of all Kinds, which often falls fo very fhort that they are forced to unthatch their Houfes, to keep a Part of their Cattle alive. Their Sheep bear a very coarfe Wool, only fit to make cloathing for the Peafants. The Horfes, efpecially the fineft, though fimall, are hardy, vigorous, ftrong, fure-footed, and nimble Trotters; which is of great Ufe to them, becaufe of the Length of their Winters, and their Fitnefs for Sleds, which is the only Carriage in that Seafon; and the Soldiers pretend, that in War they are not only able to refift, but to break a Body of the beft German Horfe. Of wild Beafts, which are very plentiful in thofe Parts, Elks, Deer, and Hares, are hunted for their Flefh ; as alfo together with Wolves, Foxes, wild Cats, $\mathcal{E} c$. for their Furs and Hides.

They hunt with lefs Ceremony than elfewhere is ufed, taking all Advantages to fhoot their Game, at which they are generally dextrou\$: Parks there are but few, and meanly focked; the Charge of feeding Deer all Winter exceeding the Profit, and abating the Pleafure of them. There are no Rabbets in thefe Countries but what are brought in for Curiofity, and kept tame. In Winter Foxes and Squirrels fomewhat change Colour, and become greyifh but Hares turn white as Snow. Fowl, both wild and tame, are very plentiful, and good in their Kind, except Sea-Fowl, which feed and tafte of Fifh ; the moft common are the Orras and Keders, the former of the Bignefs of a Hen, the other of a Turkey: As alfo Partriges, and a Bird fomewhat refembling them, called Yerpers. There are taken in Winter great Numbers of fmall Birds, as Thrufhes, Blackbirds, and Sydenfewans, the laft of the Bignefs of Fieldfares, but better Meat; fuppofed to come from Lapland or yet farther North, and have their Name from the Beautifulnefs of their Feathers, fome of which are tipped at the Point with Scarlet : Pigeons there are, thofe of the Woods very fcarce, becaufe of the Hawks and of the Houfe Pigeons none but what are kept tame, becaufe their Food is fcarce, and the Danger of the Hawks very great if they go abroad. Eagles, Hawks, and other rapacious Fowl, abound moft in the northern and defart Parts, whither Nature feems to call them, as may be gathered from a Story credibly related of a large Hawk fhot fome Years ago in the northern Parts of Finland, which had on one Leg a fmall Piece of Gold with this Infcription $\mathcal{F} e$ fuis au Roy, on the other, one of Silver, with thefe Words, Duc de Cbevereufe me garde.

The chiefeft Lakes in Sweden are, the Vetter, the Werner, and Wafter ; the firft in Oftrogotbia, remarkable for its foretelling of Storms by a continual thundering Noife the Day before in that Quarter whence they arife; as alfo for fudden breaking of the Ice on it, which fometimes furprifes Travellers, and in half an Hour becomes navigable; for its great Depth, in fome Places above three Hundred Fathom, though no Part of the Baltic Sea exceeds fifty ; it fupplies the Motala, which runs through Norcopingh, where it has a Fall of about 30 Foot; and fome Winters is fo choaked up with Ice, that for many Hours no Water paffes. The fecond is in Weftrogotbia, from which iffues the River Elve, that falling down a Rock near fixty Foot, paffes by Gottenburgh. The third empties itfelf near Stockholm, furnifhing one Side of the Town with frefh Water, as the Sea does the other with falt. There are abundance of other Lakes, whereof many, like Ponds, have no Vents, and are called $I n$-Seas; are not ill ftored with Variety of Fifh; Salmon, Pike, Tench, Perch, Eels, and many other Sorts unknown elfewhere, of which the moft plentiful is the Streamling, a Fifh lefs than a Pilcher, taken in great Quantities, and falted in Barrels, and diftributed over all the Country.

Befides the North Bottom or Bay that feparates Sweden and Finland, abounds with Seals, of which a confiderable Quantity of Train-Oil is made and exported; and in the Tuakes in Finland are vait Quantities of Pikes, which be-
ing taken are falted; dried, and fold at very cheap Rates. Thefe Lakes are of great Ufe for the Conveyance of Carriages, both in Summer by Boats, and by Sleds in Winter; and among them, and on the Sea-Coafts, are almoft innumerable Inlands of different Sizes; whereof there are, in Sweden, above fix thoufand that are inhabited; the reft are either bare Rocks, or covered with Wood; Gotland, Oland, and Aland, are Ines of large Extent, one being fixty Miles long, and the other two litcle lefs: TheirWoods and vaft Forefts, overfpread much of the Country, and are for the moft part of Pines, Fir, Beech, Birch, Alder, Juniper, and fome Oak, efpecially in the Province of Bleaking, the Trees growing in moft Places fo clofe together, and lying to rot where they fall, that the Woods are fcarce paffable: Thefe afford a plentiful and cheap Firing, and being generally very ftrait and tall are eafily convertible into Timber fit for all Ufes. In the Parts near the Mines, the Woods are much deftroyed; but that Want is fo well fupplied from diftant Places, by the Convenience of Rivers and Winter Carriages, that they have Charcoal above fix times as cheap as in England, though indeed from the manner of making, it is not fo good.
3. Of Mines in Sweden: There is one of Silver, into which Workmen are let down in Bafkets to the firf Floor, which is one hundred and fifty Fathoms under Ground. The Roof there is as high as a Church, fupported by vaft Arches of Ore. The next Defcent is by Ladders and Bafkets to the lowelt Minc, above forty Fathoms, where they now work. They have no Records fo antient as the firft Difcovery either of this, or the Copper Mines, which mult needs have been the Work of many Ages. The Ore feldom yields above four per Cent. and requires great Pains to refine it. They are alfo at the Charge of a Water-mill to drain the Mine, and have the Benefit of another that draws up the Ore. It yearly produces about twenty thoufand Crowns of fine Silver, of which the King has the Pre-emption, paying only one fourth lefs than the real Value.

The Copper Mine is about eighty Fathom deep, of great Extent, but fubject to Damage by the Falling in of the Roof; yet that is fometimesrecompenfed by the Abundance of Ore that the ruined Pillars yield, though moft commonly the Lofs in that Cafe is very great: The Occafion of which Falls is attributed to the throwing the Earth and Stones brought out upon the Ground over the Mine, by which the Pillars become overcharged, and give way; and the Reafon of this is faid to be, that the Profit arifing to thofe that are concerned is fo little that they are not able to carry it off as they ought; and unlefs the King abates a confiderable Part of the Profit arifing to the Crown from this Mine, it is believed it will, in a few Years, be at a Stand, efpecially if the Defigns of making Copper, that are on foot elfewhere fhould take any tolerable Effect.

The Copper yearly made out of this Mine amounts to the Value of about two hundred thoufand Pounds, of which the King has a fourth Part, not by way of Preemption, but in Kind; befides that, upon the Remainder he has a Cultom of twenty-five per Cent. when it is exported unwrought. Lately a Gentleman of Italy came to Sriveden, with Propofals to make Copper a fhorter and cheaper Way than has hitherto been practifed, as to make that in four Days which before required three Weeks, and with one fifth Part of the Charge, and with fewer Hands. The Bargain was made, and his Reward agreed to be a hundred thoufand Crowns; and the firft Proof he made fucceeded to Admiration : But when he came to work in earneft, and had got his new-invented Ovens made to his Mind, the Miners, as he complained, picked out the very worft Ore, and were otherwifefo envious anduntractable that he failed of Succefs, and loft his Reward, and not without Difficulty obtained Leave to buy Ore, and practife his Invention at his own Charge, as he now does. Iron Mines and Forges are in great Numbers, efpecially towards the mountainous Parts, where they have the Convenience of Waterfalls to turn their Mills. From thefe, befides fupplying the Country, there is yearly exported Iron, to the Value of near three hundred thoufand Pounds; but of late Years the Number of thofe Forges has been fo much increafed,

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that each endeavouring to underfell others, the Price has been much lowered; and fince the Prohibition of Foreign Manufactures, in exchanging of which Iron was plentifully taken off, it is grown Io cheap that it is found neceffary to leffen the Number of Forges. Neither has that Contrivance had the Effect intended; but, on the contrary, many more are like to fall of themfelves, becaufe they cannot work but to Lofs, in which Cafe many Thourands of poor People whofe Livelihoods depend upon thefe Forges and Mines will be reduced to a flarving Condition.
The Seafons of the Year, though regular in themfelves, do not altogether anfwer thofe of other Climates. As a French Embaffador obferved, who, in raillery faid, there were in Sweden only nine Months Winter, and all the reft was Summer; for as Winter commonly begins very foon, fo Summer immediately fucceeds it, and leaves little or no Space to be called Spring. The Productions of the Earth, therefore ought to be, as they are, more fpeedy in their Growth than in other Parts. The reafon of which feems to be, that the Oil and Sulphur in the Earth (as it appears by the Trees and Minerals it produces) being bound up all the Winter, are then of a fudden actuated by the Heat of a warm Sun, which almoft continually fhines, and thereby makes amends for its fhort Stay, and brings to Maturity the Fruits proper for the Climate; yet withal, its Heat is fo intenfe, that it often fets the Woods on Fire, which fometimes fpreads itfelf many Leagues, and can fcarce be ftopt, till it comes at fome Lake or very large Plain. In the Summer-feafon the Fields are cloathed withVariety of Flowers, and the whole Country overfpread with Strawberries, Rafpberries, Currants, and the like, which grow upon every Rock.
In their Gardens Melons are brought to good Perfection in dry Years, but Apricocks, Peaches, and other Wall-Fruits are almoft as rare as Oranges. They have Cherries of feveral Sorts, and fome tolerably good; which cannot be faid of their Apples, Pears and Plumbs, that are neither common nor well tatted. All Kinds of Roots are in Plenty, and contribute much to the Nourifhment of the poor People. The Sun at higheft is above the Horizon of Stockholm, eighteen Hours and an half, and for fome Weeks makes a continual Day. In Winter the Days are proportionably fhorter: The Sun being up but five Hours and an half, which Defeet is fo well fupplied as to Lights by the Moon, and the Whitenefs of the Snow, and the Clearnefs of the Sky, that travelling by Night is as ufual as by Day, and Journies begun in the Evening are as frequent as in the Morning. The want of the Sun's Heat is repaired by Stoves within Doors, and warm Furs abroad. Inttead of which, the meaner Sort ufe Sheep--kins, and other the like Defences, and are generally better provided with Cloathing befitting their Condition, and the Climate they live in, than the common People of any Part of Europs; though, where any Neglect or Failure happens it ufually proves fatal, and occafions the Lofs of Nofes, or other Members, and fometimes the Lofs of Life; unlefs the ufual Remedy to expel the Froft, when it has feized any Part, be early applied, which is to remain in the Cold, and rub the Part afficted with the Snow 'till the Blood return to it 2 gain.
4. This Country is divided into twenty-five Provinces ; each of which is governed by an Officer called LandJoofding, whofe Authority comprehends that of Lord Lieutenant and Sheriff together, except where there is a general Governor, as in Finland or upon the Borders of Denmerk and Norrway, to whom the Governor of each Province is fubordinate, and has thereby a more reftrained Authority. Thefe Officers are placed by the King, and take an Oath to keep the Province for his Majefty and his Heirs, to govern according to the Laws of Sweden, and fuch Inftructions as they fhall receive from his Majefty, and to quit the Province whenever he fhall call them thence. To them and their fubordinate Officers (who are all of the King's chufing) the Execution of judicial Sentences, the Collection of the King's Revenues, the Care of Forefts, Parks; and other Crown Lands, $\begin{gathered} \\ c\end{gathered}$. is committed.

Of Cities, thofe of Stockbolm, Gotteinburgb, Calmars, and two or three more may deferve that Name; the other Corporations, which, in all, make not an hundred, fcarce exceed fome Villages in England. They are all governed by Burgomafters and Counfellors, chofen by the King out of their own Body, or at leaft fuch as are of the Quality of Burghers; no Gentleman accepting of thofe Employments. Their Offices and Salaries are for Life, or rather during their good Behaviour. The Privilege of Cities are derived from the King, and for the moft Part are owing to the Wifdom of Guftavus Adol* pbus, the Author of their beft and moft regular Conftitu+ tions at Home, and as well as of their Glory Abroad.
The City of Stockholm lies in 59 Deg. 20 Min. N. Lat. and about 4 I Longitude. About three hundred Years ago it was only a bare Inland with two or three Cottages for Fiihers ; but upon the building of a Caftle there, to ftop the Inroads of the Ruffians, and the Tranflation of the Court thither, it grew, by Degrees, to furpafs the other more antient Cities, and is at prefent the Metropolis of this Kingdom, and fuppofed to be as populous as Britol. The Caftle here, which is covered with Capper, is a Place of no Strength or Beauty, but of great Ufe, being a fpacious Building, that befides entertaining the Court, furnifhes Room for moft of the great Offices ; the national Court of Juftice, Colleges of War, Chancery, Treafury, Reduction, Liquidation, Com-s merce, Execution; as alfo an Armory, Chapel, Library, Archives, $\xi^{\circ} c$. It lodges very few of the inferior Officers and Servants of the Couirt ; they, together with the Foot-Guards, being quartered upon the Burghers at their Landlord's Charge, for Lodging, Fire and Candle. In this City there are feven large Churches built of Brick and covered with Copper, befides two more now in building, and three or four wooden Chapels. The Palace of the Nobility, which is the Place of their Affembly at the Convention of Eftates, and the Depofitory of their Privileges, Titles, and fuch other Records as concern their Body, is a very ftately Pile ; as is alfo the Bank, built at the City's Charge; which, together with feveral magnificent Houfes of the Nobility are covered with Copper, and make a handfome Profpect. Moft of the Burghers Houfes are built of Brick, except in the Suburbs, where they are of Wood, and therefore expofed to the Danger of Fire ; which commonly, when it gets to a head, deftroys all before it in the Quarter where it happens: To repair which Misfortune they fometimes fend the Dimenfions of the Houfe they intend to Finland; where the Walls and feveral Separations are built of Pieces of Timber laid one upon another, and joined at the Corners, and afterwards marked, -taken down, and fent by Water to Stockbolm, there to be fet up and finifhed; and when they are kept in good Repair will laft thirty or forty Years, and are warmer, cleaner, and more healthful than thofe of either Brick or Stone.
To prevent the Danger of Fire the City is divided into twelve Wards; and in each of thefé is a Mafter and four Affiftants, who upon Notice of any Fire are immediately to repair to it, as alfo all Porters and Labourers, and to range themfelves under the Mafter of their refpective Wards. There is alfo a Fire-Watch by Night, who walk about only for that Purpofe; and in each ChurchSteeple Watch is kept, and a Bell tolled upon the firft Appearance of any Fire. The Government of this City is in the Hands of the great Stadtholder, who is alfo a Privy Counfellor. He fits once a Week in the Townhoufe, and prefides alfo in the College-houfe of Execution, affifted by an under Stadtholder and the Bailiff of the Caftle. Next to him are the four Burgomafters, one for Juftice, another for Trade, the third for the Policy of the City, and the fourth has the Infpection over all public and private Buildings, and determines fuch Cafes as arife on that Account. With them the Counfellors of the City always fit and give their Votes, the Majority of which concludes. Their Number is uncertain, but ufually about twenty, moft Merchants and Shopkeepers, or fuch as have ferved the King in fome inferior Employments; and befides their Salary they have an Immunity from
fuch Impofitions as are laid on the Inhabitants to fupport the Government of the City, which pays all its Officers and Servants, and maintains a Guard of 300 Men, and defrays the Charge of all public Buildings and Repairs.

To fupport this Expence, befides a Duty belonging to the City upon Goods imported and exported (which is above four per Cent. of the Cuftoms paid the King, and amounts to about four thoufand Pounds per Ann.) the Magiftrates impofe a yearly Tax on the Burghers, in which they are affitted by a Common Council of fortyeight (which chufes its own Members every Spring) to proportion the Payments for the enfuing Year. On the richer Traders they ufually impofe forty, fifty or fixty Pounds Sterling; and upon others of a meaner Condition, as Shoemakers, Taylors, E ${ }^{2}$ c. five or fix Pounds, and no Houfekeeper lefs than fifteen Shillings, befides quartering the Guards, inferior Officers, and Servants of the Court with other lefs Charges, which all together would be thought a great Burthen, even in richer Countries ; neither is it otherwife efteemed by the Inhabitants of this City, who can fcarce be kept in Heart, by the Privileges they enjoy, as well in Cuftoms as the Trade of the Place which muft needs pafs through their Hands. The Nacives of other Parts of the Kingdom as well as Foreigners being obliged to deal only with the Burghers, except thofe of the Gentry that make Iron, who have a Privilege to fell it immediately to Strangers. This City is in a manner the Staple of Sweden, to which moft of the Goods of their own Growth, viz. Iron, Copper, Wire, Pitch, Tar, Mafts, Deals, $\mathcal{E}^{2} c$. are brought to be exported. The greateft Part of the Commodities imported from Abroad come to this Port, where there is a Haven capable of receiving a thoufand Ships, and has a Bridge or Key near an Englifh Mile long, to which the greater Veffels may lie with their Broadfides. The only Inconvenience is, that it is ten Miles from the Sea, and the River very crooked, and no Tides.
5. The Laws of Sweden were antiently as various as the Provinces were numerous; each of which had Statutes and Cuftoms peculiar to itfelf, enacted, as Occafion required by the Laghman or Governor of the Province ; who was chofen by the People, and invefted with great Authority, efpecially while the King was elective; his Suffrage concluding the Province he governed. This Variety was neceffarily attended with great Confufion; for Remedy whereof, about fourfcore Years ago one Body of Laws was compiled for the Direction of the whole Kingdom : Yet this Collection is but an imperfect Piece, and the Laws fo few, and conceived in fuch general Terms, that in moft Cafes they need the Affiftance of the Civil Law; and after all, the final Determination depends much upon the Inclinations of the Bench; which in a poor Country, where Salaries are fmall, is often filled with fuch as are of weak Parts, and fubject to Corruption on very fmall Temptations.

The Effects of this would be more vifible, if each fuperior Court did not keep a Check upon the Lower, and the King's Court of Revifion over-awe them all ; to which all Civil Caufes, exceeding the Sum of feventy Pounds, are appealable; and very few. end before they have been brought thither. In this Court the Prefident of the Chancery and two or three other Privy Counfellors alfo fit, fo does the Chancellor of the Court (an Officer next in Degree to the Privy Counfellor) who is Prefident of the under Revifion, where he and two Secretaries put Bufinefs into a Method fit to be brought before the King. The Courts of Juftice inferior to this are of three Degrees ; of the loweft Degree, or firt Inftance, there is one in each Corporation (befides Stockbolm, in which there are three) as alfo in each Diftrict or Territory, whereof every Province contains feveral, fome above twenty. In the former (Cities) an Alderman or Counfellor prefides, and has fome of his Brethren for Affiftants; in the latter the Governor of the Territory with a ftanding Jury; his Courts being ambulatory are ufually near or upon the Spot where the Fact or Trefpafs was committed. In thefe Courts Examinations are taken, and Matters not exceeding forty Shillings are determined, the rett tranfmitted to the next fuperior Court; of which
in every Corporation the Prefident thereof retains the Name of Laghman, without other Authority than that of a Judge. From thefe all Caufes of Blood muft be tranfmitted to the refpective national Courts, where they are determined without farther Appea! ; and thither alfo all Civil Actions, not exceeding twenty Pounds, may be appealed.

Of thefe national Courts there are three, one for the Kingdom of Sweden, held at Stackbolw, another for the Kingdom of Gotbia, kept at Jencopingh, and a Third for the Dukedom of Finland; in each of thefe a Privy Counfellor is Prefident, and above half the Affeffors are to be Gentlemen. All thefe Courts fit continually, or at moft have but fhort Vacations, and not being peftered with too much Formality, give Caufes a fpeedy Difpatch, unlefs they be retarded by fome underhand Engagements. Actions relating to the Sea are tried in the ordinary Courts, according to their Sea Laws founded upon thofe antient Ones of Wifby in Gotbland, which have formerly been as famous in the Baltic Sea as the Laws of Rbodes and Oleron in other Places. The Court of Admiralty has not any peculiar Jurifdiction in the Adminiftration of thefe Laws, but only in fuch Matters as directly concern the King's Fleet, and in fome Places that belong immediately to the Admiralty.

For Caufes Ecclefiaftical there is a Confiftory in each Diocefe, of which the refpective Bifhop is Prefident ; where Caufes of Baftardy, Contracts of Marriage, and other Caufes of that Nature are tried, and Church Cenfures of Penance, Divorce, $E_{6}$. inflicted. Thefe Courts have no Power to adminifter an Oath, nor to inflict any corporal Punifhment; from them there lies an Appeal to the refpective national Court; and in fome Cafes to the King, as is in all other Matters.

For Matters relating to the Mines, befides inferior Courts and Officers fettled in the refpective Parts of the Country, a general Court, called the College of the Mines, fits at Stockbolm, of which moft commonly the Prefident of the Treafury is Chief, with a Vice-Prefident and other Affeffors. The Laws, in this Regard, are more ftrict and particular than in other Matters, and for the moft Part Juftice is very carefully adminiftered. The Power of executing all judicial Sentences is lodged in the Governors of Provinces, the Stadtholders of Stockbolm, and other Places, and from them'derived to inferior Officers, who are accountable to the national Courts, whither they may be convented and punifhed upon plain Proof of Default ; but the Proof being difficult, and Minifters of Juftice apt to favour one another, they take great Liberty to delay Exccution, or to arbitrate and put their own Senfe upon Sentences; fo that their Part of Juftice is adminiftered the worft of all others, and has an Influence not only at Home, but leffens the Credit of the Swedifh Subjects Abroad, againft whom Juftice cannot be obtained without great Difficulty.

The ordinary Charges of I aw Suits are no where more moderate than in Sweden; the greatef Burthen arifing from a late Conftitution, that allDeclarations, Acts and Sentences muft be written upon fealed Paper, of different Prices, from Two-pence to Seven Shillings a Sheet, according to the Quality of the Caufe; the Benefit of which accrues to the King, and is computed to bring in about 3000 . a Year. Other Charges are very few, every Man being permitted (in criminal Actions compelled) to plead his own Caufe. Accordingly the Practice of the Law is below a Gentleman, and rather the Refuge than the Choice of meaner Perfons, who are very few in Number, and for the moft Part very poor. The Cuftom of a Jury of twelve Men is fo antient in Sweden, that their Writers pretend it had its Original among them, and was thence derived to other Nations; but at prefent it is difufed every where, except only in the lower Courts in the Country, and there the Jurymen are for Life, and have Salaries. They have this peculiar to themfelves; that among them there muft be an unanimous Concurrence to determine a Caufe, which in other Courts is done by a Majority of Voices. Titles to Eftates are rendered more fecure, and lefs fubject to Contefts, by the Regifters that are kept of all Sales and Alienations, as well as of other Engagements of them,

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and its INHABITANTS.
the Purchafer running the Hazard of having an afterBargain take Place of his. If he omit the recording of his Tranfaction in the proper Court in criminal Matters where the Fact is not very evident, or where the Judges are not very favourable, the Defendant is admitted to purge himfelf by Oath, to which is oftentimes added the Oath of fix or twelve Men, who are all Vouchers of his Integrity. Treafon, Murder, double Adulteries, Burning of Houfes, Witchcraft, and the like heinous Crimes, are punifhed with Death, which is executed by hanging of Men, and beheading of Women. To which burning alive or dead, quartering and hanging in Chains, is fometimes added, according to the Nature of the Crime. Criminals of the Nobility and Gentry are generally fhot to Death.

The Punifhment of Stealing, is of late, inftead of Death, changed into a perpetual Slavery; the guilty Party being condemned to work all his Life for the King in making Fortifications or other Drudgery, and always has a Collar of Iron about his Neck, with a Bow coming over his Head, to which a Bell is faftened, that rings as he goes along. Duels between Gentlemen, if the one Party be killed, are punifhed by the Survivor's Death, and a Note of Infamy upon the Memory of both; if neither be killed, they are both condemned to a Prifon with Bread and Water for two Years ; to which is added, a Fine of one thoufand Crowns, or one Year's Imprifonment, and two thoufand Crowns. Reparation of Honour, in Cafe of an Affront, is referred to the refpective national Courts, where Recantation and public begging of Pardon is ufually inflicted. Eftates, as well acquired as inherited, defcend to the Children in equal Portions, of which a Son has two and a Daughter one ; nor is it in the Power of the Parents to alter this Proportion, without the Intervention of a Judicial Sentence. In Cafe of their Childrens Difobedience only, they may bequeath a tenth of their acquired Poffeffions to fuch Child or other as they will favour : Where an Eftate defcends imcumbered with Debts, the Heir ufually takes two or three Months Time, as the Law allows, to fearch into the Condition of the Deceafed's Eftate, and then either accepts the Inheritance or leaves it to the Law, which in that Cafe adminifters.
6. The Nature of the Climate, which is very healthful and dry, as well as Charp, difpofes the Natives to a very vigorous Conftitution; and that confirmed by a hardy Education, coarfe Fare, and hard Lodging, qualifies them to endure whatever uneafy Circumftance befalls them, better than thofe that are born in a milder Climate, and more indulgently bred. 'But, on the other Side, it feems as if the Severity of the Clime does, in a manner, cramp the Faculties of their Minds, which feldom are found endued with any eminent Pregnancy of Wit ; yet, by Induftry, Experience and Travelling, not a few of them arrive at a mature and folid Judgment, being led by their Genius to ferious Things, in which fuch as have Patience to go through with the Studies they apply themfelves to become excellent, and merit the Title of great and able Men : But this feems not to be the Talent of this Nation, for they are more apt to fit down with fuperficial Acquifitions than to purfue their Studies to the utmoft Extent.

Thefe Difpofitions of Body and Mind, qualify them more for a Life of Labour and Fatigue, than of Art and Curiofity ; and the Effect of it is vifible in all Orders of Men amongft them. The Nobility moftly apply themfelves to a Military Life, in which they are more diftinguifhed for Courage, and enduring Hardfhips, than for Stratagems and Intrigues. They that are employed in the Adminiftration of Civil Affairs, though they are indeed laborious and indefatigable in their Bufinefs, yet they feldom raife their Speculations above what the Neceffity of their Employments require, their Abilities proceeding not fo much from Study as Experience in the Courfe of Bufinefs.

In Point of Learning, they, like their Neighbours the Germans, are more given to tranfrribe and make Collections, than to digeft their own Thoughts ; and commonly proportion their Studies to their Occafions. In

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Matters of Trade they rather undergo the Drudgery? than dive into the Myftery cither of Commerce or Manufactures; in which they generally fet up for Mafters before half taught; fo that in all fuch Things as require Ingenuity; Neatnefs, or Dexterity, they are forced to be ferved by Strangers. Their common Soldiers are allowed to endure Cold and Hunger, long Marches, and hard Labour, to Admiration; but they learn their Duty very nowly, and are ferviceable more by Obedience to command, and ftanding their Ground, than by any great Forwardnefs to attack their Enemy; or Addrefs, in executing their Orders; and fo their Peafants are tolerably laborious when Need compels them, bur have little Regard to Neatnefs in their Work; and are hardly brought to quit their old flow Methods for fuch new Inventions as are more dextrous and eafy. The Difpofitions peculiar to the feveral Degrees of thefe People are: That the Nobility and Gentry are naturally Men of Courage and of a warlike Temper; have a graceful Deportment, incline to value themfelves at a high Rate, and make the beft Appearance they can, that they may gain the Refpect of others; and are therefore more exceffive in the Number of their Attendants, fumptuous Buildings, and rich Apparel, than in the Plentifulnefs of their Tables, or other lefs obferved Occafions. They never defcend to any Employments in the Church. The Practice of Law, or Phyfic, or the Exercife of any Trade; and though to gain Experience in maritime Affairs they fubmit to the loweft Offices in other Counties ; yet, at home, there is but one Example known of a Genleman that accepted the Command of a Merchant Ship.

The Clergy are but moderately learned, and little acquainted with Difputes about Religion, as having no Adverfaries to oppofe. They affect Gravity and long Beards, are efteemed for their Hofpitality, and have great Authority among the common People. The Burghers are not intelligent in Trade, nor able to do their Bufinefs without Credit from abroad; inclined to impofe upon thofe they can over-reach, rather than follow their Calling in a fair Way. The Peafants, when fober, are more obfequious and refpectful ; but Drink makes them mad, and ungovernable: Moft of them live in a very poor Condition, and are taught by Neceffity to practife feveral Arts in a rude Manner, as the making their Shoes, Cloaths, $E^{2} c$. and the feveral Inftruments of Hufbandry, and other Neceffaries, they cannot fpare Money to buy. And to keep them to this, as alfo to favour the Cities, it is not permitted for more than one Taylor, or other Artifan, to dwell in the fame Parifh, though it be never fo large, as many of them are above twenty Miles in Compafs. In general, it may be faid of the whole Nation, that they are a People very religious in their Way, and Frequenters of the Church, eminently loyal and affected to Monarchy ; grave even to Formality, fober more out of Necefity than Temperance ; apt to entertain Sufpicions, and envy each other as well as Strangers ; more inclined to pilfering, and fuch fecret Frauds, than to open Violence, or robbing on Highways; Crimes as rarely committed in this, as in any Country whatever.
7. The Chriftian Faith was received in Sweden about the Beginning of the ninth Century, and in Finland about three hundred Years after ; and firft preached, or at leaft firft eftablifhed, by Englifh Divines, of whom the chiefeft was St. Sigifrid; who, as their Hiftories relate, quitted the Archbifhopric of York to become the Apoftle of the Goths. With him three of his Nephews that he brought were martyred by the Heathen Gotbs; fo alfo was St. E.fkill and other Englifh by the Sroedes: And about the Year 1150, St. Henry, an Englifh Bifhop, accompanied St. Erick, King of Sroeden, in his Expedition into Finland, which the King conquered, and the Bifhop converted. He alfo was martyred by the Infidels, and lies buried at $A b o$, the Metropolis of that Country. The Reformation there, as in Denmark and Norway, began foon after the neighbouring Parts of Germany had embraced Lutber's Tenets, and was eftablifhed according to his Platform. The Tyranny of King Cbrifiiern the Second, gave an Opportunity to Gufavius, the Founder of the prefent Royal Family, to alter Religion,

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and
and advance himfelf to the Regal Dignity, which till that Time was elective, but was made hereditary to his Family, in which it has fince continued.

As the Lutberan Religion has alfo been, never but once, difturbed from Abroad, and fince that Difturbance never diftracted at Home with Non-conformity ; fo it becomes the Bufinefs of their Preachers rather to perfuade the Practice of Piety than oppofe the Doctrine of others, or defend their own. The Church is governed by an Archbifhop, and ten Bifhops, whofe Studies are confined, to their own Employments, being never called to Council but at the Affembly of the States, nor troubled with the Adminiftration of fecular Affairs. Their Revenues are very moderate. The Archbihopric of Upfall is not worth 400 l . a Year, and their Bifhoprics are in Proportion. Under them are feven or eight Superintendants, who have all the Power of Bifhops. And over each ten Churches is a Provoft or rural Dean, with fome Authority over the inferior Clergy, of whom the Total may be computed by the Number of Churches, which in Sreeden and Finlasd are about two thoufand; to which the Addition of Chaplains and Curates will increafe the Clergy to near two thoufand five hundred Perfons. They are all the Sons of Peafants or Burghers, and can therefore content themfelves with their finall Income, which, befides more inconfiderable Dues, arife from Glebe Lands, and one third of the Tithes, of which the other two Thirds are annexed to the Crown, to be employed in pious Ufes: However, the Clergy have generally wherewithal to exercife Horpitality, and are the conftant Refuge of poor Travellers, efpecially Strangers, who go from Prieft to Prieft, as elfewhere from Conftable to Conitable.

The Clergy of each Diocefe, upon the Death of their Binhops, propofe three Perfons to the King, who chufes one of them, or fome other to fucceed in that Office, which is alfo practifed in the Choice of Superintendants. In the Choice of an Archbifhop all the Chapters vote, but the Determination is in the King's Breaft. His Majefty hath alfo the Patronage of moft Churches; fome few being in the Difpofal of the Nobility. Many of their Churches are adorned with Variety of Sculptures, Painting, Gilding, $\mathcal{E}^{\circ} c$. all of them are kept clean and in good Repair, furnifhed as well in the Country as City, with rich Altar-cloths, Copes, and other Veftments. For the regular Government of the Church, it has been found neceflary to caufe the antient Ecclefiaftical Laws and Canons to be revifed by a Committee of the feveral Bodies, and the Eftates having fpent fome Years in that matter, at laft prefented the King with a new Syitem of Church Laws, wherein his Majefty having caufed fuch Alterations to be made as he thought fit, approved, and publifhed them. By this means, the Church-Affairs of Sweders have been fo well and fo effectually regulated, that in a long Courfe of Years they have gone on peaceably and quietly, beyond any thing of the fame Nature in any other Country, if we except Denmark; which, as it refembles Sweden, in the Nature of its Church Government, fo the like Confequences have followed there.
8. As to the Government and Revenue of Swedera they are like thofe of other Places, fubject to fo many and fo great Changes that one would imagine our Author's Account fhould, at this Diftance of Time, be almoft out of Date ; but there is one Advantage attends whatever has the Appearance of a Parliament, which is, that how much foever it may fink and be depreffed by Fraud, or Force, under certain Conjunctures, it has neverthelefs Strength to rife again, in more favourable Seafons, and even to recover all that it has loft. In our Author's time the States of Sweden were but Inftruments of the King's Authority, and only met to fanctify fuch Acts of Power as the Crown did not care to take upon itfelf. At this Day things have quite changed their Face; the Kings of Sreden have wholly loft their abfolute Power, which remains where it ought to remain, in the Reprefentatives of the Nobility, Clergy, and People of the Kingdom. The ufual Time of affembling the States is once in three Years, or oftner, if Affairs require it. The Letters for calling them together are fent to the Go-
vernors of Provinces, who thereupon write to each No bleman and Gentleman, and to the Bifhops, who caufe the fame to be publifhed in all Churches.

The Body of the Nobility and Gentry are reprefented by one in each Family, of which there are about a thoufand in Sroeden, and with them the Colonel, Lieutenant Colonel, Major, and one Captain of each Regiment fit and vote. For the Clergy, befides the Bifhops and Superintendants in each rural Deanery, or ten Parifhes, one is chofen and maintained at the Charge of his Electors. Thefe make a Body of about five hundred. The Reprefentatives of the Burghers are chofen by the Magiftrates and Common Council of each Corporation, of which Stockbolm fends four, others two, and fome one; who make about one hundred and fifty. The Peafants of each Diftrict choofe one of their own Quality to appear for them, whofe Charges they bear ; and give him Inftructions, in fuch Matters, as they think need Redrefs; they are about two hundred and fifty. The firf Meeting, when at Stockbolm, is in a large Room in the Caftle, called The Hall of the Kingdom; where his Majefty being feated on the Throne, and the Privy Counfellors fitting at fome Diftance, the Prefident of the Chancery makes them a Compliment in the King's Name, and then a Secretary reads the King's Propofals to them; in which they are acquainted with the State of Affairs fince their Recefs, and the prefent Occafion of their Advice and Affiftance. To which, firft the Marfhal of the Nobility, who is chofen by the King, returns an Anfwer, and kiffes the King's Hand, and after him the Archbifhop in the Name of the Clergy; the firft Burgomafter of Stockbolm in the Name of the Burghers; and one of the Peafants for his Brethren. They then feparate into four different Houfes, and chufe a Secret Committee, compofed of an equal Number of each Body, who receive from the King's Minifters fuch further Informations of his Majefty's Pleafure, as are not thought fit to be communicated in Public; and thereupon prepare fuch Matters as are to be propofed to the feveral Bodies. In each Houfe Matters are concluded by Majority of Voices, and if one or more of thefe Bodies differ in Opinion from the reft, they are either brought over by Perfuafions, or the Point remains unconcluded.

When the Affairs propofed by the King are finifned. they then infinuate their Grievances. Each Body feverally. To which the King returns fuch Anfwers as he thinks fit ; and to each Member of the three inferior Bodies an authentic Copy is delivered, as well of the general Conclufion made by the whole States, as of the King's Anfwer to the Grievances of his refpective Body, which he carries Home to his Electors.

The ftanding Revenues of Sweden arife from Crown Lands, Cuftoms, Poll-Money, Tithes, Copper and Silver Mines, Proceedings at Law, and other lefs confiderable Particulars, which are calculated in all to near a Million a Year ; of which the Lands make above one Third, and the Cuftoms almoft a Fourth. The PollMoney is paid only by the Peafants, each of which above Sixteen and under Sixty pays above twelve Pounds a Year. In the Treafury-Chamber a Prefident, with four Chancellors, and other Officers, fit and aft as a Court of Juftice, in fuch Matters as relate to the King's Revenue, or rather that of the State.

As for the Adminiftration of the Government, at the Time when the Dyet is not fitting, it is invefted in the King, affifted by the Senate, without whofe Confent he cannot legally do any thing of great Importance. As to the Number of Senators; we know, by Experience, that the States of the Kingdom think themfelves at Li berty to augment or diminifh it at Pleafure; but, at prefent, it is fixed to fourteen. Thefe Senators are not only at Liberty to give their Sentiments upon all Affairs that are brought before them, but are intrufted alfo with the entire Management of public Concerns, in cafe of the Indifpofition or Abfence of the Prince. A Senator prefides in each of the great Courts of Juftice in the Kingdom, and are ufually placed at the Head of all particular Commiffions, Civil and Military. Their Salaries, as Senators, amount to about three hundred Pounds a Year ; but their being generally poffeffed of the moft
beneficial
beneficial Employments, enables them fufficiently to fupport their Dignity with becoming Magnificence.

The King is not at Liberty to fill up the Number, upon a Vacancy, but muft wait till the Dyet affembles; when the Secret Committee propofes to his Majefty the Names of three Perfons for each Vacancy, one of which he appoints. The Order of Peafants was formerly excluded from the Secret Committee, which they thought very hard, and made frequent Struggles in order to gain Admittance ; in which, till within thefe few Years, they were always unfuccefsful. But the laft War with Ruffia enabled them to carry their Point, and to gain Entrance for their Deputies; the other Orders, however, attempted to exclude them again in the prefent Dyet, but mifcarried; fo that in all Probability they will be conftantly admitted for the future.
9. The Conquefts made by Sweden in the laft Age, were not fo much owing to its native Strength, as to the foreign Affiftance of Germans, French, Englijh, and efpecially Scots, of whom they have ufed great Numbers in all their Wars with Mufcory, Poland, Germany, and Denmark; and by them the Art of War and Military Difcipline has been by Degrees introduced into this Nation, that in former Times had only the Advantage of Courage and Numbers : For though the original Conititution of the Country, and its Divifion into Hundreds and other large Portions, that ftill retain Military Names, feems to have been the Work of Armies, and the frequent Expeditions of the Gotbs, and other Inhabitants of thofe Parts, fhew that in all Ages they were addicted to War and Violence, yet it was in a tumultuous manner, their Infantry always confitting of unexperienced Peafants raifed for the Occafion, and difbanded as foon as it was over.

The Feudal Laws indeed provided for a competent Number of Cavalry; all Eftates of the Nobility and Gentry being held by Knights-Service: And while the Kingdom was elective, the Kings were bound to maintain fome Horfe out of the Revenue of the Crown. But this Eftablifhment had been in a great meafure corrupted, and the Kingdom fo fhattered by domeftic Broils, that it made a very inconfiderable Figure, and was little known in Europe till the Crown became hereditary, and the Intereft of the Royal Family confifted in the Strength and Profperity of the Nation. Since that Time the ftanding Forces of the Kingdom have been augmented, yet not fo effectually eftablifhed as its Neceffities required; for it generally happened that the Nobility and Gentry were fo backward in fitting out their Horfe, and the Levies of Foot not being to be made without the Confent of the Peafants in the Affembly of the States, it was fo hardly obtained, that the Regiments were very thin, and Recruits extreme difficult; nor were the Officers Salaries fo punctually paid as to enable them to be in Readinefs on all Occafions.

To remedy thefe Inconveniences, Cbarles the XIth, on whom the States had conferred an abfolute Power to put the Militia into fuch a Miethod as he fhould think fit, made fuch Regulations in all the Particulars relating to this Matter, as were required to bring it to Perfection. The new Injunctions he made about the Cavalry that the Nobility and Gentry furnifhed, are fo exact, that it is not in their Power to put either the Men or the Horfe, that are once lifted, to other-Employments than what are there fpecified; but muft have them in a continual Readinefs whenever they are called upon, with fuch Arms and Equipage as his Majefty hath directed; in default of which, fevere Penalties are inflicted, and the Eftates they hold by that Service, fubject to Confifcation.

For the Infantry the King has taken the like Care; and whereasformerly Levies could not be made but by Confent of the States, and that but by fmall Parcels at a time, and with fuch Difturbance, that on thefe Occafions it was ufual for half the Peafants to run into the Woods and other hiding Places, to efcape being Soldiers: This has been remedied by the King's Commiffioners, who have diftributed the Infantry of each Province proportionably to the Number of Farms, each of which of the Value of above fixty or feventy Pounds a Year (not being appropriated to the Officers or other peculiar Services) is
charged with one Foot Soldier, who receives from the Farmer, Diet, Lodging, ordinary Cloths, and about twenty Shillings a Year in Money; or elfe a little wooden Houfe is built for him at the Farmer's Charge, who muft alfo furnifh him with as much Hay as will keep a Cow in Winter, and Pafture in Summer, and plough and fow for him fuch a Parcel of Ground as will afford him Bread: They that are married generally accept this latter Condition. The unmarried Soldiers ufually lodge with the Farmer ; but are not bound to do him any Service without Wages. When they have once taken the Farmer's Money, and are lifted into the King's Sertice, they can never quit it fo long as they are able to ferves and if they defert are punifhed with Death.

The firf Inftitution of this Method was very burdenfome to the Peafants, who were at great Charge to hire, their Men, which coft fourteen, and fometimes twenty Pounds apiece; and the fame whenever their Soldiers died. This in peaceable Times will not be fo chargeable as it is in Times of War, when Men are unwilling to ferve, and Recruits more frequently needed. As all the common Soldiers are thus provided for at the Country's Expence, fo all Officers both of Horfe and Foot, are maintained by the King, who hath appointed fo much of the Lands lately reunited, or formerly belonging to the Crown, to that Purpofe: So that every Officer hath a convenient Houfe and competent Portion of Land to live upon, fituate in that part of the Country where the Regiment he belongs to is quartered; as alfo the Rent of fo many other Farms as make up his Pay eighteen Pounds, though it be fomewhat lefs than formerly; yet, being punctually paid either in Money, Corn, or other Commodities, they find it more profitable than when they were to follicit for it at the Treafury: A Colonel of Foot has of thefe Lands the yearly Reint of about three hundred Pounds, and the reft proportionably ; which amounts to about two thoufand five hundred Pounds a Year for all the Officers of one Foot Regiment ; and there being in Sweden, Finland, and Leifland, twenty Regiments of Foot under this Eftablifhment, the Maintenance of all the Officers belonging to them cofts the King about fifty thoufand Pounds a Year. What Charge the Cloathing of the common Soldiers once in two or three Years' their Arms and other Neceffaries may put the King to, cannot be fo eafily computed.

The Officers of Horfe are provided for after the fame manner, with fuch larger Allowance as is requifite : There are fifteen Regiments of Horfe thus eftablifhed, and the Maintenance of their Officers is computed to be about eighty thoufand Pounds a Year ; all which arifes from the Rents of Crown-Lands, as do alfo the Wages of Civil Officers in the Country, who have Farms annexcd to their Employments in the fame Manner as the Militia. The Laws the King has made for maintaining this Conftitution are very exact, and provide with great Caution, that neither the Peafants fhall be oppreffed, nor the Lands and Houfes ruined; to which End all fuch Lands are yearly vifited, and the Poffeffor compelled to make fuch Repairs as are found needful : And as every Officer upon his firft coming to fuch an Eftate, fubfcribes an Inventory of it, fo upon Advancement he cannot take Poffefion of another Charge till he hath put the Eftate into as good a Condition as he found it ; and in Cafe of Death, his Heirs cannot inherit till that be done.

In Times of Peace, all Trefpaffes committed by the Soldiery fall ordinarily under the Cognizance of a Civil Magittrate, who has the fame Authority over them, as over the reft of the King's Subjects, except when they are encamped, or in Garrifon, or any way under flying Colours ; in all which Cafes, as alfo in Matters that relate folely to their Profeffion, their Officers have Jurifdiction over them, without whofe Leave a private Soldier is not permitted to lodge out of his Quarters, or be out a Day from the Parifh he belongs to.

The inferior Officers cannot be abfent from their Charge but by the Colonel's Permiffion; nor Captains, nor thofe above them, without the King's Leave; and the good Effect of the Officers conftant Refidence upon their refpectiveCharges, appears in the quiet and peaceable Beo.
haviour
haviour of the Soldiers, who have not hitherto broke out into any Enormities, nor given the common People any great Occafion of Complaint. To keep them in Difcipline, each Company meets, and is exercifed once a Month, and every Regiment once or twice a Year ; at which time only they wear the King's Cloaths, which, at their Return, are carefully laid up in the Churches. For their Government in Time of War, the King hath lately caufed the Articles of War to be reviewed and printed, together with a new Eftablifhment of Courts Martial, and Inftructions for the Auditors, Governors, and other Officers concerned in the Miniftration of Juftice; and for his Majefty's Information on all Occafions, a Book hath been lately made, fpecifying the Names of every Military Officer in the King's Army, the Time when they firft came into the' Service, 'and by what Steps they have rifen; by which Means, at one View, his Majefty knows the Merit and Service of any Officer. The whole Body of the King of Sreeden's Forces, according to the beft and moft exact Accounts are as follow :

## The eftablibed Militia in Sweden, Finland, and Liefland or Livonia, are

Cavalry, fifteen Regiments, is
Infantry, twenty-eight Regiments, is
Foot-Guards, one Regiment, is
Foot-Guards, one Regiment, is - - - -
Forces in Pomoren and Bremen, fix Regim. (now loft)

## In all fifty Regiments, is

Men
17,000 35,000 2,000 6,000
10. Sweden has in all Times furnifhed Europe with thofe Commodities it abounds with; yet either the Warlike Temper, Idlenefs, or Ignorance of the Inhabitants formerly, kept them from being much concerned in Trade, and gave Strangers the Management and Advantage of it ; which for a long time the Hanfe-Towns fituate on the Baltic Sea monopolized, till the feven Provinces of the Netberlands were erected into a Republic, and became Sharers with them. Before that Time very little Iron was made in Sroeden; but the Ore being run into Pigs, was carried into Dantzick, and other Parts of Prufla, and there forged into Bars; for which Reafon the Country Smiths, in England, call foreign Iron Dantzick or Spruce Iron. This Nation owes the greateft Improvements it has made in Trade, to the Art and Induftry of fome ingenious. Mechanics that the Cruelty of the Duke of Alva drove into thofe Parts. Their Succefs invited great Numbers of reformed Walloons to tranfplant themfelves thither, whofe Language and Religion remain in the Places they fettled in ; where they erected Forges and other Conveniencies for making of Iron Guns, Wire, and all other Manufactures of Copper, Brafs, and Iron; which for the moft part are ftill carried on by their Pofterity.
The Sreedifh Navigation was very inconfiderable till Queen Cloriftiona, at the Conclufion of the Wars in 1644, obtained from Denmark a Freedom from Cuftoms for all Ships and Goods belonging to Swedi/h Subjects in their Paffage through the Sound, and eftablifhed in her own Dominions that Difference in Cuftoms that ftill fubfifts between Swedifh and foreign Ships, and is in Proportion of four, five, fix; the firft called Whole Free ; the fecond, Half; and the !aft, Unfree: So that where a Whole Free Swedifh Ship pays four hundred Crowns, Half Free pays five hundred, and a foreign Veffel fix hundred. But as great as this Advantage was it had but little Effect, till the Engli/h Act of Navigation bridled the Hollanders, and opened the Intercourfe between England and Siveden. Since that Time, their Commerce has been much augmented as well as ours, that Way; and Goods tranfported by both, or either Party, according to the various Junctures of Affairs.
When Sweden has been engaged in a War, the Englif Ships have had the whole Employ; but in Times of Peace, the Advantage is fo great on the Swedifh Side, and Merchants fo much encouraged by Freedom in Cuftoms to employ their Ships, that Englifh Bottoms cannot be ufed in that Trade, but while Sweden is unprovided with a Number of Ships fufficient for the Tranf-
portation of their own Commodities: The chief Com+ modities of Sveden are Copper, Iron, Pitch, Tar, Mafts, Deals, and wooden Ware, to the Value of about feven hundred thoufand Pounds a Year. In Return of which they receive from Abroad, Salt, Wines, and Brandy, Cloths, Shifts, Tobacco, Sugar, Spices, Paper, Linnen, and feveral other Sorts of Goods; which are fuppofed commonly to balance their Importations, and fomerimes exceed them. Their Trade to Portugal for Salt is accounted moft neceffary, as without great Quantities of which they cannot fubfift. That with England is more beneficial, becaufe it takes off almoft half their own Commodities, and brings in near two thirds of Money for one of Goods. The worft is their French Trade, as it rather fupplies their Vanities than their Neceffities, and gives little or no Vent to the Commodities of the Country.

The general Direction of their Trade belongs to the College of Commerce; which confifts of the Prefident of the Treafury, and four Counfellors; who hear Caufes of that Nature, and redrefs any Diforders that happen. The Bank at Stockbolm is of great Benefit to Trade, as well in regard that the King's Cuftoms for that City are paid in there ; as alfo that the Merchants ordinarily make Payments to each other by Bills drawn upon it, which eafes them of a great deal of Trouble in tranfporting their Money from Place to Place, that would otherwife be very difficult and chargeable. The Management of the Trade of Sweden has always been in the Hands of Strangers, moft of the Natives wanting either Capacity or Application, and all of them Stocks to drive it: For without Credit from Abroad, they are not able to keep their Iron Works going; and therefore at the beginning of Winter they ufually made Contracts with the Englifh, and other Foreigners, who then advance confiderable Sums, and receive Iron in Summer.

Were it not for this Neceffity foreign Merchants would have but little Encouragement, or fcarce Permiffion, to live and trade amongtt them; and even, as the Cafe ftands, the Treatment of them is as rigorous as in any Country, occafioned chiefly by the Burghers ; who cannot, with any Patience, fee a Stranger live among them. This is the lefs fenfible to the Dutch and others, who fome become Burghers, and the reft by their near way of Living are lefs fubject to Envy; but is more efpecially the Cafe of the Englifis Merchants, who find it not their Intereft to becomeBurghers, and ufuallylive fomewhat too high. The Intereft of England in the Trade of Sweden, may be computed by the Neceffaries to us, and the Vent of ours there: Their Copper, Iron, Tar, Pitch, Mafts, $\mathcal{E} c$. cannot be had elfewhere, except from Amoerica, whence it has been fuppofed fuch Supplies were furnifhed; and, if fo, this Confideration ought in reafon to have an Influence on the Sreedifh Counfels, and engage them to make the Englifh Trade with them as eafy as poffible, that the Merchants be not driven upon new Defigns. As to our Importations thither, it has already been faid that they fcarce amount to one third of what we export from thence, and confift chiefly of Cloth, Stuffs, and other woollen Manufactures, of which there have been formerly vended yearly there, to theValue of about fifty thoufand Pounds. Befides thofe, Tobacco, Nerwcaftle Coals, Pewter, Lead, Tin, Fruits, and Sugar, with feveral other of our Commodities, are fold at the Market ; as alfo good Quantities of Herrings from Scotland, with other of their Wares: That in all, we are fuppofed to vend Goods to about one hundred thoufand Pounds a Year. If any more than Half be paid for it is looked on as very extraordinary.

But the making of Cloth in Sveeden to fupply the Army, $\varepsilon^{3} c$. which has been formerly endeavoured without Succefs, being now encouraged and aflifted by the Public, and undertaken, has of late, and does now, prove a great Hindrance to the Vent of our Cloth there. And to favour this Undertaking, Engliß Cloth now (unlefs it be fuch finer Cloths as cannot be made there) is clogoed with fuch exceffive Duties as render the Importation impracticable. Thefe Undertakers have got Workmen from Germany, and fome from England; and befides the Germon Wool they ufe, they receive great Quantities from

Scotland, (fuppofed to be purchafed out of England) without which they cannot work ; yet, as at prefent, the Engliflo Trade in Sreeden is of the Importance abovementioned, notwithftanding the Abatements aforefaid. It is, however, confiderable, and will be fo while their Commodities continue to be neceffary, and thofe that are concerned in it will deferve, as they need, Protection and Encouragement:

The laft Treaty of Commerce between the two Nations, expired feveral Years ago, and that of an older, neither fuits the prefent State of Things, nor has been thought by the Sweded to fubfift; tho' now, for their own Intereft, they infift upon the contrary: Accordingly their Treatment of the Englifh only, in reference to their own Convenience ; and as the Subject of former Complaint ftill remains, fo new Burdens are frequently impofed upon them. Sometimes they have-demanded of Merchants that were leaving the Country, a fixth Part of their Eftates they had got in it, and arrefted their Effects upon that Account. And befides others, that more directly concerns their Trade, the quartering of Soldiers, and paying of Contributions, have been enacted for fome Years, and fometimes the Englifb are forced to fubmit to it. In the Year 1687, they petitioned the King, for Redrefs of thefe Impofitions, which were then very high; upon fome above fifty Pounds, upon others forty, thirty, E' $c$. Befides that, fuch of them as kept Houfe had Soldiers quartered upon them, fome three, fix, or eight. In anfwer to their Petition, • a Placart was publifhed, declaring, that they fhould be exempt from thefe Payments, but withal, that no foreign Merchant fhould continue to trade in Sweder above two Months in a Year, unlefs he would become a Burgher.

In purfuance of which Refolution, their Warehoufes were fhut up for fome time, and the Swedes feem refolved to proceed to Fxtremity, but have not put that Refolution generally in Execution, though they feem to wait for an Opportunity, and now and then they try it upon particular Perfons, to fee how foreign Princes will take it. The Law that exacts the third Part of fuch foreign Merchants Eftates as die in Sweden, has not in effect been fo beneficial to the Swedes, as frightful to the Merchants, who for that and other Reafons, never think of marrying and fettling there fo long as their Affairs are in good Order, and they in a Condition to return home with a competent Eftate, and Credit too; from which Account England feems to be lefs concerned to endeavour the Repeal of that Law, it being more ufeful to have

Sweden a Nurfery for young Merchants, than a Place of Settlement for thofe that have got Eftates.
I r. ThefeObfervations and Remarks upon the Kingdom of Sreden were written about fifty Years ago, and yet Ijudged it proper to infert them here with very few Alterations: and this the rather, becaufe having taken fome Pains to make myfelf Mafter of the Subject, I have been from thence led to judge, that it is not eafy to obtain any thing relating thereto more perfect in its kind. The Judgment of its Author fhines through the whole Piece, and fhews that he was a very fenfible, intelligent, and capable Perfon; one who underftood both Mankind and Governmens perfectly well, who had many more Opportunities to make, as well as much more Leifure to digeft, his Inquiries than ordinary Travellers can be prefumed to have, and therefore his Accounts are more to be depended on, and his Reflections deferve greater Regard than thofe that occur in common Books of Travels.

It muft be allowed that great Alterations have happened in Sweden fince his Time. Upon the Death of the late King Cbarles XII. the Swedi/h Nation very wifely laid hold of that Opportunity to recover their ancient Conftitution, to reftrain the Power of the Crown within juft Bounds, to reftore that of the States, and of the Senate; and they have made the beft Ufe that could be of this Alteration, by electing a Prince of the Royal Family to be the Succeffor of the prefent King, and making the Crown hereditary in his Family; but in fuch a Manner as is confiftent with their Freedom. They have likewife taken very juft and prudent Precautions for preferving, increafing, and extending the Commerce of their Country, which, though at prefent lefs confiderable than it formerly was, is, however, in fuch Circumftancés as feem to promife the Recovery of its former interior Strength, which muft be attended fooner or later with the Reftoration of its ancient Grandeur, fince both Reafon and Experience teach us, that when due Care is taken for fecuring the Peace, the Freedom, and Profperity of any People at home, they certainly become refpected by their Neighbours, and confequently as confiderable abroad, as it is confiftent with their own Intereft and thofe of their Neighbours that they fhould be. After thus prefenting the Reader with a fair Idea of the State and Condition of Sweden, it is requifite that we fhould proceed to that of the next northern Crown, of which we fhall fpeak as clearly and as fuccinctly as may be, without adhering to any particular Author, that we may take in a great Variety of Oblervations, and bring thefe within the narrower Compafs.

## S E C TION III.

The prefent State of the Dominions of the Crown of Denmark, and of its Subjects, in reSpect to their Manners, Cufoms, Lawes, Forces, Revenues, Commodities, and Commerce; with occafional Obfervations and Remarks.

## Collected from the Writings of Mr. Molefworth, and other Authors of Credit.

1. An Introduction, Jwewing the Nature and Importance of this Section; and the Authorities upon whick it is founded. 2. The Climate of the Several Parts of the Danim Dominions, the Seas by which they are bounded, and the Nature of the Toll which the Danes exact in the Sound. 3. The Soil and Produce of the feveral Countries and Illands belonging to the Crowen of Denmark. 4. Of the Commodities and Come merce of this Country. 5. Of the Forces of the Danes by Sea and Land. 6. Of the King's Revenues, and the Manner of Living and the Amount of them. 7. The Temper, Genius, Manners and Cuftoms of the Danes. 8. The Laws in this Country, with refpect to Civil, Ecclefaftical, and Commercial Affairs. 2. The prefent State of Religion, and of their Clergy; with other Matters of the like Nature. IO. The Nature of the Tenures in Denmark, and the Manner in which Eftates are beld there; with other Par ticulars relative to that Subject. II. 'Obfervations and Remarks upon the foregoing Section; with fome. Conjectures as to the future State of this Country and its Inbabitants.

THERE is fcarce any Country in Europe, or at leaft. in the North, with which we ought to be better acquainted than with Denmark, confidering that the Inhabitants of it were once Mafters of a great Part of this Ifland, that our Princes have frequently intermarried with the ${ }^{\circ}$ Families of the Dani/b Kings, and that we have fill as great Connection with this Kingdom and Court as with any of the Northern Powers. But notwithflanding this it fo happens that we are very far from being generally well informed as to this Nation and its Concerns. It is true that Mr. Molefworth, who refided at Copenbagen in the Reign of the late King William, has written a valuable and much efteemed Treatife upon this Subject; in which he very fully explains the Caufes of, and the Manner in which, that great Revolution happened, whereby the Kings of Denmark from being elective and limited became hereditary and abfolute in 1660. And by the Way it may not be amifs to obferve, that this is the only legal abiolute Monarchy, perhaps, in the W orld ; the King being declared fo by the States of the Kingdom, who had that Power by the Conftitution.
It is indeed true that there was a Force put upon the Nobility; but it was a Force put upon them by the People, who knew that they made a very bad Ufe of the Authority they enjoyed in virtue of their old Conftitution; and therefore made it their Choice to live under an abfolute King, rather than under a tyrannical Ariftocracy. We may learn, from hence, feveral Things worthy of our Obfervation; and, among them, thefe: That when, in a mixed or limited Government, any Part of it gains fuch a Superiority over the reft as is deftuctive of the End of fuch a Government, which is the Good of the Whole, it cannot long fubfirt; but muft infallibly be diffolved, either by the Ufurpers of fuch Power being in a Condition to preferve it, or by the juining of the oppreffed Parts of the Government, as in this Cafe, to raife up another Power capable of controlling fuch an Ufurpation. That as a Democracy, or popular State, is, of all others, fooneft corrupted; fo an Ariftocracy, or Government by a few, is, when corrupted, the leaft to be borne, efpecially in States which have a vifible Head; and that, in fuch Revolutions, the Change is feldom, if ever, from a tyrannical to a mixed Government; but ever, from a tyrannical to a mithed But though the Book before-mentioned ftates thofe Points very clearly, and, for the Time in which it was written, is certainly as good a one as can be wifhed; yet it is now, in fome Meafure, out of Date : And, therefore, in order to have a tolerable Idea of the prefent State of this Country, we muft have recourfe to other and later Obfervations.

The Dominions of the Crown of Denmark confift of the great Kingdom of Norreay, of which forme Account las been given in the former Section, and therefore we hall fay but little of it here; of the Peninfula of Futland, which, from the Frontiers of Germany to its utmoft northern Bounds, is about two hundred and feventy Miles in Length, and of different Breadths ; of the Duchy of Holfein, which the King of Denmark holds jointly with the Duke of that Title; of the Danifh Inands, the Chief of which are Zealand, Funen, and Iceland; and of feveral Countries in Germany, fuch as Oldenbourg, Delmenborft, aud other Places, partly the hereditary Dominions of the Royal Family, and partly obtained by Conqueft. We may eafily difcern, from hence, that this Crown muft always have a confiderable Share in the general Syttem of Things in Europe, as well as in the particular Diftribution of Power in the North; and confequently, though its Dominions lie a little out of the way, and we do not very frequently hear of the Effects either of the Power or Policy of the Kings of Denmark, yet the Nature of their Dominions, and the Temper of their Subjects, is very well worth the knowing. For fuch is the Nature of Things in this World, and fuch the conftant Fluctuation of Intereft and Power, that we can never rely, with any Certainty, on the prefent Syftem; nor can we eafily forefee what Turns or Changes may happen, fo as to judge, with any Degree of Accuracy, which of the Powers, at prefent great, fhall decline; or which of thofe, that are now low, thall rife, and become confiderable, unlefs we look into their refpective Conditions narrowly, and thereby gain fome tolerable Notion of the

Chances they have of changing their prefent Situations, either for the better or the worle. After hewing, as we have done, the Ufe and Importance of the prefent Section, let us now proceed to the proper Bufnefs of it, with as much Clearnefs and Brevity as poffible.
2. The Air of Denmark is not good, efpecially near Copenhagen, which is fuppofed to proceed from its low Situation, and the frequent Fogs there. The Air of Slefwick and Holfein is better than that in the northern Parts, and the Country more defirable upon many Accounts, as will appear hereafter. The fame Obfervations are made as to the Seafons in Denmark as in Sweden, viz. That the Year is divided into Winter and Summer ; that they have no Spring, and very feldom any Autumn; but they proceed immediately from an extreme Cold to an Extremity of Heat; and, in the latter-end of the Year, from violent hot Weather to an Extremity of Cold. During the Months of Fune, Fuly, and Auguft, the Heat is more intenfe than in England, and the Nights not near fo cool as with us, though they are fo many Degrees to the Northward; nor do they enjoy a clear Sunfhine during thofe Heats, but thick Vapours all the time between them and the Sun : And indeed it is a general Obfervation, that the Heaven is much brighter and more ferene far within the Continent, than it is near the Sea-coaft; nor is the Air lefs clear and pleafant at Sea, a great Diftance from Land, than it is in the Middle of the Continent. But this Obfervation holds more true within the Tropics, than it does either in the Northern or the Southern Latitudes. The Air of Norway is exceffive cold; but efpecially within the Polar Circle, which is inhabited by the Laplanders. The more Southerly Part of the Country differs but little from Sweden, from which it is feparated only by the Doffrine Hills.
The Seas bordering on the Denifh Dominions are the German Ocean, the Baltic, in which is that famous Streight or Paffage into the Eaft-Sea, called the Ore Sound, or generally the Sound of the Baltic. It hath been obferved, that there are no Tides in it, and that its Waters are frefher than the Ocean, fuppofed to be occafioned by the Rivers that run into it. The Sound is about four Miles over, having the Illand of Zealand on the Weft, and the Continent of Schonen on the Eaft. In the narroweft Part of the Streight, on Zealand, or Demmark Side, ftands the Town of Elfenore, and the ftrong Caftle of Cronenbourg, before which there is a tolerable Road for Shipping. On the Side of Scbonen, in the Poffeffion of the Swedes, is the Town of Helfingbourg, and a fmall Battery of Guns, which ferve only to falute the Ships which pals by it. Between thofe two Places fail all the Shipping bound to the Baltic. The Danes, however, only reccive the Toll of all Merchantmen who pals by it ; though the Swedes are Mafters of the oppofite Shore, by virtue of the Treaty concluded when they yielded up Scbonen to them. But the Swedes themfelves were exempted from paying any Duties, till the laft Peace in the Year 172 I , when the Affairs of the Swedes were in a very defperate Condition, and then they condefcended to pay a Toll to Denmark, as other Nations did, on their paffing the Sound.

This Duty is fuppofed to have arifen from the mutual Confent of the Merchants trading to the Eaft Country, who at firt contributed a fmall Sum towards maintaining of Light-houfes on the Coaft for their own Security; and thereupon this Paffage of the Sound came to be more ufed than that of either Belt to the Weftward of the Ine of Zeeland, which, in other RefpeCts, feem as commodious as this. From fome fuch Beginnings the Danes proceeded to demand large Sums, and that as their undoubted Right, being Mafters of both Shores. The Emperor Cbarles V, in behalf of his Subjects of the feventeen Provinces of the Low Countries, came to an Agreement with the Danes, That every Ship of two hundred Tons and under, paffing the Sound, fhould pay two Rofe Nobles going and coming from the Baltic; and every Ship above that Burden, three Nobles; which Agreement remained in force until the United Provinces fet up for independent States; after which the Danes obliged the Dutch to pay extravagant Rates.

But the Hollanders and Lubeckers oppofing thefe Exactions
actions about the Year 1600 , obliged the Danes to accept of more moderate Duties. The firft folemn Treaty the Dutch made with the Danes concerning this Toll was in the Year 1647 , wherein they agreed to pay about twenty-five Pounds for every Ship of two hundred Tons paffing the Streights for forty Years, at the Expiration of which, the firft Agreement with the Emperor was to be in force. And the Engli/h, in their Treaties with Denmork, agreed to pay Toll as the Dutch and other Nations in friendfhip with them did. As to the free States of England and Holland, they afk no Permiffion of the Danes to pafs the Sound; for the Caftles on the Shores are at too great a Diftance to prevent it, and, if they had not a Squadron of Men of War ready to compel the Merchant to pay the Toll, he might pafs by unhurt. Befides, the Paffage called the Great Belt, between the Mlands of Zealand and Funen is much wider; and that of the Leffer Belt, between Funen and the Continent of Futland is not at all impracticable.
3. The Nature of the Soil, in Dominions fo far extended, and fo much disjoined, as thofe of Denmark are, muft be various. The Inand of Zealand, wherein the capital City of Copenbagen ftands, produces no Corn, but Rye, of which moft of their Bread is made. Of this they have enough for the Subfiftance of the Inhabitants, but not to export. There is not much Meadow or Pafture Ground in the Ifland; but what they have is thort and fweet. One fourth Part of the Country is Foreft, and referved for the King's Game, fuch as Stag's, wild Boars, $\mathcal{E}^{\circ} c$ : which no Subject dares meddle with, though he finds whole Herds of them devouring his Corn, and the Farmers are generally great Sufferers by them. In a wet Seafon they have the greateft Plenty of Grain in Zealand. Their Cattle are fmall, and lean in the Winter, kept within Doors for feven or eight Months of the Year, and fed with Grains, Roots, Weeds, and fuch Stuff as their Owners can provide ; but, in Summer, when there is Grafs to be had, their Beef is pretty good. Near Copenbagen the Sea is not ftored with Fifh, which is fuppofed to proceed from the Water not being fo falt as that in other Seas. The Ifland of Funen produces Corn and Wood fufficient for the Natives, and they have Cattle for theirUfe ; but it affords nothing for Exportation, except a few Horfes. Laland is a plentiful Ifland, and produces all Sorts of Corn in Abundance, particularly Wheat, with which it fupplies Copenhagen, and all other Parts of Denmark, in fmall Quantities; for Wheat is a great Rarity among them.

The Inands of Falffia, Langland, and Mona, are reckoned tolerably fruitful; Arroe and Alfen produce Annifeeds, which they mix with their Bread, and ufe it in feafoning their Meat. Futland hath Corn enough for the Natives, and abounds in Cattle. The Horfes and Hogs of this Country are reckoned very good, and black Cattle are tranfported lean from hence to Hollond, where they grow fat in a fhort time, of which the Dutch make a confiderable Profit. The Country of Slefwick hath a fufficient quantity of Corn, Cattle, and Horfes, with which they furnifh their Neighbours. Holfein is a pleafant, fruitful Country, faid to refemble England in its Variety of Hills, Woods, Rivers, Meadows, and Corn Fields. Stormar and Ditmarch lie down near the Eilb, being a rich Soil, compared to Holland for Fertility and Improvement of its Lands, which are fometimes overflowed, however, by the neighbouring Ocean. Oldenbourg alfo is a flatCountry, much expofed to Inundations; but abounds in Cattle, and hath a Breed of Horfes efteemed for being of a white or cream Colour; tho' they have generally tender Feet, and laft but a little while. Delmenbor $f t$ is a more hilly Country than Oldenbourg, and pretty well wooded. Norreay and Lapland having been largely defcribed in the firft Section of this Chapter, there is no Need of dwelling upon them here.

The Illands of Iceland, Fero, and Schetland are almoft as barren as Norway; Corn will fcarce grow in any of them; but they abound in Cattle. The Natives of Iceland feed on the Flefh of Bears, Wolves, and Foxes, and Bread made of dried Fifh beat to Powder. They barter their dried Fifh, Tallow, and Sulphur for fuch other Commodities as they want. There are not, either
in the IMands of Iceland or Fero, any Trees, except Jus niper-fhrubs, Birch, and Willows; but they have Roots; and other Garden-ftuff, which, with their Fifh, are their greateft Support. They hive good Pafture, and a toles rable Breed of Black Cattle, fmall-fized Horfes, and fome Flocks of Sheep, and almont all manner of Roots and Herbs which grow in other Kitchen-gardens ; and are pretty well ftocked with Fifh and Fowl. But the Cold is very fevere in all thefe Inands, and their Winter is dark, as may eafily be gathered from their Situation.
4. As to the Manufactures of Denmark and Norway, there are none, except that of Iron; which is not very confiderable. Holfein and Slefroick feem to be extremely well fituated for foreign Trade, lying both upon the Baltic and the Ocean; but reap little Advantage from their Situation at prefent. Hamburgb on one Side, and Lubec on the other, which border upon Holfein, are indeed Towns of great Trade, and the Dame fometimes pretends to the Sovereignty of Hamburgh; but, by the Countenance of the neighbouring Powers, that City hath hitherto preferved her Liberties. Futland and Holftein export nothing but Horfes and Cattle. From Norway, indeed, there are great Quantities of Fir-timber, for Maits, Yards, and Planks exported, with Pitch, Tar, Stock-fifh, Oil, and Iron, for which they receive ready Money chiefly of the Englift; but, of the French, Wine, Brandy, Alamodes, and other Trifles.

The Danes have fome inconfiderable Factories in the Weft-Indies, and on the Coaft of Guined; and in the Eaft-Indies, they are Mafters of the City and Fort of Tranguebar, one of the moft confiderable Towns on the Eaft-fide of the Continent; and from hence are fent home, fome Years, two or three Ships. The Dutch have, for many Years, been endeavouring to undermine the Danes in the Eaft-Indics, and make themfelves Mafters of the Town of Tranguebar, inciting the Natives to lay flege to it; and the Danes were in great Danger of lofing it about five-and-twenty Years ago; but were generounly fupported by Mr. Pitt, the Governor of Fort St. George, as we have fhewn at large in our former Volume. The Danes are reckoned to have more Shipping than the Swedes, the Reafon whereof may be, that Norway furnifhes a confiderable Number of hardy Seamen, who are ufed to thofe boifterous Seas; and the Dutcb alfo maintain great Numbers of Norivegians in their Fleets, where they live better than on their own barren Coafts, which makes thefe Pcople apply themfelves more to the Seafervice than any other Subjects of Demmark; and there is always a confiderable Number of them ready to man the royal Navy: Which brings us to enquire into the Strength and Forces of the Danes by Sea and Land.
5. We cannot enter upon this Head without making the fame Reflections that Mr. Molefworth does. It is certain that the levying Taxes here is not more grievous to the People, than the Reafon for which they are levied; the Maintenance of a great fanding Army. The People are made Contributors to their own Mifery, and their Purfes drained in order to maintain their Slavery. The Frencb King has taught the Princes of Europe that pernicious Secret of making one Part of the People bridle and fcourge the other; which, in time, muft needs end in a general Defolation. The King of Denmark hath even endeavoured to exceed his Original, in raifing more Men than his Country will maintain; and, at prefent, the Northern and German Princes eftimate their Wealth not by the Fertility or Extent of their Territory, by the Trade or Induftry of the People, but by the Numbers of Horfe and Foot in their Service ; for the Subfiftance of which, after they have eaten up their own Subjects, they make ufe of an hundred cruel and unjuft Pretences to ruin and encroach on their Neighbours; and, when they cannot accomplifh fuch Projects, foment Quarrels among other Princes, that they may have an Opportunity of letting out their Troops for Hire; and have found the Art of receiving Pay, without interefting themfelves in the Quarrel; which hath been the conftant Practice of the Danes, and fome nelghbouring Princes, for many Years paft. Thofe Practices, however, have been very pernicious to Denmark.
Nor have the Danes fucceeded in any of their Attempts
againft the City of Hamburgh; but, in the laft War, taking Advantage of the Diftrefs the Sroedes were reduced to by a potent Confederacy, the Dane made himfelf Mafter of Bremen and Verden, which he afterwards conveyed to the Sovereign of Hanover; and feized alfo on the late Duke of Holftein's Territories, in his Minority, which he fill keeps. It is computed that Denmark, Holfein, and Oldenbourg maintain five thoufand four hundred and fifty Horfe, fifteen hundred Dragoons, and feventeen thoufand Foot. Norway maintains twelve hundred and thirty-fix Horfe and Dragoons, and fourteen thoufand three hundred Foot, making in all a Body of near forty thoufand Men. The Foot Soldiers, both Officers and private Men, are generally Foreigners, of all Countries, Poles, Germans, Swedes, Scots, \&c. There are more Reafons than one for not employing too many of the Natives; but the principal, left they fhould fhew too much Affection to their own Country, and not fo readily obey the arbitrary Commands of their Princes. Officers of Horfe receive no more Pay, in time of Peace, than thofe of the Foot. The Horle are ufually Natives, and maintained every one by a Free-holder or Farmer, who is obliged to provide him and his Horfe Meat, and fix Shillings a Month in Money, half of which the Colonel takes towards his Mounting; and in Holfein they have fomething better Pay than in Denmark. In Norway little Money is expended in paying the Forces; the private Soldiers being quartered by the Boors, and, which is an heavy Burthen, fubfifted by them.

For the Sea-Service three thoufand Mariners are conftantly maintained at Copenbagen, as well in Peace as War ; having a weekly Allowance of Salt, Flefh, Stock-Fifh, or Meal, Grout, $\mathcal{E}^{c} c$. for themfelves and their Families, and about eighty Rix-Dollars a Year in Money. And there are feveral Streets of little Houfes, or Barracks, near the Walls where they live, and where their Wives and Children refide while they are at Sea. Their Bufinefs, in time of Peace, is to work in the King's Yards and Docks, which are over-againft the Palace in Copenbagen, where they take it by Turns to ferve in all laborious Works relating to the Shipping; and once a Year it is ufual to equip a fmall Squadron of Men of War, and fail with them two or three Months for exercifing the Sailors. All the Officers in the Fleet are in conftant Pay, as well in Peace as War ; and the Danes compute, that they can rig out thirty Sail of Men of War and upwards at a very fhort Warning.
6. The King's Revenues arife from the Duties paid by his own Subjects, the Cuftoms paid by Foreigners, the Crown Lands, Fines, and Confifcations. The Taxes paid by his Subjects are either fixed or variable; that is, the Prince, in fome Cafes, chufes to follow a certain Rule, eftablifhed by himfelf; which, he may, however alter, if he fees fit, and in others he frequently varies. Of the firft Sort are the Duties of Import and Export, and the Excife commonly called Confumption laid upon every thing that is eat or drank in the Kingdom. There are alfo Duties paid for Marriage Licences, Duties on Stamp-Paper ; on which all Bargains, Contracts, Proceedings at Law, $E \mathcal{C}$ c. are written; fome of thefe Duties amounting to feveral Rix-Dollars per Sheet. Duties are alfo laid upon Brewing and Malt, and Corn that is ground on Mills. Thefe Duties are certain, or feldom altered. The uncertain Duties are the Taxes on Land, which are not affeffed by the Acre, but according to the annual Value of the Farm. Poll-Money impofed upon every one according to the perfonal Eftate he is fuppofed to have, which is fometimes levied twice a Year. Money levied for erecting or repairing the Fortifications.

An occafional Tax, raifed only when a Daughter of Denmark is to be married, whofe Portion is ufually an hundred thoufand Crowns. A Tax laid upon every Tradefman for the Liberty of exercifing his Calling, and the Gain he is fuppofed to make by it, who is obliged alfo to quarter Soldiers. The Ground-Rents, in all Cities and Towns, which the King taxes, according to the Value of the Houfe or the Ability of the Poffeffor. In Holftein the Eands are taxed according to the Ploughs, each Plough paying a certain Sum every Month. Not many Years
fince an Eftimate was made of all the Houres in the Cities and Towns in the King's Dominions; and all the Lands were meafured, that the Crown might the better underftand their Value; and the Ground-Tam, in the Cities and Towns, was affeffed at Four per Cent. of the whole Value the Ground was rated at, if it was to be purchafed; and the like Proportion was obferved towards others, in regard to their Houfes and Profeffions. The moft moderate Affeffment of their Poll-Tax is according to the fol lowing Proportion, viz. A Citizen worth eight or ten thoufand Rix-Dollars pays four Rix-Dollars for himfelf, four for his Wife, two for every Child, and one for each Servant, and for every Horfe a Rix-Dollar. An Alehoufekeeper pays one Rix-Dollar for himfelf, another for his Wife, twenty-four Stivers for every Child, and fixteen for every Servant. The Fortification Tax is ufually high. A Merchant worth fix or eight thoufand Rix-Dollars, hath fometimes paid fixty-eight Dollars, an ordinary $\mathrm{Ci}_{-}$ tizen Eight or Ten, and others in Proportion.

A late Writer hath computed the Revenues of the Crown of Denmark, as follows: The Toll of the Sound at 65,000 Rix-Dollars per Ann. The reft of the Toll of Denmark farmed at 165,000 Rix-Dollars. The Confumption or Excife of Copenbagen, farmed at 140,000 Rix-Dollars. The Confumption of the reft of Denmark at 140,000 Rix-Dollars. The fimaller Taxes of Derzmark at 100,000 Rix-Dollars. Poll-Tax, FortificationTax, Ground-Rents and Land-Tax, at 100,000 Rix Dollars. The whole Revenue of Norway at 700,000 Rix-Dollars. The Crown-Lands, Confifcations, Ejc. at 200,000 Rix-Dollars. The Revenue of Iceland farmed at 27,000 Rix-Dollars. Oldenbourg and Delmenborf 8000 Rix-Dollars ; and the Toll upon the Wefer 5000 Rix-Dollars : So that the whole Revenue of Denmark amounts to 2,622,000 Rix-Dollars per Ann. But as the Gentleman, who makes this Calculation, obferves, that the Poll-Tax and Fortification-Tax are never raifed the fameYear; we muft, upon that Account, deduct 400,000 Rix-Dollars out of the Sum total, and the whole Revenue will then amount to two Millions two hundred twentytwo thoufand Rix-Dollars, or about five hundred thoufand Pounds of our Money, which in that part of the World will go near as far as three Times the Sum with us, confidering the Cheapnefs of Provifion and Labour in Denmark and Norway.
7. As to the Perfons of the Danes they are generally tall, and ftrong limbed; their Complection good; their Hair fair, yellow, or red; and as few of the Men wear Wigs, they take a great deal of Pains in curling their yellow Locks; neither Men nor Women are afhamed of red Hair, or endeavour to change the Colour. They have bad Shapes, and their Mien is not to be admired. When we fee the Danifh Women-fitting in a Coach or Chair, fome of them appear exquifitely beautiful ; but if they rife and attempt to walk they fpoil all. Both Ladies and Gentlemen in Summer affect to imitate the French Drefs; but in Winter wrap themfelves up in Furs or Wool, like the reft of the Northern People. They are neat in their Linnen, changing it often, and affect too much Magnificence. It is obferved that Denmark feldom produces a great Genius ; they are not good at Invention or Imitation, and are neither deeply learned, nor exquifite Mechanics. Polite Learning they are perfect Strangers to, and few Books are found amongtt them, except thofe of controverfial Religion.

Mr. Molefworth, in fumming up their Character, fays, he never knew a Country where the Minds of People were more upon a Level. As we find none of extraordinary Parts or Qualifications, or excellent in particular Studies or Arts, fo we fee no Enchufiafts, Madmen, natural Fools, or whimfical People; but a certain Equality of Underftanding reigns among them; every one plods on in the ordinary Track of Common-fenfe, without deviating to the right or left. The common People, however, in general, write and read, and their Clergy ufually talk Latin, but not in the greatelt Purity. The Vices the Gentry are moft addicted to, are Gluttony and Drunkennefs. When they fit down to eat and drink, they never know when to rife, but the Debauch fome-
times
times continues whole Days and Nights: The firft Thing a Friend is prefented with at his coming into the Houle is a Dram of Brandy; and they are no fooner fet down to Dinner, but every Man and Woman hath alfo a Glais fet by their Plate, and on the propofing a Healch take off their Glaffes together, and by that means make a quick Difpatch. The Women indeed retire after Dinner ; but the Men fit it out 'till they have loft (which is not foon done) their little Senfe.

The Liquors drank by People of Condition are RhenihWines, Cherry-Brandy, and all Sorts of French-Wines. The Men are fond of them, and the fair Sex do not refufe them. The poor People indulge in bad Beer and Spirits extracted from Malt or Barley. Nor do the Norzuegians who can afford it come behind the Danes; 'tis the Cuftom of the Country; and both among the Gentry and common People, Lewdnefs and Intemperance pals for Wit and ingenious Converlation. As to their Eating, the Tables of People of Condition are covered with a Variety of Difhes; but the Flefh, except Beef and Veal, is generally lean and ill tafted; their tame Fowls and wild Ducks are fcarce eatable. There are no fallow Deer, Woodcocks, Pheafants or Rabbets; and red Deer are the King's Game, and not to be purchafed. Their Hares and their Bacon are excellent, as are their frefh-water Finh, particularly the Carp, Perch, and Craw- fifh; but Sea-filh is fcarce and ill tafted; and in general their Cookery is not agreeable to an Englifh Palate. The common People in Town and Country live upon coarle Rye Bread, lean Salt Fifh, Stock-Fifh, Roots, and very bad Cheefe, feldom tafting frefh Fifh, and hardly ever Flefh. As to the Character of the common People, they are poor, and mean-fipirited, far from the warlike Temper of their Anceftors, inclined to cheating, and intolerably jealous and fufpicious that others have a Defign upon them; which may be obferved to be the Cafe of moft Men of limited Undertandings. In our Age, fays Puffendorf, the Danes have loft much of their ancient Glory, becaufe the prefent Nobility and Gentry are rather for enjoying their Revenues in Eafe. and Luxury, than for undergoing the Fatigues of War; and the Commonality have followed their Example.
The Norwegians undergo ail kinds of Hardhips with more Courage and Vigour, to which they are inured by the Climate they live in; but the Danes, ever fince they have been Mafters of Norway, have endeavoured to deprefs and keep that People under, by taking from them all the Opportunities of exerting themfelves; and there are now very few of the ancient Nobility left in Norway. The Danes travel either in Waggons, on Horfeback, or in Sledges; and there is an Officer who regulates the Prices of Carriage, and punifhes thofe who extort more than their Due. If any Gentleman can procure a Warrant from the Court, when he is about to undertake a Journey, the Peafants or Farmers are obliged to furnifh him with Horfes and Carriage, in every Country, through which he paffes, without being allowed any thing, as they do for the King and Court whenever they travel. The Danes have their Playhoufe for their Diverfion; they take their Pleafure alfo in their Sleds upon the Ice in Winter. But downright Drinking is their favourite Recreation ; the moft ferious Affairs fubmit to this, the great Bufinefs of the Day and Night. Nor do the Danes indulge more in Eating and Drinking than in their Lodging ; for as there is no Place where there is greater Plenty of good Feather-beds, they lay one under, another over them, all the Winter Seaion. But Lodgings for Strangers are procured with Difficulty in private Houfes, and in Public-Houfes they are obliged to eat and fleep, in common, no Man being allowed a Room to himfelf, except his Quality be very high indeed.
8. The King of Denmark is the great Interpreter of his Laws, and can change them at Pleafure. He is the fupreme Judge and Prefident of the High Court of Juftice, when he pleafes to fit there, which is not often: However, whether prefent or abfent, the Advocates always addrefs themfelves to the King. The Princes of the Blood, and the Nobility, and Gentry, are commonly tried in this High Court ; and the Superintendants, or Bifhops, hare YoL. II. Numb. CIV.
the fame Privilege, if charged with Herefy, or any other notorious Crime. Where any Perfon calumniates the Government, or the Adminiftration, he is declared infanious? and his Goods confifcated; but if fuch Difcourfes tend to a Sedition, they are to be puniffied with the utmot Severity. As to thofe who endeavour to defame a Magiftrate, either Civil or Ecclefiaftical, or injure the Reputation of a Perfon of Honour, by Writing, or otherwife, they are to pay eighty Rix-Dollars to the Party grieved, and a Fine of three Marks to the Crown ; and in Default of Payment are condemned to the Pillory, and to carry Stones for the Repair of the Fortifications and public Buildings. If any Perfon refufes to take up Arms, and ferve the Government, either by Sea or Land, in Cafe of an Invafion, when he is fummoned to attend the Royal Standard, he is to be declared infamous, and to forfeit his Eftate.
A Perfon guilty of Theft is not only fentenced to be whipped, and to hard Labour in the publicWorks, but to reftore double the Value of the Goods folen to the Owner. Coining is punifhed with the Lofs of Life and Honour, and Confifcation of the Eftate of the Offender, and the fame Punifhment is inflicted on him who removes an antient Landmark. He who counterfeits the Hand and Seal of another, or forges a Writing, is fentenced to have his Head cut off; his Goods confifcated and declared infamous. The Torture is feldom ufed in Denmark, but in Cafes of High Treafon ; and then only upon Perfons already convicted of the faine Crime, in order to make them difcover their Accomplices. Duels, and even the challenging another to fight is punifhed with the Lofs of Life and Eftate, and Seconds, who do not endeavour to prevent it, are punifhed in like manner. He who is killed in a Duel is not fuffered to be buried in confecrated Ground ; whoever reflects upon another for refufing a Challenge, is punifhable, and declared infamous by a Donijh Law. In Cafes of Shipwreckc, the Danibs Subjects are required to give all imaginable Affiftance to thofe in Diftrefs, and to preferve the Goods for the Owner's Ufe.

The Ships which guard the Coafts are directed to fave what Effects they can, for which they have a moderate Reward; and the Owners are permitted to fell them in the Country, or embark them on board other Veffels. If a Ship or Goods be driven on the Coaft, and no body appears to claim them, the King's Officers, or the Lord of the Manor takes care to preferve them ; or if they are perifhable Goods they fell them to the beft Advantage, and reftore them to the Owner; but if they are not reclaimed within a Year and a Day, they become the Property of the King; or the Lord of the Place. If the Mafter of any Ship finds Goods floating on the Sea, he is to take Care of, and deliver them to the next Magiftrate, who muft keep them a Year and a Day, to fee if any one can claim them; and if no body owns them they belong to the King, and if any conceal or embezzle fuch wrecked Goods, he is to be punifhed as a Felon, and the Law is much the fame where a Perfon finds Goods or Cattle upon the Road; for he is obliged to publifh them in the Court of the Diftrict, and can have no Property in the Goods till a Year and a Day be paft, where no body comes in to reclaim them.

There being but one Univerfity in Denmark, a Divinity Reader is appointed to refide in every Cathedral, to expound the Scriptures to the People; and thefe Divinity Readers, as well as the Mafters of Colleges, are examined by the Profeffors of the Royal Academy of Copenbagen before they are admitted to officiate ; private Schools are exprefly prohibited by the Laws of Denmark, and none allowed but thofe eftablifhed by public Authority in the Cities and great Towns; and they have two or three Mafters belonging to each School, who have taken their Degree of Mafters of Art at leaft, as well as the Rector. The firt Mafter, or Reqor, is chofen by the Superintendant, or Bifhop, having paffed an Examination before him and the Minifter of the Parifh. The Under-Mafters are appointed by the Rector, with the Approbation of the Minifter of the Place. The leffer Schools, where only Writing and Accompts are taught, are appointed by the 6 N

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Magiftrate ; the Teacher having been firft examined by the Prieft of the Parifh, who is alfo to take Care that they are inftructed in the Lutberan Doctrine.
No Perfon is at Liberty to fend a Tutor to travel with his Son, who hath not been firft examined by the Superintendant of the Diocefe, and found to be Orthodox in Religion ; and the fame is required where one takes a Tutor into his Houfe, who alfo ought to be a Student of the Univerfity of Copenbagen. As no other Method of Teaching is allowed, than that prefcribed by the Government; fo no other Books may be read, but fuch as are approved by Authority, which are compofed by the Profeffors of their Univerfity. The Importation of Books is alfo prohibited, efpecially thofe which treat of any other Sort of Religion, than that eftablifhed amongtt them. No other Calenders or Almanacks are allowed to be publifhed than thofe made by the Order of the Rector and Senate of the Univerfity, on Pain of Confifcation of Goods ; they are prohibited alfo, to infert in them Predietions relating to War, Plague, or Famine, or any other Calamities.
9. The Clergy of this Kingdom are divided into three Claffes, viz. Super-intendants or Bifhops, Intendants, which fome compare to our Arch-deacons, and Curates or Parifl Priefts. The Super-intendant is obliged to vifit his Diocefs once every Year, and to lie in che Perfon's Houre, when he comes to any Place; who is to entertain hinz, Servants and four Horfes, gratis. The Super-intendants are confecrated by the Bifhop or Super-intendant of Zealand, affifted by five or fix Priefts; but are all nominated by the King. The Peafants, who pay Tithes of all their Corn, Cattle, Poultry, and Bees, pay one Third thereof to the Crown, another to the Bifhop and other Ufes of the Church, and the remaining Third to their Parifh Clerk. But of Grafs and Fruits which grow fpontaneounly no Tithes are paid; there are fome other Dues alfo payable to the Clergy by the Peafants, for Confeffion, Burials, Marriages, छic.
The Super-intendant holds a kind of Synod twice a Year, confifting of the Intendants in his Diocefe, where the Governor of the Province prefides for the King. The Overfeers are chofen by the Parifh Priefts of each County or Diftrict, in Conjunction with the Super-intendant; and he is obliged to vifit all the Parifles under his Infpection once a Year, at leaft, and hath a Power of cenfuring the Lives and Converfations of the Prielts in their refpective Divifions. They fee that the Churches are kept in repair, and that their Revenues are not alienated or mifapplied. No Perfon can be admitted into Priefts Orders until he hath a Cure provided for him. He muft have a Certificate alfo from the Divinity-Profeffor of the Univerfity, concerning the Progrefs he hath made in his Studies, 'and his Qualifications for the Pulpit; and if he do not come inmediately from the Univerfity, he muft have them from the Overfeer and Parih Prieft, where he refides; and if the Superintendant approves of the Clerk, he is inftituted and inducted as with us. But their Law requires, that none be admitted into Priefts Orders who are under five and twenty Years of Age; and the giving any Money, or Confideration, either for Orders or the Prefentment to a Living, is forbidden. And they are obliged to perform Divine Service according to the eftablifhed Form or Ritual, obferved. at St. Mary's in Copenbagen.
They are obliged to pray for the King and Magiftracy, and for the Propagation of the Gofpel ; and are prohibited to admit any to the Sacrament, who have not firft been at Confeffion. But the Penitent, it is faid, need not give an Account of every particular Sin. A general Confeffion, according to the Order the Commands ftand in, intitles him to Abfolution. The Prieft is alfo forbid to take any Money, which the Lutberan Minifters frequently do notwithftanding. The Prieft may not divulge the Confefion of any one, where it is particular; unlefs in Cafes of High Treafon, or for the Prevention of fome great Mirchief by fuch Difcovery, on Pain of Deprivation; and in this Cafe the Name of the Penitent ought to be concealed as long as poffible. The Danes look upon all who have any Service appointed them in
the Church as Ecclefiaftics ; and they are accordingly ta* ken from among the Students, whether they be Clerks, Sextons, or Singingmen, and wholly depend on the Priet or Curate of the Parifh. The Lands of every Perfon convicted of turning Papift are forfeited to the next Heir, unlef's he difpofes of them before he changes his Religion, and fuch Apoftate is banifhed the Danifs Dominions. Whoever hath received his Education from the Jefuits is difabled to have any Employment, Ecclefiaftical or Civil, and Popifh Priefts are prohibited to enter the Dani/b Dominions, on Pain of Death ; nor is their Law lefs fevere againft thofe they denominate Heretics. Fcres are forbid to come into the Kingdom without a Royal Licence; and whofoever difcovers a Yew is entitled to a Reward of fifty Crowns. Their Laws alfo are pretty fevere againft Gypfies and Fortune-tellers, who pretend to foretell future Events, and to be acquainted with the Stars; Banifhment being the Pain of the firf Offence, and the fecond Capital. Blafphemers of God and Religion are'fentenced, firft, to have their Tongues cut out, and afterwards to lofe their Heads; and if a Prieft or Ecclefiaftic is guilty of profaning the Name of God; or of any other notorious Vice, his Punifhment is heavier than that of a Layman.
Their Laws concerning Marriage, require that the Confent of the Relations be had as well as the Woman's. And if the marries without the Confent of the Guardian, he fhall receive the Profit of her Fortune during his Life; but if a Guardian neglect to marry his Ward till fhe is paft eighteen Years of Age, the Magiftrate is impowered to relieve her. Their Marriages are diffolvable, and a Divorce may be obtained in Denmark for Adultery; on a voluntary and malicious Elopement; and for Impotence ; but in cafe of Adultery the Crime muft be well proved by Witneffes, or Circumftances, the Confeffion of the offending Party not being fufficient, fince many have falfely accufed themfelves, in order to obtain a Separation: The Dani/b Law alfo requires, that the Party who brings the Accufation be innocent ; for otherwife no Divorce can be obtained; unlefs it appear, that the ill Ufage of the Fulband hath occafioned the Wife to offend ; and if the Hurband, after he has difcovered his Wife to be guilty of Adultery, flall cohabit with her afterwards, a Separation will not be granted. Where a Woman is divorced for Adultery, fhe may marry again after three Years are elapfed, with a Royal Licence, provided fhe has lived chaftly-during that Time; but fle may not marry, or refide within the fame Town, or Diftrict, where her former Hufband lived; and the like where the former Hurband is divorced for Adultery, committed by him ; but the innocent Party is at Liberty to marry fo foon as the Sentence of Divorce is pronounced. What they term a malicious Elopement, is where one of the Parties abfents him, or her felf, from his, or her Spoufe, by the Space of three Years ; but if the Party deferted hath cohabited with another in the mean time, a Divorce cannot be obtained on this Account.

1o. A Man is not to fell or alienate his Lands before he is five and twenty Years of Age, without the Confent of his neareft Relation ; and a Woman, whether fhe be Maid or Widow, can never part with her Lands, but muft leave them to defcend as the Law direfts. An uninterrupted Poffeffion of twenty Years is held to make a good Title, and they are not permitted to run farther back in a Tryal of the Right. All Obligations alfo, and perfonal Debts are held to be void if not renewed within twenty Years; for Notes, and Bills of Exchange, are of equal Force with an Obligation; but the Law allows eight Days for all kinds of Payments to be made beyond the Time prefixed, and if that Time be elapfed four and twenty Hours, the Creditor may 'proteft it, and have Proceffes thereon againft the Original Debtor or Acceptor. No Perfon is obliged to pay any Money loft at Gaming.
The Tenure of Villainage ftill prevails in many Parts of Denmark; and their Vaffials, or 'Tenants, who hold by this bafe Tenure, are purchafed, and defcend with the Lands they live upon, like Fifh in the Waters, or Deer in a Park; nor can thefe Peafants leave the Lands they belong to, and retire elfewhere ; if they do, the Lord of
the Soil may reclaim them, with their Goods; nor can any Town or Place receive them, unlefs they produce a Licence from their Lord, and a Certificate from the Minifter of the Parifh where they laft inhabited: And if a Peafant of this Clafs endeavours to conceal himfelf, his Lord may feize him, and put him in Prifon, or remove hin to any other Tenement or Farm, by way of Punifhment. And if the Wife of one of thefe. Peafants be brought to-bed on the Lands of another Lord, the Child fhall, however, belong to the Lord where the Father lives. Although the Lord has a Power to infranchize his Peafant, or fell him with the Land, yet he cannot fell him fingly or feparate from the Manor or Eftate. The Children of the Ecclefiaftics of the Peafants Race are free, and fo are all Students in the liberal Arts.

A Peafant-cannot have the Freedom of any Town till he is firft infranchifed by the Lord ; but if he hath refided ten Years in any City unreclaimed, and becomes a Tradefman, or Artificer, or applies himfelf to the Sea, he is free. A Peafant alfo who hath lived twenty Years in a foreign Village out of the Lord's Land, thereby procures his Freedom; or if he goes into the Army and obtains a Commiffion, this gives him his Freedom. As to Game Laws, every Freeholder may hunt, and fifh in his own Grounds; and the Nobility and Gentry have the Privilege of hunting in common or wafte Grounds within ten Miles of their Seats, except in the King's Parks; and they may fifh in Lakes and Ponds which are not the King's ; but if any Lord hunt, fhoot, or fifh, in any Place belonging to his Majefty, he forfeits for every Stag one thoufand Rix-Dollars, for a fallow Deer eight hundred, for a Hare four hundred; and for every Swan, Goofe, Duck, Partridge, or other Fowl two hundred. And whoever is convicted of hunting in another's Lands, forfeits an hundred Ounces of Silver for every Offence.

The People in this Country being pretty much addicted to drinking, all Bufinefs is prohibited to be tranfacted in Taverns, and the fitting in public Houfes very much difouraged ; if they will drink, it muft be at home: And the Reaion of it is fuppofed to be, left the People in their Cups fhould be too free with the Government. It is obferved alfo, that the Subjects ufually endeavour to imitate the Court: If it happens to be a fober Reign, the People are lets given to Excefs; and where they have luxurious Princes and Minitters, the lower Part of Mankind do not fail to follow the lewd Example their Superiors fet them; which is alfo practifed in other Places. If any Perfon fends his Effects or Money out of the Kingdom, to be lodged in foreign Banks, the King claims a fixth Part, and he is obliged to pay a tenth to the Magiftrates of the Town, or the Lord of the Soil where he refides; even foreign Merchants have been obliged to fubmit to thefe Exactions in their returning home, notwithftanding their refpective Sovereigns have infffted upon an Exemption.
11. The great Alteration that has happened in Denmark, from the changing the Monarchy from elective to hereditary, and from being the moft limited, into the moft abfolute of any in Europe, has had a very ftrong Effect upon all Ranks and Degrees of People in that Country; and may be faid, in fome meafure, to have made a total Change in their Temper, and in the Nation. The Nobility of Denmark who were formerly as remarkable for their military Virtues as any in Europe, are now very feldom mentioned; and thofe of Norway are in a manner extinguifhed. The Danes have a better Army it is true, than they had formerly, but it is an Army entirely in the Difpofition of the King, and not, as before, fufficient to make any great Conquefts. The naval Force of Denmark is more confiderable; but yet it does not appear capable of ftriking any great Terror into its Neighbours; whence we may conclude, and that too very juftly, that the Crown of Denmark is far from being fo formidable as it was in former Times; yet, with refpect to its own Security, it feems to be as well or better provided than ever; for whereas the Swedes in the latt Age, were more than once on the very Point of deftroying this Kingdom, there is not now the leatt Danger either of their under-
taking or effecting any fuch Defign ; becaufe the Neigh bours of Denmark, and the maritime Powers are bound, both by their Treaties and their Interefts, to fupport this Crown if it fhould be attacked. It is indeed true, that if the Houfe of Holftein fhould fucceed to the full and peaceable Poffeffion of the Ruffian Dominions, Denmark might be in great Danger from thence, as well on Account of the fuperior Forces of that Empire, as becaufe the Houfe of Holfein have very confiderable Claims upon Denmark, which are hitherto unadjufted. But on the other Side, it is to be confidered, that as yet that Succeffion has not taken place, and that in all probability it will be found more for the Intereft of the Rufian Empire to adjuft thofe Difputes ámicably, before that Succeffion takes place, than to run the Hazard of a War about them ; which might, and indeed muft, be attended with many dangerous Confequences, confidering how many Powers are interefted in the Support of Denmark, even with Regard to thefe very Claims of the Houfe of Holfein upon her.

According therefore to the beft Maxims of Policy, we may very fairly conclude, that in cafe the Kings of Denmark act with the fame Prudence and Caution that they have done for many Years paft, they will be in a Condition to preferve what they at prefent enjoy, and be alfo at Liberty to promote and improve the domeftic Profperity of their Subjects. By this I mean, their Application to Manufactures and Commerce, which have been greatly encouraged of late Years, and this Encouragement has been likewife attended with all the Succefs they could reafonably expect. We have fhewn, in fpeaking of Groenland, that the Subjects of Denmark have eftablifhed confiderable Colonies there, and are in Poffeffion of a very beneficial Trade upon thofe Coafts. We may fay the fame thing with refpect to Iceland, the Trade of which is entirely in their Poffefion, and that of Norway alfo is much improved and extended: But befides all this, as we have fhewn in a former Volume, an Eaft-India Company has been long fettled at Copenbagen, and is now in a flourifhing Condition. We are alfo to obferve, that within thefe few Years the Danes have opened a Trade to the Mediterranean; and as the prefent Monarch feems to follow clofely the Examples of his Predeceffors, in avoiding as muft as poffible entering in any Degree into the Troubles and Difputes that for feveral Years have kept Europe in a Flame, with a View not only to preferve the Quiet of his Subjects, but to cultivate alfo the Arts of Peace; we have Reafon therefore to conclude, that in the Space of a few Years, the good Effects of this wife Conduct will appear, and the People become much richer than formerly. It is alfo very likely, that when thele happy Confequences of a growing and flourifhing Trade become more confpicuous, the Government will find it expedient and even neceffary, to relax fome of thofe fevere Laws which are moft likely to bear hard upon Perfons engaged in Traffic ; for without fuch Indulgences it is impoffible that the Schemes the Darif/ Monarchs feem of late to have fo much at heart, fhould be ever brought to perfection.

We may add to all this, that the Benefits immediately refulting to the Crown from the Increafe of the Commerce and Navigation of its Subjects, will fo fully compenfate for fuch Diminutions of Power, that it is impofible any juft and good Prince, or any wife and able Miniftry fhould doubt, as to the Propriety of fuch reafonable and moderate Changes. By thefe Methods the interior Strength of the Kingdom will be daily augmenting; the Shipping, and confequently the naval Force, of Dermark continually increafing, and though thefe Advantages may be flow in their Nature, yet they are at the fame time fo very certain, and of fuch high Importance, that I make no Scruple of affirming they will, if fteadily profecuted, change the whole Face of Affairs in this Country; and before the Clofe of the prefent Century, reftore the antient Luftre of the Crown of Denmark, and perhaps raife its Sovereigns to a higher Rank, than hitherto they have ever held amongft the European Powers.

## SECTION IV.

A comprebenfive Account of the Kingdom of Poland, the Situation, Extent, Climate, Soils, Produce, and Commerce of that Country, together with the Laws, Cufoms, Manners, Form of Government, and Genius of the Inbabitants; the Privileges of their Nobility, and Power of their Kings.

Collected chiefly from the Writings of Dr. Bernard Conner, who refided in that Kingdom in Quality of Phyfician to King Yobn Sobiefki.

1. The Situation, Extent, and Limits of the Polifh Dominions, including the grand Duchy of Lithuania and that Part of Pruffia which belongs to Poland. 2. The Soil, Climate, Proauce, Commodities, \&c. of the Country. 3. The Nature of its Damefic Trade and Foreign Commerce, and the Reafon why the latter is $f 0$ inconfiderable. 4. An Account of the Dyet of Poland, the Perfons wobo compofe it, and the Reafon woby Poland is called a Republic. 5. The legal Powers, Prerogative, and State of the King of Poland. 6. A farther Account of the fame Subject, and of the Revenues of this Monarch; from wobence it appears that be is far from being fowcak, or fo refrained, as is generally imagined. 7. The Rights, Immunities, Privileges, extenfive Power and Authority of the Nobility or Gentry of Poland; with the Reafon of their declining Titles; and particular Infances of the vaft Power and large Eftates of fome of the Grandees of Poland. 8. An Account of the Condition of the Peafants, and of the Services they owe their Lords; with Remarks on the Patience and Submifion of thofe unbappy People. 9. The natural Temper, Difpofition, Cuftoms, Manner of Living, \&cc. of the Polifh Nobility and Commons. 10. This Subject continued, particularly with regard to the Ladies, and fome Remarks on the Ceremonies at Marriages, Funerals, and other fuch like Occafions. II. Of. the State of Learning and the Sciences in this Kingdom; and of the Difeajes common in Poland. 12. A fuccinct Hijfory of the Cbanges that bave bappened in the Government of Poland, and in the Power and Succeffion of their Kings. 13. Obfervations and Renarks upon the foregoing Section.

THE great Kingdom of Poland next demands our Confideration, as being naturally, both with refpect to the Situation and Produce of the Country, and the Force of the Inhabitants, none of the leaft confiderable; though it is very far from being the beft known in Europe. It is thought to extend in Length from Eaft to Weft, about feven hundred Miles; and in Breadth, from North to South, about fix hundred. On the North it has Livonia and other Provinces of the Mufcovite Empire. On the Eaft it is alfo bounded by the Rufian Dominions and Leffer qartary. On the South by Moidavia, Iranflvania, and Hungary; and on the Weft by Pomerania, Brandenburg, Silefia, and Moravia. By this Defcription, it appears, that the Inhabitants of Poland, have, for their Neighbours the Ruffians, Turks, Tartars, Hungarians, and other Subjects of the Houfe of Aufria, and thofe of the King of Prufia. The Air of this Country is in general temperate and heaithful, but exceeding ferene, and more fettled both in Winter and Summer, than in thofe Countries, which border on the Ocean. The only Sea which wathes any Part of Paland is the Baltic, which lies to the Northward of it; but it is well watered, however, by Lakes and Rivers.
Their Lakes lie chiefly in the Greater Poland, Cujavia, and the Territory of Lublin; and both Lakes and Rivers abound with Fifh. Their principal Rivers are the Weifel, or Vifula, which rifes in the Crapatch or Carpatbian Mountains, which divide Hungary from Poland; its Courfes are partly to the Eaftward, but generally it runs from South to North, watering many great Cities, particularly Cracow, Lublin, Warfaw, Thorn, Marienburgh, and Dantzick, after which it difcharges iffelf into the Baltic Sea. The Warta or Varta, which rifes in the Lefer Poland, and running towards the North-weft, paffes by Kolifcb, Pofran, and feveral other great Towns, after which it falls into Oder. The Nieper or Boriffbenes, which dividing the Dominions of Mufory from thofe of Poland, in feveral Places, falls at length into the Black Sen, near Oczakose. The Neifter or Tyra, which rifes in Red Rufia, and running to the South-eaft through Podolia, paffes on to Bender in Turkey, and falls into the Black Sea, about fixty Miles to the Northward of the Mourt of the Danube.
The Divina, which divides Livonia from Courland,
and falls into the Boltic near Riga. The Bog which rifes from a Lake in Podolia, and bending its Courfe to the South-eaft, unites its Waters with the Nieper, a little before that River falls into the Black Sea. Near the Mouth of thefe two united Rivers ftands the Fortrefs of Koficarmen, which the late Czar of Mufcory took from the Turks; and by that means, is opened a Communication with the Black Sea; buthe was obliged to reftore this Place as well as AJoph to the Grand Seignior, upon the Defeat he met with on the Banks of the Prutb. Niemen or Ruffe rifes in the Palatinate of Novogrodeck, and taking its Courfe to the North-weft paffes by Grodno, and at length falls into the Baltic.
2. The Dominions of Poland are ufually divided into eight large Provinces, viz. Proper Poland, the great Dukedonn of Litbuania, Pruffia, Samogitia and Courland, Warfovia, or Mufjovia, Polacbia and Polefia, Red or Little Rufia, Podolic, and Volbimia, and the Ukrain. The Soil for the moft Part is champain and open; but towards the Borders of Hungary mountainous and woody; fo that the Places furtheft diftant from Hungary are moot fruitful. There is only one great Mountain in the Middle of Leffer Poland, called Mons Calvus. It has a Monaftery on the Top; famous, as they pretend, for the real Crofs of Christ; what other Hills one meets with here, are rather rifing Grounds than Mountains ; the Eaftern Parts of the Kingdom are full of Woods, Forefts, Lakes, Marfhes, and Rivers, which afford a delightful Profpect to that open Country ; almoft all of it, is faid to have been overgrown with Wood, but now being cultivated by the Inhabitants is very fertile, and produces every where all kind of Fruit, Corn, and Herbs. A great Part of the Corn made ufe of in Holland comes from this Country by way of Denmark.
They have a good Breed of Horfes, fo that their Cavalry is numerous, and well mounted. Their Paftures are good, and feed a great many Cattle, which they export to foreign Countries; the Forefts abound with wild Beafts, and alio with Bees, that afford vaft Quanties of Honey and Wax. They have alfo abundance of Flax and Hemp, and Vines in many Places, whofe Grapes are grateful to the Tafte, efpecially if the Summer and Harveft be favourable ; but the Wine is generally very fharp when drawn off. In the Mountain there are Mines of

Lead,

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and its INHABITANTS.

Lead, Silver, Copper, and Iron, with other kinds of Minerals, as Quickfilver at Tuffen in Red Rufio, and Vitriol near Biecz in the Palatinate of Cracovia; , but the moft confiderable of all are the Salt Mines at Bochnia and Velifca in Leffer Poland, which are the chief Riches of the Country. They work in thofe Mines as we do in our Coal-Pits; the Salt is generally of a bluifh Colour, but fome of it white and tranfparent, like Cryftal; when it is new dug it has a brackifh Tafte, but when expofed to the Air becomes brittle, and more fweet ; they have alfo fome Veins of Sal Gemme. The Woods are well ftored with Hares, Coneys, Squirrels, Deer, Foxes, Bears, Wolves, and Boars. The Mafovian Forefts have Plenty of Eilks, wild Affes, Buffaloes, and Bifonets, which in Shape and Horns refemble an Ox ; have Mains like Horfes, Beards on their lower Jaws, Tongues rough like a File, and very hard, a Bunch on their Backs, and their Hair fmells like Munk. They are incredible ttrong; the Polifb Nobility hunt them, and efteem their Flefh when powdered a great Dainty. The Urus, called by the Polonders Thur, is a kind of wild Ox; bigger, ftronger, and fwifter than the tame; he has a mort black Beard, a Bufh of Hair upon his Forehead, and Horns very wide and large : Pliny fays, the Romons made Lanthorns of them. The Eilk, called by the Poles Lofs, by the Germans Elland, which fignifies miferable, becaufe of the Falling-Sicknefs, is about the Size of a large Horfe, bodied like a Stag, but broader, its Legs longer, and its Feet cloven and large ; their Hoofs are reckoned a Specific againft the Falling-Sicknefs.

In the Deferts near the Nieper, there is a Sort of wild Sheep, called Sollack, fhaped like a Goat, but with fhorter Legs, and Horns growing ftraiter up. They are exceeding fiwift, and leap very high. They have a Sort of wild Horfes in the Ukrain, called by them Dzikiekonil, which their Nobles eat for a great Rarity. In Lithuonia and Muscovy there is a voracious unferviceable Beaft not found elfewhere, called Rofiomoko, with the Body and Tail of a Wolf, and the Face of a Cat; it feeds on dead Carcaffes, and eats till its Belly is fwelled to the utmoft Stretch, then it fqueezes itfelf betwixt two Trees, forces the Load from its Stomach, and returns to its Prey, devouring and difgorging fucceffively till all is confumed.
3. The weftern Parts of this Kingdom produce a great deal of Corn, of all Sorts, which is exported from Dantzick; as alfo Honey, Wax, Amber, Hides, tanned Leather, Mufcovite and Polifh Furs, Oak, Wainfcot, Mafts, Planks, Fir, Deal, Pitch, Tallow, Salt, Hops, Hemp, Flax, Salt-petre, Pot-ahhes, Opium, Prufiain Wool, for coarfe Manufactures; Vitriol, Lapis Lazuli, Vermilion, Brafs, Lead, Iron, Copper, Glafs, and Earthen-ware, Oxen, Sheep, Hogs, Esc. to different Parts of Eturope. They import Stuffs, Silk, and Wortted; Englifh Cloths, Tapcftry, Jewels, Sables, SaltFifh, Tin, Steel, Martens, Evc. Iron-ware, Rbenifh, Erench, Spanifb, and Hungarion Wines, Spirits, Aqua Vitæ, Brandy, Spice, of which they make great Confumption. They might be much richer, if they were induftrious and frugal, and applied themfelves to Manufactures ; but the Poles are little inclined to either ; for the Gentry are abfolutely forbid to follow Trade, of any Kind, on Pain of forfeiting their Honour; and the Commonality commonly want Funds, fo that all the Trade there is chiefly carried on by foreign Merchants; befides, fuch of the Poles as have any Fortunes, fpend too much of their Revenues in coftly Habits and Luxury, to be able to undertake any confiderable Traffic. Nor - have they any good Ports, except Dantzick, which is not enough to improve the Trade of fo large a Country. It is to this want of Commerce with other Nations, that the Poles owe moft of their Defects in their Government ; for if they were once convinced of them, there is not a Nation in Europe more capable of correcting them, as we may gather from a very familiar Inftance: One of their Monarchs being in Germany, and not having it in his Power to converfe with Strangers in Latin; he was fo renfible of the Defect, that upon his Return to Poland, he

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caufed a Grammar-School to be crected in every Town throughout the Kingdom; 'fo that now there is not a Country in Europe where Latin is fo generally undertood as it is here.
4. From the'Time of Lecbus, the Kings of Poland have been elected to the Crown in a regular Defcent, though not by an hereditary Title. They have really been abfolute, and their Will went for Law ; for they made Peace and War when they pleafed, levied Troops as they thought fit, punifhed or pardoned at Pleafure ; and all the Adminitration, either of public or private Affairs, was fo wholly lodged in the King's Hands, that the Poles themfelves fay, That Sigifmund II. the laft King of the Fagellon Family, was, to the full, as abfolute as either the King of France or Denmark is now. Whilft the Kings of Poland thus maintained a fupreme Power over their Subjects, they exceedingly enlarged their Dominions, were feared Abroad and beloved at Home, commanded numerous Armies, executed Enterprizes fpeedily, and were always fare of Succefs ; and this, becaufe, they did not then, as now, depend upon the lingering and tedious Conclufions of a turbulent Dyet. But the Family of Fagello being once extinct by the Death of Sigifmund II. who had refigned his Kingdom to the Senate and Polifb Gentry, and given them full Power and Authority, to difpofe thereof as they thought fit ; the Crown of Poland was declared once more -elective; to the End, that all the Princes of Cbrifendom, who had due Merits and Qualifications, might have a Right to afpire thereunto.

This has given Occafion to mof of the Princes of Europe ever fince to court the Polifh Nobility, either to get the Election determined in their own Favour, or elfe to have fome of their Friends advanced to that great Dignity ; but this commonly, with regard to their own private Interefts, rather than out of any Refpect to the Perfon they defired to promote. 'The Gentry of Poland therefore obferving, that feveral Princes always afpired to their Crown ; and confrdering that none of them had more Right than the reft, and that it lay altogether in their own Power to choofe whom they pleafed, refolved unanimoully to elect none but fuch as could condefcend, nay fwear, to obferve the Terms and Conditions they propofed. By this mëans, the Poles have clipped and limited the antient Power of their Kings, and have reduced them to the Bounds we now find them, that is, barely to a third Part of the Dyet. For the Poles knew that no Prince would be fo imprudent as to fcruple fubmitting to any Conditions, to become Mafter of fo confiderable a Kingdom, to which he had no Right, either by Birch or any other Claim; and more efpecially, fince thefe Conditions are neither rigonous nor difhonourable, but fuch as are confiftent enough with the regal Character he is to be invefted with.

Thus the Polifh Gentry, of an abfolute monarchical Government, have in time made a perfect Republic, confifting of three Orders. The King; Senate, and Nobility. The Polifh Nation is divided into two Sorts of People. The Nobility, Gentry, or Free-born Subjects, who are hardly a tenth Part of the Kingdom; and their Vaffals, who are no better than Slaves; for they have no Benefit of the Laws, can buy no Eftates, nor enjoy any Property; and this, becaufe, fome Ages fince, the common People revolting againft their Lords, and having driven them out of the Nation, the Gentry came with a foreign Power, and reduced them to greater Subjection than before, in which they have been kept ever fince: So that the Government of Poland, at prefent, comprehends only the King and the Nobility. By a Gentleman, or Nobleman of Poland, is underfood, a Perfon, who himfelf, or his Family, has Poffeffions in Land, for they - never intermarry wirh the common People. All the Gentry, from the King's Sons to thofe that are Mafters of an Acre, are equally noble, both by their Birth and the Conftitution of the Kingdom; for nobody is born either a Palatine, Senator, or Lord, but their Titles are always annezed to Employments, which the King gives to Perfons advanced in Age, and recommended by theis Merit.

The Dyet of Poland is compofed of two Houfes; the Houfe of Senators, anfwerable to our Houfe of Lords; and the Houfe of Nuncios, not unlike our Houfe of Commons; the Senators are the Bifhops, Palatinates, Caftellans, and the ten great Officers of the Crown; in all about one hundred and forty-two. In the Upper-houfe the Senators fit, not by any Writ of Summons, or Letters Patent, as in England; but only by Virtue of the great Preferments in the King's Gift, which they enjoy for Life; fo that the King conftitutes the whole Upper-houfe, but the Lower, are the Reprefentatives of the Gentry, elected by them alone in their refpective Provinces, without the Concurrence of the common People, who have no Privilege in their Election; infomuch that nine Parts in ten of the People in Poland are excluded from any Share in the Government.

The grand Dyet of Poland is nothing elfe but the King, Senators, and. Deputies, affembled in any Part of the Kingdom his Majefty commands. Without this great Affembly of the States, the King can neither make nor repeal Laws, declare War, conclude a Peace, make Alliance with any foreign Prince, raife Troops, impofe Taxes, or coin Money; in a Word, determine no Matter of any Importance, without the unanimous Concurrence of this Parliament, which they ftyle the free States of Polanid. Several Motives have inclined the Poles to eftablifh this Kind of mixt Government; which they take to be a juft Temperament, of whatever is to be found moft excellent in the feveral Monarchies, Ariftocracies, and Democracies that have been in the World. It has however appeared from Experience, that their Endeavours in this refpect have not been very fuccefsful, fince there is hardly a Conititution in the World, or at leaft in Edrope, that anfwers the Ends of Government worfe than theirs; which is very often the Cafe where Pcople aim at fuch a Degree of Perfection as is not to be attained in human Affairs.
5. The Republic is divided into two States, the Kingdom of Poland, and the great Duchy of Lithuanie; both which are but as one Body, having the fame King, the fame Dyet, the fame Laws, the fame Privileges, the fame Religion, and, as the natural Refult of all thefe, the fame Intereft: Thefe two States are fo very well united, that a King cannot be elected, a Law made, or any thing of confequence done, without the mutual Confent of both. The $\mathcal{P}$ oles are too proud to agree to defpotic Power: And therefore thofe pernicious Maxims of Tyrants, Si lubet licet, oderint chum metuant, and the like, would be but ill received among People that have all along fecured their Liberties by their Valour. As for the Kings of Poland, they may reft in Security in the Bofom of their Country, either without or within their Dominions, fince they have always their Subjects for their Guards, through indifpenfable Inclinations; for what contributes chiefly to the Happinefs of thefe Princes, is the loyal Obfervance and voluntary Obedience paid to them even by thofe that are at liberty to do the contrary.

Monfieur de Polignac, the French Embaffador, ufed to fay at War fore, That he thought a King of Poland more happy in his Perfon and Condition than a King of France; neverthelefs, this Authority of the King of Poland is fo limited by the Laws of the Land, that it does not exact more from the Nobles or Gentry than they think he deferves; for though their Behaviour be generally obfervant, yet do they tacitly feem to call in queftion his Power. The Polifh Nobility make no Difference between the King's Right and thofe of the Senate and Deputies, affirming that fince three Members compofe but one Body, they ought equally to fhare in the fame. The fmall Authority therefore of their Kings, and the Impoffibility of their act-- ing, have expofed Poland to the Infults of their Neighbours, and the Rage of their own People; as may be feen in the Civil Wars of the Coffacks, and the Treachery and Sedition of the Confederates; which could never have arrived at fo great a Height if the King had had fufficient Power to fupprefs them. Alfo the great Marfhal of the Crown, Lumber $/ k i n$, would never have had the Boldnefs to have oppofed King Cafmir's Defigns fo openly, and to have formed fo many Factions againt the Court, had he
not had Affurance of remaining unpunimed. We have divers Inftances of the Poles Love for their Kings, and particularly their long enforcing the Right of Sigifmund III. to the Kingdom of Sreeden in an obftinate War, which they revived feveral times; as likewife the fupporting afterwards the Pretences of Uladifaus VII. to Mufcovy; to omit divers others of a more antient Date.

This Refpect of theirs obliges them to come and fpend their Eftates at Court, to augment their Prince's Grandeur by their Prodigality and Magnificence. This appears by a Miftake made by a King of Bobemia, at the Interview between him and Cafimir the Great, at Glogau (which Place the former had demanded to bound the Limits of Silefia) when he faluted a private Gentleman, fplendidly cloathed, for the King of Poland: The Inclination of the Poles towards honouring their Prince is fo ftrong, that all they are able, even to the hazard of their Lives and Fortunes, they are willing to lavifh in his Service, without expecting any greater Recompence than the Glory of waiting on his Majefty's Perfon. A King of Poland, when he is juft, liberal, and religious; one, who obferves the Laws and Conititutions, and, in a word, who has no other Intereft but the Good and Safety of his Subjects, is as much refpected, and as faithfully obeyed in times of Peace and War, as moft Princes in Europe. As to what relates to War, no Monarch has greater Advantages; for he is neither at the Trouble of raifing Forces, or Expence in maintaining them; his Bufinefs being only to convene the Dyet, and they do all thefe Things. After War declared, he can continue the fame either by himfelf or his Generals, can regulate his Troops, and fee his Army paid out of theTreafury of the Republic; he has great Reafon to hope for Succefs in his Expeditions, becaufe he not having undertaken them on his own Account, thofe that engaged him will infallibly fupport him in them, and the rather, by reafon that what was done was done with their Confent. This has proved the Caufe of almof never failing Succefs to the Polifh Army till of late Days, when the King and his Subjects have not been in fo good Intelligence with cach other as formerly.
6. When the King is in the Army he has the fupreme Authority, gives battle when he pleafes, and befieges Towns as he thinks fit, and commands abfolutely all the Gentry to follow him into the Field on Horfeback at ever fo little Warning. At Home he has the Nomination of all ecclefiaftical Benefices, and of all fecular Employments, as well Military as Civil, through the whole Extent of his Dominions, with a great Number of royal Demefnes; which together with the State Dignities, he confers on thofe that have deferved them. He can beftow as confiderable Preferments as any Prince in Europe, and oblige and raife the Fortunes of whom he pleafes. He has a Right in naming Cardinals as well as other Roman Catholic Kings. He can fend and receive Embaffadors privately, in Matters relating to himfelf; but as to what concerns the Republic, the Senate muft have their Share in it. He can call, prorogue, and diffolve the Dyet at pleafure: In a word, the Poles term him the Protector of their Laws and Privileges, the chief Diftributer of Honours, the Head of their Republic, and fupreme General of their Forces.

The Poles attend his Perfon uncovered. The chief Senators generally ferve him at Table; firft tafting of the Cup before they prefent him with it. His Subjects never fit before him, nor cover theirHeads any where but in the Dyet, and there too the Senators are only allowed that Liberty, for the Deputies ftand behind with their furred Caps in their Hands. All Sorts of Gold, Silver, or Brafs Coin, are ftamped with his Image. All Juftice is adminiftered in his Name ; and at Church they pray for the King and Royal Family. When he is crowned, the Dyet allows him a Penfion of about $140,000 \mathrm{l}$. per Ann. which, together with his Patrimonial Eftate, maintains him a very fplendid Court. He has his Polifh, Germon, and Hungarian Guards, and has the fame Officers of his Houhold, as other Kings have. While the QueenDowager lives, the Queen-Confort maintains her Court at the 'King's Charge. But after the Queen Dowager's Death, or Marriage, or the King?s Death, the has a Re-
venue anfigned for that Purpore, over and above the Penfion, which the Dyct fettles upon the King and Queen; which, in that cheap Country, ferves to maintain them as high as our Kings live here.

The King of Poland has great Incomes of his own ; for the Poles never care to elect a poor Prince, for fear his Children may come to be a Charge to them after his Death. He gets befides vaft Sums of Money for Nominations to Employments ; which the late King did not fruple to fell, thongh directly contrary to the Conftitutions of the Kingdom; nay, the Ecclefiaftical Benefices, which are very confiderable, are alfo put under Contriburion by fome cunning Artifice or other ; thus the Promowion of the Bifhop of Cracow, whofe Bifhopric is worth cight thoufand Pounds Sterling per. Annum, which will go further than twenty thoufandPounds in England; was, in the Reign of King Jobn Sobiefki procured, by laying a Wager with the Queen of fifty thoufand Crowns, that he did not obtain that Preferment, which as foon as the King knew he beflowed upon him, and fo the Queen won her Wager. The Crown Revenues axife from Cufoms and Excifes, from Part of the Duties of the Port of Dontzick, from the heavy Tax laid upon the Feros, and from the Salt Mines, which all together bring in rather more than lefs than three hundred thoufand Pounds of our Money annually. But the King's Power in beftowing Preferments does not extend to Foreigners ; neither can he ake away any Poft that he beftows, or leffen its Revenues or Privileges. His eldett Son has the Title of Prince of Poland while his Father lives, but he lofes it upon the Acceffion of a new King, and is ftiled Prince, by the Name of his Family ; and fuch Precautions are taken, that it is very difficult for a King of Poland to make the Crown hereditary in his own Family.
7. We come now to fpeak of the Nobility of Polond, which comprehends all the Gentry in that Country, and even all thofe whom in England we file only Freeholders. Of thefe every Gentleman or Nobleman has his Coat of Arms granted by the Republic; but then he, or fome of his Family, muft have an Eftate in Land. They are capable of the greateft Offices in the Kingdom, and may buy Lands where they pleafe, and have a Right to be elected King, if their Credit and Intereft can procure it. Every Gentleman is a fovereign Prince in his own Lands, and has Power of Life and Death over his Tenants, who have no Laws nor Privileges to protect them. They dare not leave his Lands to go to others, on Pain of Death, unlefs he fells them ; and if he do his Tenants pafs with his Lands. But if their Lords ravifh their Wives, or Daughters, the Tenants may leave his Service.

If one Lord kills another's Servant he is not punifhed for it, but only obliged to give him another in his room, or as much Money as will buy one, and to maintain the Family of him that is killed. If he kills one of his own Slaves he only pays a Fine; nay, if one Gentleman kills another, he cannot be apprehended or imprifoned, unlefs convicted by a Court of Jutice, which gives him Time enough to elcape, and when condemned he cannot be executed without the King's Confent. No Soldiers can be quartered upon the Gentry ; if any Officer does it, the Dyet either fentences him to die, or declares him infamous. The Houfes of the Nobility are Sanctuaries, fo that no Delinquent can be taken there by force, though he has been arrefted. If a Nobleman will fwear that his Goods were not bought; but are the Produet of 'his Lands, he may fend them any where out of the Kingdom, and without Cuftom ; and after he has fworn, his Certificate fuffices, to exempt the Purchafer from the Duty. In Prufla the Nobles are not only free from Cuftoms, but likewife all other Inhabitants by the Magna Cbarta of Cubm. The Polifh Noblemen have alfo the Privilege of Pre-emption. All the Gentry of Poland are equal by Birth, and therefore they don't value Titles of Honour ; but think that of a noble Pole, or Gentleman of Poland, the greateft they can have. Neither the King nor the Republic beftow the Title of Prince, which belongs only to the Sons of the Royal Family ; for though fome are made Princes of the Empire, and as fuch enjoy
the Title of Prince; they have no Precedency upon that Account. Nor have they any Dukes, Marquifes, Counts, Vifcounts, or Barons, but what have foreign Titles, which the reft generally defpife; for they do not value any borrowed Character, or external Denomination: but fay, that it is intrinfic Worth and Scrvice done to their Country, that deferves Preferment. King Sigifs mund III. eftablifhed an Order of Knighthood of the immaculate Conception, created feveral Knights, and allowed them Privileges and Superiority above others, but they were fo much undervalued and defpifed by the reft of the Gentlemen, that the Order (in fpite of the royal Protection) foon came to nothing.

Thofe great Privileges make the Poliß Gentry powerful; many of them have large Territories, with a defpotic Power over their Tenants, whom they call their Subjects; fome of them have Eftates of five, fome fifteen, fome twenty, and fome thirty Leagues in extent. But the poor Gentry have their Votes in the Dyet as well the richeft. Some of them are hereditary Sovereigns of Cities, with which the King has nothing to do. Lubow mirf $k i$ pofefies above four thoufand Towns and Villages; fome of them can raife five, fix, eight, and ten thouland Men, and maintain them at their own Charge. The Gentry of Note have Horfe and Foot Guards, which kcep Centry Night and Day at their Gates. They make an extraordinary Figure when they come to the Dyet; fome of them have five thoufand Guards, fome had formerly ten thoufand. They cfteem themfelves, efpecially the Senators, above any Prince in Geriaany, and want nothing of fovereign Power, but the Liberty of coining Money, which is referved to the Republic. Foreign Embaffadors are obliged to make a great Figure here, otherwife the Geintry defpife them. When great Men have Suits at Law, the Dyet, or other Tribunals decide them ; yet the Execution of the Sentence mut be left to the longeft Sword; for the Juftice of the Kingdom is commonly too weak for the Grandees. Sometimes they raife five or fix thoufand Men of a Side, plunder and burn one another's Cities, and befiege Caftles and Forts; for they think it below them to fubmit to the Sentence of Judges without a Field Battle; yet formeriy, their Noblemen were little better than Slaves. Cromercus fays, that they were obliged to keep the King's Dog. The firt Rife is afcribed to the Privileges granted by Bolefous the Chafte to the Clergy, and afterwards when Poland was harrafied by Civil Wars; the Gentry obtained many Privilcges from their Kings, which they have fince taken Care to get augmented at every new Election.

The moft flourifhing Families in Poland are thofe of Radzivil, which has the Title of Prince; the Dukes of Wifnicwec and Zharare, one of which Family was elected King of Poland in 1664; the Prince of Lubomirky, whofe Family are Princes of the Empire ; the Princes of Czartoriky; the Princes of Sapieta, great Governors of Litbuania, the Family of Lezienfi; the Family of Fablenore/ki ; the Family of Priyemal $k$; and that of Lip/ki. Thofe that are not noble by Birth, may be created Noblemen. This was formerly at the King's Pleafure, but of late is at the Difpofal of the Senate or Dyet. All the little Dyets of the Republic mut give their Confent; and this muif afterwards be approved by the great Dyet, before they have their Patent. A Fero is made a Gentleman by marrying a Chriftian, and by fignalizing himfelf in the Wars; but the King muft propofe it, and the Dyet approve it. The new made Nobility are liable to feveral Impofitions and Inconveniencies, from which others are exempted; if any one be a Magiftrate in Cracow or Vilna, he and his Pofterity are noble. Nobility is forfeited here three Ways; by fome heinous Crime; for Inftance, when a Nobleman permits one that is ignoble to ufurp his Coat of Arms; by exercifing any Trade or Merchandize ; fometimes Pofterity are reftored, when Parents have quitted their Title through Poverty, and by bearing Office in any City that is not privileged. All the Nobility love to make a Shew, and to be fplendidly clad.

They formerly delighted in foreign Fafhions; when they had Wars againft the Mufcovites they followed
theirs, and when with the Turks they took up their Habits. Their prefent Garb is a Veft, that reaches to the Middle of their Legs, with a long Robe lined with Fur, and tied about their Middle with a Safh, little Boots, with Iron Heels, Fur Caps, and a Sabre by their Side. When they ride they have a fhort Cloak, like an Irib Mantle, furred within and without. The better Sort have rich Furs from Mufcovy, but the poorer Gentry content themfelves with the Skins of Tygers, Leopards, Panthers, and a kind of grey Furs. The fineft of their Fur-fuits coft above a thoufand Crowns, are worn only at Dyers, and defcend from Father to Son. Some of the Poligh Gentry imitate the French Fanion, and wear Linnen, Lace, Perukes, and Swords. The ordinary Sort of Gentry put Chaff into their Boots. Some of their Nobles have fifty Suits of Cloaths, all as rich as poffible, and they love to have their Servants as well apparelled almoft as themfelves.
8. As to the Peafants they are born Slaves, have no Notion of Liberty, but live well fatisfied without it ; in Courland they are as fubject to their Landlords as in Poland, and in both Countries almoft adore them. They love their Landlords, fight for them, and all they have is abfolutely at their Devotion. When they debauch their Wives, or Daughters, thofe poor Wretches do not think their Women the worfe, or that they themfelves are difhonoured by it. They have fcarce any Religion, but like Brutes, work on Sundays for their own Subfiftence, being obliged to work three or four Days in a Week' for their Mafters, without Meat or Wages. Each of them earns his Mafter, at leaft, ten Pounds per Annum. They have no Property, nor can they be made free, except they go into fome Convent, and are ordained Priefts, or their Mafters ravifh their Wives, or Daughters. When a Lord lets any Ground to a Peafant, he orders his other Peafants, at their Charge, to build him a Houfe, to give him a Cow, Hens, Geefe, and as much Rye as will keep him a Year. A Slave cannot fend his Son to the Univerfity without Liberty from his Lord. They reap their Mafter's Corn, and have rigid Tafk-mafters over them, who punifh them feverely, if they do not do as much as is required of them. Their Mafters commonly boaft of their Clemency, and fay, that though they have an abfolute Power over them, they feldom make ufe of it any more than other Chriftians do over their Horfes and Dogs.

Doctor Connor informs us, he afked fome Polifh Noblemen, why they fo inhumanly treated and undervalued their Boors; who anfwered, that formerly all the Boors revolted from their Landlords, and confpired to extirpate them, and murdered fo many, that the reft were obliged to hide themfelves, or to leave the Kingdom. But, at laft, the Gentry getting together from all Parts, and being amfited by their Neighbours, quelled the Peafants, who intended to have fet up a Commonwealth of their own, and brought them to fuch Extremities, that ever fince they have been contented to live like Slaves. In Winter they wear a Sheep-fkin with the Wool inwards, and in Summer a clofe-bodied Coat of coarfe Stuff, of a Colour much like our Chimneyfweepers, with forry Caps; their Boots are the Rinds of Trees wrapped about their Legs, with the thicker Parts to guard the Soles of their Feet againft the Stones; they cut their Hair clofe, like Monks, and fhave all from their Faces but a large Whinker. They walk gravely with a Pole-Axe in their Hand, and a Sabre by their Side', which they never put off till they go to Bed; it hangs by a Strap of Leather, to which there is faftened a Handkerchief, Knife, and Sheath, and a fmall Stone to whet their Knives.

In Litbuania the Boors Shoes are of the Barks of Trees, and their Stockings of thinner Bark, which they wrap about the Calves of their Legs. Before they enter any Town, they always take care to put on frefh Shoes; they alfo wear a Sort of afh-coloured Habit, with Sleeves, woven all of a Piece. The Boors here are more miferable than in Poland; for Gentlemen commonly go into Boors Houfes, though not their own, take all they have, and beat and wound them, becaufe they are not
able to bribe fuch as have Power to do them Jufice The Pruffan Gentry are not fo gaudy in their Habits as thofe of the more fouthern Parts of Poland; their Peafants differ alfo in Habits from thofe of Poland. and wear fometimes long ftrait Coats of Leather.
9. The Poles never live above Stairs, and their A partments are not united; the Kitchen is on one Side, the Stable on another, the Dwelling-houfe on the Third, and the Gate in the Front. Their Houfes are for moft part of Wood, but they have fome of Brick and Stone. Their Rooms are generally hung with Tapeftry, or Arras, but towards Tartary they keep no extraordinary Furniture, becaufe of the Incurfions of that barbarous People. They content themfelves with a few fmall Beds, with Taffaty Curtains ; and if any one lodge at their Houfes they muft carry their Bedding with them. The Moveables of the Peafants are a few earthen and wooden Difhes, a hard Bed, and a wretched Coverlid; their Children are not allowed Beds till they marry, but lie upon Boards by the Fire ; they have no Chimnies, but little Holes in the Tops of their Houfes. The Peafants Children go naked till they are four or five Years old, and frequently eat in the fame Trough with the Pigs. They crawl on their Hands and Feet till they are ftrong enough to walk, and when they are dirty the Mother wafhes them in cold Water, which makes them exceeding hardy.

The Peafants of Litbuania and Samogitio, build their Ioufes round, narrow, and open at top to let out the Smoke and Stink; they are generally covered with Boards, Straws, Bark of Trees, and live with the Fiamily and Cattle under the fame Roof. The Polifh Gentry have feldom any Gardens or Orchards, though their Country be very proper for it, and might, by making Cyder and Perry, fave a great deal of Corn which they confume in Beer. Their ordinary Meat is Beef and Veal; for they leave the Mutton to their Servants. They have Store of grey but no red Partriges; many Hares, but no Rabbets, than which they fay they would rather eat Cats; but they breed white Rabbets for the fake of their Furs; they have many Roebucks, but few Stags; Plenty of wild Oxen, wild Boars, Hogs, Pcultry, Pidgeons, $\mathcal{E} c$. There are manyHeathcocks anid Pheafants in Litbuania, and Buftards in Pruffa. The Baltic Sea has fearce any Fifh; but that Defect is fupplied by great Plenty of frefh Water Fin, from Lakes and Rivers. The Poles have a peculiar Way of preferving Cabbage ; they chop it fmall, put it into a Tub berween Lays of Salt, prefs it very hard, and afterwards pour warm Water upon it, which makes it ferment and ferves them for Pickle: This they preferve all Winter, and fometimes the whole Year ; though it fmells ftrong even at a Diftance, yet they think it a great Rarity.

Their ufual Drink is Beer, which in Prulfia is made only of Malt ; but in the reft of Polond, of Wheat ground fimall and boiled with Hops. Sometimes they mix it with Oats and Spelt, a Kind of Wheat which grows in Italy and Flanders; in Litbuania, Rufia, and Ukriin, they make both a red and a white Liquor with Honey, which they call Mead; at Warfaw they mix it with Spice, and Juice of Cherries and Blackberries. The Litbuanians and Poles have Wine from Hungary, Italy, France, and Germany; that of Hungary exceeds Spanifb Wine in Strength, is brought to Cracowv over the Carpatbian Mountains in large Canks drawn by Oxen, and fold at twenty Shillings the Polifb Pot, which is about three Quarts; the Italian Wine is alfo brought over Land, and on that Account is dearer than the other. In the Morning, both Men and Women generally drink Ginger, Yolks of Eggs, and Sugar, boiled in Beer; they are immoderate Lovers of rufty Bacon and Peafe; they eat all manner of Mufhrooms, and preferve them for Pickles; they eat great Quantities of Poppy-feed, drink the Milk of them, and make it into feveral Difhes and Sauces; they make likewife abundance of Oil of the Seeds of Hemp and Flax, which they eat on Faftdays ; they ufe Spice to that Excefs, that fome great Mien fpend twenty-five hundred Pounds per Anmun in that fingle Commodity: They ufe Spice and ickles in all their Sauces, which differ much from ours; fome of them are yellow, made with Saffron; others white, made with Cream, fome grey, made of

Onions, and others black, made of the Juice of Plumbs. They have Choice of all Sorts of Pot-herbs, and fome that were found nowhere elfe; they have alfo Sweetmeats of feveral Kinds, and make much Ufe of Piftachio Nuts.

They generally eat a great deal of Meat to a little Bread, though they have Plenty of Corn, efpecially Rye, which is much better than in other Countries. They are great Admirers of Roots, have a Difh called Crakat, made of coarfe Flower of Wheat, Barley, Millet, or Oats, and fometimes of a fmall Grain they call Manna ; on Flefh-days they eat it with Milk and Butter, and on Faftdays with Oil. When the Boors want Bread, they make it of Acorns dried and ground. Near the Mountains of Hungary there are wild Goats, which they admire as very good Meat : They alfo make a Difh of Beavers-Tails; Bears-Paws pickled they reckon a great Dainty. When they kill Elks, they do not gut them for fourteen or fifteen Days, and in Winter, not in a Month. When the Grandees come to the Dyet, they bring them in their Skins and Guts, and hang them at their Windows by five or fix at a time, till they grow rank, then they roaft fome, and drefs others like Beef A-la-mode; and none but great Men have this Difh at their Tables. The Poles are generally courteous and hofpitable to Strangers, invite them to their Houfes, converfe with them freely, and endeavour to imitate them. The Slavery of their Boors is fo much the more tolerable to them, becaufe they feldom want Victuals and Drink ; they have generally three or four Sorts of Things at a Meal, one Difh of Peafe with niced Bacon, another of Crakat, and two more of feveral Sorts of ftrengthening Roots, which they have in great Plenty in Litbuania; their Bread is coarfe and black, made of Rye, fmutty Wheat and Barley, all ground together.

They have abundance of Flefh, Fifh and Fowl; and Cattle, or Poultry, they think they cannot keep inW inter, they kill in Harveft. They are good Marks-Men, and maintain their Families, in a great meafure, by Fowling. Every Houfe has four or five Hand-mills to grind their Corn. The Peafants of Samogitia are not fo laborious as thofe of Litbutania, and confequently have not fuch Plenty; inftead of Bread they eat a Sort of Turnips as big as one's Head, which grow of themfelves, without Cultivation. They quench many red hot Stones one after another, in their Beer, Metheglin, and Mead, after they have boiled it a whole Night, in order to make their Bellies foluble; this Liquor they put in Veffels made of the Barks of Trees. They reward the ftouteft Drinkers at Feafts with a Shirt, Handkerchief, Frock, or the like. They live longer here than in Litbuania, and many of them reach a hundred and twenty Years. Formerly the Pruffians dwelt in Waggons or Huts made of Boughs, and the Peafants are not yet much improved in Architecture, for they generally live in Hovels built of Stakes, Roof and all,' twifted over with Rods, without any Covering; their Furniture is not much better, for the old Pruffans flept on the Ground, or on the Skins of Beafts, and thefe lie upon the Straw : They are content with fpare Diet, and more addicted to Sloth than Gluttony, yet, like the Poles and Litbuanians they drink hard, efpecially at Feafts; their former Drink was Water, or Mares Milk mixed fometimes with Blood; but now it is Mead and Beer. Their ordinary Food is Fifh they knew not the Ufe of Roots till the Knights of the Teutonic Order came among them ; but now the Peafants make them their chief Dainties.

When the Gentry make a Feaft, they never fupply their Guefts with Spoons, Knives, or Forks ; they muft bring them with them: They have a broad Piece of itarched Linnen fewed round the Table-cloth, for Napkins; the Reafon they give for it is, to prevent their Servants ftealing. Their Servants have their Meat reached them by their Mafters, which they eat behind their Backs: They bring twice as much Wine as their Mafters need, and drink the Remainder themfelves; they feize on what is left after Dinner, and their Ladies each of them carry a Napkin for dried Sweat-meats or Fruits. Their Feafts are nuade by Friends and Neighbours by Turns; Brimmers are much in ufe among the Poles; they will fcarce excufe a Man

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except he pledges them. This Vice reigns equally irt Feafts and Taverns; and Saints-days are not excepted out of their Drunkards Calendar. Thefe Diforders are tolerated becaufe of the great Excife they bring to the State. The Mafter of the Feaft is efteemed a Niggard that does not allow his Guefts as much as will fuddle them.

The Inns in this Country are long Stables built up with Boards, and covered with Straw, without Furniture or Windows ; there is a Chamber at one End, but none can lodge there ; becaufe of Flies, Fleas, and noi-s fome Smells; fo that Strangers chufe rather to lodge among the Horfes, where there is alfo an intolerable Smell of rotten Cabbages, which thefe People keep always by them. Travellers are obliged to carry Provifions with them; and when Foreigners want, they apply themfelves to the Lord of the Village, who forthwith fupplies them. Poland being for moft part a champaign Country, a Calafh and two Horfes will rid a good deal of Ground there in a Day. Travellers ought to take more than ordinary Care as they pafs Bridges in this Country, becaufe they are generally very bad, and feldom repaired. When they go a hunting for Bears they catch thofe of the biggeft Size with Nets, and when they have hampered him, all the Hunters ride about him, and having pinned down his Head and his Feet with great wooden Forks, they bind him fo about with ftrong hempen Cords that he is not able to ftir then they rowl him into a great wooden Cheft; the Knots of the Cords are fo contrived, that with one pull they may be untied. The Bear is kept thus, till they have a mind to hunt him, and then they let him out at a Trap-door made on Purpofe.

They furround wild Bulls with a great Number of Horfemen, when each of them rides $u p$ and darts an Arrow at him ; upon this the Ox purfues his Enemy; then another darts him behind, and as he turns about to purfue him, they dart him fo by turns, till the Beaft being tired with purfuing fo many Affailants, falls down, and is eafily taken or killed. They have another way of hunting, by making the Boors fell a great Number of Trees; each Hunter fecures his Poft affigned him, at which they throw Darts, and as the Bull runs towards his Enemy, the Hunters from behind give him his Death's Wound; but if he breaks through the Inclofure, the next Hunter holds out a Piece of red Cloth, againft which the Beaft having an Antipathy, he immediately leaves that Perfon and runs at another, who being provided for him, commonly kills him.
10. The Poliff Ladies are generally very modeft, and not very apt to abufe the great Liberty allowed them. They feldom fir out of Doors without a Coach and Six to Church, or to vifit a near Neighbour, and are always attended by a great Number of Servants. When they go abroad at Night, they have twenty-four or more Flambeaux carried before their Coach. Their Train is borne up by He or She-Dwarfs ; and they have always an old Woman to attend them, whom they call Governante, and an old Gentleman for their Ufher. Notwithftanding all thefe Honours, they are entirely managed by their Hufbands, and difpofe of no Money without his leave. When they want any thing they muft afk him for it, kneeling, embrace his Knees, and call him their Benefactor: But fome few Trifles are allowed them of Courfe. The Fafhion of the Womens Cloaths comes nearer to that of the Men than in moft other Countries. They formerly wore Garlands on their Heads, compofed of Gold, Jewels, Flowers, Silk, and the like; but now they wear Silk Caps, lined with Fur, like the Men; in King Jobn III's Time they imitated the French Mode, becaufe the Queen was of that Nation.

The Peafants Daughters are fo extremely referved, that they will draw a Knife at any Man that offers to kifs them; befides, their Mothers have a watchful Eye over them, and make them wear little Bells before and behind, to give Notice where they are, and what they are doing; but thefe Precautions do not always fecure them. The Countrywomen are habited as in other Countries; but their Petticoats are very fhort; thofe in Red Ruffia go generally in Summer with an Apron before them that reaches lower than ordinary. The
wedding
wredding Feafts of the Gentry laft commonly three Days. If a Lady marry any of her Waiting-Maids, the cofts her almoft, as much as one of her Daughters. On the fecond Day all the Guefts prefent the Bride with fomething new, which makes a good Part of her Portion. The Princefs of Poland, when married to the Elector of Bavaria, had above one hundred thoufand Crowns prelented her.
Among the Boors a Maid never marries till the be twenty-four or thirty Years of Age, and has wrought, with her own Hands, feveral Bankets full of Cloths, of different Sorts; which, at the time of her Efpoufals, The is to diftribute among the Guefts that her Hufband brings with him. She muft alfo have ferved her Mother for a certain time. The fame Right is obferved with refpect to their Sons ; it is alfo obfervable, that thofe employed to make up the Match, always enquire more Arictly into the Manners and Behaviour of the Perfons, than as to their Stock of Corn and Cattle. Their Godfathers and Godmothers are always accounted-Relations, though they be nothing a-kin, and they cannot marry fach Kindred without a Difpenfation from the Bifhop.

The Burials of thofe of Quality are celebrated with Fuch Pomp and Magnificence that they are more like Triumphs. The Corpfe is carried in a Hearfe, or Chariot, with fix Horfes, all covered with black; the Coffin has a large black Velvet Pall over it, with a Crofs of red Sattin in the Middle, and fix long black Silk Taffels, fupported by as many of the deceafed domeftic Servants in clofe Mourning; feveral Priefts, Monks, and others, march before the Hearfe ; each of which carries a white Wax Torch in his Hand. Immediately before the Hearfe come three Men on Horfeback, who carry the Arms of the Deceafed; one his Sword, another his Lance, and a third his Dart. After the Burial Service is over, thofe who carry the Armour enter the Church on Forfeback, and riding furioufly to the Coffin, break the Arms of the Deceafed upon it, after which the Body is interred. Then there is a Feaft, where the I ay-Guefts not only drink to excefs, but likewife force the Clergy to follow their Exanaple. When the King dies he is laid on a Bed of State ; and a certain Number of Senators, Ecclefiaftical and Temporal; are appointed to attend his Corpfe. The Republic defrays the Expences out of the Revenues of the Crown. The deceafed Queen has the fame Ceremonies and Honours allowed her. When Women of Quality mourn they wear a coarfe black Stuff, and their Linnen is not much finer than Canvas; and the greater their Quality their nourning Weeds are the coarfer. All Senators, Deputies, and others, that appear at the Diet for electing the new King muft be in black.
11. The I, anguage of the Poles is the Sclavonian; but there are fo many different Dialects of it fpoken in the feveral Parts of this Kingdom, that one Part of the People farce underftand the other; they all agree, however, in multiplying Confonants; and if they did not foumd more Vowels when they fpeak, than are contained in the Words they write, it would be impoffible to utter them. The Latin is almoft as univerfally fpoken as the Sclavoniont, there being a School in every Village for the teaching it ; and the Girls learn it in the Nunneries. Their Terms of Art are chiefly German, and indeed there are whole Towns and Villages in Pruflia which are of Germon Extract, and ftill fpeak the German or High Dutch Tongue. The Armenian, Perfan, and Tartarian Languages, are alfo fpoken upon their Frontiers; and the Feres have introduced the Hebrere in fome Places; but with all thefe Languages, it is obferved, that their Learning is but fuperficial.

As to their Divines, their Learning, it is faid, confifts in adapting Ariftotle's Logic and Metaphyfics to their School-Divinity; and they value themfelves more on being verfed in the Signification of logical Terms, than in the Nature of the Things they reafon about. They enquire but little into Church-Hiftory, or the Practice of the Primitive Times, but feem to have an implicit Faith, and to be entirely governed by the Decifions of the Church of Rome; nor will they fuffer any

## Perfon

## Tenets

There are few native Poles that fludy Phyfic. The Phyficians are generally Germans, French, or Italions. An illiterate Quack of this Kingdom, Doctor Connor mentions, however, who lived in a Wood about fix Miles from Warfaw, undertook to cure the Venereal Difeafe in feven or eight Days by Bathing and Sweating. In the Water the Bath was made of, he boiled feveral Plants, which the Man made a Secret of; but the Doctor fays, as well as he could difcover, the chief of them were Hellebore, After, and the Capillus Veneris or Maiden-hair. That he bathed his Patients in a hot Decoction of thefe Herbs for four Days together, and made them drink of it-while they were in the Bath frequently ; that for four Days afterwards he laid them over the Tub to receive the hot Steams, covering them with Blankets, and making them drink of the Decoction as before. And thus by fweating, bathing, and drinking; he was affured he had done many wonderful Cures in venereal Cafes; and for the whole Cure demanded but two Rix-Dollars, which is lefs than ten Shillings Englifb. They feldom ufe Salivation in this Country, though venereal Diftempers are very common.

The Difeafe peculiar to the Poles, is that called the Plica, in which the Hair of the Head is matted together, and grows fo long, that it fometimes reaches down to the Middle, covcring their Backs, but generally it hangs in twifted Ropes; others have their Hair only matted clofe to their Heads, without growing to any length; and the Hair will be thus intangled and matted together in one Night's time, though never fo much Care is taken to prevent it; if the Hair be cut off it occafions a Dimnefs in the Sight, and fometimes a total Blindnefs; it alfo occafions Pain in the Head and Limbs, and Puftules to come out all over the Body ; the Foreigners that have been infected with this Difeafe, relate, that they have cut off their Hair without any Inconveniency attending it. The Bifhop of Pofen acquainted Doctor Connor that he was afflicted with this Diftemper in his Youth, and that cutting off his Hair, unknown to his Friends, he felt a thoufand racking Pains, which left him as his Hair grew again, but then the Diftemper returned. He obferved alfo, that on the cutting off his Hair he could fenfibly perceive a volatile Matter pafs in great Abundance through the Tubes of his Hair, which twitted and contracted the Locks, that when he put a Cap on his Head, it occafioned an intolerable Pain and Heat, which he fuppofed proceeded from the Preflure, by which the Humours were repelled, and forced back upon the Head. As to other Difeafes, it feems, the Poles are very little troubled with them. The Scurvy, or malignant Fevers, and Pleurifies, are feldom of fuch ill Confequence in Poland as in other Countries.

By the Laws of Poland the Eftate of the Father is equally divided among his Children, except any of them go into a Monaftery, and then their Parts are equally divided among the reft ; and the young Children here, as in other Popith Countries, are encouraged by their Parents to take the Vow upon them, that their Eftatcs may be preferved entire to the eldeft Son, which would otherwife dwindle away to nothing, where there happens to be a numerous Iffue.
12. We are fo apt to be biaffed in our Sentiments, by what happens in our own'Times, and as it were under our own Eyes, that we can fcarce bring ourfelves to think things ever were otherwife than as we now perceive them. But it is certain, that as reftlefs and turbulent as the Poles now are, they were formerly of a different Difpofition, and very much attached to the Perfons and Families of their Princes: Thus for feveral Ages they obeyed the Family of Piofius, who was raifed to the Throne by his Merit ; and upon the Death of Lewis, King of Poland and Hungary, the laft Male-Heir of his Family, they chofe his Daughter, and refolved to beftow their Crown upon her Hufband, who was Fagello, Duke of Lithuania, who took upon him the Name of Uladiflaus, by whofe Pofterity they were governed
till the Death of Sigifmund II, who was the laft of that Family, and died in 1574, when they chofe Henry de Bourbon, afterwards Henry III, of France, for their King; upon a Promife, that he would marry the Princers Anne, Sifter to their late Monarch.

When he abdicatui they made choice of Stepben Batori, Prince of Iranfilvania, who actually married the Princefs before-mentioned, but had no Iffue by her. Upon his Death in 1586 , they made choice of Sigifmund de Vafa, Prince of Sweden, becaufe he was the Nephew of Sigifmund II, and confequently by the Mother's Side of the Race of their antient Kings. The laft of his Race was Cafimir, who abdicated the Government and retired to France; and in 1670 they chofe Michael Wiefnoreijki, whofe Succeffor was Fobn Sobiegi; upon whofe Deceafe in 1696 , the Poles, contrary to their ufual Cuftom, rejected his Family, and made choice of Auguftus, Elector of Saxony, the Father of the prefent King Augufus III. The Faitions that have long reigned in Polond, have hindered thefe laft Monarchs from making that Figure in Europe, which their Predeceffors had done; but it does not follow, from hence, that the Poles will always continue uneafy and difcontented.

On the contrary, they feem now to have a juft Senfe of the ill Confequences of their Divifions, and are endeavouring to put an End to them by deciding as faft as poffible the Quarrels amongft their Grandees, which is the fureft way of reltoring the public Tranquility: And whenever this fhall be effectually brought about, there is no Queftion to be made, that the antient Glory of the Polijb Nation will revive; for they are ftill poffeffed of very large Territories, capable of great Improvements, and are very able to raife a Force fufficient to defend themfelves againft the Incroachments of any of their Neighbours, and even to render themfelves as formidable as any of the northern. Powers. It is indeed true, that in their laf Election they were awed by the Ruffians; but this did not fo much proceed from the fuperior Power of that Empire, as from the want of Union among the Poles; and perhaps before their Throne again becomes vacant, they may be in a Condition to repair their paft Errors, and to make a free Choice of fome Prince, capable of governing them, according to their Conftitution, and thereby extinguifhing thofe Feuds and Jealoufies, which have rendered them fo inconfiderable fince the Days of Fobn Sobie $\sqrt[k i]{ }$, the laft of their Monarchs under whom they made any Figure; and whofe Covetoufnefs, which proceeded from the Defire of fixing the Crown in his Family, was the chief Reafon that Defign of his did not take Place.

The unfortunate Stanilaus Lezinfin who fill wears the Title of King of Polend, was endowed with all the Qualities requifte to make his People happy, brave, generous, pious, juft, and affable to all Ranks of People; he was only unhappy in being the Inftrument of Sweden firt, and afterwards of France; which rendered him very juftly fufpected to a great Part of his Countrymen ; fo that we may reckon it an Happinefs to Poland that he has no Male Ifue, and that his Daughter, the French Queen, has but one Son ; fince this might otherwife prove a new Source of Trouble, not to this Country only, but to all
its Neighbours ; for though in Time of Peace Poland has been little regarded, yet the Difturbances there have proved more than once the Caufe of Wars in many other Parts of Europe.

I3. We will clofe this Section with obferving, that nothing fhews more elearly the Folly of that kind of modern Policy, which confifts in weakemins and diftreffing our Neighbours, than the prefent State of plend This Country, as well by its Situation as from the natural Genius and Difpofition of its Inhabitants, is the proper Bulwark of Chriftendom againft the Turks, whom they have refifted with as much Succefs, and over whom they have gained greater Victories, than almoft any other Nation. If we confider them in this Light, it is very eafy to fee that it can never be the true and natural Intereft either of the Houfe of Auftria, or of the Ruflans, to promote Troubles in this Kingdom, becaufe the more powerful and formidable the Poles were, the lefs able the Turks would be to alarm either of thefe Potentates. The Grand Signior indeed has mewn a true Spirit of Policy, in never attempting to difurb this Nation even in its loweft Circumfances; but contented himfelf with the Security that he reaps from their Confufions; fince, if he had ever attacked Polond, it would probably have put an End to them; and though at firt he might have made great Conquefts, yet when the Spirit of the Nation was once roufed, he would have been quickly driven out of them, as he knew, from the Experience of former Times.

If the Poles could once fo fettle their Affairs as to have time to confider the Advantages that might refult to their Country by the extending their Commerce, it is not at all impoffible they fhould fucceed therein, though they have neglected it fo long. I have been led to this Remark by the Knowledge I have of a Project that was formed by the late King Augufus, for opening a Trade with Afia by the Help of the Crim Tartars, and tranfporting the Commodities that are brought from the Black Sea by the Niefter and the Bog. He had other great Views with Regard to Ruifia, and though at prefent they feem to have died with him, the Time may comie when they fhall revive again, and be carried into Execution by fome Polifs Monarch, either of his or fome other Family.
That Luxury and Wantonnefs, which are the natural Effects of Plenty, as that generally fprings from Trade, commonly produce fuch a Spirit of Idlenefs and Profufion, as is inconfiftent with the Prefervation of Manufactures and Commerce ; and this occafions thofe Changes in thefe Bleffings, which appear abfolutely unaccountable to the unthinking Part of Mankind. The Country of Poland abounds with natural Commodities, if the-Inhabitants knew how to make ufe of them; and with a numerous and laborious Race of People, who would foon become rich if they were properly employed. We have reafon to expect therefore, that fome time or other, awakened by their own Neceffities, or provoked by the Example of their Neighbours, they will think of improving their Lands, working up their Commodities, and vending them in different Parts of Europe; which, whenever they do, will infallibly make them a rich and happy Nation.

# SECTIONV. A frort Account of the UKRATN, and of its Inbabitants the Cossacks. 

Bavaria had -1 Collected from the Writings of Mr. Beauplan, and others.


#### Abstract

5. An Account of the Etymolory of the Name and Origin of the People called Coflacks, weith the regular Detail of their Hijory to the Time of tbeir being dijperfed, and obliged to put themfelves under the Protection of the Mulcovites, Turks, and Tartars. 2. A hoort Defoription of the Ukrain, and of the principal Places therein; the Nature and Extent of the Country, and the Manner in wbich it was Settled, and innabited by the Coffacks, wobile they acknowledged themjelves Subjects to the Crown of Poland. 3. The Temper and Genius of the People; their fingular Cuyfoms, and oddWay of Living; as alfo of the Rarities and Remarkables in tbeir Country. 4. The Manner of tbeir making War botb by Sea and Land, the Terror Spread by them througb the rwbole Turkihn Empire, and even tbrougb Conftantinople itfelf, and the dextrous Metbod they ufe for marcbing through a flat Country, in Sigbt of fuperior Bodies of Horfe. 5. Of the prefent State and Condition of the Coffacks; with Remarks and Obfervations upon the foregoing Section. Section.


-ACcording to fome Authors, the Word Coffack, in the Ruflian Tongue, fignifies Free-booter or Banditti ; others derive it from Cofa, fignifying a Goat, becaufe of their Nimblenefs. Some fay, that Cofa, in the Sclavonian Language, fignifies a Scythe, their ordinary Weapon. They are thought to have come firt from the Inlands of the Boriftbenes, near the Mouth of that River, and were called Zaporowejki, or Zaporienfes, from the Porowis, or Cataracts and Rocks in the Nieper. The Turks ufually call them Ruffans. They dwell in a Part of Red Ruffa in Poland, and in Bafferabia, betwixt the Rivers Boriftbenes and the Niefter. They are terrible to the Turks, becaufe of their Invafions by the way of the Black Sea. In 1548 , in the Time of Sigimmund I, King of Poland, thefe Colfacks were only Volunteers of the Frontiers of Rufia, Volbinia, Podolia, and the other Provinces of Poland. Who affembled together partly to defend themfelves from the Tartars, by fecuring the Paffes of the Nieper, and attacking them, as they returned with their Prey ; and partly to rob upon the Black Sea, where getting rich Booty, they drew more into their Affociation. Sometimes they made Defcents upon Natolia, and plundered the great Towns, as Trebisond and Sinope; at other Times they have advanced within two Miles of Confontinople, and brought off Booty and Prifoners.
At firft they were about fix thoufand, under Euffachicus Dofcovitus, their General ; but their Numbers were quickly increafed by their Neighbours, becaufe of the Gain they made by their Piracies, Part of which they laid up in their Magazine, and the reft they brought Home to their Houfes. About the End of the Seafon, thefe Adventurers feparate, and agree upon the Time and Place of Rendezvous next Spring in the Ines and Rocks of the Nieper, whence they return to their Piracy. Stepben Batori, King of Poland, who began his Reign in 1576 , confidering the Service that might be made of thofe Thieves, for guarding the Country and Frontiers againft the Inroads of the Tartars, formed them into a regular Body ; and they ferved him as Foot-Soldiers; for the Polifs Army confifts chiefly of Horfe. He gave them the Town and Térritories of Tetchtimorow, about eighty Miles in length, in the Palatinate of Kiow, upon the Boritthenes ; which Town they made their Magazine, and the Refidence of their Governor-General, whom they named, and gave him Power to chufe Subalterns. Stephen Batori alfo joined two thoufand Horfe to this Coffack Infantry, to whofe Maintenance he affigned the fourth Part of his Royal Revenues, whence they are called 2 uartani. Thefe Forces fo weil fecured the Frontier, that the Country beyond Brefaw, Bar, and Kiow, betwixt the Niefter and Nieper was re-peopled, the Towns rebuilt, and Colonies planted there from the neighbouring Places.
The Coffacks being thus brought into good Difcipline, did confiderable Service to the Crown of Poland, but have fince done the Republic much Mifchief by their frequent Rebellions; for the Coffacks knowing their own

Strength, and of what Importance they were to the Poles, began to fet up for themfelves, and would not obey the Orders of their Superiors, and acknowledge the Power of the Poles over them. Their firt Rebellion was in 1587, under their General Fobn Podkowa, who was taken, and his Head ftruck off. In ${ }^{1} 596$, Sigijnund III, upon the Complaints and Threats of the Grand Signior, forbad them to pillage any more upon the Black Sea. They obeyed his Orders for a while, but then turned their Force againft Rufia and Litbuania, under the Command of their General Nalevakio; and having had fome Advantages over the Polifh Army, commanded by General Zolfkioroki, they looked upon themfelves as invincible; yet that noble. Warrior found means to block them up fo clofe, that he forced them to deliver him their General, who was beheaded.
In 1637 was laid the Ground of a new War with the Coflacks, their Numbers being greatly increafed by the Multitude of Boors, who frequently went over to them, to fhare their Privileges. Some great Men in Poland who had got Eftates in the Places appointed for the Quarters of the Colfacks, were of Opinion, that their Revenues would be confiderably increafed, if the Liberties of the Coffacks were abridged. Whereupon they advifed the King to reftrain them, and began to ufe the fame Severity to the Coffacks as to the Polifb Boors, who are obliged to work three Days in a Week with Man and Horfe for their Lords, and to pay fo much Corn, Poultry, $\mathcal{E}^{3} c$. to carry Home their Mafter's Wood, to pay him fo much Money, and the Tenth of their Poffeffions. The Polijb Lords being abfolute at Home, and not punifhed for killing their Slaves, they reprefented, That the Caffacks deprived them of all Advantages they could expect from their Lands in the Ukrain ; for when the Boors were difobliged they went to them. Therefore they refolved to build a Fort at Kudac, at a Point where the River Zivamer falls into the Nieper or Borijfbenes, and therefore very convenient to bridle the Coffacks; who undertanding the Defign, cut in Pieces two hundred Men, that guarded the Building ; but being attacked by the Polifb General Potofki, and divided among themfelves ; they were routed at Korfum, and forced to deliver up their General, and four more of their chief Officers, who were put to Death at Warfarw, though Potoki had promifed them their Lives. After this, all their former Privileges were taken from them, wih their Fortrefs Tetcbtimorow, and in their Stead a new Body of Militia was fettled there. This inraged the Coffacks, who again tried their Fortune with Potofki, but were worted, though they fought with great Bravery. Then they fortified themfelves upon the River Mareza, beyond the Boritbenes. After this, the Poles having loft fo many Men, by endeavouring to fuppreís them, they were forced to promife that their ancient Privileges Mould be reftored, and that their Militia of fix thoufand Men, fhould be re-eftablifhed under a General appointed
by the King. The Coffacks returned to their Homes, and laying down their Arms upon the Faith of their Treaty, were killed or plundered by the Polifh Soldiers, and another Militia fet up, excluding the true Colfacks, and among other oppreffive Methods the Poles took from them fome of their Greek Churches.
But the Tartars afterwards ruining a great Part of the Ukrain, convinced the Poles of the Necefity of reftoring the Coffacks. Uladijlaus IV. making War upon the Tartars, was very careful to fee it done, and gave them for their General Theodore Cbimielinki, and granted him a Privilege to build fome Mills; but a Poliff Gentleman, named $\mathcal{F}$ arinki, burnt them, ravifhed his Wife, and afterwards killed both her and her Son. The Coffacks were alfo provoked by their Landlords, who farmed out their Lands to the Feress, who monopolized all the Trade of the Country, and got fo much Power that they would not fuffer them to marry, or baptize, but upon their own Terms. Thboodore and his Coffacks obtaining no Redrefs, or Satisfation, for thofe Injuries, raifed an Army of above twenty thoufand Men, burnt, plundered, and ravaged the Country, and did what Mifchief they could to the Polifs Nobility. Upon which the Senators defired the King to march againft them ; who anfwered, that they ought not to have burnt their Mills. King Fobn Cafimir favoured them underhand, and defigned to make ufe of them for the Conqueft of Crim Tartary, at which the Poles, being diffatisfied, levied an Army of fifty thoufand Men, whom the Coffacks defeated, killed ten thoufand upon the Spot, and took the City of Kiow. To revenge this Affront, the Poles fummoned the feventh Man throughout the Kingdom, and marched againft the Coffacks, without the Confent of the King, and were again defeated by them.

But while Cbimielin/ki was celebrating the Nuptials of his Son, with the Daughter of the Prince of Walacbia, at Kiow, the Poles furprized the Colfacks, plundered the City, and took the Grecian Patriarch Prifoner. The Coffacks fent to the King to know whether this had been done by his Authority? He anfwered, no; and that it was done by the Nobility out of Revenge. Upon this Cbimielinki called in the Crim Tartar with one hundred thoufand Horfe, againft whom the King went in Perfon, at the Head of the Nobility, and totally routed them, "though they were three to one ftronger than the Poles. Cbimielinski gathered up the Remainders of his fcattered Army, 'and continually harraffed the Country, fo that the King was obliged to make an Agreement with them; but the Nobility were difcontented at it, and alledged, the King had granted too much: This Peace was made in 1649 . Cbimielinski fearing the Poles would not obferve that Treaty, made an Alliance with the Grand Signior and the Prince of Moldavia, and at a Dyet he propofed fuch Terms as fhewed he intended to make himfelf an abfolute Prince, under the Protection of the Turks.

Thus a new War broke out in 165 I , when the Coffacks, and their Confederates, befieged Smolensko, took it next Year, and ravaged Litbuania; they took Wilna, and fome other Cities, where they committed great Barbarities: It was chiefly owing to them that the Mufovites got Poffeffion of the Provinces of Smolensko and Siberia, and the greateft Part of the Palatinate of Kiovia, whieh were confirmed to them by the Treaty of Oliva, in 1666. They have fince thofe Days fuffered many Changes of Fortune, as well as Diminution in Numbers; but at this time however they are tolerably free, fome under the Proteation of the Turk, others under the Poles; but the greateft Part of them own themfelves Subjects to Rufia. After giving their Hiftory, which is fingular enough, and very well deferves the Reader's Attention, we will next confider the Country in which they live, and which from the Flatneifs of it, has been fuppofed, not without great Probability, to have been left partly by the Sea, and partly by the great Rivers that run through it, in the fame manner as the Ancients report of Lowerer Egypt, and as we know that Tract of Country was certainly lef, which is called Marfbland, in the County of Norfolk.
2. The Word Ukrain fignifies a frontier Country, and lies betwixt 48 and 52 Degrees of North Latitude, the

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Niefter is their weftern, and the Nieper their eaftern, Boundary. According to fome Authors Kiow is the chief Town; and belongs to the Mufcovites, being taken from the Poles in 1633, by the Confederate Army of the Mufcovites and Coffacks. This City gives Name to the Palatinate of Kiorv, which had Princes of its own till it was reduced to a Province by Cafmir III, who began his Reign in the Year I 333. The Ruins of the Walls fhew it to have beers eight Miles in Compafs: Here are to be feen fill the Ruins of many Arches, high Walls, Churches, and the Sepulchres of many Kings, with Greek Infcriptions. The Church of St. Sopbia, whofe Walls are lined with Mofaic Work; and that of Sc. Micbael, remarkable for its gilded Roof, are ftill in a tolerable Condition.
Betwixt this Town and the Nieper lies New Kiow along the Banks of the Nieper, which has about fix thoufand Inhabitants. ThePapifts have four Churches, and the Greeks ten, with a fort of an Univerfity. The fecond Town of note is Pereflare, on the Eaft-fide of the Nieper, upon the River Trubicz, which falls into the Nieper two Miles below it: It lies ten German Leagues South-eaff from Kiow; is a ftrong Town, and contains fix thoufand Families. Here the Coffacks have a Regiment, and another at Kaniorw, a little lower on the Eaft-bank of the Nieper: On the fame fide is Cirkacfe, the Center of all their Retreats; which was burnt by the Polanders in 1637.

On the fame Side lies Krilow, and below that Cremierczow, the loweft Town upon the River, all the Country below it being defert. Further down the River there are many Ines, moft of them uninhabited, becaufe overflowed in the Spring ; but much frequented by Fifhermen. Several other Rivers increafe the Nieper at Romonow, but chielly Samar, which fupplies the Country not only with Fifh, but with other Commodities, as Honey, Wax, Venifon, and efpecially Timber: The Coffacks call this River the Holy River: In the Spring they catch Sturgeons and Herring here.
A little below this, the Poles in ${ }_{1} 635$, built a Fort at Kuda, which is the firft of the Porouki, Conftantinow on the River Sliez,which runs into the Nieper. Porowi or Porouki in the Ruffian Language, fignifies a Rock: Of thefe there are thirteen Chains that crofs the Nieper, and render the Navigation from the Ukrain to the Black Sea impracticable; fo that though the Ukrain be fruitful in Corn, yet the Inhabitants not being able to export it, fuffer much of it to lie untilled. Of thefe Rocks, fome are under Water, fome above, as big as Houfes, very near to one another, and ftop the Courfe of the River; fo that when it is low they make Cataracts fometimes of fifteen Feet high; but in the Spring, when the melted Snow fwells the River, all the Rocks are covered with Water, except the Seventh, which ftill hinders the River from being navigable ; near the loweft Poroki the River is not above a hundred and fiftyPaces broad, and therefore is the beft Paffage for the Tartars.
Below, there lies Tomakouka, the Place where the Cof= facks rendezvous, but their principal Retreat is below the Czertomelick, upon an Inand furrounded with a vaft Number of fmall ones; fome of them dry, and others overlowed in the Spring; fome of them are Morafles, but all of thent covered over with Reeds and Canes as big as Pikes, which hides the Paffages between the Inands, and makes it a Labyrinth, known only to the Coffacks, who call it Scarbniza-W oyskorwa, or the Treafury of the Army: Here they lay up their Money and Ordnance: The Turks have loft many Galleys among thefe Iflands, which not being able to difintangle themfelves, fell into the Hands of the Coflacks. From thefe Porouki the Coffacks are called Zaperouski, which is, the great Body of the Nation; and none can be lifted among their Number, till he has paffed in his little Boat all the Porouki's, and from thence, by the Mouth of the Nieper, to the Black Sed.

The River there is three Miles broad; yet both the Coffacks, and others, pafs it in this manner: They furnifh themfelves with flat-bottom Boats, at the Stern of which they faften crofs Poles of a good Length, to which they tie the Heads of their Horfes, as many on the one Side as on the other, to balance them; and putting their Baggage in the Boat, they row over, their Horfes fwim ming after them.

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The Ukrain is a very fertile Country, though the third Part of it is fcarcely cultivated; it produces fuch a vaft Quantity of Grain of all Sorts, that the Inhabitants are at a Lols how to confume it ; they cannot export any of it, becaufe their Rivers are not navigable. They abound in Honey, Wax, Wood, Cattle, Fowl, and Fifh. Hungary, Tranfylvania, Wallacbia, and Moldavia, fupply them with Wine; they alfo make good Beer, and Aqua Vite, out of their Corn; they have much Mead; the Salt-pits near Cracow furnifh them with Salt; they have alfo fome out of the Country of Pokutia, on the Borders of Moldavia and Iranfyluania, where there are Saltfprings: Their Houfes are of Wood, and their Fortifications of Earth and Wood, which they account better againft Cannon, than Brick Walls ; but they are foon fet on Fire.

The Rivers of note here are the Boriftbenes or Nieper, the Bog, Tyras or Neifter, the common Border betwixt them and Wallacbia, the Dezna, the Rofs, the Horin, the 'Stouez, and the Ster, near which was fought the laft Battle between the Poles and ColJacks, in 1651 ; which obliged the Coffacks to feek Protection among the Mufcorites and Turks. The Language of the Coffacks is a Dialect of the Polifh Tongue, as the Polif is of the Sclavonian; but that of the Colfacks is much more fmooth, and full of Diminutives, which makes it very agreeable.
3. The common People are of the Greck Church : Their Worfhip is the fame with that of the Ruffans; their Metropolitan refides at Kiow, is confecrated by the Patriarch of Confantinople, and fubject to him; the whole almoft of their Religion confints in Feafts and Holydays; but the greater Part of the Gentry are Papitts, and a few Proteitants. It is very common in this Country for Maids to woo the Men; if a young Woman be in love with a young Man, fhe is not afhamed to go to his Father's Houfe, and reveal her Paffion in the moft tender Expreffions, and promifes all Obedience if he pleafe to accept of her in Marriage : If fhe be rejected by the young Man becaufe he is too young, or not difpofed to marry, or the like, fhe tells him that the is refolved never to go out of the Houfe till he confent, and accordingly takes up her Lodgings there: To force her out, would be to provoke all her Kindred; nor would the Church fuffer them to ufe any Violence to her without inflicting heavy Penance, and branding the Houfe with Infamy; fo that after two or three Weeks the Parents, or the young Man himfelf, being moved with the Conftancy of the Woman, accommodate Matters as well as they can, and make up the Match.

Their Manners are like thofe of Soldiers, not follicitous for what is to come, but fpend freely what they have among their Companions, and leave Futurity to fhift for itfelf; they are very inconftant, mutinous, and purfue their prefent Advantage rather than their Faith and Promife; they are great Drinkers, but by reafon of their Labour and Hardfhips, they have fo much Health that Phyficians are of little Ufe among them : They are of a good Stature, ftrong, nimble, great Lovers of Liberty, uneafy under any Yoke, and indefatigable: They are much given to fifhing and hunting. None know better the way of preparing Saltpetre, and making Gunpowder, their Country abounds with it, and feveral Parts of Europe are furnifhed from thence. This Territory was almoft a Defart till improved by the Induftry of the Coflacks, and other Colonies; the many Rivers which run through it add much to its Fruitfulnefs.

They have fome Animals peculiar to their Country, fuch as a Beaft called Bobac, not unlike a Guiney Pig; it makes Holes in the Earth, which it enters in October, and never comes abroad till April; within thefe Holes there are many little Apartments for their Provifions, Lodgings, and Dead; eight or nine Herds of thofe Beafts live together in fuch Caves. They are eafily tained, and are very diverting. When they go out for Provifions, they place a Sentinel, who as foon as he fpies any Body gives a Signal, and they all run to their Caves. The Founaky is a Kind of Goat, remarkable for his beautiful Fur, refembling Sattin, and a white Skin and fmooth Horns; be has no Horn in his Nofe, as fome report, but as he
feeds goes backwards.. They have many wild Horfes, of no Value but for their Flefh, which they fell in their Markets, and think it better than Beef or Veal: When thofe Horfes come to be old, their Hoofs, never pared, fo contract their Fect that they cannot go; in Summer they are mightily incommoded with Flies and Grahoppers, in fuch vaft Numbers, that they form a Cloud of five or fix Leagues long, and three or four broad, darken the Air in the cleareft Day, and deftroy all the Corn they light on in lefs than two Hours time.
4. When they rendezvous upon the Inands of Scarb-niza-Wa/kowa, the firft thing they do is to chufe their General for that Expedition; and to make their Boats. which they call Colna, of about fixty Foot long, twelve Foot deep, and as many wide. They are built very light, one Plank pinned on the Edge of another, and widening upwards. They have a Stern at each End, and abour twelve or fifteen Oars of a Side. They have no Deck; but to prevent their Sinking, though full of Water, they compafs them round with a Border of Reeds, as big as a Barrel, tied together, and faftened to their Boats with Ropes ; they have a forry Maft and Sail, but feldom ufe them, except in very fair Weather. Their Provinion is a Ton of Bifket, which they take out of the Bung as they ufe it ; a Barrel of boiled Millet, and another of Pafte, made with Water, which they eat with their Millet; every Boat carries about fixty Perfons ; every Man having two Guns, and each Boat five or fix Falconets or fmall Pieces of Cannon. They fet out about the Beginning of Fune, and return about the firft of Auguft.

They wait for a dark Night, that they may pafs undifcovered by the Turks Galleys, which lie at Oczakow to intercept them. With thefe Boats they cruize over all the Black Sea. If they fpy a Galley, they keep at a Diftance till Night, obferve the Courfe of the Veffel, and when it is dark come up and board it; they take out all the Cannon, Money, and Merchandize, and then fink the Ship, becaufe they have neither Skill nor Opportunity to ufe it. No fooner have the Turks Intelligence that the Coffacks are at Sea but the Alarm is taken immediately, which reaches quickly to Conftantinople ; from thence Couricrs are difpatched to the Coafts of Natolia, Romelia, and Bulgaria, to bid them be upon their Guard; but the Coffacks are generally too nimble for them, and are forty Hours on the Coafts before them. If a Galley fpy them in the Day-time (which is very uncommon; for their Veffels are not above two Foot and a half above Water) they avoid fighting, by rowing away from her, or retiring to Shallows among Reeds, where the Galleys cannot follow them.

This was their way of living till the Grand Signior obliged Sigifmund, King of Poland, to prohibit thofe Piracies. It was bad Policy in the Poles to let them chufe their own General; for this General being abfolutely their own Creature, is forced to comply with their Methods. They handle their Guns very dextroufly, and have Scythes fet long-ways upon Poles, with which they fight very fiercely, and at the fame time fkilfully; fo that regular Troops are often beat by them. They are very indifferent Horfemen, but excellent Soldiers on, Foot. They are inured to all manner of Fatigues and Hardfhips, obedient to their Commanders, active, and dextrous in intrenching themfelves, not only in the ordinary way, but alfo by making a Fence of their Baggage Waggons, which cover them as they march. Thefe moving Intrenchments are abfolutely neceffary for them, when they march without Horfe in open Plains in the Defarts of the Tartars, againtt whom they are forced to ftand wherever they meet them. There have been feveral Inftances, that one thoufand Coffack Foot marching betwixt their Chariots and Waggons, have, in a Plain, repulfed five or fix thoufand Tartars on Horfeback. Their Horfes, though fwift, are but weak, and ftopped by the leaft Barricade. But, however, this way of marching, in the midft of their Baggage and Ammunition Waggons, would fcarcely be practicable in any other Country but Poland and the Defarts of Tartary, which lie upon a level.
5. It is eafy, from thefe Accounts, to form a juft Notion of the original and ancient State of the Coffacks; but fome farther Explanations will be neceffary, in order to have a juft Idea of the Condition of this People at this Day. We will begin with what is requifite to be faid of their Country. In its utmoft Extent, it may be confidered as three hundred Miles long, and in fome Places above a hundred broad; but then this comprehends the Territory, inhabited by all the Coffacks; for they are, at prefent, diftinguifhed into various Nations. When we reflect on the Manners of the Mufcovites, Poles, Turks, and Tartars, and remember that their Dominions border upon each other, we fhall very eafily conceive, that the Frontiers could not afford very fafe or pleafant Habitations, and fhall not be furprized to hear :that they were defert. Hence it was, that this otherwife large and confiderable Tract of Country, came to be ftiled the Ukrain, which, in our Language, properly fignifies the Marches. The People who firft fettled on the Rocks in the Nieper were Vagabonds from all Countries, who built their Huts in the moft inacceffible Places, and were from thence called Coffacks or Goats, becaufe, like them, they dwelt out of reach.

But, by Degrees, as thefe People became numerous, they began to plant and improve their Country, which is naturally one of the richeft and fineft in Europe; but from its very Situation, fo liable to be ranfacked and eat up, whenever any Wars break out among the neighbouring Nations, which are none of them polite, or well governed, that we cannot expect it hould ever be brought into any tolerable Condition. Befides, the Coffacks, like the Buccaneers in America, were Planters only by Accident ; they looked upon living at Home as a Hardfhip, unlefs in the Time they wanted WinterQuarters; for their proper Bufinefs was War, and they grew rich, not by Induftry but Plunder. They were from hence regarded as Barbarians, and in that Senfe very juftly ; becaufe, to live by fpoiling others is the higheft Barbarity ; inafmuch as it is that Sort of Life moit repugnant to Reafon and the Laws of Nature. But there is another Signification of the Word barbarous, which implies Stupidity and Ignorance ; and chis cannot, with any Degree of Juftice, be charged upon the Coffacks, who have made as great Improvements in the Art of War as any Nation in the World. It is very true, that with refpect to us, and our manner of making War, thefe very Improvements appear barbarous, but that is for want of Confideration in us; for, if we reflect upon the Situation of their Affairs, and on the Contrivances made ufe of by the Coffacks for their own Security, we cannot but perceive the greateft Ingenuity in them ; and I think a little Time will not be ill be= fowed to fet this matter in a clear Light.

It has been before laid down that War was their Bufinefs ; and this was of two Kinds, defenfive by Land, and offenfive by Sea. In refpect to the former, the Country round about them was flat, and the Enemies they had to deal with were Poles and Tartars, who brought great Bodies of Horfe into the Field; to oppofe there with inferior Bodies of light-armed Foot, the Coffacks invented the Tabor, or Waggon, in thefe they carried their Baggage, Ammunition, and Provifions upon a March; and when they encamped, they took Care to have a River in Front, and a Morafs in the Rear ; covering their Flanks with an Intrenchment of Waggons ; and by the Help of this Difcipline, they have defeated Troops, that would have appeared terrible, even to the moft regular Armies; nay, to fuch a Degree, they carried this Art of fortifying with Waggons, that Field-Marfhal Munich, who was an Officer of great Skill and Experience, thought fit to adopt their Method in his laft War againit the Turks; and that with fuch Succefs, as enabled him to come off with Honour and Victory, when attacked by the moft numerous Armies the Ottoman Power could bring into the Field. This fhewed great Skill and military Prudence in that Officer, who alfo brought feveral Regiments of Coffacks into the Rufian Service: I will not fay as regular, but I may fay as fettled and eftablifhed Troops, and they have been
found very ferviceable. We muft, however, diftinguint between the Coffacks in the Pay of Ruffa and the Coffacks under the Protection of Rufia; the former are a Body of Troops of between ten and twelve thoufand Men, that may be marched any where, as Occafion thall require ; but the latter are-a great People, capable of bringing fifty or fixty thoufand Men into the Field, for the Service of the Ruflans, againft the Turks or Tartars, but as foon as the War is over they will expect to return Home.

In their offenfive Wars, which, as we have fhewn, the Coffacks carry on by Sea, the Invention of their Boats is admirable; for, in the firft Place, they are very light, fo that they may be cranfported from Rock to Rock with great Eafe. In the next Place, they are capacious, fo as to hold a great Number of Men, which gives them fuch a Power in boarding and attacking Places on the Sea Coafts, as it is hardly poffible to refift. Their Method of Building without Keels, and Sheathing with Reeds, defends them from finking, even if full of Water. Befides this, it makes their Boats, when filled with Men, lie fo deep in the Water, that they are not to be feen at any great Diftance, and yet they go at a prodigious Rate, fo as to be in no Danger, when purfued by any kind of Shipping in ufe among the Turks.

If indeed we take thefe Bark Boats out of the Water, and confider them independent of the Coffacks, who ufe them, and of the Ufes they make of them, they will appear very poor and defpicable Things, and we may fay the fame of their Waggons; but notwithttanding this, when all Circumftances are duly weighed, when we remember that thefe People are poor, weak, and defencelefs, in Comparifon of their Neighbours, have very few Fortreffes, and thofe compofed only of Wood and Earth; and that notwithftanding thefe Advantages, they have made a Shift to cover their Country fo well, and defended themfelves fo obftinately, as to make the Poles and Tartars weary of their Wars with them; we muft allow them fome Merit, with refpect to military Skill; on the other Hand, when we call to mind, that they have no Trade, no Veffels, no Ports to receive them, if they had any ; no Yards, little Timber, no Docks, Carpenters, or Seamen, we cannot help owning that the naval Exploits of fuch People, are in a great Meafure aftonifhing.

Their Government is entirely military, infomuch that in Time of Peace they have hardly any Magiftrates or Laws; but when the Nation, by whom they are protected (and at prefent fome of them are under the Poles, fome under the Turks, but the far greateft Part of them under the Rufrans) propofe they fhould rife and take the Field ; the firft Step is to give them leave to elect a General, who in their Language is called HETMAN or HATMAN, which fome modern Writers have miftaken for a proper Name; whereas, in reality, it is the Stile of Office, and anfwers to that of Imperator amongft the ancient Romans; and he has the abfolute Command fo long as the War continues; neither is it eafy to depofe him afterwards; for in this, as well as in all other Countries, Power has in it fomething fo pleafing, that no fmall Difficulty is found in reducing him, who has been once a Prince to the Rank of a private Man.

In the Hiftories of the Wars in the North, from the Beginning of the prefent Century to the Death of Peter the Great, Emperor of Rufia, the HATMAN of the Coffacks is often mentioned, and fome of them made a great Figure ; but of late, and indeed in all Times of Peace, we hear of no fuch Perfon; but when the Circumftances of Things fhall alter (and nobody knows how foon this may happen) it is very probable we thall hear of them again; as the Croats, Pandours, and Talpatches, with many other barbarous Nations, lay hid in their Dens and Marfhes, till the prefent War called them Abroad, and thewed more civilized Nations the dreadful Appearance of thefe terrible Militia. But it is right to enquire after, and have fome tolerable Knowledge, even of the mof obfcure Nations, that when thofe Accidents, which are always in the Womb
of Time, bring them upon the Stage; we may not be amazed at their Names, or in Doubt about their Force.

It was the Praife of Ulyffes, the wifeft Man in his Day in Greece, That he had feen and was acquainted with the Laws and Cuftoms, the Manners and Modes, of different Places and People. And this was a great Commendation, worthy the Pen and Pains of the immortal Homer, who has juitly celebrated the Labours and Travels of that excellent Man: But it is the Felicity of modern Times, that every Man may be an Ulyffes in his Clofet; may fail over the Ocean in his Elbow-chair, and travel all the World over in his Study. Neither is this a Flight of Oratory, a lively or extravagant Picture ; but a plain, certain, and undeniable Truth: Books and Maps will do theWork effectually; and a fmall Degree of Application, and that only for a few Months, will enable us to acquire more real and ufeful Knowledge than it was poffible for any of the Ancients to become Mafter of in the Courfe of his Life ; and therefore if we do not excel them, is not more their Glory than our Fault: He who bas never travelled, fay the Turks; be who bos never read, may we fay, thinks all the World like bis Father's Houfe; that is, has fuch narrow and confined Notions, as are unworthy of the human Mind, and fubject him to Wonder and Amaze, the moft fhameful Marks of Ignorance and Folly, upon every new Event; for to him all Changes are ftrange, and every Incident, becaufe unlooked for, is furprizing.
It was proper to throw together thefe Reflections at the Clofe of this Section, becaufe it is the laft in which we thall have Occafion to treat this Subject; for we are now to look Abroad into more civilized Countries, where every thing has a fofter Air, and the Inhabitants are learned and polite. It is true, that the vifiting Countries, like thefe, feems to be moft expedient for modern'Travellers, who are fent abroad to acquire a genteel Manner and a correct Tafte ; but for fuch as travel at home, though it is certainly more delightful and entertaining, to read the Defcriptions of fair and fruitful Countries, thoroughly planted and carefully cultivated, abounding with rich Cities, great Towns, and pleafantVillages, adorned in all Quarters with elegant Structures, and affording every where pleafing Objects to the wandering Eye of the inquifitive Beholders, yet to thofe whofe Studies tend io higher Purpofes, this will feem no more than an Amufement; for to them the Variation of Power, the Change of Circumftances, the rifing and falling of Nations in the Balance of found Policy, feems to he the great, if not the only rational, End of fuch Enquiries. An Inftance will render my Meaning in this Refpect perfectly clear. The Beauties of Italy are very far from declining, her Artifts are as famous as ever, and her Virtuofi more fo; but it unluckily falls out, that while the Italians grow more polite, they fink more and more in their Power. There was a Time when the Italian Liberty was talked of, and before that there was a Time when it exifted, but now the Difcourfe of it is as little heard as the Thing itfelf is feen. The great Topic now, is the Bałance of Power ; which is no other than a Contrivance to render Slavery lighter, or at leaft make it appear fo, by dividing it into feveral Hands. The Expedient is neceffary and therefore proper enough, fince a foreign Yoke cannot be thrown off, or the antient Freedom of the Italian States reftored. But this is not the Cafe in the North, and amonglt Nations of whom moft People are content to know but little: It is to combat thefe Notions that we venture upon thefe Remarks, in order to infpire our Countrymen with an Inclination to examine into Matters of more real Importance, and which will very foon, perhaps while the prelent Generation fubfilts, more nearly concern us.

The Power of Ruffa is not yet of fifty Years ftanding ; but, in that time, it has made a prodigious Progrefs; and, at this Day, appears with formidable Greatnefs. From being infulted by the Poles, trampled on by the Swedes, and over-run by the Tartars, it has not only
grown frong enough to keep all thefe Nations in awe but has likewife made confiderable Conquefts upon Perfia, given a Check to the Turkijh Power, alarmed the Cbinefe Empire, and fpread the Terror of its Arms among the Faponeze, who have fcarce heard the Names of other European Powers. It is worth while, therefore, to enquire into the State and Forces of this Empire, and to learn fomething of that Policy, by which thirty Millions of People are kept in Subjection. We fhall take a proper time to examine this. It is indeed true, that the Power of Sweden is very much decreafed, but we cannot fay the fame thing of their Trade. They have lately opened a Paffage to the Eaft-Indies; and their Dyets are very intent upon promoting every Branch of their Commerce ; nor is there any Reafon to fufpect, that their Pains will be thrown away. The fame Spirit exerts itfelf, with at leaft equal Vigour, in Denmark; and when once the prefent War is over, and the Power of Prufia thoroughly eftablifhed by a general Peace, I dare prophefy, that fome Attempts, of the fame Kind, will be made on that Side. By Methods like thefe, the whole Face of the North will be changed, Induftry and Navigation will become the Bufinefs of People that heretofore knew nothing of eitner, and in the Space of a few Years, that Emulation which appears fo ftrongly among thofe Princes, muft neceffarily produce great Effects. All the old Ports in the North will be opened and improved, and new will be heard of, that at prefent want Names. Every Creek will be rendered advantageous, and every fifhing Town will become a Place of Trade; new Commodities will be raifed, new Manufactures fet on Foot, and new Schemes formed, to render thefe beneficial to the Subjects of thefe States, under whofe Protection they rife.
I do not pretend to fay, that fuch Changes, or Alterations, will prove detrimental to Great-Britain; I hope they will not. I am far from fuggefting, that they fhould become Grounds to us of Jealoufy, or Envy ; but what I aim at, is to prove, that they are Objects that demand our Attention. While Defigns, like thefe, are in their Infancy, they may be bent, and turned, by a fuperior maritime Power, to its Advantage. We may perhaps be Gainers by the Variation, that will be occafioned thereby in the State of Commercial Affairs, and the Rife of thefe new trading Countries may be made very profitable to our own: But, in order to this, their Views muft be confidered in time, and muft be conf1dered with great Coolnefs and Deliberation ; that we not attempt to oppofe what may turn to our Intereft, or to be drawn in to promote Projects beneficial to others and detrimental to ourfelves. Thefe are Motives, that fhould incline us, to look very circumfpectly into the Condition of the North. We gained a great Part of the Trade we have at prefent, by doing this, in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth; and we loft a Part of our Trade, by that Negligence; which, among other mifchievous Confequences, attended our fatal Civil War. It imports us now to provide againft any new Misfortunes of the fame Kind ; which can be only done by a provident Application to our own Interefts, and ufing, in due Time, the moft effectual Means to prevent the Current of Trade from running too ftrongly into the North; a thing that muft be attended with extraordinary Confequences, which it will be for the Reputation of our Governors to forefee; and in refpect of which it is their Duty to provide. That thefe Hints may prove fome way ufeful to fo great and falutary a Purpofe, and prevent: that Spirit from being extinguifhed here, which begins to be fo confpicuous amongft our Neighbours, is the fole View of their Author ; who, fince he can be no otherwife ufeful to his Country, thinks it incumbent upon him to exprefs his good Will towards it, by furnifhing Remarks worthy the Notice of thofe, who have more in their Power, and to whom he moft ardently wifhes Prudence, Diligence, and Succefs.

## C H A P TER III.

Comprehending Travels through the middle Parts of Europe, particularly, the United Provinces, the Aufrian Low Countries, Germany, Italy, Switzerland, Savoy, and the Territories of the Republick of Genoa.

## SECTION I.

The Travels of Mr. Maximilian Misson, through Part of Holland, the Spanifh Low Countries, Germany, Tyrol, and the Bi/boprick of Trent, in bis Way to Italy, containing a difinct Account of whatever appear'd to bim remarkable in the Places through which be paffed; together with Political, Hiforical, and Critical Remarks upon Perfons and Things, as be bas Occafion to mention them.

1. A flort Introduction, containing fome Account of the Autbor, the Occafion of bis Travels, the Nature and Defign of his Work, the feveral Editions it has gone through, and what is to be expected from this Abridgment. 2. A Defcription of the Country of Holland, the Neatnefs of the Cities and great Towns, the Conveniences of Travelling, togetber weith Jome Account of the two great Cities of Amfterdam and Rotterdam. 3. A Profecution of the fame Subject, including a Defrription of the Town of Delft, the celebrated Village of the Hague, the Univerfity of Leyden and its Curiofities, and the Town of Haerlem. 4. A more particular Defcription of the great City of Amfterdam, the publick and private Buildings there; an Account of an Order of Nuns called Beguines, and other Things woortby of Obfervation. 5. The Autbor's Fourney from Amfterdam to Utrecht, Defoription of the Places upon the Road, and Remarks on the Harmony wwhich Jubffes in Germany between Perfons of different Religions. 6. A circumplantial Defoription of the great City of Cologne, the Capital of the Arcbbijopprick and Elecitorate of that Name, the publick Edifices therein, zeith Some judicious Remarks upon popijo Superfition. 7: The Autbor's Pafjage on the Rhine from Cologne to Mentz, Defcription of the Country and Villages on both Sides that River, reith. a Correezion of a vulgar Mifake about the Tomb of Drufus at Mentz. 8. His Paflage on the Maine from Mentz to Franckfort, Defcription of this City; a very curious Account of the Golden Bull, the Original of which is kept there, and other Particulars. 9. His Fourney from Franckfort to Worms; a large Account of the laft mentioned Place, as alfo of Frankendal, Manheim, and Heidelberg. 1o. His Pafage from the laft mentioned City, tbrough a very pleafant and agrecable Country, to Nurembergh; a Defcription of that Place, and of the Diadem of Charlemagne kept there; of a Book printed by Fauftus in. 1446, and anotber in 1449; weith Some Remarks on the Invention of Gunpowder, and otber Curiofities. II. $A$ Defoription of Ingolftadt, Neubourgh, and a very particular Account of the Imperial City of Augsbourg, the publick Edifices therein, the Drefs, Cuffoms and Manners of its Inbabitants. I2. An Account of the Country of Bavaria; of the Capital City of Munich, the Electoral Palace there, and other Curiofities. I3. A Defrription of the Country of Tyrol, of the City of Infpruch, of the Houfe there the Porch of which is faid to be covered woith Gold, the Country Palace of the Archdukes at Amras. 14. A View of the remaining Part of the Country of Tyrol, and of the BiJooprick of Trent, with a Defoription of the City of that Name, and of whatever is therein remarkable. 15 . Remarks and Obfervations upon the foregoing Section.
a Defcription. His Work was originally fmall to what it now appears, but as it was very well received, he reviewed it more than once, and made large Additions from Time to Time to the feveral Editions of it that were printed in French; all of which are 'preferved in the laft Englijb Tranflation, in which we find a Multitude of Paffages corrected, or render'd more cleai 'nd explicit, than in any of the former, and therefore we have taken Care; in reviewing this Abridgment, to compare it therewith, fo as to render it as compleat as it is poffible, as well as to free it from the numerous Mi ftakes that had crept into the former Extract of it pub. lifhed by Dr. Harris,
[^1]The Author divided his Work in the Original into Letters, which are dated from feveral Places; but to render it more agreeable to the Form of this Work, we have digefted it in the fame Manner with the other Parts of it; which, we fatter ourfelves, will render it more eafy and intelligible to our Readers. The great Number of Infcriptions, literary Differtations, hiftorical and critical Difcuffions, with which the Author, from time to time, augmented his original Performance, fwelled it to four Volumes; and though many of thefe are very curious and ufeful, yet as they did not fuit either the Defign of our Work, or the Bounds within which we are obliged to confine it, we have contracted them as far as it was neceffary, to bring the whole into a reafonable Compafs, with as little Prejudice as might be to the Sentiments of the Aurhor.

It is requifite farther to obferve, that thefe Travels were made in $168 \%$, and 1688 ; fo that the Reader will make the proper Allowances for the Alterations that have happened; in refpect both to Perfons and Things fince that Time. The Rout he took has been efteemed, by the ableft Judges, one of the beft, for making what is called the Grand Tour, in order to give 'young Travellers a View of the moft remarkable Parts of Europe, and the Method he has taken in defcribing the Countries and Cities through which he paffed, has been looked-upon as equally inftructive and entertaining ; fo that hitherto nothing of the fame Kind has appeared, either fo extenfive in its Defign, or fo well executed in the feveral Parts of it. Our Author was a very zealous as well as learned Proteftant, and he has left us great Marks of both in this Performance, which ftirred up fome Perfons abroad to criticife various Paffages in his Travels; but he was, generally fpeaking, fo much in the Right, and in the Difcourfes beforementioned, which may be ftill found in the laft Englifh Tranflation of his Book, he has defended himfelf fo well, that his Adverfaries have had no great Occafion to triumph. Thefe Particulars, which were neceffary for the Reader's Satisfaction, being difpatch'd, there is no Neceffity for enlarging any farther this Introduction, and therefore we thall proceed, as near as may be, in the Author's own Words, after putting the Perufer in Mind, that the Plainnefs and Familiarity of the Stile is fuch as may be expected, and has been always allowed to Epiftolary Writings.

${ }^{2} \cdot \mathrm{H}$Olland being a flat Country, like a continued Meadow', as we approach'd the Shore, the Pinacles of the Sreeples and the Trees appear'd as rifing out of the Water. The whole Country is cut into Canals and Ditches with incredible Labour, without which the Grounds would be fo foak'd with Water, as would render it not habitable; whereas now, by the Induftry of its Inhabitants, it is the richeft and beft peopled in the World, in Proportion to its Extent: Some make their Number amount to Two millions five hundred thoufand Souls, in the fingle Province of Holland; fome account only Two millions in all the Seven Provinces.

The Cities of Holland are generally very neat and beautiful, their Inhabitants fparing no Pains or Coft for that Purpofe, as appears by their conttantly wafhing them; and having the Infides of their Houfes curiounly painted; and their Windows, generally of Glafs, as clear as Cryftal: Their Cleanlinefs extends even to their Shops and Stables, which are kept neater here, than the beft Aparments are in fome Countries. Their Streets are fo clean, that you fee the Women walk almoft conftantly in Slippers; and the Canals being on both Sides planted with Trees, afford a molt delightful Thady Paffage through all the chief Streets of the Cities, and of fome of the Towns and Villages alfo. They reckon in the United Provinces one City (Amfterdam) of the firft Rank, about twenty of the fecond, upwards of thircy of the third, two hundred large Towns, and eight hundred Villages. But to return to their Canals.

Thefe are very convenient for travelling, which is generally perform'd in large Boats cover'd againft the Injuries of the Air, and drawn by Horfes, which go off and bring you to your Journey's End exactly at certain

Hours; they ferve for the Tranfportation of Commodities from one Place to another: And fome of thefe Canals afford tolerable Store of feveral Kinds of Fifh.
Notwithftanding all thefe Advantages, there are many Things wanting in Holland, their Supplies of Wines, nay, even of Corn, and moft other Things neceffary for the Suftenance of Life, are derived from foreign Countries, which occafions their having fuch a prodigious Number of Ships, fo that fome have computed them equal to all the reft that Europe can produce. But as on one Side they are chiefly oblig'd to the Sea for their Riches, fo on the other Hand it proves the Occafion of almoft irreparable Defolations; for though they take all poffible Precautions to maintain their Dams and Mills for the emptying of the Water, yet fometimes the Impetuofity of this Element breaks through all thefe Fences, which has coft at feveral Times the Lives of fome Millions of People. Thus, April 17,1429 , a Hundred thoufand People were drown'd about Dort. In 1446, there were fifteen Parifhes overflowed in the Village of Scheveling, 121 Houfes were carried away, and the Church, now clofe by the Sea-fide, ftood in the Middle of the Place.

Another Inconveniency is, the fudden Change of the Weather from Heat to Cold, a Thing not agreeable to thofe who are not ufed to it. Their Impofitions are alfo very heavy, which confequently occafions a Dearnefs of all Sorts of Victuals; but their Plenty of Trade feems to make them a fufficient Amends for this and every other Inconveniency.

We were not a little furpriz'd with the firf Sight of Rotterdam, for its Canals being, for the moft Part, fo deep and broad, that they are capable of receiving Veffels of a great Bulk; this affords the moft agreeable Profpect of a Mixture of Trees, Tops of lofty Houfes and Mafts, which at a Diftance appear wonderfully beautiful.

The City of Rotterdam has not always been in the fame flourifhing Condition, which makes it now challenge a Place among the Cities of the fecond Rank, its Port being both large and commodious, the City rich, populous, pleafant, and extreamly flourifhing; their Storehoufes for the Navy, the Townhoufe, and the Bank, are beautiful Structures; their Glafs-houfe (famous through all the Seven Provinces) manufactures abundance of little enamel'd Bowls, and fuch-like Baubles, curioully done, which are fold to prodigious Profir to the Savages in the Indies.
There are two French Churches here: The Statue of Brafs of Erajmus is fix'd on a Pedeftal of Marble in the Place called the Great Bridge, furrounded with Iron Rails. Erafmus is drefs'd in his Doctor's Robe, with a Book in his Hand ; and near it you fee the following Diftich, wrote over the Door of a little Houfe where he was born, Octob. 27, 1467. but died at Bafil? Fune 12, 1536 .

## Edibus bic ortus, mundum decoravit Erafmus Artibus ingenuis, Religione, Fide.

There has been due Care expreffed in this Refpect, for the firft Statue was erected 1540, of Wood; after that another of Stone, 1657; and this of Brafs, 1622.

We made a little Journey from hence to a fmall Village called Leckerkeck, about three Leagues from the City, upon the River Leck, where the Lord of the Manor told us, that the Salmon-fifhing (the fifth Part whereof belongs to him) ufed formerly to produce Twenty thoufand Livres per Ammum for his Share, but of late Years the Salmon having left that River, the Fifhing (which they are forced to continue only to maintain their Right) does not defray the Charges.

At the fame Place they fhewed us a Woman, who was the Year before, i.e. 1686, brought to Bed of fix Sons at one Birch, four of them were baptiz'd, and the eldeft lived four Months after.

At the Lord of the Manor's Houfe, we faw alfo a Servant-maid, named la Bonte, who under that Name was mufter'd, and ferv'd no lefs than feven Years in the Quality of a Mufqueteer.

## Chap. III.

We were credibly inform'd, that a few Years before there died in this Place one Gerard Baftianfon, a Fifherman, who was full eight Foot high, and though a very lean Perfon, weigh'd five hundred Weight : The Doors of his Houfe, and his Clothes, which were fhewn, fufficiently confirm'd what they told us of his Size.

The Tower of the great Church here is very remarkable. It leaned formerly on theNave of the Building; that is, bent towards the North-Eaft three Feet and a half, but by opening the Foundation, they have found Means to fet it up quite ftreight, as appears by a profe Infcription in Dutch; which alfo acquaints us the Ground was opened September the 25 th, 1651 , and was clofed again April the $22 \mathrm{~d}, 1655$. The Architect who performed this fingular Piece of Work, was one Nicholas Feremy Perfoons. Dion Caffus, under the Reign of Tiberius, mentions fomething of the fame Sort done, and that the Artift was but ill rewarded.
3. The ordinary Paffage-boat carried us in two Hours to Delft, a City that holds the third Rank in the Affembly of the States of Holland. One of the chief Curiofities they fhew you in this City is, the Tomb of Willianz Prince of Orange, affaffinated here by Baltbafar Gerard, 1584. The Arfenal, the Townhoufe, the Siadtbolder's Palace, the Grand Place, and the great Hofpital, with its Gardens, are well worth the Sight of a Traveller The Canal betwixt this City and the Hague is not above a League in Length, in Sight of Referyck and Voer burgb, two pleafant Villages, and adorn'd on both Sides with moft delightful Summer Villa's, fine Walks, and noble Gardens.
The Hague, being without Gates or Walls, is reckon'd among the Villages, notwithftanding which, as it enjoys the Privilege of a City, fo its Grandeur and Beauty feems to deferve that Name, being befides this the Refidence of the Princes of Orange when Stadtholders, of all the foreign Minifters, and the Place of Affembly of the 'States General; befides that, the great Concourfe of Foreigners of all Sorts, renders the People more obliging and fociable than in any other Place of Holland. Add to this, that the Air is very good, the Wood near the Town extremely delightful, and the Walk from thence to the Village of Scbeveling; near the Sea-fide, very diverting. Here they fhew a Chariot furnifh'd both with Wheels and Sails, which is carried along by the Wind upon the Sea-hore, very pleafant to walk on, it being both hard and level.

Its Situation is certainly the moft pleafant of any Place in Holland, having the before-mentioned Wood to the North, very fertile Meadows to the South, good arable Lands to the Eaft, and the Sea to the Weft.
The Princes of Orange keep their Refidence in the Palace of the ancient Earls of Holland; but that called the Old Court, where they formerly lodg'd, is by much the more regular Scructure ; the Houfes of Pleafure about the Hague are generrally very beautiful.

We took, among other Things, a View of the Church of the Village of Lofdun, fo famous for the two Bafons of Brafs preferved there, in Memory of the Three hundred fixty five Children of the Countefs of Hennebergh, Daughter to Florent IV. Earl of Holland, that were baptiz'd in them. The Story goes, that the faid Countefs having reproach'd a Beggar-woman with having too many Children, the poor Wretch, by way of Imprecation, wilh'd her as many as there were Days in the Year ; which being fufill'd, they were all chriftened, (the Boys by the Name of fobn, the Girls Elizabetb) and buried in the Church of Lofdun. The whole Hiftory is painted at large in the faid Church, on both Ends of which Picture the two Bafons are fix ${ }^{3}$ d The Truth of it is attefted by Erafmus, Vives, Guicciardine, and others.
From the Hague we went forward to Leyden, a Place not fo much frequented by Courtiers and Officers, nor fo much difturbed with Bufinefs and Traffick as the Hague and Rotterdam, but exceeding charming by its intrinfick Beauty and Quiet, fo that you feem to enjoy the Benefit of a Country Life in the Midft of a great City : Its chief Trade confifts in the Woollen Manufactory, which, together with the Univerfity, makes it
one of the moft confiderable Cities in Holland. There are commonly about 1500 Students.

In the Anatomy-Hall they fhew you a great many Skeletons both of Men and Beafts, abundance of Plants, Fruits, Animals, Arms, Habits, Pictures, Mummies, Urns, Images, E cc. and among the reft, the Picture of a Prufian Peafant, who having fwallowed a large Knife, the fame (as they tell you) was cut out again of his Stomach, and he lived eight Years after.
In the Gallery of the Phyfick-Garden, and the adjoyning Cabinet, called the Indian Cabinet, we faw divers natural Curiofities, among the reft a wing'd Cat and Ape ; the Hand of a Mermaid ; a vegetable Priapus, a moft curious Plant; a Monfter produced from a Hen's Egg ; a Piece of Money of Paper, made during the Siege of Leyden by the Spaniards in 1574, with this Infcription on one Side, Hac libertatis ergo; on the other, Pugno pro Patria: An East-India Serpent, on whofe Skin are to be feen, as fome fancy, feveral natural Figures refembling Arabick Characters; befides a great Number of Animals, Infects, and other Things, preferved in Vials fill'd with Spirit of Wine.

Before I take my Leave of Leyden, I muft not forget to give you an Account of the Rbine, which is loft near its Mouth, where moft other Rivers are at the largeft ; for the Rbine dividing itfelf into two Branches near Scbenkerfchoniz; one of them takes the Name of Wakle, the other a little above Arnbeim, that of XJ Jl ; and continuing its Courfe about feven or eight Leagues below that City, as far as Duerstadt, is there again fubdivided into two other fmall Channels, the chiefeft whereof takes the Name of the Leck; and the other Rivulet, which turns more to the Right, retains the Name of the Rbine ; till coming to Utrecbt, it emits another Branch, which taking its Courfe to the North, is known by the Name of the Vecbt ; and the other continuing its Courfe, by the Name of the Rbine, to Worden, it at laft lofes itfelf in two or three Canals at Leyden. The Caufe of this odd Fate of the Rbine, is attributed to an Earthquake, which throwing Part of the Dovens into the Mouth of this River, fhut it ever fince, the Waters were driven back, and confequently enlarg'd and deepened the Channel of the Leck as you fee it now.
They fhew you here the Shopboard belonging to that noted Taylor called Fobn of Leyden, (where he was born) the chief of the Anabaptists. His true Name was Fobn Bucold.
From hence to Harlem is five Hours travelling by the Paffage-boat, the Canal being lined with a great Number of Councry-feats and Summer-houfes.

Harlem is a large and pleafant City, and, for its agreeable Situation, may challenge the Preference before Leyden, moft of its Canals being mix'd with the little River Sparm. This City is chiefly famous for the Linnen Manufactory, and that of Tape, though of late Years they have made alfo great Quantities of Silkftuffs. The great Church (the largeft in all the Seven Provinces) and the Town-houfe, are ftately Structures ; and the Wood without the City is a great Addition to its pleafant Situation; for which it is defervedly admired.

Lawerence Coffer, who challenges the firft Invention of Printing, was a Native of this City ; though Fobn Guttenbergb of Strasburgh, and Conrade and Arnoid, two Brothers of Mayence, challenge that Honour before him. However, thofe of Harlem, in refpect to their Townfman, keep in their Townhoufe the firft Book that ever was printed, in a Silver Cafe wrapt in Silk, the Keeping whereof is committed to the Care of feveral of the Magiffrates; and the Statue of Lawerence Cofer is to be view'd in the fame Place. This Infcription is to be feen in golden Letters over the Door of the Houfe where the faid Lawerence Cofter lived.

MEMORIASACRUM,
Typograpbia ars artium omnium Confervatrix, bic primum inventa circa annum 1440

Meyer affures us, that in 1403. a Mermaid was caft afhore by a Tempeft near Harlem, who was brought to feed upon Bread and Milk, taught to fpin, and lived for many Years. Fobn Gerard of Leyden adds, that The would frequently pull off her Clothes, and run towards the Water, and that her Speech was fo confufed a Noife, as not to be underitood by any body: She was buried in the Church-yard, becaufe fhe had learnt to make the Sign of the Crofs. He fpeaks this upon the Credit of feveral Perfons that had feen her.
4. As it would require a long Continuance in the City of Amferdam to learn every Thing that belongs to it, and a large Volume to defcribe it all, I will content myfelf with giving rather a Scheme than a Defrription of a Place, which is, beyond all Difpute, one of the moof beautiful and confiderable Cities in the World; however, for its Extent it is in no wife to be compared to London, there being, according to a good Calculation, in London about Seven hundred thoufand Souls, but in Amsterdam not above Two hundred thoufand; but for Riches and Trade it may vie with any City in the World, witnefs their Eaft-India Company, which was founded in 1594, and has waged Wars againft very potent Princes, without any confiderable Interruption of their Trade.
This City is built upon Piles fix'd in the Marfes on the South Side of the River $Y_{e}$ or $T_{y e}$, which is a Branch of the Zuyder-Zee. Its Fortifications are very confiderable, confifting of many Baftions faced with Brick, furrounded with a Ditch eighty Paces broad, filld with running Water, which, together with the Sluices, whereby they can lay all the adjacent Country under Water, renders it almoft impregnable; befides the ordinary Garrifon, the Militia or Train'd Bands of the City confift of fixty Companies of a hundred and fifty Men each, commanded by Citizens.
The Town-houfe, which is reported to have coft three Millions, is a fpacious and moft magnificent Structure, of hewn Stone ; 'its Length is a hundred and ten Paces, and its Breadth twenty four: It is highly efteem'd for its regular Architecture, many are of Opinion, that the Foundation coft as much as the Fabrick above Ground ; however, the Doors which give Entrance to this great and fplendid Palace feem to be too fmall, in Proportion to the Whole, and the Square or Space before it is not either neat or regular.

The principal Church of the City was formerly dedicated to St. Catherine, but is now called The Nere Cburch: It is not fo large as either of the great Churches at Leyden or Harlem; for as Amferdam was no more than a poor Village within thefe five hundred Years, and its Condition, even in our Age, was not comparable to what you fee it now, this Church was built anfwerable, to its State at that Time. They affirm, that the Pulpit, made of Wood of Gotbick Carving, with its Canopy, coft Two hundred thoufand Crowns; and the Organs (which are extraordinary fine) at leaft a hundred thoufand Crowns; the Steeple intended to be erected remains imperfect. On the Glafs Windows is painted the Hiftory of the Emperor Maximilian V. who beftow'd; the Imperial Crown upon the Arms of this City. The Tomb of the famous Admiral de Ruyter, in this Church, is a fine Piece. The Synagogue of the Portuguefe feres is a fately Fabrick; but that of the HighDutch is but very indifferent. It is obfervable, that notwithtanding the Inquifition of Spain and Portugal, the Agents from both thefe Crowns at Amferdam were feres in 1687.

One of their Hourfes of Correction, called the Rafpbuys, is for the young Debauchees, where they are kept to their Tasks, under the Penalty of Whipping. There is another fuch a one for the Whores, filed the Spinbuys, who are not treated with the fame Severity. But there are enough of them alfo at Liberty here as well as in other great Cities.
The Roman Catbolicks enjoy Liberty of Confcience as in other Parts of the Seven Provinces, tho' their Number is not fo confiderable as fome have endeavour'd to perfuade us; for I have been inform'd by Perfons of

Knowledge and Credit, that the Roman Catboiicks, and all other Sectaries together, do not make a fourth Part of the Inhabitants of Amferdam.
In this City remains ftill a Convent of certain Nuns call'd Beguines, an Order erected A.D. 1207, compofed of Maidens and Widows, who have no Children, and who need no other Qualifications to be admitted into this Society, than a Teftimonial of their good Behaviour, and a Competency to live upon, either by themfelves or in Conjunction with one or more of the Sifters, as they find it moft fuitable to their Purpofe. Their Convent (which contains about a hundred and thirty Sifters) is built like a little City with a Wall and Ditch about it, within which ftands a Church, where they are obliged to perform their Devotions at certain Hours. They wear an odd looking black Habit, receive and pay Vifits, and quit the Convent when they pleare.
The Houfes of Amferdam being founded upon wooden Piles, this is the Reafon they will not allow any Coaches here, except to Phyficians and to fome Strangers of Note; inftead whereof, they make Ufe of a Kind of Sleds made like Coaches ; but this Carriage being but flow and uneafy, is not generally in Fafhion.

We faw at Amsterdam a French Opera, but in Want both of good Machines and Actors ; fo that we were not much delighted with it.

The Mufick-houfes of Amjferdam, fo much talk ${ }^{\circ} \mathrm{d}$ of, are publick Houfes or Taverns, where young Fellows of the Dregs of the People, come under Pretence of Dancing, but in Effect to pick up lewd Women, who refort thither in great Numbers, and carry them to other convenient Lodgings, thefe being intended oaly for their meeting Places. They are generally vifited by Strangers, out of Curiofity; and you muft either drink what they offer, or pay as if you did.
The Exchange of Amsterdam is two hundred Foot long, and a hundred and twenty broad: The Galleries above are fupported by forty fix Pillars, but are not fo fpacious, nor are the Shops fo many, as thofe over the London Exchange.
The Academy, ftiled the Illuftrious Scbool, is alfo an elegant Structure, divided into feveral Schools for Divinity, Philofophy, Hiftory, Law and Phyfick.

There are five high Towers in this City, which have each a great Clock, and are placed at fuch a convenient Diftance, as that the Hours of the Day are fhown-all over the Town.
I took another Turn to Lofdun, where I obferved, that the Infcription in the Church of this Village differs from the Paffage, relating to this Matter, found in the Annals, where the Bihop that baptized the three hundred fixty five Children is call'd Guido, Suffragan of Utrecht; whereas in the Annals he is ftiled William, Suffragan of Treves; but this might be occafioned by the Careleffnefs of the Tranfcribers.
5. We pals'd feven Hours upon the Canal betwixt Amferdam and Utrecbt very pleafantly; leaving on the Right Hand the old Caftle of Abeow, and the Village of the fame Name, the Boundary of the Province of Holland on that Side, about three Leagues from Amsterdam: We no fooner came to Utrecbt, but we found it to fall very much fhort of that extream Neatnefs we obferved in the Province of Holland, and yet it retains a fufficient Share of it too.
This City is famous for its Antiquity, its Univerfity, and the Union made here in 1579 , which was the Foundation of the whole Dutch Republick. The Steeple of the Cathedral is very high, and the Church contains many Relicks highly valued by the Roman Catholicks.

The Mall, and the Walks about it, without the Gates of the City, are infinitely pleafant, being upon that Score fpared by the French King's exprefs Command, when his Troops ravaged all the Country round about. A certain Gencleman of Utrecbt told me, that there were no lefs than forty eight Towns within the Reach of a Day's Journey from this City, and among them thirty three to which you may go, and come back the fame Day. The Country about Utrecbt has a far dif-
ferent

## Chap. III. Low-CoUNTRIES, GERMANY, EG®. <br> The Anfwer of the Archbifhop is as follows

ferent Face from what you fee in Holland, their Fields being for the moft part plough'd Lands enclofed with ftrong Hedges.

Two Hours from Utrecht we pafs'd in Sight of Zeift, and of the Caftle on the Right Hand: It is a very handfom Structure, enclofed with a Ditch full of running Water, adorn'd with Labyrinths, Gardens, Statues, Fountains, and other Ornaments, being built not many Years ago by one of the richeft Lords of this Country. The Fields betwixt Rbenen and Arnbeim are for the moft part planted with Tobacco, propp'd by Stakes ; and at Rbincom, a Village three Hours on this Side of Rbenen, you fee a Stone, which is the Boundary betwixt the Lordfhip of Utrecbt and the Province of Guelders.

Arnbeim has nothing remarkable but its Fortifications. Two Hours and a half beyond it we pals'd the $r \int \mathrm{Jel}$, divided into three Branches near each other; and afterwards continuing our Journey through Doefburgh, (a little City on that River, in the Province of Zutpben) we dined in a poor Village, if Milk with Bifcuit may be call'd a Dinner; but the worft is, that our Fare was no better at Night, when we lodg'd at $Y[J e l-$ burgh, a fmall difmantled Town upon the Borders of Cleves.

Between this laft Place and the City of Wefel the Country is fandy, and full of Woods: Its Fortifications are but indifferent, but they were then bufy in erecting a Citadel betwixt this City and the Fort of Lippe upon the Bank of the Rbine. It is under the Juriddiction of the Elector of Brandenburgh, who, by vertue of a Treaty made with the Duke of Nerwburgh, (now Elector Palatine) grants Liberty of Confcience to the Roman Catbolicks, the fame being allow'd reciprocally to the Protestants in the Dutchies of Fuliers and Berg, under the Elector Palatine's Jurifdiction. The Calvinists have two Churches, the Lutberans and Roman Catbolicks each of them one, for the Exercife of their Divine Worfhip. The Fews have likewife a little Synagogue there.
About half an Hour beyond Wefel we pafs'd the River Lippe, which joins its Waters with the Rbine, and arrived before Night at Duisburgh, a City of the fame Bignefs with Wejel, but without any Fortifications: It has however an Univerfity, but no great Concourfe of Scholars. The great Church belongs to the Proteftants, but the Roman Catbolicks enjoy alfo the fame Exercife of their Religion, and have even the Liberty of carrying the Hoft in publick Proceffion, though they refrain from doing it, for Fear of giving Occafion of Difturbance.
Not above half a League beyond Duisburgb we entred the Country of Berg, and in two Hours after pals'd through the little City of Keyerrwaert, feated upon the Rbine, and very well fortified.
Hence we continued our Journey to Duffeldorp, the Refidence of the Electoral Prince Palatine. It is much larger and better peopled than Duisburgh, and its Fortifications in a very good State, but has no Suburbs, any more than Keyferwaert.
6. The City of Cologne affords a moft agreeable Profpect at a Diftance, by its Situation in a plain and level Country, and the vaft Number of Steeples, which make a moft glorious Shew. Though it be of prodigious Extent, yet is it furrounded with a Wall, Towers, Baftions, and a dry Ditch. It has twenty four Gates, thirteen to the Land, and eleven on the Rbine. It is an Imperial City, govern'd by its own Magiftrates, though the Archbihop and Elector of that Name has fome Share both in the Civil and Criminal Jurifdiction, and a Prerogative of pardoning Criminals. The Oath, which the Citizens take to this Prince, feems to be a Kind of Homage, conceived in thefe Terms :

We the free Citizens of Cologne do this Day, for now and for ever, promife to A. B. Archbiboop of Cologne, to be faitbful and favourable to bim, as long as be Jaall preferve, in our Rigbts and Honour, and in our ancient Privileges, Us, our Wives, our Cbilderen, and our City of Cologne. So God and his Saints help us.
Yole II. Numbero.5.

We A. B. by the Grace of God, Arcbbilhop of the holy Cburch of Cologne, and Arch-Cbancellor of the Empire in Italy, to the End that an amicable Confederacy, extire Confidence, and fincere and lafting Peace, may be cultivated betwixt Us and our dear Burgeffes of the City of Cologne, do make known by there Prefents, and promije and declare fincerely, zeitbout Fraud, that we do confirm all their Rights and Privileges, written or not written, old or new, weithin or weitbout the City of Cologne, wobich bave been granted to it by the Popes, Emperors, Kings, and Archbilbops of Cologne, without ever doing any Tbing to wiolate the Jame. In Tefimony whereof, \&xc.

The whole Chapter of Cologrie is compofed of fixty Canons, who mult be Princes or Counts, but the twenty four eldeft are the Capitularies. -According to the Golden Bull, the Electors of Cologne ufed to crown the Emperor; but thefe Archbifhops not having been Priefts for a confiderable Time, thofe of Mentz have perform'd the farme in their Stead, and fince that challenge it as a Right.
There are a confiderable Number of Proteftants in this City, who have a Church not far thence, in the Territories of the Duke of Nerwburgh, they ftile them Gueux or Beggars to this Day, by the fame Name that was given at Bruifels to the firft Authors of the Agreement by the Count de Barlemont.
The Townhoufe is a vaft Fabrick, after the Gotbick Manner : Here they fhew whole Rooms full of Bows, Arrows, Crofs-bows, Bucklers, and fuch Sort of antick Arms. One of thefe Crofs-bows was of Whalebone, and twelve Foot long, eight Inches broad, and four Inches thick. From the Tower of this Houfe there is a moft delightful Profpect of the whole City and of the adjacent Country. That Part which lies oppofite to the City, on the other Side of the River, is chiefly inhabited by the feres, and belongs to the Territories of Newburgb. The Cathedral Church (or rather its Beginning) is fo fine, that it is a thoufand Pities it fhould not be brought to Perfection. Here lies entomb'd, as is pretended, the three Kings of the Eaft, that came to worfhip our Saviour, being transferr'd hither from Milan, A. D. 1162, at the Time when Frederick Barbaroffa laid that City defolate. They report here abundance of Miracles wrought by them ; and among the reft, that an exceffive Dearth having been occafioned by a great Drought in Hungary, abundance of that Country came hither to implore the Afiflance of thefe three Kings, who promifed them Rain, which following foon after in great Plenty the Hungarians, in Remembrance of this Miracle, come every feven Years in Pilgrimage to Cologne, where they are entertained by the Magiffrates for a Fortnight, in a handfome Houfe build for that Purpofe.
In the vaulted Roof of this Church, almoft over the Chapel that contains thefe precious Relicks, is a Hole of three or four Foot wide, round the Opening of which you fee thefe Words; Anno 1404. 30 OEF. Ventus de nocie flat ingens, grandem per teetum lapidems pellit; i. e. On the 30 th of O\&tober, 1404 , the Wind blew very bard in the Night, and forc'd a great Stone through the Roof: The Stone is ftill to be feen upon the Floor near this Chapel; they call it the Devil's Stone, becaufe they were of Opinion that the Devil threw it out of Malice. Over one of the Doors of the fame Church we faw thirty fix gilt Staves about three Foor long each, with this Diftich under them :

Quot pendere vides Baculos tot Epicoopus Amos Huic Agrippine prafuit Ecclefia.

Upon Enquiry we found, that the prefent Eleetor was then in the thirty feventh Year of his Reign, but could not learn either the true Original or Ufe of this Cuftom.

In the Church of St. Urfula they fhew you the Tombs of the eleven thoufand Virgins that were maffacred by the Huns at Cologne, in the Year 238 , together with this Saint, unto whofe Memory is dedicated this

Church.

Church. They tell you, that the Earth will not admit of any other dead Corps; for Inflance of which, they fhew the Tomb of a Daughter of a certain Duke of Brabant, who being interr'd there, rais'd up herfelf, and remaining thus in the Air, they were forc'd to put her in this Tomb, fix'd upon Iron Supporters, two or three Foot from the Ground, againft one of the Pillars of the Church. In a great Chapel on one Side of the fame Church, you fee the Bones of thefe Saints hung up in as decent a Manner as you fee the $S$ words and Piftols ranged in the Guard-chamber of St. Fames, or in any other Armoury; thefe Bones have no Ornaments except the Heads, fome of which are kept in Cafes of Silver, others are cover'd with Stuffs of Gold, and fome have Bonnets or Caps of Cloth of Gold, Velvet, rich Silks, $\mathcal{E}^{3}$. Hence it is that the City of Cologne challenges the Title of Cologne the boly; and its Arms are, Argent eleven Flames Gules, woith a Cbef of the Second, charg'd with three Croowns Or; the eleven Flames intimating the eleven thoufand Virgins, and the three Crowns the three Kings. But this idle Story, which was grounded on the ignorant Miftake of the following Infcription, SS.URSULA et UNDECIMILL $A, V . M$. which means no more than the Saints Urfula and Undecimilla Virgins and Martyrs; for Sancta Urfula E undecima millia Virginum Martyrum, that is, St. Urfula and eleven thoufand Virgins and Martyrs; has been fo fully refuted by Archbifhop Ufher, and other learned Men, that no body now pays any Regard to it.
In the Church of the Maccabees is a Crucifix, with an everlating and miraculous Perriwig on its Head; for though the Hungarian Pilgrims, at their coming to Cologne, each cut a Lock of Hair off, yet has it not been diminifh'd hitherto, by all this Polling.

At the Entrance of the Church of the Troelve Apoftes, is to be feen a Picture, which is remarkable chiefly for the Story it reprefents: They relate, that a Burghermatter's Wife of this City, being, in 157 I , buried in this Church, with a Ring of great Value on her Hand, the Sexton made bold to vifit the Grave afterwards for the Ring's Sake, but was not a little amaz'd, when he found the fuppofed dead Lady grafp him by the Hand, which made him retreat very fpeedily; However, the Lady having made hard fhift to get out of the Sepulchre, went to her own Houfe, where knocking at the Door, the call'd to a Servant, and related unto him the whole Adventure; but the Servant taking her for a Ghoft, ran in a Fright to recount unto his Mafter what had happened; who told him, that he would as foon believe his Horfes in the Garret : He had no fooner faid thefe Words, but a great Noife being heard in the Garret, the Servant went up, and, to his great Amazement, found fix Coach-horfes there: By this Time the Woman had made Shift to get in, and by the Care of her Servants was fo well recovered, that there was no great Likelihood of her returning to the Grave for that Time; and the Horfes were the next Day let down out of the Garret by certain Machines. They fhew you to this Day, in the fame Garret, feveral wooden Horfes, faid to be covered with the Skins of thofe that were feen there; and in the Church of the Twoelve Apoffles, there is a great Piece of Linnen-cloth, which, they fay, was of this Woman's fpinning after her Releafement from the Grave, which fhe furvived feven Years. We find fome authentick Teftimonies of the Truth of this memorable Story, but in them the Epilode of the Horfes is entirely left out, as being an evident and very abfurd Fiction.
There are fome Families now in Cologne, who deduce their Genealogies from the Roman Race, that fettled a Colony here the firft Time.
7. The Roads betwixt Cologne and Mentz being extremely bad, we chofe to embark upon the Rbine : The firft Town we came to was Bonn, a fimall inconfiderable Place, the Fortifications whereof lie neglected, and the Electoral Palace of Cologne made but a very indifferent Appearance.
As we came nearer to Andernach, at which, as well as at Keyerwaert, they receive a Toll; a Burgher-mafter of that Place told us, that there were certain Gen-
tlemen belonging to that City, who have the Title of Free Knigbts, and enjoy peculiar Privileges.

Coming to Coblentz, we obferved its Situation upon a Neck of Land made by the Mofelle, where it joins its Current with the Rbine, by which it is render'd very agreeable. We were told, that it is very well fortified on the Land-fide, but near the Water-fide we faw only a fingle Wall. The Caftle of Ebrenbreitstein, i. e. the Rock of Honour, built juft over againft it, upon a rifing Ground on the other Side of the River, is very ftrong both by Art and Nature, its Foundations being laid upon the Ruins of the old Fort of Hermantein, the Remains whereof are feen on one Corner only of the Rock on which the Windmill ftands. It is always well provided with a good Garrifon, and Ammunition in Proportion. The Palace (where the Elector of Cologne commonly refides) is at the Foot of the Hill, upon the very Bank of the Rbine, juft under the Caftle.
About half a League on this Side of Baccbarach, directly overagainft Coub, (a Town under the Jurifdiction of the Elector Palatine) ftands an old Cafte in the Middle of the Rhine, called Pfaltz, whence fome, but improperly, have derived the Titles of the Pfaltz Graves, or Counts Palatines.

Baccbaracb is a fmall City belonging to the Elector Palatine, built on the Side of a Hill, chiefly famous for its excellent Wines that grow thereabouts. We dined with one of the Minifters of the Place, who would needs frame the Etymology of Baccbarach from Bacbi ara, or the Altar of Baccbus; and for a Confirmation of his Opinion, told us, that in the fame Neighbourhood there were four other ancientTowns which ow'd their Name to Bacchus, viz. Steegbach, which lying on a Hillock, fignifies as much as Scala Baccbi, or the Ladder of Baccbus; Diabach, i. e. Digitus Baccbi, or the Finger of Baccbus ; Handbach, or Mannersbach, i. e. Manus Baccbi, the Hand of Baccbus; and Lorcb, i. e. Laurea Baccbi, or the Bays of Baccbus.

Soon after we were pafs'd Baccharacb, a furious Tempeft obliged us to feek Shelter a-fiore; a little on this Side Rudefeim. In our Way we pafs'd by an old ruin'd Caftle or fquare Tower, known by the Name of the Tower of Rats, whither, they fay, a certain Archbifhop of $M$ entz retreated (its Situation being on a little Ine in the Rbine) to avoid the Rats, that devour'd him at laft. Some look upon it as a Fable, becaufe the old Chronicles of the Country mention different Names and Times when this Accident happened; but others, who confider it as a Truth, (as it is generally taken for fuch hereabouts) alledge in Behalf of their Opinion, feveral Hiftories of this Nature related by Authors of unqueftionable Authority.

From Bonn, as far as Binghen, three Leagues on this Side Mentz, the Rbine carries its Current through the Mountains, at the Foot of which you fee all the Country on both Sides cover'd with Vineyards, interfpers'd with a great Number of fmall Cities, good large Vilages and Caftles, of the laft of which I counted forty fince I parted from Cologne, built, for the moft Part, upon the Afcents of the Mountains, and fome on the very Points of the Rocks. The Country People, in thefe Parts, but efpecially the Women, appear in a very odd Drefs; on their Heads they wear little Caps of fome colour'd Stuff, border'd with an Edging of a different Colour, their Hair hanging in Trefles quite down their Backs. Their Waftes appear very fhort, half a Foot below which they gird themfelves with a broad Leather Girdle, and underneath it is a thick Roll, which bears up their Petticoats almolt as high as their Knees.

From Bingben to Mentz the Rbine is very broad: Here you go over a Bridge of Boats, and as foon as you enter the City, the Electoral Palace prefents itfelf to View, a Fabrick of a reddifh Stone, embelifh'd with divers Ornaments, wanting neither Regularity nor Magnificence, though built after the old German Fafhion. They told us, that in the Middle of the Citadel was to be feen the Ruins of a Tower called commonly the Tomb of Drufus: 'Tis true, Drufus Germanicus, the Brother of Tiberius, died in Germany,

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but not near the Rbine, and he was buried in the Campo Martio at Rome ; fo that in all likelihood this was one of the Statues or triumphal Arches erected near the Banks of the Rbine to his Memory, after the Senate had beftowed upon him the Sirname of Germanicus.

The Church Ornaments in which the Elector fays Mafs, are remarkable for their Riches ; and the Canopy under which the Hoft is carried, upon certain Feftivals, in Proceffion, is all cover'd with Pearls.

Every one of the Electors of Mentz bears the Arms of his own Family, but he quarters Gules a Wheel Argent, which are the Arms of the Electorate, the Original of which they deduce from the firft Elector, who was the Son of a Wheelwright.

In the Cathedral you fee a great many magnificent Tombs of the Electors interr'd here. The Chapter confifts of forty two Gentlemen, twenty four of which only are Capitularies. The Proteftants are allowed Habitations at Mentz, but not the Exercife of their Religion. The City is fufficiently large, but indifferently peopled, neither is the Univerfity in any great Efteem now : However, its Situation is very pleafant, in a moft excellent Country. The Elector of Mentz is the firft among the Ecclefiaftical Electors, Chancellor of the Empire, and Dean of the Electoral College ; in Right of which he prefides in the Diets, and at Imperial Elections.
8. After having crofs'd the Rbine at Mentz, we embark'd on the River Maine in the ordinary Paffage-boat, which carried us in one Day to Frankfort, a City much exceeding Mentz in Beauty, Riches, Bignefs, Number of Inhabitants, and Strength, being fortified with eleven Baftions, which though they have fome Defects, yet they are in fome Meafure repaired by its Situation in a flat Country: The Houfes are generally built of the fame red Stone I mentioned before, or elfe of Wood, or Plaifter cover'd with Slates. The Maine, a confiderable large River, leaves it on the Right, and a Stone Bridge of four hundred Paces in Length joins it with Sakerbaufen. The Territories of this City are of no great Extent: The Senate, as well as the greateft Part of the Inhabitants, are Lutberans, though the Roman Catbolicks are poffefs'd of the Cathedral Church, where the Ceremony of anointing the Emperor is perform'd; however, they are not allow'd to make any publick Proceffions. The Calvinifts inhabiting here, have a Church at Bocbenbeim, a fmall Hour's Walk from thence, in the Country of Hanaw, but are obliged to marry and to chriften their Children in the Lutberan Churches.

In the Townhoufe is the Apartment where the Solemnity of the Election of the Emperor is perform'd, and where one of the Originals of the Golden Bull is preferv'd. It is hung only with Tapeftry, and furnifh'd with fome Elbow Chairs of black Velvet, and a large Table cover'd with a green Carpet. On one Side of this Apartment is a Hall, where certain Ceremonies are perform'd immediately after the Election, which being over, the Emperor goes from thence to the Church, where he is crown'd.

The Golden Bull is a Book in Quarto, of twenty four Leaves in Parchment ftitch'd together, and covered with a Piece of Vellum, without any further Ornament. The Seal, which is about two Inches and a half broad, and cover'd with Gold, is faftened to it by a String of twifted Silk of divers Colours; upon this Seal, which appears not unlike a Medal, you fee the Effigies of the Emperor Cbarles IV. feated and crown'd, with a Scepter in his Right Hand, and the Globe in the Left, having the Shield of the Empire on his Right, and that of Bobemia on his Left, with this Infcription round it.

Carolus Quartus Divinâ favente Clementia Romanorum Imperator Semper Auguftus.

And on each Side near the two Scutcheons, Et Bobemix Rex. On the Reverfe is a Gate of a Caftle betwixt two Towers, which denotes Rome, as is apparent by the following Infcription about it.

Roma Caput Mundi regit Orbis frena rotundi.

And upon the Gate betwixt thefe two Towers,

## Roma Aurea.

This Bull, intended to be the Foundation of the Conftitution of the Empire, was made at Nuremburgb. by Cbarles IV. with the general Confent of the States, in 1356, and contains the Manner of the Election of the Emperor, and of the King of the Romans, as alfo. many Things relating to the Rank, Affemblies, Rights; Immunities and Succeffions of the Electors, and in what Manner every one of them is to perform his Function. Frankfort is by this Bull appointed for the Election of the Emperor ; notwithftanding which, Henry II. was elected at Mentz, and Henry III, at Aix la Cbapelle; fome others have been chofen at Cologne ${ }_{3}$ Augsburgh, and Ratisbon, not to mention feveral other Innovations introduc'd fince that Time, efpecially by the Treaties of Weftphalia.
At Dr. Peter's, who makes the famous Treacle of Frankfort, we faw many Curiofities, and among the reft, a Stone taken out of a human Body, of the Bignefs of a Man's Head, which he bought for Sixteen hundred Crowns.
There are abundance of Fews at Frankfort, but they are not near fo rich as thofe of Amferdam, being ufed in a Manner like Slaves here, viz. to fetch the Water when any Fire happens to break out in the City; for the reft, their chief Employment is to go from one Inn to another to fell their Commodities to Foreigners, and fo pick up a poor Living.
I need not tell you, that the three annual Fairs of Frankfort contribute not a little to its Fame and Riches.

The Univerfity acknowledges for its Founders, Foascbim and Albert of Brandenburgh, in 1506.
9. As we were taking Coach to leave Frankfort, we obferved the Coachman to put fome Salt upon each of his Horfes, which he told us was a never-failing Antidote againft Witchcraft, and other unlucky Accidents.
Having paffed the Rbine at Gernfbeim, we entred a Wood, where the Roads prov'd very bad; but after that, for two Leagues, till we came to Worms, ex* ceeding good.
The City of Worms is feated about three or four hundred Paces from the Rbine, on the Left, in a moft fruitful Country, having no other Fortifications but a double Wall: It was formerly an Archbihoprick, till the See was removed to Mentz by Pope Zacbary, but ftill remains a Bifhop's See, and that Prelate has great Authority there though it is an Imperial City. It is not inferior in Bignefs to Frankfort, but ill peopled and poor. I faw a Houfe that was fold for a thoufand Crowns, which had yielded formerly as much annual Rent; and there are fo many void Spaces within the Compaifs of the Place, that the Vines planted there are computed to produce every Year fifteen hundred Fuders of Wine, a Fuder being a Cask that holds no lefs than two hundred and fifty Englifo Gallons. This Wine is in fuch high Efteem in thofe Parts, that they have turn'd it into a Proverb, and fay, It is freeter than the Virgin's Milk; whence queftionlefs is alfo arifen the Cuftom of prefenting it to Perfons of Note that travel that Way, with fome Fifh, $E^{3} c$. and this is ftiled Wine of Honour. Befides that, the Lutberans have one Church for their own Ule here; they preach by Turns with the Romanits in the Dominican Church, all the reft being in the Poffeffion of the Roman Catbolicks, who don't carry the Hoft in publick, nor make any Proceffion, except on the Day after Eaffer. The Calvinifts have a Church at Nerobausel in the Palatinate, about half a League from Worms, where the Lutberans now and then chriften their Children, quite contrary to what is practifed by the Lutberans at Frankfort.

The Church of St. Paul, as well as that of St. Fobn, are very ancient Structures, the beft of the two being built of vaft fquare Stones, in a very irregular Mannners with narrow Windows, and Galleries all round the Outfide juft under the Roof; the Walls are twelve

Foot thick, and feem as if they were not at firft defigned for a Church, but rather for a Fortrefs. The Cathedral is both very long and lofty, adorn'd with a Tower on each of the four Corners; it is a ftrong Fabrick with fome Ornaments after the Gotbick Way. Over one Door of this Church they fhew you the Figure of a ftrange Animal of the Bignefs of an Afs, with four Heads, one the Head of a Man, the fecond of an Ox, the third of an Eagle, and the fourth of a Lyon; the two firft ftand upright, and the two others hang downwards; the right Fore-foot is of a Man, the left of an Ox, and the two hinder of an Eagle and a Lyon; a Woman fits on the Back of it. The People here tell you very odd Stories concerning it, but we may fuppofe it to be an Hieroglyphick compofed of the four Beafts in the Vifion of Ezekiel, and the Woman to reprefent the Gofpel. Over the Altar of one of the Chapels of the fame Church I obferved a Picture, in which the Virgin received Chrift as he was defcending from the Crofs, whilft the Angels were carrying the Inftruments of his Crucifixion to Heaven. But the Picture at the Entrance of St. Martin's Church, juft over a moveable Altar, is of any here moft worth the peculiar Obfervation of a Traveller ; it is about five Foot fquare, and in it God the Father is reprefented on the very Top of one Corner, from whence he feems to addrefs himfelf to the Virgin Mary, who is on her Knees in the Midft of the Picture, holding the Infant Chrift by the Feet, and putting his Head into the Hopper of a Mill, which is turn'd by the twelve Apoftles Hands by the Help of a Wheel, affifted by the four Beafts of Ezekiel, who give a helping Hand on the other Side. Hard by the Pope is painted upon his Knees, receiving the Hofts, which fall ready made from the Mill into a golden Chalice or Cup, one of which he prefents to a Cardinal, who gives it to a Bifhop, the Bifhop to a Prieft, and the Prieft to a Layman. There are two publick Edifices in this City, one intended for the Senate, where they meet twice a Week about Matters of State, the other for the Courts of Juftice. It was in the firft that Lutber made his folemn Appeal, concerning which they tell you, that the Doftor being much heated with the Eagernefs of the Difpute, as alfo by a Fire that wàs near him, he defired a Glafs of Wine ; which being brought, he forgot to drink it, but being ftill eager in the Purfuit of his Difcourfe, fet it down upon a Bench, where foon after it broke without being touch'd by any body, which made it pafs for current, that there was fome Poifon mix'd with the Wine, of which the Lutberans were fo fully perfuaded, that they broke the Bench on which the Glafs ftood into Shivers, and kept fome Pieces of it, which are till preferved in Memory of Lutber's Deliverance. We alfo took a View of the Houfe call'd the Mint, where, among ocher Curiofities, they flew'd us a fquare Piece of Parchment in a Frame, upon which there are twelve Sorts of Hands written with divers Miniatures and Draughts excellently done with a Pen, by one Thomas Scbuveiker, only with his Feet, he being born without Arms, as the following Infcription teftifies:

## Mira vides, pedibus 9 uvenis facit omnia recta Cui pariens Mater bracbia nulla dedit.

In a fpacious Portico belonging to this Houfe you fee a vaft Number of Bones and Horns hanging betwixt the Arches: The firft, they fay, are the Remnants of Giants, and the laft of the Oxen which drew the Stones with which the Cathedral was built. The Outfide of the Houfe was adorn'd with Variety of Pictures, and among the reft with many arm'd Giants, which, in the Infcription underneath, are call'd Vangiones: That this Part of the Rbine was inhabited by a Race of People call'd Vangiones, is evident from Tacitus and others; but how they became Giants, I am not able to tell. Proceeding on our Journey, we pals'd by Frankendal, the Fortifications of which Place would not be defpifeable, if they were faced with Brick; wheras now they are nop'd too much, by reafon of the Softnefs of
the Earth, which could not be fupported otherwife, but would fink into a Heap.
The fame Defect, but in a higher Degree, is evident in the Fortifications of Manbeim, both which belong to the Elector Palatine, and are not above two Hours diftant from each other; but the laft has a confiderable Advantage by its Situation in a flat Country, and its being almoft inclofed by the Neckar and the Rbine. The moft remarkable Piece in Manbeim is the Temple of Concord, founded by the Elector Cbarles Lereris, Father of Cbarles, the laft of that Race, who being a Perfon of no harfh Difpofition, efpecially in Matters of Religion, order'd, that the Lutberans and Calvinists fhould by Turns exercife their Divine Worfhip in this Church; and the prefent Elector Palatine, who is a Roman Catholick, has thought fit to join the Romanifts with the others ; fince which Time, the Minifters of three different Religions perform, each in their Turn, their Religious Service in the Cburcb of Concord; fo that in three fucceffive Sundays, each of the three Minifters has the Privilege of beginning firt. The Church is not very large, but exceeding neat; the Pulpit common to all three. The Roman Catbolicks, after they have faid Mafs, draw a Curtain, and fo hide the Altar, at which they have perform'd it.
Manbeim was about forty Years ago no more than a Village, and owes its Increafe to Frederick the Father of Cbarles Lervis, who at the fame Time built and fortified it : The Streets are very ftreight and regular, and fome of them planted with Trees, as in Holland. After having paffed the Neckar at Manbeim, over a Bridge of Boats, we travel'd for three Hours thro' a fertile Plain, extending to the Foot of the Mountains of Heidelburgh, which, by a continued Ridge, feem'd to intercept our Paffage; but that the Neckar paffes thro' an Opening, and fhews you a direct Way to Heidelburgh, by a cover'd Bridge which brings you to the other Side, where this City is feated very pleafantly among the Trees and Rocks. But as to its interior Beauties, we cannot boaft, for the City is neither fine nor well built, moft of their Houfes being of Wood, tho they dwell among the Rocks : The Electoral Palace is of hewn Stone, fome Parts whereof are of good Architecture, but none of them quite finifhed. They have made divers fine Gardens among the Rocks, but at the beft they are irregular.
Not long before the Dutchefs of Orleans, Sifter to the laft Elector, and Heirefs to Part of his perfonal Eftate, had taken the Furniture of this Palace away, at the fame Time they fold every Thing, even to the Wine of the famous Tun of Heidelburgh. This fo much celebrated Tun is thirty one Foot long, and twenty one high, unto which you afcend by a Pair of Stairs of fifty Steps, to a Kind of Platform or Balcony of twenty Foot long, inclofed with Rails : The Elector's Arms are placed on the Front of the Tun, and Bacchus on the Top, attended by Satyrs, Drunkards, and fuch-like. Vines, Grapes, Glaffes and Leather Jacks make a great Part of the Ornaments of this Tun, in baffo relievo. Abundance of Jefts and Apothegms, relating to the fame Subject, are to be feen, in High Dutch, or divers Parts of this enormous Tun.

The various Chances of War have reduced this Country to a poor Condition, tho' naturally very good. All Religions are tolerated, but the Magiftrates are generally Protestants, as in other Parts of the Palatinate. The great Church of this City contains many magnificent Tombs of the Counts Palatines, and among the reft that of Robert King of the Romans, the Founder of the Univerfity of Heidelburgb. You know by what ill Fate this City loft its famous Library, which, in 1622, was tranfported thence to the Vatican.
9. We were fcarce two Hours riding from Heidelburgh, buc we met with nothing but whole Forefts of Fir-trees, and a Country fo poor, that about Wifeloth and Sintzbeim, you might buy a wheaten Loaf of eight Pounds for two Pence ; and in four Days Journey we did not fo much as get Sight of one confiderable Town: The beft of them is $W$ in/beim, an Imperial City, as well as

Wimphen,


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Wimphen, both inhabited by Lutberans. What diverted us moft in all this Journey was, a Meeting of the Magiftrates of the little City of Palemburgh, which happening to be in the fame Inn where we dined, we were well diverted with the Sight of twelve or fifteen Peafants with high-crown'd Hats, cover'd with green and yellow Ribbon, with red or blue Vefts, Ruffs of black Taffata, their Hair cut round clofe juft below their Ears, and their Beards like thofe of the Capucbins: In this Habit we faw them fitting together, with their Elbows relting on a Table, and explaining the Law (after their Manner) each with a good Glafs of Wine in his Hand, every one ftriving to get the better of another more by Strength of Voice than of Argument.

It is not to be wonder'd, that Drinking fhould be fo common in this Country, confidering the Temptations they lie under here, for you buy four great Pots of Wine for a Penny; and if a Paffenger happens to ask for a Cup of Wine, they bring him a large Jack, fcarce knowing what a little Meafure is. As you travel from the mountainous Country into the Plains that lead to Nurenbergh, the Tobacco and Hops fucceed by Degrees the Vineyards: We had a fair Profpect of this beautiful City at a confiderable Diftance, as we were travelling along the Banks of the River Pegnitz, which runs from it, but ferves only to turn fome Mills, whereas without any great Difficulty it might be made navigable, and confequently much increafe the Grandeur of this City, fo that the Coft of making it fo would be amply repaid.
However, this Defect does not hinder Nurenbergb from being a Place of great Trade, great Riches, and well peopled; and for its Bignefs it is reputed to be twice as large as Franckfort upon the Meine, and contains under its Jurifdiction feven other Cities, and four hundred and eighty Boroughs and Villages: It has fix Gates, two hundred twenty eight large Streets, and one hundred and eighteen Fountains and Wells: Fortifications after the ancient Manner, which are of no great Confideration, its Situation in the very Heart of Germany being its chief Security, and indeed this little Republick generally enjoys Peace. Nurembergb is a very handfome City, its Houres being generally lofty and ftrong, of hewn Stone, and many adorn'd with Pictures on the Outfide, after the Gotbick Manner, and confequently not very regular : Befides this, it has many good brafs Fountains, one whereof we faw at the Artificer's Houfe, the Statues of which alone coft feventy thoufand Crowns. The Streets are broad, clean, and well paved, but not ftreight. One of the Towers of the Caftle bears the Name of Nero's Tower, whence fome would look for the Original of this City as far as Nero, whereas 'tis more probable, that Noriberga, or Mons Noricorum, as it is called in Latin, has its Etymology from the Norici, the old Inliabitants of the Country, and Berg, i.e. a Mountain. The Caftle is feated on a high Rock, though all the reft of the City be very flat; it is irregular, being built according to the unequal Shape of the Rock. They fhew'd us a Well, which they affirm'd to be fixteen hundred Foot deep, and that the Chian of the Bucket weigh'd three thoufand Pounds, but we did not believe them.

In one of the Halls of this Caftle are to be feen four Corintbian Pillars forty five Foot high, which were brought (fay they) from Rome by the Devil, upon a Challenge which a Monk made him. On the Stones of the Parapet of the Cartle, they fhew the Print of a Horfe's Shoe, where they fay a Conjurer leap'd over the Ditch. The Ornaments ufed at the anointing of the Emperors are preferved in the Church of the Horpital ; the Diadem of Cbarlemagne (called the Infu$l a$ ) is of pure Gold, weighing fourteen Pounds, and covered with precious Stones, being not clofed on the Top, as the Imperial Crowns are generally reprefented, but fuppofe, inftead of the Fleurets on Ducal Coronets, you fee Plates rounded on the Top, which, being joined by the Sides, make the Compars of the Bonnet; of thefe there are feven, that before exceeding the reft in the Luftre of the precious Stones; on the Top of all is a Crofs, and a Semicircle, fupported by the two Head-plates behind, raifed above the Bonnet, and join-
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ed to the Top of the Crofs. The Scepter and Globe are of Gold, and the Sword is faid to have been brought from Heaven. The Robe of Cbarlemagne is of a Violet Colour, embroider ${ }^{3} \mathrm{~d}$ with Pearls, and the Imperial Cloak edged with the fame; and ftrewed with Eagles of Gold, and a great Number of precious Stones. Here are alfo the Cope, the Stole, the Breeches embroider ${ }^{5}$ d with Stones, the Stockins and the Buskins cover ${ }^{3}$ d with Plates of Gold.
Amongft divers other Relicks, they keep in this Church the Iron Head of St. Longinus's Launce; and becaufe they are not ignorant that the fame is fhewn in above ten other Places in the World, they fay all thefe are Counterfeits, and that theirs was found by St. An= drew, and brought from Antiocl to this City.

Their Arfenal is one of the moft renowned in Germany; in the two great Halls (each two hundred and fifty Paces long) we faw three hundred Pieces of Cannon, and among them many of a very large Bore, the Biggeft whereof carried a Ball of three hundred Pounds; but to fpeak the Truth, the reft, being Arms of more Antiquity than Ufe, ferve only for a Shew. The publick Library is in a Cloyfter formerly belonging to the Dominicans, and contains, as they fay, twenty thoufand Volumes: The moft ancient Manufcript is of nine hundred Years, being a Copy of the Gofpels, with the Prayers and Hymns formerly ufed in the Greek Church ; the Characters are very different from what is ufed now : They alfo fhew'd us a Book printed at Spires 1446, but it feems as. if there had been an Error in the Cyphers ; for at the fame Time we were fhewn another of the Impreffion of Fouffus at Mentz in 1459, which had, by way of Advertifement, annexed to it, That this Book was not written by the Hand, but was printed by an admirable Secret nevely invented. They keep in this Library many Rarities, but the Cabinet of Mr . Viati exceeds them, it being almoft impofible to conceive how a Man of a private Fortune could heap together fo many Things brought from all Parts of the World. There is one great Apartment fillsd with the divers Arms of all Countries; from whence you go into another ftored with excellent Pictures, Medals, curious Works both ancient and modern, Idols, Shells, Plants, Minerals, and other natural Productions. He fhew'd us a Wind-Gun, wherewith confiderable Mifchief may be done at a Diftance without any Noife.
The Town-houfe is a fpacious Fabrick, with a beautiful well-proportion'd Front, but no Court before it. And from hence we were carried to the publick Cellar, which is two hundred and fifty Paces long, and contains twenty thoufand middle-fiz'd Tuns (they call them Auns) of Wine, a Provifion the Germans always take extraordinary Care of; for it mult be confefs'd, that the Germans are the moft civil and obliging People in the World, but exceffive Drinkers. You fcarce enter a Houfe to make a Vifit, but before you can fpeak three Words, you are faluted with a favoury Collation, and large Jacks of Wine: To refufe a Health, or to leave a Drop in your Glafs, is a capital Fault; by which Means the Cup never ftands ftill. This made the Duke of Rboan fay pleafantly of the Germans, That they bad found out the Perpetual Motion in their Cups, wobich puzzled all the Matbematicians in the World: Hence it is that Glaffes of all Sizes are in fo high an Efteem with them, that they are ranged in good Order in fome of their beft Apartments, and make a Part of their ornamental Furniture.

In the Evening we had the Opportunity of feeing Part of the Celebration of a Wedding: The Bridegroom, attended by his Friends and Kindred, march'd firft on Foot from a Houfe to the Church, which was not above two hundred Paces diftant, his future Spoule following foon after, with her Friends, from the fame Houfe. Being come into the Church, the Bridegroom fate down with his Relations on one Side, and the Bride on the other oppofite to him; over each of their Heads againft the Wall, being painted the Figure of Death : From thence they both approach'd to the Minifter, who food in the Midft of the Choir, who had no fooner perform'd the Ceremony; but four or

Give Trumpets founded from the Top of the Steeple; and fo the new-married Couple return'd in the fame Manner and to the fame Place from whence they came. The Bridegroom appear'd all in black, with Cloak trim'd with Lace, a great Ruff, and a little Crown of Gold Plate-Lace, upon his Perriwig ; but the Bride's Drefs is not fo eafy to be defrribed; the beft Way to give you an Idea of it, is, to fancy a Head-tire compofed of Plate-Wire gilt, like a Bobperriwig, half a Foot higher than the Forehead, and Frizled out on the Sides; thefe Threads or Wires are fo clofe together, that there is no more Diftance between them than is juft fufficient to faften to them an infinite Number of very fimall thin Plates of Gold, round, polifh'd and bright, which hanging both within and without, wave with the leaft Motion, and, in the Opinions of thefe Pcople, are very ornamental. Her Habit was a Kind of black Veft with long Skirts, refembling the Hongrelines ufed not long ago in France; and the Body of this Caffock, which was cut very fhort, was cover'd with Gold Lace all over the Scams, as the Skirts were with little clofe Knots of black Satin Ribbon, and the ftreight Cuffs reach down below the Wrifts. Over this the wore a Neckband of very fine antique Lace, fhap'd before like a Man's Band, bút ending behind in a Point, which reach'd down to the Middle of her Back : About her Shoulders ihe had a Gold Chain like the Collar of fome Order; and fuch another Chain inftead of a Girdle. The Petticoat was pretty fhort, trimm'd towards the Bottom with Gold Fringe and black Bone Lace. We faw this Bride dance at the Wedding with one of the Senators in a great Ruff; 'and, to tell you the plain Truth, the Cuftoms I oblerved at this Feaft were fo very different from ours, that I rather fancied myfelf in Cbina than in Europe. It would be an endlefs Piece of Work, if I fhould defcribe to you all the other Habits I faw here ; but I will only tell you, that as odd and fantaftical as they appear at firt Sight, they are not unbecoming, as indeed what are? on agrecable Perfons.

Nurenbergh can boaft of better Artifans and greater Numbers than perhaps any City in Europe: Some have attributed to them the Invention of Fire-arms, and of Gunpowder, by Bertold Swartz a Monk; tho' others would have the fame to owe its Origin to the City of Chioggia in the Venetian State, and others to Denmark. But the curious Works of Nurenbergh of Wood, Ivory, Alabafter, nay, of Paper and Starch, are famous over ail Europe. Their Houfes are both fpacious and neat, and I never faw one Ceiling in all the City, but what had fome Underfetting of curious Joyners-work. They have here a peculiar Refpect for Horns, for with them they adorn even their beft Apartments and Chambers. All the Way betwixt Heidelburgh and Nurenbergh we met with very poor Entertainment, but the Inns of $N u$ renbergh made us an ample Amends for it, where, among other Things, we had every Day a Defert of late Fruit, and Plenty of very good Fifh, at very reafonable Rates. In the Church of St. Sebald you fee a wooden Crucifix, which is efteemed a great Mafter-piece; but the Church of St. Lawerence exceeds all the reft in Bignefs. They are both built after the Gotbick Manner, but the laft has eight Doors. The great Church-yard is worth the Obfervation of a Traveller, for it has above three thoufand Tombs with Epitaphs and Coats of Arms wrought in Brafs. The Feros are reftrained so a Village near the City, from whence they may come daily into the Town for a fmall Piece of Money, but mutt return before Night. The few Roman Catbolicks - that inhabit here have the Privilege of performing their Religious Service in one of the Lutheran Churches, at certain Hours when their Service is over. The Calvinifts have their Cburch a League from the City, in the Marquifate of Anfpach, and baptize their Children in the Lutberan Churches, as at Franckfort.
10. From Nurenbergb: the Roads are very bad and woody till you come towards Ingolfad, where you meet with a well-cultivated champaign Country. Ingolfad (under the Juridiction of the Elector of Bavaria) itands upon the Dambe, of an indifferent Bignefs and Strength,
with broad, ftreight, and well-pav'd Streets, and pleafantly fituated, but poor and ill peopled; the Houfes are on the Outfide, for the moft part, painted white. They told us Wonders of their Arfenal, but as they were very unwilling to fhew it, I fuppofe its Fame furpaffed its Worth, it being generally obfervable, that Things of this Nature are feldom kept from the Sight of Strangers, unlefs not worth their feeing. I took Notice at Ingolstad (as in many other Cities of Germazy) of certain Veffels of Wood or Brafs mounted upon four Wheels, near the Fountains, which are kept to carry Water when any Fire breaks out, and for that Purpole are very convenient.

From Ingolfad we travel'd to Newburgb, a little City without any Strength, feated on the right Bank of the Danube, where this River begins to be pretty broad and rapid : We pafs'd it over a Bridge, which brought us into the City, where, at our firft Entry, we took a View of the Caftle, built on a Rock, the Apartments whereof, efpecially on the Ground-floor, are very handfome and convenient, tho' all the Furniture had been lately removed from thence to the Caftle of Heidelburgh, there remaining only a Cabinet full of rare Pictures and other Curiofities ; among the reft I obferved a round hard Stone, which weigh'd four Pounds, and was found in the Body of a Horfe. This, in my Judgment, might be called Bezoar. The Church of the Fefuits is the handfomeft in the City, tho' that of St. Peter has of late Years render'd itfelf famous by a pretended Mi racle that happened to the Capucbin, Mark de Avilano, who made himfelf fo much talked of during the Hungarion War. This Father coming fome Years ago to Newburgh, and perceiving an old Noftre dame of Wood in one Corner of the Church of St. Peter, that was all cover'd with Duft, the good Father proftrated himfelf before it, and whillt he was offering his fervent Prayers, he cried out on a fudden, A Miracle! protefting that the good Lady had lifted up her Eyes towards him: The Story, back'd by the Reputation of the Father, foon got fuch univerfal Credit among the Inhabitants, that they went in Proceffion to St. Peter's Church, whence they took the Statue, and having clean'd and drefs'd it in a fumptuous Habit, placed her on the high Altar, where fhe is vifited by a great Number of Pilgrims from all Parts, and is famous by the Title of Our Lady of Newburgh.

The Country betwixt Newburgh and Augsburgbi is very fruitful and pleafant, except that near the laft, the Grounds are boggy and barren ; notwithftanding which, the Augsburgbers boaft their City to be the faireft in all Germany, and that in Bignefs it exceeds Nurenbergh itfelf, tho' they own it not fo well peopled; befides, tho' their Streets are broader and ftreighter: their Houfes are not near fo handfome, few of them being built with hewn Stones, but for the moft Parc plaifter ${ }^{\circ} \mathrm{d}$ only, and whiten'd without, and fometimes adorn'd with Pictures; however, the Floors of their Apartments are for the moft Part paved with a Kind of yellowinh Marble, brought thither from Tyrol; and their Ceilings are either of curious Joyners-work divided into Compartments, or of a certain Cement well polifh'd, which is very durable: The worlt of their Buildings is, that their Chambers have no regular Figure, the Stairs which lead to them taking away all their Uniformity.

Augsburgb is the Metropolis of Swabia: Auguffus, fent thither a Colony, and gave it the Name of Augufte Vindelicorum, from the Vindelici, a People inhabiting about the Rivers Vindo and Licus, called at this Day the Werda and Leck, between which alfo the City of Augfburgh is feated, to diftinguifh it from Augijta Irevio rorum, Taurinorum, \&c. but this City having been fo often pillaged, (efpecially by Attila) there are farce any Remainders of Antiquity to be found here. However, not long fince there was dug out here a Pillar of five or fix Foot high, with the Figure of a Pineapple on thet Top of it : They alfo found certain Medals of Auguftus with fuch a Pillar on the Reverfe: It is very probable that this Pillar was intended to mark out the Boundary of the Empire on that Side: For it

## Chap. III. Low-Countries, Germany, $\mathcal{C}^{6}$ c. 53 I <br> being a conftant Cuftom among the Romans to diftin- <br> Traces of the Tool wherewith they are turn'd, which

guifh the Limits of a new-conquer'd Country by fome Mark or other diftinet from the reft, and by fomething relating more peculiarly to that Country; it is likely that they chofe the Pine-apple for this Pillar, becaufe this Part of Germany abounds in Firr and Pinetrees; and it is perhaps for the fame Reafon that Augfburgb bears the Pine-apple in its Arms

Tho' the Fortifications of this City are not very confiderable, the Inhabitants of this City have endured divers Sieges with a great deal of Bravery. The Senate here is compofed of Half Lutberans and Half Romon Catboricks, tho' the Bifhop has alfo a confiderable Sway, who has a Palace in the City, (but he refides generally at Ditlengen) and is Mafter of the greatef Part of the Territories belonging to this City. The Roman Catbolicks make publick Proceffions here, and carry the Hoft thro' the Streets, which the Lutberans falute by pulling off their Hats; for as they live in a good Correfpondence with each other, fo they avoid all Opporcunities of giving Scandal, the Poor of both Religions being maintain'd in one Hofpital. The Feros are confined to a feparate Place, and for every Hour they ftay in the City are obliged to pay a Florin, which amounts to three of our Shillings.

The Town-houfe is a lofty and fpacious fquare FaBrick, of very fine hewn Stones; the Portal is of Mar ble, and almolt all the Rooms wainfootted and ceiled with Polifh Afh, which looks very fine. The great Hall makes a very noble Appearance, being a hundred and ten Foot long, fifty eight broad, and fifty two high, with a fine Jafper Floor. The Walls are adorn'd with Paintings intermix'd, according to the Germon Cuftom, with Emblems and Devices relating to the Government; but the Roof exceeds all the. reft for its fingular Beauty, being compofed of regular Compart ments, the Squares and Panels whereof are enrich'd with Sculptures richly gilt, and beautified with curious Pictures and other Ornaments. The Arfenal is alfo a very large Structure ; the two Halls below are full of Cannon, moft of which are of Brafs ; but among the reft, there is a Culverine, a fix Pounder, of Leather, twenty fix Foot long; the other Arms are kept above Stairs During the Wars of this laft Age, the Augsburgbers ufed to keep frequently their Gates fhut, for Fear of a Surprize, but at laft, for the Conveniency of admitting Strangers and others without Danger into the City, they contrived a fecret Gate, which remains ftill, with all its Locks and Engines, the Defign of which is very nicely and well contrived, but too tedious and difficult to defcribe.

Augsburgh was formerly a City of great Traffick, whilft all the Merchandize from the Mediterranean was landed at Venice, and from thence, by the Way of Augsburgh, difperfed thro' all Germany: But fince Holland has almoft engrofs'd all that Trade, Augsburgh bears its Share in the general Lofs, as well as Venice, Milan, Antwerp, and many other Cities, that were formerly famous for Commerce. In the Bifhop's Palace they fhew you the Apartment where the Confeflion of Augf burgb was prefented to the Emperor Charles V. in 1540 , by Lutber and. Melaneibon. The Cathedral here has Gate of Brafs, over which are reprefented feveral hiftorical Paffages of the Holy Scripture in baffo relievo. In the Hittory of the Creation the Virgin Mary is reprefented framing Eve out of one of Adam's Ribs; which paffes here for a great Elegance.

The Artifans of Augsburgh are not inferior to thofe of Nurenbergh:; nay, they even excel them in Clocks, Goldfimiths Work, and in Ivory. They fhew'd us here feveral Clocks valued at fifteen or twenty thoufand Crowns a-piece; but the worft. is, they are fo very nice, that they are not durable. Their Ivory Work is no lefs admirable, and among the reft certain Cups hollow'd and well thap'd, with a Ring made of the fame. Plece in turning, which plays betwixt the Foot and the Bowl of the Cup, without Poffibility of coming off. Of thefe there are an hundred, with their Rings in a Pepper-corn of an ordinary Size: I have fome of them. Upon Examination I oblerved diftinctly the
fhews it a pure Work of the Eyes and Hand, and no Artifice. They have another curious Bauble, viz. Fleas faftened about the Neck with Chains of Steel, fo Gnely wrought, that though they are a Span long, they are fo light, that a Flea will lift it up when it leaps. They fell one of thefe Fleas, with Chain and all, for ten Pence.

The Singularity and Variety of Habits is fill more confpicuous at Augsburgb than at Nurenburgb, that Affair being fo exactly regulated here by the Magiftrates, that the Difference of Religion, and Quality of People, is for the moft Part feen by their Clothes. As for Inftance, I faw a Roman Catbolick Merchant's Widow in Mourning for her Husband; the had a Kercher well whited and ftarch'd, with Wings and Cornets belonging to this Drefs; a black Petticoat, and black Cloak, made like that of a Man, reaching down to her Knees; a great white Veil behind, hanging at the Tail of the Kercher down to her Hecls, enlarging itfelf by Degrees; a Piece of the fame Linnen with the Kercher, four Foot long, and at leaft two broad, which is very much ftarch'd and ftretch'd on a fquare Wire Thread, faftened juft below the Hips, and covers all the Forepart of the Body.
They have found Means to turn a Branch of the River Leck into the City, the Waters whereof are exceeding clear and good. Upon this Channel ftand four or five Towers, on the Tops of which are certain Cifterns ${ }_{2}$ which are fill'd by the Help of feveral Pumps mov'd by Mills, from whence the Water is convey'd into all Parts of the City. A Thing not to be admir'd only, but imitated. I muft not forget to iell you, that Augsburgh has many Fountains, fome of which are not inferior to the magnificent Fountain of Nurenbergh, which I formerly defcribed.
II. As we were leaving Augsburgh, we took Notice upon the Road, that they cover the Vines and Figtrees hereabouts with Straw or Mats againft the Cold, which is fharper than in England, though they do not lie fo far to the North. The Country is all upon a Level betwixt Augsburgb and Munich, but none of the beft, being full of Woods of Fir-trees.

Munich is a beautiful City, built A.D.965, but very indifferently fortified, farce half fo big as Augsturgh, and of no Trade, the chief thing it has to boaft of being the Refidence of their Prince, and his magnificent Palace. The firlt Thing we did, was to vifit the Fefuits Library, of which we had heard Wonders, but found it far below our Expectation; and the Librarykeeper; or his Deputy, who was order'd to fhew it us, was fo prodigious a Blockhead, that we could farce imagine there could be fo much Ignorance found among thofe of that Order. However, both their Convent and Church are exceeding fine, and the laft very large, light, and lofty; the Veftry is very rich, and among their Relicks they fhew a Joint as big as that of an Elephant, which, they told us, whs one of St. Cbrifopher's Joints of the Back-bone. In the Aufins, Church they have many excellent Pictures; and that of the Cajetons is an handfome Structure. The City of Munich bears a Monk in its Arms, which feems to confirm the common Opinion, that it got the Latin Name of Monacum or Monacbium, from a Monattery that flood formerly on the Place where it was built.

In the Church of Noftre Dawe is the magnificent Tomb of the Emperor Lereis IV. beautified with many marble and brals Figures. About ten or twelve Steps from the Entrance of the great Door of the Church, one of the Stones of the Pavement is mark'd with a double Crofs; and if you ftand upright upon this Stone, you find the Pillars of the Church fo placed, that you can't fee one of the Windows of the Church. The Outfide of the Electoral Palace is no way anfwerable to the Beauty of its Infide, tho', at the fame time, mof of its Apartments are not very regular; for this valt Structure being not built by one Perfon, nor at the fame Time, it differs according to the various Fancies of the Perfons that had the Management of iss Eronts; notwithftanding all which, it is, on the whole, a very beautiful Fabrick, The great Hall of the Elector's

Apartment

Apartment is an hundred and eighteen Foot long, and fifty two broad ; it is truly magnificent, efpecially in refpect of its curious Pictures, which are all Hiftories, the facred on one Side, and the profane on the other, every Hifory having a Latin Infcription in Verfe, one of the beft of which is the Diftich annex'd to that of Sufannab.

Cafa Sufanna placet; Lucretia cede Sufanna,
Tu poft, Illa mori maluit, ante fcelus.
In the little Chapel belonging to the Apartment of the Electorefs, you fee Nothing almoft but Gold, Pearls and Gems. Among the Relicks they fhew you a Piece of Gold Mohair, which they pretend to be Part of the Virgin's Robes. The Parlour of Perfpectives is extremely fine ; but the Hall of Antiquities, that were brought hither from Rome, exceeds all the reft; we counted no lefs than one hundred ninety two Bufts, and four hundred other Pieces here, all highly efteem'd for their exquifite Workmanfhip and Antiquity. The Furniture of this Palace is rich beyond what can be imagined, and they told us, that befides the Tapeftry in Ufe, there were laid up in the Wardrobe to the Value of eight Millions of Crowns; but here, I am afraid they overfhoot the Mark. The Treafury contains whole Services of Gold, and many other precious Veffels, vaft Quantity of Pearls, Diamonds, Rubies, and other pre cious Stones, befides an infinite Number of rare Pic tures, curious Works, Medals, and valuable Rarities; among the reft is a Cherry-ftone, upon which you fee diftinctly engraven one hundred and forty Heads; and a Gondola of Palm-tree Wood turn'd into Stone, with this Infcription :

## Palma fui, coepi lapidefcere, cymbula nunc fum,

 Si non Neptunus, Navita Baccbus erit.Where-ever you turn your Eyes in this Palace, you fee nothing but Marble, though, to unravel the Secret, it is to be told, that this is only a certain Compofition, which they know how to harden and polifh fo artificially, that it appears like and lafts as well as Marble. They have divers fubterraneous Walks or Galleries, leading from the Palace to all the Churches and Convents of the City. The Arfenal was at that Time almott unfurnifhed, moft of the beft Arms and Cannon being carried from thence into Hungary. They fhew'd us here the Grand Vizier's Tent, taken in the laft Battle, which was more remarkable for its Bignefs than its Beauty ; the Materials were only of painted Calico, with fine Sattin Strings, cover'd with Silk Braid, and the Lozenges of the fame, interwoven betwixt the Strings. This Country produces no Wine, and as they know no other Religion but the Roman, fo they look upon thofe of another Perfuafion as Monfters rather than Men.
12. After we had travel'd for fome Time along the Banks of the River Ifer, (upon which Munich is feated) we paffed through a Foreft, and immediately on our coming out from thence, difcover'd the fnowy Tops of the Alps, which at a Diftance appear'd like the foaming Waves of a raging Sea : We came the fame Day to a Village call'd Legrem, feated near a fmall Lake of frefh Water at the Foot of the Mountains; we eat here fome Fifh of a Kind which we had never feen before. We coafted along the Mountains for two Hours, and by Degrees got within the Rocks cover'd with Fir-trees and Snow, being a mof defolate Place, and deftitute of Inhabitants, except that near two or three Lakes you meet with a few Fifhers Huts, made of the Roots of Fir-srees well joined together, their Boats being made of the fame Trees hollow'd our, like Indian Ca noes. At the Village of Mittenzeald, three Leagues within the Mountains, feated in a pleafant Valley furrounded with Rocks, they treated us with fome Goats Flefh and Salmon Trouts. Our Hoft hewed us a cer tian Kind of round Stones of the Bignefs of a Hen's Egg, which he affured us were found in the Stomach of their Goats, and refembled a foft, imperfect Bezoar ; he ask'd ten Crowns a-piece for them.

We were not gone far from this Village, but we met a Troop of Beggars acting the Hiftory of the Fall, for they had planted a Tree loaden with red Fruit in the Way, climbing up againft which, was a little Devil in the Shape of a Crocodile, whilf a Girl with long dithevel'd Hair approach'd towards it, and an old Fellow clad in Black, with a young Boy clad in White, holding a Sword in his Hand, flood at a little Dī̀ ftance, and upon our Approach the Play began. The little Boy with the Dagger reprefented Micbael the Arcbangel; I need not fay in what Character the Oub Man appeared, tho he told me in very plain Terms. The Reader will eafily judge what terrible Effects, in regard to true Religion, fuch Follies muft produce.

Within a Quarter of an Hour after, we paffed by the Fort Chernitz, built betwixt two inacceffible Rocks, being the common Boundary of Tyrol, and the Bifhoprick of Freifngen, the firtt whereof belongs to the Emperor, the laft is Part of the Country of Bavaria. At Night we came to the Village of Leefeld, where is a Convent of Austia Fryars: In their Church they fhew you two or three pretended Miracles, and among the reft, a chew'd and bloody Hoft, in a Repofitory of Glafs : They tell you, that a Gentleman named Milfer, Lord of the Caftle of Scblesburgh, being fo vain as to oblige them to give him the great Hoft, which is only for the Ufe of the Clergy, he had no fooner put it into his Mouth, but it caft out a Flood of Blood, and at the fame Time his Legs funk into the Pavement up to his Knees; they fhew you the Hole to this Day in the Pavement near the Altar, and the Print of his Hand on one of the Stones of the fame Altar, where he would have fupported himfelf. His Repentance however faved him, and left thefe Veftiges to deter others from attempting the like mighty Crime in the Sight of the Priefts. This Hoft alfo works Miracles, amongft which we may very well reckon the Inhabitants believing implicitly every Word of this Story.

About two Leagues beyond Seefeld we began to defcend into a Valley, at leaft a Mile in Breadth, fprinkled with divers pretty little Villages, water'd by the River Ibn: We paffed only on the right Side of it, along the Foot of the Mountain, where, after we had travel'd a League further, they fhew'd us a ftreight and craggy Rock, called the Emperor's Rock, above a hundred Fathoms high, (as they affured us) at about three Quarters of the Height of which we could obferve a Nich dug, in which ftood a Crucifix, with a Statue on each Side: They tell you, that the Emperor Maximilian I. being in Chafe of a wild Goat, purfued her to this Place, where alighting from his Horfe, he durft not remount it, but was forc'd to be brought down by the Help of Engines. There is indeed another Account of this Matter, which has received the Sanction of many great Names, particularly, of Stephen Piggbius, who relates, that the Archduke Maximilian, after remaining two Days and two Nights in the Sight of Multitudes of People, in the Place where this Crucifix now ftands, was at length conducted fafely back by a Perfon unknown, and therefore fuppofed to have been an Angel, in Memory of which thefe Monuments are placed. Our Author added this Story in his later Editions, and brought fome Inftances to fupport it, yet to many Readers, no doubt, his firt Account will a ppear the moft fatisfactory.
Infpruck, a City feated upon the River Ibm, about two Hours beyond the Middle of the before-mention'd Valley: Before you enter the City, you pafs that River over a Bridge, whence it received the Name of Infpruck, i. e. The Bridge of the Ibn, and Enipons or Enipontum in Latin. The Houfes of Infpruck are very fine, but their Roofs are built after an odd Manner, being flat on the Top, and the Rafters, inftead of rifing to a Point, are revers'd, fo that the Rain fettles always in the Middle of the Roof. The Palace of $\operatorname{Inf}$ Pruck, where the Duke of Lorrain refided as Governor, is both convenient and large, but neither beautiful nor regular, having been built at different Times. There is one Thing particular here, of which I will endeavour to give you the beft Account I can : There ftands in the Middle of the City a Houfe, call'd the Chancery, the Roof of

## Chap. III. Low-Countries, Germany, Goc. 533

the Porch of which, they tell you, was cover'd with Plates of Gold, by Archduke Frederick, after he return'd from his Exile. I made the beft Obfervation I could concerning the Truth of this Story, and found that Plates of Brals were faftened to the Timber inftead of Tiles, and that each of thefe Tiles was cover'd with another thin one of another Metal, which, if they be not Gold, I am fure they are gilded; the Roof being about fifteen Foot fquare, it could not by Calculation amount, fup'pofing them to be Gold, to above two hundred thoufand Crowns. The twenty eight magnificent Brafs Statues in the Church of the Cordeliers, were the Gift of the fame Frederick: They are bigger than the Life, and reprefent Emperors, Archdukes, Dukes of Burgundy, two Einpreffes, and two Princeffes; the Nantes of whom they are not able to tell you, as much as they reverence that Family.

About half an Hour from Infpruck, at the Foot of 2 Mountain, ftands Amras, called in Latin, Arx Ambrofana, a Country Seat of the Archdukes, being remarkable only for its Situation and the Curiofities they fhew to Strangers. There is a large Hall fill'd with all Sorts of Arms, which were more curious than ufeful; and among other Things, a Launce ufed by Archduke Ferdinand in Turnaments. They tell you moft furprizing Things of the Strength of this Prince; as for Inftance, That he could ftop a Coach with fix Horfes, by taking hold of a Spoke of the Wheel; and would break two Crown Pieces joined together. In an adjacent Gallery we faw the Effigies of many Princes mounted on their Horfes in Armour, with all the Ornaments ufed in Turnaments ; and the Skin of a Serpent fifteen Foot long, taken near Ulm, upon the Banks of the Damube. At the End of this Gallery is an Apartment fill'd with the Spoils and Arms taken from the Turks. Here you fee a Bafla and an Aga of the Fanizaries reprefented on Horfeback, in the fame magnificent Habits and Harneffes, embellifh'd with Gold, Silver, and precious Stones, they had when they were taken Prifoners.

In another Gallery they fhew'd us a double Rank of Cupboards, join'd by the Backs and Sides, extended all along the Middle of the Gallery, there being but a little Room left to walk on both Sides : The three firft were full of curious Works of all Sorts, as Alabafter, Glafs, Coral, and Mother of Pearl ; the fourth contain'd Medals, and Gold and Silver Coins; the fifth, Veffels of Porcelain and feal'd Earth ; in the fixth were many rare little Cabinets richly inlaid, the Drawers whereof were fill'd with Medals and little Curiofities of Agate and Ambergrife. Befides thefe, you fee here feven large Volumes, bound in black Velvet, with Edges and Clafps of Silver, which, inftead of Leaves, contain'd fmall Boxes fill'd with a great Number of Medals. The feventh Cupboard has many very ancient Arms curiounly wrought; and amongft the reft, a Crofsbow with thirty four leffer Bows within its Compafs, difcharging as many Arrows at a Time. The eighth is fill'd with Animals, Plants, and fuch-like natural Curiofities; here you fee a Horn of an Ox of fix Inches Diameter. The three following Cupboards are furnifh'd with Works of Ivory, of Wood, and of the Pen; the twelfth with Manufcripts and rare Books; the thirteenth with Works of Steel, and particularly Padlocks, and other Locks of a rare Invention: In the Fourteenth they thew'd us Stones reprefenting Trees, Fruits, Shells and Animals, all the pure Productions of Nature: In the fifteenth and fixteenth, all Sorts of Clock-work and mufical Inftruments. The feventeenth contains a confiderable Quantity of precious Stones unpolifh'd, and of metallick and mineral Oars. The eighteenth, a good Number of fmall Veffels of pre. cious Materials, and of the rareft Shells in the World. The nineteenth furpaffes all the reft in Riches, being fill'd with Veffels of Gold, Cryftal, Agate, Chalcedony, Onyx, Cornelian, Lapis Lazuli, and other precious Stones, enrich'd with Gold and Diamonds in baffo relievo, and other rare Workmanfhip. The twentieth and laft contains Antiquities of all Sorts, Sepulchral Lamps, Urns, Idols, $\mathcal{E}^{\circ} c$. and among the reft a Piece of a Rope about the Length of a Hand, which, they

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tell you, is Part of the fame wherewith Fudas hang'd himfelf. On the Walls and Ceiling you fee an infinite Number of other Curiofities; among which the Bow of Noab is an admirable Piece of Painting, for which, they affirm, the Great Duke of Tufcany offer'd an hundred thoufand Crowns; and in a great Cheft you fee a whole Cart-load of Medals laid up together ; a fure Sign they are not valuable. From hence they carried us into the Library, which we found much out of Or: der; and from thence into another Gallery full of Statues, Bufts, and other Pieces of Antiquity; befides a great many other Apartments adorn'd wich Pictures of a great Value. At our Inn (the Golden Hart) we faw a middle aged Clown, who wonld lay his Arm fretch'd upon the Ground, upon which a lufty Fellow flanding with both his Feet, he lifted him up with the fame Hand only, and carried him crofs the Room.
13. About a League beyond Infpruck we reeenter ${ }^{\text {d }} \mathrm{d}$ the Mountains, and by a troublefome and tedious Afcent of feven Hours, came late at Night to a little Village (not quite at the Top of the Mountain) call ${ }^{\text {d }}$ d Grufs, i. e. Salutation, having acquired its Name from the Meeting of the two illuftrious Brothers near it, viz. Cbarles V. and his Brother Ferdinand, the whole Account whereof you find engraven on a Marble Stone two hundred Paces from the Village, the exact Place where they firft faluted each ocher. They treated us at Night with feveral Sorts of Wild Fowl and Venifon; all the Hares, Foxes and Bears are white here, as well as moft of their Partridges : They abound alfo in Heath Cocks and Hens, Pheafants, and another Kind of large Wild Eowl, call'd by them Scbneebabn or Snowgoof. All thefe Sorts of Wild Fowl have their Feec velveted about the Claws, with a Kind of Furr which is neither Hair nor Feathers, but fo thick, that the Snow cannot penetrate it, a Point of natural Hiftory that very well deferves Notice.

This Mountain is call'd the Brennerberg, i. e. the Burna ing Hill, by reafon of the piercing and burning Winds, which (together with bothThunder and Lightning) reign frequently there in the Summer Seafon. Thefe Winds forcing their Paffage thro' the Hollownefs of the neighbouring Mountains, as it were thro ${ }^{3}$ Pipes, raife fuch furious Hurricanes, as fometimes overthrow both Trees and Rocks. Having travel'd about two Hours the next Day, we came to the Top of the Mountain, where we difcover'd a remarkable Spring, which difcharging itfelf upon a Rock, there feparates into two Currents, which foon after become confiderable Rivers, one turning to the South, and joining with the Ibn near InSpruck, the other to the North, after it has paffed Brixert and Bolfano, difcharges iffelf into the Adige a little above Irent. We dined at Steerzingen, where we eat the Fleft of a certain Creature call'd by them Steinbocks or RockGoats, (Rupe Capra) Creatures betwixt a He-goăt and a Doe, which were moft excellent Meat.

From hence, the direct Way to Trent being very rough, we took that over Brixen, which is lefs dans gerous: We met this Day above a hundred Waggons drawn by Oxen, the cloven Feet whereof were hod with Iron; they came from the Fair of Bolfano. We faw alfo, in thefe Monntains, Abundance of fmall Carts with two Wheels, which the Peafants draw themifelves and chiefly make Ufe of to fetch Salt from Hall, a little City in the Valley of Infpruck: It is made of Wa: ter boil'd into Salt. The Habits of thefe Motintaineers are very odd, fome wearing green, others yellow, and others blue Hats, and that with fuch little Difference in their Garments, that the Women are fcarce to be dia finguifhed from the Men. Brixen is a very fmall City in the Country of Tyrol, though it is the Refidence of the Bifhop. They keep their beft Apartments here in the higheft Stories, but for what Reafon I know not.

From hence to Bolfano is only feven Hours traveling; but as the Road lies betwixt the River and the high Mountains, if a fudden Thâw happens to melt the Snow, it rowls down from the Precipices with fuch Violence, that it fwallows up both Nian and Beaft. whence it is, that on the Road you fee fo many fmall Monuments, fill'd with the Hiltories of fuch as bave
gither
either elcaped narrowly, or perifh'd by thefe Accidents; and hence alfo it is, that the Churches hereabouts, and efpecially our Lady of Newburgh's, are almoft overladen with Prefents. We were not a little furprized when we found the Valley of Bolfano, in the Middle of the Winter, cover'd with green Willows, Rofes and Mulberry-trees, the Reafon whereof may be attributed to the Situation of the Valley, which on all Sides is fhelter'd from the Winds.

The City of Bolfano belongs alfo to the Bifhoprick of Irent, but is of very little Compafs; its chief Traffick arifes from four Fairs a Year, each of which lafts fifteen Days, in which they exchange the Commodities brought thither from Germany and Italy. They fhew'd us a round Hole of three Foot diameter in the Roof of the Church, furrounded with a Garland of Ribbons of different Colours, on which hang a great Number of large Wafers : They told us, That an Opera being acted in that Church on Afcenfon-Day, the Perfon that reprefented Chrift was taken up into Heaven thro' this Hole. The Valley of Bolfano is full of Vineyards, which produce a Wine much efteemed thereabouts, but is not fo pleafing to Strangers, by reafon of its fulfome Sweetnefs. The Road betwixt Bolfano and Trent (juft a Day's Journey) is planted all along the Valley with Vines, where you fee, at certain Diftances, little Straw Hutts, fupported by three high Firr-poles, like a Trevet, from whence they kill the Bears with Fufils, that come from the Mountains to eat the Grapes.
Trent is much of the fame Bignefs as Bolfano, and feated after the fame Manner, on a flat Rock of a Kind of red and white Marble, which alfo furnifhes the Materials for their Houfes. This City is fubject to moft dangerous Inundations, not only from the Overflowing of the River, but allo from the Brooks of Levis and Ferfena, which fometimes difgorge themfelves with fuch Impetuofity from the adjacent Mountains, that they force great Rocks along with them even into the Town. Trent is fortified only with a fingle Wall, wafh'd by the River Adige. The Bridge and Bifhop's Palace are much boafted of by the Country People, tho' the laft is low and but indifferently large. The Bifhop is both a Temporal and Spiritual Lord, and his Territories are of a confiderable Extent. Some place this Country in Germany, others in Italy, becaufe the Bifhop is a Prince of the Empire ; but the common Language of Trent is Italian, and the Inhabitants of the Country reckon it Part of Italy, in which, however, they are not follow'd by their Neighbours. In one of the Chapels of the Cathedral they fhew a Crucifix as big as the Life, which, they very gravely fay, bow'd its Head at the Time of the Councils being fworn and proclaimed under it, to fhew its Approbation of the Veracity of their Decrees. They add, That no body knows the Materials of which it is compofed; and for that Reafon would have you believe it was made without Hands. They are building a moft magnificent Chapel, where it is to be placed, this being fomewhat dark: They call it the Holy Crucifix.

The Church of St. Mary major, where this Council fate, is a little Church, built of a kind of bafe Marble. The Organs here are worth taking Notice of, for they not only play'd to us many new Airs, but alfo counterfeited the Cries of divers Beafts, the Beat of Drums, and feveral other Things of this Nature, which feem'd to us inconfiftent with the Gravity of fuch a Council, the Hiftory whereof is painted near it.

In the Church of St. Peter they fhew the Chapel of the little Saint Simonin. They tell you, that in 1276. the Feres ftole their Simonin, (or little Simon) a Shoemaker's Son, in the 28 th Month of his Age, and after having kill ${ }^{1}$ d the Child in a moft cruel Manner, to drink the Blood at one of their Feafts, threw his Carcals into a Water-pipe, (which now paffes to the Houle where the Thing was committed, and where their Synagogue was at that time) which being thence carried into the River, and found by fome Fifhermen, the whole Bufinefs was difcovered, the Feres convicted, Thirty nine of them executed, and the reft for ever banifh'd the City: Pope Sixtus IV. canoniz'd the

Child, who being embalm'd, is now to be feen in a Cafe upon the Altar of a Chapel dedicated to his Niemory, with a Knife, Pincers, and four great Iron Needles they made Ufe of in tormenting him, and two Silver Goblets, in which they drank the Blood.' The fame Story is painted at Frankfort on the Main, under the Bridge Gate. In the later Editions of our Author's Book there are many Hiftories of the fame Nature mentioned, to fhew, that this is not altogether incredible.
15. The Additions and Alterations that our Author has made in the Courfe of numerous Editions through which his Book has pafs'd, renders it extremely diff. cult to make fuch an Abridgment of it as was requifite for our Purpofe; fince in order to this, we are obliged to run through all his Volumes, that we may bring together and unite the many different Paffages in them that relate to the fame Place; yet after all this is done, there remain fome Things ftill to be mention ${ }^{9}$ d for the Satisfaction of a judicious Reader. As for Inftance, at the End of his fecond Volume, our Author has added a diftinct Treatife under the Title of, In Aructions to a Traveller, which at the Time he wrote it, was certainly one of the moft ufeful and entertaining Parts of his Work ; but we know by Experience, that the Length of Time has hurt it extremely.

He tells us therein, what Carriages a Traveller fhould make ufe of, the Times when they fet out and come in, and their Expence ; but we know with Certainty that Things are much altered fince, and that in this Refpect, the wifent Thing a Traveller can do, is to provide himfelf with a Dutch Almanack for the Year in which he travels, where he will find every thing fet down of that Nature as it ftands at prefent. We may fay the fame Thing with refpect to the beft Inns at every Place, and the Houfes where they fpeak Frencb and Englifh, which alter fo frequently, that they would be of little or no Ufe in a Collection of this Nature. He fuggefts likewife the Enquiries a Traveller ought to make, which is quite befide our Purpofe, and are alfo fubject to many Variations.

We the rather mention thefe Particulars, that it may appear we confider'd well what we were doing, and that we have left nothing untouch'd from Hafte or Inadvertency. There are alfo fome long Differtations of his upon various Subjects, founded only upon Hints that he met with in his Travels; fuch, for Example, as the Hiftory of the Art of Printing, in which there are many Things curious and ufeful, but the taking in there would fwell our Work far beyond its proper Bounds, or would oblige us to exclude other Things that the Publick have more Reafon to expect from us, and after all, they would not anfwer very well the Intention for which they are introduced, fince they really require much more Room than he has allowed them. But it may not be amifs to obferve, that what has been lately publifhed to the World as a new Invention in this ufeful Art, under the Title of Block Printing, is in reality no more than what was firft practifed by Coster and Fauftus, and which was juftly laid afide upon Mentel's inventing the Art of cafting feparate Letters. For according to the ancient Method, which is ftill in Ufe in Cbina, the Letters were cut in Blocks of Wood or of Metal, from which the Sheets were wrought; but then it was neceffary to cut Plates for every Page of a Book, which were of no Ufe but for the printing of that Book; and befides their being very expenfive, took up a vaft deal of Room, and after all, could never be brought to furnifh fuch neat, beautiful, and correct Impreffions, as we have from the Method that is now practifed.

In regard to the Alterations that have happen'd in the Places through which he paffed, with refpect to their Change of Mafters or Forms of Government, it would be equally needlefs and endlefs to aim at Corrections, becaufe we muft then write the Hiftory of every City and Territory, which would require many Volumes. All that in this refpect could be done, was to retrench fuch Paffages as are no longer either ufeful or entertaining upon account of fuch Changes, and preferving only thofe that are and will be inftructive and
pleafant

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pleafant as long as the Places remain to which they refer.

Thefe Obfervations and Remarks are placed at the End of this Section, that the Reader may the better judge of the Reafons upon which they are founded, as well as to fpare ourfelves and him the Trouble of repeating the fame Things, where thofe Reafons have made the fame Conduct neceffary in the remaining Part of his Work, of which it is but Juftice to fay, that moft of its Imperfections are fuch as no Performance of
the fame Kind can be exempted from, and that moft of his Superfluities are owing to his Endeavours to render his Book complete; which from the Nature of Things, neither it nor any of its Kind ever can be; for while Things are fubject to perpetual Alterations, it is impoffible to frame any Defcriptions of them that will laft for any confiderable Length of Time; this therefore we hope, will be a fufficient Apology both for him and for us, and fhall, for that Reafon, infift upon this Subect no longer, but return again to our Author's Travels.

## S E C T I O N II.

The Travelis of Mr. Maximilian Misson, tbrough a great Part of Italy, with a diftinct Detail of whatever is curious or worthy of Objervation in the Places be vifited, and many judicious and important Remarks on the Manners, Cuffoms, \&c. of the Inbabitants.
I. A Defcription of what is remarkable in the Road to Verona; of that City and of the cbief Edifices; and otber Things that are remarkable therein. 2. An Account of bis Fourney from thence to Vicenza; a Defcription of that City, and of Padua, with abundance of Remarks upon the ancient and modern State of that famous Univerfity. 3. The Autbor's Paflage from thence to Venice ; a very large Account of that famous City, and of all the publick Buildings, and other Places of Note therein. 4. This Subject continued, with various Remarks upon a Multitude of curious and entertaining Topicks. 5. The Conclufion of this Subject, interfpers'd weith Obfervations upon the Government of the Republick, and the Hiftory of the feveral Dukes of Venice. 6. A Defcription of Rovigo, Ferrara, Ravenna, Rimini, Pefaro, and Fano, with an Account of what is remarkable in each of them, and in the Country about them. 7. A very copious and circumftantial Defcription of Loretto, of the boly Houfe there, with many curious and entertaining Reflections. 8. Tbe Autbor's Gourney from Loretto to Rome, with a Defcription of all the Places of Note be pafled tbrougb in bisway, with Oblervationsupon their Situation, Produce, ancient and modern Condition, \&x. 9. An Account of whatever is remarkable in the Way between Rome and Naples; a Defcription of the Roman Higb-ways, and fome Account of the City of Naples. 10. That Subject continued, together with a particular and mof entertaining Relation of the Author's Journey to Mount Vefuvius, and other remarkable Places in the Neigbbourbood of that City. 11. A very large and ufeful Collection of Remarks and Obfervations on the City and Republick of Venice, occafioned by a long Letter weritten to the Autbor during bis Stay in Italy, in which are contained a Multitude of very important Particulars, and wherein many vulgar Errors are enumerated and refuted.

r. FR OM hence we travel'd on to Roveredo, a little City famous for its Trade in Silk, and fo on to Borguetto, the laft Village in the Territory of Trent, and to Offenigo, the firft belonging to the Venetians, a little wooden Crofs being the Mark that fhews the Boundary of thefe two States. On this Side of the firt mentioned City, you travel thro' the Wood of Roveredo, as they call it, tho' there is fcarce a Shrub to be feen all the Way, the Ground being cover'd with Rocks, that lie fcatter'd up and down, at fome Diftance from one another:- It is a dangerous Paffage for Travellers, as well as the Foreft of Vergnara, between Offenigo and the Fort of Guardara, by Reafon of the Multitude of Robbers that frequent thefe defart Places. It being too late to reach the Fort Sclufe, we were forced to lodge in the little Village of Seraino. The Fort is feated at the Foot of a high Rock, the Way leading to it being cut out of the craggy Rock, which is a Precipice on the Backfide, at the Bottom whereof the Adige runs with a fwift Current.
After we had paffed the Fort, and had coafted for fome Time the Banks of the faid River, which here glides along among the Rocks, we came at laft into a vaft Plain, which is ftony and barren in divers Places, tho ${ }^{\circ}$ in others you fee it well planted with Olive and white Mulberry-trees for Silk-worms, as well as with Vines, the laft of which are planted at the Foot of Cherry-trees and young Elms, and join themelves from Tree to Tree, forming thereby a very agreeable Profpect. Having pafis d the Adige in a Ferry-boat two Leagues from Seraino, we difcover'd foon after the City of Verona, where we arrived the fame Day.

On that Side where we entred the Gates, we found a great many void Spaces, and the Grafs growing in the Streets, which were fcarce half paved; and tho the reft is fomething better, yet, generally fpeaking, it is a poor Place, and very indifferently peopled. The Houfes are commonly low and unequal, the Balconies for the moft part of Wood, and the Streets dirty and generally very narrow; however, its Situation is infinitely pleafing, and the Air very good. The Adige divides it in two Parts, which are joined again by four Stone Bridges: The Caftle of St. Peter being feated upon a rifing Ground, affords a moft admirable Profpect of the adjacent Country. The Fort of St. Felix is behind that of St. Peter, and both together command the City ; the reft of the Fortifications are both irregular, and much out of Repair.
The Amphithentre of Verona is all deftroy'd as to the Front or outward Wall, but the Benches have been kept in tolerable Repair : There are forty four of them, the Circumference of the higheft I found five hundred and thirty Paces, and of the loweft two hundred and fifty ; each Step is a Foot and a half high, and twenty fix Inches broad. At each End of the Arena, betwixt the Benches, is a Portal of twenty five Feet high, by which you may enter out of the Street into the Arena; and above each of thefe Portals, a Balcony of twenty Foot long and ten broad, furrounded with Marble Rails.
In the Cathedral, which is a little dark Building; you fee the Tomb of Pope Lucius III, with this Infription only:

Ofla Lucii III. Roma pulfus invidia. i. e.

## T"be Remains of Lucius III. enviously driven from Rome.

The Church of St. Zeno at Verona acknowledges $P e_{\text {- }}$ pin the Son of Cbarlemagne for its Founder; it has moft wretched Carving on the Frontifpiece. On the Portal I took Notice of two Birds that, I fuppofe, were made for Cocks, holding between them a Creature with a long Tail, intended perhaps for a Fox, by which, fome believe, is reprefented Pepin and Cbarlemagne, (two Frenchmen) who difpoffefs'd Didier King of the Lomberds. On the fame Portal is another Hieroglyphick, viz. a Man on Horfeback in baffo relievo, over whom the following three Verfes are engraved, in half Roman and half Gotbick Characters :

> O Regem Aultum, petit infernale tributum, Moxque paratur equus, quem mift Demon iniquus. Exit aque nudus, petit infera non rediturus.

But though we guefs'd at the Rebus of the Cocks and Fox, yet I mult own I could not meet with any Body that could give me an Interpretation of this Devil's Horfe. Near the Church of St. Mary the Old you fee many magnificent Tombs of the Scaligers, who were Princes of Verona before this City was forc'd to fubmit to the Venetians, and from whom the learned Gulius and $\mathcal{F o j e p h}$ Scaligers pretended to derive themfelves.
The Cabinet of Count Mascardo, confifting of a Gallery and fix Chambers full of Pictures, Books, Rings, Animals, Plants, Metals, moniftrous or extravagant Productions of Nature, and the moft exquifite Pieces of Art, is fo admirable, and their Number fo great, that even a Catalogue of them would fill a goood Volume; however, I can't forbear to mention fome of them, not fpoken of before: It has many Inftruments and Utenfils ufed in the Pagan Sacrifices, and divers Figures of Brafs, which they ufed to hang up in their Temples in Remembrance of fome fignal Deliverance; divers Pieces of Workmanfhip out of the Stone Amiantbos, or the Aboestos, fpun into Thread like Cotton. Here I obferv'd alfo many of thofe Parts of Trees ufed among the Ancients before the in venting of Paper; two Trees of black Coral three Foot high each ; a Hen's Egg of this Figure ( $=$ ) ; a Circumcifion Knife, ufed by the Ferws to thore Children that died before the eighth Day.

We faw a very fingular Funeral at Verona, the Body being dreft all in Black, with a white Linen Cloak, a fine Perriwig upon the Head, and a Hat adorn'd with a Garland of Flowers, was thus laid upon a Quilt, with a Counterpane of flower'd Silk yellow and red, and a Pillow of the fame Stuff. It was carried thus open by four Men thro' the Streets, the Company following two by two, and fuch as were never married wearing Garlands, in Imitation of the Ancients, who had their Corona Pudicitic, or Garland of Cbaftity. One Mr. Montel, a French Merchant living at Verona, and fince in London, gave me an Account of a Proceffion he had often feen, which I can't but give you; the Story runs thus.
Jefus Cbrift having a Compaffion for the Afs he made his Entrance upon into ferufalem, gave her a Key to the Fields, where fhe was to feed quietly all her Life-time after; but the Afs, it feems, being tired with her own Country Pafture, had a Mind to try thofe of foreign Countries, and coming to the Sea, the Waves became fmooth and folid, fo that with little trouble fhe vifited the Ines of Cyprus, Rbodes, Candia, Maltba and Sicily, and thence coming to the Gulph of Venice, ftaid for fome Time in the fame Place where Venice was built fince ; but finding the Air not very healthy, and the Marfhy Paftures not fweet enough for her Palate, fhe march'd up the River Adige to $V_{e}$ rona, where fhe liv'd and ended her Days. This you obferve is the Legend ; now for the Proceffion.
To preferve the Memory of this renown'd Afs, they have put his Relicks into the Belly of an artificial Afs, which is kept in the Church of Nostre Dame of the Organs, and which is carried two or three Times every

Year, by four of the ftrongef Monks of the Convent, in Pontifical Habits, in Proceffion round the City. This I believe is more than was ever done in Arcadia, where they had a fingular Veneration for this Animal, and may be juftly ftiled the Procefion of Affes.

I have jutt now made a fecond Vifit to the Cabin of the Count Mofcario; and the obliging Perfon who received me was pleafed with my Curiofity, inftead of looking upon it as a Trouble. He affured me that he never thought any Part of his Time fo agreeably employed, as that which he fpent in thewing his Curiofities to thofe who love them, and that he was extreamly pleafed he could entertain me alone without being difturbed by the Crowd, which for feveral Reafons he faid, made him always very uneafy. We began immediately to take another View of many Rarities and Curiofities, and I found him more communicative than the firft time I faw him, for he talk'd very muct, all he faid fhewing a great Deal of Knowledge and Literature. We fell upon Drawers of precious Stones, and he fhewed me very fine Amethyfts, and quoted feveral Authors, who affirm that $\mathcal{F o f e p h}$ prefented one fee in a Ring to the Virgin, when he efpoufed her; and when I was looking upon the Sapphires, he cited a Paffage of St. Epippanius, who believed that God; wrote the Decalogue upon a Sapphire. The Virtues that are afcribed to thofe and other Stones, furnifhed us with Matter for a new Converfation. He has a confiderable Number of the Stones which he calls Saette, Fulmini, Pietre cerounei, and Thunderbolts. This is a Matter of Fact, that if true, deferves to be examin'd, and perhaps I may another Time give you a more pofitive Account relating to this Subject.

But at prefent I muft make hafte to finifh my Letter. I took Notice of fome Mirrors of mix'd Metal that were dug up near Verona, and are probably very ancient. The Ufe of Mirrors made of Glafs, is an Invention that one may reckon amongft thofe that are new; but thofe that have written, without any Manner of Diftinction, that Mirrors in general were unknown to the Ancients, are fallen into a grofs Miftake, for both facred and profane Books make frequent Mention of them. Among the great Variety of Coins that are to be feen in the Cabinet, there are fome of Leather, but fo disfigur'd, that I could not make any certain Judgment of them. I remember the obliging and learned Mr. Hearne, one of the Keepers of the famous Bodleian Li brary at Oxford, has fhewn me one which was better preferved in the Cabinet of the Schola Academica, of which Cabinet he has the Care and Management. No Man is ignorant of the Ufe that has been made of this Sort of Money at feveral Times, and on different Occafions.
2. As we travel'd from Verona to Vicenza, we found the Country very fertile, well cultivated, and generally level : Their Trees they plant here Lozenge-wife, on which they raife their Vines. We dined at the little Village La Torre, the Boundary betwixt the Veronefe and Vincentin Territories: Their Wines are fulfome and fweet ; their Bread, tho' made of excellent and very white Flower, is as heavy as a Lump of Earth, for Want of good Management ; and the reft of our Dinner was only a Difh of grey Peafe fry'd in Oil, a Thing furprizing enough in fo plentiful a Country, when we had better Fare among the Mountains.
Vicenza is fcarce half fo big as Verona, and but flenderly fortified with an old Wall. There are four Rivulets meet near it, but none are navigable. Among their Churches, the Coronata is finely paved and wainfcotted; and that of the Religious of St. Catberine is remarkable for three very fine Altars, as the Cathedral is for divers good Pictures. Their Town-houfe, though much boafted of by the Italians, is but an indifferent Structure, as indeed are many others, which pafs among them for mighty magnificent Buildings, there being nothing more natural to the Italians, than to be laviff in their Titles, whence they give frequently the Name of a Palace to thofe Structures that would fcarce pafs for a handfome Seat in other Parts; as they often itile that a Cbomber of Audience, which in England they call

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a large Parlour. Among other Fabricks, we faw a little Country Seat belonging to the Marquifs of Capra, about half a League from the City : It is a fquare Build ing, in the Midft whereof is the Hall, under a fmal Dome; having at each Angle of the Square two Chambers and a Clofet: It has fome good Pictures, and its Situation on an Afcent makes it very pleafant.

In our Return we look'd upon the Church of our Lady of Montberic ; the Prior gravely told us, that this Image of our Lady came out of the Earth, in the fame Place where fhe now ftands, and from whence fhe is not to be removed; for if you will believe him, ten thoufand Men have been employ'd to carry her to Vi cenza, but could not perform that Task. The Picture by the Hand of Paul of Verona, in the Dining-Room, reprefenting St. Gregory at Dinner with fome Pilgrims, is a moft excellent Piece. The Ruins of the old Amphitheatre at Vicenza are hid under other Buildings. The Theatre, which is in the Academy of the Olympicks, is the Work of the great Architect Palladio; as is the Triumphal Arch without the Gates that lead into the Plain call'd the Field of Mars, in Imitation of the Ancients.

The Garden of the Count Valmanara is a Thing much boafted of among the Vincentins: It is, indeed, true, it has a handfome Canal, curious Divifions, Knots, and Clofets, and a moft delightful Alley of Oranges and Citrons; but, after all, it wants much of being an accomplifh'd Piece, fuitable to the Infcription over the Garden Gate, which begins (and is continued) in the following pompous Strain.

Stop, dear Traveller, thou who Searcbeft for rare Things and encbanted Places, for bere thou maift find Satiffaction: Enter into this delicious Garden, and take a full Taste of all Sorts of Pleafures; the Count de Valmanara gives thee Leave, \&c.

The Road betwixt Vicenza and Padua is much the fame as betwixt Verona and Vicenza. We paffed the Tezenza about an Hour after we left Vicenza, and the Brenta an Hour' on this Side of Padua, call'd, on Account of -its Univerfity, the Learned, a large and yet a very poor City, feated in the Midft of a moft fruitful Country, having many void Places without Houfes, and many Houfes without Inhabitants; which is alfo the Cafe of fome other neighbouring Places. This City fell into the Hands of the Venetians in 1406, and in 1519, they included the Suburbs within the Fortifications, which are now ready to fall. The Streets of this City are lined on both Sides with Portico's or Piazza's, which, tho' they afford a convenient Shelter againft the Rains and Sun-beams, make them narrow and dark, and give Opportunity to many Murthers, Robberies, and other Infolencies committed by the Scholars, known by the Name of the Qui-va-li of Padua.

Thefe Scholars had a Cuftom of going abroad arm'd in the Night-time in whole Troops, and lurking bezween the Pillars of thefe Piazza's, affault fuch as happen to pafs by that Way; for whilft one asks the Queftion, Qui-va-li? Another immediately cries, Qui-via-la? And $\mathrm{fo}_{\text {, }}$ without giving Time to the Paffenger to recollect himfelf, knock him down, and fometimes break an Arm or a Leg, or perhaps give him a Paffort to the other World. Some underftanding Perfons in thefe Parts are of Opinion, that Padua was formerly a Seaport, by reafon of its ancient Grandeur and Riches, and that now they fometimes dig Mafts and Anchors out of the Ground ; but thefe may perhaps be the Remnants of Ships left in a Canal leading to that City.

The Paduans boaft of Antenor as their firt Founder; but not to infut upon the Improbability of this Affertion, or enquire whether Padud be the Patavium of Antenor, I will only tell you, that their pretended Tomb of Antenor is a meer Impofition upon the World ; for, about four hunctred Years ago, as they were laying the Foundation of an Hofpital, they happened to dig up a leaden Coffin, near which lay a Sword ; the Coffin was without any Infcription, but the Sword had fome Verfes

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in barbarous Latin, having but very little Relation to what was ufed in Antenor's Days: Notwithftanding which, the Paduans in general, but, efpecially one $\mathbb{L} u$ putus, a Man of fome Learning; and who was one of their Magiftrates, were fo much prepoffefs ${ }^{\text {d }}$ with the Conceit of their pretended Founder, that they would needs erect this Monument at the Entrance of St: Lare rence's Street, and beftow the Title of Antenor's Tomb upon it, with the following Infcription in Goticick Cha: racters:
C. Inclyius. Anterior palriam vom nifa quietem. Iranstulit buc Enetum Dardanidumque fugis
Expulit Euganeos, Patavinam condidit Urbem Quem tenet bic bumili, marmore cefa domus.

Several Criticifms have been made upon this Infrip tion, but among all the reft, nobody has been able to find out yet the Intention of the $\mathbf{C}$. at the Beginning of thefe Verfes. The Tomb of Lupatus ftands juft by that of his dear Antenor, to whom he gave a Name; thos not a Being.

The Church of St. Antbony of Lisbon, otherwife call' ${ }^{\prime}$ St. Antbony of Padua, is both very large and exceeding magnificent in Carving and Painting, and many very fumptuous Tombs; among the laft are that of Alexander Contarini, the Venetian Admiral, and of Count Ho. ratio Sicco, kill'd at the laft Siege of Vienna. The Picture in Frefco in the Chapel of Sr. Felix, done by the famous Giotto, is a moft admirable Piece : But the moft confiderable Piece of all in this City, is, the Chapel of St. Antbony, which is forty Foot long, and twenty five broad ; his Body lies entomb'd under the Altar, which is very magnificent and rich: They pretend that his Bones fend forth an odoriferous Scent, for which Reafon there is kept a Place behind the Altar, which being not well joined, it is no difficult Matter to put fome Balfam into the Opening. The Chapel is cover'd all over with a Balfo relievo Work of white Marble; reprefenting the Miracles wrought by this Saint, the Works of Tullius Lombardus and Sanfovin. Before the Altar hang thirty fix great Silver Lamps, which burn Night and Day; to the Honour of this Saint.

The Church of St. Fuffina is both very large and very magnificent, tho' not brought yet to its full Perfection; the Pavement is compofed of red, black, and white Marble Squares ; and the Roof of the great Church hath feven Domes, which afford it both Light and Ornament; and two more on each Arm of the Crofs: In it there are twenty four fine Marble Altars, all of a different Colour, befides the great Altar, which is a moft magnificent Work : They fuffer no Monuments to be erected in this Church. The Baffo relievo of the Benches of the Choir, reprefenting the Prophecies of the Old Teftament concerning Chrift, with their Accomplifhment in the Nerw, is almoft furprizing: It was not finifhed in lefs Time than twenty two Years The Hiftory of the Martyrdom of St. Fufina over the great Altar, is of the excellent Hand of Paul of Ve rona: The Monaftery is a vaft Pile of Building; having no lefs than fix Cloyfters, and as many Courts and Gardens : I will not trouble you with the Story of the Image of the Virgin, which flew from Conflantinople when the Turks became Mafters of that City, no more than with an Account of the other Saints that are kept in this Church. The great Place near it, 256 Foot long, and 86 broad, wais formerly called the Field of Mars, but has fince changed its Name into that of Prato della Valle, or the Meadow of the Valley: The Hall of the Town-houfe is a hundred and ten Paces long, and forty broad, but dark: It contains many Monuments of illuftrious Perfons. The Paduans have had no lefs Succefs in finding the Tomb of their Countryman T. Livius, than in that of Antenor, for in 1413. a Shrine of Lead having been found in the Gardens of St. Jufina, they did not in the leaft queftion but that this Coffin mut be that of Titus Livius, confidering this noted Hiftorian was the Prief of Concord, and that this Monaftery of the Benedicines of St. Justina was built upon the Ruins of the ancient Iemple of Concord.

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To be fhort, this pretended Coffin of Livius being changed for one of Wood, was cảrried with a great deal of Pomp to the. Palace of Juttice, where they erected the fame Monument that is feen to this Day, and afterwards added the following Infcription, which was found in the Neighbourhood of the Place where the Temple of Concord formerly itood:

V. F. (*)<br>Titus Livius<br>Livic T. F.<br>Quarta L.<br>Halys<br>Concordialis Patavi<br>Sibi E fuis<br>Omnibus.

(*) Vivens Fecit.
Over this Infcription they have placed a Head of Marble, which paffes for that of Titus Livius; but tho' both the Head and the Infcription are ancient, yet Orfato has, in his late Differtation, fufficiently proved, that the Titus Livius, mentioned in this Infcription, was no more than a freed Man, of one of the Daughters of Titus Livius the Hiftorian. But fatisfying the Learned and the People are two Things.
To leave the Fables and Incertainties of Antiquity, I fhall give you an Account of another Monument which we faw in the fame Hall, and which is worthy of Obfervation. Some have exalted Sufannab above Lucretia; but it may be juftly faid, that the Marchionefs de Obizzi furpaffed Sufamnab and Lucretia both. Since when fhe faw Death prefent before her, fhe refolved to fuffer it courageoully, rather than to permit her Chaftity to be violated. A Gentleman of Padua was paffionately in Love with this young and beautiful Lady, and found an Opportunity to get into her Chamber when the was in Bed, in the Abfence of the Marquifs d'Obizzi her Husband. It is probable that he tried the fofteft and moft gentleWays before he proceeded to Acts of Violence : But at laft, when he faw he could not prevail, his Love turned to Fury, and he was fo tranfported with Rage, that he ftabb'd this virtuous Lady. Here is the Infcription.

> Venerare, Hofpes, Pudicitice Simulacrum Eo Vifimans, Cui banc Aram Patavini erexere Proceres:
> Lucretiam, flicet, De Dondis Ab Horologio, 2ue Latinam Lucretiam Intemerati Thori Gloria vicit.
> Hac, inter Noctis Tenebras Maritales afferuit Iedas, Et furiales recentis Tarquinii faces, Cafo Cruore extinxit.
> Per Januas Saucii oris juguli PeEtorifque Impia Novacula reforatas, Candidam eflavit Animam. Tam fortis Heroince
> Qum Numen Pio ANE ex OBIZZONIBUS, Orciani Dynafte Connubio junxit, Glorofis Manibus, Patria Lacrymis, Italia Atramento Parentavit. Anno M.DC.LXXII.

You will, doubtlefs, commend the Paduans for taking Care to eternize the Memory of fo rare a Virtue, that met with fuch a barbarous Treament : And perhaps your Curiofity will prompt you to defire the Continuation of the Story. When the Marchionefs was furprized in her Bed, her only Son, about five Years old, was with her; but the Murderer having carried him into a neighbouring Chamber before he perform'd his horrid Villany, the Child could not fee all that paffed. The Thing being brought to Light, the faid Murderer was taken into Cuftody upon Sufpicion. It was known that he had an Inclination to the Marchionefs. The Child gave fome Information: Some Neighbours affirm'd, they had feen the Gentleman in that Part of the City. They found a Button of his

Sleeve upon the Bed, Fellow to that which he fill wore; and thefe Things were ftrong Prefumptions of his Guilt. They then put him to the Torture, both ordinarily and extraordinarily ; but he ftill denied the Fact, and after fifteen Years Imprifonment, his Friends, by their Importunity, faved his Life, and even, as I fuppofe, obtained his Liberty, which yet he enjoyed not long; for fome Months after his Deliverance, the young Marquifs, which was the Child I fpoke of, fhot him with a Piftol in the Head, and fo revenged the Death of his Mother. He is at prefent (1687) in Germany in the Emperor's Service.
The Amphicheatre of Padua exceeded that of Verona; however, nothing is to be feen of it now, but an Heap of Ruins. I muft tell you, to fhew how different People's Notions are, that going into a Tennis-court here, I found the Walls white, the Balls black, and the Rackets of the Bignefs of a large Sieve.
3. We left Padua the zoth of December, and came to Venice the fame Night in good Time. By the Way we faw many good Villages and fine Country-houfes belonging to Noble Venetians. Coming to Meftre, a little City on the Shore of the Gulph, five Miles from Venice, we took a Gondolo, which carried us in an Hour and a half thither.
To give a true Idea of Venice, I muft fay fomething of the Waters, in the Midft whereof it is built. It is certain, that the Grounds upon which Venice now ftands were, thirteen or fourteen hundred Years ago, drowned by the Sea, till afterwards they were railed out of the Water, and Chanels made betwixt them, for the more convenient Approach of Veffels to the City, fome of them being capable of admitting Ships of the greateft Burthen; whereas fome cannot carry Veffels of above two hundred Tuns. To empty the Mudd out of thefe Chanels, they have Mills and other Engines, and have turn'd the Mouth of the Brent and other Rivers, to prevent their forcing the Sands into the Lagunes or Chanels, for Fear the. Earth fhould gain upon them, who put their greateft Safety and Strength in their watery Situation : But as they are obliged on one Side to keep the Dipth of their Waters, fo on the other hand, it is not for their Intereft that thefe Chanels fhould be of an equal Depth in all Places, this being one of their main Securities, which has ftood them in good Stead at feveral Times, witnefs the Mifcarriage of Pepin's Veffels in there Chanels, and of the Genoefe Fleet about three hundred Years ago.
Imagine then, a City with thirty or forty tall Steeples to rife from among thefe Chanels, at a League and a half Diftance from the Continent, without any other Defence than the Waves of the Sea, and you will have a tolerable Idea of Venice.
I know that all Geographers agree, that Venice is compofed of feventy two Ines; nor will I controvert fo received an Opinion: But I muft confefs, that I can by no Means conceive where thefe feventy two Ines fhould be ; and I dare affure you, that this Account gives a falfe Notion of the Situation of this City. It fhould feem by this Defcription, that there were feventy two litcle Hills, one near the other; and that thefe little Eminencies being all inhabited, had at laft formed the City of Venice; which is not true. Venice is generally flat, and built on Piles in the Water, which wafhes the Foundations of the Houfes, to the Height of four or five Feet. It is true, they have made the beft Ure of feveral Spaces of Ground of a reafonable Bignefs, which may, indeed, give Occafion for one to believe, there was formerly fome Land there; but not feventy two Ines, or any Thing like them. For the Streets, they are very narrow, and the moft Part of them feem to have been filled up, and raifed with Mud and Rubbifh, efpecially along the Canals; but it is not at all probable, that they have a folid natural Ground at the Bottom. If all the Divifions, which the Canals make, were reckoned for Ines, we fhould find near two hundred inftead of feventy two. It muft be farther obferved, that the Number of thefe Ines might be arbitrarily increafed, and new ones made in any Place, by fixing Piles, and building Houfes upon them, as Bridges

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are built, by Means of Bafterdeaux, in the deepeft and moft rapid Rivers; nay, even in the Sea alfo, as at Pozzuolo and Dunkirk, befides feveral Moles. So that taking the Thing after this Manner, they could make fuch artificial Inlands where-ever they pleafed.

We are not to give Credit to what is commonly faid of the Extent of Venice; fome reckon it eight Miles in Circuit, and others allow but feven; as for me, I affure you, Venice is not either eight or feven Miles in Compafs, they reckon five Miles from Mastre to Venice, which Way we came in an Hour and an half with two Rowers, and we took a Turn about Venice in the fame Space of Time with two other Rowers, who made neither more nor lefs Hafte than thofe of Mestre. Judge then by this of the Circuit of that City; confider too, that our Gondola was frequently obliged to defcribe a larger Compafs, to avoid the little Capes which the City makes in feveral Places; and by Confequence the Line that it made, was much greater than the true Circuit of the City. Add to all this, that to mark the Circumference of a City, without confidering its Figure, is not a competent Way to determine the Largenefs of its Extent. One might eafily demonftrate, without great Help of Mathematicks, that a City which is eight Miles in Compafs, for Example, may contain a lefs Number of Houfes, than a City which is only four Miles or lefs, if you pleafe. This depends upon the Regularity or Irregularity of the Figure.

The Number of Inhabitants is another Thing which has often been determined, but feldom well examined. It is commonly reported at Venice, that there are two hundred thoufand Souls in the City, and fome have advanced the Number to three hundred thoufand ; but we muft not rely upon thofe frivolous Opinions: When the Trade of Verice flourifhed, it is probable enough that the Number of its Inhabitants was much greater than it is at prefent, but if we may give Credit to the Report of a Perfon who hath been fettled here for a long Time, and affures me that his Calculation is very exact, Venice does not at prefent contain more than an hundred and thirty or forty thoufand Souls, comprehending the Ine of Giudeca. Thofe who pleafe themfelves with reprefenting Venice as a very populous City, take great Care to putus in Mind, that it has neither Gardens, void Places, or Church-yards; and that the Streets are very narrow. But when, on the other Hand, they would defcribe the Beauty of Verice, they magnify its Gardens, its Places or Squares, and the Breadth and Number of its Canals. I read the other Day, in a Venetian Author, that he counted in Venice fifty three publick Places, and three hundred and thirty five Gardens. Thus you may fee how variounly Things are reprefented. But to fpeak freely, there is a Mixture of Truch and Falfhood on both Sides. I will not deny that there may be fifty three Spaces, great and fmall, to which this Author hath thought fit to give the Name of Places; and the fame might be faid of his Gardens; but if we take a particular View of thofe Places and Gardens, we muft conclude him to be too prodigal of fuch honourable Titles. To fpeak properly, there is but one Place at Venice, the famous and magnificent Place of St. Mark. But let us allow him the Liberty of that Name to five' or fix void Spaces more, which are neither large nor beautiful ; yet all this comes far fhort of fifty three Places. There are alfo fome Gardens here, and particularly towards Santa Maria del' Orto, but if we fet afide fifteen or twenty, or fhould even allow thirty or thirty five to be fo called,-I can pofitively aver, that the three hundred which remain would not, one with another, be ten Foot fquare ; and are not thefe very noble Gardens? Nor is the other Account exactly true, for befides the Gardens and void Spaces that are in $V_{e}$ nice, there are many Places very thinly inhabited. It is true indeed, there are no Church-yards.

As for the Argument that is brought from the Narrownefs of the Streets, it is a Sophifm eafy to be cleared. The Streets are narrow, I confefs, and fo narrow, that the Jufling of Elbows, in the moft frequented of them, is very troublefome; but then, fure, the Canals ought to be reckoned inftead of Streets? If the Ca-
nals were filled and paved, the Narrownefs of the Streets could not be alledged. I mult tell you, fince we are on this Subject, that all the City is fo divided with thefe Canals and Streets, that there are but few Houfes which you may not go to by Water as well as by Land, though every Canal is not bordered with a double Quay, as in Holland; for the Conveniency of thofe who go on Foot, there are indeed fome of thofe, but very often the Canal takes all the Space from one Row of Buildings to another. The Streets are in the little Ines that are borrowed from the Canals, and there are about four hundred and fifty Bridges difpers'd among thofe Canals, fo that there are few Parts of the City to which one may not go either with or without a Gondola. It is true, all thefe little Paffages, and all the Turns that muft be made to find the Bridges, make Venice a true Labyrinth; but the beft Way of giving you a true Idea of the Plan of Venice, is to fend you a Draught of it, which is the moft exact of all thofe that have been feen by me.
The firft Place we vifited was the Palace of St. Mark, the Glory of Venice ; the Church of St. Mark fronts one Endof it, and that of St. Geminian the other; and betwist both thefe Churches, the Procuraties, or Inns of Court and Offices of Lawyers, built very regularly of fine Marble, border both Sides of it with lofty Piazzas. This Place is two hundred and eighty Foot long, and one hundred and ten broad. As you are going from the Church of St. Geminian towards that of St. Mark, and inftead of entring there, to the right Hand you come into another Square two hundred and fifty Paces long, and eighty broad, called the Broglio, the Extremity of which reaches to the Sea-fide. The Dog'e's Palace takes up one Side of it, and the Procuraties are continued on the other.
The Tower of St. Mark being near the Angle of the Square within, does in fome Meafure fpoil the Symmetry of the Place ; its Height is three hundred and fixty Foot, including the Angel that ferves for aWeathercock; formerly it was finely gilt, and could be difcerned thirty Leagues at Sea, but the Gold being now worn off, it appears at no great Diftance. The Broglio is the Place where the Nobles walk, who fometimes take one, fometimes the other Side, according to the Conveniency of the Sun or Shade, and no body elfe is admitted to mix with them on that Side the Walk, but the other is free for every body; they are fo nice in this Point, that when a young Nobleman comes to an Age that qualifies him for the Council, and to take the Robe, four Noblemen of his Friends introduce him the firft Day into the Broglio; and if any Nobleman is excluded from the Council, he is no longer admitted into the Broglio.

About the ninth Age, the Merchants of Venice tranfported the Body of St. Mark from Alexandria in Egypt to Venice; and as Chrift is faid to have faluted this Evangelift in Prifon with thefe Words, Peace be unto thee Mark, my Evangelijt; fo the Body of this Saint was received with the fame Words by the Senate of Venice; who order'd the fame to be written in the open Book held by the Lyon of St. Mark in the Arms of Venice, and the Church of St. Mark to be built to his Honour ; though at the fame Time they were fo carelefs in obferving his Shrine or Tomb, that now they can't precifely tell where it is. I will not detain you with the Story of his Apparition, when he fhew'd his Arm to the Doge, and beftow'd upon him the Golden Ring, which is carried with great Solemnity in Proceffion every Year on the 28 th of 9 fune, becaufe it is fabulous.

The Patriarchal Church, dedicated to St. Peter and St. Mark, is no more than the Doge's Chapel, and the Primicerio or Dean of the Canons of St. Mark wears a Mitre and Rochet like a Bifhop, and has no Dependance on the Patriarch; I faw him officiate in great Pomp on Cbriftmas-Day; he muft be always a Noble Venetian, and his annual Revenue may be about a thoufand Pounds Sterling.

The Church of St. Mark is a fquare Structure after the Greek Way, being a Crofs fhortned, but not very lofty, and fomewhat dark; its chief Ornaments confitt in excellent Mofaick Work and Marble; the Roof has
fevera!
leveral Domes, antong which, that in the Middle exceeds the reft: It has a vaft Number of Statues on the Outfide, among which, the Adam and Eve, by Ricedo are chiefly remarkable: I don't fpeak, in this Place, of the four Brazen Horfes over the Porch, as being foreign Pieces brought thither by Accident. A certain learned Antiquary told me, that thefe Horfes belong'd formerly to the Chariot of the Sun, which was made as a fingular Ornament to a triumphal Arch erected by the Roman Senate to the Honour of Nero, after his Vietory over the Partbians; Confantine the Great carried them from Rome to Confantinople, where they ftood in the Hippodrome till the Venetians brought them from thence : One may ftill fee they were gilt, when firlt erected. But the greateft Curiofity belonging to the Church of St , Mark, is the vaft Quantity of Mofaick Work wherewith both the Roof and Pavement is cover'd. To give you fome Idea of this Work; it deduces its Origin from Greece, tho' they tell you that its Ufe has been in Italy near two thoufand Years; for Vitruvius (who liv’d under Auguyfus) calls it Opus fectile, Pavementa fectilia, Opera musca and mufiva; by others it is call'd Opus varniculatum or tefalatum. All Works therefore compos'd of fmall inlaid Pieces, whether of Stone, Wood, Ivory, or any other Matter, let their Reprefentations be what they will, come within the Compafs of what is call'd Molaick Work : The moft curious Works made out of Florence Stone, come alfo under this Denomination; but inftead of natural Stones, which would take up too much Time to be polifh'd and prepar'd, they have made Ufe here of a certain Compofition of Glafs and Enamel, melted together in a Crucible, which takes a moft lively and bright Colour, that never fades nor ftains. Every Piece of the Mooaick of St. Mark is a little Cube; the Field is Mofaick finely gilt, and incorporated in the Fire, upon the Superficies of one of the Faces of the Square, all the Figures (with their Draperies and Ornaments) being colour'd according to Nature, by the artificial joining together of all the Pieces of the Work, accordding to the Defign which the Workman has before him, being nicely fixed in the compound Matter or Plaifter prepared to receive them, which immediately after becomes fo hard and folid, that this Work has latted near eight hundred and fifty Years without lofing any Thing of its Beauty.
The Pavement of the Church is not inferior to the Roof, being compofed of Fafper, Porphyry, fpotted-green, Marble of feveral Colours, which make Compartments different from each other. Among all the Relicks, miraculous Images, and other holy Rarities kept here, I will mention only the Rock which Mofes ftruck in the Wildernefs, in the Chàpel of Madona della Scarpa, at the End of the Font, of a greyifh Marble; the 'three Holes out of which the Water iffued, are placed triangular-wife, about two Inches afunder; but as each of them is no bigger than a Goofe Quill, how thefe could furnifh Water fufficient, in fo fmall a Time, to quench the Thirt of fix hundred thoufand Men, with their Wives, Children and Cattle, is what I am not able to determine. In the Middle of the Portico of the Church, over-againft the Door, they fhew a Piece of Porphyry enchas'd in the Pavement where Pope Alexander III. fet his Foot on the Neck of the Emperor Frederick Barbarofla.
From the Church of St. Mark we were conducted to the Treafury, of which three Procuratots of St. Mark are always Guardians, and which is never open'd but in the Prefence of one of them. In the firft Apartment they thew you fome Relicks, feveral Pieces of the true Crofs, the Hair and Milk of the Virgins. Thence you go into another Room, where the real Treafure is kept, moft of which was brought from Constantinople with the before mentioned brazen Horfes. The moft confiderable Pieces here, are the two Crowns of the Kingdoms of Cyprus and Candia, abundance of precious Veffels of Agate, the Root of an Emerald and of Rock- Cryftal ; all thefe, shey tell you, belong'd to Conftantine's Cupboard : A Seal eight Inches deep, and as many in Diameter, made of one fingle Granate; a Saphyr weighing ten Ounces; twelve Croflets of Gold, adorn'd with Pearls; as many Head-tires in Eorm of a Crown, worn upon certain

Feftivals by the Maids of Honour to the Emprefs Helen a Cup made out of a fingle Turquoife, with Egyptian Characters; it is feven Inches Diameter, and three and a half deep; a Picture of Sc. Ferome in curious MoSaick; and many other rich Things of this Nature : Bu the Duke's Corno is, in my Opinion, the fineft Piece of all, (which Comerarius values at no more than two hundred thoufand Crowns) the Circle is of Gold, the Bonnet of Crimfon Velvet, enrich'd all over with precious Stones and Pearls of a large Size : Cbarles Pafcioal is of Opinion, that this Corno is the Pbrygian Bonne or Trojan Mitre brought into Italy by Antenor, the Figure whereof is exprefs ${ }^{\prime} \mathrm{d}$ in feveral ancient Pieces, as in the Statue of Ganymede, which is to be feen in the Porch of the Library of St. Mark, upon fome Medals of the God Lumus; in fome others whiere Eneas carries Ancbifes upon his Back, and in the Miniatures of the ancient Manufcript of Virgil in the Vatican.

This Manufcript puts me in Mind of another, viz. the fo much celebrated Goppel of St. Mark, kept in this Treafury, which I had Leave, by a fpecial Favour, to confider all over; its Leaves are of Parchment loofen'd from each other, very much worn and torn, defaced, and fo rotted, that where-ever you touch it fomething will ftick to your Fingers; it is very hard to difcern any thing diftinctly of it; it was in Quarto, of the Thicknefs of two Fingers, and the Remnants of this precious Treafure are kept fhut up in a Box of Vermilion gilt, made in the Shape of a Book. Here and there you may itill difcern the Traces of fome imperfect Characters upon the moift Parchment, but fo as fcarce to be diftinctly feen what they were; by a nice Infpection I difcover'd three or four Letters well form'd, and met with the Word KATA diftinctly written as you fee it here. The Abbot Lith, Library-keeper of St. Mark, affifted me in turning over, with a great deal of Exactnefs, all the Leaves, but could difcover nothing material, except that it had a very broad Margin, and the Lines were placed at a great Diftance from one another, rul'd with two parallel Lines, to make the Writing equal and flreight. The before-mention'd Word KATA, with one $\Delta$ and one $\Sigma$, which we alfo plainly difcern'd, prove that it is a Greek Manufcript; AlpbonJus fays 'tis Latin, and Baronius confirms it ; but that it fhould be of St. Mark's own Hand-writing, I can't find fufficient Reafon to believe, being rather of Opinion, that (the Manner of Writing confider'd) it is the Work of fome profeffed Tranfcriber; and as for the reft, we mult rely upon Tradition and common Fame, that it is the Gofpel of St. Mark; it being fö much defac'd by the Injuries of Time, that few Letters can be decypher'd in it, and confequently it is a difficult Task to prove or difprove whether it really be, or not, what they pretend it is,
In the Year 1427 , one Stamati, a Candiot by Birth, robb'd this Treafury, and broke the Wall, but was taken, and every thing recover'd, and he fentenc'd to be hang'd, which was executed accordingly betwixt the Marble Pillars which ftand at the Entrance of the Palace over-againft the Lagietta: They fay, he bego'd of the Judges that he might be hang'd in a golden Haltar, which was granted. Next adjoining to the Church of St. Mark, is the Palace of St. Mark, a great Mafs of Building after the Gotbick Manner, but neverthelefs very magnificent: It has been very often defac'd by Fire, fo that the Reparations made at divers Times, have made it not fo uniform as it would be otherwife. That Part which faces the Canal, is built of a very hard Kind of Stone brought from Ifria, and excellently well defign'd ; were all the reft like this, it might pafs for an exquifite Piece of Architecture ; as it is, it is very venerable. It is in this Place that the Duke keeps his conftant Refidence ; and here it is that the Council of State and the other Affemblies meet. The Apartments are fpacious and lofty enough, and well wainfcotted, but want Light in refpect to our modern Way of Building.

The Hall appointed for the Meeting of the Great Council (where, in Effect, the Sovereignty is lodg'd) is of a large Size, and adorn'd with curious $P_{\text {ainting }}$;

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here you fee the Pictures of all their Dukes; the Hiftory of the taking of Conftantinople in 1192, but was loft again within fixty Years after; among the reft they fhew you the Hiftory of Pope Alexander and Frederick Barbarofla, with the Pope's Foot on the Emperor's Neck, of rather his Shoulder, as it is expreffed here. If you remember the Story of the Rebellion of Bajamonta againtt the Senate, in 1210 , I muft tell you, that this was the Occafion of the little Arfenal kept in this Palace, from whence there is a Paffage to the Hall of the Great Council where the Nobility affemble, that in Cafe fuch another Defign fhould break out whilft they are affembled in Council, they might readily be fupplied with Arms from thence for their Defence. It was upon the fame Score that they built the little Judgment-Seat called the Loggietia, at the Foot of St. Mark's Tower, in Sight of the Palace and the Grand Council Chamber: Here are always fome Procurators of St. Mark upon the Watch whilit the Great Council meet and deliberate of Matters of State, for the Security of the Republick

This Arfenal is provided with a good Number of Fufils and Mufquets ready charg'd, befides many other Arms. Here they have an Engine that will light five hundred Matches at once: They preferve here alfo fome very curious. Arms of an ancient Make, and among the reft, the Sword of the famous Scanderbeg. Here alfo they fhew you the Buft of Francis Carrara, the laft Lord of Padua, who for his Cruelties was ftrangled, with four of his Children, by the Command of the Senate of Venice, in 1405. I obferved likewife a little Trunk with fix little Guns, which the fame Carrara fent for a Prefent to a Lady, and was fo contrived by certain Springs, that upon opening of the Trunk the Guns all fired at once, and killed the Lady. They alfo fhew'd us fome little Pocket Crofs-bows and Arrows of Steel of this Tyrant with which his Cuftom was to kill fuch as paffed by, without knowing from whence they received their Wounds; and various whimfical Sorts of Locks and Bolts he ufed to keep his Concubines confin'd. Here I alfo faw the two little Statues of Adam and Eve, which Albert Durer made in Prifon with the Point of his Penknife only, and which purchafed him his Liberty. We muft not forget the antick Mouths under the inner Portico of this Pa lace, and in divers Places of the Galleries, into the Throat of which any body may caft a Note, to give Advice or Notice of any Thing he is able to the Inquifitors, who have the Keys of thefe Boxes, and fometimes reward thofe who make what they call the Secret Accufation, who, to difcover themfelves, tear a Piece off the Billet, and by joining it again are known.

The Library is kept in the Procuraties oppofite to the Palace, on the other Side of the Broglio; it is none of the moft numerous, rare, and beft condition'd, and has but few Manufcripts, which are, for the molt Part, Greek; though they alfo fhew you a Treatife, entituled, De Confideratione Dei, attributed to St. Austin; but to make Amends, it has many excellent Pictures, done by Titian and other great Mafters, and Ceveral exquifite Greek Statues, as that of Ganymede, a Venus, an Apollo, and two Gladiators. It is the Opinion of fome, that Venice has as many rare Pictures as Rome; I will not pretend to determine that Matter, but only tell you, that the three moft celebrated Pieces we could fee, either in the Churches or in any other publick Place, are the Wedding of Ganab by Paul Veronefe, in the Refectory of St. George Major ; the Prefentation of the Virgin in the School of Charity; and St. Peter Martyr, in St. Fobn and St. Paul's, both by Titian. Venice is the propereft Place in Europe for young Painters to improve themfelves, for in both the Academies they have the Opportunity of viewing naked Perfons of both Sexes, in what Pofture they pleafe.

In Anfwer to your Queftion concerning the Flux and Reflux, I can only tell you, that the Sea flows fix Hours, and ebbs as many; it is later every Day about three Quarters of an Hour, as it is generally upon the Coafts. The Tide commonly rifes at Venice four Foot, or four and a half, fometimes more, fometimes lefs. The Shore beyond Venice is extremely pleafant, the long and marrow Ines enclofing this City from North to

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South, in the Form of a Semicircle. The main Sed affords fome Shell-fifh, and abundance of Oyiters, but they are neither fo favoury nor fo wholfome as ours.
The Venetians boaft much of their Policy and Libertys: for the Proof of the firft they generally alledge, that they have maintain'd themfelves for thirteen hundred Years. This Reafon might perhaps ftand; if they could boaft to have maintain'd the fame Form of Government; whereas it is beyond all Contradiction, that the Government of Venice has often chang'd its Conftitution, fince their Dukes were heretofore as abfolute as Cafar was at Rome not long before his Death. Another Confideration is, that the Republick of Venice being confin'd to fuch narrow Bounds, in Comparifon of the more powerful States of Europe, and furrounded by Neighbours lefs potent than itfelf, it feems not to require fuch profound Maxims of Policy to maintain itfelf, by living quietly and peaceably with the reft; and notwithftanding all this, the Senate of Venice have, with all their Policy, not been able to prevent the Declenfion of their State at divers Times. As for their Liberty, of which they fo loudly talk, it amounts chiefly to this; that provided they don't intermeddle with State Affairs, and commit no enormous Crime, that muft of Neceffity, or by its Notoriety, fall under the Cenfure of Juftice, every body is at Liberty to live as he pleafes: Hence it is that the Greeks, Armenians, and Jopers, are allowed the publick Exercife of their Religions; and all the other Sects are tolerated, or at leaft connived at, provided they manage with a little Difcretion: It is true, the worfhipping of Images and Relicks, and fuchlike Supertitions, abound as much among the common People of Venice, as in other Places, but the better Sore fet no great Value upon them. They are now as jealous of the Liberty of the Venetian Church, as the French were of the Gallican; and it is for this Reafon they keep the Jefuits fo much in Awe; they allow none in their Convents but their own Subjects, and will not admit any Superior, except a Native of the City. They do not hefitate to pers mit thefe Fathers to wear Masks during the Carnival, to entertain their Concubines, to fing on the Stages, and what elfe they think fit, provided only they keep their Fingers out of publick Affairs.

Concerning the Faith of the Greeks here, I can't but be of Opinion, that they differ in many Points from the Greek Churches of the Eaft, though they exclaim heavily againft the Ufurpation of the Church of Romes they declare for Tranfubitantiation; they make ufe of common Bread, mingle Water with Wine, and communicate under both Kinds. In their Churches they have two Altars, one called the Altar of Preparations, the other of Confecration; the firft they make ufe of to cut the Bread with a Knife fhap'd like the Iron Point of a Launce, where they alfo mix the Water and Wine, and the Prieft takes it with a Sponge out of the Veffel in which it was firt mix'd, and afterwards fqueezes it into the Chalice. They embrace one another before they have communicated, and the Communicants receive the Bread fteep'd in the Wine, the Prieft putting it with a Spoon into their Mouths: Of all this I was an Eye-witnefs. The Archbifhop officiated in 2 Mitre not unlike an Imperial Crown, and all his Ornaments were exceeding magnificent, and were changed feveral Times, according to the different Parts of the Service. They abound in myfterious Ceremonies; whenever the Bifhop bleffes the People, he has in his Right-hand a three-branch'd Candleftick, with as many lighted Tapers; this, they fay, is an Emblem of the Trinity, as the Candleftick with two Branches he holls in his Left, is of the two Natures of Fefus Cbrift. They divide their Churches into four feveral Parts; the Altars ftand at one End, which they call boly, none but the Prieft who officiates, and his Attendants, are admitted there ; the next to that is appointed for the other Service; the third is where the Men are feparated from the Women by little Balifters; the Women fitting behind Lettices at the other End of the Church, or in the Galleries. They perform their Divine Service in the vulgar Greek, and highly condemn the Ufe of an unknown Language in the Church. They worfhip

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ttanding, bow their Heads, and put their Hands at the fame Time on their Breafts. Marriage is among them no Bar to Priefthood, but if they are fingle at the Time of their being admitted into Orders, they muft not marry afterwards, and they forbid the fourth Marriage for Decency-fake, deny the Popifh Purgatory, and yet pray for the Dead. They ufe Confeffion, but not after the Manner of the Romanifts. Concerning the Article of the Proceeding of the Holy Gbost, they fay as little now as they formerly difputed upon it, looking upon it as a Point that has more of Nicety than Ufe; they alfo preferve Relicks, but never worfhip them.

I have made the beft Enquiry I was able about the Doctrines of the Armenians, but their Church being repairing at prefent, I have had no Opportunity to fee their Worfhip, nor to learn the Truth of it from others, except that a Friend of mine told me, that they were of very different Opinions in refpect of feveral Articles, but that thefe four or five were moft generally received among them, viz. They communicate under both Kinds, they give the Sacrament even to Infants, acknowledge the Sequeftration of Souls as the Greeks do, allow of Divorces, and believe, that at the Time of the Refurrection there will be no Difference of Sexes.
4. Before I leave Venice, I muft add fome few other Obfervations to what I have already faid concerning this City, and all the Curiofities therein. The Bridge of Rialto challenges the firt Place, founded on ten thoufand Elm Piles, and which coft two hundred and fifty thouland Venetian Ducats. It is built over the Middle of the great Canal which divides this City in the Figure of an $S$. The Venetians are fo much taken with this Bridge, that they often want Ternas to exprefs its Grandeur, whereas it is certain that it has Nothing extraordinary belonging to $i t$, except that it is built upon one Arch: As I took particular Care to meafure it, fo I can give you an exact Account of it. The Compafs of the Arch makes the third Part of a Circle ; the whole Extent, from one Extremity of the Arch to the other, on the Level of the Canal, is ninety Foot, and its Height twenty four. I know fome have blam'd the Architecture, which, according to the ftrict Rules of Art, might, for its greater Strength, be an exact Semicircle; but, in my Opinion, this Objection may foon be anfwer'd, it being reafonable to fuppofe, that the remaining Part of the Semicircle is taken up in the Foundation under Water. It is ftrongly built of great Pieces of a kind of white Marble; it has two Rows of Shops, which divide it into three Streets, viz. one large one in the Middle, and two other little ones, between the Rails and the Backfides of the Shops. Almoft all the other Bridges of Venice have but fingle Arches, and Steps of a white and hard Stone, and moft commonly very flippery, which in Part has given Occafion to the common Proverb of Venice,

## Bereare bere, of White Stones, Whores, Priests, and Pantaloons.

## All the beft Houfes ftand on both Sides of the Great

 Canal, among which are the magnificent Palaces of Pifani, Morofni, Loredano, Rofini, Vandramino, and Grimani, but their chief Beauty confifts in their Frontifpieces, which commonly are of two or three Sorts of Architecture, the reft being but very indifferent. The Lagunes contribute not a little to the Unwholfomnefs of the Air of Venice, though the Venetians are very unwilling to own it, but their Water is generally bad; for among an hundred and fifty Springs they have here, there are not above two or three that afford good Water, which is the Reafon that moft private Perfons of Note are forc'd to preferve the Rain-water in Cifterns. The Wines generally drank here are either fulfomely fiveet, or fower and eager: Their Bread is alfo very ill made, for let it be never fo frefh, it is as hard as a Bifcuit, and muft be broken with a Hammer. The little Oppórtunity a Stranger has of converfing with the Venetians in their Houres, makes me give you no Account of their Manner of Houfe-keeping, but it puts me in Mind of what I read the other Day in a Prefaceof Henry Stephens, That in his Time, a Woman that appear'd bare-neck'd abroad, was look'd upon with a very indifferent Eye in France; whereas in Italy, and efpecially in Venice, every old Hag fhew'd her wither'd Neck, but at prefent none but declared Whores fhew their Necks bare; nay, the Women of Quality do not even fhew their Faces in the Churches, the only Places where they appear in Publick; and the ordinary Women wear over their Heads a great Scarf, opening only a little about the Eyes. Their Females they educate in the Convents, from their tender Age till they are married, which is done commonly by their Parents or Kindred, without letting them fee 'their future Husbands : For it is to be obferved, that among Perfons of Quality there are no Regards in Reference to chis Point, but a good Family and Riches, the reft being left to Chance: Whence it is that the Men commonly remedy the Defects of their Wives, by maintaining Concubines: They have here a peculiar Way of colabiting with certain Women, much ufed among thofe of a tender Confcience: It is a Kind of clandeftine Marriage, the Ceremony whereof is not perform'd fometimes till many Years after they have lived together, and often not till a few Days or Hours before the Death of one of the Parties: But the moft general Way is, to keep their Miftrefs at a certain Allowance as long as both Parties agree; and this is fo frequently practifed here, that fuch as are not able to keep one fingly, join with two or three more, who enjoy the Woman, without the leaft Jealoufy, each in his Turn.

This Kind of Libertinifm is fo general at Venice, that the Mothers of young Noblemen are commonly the firt who agree with a poor Maiden's Father or Mother, for the Ufe of their Sons, at a certain Rate, to be paid monthly or yearly, as they can agree beft. I have it from credible Hands, and Roman Cathoiicks, that the Confeffors look upon this as fuch a Trifle, that they take not the leaft Notice of it in their Confeffions. For Strangers and Paffengers you have whole Streets fill'd with Ladies, eafily diftinguifhed from others by their Habits, being dreffed in red and yellow, with naked Breafts, painted Faces, and Nofegays above their Ears; whereas all the other Ladies appear in black. The Carnival commences here the fecond Holiday in Cbriftmas; then it is they begin to wear Masks, and open their Play-boufes and Gaming-boufes: The Place of St. Mark is fill'd with Mountebanks, fack-puddings, Pedlars, Whores, and fuch Sort of Cattle, who flock thither from all Parts. In the Beginning they act with fome Moderation; but the nearer they come towards Sbrove-Tuefday, the more their Madnefs encreafes. The Senate of Venice allow thefe Extravagancies, to divert the People from feeling the heavy Burthen of their Government, which, without fuch-like Amufements, would be infupportable to them : Befides that, the vaft Number of Strangers, which come from all Parts to Venice, to the Diverfions of the Carnival, brings a vaft Sum of Money to the City: I was credibly inform'd, that during the laft Carnival, there were no lefs than feven Sovereign Princes, and thirty thoufand other Foreigners there.
To give you my Opinion of the Opera's and Comedies of Venice, in refpect to thofe of Paris, I muft be plain with you, That the Ornaments of the firf are infinitely inferior to thofe of France: Their Habits are mean, without Dances, and generally without any Machines or Illuminations, except here and there a few Candles, fcarce worth mentioning. I will not venture to contradict the general Opinion of the World concerning the Italian Mufick; and it muft really be confeffed, that they have fome excellent Airs, and moft exquifite Voices: But, to tell you my Sentiment of the Matter, there is a certain unpleafant Confufion in feveral Songs of their Opera's, and they dwell many Times longer in one Quavering, than in finging four whole Lines, and immediately after they run fo faft, that you cannot tell whether they fing or fpeak, or do both by Turns. It is certain, that the overftrained Scream is not fo pleafing to Foreigners as to the Italians. The Orcheftre is much lefs than at Paris ; but this may per-

## Chap. III. Low-Countries, Germany, $\sigma^{\circ}{ }^{\circ}$ c.

haps be efteemed rather a Perfection than a Fault. There is another Thing I cannot pals by without a Remark, I mean the prepofterous Figure which their Eunuchs make on the Thearre: It is a very odd Sight to fee one of thefe mutilated Fellows act the Part of a Bully with his effeminate Voice ; and another to reprefent a young Lover, with his withered wrinkled Face.

There are at prefent no lefs than feven Opera's at Venice, which by Foreigners are frequented chiefly for the good Company's Sake: They have a Buffoon in every Opera, who intermixes his Fooleries, withour Difcretion, with the moft ferious and tragical Part of the Play. Their Comedies are fill'd with fuch ridiculous Buffooneries, that in other Parts they would not pafs for tolerable Farces, Harlequin being commonly the Head Actor, who is back'd in his Grimaces with the moft rank Bawdry that can be invented, to make the Spectators laugh; and for Fear they fhould be difappointed in their Aim, they admit whole Troops of the Gondoliers, or Watermen, into the Playhoufe for nothing, when they are ready to begin : Thefe are very diligent on this Occafion, by bawling and clapping their Hands, to extort, as it were, a general Applaufe from the Spectators. Thefe Thearres belong to fome Noblemen, who make a confiderable Profit of them during the Carnival.
Their Affemblies, where they play at Baffet, they call Ridotti, which are kept open as long as the Theatres: They allow none but Noblemen to cut: You fhall, fee fometimes ten or twelve Rooms on a Floor, with Gaming-tables in all, crowded with Gamefters masked, with Courtefans and Ladies of Quality, who, under this Difguife, have the Privilege of enjoying all the Diverfions of the Carnival, provided they can get a little out of the Way of their Spies or jealous Husbands. They have alfo certain Rooms, where they fell Liquors, Sweetmeats, and fuch-like Things, to relieve fuch as are fatigued with Standing. Every one thus masked, provided he be in good Appare!, has the Liberty of talking to the Ladies even of the higheft Quality, nobody, not even the Husband himfelf, taking Notice at that Time what is faid to his Wife, becaufe the Mask is facred; though this fometimes gives Occafion to an Intrigue, in a Place where the Scarcity of Opportunity prompts them to do more with the Wink of an Eye, than in other Countries with a longer Courthip.
But the chief Place for Mafquerading is the Place of St. Mark, where you may put yourfelf in what Difguife you pleafe, pravided you can maintain the Figure of the Perfon you aflume; for here you fee the Harlequins jeer one another handfomely; thofe who perfonate Doctors, difpute learnedly; and fo with the reft: But fuch as have no Inclination to venture upon there Engagements, may appear in the Habit of a Nobleman, or fome foreign Drefs, and be only Spectators. All the Mafquers mult appear without Swords. Here you fee, befides Puppet-players, Rope-dancers, and For-tune-tellers, whofe little Stages are fill'd with Globes, Spberes, and other Afronomical Inffruments: They make Uie of a Tube of Tin to fpeak into the Ears of thofe who confult them ; and it is a pleafant Sight to fee the Priefts and Monks more frequently taking up the Tube than the reft.

I will not pretend to give you an Account of their Bull-baitings, Goofe-bunting, Wrefling, or Boxing, Balls, Races upon the Water, or of their Feaft on SbroveTuefday, when they cut off a Bull's. Head in the Prefenice of the whole Senate, in Memory of a Victory in Friuli: But I muft not omit to tell you, that the Carnival is not the only Time when Masks are in Requeft at Venice, there being no Feaft of Pleafure where they are not ufed more or lefs, as at the Audiences of Ambaffadors, on Afcenfion-day, \&xc. All thefe Days are very profitable to the Watermen, who knowing all the Turns and By-ways, keep Correfpondence with the Waitingwomen, and for a good Reward will furnihh Ladders of Cords for an Intrigue, one of their main Bufineffes being Pimping; in which Art they are fo well verfed, that they will depofit a Sum of Money, as a Security,
that their Ware flall prove good. They hire the Venes tian Gondola's, or Boats, either from Place to Place, or by the Hour, or by the Day. You may have one of the beft for five or fix Shillings a Day. Thefe Boats are prettily contrived; and very light : Their Length is generally thirty or thirty two Foot, and their Breadth four or five, in which you may fit with a great deal of Conveniency, under a Cover like a Coach, with Glaffes on both Sides; the left is reckoned the beft Place; becaufe there you can beft fee the Boatman, and command him as you pleafe. Thefe Fellows are very dextrous in their Bufinefs, and will, with a furprizing Facility, manage their Oars, flanding with their Faces towards the Place where they are to go. All the Gondola's, or Boats, muft be black, even the little Chama ber, which is generally cover'd with black Cloth or Serge; but Foreigners are not fo frictly tied to this Rule; the Gondola's efpecially of the Ambaffadors are generally exceeding magnificent: They have com= monly four or five, and make their Entries in them.
The Arfenal of Verice challenges Precedence among the firft of Europe ; but as it muft be confefs ${ }^{3} \mathrm{~d}$, that 亩 is a Place of great Confequence, fo on the other hand it ought to be confider'd, that it is the only one the Venetians have in Italy, and that in its Enclofure it comprehends all their Ammunition, Stores for their Navy, Cafting-houfes, Rope-yards, Forges, Lodges for the Galleys, and Galeaffes, and the Buicentoro ittielf, befides the Docks for refitting their Ships: And notwithftands ing all this, you muft not believe above half they tell you upon this Head. I remember that our Guide would fain have perfuaded us, that it contain'd no lefs than two thoufand five hundred Pieces of great Cannon; Arms for a hundred thoufand Foot, and compleat Accoutrements for twenty thoufand Horfe s but thefe are only Words. Among their Men of War, that call'd The Redeemer is the biggeft, and, as they told us, carried eighty Pieces of Cannon and fourteen Pattareroes; and is now at Sea. Their Galeafles have three Rows of Guns in the Prow, but only two in the Poop; their Complement of Slaves is ninety two, fix on a Bench. The Bucentaure is a large Galeafs of State finely carved and gilt, in which the Doge and Senate, with many of the Nobles, go out to Sea every Year on Afcenfionday, to perform the Ceremony of marrying the Sea.
As to the Rank the Noblemen of Venice afpire tos which they have pufh'd to that Degree, that they pretend their Nobility to comprehend all other Titles, fo as even to compare themfelves with Princes of Royal Blood; I muft tell you, that it appears to me rather founded upon Opinion than folid Reafon. It is true ${ }_{5}$ that confidering the Noble Venetians, by Right of Inheritance, are Members of the great Council, which gives Life to all the reft; they are born with fome Character of Sovereignty, but at that Rate the Nobility of Genod might challenge the fame Prerogative ; and, after all their Boafting, the Commands, great Offices, Wealth, and ancient Extraction, make new Diftinctions among them; and they are not fo nice, but that they will fell this Title for a certain Sum of Money. They never appear in Publick but in their Robes, which are of black Cloth, and ought to be lined with greyifh Cloth in the Winter, and Ermins in the Summer. The Stole is of the fame Cloth, as well as the Girdle, which, being abour four Inches broad, is adorno ed with Silver Buckles and Plates. Their Bonniets are no more than a Kind of Caps of black Worfted, with a Fringe of the fame Stuff, which they commonly bear in their Hands, becaufe they are unwilling to incommode their great Perriwigs s however, the Procurators of St. Mark, the Sacri Grandi, and fome others of the great Officers of the State, are diftinguifhed by their peculiar Habits: Thofe that have been Ambaffadors have the Privilege of wearing a Stole of Cloth of Goid, and Golden Buckles on their Girdles, but they generally content themfelves with a little Gold Galloon upon their black Stole.
The Pbyficians, Adrocates, Notaries, and all thofe they call Cittadini, wear the fame Habits as the Nobles; they challenge the Title of Excellenicy, and the Manner
of faluting them is to kifs their Sleeve, which about the Elbow is as big as a moderate Sack, and ferve fometimes to carry Provifions in from the Market, becaufe they fcarce ever appear with any Attendance at their Heels. They are never faluted in the Street, except by thofe who wear the fame Robe, being rather fear'd than lov'd by the People, not fo much on account of the Hardfhips they fuffer from them, as for want of knowing them, the Nobles being not permitted to converfe familiarly with any body. The Nobility of Venice is not reftrained to the eldeft Sons, as in England, but they are not permitted to traffick, much lefs to marry with Foreigners. Thofe Marquifes, Counts, and other titular Nobles belonging to the VenetianState, are no Noblemen of Venice, but either fuch as really enjoy'd thefe Dignities in their refpective Countries before they became fubject to the Venetians, or by the Venetians, fince their Conquefts, have been dignified with thefe Titles to humble the reft, and by a Confufion of new. Titles, abate the Pretenfions of the ancient Nobility of thofe Countries. There are a third Sort of titular Nobility in the Venetian State, whofe Anceftors, though not fully entitled to thofe Dignities, yet had fome Pretenfions to them, and upon the Change of the Government, affumed thefe Titles by the Connivance of the Venetians.

Your Information concerning the Duke or Doge of Venice, is wrong in all its Parts; for, I can affure you, he bears only the Figure of a Prince, and the Shadow of Greatnefs without any real Subftance; much in the fame Manner the Dukes of Aquitain and Normandy do at the Coronation of a King of England. It is true, he has fome outward Marks of Grandeur annex'd to his lofty Title, but thefe are beftow'd on him no otherwife than as he is a Reprefentative of the Republick, as Ambaffadors are of their Mafters. That this is true beyond allContradiction, you will very clearly perceive, if you confider, that all his Councellors have a conftant Eye over all his Actions, and have an Authority to vifit his Clofet every Hour. It is not in his Power to pardon any Criminal ; he can't fo much as pafs over to the Continent without Permifion from the State; and he no fooner fers Foot afhore on that Side, but his Ducal Authority and Dignity ceafe, and he is confider'd as Nothing more than a bare Nobleman of Venice; immediately all his Kindred, that were before in any Offices, are turn'd out, and when he dies, there is no fuch Thing as the leaft publick Mourning upon that Occafion. He is, befide this, as much fubject to the Law as the meaneft Perfon, and the Inquifition of State is chiefly level'd at his Power, which is fo ftreightned, that except two or three inconfiderable Privileges, he poffeffes Nothing beyond other Noblemen ; thefe are, that he has a double Voice in the Grand Council, and the Difpofal of divers little Offices belonging to the Palace, and the Nomination of the Primicerio and Canons of St. Mark. The Honours, as I told you before, which are paid to him, being nothing elfe than the Marks of the Sovereignty of the Common-wealth in their Reprefentative; it is in this Senfe he bears the Title of Duke and of His Serenity, (a Title efteemed here beyond that of Highnefs) and when he appears abroad upon any folemn Occafion, has a Torch carried before him, a folding Chair (having two Arms and no Back) with its Cuhhion, eight Silver Trumpets, and as many Standards with the Arms of Venice, and perhaps fome Hautboys: Of thefe Standards two are white, two red, two violet, and two blue, which; they fay, fignify, Peace, War, Truce, and the League They fhew'd us that the two red ones were carried firft, the State being then engaged in a War againft the Turks, whereas in Time of Peace, the white ones precede the reft. He has alfo a Kind of Umbrello carried after him.

Upon thefe Occafions the Doge is generally accompanied by the Nuncio, and the Ambaffadors refiding at Venice, except the Minifter of Spain, who never appears at thefe Solemnities, to avoid difputing with the Frencb Ambaffador about Precedence; all thefe Minifters have their Hats on; the Dulke never pulls off his ducal Cornet,
except when the Hoft is elevated, or when he is vifited by a Prince of Royal Extraction, or by a Cardinal, who fits in a like Chair with the Duke, and even on his right Hand. After thefe march the chief Senators, before whom is carried the Sword of State, as an evident Mark of the Sovereignty of the Council. It is true, upon their Coin the Duke's Name is ftamp'd, but on the Reverfe you fee him on his Knees, at the Feet of the Primicerio, who fits and reprefents St. Mark; of him the Doge takes the Oath of Fidelity, with the Mafsbook in one Hand, and with the other receiving the Standard of Venice; fo it is evident, that his Image bears no more Marks of Honour here than that of the Primicerio. The Letters of foreign Princes are alfo directed and delivered to the Doge, but he is fo far from having any Power of opening them, that he muft deliver them to the Council: The fame Thing is obferved in refpect to Ambaffadors; for after Matters have been deliberated and concluded in the Council, the Anfwer is put fo exactly into the Duke's Mouth, that fhould he commit the leaft Miftake, he is corrected upon the Spot. Thus in all Acts or Declarations, of State, he is no more than the Herald, who has the Honour of publifhing what is enacted by the Senate:
I will not pretend to unravel to you the Myfteries of the Venetian Common-wealth, the fame being above my Purpofe, and even out of my Knowledge, for want of fufficient Time to be fully inftructed in fo many Things: I will only add concerning the Patriarch of Venice, that after he is elected by the Senate, he receives his Confirmation from the Pope : Though his Station is very eminent, yet his Authority is kept within very narrow Bounds; for, except two or three Benefices, the People of each Parifh chufe their own Curates, and the Clergy acknowledge no Superiority but that of the Senate. This Prelate muft always be chofen out of the Nobility, and his Garment is of a Violet Colour; he ftiles himfelf Divini Miferatione Venetiarum Patriarcha, i. e. by God's Mercy Patriarch of Venice; but not as others do, Et Sanile Sedis Apostolice Gratia; and by the Grace of the Holy Apoffolick See ; the Venetians acknowledging no fuch Superiority. For the reft, this Election is commonly carried on by Intereft and Intrigue, as in the chufing of a Pope, little Regard being had to Merit ; and it is beyond all Difpute, that the Ignorance of the Clergy here is greater than what can well be exprefs'd or imagin'd ; to remedy which, as alfo their Licentiournefs, and the too free Converfation with the Nuns, Cardinal Barberigo, Bifhop of Padua, a wife and venerable Perfon, has taken a great deal of Pains of late Years, but to little Purpofe.

I murt not forget to tell you a pleafant Secret they make ufe of here, in Behalf of fome Priefts that are Muficians : You are not ignorant, that one of the main Qualifications belonging to a Prieft, is to be a compleat Man ; but as the Sweetnefs of the Voice is of great Ufe, both in their Opera's and Churches, they have found out this Expedient, that a Prieft thus fitted for Mufick, may exercife the Functions of Priefthood, provided he carry the fame Implements that belong ${ }^{2} \mathrm{~d}^{2}$ to his Body in his Pocket. Is not this a moft religious Diftinction!
Father Mark Aviano, whom I mention'd in my Letter from Augsburgb, is here at prefent, but 1 could never hear him preach, the Crowd of the People being fuch, that they were forc'd to break a Hole through the Wall of the Church, to let him go into it from a neighbouring Houfe.
5. It is one of the Peculiarities of Venice, that fome of the Churches are dedicated to Saints that were never canonized, fuch as the good Man $\mathcal{F o b}$, the Prophets Mofes, Samuel, Feremiab, Daniel, and Zacbary, to whom there might be fome others added. I had the Curiofity to vifit the Temples that are confecrated to thofe illuftrious Names, but could not find any Thing more extraordinary in them, than their Dedication. One of the fineft of thofe facred Structures is that which is dedicated to St. Mofes; it has a majeftick Front, which was built by Alexander Tremignone, at the Charge of the Procurator Vincint Fini. They preferve feveral Re-

# Chap. III. Low-Countries, Germany, $\sigma^{\circ} c^{\circ}$. 

licks in this Church, and pretend, that they are both very authentick and potent; however, fince they confift only of Arms, Legs, and Jaw Bones, I will not trouble you with a Catalogue of them: But when I meet with fome holy Curiofity; which deferves to be particularly taken Notice of, as fome Foreskin of a Pbilifine, fome Peare of St. Francis's Iffue, or a Shoe of the Trojan Horfe, you may expect to hear of it. As for the Church of St. Samuel, 'it will be fufficient to tell you, that there is nothing remarkable to be feen in it: St. $\mathcal{F o b}$ 's is a very fine Building. In the Veftry they keep a Body of St. Luke, and the Benedictins of St. Fustina at Padua, have another : But fince the Pope declared for the former, the Monks of Padua have very prudently taken the Refolution to be filent.

At St. Feremy's, which is a fine Edifice, they have one of that Prophet's Teeth, and it is reafonable they fhould have a Relick of their Nation. If the reft had imitared fo judicious an Example, we might, perhaps, have had the Pleafure to have feen one of Mofes's Horns and 70 's Scabs. The great Altar, and the Tomb of St. Fobn the Maxtyr, Duke of Alexandria, are the moft remarkable Things I obferved at St. Daniel's. St. Zacbary's is a fine Building. The Architecture is not modern, but the Front is enriched with fine Marble, and the Infide beautified with many Ornaments. There are alfo magnificent Altars in it. The famous Church of St. Mark is fo inriched with Mofaick Work, that, in this Refpect, the Churches of St. George Major and della Salute ought not to come in Competition with it : But if we confider the Architecture of St. Mark, it is an obfcure Place, in Comparifon to thofe Churches. The beft Judges give the Preference to St. George's, but common Eyes find fomething in the Church della Salute that is more agreeable to them. The Defigns are quite different: St. George's is not unlike to St. Jufina's at Pa$d u a$, for the Contrivance or Gufto is the fame in both. It is true, St. Fufina's is larger, and perhaps more magnificent within, but its Outfide is naked; whereas the other is adorned with an admirable Front. The great Altar in this Church is enriched with Marble of the fineft Sort, and curiounly wrought : It is alfo adorned with feveral Statues, the chief of which are the four Evangelifts fupporting a World, on which there is a Padre Eterno. The Whole is of Brafs gilt. The Seats of the Canons round the Choir are of Walnut Tree, on which the Life of St. Benedici is defcribed in very fine Baffo relievo, where the Rules of Perfpective are well oblerved. In a Chapel near the Tomb of the Procurator Vincent Morofini, thofe, who have good Eyes, obferve on a Marble Pillar, and on fome Places on the Balifters, Fifhes, Birds, and other Things naturally figured, and even an entire Crucifix; I mean the Eyes of Imagination; for there is nothing like it in Reality, though certain little Books, that are to be bought at Venice, fay To.

In this Church they have the Body of St. Stepben the Proto-martyr, which a pious Woman called Fuliana, brought from Gerufalem to Confantinople, from whence it was afterwards tranfported to Venice by one Peter a Monk. The whole Story is defcribed at Length in two long Latin Infcriptions, which I had the Patience to tranfcribe, but I am afraid you would not have the Patience to read. The Choir, Altars, Floor, Dome, and Veftry, of the Church della Salute, are all extremely beautiful: The Foundations of this Structure were laid March the 25 th, 1631 , two Years being fpent in fixing the Piles. The Occafion is related in an Infcription which was placed on the firft Stone; importing, a Vow to the Virgin for Deliverance from the Plague. This Church was built by Baltbafar Longbena: It is adorned both without and within with about one hundred and thirty Marble Statues. It was erected at the Charge of the Publick; whereas mot of the other Churches were built by private Families, and confequently may be look'd upon as fo many Marks either of their Vanity or Piety, and at the fame time, of their vaft Riches. On the great Altar there is a Statue of the Virgin holding the little Jefus in her Arms. 'The Genius of Venice on her Right Hand imploring her Affiftance to ftop the Progrefs of Vol. II. Numb. iog.
that mortal and contagious Diftemper : On the other Side is Pefilence flying, purfued by an Angel with a Torch in his Hand. St. Mark is prefent with the bleffed Lawrence, Fuftiniani, and feveral others. All thefe Statues are of fine Marble, and wrought by a curious Hand. I dare not undertake to detcribe all the Embellifhments of this noble Structure.

St. James de Rialto is faid to be the firft Church that was built on thefe Spots of Ground on which Venice is founded; but it has been fo often deftroyed and rebuilt, that it may be reckoned a new Church; notwithftanding all its boafted Antiquity. The Altar in the great Chapel is of white Marble, and adorned with a fine Statue of St. James by Alex. ViEtoria. St. Mark's Church is but a Chapel to the Doge's Palace. St. Peter di Caftello is the Epifcopal and Patriarchal Church, pretty large, and the Front deferves to be taken Notice of for its beautiful Simplicity ; and though no extraordinary Care has been taken to embellifh this Church, there are fome very confiderable Ornaments; and feveral remarkable Things to be feen in it. The great Altar was erected by the Senate, in Purfuance of a Vow they had made during the War againft the Turks in 1649 . It is dedicated to the Beaio Lorenzo; and the Body of that Demi-Saint is placed there, in a fately Marble Tomb, fupported by Angels and Apoftles. The Statue of Beato ftands upon the Tomb, and that contains his Bones. I have feen fome devout Perfons kifs a Stone Chair, which is kept in this Church, on the Right Hand as you enter berwixt the fecond and third Altar, by the Wall. They pretend that St. Peter made Ufe of it when he was at Antioch; and a Sacriftan informed me, that it was a Prefent of Michael Palao logus, Emperor of Confantinople. The fame Perfon told me a Story of a Brazen Crofs that was found floating in fome Part of the Lagunes, and brought with a great deal of Ceremony to this Church. They have a Veneration for it, but the Crofs could never tell them what kept it from finking when it was in the Water and though it is evidently miraculous, nobody may fay that he remembers to have feen it working any Mi a racle : So that notwithftanding every Church, and almoft every Chapel, is abundantly provided with Pieces of the true Crofs, this brazen one, as extraordinary as it is, is fomewhat neglected.

The Monks of St. Micbael, betwixt Venice and Mus rano, have, in the Chapel of the Family Priolo, a fine one, which is endued with a particular Virtue to appeafe Tempefts : The Hiftory of it is full of furprifing Wonders : It is written on a Scroll of Vellum in fo antique a Manner, that this Confideration alone would be fufficient to prove the Truth of the Relation, though they had no other Arguments to confirm it. It was in Ufage heretofore, that never any Veffel fet Sail from the Port of Venice, till the Pilot and all the Ship's Crew had recommended themfelves to the Protection of this miraculous Crofs: But the Heat of this Devotion is much abated, for it feems it is the Misfortune of Venice, as well as of other Places, that good Cuftoms are fooner forgotten than bad ones. The Choir of the Church is much commended for the Richnefs and Beauty of the Work. In a little Chamber near the Choir there is a Map of the World drawn with the Hand, and adorned with Miniatures, which is certainly a curious Piece. He that made it was a Monk of this Convent, as it appears by the Medals that were ftruck on that Occafion, with this Motto, Frater Maurus So Micbaelis, Morianenfs, de Venetiis, Ordinis Camaldulenfos, Cofmograpbus incomparabilis. The Monk, who thewed us thefe Things, carried us to a little but magnificent Chapel near the Church: He faid, the People generally believed that it was built by a Courtezan, with the Profits of her Vocation ; yet at the fame Time he afo fured us, in ftrong Terms, that they were miftaken. But what fignifies it, whether true or falfe. Solon buils a Temple to Venus, with the Money that was earned by common Proftitutes; and why fhould they not do the fame at Rome and Venice, where fuch lewd Women are not only tolerated, but invited, protected, countenanced, and publickly allowed? The Convent can-
not be termed a magnificent Structure, but it is certainly a great Building and agreeably fituated, for from hence you have the Profpect of Venice, Murano, Lido, Terra Firma, and feveral Places in the Lagunes, without mentioning the Walks and Gardens that belong to the Convent. In the Year 1497, a Spanifh Ambaffador was fo charmed with the Beauties of this Place, that he refolved to fpend the Remainder of his Days in it: They made us take Notice of his Epitaph, which they told us was written by the famous Aldus Manutius.

I will not trouble you with any Account of the other Tombs and Epitaphs that are to be feen in this Place; but fince we are fo near the Glafs-houfes of Murano, I thall take this Occafion to make fome Remarks upon them. Murano is one of the largeft and moft agreeable Inands in the Lagunes, about a fhort Mile from Venice: It contains fifteen Churches, comprehending thofe of the Convents. There are fome fine Houfes in it, and a great many more Gardens proportionably than at $V e-$ nice. There is a Canal which runs crofs the Illand, which is larger than the other Canals in the fame Place, and the famous Glafs-houfes which you have heard fo often mentioned, are feated on this Canal. You mult not imagine that there is any Thing at all extraordinary in thefe Buildings; they are divided into feveral Lodgings, Halls, Warehoufes, Furnaces, $\mathcal{E}^{c} c$. as in other Places. Formerly, the Glafs called Venice Cryftal was the fineft in Europe, but at prefent it does not merit that Title, not that it is coarfer than before, but becaufe they have found the Secret in other Places to make Glafs at leaft as fine as that of Venice. Mr. de S. Didier writes, that he heard a Mafter of a Glafs-houfe at Venice offer an hundred thoufand Franks to any Man that would teach him the Secret of making Glafs as white as that of a Cup that was brought from Paris; and one of my Friends affured me, that a few Years ago having carried a Vial of the fineft Cryftal of Murano to London, the Workmen there were fo far from looking upon it as extraordinary or inimitable, that they faid they could, and fometimes did, make finer Work. The Skill they have acquired in other Countries, and the Manufactures they have erected, have almoft ruined the Trade of Murano. Their whiteft and pureft Glafs is made of certain Stones that are found in Fefma, the Afhes of feveral Herbs that are found in the Country about Tripoli in Barbary, and the other ufual Ingredients; they make it alfo of certain Stones that they found in the Adige, and the Sand that is gathered on the Shore of the Gulph on the Dalmatian Side : But this is only for common Glafs. The Glafs-makers of Murano ftile themfelves Gentlemen, fince they were enobled by Henry III. who had the Curiofity to fee them at Work when he paffed through Venice, and they enjoy all the Privileges of the Gitadinance.

But let us return to our Churches. I will not lofe Time in defcribing that which bears the Name of St. Nisholas of the Lettice, which was founded by the famous Nicbolas Leono, on Occafion of his being cured by the fanctified Lettices that were fent to him by the Monks. Nor that of St. Maria Colestis, which took its Name from an Image that fell from Heaven, and is enriched with a precious Leg of St. Lawrence, which ferves to extinguifh Fire; nor will I trouble you with an Account of Fonas's Head, which is kept at St. Apollinaris's; nor of St.Claras's Nail ; nor of the Coif at St. Larorence's; nor of other Rarities of the fame Nature, which perhaps you would look upon as Trifles. Sancta Maria Gloriofa is another of the principal Chuches in Venice; it is large and very much embellifh'd with divers Ornaments. They pretend that the Seraphick St. Francis, in proper Perfon, mark'd the Place where it fhould be built. I fpent two whole Afternoons in viewing and decyphering the Epitaphs that were to be feen in it, but I only tranfcribed two of them; one of a Woman, which is the only Monument of that Kind I obferved there; and the other of a Doge, who is made to fpeak his own Elegy. It is Francis Fofcari who was depofed, or rather remov'd from his Seat of Authority and Power to that of a private Perfon, in the 84 th Year of his Age, as not being capable of performing longer any Function belonging to his Ducal Office, in which he had honourably acquit-
ted himfelf for the Space of thirty four Years. In all States they depofe their Princes when they become traiterous to their Country, and declare themfelves Enemies inftead of nurling Fathers and Protectors of it, according to natural Equity, and the folemn Oath they are obliged to take on Day the of their Inftalment. They depofe alfo Fools and Madmen, fuch as Alpbonfo of Portugal, Uncle to the prefent King; and when they fall into an irrecoverable State of Infirmity, why thould they not exhort them to make an honourable Refignation of their Power ? Does a General of an Army that grows old and infirm, make any Scruple of refigning his Poft to another? I fhall take this Occalion to obferve, that by the Epitaphs I have feen in this Place, I find that a confiderable Number of the Perfons on whom they are written, died above 80 Years old ; a Sign that the Air of Venice is not fo bad as is commonly reported.
I liked much the greater Altar of St. Fuftina's, with the Tabernacle; the devout Adorers of that Saint are always careful to vifit the Stone where fhe left the Print of her Knees when fhe faid her laft Prayer before her Martyrdom, as the Story is related in an Infcription beneath the Stone. Thofe who chufe the huge St. Cbrifopber for their Patron, have an extraordinary Veneration for a Statue of that Saint, which is to be feen in the Church of St. Maria del Horto, on the great Altar: It was made by an excellent Sculptor, according to the Proportion of a Bone of the Original, which was heretofore brought from England by a very curious Perfon, who was a nice Judge of Relicks; fo that a devout Spectator has the Pleafure to behold the exact Dimentions of that Saint ; and this Confideration has fo enhanced the Value of the Statue, that thofe who have moft Experience in Affairs of this Nature, are confident that it will quickly begin to work Miracles. I could eafily reckon up a vaft Number of fine Paintings with which the Churches are adorn'd, but I know not whether you would have the Patience to read fuch a dry Catalogue, nor will I undertake to give you an Account of thofe half facred Places, which are here called Scuole ; there are publick Edifices divided into Chapels, Halls, Chambers, and Lodgings, which belong to Fraternities of Monks, or fome other particular Societies. I have feen at leaft thirty five of them, and I doubt not but that there are more. Among the reft there are fix called Scuole grandi, which are embellifhed with fo much Art and Coft, that they may vie with the fineft Churches both in the Richnefs and Beauty of their Ornaments.
In many Churches and Fraternities, there are annual Funds eftablifhed to raife Portions and procure comfortable Matches for poor Maids ; and generally over all Italy Care is taken by fuch charitable Foundations to provide for the Neceffities of the Sex. After I have given you my Obfervations on the Chriftian Churches, you will perhaps expect an. Account of the $\mathcal{F}$ ewifb Synagogues ; but all that I can fay on this Subject is, that there are feven of them, and that the beft of the feven is not near fo fine as the Portuguefe Synagogue in London. If we give Credit to the vulgar Computation, there are about two thoufand $\mathcal{F}$ ews at Venice; fome of them are Rich, but few in Comparifon to the Poor. They are obliged to wear red Hats; but I find by Martinelli in his Ritratto, that they may be exempt from that difagreeable Diftinction by paying a fmall Sum of Money. They have a Sort of Court that determines petty Suits among themfelves. They are generally a Kind of People that never refufe any Sort of Employment, and are made ufe of on feveral Occafions, efpecially by the Nobles, who are a very great Support to them. They may take the Degree of Doctors in Medicine at Padua, and practife Phyfick any where in the City and State of Venice.
6. The only Thing worth raking Notice of betwixt Padua and Rovigo is the Country, which is flat and fruitful, adorned with Vineyards, Groves, Meadows, and well-till'd Grounds, and water'd by many Rivulets. Upon the Road you fee fome Houfes of Pleafure belonging to the Venetians, but the Country People about Rovigo dwell only in Huts made of Reeds. The City of Rovigo itfelf is very poor, and of no great Extent,

## Chap. III. Low Countries, Germany, goc.

and yet it is the Refidence of the Bifhop of Adria, that aldus, and S. Audrere have many ftately Pieces of Mar: famous City, which imparted its Name to the Gulph, though now no more than a half-drown'd Village.
Ferrara is a large and beautiful City, but poor and ill Peopled: We went on Purpofe to one of the beft Places of the whole City; where four Streets meet, but could not perceive one Perfon in any of them, though the Country about it is one of the beft in Lombardy, but wants Tillage for Want of Inhabitants, this fruitful Country being almof defolate, by the Severity of the Papal Government. Ferrara was united to the Ecclefiaftical State under the Pontificate of Clement VIII. who built a very ftrong Citadel, which is ftill in good Repair. Of the ancient Univerfity of Ferrara, there remains only a poor College, belonging to the 7efuits. Near the Cathedral ftand fome Statues on Horfeback of Brafs; and directly over againft the Palace of the Nobility is one of Duke Hercules II. on Horfeback, on the Pedeftal of which is an Infcription granting a Sanctuary to Criminals for Twenty Paces round it. We alfo faw the Ducal Palace, the Houfe of the Marquefs de Villa, and divers Churches and Convents, which have all their peculiar Beauties; and, among the reft, took Notice of the Tomb and Epitaph of Ariofo, in the Church of the Benedietins. In the Opera we heard a pretty little Songftrefs of Twelve or Thirteen Years of Age; moft of the Boxes were fill'd with Jefuits and Clergymen.
From Ferrara to Ravenna is Fifty Miles; all the Way we faw not one Town or Village worth taking Notice of. The firft Day's Journey was very paffable, but afterward the Road becomes very deep, betwixt the Branches of the Adige and the Po: The ancient Geographers defcribe its Situation like that of Venice, amongt the Waters, and it is certain that this was the beft Harbour the Romans were Maiters of in the Adriatick Gulph, but fince that time the Lagunes are dried up, and the Sea is at leaft three Miles from it, the City being now furrounded with the moft fruitful Fields of Italy: Neither is there the leaft Doubt, but that the prefent Ravenna flands in the fame Place where the ancient Ravenna was, there being in the Walls that face the Sea-fide many great Iron Rings, by which they ufed formerly to faften their Veffels; and the Ruins of the ancient Beacon are to be feen to this Day. This City is feated in a flat Country, is not above half as big as Ferrara, but meanly built, and as thinly peopled. Without the Walls, near the ancient Harbour, you fee the Maufoleums erected to the Memory of Theodoric King of the Oftrogotbs, by Amalafntba his Daughter; it is fince turned into a little Church call'd the Rotunda; it is covered with one hewn Stone of Thisty eight Foot Diameter, and Fifteen in Thicknefs, on the Top of which food the Tomb of Theodoric, furrounded by the Statues of the Twelve Apoftles, which were deftroyed during the laft Wars of Levois XII. together with the Tomb of Porpbyry, which fince has been fix'd in the Wall of an ancient Palace within the City:
The Cathedral is a very ancient Structure, fupported by Fifty fix Pillars of Marble of the Archipelago, placed in a double Range on each Side. The Choir is vaulted with excellent Mofaick Work, where they fhew you, as a precious Relick, one of the Stones with which St. Stepben was martyr'd. But the great Door of this Church is the moft curious Thing, and deferves moft a Traveller's Obfervation, being made of Planks of Vines, fome of which are twelve Foot high, and Fourteen or Fifteen Inches broad; for it is to be obferv'd, that hereabouts, in thofe Places that were formerly covered by the Sea, the Vines grow to a prodigious Bignefs. In the Church of the Theatins (or fefuits) they fhew a little Window juft over the Altar, with the Figure of a white Pigeon upon it, placed there, as they tell you, in Memory of a Miracle that happened at the Election of the fecond Bilhop of Ravenna, after the Death of S. Apollinarius, when a Pigeon coming into the Window, perch'd upon him who was to be elected; and the fame Thing happened Eleven Times after fucceffively.

The Churches of S. Vitalis, S. Apollinarius, S. Romu;
ble and Porpbyry, brought from Greece during the Time of the Exarchy, or while under that Name is continued a Province of the Greek Empire. The Tomb of Galla Placidia, the Daughter of Theon dofius. the Great, is to be feen in the Church of S. Celo fus, between thofe of Valentinian and Honerius.

In the Grand Place you fee a noble Statue of Brals of Pope Alexander VII. And at the other End of the fame Square, two Columns, on which formerly ftood the ancient Patron and the Arms of Venice, whilft Ravenna was under their Jurifdiction; the like Columns they erect in all Cities belonging to their State'; but fince that Time the Pope has put the Statutes of S. Vifior and Apollizarius upon the fame Columns. Near them, under a Portico, they fhew the Gates of Brafs, and fome other Spoils, thofe of Ravenna took from thofe of Pavia.

We had farce travel'd a good Hour from Ravenna, but we enter'd a Foreft of Pine-trees, which is four Miles long, after which we travell'd within Sight of the Sea to the left, and the Marfhes to the right.
Having paffed the River Savio in a Ferryboat, we continued our Journey thro' the little City of Cervia, feated among the Bogs; the Inhabitants live by making of Salt. We dined at Cofenate, near the Sea-fide, and before we had made three Miles more, came to the Banks of the famous River Rubicon, call'd alfo the Pijatello, and by fome the Frumicino; and we were not a little furpriz'd to fee our Coach pafs it without a Bridge or Ferry-boat, yet Lucan in his Time gives it the following Character:

## Fonte cadit modico, parvifque impellitur undis.

Within an Hour after we travel'd clofe along the Sea-fhore, which was even, fandy and firm, without any Rocks or Shells, till within a Mile of Rimini, where we were forc'd to travel deeper into the Country, for the Conveniency of paffing the River Ariminum, which wafhes the Walls of the City of Rimini; it is now call'd Marecbia.

Rimini is a fmall and poor City, feated in a rich Country. On the Bridge of Marble are two entire Infrriptions, intimating, that Augustus and Tiberius were the Founders of this City, and that the triumptal Arch was built by the firft. Behind the Gardens of the Capucbins are to be feen the Ruins of an Amphitheatre, and Five hundred Paces thence, without the City, a Brick Tower, which was the Pharos of the ancient Harbour, but is now encompaffed with Gardens, the Sea being retir'd at leaft half a Mile thence.
The Church of S. Francis was built out of the Ruins of the Harbour, which was once one of the beft in Italy. The Library of the Count de Gambalonga is numerous, but without any rare Books that deferve Notice. In the Midft of the Market is a Marble Pedeftal with thefe Words upon it, Caius Cafar DiEt: Rubicone Juperaio civili bell: Commilit: fuos b̂̀c in foro Ar: adlocutus. In another Place you fee the brazen Statue of Poul V. and near it a curious Marble Fountain.

From Rimini we travel'd for fifteen Miles along the Dorons betwixt the Sea and the Fields. As we paffed thro' the Village Catbolica, we found over the Portal of the great Church an Infcription, by which it appear'd that this Village receiv'd its Name from certain Orthodox Fathers, who, during the Council of Rimini in 359, compos'd, for the moft part of Arians, ufed to perform their religious Service here, in Spite of that Affembly. About ten or twelve Miles thence, towards the Apennines, we difcover’d the City and little Republick of Marino on the Top of a Mountain, at the Foot of which are the Limits of its Territories This fmall and inconfiderable Commonwealth being below the Envy and Jealoufy of its Neighbours, has maintain'd its Liberty for many Ages. The Country between Catbolica and Pefaro is for feven Miles together very well inhabited and cultivated.

The City of Pefaro exceeds Rimini as well in Big-
hefs and the Pleafantnefs of its Situation, upon an eafy Aicent, as in the Neatnefs and Beauty of its Buildings. Nothing can be more pleafant to the Eye, than the little Hills that furround it, with the agreeable Mixture of Paftures, Vineyards, and Orcbards. Their Olives are very good, but their Figs are abfolutely efteemed the beft in Italy. Meat is fo cheap here, that you may buy a Pound (which contains eighteen Ounces here) for lefs than a halfpenny; Bread and Wine are cheaper in Proportion than Meat; and as both the Sea and Rivers furnifh them with Plenty of Fifh, fo this City abounds in all Things neceffary for Life. Its Fortifications are none of the wort, confidering they are after the old Fafhion. In the Market-place is a fine Fountain, and a Statue of Pope Urban VIII. under whofe Pontificate this City and the Dukedom of Urbin were incorporated with the Ecclefiaftical State, as they have ever fince continued.

From Pefaro we continued our Journey along the fandy Shore for feven Miles, as far as Fano. We faw Abundance of Walnuts, Chefnuts, Rufies, and many other Things, forced by the Winds from the neighbouring Rivers to this Shore. One of our Company, among the reft, took up here a certain little Fifh call'd Cavaletto by the Italians, in France, Cheval Marin, or the Sea-borse: It is frequently to be met with in Cabinets, being eafily dried and preferved; its Head and Neck has fome Refemblance to thofe of a Horfe. The Italians attribute to it a peculiar Quality of curing the Bite of a mad Dog, if eaten roafted, and applied to the affected Part, skin'd and beaten with Honey and Vinegar. Fono itfelf is a fmall but neat City, having nothing in it worth taking Notice of, except one Triumphal Arch, but the Infcription on it is quite defaced. It is compofed of three diftinct Gates.

About a Mile from Fano we travel'd over a wooden Bridge five or fix hundred Paces long, built over the feveral Branches of the Pongio, which overflow all the circumjacent Country, when the Snow begins to melt on the Apernines; afterwards coafting along the Seafide for fifteen Miles, we came to Senegallia, an old City, enclofed with a ftrong Wall, and fome Baftions, but not very regular. Our Wearinefs, after a tedious Day's Journey, proved the Occafion of our good Fortune, without which we had run the fame Danger that befel feveral of the Inhabitants, who were the fame Night at a Play acted at the Governor's Houfe, but the Arch, which fupported the Stage, with fome of the neareft Seats, being overladen, gave Way, and above thirty Perfons were kill'd, and many more wounded by this Accident.
From Senegallia we kept flill all along the Shore, but for feventeen Miles met with no Houfes, except an old Caftle and fome Inns, about a hundred Paces from the Sea-fide: Near a little Village call'd Turreet, about three Miles from Ancona, we turn'd into the Land-way, where we arrived in good Time. This City is feated upon a double Hillock, at the very Point of the Cape, being much larger than any of the four or five laft-mentioned Cities, but not much richer, though the Excellency of its Harbour, and the Fertility of the adjacent Country feems to entitle it to Traffick, of which it had a fufficient Share formerly, but is much decayed of late Years, by being under the papal Dominion. The Streets of Ancona are both narrow and dark, and their Buildings but indifferent; befides that, its Situation up and down Hill renders it very inconvenient. The Citadel is feated on the firf Hill, which commands both the City and Harbour ; and on the other, which makes the Point of the Cape, flands the Church of St. Cyriaca, being a low dark Fabrick, the Front whereof is of Marble, but without any Ornament. Here they boaft of the Body of St. Urfula, as well as thofe of Cologne, befides many other Saints and Relicks in high Veneration among the People. From hence we had a very delightful Profpect of the Sea, City, and Country at once.
At the Entrance of the Mole is a magnificent triumphal Arch of white Marble, erected to the Honour of Trajan, by the Senate, in Acknowledgement of the Charge he had been at in repairing this Harbour, as
the Infrription, which is not in the leaft defac'd, tells the Reader; but it was with fome Difficulty defended from the Monks, who would often have demolifh'd it to repair their Convents. The Exchange where the Merchants meet, is built in the Nature of a Portico of an indifferent Bignefs ; at the four Corners ftand as many Statues, reprefenting Faitb, Hope, Cbarity, and Religion, the laft of which was thrown down by an Earthquake, and the reft fhaken. Before I leave Ancona, I muft tell you fomething of the Oddnefs of the Drefs of the Inhabitants : We faw the chiefeft Burghers, on a Holiday, appear in a black Cloak lin'd with green, with blue or philamot Stockins, Shoes whiten'd with Chalk, and tied with Ribbons of all Sorts of Colours; their unbutton'd Doublets were embroider'd with divers Colours, and the great Sleeves of their Shirts hung down to their Fingers Ends. The ordinary Sort of Women wear a Kind of Coif, with a long Fringe hanging over their Faces; the Body of the Gown is generally, red or yellow, faften'd on four Sides with Laces, and trimmed all over with colour'd Galloon; their Waitcoats and Petticoats are both very fhort, and of various Colours. The Ladies of Quality imitate in their Diefs the French Fafhion, but after fo aukward a Manner, that they appear more ridiculous than the others in their own Country Drefs.
We obferv'd another Cuftom upon this Road, which, they told us, runs from Ferrara all over Italy; I mean their Paper Windows, whicl being always torn, prove very inconvenient in the Winter, and afford a very odd Profpect to Foreigners, as well as very inconvenient. To compleat our Mifery, they would commonly bring a Fricacy of three Eggs, and perhaps as many Pilchards, for a Supper for five or fix Perfons, and at laft make us pay as dear as if we had had extraordinary good Cheer, our Dinner and Supper amounting generally to four Shillings a Head. The Flux and Reflux of the Sea increafe and decreafe according to the Diftance from the Extremity of the Gulph; for at Venice the Tide rifes about four Foot, near Ravenna to three, at Pefaro two, and farce above one at Ancona, and fo decreafes till at laft it comes to nothing.
7. The Country between Ancona and Loretto is the beft in Italy, but the Roads the worlt, which oblig'd us to alight feveral Times to eafe the Coach. I don't queftion but you have feen feveral Accounts of our famous Lady of Loretto; but fince Matters of this Nature are varioufly reprefented, the Curiofity of the Thing deferves very well an exact Abridgment of what I was able either to learn or fee, which I will give you with grear Fidelity. This Houfe, fo much celebrated among the Roman Catbolicks, is the fame (if you will take their Word for it) in which the Virgin was born, where fhe was betroth'd and married to 70 feph, where fhe receiv'd the Salute of the Angel, and where the Son of God was incarnate. This Houfe was from Nazaretb tranfported by the Angels into Dalmatia, and placed on the Hill of Terfatto, 10 May, 129 I , where, after it had continued for three Years and feven Months, the Angels removed it from thence into the Middle of a Foreft in the Territory of Recanati, Part of the Marquifate of Ancona; but this Wood being famous for many Robberies committed thereabouts, this boly Houfe was, after eight Months, removed a third Time from thence, to the fame Hill on which it now ftands ; but foon after a Controverfy arifing betwixt two Brothers, Coheirs of the Ground on which it ftood, about the Poffeffion of this Houfe, it was in four Months after placed by the Angels fome Paces from thence, in the high Road, where it is to be feen to this Day.
To prevent all Inconveniencies that might happen to fo facred a Place, they built a moft fumptuous Church about it, in the Middle of which it ftands free from all Injuries; and for its better Prefervation, they have fince erected four Walls, which enclofe it on all Sides like a Box, without touching the Walls of the Santa Cafa, or Holy Houfe; all that Painting, Sculpture, and Arehitecture, were able to perform in the Beginning of the laft Age, has been beftow'd on this Fabrick, which is built of white Marble of Carrara, after the Corintibian Order,
adorn'd

Chap. III. Greatef Part of ITAL\%.
adorn'd with the moft exquifite Baffo relievo, in which the whole Hiftory of the Virgin is reprefented. Between the double Pillars are two Niches, one above the other ; the ten Niches below contain the Statues of the ten Prophets, and thofe above, the ten Sybils. In the Middle of this, the Santa Cafa, or boly Houfe, is enclos ${ }^{\circ} \mathrm{d}$, which is only a fingle Chanber forty four Palms long within, eighteen broad, and thirteen high, each Palm and a half being equivalent to thirteen Inches of our Englifh Meafure. To make the Story of the Removal of this Hall or Chamber the more probable, they pretend it to be built of fome unknown Stones; but, upon the fricteft Examination I could make, I found the fame to be true Brick, of a different Bignefs and unequal Shape, mix'd with fome flat, greyifh, or reddifh Stones, which are very common here ; the whole is cemented with Lime and Sand, but the Pieces are ill join'd, as if it had been done in great Hafte: The Mafon's Work is almoft open to View on the Infide, except in fome Places, where you fee certain Fragments of Plaifter-work cover'd with Painting, reprefenting the Virgin, with the little Jefus between her Arms ; this appears plainly in five or fix different Places. The boly Houfe ftands from Eaft to Weft, a Thing not much ufed in Italy; on the Eaft Side is a little Chimney, over which, in a Niche, ftands the Image of the great Lady of Loretto, made, as they fay, of Cedar Wood, and by the Hands of St. Luke, being about four Foot high. Her Ornaments are of an ineftimable Value, and if we may believe thofe that live thereabouts, fhe has a great many Robes for Change, and feven different Mourning Habits for the Holy Week : Her triple Crown, which is all over cover${ }^{3} \mathrm{~d}$ with precious Stones, was the Prefent of Lewis XIII. King of France; they told us this Di'Atich was engraven upon it';

## Iu Caput ante meum cinxisti; Virgo, Coronde Nunc Caput ecce tenet nofira Corona tuum.

## He gave alfo a Crown to the Infant.

On both Sides of the Niche are Cupboards fill ${ }^{\circ} d$ with ancient Ornaments of this Statue ; and in a little Window in the Wall, on the South-fide, they fhew you fome earthen Difhes which were ufed by the holy Family; fome of thefe Veffels have fince been edg'd with Gold, but that which they thew'd us was a Porringer with a filver Foot at the Bottom, done on Purpofe to perfuade the World that it was made of a ftrange Earth, whereas it is no more than Potters Ware, the Glazing whereof is not fo nicely taken off, but that fome Parts of it remain to be difcover'd by a curious Eye. At the Weft-end, juft oppofite to our Lady, they Shew you a Window of about three Foot fquare, through which the Angel enter'd: The prefent Arch of this Houfe being of a modern Fabrick, I ask'd them what was become of the old Roof, but they could tell me no Tidings of it. Here are alfo two remarkable Things, which, they fay, were tranfported at the fame Time with the Houfe, viz. the Altar made by the Apoftle's own Hands, and the Stone on which St. Peter celebrated Mafs the firft Time; it is cover'd with Silver, and kept as a precious Relick under the Altar where they ufually officiate. The Floor of the Santa CaSa is of Squares of red and white Marble ; but this is not the old Floor, becaufe that was left, together with the Foundations, at Nazareth. This facred Place has three Doors, two of which are at the End facing the Eaft, and give Paffage to crofs from North to South ; here the Pilgrims are let in : The other is on the South-fide, and leads to the Sanctuary, i. e. the Space between the Altar and the End of our Lady's Chamber.

To enumerate all the Riches of this Place, would be an endlefs Piece of Work, the infinite Number of precious Stones wherewith the Mantle of this Image is adorn'd, are alone fufficient to dazle the Sight of the Spectators, befides that, all about you fee nothing but Lamps, Statues, Bufts, and other Figures of Gold and Silver, not including the twenty eight Candlefticks of Silver and Vermilion, and the twelve of maffy Gold of twenty feven Pounds Weight each. They have a Cutom

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of expofing the laft Offering of Value for a ceptain Time, before the Eyes of our Lady, in a Place made for that Purpofe. That which we faw there was an Angel of Gold, with a Heart of the Bignefs of an Egrg in his Hands, fet all over with Diamonds of a great $\mathrm{Va}-$ lue. Our Conductor being an Englifh Jefuit, did not forget to tell us, that it was a Prefent of the Queen of England, and that the faid Princefs had conceiv'd at the fame Minute the faid Prefent was offer ${ }^{\text {b }} \mathrm{d}$ to our Ladys and was then big with Child. He had taken the Painsto make a whole Copy of Verfes upon this Snbject; by way of Dialogue between our Lady and the Angel and took a great deal of Care to recite them to us more than once with a audible Tone, and would at laft force a Copy of them upon me. This Queen was Mary of Efte, Confort to Fames II.

Round the Walls of the Chapel that enclofe the boly Houfe, you fee a vaft Number of branch'd Candlefticks, to illuminate the whole Fabrick. But the greateft Curiofity is the Proceffions of thofe Devotees, who crawl round the boly Houfe upon their Knees, fome five, Times, others feven, and others twelve Times, accor ding to the different Degrees of their Devotions; fome of thefe creep along from one Side, whilft others meet them coming from the other, buit all furnifh'd with Beads, and muttering Pater nofters; but as they all covet to come neareft to the holy Place, this fometimes occafions no fmall Confufion, which is the Reafon that this is never done but when there is only a flender Number of Pilgrims. The chief Refort is at Eafter, and the Virgin's Nativity, which they celebrate in September : I had it from credible Hands, that in fome Years they have had here above two hundred thoufand Pilgrims during thefe two Feafts. It is no unpleafant Sight to obferve the Caravans of thefe Pilgrims of both Sexes, who commonly come in Societies: As for Inftance ; a certain Body of Men join at Bologna, eat of whom has a Frock of coarfe Linnen, and a Cawl of the fame made like a Strainer for Hippocras, which covers their Head, leaving only three Holes for the Eyes and Mouth. They appear in different Colours, each Society chufing their own, but are all provided with Beads; Girdles, Pilgrims Staves, and the Armis of the Society, which are either painted or wrought ön the Back and Breaft of every Member of the Fraternity. They commonily ride on Affes. The Women appear in as rich Apparel as poffibly they can, and fix to the Bodies of their Gowns a little Pilgrim's Staff of the Length of a Hand, fome of which are of Gold and Silver, adorn'd with Gems and Pearls, others of Ebony, Ivory, $\varepsilon^{2} c$ artificially wrought. The Ladies commonly fide in Calafhes, attended by whole Squadrons of Afs-troopers.

After all the extraordinary Things that have been faid of the boly House, the Treafury infinitely furpaffes it int Riches; this is a fpacious Chamber or Hall, wainfcot ted, with ten large Preffes with folding Doors, the arched Roof being a moft curious Sort of Plaifter, divided by gilt Compartments, beautified with excellent Pictures. Formerly they were glad to keep Abundance of Silver Work here, but the fame having fince given Place to Gold, is laid up elfewhere in great Heaps in private Places, and perhaps for private Ufes. Thefe Prefles therefore are now quite fill ${ }^{d}$ d up with nothing put pure Gold; precious Jewels, among which they fliew a Pearl of an ineftimable Value, fhap'd after the Faffion of a Gondola, or fuch Veffels and Ornaments as exceed the Value of Gold and Gems, by their Rarity. It would be a Piece of Folly to attempt a particular Account of what exceeds even Imagination itfelf ; the beft Idea I am able to give you of this Treafure is, that you muft confider, that all the People, Princes and States, who acknowledge the papal Authority, have, for thefe four hundred Years paft, endeavour'd to outvie each other in beftowing the richeft Prefents that could be had upon this boly Houfe. They have, befides this, a fettled Revenue, and vaft Tracts of Land belonging to it ; and the Boxes in which they gather the Alms of the Pilgrims; furnifh them every Year with more Money to make frefh Purchafes. To excite the Charity of the Pilgrims, they do nor forget to give it out; that the annual Charges
of maintaining all that belong to the boly Houfe, amounts to no lefs than 38634 Crowns, whereas their ordinary yearly Revenue is no more than 27000 Crowns.

From the Treafury we were conducted to a little Arfenal, which has fcarce any thing remarkable but fome Arms taken from the Turks, who about fifty Years before (under the Reign of Mabomet II. and Selim) made a Defcent thereabouts, to plunder this facred Place, but were ftruck blind by our Lady, as they were endeavouring to break into the Houfe. From the Windows of this Arfenal they fhew you that Part of the Sea over which the Houfe was carried by the Angels; and our Jefuit made moft folemn Proteftations, that ever fince there remains a certain white Tract on the Water, and that he had often obferved it. I can't pafs by in Silence, that as we were going towards the boly Houfe, the Rabble flock'd about us, telling us, that we mut not approach the holy Place without confefling and communicating, unlefs we would throw ourfelves into manifeft Danger of fudden Death.
From hence we went to the great Wine Cellar, ftor'd with an hundred and fifty Tuns of excellent Wine. And in the Apotbecary's Office they fhew'd us an hundred and forty five earthen Veffels, highly efteem'd, becaufe they believe them to have been painted by Rapbael. On five of the largeft are painted St. Paul and the four Evangelifts, the reft being adorn'd with the Hiftories of fome Saints, the Metamorphofes of Ovid, $E^{2} c$. The City of Loretto is but fmall, yet well fortified, and has the Title of a Bifhoprick. In the Great Place ftands a moft noble Fountain of Marble, beautified with divers Brafs Statues, and another erected by the Citizens of Loretto, in Acknowledgment of certain Privileges granted them by Pope Sixtus V. The Inhabitants get their Livelihood by making and felling Medals, Rofaries, fanctified Beads, Images, Agnus Dei's, Meafures of the Height of the Image of our Lady, and fuch Trifles. They fell here Chaplets, the Beads of which wers as big as Goofe-Eggs, and are ufed on Days of extraordinary Devotion. The Tradition of the Removal of the boly Houfe is fo ftedfaftly maintain'd in this Place, that there is fcarce an Inhabitant fo mean, but pretends to be defcended from the Race of thofe that faw the boly Houfe fix'd where now it is, by which Means they tranfplant this Tradition from Father to Son in infinita.
8. Travelling from hence through Recanati, a little City feated on the Top of Hill, three Miles from Loretto, I look'd into the great Church, where I could fee nothing worth mentioning but the Tomb of Pope Gregory XII. who was depofed from the Pontificate by the Council of Pifa. Ten Miles further, in a moft fertile Country, on the Bank of the Potenza, we paffed thro' the Ruins of the City formerly known by the Name of Helvia Ricina, where we $\mathfrak{f a w}$ vaft Fragments of an Amphitheatre built of Stone and Brick mingled together. We travel'd' on this Side of the River for two Miles among the Hills, till we came to Macerata, where we lodg'd that Night ; it being foul Weather, we could not ftir abroad, but were told by the Inhabitants, that it was a pretty large and pleafant Place. The Country between Macerata and Tolentino lies all upon a Level, and is extremely fruitful, but very indifferently peopled. They prop their Vines with Reeds, and plough with Boufflos, thefe Beafts being ftronger than Oxen, and eafier fed.

Tolentino is feated on a rifing Ground ; for the reft, a Place that has nothing remarkable belonging to it. The next Place we came to was Belfort, built all of Stone: A Mile beyond it begins the Province of $U_{m-}$ bria, where we enter into the Apennine. I remember we fell into the Company of a Gentleman, who was going from Macerata to Foligno, who, after fome Difcourfe relating to the Lady of Loretto, told us, among other Things, that they were extremely pleafed in Italy at the News they had lately received from England, that their King was turn'd Chriftian. I defir'd him to explain his Meaning, which he did in fuch Terms, that I could not but ftand amaz'd at his Ignorance, his Notions of the Protestants being very near the fame the Pagans entertain'd of the Primitive Claritions, fo that
with all the Art I had, I could not perfuade him that we ufed Baptifm among us: This Simplicity is fo uni verfal in this Country, that they are more ignorant of our Religion than the Cbinefe themfelves, in which they are encourag'd by their Clergy, who leave no Stone unturn'd to make the Proteftants odious to the People at any rate.

After we had left Tolentino, we travel'd for forty Miles among the Rocks; the chief Villages we took Notice of in our Way, were Valcimara, Ponte di Trava, Matia, Dignano, Colforito, Cafa Nuova, \&xc. We left the Mountains near the Village of Pala, from whence we difcover'd the Plain of Foligno, which affords the moft delightful Profpect from the Hill, being water'd with many Rivulets, well inhabited, and extraordinafily improv${ }^{2}$; fo that we had no fooner quitted the Mountains, but we found ourfelves, as it were, on a fudden, in a fweet and agreeable Climate, where we faw the Almond-trees already in Bloffom, after we had farce recover'd our felves from the Cold of the frofty Rocks. Having continued our Journey for four Miles in a continual eafy Defcent, we came into a narrow level Way, on one Side whereof runs a fmall and clear River, at the End of which lies Foligno, in the moft fertile Country in the World; it has the Reputation of a better Traffick than moft of the other Cities in the Ecclefiaftical State ; their Trade confifts chiefly in Draperies, Gold and Silver Laces, Silk Stuffs, and Spices. Soon after we came out of Foligno, we difcover ${ }^{\circ}$ d, on the other Side of the Plain, upon an Eminency, the Town of Montefalco, famous for the Interment of St. Clara. They fhew here the three Stones of the Bignef of fmall Nuts, faid to be found in the Heart of that Saint, upon which the Hiftory of the Paffion is engrav'd. Near the Village of Pefignano, between Foligno and Spoleto, at the Foot of the Hill which enclofes the Plain, a large Spring arifes through four feveral Outlets from under the Rocks, which make a fmall Lake by their Conjunction, and thence fend forth a pleafant Rivuler, which waters the adjacent Country.

Not above two hundred Paces from the Spring-head, you fee, near the Road, a fmall Temple of the Corintbian Order, called St. Salvatore, where the Bifhop of Spoleto fays Mafs once a Year. We obferved the three following Infcriptions on the Front, and on both Sides;
(1.) + S. C. S. Deus Profetarum qui fecit Redemptionems
(2.) Deus Angelorum quifecit Refurrectionem.
(3.) + S. C. S. Deus Apoft * * *
the reft being quite defac'd; which together with its Manner of building Crofs-wife and Eaftward, as moft other Churches, and the Croffes carv'd in divers Parts of the Pediments, fufficiently contradift the Opinion of thofe who would have this Temple to have been confecrated to Clitumnus, though perhaps it may have been erected upon or out of the Ruins of that of Cli tumnus. But it is much more probable what I heard a skilful Antiquary fay at Spoleto, viz. that the River be-fore-mentioned is the Clitumnus mention'd by the Ancients, and among the reft, by $\mathrm{Virgil}_{2}$ in the fecond of his Giorgicks.

From Pefignano to Spoleto you travel for feven Miles in a plain Country, at the Foot of the Hills, full of Inhabitants. Spoleto is feated within the Mountains, beyond the before-mention'd Plain, a poor, ill-built, and thinlypeopled City. The Cathedral is celebrated for its Height, which however is not extraordinary. The Pavement is inlaid with fmall Pieces of Marble, like St. Mark's Church at Venice, and the Pediment of the great Portal is very fine Mofaick Work on a golden Ground. The Caftle is feated on the higheft Ground, and has nothing to boaft of but its Situation. About five hundred Paces without the City, is a Church confecrated to Concord, and fince called the Chapel of the Crucifix. Spoleto has alfo fome Remnants of Antiquity, a triumphal Arch half ruin'd, and the Fragments of an Amphitheatre with divers loofe Marble Stones,
withous
without Infcriptions, except that the Arch ftill retains a few Characters. The moft remarkable Thing here is, the Aquaduct, which joins the Mountain of St. Francis to that of Spoleto. It is a Gotbick Work, and remains entire and ufeful to this Day: Its Length is three hundred and fifty Paces, and its Height, from the Bottom of the Valley, two hundred and thirty.

Three Miles beyond Spoleto we pafs'd the higheft Mountain hereabouts, called Semma; and after we had travel'd about five or fix Miles among the barren Rocks, we found the fucceeding Hills, for four or five Miles, covered with Lawrels, wild Olive Trees, Tamarinds, Junipers, ever-green Oaks, and divers other fempervirent Trees and Shrubs, which is very pleafant. At our Approach to Terni, the Mountains, which had enclofed us in a ftreight Paffage upon the Brink of a Torrent, which runs at the Bottom of the Valley, extended themfelves by Degrees to a great Foreft of Olivetrees laden with Fruit, which they generally fuffer to hang till they drop off themfelves: The Olives for Pickling are gathered before they are ripe, and their Bitternefs is removed by Art; the ripe are as bitter as the green ones, notwithftanding which they produce the fweeteft Liquor that can be imagined.

From this Wood of Olives we travel'd for a Mile in an agreeable Plain, which brought us to Terni, feated upon the River Nera, in a moft fruitful Country. This City is not fo large in Compafs as Spoleto, but much more populous; they fell Abundance of Oyl : We were told, that during fix Months of the Year they make here an hundred Charges of Oil every Day, each Charge weighing fix hundred Pounds, and is generally fold at the Rate of twelve Englijh Crowns. By an Infription to be feen on the Porch of the Seninary near the Cathedral, it appears, that it may contend for its Antiquity with Rome itfelf; the Infrription being made for Tiberius, is dated thus;

## Pof Interamnam conditam DCCIIII.

Terni being anciently called Interamna and Interamnium, from its Situation inter ammes, or the two Branches of the River that waters it. On the Bridge is to be feen another Infrription, put there in the Time of Pope Urban the Eighth, intimating, that this Bridge was built by Pompey the Great. About three Miles from Terni is the famous Waterfal of Mount del Marmore; the Way that leads up to it is very rocky, fo that we were forced to alight often from our Horfes. By the Way we obferved, on the South Side of the Mountain, divers Corners, which never felt the Rigour of the Win-ter-Seafon, and among the Bufto's Abundance of Fefmins, Lawerels, Myrtles, Rofemary as frefh then (in February) as they are with us in April.

As we were afcending the Hill Papinio, we obferved, in a Valley near the Bank of a River, a Tract of Ground planted with at leaft feven hundred Orange-trees,' a Thing rarely to be feen in the open Field, where they have no Shelter. But to return to our Cataract. The River Valerio has its Rife among the Mountains, twelve or thirteen Miles from the Place where the. Water falls down. At about nine Miles from its head Spring it falls into the Lake of Luco, whence continuing its Current, witl a much larger Streami than before, to a Plain, which, in refpect of the Depth below it, proves a Mountain, it falls with great Force down from a craggy Rock three hundred Paces high, into the Concavity of another Rock underneath it, againft which the Waters break with fuch a violent Agitation, that it rifes like a Cloud of Duft twice as high as the Fall, and occarions a Kind of perpetual Rain in all the adjacent Parts: The Repercuffion of the Sun-beams in this pulverized Water produces an infinite Number of Rainbows, according to the various rebounding and fpurting of this watery Cloud, the Sight whereof fills the Spectators with Amazement; at laft all thefe Waters gather into an Abyfs, occafioned by the continual Falling down of the Waters, and from thence break forth with incredible Force through the Crevices of divers Rocks, and fo concinuing their Courle with a murmuring Noife a little fur-
ther, at laft join themfelves with the little River Neras which is much enlarged by the Acceffion of thefe Waters.
From Terni to Norni you travel for feven Miles thros a plain and fertile Country; it affords an indifferent good Profpect from the adjacent Hills on the Side you come from Terni, but deceives you in your Expectation after you come into it, being in a Manner deftitute of Inhabitants, with narrow dirty Streets, and fo uneven, that you cannot go five Steps without afo cending or defcending; and their Paper Windows make a verry beggarly flow. I took Notice en paffant of two tolerable handfome Fountains of Brass. The Emperor Nerva was a native of this City. A little before you enter the City, you fee the Ruins of a Bridge, faid to have been built under the Reign of Augustus: It is admirable both for its Height and Structure, becaufe, after having joined the Mountain of Spoleto to another neighbouring Mount, it ends in the high Road towards Pemfa. The vaft Pieces of Marble, which are the Materials of this Bridge, are joined together without any Cement or Iron-work: It hath four or five Arches, of which only one remains entire, the Top of the Mould of the largeft being broken. I was credibly inform'd, that this Arch is a hundred and feventy Foot in Extent, which, if fo, far exceeds the celebrated Bridge of Rialto.

We had no fooner left Narni, but we found ouro felves again ${ }^{F}$ among the Mountains. Thus traveling on for eight Miles, we came to the Town of Otricoli, near which, at the Entrance of a Plain, are to be feen the Ruins of the ancient Ocriculum; but we could find no ${ }^{3}$ thing worth our Obfervation among them. Not long after we paffed the Tyber over a Stone Bridge that owes its Foundation to Sixtus V. and its Perfection to Urban VIII. as the Infcription tells you. We came very late to Citta Caffellena, and departed again early in the Morning, this Place having nothing that could invite us to ftay therein. Near to Regnano we found the old Via Flaminia, with its Pavement entire, having not perceived any Footfteps of it before fince we left $R i=$ mini, to which Place it extended itfelf, as ancient Authors inform us. After we had dined at Castel Nuova, an inconfiderable Place as well as Regnano, we continued our Journey to Rome, through an infinite Number of ancient Ruins; but moft of the Country lay untill'd, and almoft deftitute of Inhabitants. Having repafs ${ }^{\circ}$ d the $T_{y} b e r$ by the Pons Miviurs, (as the ancient Authors call it) fince by Corruption call'd Ponte Molle, we came upon a paved Way, which brought us betwixt many Gardens and Summer-feats, to the famous City of Rome.
9. After we had rambled two or three Days about Rome, good Company invited us to haften our intended Journey for Naples, which is reckon'd eight Days diftant from Rome. About twelve Miles from this City we came to Marino, a great Town now belonging to the Prince Colonna, and formerly known by the Name of Villa Mariana. From Marino we afcended a rocky Mountain, where we faw nothing but Wood and Boufflos: Of the Lake of Caffel Gandolfo, which we coafted near an Hour, we fhall have Occafion to fpeak in our Return. About five Miles after we had left the Lake, at the Defcent of the Mountain, we difcovered the Sea, and on our Right Hand, on a little Hillock, the City call'd Citta de la Vigna, being the ancient Las nuvium, a Municipal City, which gave Birth to Antoninus Pius, but not the Lavinium of Eneas, according to the common Opinion : Lavina littora is twelve Miles thence, towards Prattica.
It was late before we reached Velitri, a little City feated on a Hill, and furrounded by a Wall; it was anciently a confiderable Place', when it durft ftrive with Rome itfelf, but now makes a very indifferent Figure. The People here are generally of Opinion, that Auo guffus was a Native of this City ; and one of the Sero vants in the Inn was fo communicative as to tell us fo : but being ask'd who that Augustus was, he anfwer'd, He was the firft Chriftian Emperor; for you nuuft obferve, that nothing is more common in Velitri, among the

Itilians,

Htalians, than to canonize all the illuftrious Men of Antiquity, whether Cbrifians or Pagans. It is certain that Auguftus was born at Rome, under the Confulate of Cicero and Antbony, as Suetonius polfitively affirms: It is however true, that his Family deduced its Origin from Velitri, Gentem Oataviam Velitris pracipuam olims fuiffe, multe declarant. The fame Author tells us, that the Chamber in which he was nurs'd, near Velitri, was held in the fame Veneration as now the boly Houfe of Loretto: Huc introire, fays he, ni $\sqrt{2}$ neceffariò हृ caftè religio est. Temerè adeuntibus metus $\mathcal{E}$ borror objiciebatur. In the Midft of the Market-place of Velitri ftands a curious Brazen Statue of Pope Urban VIII. fitting, as generally all the Statues of Popes are reprefented, to denote (as I fuppofe) their Superiority over other Princes. The Marquefs de Ginetti's Houfe is worth viewing, both for its pleafant Situation, and the many Antiquities preferved there; which are fine and judicioully chofen.
Defcending from the Hill of Velitri, we took Notice of a great many Caves dug on purpofe to keep their Wines cool; after which we travel'd for fifteen Miles through a poor Country, to the Foot of the Mountain, on the Top whereof ftands the little City of Lermonetta, built upon the Ruins of the old Lera. About four Miles further we faw, on the Left Hand, about fifty Paces from the Highway, certain ancient Ruins, which they told us were the Remains of the Place called by St. Paul the Tbree Sbops, but now the Three Taverns. On the Right Hand we difcover'd the Cape called now-a-days Monte Circello, fuppofed by fome to have been an Inand formerly: Here it was that the jealous Circe changed her Rival Scylla, the Miftrefs of Glaucus, into a Sea Monfter, and Ulyfes's Companions into Hogs. A little Way from the Tbree Taverns you fee the City of Letia, feated on a Mountain ; its ancient Fame for the Goodnefs of its Wine is now quite loft, the Mountain producing nothing of that Nature at prefent. It is true, the Woods, wherewith thele Mountains are almoft covered, produce Abundance of thofe Trees, called Ficus Indica, fome of which grow up to the Height of thirty or forty Foot, with Trunks as thick as a Man: Law. rels and Myrtles you find in great Plenty in the Hedges; and Abundance of Orange Trees in the open Field.

Not far from Letia, at the Village of Cafa Nuova, you may take Boat upon the Lake, which brings you to Terracina, but we continued our Journey by Land, and turning to the Left, entred into a Valley, which brought us to the Mountain and City of Piperno. In our Paffage thither I obferved a Churchyard planted with Orange-trees, a Thing not ufually feen in Italy, where all People of Fafhion have their Chapels or Vault in fome Church or Convent, and the poorer Sort are buried in fome private Corner, without the Cities; befides, whenever they have any Churchyards, they plant them with Pines, Yew-trees or Cypreffes, but never with Orange-trees.

Piperno is a modern City, built near the Place where the ancient Privernum flood, the Metropolis of the VolSei, and the Refidence of their King Metabus, Father to the famous Camilla. The Bifhoprick of Piperno was united with that of Terracina, by reafon of its Poverty: They keep the Bithop's Chair in the Choir of the Cathedral. In the Church of St. Benedict they fhew you an Image of our Lady, made by St. Luke, which, they fay, could not be burnt at the Time of the Conflagracion of Piperno. On the Hill of Piperno, called Colle roffo, the Lilies and Daffodils grow naturally in great Plenty: This Hill alfo affords a peculiar fine Earth for Potters Ware. From the Top of this Hill you may fee a little City called Mayença, near which is a Lake, the Waters whereof rife confiderably two Days before Rain.

From Piperno we travel'd over fandy Hillocks, cover'd with various Sorts of fempervive Shrubs; we got afterwards into a Wood, where we faw Abundance of Corktrees much refembling an ever-green Oak , and, to fpeak Truth, I believe it to be a Kind of Oak, fince施 bears Acrons: It has this peculiar Quality, that the mose you Itrip it of its Bark, the fronger it grows,
and produces immediately a new one, which renders it very profitable. Soon after we came out of the Wood, we went to fee the Abby of Folfo Nuova, faid to be built upon the Ruins of the Forum Appii, about fome three hundred Paces from the high Road. The Story the Monks told us concerning Tbomas Aquinas is a very odd one; they affirm, that the faid Thomas Aquinas, in his Way from Fondi to the Council of Lyons, finding himfelf very ill, alighted from his Mule, and faftning a Stick in the Ground, tied his Mule to it, whilft he laid himfelf down to fleep in a Corner of the Wood not far from the Church; the Mule getting loofe, ran frait to the Church, and fetting his Feet in the Choir, funk in an inftant into the Pavement, where he died. They fhew you the Print of his Feet, over which they have laid an Iron Grate. However, as they fearch'd after the Mafter, to chaftife him for his Negligence, they met with St. Thomas, who was fo afflicted at the Lofs of his Mule, that he died within a few Days after in this Convent, where his Body was entomb'd in the Church, and was from thence afterwards removed to Fondi, and from Fondi to Tholoufe.

About ten Miles thence we began to difcover certain Remnants of the ancient high Road call'd Via Appia, made by Appius Claudius when he was Cenfor: You fee it come out of a deep Marfh , which is at prefent inacceffible, whereas formerly it was the direct and common Road from Capua to Rome; a convincing Infance of the perpetual Viciffitude of worldly Things. The fame Thing we obferved in our Way betwixt Citta Castellana and Rome, of the Via Flaminia, of which we faw now and then confiderable Tracts preferved entire, as on this Side Regnano, and towards Caftel Nuova, fifteen Miles from Rome; whereas in other Places it mounts up to inacceffible Mountains, and in other Places it is fwallowed up in deep Marhes and Valleys, occafioned queftionlefs by Winds, Rains, great Floods, Earthquakes, and other fuch-like Accidents, which produce fuch ftupendious Changes upon the Surface of the Earth.

In my Opinion thefe famous Roads are more furprizing than moft other Pieces of Antiquity, confidering that an infinite Number of Paffengers, Horfes and Chariots fhould inceffantly, for fo many Ages, tread on this Pavement, and yet fo many confiderable Fragments of it remain entire. The Stones which compofe this Pavement are not all of the fame Bignefs, (Procopius fays they were all fquare, but he is in an Error) of a grey and reddifh Colour, not unlike rufty Iron, very hard, and ten or twelve Inches thick; generally fpeaking, thofe of the largeft Size are above two Foot, and the leaft not lefs than one. Notwithftanding the great Difference in their Shape and Figure, they have been join'd fo nicely, that in thofe Places, where the Pavement is quite entire, you cannot thrult the Point of a Sword betwixt them. Thefe Ways, which they call Vice Confulares, had on each Side Borders of the fame Stone raifed about two Foot above the reft : I have obferved them very entire in fome Places: They called them Cippo or Margines, or Marginationes Viarum; and it is betwixt thefe Borders the true Breadth of thefe Highways ought to be taken, according to which I found the two Ways, Via Appia and Via Flaminia, twenty Palms broad, with very little Difference, which makes fourteen Foot, bating four Inches, Englijb Meafure. In fome Places you fee Ruts made by the Chariot-wheels three or four Inches deep, the Tract whereof, from one Pavement to another, is the fureft Mark of its ancient Situation ; for the reft, the Pavement is whole and even, without any vifible Impreffions made by the Horfefhoes. They told us, that the Foundation of this Pavement was another very thick Lay of Stone, fix'd on a Bed of Sand, which keeps it from finking. All along the Road to Terracina are to be feen the Ruins of many ancient Monuments, erected formerly for Ornament Sake, as on other great Roads.

Tracbina (fo call'd from its Situation upon a Rock of difficult Accefs) or Terrracina is the Anxur of the Ancients, now a poor and ill-peopled Place, feated in a defolate Country, A little beyond Terracina one may
plainly
plainly difcover divers Parts of the Pavement of the Via Appia to have been cut through the Rock called Pifca Marina, which being near a hundred twenty fix Foot high, the ancient Cyphers are mark'd from ten to ten in a capital Roman Character, on the Infide of the Rock, which is cut perpendicular ; fo that the Cypher on the Top is CXX. A certain Antiquary of Rome told me, that having meafured thefe Diftances, he found them almoft all unequal; whence fome conjecture, that thefe Marks were only made for the Direction of the head Workman, without any farther Defign. Others are of Opinion, that the Diftance of each Cypher marks the Divifion of the Work of every ten Days, and that the Inequality mult arife from the greater or lefs Difficulty the Workmen met with in cutting the Stone. The Narrownefs of the Rock towards the Top, and the greater Diftance in Proportion to it, feem to confirm this Opinion, were it not that, according to this Suppofition, the firft Tenth muft have been mark'd above, and the Cypher CXX at the Bottom, it being very probable that they begun at the Top of the Rock. We continued our Journey over the Hills cover'd with Cork-trees, the Marfhes and the Sea on our Right; and thus keeping near the old Pavement, we arrived at Night at Fondi. In our Way, about three Miles beyond Terracina, we faw an old Wall, which, they told us, was the Boundary between the Ecclefiaftical State and the Kingdom of Naples.
Fondi is feated in a flat Country, not far from a Lake bearing the fame Name, which extends itfelf into a large Compafs among the Marfhes, betwixt the Hills and the Sea. The Eels of this Lake are highly celebrated for their extraordinary Bignefs. This City was entirely ruined in 1534, by Hariaden Barbarofa Admiral of the Turkj/b Fleet, the Hiftory of which is painted in the Church of the Annunciata. Fondi is paved with the Stones taken from the Via Appia, but are not near fo exactly joined. Not far from the Caftle they fhew you a Garden which (they fay) belonged to Cicero. The Dominicans preferve, with a great deal of Veneration, the Chamber and Auditory of Thomas Aquinas, as alfo an old Orange-tree which he planted; he died in 1273 , fo that certainly this is the oldeft Orange-tree that ever was heard of. I remember they told us flrange Things of this Tree, and among the reft, that its Leaves were of a quite different Shape from thofe of other Orange-trees; but we could not find the leaft Difference, and were convinced by our own Eyes, that the Winter had not fpared the Oranges of this Tree, any more than the reft in other Places. After we had left Fondi, we travel'd for ten Miles upon the old Pavement to Mola, among the Mountains.
Near Itru, a fmall City feated upon a Rock about fix Miles from Fondi, I took Notice of certain large Trees, called thereabouts Soucelle ; the Fruit is a Cod of half a Foot long, of the Thicknefs of a Bean-cod; they dry them, and then they tafte like Honey or Manna; their true Name is Carobba. About Ten o'Clock in the Morning we came to Mola, a little City feated upon the Sea-fhore : Here are to be feen valt Heaps of Marble Stones and other Ruins, of Formice once a glorious Place, built by Antipbates King of the Leftrygons. The Air is infinitely fweet here, and the Hills on the Gulph between Cajeta and Mola produce moft excellent Fruits and Wines, as the Sea affords them vaft Quantities of Fifh. They fhewed us in particular the Ruins of a certain old Palace, which, they tell you, belonged to Cicero, and was for the moft part deftroyed by the Sea. The various Pieces of Mofaick, which are plainly to be diftinguifhed yet in feveral Parts, fufficiently teftify it was no ordinary Structure; and they affure you, with a great deal of Confidence hereabouts, that certain Infrriptions have been taken from thence, which made it plainly appear to be Cicero's.

It blowing then a very brisk Gale, we were at a Stand whether we fhould venture over the little Gulph (which is four Miles broad) to Gaïeta, feated on the very Point of the Cape, directly oppofite to Mola; but at laft having refolved on the Paffage, we found Gaieta of a pretty large Extent, frong by Art and Nature, by

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its difficult Accefs upon the high Rock. The Harbour is alfo very good. Here is to be feen the Tomb of Cbarles of Bourbon, Conftable of France, who was flain in the Sacking of Rome by the Imperial Forces: And the ancient Maufoleum of Munatius Plancus, commonly called the Tower of Orlando. The Epitaph of the firft is as follows:

> Austo Imperio, Superatâ Italia, deviizto Gallo, pontifice objefo, Romã captâ, Bourbonit boc marmor cineres continet. i. e.

The Empire enlarged, Italy fubdued, the Gaul beaten, the Pope befeged, Rome taken, the Afbes of Bourbon, (by wobom all tbis was done) this Marble con-. tains.

From hence we were conducted to the Cleft Mountain called La Spaccata, juft at thie Edge of the Seafhore : It is feparated from the Top quite to the Bottom, where it is about four or five Foot afunder, but grows broader and broader towards the Height : The Concavities on one Side, and the Protuberances on the other, directly oppofite to one another, feem to be evident Marks of its being really divided, which, they fay, happened at the Time when our Saviour gave up the Ghof. Upon one of the Infides of this Rock they fhew you the Print of a Hand, which foftened under it on the Challenge of a certain incredulous Perfon: Beneath it you fee this Diftich :

## Improba mens verum renuit, quod fama fatetur Credere : at hot digitis saxa liquata probant.

## Tb'unbelieving Mind the Truth denies

Tradition proves : The Rock new Proof Jupplies.
This Rock being a famous Pilgrimage, there are fmall Steps contrived, which lead down to a little Chapel dedicated to the holy Trinity. The Curate would have given us fome Pieces he cut off with a Hammer ; but finding us not willing to overcharge ourfelves with fuch Sort of Baggage, he feem'd to be offended at our Refufal, and at the lofing his own Pains.

From thence taking our Way to the Cathedral, we were fhew'd, among other Antiquities, a pretended Pillar of the Temple of Solomon; four fuch-like are to be feen at the high Altar of St. Mark's Chapel at Venice. Here is alfo a very ancient Veffel of white Marble, faid to have been found at Mola, which now ferves inftead of a Font in the Baptiftery: It is a moft curious Piece, and moft admirably preferved : Its Shape refembles a Bell about four Foot high, fupported by four Lyons of the fame Materials. The Baffo reliero is efteemed excellent Workmanfhip, efpecially the little Baccbus rifing out of 7 fupiter's Thigh, put by Mercury into the Hands of Ino. All round it you fee Satyrs and Baccbanals, and among the reft a Faunus playing on two Pipes at once, as I have feen the Shepherds do in Tyrol; the Workman's Name is engraven on the Veffel, zanios aөhnaios eitoihez. Not far from the Garden of the Francijcans, call'd Zoccolanti, is a Bufh of Thorns, which has fcarce any Pricks, which they fay has grown thus ever fince St. Francis rowl'd himfelf there to extinguifh his Luft. Near the Place called Della Foglia, they fhew you where he preached to the Fifh.

As you go up by the little Door of the Epifcopal Palace, over-againft the Altar of the Holy Sacrament, there is a Marble Statue of about four Palms high, reprefenting an old Man fetting his Feet upon a little Dog, underneath which is a Death's Head, and a Serpent whofe Tail is placed on the Dog, wraps itelf about the old Man, and refts on his Head, and has an Eagle on his. This is generally fuppofed to be the Statue of $\operatorname{Ef}$ culapius, with his Serpent, the Dog fignifying Vigilance required in a Phyfician, and the Eagle the Empire of God ; the Death's Head is an Emblem of human Nature, fubject to that Deity, or the Objeet of the Art of Phyfick. After a hort Stay at Gaieta
we teturn'd to Mola, and then coafting the Sea upon the Fia Appia for eight Miles, came to the Ruins of the ancient City of Minturna, in the Neighbourhood of which Marius fhelter'd himfelf after his Army had been defeated by Sylla, as Hiftory informs us.

We took Notice in our Paffage of the Ruins of an old Amphitheatre, and the Remnants of an Aqueduct which came from the little City of Tajetto, two Miles further on the Left Hand. The River Garigliano (formerly call'd Lyris) runs juft by Minturna; we pals'd it in a Ferry-boat, and quitting the old troublefome and flippery Pavement, travel'd through the Meadows to the Village of St. Agatba, where we lodg'd that Night. The Country between this Village and Capua (which is fixteen Miles) is very level, and extremely fruifful near Capua. Not far from St. Agatba they fhew'd us, at fome Miles Diftance, the Hills which formerly produced the famous Falernion Wine, that infpired the Roman Poets, but are at prefent barren.

Capua is feated upon the Bank of the Volturno, the chief River of the Kingdom of Naples, though of an indifferent Bignefs; it has various Infriptions and Marble Stones, brought thither from the ancient Capua, the Ruins whereof we vifited, about two Miles from thence, near the Mountains to the Eaftward, the Town called St. ATary's being built out of the Ruins of this once fo celebrated City: The many little Temples and old Cafles, the Remnants of two Amphitheatres, one of the Gates, and a great Number of broken Pillars, and other magnificent Fragments of Architecture, are undeniable Proofs of its former Grandeur. The Country People brought us Variety of Medals to fell, but as they are cunning enough to carry the beft to the Antiquaries of the neighbouring Cities, who pay them a good Rate for them, fo they feldom offer any Thing but their Refufe to Travellers. The Campaign betwixt Capua and Naples (which is fixteen Miles, and Part of the Province of Terra di Louro) is perhaps the moft fruitful Soil in the World, whence it is that they have given it the Name of Campagna Stellata, to fignify the benign Infuence of the Stars upon this Country, as if Fertility proceeded wholly from thence. Among other Places we paffed through Averfa, built (as they tell you) out of the Ruins of Atella by the Normans, after they had driven the Saracens and Greeks out of Naples.
The City of Naples was rebuilt by the Cumani, who gave it the Name of Neamonas, to diftinguifh it from the Remnants of the high City, unto which they gave the Name of пlanaicianois, for both were before that Time called Partbenope, from the Mermaid Partbenope, who, after Ulyyes and his Companions had efcaped her Snare, threw herfelf, out of Defpair, headlong from a Precipice, and was interr'd at Palaiopolis ; though fome others derive its Etymology from Parthenope the Daughter of Eumeius King of The faly, who fettled a Colony there, and changed its ancient Name into that of Partbenope. Thefe Grecian Names feem fufficiently to evince, that the Greeks were the Founders of this City, which is very large and populous, though $I$ am not able to give you an exact Account of the Number of its Inhabitants: Its Figure is very irregular, and its Circuit, according to the Computation of fome who have walk'd round the Wall, is about nine Miles, not including the Suburbs, which, amounting to nine more, make the whole Circumference up eighteen: It is pav'd all over with fquare Stones of the fame Bignefs, the Streets being generally ftreight and broad, the Houres lofty, flat-roof'd and uniform, in which it exceeds the Buildings of London, Paris, Venice, and even Rome itfelf, all which have very fine Palaces, but thefe are mix'd with a great Number of ordinary Houfes, whereas at Naples they are, generally fpeaking, very handfome Fabricks. To the South it is enclofed by a little Bay, and to the North by very fertile Hills, which rife, by an eafy Afcent, into Campagna Felice; to the Eaft lies the Plain which leads to Mount Vefurius, and on the Weft Side the bigh Town, where are the Cbartreux, and the Caftle of St. Erafmus, the Profpect of which Afcent is very charming to the Beholders.

Befides thefe fine private Houfes, there are a great many may be rank'd among the Number of the beft Palaces ; as for inftance, thofe of the Dukes of Natalone, Gravina, Airola, and de la Tour; of the Princes of St. Agatba, Montmilet, Boiera, and Cellamare; the Palace of the Viceroy ftands in a Great Place, its Front is very regular, and adorned with three Orders of Architecture; its whole Length is near four hundred foot, and was built by the famous Montana. The three Caftles of Noples, the Academy called Studii Nuovi, the School for riding the great Horfe, the Convents in general, the Hofpitals, the Arfenal, and the Magazines for their Galleys, are all very remarkable Strutures. The whole City is adorn'd with a confiderable Number of Fountains, among which three are of an incomparable Grandeur and Beauty: But the Churches here, both for their Number and Beauty, furpafs all the reft; their Frontifpieces, Portals, Chapels, Altars and Tombs being the moft exquifite Pieces of Architecture that Art ever produced; they are filled with Pictures, Sculptures, and Gold and, filverVeffels, and their Arches, Wainfoots and Walls are covered with the moft precious Marble curiounly laid together, or with Compartments of Baffo relievo, or of gilt Joyners Work, and beautified with the Performances of the greateft Painters. To be fhort, wherever you turn your Eye, you are dazled with the curious Works of Yyaper, Poypbyry, and Mofaick of all Sorts, and the moft exquifite Products of Art. The Church of the Jefuits is an excellent Fabrick, embellifh'd with magnificent Ornaments from Top to Bottom. The Painting of the Dome is the Work of Lenfranc; that of St. Mary of the Ammunciata is not inferior to it; and the famous Hofpital (which has two hundred thoufand Ducats annual Revenue) is exceeding rich, as are thofe of St. Pbilip of Neri, St. Maria la Nuova, St. Severin, St. Paul, St. Dominick, the Church and Convent of Mount Olivet, the Church of the Holy Apoltes, St. Fobn Carbonara, of the little Hoopital, and Sr. Maria della fanita, not to mention many more, which are all very fair, and have their Veftries and Treafuries crowded with Riches. I remember that two Theatines, as they were conducting us into their Church of the Holy Apostles, made heavy Complaint of the Poverty of their Order, (they having no Poffeffions, and at the fame Time not being permitted to beg like the Mendicants) but after they had fhewed us the Magnificence of their Church, and fourteen large Cupboards in the Veftry filled with Gold and Silver Veffels, and ocher precious Things, we had fufficient Reafon to believe that they had no great Occafion to go a Begging. In Italy all Monks are at once Mifers and Mendicants.

The fpacious Convent of che Cbartreux of St. Martin is every where full of curious and magnificent Pieces; and the Church, though none of the largeft, yet is a compleat Piece, both for the Materials and Exquifitenefs of the Art. The Monks that were our Conductors affur'd us, that under one Priorate there were beftow'd among them above five hundred thoufand Ducats in Silver Plate, Sculptures and Pictures: The Nativity of Chrift is a moft exquifite Piece, done by Guido; the four Piftures of the Latt Supper are of the Hands of Efpagnolet, Hanibal Caracche, Paul Veronefe, and Cavalier Maffimo, the laft of which has reprefented Chrift fanding, giving the Sacrament to his Apoftles, who are upon their Knees; befides many other Pieces of high Value, and exquifite in their Kind.

The Pavement of the Cloyiter (which is an hundred Paces fquare) is of Marble inlaid in Boughs and fuchlike Ornaments, the four Galleries being fupported by fixty Pillars, each of one entire Piece of the beft white Marble of Carrara. Every Frier has his own Chamber, a Clofet and Library, befides a little Garden ; and the Prior's Lodgings are fit for the Reception of a Prince: Here it is they fhew the famous Crucifix of Micbael Angelo, done, as they fay, to the Life after a Peafant, who, to that End, was crucified by the Painter : it is of Wood, and not above half a Foot high : It is obfervable, that the Crucifix holds his Head ftreight, which looks not very like the Pofture of an expiring

Perfon

Perfon on the Crofs. They have alfo a St. Lawerence, by Titian; and fome Defigns of Rubens and Albert Durer, which are valued at a high Rate, and are very fine.
From this Afcent you have the moft delightful Profpect that can be well conceiv'd ; you have at one View the Sea and many Illands, and among thefe that of $\mathrm{Ca}-$ prece, the famous Seraglio of Tiberius, as likewife the whole City of Naples, with its three Caftles, viz. of the Egg, the new Caftle, and that of St. Elmo; the Harbour, Mole, and Lantern ; and along the Sea-fhore, the Creeks and Inlets mix'd with little Capes, as alfo a great Number of Villages built along the Sea-fide ; towards the Land-fide, the Gardens and fertile Hills Ieading into Campania Felice are the moft agreeable Objects in the World ; and at a greater Diffance you may behold the horrible Smoke of Mount Vefurvius. To defrribe all the Relicks, Statues, or miraculous Images, as they ftile them, would be endlefs; I will only mention a few of them : At St. Lervis they keep fome of the Virgin's Milk, which becomes liquid on all our Lady's Feftivals; at St. Fobn Carbonora, the Blood of St. fanuarius is boil'd up when any one approaches his Shrine, as the Blood of St. Jobn Baptist (preferv'd at St. Maria Donna Romita) does, whilft they fay Mafs for his Beheading. I pafs by the Pieces of the true Crofs, the Nails, the Branches of the Crown of Thorns, the Images faid to be made by St. Luke, and fuch-like Rarities. At St. Dominick the Greater, they fhew the Crucifix that fpoke to St. Tbomas Aquinas; and another in that of the Benediztins, which, if you will believe them, 「poke more to Pope Pius V. At the Church of St. Agnello, in the Chapel of the Monaci, they fhew you alfo a fpeaking Crucifix, with a long Infcription underneath relating to the Story ; and another in the fame Church, which, they tell you, ufed to hold Dialogues with 7 Fane the Mother of St. Agnello, and with St. Agnello himfelf; this they ftile the Image of St. Mary of Intercefion. Among the miraculous Crucifixes here, that of St. Mary of the Carmelites mult not be paffed by in Silence; for when D. Pedro d'Arragon befieg'd Naples in 1439, it bow'd its Head at the Sight of a Cannonball, which only beat off the Crown of the Crucifix.

The Churches contain a vaft Number of Tombs and Epitaphs: In that of St. Fobn the Evanyelist, are fix or feven Epitaphs made by Fob. Fovianus Pontanus, among which one is for his Daughter Lucia, another for his Son, and two more for his Wife and himfelf. At St. Clara's you fee the Epitaph of King Robert, firmamed the Good and the Wifle. At St. Domin. maj. one for a Lord of the noble Family of Caraffa, and another for the Cardinal d driano of the fame Houfe. In the Veftry of this Church you fee many of the Tombs of the Kings and Queens of Naples, among which, thofe of Ifabel of Arragon, Daughter of Alpbonjus I. and Wife of Yobin Galeazzo Duke of Milan, and of Foan the firtt Queen of Ferujalem and both the Sicilies, deferve to be remember'd : The firft runs thus :

## Hic IJabella jacet, centum Sata fanguine Regum,

 Quâcum Majeftas Itala prifca jacet;Sol qui luftrabat radiis fulg entibus orbem, Occidit, inque alio nunc agit Orbe diem.

Obiit die II Febr. 1524.

## The fecond thus:

> Inclyta Partbenopes jacet thic Regina Joanna Prima; priùs felix, mox mi eranda nimis 2uam Carolo genitam, mulicavit Carolus alter 2ua morte illa virum fuffulit ante furin.

She was the Daughter of Cbarles of Sicily, Dake of Can labria, and was ftrangted by Cbarles Durras, whom fhe had adopted, and who rebelling againft her, accufed her of having fltangled Andrew of Hungary, her firft Husband, whofe Tomb is to be feen in the Cathedral.
In the fame Place is alfo to be feen the Tomb and Epitaph of the famous Marquifs of Pifcara, by Ariofo and in the Church of St. Mary of Concord, a long In-
fcription upon the Tomb of a King of Fez, who having embracid the Roman Faith, and fought under the Imperial and Spani/b Banners, died an hundred Years old in 1641. The Tomb of Innocent IV, who died at Naples in 1254, is to be feen in the Cathedral, with two long Epitaphs, one whereof is in Leomine Verfe. In the Church of St. Agnello is the following Epitaph for a Bifhop who refured the Cardinal's Cap.

> Sigimundo Pappacude Franc. F. Tropeienfum Preful, viro opt. E Furijconfulto, qui cum in cetum Cardinalium fuifet a Clemente VII. adfcitus, maluit in Pas tria Epijcopus vivere. Vixit Ann.80. M. б. D. 10. Obiit 1536 .

In the Church of St. Severin of the Bentediains, in the mont beautiful Chapel belonging to the Family of Si. Severin, are to be feen the Tombs and Infriptions of three young Lords, Brothers, poy fon'd by their Uncle; as alfo that of their Mother, lamenting the untimely Death of her Sons. Directly oppofite to the Church of the Carmelites you fee a Kind of Chapel, erected by Order of Charles I. King of Naples, in the fame Place where he caufed the Head of the unfortunare Conradin to be cut off, and at the fame Time that of his Coulin Frederick Marquifs of Baden and Duke of Aufria, with five or fix other Lords, the whole Hiftory of which is painted in Frefco on the Infide of the Walls of the Chapel, in the Middle of which ftands a Pillar of Porpbyry, and round about it this Diftich :

## Aluris ungue Leo, pullum rapiens Aquilinum Hic deplumarit, Acephalunque dedit.

The Carmelites fhew'd us in their Convent the Place where the famous Rebel Tbomas Aniello (commonly called Mafaniello) was flain, after he had been the Head of the Rebels eighteen Days: I have a Piece of Money that was coin'd whilf this Rebellion lafted, with this Infription, S. P. Q. N. As we paffed by the Church of St. Mary major, our Conductor told us, there was a brazen Hog to be feen there, made by Pomponius Bifhop of Naples; it feems the Place where this Churcli now ftands was haunted by the Devil in the Shape of a Hog, which fo terrified the Inhabitants, that they left their Houfes, till this holy Bifhop being bid by the Virgin to build a Church for her in the fame Place, the infernal Hog difappear'd.
10. The City of Naples having been fubject to fo many Mafters and various Revolutions, has loit the greateft Part of its Antiquities; however, in the Front of $S$. Paul major you ftill fee the Frontifpiece of the ancient Temple of Apollo, afterwards dedicated to Cafor and Pollux by one Tiberius Fulius Tarfus, his Name being to this Day diftinctly to be feen on one of the Friefes of this Frontifpiece.

> TIBEPIOE IOXAIOE TAPSOE

The Portico refts upon eight twifted Pillars of the Cos rinthian Order, and the Pediment is adornsd with Bafjo relievo, reprefenting the Deities. The Columns of the Rifituta are faid to have been taken from the ancient Temple of Neptunc. Here are alfo to be feen fome Ruins of an Amphitheatre, and an ancient Statue of the Nile upon a Crocodile. The Houfe of D. Diomedes Caraffa contains many Sculptures and ancient Inferiptions; in the Court you fee the Head and all che Creft of a brazen Horfe, that had no Bridle, which being an Enblem of the Liberty of Naples, whillt yet a Common-wealth, food in one of the great Places, but King Conrad having ordersd a Bit to be put on this Horfe, directed the following Diftich to be fet on the Pedeftal:

## Hactenus effrenis, Domini nunc paret babenis Rendomat bunc aquus Partberopenfis equutro.

On the Hill, where it is fuppofed the ancient Palcopolis ftood, are a great many old Ruins, and divers Collec.
tions of Medals, which contribute not a little to the true Underftanding of the Hiftory of Naples, are to be found in the Cabinets of the Antiquaries of this City, and efpecially in that of Mr. Ricbetti. Of the Catacombs I fhall have Occafion to fpeak hereafrer.

After Pope Sixtus V. had cleared the Ecclefiaftical State of the Banditti, they became more numerous in the Kingdom of Naples; fo that even within thefe few Years Travellers were forced to go in Caravans to fecure themfelves againft their Infolencies; but the Honour of freeing this Countty from thefe dangerous Vermin is due to the Marquifs del Carpio, late Viceroy of Na ples, who put a great Number of them to Death ; and I remember we faw lately above five hundred of them at Work in the Arfenal, who had furrender'd under Condition that their Lives fhould be faved, and not to be made Galley-flaves. But notwithftanding all this, it muft be owned, that the Generality of the Neapolitans are a very wicked Generation. We were credibly inform'd, that in two Prifons only there were no lefs than four thoufand Malefactors at that Time. This has queftionlefs given Occafion to the noted Proverb, That Naples is a Paradife inhabited by Devils.

Befides this, notwithftanding all the outward Grandeur of this City, it has feveral Things which not a little overcloud its Luftre; for Women are as hard to be feen here, as in any Part of Italy. The Habits and Equipages of Perfons of Quality are all black, not being allow'd the Wearing of Gold and Silver, and the greateft Lord has no more than two Footmen; befides, moft of their Coaches are drawn by Mules; and they generally appear in the Spani/s Drefs. The Viceroy's Court is very filent and melancholy: Their Trade is alfo much decayed, their chiefeft Commodities at this Time being Soap, Snuf, Stockins, Waiftcoats, fome Silk Manufactories $E^{\vartheta}$ c.
From Naples to the Top of Mount Vefuvius is eight Miles, of which I thall endeavour to give you a more exact Account than you have feen hitherto. The firft four Miles, as you pafs along the Sea-coaft, you go through many good Villages, and the Grounds are very well cultivated; yet from Place to Place you fee great Stones, thrown thither by the Eruptions of that Mountain : The laft of thefe Villages is called Refina; when turning to the L.eft, we began to alcend, but ftill on Horleback for two grood Miles further, among loofe Stones, and Heaps of burnt Earth; the nearer you come to the Top, the more you find the Ground crack'd and cover ${ }^{\circ}$ d with thefe burnt Stones; and in fome Places you fee the Tracts of the Chanels of Sulphur, which have been forced down from the Top towards the Bottom. About the Middle, the Afcent beginning to grow extream rough, you muft alight to pafs on Foot, which is not done without a great deal of Difficulty, the Afhes, or rather calcined Duft, not affording any fure Footing: But at laft, after feveral fmall Reftings, we came up to the ancient Gulph or Hollownefs, for of late confiderable Alterations have happened in this Mountain. The Circumference of this firft Gulph has about a Mile in Diameter, to the beft of our Guefs; the Edges being worn into feveral rugged Elevations, you may go down into it feveral Ways about a hundred Paces below the firft Circle, being the whole Depth of this old Mouth; for this vaft Abyls was by an extraordinary Eruption, almoft quite fill'd up with a Mixture of Sulphur, Alom, Bitumen, Saltpetre, and Nitre, which, after the Violence of the Eruption was paft, turning into a hard Cruft, produced a Level in this Gulph not above a hundred Paces below its exterior Brims; but fome Time after, a furious Eruption having fhaken and broken through this Cruft, tumbled the hardened Pieces one upon another, as we fee the broken Ice of a Pond congealed by a fudden Froft. This unequal Superficies is interfperfed with burning Funnels, which emit continual Exnalations ; and in fome Places we could feel the Heat through our Shoes. You mult know, that in the Middle of this Superficies (which is almoft of a circular Figure) another moft violent Eruption has forced its Paflage, and caft up a
new Mountain, which is likewife round and about Quarter of a Mile high.

After we had traverfed that rough Space of about three hundred Paces broad, between the greater and leffer Mountain, we afcended this little Mountain with as much Pains as we had done the firft, which we found full of fmoaking Chinks, and in many Places lay a pure Sulphur mixed with a Kind of Sal Armoniac, of a Citron Colour. In fome Places we faw a reddifh porous Subftance, like the Dregs or Scum of Iron as it comes from the Smiths Forge. The Top of this leffer Mountain hath its Mouth as well as the great one, which is about one hundred Paces broad, and the In let to this vaft fubterraneous Abyls, fends forth a thick Flood of Smoak, which fills up the whole Concavity; the Winds forcing it fometimes on one Side, and fometimes on the other, we had an exact View of the Height of its Entrance or Brink, which is perpendicular within, except in one Place, whete it is noaping enough to defcend into it, which we did after our Guide for fixty or eighty Paces, when coming to the very Brink of this Precipice, we rowl'd down many Stones we broke off near it: We found them fometimes to ftop at the firft or fecond Falling, and fometimes to take a long Courfe rebounding with a great Noife. We could not perceive any confiderable Increafe of the Smoak by the Tumbling in of thefe Stones ; and if they had been much bigger, they would perhaps have produced no other Effect, there being no great Reafon to imagine, that the fulphurous Lake is perpendicularly under the Opening of this Mountain: I know fome have had the Curiofity to blow up Part of there Rocks with Gunpowder ; but this feems to me a dangerous Piece of Curiofity, where it is not fafe to ftay too long, by reafon of the fudden Eruptions that happen now and then; witnels the famous Pliny, who was furprized with fuch an one, though at a confiderable Diftance ; and the furious Eruptions in 1682, 1685 ? and 1687 , not to mention thofe recorded by the more ancient Authors.

The little Time we had to ftay about Pozzuolo did not permit us to take fo particular an Account of all the Curiofities there, as we might have done, had we been more at Leifure; however, I do not queftion relating fomething that is new concerning this Journey. In our Way from the Suburbs of Naples to Pozzuolo we faw the Hill known by the Name of Pauflypus: To confefs the Truth, it is moft delicious, of an infinitely charming Situation, extreamly well cultivated, full of Summer Seats, and planted with moft excellent Vines. The Afcent to this Hill was not fo fteep, but that it might have been made eafy enough, but, moved by an extravagant Humour, they refolved to pierce the Mountain, and by that Means made indeed a fhorter Way, and of an extraordinary Contrivance, but much more troublefome than the Afcent would have been. This Cave is generally call'd the Grott of Pozzuolo, being in fome Places cut through the Rock, in others through the Sand; its whole Length is near a Mile, the Height between thirty and forty Foot, and eighteen in Breadth, affording an eafy Paffage for two Coaches: It has no other Light than at the two Extremities, and a little Hole in the Middle over the Oratory, which is made in the Rock by enlarging that Part fomewhat beyond the reft. The Duft which is raifed by the Paffengers is very troublefome, to avoid which you cover your Face with a Handkerchief; and to avoid running againft each other, you cry as you pals along, To the Rigbt, or to the Left? This is an ancient Work, Seneca in his Time complained of its Duft and Darknefs; it is attributed to one Coccejus, who (according to fome ancient Annals) is faid to have imployed a hundred thoufand Men in it, who finim'd it in fifteen Days; but it is not known who this Coccejus was, fome believe him to be a Prince or Governor of that Part of the Country, fome only the Head Workman, or Undertaker of the Defign.

A little beyond Paufilypus lies the Lake of Agnano, between two Hills, almoft round, and two Miles in Circumference : The Water is very clear, and without any
ill Tafte, and though it feems continually boiling, produceth not the leaft Heat, but abounds with great Plenty of Tench and Eels. Near the Banks of this Lake are the two celebrated Caves, known by the Names of the Batbs of St. German, and the Grotta di Cane, or Grott of the Dog; the Etymology is fo fabulous, that I will not pretend to enlarge upon it; thus much is certain; That after you have defcended three or four Steps into thefe Batbs, you on a fudden feel Heat, and a fulphureous $S$ mell, which put you immediately into a Sweat, and is accounted very falubrious to gouty Petfons, and thofe aflicted with fome other Difeafes, who come hither in Crowds for that Purpofe.

The Grotto of the Dog is no more than the opening of a Cave, at the very Foot of a Hill, being no more than nine Foot long, four and a half broad, and five high, and not made by Art; the Bottom is pure Earth, and the Sides have nothing but what is natural: I obferved fome Drops falling from above, which, they told us, were produc'd by the Condenfation of the Exhalations or Vapours raifed from below; though I am rather of Opinion, that they diftil from the Mountain, and pierce the Top of the Cave, out of the Bottom of which arifes a fubtile penetrating Exhalation, without any vifible Smoak, being a fulphureous Steam, which ftops the Breath in a Minute. We faw him who keeps the Key of this Cave, as well as of the aforefaid Baths, make the Experiment with a Dog in the following Manner. He enters as upright as he can, proceeds to the Middle of the Cave, where bowing and kneeling by Degees, holding his Head as upright as he can, he fits down upon his Heels, fo that with his Hands he can hold a Dog by all his four Feet down clofe to the Ground : The poor Creature is feized in an Inftant with violent Convulfions, ftretches himfelf without crying, and becomes ftiff, when he that holds him throws him out of the Cave, and being prefently caft into the Lake, which is not above twenty Paces diftant, he recovers his Breath in a Minute, and fwims out of the Water. The fame Experiment has been made upon Men and feveral Sorts of Animals with the fame Effect ; the Viceroy D. Pedro de Toledo made it with two of his Slaves, who died. Two.Foot from the Ground, and even lower, there is nothing to be feen of this Nature. The Keeper fhew'd us another Experiment with two lighted Torches, one of which he put near the Ground, and it was extinguifhed immediately without the leaft Smoak ; then lighting it by the other, he put that near the Ground as the former; which being likewife put out, he rekindled that by the firft, and fo by Turns.

The like fulphureous Exhalations are faid to be in a Cave at Zoli in Hungary; and Pliny calls this we are fpeaking of now, Spiraculum Puteolanum. All the adjacent Country feems to be filled underneath with Brimftone, efpecially about Monte Sesco and Solfatara, where we faw fubterraneous Holes fill'd with Sulphur and Allom, which fend forth Flames and Smoak with the fame Smell and Noife as we fee in Vefurius. They prepare Abundance of Rocb-Allum on the Solfatara, which is a yellow and white Mountain, dried up and confumed by its own Fire ; they work in fmall Hutts, and the Cauldrons boil only by the Heat coming out of the Openings. The Top of this Hill has a Kind of oval Bafin about 1250 Foot long, and a Mile in Breadth, the Exhalations of which are often fimelt at Naples, and blacken their Marble and other Ornaments, nay, even corrupt the neighbouring Waters; whence it is that the Capucbins of St. Januarius, who live near it, have been forced to raife their Cifterns from the Ground upon Pillars. Moft of the Inhabitants in the City, and about it, will tell you, that thefe fmoaking Holes of Solfatera are actually the Chimneys of Hell itfelf: Capaccio is of the fame Opinion, and affures us, that the Capucbins hear often moft dreadful Howlings, and are frequently difturbed with Hobgoblins.

From hence we defcended towards Puzzoli, anciently a famous City, as a vaft Number of ftately Ruins fufficiently teftify, though at prefent it is but an inconfiderable Place. . Near to St. Fames's Church you fee the

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Ruins of a magnificent Amphitheatre, the Arend whereof was an hundred feventy two Foot long, and eighty eight broad; built of hewn Stone : Here they tell you St. Fanuarius, with fix other Cbristians, being thrown before the Beafts, they ador'd inftead of devouring them $\frac{b}{3}$ but not long after thefe feven had their Heads cut off near Solfatara, in the fame Place where the Church dedicated to St. Famuarius now ftands. On the Altar yous fee thefe Words :

Locus de collationis S. Faniuarii छ̉ fociorinn ejus. i. e.
Tbe Place wbere St. Januarius and bis Companions were bebeaded.

Clofe to the Amphitheatre remain fill vaft Ruins, bue buried almoft under-ground, look ${ }^{i}$ d upon by fome as the Remainders of a Labyrinth, though I am rather inclined to believe it a Fifhpond like the Pifcina Mirabilis. The Cathedral is built not only upon the Ruins of the Temple of Fupiter, but alfo of Part of its Materials. In the Frontifpiece you fee thefe Words, Calfurnius Luc. Fil. which fhew evidently by whom it was built.

Between the City and the Amphitheatre are to be feen alfo the Ruins of the Temple of Diana: In tempeftuous Weather the Sea throws affore, near the Dominitans of Fefus Maria, many new Marks of the ancient Magnificence of Puzzoli, as Cornelians, Agates, Fafpers, Amethists, as likewife divers other Sorts of Stones, upon which are found engrav'd all Sorts of Figures, as Cocks, Eagles, Swans, Hares, Serpents, Grafsboppers, Ants, Vine-brancbes, Grapes, Ears of Corn, Heads of Men, and Motto's in Greek and Latin. The Sand of Puzzoli, ufed in their Building, is much commended both by Vitruvius and Pliny; and, in effect, if mixed with a certain Sort of Mortar, become as hard as Marble, even in the Sea itfelf. As we paffed along in our Boat to go the Lake of Lucrin, two Miles dif= tant from Puzzoli, we had the Opportunity of taking a full View of the famous Arches, generally fuppofed to be the Remnants of a Bridge built by Caligula from Baje to Puzzoli, whence to this Day they are known by the Name of Caligulas's Bridge among the Inhabitants ; but if we will attend to the Words of Suetonius, nothing is more evident than that this pretended Bridge of Caligula, was not of Stones or Brick, but of Boats; thefe are his Words: Bajaram medium intervallum Puteolanas ad Moles trium millium E fexcentorum ferè paffurm ponte conjunxit, contractis undique onerariis navibus, $\mathcal{E}$ ordine duplici ad ancboras collocatis, fuperjectoque aggere terreno, ac directo in Viee Appice formam. \&xc. The Words Puteolanas Moles plainly difcover what thefe Arches we now fee were, viz. belonging to a Mole that defended the Harbour againft the Violence of the tempeftuous Waves: Neither is it a fufficient Objection to fay, that we do not build our modern Moles with Arches, fince Things of the fame Nature may be done varioully at fo great Diftances of Time; befides that, fome will maintain, that a Mole with Arches might be more durable than one without, and be neverthelefs. fufficient to break the Waves, and to defend the Harbour.

The Lake of Lucrin, fo famous in ancient Times, is now no more than a little Pond of about one hundred Paces broad, and a Quarter of a Mile long, being for the moft Part fill'd up with the Nero Mountain. It is now about fixty or eighty Leagues from the Sea, whereas anciently it join'd with it; for if we may credit Pliny, they were forced to make Ufe of many Engines to feparate them : The Water of this Lake is always falt ; it was highly celebrated among the Ancients for its Oyfters : Nuptic videbant Oftreas Lucrinas, faith Varro; and Concba Lucrini dilicacior Aagni, Martial. I fuppofe you remember the Story related by Pliny and feveral other Authors concerning a Dolphin, frequently fed with Bread by a Boy that went every Day to School from Baje to Puzzoli, became at laft fo familiar with the Boy, that he ufed to carry him often on his Back over the little Bay ; Appian tells us, he was an Eyewitnefs of it, befides many more that flock'd from all Parts to Puzzoli to fee it; and Solinus affirms, that at laft
it was fo common, that'it was fearce regarded as an extraordinary Thing. I remember, that in my Travels I faw a Sea-calf, fo very tame, that it would do as many Tricks as a Spaniel.
In the Year 1538 , in the Night between the 19 th and 20th of September, the Earth produc'd on a fudden a certain Mountain never feen before, which for that Reafon has fince retained the Name of Monte Nuovo or the New Mountain. Thofe who have meafured it, make its Height perpendicularly four hundred Toifes, and its Circumference three large Miles. The Gulph or Opening of fifty Paces diameter on the Top of this Nere Mountain, fufficiently proves its Production to have been caufed by an Eruption, though it never fent forth either Fire or Smoke fince its firft Eruption, which was attended with a moft dreadful Earthquake, that put all the neighbouring Country under a great Confternation, the Sea recoiling, many Churches and Houfes being burnt or fwallowed up, a vaft Number of Men and Beafts perifhing by this prodigious Birth of the New Mowntain. Your Mountain of Markle-bill, in the County of Hereford, was ufher'd into the World after a much eafier and more pleafant Manner, becaufe it mov'd with a gentle Pace for three Days and Nigbts, with Houfes and Trees, for about four hundred Paces.
On the other Side of the Lucrin Lake, you fee another famous Hill called Monte di Cbrifto, the Story whereof runs thus : A molt violent Earthquake having made an Opening in this Hill, which reach'd from the Superficies to the very Limbus Patrum, Fefus Cbrist enter'd through this Cavern, where being joyfully receiv'd by the Souls that were deftin'd to heavenly Felicity, he led them through this Paffage up to the Top of the Mountain, from whence they were lifted up to Heaven. A fine Italian Fable!
The Lake of Averno is not above a Mile from the Lake of Lucrin, being much about the fame Bulk as the Lake Agnano; it is beyond Queftion, that what Virgil, Lucretius, Pliny, and others fay of its deadly Vapours, is not fo at prefent, the Birds flying over it without the leaft Detriment, which is the Reafon that Pliny is reckoned by fome modern Authors to have advanced a manifeft Falfhood. But if the Matter be truly weigh'd, it will fuficiently appear, that Pliny only quotes Varro in what he fays of this Lake, but fpeaks not as an Eye-witnefs; for, difcourfing of the Lakes which have extraordinary Qualities, he cites Ctefias, a Greek Hiftorian, who mentions a Lake in the Indies on which nothing fwims, and afterward alledges the Teftimony of Varro about the Averno. Add to this, that Strabo attributes the Caufe of this Stench in the Averno to the Thicknefs and Number of the Trees that furrounded it on all Sides, which, he fays, being removed by Auguftus, the Air became pure and fweet : And Boccace, who liv'd not above three hundred Years fince, affures us, that fome fubrerraneous Chanel of Sulphur being mixed with the Waters of the Averno, they became ftinking, and killed many of the Fifh, which he faw with his own Eyes: Two manifeft Inftances, that this Lake hath been at different Times in very different Conditions. Virgil derives the Word Avernus from Aornus, notwithftanding which, this Name feems to have been the ancient Appellation of fulphureous Gulphs in general, which makes Lucretius call thefe Kind of Pools Averna Loca.

The Ruins to be feen to this Day about the Averno, plainly demonftrate, that the adjacent Hills were well peopled after the before-mentioned Trees were cut down. The Antiquaries do not agree, whether the Ruins next to the Lake belong'd to a Temple of Mercury, or of Neptune; but certain it is, it could not be the Temple of Apollo. As we approach'd the Averno, I could plainly perceive fomething of a naufeous Smell, but whether it proceeded from the Lake, or not, I will not pretend to determine; for the Lake abounds with Fifh, its Waters are frefh and pretty clear, only inclining fomewhat to a Blue; I tafted them in divers Places, and found them to have a pretty fharp Twang of fome Mineral, but what I could not diftinguifh.

Not far from hence is the fubterraneous Paffage and Cavecommonly known by the Name of the Sybil's Grott, che chief Entrance whereof is faid to have been neas

Cuma, four Miles from Averno, but it is all filled up on that Side. We went into it through a narrow Pa!fage, every one with a lighted Torch in his Hand, the Paflage being on both Sides overgrown with Briars and Thiftles. This fubterraneous Paffage is dug under Hillocks, without any Ornaments, except in the Place I am going to defcribe to you: It is about ten Foot broad, and twelve high. After you have gone two hundred and fifty Paces in a ftreight Line, you meet with a fquare Grott on the right, and feventy or eighty Paces further a little Cell of fifieen Foot lon/ , and eigho or nine broad. You may perceive by various Remains, that the Roof was formerly painted and the Walls adorned with Mofaick Work. After I had read the learned Treatife of Mr. Blondel concerning thefe pretended Sybils, and their Writings, I was fufficient Proof againtt all the vulgar Opinions of this Grott; notwithtanding what divers ancient Authors have told us concerning the Sybilla Cumea and her Cave, which by the Italians has been applied to this fubterraneous Paflage, I am not ignorant of the Defcription of Virgil,

## Quo lati ducunt aditus cenium, oftia cerntum <br> Unde ruunt totidem voces

but at the fame Time am convinc'd, that Virgil fpoke of it only as a fabulous Tradition; for what elfe will you fay to the centum aditus, and centum oftia, which are not to be found here or any where elfe? In my Opinion; this might be fuch another Paffage as the Grote of Paufilippus, and the painted Cell appropriated to fome Deity. Strabo relates, upon the Credit of Ephorus, 23 ancient Hiftorian of Cuma, that the Cimmerians of Italy, (to diftinguifh them from thofe inhabiting near the Bofpborus) did inhabit in fubterraneous Caverns beween Baje and the Lake Averno, from whence they fallied out in the Night-time to perpetrate their Murders. The digging of this Cave feems more properly to belong to them, were it not that the Mofaick Work in the Cell hath as little Refemblance to their Way of living, as to the Habitation of a pretended Mad-woman, fuch as the Sybil is fuppofed to have been.
From this Cave we took a Turn to Baja, the moft pleafant and magnificent Place in the World in ancient Times; Horace, Martial, Fosepbus, Seneca, Albinus, and others, have left us fuch a Character of it, as might put this Affertion beyond all Queftion, were not the Ruins of many Temples, Baths, and Palaces, which are to be feen round the Bay, and even in the Sea itfelf, undeniable Proofs of its former Grandeur. The Bay of Baje is infinitely pleafant, the Air exceeding fweet, and the adjoining Hills with eafy Afcents charming beyond what can be exprefs'd or imagin'd ; but alafs, that vaft Number of Summer-feats which adorn'd the Neighbourhood of this City, are now nothing but a valt Heap of Ruins, and a difmal Solitude. Between Bajee and Mifeno is the Precinct call'd Bauli, where you fee the Tomb of Agrippina, and near it the Remnants of the Fifhpond of 2. Hortensus, Collegue of 2. Cecil. Metellus.

Not far from this are very great Ruins, commonly called Mercato di Sabbato, which fome pretend to be the Remainders of a Circus. At the very Sea-fide are to be feen conficierable Ruins of the Country Houfe of Hortenfus; and near his Fifhpond, the Remainders of a Temple faid to have been dedicated to Diana. Not many Years fince, a moft noble Statue of Venus, twice as big as the Life, was dug up in this Neighbourhood, holding a Globe in her right Hand, and three Oranges in the left. Capaccio, who has given an exact Defcription of it, fays, that this Statue was found in the fame Place where anciently ftood the Temple of Venus Genitrix. From Baje it is nor above a large Mile to that delightful Plain called the Elyfan Fields, fituate between the Sea and that ftinking Marfh Acberon, called by Virgil, Tenebrofa Palus, now Lago della Coluccia. I might farther fpeak of the Academy of Cicero, now turned into an Ox-ftall, of the Baths of Tritoli, the Tomb of Agrippina Mother of Nero, of the Pifcina mirabilis, or Fimpond of Agrippa, and the other Fihpond called

Cento

## Chap. III.

Greatef Part of IT A L Y .

Cento Camerelle, befides a great many other remarkable Remnants of Antiquity, but that I had not fufficient Leifure to make fo exact an Obfervation of them as was fufficient to give you a full Defcription of them.

From Baja we took Boat to Puzzoli again, and thence went on Horfeback to Naples. But before we depart; I mult fay a Word or two of the Tomb of Virgil. At the Entrance of the Grott of Paufilypus; which leads to Puzzoli, ftands an ancient Monument fhaped like a Pyramid, but above half deftroyed. Some modern Hifcorians affure us, that in their Time there were nine fmall Columns of Marble in the little Chamber of this Maufoleum, which fupported an Urn of the fame Subftance, with this Diftich upon it:

## Mantua me genuit, Calabri rapuiere, tenet nunc Partbenope; cecini, pafcua; rura, Duces.

But now there are neither Columns nor Urn to be feen here. The Maufleum is built of very large fquare Stone, notwithftanding which, it is almoft cover ${ }^{3}$ d with Bufhes and Shrubs, that have taken Root between the Stones; among the reft there grows a Lawrel on the Top of it, which, if you will believe the Inhabitants, has been often cropp'd and pluck'd "up, but always grows again.
Virgil is look'd upon by many of the Inhabitants of this Country as a great Sorcerer ; whence it is that they have attributed to him the making of the Grott of Pouflypus, as alfo of the brazen Horfe, the Head whereof, as I told you before, is ftill preferved at the Palace of D. Diomedes Caraffa. Unto this Horfe they attributed, for the fame Reafon, a fecret Virtue of curing all Sorts of Difeafes in Horfes, and of preferving them from finifter Accidents, and for a confiderable Time ufed to bring their Horfes from the remoteft Parts of the Kingdom of Naples, to lead them in Proceffion round this pretended Horfe of Virgil'; till at laft the Horfe was, by the Order of a certain Archbifhop of that Kingdom, removed from thence, and a great Bell caft of its Body, which remains in the Ca thedral, and is of fomewhat more Ufe than the Horfe. The Houfe of Sannazarius, which ftood on the Seafide, at the Foot of the Hill of Pauflypus, being defroyed by the War, a Church was built in the fame Place, dedicated to the moft boly Birth of the Motber of God, where his Tomb is now to be feen in one of the Chapels. The Tomb is of white Marble, done by the excellent Hand of St. Croce: Upon it you fee the Buft of Samnazarius crowned with Lawrel, and on each Side the Statues of Apollo and Minerva, which they commonly call David and Judith. I fuppofe you are informed, that fames Sannazarius changed his Name into that of Aztius Sincerus, according to the Cuftom or rather Affectation of thofe Times.
11. Your Letter I received with a great Pleafure', in Return whereof I will endeavour to fatisfy your Curiofity, in refolving your Queftions concerning Venice, in the fame Order you have propofed them; after which I will proceed to give you an Account of Rome.
I. Whatever your Friend may fay on Pretence of his being a Citizen of Venice, of the Number of Inhabitants in that City, which he makes amount to 250,000 , I cannot allow him a competent Judge; though on the other hand I muft tell you, that you carry the Matter too far, when you declare, that it is impofible to know the exact Number of Inhabitants in great Cities, Sir William Petty having propofed to us a rational Method of making fuch a Computation, without any remarkable Error. I ought however not to pafs by in Silence, that in my Computation I included the Inhabitants of the Ine of La Giudeca, but not the Ine of Murano.
II. The two Columns of Granite in the Place of the Broglio, fome fay, were brought from Egypt, others from Confantinople, (perhaps they were brought from Egypt to Constantinople.) Upon one of thefe Columns ftands the Arms of Venice, viz. the wing'd Lion of St. Mark holding an open Book, with the Infcription of Pax tibi Marce. On the other you fee the Statue of St. Theodore. The like Columns the Venetians erect in all the
great Cities under their Jurifdiction, as Trophies of the Republick. The fame Venetian allo mifinform'd yout about the three great Banners fet on Feftival Days upon the brazen Pedeftals oppofite to St. Mark's Church; riz: That they reprefent the Venetion State, and the two Kingdoms of Cyprius and Candia, the Republick's Arms being to be feen without the leaft Alteration in all the three Banners. Another vulgar Error is, That the Venetion Signiory has no Coat of Arms; though the Lion is to be feen in all thofe Places where the Arms of a State are generally to be feen. The Lion of St. Mark takes its Origin from the Vifion of Ezekiel, and not from the imaginary Transformation of St. Mark into a Lion; tod check the inceftuous Love of his Sifter. Herice it is, that the Venetian Ambaffador being ask'd, what Country it was that produced thofe wing ${ }^{3} d$ Lions? replied; The fame that brought forth the double-headed Eagles alluding to the Arms of the Empire, Ruffia, and other Sovereignties.
III. What I told you concerning the Air of Venice muft be taken with fome Grains of Allowance, though the Air of Venice is none of the wort. In the Lagunes it is fo bad, that the Inhabitants of the leffer Ifles commonly leave their Habitations in the hot Seafon, and retire elfewhere. But this is not peculiar to Venice, but is alfo common in feveral other Parts of Italy, efpecially in the Country about Rome.
IV. That the Doge of Venice continues for Life; whereas the Doge of Genoa reigns only for two Years, is fufficiently known. The Revenues of the Doge of $V_{e}$ : nice, fo far as I was able to learn, do not amount to quite 3000 l. Sterling per Annum; but the Frugality wherewith the Venetions manage their Government, has taught them not to allow their Spoufes any Share in thofe ufelefs Honours they pay to their Husbands.
V. Concerning the Libertinifm in the Monafteries of Venice, as I will not profefs myfelf to be acquainted with it in particular, fo I can ondy tell you, that it is generally acknowledged here, that the Nuns are often vifited by Perfons in Mafquerade at the Grates ; that they go to Plays and other Places in Difguife; that they have made Tables on Purpofe for Entertainments, one half within, and the other half without the Grates ; nay, that they are often engaged in Intrigues; and that the Friers are guilty of fuch Debaucheries as can fcarce be imagined. Thefe, I fay, are common Reports; but I do not affirm them:
VI. What your Friend has been pleafed to alledge againft the Sovereignty of the Doge, is not worth taking Notice of, the fame being fufficiently known to all that have had any Infight into the Veinetian State, or enquired into the Principles of their political Conftitution.
VII. The whole Revenue of this Commonwealth, according to the beft Computation, amounts annually to fix Millions of Crowns, including the Sale of Offices and Nobility, Confifcations, \&er
VIII. They permit fome ferws to live at Venice, who are rich, efpecially the Portuguefe : Their Quarter is called $I l$ Gbetto, or the ferory; their Hats are cover'd with Scarlet, lined and edged with black. The poorer Sort are contented with waxad Linen. By the Help of Money this Badge may be difpenfed, with.
IX. The whole Number of their Nobility, arrived to a proper Age of fitting in the Great Council, amounts to about thirteen hundred sut one half of them being generally abroad in Civil or Military Employments, this Affembly farce ever exceeds fix or feven hundred $;$ yet thefe feem too many for the Management of thofe Matters of Confequence that come before them, which hath given Birth to this Proverb, Troppo Teffe, troppo Fefte, troppo Tempeste; Too many Heads, too many Festivals, and too many Tempefts: And as the firft is meant of the Great Council of Venice, fo their Fefivals are foi frequent, that they exceed thofe obferved in France by one third Part, and they are commonly pefter ${ }^{2} d$ with Storms in the Summer.
X. The Golden Book 1 have mentioned, contains a Catalogue of all the Noblemen in their State; and as all the Brothers of every Family have an equal Share
in the Nobility, fo their Names are regiftred in this Book as foon as they are born. Upon this Occafion I cannot forbear to add fomething in Reference of what has been told you againft the Account I gave you of the Haughtinefs of the Venetian Nobles: There is fcarce any Body that is acquainted at Venice, but will eafily agree with me, that the Venetian Nobles are not only extreamly conceited of their Nobility, but alfo very difficult of Accefs to Strangers of great Note; though the laft may be attributed either to Cuftom, or rather to the Politicks of their Government : And though they are not very fparing of Salutations when they are walking at the Broglio, yet they always appear very referved and proud in the Company of the Citizens; nay, they give and receive but few Vifits among themfelves. It muft however be confeffed, that in private Converfation, efpecially if their Intereft be concerned, they will be as obliging as moft Men, and will fometimes enter into a familiar Acquaintance with Strangers, provided both Sides be not of more than ordinary Quality, for this would have ill Confequences.
What I told you concerning the great Sleeves of the Noblemen, that they ferve inftead of a Basket at certain Times, was not a bare Jeft; for I remember I faw once a good Sallad, and at another Time an excellent Cod's-tail, thus carried out of the Market. There are befides this, about two or three hundred Barnabotes, fo call'd from a cheap Place in the City, where they live, (a Sort of poor Gentlemen, that ferve for a Foil to the richer) who both beg about the Streets, and would be glad to earn a Penny in carrying home Provifions for other People. In the Summer thefe Noblemen have their Vefts without Furrs, but the turning up on the Edges, remains always furr'd.
XI. It was not from my Ignorance of your Inclination, or rather Love to Painting, that made me guilty of that Negligence with which you upbraid me, in giving you fo imperfect Account of thofe curious Pieces that are to be feen at Venice. However, in Obedience to your Defire, I fhall endeavour in fome Meafure to fupply that Defect, by adding fome new Obfervations, though I am afraid my Memory will not furnifh me with many.
There were formerly, in the Hall of the great Council, fome Pictures done by Gentil Bellini, and 70 bon his Brother, which excelled the beft Pieces of that Age, but they were confumed, with almoft the whole Palace, in 1577 . The fame Hiftories were copied five Years after by Frederick Zucchero, and fet up again in the fame Order in which they ftill remain. Pordenone's Pictures in Frefco, in the Cloyfter of St. Stepben, are very much efteemed, as are likewife his St. Sebastian and St. Roch, at St. Gobn de Rialto. Pordenone was an excellent Painter; his Defigns are efteemed very judicious, and his Colours admirably well managed. He emulated Titian, and with fome Degree of Succefs.
The St. Peter Martyr of Tition, is reputed to be one of the fineft Pictures that ever was made, but it begins to be much defaced. The beft Judges are charmed with this Piece, though it has loft all that Luftre which ravifhes an unskilful Eye. They think they can never énough admire the Beauty and Richnefs of its colouring, and judicious Difpofition of the Lights, the Roundnefs of the Figures, the Paffion and Life that is obferved in the Face, and Strength of Expreffion which reigns through the whole Piece. There are feveral other Pictures by the fame Hand in the Churches, St. Mark's Palace, the Library, Convents and Fraternities. There are alfo fome Pieces by Scbiavoni in the Library, which have been frequently taken for Titian's. Horace Vecelli his Son has almoft equal'd him in fome Works, and the Picture in the Hall of the great Council, which reprefents the Battle fought by the Romans againft the Troops of Frederick, is the Work of Horace, though it is commonly afcribed to his Father.

The Wedding Dinner at Cana by Paul Veronefe, in the Refectory of the Benedizine Monks in the Ine of Si. George, is efteemed to be the Mafter-piece of that Painter, who, you know, is famous for the fame Excellencies that we admire in Titian. His Works are
particularly remarkable for the beautiful Difpofition of the Figures, judicious Choice of Colours, a fublime Genius, vaft Ideas, the greateft Eafinefs imaginable; and the moft charming Variety. This Piece takes up all the bottom Wall of the Refectory, it is two and thirty Foot broad, and contains one hundred and twenty-five Figures.

In the Church of St. Sebaftian, the Feaft of Simon the Leper is one of the moft celebrated Pieces of the fanme Artift. There are alfo three other Pictures by the fame Hand in the Arch of St. Mark's Library, which, if my Memory do not deceive me, reprefent Geometry, Arithmetick, and the Glory which is acquired by Learning.

The Paradife, by Tintoret, in the Hall of the Great Council, is. a famous Piece. It was faid of Tintoret, that he united the Defigns of Micbael Angelo with the Colouring of Titian, which certainly was a very noble Character. Befides, he had the mott fruitful Invention, and at the fame Time the quickeft Hand of the Age. A Painter who was with me in the Fraternity, or, as they call it at Venice, the School of St. Roch, made me obferve with Admiration that rare Picture which Tintoret finifhed almoft in a Moment, while Paul Veronefes Salviati, and Frederick Zuccbero, his Competitors in the fame Work, were ftill bufy upon the rough Draught which was to be prefented to thofe who defigned to employ them. I have feen feveral Pieces by the fame Hand in the above-mentioned Scbool, at St. Maria dell' Oro, at St. Mark's Scbool, and other Places. There are fome of Balfani's Works at St. Mary major. Schiavoni's Pictures in the Library are, I think, Emblems of Valour, Sovercignty, and Sancity.
XII. I told you, if I remember right, that their Gondola's or Boats have black Tilts ; I will add, that no body (except the Doge) can be attended by Servants in Liveries; tho' the Ladies of Noblemen, during the firft and fecond Years of their Marriage, are allowed to give what Colours they like beft to their Gondoliers or Boatmen, and to ufe Jewels; but that Time being once expired, this Courtefy ceafes, and they are not permitted to appear in Jewels unlefs on fome high Feftivals, and during the Carnival ; whence it is that the rich Courtezans rather pay the Fine than debar themfelves of thefe Ornaments. What you heard affirmed by fome, that the Venetion Ladies enjoy a greater Share of Liberty than thofe of England or France, feems to me to be the Effect of a fond Spirit of Contradiction; for, fuppofing the Ladies of Venice have the Liberty in Carnival-time to go to Plays, Opera's, Fairs, or Gaming-houfes, in Difguife, what Advantages can they reap from the Diverfion of fo fhort a Time, efpecially confidering that all this while they are conftantly attended by their Husband's Spies, who cannot but put them in Mind of the Slavery they are to undergo for ten or eleven Months in the Year? What Comparifon is there between this Confinement and the entire Liberty the Englifb and Frencb Ladies enjoy in their Walks, Vifits, Meetings, and Divertifements, withouc the leaft Reftraint?
XIII. The young Noblemen are permitted to be as fplendid in their gold and filver Laces, Stuffs, Plumes, and Embroideries, as they think fit: They put on the Gown at fifteen Years of Age, tho' they have no Vote in the grear Council till they are five and twenty. They have alfo the Liberty of wearing what Habits they like beft on the Continent, the Jurifdiction of the Tribunal that regulates Habits, not extending beyond the Laguna's.
XIV. When we were viewing the Treafury, no Mention was made by our Guides of St. Mark's Thumb, and that he was difmembred to prevent his being a Prieft ; but they were not fo forgetful as not to tell us the Tradition of the Lofs of his Ring, and how it was recover'd, and the Story runs thus: In the Year 1339, three Men came to a Gondolier in very tempeftuous Weather, and having conftrained him to carry them two Miles to the Lido, they found there a whole Shipful of Devils, that were bufied in raifing a Tempeft by their Enchantments ; but thefe three Men had no fooner
given
given them a fevere Reprimand, but the Tempeft ceafed. The firft of thefe three Perfons made the Boatman carry him back to the Church of St. Nicholas, the fecond to that of St. George, and the third to that of St. Mark; but the laft, inftead of paying the Boatman, gave him a Ring, ordering him to carry it to the Senate, and told him at the fame time, that he who went on fhore firft was St. Nicbolas himfelf, the fecond St. George, and that he was St. Mark. The Boatman, aftonifh'd at his Words, related the whole Matter to all the Senate, who, receiving the Ring, beftowed a confiderable Reward upon him.
XV. They fuffer Proteftants to be buried in their Churches ; the Reafon is, becaule they take no Notice of them here as Proteftants, all fuch as are neither Fewes, Greeks, nor Armenians, being reputed Roman Catbolicks.
XVI. Your Admirer of the Palaces of Venice hath miftaken my Aim, becaufe I did not deny that there were fome ftately Palaces there, and made particular Mention of feveral of them ; but notwithftanding all this, what I faid of the Italian Palaces in general, is
true beyond Contradiction: And becaufe you own that he hath no Skill in Architecture, you will do very well not to rely too far upon his Judgment in this Point, any more than in what you have been informed concerning the Machines in the Venetian Opera's, and that Venice is, for Neatnefs, to be compared to Holland.
XVII. I told you, that there is a Paftage by Water to all the Houfes in Venice; I am well fatisfied you did not take this Part abfolutely according to the literal Senfe, becaufe there may be perhaps about five or fix in a thoufand that can't be approach'd but by Land, and in this I fpeak the outfide; for what your young Traveller has affur'd you, that there was no Canal within five hundred Paces of the Houfe where he lodg'd, and that there are twenty fuch Places in the City, is a Contradiction in itfelf, for at this Rate, how many Spaces of a Mile in Diameter muft there be in Verice? And whether this is poffible, I leave to your own Determination, if you will carefully examine the Platform of this City, which I fend you, and is founded upon unqueftionable Evidence.

## S E C TIO.N III.

The Travels of Mr. Maximilian Misson continued, from bis Arrival at Rome, to bis Departure out of Italy ; with ObServations and Remarks.

1. A fuccinct Defcription of Rome; a more particular Account of the famous Cburch. of St. Peter ; a a View of the Palace and Library of the Vatican; weith various Remarks and Obfervations. 2. The Author's Dijit to 2ueen Chriftina of Sweden ; the Defrription of Rome refum'd, wwith a Multitude of curious Particulars refulting from the Autbor's Obfervations wwile refident in that City and in its Neighs bourbood. 3. The Solution of various 2ueries relating to the Antiquities of Rome ; the Story of Pope Joan ; an Account of Albano, and otber Places in the Vicinity of that great City. 4. Some farther Remarks on the Hifory of the Female Pope; the State of the Greeks, Armenians, and Jews, at Rome; togetber with additional Remarks on the Antiquities and Curiofties there and thereabouts. 5. The Autbor's Travels refun'd; an Account of Viterbo, Siena, Pifa, Leghorn, Lucca, and feveral otber Places. 6. The noble City of Florence deforib'd, the Great Duke's Palace there, the moft remarkable Chur ches, and Monuments in them; wivith otber curious and entertaining Particulars. 7. $A$ Viewo of the Country between Florence and Bologna, the laft mentioned City defcribed, and the mof remarkable Places thercin; and the Autbor's Gourney from thence to Modena. 8. An Account of Reggio, Parma, Placentia, Cremona, Mantua, Brefcia, Bergamo, and Several otber Places. 9. The large and famous City of Milan defcribed, weith a diftinct Viero of its principal Ediffees; an Account of Pavia, and otber Places. 10. The Autbor's Gourney from Pavia to Genoa; Hiforical Obfervations on tbat City and Republick. II. A Defcription of Alexandria, Cafal, Turin, and of the Country of Piedmont. 12. Some Obfervations of the Autbor in relation to Italy in general. I3. Remarks upon the two foregoing Sections; weith an Account of fome of tbe principal Mijfakes, cbarged upon our Autbor. by later Writers, and thofe Charges impartially difoufs'd.

. WE will now come to Rome, which being thoroughly defrrib'd by feveral Perfons of Note, who had all pofirible Opportunities of giving the beft Account of it, I will pretend to no more, than to give you a general Idea of this great and famous City, together with what Obfervations I was able to make upon fuch Matters as were then altogether new, or but little known, and have Relation to your Queftions. I need not tell you, that before the Reign of Servius Tullius it comprehended no more than feven Hills, whence it got the Name of Septicollis, or Seven Hills; but being much enlarg'd fince, contains no lefs than twelve; viz. Monte Capitolino, Palatino, Aventino, Celio, Effuilino, Viminato, Quirinale or Monte Cavallo,
Iaviculd Janiculo, Pincio, Vaticano, Citorio, and Giordano; however, you mutt not imagine them to be huge Mountains, but only little Hills, the Afcent whereof is fcarce difcernable.
Vopifcus (who flourihh'd under Dioclefan) would make us believe, that the Walls of Rome, built by Aurelian, were no lefs than fifty Miles in Compafs; but there mult be an enormous Error in this, feeing that the prefent Walls of Rome are very near the fame with
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thofe Aurelian erected, and yet are not above thirteen Miles in Circumference, this being the largeft Compafs Rome ever had, though its Suburbs perhaps extended far beyond them on all Sides. But of what is enclos'd within the Walls, there is not above one third Part inhabited at prefent, the reft, (viz, to the South and Eaft) being either Gardens or Ruins. Moft of the Houres are of Brick, and plaifter'd over on the Outfide; the Roofs are ridg'd, but the Angle on the Top is very obtufe; and fome are built, as we call it in France, à la Manfarde. Neither the Houres nor Streets are very beautiful, and the Pavements narrow and not very neat.
Which Way foever you approach Rome, you may difcover St. Peter's Cathedral above all the other Spires and the Tops of the higheft Edifices. The Courle of the Tyber (which makes a lietle Inand here) is from North to South : That Part on the right Side, called Traffavera, is not above the fixth Part of the orher. The firt Profpect of this great City does not furprize the Traveller, but the longer he flays in it, the more frequent Opportunities he will meet wish of obferving fomething worth his Attention, in ruminating upon the Remnanss of the Spoils of the Univerfe, which made
once the Porpharies, Granites, and the pureft Oriental Marble, to be more common at Rome, than the Bricks or Stones out of the neighbouring Quarries; the Colofes, Temples, Palaces, Anphitbeatres, Arcbes, Batbs, Cirques, Columns, Fountioins, Aquedutzs, Obelisks, Maufoleumms, and other magnificent Structures, being for the moft Part of thefe precious. Materials, which tho buried now in Ruins, yet ftill retain fome Remains of their ancient Splendor.
The Country about Rome, for ten or twelve Miles, is flat, but uneven, ill peopled, unheallthy, and barren in many Places. As to the Number of the Inhabitants, they are generally computed to be two hundred thoufand ; but I will not be anfwerable for this Computation, there Things being founded upon uncertain Conjectures, fo that even the Paffages in the ancient Roman. Authors are very hard to be reconcild in this Point, fome telling us of Three millions one thoufand and thirty feven, under the Reign of Ausuffus, others of four or five Millions, whereas Suetonius computes no more than One million and fix hundred thoufand under Tiberius, the immediate Succeffor of Auguffus; and I remember that Werner Roowwink, in his Faficiculus Temporum, does not hefitate at making them amount to Twenty feven millions and eighty thourand. I fuppore he included all fuch as had the Privilege of Roman Citizens in his Account.
Two Days after our Return from Naples, we happen'd to. fee the Ceremony of making either Wives or Nuns, of three hundred and fifty Maidens, the Fund for which. was raifed by a Club of fixty charitable Gentlemen. This Ceremony is perform'd every Year on the Fertival of the Annunciation, when the Pope and the facred College meeting at the Mizierva, the Pope, (or in his Abrence fome Cardinal) fays High Mals, and all the Girls conferf, and receive the Sacrament, being cloath'd in. white Serge, with Veils over their Heads, having only one Opening for their Sight ; they enter thus two and two into the Choir, where proffrating themfilves at the Pope's or Cardinal's. Feet who officiatés, near whom flands an Officer with a Bafon full of little white Bags, each of which contains either a Bill of fifty Crowns for fuch Maidens as chure Marriage, of a Bill of an hundred Crowns for thofe that are will ling to embrace a religious Life. Each Maiden having declared her Choice, receives her Bag hanging on a little String, with a Kifs, and fo goes off to make Room for another. Thofe that have chofen a religious Life are crown'd with Garlands of Flowers, and have the firt Place affigned them in the Proceffion. At that-Time there were no more than thirty two of thefe among the three hundred. and fifty.
Having taken a full View of the Minerva, (where we faw the famous Statue of Chritt embracing the Crofs, the Work of Micbael Angelo) we went to the beautiful Borgbefe Palace, the Portico of which is fupported by ninety fix antique Pillars of Egyptian Granite. In the lower Rooms alone are no lefs than feventeen hundred original Pictures, by the beft Mafters of $E u$ rope, among which, that of Venus blindfolding Cupid, done by Tition, far excels the reft. The Piture of Paull V. (who was of this Family) in moft exquifite Mofaick. Work, is reputed to contain above a Million of Pieces, which however I cannot find by my Calculation. We alfo faw here a Crucifix of the fame Bignefs with that fhewn us by the Cartbuffans at Naples, and they affured us that this is that celebrated Original of Mickael Angelo. The Name of Rotundo was given to the Pantbeon by common People, by reafon of its circular Figure. Boniface.IV. dedicated it to the Virg in and-all the Martyrs, whence he call'd it St. Maria ad Martyres: And another Pope would needs comprize all the Saints with the Maxtyrs. The Origin of its ancient Name is likewife fomewhat doubfful, fome deriving the Etymology of the Pantbeon and afrribing its Convexity to the Refemblance of the Heavens; others alledging, that it was dedicated to Yupiter, and Cybele the Mother of the Gods, others, to Yupiter, and all the Gods. This latt Opinion feems to be founded upon the many Niches which are feen in the Infide, and were (queftion-
lefs) full of Idols: But if we may believe Varro, who tells us of no lefs than thirty thoufand Gods worfhin ped at Rome ; and the Philofopher Bruxillus, who, in his Speech to the Senate, makes them amount to no lefs than two hundred and eighty thoufand ; there are not near Niches enough to accommodate all thefe Deities.
This Temple, though defpoiled of its beft Ornaments, yet is one of the faireft and moft entire Pieces of Antiquity in Italy. The Columns of the Portico of this Church are all of one Piece of Granite, of the Corinttbian Order, not equally big, but, according to the molt exact Meafure I could take, they were fifteen Inches in Compafs, fome few Inches lefs or more : That Piece of Granite, in which the Opening of the great Gate is cut, is forty Foot high, and near twenty broad. The two Lions under the Portico of the Pantheon ftood formerly on the Front of the Temple of Ifis. La Guillitiere (who is follow'd by Meurfius) would needs perfuade us, that the Pantbeon of Atbens furpaffes that of Rome in Magnificence, having miftaken the Temple of Minerva for the Pantbeon, into which Error they have been mifled by the erroneous Account of $T$ beodofius Zygomala, in his Letter to Martin Crufius; or perhaps by the miitaken Name of Partbenion, which Pausfanias gives it.
It being not my prefent Purpofe to give you a particular Deffription of Churches, I will only communicate to you my Obfervations upon them. That of St. Peter has the Reputation of the moft magnificent and largeft Church in the Univerfe: He that is willing to give a true Judgment of it, mult not be fparing of his Pains in viewing it frequently, as well on the Top into the very Baill, as the Church under Ground. You no fooner enter this great Structure, but your Eyes are furprized with the incomparable Proportions of the niceft Pieces of Architecture, and a moft exact and unparallel'd Order, rather to be admired than defcribed: And fince you are pleafed to rely upon my Fidelity and Judgment; I will fend you the principal Dimenfions of this Structure, as I have taken them with the Affitance of very skilful Perfons, more than once. I. The Length of the Church, taken on the Outfide, including the whole Portico and the Thicknefs of the Walls, 722 Engl. Feet. 2. The Length of the Church within, not reckoning either the Portico or the Thicknefs of the Walls, 594 Feet. 3.The Length of the Crofs of the Church on the Outfide, 490 Feet. 4. The L.ength of the faid Crofs within, 438 Feet. 5. The Breadth of the Body of the Church, 86 . Feet, 8 Inches. 6. The perpendicular Height of the Body of the Church, 144 Feet. 7. The Bignefs or outward Circumference of the Dome, 620 Feet. 8. The Diameter of the Dome within, 143 Feet. 9 . The Breadth of the Front of the Church, 400 Feet. 10. The compleat Height of the Church, from the Floor to the Top of the Crofs, which is over the Ball, 432 Feet. II. The Diameter of the Ball, 8 Feet, 4 Inches. 12. The Height of the Statues on the Cornifh of the fecond Order of the Front, 18 Feet. Michael Angelo and Bramante were the two chief Architects of this noble and majeftical Structure, the firft under Pope Paul III, the fecond under fulius II. The Chair of St. Peter is fupported by the four Doctors of the Church: The Statues of Brafs gill, and the Tombs of Urban VIII, Paul III, Mlexander VII, and the Countefs Moud, are moft magnificent and curious Pieces of Workmanfhip, worthy of the Edifice in which they are placed.
In fhort, where-ever you turn your Eyes, you meet with nothing but gilt. Work, excellent Pi\&tures, and Statues of Brafs and Marble, and thefe difpofed in fo excellent an Order, that their Multitude does not caufe the leaft Confufion. The Infide of the Capola is of Mofaick Work, and the Arch of the Nave of a certain fine Clay, with Comparments of raifed Work gilt ; all the Pilafters are defigned to be over-caft with the fame Matter, as well as the remaining Part of the Infide of the Church. The High Altar ftands in the Midft of the Crofs, directly under the Dome, the Pavilion being fupported by four wreath'd Pillars of

Brafs,


Brals, beautified with Foliages and Bees, the Arms of Pope Urban VIII. On each of thefe Columns fands a Brafs Angel feventeen Foot high, and on the Cornifh you fee Children playing and walking up and down: The whole Height amounts to ninety Feet. Under this Altar is a Pair of Stairs leading to the Chapel under Ground, where St. Peter's Body is kept, and to fome other facred fubterraneous Places belonging to this Church. At the Entrance down thefe Stairs 1 faw a Bull engraven in Marble, forbidding any Woman to enter there, except on Wbitfun-Monday, when Men are prohibited to enter, under Pain of being anathematized: The Place being very dark, we were told by the Sexton, that this Prohibition was occafioned by an amorous Intrigue. An Indulgence of feven Years is granted for every Step of the Stairs leading to St. $P_{e t e r ' s ~ C h a p e l, ~ t o ~ a l l ~ f u c h ~ a s ~ d e f c e n d ~ t h e m ~ w i t h ~ D e-~}^{\text {De }}$ votion.

The double Row of Pillars (286 in Number) which furround the Great Place before the Church, and lead to the fame by a double Portico on each Side, is a furprizing Piece to behold. The two magnificent Fountains in this Place are highly worth a curious Traveller's Obfervation, as well as the Obelisk that ftands in the middle of one entire Piece of Gramite feventy eight Foot high, with either the Pedeftal or Crofs placed on the Top of it by Sixtus V. when he fet up this ancient Monument here, which in 1586 . weighed 956,148 Pounds without the Bafe. It is a general (but erroneous) Opinion, That the Globe of Brafs, which was there formerly, contain'd the Afhes of Auguffus; but Dominicus Fontana, the famous Architect, upon Examination, found it not fit for that Ufe, but to be only an Ornament to this Obelisk; which was confecrated to Augusfus and Tiberius; as is apparent from the Infcription, which remains ftill undefaced:

Divo Cafari, divi Fulii F. Augufio
Tiberio Cafari D. Aug. F. Augufo facrum.
The Palace of the Vatican, fo call'd from the God Vaticomus, who gave his Vaticinia or Oracles here, is conveniensly feated for the Pope near St. Peter's Church; but by its too near Neighbourhood takes off Abundance of the Profpect, as well as fome other Edifices near it. This. Palace is not one entire regular Structure, but a Compofition of many beautiful Pieces, faid to contain 12500 Chambers, Halls and Clofets, which may in fome Meafure be difcover'd in the Model which is flewed of it in Wood.

The Belvedere, belonging to the Vatican, received its Name from its: delightful Profpect: We were fo furpriz'd with the moft excellent Pieces of Rapbael, Micbael Angelo, , Fullius Romanus, Pinturicio, Rolidorus, Fobn diUdina, Doniel. Wolterra, and other great Mafters, and they found us fo much Diverfion, that we neglected to take Natice of all the other Perfections of this beautiful Edifice. I have often, with a great deal of Delight, feen the moft curious Perfons in Rome gaze with great A. mazement upon the Hiftory of Attila, (the Work of the incomparable Rapbael, who was born 1483, and died when he was thirty feven Years old) and admire its Beauty and Perfections, nay, even put their Wits on the Rack to find out Expreffions fuitable to the feveral Excellencies of this marvellous Piece; when after all, fome nice Judges have, and not without very good Reafon, found Fault with the Drefs in which Rapbael has thought fit to reprefent Leo I. and two Cardinals, being after the fame Manner as they are worn by them now-a-days; whereas it is evident, from the Hiftory of thofe Times, thar Pope Constantine, and the other Popes, (two hundred, and fifty Years after Leo I.) wore plain Camblet Garments. Thus Tition hath painted Rofaries at the. Girdles of the Two Difciples that met Chrift in his. Way to Emaus; and anorher celebrated Painter, Roffo, has reprefented Monks in their Habits as Guefts at the Virgins Weddings. I remember that at Soeff, a Town of $\bar{W}$ elfphalia, there is a Picture of our Saviour's Laft Supper painted in a Glafs Window of a Church, wherein that Painter has put a Gamnon of Bacon initead
of the Pafchal Lamb. Nay, even Micbael Angelo, in his moft celebrated Piece of the Laft Judgment, has introduced many indecent Poftures, Angels without Wings; nay, even the Ferryman Cbarori with his Boat full of Souls.
In the Hall where the Pope gives Audience to Ambaffadors, are three large Pictures reprefenting the Hiftory of the Admiral Coligni; the firlt fhews you the Admiral as he was carried to his Houfe, after his being wounded by the Ruffian Morevel, (fifty thoufand Crowns were fet upon his Head) at the Bottom whereof you read this Infeription :

Gajper Colignius Ammiralius, accepto vulnere domums
refertur. Greg. XIII. Pontif. Max. 1572 . i. e.
The Admiral Galper Coligni carried bome wounded.
The fecond reprefents him murder'd in his own Houfe, with his Son-in-law Teligny and others, with this Motto underneath :

## Cades Coligni $\mathrm{E}^{\circ}$ Sociorium ejus. <br> i. e. The Slaugbter of Coligni and bis Adberents.

In the third the News of this Murder is brought to the King, who fhews a Satisfaction in his Countenance; with this Infrription :

## Rex Coligni necem 'probat:

i. e. The King approves of the Slangbter of Coligni.

Befides thefe Trophies of fo barbarous an Action, the fame Pope caufed Medals to be coin'd with this Infcription, Gregorius X1II. Pont. Max. an. I. and on the Reverfe an Angel with a Crofs in one Hand, and a Sword (with which he feems to thruft) in the other, with this Infcription, Ugonottorum Strages 1572 , i. e. The Slaugbter of the Hugonotts 1572. I obtained one of thefe Medals; though they are become very rare of late Years.
Of the Gardens of Belvedere, and the Statues there; I will put you in Mind only of the invaluable Marble Statue (of one entire Stone) of Laocoon, the Work of Agefander, Polydorus and Atbenadorus, three Greciant Sculptors; of the Trunk without Head, Arms or Legs, with the Sculptor's Name engraven on the Pedeftal,

Amoalonios nhetopos aghnaioz i.e. Apollonius, the Son of Neftor; an Athenian.

The Vatican Library owes much of its Contents to that of Hydelbergh, and of the Duke of Urbino; the Number of Books it contains is fo varioufly reported, that I thought it beft to determine nothing upon that Head. The Pictures reprefent for the moft Part the Sciences, Councils, noted Librarics, Inventors of Letters, and fome Pieces relating to the Life of Sixtus V. The old MS. of Virgil is in Quarto, but of greater Breadth than Length, in capital Letters, without Points, or any other Diftinction of Words. The Gotbick Letters, as well as the Miniature, fhew it not to be written in the firft Ages of Antiquity, as fome would have it. Among: the Manufcripts of the latter Ages, I took Notice of foine Letters written to and by Cardinals, wherein they give one another no other Title than Mr. Peter and Mr. Julius. They alfo fhews ${ }^{\text {d }}$ d us Volume in Quarto, of the Thicknefs of a Finger, containing Letters from King Henry VIII. to Anne Bullen. I alfo took particular Notice of the German Bible which you mention'd, and, as they fay, tranflated by Lutber; and written with his own Hand; which might have fome Probability of Truth, were it not that a certain extravagant Prayer, written apparently with the fame Hand, at the End of it, did deftroy it; the Words are thus in the Original :

> O God, durcb deine Gute Befchere uns Kleider and Hute, Aucb Mäntel and Rócke Tette Kälber and Bókke,

Oxen, Scbafa and Binder, Viele Weiber, wenig Kinder; Slecbte, Spaife and Trank Machet cikem das $Y$ abr lang.
i. e. O God, thro' thy Mercy, grant us Clotbes and Hats, Cloaks and Gowns, fat Calves and Goats, Oxen, Sbeep and Bulls, many Wives, and ferw Cbildren: Indifferent Meat and Drink makes the Year pafs aroay very flowly.

In the Arfenal, they tell you, the Pope preferves conftantly Arms for forty thoufand Foot and twenty thoufand Horfe; but I am fure there were not half enough for that Number, and thofe very indifferent. I told you that the Pope may, with great Conveniency, defcend from the Vatican to St. Peter's Church ; and on the other Side he may, with the fame Eafe, make a fecret Retreat from thence into the Caftle of St. Angelo, through a Gallery built by Alexander VI. It was Urban VIII. fortified it with four Baftions, unto which he gave the Names of the four Evangelifts. In the Chapel you fee a Picture reprefenting Pope Gregory I. proftrated at the Feet of an Angel that appear'd to him on the Top of the Moles Adriani, or Adrian's Maufoleum, and heathing his Sword, foretold the Pope the Deliverance of the City of Rome from a moft violent Peftilence ; whence this Place received the Name of St. Angelo.

In the little Arfenal belonging to this Caftle, we faw, befides the Papal Triple Crown, an Armoury full of prohibited Arms, taken, for the mof Part, from fuch unfortunate Perfons as were executed on that Account. Among the reft, they thew'd us the Piftols of Ranuccio Farnefe, Son and Heir of Alexander Farnefe, Duke of Parma and Governor of the Netberlands, who ufually carrying Piftols about him, contrary to the exprefs Prohibition of Sixtus V. who being a rigorous Perfon, and of a Difpofition very forward to maintain his Authority, order'd Ranuccio to be feized in one of the Chambers of the Palace, as he was going to defire Audience of his Holinefs, and to be carried Prifoner to the Caftle of St. Angelo. Cardinal Forne/e, Ranuccio's Uncle, left no Stone unturn'd to procure his Liberty, but in vain; for one Evening, about Ten o'Clock, whilft the Cardinal was foliciting his Releafement with the Pope, he fent his Orders to the Governor of the Caftle of St. Angelo, to have the Prince Ranuccio beheaded: This done, the Pope not queftioning but that his Orders had been executed immediately, and willing to make a Shew of obliging the Cardinal, gave him a new Order about Eleven a Clock, enjoining the Governor of the Caftle to fet $R a$ nuccio at Liberty. The Cardinal, who knew nothing of the firft Order, made all the Hatte he could thither, but was highly furpriz'd when he found his Nephew preparing himfelf for prefent Death in the Arms of a Confeffor, the only Reafon that had delay'd his Execution; but the Cardinal, overjoy'd to have nick'd the Time fo exactly, and producing his new Order to the Governor, had his Nephew put into his Hands, who, by his Uncle's Procurement, took Poft immediately, and fo efcaped the Hands of his Executioners.

During our Stay here, there was a certain Prifoner of Nute kept in the Caftle of St. Angelo, named Borri, a Gentleman of Milan, and a good Phyfician and Chymift, accufed of Herefy in receiving the Errors of the Collyridions in the fourth Age, who paid a Kind of Adoration to the Virgin, nay, fome fay that he made her a fourth Perfon in the Godhead: However, he has the Liberty of vifiting fome of his Patients of the beft Quality in the City, being fuppofed not to be in his right Wits at certain Times.
I am not well able to refolve your Quention concerning Dr. Molinos, for though I have feen thofe Propofitions that are faid to be his, yet will I not prefume to give my Judgment of them, unlefs I could hear Molinos himfelf; however, as they are publifhed, fome of them are dangerous, others ambiguous, feveral of them indifferent, and many very reafonable and orthodox. As to his Perfon, he has a very bad Character, being reputed a Villain and lewd Eellow, who, by his pre-
tended Infenfibility and Extafy, has deluded a great Number of Nuns, of which they tell you a thouland Stories, which have procured him his ignominious Confinement to a Cell for his Life. I have however obferved, that his moft inveterate Enemies have a much better Opinion of his Followers, who have embraced Quietifm, and other Opinions you have heard fo often attributed to Molinos.
2. The Queen of Sweden, Cbriftina Vafa, is a Princefs about fixty Years of Age, of a low Stature, and very fat; her Complexion, Voice, and Countenance are mafculine, with a great Nofe, large and blue Eyes, and yellow Eye-brows; her double Chin is ftrew'd with fome few long Hairs, and her under Lip fticks out a little; hër Hair is of a light Chefnut Colour, of a hand-breadth long, powder'd and curl'd up in Puffs, without any other Head-drefs; her Air is very pleafing, and feldom without a Smile. As for her Habit, imagine a Man's Fuftaucor of black Sattin reaching to the Knees, and button'd quite down; a very fhort black Petticoat, which plainly difcovers a Man's Shoe; a Knot of black Ribbon inftead of a Neckcloth, and a Girdle above the 7 uftaucor, which fupports the Belly. The Queen having left us, we took a View of the Palace Riari her Refidence, where we met with many ancient Pieces; the moft exquifite of them are, the Augustus, of the rareft tranfparent oriental Alabafter, but the Head and Feet are modern, and of Brafs gilt ; fixteen ancient Columns of Giallo, with two Pillars of tranfparent oriental Alabafter feven Foot high; the Venus, whofe mangled Legs are fo admirably fupplied by new Pieces, that the Joining is not to be perceived; the Caftor and Pollux on each Side of their Mother Leda, all of one Piece of Marble; the Sons are bigger than the Mother: The Altar of Bacclous, of beautiful white Marble, is adorn'd with moft exquifite Sculptures in Baffo relievo. Old Silenus going home drunk from the Feaft of his Fofter-child, fupported by two Men; the Baccbantes appearing in the Pofture of Mad-women. In another Place we faw a Goat fleas d alive, for cropping the Vines; and a Boar, which is wafh'd in order to be facrificed.

Among the Pictures, the Piece of Correggio, reprefenting the Intrigue of Fupiter with Leda in the Shape of a Swan, is exceeding fine; as are the Virgin, with the Infant $\mathcal{F} e f u s$; the llttle Sc. Fobn, by Rapbael; and Danae, by Carracbio; befides feveral other rare Pieces of Titian, Paul Veronefe, Guido, and other great Mafters. It would be much beyond the Compafs of a moderate Treatife to enter upon a Defcription of all the rare Medals to be feen in this Palace, I will therefore content myfelf with mentioning only the beft: The Otho, of Brafs, an Egyptian Piece, with Serapis on the Reverfe of it; the Pertinax, a fmall Latin Medal, on the Reverfe whereof you fee that Emperor offering a Sacrifice; the Antoninus Pius, another Latin Medal, having on the Reverfe ViEZory and Plenty offering him Fruit; another little Medal of the fame Antonin, called by Mr. Bellori, L'Anno Nuovo, or, the New Year, from the four Letters A. N. F. F. which he interprets Annum Novum, Faufum, Foclicem; and a Medal of Nero, with Hercules on the Reverfe; the Cicero, of Onyx, the Head white on a brown Ground, a moft curious Piece. But we will pafs from hence to fome other Curiofities: In St. $S, a-$ bina's Church, on Mount Aventine, we faw a great Stone, which, they tell you, the Devil of Colen hurl'd down from the Top of an high arch'd Roof, to knock out St. Dominick's Brains, after he had been difappointed in his Defign of beating down the Chapel of the Three Kings.

The Crucifix in St. Poul's Church, which fpoke to St. Bridget, was the Work of P. Cavallini ; it was made in the Year 1360 ; befides which, they have feveral other talking Images at Rome, as, the Crucifix of St . Mary Iranfportin's, which fooke feveral Times to St. $P_{e_{-}}$ ter and St. Paul ; our Lady of St. Cofmo and Damian, (formerly the Temple of Remus and Romulus) which chid St. Gregory for paffing by without faluting her : They fhew you certain Latin Verfes (attributed by fome to the Abbot Joachim, by others to Beda) containing
the whole Dialogue betwixt the Image and the Saint: Another at St. Mary's the Emprefs, and one more in St. Gregory's on Mount Celio, have now and then given fome Proofs of their Faculty of fpeaking, as divers others (if you will believe them) have not been fparing with their Teears; as at St. Mary's of Peace, St. Mary's in Valicella, and another St. Mary's call'd del Piento, and that in the Church of the Holy Gbof, has fhed whole Floods of Tears, as thefe credulous People believe. The Image of Chrift at St. Syluefter's in the Campo Martio, done by himfelf, as they fay, and fent by him to King Abagarus, is the rareft Pieture in Rome. Eufebius mentions the Letter pals'd between Chrift and Abagarus, but fays nothing of the Image, the Story being of much later Date.

This City abounds alfo in Variety of Relicks; as', the Ark of the Covenant, Mofes and Aaron's Rods, and the Fountain of Chrift preferved at St. Fobn Lateran; a Piece of the fame Money $\mathcal{F}$ udas received, his Lanthorn is alfo fhewn at St.Dennis in France, and the Crofs of the Good-Ibief, are fhewn at the Church of the Holy Crofs of ferufalem, with the Tail of Balaom's Afs and St. Poul's Thorn ; St. Rocb's Bowels are kept at St. Marcell's. The Beams of the Star that conducted the Wifemen have been evaporated of late Years, as well as the Sound of the ferujalem Bells; but Mofes's Horns, it feems, are ftill preferved at Genoa. The Navel of Chrift is preferved at St. Maria del Popolo, cêncerning the Foundation of which they tell you the following Story: In the very fame Place ftood a large Walnuttree, on the Branches of which ufed to perch a certain Troop of Devils, who guarded the Afhes of Nero in an Urn near it: This being very injurious to the Neighbourhood, they prevailed with Pope Pajcibal II. to rid them of this helliih Company: After fome Time fpent in Fafting and Prayer, it was revealed to him, that he fhould pull up the Tree by the Root, and build a Church ; and this being done accordingly, he gave it the Name of St. Mary of the People.

In the Church of St. Giacomo Scoffa-Cavalli, or St. Fames Sbake-borfes, they fhew the Stone, on the Altar of the Prefentation, on which Chrift was circumcifed, with the Impreffion made by one of his Heels upon the Marble; as alfo another Marble Table on St. Anne's Altar, on which Abrabam intended to facrifice his Son: Thefe Relicks, they fay, were fent by the Emprefs Helena, to be kept in St. Peter's Church; but the Waggon was no fooner come near St. Fames's Church, but the Horfes ftop'd; fo that the Drivers not being able to make them go one Step farther, fome Myitery was fuppofed to be hidden in this unaccountable Accident; and it being confider'd at laft, that St. Paul call'd St. Tomes, as well as St. Peter, the Pillar of the Cburch, they refolved to leave them at $S$ t. $\mathcal{F}$ ames's, and to preferve the Memory of the Miracle, gave that Saint the Name of Scofa-Cavalli, or Sbake-borfes.

You may eafily imagine, that my Curiofity might lead me to hear fome of their Preachers, who, generally fpeaking, exprefs themfelves more in fantaftical Geftures, wry Mouths, and odd-compofed Faces, than in their Arguments, or a fine Difpofition of Words, ferving more for Diverfion than Inftruction. I muft farther tell you, that each Order has its peculiar Way of preaching; the $\mathcal{F}$ efuits declaim very well, without thofe Geftures and Motions the reft are guilty of, but their Stile is extravagant. The Capucbins thunder out nothing but Hell and Deftruction, and make a hideous Noife ; whence it is that a certain Italian Author fays pileafantly, That when a Capucbin preaches, the Dogs run out of the Church. In fhort, their Difcourfe has neither Strength nor Gravity, a confufed Noife and Heat, without Senfe or Reafon. I remember I heard once a Carmelite preaching before the Penitent Whores of the Holy Crofs, concerning Mary Magdalen, who fpent at leaft a Quarter of an Hour in reprefenting all her Features to the greateft Nicety, not like a Preacher, but like a Painter.

The Queftion you put to me, Whether there are more Courtefans at Rome or Venice, I am not able to anfwer; for though I fee not fo many here as at Venice,

I have it from credible Perfons, that their Number is almoft infinite.' Sixtus $V$. endeavour'd to root out this Evil; but after he had done all he could with Banifhments and otherwife, was forced to recal them again, as Sixtus IV. did before, to prevent, as they fay, greater Diforders. Upon this Occafion I cannot but remember an ancient Picture of a Wedding at the Aldobrandin Palace. This is a Piece of Frize, brought hither with the fame Part of the Wall on which it is painted, being highly valuable both for its Antiquity and Workmanhip. I need not tell you; that the Marriage Ce remonies were very different among the Romans, the Bride being feated fometimes upon a Sheep's Fleece; fometimes on a Figure of the God Priapus, fometimes in another Pofture. In this Picture the is feated on the Bed-fide, her Head hanging down'with an Air of Coynefs, whilft a Matron fitcing by her puts her in Mind, with a fmiling Countenance, of her Duty. The Bridegroom, in an odd Drefs, with an Ivy Garland on his Head, is feated near the Bed, waiting, with an eager Impatience exprefs'd in his Looks, for the Compliance of his whining Spoure, whilft divers Maids are bufy in preparing Baths and fweet-fcented Ointments, and a The-Mufician plays upon the Harp, whilft another feems to fing fome Hymenia! O Hymence, fome Epitbalamium, of lafcivious Song, to difpel the Charms. This Picture on the Frize, and another on the Pyramid of Ceftius, are the only Remnants of the true ancient Painting in Rome. This Pyramid is fquare, ending in a fharp Point ; ' it is of Brick, but cover'd with white Marble ; it was repair’d 1673, and reftored to its former Beauty by Alexander VII. and, as appears by the Infeription, was erected to the Memory of C. Cestius, one of the Seeven Magiftrates appointed to take Care of Religious Feafts.

You enter the Maufoleum through a narrow Opening: in the Middle of the Thick Wall, and thence, into a vaulted Room nineteen Foot long, thirteen broad, and fourteen Foot high, plaifter'd over with a certain white polifh'd Mortar, on which are feen feveral Pictures of Women, Veffels, and other Ornaments.
To enter into a particular Defcription of fo diffiult a Subject being beyond my Scope, I will content myfelf to tell you, that I found the Antiquaries here of different Opinions in reference to thefe Figures, fome pretending that they reprefent the Preparatives for a Funeral Show, others a Banquet, as a Memorial of the Office of the Deceafed. One of the Figures holds a Veffel, into which fome others pour luftral Water, and ochers Wine. Another Figure you fee with large Pipes, defigned, as fome fay, for Mirth, and according to fome, for Mourning, both Parties pretending to back their Opinions by this Diftich in Ovid's Fasti.

## Cantabat Fanis, cantabat Tibia Ludis Cantabat moffis, Tibia funeribus.

There is one Thing, viz. the different Colours of the Fis gures, which feem to intimate, that thefe Habits were not intended for Funeral Ceremonies; and as, according to the Infcription of a Pedeftal dug up near this Pyramid, this Ceffius died in the Beginning of Augufus's Reign, for it is beyond Difpute, that the Women were cloath'd in White at the Funerals in his Reign, the Fafhion of Mourning in Black being abolifh'd in the Beginning of Ciefar's Dictatorfhip. Perhaps thefe Pictures were defigned only for an Ornament to the Tomb, without the leaft Refpect either to Feafts or Funerals, as the Sepulchre of the Nafo's has many fuch hiftorical Ornaments, the bare Product of the Painter's Fancy. The like is to be feen in feveral other Tombs, and efpccially' Urns. The greateft Curiofity in thefe Pictures is the Durablenefs, efpecially of their Colours, which were only mixd with Water, and do not even penetrate the Plaifter; befides that, Painting in Oil is an Inventiori of the latter Ages, by Fobn de Bruge, about 1450.
This Pyramid is about two hundred Paces diftant from the Hill call'd Doliolo or Monte Testaceo, i. e. the Hill of Potheards, which fome would have derive its Name from the broken Pieces thrown there by the Pot-
ters, that were obliged to live near the Tyber, to prevent its Inundation on that Side, by cafting together the Pieces of the broken Idols, Batbing-tubs, Statues, Tiles, and other Sorts of earthen Veffels, which amounting to a vaft Quantity in fo great a City, produced this Hillock.
But as probable as this Opinion appears at firft View, I have upon ftrict Examination of the Matter, obferv'd Things which induce me to believe otherwife; for having feen, at feveral Times and at feveral Places, the People dig Caves under this Hill to keep their Wine in, I could never obferve them bring out any Fragments of Images, Tiles, \&cc. but only the Remnants of Urns; whence I conjecture, that whilft the Cuftom of burning the Dead continued, a prodigious Quantity of earthen Urns were made for the common People, and as of Neceffity many of them molt be broken, the Reverence they had to thofe Veffels, that had contain'd the Athes of the dead Bodies, had induced them to affign a certain Place for thefe Fragments to be laid up in a Heap, juft as we, out of Refpect to the Dead, preferve their Bones.
Your Curiofity concerning the famous Pafauin and his Antagonift Marforio, I will fatisfy as well as I can: This Pafguin was a Taylor, a jovial fmart Fellow, at whofe Houfe the Newfmongers ufed to meet; his Lampoons were called Pafquinades, and thefe, as well as all the other Libels of the Town, were affix'd to a Statue which ftood near his Gate: It is a mangled Statue, thought by fome to be a Roman Soldier; it ftands leaning againft a Houfe at the Corner of a Place where feveral Streets meet. Pope Alexander VI. being advifed to throw this Pafquin into the Tiber, he anfwer'd, I Thould be afraid it roould turn into a Frog, and trouble me Day and Nigbt reitb its Croaking. Marforio is likewife a maim'd Statue, faid by fome to be made for 7 fupiter, others for the Rbine, or for Nera, which runs by Terni : It ftands in one of the Courts of the Capitol; and Marforio commonly asks the Queftions which are refolved by Pafquin.
You will perhaps expect me to relate Wonders of $T_{i}$ voli and Frefcati, and it is not to be denied but that they are pleafant, or (if you will have it fo) fine Places, but if Things are beft diftinguifhed by Way of Comparifon, (as for Inftance, betwixt Frefcati and Verfailles, or even fome other that are not Royal Seats) I dare boldly affirm, that both Tivoli and Frefcati, and all the other celebrated Places about Rome, in refpect to their Gardens and Watervoorks, are only Toys. Frefcati is a fmall Town feated on the Brow of a Hill, twelve Miles from Rome ; it has feveral beautiful Country Seats, the three principal of which are, Monte Dracone, belonging to Prince Borgbefe; Belvedere, to the Prince Pampbilio; and the Villa Ludovifa, to the Dutchefs of Guadagnola, the Conftable Colonna's Sifter; all which are in Comparifon to Verfailles the fame as Frefati is to Rome. Monte Dracoine is a very large Structure, feated on an Afcent, from which you may fee Rome and the interjacent Plain; but las the City lies at too great a Diftance, and the Plain is not embellifh'd with that Variety of things which render a Landfhip agreeable, fo the Profpect of Paris from St. Clou is infinitely more delightful: On the Side of Monte Porcio there is much greater Variety in the Profpect, but more ftraitned. The Avenues to the Houfe are but indifferent, and very difficult, and the Gardens and Fountains much out of Order. The Situation of Belvedere is near the fame with Monte Dracone; it has a pretty Cafcade and a Grotto, where you fee Apollo with the Nine Mufes on Parnafus. The chief Ornament of the Villa Ludovifa is the Cafcade; but the Furniture of all thefe Houfes were but very indifferent.
Tivoli is fuch another fmall Town, about eighteen Miles from Rome: Here is a Country Seat belonging to the Duke of Modena, commonly in the Poffeffion of the Cardinals of that Family; it is very fpacious, but wants both convenient Apartments and good Furniture; the beft Thing belonging to it are three Rooms painted in Fresco by Rapbael, and fome ancient Statues: The Gardens, though but fmall, yet are adorn'd with
moft delightul Terrafs Walks and curious Waterworks, far beyond thofe of Freficati, and perhaps all other Works of this Nature in Italy; but at prefent, what with the Stoppage of the Canals, and the Defect of the Pipes, every Thing is fo much out of Order in this Houre that you fee only the Remains of its Beauty. This Sight, as well as of moft other celebrated Country Seats, put me in Mind, after the furprizing Things I had heard concerning the Italian Waterworks, that if formerly they did furpals thofe of France, the Face of Affairs is much altered now; and allowing even what they fay of the Palace de Efte, that the Waterworks coft no lefs than three millions, it is neverthelefs beyond all Difpute, that the Waterworks and other Beauties of Verfailles abundantly exceed all thofe at Tivoli. The Cafcade or Cataract of the River Treverona (which produces white fmooth Flints call'd the Hailfoot of Tivoli) in this fmall Town is very pleafant, being not very high. Near it you fee the Ruins of an ancient Structure, reputed by fome to have been the Sybils Houfe, by others a Temple of Hercules: In the Court ftand twa ancient Statues of a reddin Granite fpeckled with Black, reprefenting (according to Mr. Spon's Opinion) the Goddefs $I / j s$, which he fuppofes to have been brought by Adrian out of $\notin g y p t$, to adorn his Country Seat.
The Hill near this Place has many Ages ago, and ftill affords moft of the Stones ufed in Rome, called common Travertin by Corruption, inftead of Tiburtin : The Front of St. Peter's Church is built of the fame, as well as the Collifeum, which is quite cover'd with it : The Stone is very excellent, but yellowifh and porous, and not fo ferviceable as your Portland Quarry, and thofe of Paris and. Caen. Alexander Taffoni, in his Various Thougbts, fays, That fome Workmen having cleft a great Piece of one of the Stones of $T_{i}$ voli, found in the Middle of it, in an empty Space, a Crayfib weighing four Pounds, which they boil'd and eat. Alexander $a b$ Alexandro affures us, that he found a wrought Diamond in the Heart of a great Piece of Marble, and at another Time a confiderable Quantity of fweet-fcented Oyl in another Piece of Marble, Bapiija Fulgofus fpeaks of a Worm found in the Middle of a Flint. The be-fore-mentioned Tafloni relates, (to fhew the Spirit of the Man) that a Cat fuckled a Rat at Tivoli.

About three Miles from Tivoli we faw a fmall Lake called Lago de Bagni, or Solfatara, called by the Vulgar the Sixteen Barges, from the fame Number of fmall floating Ines that are upon it: It is no more than a large round Pond, of about two hundred Paces diameter, the Water whereof is very tranfparent, and of a blueifh Colour; ; it gives Rife to a fmall Rivulet which, after a fhort but rapid Courfe, joins its Waters with the Anieno; they fay the Waters of the Anieno whiten the Teeth. The Lake as well as the Brook emit a very ftrong fulphureous Scent. The late Cardinal d ${ }^{D} E f t e$ in vain attempted to found the Depth of this Lake, though two Divers were prevailed upon to enter into it, one of whom never returnd, and the other related, that coming at a certain Depth, he found the Water fo hot, that he was not able to endure it, though on the Surface it is very cold: The Sound caufed by the treading of the Horfes thereabouts, makes it apparent, that there is a Hollownefs underneath the Ground near the Banks of this Lake. It is not unlikely that the Circumference of this Lake is only the Mouth of a much larger Abyfs extending a great Way under-ground on all Sides, and that the Diver, who was never feen again, happened to be carried into the fubterraneous Gulph, and could not find out again the Entrance of the Lake, for he never appeared afterwards upon the Surface of the Water. Near the Bank of this Lake are feen fome Ruins, fuppofed by many to be the Batbs of Agrippa The largeft of the floating Inands is of an oval Figure, not above fifteen Foot long: As the leaft Touch puts them in Motion, fo they are eafily carried by the Wind which Way foever it blows. Two of our Company got upon the leaft of thefe Illands, and pufh'd it from the Bank only with the Points of their Swords.

The Villa Borgbefe is in my Opinion one of the moft pleafant and the bett kept of any about Rome; it is all

## Chap. III.

 Greatef Part of ITALY.cover'd on one Side with moit curious ancient Pillars of Bafo relievo, fo naturally difpofed, as if they had been made for thofe Places where you fee them. All the 'Apartments are fill'd with admirable Statues and Pictures, among the firft, the Gladiator made by Agafias Son of Dofitbeus the Epbefian, as the Greek Infcription on the Bafe expreffes it, a Copy whereof in Brafs ftood at the End of the Canal in St. Fames's Park in London, (fince removed to Hampton Court) is an excellent Piece, as well as the funo of Porpbyry; Romulus's Wolf of the fineft Egyptian Marble; the Bufts of Hannibal, Seneca, and Pertinax; the Hermapbrodite ; the old Silenus, with Baccbus in his Arms; the David throwing a Stone out of his Sling at Goliath, EEneas carrying his Father, and the Transfiguration of Dapbne, three modern Pieces of Bernini, yet deferve to be rank'd among the beft of the former Ages. Among the Pictures, which are numberlefs here, the St. Antbony by Caracchio, and the dead Cbrist by Rapbael, are preferr'd before all the reft. In fhort, the Villa Borgbefe is a moft delicious Seat, and if it wants fomething of that Royal Magnificence, which gives a Luftre to fome Palaces, its fweet and natural Beauties feem to make an ample Amends for it: Befides that, for Statues and Sculptures the Seat of a Roman Gentleman may challenge the Precedency before all the other Palaces in the Worid. In the Garden, the Gardener flew'd us a double white Hyacintb, the Root of which, he told us, coft five hundred Crowns the Year before; a Thing not much furprizing to me, when I had known the Fondnefs (to fpeak no worfe) of fome People to proceed to that Extravagancy in Flowers, as to give four or five hundred Piftoles for a Tulip-root in Flanders.
The Villa Ludovifa, though much out of Order otherwile from the Poverty of the Prince of Piombino its Mafter, yet is very remarkable for a vaft Number of Statues, and thofe for the moft Part very ancient and valuable. The Faufina embracing a Gladiator, her Lover ; the two Gladiators, one a dying Mirmillo, and the other repofing limfelf after the Engagement. The Statues of Baccbus, Mercury, and Concord are all moft curious Pieces: The choiceft Pittures and richeft Furniture are removed from hence to other Places, the only Thing of Value remaining there, being the Bedfead, which (they fay) coft twenty thoufand Piftoles, but was much out of Order. In the fame Chamber they fhew'd us fome Bones, which, they would make us believe, were the Skeleton of a petrified Man; but, upon a ftrict Search, I found thefe Bones not petrified, but cover’d only with a ftony Cruft; not that I believe it impoffible for Bones to be liable to Petrifaction as well as other Things, having in my Travels had the Opportunity of feeing great Variety of petrified Fruits, Flowers, Trees, Wood, Plants, Fifhes, 'broad Pieces of Flefh, and Animals of all Sorts: Parcus fpeaks of a whole Child petrefied in the Mother's Womb ; and Kircher relates the fame of the Town of Biedoblo in Afric, that it was petrified in one Night, with Men, Beafts, Trees, and every Thing that was in it.
The Villa Cbigi is famous for its curious little Waterfpouts, and the Cabinet of Curiofities, in which the Adrian of oriental Jafpar excels the reft, and is really invaluable. The curious Walks of the Villa Montalto or Savelli, are not inferior to any of Rome for valuable Statues and Pietures; among the firft, the Germanicus, the Pefcennius Niger, the Scipio, the Goddefs Nenia, the Adonis, and the Gladiator, are moft excellent Pieces of Antiquity ; and among the Pictures, the dead Cbrist by Raphal, the St. Francis by Caraccbio, the Virgin and the Baccbus by Guido, and the St. Fobn by Pomarancio. I obferved here an unufual Figure of Abrabam's Sacrifice, by l'Eppagnolet, who, inftead of a Cymetar, or fhort two-handed Sword, as Abrabam is commonly painted with, has, more agreeable to Truth, given him a plain facrificing Knife, to cut his Son's Throat.

The Gardens of the Villa Pampbilia would, for their Exactnefs and orderly Difpofition, challenge the Preference before many others, were they kept in better Repair, the Houfe being adorn'd on the Outfide with
excellent Baffo relievo, like that of the Villa Borgbefes and is as well furnifh'd within, but that the beft Statues are much diforder'd by an odd Accident; for the Prince Pampbilio being very young, and much bigotted to the Fefuits, thefe holy Fathers, under a Pretext of Devotion, prevail'd upon him fo far, as to have all his Marble Statues, Men, Women, and Children, quite laid over with Plaifter-work in divers Parts of their Bodies, except a little Baccbus, who had the good Fortune to efcape their ill-placed Zeal; and a poor Venius, the Mafterpiece of Caraccbio, but her Beauties hid by Smutt from Head to Foot. After fomeTime, however the Prince, being got out of the Hands of thefe pretended Zealots, order'd the nafty Clay or Plaifter to be taken off again, which was done accordingly, but he found, to his no fmall Regret, that the clumfy Plaifterers had mangled feveral Parts of the Statues to make their. Clay ftick the better
The Vigne Madame; a Country feat belonging to the Dike of Parma, is neither fpacious nor magnificent, but very regular and pleafantly feated, being the Defign of $\mathcal{F u l i u s}$ Romanis : On one Side it has a moft delightful Profpect of Rome, with many Gardens and adiacent Seats; and on the other, a moft beautiful Lanidskip of little well-cultivated Hills. Over againft it you fee the Tyber flow through the pleafant Meadows and Fields, and at a Diftance the fnowy Tops of the Apernines rifing up among the Clouds; behind it is a Wood of tall Trees, divided into cool and Thady Walks'; the Gardens rife by Degrees into Terrafs Walks, and are well adorn'd with Statues and Fountains. Having fufficiently tired your Patience with the Defcription of Statues and Pictures, I will fay nothing of the Houfes of Medicis, Mattbai, Lanti, Cafarini, Fuffiniani, and many others.
3. I will at prefent begin with anfwering your Queftions concerning the Tyber. As on one Hand it owes its chief Reputation to that famous City that was buile upon its Banks, fo on the other Hand, it has been reprefented by fome with too much Contempt, its Breadth being by a general Computation at Rome about three hundred Feet, as may be feen by the Bridges of St. Angelo and of Sixtus; the firft is three hundred and thirty, and the laft three hundred Foot long : befides that, it has a rapid Current, and a confiderable Depth. What fome Antiquaries would maintain, that it was unlawful to erect Houfes upon the Banks of the Tyber, may be fufficiently refuted out of Claudian and other Authors. Suetonius fays, that Augufius order'd it to be clean'd, and enlarged its Chanel, to render the Paffage eafier to the Current; whofe Example has been follow'd by feveral other Princes, to prevent its Inundations, but without any remarkable Succefs; for the South-Eaft Wind off the Mediterranean (here call'd the Sea Wind) fometimes blows with fuch Violence, that it ftops the Waters of the Tyber at its Outlet, which if it happens at a Time when (either by continual Rains, or the Melting of the Snow in the Apennines) the Torrents of the leffer Rivers that join with the Tyber are fwoln, this Concatenation of Accidents produces thofe Inundations, which are look'd upon as the Scourge of Rome, as the fulphureous Eruptions of Mount Vefuvius are the Scourge of Naples; and of there, one of the moft fatal happen'd under Clement VIII. in December 1698.

The Waters of the Tyber appear always muddy and yellowifh, but if they are fet by for a Night to fettle, they will become clear and limpid, and are then accounted very good; notwithftanding which, the Romans have been anciently, and ftill are, at a vaft Charge to convey other Waters to Rome, through the Mountains, by the Means of coftly Aqueducts. The Aqua Felice coft Pope Sixtus V. near four hundred thoufand Crowns to bring them twenty Miles to Rome; and as the Waters of the Fountain of Montorio were carried as a greater Diftance by Pope Poul the Fifth, 1612 ; fo is is probable they coft a great deal more Money in the Materials neceffary for their Carriage.

On the High Altar of the Church of the Francijcans at Montorio, is to be feen that molt excellent Piece of
the Transfiguration, which is the laft Work and Mafterpiece of RapbaelUrbin the greateft Painter of his Time.

Not far from thence flands the Chapel, built in the fame Place, as they believe, where St. Peter was crucified; for which Realon they fhew a deep Hole in the Chapel, where they affirm the Crofs was fix ${ }^{3}$ d. The Picture of this Crucifixion, with the Head downwards, is to be feen at Sc. Paul's at the three Fountains, by the Hand of Guido; where they alfo fhew you the Pillar, on which, they fay, St. Paul was beheaded. In the Cloyfter of St. Yobn de Lateran they fhew the Column on which St. Peter's Cock crew ; and another, which, they tell you, was cleft afunder from the Top to the Bottom, on the Day of Chrift's Paffion: Here you fee alfo the Meafure of Chrif's Height, and the Stone on which Pilate's Soldiers caft Lots for Chrift's Garments ; it is of Porphyry, four Foot long, and three broad; the Dice they pretend to be kept at Umbriatico in Calabria. I will not trouble you with many other Curiofities pretended to be preferved here, but cannot forbear to mention the Chair I faw there, being a kind of arm'd Chair of one fingle Piece of Porphyry, about which you defire to be inform'd, as being that which was formerly made ufe of in the Ceremony inflituted to prevent all. Doubts concerning the Pope's Sex.
I will not be too curious to enquire into the Reafon and End of that Search, but fince you have given me fufficient Occafion to make the beft Reflections I can upon the Subject of the She-Pope, I muft frankly confefs, that I have not hitherto met with the leaft Solidity, either in your Objections, or any made by others, againft the Truth of this Hiftory; though I am.not ignorant that fome Protestant as well as Roman Catbolick Doctors of the laft Ages, have rejected the fame as a Fable. For, what Reafon can be given to rank this among many ocher extraordinary Events recorded in Hi Itory, when feventy or eighty Authors (Blondel fays feventy one Greek and Latin, fome too canoniz'd Writers) all Men of Senfe, not prompted either by Intereft or Honour, have related the fame at divers Times; nay, when the Intereft of Religion, and Fear of Punifhment, might, in all Likelihood, rather have deterr'd them from publifhing the fame? It is a very fender Objection to alledge the Difficulty of the Thing, the fame not being fufficient to difprove a Matter founded upon fo unqueftionable Authority, efpecially if we give fome A1lowance for the Diverfity of Times, it being certain, that People living then in an Age of Ignorance and Stupidity, they might be fooner impos'd upon than in this crafty Age ; befides, that Things which feem'd to be involv'd in infurmountable Difficulties, have neverthelefs been brought about by Time and Chance; witnefs Foan of Arc, known by the Name of the Maid of Orleans, born in the Village of Damremy, in the Year 1429, who at the Age of eighteen or twenty, from a poor Shepherdefs, became at once a great General : Befides, the Difficulties objected by our Adverfaries are of fuch a Nature, as cannot render this Hiftory fabulous, all the Circumftances attending the fame, being, if not altogether probable, or at leaft within the Compafs of Pofibility.

The beardlefs Chin objected to ber Holiness is of little Validity, when we confider that the papal Chair has at other Times been filled with beardlefs Youths, witnefs Benedict IX. and Fobn XII. the firtt of whom was chofe. at ten or eleven, and the laft at eighteen Years of Age. Perhaps this She-Pope might be of the Number of thofe Viragoes, who have not only a mafculine Mien and Beard, but alfo the Courage and other Qualifications of great Men ; and why might not fuch a one, in Difguife, have as fair a Pretenfion to the papal Chair as a begging Vagabond, fuch as Adrian IV. or a Swineherd, like Sixtui V ; And others who might be mentioned ? But, fay they, how could a Woman hide her great Belly fo long, and at laft expofe herfelf to the Danger of being deliver'd in a folemn Proceffion? As to the firft Part of your Objection, What Difficulty is there for a Woman that is taken for a Man to hide her great Belly, any more than for a Man that has a fwell'd Belly to be imagined to be with Child? And as to the
pretended Imprudence of our Sbe Pope, it is to be confider'd, that certain Things in this World are involv ${ }^{3}$ d in fuch Difficulties as muft be overcome at any Rate, maugre all the Danger that attends them; befides that, it is no hard Matter to fuppofe that fhe might be deliver'd before her Time.
You alledge the different Calculations of the Time, but the Reafon is obvious, thofe who have expung'd the Popefs's Name out of the Catalogue of Popes, being forced to extend the Reigns of the preceeding Popes, to fill up the Breach they made: themfelves. The next Objection, concerning her Voyage to Atbens, when the was but a young Scholar, is founded upon a frivolous Suppofition, which I may foon anfwer, by telling yout, that perhaps fhe was old enough to be admitted among the Auditors of the Atbenian Philofophers ; befides that, it is not all the Authors who mention her, fpeak of her going to Atbens: And though from thefe various Relations of my Authors you may feem to hope for an Advantage on your Side, I muft tell you, that even in Sacred Hiffory there are not wanting Inftances of Variations in Circumftances of this Nature, and that thefe Variations, provided they do not amount to Contradictions, do not in the leaft weaken, but rather ftrengchen the Credit of fuch a Relation; for had there been a Combination fet on Foot on Purpofe to ufher a fabulous Story, as that of Pope foan is pretended to be, they would have certainly agreed in all the Circumftances relating to the Story
The ftrongeft Argument (in your Opinion) againft us, is the Silence of thofe Authors who were Contemporaries of Pope 7 oan; but you will find this as weak as the reft, if you confider that Maricions Scotus, who died at Fulda in Germany, 1086 ; Sigebert a learned Monk, who died in the Beginning of the tweifth Century, and divers other more ancient Authors, did in alt Probability take it from thofe Authors that had mentioned the fame before them, there being not the leaft Likelihood that they invented it, for the Reaions beforementioned: Befides, let me tell you, your Argument is built upon a wrong Bottom; for the Editions of Anaftefus (furnamed the Bibliotbecary, who was a Romana Abbot, a Perfon of Learning, and Contemporary of Pope foan) which have efcaped Caftration, give a very circumitantial Account of the whole Matter. But fuppofe they did not, what Wonder is it, if Fear and Sbame did impofe Silence to the Writers of that Age, when the Invention of Printing was unknown as yet in the World, which could not be kept fecret afterwards? As we fee that the worft of Princes have been flattered during the Age they liv'd in, whom afterwards Pofterity, not cow'd by Fear, hath painted in their true Colours. I can't fee why the Church of Rome fhould make fuch a Stir to hide this Difgrace, when Baronius beftows the Title of Monfers upon feveral other Popes, and not without Reafon, confidering the Enormities the Popes have been guilty of, in diftributing Scepters, and treading crown'd Heads under their Feet, notwithftanding they retain'd the Quality of Priefts; and what is worfe than all the reft, to fet a certain Rate of Abfolution upon the moft abominable Crimes that can be committed, as appears from the Book entituled, The Rates of the Apofolical Cbamber, which I bought fome Days ago. It is true, they have fince endeavoured to fupprefs the Book, by inferting it in the Index Expurgatorius of the Council of Trent, but continue neverthelefs in felling their Difpenfations.

## Templa, Sacerdotes, Nenaina nobis, <br> 

Igris, Tbura, Praces, Celum eft venale, Deufuue.
i. e.
B. Mant.

Priefts, Temples, Altars, all with us are fold,
Fire, Incenfe, Pray'rs, Heaven, God bimjelf for Gold.
I will appeal to all unbiafs'd Perfons, when once Pofterity fhall read the Hiftority of the Perfecution of France, as reprefented by Maimbourg, Varillas, the Bifhop of Meaux, and others of the fame Stamp, I fay, when they fhall read the fame in thefe Authors, whether
they would not be apt to imagine that thefe poor Wretches were ufed with all imaginable Moderation, if it werenot manifeft from irrefragable Authority, that thefe unfortunate Creatures fuffer'd all the Cruelties that could be invented by their implacable Enemies. Before I take my Leave of Pope Foan, I cannot forbear mentioning what Mezeray fays (in the Life of Cherles the Bald) upon this Subject, viz. That tbis Opinion was generally received as an undoubted Iruth for five bundred Tears togetber. If you are curious to know the Reafon why the Ufe of this Chair is laid afide now-a-days, the following Epigram of Pannonius will fatisfy your Curiofity.

## Non poterat quifquam referantes, Etbera Claves Non exploratis, fumere Teficulis :

Cur igitur noftro mos bic nunc tempore cefat? Ante probat quod se quilibet effe marem.

The Senfe is this:
The facred Keys none could of old obtain
Unlefs by Search bis Manbood was made plain;
Why does not to our Days tbis Rule extend?
More certain Signs they give e'er they pretend.
Pafquin, in his Verfes on Paul II. and Innocent VIII. gives you the fame Reafon;

Pontificis Pauli Testes ne Roma requiras,
Filia quam genuit, Sat docet efe marem.
In Englijh:
That Paul's a Man Rome need no Proof require, Except the Maid that calls the Pontiff Sire.

Octo Nocens pueros genuit, totidemque puellas, Hunc merito poteris dicere Romæ patrem.

That is,
Eigbt Bays, eigbt Girls, begot; He weell may claim, Tho' not a holy, yet a Father's Name.
'The Church of St. Fobn Lateran is celebrated for its Spacious Magnificence, and the Title fhe bears of The Head and Motber of all Cburcbes, according to the Infcription engraven on the Portico:

## Dogmate Papali, datur Simul Imperiali Ut Sim cunctarum mater Ecclefarum.

Sixtus V. built a large Palace near this Church, but it was never inhabited. Next adjoining to this Seructure is the Sanzia Scala, fo called from the twenty eight Steps of white Marble, pretended to be the fame by which Chrift afcended into Pilate's Houfe, which no body is permitted to afcend but kneeling, thoughin there are two little Stairs, on each fide one, by which every one is permitted to walk up into the Chapel called Sanita Sanctorum, or the Holy of Holies, except Women, who are forbid to enter there. It has this Name from an Image of Chrift, which, they fay, was made by Angels : I faw it, and can affure you it is very ill-fhapen, and very un worthy of the pretended Workmen.
From hence we paffed by St. Mary major, a fumptuous Fabrick. A certain devout Roman Lord being warn'd in a Dream to go to Mount Efquilin, and there to build a Church to the Honour of the Motber of God, in the Place where he fhould find Snow; and Pope Libcrius having at the fame Time fuch another Vifion, they walk'd thither the next Morning; and notwithflanding it was then in Auguft, Anmo 355, they found Snow, which they removed with their own Hands, and laid the Foundation of a Church in that Place. The Chapel of Sixtus V. the Work of Dominick Fontana, which coft feven hundred thoufand Roman Crowns, and of Paul V. are very magnificent Structures; in the Iaft of which they fhew you the Manger of Betblebem, and the Picture of the Virgin done by St. Luke. Near it flands the little Church of St. Antbony, where all the Horfes of the City receive Benediction every Year on that Saint's Feftival. Soon after we took a Turn to Caftel Gondolfo, fixteen Milles from Rome, a Palace belonging to the Pope, but has little remarkable in it,
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About a Mile from this Cafle we faw the little Town of Albano, where in former Ages ftood the famous City of $A l b a$, which, they fay, extended from the Lake of Caftel Gondolfo to this Town of Albano ; but this is a Matter of Fact, queftion'd by fome.
We were thewn at Albano the Ruins of a Maujolauns not unlike an old Tower, called commonly the Tomb of Afcanius, but with the fame Uncertainty. There is another very ancient Tomb near Albano, fuppofed to be the Sepulchre of the two Horatii, and the three Curiatii, occafion'd, queftionlefs, by the five Pyramids ftanding on this Tomb; but Livy exprefly contradicts this Opinion, viz. that their Sepulchres were erected in the fame Places where each of them expired, viz. thofe of the Horatii near Alba, and thofe of the Curiatit not far from Rome. They told us that the Lake of Caffel Gondolfo was fix or feven Miles in Circumference, enclofed on all Sides with rifing Grounds in the Formz of an Amphicheatre. In two Places the Depth of this Lake cannot be founded, and fometimes the Waters of this Lake fwell on a fudden to the very Brink of thefe high Banks, occafion'd, without doubt, by fome fubs terraneous watery Receptacles which difcharge themfelves into it. Near Genfama, about half a Mile from this Lake, is another little one, called by the Moderns the Lake of Nemi, but by the Ancients Speculums Dianc, from a Grove and Temple confecrated to that Goddefs, which formerly were very near the Banks of this Lake.
Between Albano and Cafel Gondolfo are to be feen the Ruins of an ancient Amphitheatre; and we were not a little furpriz'd to fee feveral large Trees, that had taken Root without, to have forc'd their Paffage thro', and cleft afunder the beft cemented Stone and Brick. The Country about Albano and Genfana is very fertile; affording the beft Wines and Fruits, and the Inhabitants ftill hold their moft ancient Cuftom of cultivating Leeks and Onions ; Mittit pracipuos nemoralis Aricia porros. Mart. Before I leave the Roman Palaces, I muft tell you alfo fomething of thofe within the City, which I will do with all the Brevity that is poffible.

At the Palace fuffiniani there is a Catalogue of Anz tiquities of 1867 Pieces, and of 638 curious Pictures, the moft excellent of which are, the Nero's Head, the Minerva, Venus coming out of a Bath, and the three little Cupids fleeping and leaning one upon another. Cardinal Cbigi's Palace is fcarce inferior to any in Rome, the Gates are over-crufted with an old green Marble: The Statues of the two Venus's, of Marrias flea ${ }^{\circ}$ d, and of the dying Gladiator, are admirable Pieces. The Farnefian Palace was begun by Antonio de S. Gallo, but brought to Perfection by the famous Micbael Angelo ${ }_{\xi}$ the Front being in Breadth one hundred and eighty Foot, and ninery Foor high. The Gates, Cornerpieces, Crols-bars of the Windows, Cornifh, and in fhort, all the principal Stones of this beautiful Structure, were the Spoils taken from the great Collifeum, which admirable Monument of Antiquity has furnifh'd Materials alfo not only to the Palace of the Cbancery and St. Larerence's Church, but alfo to fome Part of the City Walls. Thus Innocent VIII. deftroyed the Gordian Arch to build a Church ; and Alexander VI. that moft beautitul Pyramid of Scipio, to pave the Streets with the Stones.
The Marble Steps to the Church of Ara Celi bea long'd formerly to the Temple of Romulus: St. Blaife's Church owes its Ornaments to the Spoils of the Temple of Neptune, as S. Nicbolas of the Souls was built out of the Ruins of the Circus Agonalis ; and had it not been for Sixtus V. we might now look in vain for any of the precious Remnants of Antiquity in Rome.
The Hercules and Bull in the Farnefan Palace are celebrated throughout the World; and the Gallery by Caraccbio, the Hall by Salviati, and the Vemus and Adonis by Titian, are alfo excellent Pieces. The Library in the Palace of Altieri contains a good Number of the beft Books. The whole Staircale, and efpecially the Statue of a Captive King at the Foot of it, (found five hundred Years ago in the Place called

Narona)

Navona) is very fine. It has very fpacious Apartments well filled with curious Pictures and rich Furniture. I faw here a Looking Glafs of Rock Cryftal, ten Inches long, and fix broad, in a Frame of Gold fet with precious Stones of a confiderable Value. They alfo fhew'd us a little earthen Difh carefully kept in a rich Frame, as being fuppofed to be the Work of Raphael, and is of the fame Kind with the Veffels of Loretto; but difcourfing upon this Subject with the noted Carlo Maratti, he affured me, that Rapbael never drew a Stroke on any of thefe Difhes, but that, by the Refemblance of the Way of working, fome of his Scholars painted the the fame, in Imitation of his Defigns.
The Palace Barberini, called the Palestrina, containing four thoufand Chambers, is the largeft in Rome next to the Vatican, and has abundance of Antiquities; the little Diana, of Oriental Alabalter, is of great Re pute ; the Tullia, Daughter of Servius Tullius, and Wife to Tarquin the Proud, is very rare, and faid to be the only one of that Kind in Rome : Here I alfo faw the God Ofris, with his Hawk's Head on a human Body, which was found with the Obelisk of Minerva, under the Ruins of the Temple of Ifss; and a Marble Buft of Pope Urban VIII. made by a blind Man, and yet the beft that is extant of that Pope. The other Palace of Barberini, towards the four Fountains, is fill'd up with Rarities, Antiquities, and Curiofities of all Sorts: They told us, that the Library contains four thoufand Volumes. In the Hails of the Palace Colonna you fee the Pictures of two Popes, Adrian I. and Martin V. two of the beft that ever fate in the Chair, nineteen Cardinals, and fifty four Generals, all defcended from the Houfe of Colonna. In this Palace are nine very fpacious Apartments, eight thoufand original Pittures, a little Arfenal, Bunts, antique Baffo relievo, Statues, and rich Furniture, in confiderable Quantities.
As for their Way of Building in general, I told you before, that they cover their Houfes with ridged Roofs, found out by our famous Manfard, and much preferable to flat Roofs; and upon this Occafion I muft intreat you to lay afide that partial Opinion you feem to have conceiv'd of the entire Perfection of the Roman Arcbiteciture, which, as well as in other Places, varies according to the Difference of the Age and peculiar Mode of the Country, and is not always fuited to the Regularity and Magnificence of juft Architecture. The Obelisks in Rome are quadrangular, ending in a fharp Point, their Angles refpecting the four Corners of the World, and denoting the four Elements, as the whole refembled the Rays of the Sun, the chief Divinity adored by the Egyptians under the Name of Ofris. The Hieroghyick Cbaraiters on thefe Obelisks, fuppofed by fome to have been the Elogies or Hiffories of great Actions, erected by the Egyptians in Honour of the Heroes of their Nation, have fince been clearly demonitrated to contain the Secrets of their Divinity, Affrology, Metapbyjicks, Magick, and fuch other Sciences as were in Vogue among the Egyptians: All thefe Obelisks, (not one of them being made at Rome) are of Granite, a Kind of very hard Marble, which, they fay, will refift the Fire for a confiderable Time, and without Queftion induced the ancient Egyptians to make Choice of it for fuch lafting Monuments. The Obelisk of St. Fobn Lateran has ftood three thoufand Years, and that of St. Peter nine hundred Years longer : The firft, which is the biggett of the two, is an hundred and eight Foor high, without including the Pedeftal or the Crofs. There are alfo fome Granites of Corfica in this Place, but their Grain is much coarfer than thofe of Egypt.
4. Since you defired me to give you my Obfervations upon what Mr. Cbevreau hath alledged, in his Hittory of the World, concerning Pope Foan, I will write you my Sentiments upon this Head. That Gentleman acknowledges, That a considerable Number of famous Autbors bave mention'd that Story, and poftively afferted the Trutb thereof: And what Reafon, I pray, can he alledge, why fo many unbiafs'd Witneffes of unqueftionable Credit, who unanimounly atteft that Matter, fhould not be credited? He fays, The more judicious
and cautious Part of Mankind, relying on the Silence of feveral otber Autbors, bave examined and rejectied the fame. It is certainly a very weak Way of arguing, to fay, that a Thing attefted by the unanimous Voice of feventy or eighty Men, all of the Roman Catbolick Religion, moft of them Clergymen, and fome canoniz'd Saints, all which is confefs'd by the Romanists, fhould be invalidated by the Silence of fome other Authors. But, fays Mr. Cbeoreau, Anaftafius the Bibliotbecary makes no Mention of the Sbe-Pope Joan : But this Author, as well as Onupbrius, who alledges the fame Ar gument, is miftaken. If you will be pleafed to confule Mr. le Sueur's Ecclefiastical Hijtory, and Colomeffus's Historical Mifcellanies, you will hear there of an Anaftafus in the French King's Library, containing a circumftantial Account of this female Pope; befides two other Copies of the fame Author, feen by the great Salmajus at Augsbourg, and another at Milam, which give an Account of the fame Pope Foan. Thefe before-mentioned Books tell you further, that the Jefuits of Meniz having only fuffersd two Copies to be wrought off conformable to the Original, (which they do not deny themfelves to be true) fupprefs'd what difpleafed them in the reft of the Edition. Upon this Occafion, I cannot but put you in Mind to weigh ftrictly the Authority of the Teftimony of Anaftafus, (he wrote the Lives of the Popes to Nicbolas I. the Succeffor of Benedict III.) who being a Man of fingular Learning, lived at Rome, and was Contemporary with this female Pope.
I cannot forbear, in the next Place, to give you my Thoughts upon the Reflections made by Mr. Cbevrean on Martinus Polonus, or the Pole, Archbifhop of Cofen$z a$, and Penitentiary to Innocent IV. and (according to the Opinion of fome) to Nicbolas III. whom he calls a filly Monk; and, I pray, for what Reafon? Since, fays he, in bis Treatije of the Wonders of Rume, be mijtakes the Gate of Oftia or of St. Paul, and of Capenna and St. Sebaftian, for another wobich be calls Collina, infead (as we may probably fuppofe) of Collatina or Pinciana, the Pantheon for a Temple of Cybele, and the Amphitheatre for a Temple of the Sun, we may the eafer forgive his Blunder in Hiftory woben be miftakes a Pope for a Popes. If this Argument holds, That fuppofing M. Polonus bad miftaken one Gate for anotber, therefore be mult take is Pope for a Popefs, I might with the fame Reafon retort it upon Cberreau himfelf, that Jince kis Reflecitions on M. Polonus are groundlefs, therefore be miftakes a Popefs for a Pope. That his Reflections are groundlefs, appears, (I.) That Mr. Cbevreau himfelf knew not that there was fuch a Gate at Rome as the Collina, when he fays, that Polonus took the Gate of Oftia, and tbe Gate Capena, for another wobich be calld Collina, instead of Collatina, or Pinciana; it being certain that Collina was the Name of a Gate as well as Collatina, and had its Name à Colle Quirinali, mention'd by Ovid:

Templa frequentari Colline proxima porte Nunc decet,

Faft. 4.
being now call'd Salarco. (2.) The Gate Collatina, fo called from the Town of Collatium, is different from the Pinciana, as F. Nardin hath fufficiently demonftrated. (3.) Mr. Cbevreou has as little Reafon to find Fault with Polonus for calling the Pantbeon the Temple of Cybele, the fame being founded upon the Opinion of feveral learned Antiquaries, who believe it to have been confecrated by Agrippa to Fupiter the Avenger, and to Cybele the Mother of all the Gods, who was fometimes wormipped under the Names of Ops, Rbea, Vefa, Berecyntbia, Dindymene; fometimes under the Names of Tellus, Magna Pale, Magna Mater, and frequently ftiled Natura Rerum Parens. (4.) Mr. Cbevreau fpeaks fo ambiguouny concerning the Roman Ampbitbeatre, that his Meaning is not eafily to be underftood; for fince there were feveral Amphitbeatres, the Ruins of fome of which are ftill remaining, I fuppofe he means the great Ampbitbeatre called Collijeum, built by Vefpafian, and dedicated by Titus. (5.) It is certainly too great an Abfurdity to believe, that Polonus could miftake this Collifeum for the Temple of the Sun; which makes me
imagine,

## Chap. III.

Greatef Part of ITALY.
imagine that fome of his Expreffions muft not be well underftood, and that inftead of faying the Collifeum as a Temple of the Suri, he might feeak of the Temple near the Ampbiibeatre.
You tell me, you have feen a Manufcript of Polonus, where this Story is written in the Margin by another Hand; and what can be infer'd from thence, except, that the Author having been mutilated by fome body or other, a more equitable Perfon fupplied the Defect, Bellarmine himfelf making not the leaft Scruple to confefs, that M. Polonus wrote the Hiftory of the Po* pefs? For the reft Mr. Cbevreau being not a little puzzled to give the World a probable Account of the firft Rife of this Story, is forced to have Recourfe to Onupbrius, (though he conceals his Name) who pretends, that Pope Fobn was nick-nam'd Foan, from a favourite Concubine he had of that Name; though neither of them can produce any other Authority for this Affertion than their own, or make it appear that Pope Fobn had fuch a Concubine: It is true, they cite Luitprand in their Behalf, but erroneoully, the Widow's Name he fpeaks of being Amne, and not Foan. And Mr. Cbevreau, it feems, was ignorant that Mr. du Plef/is Mornay had already made a Difcovery of this Forgery of Onuphrius, and that this Pope fobn fill'd the Chair a hundred Years after Pope Foan.
What he affirms of the Cbair not being bored, I can contradict as an ocular Witnefs, having feen it more than once ; and it is bored after the Manner of Clofeftools. There are two of them, (both of Porphyry) one broken and the other entire, both made after the fame Manner. Platina affirms pofitively, after Cbalcondylas an Atbenian, who flourifhed abour the Middle of the fifteenth Century, and other approved Authors, that the new-elected Pope was placed in the bored Chair, and that the youngeft Deacon ufed to thruft his Hand through the Hole, to feel whether he had the true Marks of Virility. This was, queftionlefs, the primitive Ufe of this Chair ; and though this Cuftom was laid afide by Degrees, they continued however for fome Time to fet the Popes on the fame Chair, to put them in Mind, as Mr. Chevreau affirms after Fauchet, that they were ftill fubject to the common Infirmities of human Nature.
What Mr. Cbevreau tells us concerning the Deputies of the Council of Soiffons, fent to Pope Leo IV. who was deceafed before their Arrival, is of little Confequence, fince he mentions a Council of Soifons without any peculiar Diftinction, and without the leaft Proof, which ought to have been founded upon Manufcripts of uncontroverted Antiquity and Credit, to extricate himfelf and his Adherents out of the Labyrinth in which they have entangled themfelves, by confounding the Succeffion of the Popes that preceded and followed the Popefs foan; whence it is, that whereas Platina, Garenza, and other unbiafs'd Hiftorians, compute twenty four Popes that bore the Name of Fobn, (the reft count but ewenty three) and thus introduce an irreparable Confufion in Hiftory. But it is Time to have done with Mr. Cherreau; I will only add, that it ought not to feem flrange to you, that our Popefs is fometimes called Anglicus, fometimes Moguntinus ; the Author of the Fagciculus Temporumi (Werner Wolninck a Wefphalian) has unfolded the Riddle in thefe Words, Goames $A n$ glicus cognomine, Sed natione Moguntinus': Her Name was Joan Englifh, but was born at Mayence. Neither muft the Variations obferved in Maninfcripts difturb you, who are not ignorant of a thoufand Inftances of what Forgeries have been introduced by'Tranicribers, any more than the doubtful Expreffions you meet with in fome Authors that relate this Hiflory, it being to be confider ${ }^{2}$ d, that as the Force of Truth prompted them to fpeak, fo Fear, on the other hand, was a fufficient Bridle to reftrain them from fpeaking, too freely of the Matter : But as, notwithftanding all this, fome Authors have broken through all thefe Obftacles; and given us a poficive and circumftantial Account of the whole Matter, all the negative Autborities in the World cannot be fufficient to counterbalance the Credit of fo many autbentick Witneffes, and of a Relation fo generally and fo-
lidly attefted. To bring up the Rear of your Arguio ments, you have called to your Aid fome of the Pro: teftant Doczors, who deny the Story of Pope Foan, and among the reft the famous David Blondel, a Man of Learning and Wit: But, to deal frankly with you; as the Author's Name is the ftrongeft Argument in his Book; fo it is an unaccountable Piece of Prejudice to build blindly upon the Opinion of any Man not divinely infpired, let his Name be ever to great in the World, for Learning and Knowledge:
For my Part, I cannot reconcile his Argument wheri he confeffes, that the Hiftory of the Female Pope is con: tain'd in the Augsburgh Copies of Anaftafus, but in Oppofition to thefe pretends to cite (and that without quo: ting any entire Paflage) a certain private Copy of Auaf tafus, to be met with (which we muft take upon his Credit) at Paris, the Certainty whereof he feems to queftion himfelf, when he tellis us, that it bas often been mistaken for Platina; fo that in the Main this Book may, without much Difficulty, be refuted by itfelf, the reft being a confufed Medley of Chronological Cavils; and an Heap of needlefs Quotations, ferving more for Oftentation and to confound than demionftrate the Matter he has taken in Hand, to ftand either one Way or other. To conclude the Whole, and to tell you my Thoughts with all imaginable Freedom, I have a great deal of Reafon to believe, that it was rather Intereft and Oftentation than the Love of Truth that engaged our Author in this Defign; for I was affured by a Perfon of Honour at Paris, who knew the Author very weill, that he had it from the firft Hand, that he was hifed to write a Treatife againtt the History of Pope Foan. And as my Author is a Perfon of unqueftionable Reputation, fo the only Thing that can be faid upon this Head is, that Mr. Blondel is not the firf Mart that has been overcome by the Force of Gold.

All that I am able to anfwer to your Queftions concerning the Armenions and Greeks is, That as they have each their peculiar Ceremonies, fo they officiate according to their own Rites; but before they can fettle at Rome, are obliged to acknowledge the Pope's Supremacy. Some Antiquaries fay, the little Armenian Church was formerly one of the Temples of the Suit and $\neq u p i t e r$. Before the Pontificate of Paul IV. the Feros lived pretty eafy in any Part of Rome, but this Pope confined them to a certain Quarter of the City, whither they were to retire at Sun-fet, forced them to fell their Poffefions, and allow'd them to deal only in old Clothes, and for Diftinction Sake to wear yellow Hats. Gregory XIII. obliged a cerrain Number of them to hear a Cbriftian Sermon every Saturday in the Aftere noon ; but I had no Opportunity to fee this Affembly. The Italian Yeros, and efpecially thofe of Rome, religiounly obferve that Cuftom of marrying before the twentieth Year of Age : Their Number may amount ind Rome, to about fix or feven thoufand ; but they are generally poor and defpifed.
If any 'Jew or other Infidel has a Mind to be bapo tized, the Ceremony is generally put off to Saturday in the Holy Week, and is then perform'd in the Church of St. Fobn Lateran, becaufe they believe Confantine the Great was baptized here. We faw fix Turks baptized ; they wore white Damask Cloaks, and a large Band ${ }_{5}$ with a Silver Crofs hanging at their Necks; the Cardinal that was to officiate, attended by the Canons of the Church, began the Ceremony with bleffing the Was ter; then the new Converts being prefented by their refpective God-fathers, advanced one after another, and having declared their Willingnefs to receive Baptifm; they lean'd over the Font, and the Cardinal baprized them by pouring Water upon their Heads with a large Silver Spoon; and having given each his Name; they were, with Wax Tapers in their Hands, conducted to the Chapel of the Baptiftery, to be confirm'd, and from thence went to hear Mass in the fame Church.

The Thurfday before we were prefent at the Ceremony of wahing the Feet of thirteen Pilgrims in oñe of the Chapels of the Vatican: They appear'd all in white, with a Kind of Hood and fquare. Cap, feated in ac Row upon a Bench, After they had pull'd off their Shoes
and Stockins, a great Bafin was brought, and Ewers of Vermilion, one for each Pilgrim; then the Cardinal that officiated inftead of the Pope, putting their Feet in the Bafon, wafh'd and rubb'd them with his own Hands, and at laft wip'd and kifs'd them : Soon after, each of them being regaled with two golden Medals, they went all together to an Apartment of the Palace, to partake of a magnificent Entertainment prepared for them; they were placed in one Row at a Table, the Cardinal dining at the fame Time at another in the fame Room.

The Pope [Innocent XI.] though really old and infirm, yet often makes the Want of Healch ferve for a Pretence to excufe his Abfence at thofe numerous Ceremonies ufed at Rome. I had it from very credible Perfons, that he did not approve of the French Way of converting People by Dragooning, and Thew'd a great deal of Averfion to thofe who pretended to propofe certain Methods of Accommodation to him with the Crown of France. His Retirement is the Occafion he is feldom feen by Strangers; nay, it is a Rarity to meet any of his Coaches, Footmen, or others belonging to his Retinue. If he happens to ftir abroad, it is in a large Litter lined with Crimfon Velvet, without and within adorn'd with Gold Galoons and Fringes, the Harneffes of the Mules cover'd with the fame Stuff. He fits always alone in his Litter, with a little Table before him. All the Popes have the fame Livery, viz. Scarlet, with a double Velvet Galoon of the fame Colour ; even the Apartments of the Vatican and Monte Cavallo are hung with red Damask intermixed with Edges of Gold Galoons, and adorn'd above with Gold Fringes.

The Situation of the Gardens of Monte Cavallo is very delightful, but their Contrivance is not very regular, nor are they well kept. The two Marble Horfes before this Palace are generally reputed to be made by Pbidias and Praxiteles, whofe Names are engraven upon them.

## Opus Pbidias, Opus Praxiteles.

Some will have them to be the Statues of Bucepbalus the Horfe of Alexander, which thefe Artifts made in Emulation of each other ; but there is a Miftake in this Tradition, confidering that Pbidias flourifhed a whole Age before Praxiteles, and Alexander the Great reign'd fifty Years after Praxiteles. The two Marble Horfes in the Court of the Capitol, were brought thither from the Theatre of Pompey, and the Equeftris Siatua of Brafs, placed here by Paul III. is fuppofed to be the Statue of Marcus Aurelius. The Capitol is a modern Structure, built not only upon the Ruins, but even upon Part of the Foundations of the ancient Fabrick, the old Foundations ftill appearing.

The Antiquities here being fo many, that a Defcription of them would require an entire Volume, I will only mention fome of the principal: The Sbe-Wolf giving Suck to the two Brothers, on which is to be feen the Mark of the Thunderbolt mentioned by Cicero, (Orat. 3. contr. Cat.) four great Baflo relievo's reprefenting divers Paffages of the Hiftory of M. Aurelius; the Columna roftrata of Duilius, the firft that was honour'd with a naval Triumph at Rome; the Meffenger pulling out a Thorn in the Senate-houfe; the Buft of Cicero with his Vetches; the four ancient Meafures, one for Oil, two for Wine, and the fourth for Grain; the Butt of Virgil; Nero's Nurfe holding him by the Hand; the Goddefs of Silence; the God Pan; the three Furies; a Statue of Ccefar in Armour; another of Augufus ; thofe of Caftor and Pollux; the Fragments of the Coloffes of Apollo, Domitian, and Commodus; the Lion devouring a Horfe; and the Trophies of Trajan, but believ'd by others to have belong'd to Marius. The Pictures in Frefoo in the great Hall are of Cavalier $70-$ feph's Hand; in my Opinion they reprefent the Battle of the Romans with the Sabines.
I am fomewhat doubtful what Account to give you of the Pillar called the Milliarium; it is of white MarGle eight Foot and a half high, with a Cypher [I]
mark'd on the Top, and on the Chapiter a brais Globe of two Foot Diameter : It is the general Opinion, that this Pillar ftands in the Center of Rome, from whence they ufed to compute the Diftances from that City, dio vided into Miles by other Pillars erected on all the great Roads of Italy; but there are feveral Arguments which contradict this Opinion, for the Column in the Forum Romanum was, according to Suetonius, Tacitus, and other ancient Roman Authors, either of Brafs or Brafs gilt, with the Names of the great Roads and Diftances of the chief Cities engraven upon it, Nothing like which appears on the Milliarium in the Capitol. If you object, that perhaps the brazen Milliarium being loft, this was fet up inftead of it ; the Infcription engraven on one of the Faces of the Pedeftal will tell you, that it was found near the Appian Highway.
S.P.Q.R. Columnam Milliariam primi ab Urbe lapidis indicem ab Imperatore Vefpafiano E Nerva reftitutam de ruinis Suburbanis Vice Appice in Capitolium tranftulit.

And it feems not likely that this Column was from the Center of the City tranfpos'd to a Mile's Diftance from the Walls; then which Way can you give a true Explication of thefe Expreffions, primus, or Secundus, ab Urbe lapidis, if thefe Stones or Pillars.were not without the City, the Words ab Urbe fhewing plainly that they were not within? And fince this Milliarium was found in one of the Suburbs near the Highway, I cannot but perfuade myfelf that it then ftood in its proper Place, and that the Number of thofe firft Columns was equal to that of the great Roads. Whether we fuppofe the gilt Milliarium to be the only firf Pillar, and the fecond Columns to have been placed at the Diftance of one Mile from it ; or that the gilt Column in the Center of the City was the Head-mark from whence all the Diftances were computed, and that the next Columns were called the firft Milliariums, and mark'd with an Infcription like that you fee in the Capitol; it is evident from either of thefe Suppofitions, that confidering the Extent of Rome, none of thefe firft or fecond Columns but muft be within the City; and that confequently this Expreffion, primo ab Urbe lapide, could not take Place, but infte ad thereof, the primus lapis mult have been in Urbe, and not $a b$ Urbe.

There is a very ancient Infcription in the Palace call'd Palostrinum, which contains the Statues of a College of $E \int$ culapius and of Health, unto which Salvia Marcellina bequeath'd a Temple, a Place or Court, and a Walk, the Whole fituate on the Appian Way, near the Temple of Mars, Intra milliarium primum Ej Secundum ab Urbe euntibus, i. e. Between the firt and fecond Mile as you go from the City; which Words, join'd to the Opinion of the beft Antiquaries, that there was a Temple of Mars without the City, and on the Via Appia, are a fufficient Inducement to convince me, that the gilt Milliarium was erected as a publick Mark to know where all the great Roads begun, and to compute the Diftance of great Cities; but that all the firft Columns were each one Mile diftant from the Walls of Rome. The two following Infcriptions are engraven on the Body of the Milliarium in the Capitol :

IMP. CEESAR VESPASIANUS PONTIF. MAXIM. TRIB. POTESTAT. XVII. IMP. XVII. P. P. CENSOR. COS. VII. DESIGN. VIII.

## IMP. NERVA C庣SAR AUGUSTUS PONTIFEX MAXIMUS TRIBUNITIA POTESTATE COS. III. PATER PATRIE REFECIT.

Adjoining to the right Wing of the Capitol is the Church known by the Name of Ara Cali: They tell you, that Augufus having for a confiderable 'Time, but in vain, follicited the Oracle of Delpbos to know his Succeffor in the Empire, the Oracle at laft declared, that his Mouth was ftopt by the Hebrere Child, who was the Son of God, and God himfelf; and that Augufus, finding this to agree with Sibyllin Prophecies, order'd an Altar to be built in the Capitol to the Honour
of the Hebrew Child, unto which he gave the Namie of the Ara primogeniti Dei, The Altar of the Firft-born of God. The before-mentioned Church being built in the fame Place where Augufus's Altar ftill remains near the Quire, had thence the Name of Ara Cedi.

Near unto this Place is a Chapel called St. Pietro in Carcere, built in the fame Place where St. Pe ter and St. Paul were kept in Prifon, after their Condemnation, and, according to the Opinion of the beft Antiquaries, is the Tullianum finifh'd by Servius Tullius or Tullius Hoffilius, and ufed as a Prifon for condemned Malefacsors only. Here they fhew you a Spring (they tell you that the Water has a milky Tafte) which, they fay, gufhed out of the Rock at the Prayer of St. Peter, in order to baptize certain Profelytes; as allo an Impreffion in the Wall, made (as they fay) by that Apoftle's Face, the Stone yielding as he was thruft with his Head againft it by a Soldier.

Among the Multitude of ancient Ruins behind the Capitol, is the famous Tarpeia, (fo called from one Tarpeia a Roman Lady) that once fo dreadful Precipice, which is now not above twenty Foot high. The Triumphal Arch erected to Titus after his Conqueft of Ferufalem, the Bafo relievo reprefentiug the Candleftick, Table, Trumpets of the Jubilee, and fome Veffels taken out of the Temple, is highly worth a Traveller's Obfervation. The Arch of Constantine is very near entire, except that you fee fome Statues thereon without Heads, fuppofed to be carried privately by Lawerence de Medicis to Florence; and as the niceft Judges have obferved a confiderable Difference in the Beauty of the Bafo relievo, it is fufpected that fome of the beft Pieces were taken off when it was erected. The Lake of Curtius was in the Middle of the Forum Romanum, but was already loft in Ovid's Time :

## Curtius ille Lacus, ficcas qui fuftinet aras Nunc folida eft tellus: Sed fuit antè Lacus.

The vaft Ampbitbeatre call'd Collijfum, from a Coloffus that was near it, is of a circular Figure on the outfide, though the Areno is oval; it was capable of containing eighty five thoufand Spectators, not including the twenty thoufand Excumeati who food in the Paffages, and confequently four Times as many as the Amphitheatre of Verona. The Pillars of the third Order, and the Pilafters of the fourth, had Corintbian Chapiters. Though I cannot engage to anfwer your Queftions concerning the Senate of Women inftituted by Heliogabalus, yet I can thus far fatisfy your Curiofitity, that the little Edifice at Monte Cavallo, by fome fuppofed to have been the Temple of the Sun, by others the Temple of Health, is furpected to have been the Meeting-place of that fage Affembly.

The Columns of Trajan and Antoninus are truly magnificent Monuments of Antiquity, adorn'd with moft excellent Bafo relievo, afcending in a fpiral Line from the Bafe to the Chapiter, and reprefenting the great Actions of thofe great Princes. The firt is compofed of twenty four Stones, each containing eight Steps, erected by the Senate to the Honour of Trajan, and ferved afterwards for his Maufoloum, his Afhes being placed in an Urn of Gold, on the very Top of it; in lieul of this Urn was afterwards placed the Statue of St. Peter, of Brafs gilt, by Sixtus V. The whole Height of the Body of this Column is 128 Roman, or 124 Englijh Feet; and you afcend to the Top by 123 Steps. The fecond, compofed of twenty eight Stones, was likewife built by the Senate, to the Honour of Antoninus Pius, with the Statue of that Emperor on the Top of it, but has fince been forced to make Way for St. Paul, whofe Statue of Brafs is now placed there, and gilt like that of St . $\mathrm{Pe}_{-}$ ter on Trajan's Pillar. The Body of this Column is 160 Roman, or 155 Englijh Feet high; and the Stairs leading to the Top confift of 206 Steps.

One Day as we were vifiting the Caves, known generaliy by the Name of Catacombs, we entered into the Moufoleuin of Cecilia, the Daughter of Metellus, firnamed Creticus, where, at the very Entrance of it, we were fhewn a Hole, into which, but a few Weeks

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before, a certain Gentleman (D. Mälatefia Strinati of Cefena) happened to tumble deep under Ground, unperceived by his Company; his Friends being amazed and not knowing what was become of him, after they mifs ${ }^{s} d$ him, went in Search of him; but whether it was the Dephth of the Pit, or that he was flunn'd by the Fall ${ }_{3}$ he was not able to cry, or at leaft not loud enough to be heard by them, fo that they were forc'd to return without him: The poor Gentleman having continued in this deplorable Condition for fixty Hours, at laft found Means to open a Paffage, and fo clambering out of the Pit with a great deal of Difficulty, got to an adjacent Houfe, where being comforted with fome good Broths; he foon after recover'd his Strength. I am apt to believe there is no Place in the World that can compare with Rome for fubterraneous Paffages; and though the Earth has ftopt up the Entrances of fome; yet there are ftill left a prodigious Number of Caves, generally known by the Name of Catacombs among the modern Authors, though they cannot well fupport the Etymologies they produce.

Thefe Catacombs are not fingle Vaults, but rather whole fubterraneous Cities, with Turnings and Windings like Streets; as for Inftance, thofe of St. Agnes, St. Sebafition, \&c. There are fome Caverns ; as, thofe of the Gate Pinciana, and thofe near St. Fobn and St. Pauls which feem never to have been made Ufe of as Burialplaces, and are known by the Name of Grotto 's.

The Catacombs of Rome extend under all its Suburbs, but thofe of Naples only under one Part of that City; thefe are dug out from among the Rocks, each Paffage being commonly betwixt fifteen and eighteen Foot wide, and twelve or fifteen Foot high: The hollow Niches in both Sides of the Walls are fhaped like Chefts, of divers Sizes, placed in Rows above one another with. out the leaft Order, in which were laid the Bodies without any Coffins, cover'd only with flat Stones like Tiles, cemented with a Kind of Mortar or Mixture of Chalk and Sand. Befides thefe, the Catacombs of Na ples have divers Tombs of an indifferent Bignefs, with feveral Figures of Heads, Half Lengths, $\xi^{\circ} c$. with the Names of the Perfons entombed, as Paulus, Nicolaus Proculus, $\mathcal{E}^{3}$. and fometimes bic jacet, or quiefcit underneath it.
On one of there Tombs I faw a blue and yellow Crofs with the following Characters.


Where it is to be obferved, that the Greeks wrote their $\Sigma$ almoft like our Latin C, during the three firt Ages. Among all the Catacombs of Rome, thofe of St. Sebaftion are the greateft; their Height is the fame as thofe of Naples, but the Paffages are not above two Foot and a half broad, by reafon the fandy Ground could not be eafily underprop'd, of which thofe at Naples, hewn out of the Rock, do not ftand in Need. We faw one of thefe Niches opened, where we found a Skeleton moulder'd away into whitifh Afhes, yet we could perceive that the Corps had been laid on its Back.

The Roman Catbolicks have taken a great deal of Pains to perfuade the World, that thefe fubterraneous Vaults weve dug by the Cbrifians in primitive Times, to bury their Dead in, with the Exclufion of all Pagans; that they ufed to perform their Religious Worfhip in them dusring the Times of Perfecution; and that confequently they contain an inexbaustible Store of Relicks of Saints and Martyrs interr'd in them.
Though the Proof of this Affertion lies at the Door of the Romanists, and hitherto they have fcarce attempted any Thing on that Head, yet will I fubjoin fome few

Obfervations which feem to contradiet this Opinion. The firft Thing I have to offer upon this Subject is, a Defcription of Horace of the Puteculi, or publick Buryingplaces of the poorer Sort, which is exactly applicable to the Catacombs ;

## Huc prius anrulfis ejecta Cadavera Cellis <br> Confercius vili portanda locabat in arcâ:

Hoc miferce plebi, stabat commune Sepulchrum.
The fecond Obfervation are the Words Fata, Diis manibus, Domus aterna, and fuch-like, found in the Epitaphs of fome Tombs in the Catacombs, which I cannot conceive to have been in the leaft fuitable to the Simplicity and Piety of the Infcriptions of Chriftian Tombs in primitive Times. I remember Mr. Spon, that moft celebrated Antiquary, is of the fame Opinion, in his Voyage to Greece, where he looks upon the Words AEthera and Superis as fufficient Proofs to fhew, that the Tomb, which contain'd them, belonged to a Heathen.

The glafs Vials and little metallick Veffels frequently found in the Catacombs, feem to be additional Marks of Paganifm; and though the Romanifts pretend thofe Veffels formerly contain'd the Blood of the Martyrs, (this is rather a Conjecture than a Proof) whereas it is certain, that the Roman Pagans ufed to put Lacbrymatories (in which they gather'd the Tears of certain Women hired for that Purpofe) into their Urns and Tombs. I remember a certain Paffage in Tertullian's Apologetic, which does not at all agree with the Pretenfions of the Roman Church; he fays, The Pagans ufed to take the dead Bodies of the Cbristians out of their Tombs, and drag them about the Streets; whence it feems very probable, that they would have deprived them of their Caves, had they difcover'd them. Befides, how can it be conceived that the Cbristians fhould be able to dig thofe vaft fubterraneous Paffages without being perceived ? And, how could they difpofe of the Rubbifh ? They will tell us perhaps, that they did not do it in fecret, and that the Sand of the Catacombs was fold by the poor Cbriftians, who, for this Reafon, were nicknamd Arenarii ; but this is not applicable to the Catacombs of Naples: Befides that, it does not appear that the poor Cbristians were the only People that employed themfelves in the Selling of Sand about the City.

The Cyphers of the Name of Cbrif, Palm-branches, Doves of Peace, Croffes, Crowns, and other Marks of Chriftianity, to be feen upon the Stones of thefe Sepulchres, are fo far from proving, that thefe Burialplaces were peculiar to the Cbriftians, that they rather appear to be intended as Marks to diftinguifh them from the Infidels. The fame may be faid of the Cbrifian Epitaphs, the Queftion being, not whether the Bodies of fome Cbristians were buried here, (which is beyond all Difpute) but whether all others were excluded from being interr'd in the fame Vaults, fet apart for the Dregs of the People. The Pietures and Altars of different Sorts and Ages, found in the Catacombs of Naples and Rome, have been the Product either of the zealous Covetoufnefs of the Popes, who, looking upon the Catacombs as a profitable Source of Relicks, have repair'd and made fuch Alterations in them, as they found moft agreeable to encourage the Concourfe of the Pilgrims. Pancirollus gives us a large Account of thefe Reparations. Moft of the Bodies now to be feen in the Catacombs of Naples, were buried there forty Years ago, during the great Plague that raged in that City.

About a hundred and fixty Paces diftant from the Catacombs of St. Agnes, ftands an ancient Temple of a circular Figure, reputed by fome to have been the Temple of Baccbus, on account of the Reprefentations of certain Vines on the Roof, and fome Vine-branches, Grapes, Veffels, and fuch-like Inftruments on a Tomb of Porpbyry in the fame Temple; but it being certain that Baccbus did not die at Rome, its Nearnefs to the Church of St. Agnes (built by Confantine) feems to be a fufficient Proof, that it was built by the fame Em-
peror, to ferve for a Baptiftery to the faid Church. The 'Tabernacle of St. Agnes's' Church is fupported by four Pillars of the beft polifh'd Porphyry: The Statue of Agnes you fee there, is fuppofed to have been anciently the Statue of fome Pagan Deity, the Mantle whiereof is chiefly remarkable.
As it is beyond the Compafs of a moderate Ireatife to comprehend an exact Defcription of all the Antiquities and other Curiofities I obferved in the Cabinets here, fo I will content myfelf with mentioning only the moft remarkable of thofe in the Cabinet of Mr. Bellori, which, for their Number, exceed all that ever I faw of this Kind. His Fortuna Pantbea of Brafs is not above half a Foot high, this little Goddefs being a Compofition of all the Characters of Divinity appropriated to other Gods, for the appears with the Beauty of Venus, Juno's Crown, Diana's Crefcent, the Mitre of Ifis, the Horn of Plenty of Ceres, Minerva's Robe, the Wings of Fame, Cupid's Quiver, the Goat-skin of Baccbus, the Serpent of Efculapius, Fortune's Rudder, and feveral other Characteriftical Marks of different Deities ; the Faufina deified with her Veil frew'd with Stars ; the Magna Mater, or Natura rerum parens, fuckling Animals of different Kinds at all her Breatts ; the Godders Fortune with the Horn of Plenty in one, and the Nail of Neceffity in the other Hand ; the Buft of a young Roman, with his Golden Bull hanging at his Neck; the Cifrum, or an Inftrument ufed by the Egyptions to call the People together to the Sacrifice, and afterwards introduced among the Romans for the fame Purpofe: It is a moft curions Piece of Antiquity, refembling a fmall Racket, the Wood pierced with four Pieces of Brafs like Cords or Rods, which play and make a Noife; an ancient brown earthen Veffel extreamly fine, and of the fame Sound as the true Porcelane, with Pictures upon it reprefenting the ancient Cuttoms of Bathing: Among others, you fee a Woman holding in one Hand a Strigil or Inftrument for rubbing off Sweat, and in the other, a Guttum or Veffel with fweet-fcented Liquors, not to mention the Urns, Sepulchral Lamps, Lachrymatories, Piषtures, \&c.
Father Kircher's Cabinet was once one of the moft celebrated in Europe, and notwithftanding its being garbled of late Years, retains ftill a good Collection of natural Curiofities and mechanical Engines. The Roman College, or chief Houfe of the Fefuits, (where it is to be feen) is perhaps one of the fineft Palaces in Rome: The Library is numerous, but without any ancient Manufcripts, or other Rarities. In the Great Hall of this Society you fee the Picture of the famous Jefuit Garnet, who was executed in England on Account of the Gunpowder Plot, with an Angel at his Side fhewing him the Way to Heaven, open'd to receive him. This Hall is adorn'd with the Pictures of many other Jefuits that fuffer'd Martyrdom.
During the laft three Days in the Holy Week, we faw the Streets of Rome crowded with Proceffions and Penitents with Hoods over their Heads, fome in white, others in violet Colour, blue, yellow, and other Colours; fome lafhing their naked Bodies with Whips of fmall twifted Cords, which made more Noife than they did Execution: It is fufficiently known that fome of them are hired for this Purpofe. However, the Concourfe of Pilgrims was not fo great this Year as it had been at fome other Times. I remember I read, in an Account of Trinity Hofpital, that in 1600 , (being the laft Jubilee Year) that Houfe entertained or provided for (according to Cuftom) $440,500 \mathrm{Men}$, and 2500 Women. The Italian Pilgrims are entertain'd here three Days, but Foreigners four Days, and are feryed at Table by Princes, Princeffes, Cardinals, and the Pope himfelf. One Thing I muft not paifs in Silence, viz. that we never met the Sacrament in Rome, or any other Town of Italy, except at Venice, where we faw it twice carried in great State under a magnificent Canopy, attended by a great Number of Torches.

I muft do this Juftice to the Italians, that they are not poffefs'd with the Spirit of Perfecution, at leaft againft Strangers; and I don't remember that in all our Travels through Italy, not excepting even Rome and

Loretto,

Loretto, we were in the leaft affronted on the Account of not worfhipping Relicks or Images, the worft we ever heard upon that Scbre being ftiled now and then, Non Jano Cbriftiani, no Sound Cbrijtions.
5. The Way between Rome and Viterbo has little remarkable, except fome Remnants of the Via Emilia, which we found of the fame Breadth with the other Confular High-roads, The ancient Lacus Cyminus (now Lake de Vico) is at the Foot of a very high Hill, but of an eafy Afcent, bearing the fame Name with the Lake. It is almoft covered with Sycamores and Chefnut-trees, and produces valt Quantities of Primrofes, Narcifus's, Hyacintbs, and many other Flowers. The City of Viterbo is built of Stone, and furrounded with a Wall : Befides its Steeples, it has eight or ten fquare Towers, built by the Inhabitants for Retreats during the inteftine Commotions of the Guelph and Gibellin Factions. The following Infcription on the Town-houfe, gives you an Account of the Reftoration of the ancient Tufcan Name Viterbo.

Defiderius ultimus Infubrium Rex Longulam, Vetuloniam atque Volurniam manibus cingit : E Etruriæ priore Nomine inducto, Viterbium, mulaa capitis indiete, appellari jubet. Sal. An. DCC.LXXIII.

Scbroder fays he faw another ancient Infcription.
> M.T. Ciceronem ob egregias ejus virtutes fingularefque animi dotes; per totum Orbem nofris armis virtuteque perdomitum; falvum ES incolumem effe jubemus.

In the before-mentioned Place is to be feen another authentick Infrription, confirming the Donation made by the Countefs Maud to the See of Rome:

## Eterna memorice inclyte Matbildis, qua ob praffabile Religionis ftudium, ac pietatem, Sedi Pontificia fuum boc patrimonium, Divi Petri in Tbufcia dein nuncupatum elargitur. Et in veterem Urbis ejus fplendo rem intuens, Pafchalis II. Bleden Pontif. Max. ejus Metropolim, ut ante Viterbium confituit. An. S.I 1 I3.

It would be a fine Thing for the Romanits, if they had fo good a Plea for the Donatoon of Confanizine; the Latin Verfion of it is to be feen in Barth. Picerna and Aug. Steucbus, pretended to be done after the Greek Original in the Vatican; it is alfo inferted in Gratian's Decretals, but St. Antonin of Florence affures us it is not in the old Decretals; and divers noted Authors have refuted this Fable.
This puts me in Mind of a witty Repartee of Hieronymo Donato, Venetion Ambaffador to Alexander VI. who being ask ${ }^{\circ} \mathrm{d}$ by the Pope where their Title of Sovereignty to the Adriatick Gulpb was recorded? reply'd, That bis Holinefs might find their Title written on the Back of the Donation of Conflantine. Notwithftanding the Infcription of Defiderius mentions only three Cities united under the Name of Viterbo, yet I remember that this City is fometimes ftiled $\tau_{\text {etrapolis, }}$ and its Inhabitants Quaterni Populi; the Names of the four Cities are ex. prefss ${ }^{3}$ d in a Diftich written on the Top of the Staircafe in the Town-houfe:

## Hanc Fanum, Arbanum, Vetulonia, Longula quondamz Oppida, dant Urbem: prima Elementa. F. A.U. L.

Some deduce the Origin of the ancient Viterbium From Ifis and Ofiris, for which they produce fome Greek and Latin Infcriptions; but being inform'd by credible Perfons that they were fuppofititious, and fuppos'd to have been contrived by fobn Ammius the Dominican, known commonly by the Name of Annius $\mathrm{Vi}_{-}$ terbienfis, an Author of no Reputation, I will not infert them here.

In one of the Halls of the Town-houfe you fee a Picture reprefenting an innumerable Swarm of Locults, which darkened the Sun and cover'd the Earth, devouring every thing they met with upon the Ground about Viterbo. This happened in 152 b. Mezeray relates fuch
another Story, which happened in France in 873 , and was followed by a great Plague; and Oforius anothet Inflance of the fame Nature, which, he fays, happen'd in Africk in the Year of the World 3825.

We were no fooner come within Sight of Montefiaf. cone, a little Town feated on a little Hill within eight Miles of Viterbo, but the Children came out and ask ${ }^{3} \mathrm{~d}$ us, whether we would not take a View of the $E A$, e $f_{5}$ eff? The Story, I know, has been mention'd by others, but perhaps not with all. its Circumftances : A certain Abbot or Bifhop travelling from Germany to Italy, ufed to fend a Servant before, to know in which Inn he could meet with the beft Wine, and to mark it with the Word Eft over the Door. Coming to Montefiafiones, the Servant was fo highly pleas'd with the Mufcatello, that he writ three Efts over the Door, which inviting his Mafter to drink more plentifully than he ufed to do ${ }_{s}$ he fell fick and died on the Spot; his Monument ftands in St. Flavian's Church, about two hundred Paces from the Town ; he is reprefented with a Mitre on his Head, with two Scutcheons (quarterly in the firf a Lion, in the fecond two Fefles, the Sbield not blazon'd) and as many. Drinking-glaffes on each Side of him at his Feet you fee the following Infription in Gotbick. Characters, by Way of Epitaph, made in all Probability by his Servant :
$E f f_{s} E f, E f$, propter nimium Ef, Joh, de Fuc. $D$, meus mortuus eft.

That is,
Eft, Eft, Est, by taking too much of Est,
John de Fuc, my Lord, died like a Beast.
His true Name was Fobn de Fucris, and he was of a great Family in Augsburgh.
All the Way between Montefafoone and Bolfena, we pafs'd near the Banks of the Lake of that Name; it is of an oval Figure, and forty Miles in Compais; it contains two Inlands, called Martana and Pafentina; the firft is celebrated for the Banifhment of Amalefuntba, the Daughter of Theodoric King of the Gotbs, who was afterwards murther'd, there by the Command of hes Coufin Theodat, whom fhe had made her Affociate in the Government. Bolfena is a very indifferent Town. formerly an Epifcopal See, till it was tranfated to Orvieto. Behind it you fee the Ruins of the ancient Volfinium, which, as Pliny relates, was burnt by Lightning. The Country between Bolfena and Aquapendente, is the wortt in the whole World ; the laft of thele two is poor and almoft defolate, yet retains the Title of an Archbihoprick ever fince the Deftruction of Caftro. Centino, a little Village at the Foot of the Hill Radicofani, is the utmoft Boundary of the Pope's Dominions on that Side; the Town and Citadel, built by Defiderius the laft King of the Lombards, bearing the Name of the faid Hill upon which they ftand, are for half the Year conceal'd in the Clouds. In our Way hence towards Siena, we faw for, eight or ten Miles nothing but barren Mountains ; but as we came towards St. Quirieo, the Country began to grow better and better, though this lafted not long, for near Torrinieri the Land grew worfe than before, and continued thus, with fome fmall Alterations. till we came to Sienc.
Siena, the third City, and perhaps the moft pleafantly fituated in all $\mathcal{T}$ fcany; its Air is excellent, the Streets though not level, yet very neat, being pav'd with Bricks laid fideways; the Houfes are handromely built, and the Water very good ; befides that, the Tufcan Language is fpoken here in its utmoft Purity, without the Roughnefs of the Floremtine Dialect.
The Cathedral of Siena is a Gotbick Structure, but very beautiful, and one of the moft perfect among all the great Churches of Europe, being cover'd within and without with Marble ; the Pavement is of black and white Marble a la Mofaique in the Choir. On the Corridor running round the Body of the Infide of the Church, are to be feen the Statues of the Popes, and among the reft there is one fmooth-chin'd Creature, which, as is faid, was placed there in the Room of the Popefs Foan: Baronius fays, it was taken away and broken to Pieces; Launoy fays it was to be feen in 1634 and Blondel aca
knowledges
knowledges the fame, as alfo the Statue erected in the Place where Pope Foan was deliver'd; Father Mabillon confeffes the fame Statue, and fays, that the Name fobannes VIII. Fcomina Anglice was added to it. All the Authors that ever I faw, who inveigh againft the Story of this female Pope, and mention this Statue, acknowledge that it is fill remaining, or at leaft, that it really fubfifted heretofore. This Structure was begun by Duccio, and finifh'd by Dominic Beccafumi. That Part next the Choir is beautified with the Pictures of Abrabam's Sacrifice, and the Paffage of the Ifraelites through the Red-Sea; the arch'd Roof is azur'd, intermix'd with Stars of Gold. From the Church you pals into the Place where the Library was kept formerly; here we faw thofe glorious Pieces in Frefco reprefenting the Life of Pius II. defign'd by Raphael, but painted by Peter Perugin his Malter, with Bernardin and Pinturiccbio; moft of the Faces reprefent Perfons then alive; among others, the Pope's Soul foaring upwards in the Shape of a Paradife Bird, and the Hermit gazing on it, is an exquifite Piece.

I will not detain you with the Story of St. Katherine of Siena, but I can't pals by in Silence the old Citadel with fifteen or twenty fquare Towers; among thefe the Tower of Mangiana is mightily extoll'd for its Height, but it is by thofe who have feen but few others. The Arms of Siena are, the famous Sbe-wolf that gave Suck to Romulus and Remus, founded upon a Fable, that Si ena was built by the Children of Remus. Travelling between the City of Siena and the River Arno, we found the Ground, grow better and better the nearer we came to the River, efpecially about Camiano, Granayola, Ponte $d^{\circ}$ Era, and between Pontgibon and Pifa. Near Pontgibon or Poggi-bonzi (famous for its Tobacco) we met whole Troops of Girls going from Houfe to Houfe finging and wifhing a merry May; their Songs are compofed of a Number of pleafant Wifhes, every Stanza concluding with a merry, merry, May.

On feveral fandy Hills near Certaldo, we faw great Quantities of feveral Sorts of Shells, as we had before at Monte-Mario, a Mile from Rome, in the Alps in France, and other Places; the fame have been obferved by Olearius, Steno, Cambden, Speed, and others. I received your Obfervations with a great deal of Satisfaction, but, to deal frankly with you, I muft tell you, that I differ with you in Opinion ; for if thefe Shells were the Remainders of the Deluge, I fee no Reafon why the fame fhould not rather have been left in the Valleys, and more univerfally fpread upon the Surface of the Earth; whereas now they are only gather'd into Heaps in certain Places. Nor fee I any fufficient Caufe to have Recourfe to fuppofed Inundations, Tempefts, and Eruptions; for though fome fuch Thing might rationally be concluded in reference to certain Places fubject to Earthquakes, (as for Inftance, the Nerw Vefurius, or Monte Nuovo) yet as the fame Reafon does not hold in all other Places where thefe Shells are found, fo the Solution of this Pbenomenon may with much more Eare be look'd for in the fame Property upon the Land which produzes thefe Shells at Sea. You will perhaps tell me, that Shells are infeparable from Fifhes, Snails, $\mathcal{E}^{2} c$. but you may eafily anfwer your felf, if you will but confider, that Shells have been found in the Stomachs, Kidneys, and other Parts of human Bodies. But we will proceed on our Journey.
$P_{i} \sqrt{a}$ is the fecond City of Tufcany, formerly a confiderable Republick, feated in a level Plain on the River Arno, dignified with the Title of an Archbifhoprick and an Univerfity ; its Streets are fpacious, ftreight, and well pav'd with broad Stones, and generally well built. The Arno, which is navigable here, and twice as broad as the Tyber at Rome, divides the City into two Parts; it is at prefent very poor and ill-peopled, its defolate Condition mult be attributed to their Wars with the Florentines, who, after the Conqueft of this Place, founded the great Mart of Legborn upon the Ruin of PiJa. The Cathedral here is very like that of Siena, but not quite fo large ; it is a regular Structure, and over-crufted with curious Marble. The Baptiftery is of a circular Figure an hundred and eighty Foot in Circumference, and
arch'd, furmounted by a Cupola: By an Infcription on a Pillar of this Baptiftery it appears, that the Church was finifh'd II53. Here is an Eccho, which magnifies a Noife to fuch a Decree, that the Sound thereof lafts as long as the Tinkling of a great Bell. Travellers make a great Wonder of the Leaning Tower, which fome pretend to appear leaning on all Sides, by a peculiar Art of the Architect, when, in Effect, its Inclination is only on one Side, occafioned by the Sinking of the Foundation : Its whole Height is a hundred and eighty eight Feet, and is of the Figure of an exact Cylinder. I let down a Plummet from the Balcony on the Top, on that Side where it inclines moft, and after feveral Tryals both to the Right and Left, found that the Lead touch'd fifteen Foot diftant from the Foundation.
The famous Burying-place of Siena, call'd Campo Santo, (becaufe the Earth was brought from the Holy Land 1228.) is a Kind of Cloyfter, one hundred and ninety Paces long, and fixty fix broad. On a Wall under one of the Portico's I faw an Infcription, being a Decree of the Senate of Pifa upon the Death of Cafar, ordering their Subjects to appear in Mourning for a whole Year, and to abftain from all publick Divertifements. I will not trouble you with their Phyfickgarden, as having nothing memorable in it ; but I muft not quite forget the Knights of St. Stephen, who have their Refidence here : They muft be of noble Blood, and born in Wedlock : They vow Conjugal Chaftity, and fay a hundred Pater Nosters and Ave Maria's every Day. This Order was founded by the Great Duke Cofmo I. 1561, the fixth of Auguft, after he had gain'd the Battle of Marciano; his Statue ftands directly oppofite (in the Place) to the Church.

Leghorne is about fourteen Miles diftant from Pifa, the Country between them being very level, but woody, fill'd with Oaks, Cork-trees, and wild Myrtles: They tell you, that thefe Woods were formerly all cover'd by the Sea, which reach'd within three Miles of PiJa, where you fee a large Church at the Entrance of thefe Woods, which, they tell you, was built in the fame Place where St. Petcr was fhipwreck'd one Day when he was fifhing. I need not tell you, that Leghorne is a modern City, built on a level Ground, and ftrengthened with good Fortifications faced with Brick-work; its Streets are large, ftreight, and uniform, the Houfes generally of the fame Height, and painted on the Outfide. In our Journey from Legborne to Lucca, paffing a fecond Time through Pifa, we faw, three Miles on this Side of it, the craggy Mount St. Fulian, the Boundary betwixt TJufany and the Republick of Lucca.

The City is moft pleafantly feated in a fruitful Plain of fifteen or twenty Miles in Extent, enclofed by very rich and well-cultivated Hills; its Fortifications are regular, and faced with Bricks: We walked round the Ramparts in an Hour's Time: But though it is not fo big as Pifa, it contains many ftately Houfes, and is very well peopled. They fhew'd us the Palace of the Republick, where the Gonfalonier, or Standard-bearer, with the feven Anziani, or Counfellors, lodge and eat together. The State of Lucca is a Fief of the Empire; its Government is Ariftocratical, managed by the Council of two hundred and forty Nobles, divided into two Bodies, who rule alternately every fix Months, with the Gonfalonier at their Head. This chief Magiftrate bears fome Refemblance to the Doges of Venice or Genoa, but continues no longer than two Months in this Dignity; from whence he reaps no other Profit but maintaining of his Table at the publick Charge : His Drefs is a Robe of Crimfon Velvet, with a Bonnet and Stole, and his Title, His Excellency; his Guard confifts of fixty S'ritzers, and he may not be chofen to the fame Dignity till after fix Years. Their Arfenal is abundantly provided with Arms, and thofe very well kept.

In the Cathedral we faw the Chapel of the Volto Santo. They tell you, that Nicodemus having feveral Times attempted in vain to paint the Crucifix, was at laft affifted by the Angels, who guided his Pencil to finifh it : They are not able to tell you how this Picture came to St. Fredion's Church, but are pofitive that it remo-
ved from thence to the Cathedral, where it hung in the Air, in the Place where we faw it, till they built an Altar under it, on which it refted, and about which they afterwards built a magnificent Chapel. This Crucifix is in fuch high Efteem with them, that they ftamp it on their Coin, with the Arms of the Signiory. In St. Fredian's Church is a Marble Table feventeen Foot long, fix and a half broad, and fourteen Inches thick; the whole Story whereof is exprefs'd in the following Infcription:

O quifquis legis, lapis es, ni lapis bic moveat in admirationem छ' cultum D. Frediani, qui templo buic confruendo, molem banc in montibus ad quartum lapidem nacius, viribus impar, fed Spiritu fervens; mirâ facilitate manibus bumerifque fuis, $\mathcal{E}$ Canonicorum in plauftrum binis indomitis vacculis trabendum impofitum, fexto falutis facuio, bâc in ede statuit facrum monumentum.

In the IVlidet of the fame Church is to be feen a Tomb-ftone with this Infcription:

> Hic jacet Corpus Sancti Riccardi Regis Anglic.
> Here lies the Body of St. Richard King of England.

Who this Royal Saint was, I am not able to imagine ; for Ricbard I. (firnam'd Lyonbeart) died in France, and was interr'd in the Abbey of Fontevraut; Ricbard II. was, after his dethroning, ftabb'd at Pomfret, and buried firft in St. Paul's, from whence he was carried to Langley, and afterwards to Westminfer; and Ricbard III. being flain in the Battle of Bofworth in Leicefterfbire, his Body was interr'd in the City of Leicefter. I do not remember ever to have heard any Thing of a King Ricbard before the Heptarchy.

In the Church of St. Austin you fee an Image of our Lady, with the little Jefus in her left Arm, concerning which they tell you the following Story: A certain Soldier having loft all his Money at Dice, fell into fuch a Rage, that after having given a great many ill Words to the Image of our Lady placed then againft the Wall of the Guard-houfe, he threw a Stone level'd directly at the Head of the little Jefus; but our Lady perceiving the Danger, tofs'd the Child in an Inftant from her right Arm into the Left, where it remains ever fince; the infolent Soldier was fwallow'd by the Earth, the Hole being fhewn to this Day. About the Time of the Reformation divers noble Families retired from Lucca to Geneva, where fome ftill flourifh.

Half Way betwixt Lucca and Florence ftands Piftoya, viz. twenty Miles from each; the Country thereabouts is extreamly fertile, and well cultivated, but the City is almoft defolate, having loft all its Trade with its Liberty: It is much bigger than Lucca; and its large and regular Streets and beautiful Buildings are fufficient Teftimonies of. its former Grandeur.

The Inhabitants of Pifioya have a moft profound Veneration for St. Fames and his Relicks; the Altar of his Chapel in the Cathedral is cover'd with Plates of Silver, and adorn'd with very rich Lamps. Here I obferved, in a peculiar Prayer directed to him, thefe Words, Iu qui primatum tenes inter Apostolos, imo qui eorum primus; i. e. Thou that waft the firf, nay, the chief annong the Apofles, \&cc. There are not a few who pretend to look for the Original of the Guelph and GibelIin Factions among the Pifoyans, where, they fay, lived two Brothers called Guelph and Gibel, the elder of which fided with Pope Gregory IX. whilft the younger embraced the Intereft of the Emperor Barbaroffa; but, in my Opinion, thofe come much nearer the Mark, who derive the Names of thofe two famous Factions from the illuftrious and potent Families of the Guelpbs and Gibellines, (upon the Borders of Germany and Italy) who were at open Enmity, a confiderable Time with each other, before one declared for the Emperor and the other for the Pope.
6. My laft being written the next Day after our Arsival at Florence, I will in this give you a brief DefcripVo i. If. Numb, IO8.
tion of this City, and afterwaids communicate fuch Obfervations as I have had Occafion to make during our Stay. Florence, the capital of Tiuscany, dignified with the Title of an Archbifhoprick, and the ordinary Refidence of the Great Dukes, is feated upon the River Arno, as it were within the Arence of an Amphitheatre, being enclofed at four or five Miles Diftance, (except on the Side toward Pifoya) with very fruitul Hills, rifing by an eafy Afcent till they unite with the high Mountains: If you take a full View from one of the Towers of Florence, of the Villages and Houfes of Pleafure in the Plain and Hills, it feems to be only the Continuation of Suburbs, this Valley being perhaps the beft peopled Place of that Kind in the Univerfe.

I was credibly inform'd, that the Circumference of the Walls of Florence is 15,240 Fathoms, and that the River Arno; which runs through it; is 500 Fathoms broad ; fo that adding the double Breadth of the Ri-. ver to the Compafs of the Walls, the whole Circuit of Florence amounts to 16240 Fathoms; three of which are equivalent to five Feet eight Inches Englib Meafure, according to which Computation it amounts to 36,675 Feet: It is almoft of a circular Figure. The fame Perfon told me, that there are in Florence about eight thoufand eight hundred Houfes, fixty thoufand Souls, twenty two Hofpitals, eighty nine Convents; eighty four Fraternities; one hundred and fifty two Churches, eighteen Halls belonging to Merchants; feventy two Courts of Juftice, fix Columns, two Pyramids, four Bridges, feven Fountains, feventeen Places or Squares, and one hundred and fixty publick Statues: The Streets are paved with broad Pieces of a grey Stone called Pietra-forte, and moft of the Houfes are built of the fame ; thefe are brought from the neighbouring Quarries.

The Great Duke's Palace (called Pitti) is a mof noble Structure, but has this Difect, that the Court is not fpacious enough in Proportion to the Edifice; which being one hundred and twenty Foot high to the Cornifh of the third Order, cannot be feen without Trouble in any Part of the Court, which is only one hundred and fixty Foot long, and one handred and forty broad. As we were entring the old Ducal Palace, (the Receptacle of the fo much celebrated Curiofities) we took a full View of the four Statues of white Marble on the Bridge of the Trinity, reprefenting the four Seafons of the Year, made by Micbael Angelo. The chief Curiofities we obferved here were, the David, the Work of Michael Angelo; the Fuditlo; by Donatello; the Sabin Women carried off by Vio: lence, by Folon of Bologna ; the Perfeus of Brafs, by Coligni ; the Hercules and Cacus, by Bandinelli; and the Brafs Statue on Horfeback of Cofmo I. by Fobn Bologna all thefe are moft exquifte Pieces. The three Baffo relievo's on the Pedeftal of that Statue reprefent CofmoI. k neeling before the Pope as he was giving him the Title of Great Duke; the fame Prince entring. Florence in a triumphant Chariot; and the Refignation of the Sovereignty to him by the Senate of Florence. The great Gallery of the Palace is four hundred Foot long; where we pals'd between two Rows of ancient Statues and Bufts. Above them, againft the Wall, we faw the Pictures of the ancient Philofophers on one Side, and thofe of great Generals on the other.

Among thefe Statues, that 'fuppos'd to be Scipio's, in a Robe of Brafs, excels all the reft, the Characters on the Hem of his Garment are of the old Hetrufcan ; the Leda embracing 7upiter with a Pleafure mix'd with Shame; the Bacchus, with a Copy of the fame by $M_{i}$ s chael Angelo, not inferior to the Original; Fulia the Daughter of Augufius, the Pomana, the Venus, the Dias na, the Apollo, another Baccous, the Peafant ftriking a Boar, the Bufts of all the Emperors to Galienus, and ef. pecially thofe of Adrian, Pertinax, and Severus, are ex cellent Pieces.

In the Chambers behind this Gallery, we obferved in the firft a great branch'd Candleftick of Amber, an adm mirable Column of OrientalAlabatter, a Rbinoceros's Horra of an extraordinary Bignefs, Abundance of Bafo relievo"s
and a great Number of ancient Sculptures, Medals, Idols, fepulchral Lamps, Stones, Minerals, and other natural Curiofities: The fecond is fill'd with Pictures; the third, called the Matbematical Cbamber, (here ufed to be kept the Iron Nail, one half of which was pretended to be tranfmuted into Gold, but is not hewn now, it having been found to be no more than a Sodering) has, among other things, Globes and Spheres of feven Foot diameter : The fourth has likewife nothing but Pictures, which excel thofe of the fecond, except the Ornaments of Ivory, Amber, and precious Stones in a peculiar Cabinet, and among the reft, a large rough Emerald rooted in its Rock, and the Platform of Legborn on a Table of Lapis Lazuli : In the fifth Chamber you fee the Pictures of moft of the illultrious Perfons of the prefent Age; among the Generals are Cromwell, Monk, and the late Earl of Offory The fixth contains an hundred and thirty feven Pictures of the moft famous Painters, done by themfelves: The feventh is filled with Porcelane Veffels, and the five fol lowing with all Manner of furprizing Curiofities, and great Quantities of Arms of all Countries ; the Horfetail of twenty Foot long, prefented to the Great Duke by the late Cbarles Duke of Lorrain, is none of the leaft among thefe Rarities; but the moft precious Things are preferv'd in an octagonal Apartment called the Tribune, built by Buontalenti, being twenty Foot in Diameter; the Floor is pav'd with Marble of divers Colours, artificially join'd like inlaid Work ; the Hangings are of crimfon Velvet, the Windows of Cryftal, and the Infide of the Lanthorn cover'd with Mother of Pearl. You have, queftionles, heard of that moft celebrated Diamond, which weighs $\mathrm{I} 39 \frac{1}{2}$ Carats; Tavernier fays, it is Pity that the Water is yellowih. Arrong the other Rarities, the following are the choiceft; an antique Head of Fulius Cafar, of one entire Turquoife of the Bignefs of an Egg; a Cupboard filled with Veffels of Agate, Lapis Lazuli, Cornelian, and Rock-cryftal fet with Gold and precious Stones; a large Table and Cabinet of inlaid Work of Oriental Jafper, Calcedony, Rubies, Topazes, and other precious Stones, excellently well contrived; a Collection of the beft Medals; a vaft Number of carv'd and engraved Pieces nicely kept ; fome Mafter-pieces of the moft excellent Painters; fix very beautiful Grecian Statues ; two Wreftlers ; the Peafant whetting his Bill, and at the fame time liftening to the Confpirators, Cataline's Affociates; a Tauro, a Cupid neeping, a Venus fix Foot high, and another five Eoot, both of white Marble, the fineft Piece of Workmanhhip in the World, the Head turns a little towards her left Shoulder, with her right Hand before her Bofom, yet at fome little Diftance, and covering her Nudity with the other, but without touching; fhe ftands bowing gently with her right Knee forward, the better to hide herfelf. This bafhful Pofture is accompanied with all the Marks of Modefty and Chaftity in her Face, and with an incomparable Beauty, Sweetnefs, and youthful Air ; her Neck is exceeding beautiful ; and, in fhorr, this Mafter-piece is the moft exquifite Imitation of the Perfection of Nature. On the Marble Bafe are thefe Words :

KAEOMENHE AMOAAOAOPO乏 AOHNAIOE EHIEEEN.
Cleomenes, Son of Apollodorus the Athenian, made it.
From this Palace paffing through a fmall Gallery, we came into the ancient Palace of the Republick, where the Great Duke's Wardrobe is kept ; and among other Things we faw there the rich Coach made for the Solemnity of the Great Duke's Marriage. The Hall of this Palace is a hundred and feventy two Foot long, and feventy four broad. The Cathedral is a large and ftately Building, though for the moft Part of a Gotbick Architecture, being over-crufted within and without with the fineft polifh'd Marble of feveral Colours: Its whole Length is four hundred and ninety Feet, and its Height, to the Top of the Crofs on the Globe, three hundred and eighty Feet; the worft is, that it has no Frontifpiece. The rareft Statues in this Church are, St. James, by Sanfovin; the Adam and Eve, by Bandinello; the Statue of God the Fatber; the dead Cbrith, and an Angel fupporting him, by the fame Hand, on the high

Altar: The Eve is fomewhat larger than Adam. The Refurrection painted in the Dome is a moft excellent Piece, though the Criticks find Fault with Fred. Zucchero, who made it, becaufe he has reprefented the rifing Bodies with Clothes on: Befides this, we took No tice of a greater Blunder in the fame Church, committed by no lefs famous a Painter than Paul Urcello, who has painted Sir Fobn Hawekreood, whom the Italians call Acutus, an Englifbman, General of the Pifans, on Horfeback, and his Horfe refting on two Legs on the fame Side, while the other two are in Motion.

The Pieces of the Rods of Aaron and Mofes, fhewn in the Cathedral, are queftion'd by fome, becaufe thefe Rods are faid to be entire at the Church of St. Jobra de Lateran. The Steeple (near the Church) is a Tower of one hundred and eighty Feet high, over-crufted with fquare Pieces of red, black, and white Marble, and beautified with feveral excellent Statues: The old Bald Man, by Donotelli, is highly efteem'd.

The Baptiftery is not unlike that of Pifan and cover'd like the Church; fome fay ir was anciently the Temple of Mars, and that after its being converted into a Baptiftery, it was dedicated to St. Fobn Baptist. The Mofaick Work on the arch'd Roof is efteem'd excellent and among the Statues here, the Magdalen of Wood, by Donatelli, excels all the reft : But the moft furprifing Pieces are, the three Gates of Brafs, whereon are reprefented fome facred Hiftories in Baffo relievo. The Back-Gate, with this Infcription, Andreas Ugolini de Pijis me fecit 1330, is not altogether fo beautiful as the other two, which put Micbael Angelo into fuch a Rapture, that he faid, they deferved to be placed at the Entrance of Heaven:

> Dum cernit valvas aurato ex are nitentes In templo Michael Angelus, obstupuit ; Attonitufque diu, Sic alta Şlentia rupit;

> O Divinum Opus! O Fanua digna Polo!

The Senfe of which is,
Thefe Gates of burnibs'd Brafs wiben be bebeld, Great Angelo, best Fudge of what excell'd; Amaz'd be flood, long filent, and then figb'd! O Work Divine! O wortby Heaven! be cry'd.

The Statue of Juftice near the Church of the Trinity is fupported by a Column of Porphyry faid to have ftood formerly in the Pantbeon. In the Court before the middle Gate of the Baptiftery, you fee two Columns of Porphyry at fome Diftance from each other, and yet chain'd together, which, they fay, were brought from Majorca, and beftow'd upon the Florentines by the Pifans, for the Affiftance they gave them in the Conqueft of Part of that Ine. Near them ftands another Column erected in Memory of a pretended Miracle wrought by the Body of St. Zenobius, when it was removed from St. Larvrence to the Cathedral Church, for his Shrine touching by Chance the Trunk of a dry Tree that lay upon the Ground, it bloffom'd immediately, and produced Fruit.
The Church of St. Lawrence is both fpacious and rich, and the Chapel, I muft confefs, when finifh' $d_{2}$ will be the moft exquifite Strucure that ever was feen of this Kind; it is both very large and magnificent : In the Middle of each Face of the Hexagon ftands a double Pilafter of Jafper, with a double Chapiter of Brafs gilt, the Bafe being the fame. The Emblematical Figures on the Pedeftals of thefe Pilafters are very artificially made of precious Stones: In the fix Angles are placed as many rich Tombs of Porphyry, Oriental Granite, and fome other of the moft precious Kinds of Marble; on each Tomb lies a great Pillow of Jafper, valued each at fixty thoufand Crowns, enrich'd with precious Stones, and upon each Pillow ftands a Crown, exceeding in Richnefs the Pillow itfelf: The Bafe fupporting the Tombs is over-crufted with Porphyry and Calcedony, on which will be engraven the Epitaphs of the Princes for whom thefe Tombs are defigned, and their Statues of Brafs gilt, twice as big as the Life, are to be placed in the Niches of black Marble that are over the

## Chap. III.

Greatef Pari of ITALy.

Tombs. The inner Roof of the Dome is intended to be covered with Lapis Lazuli intermixed with Rofes and other Carvings gilt; and the reft of the Walls are over-crufted in Comparments with the fineft Agate, Granite, Onyx, and other precious Stones, each Pannel being divided into Squares, embellifh'd with various Sorts of Ornaments of Copper gilt ; and the high Altar is likely to furpafs all the reft.

The Library of St. Lawrence, which is eighty Fathom long, and twenty broad, is celebrated for its Manufcripts; as for Inftance, that of Virgil of the Age of Theodofius, and a very ancient Greek MS. of the Chirurgery of the Ancients, of Hippocrates, Galen, Arclepiades, Bitbynus, Apollonius, Arcbigenes, Nyniphodorus, Heliodorus, Diocles, Rufus Epbefius, and Apollodorus Citionfis, with the Manner of curing Dinocations, and Figures painted on Vellum, the only ancient Work of this Nature now extant. Mr. Magliabeccbi, the Bibliothecary, was very forry he could not communicate to me St. Cbryfofom's Letter to Cafarius, having received exprefs Orders to the contrary from the Great Duke; but he pofitively affur'd me, that the Paffage cited by Martyr is contain'd verbation in that Manufcript.

In the Church of the Holy Crofs we faw the Tomb of Micbael Angelo, which, in my Opinion, bears no Proportion to the Merit of fo famous a Perfon. In this Church is a Chapel belonging to the Family of the Zanchini, on the Altar of which is a Picture of Chrift delivering the Souls of the Fathers, and among them many female Spirits, the Work of Angelo Bronzini: Some are of Opinion, that the who reprefents Eve is the true Refemblance of Bronzini's Miftrefs, and that the Man in the right Corner of this Piece, gazing upon this pretended Eve, is the Painter himfelf; juft as Pinturiccbio painted in the Vatican, Pope Alewander VI. proftrate at the Feet of Julia Farnese, under Pretence of adoring the holy Virgin.

In the Annunciata are kept two of the thirty Pieces Fudas received to betray his Mafter; and in the Church of the Carmelites, the Crucifix that fpoke to St. Andrere d'Urfini. Among the feveral fine Seats belonging to the Great Duke, we had only the Opportunity to fee Poggio Iraperiale and Pratinola; it muft be confeffed they are very delightful Places, and have even a fufficient Share of Beauty; but fince our Gardens and Waterworks are advanced to that Height in France, the only Way to maintain the ancient Reputation of the Italian Seats, is to pafs by in Silence their pretended miraculous Ornaments.
The Arfenal and Citadel of St. Fobn Baptist are kept in very good Order, but the Forts of Belvedere and St. Miniato are much out of Repair. The Great Duke allo maintains various Kinds of wild Creatures, and Nurferies for them. In the Hofpital ad Scalas is the Tomb and Epitaph of a human Monfter, with two Heads and four Hands on one Body, named Peter and Paul; one of thefe Heads would often weep, whillt the other laugh'd, and this flept often whilft the former was awake. The Mountains near Florence produce certain Stones, which being faw'd in the Middle and polin' ${ }^{\text {d }}$, reprefent fometimes Trees of divers Sorts, fometimes whole Towns, and the Ruins of old Caftles ; the firt are called Dendrites by Kircher.

To conclude, I muft tell you, that though Florence, for its Situation, and other Advantages, may be reckoned among the fineft Cities in the World, yet to thofe who know the Pleafures of Society, and efpecially of Converfation with the fair Sex, the infupportable Conttraint, and unavoidable Ceremonies ufed at Florence, appear an intolerable Burthen, except to thofe that are inur'd to this Kind of Slavery from their Infancy.
7. The Road between Florence and Bologna being one continued Ridge of the Apennine Mountains, and confequently not very fit for Calathes, we were forced to hire Horfes, all the Littermen being taken up in carrying Monks (by what Accident I know not) over the Mouncains. For two Days together we paffed through a barren and mountainous Country ; the higheft Mountain we met with in our Paffage, was that called Monte
fuovo; however, the Valleys of Sarperia and Fiorenzolis (which fome think to be the Fidentia of the Ancients) are not quite fo defolate as the reft ; the firft is famous for Knives and other Cutlers Work made there ; it was deftroy'd by an Earthquake in 1642 . We took Notice, that near the Village of Pietra Mala the Air fparkled. in the Night. At the Village of Scarica l'Affno, between the laft nam'd Place and Loyano, we faw a Poft the Boundary of the Pope's and Great Duke's Territos ries, the Arms of the firft being affixed on one, and the Florentine Arms on the other Side. From the Top of the laft Hills of the Apennine, as we approach ${ }^{\circ} \mathrm{d}$ Bologna, and arrived by an eafy Defcent near that City, we had the moft glorious Profpect in the World, of the extenfive and delightful Plain of Lombardy, extending along the $P O$, from the Apennines to the $A l p s_{0}$

Bologna, the Seat of an Archbifhop, who has the Title of a Prince of the Empire, and the fecond City in the Ecclefiaftical State, is feated at the Foot of the Apennine Hills, at their opening into the Plain, upon the Via Emilia. The faireft Profpect of Bologna and the adjacent Country is from the Convent of St. Micbael in Bofco, where at the fame Time you may have the Pleafure of feeing one of the moft magnificent Monafteries in Italy, comparable for its Beauty to moft of the Royal Palaces of Europe ; and to fpeak the Truth, as Bologna is larger and more populous, nay, even richer than Florence, fo its Convents are generally very fpacious and exceeding magnificent. The City is furrounded only with a fingle Wall without a Citadel; for when they furrendred to Pope Nicbolas in 1278 , it was under Condition, that they fhould not be bridled by a Citadel, their Eftates not be liable to any Confifcations, and fhould be allow'd an Auditor of the Rota, and an Ambaffador of their own at Rome ; which Privileges have not been hitherto infringed. The Univerfity acknowledges for its Founder Theodofius the younger, in 425 , but owes its chief Splendour to Cbarles the Great; hence it is that the Motto Bononia docet, is feen on the Coin of this City, as the Word Libertas is in their Arms.

In one of the Halls of the Univerfity College is a Monument erected to the Memory of a certain noted Chirurgeon named Gabriel Taglicozzo, who made artificial Nofes, Lips, Egc. of Flefh, mentioned by Butler in his Hudibras. The Canal which joins the Arno with the $P_{0}$, is a great Conveniency for the Commerce of this City, the Inhabitants of which trade in Wax, Hemp, Flax, Hams, Sauciges, Soap, Tobacco, and Perfumes, befides that they have near four hundred Silk-mills; formerly they ufed to fell their little Dogs at a high Rate. The Houfes of this City are generally of Stone, or Brick plaifterd over; the Streets have Portico's on both Sides, like thofe of Padua, but are higher and larger, and are for the moft Part very ftraight; the Women are handfome, and not kept under fo much Reftraint as at Flo. rence; the better Sort are inclin'd to follow the French Mode. In General Caprara's Palace, one of the beft in the whole City, we faw many rich Spoils taken from the Turks.

The publick Palace of this City is appointed for the Lodging of the Cardinal Legate, and the Gonfalonier and his Counfellors. Over the Portal ftands a Brafs Statue of Gregory XIII. and on one Side of it that of Boe niface VIII. with this Infcription;

Bonifacio VIII. P. M. ob eximia erga fe merita, S. P. Q.B. Ann. MCCC.

Here you are alfo fhewn the Cabinet of Curiofities of Ulyffes Aldrovandus, join'd with that of the Marquis of Cofti, both belonging to the Publick. Among the reft we took Notice of the Picture of a certain Woman, who (as Aldrovandus fays of his own Knowledge) had a long and thick Beard like a Capucbin. M. Lotier, a Banker of this City, has alfo an excellent Collection of Medals, in which are to be feen two Otbo's in Brafs of unquef tionable Antiquity. In a Chamber near it they mewed us one hundred and eighty feven Volumes in Folio, all of Aldrovandus's own Hand-writing, and about two hun-
dred Bags full of loofe Papers; the Margins were pretty large, and the Lines not very clofe.

On the Front of this Palace, between the Statues of the Popes, is a Latin Infcription, intimating, that the Emperor Cbarles V. and Pope Clement VIII. meeting at Bologna in November 1529, reftored the Peace of Italy, and that afterwards the faid Emperor was crown'd King of Lombardy in the Church of St. Petronius; the Emperor had been crown'd before, OEF. 22, 1520, at Aix la Cbapelle. In another Place of this Palace, you fee the Picture of one named Ugolino, on the Wall, hanging by one Foot, with this Subfrription, Ugolino traditore, filatugliero alla Patria; perhaps this might be Count Ugolin of Pija, one of the Heads of the Guelpos. In another Place you fee an Infcription beginning thus: Adefte $O$ Sol $\mathcal{E}$ Luince Teftes, Rxc. relating to a Miracle wrought by an Image of our Lady, who deliver'd Bo$\log n a$ from the Peftilence. That great and ftately Fountain which faces this Palace, is the Work of the famous Architect and Sculptor Jobn of Bologna, faid by fome to have coft feventy thoufand Crowns.
In the Church of St. Petronius (the biggeft in the whole City) is to be feen the fo much celebrated Meridian Line of Caffini, engraven on a Copper Plate of 222 Foot long, and fixed in the Pavement. It begins at the Entrance of the great Body on the left Hand, and paffes between the Pillars, without the leaft Obitacle, to the End of the little Nave of the Church, the Situation of which is almoft Eaft and West. In the arch'd Roof of the laft Nave is a Hole, directly over the Noon-point of this Line, through which a Ray of the Sun entring, marks the Solftices and Equinoxes upon the Line. The fame Operation may, without much Difficulty, be perform'd in any other convenient Place, the whole Myftery confifting only in meafuring the Degrees on the Line, proportionably to the Height of the Hole through which the Ray enters.

In the Church of Corpus Domini they thew an embalm'd Body of St. Catberine Vigni, which has wrought many Miracles : But the Image of our Lady, faid to be made by St. Luke, is in much greater Veneration with them; her Refidence is at the Mount la Guardia, eight Miles from the City (they were then making a cover'd Way to that Mountain) from whence they bring her at certain Times in Proceffion into Bologna with more than ordinary Magnificence, attended by the feveral Companies of the Artifans, the Fraternities, Convents, Heads of the Parifhes, Magiftrates, the Gonfalonier, and the Legate himfelf: The Image is always carried under a rich Canopy, the People upon their Knees faluting it as it paffes by, with the molt zealous Ejaculations that can be conceiv'd.

In the Church of the Dominicans you fee the moft magnificent Chapel and Tomb of St. Dominic ; the inlaid Work of different Colours on the Benches of the Choir, done by Damian of Bergamo, a Monk, are highly efteem'd to this Day, though it is beyond all Difpute, that fince the finding out of the Art of imprinting natural Colours on Wood, this Kind of Work has been brought to a much greater Perfection. In the fame Church is to be feen the Tomb of Hentius or Enzelin King of Sardinia and Corfica, natural Son to the Emperor Frederick II. The Epitaph gives you an Account of his being taken Prifoner by the Bononians, who detain'd him twenty two Years, nine Months, and fixteen Days in Captivity, till his Death, which happen'd in March 1272. The Tower called Garifenda is about 130 Foot high, and leans like that of $P i f a$; it is a fquare Tower built of Brick, and its Inclination to one Side proceeds, queftionlefs, from the fame Reafon (viz. from the Sinking of the Foundation) as does that of Pifa. The bright Stones, known by the Name of Bononian Stones, are the Product of the Hill of Paderna, about three Miles diftant from the City.

The Heats being almolt as troublefome here as in the Apennines, the Men ufe Fans as well as the Women, fome of which are of Paper, and fold for a Penny apiece. In our Inn they had a Way of driving away the

Flies by a Machine; they often treated us with Lake Tor zoifes of the Bignefs of a good Trencher; their Flefh is pretty firm, and not ill tafted.

Leaving Bologna about Sun-fet, we traveld ten Miles to Samogia, a fmall Village about half Way between this City and Modena. They told us, that from this Place to the $A l p s$, the Country is as level as a Bowlinggreen, and that the Roads are lined on both Sides, either with Cornfields or Vineyards ; the Vines are fupported by Fruit-trees planted Chequer-wife, as we had feen them already in feveral Parts of Lombardy, and afforded a very delightful Profpect at firf, but at Length grew offenfive to the Eyes of us Travellers, for Want of that Variety which is diverting to the Sight, and without which nothing is diverting. The fame Night, as we came near to the Village, we were furprized with the Sight of a prodigious Quantity of fining Flies, called Lucciole, with which the Hedges were cover'd to fuch a Degree, that they feem'd to be on Fire; they are not unlike the Locufts in Shape, but not fo large the fhining Part is a certain yellow hairy Down under the Belly, which being Aretch'd at every Motion of their Wings, fends forth a bright Glance like Fire.

Early in the Morning we purfued our Journey to Modena, where we arrived in two Hours. In our Way we paffed by the Fort of Urban VIII. defended by four Baftions bearing the Names of St. Mary, St, Peier, St. Paul, and St. Petronius; and a little on this Side of it we crofs'd the River Panaro, the Boundary between the Bolonian and Modenefe Territories. The City of Modena itfelf is feated in a fertile Country, but for Want of Trade makes but an indifferent Appearance; for its Fortifications are much decay'd, the Streets are narrow and dirty, the Portico's on both Sides of them low and narrow, and even the Churches contain nothing worth taking Notice of; fo that were it not for its ancient Reputation, and the Refidence of the Dukes of that Name, it would fcarce deferve a Place among the Cities of Italy. The old Palace is an inconfiderable Edifice, but the new one promifes much better.
8. We travel'd in Calafhes in four Hours from Modena to Reggio, a City as barren in Curiofities as Modena, but better built, and its Situation very pleafant. The Inhabitants tell you Wonders of their Churches, but thefe Things they muft tell thofe that have not feen Rome or Naples; their chief Pretenfions lie in the Work manfhip of Bones, of which they make feveral Sorts of Toys not worth the mentioning, and fold miferably cheap. They told us of certain ancient Infcriptions found at Reggio, in which this City was called Regium Lepidi, the other Reggio in Calabria ulterior, being known by the Name of Regium $\mathcal{F u l i u m}$, and its Inhabitants Regienfes, whereas thofe of the firft were called Rbegini. They ftile their Prince Duke of Reggio and Modena, juft as in Scotland (before the Union) they put the Name of their Country before England in the Title of the King. About eight Miles from Reggio we pals'd the Bridge over the River Lenfa, on the other Side of which begins the Dutchy of Parma, being a plain Country, moftly Pafture, whereas about Bologna and Modena the Grounds are generally till'd.

The City of Parma is feventeen Miles from this Bridge, very pleafantly feated, and feen at a confiderable Diftance, by reafon of the Straightnefs of the Road leading to it, and the Height of its Spires. Over the Gate, through which we enter'd, we faw the Arms of Pope Paul III. the fame who beftow'd the Dukedoms of Parma and Placentia upon his natural Son Lewis. The River of Parma divides it into two Parts, but is not navigable; its Fortifications are very good, and the Citadel defign'd after the Model of that of Antwerp, formerly efteem'd a Mafter-piece.

The Ducal Palace is a very indifferent Building, but the new one is likely to be much larger and handfomer. The Wardrobe is well furnifh'd, and fo are the Stables, and the Coaches very rich. The great Theatre is beyond any of that Kind I ever faw, either at Paris or Venice ; the fofteft Whifper may be heard through any Part of it, though it is of a very large Extent; there are no Boxes, but only Benches rais'd one above the
other,

## Chap. III.

Greatef Part of ITALY.
other as in an Amphitheatre. The Pit is alfo very facious, and may be filled with Water to the Height of three Foot, in which they reprefent Naval Combats with whole Squadrons of little gilt Boats.

Befides the Schools of the Univerfity, they have here a College, wherein they receive young Gentlemen of all Nations, but none except fuch as are capable of being admitted Knights of Maltba. They eat together according to the different Sciences they learn; their Number at this Time amounted to two hundred and thirty. The Dome of the Cathedral is painted by the Hand of Correggio, and in the Churches of St. Fobn and St. Antbony are various excellent Pieces. At the Race we faw Abundance of very good Company taking the Tour à la mode in their Coaches; but they obferve here the fame Cuftom that is practifed upon this Account at Rome, viz. that the Wonien never go with the Men in the fame Coach, but always appear in Coaches by themfelves. In our Journey from hence to Placentia, we faw not any Village or River worth mentioning, except the little difmantled Town of St. Domino, tho' they are thirty five Miles diftant one from another.

The City of Placentia is feated in a pleafant Plain about fix hundred Paces from the $P_{0}$; its Circumference is larger than that of Parma; the Houfes are of Brick, neatly built, but very low, and on each Side of the Houfes Foot-ways fenced with Pofts, as in London, efpecially in the Race-freet, which is as ftreight as a Line, of an equal Breadth from one End to the other, and three thouland Foot long. The Statues of the famous Alexander Farnefe, Governour of the Netberlands, and of his Son Ranuccio I. adorn the Great Place, or, in plain Englifh, the great Square. From the Top of one of the higheft Steeples we had a full View of the Country round about, embellifh'd with the various Windings of the Po, and could plainly difcern Cremona, though at ewenty Miles Diftance. The Cathedral has fome Pictures, done by the Hand of Caracbe ; and that of St. Sixtus, an Image of our Lady, by Rapbael. To conclude, Placentio is ill-peopled, and the Fortifications are but indifferent, though much extolled by the Italians; and their Weights, Meafures, and Coins, are different from thofe of Parma. We coafted the Banks of the Po, but at fome Diftance from the River, following the Current till we came over-againft Cremona, where we paffed in a Ferry-boat, for there are noBridges upon the Po below Turin.

The City of Cremona is feated on the Milanefe-fide of that River ; it is very large, but poorer and lefs populous than Placentia. The Cantle, though much extoll'd by the romantick Italians, is an antick fhapelefs Heap of Ruins; the Inhabitants of this City boaft exceedingly of its Anciquity, but can produce no authentick Proofs for it. This City is forty Miles from Mantua, and in the Way between both you meet with no confiderable Town except Buizzolo, a fmall City furrounded with fome inconiderable Works, which among fome People pafs for Fortifications; however, it bears the Title of a Dukedom, and its Prince is at the fame Time Sovereign of the adjacent Country for four or five Miles about it. We paffed the River Oglio, which rifes with a large and rapid Current out of the Lake of Ifco, and falls into the Po.

Almoft all Defcriptions I ever faw of Mantua, have given a very imperfect Account of the true Situation of this City, which is generally reprefented to be in the Midft of a Lake; but to fpeak the Truth, this pretended Lake is no more than the Waters of the River Mincio, arifing from the Lake of Guarda, which overflowing the flat Country, makes a kind of Marh fourteen or fifteen times longer than it is broad, in which, but toward one Side of it, the City of Mantua is built on a firm Tract of Ground. The Cawley over which we paffed, was between two and three hundred Paces long, but on the Side towards Verona it is of a larger Extent. In fome Places of thefe Marfhes, the Water is always in Motion, but as it ftagnates in moft Places, the beft Part of the rich Inhabitants leave the City during the Summer Seafon. Mantua has only a Wall for its Defence, but the Citadel is very ftrong: For the reft, it

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is about the fame Bignefs as Cremona, but much better peopled; the Streets are broad and ftreight, but the Houfes indifferently built.

The Italians will tell you ftrange Things of the Mag* nificence of the Palace, though, in Effect, it has neither Beauty nor Regularity, and the beft Idea I can give you of it, is to compare it to Whiteball, viz. that it is large and commodious, without the other, Qualifications belonging to a Royal Palace. We were affur ${ }^{2}$ d, that this Palace was moft magnificently furnifh'd before it was pillaged by the Imperialifts, $\mathfrak{F u l y} 18,1639$, but even as you fee it now, the Duke's Lodgings want nothing of what is requifite to render them both convenient and fplendid : The Hall is filled with rare and ancient Pictures, and the Cabinet of Curiofities wants not Ma terials to entertain the induftrious Traveller. The Duke of Mantua has feven or eight Country Seats, among thefe we only faw la Favorite and Marmirol, the laft of which is very pleafantly feated near a delightful Brook and Wood, and well furnifh ${ }^{5}$ d with Pictures and Antiquities, with Gardens, Orange-walks, Aviaries, and mort curious Fountains belonging to it. In the Churcks of St, Andrew, they thew the St. Longin, with fome Drops of that miraculous Blood found in this City in the Time of Leo III. which afterwards gave the Occafion (viz. in 1608.) to the Inftitution of the Order of Mantua by Vincent Gonzaga, who felected twenty Knights to be Companions of this Order. The other remarkable Things in Mantua are, the Churches of the Jefuits, of St. Barnabas, St: Maurice, St. Sebafitian, St. Urfula, and St. Barbara, the Town-houfe, Theatre, Manufactory Halls the Mill of the twelve Apoftles, the Synagogue and Shambles. But before we part with Mantua, we muft remember the Village of Andes near this City,'s which gave Birth to Virgil;

## Mantua Mufarum Domus, atque ad Jidera cantu Evecta Andino. <br> Sil. Ital. I. 8.

Leaving Mantua, we travel'd for twenty two Miles; till we came to the River which is the common Boundary between that Dukedom and the Venetian States and eighteen Miles further came and $l^{\circ} \mathrm{odg}^{\circ} \mathrm{d}$ the fame Night at Brefcia. We were not a little furpriz'd at the Sight of the Women in the Streets and Shops, a Thing we had not feen fince our Arrival at Verona. Brefcia is pretty well pecpled, and indifferently large; its Citadel, which is very ftrong, ftands on an adjacent Hill near the Foot of the Alps; the other Fortifications are of no great Moment. The Palace of fustice is a noble Structure, of a certain Stone not unlike Marble; on the Pediment of the Front you fee thefe Words;

## Fidelis Brixia Fidei Eo Gufitic confecravit.

The Armourers Shops are directly oppofite to this Palace, under a Portico of five hundred Paces long; the Fire-arms of Brescia being accounted the beft in Italy. This City is watered with many fine Springss and a commodious Rivulet, which have their Rife among the Alps.

In the Cathedral they fhew you what they call Confiantine's Oriftame, which they told us was the fame blue Crofs that appear'd to Conftantine, with this Motto, Ir boc Signo vinces. But how is it poffible that an Apparition in the Air could be preferv${ }^{2}$ ? And how could it be called an Oriflame, which fignifies a Kind of gile Standard or Banner? Some deriving its Etymology from Flammula, a Banner, and aurea, golden, becaufe it was affix'd to a gilt Launce; others from a Sort of gold and flame-colour'd Stuff; it was adorn'd with green Taffels. I remember Mezeray tells us, that the fecond Race of the French Kings ufed to have St. Martin's Cope born before their Armies, but that the Capets made UKe of the Banner of St . Dennis, called Oriflame, kept in that Saint's Church. Perhaps this Oriflame of Brescia is the Labarum in which Confantine, after his Victory over Maccatius, order'd a Cypher, which con fifts of the initial Letters of the Name of Chrift, to be inferted,

As we travelled from Brefcia to Bergamo, we paffed conftantly along the Ridge of the Alps on our right Hand, at the Diftance of two or three Miles,

At Palazzuolo, a Place feated half Way between both thefe Cities (viz. fifteen Miles diftant from each) we paffed the Oglio a fecond Time. Coming to Bergamo, we found it both a trading and a ftrong Town, its Situation being at the Foot of the Alps. The Fortifications are well faced and kept, and the Citadel, with fome Outworks, defend the rifing Grounds about the City, which has no lefs than five good Suburbs. In the Cathedral you fee the Tomb of the great Bayth. Cogliano, General of the Venetian Forces againft the Milanefe; and in that of the Aufin Friers, the Tomb of the famous Ambrofe Calepin, a Native of Calepio, a Village not far from Bergamo. In the Choir of the Cathedral you fee fome inlaid Work on the Benches, done after the fame Manner, and by the fame Hand, as that we faw in the Church of the Dominicans at Bologne. The Bergamefe Jargon is very grofs, befides which, the Inhabitants have, for the moft Part, fcrophulous Tumors on their Throats, which appear very naufeous to Strangers, though to them it appears fo natural, that they queftion whether it be a greater Perfecto have or be without thefe Tumors, and are inclined to hold the former.
The Grounds about Bergamo, and generally all over the Milanefe, being watered with many Rivulets arifing from the Alps, the Country People have from thence derived an infinite Number of Channels, whereby they prevent the Inconveniency of Drought, and render their Grounds fertile. The River Adda (arifing out of the Lake of Como) having at this Time overflown its Banks, we were obliged to quit our Calafh at Canonica, a Village about twelve Miles from Bergamo, and to pafs the River in a Boat, not without fome Danger, by reafon of the Violence of the Current. Two Miles above Ca nonica, on the oppofite Side of the River, lies Trezzo, where we embark'd on the Canal called Navilio della Marrefana, which reaches in a ftraight Line within half a Mile of Milan, its Length being about twenty Miles, It is fupplied with Water by the Adda, which River having in many Places very fteep Cataracts or Waterfals before it comes into the flat Country, is near Canonica twenty five or thirty Foot lower than the Canal ; which is the Reafon that fo many Attempts were made in vain to bring the Waters of the Adda to Milan, till at laft that moft celebrated Architect and Engineer Leonardo da Vinci undertook this Work, and brought it to Perfeetion. Mr. Felibien gives this great Florentine the following Character ; That he was of a very large Stature, and of fuch Strength, as to be able to twift the Clapper of a Bell with oneHand; he was an excellent Horleman, a fine Dancer, and very dextrous in the Management of Arms, and all other Gentleman-like Exercifes; he was one of the beft Painters of his Age; he and Micbael Angelo having engaged Raphael to leave his firt Way of Drawing ; befides which, he was a skilful Architect, a good Sculptor, and great Engineer ; a learned Mathematician, Mufician, Anatomift, Philofopher, Poet, and Hiftorian ; all which, join'd with his courteous and generous Behaviour, certainly render'd him one of the moft accomplifh'd Perfons the World ever faw. He died in the 75 th Year of his Age, in the Arms of Francis I. King of France, who giving him a Vifit, and our illuffrious Leonar do endeavouring to fhew his Acknowledgment by raifing his Body in the Bed, the King advanc'd with his Arms to hinder him, and To he expir². From this Canal we had à moft delightful Profpect of the adjacent Country, border'd in many Places with Summer-houfes, 'Gardens, and Orchards, like fome of the Canals in Holland.
9. Scarce any City in Europe hath been fo entirely deftroyed by the two terrible Scourges of Mankind, War and Pestilence, as Milan; notwithftanding which, it may at this Day be rank'd among the fineth Cities in the World: It was quite deftroy'd by Frederic Barbarofa in 1162 . It is almoft of a circular Figure, about ten Miles in Compafs, and is faid to contain no lefs than thirty thoufand Inhabitants. There are but few

Inftances of fuch great Cities built in the Middle of the Land without the Conveniency of either the Sea or a River, the Defect of which is fupplied by many Springs and Rivulets that water the Country adjoining, and the Canal deriv'd from the River Adda fills the Ditch of the inward Enclofure of the City with running Water: The Fortifications, or outward Enclofure, were made fince the Deftruction of this City by Barbaroffa. Near the Gate of Pavia is to be feen the Begimning of a Canal, intended to be drawn from thence to the City of Pavia, by Galeazzo Vijconti, but the Execution thereof was ftopt by his Death. A certain Latin Author (Werner Roolwink) derives the Etymology of Mediolalun, à Sue dimidia lanata, i. e. from a Sow half cover’d with Wool, found in the fame Place where this City was founded.
The firft Thing we thought worthy our Attention, was the famous Cabinet of the late Canon Manfredi Settala, a Man equally learned and judicious, not only in his Choice, but alfo in working many curious Things with his own Hands. We faw here various Machines, invented for the Difcovery of the Perpetual Motion : Looking-glaffes of feveral Sorts, Dials; Mufical Inftruments ancient and modern, and fome of his own inventing ; Books, Medals, curious Locks and Keys, Seals, Rings, Pictures, Indian Works, Muramies, Arms, flrange Habits, Lamps, Urns, Idols, and a great Number of all Sorts of Antiquities; Fruits, Stones, Minerals, Animals, Variety of Shells, Curiofities in Steel, Wood, Amber, and Ivory; a Piece of Cloth made of the Stone Amiantbos, Monfters, $E c_{0}$ But the Difh of yellow Amber, two Foot in Diameter, is a moft exquifite Rarity : There are divers other Pieces of rough Amber with Ants, Flies, Spiders, and other Infects, enclofed in the Subflance of them, a convincing Proof, in my Opinion, that Amber is a Kind of Gum or Bituminous Matter harden'd by the Air, the Sea, or fome other Caufe, fo that when (for Inftance) an Ant happens to light upon a raw and clammy Piece of this Bituminous Matter, fhe is entangled in this unctuous Subftance, and it growing harder and bigger by Degrees, the Infect is enclofed in it. This Opinion is exactly the fame Martial had of it;

## Dum Pbaëtonteâ formica vagatur in umbrâ <br> Implicuit tenuem fuccina Gutta feram: <br> Sic modo qua fuerat vitâ contempta manente

Funeribus facta ef nunc pretiofa fuis.
There are three or four pretended Unicorns Horns in this Cabinet; for though, beyond all Difpute, they are properly no more than the Teeth of a certain Fif found in the Nortbern Seas, yet here, as well as in the Venetian I'reafury, and other Places where they are preferv'd, they retain fill the Opinion, that they grow on the Head of that imaginary Creature. There are alfo fome Foffil Horns exactly like thofe that grow on Fifhes, though of a very different Matter. The Remora, a Fifh about the Bignefs of a Herring, fhewn in many Cabinets, is of the fame fabulous Kind; I am fure I have feen no lefs than twelve of them in feveral Places, but never two of the fame Kind.
The Cathedral, founded by Fobn Galeas Vifconti, firft Duke of Milan, I 3 Fune I 386. and which fands in the Center of the City, is a Structure of a prodigious Bulk, though (according to my Computation) a fixth Part lefs than St. Peter's at Rome', but is infinitely beyond it in the Curiofity of the Ornaments and Sculptures, wherewith it is cover'd both within and without, there being not the Breadth of a Hand to be feen in the whole that is unwrought. It is built after the Gotbick Manner, and to form a true Idea of this Edifice, you mult reprefent to your felf a valt Collection of Rofes, Trees, Animals, Grotefques, Pyramids, Nicbes, Statues, and a thoufand other Varieties, affording an agreeable Confufion to the Eye: However, there are only fome Parts of this Church compleatly finifh'd, the Canons of the Chapter thinking it their Intereft not to proceed with too much Vigour in a Thing of this Nature, which brings valt Sums of Money by Donations,

Chap. IIİ.
Greatel Part of ITALY.

Legacies, \&c. into their Coffers, Part of which they know how to employ to other Ufes. According to an Infcription in Gold Letters, engraved on a Piece of Marble in the fame Church, one Fobn Peter Carcannis, a Native of Milan, left by his Will the Sum of 230,000 Crowns of Gold, toward the Building and Adorning the Front of this Church, which, neverthelefs, remains to this Day almoft naked. There may, perhaps, alfo be another Reafon why the fame is not finifh'd ; for confidering that there are two Sorts of Architecture in that Part of it which is already begun, it feems as if the Undertakers were not a little puzled how to reconcile the Uniformity of the Architecture to the Gotbick Structure of the whole Body of the Church.

Martin the Fifth's Statue ftands in the Choir of this Church, without a Beard, and a very young Face, tho' he was near fifty Years old when he was chofen Pope; the Infcription fays, it exceeds Praxiteles:

## Praftantis Imaginis author,

Dè Tradate fuit Gacobinus in arte profundus,
Non Praxitele minor, Sed major, farier aufin.
Near it is the Statue of Pius IV. Behind the Choir are two Marble Tables, containing a Catalogue of all the Relicks preferved in this Church, among which is a Piece of Mofes's Rod, though at the fame Time they pretend to have it entire at St. Yobn de Lateran's. Befides this Piece, there is another preferved at Florence, and Baronius fays another was found at Sens roo8. On the great Altar you fee the Nail of the Crucifixion, of which it is faid Confantine made a Bit for a Bridle ; five Lights burn conftantly round it Day and Night.

The Pavement of this Cathedral is more curious and more folid than that of St. Peter's at Rome, the Marble whereof being very thin; is almoft worn out. The whole Charge of this Pavement (when finifhed) is computed at 66,290 Crowns, not including the Choir. We had from the Steeple of this Church a full View of Milan, befides other Cities in the Plain of Lombardy, and the Conjunction of the Alps and Apennines near Genoa. The great Bell, called St. Ambrofe, is feven Foot in diameter, and weighs thirty thoufand Pounds. In the great Square before the Church we obferved generally about thirty Coaches; but their ordinary Tour à la Mode is a fpacious unpaved Street, (called Strada Marina) ffrinkled every Day with Water.

The Ambrofian Libraty obtained its Name from being dedicated to St. Ambrofe, by Frederick Borromeo Archbifhop of Milen. A certain Author, in his Defcription of this Library, printed at Tortona, makes the Number of its MSS. amount to 12,000 , and the printed Volumes $7^{2,000}$; but the Library-keeper told us, there were not above 40,000 in all. Among the firt, Ruffinus's Verfion of fofepbus challenges the Precedency for its Antiquity. The great Hall is feventy five Foot long, and thirty broad; it is kept open two Hours in the Forenoon, and as many in the Afternoon. Among other Rarities, we were fhewn a large Volume of mechanical Draughts, done, as they faid, by Lieonardo da $V$ incis's own Hand; the Writing is fo bad, that it is not to be read without a Perfpective-glafs. An Infcription on the Wall near it tells you, that a King of England offered three thoufand Piftoles for it, but mentions not his Name. In the Academy for Painting, adjoining to this Library, we faw a Piture of Clement X. refembling a Print fo exactly, that we were all deceived in it. The Cittadel is a regular Hexagon Fortification, well faced, and ftrengthen'd with a good Ditch and Counterfcarps. The principal Structures, befides the Churches and Convents are, the two Palaces of the Governor and Archbifhop, the Houfes of Marquis Homodeo, Count Barth. Arefe, and Signior Martini.
The Seminary (founded by Cbaries Borromeo) has a double Portico 176 Foot three Inches long, and 16 Foot io Inches and a half broad, extending round the Infide of the great fquare Court; the firft Order is Doric, the fecond is Ionic. Over the high Portal you fee the Statue of Piety. The Torenboufesand the Great

Hofital, the great Court of which is 120 Paces fquare, about the Infide whereof are two Rows of Portico's', fupported on each Side by forty two Pillars of a certain Kind of Marble found in the Alps, each Pillar confifting of one fingle Piece of Stone. The Body of the Structure is of Brick; the old Hofpital is united with it, but the Lazaret or Hofpital for infected Perfons lies about chree, hundred Paces without the City; Bramante was the Architect. This large Structure is compofed of four Galleries joined in a Square, each of which contains ninety two Chambers, about twenty four Foot broad; fo that the whole Length of each Gallery (including the Walls) amounts to eighteen hundred Feet. The Infide is furrounded with a Portico fuftained by Marble Pillars, and the Square within is a Meadow, water"d by feveral Springs and Brooks, in the Middle of which ftands an Altar under a Dome, fup. ported by Pillars, by which Means the Sick may fee Mafs faid from their Chambers.
The Church of St. Ambrofe hath many Statues and Pictures, which were the Production of the ignorant Ages: Among the reft, you fee here a Dragon of Brafs, refting upon a Column of Marble; fome think it to be the Serpent of Efculapius, others an Emblems of the Serpent in the Defart; but the common Opinion is, that this Dragon was caft out of the Fragments of that Serpent ; which makes many Pilgrims fock thither to worfhip it, as Boffi and Cbarles Torre affure us by their own Experience. In the Church of St. Eustorgia they fhew fill the Tomb that contain'd the Bodies of the three Kings that were afterwards removed to Cologne; they pretend, that it retains to this Day a certain Virtue of curing Diftempers; for it is to be obferved, that the Inhabitants of the Milamefe are not behindhand with the reft in magnifying their Relicks, of which they have Abundance, for at St. Alexander's there are no lefs than 144,000 Martyrs of the Catacombs of St. Seb̄aftion.
The chief Curiofities made in Milan are Works of feveral Sorts in Steel and Rock-Cryftal; with which they are furnifh'd by the neighbouring $A l p s$; of the largeft Pieces they make Looking-glaffes; bur they are feldom above a Foot fquare. It is to the Curiofity of their Workmanhip that fome attribute the Original of the old Proverb, viz. He that reifbes well to Italy, muft destroy Milan: meaning, that thereby its Riches would be difperfed through the whole Country; though fome explain the fame Proverb of the fatal Wars that have aflicted Italy on the Account of this City, it having been forty Times befieged, and two and twenty Times taken. The Houle of the Marquis of Simonetta, two Miles without the City, hath an Eccho which repeats the laft Syllable about forty Times: We heard it in a cover'd Gallery in one of the Wings of the Buildings, where the Eccho anfwering from the other Wing, we found the Sound to decreale like the Reboundings of an Ivory Ball.
In our Way from Milan to Pavia (which is only fifo teen Miles) we went to take a View of the famous Convent in the Plain of Barco, founded by Fobn Galeazzo Vifconti firlt Duke of Milan. The Church is of a Gotbick Architecture, but the Chapels and Altars not inferior to any in Italy; the Cloyfters are wonderfully handfome, and the Gardens, Parks, Brooks, and Avenues exceeding delightful ; it contain'd then about fifty eight Friers, who lived there very deliciounty. The once famous, but now inconfiderable, City of Paria is fo much fallen from its ancient Luftre, that its poor Remains bear fcarce any Refemblance to what in ancient Times its Buildings were, when the Metropolis of a Kingdom, and the Refidence of no lefs than twenty Monarchs, the Caftle being now no more than an old Heap of Stone, and the Fortifications quite neglected. The Univerfity (founded by Cbarlemain, and re-eftablifhed by Cbarles IV.) is not much better than the Town; it hath, however, five Colleges, among which that of Borromeo is worth taking Notice of, for the Beauty of its Structure; the Scholars of every College wear dif. ferent Gowns ; which Diftinction is of great Service.

The Cathedral is a low, dark, and very old Edifice ;
over-againft it is an Equeftrian Statue of Brals, called the Regifol, which fome think to be the Statue of $A n$ toninus Pius; Platina gives it the fame Name, and fays, it was brought from Ravenna after that City had been fack'd by King Luitprand, the fame who (as they fay) brought St. Austin's Body from Sardinia to Pavia, where it was buried in St. Peter's Church, now in the Poffeffion of the Aufin Friers, though it is certain that they cannot fhew the Place where the Body lies, the Marble Tomb in the Chapel on one Side of the Church being erected only in Honour of that Saint. Bernard Saccus, (l. 10. c. 3.) a Native of Pavia, in his Hiftory of that City, gives us the following Account of the Tranflation of St. Auftin's Body: In templo D. Petri à Luitpranda edificato conditum Augustini corpus fuit; E® ne facile refciri polfet, ferunt Luitprandum tribus locis effofls, structijque, fepulcbris, alibi deinde nocie, paucis operi adbibitis, julfife corpus condi, omnibus Sepulcbis eadem noEte, occlufis, ut certa corporis Sede ignorata, difficilior in avum fieret occafio, ejus perquirendi rapiendique. Confructum deinde alio faculo facellum D. Augufino fuit, juxta Templum D. Petri, in quo facello Arca marmorea E celebris, compofita eft, Augqufini Sepulcbrum reprefentans. The fame Author makes the following Obfervations concerning Pavia, That the Grounds thereabouts produce naturally Afparagus twice every Year, which are eaten raw by the Country People; and that the $P_{0}$, which now is five or fix Miles from that City, reach'd formerly within five hundred Paces of it; which explains feveral Paffages in the ancient Geographers, who place Pavia near that River: Padus, adds Saccus, Sepe totus ab alveo profliens alium fibi extemplo alveum fine fofforibus eruit. Si ab Apennino aquarum copia irruat, fluctus in adverfam ripam torquet, contra vero $\sqrt{3} a b$ Alpium latere aquarum impetus fiat: $\sqrt{2}$ ex utraque parte, effertur fupramodum.

Coming out of Pavia, we pafs'd the River Tefin ( $T_{i}{ }^{3}$ cinum) over a cover'd Bridge, being the moft rapid and largeft River of all that fall into the Po. It is fubject to great Inundations, which fometimes prove fatal to the adjacent Fields; they fay, that if thefe Inundations continue for eight Days, (which, however, happens rarely) the Coldnefs of the Waters deftroys the Herbs to that Degree, that they farce recover in feveral Years after.

The River Ticinum had formerly communicated its Name to the City of Pavia, built upon its Bank; Saccus fays, in the Year 472 , its Name was changed in the Time of Odoacer, who, after he had deftroyed it, granted Immunity for five Years to the Inhabitants, in order to rebuild the City; whence the City was call'd Papia quafi piorum patria, from the Piety of its Citizens, who went to Ravenna to implore the King's Pardon, not for their embracing the Chriftian Religion, which they had done long before. Me $\sqrt{2}$ audieritis, faid one of their Envoys after their Return, nomen inveniemus, quod nostre pietatis officia in patriam refituendam, paucis follabis pofteritati atteftabitur, $\mathcal{O}^{\circ}$ Ticini nomen aquis reftituetur. Papia piorum Patria, \&c. I Thall add only, that Pavia is famous for the Misfortune of two Kings taken Prifoners there, viz. Defiderius by Cbarlemain, and Francis I. by Cbarles V.

IO. We dined at Vogbera, a Town about fifteen Miles from Pavia, and lodged the fame Night at Novi, a City feated at the Foot of the Apennines, thirty Miles from Genoa, under whofe Jurifdiction it is; the Road betwixt borh is very mountainous. The Situation of Genoa is at the End of a Gulph, partly on the Brow of a Hill, which forms a Crefcent round the Gulph, and partly on a little Plain betwixt the Foot of the Hills and the Sea-hore; the Streets are narrow, and the Houfes in the lower Part of the City fix or feven Stories high, but are lower by Degrees as the Afcent rifes; this affords a pleafant Profpect at a Diftance, but carries with it divers Inconveniencies, efpecially for Coaches, which for that Reafon are not much in Fafhion here, the Ladies being generally carried in Litters, and Gentlemen ufing Calames they drive themfelves. It is Atrengthened by a double Fortification, reaching on both Sides to the Shore, the innermoft inclofes the Body of the City,
and the fecond the rifing Grounds about it. When I had taken a View of the City of Genoa, I could not but be furprifed at what is commonly reported of it, viz. that it is built all of Marble, whereas it is beyond all Contradiction, that (except fome Houfes in the Strade Nuova, that are either adorn'd with, or have whole Fronts of Marble) their ordinary Materials for Build ing are Brick and Stone, or both together, and their Houfes are generally plaifter ${ }^{\circ}$ d over on the Outfide. Notwithttanding this, Genoa is not deftitute of beautiful Structures, efpecially in five or fix of the beft Streets, and in the Suburbs of St. Pietro d'Arena; be.fides that, Genoa has this Advantage in Building, that: Slates and Glais are as plentiful here as they are rare in other Parts of Italy.

The pretended Gardens in the Air in Genoa, com: par'd by fome to the penfile Gardens of Semiramis, owe their Original to nothing elfe but the Scarcity of Ground, which obliges the Inhabitants to put their Flowerpots in their Balconies, and fometimes to cover them with Earth. The beft Edifices of Genoa efcaped the Fury of the French Bombs, which being leivel'd againft the middle Part of the City, did moft dreadful Execution, there being to this Day (1688) above five hundred ruin'd Houfes in that Part of the City. In the Church of our Lady of the Vineyards they fhew'd us a Bomb which fell there without the leaft Detriment; had not the French Bombs thrown down four or five Churches and as many Convents at the fame Time, they would certainly make the World believe that the Bombs had a Refpect for fo facred a Place. During this Conflagration, the Doge, with thirty Perfons more, fhelter${ }^{2}$ d themfelves in the great Hofpital called more, bergo, whither many of the Inhabitants alfo carried their beft Effects. To prevent the like for the future, they are at prefent bufied in making a third Mole, which is to ftretch further into the Sea than the two former. The Harbour of Genoa is capacious enough, and of a good Depth, but is expos'd to the Lubeccio or the African South-Weft Wind, the moft dangerous that reigns in this Part of the Mediterranean. This oblig'd them to make another leffer Port within the great one, for the Security of their Galleys, which are now 'reduced to fo fmall a Number as fix, an infignificant Squadron in Comparifon of what the Genoefe Navies were in former Times.

Thofe that intend to have a compleat Idea of $G e$ noa, muft view it diftinctly from three feveral Places, from the Top of the Pbaros or Water-Tower; from the Sea at a Mile's Diftance ; and from the Top of the Hill. The publick Palace, or Palazzo Reale, where the Doge and fome of the Senators lodge with their Families, is a very large Structure. In the little Arfenal of this Palace we were fhewn a Roftrum of an ancient Roman Ship; it was of Iron, with a Boar's Head at the End of it: The Infcription tells you, that it was found in the Harbour of Genoa, as they were cleanfing it. Here are alfo fome Curaiffes, faid to have belong ${ }^{\text {d }}$ to certain Ladies of this City who fought againtt the Turks.

The Ladies generally drefs themfelves after the French Mode, but the ordinary Sort make Ufe of a Kind of little Fardingals. The Noblemen, though not obliged to any particular Habit, yet wear for the moft Part Black and Cloaks; they affume the Titles of Dukes, Marquifles, Counts, \&c. which the Venetian Nobility do not, but they wear no Swords.

The Doge (who muft be fifty Years old at leaft) is ftiled His Serenity, the Senators Their Exceltencies, and the Noblemen Most Illustrious, a Title of no great Moment in Italy. The Doge is crown'd with a Crown of Gold, and holds a Scepter in his Hand, by reafon of the Kingdom of Corfica under the Jurifdiction of this Republick, but his Power is as much limited as that of the Doge of Venice; befides that, at the End. of every two Years Deputies are always fent to his Serenity, to give him to underftand, that his Time being expired, he muft leave the Palace. We faw once the whole Senate in their Formalities at the Procef fion on the Feat of Corpus Cbristi, where the Doge ap-
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## Chap. III.

 Greate/t Part of ITALY:peared in a crimfon Robe, with a kind of fquare Bonnet on his Head; before him' were carried two Battle Axes and a Sword in the Scabbard', a Senator marching on each Side of him in a black Gown, but of the fame Make with that of the Doge; the Streets were ftrew'd with green Herbs, and lined on both Sides with Ta peftry; in the. Windows we faw the Ladies drefs'd in their beft Attire, with Baskets full of Flowers; which they threw among thofe that follow'd the Proceffion, according to their feveral Inclinations, the Gentlemen receiving thefe Favours with low Reverences from the Hands of the fair Diftributors.

The Church of the Annunciata, though the faireft in Genoo, yet in Beauty and Magnificence is much inferior to many we have had Occafion to defcribe before. The moft remarkable Thing that belongs to it is, that it owns for its Founder a Citizen of Genoa of the Family of Lomellino, who built it at his own Expence.

I will not detain you with the Dialogue between the Crucifix at St. Ferome and St. Bridget, any more than with an ample Defcription of the great, Difh made of one fingle Emerauld, in which, they fay, Chrift eat the Pafibal Lamb, (Beda fays it was a Silver Difh) Du Tol would have this Emerauld Difh to be one of the Prefents made by the Queen of Sbeba to Solomon.

At St. Mary of the Coflle there is another Jpeaking Crucifix; for a certain Gentleman, it feems, having made a Promife of Marriage to his Miftrefs in a Place of the City where a Crucifix food, which he afterwards refufed to fulfil; the Lady accufed him before the Judges, where, being upon the Point of lofing the Caufe for Want of fufficient Witnefs, the appeal'd to the faid Crucifix; and fome Perfons being fent thither, and the Queftion propofed to the Crlicifix, it anfwer'd with a Nod, which made the Judges determine in Favour of the injured Lady; which is the Reafon that this Crucifix is particularly reverencd by Maids. But I cannot fay how far it is trufted. The Afhes of St. Fobn Baptift are preferved in the Cathedral, in a Shrine fupported by four beautiful Columns of Porphyry, brought from Smyena in 1098. This Saint and the Emperor are the two Protectors of Genoa, and the Image of the firft is flamp'd on its Coin, which is the faireft and beft in Italy, commonly called Genouines.

The Traffick of Genoa confifts chiefly in Velvets, Points, Gloves, Ancbovies, dry Confections, and various Sorts of Fruits, but is much decay'd; for though fome private Perfons are ftill exceeding rich, yet the Generality grow poor; the Government monopolizes the Trade of Wine and Corn, fo that the Tavern and Innkeepers mut buy their Wines out of the Cellar of the State, and the Bakers fetch their Corn from the publick Granaries

1r. Taking our Way from Genon towards Cafal, we came back the fame Way we went as far as Novi, where, hiring a Coach to Turin, we dined the next Day at Alexandria, a little City, provided with flender Fortifications; notwithftanding, which, it maintain'd a Siege of fix'Months againtt Frederick Barbarofla, who gave it the Name of Cafarca, which Alexander III. changed into Alexandria. What fome affirm, viz. that the Emperors ufed to be crown'd here with a Crown of Straw, is a meer Fable, whence (they fay) it got the Name of Alexandria di Paglia or of Straw, which, indeed, it retains to this Day, though the Reafon of it is not known. Cafal is a ftrong City, feated on the right Bank of the Po; befides the old Caple, it has a new Citadel, fortified with fix Royal Baftions; Halfmoons before the Curtains, and a large and deep Ditch full of Water, and an Arfenal fored with Arms for ten thouland Men. Since the French have been in Poffeffion of this Citadel, they have made confiderable Alterations in the Fortifications, efpecially in the Baf tions, which being very large, they made a fecond Rampart, and new Baftions within the other.

From Cafol we pafs'd the Po a fourth Time, the Banks of which our Coach follow'd for a confiderable Time; we pafs ${ }^{9}$ d in Sight of Ierni, a fmall fortified Place in that Part of Monferrat under the Juridiction of the Duke of Savoy. Verrue lies on the right Side of the $\mathrm{PO}_{2}$

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and is much ftronger than the other. After we had travel'd eight Miles from Cafal, we entred Piedriont, the Ground being fill level, but nor long after found ourfelves among the Mountains, in a large and flat Valley, almoft furrounded with the Aips: The Grounds in fome Parts of this Plain are exceeding rich, but in fome others very indifferent. In our Paflage we faw two or three large Spots of Ground, where two Days before had ftood the fineft Corn in the World, now laid quite Watte by the Hailfones, the very Straw being beaten into the Ground, and the Vines, Walnut and other Trees broke all to Pieces: It is generally reckon'd but forty five Miles from Cafal to Turin, but the Montferrat Miles, as well as thole in Piedmont, are much longer than thofe in Lombardy.

The City of Turin is feated in a Plain upon the Ris ver Doire, three hundred Paces from the Po; not only the Town, but alfo the Avenues leading to it, are very pleafant; but what moft pleafes Strangers is, that here they are rejoye'd with the frank Converfation of the Inhabitants, after they have been almont tired out with the ftarched and jealous Refervednefs of the Italians, it being certain, that their Manner of living at Turin, may be compar'd to the moft polite City of France, and that Language is as commonly fpoken here as the Italiar, the People generally following the fame Steps in their Converfation, and it may be faid without the leaft Exaggeration, that the Court of Savoy is as fprightly and gay as any in Europe, The, old Part of Turin is fomewhat indifferently built, but to make Amends for this, the new Part has broad ftraight Streets, and the Houfes are large, high, and pretty uniform. The Street that paffes through the two Squares, and reaches from the Caftle to the new Gate, is one of the faireft in Europe. The Houfes in the new Square are adorn'd with large Portico's that enclofe them on all Sides. The Duke's Palace has very good Apartments, though it appears with no great Luftre on the Outfide. The Palace of the Fefuits, and of the Prince of Carignan, (but lately finilh'd) are both magnificent Structures. Turin is but of an indifferent Bignefs, enclos ${ }^{2}$ d with a regular Fortification by the prefent Duke; but the Citadel exceeds the reft both in Strength and Beauty, but was not quite finifh'd. The Walks of Oaks on the Ramparts are very delightful to behold at a Diftance, and afford an agreeable Shade to thofe that divert themfelves here, with the moft delicious Profpect towards the Rivers; but the general Meeting-place of the Gentry is near Valentia, a Country Seat of the Duke upon the Banks of the Po, about a Mile from Turin, befides which the Duke has feven or eight more, all well furnifh'd. Before we leave Turin, we mult not forget to fay fomething of the new Chapel dedicated to the boly Handkercbief, in the Cathedral; it is, beyond all Queftion, a very glorious Piece of Workmanfhip, but what fome have pretended, viz. that it excels the Chapel of St. Lawrence at Florence, is fo far from being true, that it is not comparable to it they are indeed both of the fame Figure, but that of Turin is much lefs, and will be embellifind only with black Marble. I muft upon this Occafion put you in Mind, that inftead of one there are at leaft five or fix of thefe pretended boly Handkercbiefs, viz. two at Rome, in St. Peter's and St. Fobn de Lateran; one at Cadoin in Perigort; one at Befongon, one at Compeigne, one at Milan, and another at Aix la Cbapelle ; they all produce papal Bulls to maintain their Titles, in which Point the Handkerchief of Cadoin has the Preference, being authorized by no lefs than fourteen Bulls, whereas that of Turin has only four:
12. Since we are going to leave Itoly, I have a Mind to entertain you with fome Obfervations, which I had not the Opportunity to infert in any of my former Letters. Our fhart Stay in the Places through which we paffed, would not fuffer us to fpend much Time in making Acquaintance with the People of the Country : and confequently, we could not be fo particularly informed of their Cuftoms; neither do I intend to enter on that Subject, but only to communicate fome Remarks to you, without any other Order than as they fhall
offer
offer themfelves to my Memory. I could not give you an Account of thofe Academies of the Virtuof 2 , that are eftablifhed in almoft all the Towns in Italy, becaufe I had not Time to enquire particularly about them; but if I may give Credit to the Information I received from feveral Perfons, they are certainly, notwithftanding the Noife they make about them, but very inconfiderable Societies, as I have intimated before. The affected Oddnefs of their Titles are very whimfical, they are not much unlike the Names which the Grooms in France and England give to their Horfes. I fhall only mention a Dozen of them. Thus the Academifts of Genoa call themfelves Addormentati, i. e. Drowefy; thofe of Naples, Ardenti, i. e. Burning ; thofe of Alexandria, Immobili, i. e. Immovable; thofe of Rome, Fantaftic and Humorifti, i. e. Fantaftical or Humurous; thofe of Viterbo, Ostinati, i. e. Obfinate; thofe of Siena, Intronati, i.' e. Giddy-beaded, or Block-beads; at Peruja they ftile themfelves Infenfati, i. e. Mad; at Parma, Innominati, i. e. Harmlefs ; at Bologna, Otiof, i. e. Idle; at Milan, Nafcofi, i. e. Conccaled; at Ancona, Caliginati, i. e. ObScure and confufed; at Mantua, Invagbiti, i. e. Eafy or Pliable; and at Macerata, Catenati, i. e. Cbained. I perceive I have skipped from Place to Place without any Order, but that is not material in a Thing of this Nature.
We were treated with a great deal of Civility and Kindnefs by the Italians, as far as we could judge by outward Appearances; but to deal plainly, their Complaiiance is a Mixture of Flattery and Defign. We found alfo by Experience, that the People of this Nation are very fober. The Inns in the little Towns, ef pecially on certain Roads, are very ill furnifhed with Provifions. The firt Courfe they call the Antipasto, is a Difh of Giblets boiled with Salt and Pepper, and mixed with Whites of Eggs ; after which Courfe, comes two or three fmall Difhes, one after another, of different Ragous. Between Rome and Naples the Traveller is fometimes regal'd with Buffaloes and Crows. Some Hiftorians relate, that the firtt Buffaloes that were feen in Italy, were brought thither Anno Dom. 595 ; the 'Buffaloe's Flefh is black, ftinking, and hard; there are none but the moft beggarly $\mathcal{F}$ eres at Rome who eat it, and the Beaft muft be hunted, otherwife it is impoffible to chew its Flefh. They have all the various Kinds of Wine in Italy, but the beft Sorts are fcarce. About Rome there is the Wine of Genfano, Albano, and Cafle Gandolfo, in which Places the Soil is the fame the Greco of Naples and the Lacryma Cbriftiare ftrong, but the fmall Afprino bianco, and the Cbiarello piccante, feemed more agreeable to our Tafte, though they are much lefs efteemed. At Florence and Montefiafone the richeft Wines are pleafant, and have no more Fire than what is convenient for ordinary Drink; but there is no great Quantity of them. The Great Duke's delicate Mofcadello grows in a little Vineyard, and is confecrated to his own Ule, or to be fent as Prefents, but never difperfed through the Country. There are alfo fome good Sorts of Wine near Verona, and in the State of Genoa. About Loretto the Casks are made fhort and broad, like a Dutch Cheefe, but towards Pavia their Length is about feven Times their Diameter. Towards Parma and Placentia, where there are excellent Paftures, they make Cheefe of all their Milk. Butter is fcarce in Italy, inftead of which they ufe Oil in all their Ragous and Fricafies ; but though they draw it from their own Olive-trees, it is oftentimes worfe than in thofe Countries where none of thefe Trees grow; for what will yield the Price and keep longeft is always tranfported for the Sake of Gain, We have not feen the chief Seafon for Fruit in this Country. At Venice, where we ftaid two Months in Winter, we had white Grapes of Bologna, very firm, and of a moft delicious Tafte. At Naples we eat Winter Melons, and at Genoa we were entertained with all Sorts of fmall Fruits, and I never faw fo good and large Cherries as there. The Riviera di Genoa is peculiarly famous for excellent Fruit; it may be truly faid of Genoa, thait its Hills are without Wood, but all the reft of the Proverb is falle, Men woithout Feith, Ladies weithout Sbame, ond Sea weitbout

Fifbes. There are both Rogues and honeft Men every where, and we found by Experience, that there are very good Fifh in the Sea of Genoa. I took Pleafure two or three Times to go in the Morning to fee the Fifh-market at Naples, Venice, Aucona, and Legborn, and other Places, where I obferved feveral Sorts that I had never feen in other Places. The Gulph of Cajeta abounds with Sturgeon, fome of which are alfo found in the Tiber ; it is excellent when roafted frefh.

In all our Travels through Italy, we never faw either a Hare or Partridge in the Fields; and I might alfo add, we faw as few in the Inns. It is very ftrange, in my Opinion, that thefe Animals are not more plentiful, fince the Country is not wholly deftitute of them. There are large Extents of Ground in Italy, which are almofs uninhabited, and confequently ought to abound with Game, proportionable to the like Places in the reft of the World. And again it might be reafonably fupfuppofed, that the Game thould be more here than in other Places, becaufe the Lords of thefe Grounds are never wont to refide on them, and yet are no lefs jealous of their Rights than the Gentlemen of other Countries. In England and France, there are many Perfons of Quality who pafs their Time in the Country, but that is not the Cuftom in Italy, where all Perfons of Note live in the Cities, out of which there are no Caftles or great Houfes to be feen, which belong to private Perfons, or at leaft they are very rare, efpecially if we compare this Country with France and with England. To return to our Game; it muft be acknowledged, that Quails are not fo great Rarities here as Partridges, for on the Approach of Spring they come in Bevy's from Africa and cover the whole Country. Thefe poor little Creatures are fo tired with their long Paffage, that they throw themfelves into Ships, and where-ever they can find a Place to repofe themfelves. They may be caught in Heaps withour the leaft Trouble; but fince they are extremely lean, they who take them ufually feed them, for fome Time, before they eat them. I believe it is a Queftion nor yet refolved, whether thefe Birds fly over the Sea at one Flight, or wherher they do not fometimes fwim to take Breath? It is indeed hard to conceive that the Quail, which has not a ftrong Wing, and flies heavily, ihould be able to continue its Flight fo long. But on the other Side, I am inclined to believe, that the Water would fo moitten and drench the Feathers, that it could never fpread its Wings again; and befides, its Leannefs and Wearinefs, the Dangers to which it expofes itfelf, and its Eagernefs to find a Refting-place, are, in my Opinion, convincing Arguments, that it fies all the Way without Intermiffion, though, it muft be confeffed, this Notion is fubjeet to Difficulties.
I faw but one Scorpion in Italy, and I could not learn that thefe Animals are very mifchievous in this Country: There are feveral Ways to guard againft them ; but I never faw any of thofe hanging Beds that are ufually talked of as common there. The People about Verona make Ufe of Iron Bedfeads, which they place at fome Diftance from the Walls, that thofe Infects may neither breed in them, nor be able to come upon the Beds, and the Feet of the Bedfteads are filed and polifhed for the fame Reafon. If the Animal iffelf can be caught and bruifed, on the Part which it ftung, it is a certain Remedy; and there are alfo Salts and Oils extracted out of it, which produce the fame Effect : But after aii, the Stinging of Scorpions is not mortal in Italy; and befides, fuch Inftances happen fo very rarely, that they who are defirous to travel into that Country, ought not be difcouraged by them. There are two Sorts of Animals to which the Italians give the Name Tarantula; one is a Sort of Lizard, whole Biting is reputed mortal ; it is found efpecially about Fondi, Cajeta, and Capua: But this is not that, which other Nations call Tarantula. The true Tarantula is a Spider, and lives in the Fields; there are many of them in Abruzzo, Calabria, and they are alfo found in fome Parts of Tufcany. Such as are flung by this Creature, make a thoufand different Geftures in a Moment; for they weep, dance, tremble, laugh, grow pale, cry, fwoon

## Chap. III.

Greatel Part of Italy.
away, and, after a few Days of Torment, expire, if they be not affifted in Time. They find fome Relief by Sweating and Antidotes, but $M u f f i c k$ is the great and fpecifick Remedy. A learned Gentlemen of unqueftionable Credit told me at Rome, that he had been twice a Witnefs both of the Difeafe and of the Cure. They are both attended with Circumflances that feem very ftrange ; but the Matter of Fact is well attefted, and undeniable. I think I could produce natural and eafy Reafons to explain this Effect of Mufick; but without engaging myfelf in a Differtation that would carry me too far, I fhall content myfelf with relating fome other Inftances of the fame Kind: Every one knows the Efficacy of David's Harp to reftore Saul to the Ufe of his Reafon. I remember Leweis Guyon, in his Lefons, has a Story of a Lady of his Acquaintance, who lived one hundred and fix Years without ever ufing any other Remedy than Mufick; for which Purpofe the allowed a Salary to a certain Mufician, whom fhe called her Phyfician; and I might add, that I was particularly acquainted with a Gentleman, very much fubject to the Gout, who infallibly received Eafe, and fometimes was wholly freed from his Pains by a loud Noife. He ufed to make all his Servants come into his Chamber, and beat with all their Force upon the Table and Floor; and the Noife they made, in Conjunction with the Sound of a Violin, was his Sovereign Remedy. Highway Robbers (about which Reports prevail fo ftrongly) are not more frequent or dangerous in this Country, than Scorpions or Tarantula's, for there have not been any Banditti at Rome fince the Pontificate of Sixtus V. And I think I told you, that the Marquis del Carpio hash extirpated them out of Naples. I do not remember that ever any Perfon was put to Death in all the Places through which we travel'd, during the Time we ftaid in them. There is not a City, perhaps, in the whole World, where Executions are fo rare as at Venice. They who are under the Patronage of a Nobleman, which is a Thing very eafily obtain'd, may do what they pleafe ; only they muft take Care never to commit a Villany in a publick Place, or that may make too great a Noife. At our Entry into moft Cities our Pittols were taken from us; but we always found them at the other Gate at our Departure. This is a troublefome Thing, for at the End of the Voyage the Charge amounts to as much as the Piftols are worth. It is not lawful to wear Swords either at Genoa or Lucca, but that Privilege is readily granted to Strangers, when they defire it ; and both this and the former Cuftom are daily declining, fo that, in all Probability, they will be very foon out of Date.
The Bayonet is prohibited in Cities, but in the Country every one may wear what Arms he pleafes; and even thofe who travel on Horfeback, oftentimes carry Fufees. The Stiletto's of Milan are famous, for they do their Work effectually. Love and Jealoufy are the two Furies that fhed moft Blood in Italy. The Italians are faid to be jealous without Reafon, and the leaft Sufpicion puts them into a Fit of implacable Rage. Not only at Venice, but every where elfe, the Girls are fent to Nunneries in their Infancy, and they are ufually married, or at leaft contracted, without feeing their future Husbands; the Girls of the loweft Rank are fuffer'd to remain with their Parents, and for that Reafon it is not without much Difficulty that they are able to find Husbands. I am not fo well acquainted with the Cuftoms of other Places, but at Rome there are feveral Funds eftablifhed, either to marry poor Maids, or to confine them for ever to a Convent. There Charities are diftributed with almoft the fame Ceremonies that are obferved at the Minerva, which I defrribed. I obferved in the Churches at Rome, that in Lent the Women hearing Sermons, are fhut up in a Place under che Pulpit, with an Inclofure of well-joined Boards fix Foot high. There are feveral Trees and Plants in Italy, which grow neither in England nor, for the moft part, in France, unlefs perhaps in the Southern Parts of it. The Palm-tree is a Stranger in Italy, and rarely bears Fruit there. In the Garden of Simples at Pifa, there is a Male and Female Palm-tree planted together,
agreeable to the ancient Error of thofe who thoughe fuch a Marriage was neceffary to make thofe Trees fruitful. But this is a meer Fable, for I obferved a Palm-tree alone full of Dates at the Villa Madome on Mount Mario at Rome. We went to the Pope's Chapel on Palm Sunday, where all the Cardinals were affembled; and he who officiated for the Pope, prefented a Palm Branch to every one of the reft. Thefe Branches were almoft five Foot long, and the Leaves were woven together into Knots of feveral Figures with great Art. We faw that which was fent to the Pope. All the Prelates and other Ecclefiafticks had alfo Branches ${ }_{\text {s }}$ which were either greater or fmaller, according to the Dignity of thofe who bore them ; the Laicks ufe only Olive Branches. In M. Badouer's Garden at Verona, there are Cyprefs-trees an hundred Foot high, and two hundred Years old; the Citrons of Florence, called Cedratti, are the moft excellent of all this Kind of Fruit. Silk-worms were brought into Italy from Fapan and Cbina. I have already told you, that we obferved feveral Sorts of Trees commonly planted in the Ground in Italy, which they are forced to put into Pots or Boxes in the colder Countries, that they may carry them in Winter into Green-Houles, to preferve them from the Rigour of the Seafon. Such are the Orange-trees and Lemon-trees, the Pomgranatetrees, the Olive-trees, the Myrtles, the Ficus Indica, the Caper-trees, and many others. They have commonly alfo the Plane-tree, the Cork-tree, the Scarlate Oak, the Jujub-tree, the Carob-tree, Cyprefs, Sena, Lentisk, $\xi^{\circ} c$. The Roads are lined, in feveral Countries in Italy with white Mulberry-trees, for the Nourifhment of Silkworms. Thofe, who love Simples, will find enough to gratify their Curiofity on the Appernine Mountains between Loretto and Rome, and every where in the Alps, but they muft have more Time than we had.
I gathered certain Sorts of Sponges on the Sea-fide towards Terracina, of which, two were in a Manner rooted on very hard Flints, the reft lay loofe on the Shore. There Sponges put me in Mind of Pumiceftones; and I muft not forget to tell you, that I fpent fome Time to no Purpofe, in fearching for thofe Stones on Mount Vefuvius, though it is generally faid, and even by very learned Men, to be full of them. This is a very grear Miftake, there are indeed many porous and calcined Stones, which have fome Refemblance to Pu mice-ftones, but the Difference is foon perceived, tho ${ }^{\circ}$ Pumice-ftone is a Production of Nature, and it is fo far from being true that they are made fo by the Fire of Vefurius, or any other, that fuch a Fire wauld certainly deftroy them, as ir deftroys all ocher Subftances that are within its Reach. Over-againft the Cape of Mycene there is a little Inand where thofe Stones grow. When the Sea is agitated by a Storm, it loofens and carries away fome of them that are fwimming, and the Wind drives afhore a great many fmall Pieces between Puzs zola and Cuma, efpecially towards Baja, where I have gathered fome that were very fine. You may then be aflured, that there are no Pumice-ftones to be found about Vefuvius, and that all that you have read about it in the Books of Travellers and Naturalifts, oughs to be Ireckoned among the groffet popular Errors. The Mountains of Italy and particularly the Apennine Hills, abound with Metals, Mineral Waters; Cryftal, Alabafter, a Kind of Agate, and feveral Sorts of Marble, but the Marble of the Arcbipelago has brighter Co. lours. The white Marble of Cararo is one of the fineft Sorts in Italy, and a great deal of it is tranfported to France. The Winter had been very long and fharp, almoft all the Oranges and Citrons were frozen, and the Ground under the Trees was covered with them in the above-mentioned Places, where thefe Fruits are moft common.
I obferved that they take a great deal of Care at Rome to preferve themfelves from the Inconveniencies occafioned by the Heats which are ufually very troublefome in that Place. The People of Quality have low Apartments, where the Sun never appears, which are paved with Marble, and furnifhed with Fountains and Water Spouts; and befides, the Doors and Windows
are fo contrived, that they are never without a kind of cool Breeze. The Beds are encompaffed at fome Diftance with a Curtain of Gaufe or Tiffany, which is joined clofe to the Boards of the Floor and Cieling above and below, and hinders them from being tormented with Gnats. It is alfo the Cuftom to fleep two Hours immediately after Dinner, but they never lie down, for they have a Sort of folding Chairs which have Backs that rife and fall with a Spring. The Ufe of Umbrello's is common every where. The Serain, or Evening Dew, in the Campagna di Roma, is efteemed mortal during three or four Months in the Summer, and great Care is taken to avoid it. Travellers double their Pace to arrive at Rome in Time, or ftay at the Diftance of eighteen or twenty Miles from it. I found the following Verfes over the Gate of a Houre at Rome; they contain the Rules that ought to be obferved for the Prefervation of Health in that City, according to the Opinion of the Author.

## Enecat infolitos refidentis Peffimus Aer

 Romanus; Solitos non bene gratus babet.Soppes ut bic vivas, lux Septima det medicinams Abjit odor fadus; fat modicufque labor.
Pelle Famam \& Frigus, Fruitus, Femurque relinque, Nec placeat gelido fonte levare Jitim.

## That is,

The poishous Air of R O M E, all Strangers fear, Nor wobolly fafe e'en thofe eftablifs'd bere. Would'gt thou efcape? Take Pbyjck once a Week, Ill Smells avoid, nor too much Labour Seek.
Fly Hunger, Cold; from Fruit, from Females, Ay, Nor taste Spring Water, -if you do-you die.

You may obferve by the Way, that the Author chofe rather to run the Hazard of a falee Quantity, than to lofe the Jingle of his four $F$ 's; he might have faid Venerem inftead of Femur, the firt Syllable of which is fhort. I have not given you an Account of the Antiquity of feveral Cities, though Enquires of that Nature are fometimes curious; but befides, that they require a great deal of Time and Labour, and have been profecuted already by very able Pens. I find that thefe Contioverfies are very often Queftions only about the Places where thofe Cities ftood, for in many of them there is not the leaft Remains, or any Proof of their firit Foundations. They have been fubject to the fame Alterations which the Veffel of the Argonaunts underwent of old; befides, the Sight of the Places might perhaps raife a Traveller's Curiofity, but wears off by Degrees when they are only the Objects of his Imagination. I muft tell you now I chink on'r, that in all Italy we obferved but one Windmill, or rather the Ruins of one, at Legborne. They ufe no Tin Veffels in this Country, becaufe of the Scarcity of that Metal ; all their Veffels are made of Earth leaded, or of Earthen Ware; we have feen it made in feveral Places, but they have none that refembles Cbina fo exactly as that of Delft. Whereas we place the Beginning of the natural Day immediately after Midnight, the Italians make it begin after Sun-fetting, and their Clocks ferike always four and twenty Hours, from one Sun-fetting to another. You may eafily perceive, that according to this Computation the Hour of Noon varies daily, for when the Sun fets at Four $0^{\prime}$ Clock according to our Calculation, chey reckon One when we count Five, and confequently it is Noon at twenty Hours ; and in, like Manner when'the Sun fets at Eight on our Dials, it is One $0^{\circ} \mathrm{Clock}$ with them when we reckon Nine, and it is juft Noon at Sixteen Hours. Neverthelefs, with refpect to the artificial Day between Sun-rifing and Sunréting, they ufe the Words Yefterday and To-morrow as we do. The Bobylomians began their natural Day at Sun-rifing, and the feros at Sun-fetting, as the Italians do at prefent. The Inhabitants of the Province of Umbria, with Ptolemy, and fome others, in former Times, reckoned the Beginning of the Day at Noon, and the Egyptians at Midnight, as we do. The ancient Romans allo began the Day at Midnight, but their Hours are
unequal. I cannot forbear acquainting you, that we left Rome without feeing the Pope; there were, doubte lefs, fome Reafons, that would not permit him to appear in Publick: and there were others that hindred us from paying him a Vifit. I thall conclude this Account with telling you, that we bought fome modern Medals at Rome from the famous Homeranus, who is reputed to excel in that Sort of Workmanfhip. Of all the Me dals we faw of Queen Cbrifina, this, in my Opinion, is the mof heroical, and moit worthy of that great Prin. cefs. Her Dominions are on the Reverfe, with the whole Hemifphere, and this Motto, Ne mi befogna ne mi bafta, I don't want them, and they are not fufficient to mie. Alexander the Great could ufe the laft Part of this Motto, but inftead of reigning over himfelf, his Ambition made him defire more Worlds.
15. The Account we have of our Author's Voyages, contains alfo the Hiftory of his Return through Swifferland, Part of Germany, and the Low-Countries ; but as we have a much better Defcription of thofe Countries by Bifhop Burnet, who without Queftion had his Head better turned for writing upon fuch Sebjects, and for giving his Readers ufeful and important Relations, rather than a bare Detail of Roads, Churches, Inns, Tombs, and Infcriptions, we have chofen rather to omit the Remainder of his Travels in Hafte through thefe Places, and to give thofe of that learned Prelate, who though he was the Author of many Books, upon a great Variety of Subjects, all of which have been received with Applaufe, at leaft by a great Part of the World, yet perhaps there are none of them that will do him greater Honour with Pofterity than the Letters he publifhed containing the Account of his Travels.

But before we part entirely with Mifon, it may not be amifs to make fome few Obfervations upon his Writings, for the Sake of doing Juftice to Truth, to our Readers, and to his Reputation. It muft be confefs' $d_{2}$ that there are a great Variety of curious, ufeful and entertaining Remarks to be met with in his Travels, and that as his Defign was to render them as ufeful as poffible to the World, fo the Pains he took for that Porpofe were very great and very laudable; but on the other Hand it muft be alfo allowed, that his Method is very far from being fo juft or fo judicious as might be wifhed.
The Reader will eafily obferve, and, indeed, he confeffes it himfelf, that he made but a very fhort Stay in many Places; but then he vifited many of thofe Places afterwards, which gave him an Opportunity of enlarging; altering, and correcting thofe Obfervations; but then the Method in which he has done this is alfo none of the beft, for inftead of reviewing and reforming his firf Book, he has inferted new Letters, Supplements, Differtations, critical Difcourfes, and perpetual marginal Notes; which fo diftract and difturb the Narration, that one is frequently obliged to run over his whole four Volumes, in order to draw together his difperfed Accounts of the fame Thing.

We have removed, as far as it were in our Power, this Difficulty in the Abridgment we have given of his Travels; but without Doubt it would give a great $\mathrm{Sa}_{\text {a- }}$ tisfaction to the Publick, and add very much to the Value of this Work, if, in the next Englifh Edition of it, Care was taken to digeft the Whole into Chapters rather than Letters, to bring the feveral Notes, Differtations and Supplements into their proper Places, and to throw out all the unneffary Repetitions, which would at once reduce the Size, augment the Credit, and add to the Utility of the Book, which would be then much fuperior to any Thing of its Kind.

We have already obferved, that in the Author's Lifetime his Book had been attack'd by feveral Writers, againft whom, however, he defended himfelf with equal Spirit and Succefs; and where-ever he found himfelf in the Wrong, he took Care immediately to correct it. There were, however, fome Things in his Difpofition, which led him to write upon fome very tender Subjects, not to be touch'd even by the niceft Hand, without giving Offence to great Bodies of People: As for Inftance, his laying open the fuperftitious

Follies

## Chap. III.

Follies of the Papifts, the Artifices of their Priefts, the Credulity of the common People, and the Injuries done to the Chriftian Religion by fuch Practices on the one Hand, and Bigottry on the other.
He has been condemned for this as a very partial Writer by the Romanifts, which is natural enough, but he has not been refuted. It is no Wonder at all, that in the Reign of King Fames II. when the Papifts thought themfelves fecure of reviving their Religion in England, Men firmly attached to the Proteftant Caufe fhould likewife fhew their Zeal; and it was ftill the more excufable in Mr. Mi Con, as he had been very lately banifh'd out of his native Councry on the Score of Religion. The learned Father Labat cannot forgive him the Pains he has taken to reftore the Credit of the Pope or Popefs Foom. He fays very truly upon that Subject, that feveral learned Proceftants have given it up befides David Blondel, fuch as Cbamier, Du Moulin and Bocbart: But what then? Can there be a clearer Anfwer given to this than that which Mr. Miffor has given, viz. That this Story was written and believed for many Ages by the Papits themfelves? We may add to this, that it would be no difficult Task to fhew, that fome very learned Papifts ftill believe it.

Mifon has very honeftly and very ingenuounly confeffed, that the Fact is of no great Importance with refpect to any religious Difpute; and furely this was as much as could be expected from him, and is a very great Mark of his Impartiality.. With regard to his Arguments, there has been little or nothing faid againft them; and I am perfuaded that it would be a very difficult Matter to overturn them. The fame Writer, I mean Father Labat, is very angry with him about the Sella fercoraria, or Clofe-ftool Chair, but he does not contradict him with refpect to the Feet, he only fays it is a Kind of Clofe-ftool, and that the Ufe of it was to put the Pope in Mind that his Exaltation to that Dignity did not releafe him from the Infirmities incident to human Nature. This he gives us as his Opinion, and a very probable Opinion it is, but I do not fee why Mifon was not as much at Liberty to give us his Sentiment upon the fame Subject, more efpecially as he gives his Authorities, which very plainly prove, that what he thought upon this Point was once the common Opinion of the Romanifts themfelves, and therefore it is hard to affign a Caufe for blaming him upon this Head.

It muft however be obferved, that Labat, in many other Places, commends the Travels of Mifon, and is only in Pain, that an Author who wrote fo well, fhould treat various Subjects in fuch a Manner, as to expofe the Caufe which he found himfelf bound to efpoufe, and at the fame Time he has himfelf taken the Liberty to treat very freely the ridiculous Superftitions of the Italians; and if with all his Refpect for their Faith he has ufed this Freedom, one cannot help being furprized that he fhould take it ill, that a Proteftant Writer carried his Remarks a little farther, and much more that he flould charge him with Impiety, fince throughout his whule Book there is Nothing that has the leaft Tendency that Way; and upon many Occafions he fhews himfelf very ready to refure vulgar Prejudices, and to do Juftice to the Papits. As for Inftance, he allows that they are very far from having a Spirit of Perfecution in Italy, and that he never knew them carry their Refentment farther againft Proteftants, than faying they were not found Chrifians.

The Hiftorical Remarks he has given us are, genesally fpeaking, very correct as well as curious, though now and then he falls into Miftalkes ; as for Example, when he fays that Francfort has an Univerficy erected by the Houfe of Brandenbourg, he is fpeaking there of Frencfort upon the Maine; but the Univerfity he means is at Francfort upon the Oder. It is no Wonder at all that in fuch a Multitude of critical Remarks, he fhould now and then be guilty of an Overfight. He retained all his Life a fincere Love for his Councry, which difcovers iffelf frequently in his Writings, more efpecially in preferring the Palaces and Gardens of Fiance to thofe of Italy. There might, perhaps, in this, be a little Partiality, and yet, generally fpeaking, he is in the right, and the
VOI. II. Numb. Iog.

Noife which the Italians have made about the Wonders that are to be found in their Country, might well enough deferve the critical Remarks he has made upon them;
As for his Digreffions with Refpeet to Natural Hiftory, they may very well be tegarded as the moft curious Pieces in his Work, and are fo allowed to be by the beft Judges. His Conjectures in relation to the Formation of Shells in Mountains; and other Places at a Diftance from the Sea, are very judicious as well as highly probable. We may fay the fame Thing with regard to the Curiofities of this Country, and particularly what he has inferted in Relation to the Tarantula, about which however there have been very warm Difputes; but he lays down nothing but from Authority, and therefore is not at all interefted in the Event of thofe Difputes, fo that his Character cannot fuffer in the Judgment of the Learned, however they may be at laft determined.
As he mentions only fuch Curiofities as came in his Way, and he had an Opportunity of vifting; examining and enquiring, we need not wonder at his Silence as to many curious Particulars. As for Example, that we may conclude this Section with fomething more entertaining than dry Remarks, let us mention one, Grotz ta dei Serpi is a fubterraneous Cavern, near the Village of Saffa, eight Miles from the City of Braccano in Italy, defrribed by Kircber thus:

The Grotta dei Serpi is big enough to hold two Perfons; it is perforated with feveral fiftular A pertures, fomewhat in the Manner of a Sieve, out of which, at the Beginning of the Spring Seafon iffue a numerous Brood of young Snakes of divers Colours; but all free from any particular poifonous Quality. In this Cave they expofe their Lepers, Paraliticks, and elephantiack Patients, quite naked, where the Warmth of the fubterraneous Steams refolving them into $S$ weat, and the Serpents clinging varioufly all around, licking and fucking them, they become fo thoroughly freed of all their vicious Humours, that upon repeating the Operation for fome Time, they become perfectly reftored.

This Cave Kircher vifited himfelf, and found it warm, and every Way agreeable to the Defeription given of it: He faw the Holes, and heard a clamerous hiffing Noife in them, though he miffed feeing the Serpents, it not being the Seafon of their creeping out; yet he faw a great Number of their Exuvice or Sloughs, and an Elm growing hard-by laden with them. The Difcovery of this Cave was by the Cure of a Leper going from Rome to fome Baths near this Place, who lofing his Way, and being benighted, happened upon this Cave, and finding it very warm, pulled off his Cloaths, and being weary and fleepy, had the good Fortune not to feel the Serpents about him, till they had wrought his Cure.

One might fufpect, that our curious Traveller had not heard of this Curiofity, which, by the Way, is now totally loft, and loft by the ftrangeft Means in the World, otherwife one could hardly think he would have omitted .it. But we will repair that Miftake from the Works of his Antagonift Father Labat, who travel'd through Italy twelve or fourteen Years later than Miffon, and vifited this Cave in Perfon; but it had then loft its Virtue and its Serpents, as he affures us in the following Manner.

It was found neceflary, in order to difpofe the Patients quietly to endure the Operation neceffary to theie Cure, to compofe them by a Dofe of Opium, and, for this, Recourfe was had to the Phyficians, who perceiving that their Bufinefs was much leffened by this new Method, fo that $/$ feulapius was in Danger of being devoured by his own Serpent, they refolved to outdo the Cave, and to prevent fuch Patients from having any Difeafes for the Future. In flort, they gave fo much Opium to their Patients that were fent to the Groto, that they not only lay fill for a Night, but for ever.

This Scheme, though well laid, did not take, the People continued obftinate, and were refolved rather to truft the Serpents than the Doctors. They took therefore their Opium at home, and the Cures were as frequent and as effectual as ever. The Phyficians had then

Recourfe

Recourfe to a new and more fuccefsful Contrivance than the former ; they had in vain tried to keep the People from the Serpents, they refolved to try next, whether it might not be poffible to keep the Serpents from the People : And with this View, in the Midft of a dry Summer, they caufed the Bufhes to be fet on Fire that grew upon the Mountain, by which that Generation of Serpents was totally deftroyed; and the Grotto has remained uílefs ever fince.

Let us now take Leave of this Subject, and of the Travel of Miffon, obferving only, that in a fubfequent Voyage of his, he had the Misfortune to be taken by a French Privateer, and carried to Dunkirk, where he fuffered a fevere Imprifonment, chiefly on the Score of his being a Proteltant, and having on that Account, as
we oblerved before, been banifh'd France. Bur his Friends having applied themfelves to the King on his Behalf, he was immediately fet at Liberty, which contributed not a little to confirm that high Spirit of Loyalty with which he had been poffefled, and of which he has left abundant Teftimonies in his Works, by defending, as much as in his Power lay, the Character of Lewis XIV. for though he could not prevail upon himfelf to be a good Catholick, yet a better Frencbman or a better Subject that great Monarch had not in all his Dominions; which is a plain Proof that Lervis XIV. with all his Policy, ferved the Priefts much more than himfelf or his Family, in driving fo many Thoufands of Proteftants out of his Territories.

## S E C TIO N IV

Travels through Swifferland, Part of Italy, fome Provinces of Germany, and the Low-Countries, in which are contained many curious Hiftorical and Political Remarks on the Manners of the People, the Forms of Government, and the State of the Countries before mentioned.

Extracted from the Letters of Doezor Gifbert Burnet, (afterwards Bihop of Salisbury) to the Honourable Robert Boyle, Efq; written in the Years 1685 , and 1686.

1. The weretched Condition of the Country between Paris and Lyons; Antiquities obfervable in thofe Parts, with fome literary and critical Remarks. 2. A large Defoription of the City of Geneva, of the Manners and Cuffoms of the Inbabitants, and of the Form and Maxims of Government in that little Republick. 3. A Defiription of the City and Canton of Bern, the Manners of its Inbabitants, their Ricbes and Induftry, the Modefty of their Women, and the martial Virtues of their Men. 4. The Reafons which induced the Swifs to overlook the Conqueft of the County of Burgundy by the French, which bas proved 10 much to their Detriment. 5. The Hiftory of the War between the Proteftant and Popih Cantons in the Year 1656, and the Means by which thofe Dijputes were compromifed. 6. A mof curious and entertaining Account of the fcandalous Cheat and Impofure of the Dominicans at Bern in 1509. 7. A Comparifon between the Country of France and that of Swifferland, with fome $R e-$ marks upon the Government in both Countries, Jewoing that Tyranny reill turn a Paradije into a Defert, and Liberty convert a Wildernefs into a Land of Plenty. 8. Of the miferable Bigottry of the People in the Popifs Cantons, from the Number of the Jefuits and Monks, and of their immenfe Wealth in thofe Countries. 9. Of the Canton of Zurich, its Wealth, Forces, Manufactures, Trade, Frugality in the Adminifration of Publick Affairs, and otber Particulars. 10. Some general, ufeful and entertaining Remarks on the State of the Swifs Cantons, and a full Difplay of the pernicious Spirit of Popery. II. A Defcription of the Country of the Grifons, with an Account of the City of Coire, and of the Character of the Bihbop at that Time. 12. A difinct View of the Government of the Grifons, the Manner of their obtaining their Liberty, the Divifion of their Country, and of their Diets. I3. Of the Valteline, Chavannes, and Bormio Territories which they poffers in Italy, and bore they obtained them; with an Account of the Fertility of the Soil in the Valteline, and of the Liberty that thofe DiAricts enjoy under the Leagues. 14. Of the Maffacre in the Valteline, of the War that followed it, and of the State of that Country. 15. Of the Remains of the ancient Waldenfes, the true Cbaracter and religious Sentiments of the People fo called. 16. Of Chavannes, with an Account of the moft obfervable IFillages upon the Road, of its Situation, the Fertility of the Soil, Eafnefs of the Government, Plentifulnefs of Provifions, with an Account of the Nature of their Wine, and the Manner how they make and preferve it, with otber Particulars. 17. Some other Curiofities in this Part of the Country, togetber with an Account of a Town and all its Inbabitants overwbelmed by the Fall of a Mountain. 18. A Defcription of the Borromean Iflands, effeemed beyond Comparifon the mof beautiful Part of Europe. 19. A large Account of Lombardy, and the City of Milan, with many curious Obfervations made by the Autbor during bis Stay in thofe Parts. 20. A Collection of ufeful, judicious, and entertaining Remarks on feveral Parts of Italy, in which Care is taken to avoid repeating any thing contained in the former Section. 21. The fame Subject continued in relation to other Parts of Italy not bitberto mentioned. 22. Conclufion of thofe Obfervations and Remarks, comprebending the Cbaraczers and Hifories of feveral remarkable Perfons, zeritten with great Impartiality and Freedom. 23. A Defcription of Marfeilles, and Jome Reafons given for the extenfive Commerce and great Wealth of that Port, in Comparifon of any other in Frauce. 24. Some other Objervations on the Country tbereabouts. 25. De-
foription of the Towon of Bafil, the Places mofer worthy of Notice there, togetther with the Manneers. Cuifons, and Government of the Inbabitants. 26. An Account of Huningen, Brifac, and Strasbourg, weith a particular Account of the Mainer in wobich the French made themjelves Maflers off this laft mentioned City. 27. An Account of the Fortrefs of Phillipsbourg, and its great Importance to the Empire. 28. A Defription of the City and BiJboprick of Spire, and of the Cointry thereabouts. 29. A large, difinct, and entertaining View of the Lower Palatinate, of the famous City of Heidelberg, and the Hifory of fore of the Electors Palatine. 30. The pleafant and delight full Country Betwien the laft mentioned City and Francfort; weith otber Remarks and Objervations. '31. The 'like Defcription of the City and Electorate of Mentz, with a clear Account of the Revenuies, Strenigth, and Trade of that Country. 32. Alarge and curious Account of the City and Electorate of Cologne, of the Cities of Duffeldorpe, Keyferfwart, and Wefel. 33. Obfervaitions made by the Autbor in bis Yourney tbroug't the Dutchy of Cleves, the Town of Nimeguen, and other Places in the Low-Countries.

TT is fo common to write Travels, that for one who has feen fo little, and as it were in Hafte, it may look like a prefumptuous Affectation to to be reckon'd among Voyagers, if he attempts to fay any Thing upon fo fhort an Excurfion, and concerning Places fo much vifited, and which are confequently fo well known : Yet having had Opportunities that do not offer themfelves to all that travel, and having join'd to thofe a Curiofity almoft equal to the Advantages I enjoy'd, I fancy it will not be an ungrateful Entertainment, if I give you fome Account of thofe Things that pleafed me mott, in the Places through which I have pafs'd. But I will avoid faying fuch Things as occur in ordinary Books, for which I refer you to them. For as you know that I have no great Inclination to copy what others have faid, fo a Traveller has not Leifure, or a Difpofition fuited for fo dull an Employment.
As I came all the Way from Paris to Lyons, I was amaz'd to fee fo much Mifery as appear'd, not only in Villages, but even in big Towns, where all the Marks of an extreme Poverty fhew'd themfelves both in the Buildings, the Cloaths, and almoft in the Looks of the Inhabitants ; and a general difpeopling, in all the Towns, was a very vifible Effect of the Hardhips under which they lay.

I need tell you Nothing of the irregular, and yet magnificent Situation of Iyons, of the noble Rivers that meet there, of the Rock cut from fo valt a Height for a Prifon, of the Cartbufians Gardens, of the Townhoule, of the Fefuits College and Library, of the famous Nunnery of St. Peter, of the Churches, particularly Sc. 'Irenee's, of the Remnants of the Aqueducts, of the Columns, and the old Mofaick in the Abbey Dene.
The Speech of Claudius, engraven on a Plate of Brafs, and fet at the End of the low Walk in the Townhoufe, is one of the nobleft Antiquities in the World, by which we fee the Way of Writing and Pointing in that Age very copiounly. The Shield of Silver of twenty two Pounds Weight, in which fome Remains of Gilding do yet appear, and that feems to reprefenc the generous Action of Scipio, in reftoring a fair Captive ro a Celiberian Prince, is certainly the nobleft Piece of Plate that is now extant; the emboffing of it is fo fine and fo entire, that it is indeed invaluable; and if there were an Infcription upon it, to put us beyond Conjecture, it were yet much more eftimable.
A great many Infcriptions are to be feen of the late and barbarous Ages, as Bonum Memorium, and Epitapbium bunc. There are twenty three Infriptions in the Garden of the Fatbers of Mercy, but fo placed, as thew how little thofe who poffefs them either underftand or value them. I fhall only give you one, becaufe I made a little Reflection on it ; though perhaps not too well grounded, becaufe none of the Criticks have confider'd it. The Infeription is this:

## D. $M$.

Et Memaric Eterna
SUTI EANTHDIS, Que vixit amnis xxv. M.XI.D.V. Que dum Nimia Pia fuit, faica eft Impia:
Et Attio Probatiolo, Cecalius Calistio
Conjux $\mathcal{P}$ Pater,
Et fibi vivo ponendum curavit,
Et Jub afcià dedicavit.

This mutt be towards the barbarous Age, as áppeats by the falfe Latin in Nimia. But the Infcription feems fo extravagant, that a Man dedicating a Burial-ftone for his Wife and Son, and under which himfelf was to be laid with Ceremonies of Religion, fhould tax his Wife of Impiety, and give to extraordinary an Account of her becoming fo through an Excefs of Piety, that it deferves fome Confideration.
It feems the Impiety was publick, otherwife a Husband would not have recorded it in fuch a Manner ; and it is plain, that he thought it arofe from an Excefs of Piety. I need not examine the Conjectures of others'; but will chufe rather to give you my own, and fubmit it to your Cenfure.
It feems to me, that this Sutia Antbis was a Chrintian; for the Chriftians, becaufe they would not worhip the Gods of the Heathens, nor participate with them in their facred Rites, were accufed both of Atheifm and Impiety. This is fo often objected, and the Fathers in their A pologies have anfwered it fo often, that it were loft Labour to prove it. So this Wife of Cecalius Calistio having turn'd Chriftian, it feems he thought he was bound to take fome Notice of it in the Infription : But by it he gives an honourable Character of the Chriftian Doctrine, at the fame Time that he feems to accufe it, viz. that through an Excefs of Piety his Wife was carried to it; fince a Mind, feriouny poffefs'd with a true Senfe of Piety, could not avoid fatling under a Diftafte of Paganifm, and becoming Chriftian.
At Grenoble there is not much to be feen. The learned Mr. Cborier has fome Manufcripts of confiderable Antiquity. In one of Vegetius de Re Militari, there is a clear Correction of a Paflage, that in all the printed Editions is not Senfe. In the Chapter of the Size of the Soldiers, he begins, Scio femper menfuram a Mario Confule exabtam. A is in no Manufcript, and Mario Confule is a Miftake for trium Cubitorum; for III. which are for trium, have been read for $M$; and $C$, which ftands for Cubitorum, as appears by all that follows, was by a Mirtake read Confule. So the true Reading of that Paffage is, Scio menfurams triums cubitorim fuiffe Semper exaciam. He thew'd me another Manufcript of about five or fix hundred Years old, in which St. Fobn's Revelation is contain'd, all exemplified in Figures; and after that comes $\not \subset J o p$ 's Fables likewife, all defigned in Figures; from which he inferr'd, that thofe, who defigned thofe two Books, valued both equally, and fo put them together.
I will not defcribe the Valley of Daupbine, or entertain you with a Landskip of the Country, which deferves a better Pencil than mine, and in which the Height and Rudeners of the Mountains, that almoft fhut it up, together with the Beauty, the Evennefs and Fruiffulnefs of the Valley, that is all well water'd with the River Liferre, make fuch an agreeable Mixture, that this valt Diverfity of Objects at once fill the Eye, and give it a very entertaining Profpect.
Cbambery has nothing in it that deferves a long Defription; and Generva is too well known to be much infifted on. It is a little State; but it has fo many good Conftitutions in it, that the greateft may jufly learn of it. The Chamber of Corn there has always two Years Provifion for the City in Store, and forces none but the Bakers to buy at a fixed Price; and fo it is both neceffary againft any Extremities under which
the State may fall, and is likewife of great Advantage ; for it produces a good yearly Income, that has helped the State to pay a Debt of near a Million, contracted during the Wars ; and the Citizens are not opprefs'd by it, for every Inhabitant may buy his own Corn as he pleafes, only publick Houres muft buy from the Chamber.

At Rome the Pope buys in all the Corn of the Patrimony; for none of the Landlords can fell it either to Merchants or Bakers. He buys it at five Crowns their Meafure, and even that is flowly and ill paid; fo that there was eight hundred thoufand Crowns owing upon that Score when I was at Rome. In felling this out, the Meafure is leffened a fifth Part, and the Price of the Whole is doubled; fo that what was bought at five Crowns, is fold out at twelve; and if the Bakers, who are obliged to take a fettled Quantity of Corn from the Chamber, cannot retail all that is impofed upon them, but are forced to return fome Part of it back, the Chamber difcounts to them only the firf Price of five Crowns: Whereas in Geneva, the Meafure by which they buy and fell is the fame; and the Gain is fo inconfiderable, that it is very little beyond the common Market-price : So that upon the whole Matter, the Chamber of Corn is but the Merchant to the State. But if the Publick makes a moderate Gain by the Corn, that and all the other Revenues of this fmall Commonwealth are fo well employ'd, that there is no Caufe of Complaint given in the Adminiftration of the publick Purfe, which, with the Advantages that arife out of this Chamber of Corn, is about an hundred thoufand Crowns Revenue. But there is much to go out of this: Three hundred Soldiers are paid, an Arfenal is maintain'd, that, in Proportion to the State, is the greateft in the World, for it contains Arms for more Men than are in the State. There are a great Number of Minifters and Profeffors, in all twenty four, befides all the publick Charges and Offices of the Government. Every one of the leffer Council of Twenty-five having an hundred Crowns, and every Syndick having two hun-dred-Crowns Penfion; and, after all this, come the accidental Charges of the Deputies, that they are obliged to fend often to Paris, to Savoy, and to Switzerlond; fo that it is very apparent no Man can enrich himfelf at the Coft of the Publick: And the Appointments of the little Council are a very fmall Recompence for the great Attendance that they are obliged to give the Publick, which is commonly four or five Hours a Day: The Salary for the Profeffors and Minifters is indeed fmall, not above two hundred Crowns; but to balance this, thofe Employments are here held in their due Reputation; and the richeft Citizens in the Town breed up their Children fo as to qualify them for thofe Places.' And a Minifter, that is fuitable to his Character, is thought fo good a Match, that generally they have fuch Eftates either by Succeffion or Marriage, as fupport them agreeable to the Rank they hold. And in Genera there is fo great a Regulation of Expences of all Sorts, that a fmall Sum goes a great Way. It is a furprifing Thing to fee fo much Learning as one finds in Geneva, not only among thofe whofe Profeffion obliges them to ftudy, but among the Magiftrates and Citizens; and if there are not many Men of the firft Form of Learning among them, yet almoft every body here has a Tincture of a learned Education, infomuch that they are Mafters of the Latin, they know Hiftory and the Controverfies of Religion, and are generally Men of good Senfe.

There is an univerfal Civility, not only towards Strangers, but one another, that reigns all the Town over, and leans to an Excefs : So that in them one fees a Mixture of a French Opennefs, and an Italian Exactnefs; but there is, indeed, a little too much of the laft.

The publick Juftice of the City is quick, and is more commended than the private Juftice of thofe that: deal in Trade; a Want of Sincerity is much lamented by thofe that know the Town well. There is no publick Lewdnefs tolerated, and the Diforders of that Sort are managed with great Addrefs. Notwithftanding their Neighbourhood to the Switzers, drinking is very
little known among them. One of the beft Parts of their Law is the Way of felling Eftates, which is Iikewife practifed in Switzerland, and is called Subhaftation, from the Roman Cuttom of felling fub bastâ. A Man, that to is buy an Eftate, agrees with the Owner, and then intimates it to the Government, who order three feveral Proclamations to be made fix Weeks after one another of the intended Sale, that is to be on fuch a Day; when the Day comes, the Creditors of the Seller, if they apprehend that the Eftate is fold at an Under-value, may out-bid the Buyer ; but if they do not interpofe, the Buyer delivers the Money to the State, who upon that grant him his Title to the Eftate, which can never be fo much as brought under a Debate in Law; and the Price is paid to the State, and is by them given either to the Creditors of the Seller, if he owes Money, or to the Seller himfelf.
This Cuttom prevails likewife in Srwife, where twelve Years Poffeffion gives a Prefcription; fo that in no Place of the World are Titles to Eftates fo fecure as here. The Conftitution of the Government is the fame in Geneva and in molt of the Cantons. The Sovereignty lies in the Council of Two Hundred; and this Council choofes out of its Number $\tau^{2}$ enty-five, who are the leffer Council; and the Cenfure of the Troenty-five belongs to the Great Council. They are chofen by a Sort of Ballot, fo that it is not known for whom they give their Votes ; which is an effectual Method to fupprefs Factions and Refentments, fince no Man can know who voted for him or againft him ; yet the Election is not fo carried, but that the whole Town is in an Intrigue concerning it; for fince the Being of the little Council leads one to the Sindicate, which is the chief Honour of the State, this Dignity is fought for here with as active and folicitous Ambition, as appears elfewhere for greater Matters. The Two Hundred are chofen and cenfured by the Twenty-five; fo that thefe two Councils, which are both for Life, are Checks upon each other : The Magiftracy is in the former, and the Sovereignty in the latter. The Number of Twenty-five is never exceeded in the leffer Council ; but for the greater, though it paffes by the Name of the Council of Two Hundred, yet there are commonly eight or ten more; fo that notwithftanding the Abfence or Sicknefs of fome of the Members, they may ftill be able to call together near the full Number. There is another Council befides thefe two, compofed of fixty, confifting of thofe of the two hundred that have born Offices, fuch as Auditors, Attorney-generals ; or thofe that have been in other Employments, which are given for a certain Number of Years. This Court has no Authority, but is called together by the Twenty-five, when any extraordinary Occafion makes it advifeable for them to call for a more general Concurrence in the Refolutions they are about to take. And this Council is of the Nature of a Council of State, that only gives Advice, but has no Power in itfelf. The whole Body of the Burgeffes choofe the Syndics the firft Sunday of the Year; and there are fome other Elections that likewife belong to them. The Difference between the Burgeffes and Citizens is, that the former Degree may be bought, or given to Strangers, and they may be of the two hundred ; but none is a Citizen, but he that is the Son of a Burgefs, and that is born within the Town.

This little Republick's chief Support is in the firm Alliance that has fubfifted folong between it and the Can. tons of Bern and Zurich; and it is fo vifibly the Intereft of all Switzerland to preferve it, that if the Cantons had not forgot their Intereft fo palpably, in fuffering the French to become Mafters of the Francbe Comté, one would think that they would not be capable of fuffering Genera to be touch'd : For all that can be done in fortifying the Town, can fignify no more, than to put it in a State to refift a Surprize or Scalade ; fince if an Army comes to befiege it in Form, it is certain, that unlefs the Switzers come with a Force able to raife the Siege, thofe within will be able to make but a very fhort Refiftance.
2. From Generva I went through the Country of Vaud, or the Valley, and Laufame its chief Town, in my Way
to Bern. The Town of Laufanne is fituated on three Hills, fo that the whole is Afcent and Defcent, and that very fteep, chiefly on the Side on which the Church ftands, which is a very noble Fabrick. The South Wall of the Crofs was fo fplit by an Earthquake about thirty Years ago, that there was a Rent made from Top to Bottom above a Foot wide; which was again fo clofed up ten Years after by another Earthquake, that now one only fees a Crack where the Breach was. This extravagant Situation of the Town was occafioned by a Legend of fome Miracles wrought near the Church ; which prevail'd fo much on the Credulity of that Age, that by it the Church, and fo in confequence the Buildings near it, were added to the old Town, which ftood on the other Hill, where there was a Town made on the Highway from the Lake into Switzerland, to which the chief Privileges, particularly the Judicature of Life and Death, ftill belong. Between Geneva and this lies the Lake, which at one End is called the Lake of Geneva, at the other the Lake of Laufanne. I need not mention the Dimenfions, which are fo well known, only in fome Places the Depth has never been found. The Banks of the Lake are the moft beautiful Plots of Ground that can be imagined, for they look as if they had been laid out by Art; the Sloping is fo eafy and fo equal, and the Grounds are fo well cultivated and peopled, that a more delightful Profpect cannot be feen. The Lake is well ftock'd with excellent Fifh, but their Numbers fenfibly decreafe, and one Sort is quite loft. It is to be afcribed not only to the Ravenoufnefs of the Pikes that abound in it, but to another Sort of Fifh that they call Moutails, which were never taken in the Lake till within thefe fix Years laft paft. They are in the Lake of Neufchâtel, and fome of the other Lakes of Switzerland; and it is likely, that by fome Conveyance under Ground, they have come into Channels that fall into this Lake. The Water of the Lake is all clear and frefh. It is not only a great Pond made by the Rbone, that runs into it, but does not pafs through it unmix'd, as fome Travellers have fondly imagin'd ; becaufe fometimes a foft Gale makes a Curling of the Water in fome Places, which runs fmooth in the Places over which that foft Breath of Wind does not pafs, the Gale flifting its Place often; but it is believed, that there are alfo many great Fountains all over the Lake. Thefe Springs may very probably flow from fome vaft Cavities that are in the neighbouring Mountains, which are as great Cifterns, that difcharge themfelves in the Vallies which are covered over with Lakes. And on the two Sides of the Alps, both North and South, there are fo great a Number of thofe little Seas, that it may be eafily gueffed they muft have vaft Sources, that feed fo conftantly thefe huge Ponds.

One Hill not far from Geneva, call'd Maxidit, or Curfed, of which one Third is always cover'd with Snow, is two Miles perpendicular in Height, according to the Obfervation of that incomparable Mathematician and Philofopher, Nicolas Fatio Duilier, who, at twenty two Years of Age, is one of the greateft Men of his Age, and feems born to carry Learning beyond what it has yet attained.

But I will now entertain you a little with the State of Bern; for that Canton alone is above a third Part of Switzerland. I will fay nothing of its Beginning or Hitory; nor will I enlarge upon the Conftitution; which are all well known. It has a Council of two bundred, that goes by that Name, though it confifts almoft of three hundred; and another of tweenty five, as at Geneva. The chief Magiftrates are two Advoyers, who are not annual, as the Syndics of Geneva, but for Life, and have an Authority not unlike thar of the Roman Confuls, each being his Year by Turns the Advoyer in Office. After them there are the four Bannerets, who anfwer to the Tribunes of the People in Rome; then come the two Burfars or Treafurers, one for the ancient German Territory, the other for the Frencb Territory, or the Country of Vaud; and the two laft, chofen of the twenty five, are called the Secrets; for to them all Secrets relating to the State are difcovered; and they have an Authority of calling the two bundred togecher
when they think fit, and of accuing thofe of the Mas giftracy, the Advoyers themfelves not excepted, as they fee Caufe; though this falls out feldom.
3. The whole Canton of Bern is divided into feventy two Bailiages ; and in every one of thofe there is a Bailiff named by the Council of treo bundred, who muft be a Citizen of Bern, and one of the two bundred, into which Council no Man can be chofen till he is married. Thefe Bailiages are Employments both of Honour and Profit, for the Bailiff is the Governor and Judge in that Jurifdiction; fince though he has forme Affeflors, who are chofen out of the Bailiage, yet he may by his Authority carry Matters which Way he will againft all their Opinions, and the Bailiffs have to their own Ufe all the Confifcations and Fines; fo that drinking being fo common in this Country, and that producing many Quarrels, the Bailiff makes his Advantage of all thofe Diforders; and in the fix Years of his Government, ac= cording to the Quality of his Bailiage, he not only lives by it, but will carry perhaps twenty thoufand Crowns with him back to Bern, on which he lives till he can carry another Bailiage : For one is capable of being twice Bailiff; and though fome have been thrice Bailiffs, this is very extraordinary. The Exactions of the Bailiff are the only Impofitions or Charges to which the Inhabitants are fubjected; and thefe, falling only on the Irregularities and Diforders of the debauch'd, makes this Grievance, though in fome particular Cafes it preffes hard, yet not fo univerfally felt; for a fober and regular Man is in no Danger. Many in this Can= ton are Lords of Caftles or Manors, and have a Jurifdiction annex'd to their Effates, and name their Magif trate, who is called the Caffellan. In Matters of fmall Confequence there lies no Appeal from him to the Bailiif; but beyond the Value of two Piftoles an Appeal lies; and no Sentence of Death is executed, till it is confirmed at Bern. There lies alfo an Appeal from the Bailiff to the Council at Bern. There are many Complaints of the Injuftice of the Bailiffs; but their Law is fhort and clear, fo that a Suit is foon ended; two or three Hearings are the moft that even an intricate Suit amounts to, cither in the firft Inftance, or in the fecond Judgment at Bern: The Citizens of Bern confider there Bailiages as their Inheritance ; and they are courted in this State perhaps with as much Intrigue, as was ufed among the Romans in the Diftribution of their Provinces: And fo little fignify the beft Regulations, when there are radicated Difeafes in the State, that though there is all poffible Precaution ufed in the Nomination of thefe Bailiffs, yet that has not preferved this State from falling under fo great a Mifchief by thofe little Provinces ; that as it has already in a great Meafure corrupted their Morals, fo it may turn in Conclufion to the Ruin of this Republick. All the Electors give their Voices by Ballot, by which they are free from all Aftergame in the Nomination of the Perfon. All the Kins dred of the Pretenders, even to the remotef Degree, are excluded from Voting, as are alfo all their Creditors ; fo that none can vote but thofe who feem to have no Intereft in the Iffue of the Competition: And yet there is fo much Intrigue, and fo great a Corruption in the Diftribution of there Employments, that the whole Bus finefs, in which all Bern is continually in Motion, is $s_{\text {; }}$ the Catching of the beft Bailiages, on which a powerful Family will have its Eye for many Years before they fall. For the Counfellors of Bern give but a very fmall Share of their Eftates to their Children when they marry them; all that tliey propofe is tö make a Bailiage fure to them; for this they feaft and drink, and fpare nothing by which they may make a fufficient Number of Votes; but it is the Chamber of the Bannerets that admits the Pretenders to the Competition. When the Bailiff is chofen, he takes all poffiblè Methods to make the beft of it he can; and lets few Crimes pafs with Impunity, that produce either Confifcations or Fines: His Juftice alfo is generally furpected. It is true, thofe of the Bailiage may complain to the Council at Berin, as the oppreffed Provinces did ancient= ly to the Senate of Rome; and there have been fevere Judgments againtt fome Bailiffs; yet as Complaints are

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not made, except upon great Occafions, which are not often given, fo it being the general Intereit of the Citizens of Bern to make all poffible Advantages of thofe Employments, the Cenfure will be but gentle, except the Complaint is very crying.

In Bern there is very little Trade, only what is neceffary for the Support of the Town, They maintain Profeffors in the Univerfities of Bern and Laufanne; the one for the German Territory, which is the ancient Canton, and the other for the new Conqueft, which is the French: In the former there are about three hundred Parihes; in the latter there are about one hundred and fifty: But in the Benefices of the German Side, the ancient Rights of the Incumbents are generally preferved fo, that fome Benefices are worth a thoufand Crowns; whereas in the Païs de Vaud the Provifions are fet off as Salaries, and are generally from one hundred to two hundred Crowns. It is vifible that thofe of Bern truft more to the Affections and Fidelity of their Subjects, than to the Strength of their Walls; for as they have never finifh'd them, fo what is built cannot be efteem'd a regular Fortification; and is not preferv'd with any Care, nor furnifh'd with Cannon; but if they have none on their Ramparts, they have Abundance in their Arfenal, in which, they fay, there are Arms for forty thoufand Men.

The Peafants are generally rich, chiefly on the Germon Side, and are all well armed. They pay no Duties to the Publick, and the Soil is capable of great Improvements ; in which they fucceed fo well, that I was thewed fome that were by Accident at Bern, who, as I was told, had Eltates to the Value of an hundred thoufand Crowns, but that is not ordinary ; yet ten thoufand Crowns for a Peafant is no extraordinary Matter. They Jive much on their Milk and Corn, which in fome Places, as about Payern, yields an Encreafe of fifteen for one. They breed many Horfes, which bring them in a great deal of Money. The worft Thing in the Country is the Moifture of the Air, which is occafioned by the many Lakes that are in it, and by the neighbouring Mountains that are cover'd with Snow, fome all the Summer long, and the relt till Midfummer, alfo by the vaft Quantity of Fir-trees, which feem to fill very near the Half of their Soil: And if thefe were for the moft Part rooted out, as they would have much more Soil, fo their Air would be purer; yet, till they find either Coal or Turf for their Fuel, this cannot be done. I was told that they had found Coal in fome Places; if this Coal is conveniently fituated, fo that by their Lakes and Rivers it may be eafily carried over the Country, it may fave them a great Extent of Ground, now cover'd with Wood, and their Air become thereby the more clear and the more wholefome.

They have fome Fountains of Salt Water, but the making Salt confumes fo much Wood, that hitherto it has not turn'd to Account.

The Men are generally fincere, but heavy: They think it neceffary to correct the Moifture of the Air with liberal Entertainments; and they are well furnifh'd with all neceffary Ingredients; for as their Soil produces good Cattle, fo their Lakes abound in excellent Fifh, and their Woods in Fowl; the Wine is alfo light and good. The Women are generally employ'd in their domeftick Affairs; and the Wives, even of the chief Magiftrates of Bern, look into all the Concerns of the Houfe and Kirchen, as much as thofe of the meaneft Peafants. Men and Women do not generally converfe together; and the Women are fo much amufed with the Management at home, and enter fo little into Affairs, that among them, as an eminent Phyfician told me, they know not what Vapours are, which he imputed to the Idlenefs and the Intrigues that abound elfewhere; whereas, he faid, with them the Blood was cleanfed by their Labour; and as that made them fleep well, fo they did not amufe themfelves with much Thinking, nor did they know what Amours were. The third Adultery is punifh'd with Death ; which is alfo the Punifhment of the fifth Act of Fornication, of which I faw an Inftance while I was in Bern: For a Woman, who confees'd herfelf guilty of many Whore-
doms, and defign'd to be revenged on fome Men that did not furnifh her with Money as the expected, was upon that condemned and executed. The NIanner was folemn; for the Advoyer comes into a Place prepared in the Middle of the Street, and for the Satisfaction of the People, the whole Procefs is read, and Sentence pronounced in the Hearing of all; the Counfellors, both of the great and leffer Council, ftanding about the Advoyer, who, after Sentence, took the Criminal very gently by the Hand, and pray'd for her Soul; and after Execution there was a Sermon for the Inftruction of the People.
4. The whole State is difciplined for War; for every Man that can bear Arms is lifted, and knows his Poft and Arms; and there are Beacons fo laid over the Country, that the Signal can run through the whole Canton in a Night ; and their military Lifts are to laid, that every Man knows whether he is to come out upon the firft or fecond, or not till the general Summons. They affured me at Bern, that, upon a general Summons, they could bring above eighty thoufand Men together. Thele Men are robuft and ftrong, and capable of great Hardfhip, and of gaod Difcipline, and have generally an eager and quick Senfe of Liberty, and a great Love to their Country ; but they labour under a Want of Officers. And though the Subjects of the State are rich, yet the Publick is poor ; they can well refift a fudden Invafion of their Country, but they would foon grow weary of a long War; and the Soil requires fo much Cultivation, that they could not fpare from their Labour the Men neceflary to preferve their Country. They were, indeed, as happy as a People could be, when the Emperor had Alface on the one hand, and the Spaniards had the Francbe Comté on the other: They had then no Reafon to fear their Neighbours; but now that both thofe Provinces are in the Hands of the French, the Cafe is quite alter'd; for as Bafll is every Moment in Danger from the Garrifon of Hunningen, that is but a Cannon-fhot diftant from it; fo all the Païs de Vaud lies open to the Francbe Comté, and has neither fortified Places nor good Paffes to fecure it. Their Error therefore in fuffering this to fall into the Hands of the French was fo grofs, that I took fome Pains to be informed concerning it, and will give you this Account that I had from one who was then in a very eminent Poft; fo that as he certainly knew the Secret, he feemed to fpeak fincerely to me. He told me, that the Duke of Lorrain had often moved in the Councils of War, that the Invafion of France ought to be made on that Side in which France lay open, and was very ill fortified. This he repeated often, and it was known in France; fo that the King refolved to poffefs himfelf of the Comté, but ufed that Precaition, that fearing to provoke the Switzers, he offered a Neutrality on that Side: But the Spaniards who judged right, that it was as much the Interef of the Cantons, as it was theirs, to preferve the Comté in their Hands, refufed to confent to it; but they took no Care to defend it, and feem'd, for that Reafon, to leave that' to the Switzers.
In the mean while, the French Money went about very liberally at Bern; and after thofe that were moft likely to make Oppofition were gain'd, the French Mi nifter laid before them the Neceffity in which his Mafter found himfelf to fecure that Side; but that ftill he would grant a Neutrality on their Account, if the Spaniards would agree to it ; and with this, all the Affurances that could be given in Words were offered to them, that they fhould never find the leaft Prejudice from the Neighbourhood of the French, but, on the contrary, all poffible Protection. There was juft Caufe given by the Spaniards to confider them very little in their Deliberation; for they would neither accept of the Neutrality, nor fend a confiderable Force to preferve the Country, fo that it feemed almoft inevitable to give Way to the French Propofition. But one propofed that which an unbiafs'd Affembly would certainly have accepted, that they fhould themfelves feize the Country, and by fo doing fecure the Neutrality, which was all that the French pretended to defire ; and they might

## Chap. III.

eafily fatisfy the Spaniards, and reimburle themfelves the Expence of the Invafion, by reftoring the Country to them, when a general Peace fhould be made. He laid out the Mifery to which their Country mult be reduced by fo powerful a Neighbour, but all was loft Labour; fo he went out in a Rage, and publifh ${ }^{\text {id }}$ through the Town that the State was fold, and all was loft. They now fee their Error too late, and would re pair it if it were poffible ; but the Truth is, many of the particular Members of this State do prey fo much upon the Publick, that unlefs they, with one Confent, refolve to reform thofe Abufes, they will never be in a Condition to do much; for in many of their Bailiages, of which fome are Abbies, the Bailiffs not only feed on the Subjects, but likewife on the State, and pretend they are fo far fuper-expended, that they difcount a great deal of the publick Revenue (of which they are the Receivers) for their Reimburfement. Which made Mr. D'Erlack once fay, when one of thofe Accounts was prefented, that it was very ftrange, if the Abbey could not feed the Monks. It is true, the Power of their Bannerets is fo great, that one would think they might redrefs many Abufes. The City of Bern is divided into four Bodies, not unlike our Companies of London, which are the Bakers, the Butchers, the Tanners, and the Blackfmiths; and every Citizen of Berm muft incorporate himfelf into one of thefe Societies, which they call Abbies; for it is likely they were anciently a Sort of religious Fraternity. Every one of thefe choofes two Bannerets, who bear Office by Turns, from four Years to four Years; and every one of them has a Bailiage annexed to his Office, which he holds for Life. They carry their Name from the Banners of the feveral Abbies, as the Gonfaloniers of Italy; and the Advoyers carry ftill their Name from the ancient Title Ecdicus, or Advocate, that was the Title of the chief Magiftrates of the Towns in the Times of the Roman Emperors. The Chamber of the four Bannerets that bear Office hath a vaft Power; they examine and pafs all Accompts, and they admit all the Competitors to any Offices; fo that no Man can be propofed to the Council of two bundred without their Approbation; and this being now the chief Intrigue of their State, they have fo abfolute an Authority in fhutting Men out from Employments, that their Office, which is for Life, is no lefs indeed, but rather more confiderable than that of the Advoyer, though they are inferior to him in Kank.

They manage Matters with great Addrefs, of which this Inftance was given me in a Competition for the Advoyerfhip not long ago. There was one whofe Temper was violent, that had made it fo fure among thofe that were qualified to vote in it, as being neither of his Kindred nor Alliance, that they believed he would carry it from the other Competitor whom they favour'd; fo they fet up a third Competitor, whofe Kindred were the Perfons that were beft affected to him whole Advancement they oppoled, and by this Means they were all Chut out from voting, fo that the Election went according to the Defign of the Bannerets. The chief Man now in Bern, who was the reigning Advoyer when I was there, is Mr. D'Erlack, Nephew to that Mr. D'Erlack who was Governor of Brifack, and had a Brevet to be a Marfhal of France. This is one of the nobleft Families in Bern, that acted a great Part in Thaking off the Auftrian Tyranny; and they have been ever fince very much diftinguifh'd there from all the reft of their Nobility. The prefent Head of it is a very extraordinary Man; he has a great Authority in his Canton, not only as Advoyer, but by the particular Efteem which is paid him. For he is thought the wifeft and worthieft Man of the State ; though it is fomewhat ftrange, how he fhould bear fo great a Sway in fuch a Government; for he neither feafts nor drinks with the reft. He is a Man of great Sobriety and Gravity, very referved, and behaves himfelf more like a Minifter of State in a Monarchy, than a Magiftrate in a popular Government; for one fees in him none of thofe Arts that feem neceffary in fuch a Government. He has a great Eftate, and no Children; fo he has no

Projects for his Family; and does what he can to cors rect the Abufes of the State; though the Difeafe is inveterate, and feems paft Cure.
5. He had a Misfortune in a Wat that was thirty Years ago (in the Year 1656) between the Popifh and Proteftant Cantons; the Occafion of which will engage me in a flort Digreffion. The Peace of Switzerland is chiefly preferved by a Law agreed on among all the Cantons, that every Canton may make what Regulations concerning Religion they think fit, without Pre= judice to the general League. Now the Popifh Cantons have made Laws, that it fhall be capital for any to change their Religion; and on a fet Day every Year they go all to Mafs , and the Mafters of Families fwear to continue true to the State, and firm in their Religion to their Lives End; and fo they pretend they punith their falling into Herefy, with Death and Confifcation of Goods, becaufe it is a Violation of the Faith which is fo folemnly fworn. But on the other Hand, in the Proteftant Cantons, fuch as turn are only obliged to go and live out of the Canton; but for their Eftates, they flill preferve them, and are permitted to fell them. One cannot but obferve more of the merciful Spirit of the Gofpel in the one than in the other. In two Cantons, Appenzel and Glaris, both Religions are tolerated and are capable of equal Privileges; and in fome Bailiages that were conquered in common by the Cantons of Bern and Friberg, in the Wars with Savoy, the two Cantons name the Bailiffs by Turns ; and both Religions are fo equally tolerated, that in the fame Church they have both Mafs and Sermon fo peaceably, that on one Sunday the Mafs begins, and the Sermon follows, and the next Sunday the Sermon begins, and the Mafs comes after, without the leaft Diforder, Murmuring, or other Inconvenience.
But in the Year 1656 , fome of the Cantons of Scbroitz changing their Religion, and retiring to $Z u$ rich, their Eftates were confifcated; and fome others that had alfo changed, but had not left the Canton, were taken and beheaded. Zurich demanded the Eftates of the Refugees, but inftead of granting this, the Canton of Scbroitz demanded their Subjects, that they might proceed againft them as Delinquents; and they founded this on a Law by which any of the Cantons are obliged to deliver up the Criminals of another Canton, if they are demanded by the Canton to which they belong. But thofe of Zurich and Bern thought this was both inhuman and unchriftian; tho' the Deputy of $B a f l$ was of another Mind, and thought that they ought to be delivered up, which extremely difgufted thofe of Zurich. Thofe of Scbwitz committed fome Infolencies upon the Subjects of Zurich, and refufed to give Satisfaction; upon which a War followed between the Protefant and Popibl Cantons. The Cantons of Bern and Zurich raifed an Army of twenty-five thoufand Men, which was commanded by. Mr. D'Erlack, but was difperfed in feveral Bodies; and the Papists, who had not above fix thoufand, furprized Mr . D'Erlack with a Body much fuperior to theirs. Both Sides, after a hort Engagement, ran ; the Cannon of the Canton of Bern was left in the Field a whole Day; at laft thofe of Lucern, feeing that none ftaid to defend the Cannon, carried them off. This Lofs raifed fuch a Tumult in Bern, that they feemed refolved to facrifice Mr . D'Erlack; but he came with fuch a Prefence of Mind, and gave fo fatisfactory an Account of the Misfortune, that the Tumult ceafed, and foon after the War ended. Upon this many thought, that though the Papifts acted cruelly, yet it was according to their Laws, and that no other Canton could pretend to interpole or quarrel with thofe of Scbreitz for what they did upon that Occafion. Within thefe few Years there were fome Quarrels like to arife in the Canton of Glaris, where it was faid, that the equal Privileges agreed on to both Religions were not preferv'd ; but on this Occafion the Pope's Nuncio acted a very different Part from that which might have been expected. For whereas the Minifters of that Cours have been commonly the Incendiaries in all Difputes that concern Religion, he acted rather the Part of a Mediator. And whereas it was vifible, that the Injuf-
tice lay on the Side of the Papifts, he interpofed fo effectually with thofe of Lucern, which is the Chief of the Popifl Cantons, that the Difference was compofed.
But to return to Bern. The Buildings have neither great Magnificence, nor many Apartments ; but they are convenient, and fuited to the Way of living in that Country. The Streets not only of Bern and the bigger Towns, but even of the fmalleft Villages, are furnifh'd with Fountains that run continually, which as they are of great Ufe, fo they want not their Beauty. The great Church of Bern is a very noble Fabrick; but being built on the Top of the Hill on which the Town ftands, it feems the Ground began to fail, fo to fupport it they have raifed a vaft Fabrick, which has coft more than the Church itfelf; for there is a Platform made which is a Square, to which the Church is one Side, and the farther Side is a vaft Wall fortified with Buttreffes about an hundred and fifty Foot high.- They told me, that all the Ground down to the Bottom of the Hill was dug into Vaults. This Platform is the principal Walk of the Town, chiefly about Sun-fet; and the River underneath affords a very beautiful Profpect. For there is a Cut taken off from it for the Mills; but all along as this Cut goes, the Water of the Aar runs over a floping Bank of Stone, which they fay was made at a vaft Charge, and makes a noble Cafcade.
The fecond Church is the Dominican Chapel, where I faw the famous Hole that went to an Image in the Church from one of the Cells of the Dominicans, which leads me to fet down that Story at Length : For as it was one of the moft fignal Cheats that the World has known, fo it falling out about twenty Years before the Reformation was received in Bern, it is very probable that it contributed not a little to the preparing of the Spirits of the People for that Change. I am the more able to give a particular Account of it, becaufe I read the original Procefs in the Latin Records, figned by the Notaries of the Court of Delegates that the Pope fent to examine the Matter. The Record is above one hundred and thirty Sheets, writ clofe on both Sides, being indeed a large Volume. And I found the printed Accounts fo defective, that I was at the Pains of reading the whole Procefs, of which I will give here an authentick though concife Abftract.
6. The two famous Orders, that had poffefs'd themfelves of the Efteem of thofe dark Ages, were engaged in a mighty Conteft. The Dominicans were the more learned; they were the moft eminent Preachers of thofe Times, and had the Conduct of the Courts of Inquifition, and the other chief Offices in the Church in their Hands. But on the other Hand, the Francijcans had an outward Appearance of more Severity, a ruder Habit, ftricter Rules, and greater Poverty, which gave them fuch Advantages in the Eyes of the fimple Multitude, as were able to balance the other Honours of the Dominican Order. In fhort, the two Orders were engaged in a high Difpute; but the Devotion towards the Virgin being the prevailing Fafhion of thofe Times, the Francifcans had great Advantages. The Dominicans being all engaged in the Defence of Thomas Aquinas's Opinions, were thereby obliged to affert, that he was born in original Sin. This was propofed to the People by the Francijcans as no lefs than Blafphemy; and by this the Dominicans began to lofe Ground extremely in the Minds of the People, who were ftrongly prepoffefs ${ }^{3}$ d in Favour of the immaculate Conception.
About the Beginning of the fifteenth Century, a Francifcan happened to preach in Franckfort ; and one Wigand, a Dominican, coming into the Church, the Cordelier feeing him, broke out into Exclamations, praifing God that he was not of an Order that profaned the Virgin, or that poifoned Princes in the Sacrament (for a Dominicon had fo poifoned the Emperor Henry VII.) Wigand being extremely provoked with this bloody Reproach, gave him the Lie, upon which a Difpute arofe, which ended in a Tumule that had almoft colt the Dominican his Life; yet he got away. The whole Order refolved to take their Revenge, and in a Chapter held at Vimpfen in the. Year 1504, they contrived a Method for fupporting the Credit of their Order, which was
much funk in the Opinion of the People, arid for bearing down the Reputation of the Francifcans : Four of the Junto undertook to manage the Defign; for they faid, fince the People were fo much difpofed to believe Dreams and Fables, they muft dream on their Side, and endeavour to cheat the People as well as others had done. They refolved to make Bern the Scene in which the Project flould be put in Execution; for they found the People of Bern at that Time apt to fwallow any Thing, and not difpofed to make fevere Enquires into extraordinary Matters. When they had formed their Defign, a fit Tool prefented itfelf; for one Fetzer came to take their Habit as a Lay-Brother, who had all the Difpofitions that were neceffary for the Execution of their Project; he was extreme fimple, and much inclined to Aufterities; fo having obferved his Temper well, they began to execute their Project the very Night after he took the Habit, which was on Lady-day, 1507. One of the Fryers conveyed himfelf fecretly into his Cell, and appeared to him as if he had been in Purgatory, in a ftrange Figure; he had a Box near his Mouth, upon which, as he blew, Fire feem'd to come out of his Mouth. He had alfo fome Dogs about him, that appeared as his Tormentors. In this Pofture he came near the Fryer while he was in Bed, and took up a celebrated Story that they ufed to tell all their Fryers, to beget in them a great Dread of ever laying afide their Habit, which was, that one of the Order, who was Superior of their Houfe at Solotburn, had gone to Paris, but laying afide his Habit, was kill'd in his Lay Cloaths. The Fryer in the Vizard faid he was that Perfon, and was condemned to Purgatory for that Crime ; but he added, that he might be refcued by his Means; and he feconded this with moft horrible Cries, expreffing the Miferies which he fuffer'd. The poor Fryer Fetzer was exceffively frighted; but the other advanced, and required a Promife of him to do that which he flould defire, in order to the delivering him out of his Torment. The Fryer promifed all that he ask'd of him. Then the other faid, he knew he was a great Saint, and that his Prayers and Mortifications would prevail; but they muft be very extraordinary : The whole Monaftery muft, for a Week together, difcipline themfelves with a Whip, and he muft lie proftrate in the Form of one on a Crofs, in one of their Chapels, while Mafs was faid in the Sight of all that fhould come to it; and he added, that if he did this, he fhould find the Effects of the Love that the Bleffed Virgin bear him, together with many other extraordinary Things; and faid he would appear again, accompanied with two other Spirits; and affured him, that all he fuffer'd for his Deliverance fhould be moft glorioully rewarded. Morning was no fooner come, than the Fryer gave an Account of this Apparition to the reft of the Convent, who feem'd extremely furprized : They all prefs'd him to undergo the Difcipline that was enjoin'd him, and every one undertook to bear his Share; fo the deluded Fryer performed it exactly in one of the Chapels of their Church. This drew a valt Number of Spectators together, who confider'd the poor Fryer as a Saint ; and in the mean while the four Fryers that managed the Impofture, magnified the Miracle of the Apparition to the Skies in their Sermons. The Fryer's Confeffor was in the Secret ; and by this Means they knew all the little Paffages of the poor Fryer's Life, even to his Thoughts, which help'd them not a little in the Conduct of the Matter. The Confeffor gave him an Hoftie, with a Piece of Wood, that was, as he pretended, a Piece of the true Crofs; and by thefe he was to fortify himfelf, if any other Apparitions fhould cone to him ; fince evil Spirits would be certainly chained up thereby. The Night after that, the former Apparition was renewed, and the mafqued Fryer brought two others with him in fuch Vizards, that the Fryer thought they were Devils indeed. The Fryer prefented the Hoftie to them, which gave them fuch a Check, that he was fully fatisfied of the Virtue of this Prefervative.

The Fryer, that pretended he was fuffering in Purgatory, faid fo many Things relating to the Secrets of his Life and Thoughts, which he had from the Con-
feffor,
feffor, that the poor Fryer was fully poffeffed of the he fmelt an Ointment with which the anointed it Reality of the Apparition. In two of thefe Reprefentations, that were both managed in the fame Manner, the Fryer in the Mafque talked much of the Dominican Order, which he faid was exceffively dear to the bleffed Virgin, who knew herfelf to be conceived in original Sin , and that the Doctors who taught the contrary, were in Purgatory: That the Story of St. Bernard's appearing with a Spot on him, for having oppofed himfelf to the Feaft of the Conception, was a Forgery; but that it was true, that fome hideous Flies appear'd on St. Bonaventure's Tomb, who had taught the contrary : That the Bleffed Virgin abhorr'd the Cordeliers for making her equal to her Son: That Scotus was damned, whofe Canonization the Cordeliers were then foliciting at Rome; and that the Town of Bern would be deftroy'd for harbouring fuch Plagues within their Walls. When the injoined Difcipline was fully performed, the Spirit appeared again, and faid, he was delivered out of Purgatory; but before he could be admitted to Heaven, he muft receive the Sacrament, having died without it ; and after that he would fay Mafs for thofe, who had by their Charities refcued him out of his Pains. The Fryer fancied the Voice refembled the Prior's a little; but he was then fo far from fufpecting any Thing, that he gave no great Heed to this Sufpicion. Some Days after this, the fame Fryer appeared as a Nun all in Glory, and told the poor Fryer that the was Saint Barbara, for whom he had a particular Devotion; and added, that the Bleffed Virgin was fo much pleafed with his Charity, that fhe intended to come and vifit him. He immediately call'd the Convent together, and gave the reft of the Fryers an Account of this Apparition, which was entertained by them with great Joy; and the Fryer languifh'd for the Accomplifhment of the Promife that St. Barbara had made him. After fome Days the long'd for Delufion appear'd to him, cloathed as the Virgin ufed to be on the great Fearts, and indeed in the fame Habits. There were about her fome Angels, which he afterwards found were the little Statues of Angels, which they fet on the Altars on the great Holidays. There was alfo a Pulley faftened in the Room over his Head, and a Cord tied to the Angels, that made them rife up in the Air, and float about the Virgin, which encreafed the Delufion. The Virgin, affer fome Endearments, extolling the Merit of his Charity and Difcipline, told him that fhe was conceived in original Sin, and that Pope Fulius II. that then reign'd, was to put an End to the Difpute, and was to abolifh the Feaft of her Conception, which Sixtus IV. had inftituted; and that he was to be the Inftrument of perfuading the Pope of the Truth in that Matter. She gave him three Drops of her Son's Blood, which were three Tears of Blood that he had fhed over ferufalem; and this fignified, that the was three Hours in original Sin, after which fhe was by his Mercy delivered out of that State. For it feems the Dominicans were refolved fo to compound the Matter, that though they fhould gain the main Point, of her Conception in Sin, yet they would comply fo far with the Reverence for the Virgin with which the World was then poffeffed, that fhe fhould be believed to have remained a very fhort while in that State. She gave him alfo five Drops of Blood in the Form of a Crofs, which were Tears of Blood that the had fhed while her Son was on the Crofs. And to convince him more fully, fhe prefented an Hoftie to him, that appeared as an ordinary Hoftie, and of a fudden it appeared to be of a deep red Colour. The Cheat of thofe fuppofed Vifits was often repeated; at laft the Virgin told him, that fhe was to give him fuch Marks of her Son's Love to him, that the Matter fhould be paft all Doubt. She faid, that the five Wounds of St. Lucia and St. Catberine were real Wounds, and that fhe would alfo imprint them on him; fo the bid him reach his Hand. He had no great Mind to receive, a Favour in which he was to fuffer fo much; but fhe forced his Hand, and fruck a Nail through it. This Hole was as big as a Grain of Peafe, and he faw the Candle clearly through it. This threw him out' of a fuppofed Tranfport into a real Agony: But the feem'd to touch his Hand, and he thought

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though his Confeffor perfuaded him that that was only an Imagination; fo the fuppofed Virgin' left him for that Time.
The next Night the Apparition return'd, and brought fome Linnen Clothes, which had fome real or imaginary Virtue to allay his Torment; and the preterided Virgin faid, they were fome of the Linnen in which Chrift was wrapped; and with that fhe gave him a foporiferous Draught, and while he was faft afleep, the other four Wounds were imprinted on his Body in fuch a Manner, that he felt no Pain.
But in order to this, the Fryers betook themfelves to Charms ; and the Sub-prior fhewed the reft a Book full of them ; but he faid, that before they could be effectual, they mult renounce God; and he not only did this himfelf, but by a formal Act in Writing, figned with his Blood, he dedicated himfelf to the Devil: If is true, he did not oblige the reft to do this, but only to renounce God. The Compofition of the Draught was a Mixture of fome Fountain Water and Chrifm, the Hairs of the Eyebrows of a Child, fome Quickfilver, fome Grains of Incenfe, fomewhat of an Eafer Wax-candle, fome confecrated Salt, and the Blood of an unbaptized Child. This Compofition was a Secret, which the Sub-prior did not communicate to the reft. By this the poor Fryer fetzer was made almoft infenfible. When he was awake, and came out of this deep Sleep, he felt this wonderful Impreffion on his Body; and now he was ravifh'd out of Meafure, and came to fancy himfelf to be acting all the Parts of our Saviour's Paffion: He was expofed to the People on the great Altar, to the Amazement of the whole Town, and to the Mortification of the Francijcans. The Dominicans gave him fome other Draughts, that threw him into Convulions; and when he came out of thofe, a Voice was heard, which came through that Hole, which yet remains, and runs from one of the Cells, along a great Part of the Wall of the Church : For a Fryer fpoke through a Pipe, and at the End of the Hole there was an Image of the Virgin's, with a little fefus in her Arms, between whom and his Mother the Voice feemed to come. The Image alfo feem'd to fhed Tears; and a Painter had drawn thofe on her Face fo lively, that the People were deceived by it. The little Yefus asked, why the wept? And fhe faid, it was becaufe his Honour was given to her, fince it was faid that fhe was born without Sin. In Conclufion, the Fryers fo overacted this Matter, that at laft even the poor deluded Fryer himfelf came to difcover it, and refolved to quit the Order.

It was in vain to delude him with more Apparitions, for he well-nigh kill'd a Fryer that came to him perfonating the Virgin in another Shape with a Crown on her Head. He alfo over-heard the Fryers once talking among themfelves, of the Contrivance and Succefs of the Impofture, fo plainly, that he difcover'd the whole Matter ; and upon that, as may be eafily imagined, he was filled with all the Horror with which fuch a Difoovery could infpire him.
The Fryers fearing that an Impofture, which was carried on hitherto with fo much Succefs, fhould be quite fpoil'd, and turn'd againft them, thought the fureft Way was to own the whole Matter to him, and to engage him to carry on the Cheat. They told him in what Efteem he would be, if he continued to fupport the Reputation that he had acquired; that he would become the Chief of the Order ; and in the End they perfuaded him to go on with the Impofture. But at aft, fearing left he fhould difcover all, they refolved to poifon him ; of which he was fo apprehenfive, that once a Loaf being brought him, that was prepared with Spices, he kept it for fome Time, and it growing green, he threw it to fome young Wolf's Whelps that were in the Monattery, which died immediately. His Conftitution was fo vigorous, that though they gave him Poifon five feveral Times, he was not deftroyed by it. They alfo prefs'd him earneftly to renounce God, which they judged neceflary, that their Charms might have their Effect on him; but he would never confent to that. At laft they forced him to take a poifoned

Hoflie,

Hoftie, which yet he vomited up foon after he had fwallowed it. That failing, they ufed him fo cruelly, whipping him with an Iron Chain, and girding him about fo ftrait with it, that to avoid further Torment, he iwore to them in a moft imprecating Scile, that he would never difcover the Secret, but would ftill carry it on ; and fo he deluded them, till he found an Opportunity of getting out of the Convent, and of throwing himfelf into the Hands of the Magiftrates, to whom he difcovered all.

The four Fryers were feized and put in Prifon, and an Account of the Matter was fent firt to the Bifhop of Laufanne, and then to Rome; and it may be eafily imagin'd, that the Francijcans took all poffible Care to have it thoroughly examined. The Bifhops of Laufanne and Zyon, with the Provincial of the Dominicans, were appointed to form the Procefs. The four Fryers firt excepted to $\mathfrak{Y e l z e r}$ 's Credit; bnt that was rejected: Then being threaten'd with the Queftion, they put in a long Plea againft that; but though the Provincial would not confent to that, yet they were put to the Queftion : Some endured it long, but at laft they all confeffed the Whole of the Impofture. The Provincial appeared concerned; for though Yetzer had opened the whole Matter to him, yet he would give no Credit to him ; on the contrary, he clarged him to be obedient to them; and one of the Fryers faid plainly, that he was in the whole Secret; and fo he withdrew, but he died fome Days after at Confance, having poifoned himfelf, as was generally believed. The Matter lay afleep fome Time, but a Year after that, a Spani/b Bifhop came, authorized with full Power from Rome, and the whole Cheat being fully proved, the four Fryers were foleminly degraded from their Priefthoods, and eight Days after, it being the laft of May, 1509 , they were burnt in a Meadow on the other Side of the River, over-againft the great Church. The Place of their Execution was thewed me, as well as the Hole in the Wall through which the Voice was conveyed to the Image. It was certainly one of the blackeft, and yet the beft carried-on Cheat that has been known; and, no Doubt, had the poor Fryer died before the Difcovery, it had paffed to Pofterity as one of the greateft Miracles that ever was ; and it gives a fhrew'd Sufpicion, that many of the other Miracles of that Church are of the fame Nature, but more fuccefffully finin'd.
7. Swuitzerland lies between France and Italy, both Countries incomparably more rich, and better furnifhed with the Conveniencies of Life than it; and yet Italy is almoft difpeopled, and the People in it are reduced to Mifery that can fcarce be imagined but by thofe who have feen it: And France is in a great Meafure difpeopled, and the Inhabitants reduced to fuch Poverty as appears in all the Marks in which it can fhew itfelf, in their Houfes, Furniture, Cloaths, and Looks.
On the contrary, Switzerland is full of People, and in feveral Places, in Villages as well as in Towns, one fees all the Marks of Plenty and Wealth. Their Houfes and Windows are in good Order, the Highways are well maintained, People are well cloathed, and every one at his Eafe. This Obfervation furprifed me ftill more in the Country of the Grifons, where there is hardly any Soil at all, the Vallies being almoft wafhed away with the Torrents that fall down from the Hills, and fwell their Brooks fometimes fo fuddenly, that in many Places the whole Soil is carried away; and yet thofe Vallies are well peopled, and every one lives happy under a gentle Government: Whilft rich and plentiful Countries are reduced to fuch Mifery, that as many Inhabitants are forced to change their Seats, fo thofe who ftay behind can farce live, and pay thofe Impofitions that are laid upon them. The common People generally reafon very fimply of Government; but they feel truly though they argue falfe. So an eafy Government, though in a Country with an ill Soil, and accompanied with great Inconveniencies, draws, or at leaft keeps People in it; whereas a fevere Government, shough it may in Speculation appear reafonable, drives its Subjects even out of the beft and moft defireable Seats.
8. In my Way from Bern, I paffed by Solotburn, and I came through Fribourg in my Way to Bern. There are two of the chief Popifh Cantons after Lucern; and one fees in them a Heat and Bigotery beyond what appears in France or Itcaly. Long before they come within the Church, they kneel down in the Streets, when Mafs is faying. The Images are extreme grols. In the chief Church of Solotburn, there is an Image of God the Father, as an old Man with a black Beard, having our Saviour on his Knees, and a Dove over his Head. Here alfo begins Devotion at the AveMary Bell, which is farce known in France, but is practifed all over Italy: At Noon, and at Sun-fer, the Bell rings, and all fay the Ave-Mary. But whereas in Italy they content themfelves with putting off their Hats, in Switzerland they kneel down in the Streets, which I faw no where practifed except at Verice, and there it is not commonly done. But notwithftanding this, all the Switzers fee their common Intereft fo well, that they live in a very good Underftanding one with another. This is chiefly owing to the Canton of Lucern, where there is a Spirit in the Government very different from what is in the other Popilh Cantons. The Jefuits begin to grow as powerful in Switzerland, as they are elfewhere; they have a noble College and Chapel in the beft Place of Fribourg. It is not long fince they were at Solotburn, where there was a Revenue of a thoufand Livres a Year fettled for the Maintenance of ten of them, with this Provifion, that they fhould never exceed that Number. But where once fertled, they find Means to break through all Limitations ; and are now become fo rich there, that they are raifing a Church and College, which will coft, before finifhed, above four hundred thouland Livres, to which the French King gives ten thoufand Livres for the Frontifpiece; for as this is the Canton in which his Ambaffadour refides, he thought it for his Glory, to have a Monument raifed by an Order, that will never be wanting to flatter their Benefactors, as long as they can find their Account in it.
In the fame Canton there is an Abbey, that has one hundred thoufand Livres of Revenue; there is alfo a very rich Houle of Nuns that wear the Capuchins $\mathrm{Ha}_{\mathrm{a}}$ bit, that has fixty thoufand Livres of Revenue, and but fixty Nuns in it, who, having a thoufand Livres a-piece, may live in all poffible Plenty, in a Country where a little Money goes a great Way. But that which furprifes one molt at Solotburn is, the great Fortification they are building about the Town, the nobleft and folideft that is any where to be feen. The Stone with which it is faced, is a Sort of coarfe Marble, but many Stones are ten Foot long, and two Foot thick: But though this will be a Work of Expence and Beauty, yet it would fignify little againft a great Army that attack'd it vigoroully. The Wall is finithed on the Side of the River, the Ditch is very broad, and the Counterfcarp and Glacis are alfo finifhed, and they are working at a Fort on the other Side of the River, which they intend to fortify in the fame Manner. This has coft them near two Millions of Livres, and this Expence has made them often repent the Undertaking; and it is certain, that a Fortification able to refilt their Peafants in cafe of a Rebellion, is all that is needful. This Canton has two Advoyers, as Bern; the Little Council confifts of thirty-fix : They have twelve Bailiages, which are very profitable to thofe that can carry them ; one Burfar, and but one Banneret. All the Cantons have Bailiages; but if there are Diforders at Bern in the Choice of Bailiffs, there are far greater among the Popifh Cantons, where all Things are fold, as a foreign Minifter told me; who, tho he knew my Religion, did not ftick to own frankly, that the Catholick were not near fo well governed as the Proteftant Cantons. Juftice is generally fold among them ; and in Treaties with foreign Princes, they have fomerimes taken Money both from French and Spanifh Ambaffadors, and have figned contradictory Articles at the fame Time.
9. Baden has nothing in it remarkable, except its convenient Situation, which makes it the Seat of the General Diet of the Cantons; tho' not one of them, but a Bailiage that belongs in common to eight of the an-

## Chap. III.

 through SWISSERLAND, $\sigma^{\circ} \mathrm{C}$ 。cient Cantons. At laft I came to Zurich, which as it is long, and the Preachers have departed from the firft the firft and moft honourable of all the Cantons, fo with relation to us, it has a Precedence of a higher Nature, it being the firft that received the Reformation.
This Canton is lefs than Bern, yet the Publick is much richer; they reckon that they can bring fifty thoufand Men together on twenty four Hours Warning; their Subjects live happy, for the Bailiffs here have Appointments, and have oniy the Hundred Penny of the Fines; fo that they are not tempted as thofe of Bern, to whom the Fine belongs entirely. And whereas at Bern, the conftant Intrigue of the whole Town is concerning their Bailiages; here it is a Service to which the Citizens are bound to fubmit, according to their Conftitution, but to which they do not afpire. The Government is almoft the fame as at Bern, and the Magiftrate called the Advoyer at Bern, is here called the Burgomafter. The Revenue of the State is juftly accounted for, fo that the Publick is much richer than at Bern; the Arfenal is much better furnifhed, and the Fortifications more regular. There is a great Trade ftirring; and as their Lake, that is twenty four Miles long, and two or three broad, fupplies them with Provifions, fo the ir River carries their Manufacture to the Rbine, from whence it is conveyed as they pleafe. One of their chief Manufactures is Crape, in all Refpects the beft ever faw. I will not defrribe the Situation of the Town, but content myfelf with telling you, that it is very pleafant, the Country about it mountainous, and the Winters hard; for the Lake freezes quite over, only in fome Places Ice never lies, which is efteemed a Mark that Springs rife there and caufe that Heat. So alfo in the Lake of Geneva, tho' never quite frozen, yet Flakes of Ice lie in feveral Parts, but are never feen in fome Parts of the Lake; which is fuppofed to flow from the fame Caufe.
But to return to Zurich: One fees here the ancient Simplicity of the Switzers, not corrupted with Luxury or Vanity. Their Women not only do not converfe with Men, except thofe of their near Kindred, but even in the Streets make no Returns to the Civility of Strangers ; for it is only Strangers put off their Hats to Women, but they make no Courtefies; and herě, as through all Switzerland, Women are not Saluted, but the Civility is expreffed by taking them by the Hand. There is one Thing fingular in the Conttitution of Zu rick, that is, their Little Council confifts of Fifty Perfons, but there fit in it only $\tau$ wenty-five at a Time; and fo the Halves of this Council, as each of them has his proper Burgomafter, have alfo the Government in their Hands by Turns, and they fhift every fix Months, at Midjummer, and at Cbrifimas. The whole Canton is divided into nine great Bailiages, and twenty-one Cafrellaneries; in the former the Bailiff refides conftantly; but the Caftellan, who is alfo one of the Great Council, has fo little to do, that he lives at Zurich, and goes only at fet Times of the Year to do Juftice.

The Virtue of this Canton has appear'd in their adhering to the ancient Capitulations with the French, and not flackening in any Article, which has been done by all the other Cantons, where Money has a Sovereign Influence; but here it never prevailed. They have converted the ancient Revenues of the Church more to pious Ufes, than any where elfe. They have many Hofpitals well endowed; in one, as I was told, there was fix hundred and fifty Poor kept: But as they fupport the real Charities which belong to fuch Endowments, fo they defpife that vain Magnificence of Buildings, which is generally affected elfewhere; for theirs are plain; and one of the Government faid to me very fenfibly, that they thought it enough to maintain their Poor as Poor, and not lodge them as Princes.

The Dean and Chapter are ftill continued as a Corporation, and enjoy the Revenues which they had before the Reformation; but if they fubfirt plentifully, they labour hard; for they have two or three Sermons a Day, and at leaft one ; the firft begins at Five o'Clock in the Morning. At Geneva, and all Switzerland over, there are daily Sermons, which were fubflituted upon the Reformation. But the Sermons are generally too

Defign of thefe Sermons, which were intended to be an Explication of a whole Chapter, and an Exhortation upon it; and if this were fo contrived, that it were in all not above a Quarter of an Hour long, as it would be heard by the People with lefs Wearinefs, and more Profit, fo it would be a vaft Advantage to the Preachers; for as it would oblige them to ftudy the Scriptures much; fo having once made themfelves Mafters of the practical Parts, fuch floort Difcourfes would coft them lefs Pains than thofe laboured Sermons do, which confume the greateft Part of their Time, and often to little Purpofe.
I told you, in Bern the Bailiages are given by a Sort of Ballor, which is fo managed, that no Man's Vote is known : But I muft add, that fince I was firft there, they have made a confiderable Alteration in the Way of Voting, when Offices are to be given ; which approaches much nearer the Venetion Method, and which expofes the Competitors more to Chance, and may put an End to the Intrigues that are fo much in Ufe for obtaining thofe Employments. There are Balls put into a Box, equal to the Number of thofe that have a Right to vote, and are prefent; of thefe one Third are gilt, and two Parts are only filver'd; fo every one takes out a Ball, but none can vote, except thofe who have the gilt Balls; fo that a Man may have more than two Thirds on his Side, and yet be difappointed in a Competition.

1o. There is one Thing, for which the Switzers, in particular thofe of Bern, cannor be too much commended : They have, ever fince the Perfecution began in France, open'd a Sanctuary to fuch as retired thither, in fo Chriftian a Manner, that it deferves all honourable Remembrances that can be made of it. Such Minifters and others, as were at firft condemned in France for the Affair of the Cerennes, have not only found Reception here, but all the Support that could be expected, and indeed much more. For they have affign'd the French Minifters a Penfion of five Crowns a Month if unmarried, and have increafed it to every one who had a Wife and Children, fo that fome had above ten Crowns a Month Penfion. They difperfed them all over the Païs de Vaud, but the greateft Number ftaid at Laufame and Vevay. In order to the fupporting of this Charge, the Charities of Zurich and other Proteftant States were brought hither. Not only the Proteftant Cantons, but the Grifons, and fome fmall States that are under the Protection of the Cantons, fuch as Neufcbâtel, St. Gall, and fome others, have fent their Charities to Bern, who difpenfe of them with great Difcretion, and bear what farther Charge this brings upon them. And in this laft total Difperfion of thofe Churches, the Country has been animated with fuch a Spirit of Compafion, that every Man's Houfe and Purfe has been opened to the Refugees, who have paffed in fuch Numbers, that fometimes there have been above two thoufand in Laufanne alone, and of thefe at one Time near two hundred Minifters ; and they all met with a Kindnefs that look'd more like the primitive Age, than the Degeneracy of that in which we live.

The only confiderable Tax under which the Switzers lie, is, when Eftates are fold, the fifth Part of the Price belongs to the Publick, and all the Abatement that the Bailiff can make, is to bring it to a fixth. This they call the Lod, which is derived from Alodium; only there are fome Lands that are frank-alod, which lie not under this Tax. But this falling only on the Sellers, it was thought a juft Punifhment and a wife Reftraint on ill Husbands of their Eftates.
I was the more confirm'd in the Account I have given you of the Derivation of Advoyer, when I found that in fome fmall Towns in the Canton of Bern, the chief Magiftrate is ftill fo called, as in Payerne: So that I make no Doubt, but as the ancient Magiftrates in the Time of the Romans, that were to give an Account of the Town, were called Advocates; and afterwards the Judge in Civil Matters, that was named by the Bifhops, was called at firft Advocate, and afterwards

Vidam or Vicedominus ; fo that this was the Title that was ftill continued in Bern, while they were under the Austrian and Gorman Yoke, and was preferved by them when they threw it off.

I have touch'd too flightly on the laft Difference in Sviitzerland, which related to the Canton of Glaris. In the Canton of Apenzel, as the two Religions are tolerated, fo they are feparated in different Quarters; thore of one have the one Half of the Canton, and thofe of the other Religion have the other Half; fo they live apart, but in Glaris they are mix'd ; and now the Number of the Papifts is very low; one affured me, there were not above two hundred Families of that Religion ; and thofe fo poor, that their Neceffities difpofe fome every Day to change their Religion. The other Popith Cantons feeing the Danger of lofing their Intereft entirely in that Canton, and being fet on by the Intrigues of a Court that underfood the Policy of embroiling all other States, made great Ufe of fome Complaints of the Papifts of Glaris, as if the prevailing of the other Religion expofed them to much Injuftice and Oppreffion ; and upon that they propofed that the Canton thould be equally divided as Apenzel was. This was extremely unjuft, fince the Papifts were not the tenth, perhaps not the twentieth Part of the Canton. It is true, it was fo fituated, that the Proteftant Cantons could not eafily come to their Affiftance; but thofe of Glaris refolved to die rather than fuffer this Injuftice; " and the Proteftant Cantons refolved to engage in a War with the Popinh Cantons, if they impofed on their Brethren of Glaris. At laft this Expedient was found, that in all Suits between thofe of different Religions, two Thirds of the Judges fhould be of the Religion of the Defendant. But while this Conteft was on Foot, thofe who fomented, if they did not fet it on, knew how to make their Advantage of the Conjuncture; for then was the Fortification of Hunningen at the Ports of Bafil much advanced, of which they are now very apprehenfive when too late. There are fix noble Families in Bern that have this Privilege, that when any of them are chofen of the Council, they take Place before the ancient Counfellors; whereas the reft take Place according to the Order in which they were chofen.
II. After a hort Stay at Zurich, we went down the Lake, where we paffed under the Bridge at Ripperfrood, which is a noble Work for fuch a Country. The Lake is there about half a Mile broad, the Bridge about twelve Foot broad, but hath no Rails on either Side ; fo that if the Wind is high, which is no extraordinary Thing, a Man is in great Danger of being blown into the Lake. This Defect I found in almoft all the Bridges of Lombardy, which feem'd very ftrange; for fince that Defence is made at fo fimall an Expence, it was amazing to fee Bridges fo naked ; and more furprifing in fome Places, where the Bridges are both high and long: Yet I never heard of any Mifchief that follow'd ; but thote are fober Countries, where Drinking is not much in Ure. After two Days Journey we came to Coire, the chief Town of the Grifons, and where we found a General Diet of the three Leagues fitting; fo that having flaid ten Days there, I carne to be informed of a great many Particulars which are not commonly known. The Town may contain between four and five thoufand Souls. It lies in a Bottom upon a fmall Brook, that a little below the Town falls into the Rbine. It is environed with Mountains, fo that they have a very fhort Summer; for the Snow is not melted till May or $7 u n e$, and it began to fnow in September when I was there. On a rifing Ground at the Eaft End of the Town is the Cathedral, the Bifhop's Palace, and the Clofe where the Dean and fix Prebendaries live : All within the Clofe are Papifts, but the Town are Proteftants, and they live pretty well together. Above a Quarter of a Mile up the Hill, one goes by a fteep Afcent to St. Lucius's Chapel: My Curiofity carried me thither, though I gave no Faith to the Legend of King Lucius, and his coming fo far from home to be the Apoftle of the Grifons. His Chapel is a little Vault about ten Foot fquare, where there is an Altar, and Mas' is faid upon
ome great Feftivals. It is fituated under a natural Arch in the Rock, which is given out to have been the Cell of a Hermit. From it fome Drops of a Fountain fall down near the Chapel. The Bifhop affured me it had a miraculous Virtue for weak Eyes, and that it was oily; but neither Tafte nor Feeling difcover'd to me any Oilinefs. I believe it may be very good for the Eyes, as all Rock Water is. But when I offer'd to fhew the good old Bifhop that the Legend of Lucius was a Fable, and moft remarkably fo in that which related to the Grifons, that we had no Kings in Britain at that Time, but were a Province to the Romans; that no ancient Authors fpeak of it, Bede being the firft and that the pretended Letter to Pope Eleutberius, with his Anfwer, bear evident Characters of Forgery; it fignified nothing to the Bifhop, who affured me, that they had a Tradition in their Church, and it was inferted in their Breviary, which he firmly believed. He alfo told me the other Legend of King Lucius's Sitter, St. Emerita, who was burnt there, and of whofe Veil there wa yet a confiderable Remnant among their Reliques. I confefs I never faw a Relict fo ill difguifed, for it is a Piece of worn Linnen Cloth lately wafhed, and the Burning did not feem to be a Month old; and yet when they took it out of the Cafe, there were fome there that with great Devotion rubbed their Beads upon it. The Bifhop had fome Contefts with his Dean, and being a Prince of the Empire, he had profcribed him. The Dean alfo behaved himfelf fo infolently, that by an Order of the Diet he was put in Prifon as he came out of the Carhedral. By the Confent both of the Popinh and Proteftant Communities, a Law was long ago made againft Ecclefiaftical Immunities ; this Attempt on the Dean was made four Years ago. As foon as he was let out, he went to Rome, and made great Complaints of the Bifhop, and it was thought the Popinh Party intended to move in the Diet, while we were there, for the repealing that Law, but they did it not. The Foundation of the Quarrel between the Bihhop and Dean was, the Exemptions to which the Dean and Chapter pretend, and upon which the Bi fhop made fome Invafion. I took Occafion to fhew him the Novelty of thofe Exemptions, and that in the Primitive Church it was believed, that the Bifhop had the Authority over his Presbyters by a divine Right; and if it was by a divine Right, then the Pope could not exempt them from his Obedience. But the Bifhop would not carry the Matter fo high, but contented himfelf with two Maxims: one was, that the Bifhop was Chritt's Vicar in his Diocefe; and the other, that what the Pope was in the Catholick Church, the Bifhop was in his Diocefe
He was a good-natur'd Man, and did not make ufe of the Auchority that he had over the Papifts, to fet them to live uneafily with their Neighbours of another Religion. That Bifhop was anciently a great Prince, and the beft Part of the League, that carries ftill the Name of the House of God, belong'd to him ; though I was affured that Pregallia, one of thofe Communities, was a free State above fix hundred Years ago ; and that they have Records extant that prove this: The other Communities bought their Liberties from feveral Bi fhops fome Time before the Reformation, of which the Deeds are yet extant; fo that it is an impudent Thing to fay, that they fhook off his Yoke at that Time.

The Bifhop hath yet a Revenue of about a thoufand Pounds a Year, and every one of the Prebendaries hath near two hundred Pounds a Year. It is not ealy to imagine how the Riches of this Country are raifed; for one fees nothing but vaft Mountains, that feem barren Rocks, and fome little Vallies among them not a Mile broad, and the beft Part of thefe wafh'd away by the Rbine, and fome Brooks that fall into it. But their Wealth confifts chiefly in their Hills, which afford much Pafture ; and in the hot Months, in which all the Pafture of Italy is parched, the Cattle are driven into thefe Hills, which brings them a clear Revenue of above two hundred thouland Crowns a Year. The Publick is indeed poor, but particular Perfons are fo rich, that I

## Chap. III. through SwISSERLAND, ©Oc.

knew a great many there, who were look'd on to have Eftates to the Value of one hundred thoufand Crowns. Mr. Schovefeiń, accounted the richeft Man in the Country, is believed to be worth a Million of Livres. The Government here is a pure Common-wealth; for in the Choice of. their Magiffrates, every Man above fixteen Years old hath his Voice, which is alfo the Conftitution of fome of the fmall Cantons. The three Leagues are, the League of the Grifons, that of the Houfe of God, and that of the Ten Yurijdicions.
12. They believe, that upon the Incurfions of the Gotbs and Vandals, as fome fied to the Venetion Inands, out of which rofe that famous Common-wealth, fo others came and fhelter'd themfelves in there Vallies. They told me of an ancient Infcription lately found on a Stone, where on the one Side is graven, Omitto Rbetos indomitos, and Ne plus ultrà is on the other; which they pretend was placed by Julius Cefar. This Stone is upon one of their Mountains ; but as I did not pars that Way, fo I can make no Judgment concerning it. After the firt forming of this People, they were caft into litcle States, according to the different Vallies which they inhabited, and in which Juftice was adminittred; and fo they fell under the Power of fome little Princes, that became fevere Mafters. But when they faw the Example that the Switzers had fet them, in Ahaking off the Austrian Yoke, above two hundred Years ago, they combined to fhake off theirs ; only fome few of thofe fimall Princes ufed their Authority better, and concurred with the People, and fo they are ftill Parts of the Body; only Haldenfein is an abfolute Sovereignty. It is about two Miles from Coire to the Welt, on the other Side of the Rbine. The whole Territory is about half a Mile long, at the Foot of the Alps, where there is fcarce any Breadth. The Authority of thefe Barons was formerly more abfolute than now; for the Subjects. were their Slaves: But to keep together the little Village, they have granted them a Power of naming a Lift for their Magiftrates, the Perfon being to be named by the Baron, who hath alfo the Right of Pardoning, of Coining, and every Thing elfe that belongs to a Sovereign. I faw this little Prince in Coire, in an Equipage not fuitable to his Quality; for he was in all Points like an ordinary Gentleman. There are three other Baronies that are Members of the Diet, and fubject to it; the chief belonged to the Archdukes of Infpruck; the others to Mr. Schovenffein, and Mr. de Mont ; they are the Heads of thofe Communities of which their Baronies are compofed; they name the Magiftrates out of the Lifts that are prefented to them by their Subjects, and have the Right of Pardoning, and to Confifcations. That belonging to the Houfe or Aufria is the biggeft : It hath five Voices in the Diet, and can raife twelve hundred Men. One Travers bought it of the Emperor in the Year 1679; he entered upon the Rights of the ancient Barons, which were fpecificd in an Agreement that paffed between him and his Peafants, and was confirmed by the Emperor. Travers made many Encroachments upon the Privileges of his Subjects, who made their Complaints to the League ; but Travers would have the Matter judg'd at In/pruck, and the Emperor fupported him in this Pretenfion, and fent an Agent to the Diet. I was prefent when he had his Audience, in which there was nothing but general Compliments. The Diet-ftood firm to their Conftitution, and afferted, that the Emperor had no Authority to judge that Matter, which belong'd only to them: So Travers was forced to let his Pretenfions fall.

All the other Parts of this State are purely Democratical: There are three different Bodies or Leagues, and each of thefe an entire Government; and the Affembly or Diet of the three Leagues is only a Confederacy, like the United Provinces, or the Cantons. There are $\beta_{\text {Ixty }}$ feven Voices in the Diet, which are thus divided: The League of the Grijons hath twenty eigbt Voices, that of the Houfe of God twenty four, and that of the 7urifdictions fffteen. The Furijdicizions belonged anciently to the Houfe of Aufria; but having fhaken off that Authority, were incorporated into the Diet: But in the

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laft Wars of Germany, the Auffrians thought to have brought them again under their Yoke; yet they defended their Liberty with fo much Vigour, that the Austrians thought the Conqueft would not quit the Coft. They were affrighted by two extraordinary Actions; in one Village, which was quite abandoned by all the Men, who left the Women in it, fome Hundreds; as I was told, being there quattered, were apprehenfive of no Danger from their Hofteffes: But the Women intended to let their Husbands fee, that they were capable of contriving and executing a bold Action, though it mult be confefs'd it was a litele too barbarous for the Sex. They enter'd into a Combination to cut the Throats of all the Soldiers at one Time. The Woman that propofed this, had four lodged with her, and fhe, with her own Hands, difpatched them all; and fo did the reft, not one Soldier efcaping to carry away the News. In another Place, a Body of the Aufrians came into a Valley that was quite abandoned; for the Men having no Arms but their Clubs and Saves, had got up to the Mountains : But they took their Meafures fo well, and poffeffed themfelves of the Paffes in fuch a Manner, that they came down upon the Soldiers with fo much Fury, that they defeated them, fo that very few efcaped : and it is certain, that the fubduing them would have proved a very hard Work. It is true, they are not in a Condition to hold out long, the Publick is fo poor ; fo that though particular Perfons are rich, yet they have no publick Revenue, but every Man is concerned to preferve his Liberty, which is more entire here than even in Sweitzerland ; but often fwells too high, and throws them into Convulfions. The League of the Grijons is the firft and moft ancient, and is compofed of eight and twenty Communities, of which there are eigbteen Papifts, and the reft are Proteftants. The Communities of the two Religions live neighbourly together, yet do not fuffer thofe of another Religion to live among them; fo that every Community is entirely of the fame Religion; and if any changes, he muft go into another Community. Each Community is an entire State within itfelf, and all Perfons meet once a Year to chufe the Judge and his Affiftants, whom they change or continue from Year to Year, as they fee Caufe. There is no Difference between Gentleman and Peafant, and the Tenant hath a Vote as well as his Landlord; nor dare his Landlord ufe him ill when he votes contrary to his Intentions, for the Peafants would confider this as a common Quarrel. An Appeal lies from the Judge of the Community to the Affembly of the League, where all Matters end; for there lies no Appeal to the General Diet of the three Leagues, except in Matters that concern the conquer'd Countries, which belong in common to the three. There is one chofen by the Deputies for the Affembly of the League, who is called the Head of the League, that calls them together as he thinks proper, and can bring a Caule that hath been once judged to a fecond Hearing. Ilants is the chief Town of this League, where their Diet meets. The fecond League is that of the House of God, in which there are four and twenty Communities. The Burgomafter of Coire is always the Head of this League, which at this Tme is almoft wholly Proteflant; and the two Vallies of the Upper and Lower Engedin, are pointed out by the Papifts as Canibals towards fuch Catholicks as come among them. But Fryer Sfondrato, Nephew to Pope Gregory XIV. whofe Mother the Marquis of Bergominiero, that was in England, married, found the contrary of all this to be true, to his great Regret. About eighteen Years ago he was believed to have wrought Miracles; and he became fo much in Love with the Crown of Martyrdom, that he went through the Engedin, not doubting but he would find there what he defired. His Brother had come fometime before into the Country to drink the Mineral Waters, and was well known to the Gentry; fo fome of thefe hearing of the Fryer's coming, went and waited on him, and he was entertained in their Houfes, and conveyed through the Country, though he took all poffible Methods to provoke them; for he was often railing at their Religion, but to all that they made
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no Anfwer, only they continued their Civilities; which fo enraged the warm Fryer, that he went to Bormio, and there died of Grief.' An Accident fll out five Years ago, that the People of the Country efteemed a Miracle. The Papifts, in their Proceffions, go out of one Community into another; and when they pafs through Proteftant Communities, they lower the Crofs, and give over finging till they come again upon Popifh Ground; but then they went on bearing up the Crofs, and finging ; upon which the Proteftants ftopp'd them. They, finding that they were not equal in Number to the Proteftants, fent to a Catholick Community, and defired their Affiftance. Two thoufand came, and in all Appearance the Difpute would have had a bloody Iffue; for the Proteftants were refolved to maintain the Rights of their Community, and the others no lefs refolved to force their Way. But an extraordinary thick Mift rofe, and through it the Papifts fancied they faw a vaft Body of Men, which was no other than a Wood; but terrified with the Appearance, they retired, and this faved a Battle that probably would not only have ended in the Shedding much Blood, but might have diforder'd the whole Conftitution of their Leagues. The Papits of Quality endeavour to keep their People in Order; but they acknowledge, that the Proteftants are much more peaceable than the Catholicks. The Jurifdictions have fifteen Votes in the General Diet; yet they are generally called the Ten Jurifdictions, and the greater Part of them are llkewife of the Proteltant Religion: For upon the general Computation of the three Leagues, the Proteftants are about two Thirds. In their Diets there are three Tables, one in the Middle, and two on either Side. At every Table fits the Head of the League, and a Secretary near him ; and from the Table there go down Benches on both Hands for the Deputies from the Communities of that League. They hold their Diets by Turns, in the chief Towns of the feveral Leagues, and it happened to be the Turn of the Houfe of God, when I was there; fo they met at Coire.
13. The three Leagues, or Grifons in general, have a conquered Country in Italy, divided into three Diftricts; the Valteline, Cbavennes, and Bormio. When Fobn Galeafle poffeffed himfelf of the Dutchy of Mi lan, and drove out Barnabas; Mafinus, one of Barnabas's Sons, to whom his Father had given thofe three Branches of the Dutchy of Milan, retired to Coire, and being hofpitably received and entertained by the Bifhop, when he died, he gave his Right to thofe Territories to the Cathedral of Coire; fo the Prelate had a Title, without a Force able to make it good. But when the Wars of Italy were on Foot, the three Leagues being much courted by both the Crowns, fince they were Mafters of all the Paffes, through which either the Switzers or Germans could come into Italy, they refolved to lay hold on that Opportunity: Yet they had not Zeal enough for their Bifhop, to engage upon his Account; but agreed to pay him fuch a Revenue, and he transferred his Title to them, and they were fo confiderable to the Spaniards, that they yielded thofe Parcels of the Dutchy of Milan to them, and by this Ceffion they are poffefied of them. Thofe Acceflions to this State are much better than the Principal; for as the Valteline, which is above forty Miles long, and two broad, is one of the richeft Vallies in the World, in which there are three Harvelts fome Years; fo the Cbavennes and Bormio, though not fo good as that, are much preferable to the beft Vallies of the Grifons. Yet the Engagement that Pcople have to their Homes appears fignally here, fince the Grifons have not forfaken their Country, that they might plant themfelves fo advantageouny: But they love their rugged Vallies, and think the Safety they enjoy in them, beyond the Pleafures of their acquired Dominions; which they govern by Bailiffs and Podeftas, and other Officers whom they fend among them; and all the Advantage that they draw from them is, that the Magiftrates they fend enrich themfelves in the fame Manner as the Bailiffs in Switzerland. All thofe Offices go round the feveral Communities, which have the Riglit of Nomination in their Turn: But if there is none of the Community
proper, any one of another Community may buy of them the Nomination for that Turn, and the Community diftrioute among them the Money that he gives them. The Publick draws nothing out of thofe Parts, except the Fines, which in fome Years amount to no confiderable Sum; and ten or twelve thoufand Crowns is thought a great deal to be raifed in a Year: So that their Subjects live happy, and free of all Taxes, which made their laft Revolt appear the more extraordinary. It was, indeed, the Effect of a very furprifing Bigottry, when a People, who had no other Grievance, but that now and then their Magiftrates were of another Religion, and that Proteftants were tolerated amongft them, would therefore throw off their Rulers, cut the Throats of their Neighbours, and caft themfelves into the Hands of the Spaniards, who are the worft Mafters in the World.
14. To give a more particular Relation of that Matter, and tell the Circumftances which feem a little to leffen that Rebellion and Maffacre, I muft give an Account of a Part of this Conftitution that is very terrible, and which makes the greateft Men tremble. The Peafants come fometimes in great Bodies, and demand a Chamber of Jultice from the Diet, and they are bound to grant it when thus demanded, which happens generally once in twenty Years. This Tumult of the Peafants is fet on by fome of the Malecontent Gentry, and generally there are a great many Sacrifices made. This Court is compofed of Ten Judges out of every League, and twenty Advocates, who manage fuch Accufations as are prefented. It is fuperior to all Law, and acts like a Court of Inquifition: They give the Queftion, that is, put to the Torture, and do every Thing that they think neceffary to difcover the Truth of fuch Accufations as are prefented to them; and the Decifions of this Court can never be brought under a Review, though there is one Exception to this; for about a hundred Years ago, one Court of Juftice reverfed all that another had done. The Peafants are in as great Jealoufy of the Spaniards, as the Switzers are of the French; and the good Men among them are fenfible of a great Corruption of Morals, that the Spanifb Service brings among them. For there is a Grifon Regiment kept in Pay by the Spaniards; there are in it twelve Companies of fifty a-piece, and the Captains have a thoufand Crowns Pay, though they are not obliged to attend the Service. This is a Penfion paid under a more decent Name to the moft confiderable Men of the Country ; and is thared among them without any Diftinction of Proteftant and Papift, and is believed to fway their Councils too much. The Peafants are apt to take Fire, and to believe they are betray'd by thefe Penfioners of Spain; and when Rumours are blown about among them, they come in great Numbers to demand a Chamber of Juftice. The common Queftion that they give, which is alfo ufed through all Switzerland, and in Geneva, is, they tie the Hands of the fufpected Perfon behind his Back, and pull them up to his Head, and fo draw them about; by which the Arms, and chiefly the Shoulder-blades, are disjointed. And when a Perfon put to the Queftion confeffes his Crime, and is upon that condemned to die, he is obliged to renew his Confeffion, upon Oath, at the Place of Execution; and if he goes off from it then, and faith, That his Confeffion was extorted by the Violence of the Torture, he is put again to the Queftion; for this paffes for a Maxim, That no Man muft die, unlefs he confeffeth himfelf guilty. Generally when the Fury of demanding this Chamber fpreads among the People, the Gentry run away, and leave the whole Matter in the Power of the Peafants; for they know not where it will end : And fo the Peafants being named Judges, the Juftice goes quick, till fome Sacrifices appeafe the Rage. Two Years ago, upon the Sale of a Common to the Bifhop of Como, to which he had ancient Pretenfions, the Peafants, having no more the Liberty of the Common, were enraged at their Magiftrates, and a Report was fpread abroad, of which the Author could never be difcovered, that the Spaniards had fent a hundred thoufand Crowns among
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them to corrupt all their Magittrates. Upon this they were fo on Fire, that it was generally thought there would have been many Sacrifices made: But the Gentry happened to be then fo much united, that there was none of them engaged among the Peafants, or that directed their Rage. A Chamber of Juftice was granted, but the Matter was fo ordered, that it did not appear that any was guilty: Yet fome that had dealt in that Tranfaction were fined, not fo much for any Fault, as to raife a Fund to pay the Expences of the Chamber. And becaufe they could not find Colour to raife fo much out of the Fines, there was a Fine of five hundred Livres laid on every one of the Spani/b Companies.

In the Year 1618, there was a Report that the Spaniards had a Treaty on Foot to take away the Valteline from the Leagues. This was fupported in Credit by the Fort Fuentes, that the Governor of Milan was building upon the Lake of Como. Near the Valteline there was one Ganatz a Minifter, but a bloody and perfidious Man, that managed the Rage of the Peafants; and there was great Reafon to fufpect fome under-hand Dealing, though he threw it which Way he pleafed. A Chamber of Juftice was appointed to fit at Toffane, which is a confiderable Town, twelve Miles from Coire, on the Road to Italy, near Alta Rbetia, which is an high but fmall Hill, to which there is no Accefs but on one Side, where there are the Ruins of a Caftle and a Church, and which they believe was the Palace of Rbetus, the firf Prince of the Country. There was fevere Juftice done in this Chamber; a Prieft was put to the Queftion, and fo ill ufed, that he died in it, which is a crying Thing among them. The chief Sufpicion lay upon one Pianta, who being of one of the beft Families of the Grijons, was then one of the Captains in the Spanijh Regiment : He withdrew himfelf from the Storm; but the Peafants, led on by Ganatz, purfued him fo clofe, that at laft they found him, and hewed him in Pieces, Gonatz himfelf ftriking the firft Stroke with an Ax, which was taken up, and preferved by his Friends ; and four and twenty Years after, fifty or fixty of this Gentleman's Friends fell upon Ganatz in Coire, and killed him with the fame Axe. Ganatz had, during the Wars, abandon'd both his Religion and his Profeffion, being a Difgrace to both, and had ferved firft in the Venetion, and then in the Spanifb Troops. After the Peace was made, he became fo confiderable, being fupported by the Spani/h Faction, that he was chofen Governor of Cbavennes, and was come over to Coire to a Diet, being then in fo important a Charge. Yet he was fo much hated, that though the Murthering of a Magiftrate in Office, and at a publick Affembly, in fo terrible a Man. ner, ought to have been feverely punifh'd; yet no Enquiry was made into the Crime, nor was any Man fo much as queftioned for it. In that Chamber many that were put to the Queftion confeffed enough to hang them; fome endured the Queftion, and efcaped with the Lofs of the Ufe of their Arms. Thore of the Valteline have pretended this Severity was that which gave the Rife to the Maffacre ; and it is very probable this might have drawn in fome that would have been otherwife more moderate, and that it did likewife precipitate that barbarous Action. But it was afterwards difcovered, that the Plot had been formed long before ; fo that the Induftry and Rage of the Priefts, managed by Spanijh Emiffaries, working upon the Bigottry of the People, was the real Caufe; and this only made Ure of as a Pretext to give fome Colour to the Maffacre, which was executed fome Months after this Chamber was diffolved. It began while the Proteftants were at Church : There were fome Hundreds deftroyed, the reft got all up into the Mountains, and fo efcaped into the Country of the Grifons; and thofe of Cbavennes got likewife up to the Hills, for they are fituated juft at the Bottom of them.

I hall not profecute the reft of that War ; the French faw of what Advantage it was to them, not to let this Pafs from Italy into Germany fall into the Hands of the Spaniards; fo Bafompiere was fent to Marrid, and obtained a Promife, that Things fhould be pur into the
fame State in which they were before the Year 1618 But when that Order was fent to the Governor of Mis lam, it was plain he had fecret Inftructions to the contrary, for he refufed to execute it. So a War followed, in which the Grifons found it was not eafy for them to fupport the Charge of it, without having Recourfe to the Afiftance of the French. But the Spaniards pretended to have no other Intereft in the Affairs of the Val teline, than the Prefervation of the Catholick Religion; and to thew their Sincerity, they put the Country into the Pope's Hands, knowing that he could not preferve it but by their Affiftance, or reftore it without fecuring it from all Change of Religion. The French willingly undertook the Caufe of the Grifons, and becaufe the Duke of Roban was like to be the moft favoured General, as being of their Religion, he was fent to command fome Forces that march'd thither. But he faw, that if the French once made themfelves. Mafters of the Paffes of the Country, it would turn to their Ruin; and finding the Grifons repoled an entire Confidence in him, he thought it unbecoming him to be an Inftrument in that he faw mult be fatal to them. The Spaniards feeing the French engage in the Quarrel, and fearing they thould poffels themfelves of the Paffes, offered to reftore all the Territory in Italy; for Cbavennes and Bormio had likewife revolted, only the Proteftants got away fo quick upon the Diforders in the Valteline, that they prevented the Rage of the Priefts. The Spaniards ftood upon the fe Conditions; That an Amnelty fhould be granted for what was paft: 'That there fhould be no Exercife of the Proteftant Religion tolerated in the Country: And that the Bailiffs and other Magiftrates of that Religion, who were to be fent into the Valteline, fhould not openly practife their Religion: And as for other Perfons, that none of that Religion might ftay above fix Weeks at a Time in the Country. The Duke of Roban, feeing that Conditions of fo much Advantage to the Leagues were offered to them, did under-hand advife thofe of that Religion to accept of them, at the fame Time that he feem'd openly to oppofe the Treaty fet on Foot on thofe Terms; and that he might get out of this Employment with the lefs Difhonour, he advifed their clapping him up in Prifon, till they had finifh'd their Treaty with the Spaniards. So that they very gratefully to this Day own, that they owe the Prefervation of their Country to the Advices of that great Man. Many that were of that Religion returned to their Houfes and Eftates; but the greateft Part have fince changed their Religion, others fold their Eftates, and left the Country; fome ftay ftill, and go two or three Hours Journey to fome of the Proteftant Communities, where they have the Exercife of their Religion; and though they may not ftay in the Valteline above fix Weeks at a Time, yet they avoid that by going for a Day or two out of the Country once within that Time; nor is that Matter at prefent fo feverely examined, becaufe there is a Calm among them as to thofe Matters. But when it comes to the Turn of the Proteftant Communities to fend one of their Religion to thofe Employments, he is often much embarraffed by the Bihhop of Como, to whofe Diocefe thofe Territories belong: For if the Bifhop fancies that they do any Thing contrary to the Eccleffaftical Immunities, he excommunicates them. And tho, this may appear a ridiculous Thing, fince they are in a worfe State by being Hereticks, yet it produces a very fenfible Effed; for the People, who are extremely fuperftitious, will not come near fuch Magiftrates: So that about three Years ago, a Bailiff found himfelf obliged to defire to be recalled, though his Time was not out, fince being excommunicated, he could no longer maintain the Government.

Among the Grifons the Roman Law prevails, modefied a little by their Cuftoms: One a little particular was executed when I was there. A Man, that hath an Eftate by his Wife, enjoys it after her Death as long as he continues a Widower; but when he marries again, he is bound to divide it among the Children he had by her. The Juftice is fhort, but it is thought that Bribes go here, though but mean in proportion to their Po.
verty,
verty, as well as in other Places. The married Women fcarce appear abroad, except at Church; but the young Women have more Liberty before they are married. There is fuch a Plenty of all Things, by Reafon of the Gentlenefs of the Government, and the Induftry of the People, that in the ten Days I faid at Coire, I was but once ask'd an Alms in the Streets. There are two Churches; in the one there is an Organ, that joins with their Voices in the Singing of the Pfalms; and there was for the Honour of the Diet, while we were there, an Anthem fung very regularly. In all the Churches both of Swoitzerland and the Grifons, except in this, the Minifter preaches covered, but here he is bare-headed. And I obferved a particular Devotion ufed here in faying of the Lord's Prayer, that the Minifters, who wear Caps, put them off. The Women, as in Bern, turn all to the Eaft in Time of Prayer, and in their private Devotions before and after the publick Prayers: Many alfo bow at the Name of Jefus. They chriften difcovering the whole Head, and pouring the Water on the Hind-head, ufing a trine Afperfion; which is allo the Practice of the Switz. It was Matter of much Edification, to fee the great Numbers, both here and all Swoitzerland over, that come every Day to Prayers Morning and Evening. They give here, in the Middle of the Prayer, a good Interval of Silence for the private Devotions of the Affembly. The Schools here go not above Latin, Greek, and Logick; and for the reft they fend their Children to Zurich or Bafl. The Clergy are very meanly provided; for the the moft Part they have nothing but the Benevolence of their People. They complained much to me of a Coldnefs in their Pcople in the Matters of Religion, and of a great Corruption in their Morals. The Commons are extreme infolent, and many Crimes go unpunifhed, if the Perfons that commit them have either great Credit or much Money. The poor Minitters here are under a terrible Slavery; for the Griifons pretend a Prefcription not only for the Patronage of their Churches, but a Power to difinifs their Churchmen as they fee caufe. How it is among the Papilts I cannot tell; but the Dean of the Synod of the House of God told me, they had an ill Cufom of ordaining their Minifters without a Title, upon Examination of their Abilities, which took them up generally fix or feven Hours; and when this Tryal was difpatch'd, if the Perfon was qualified they ordainec him; and it was too ordinary for thofe to endeavour to undermine the Minifters already in Employment, if their People grew difgufted at them, or they became difabled by Age; and often the Intereft and Kindred of the Intruder carried the Matter againft the Incumbent without any Pretence; and in that Cafe the Synod was bound to receive the Intruder. In one Half of the Country they preach in High Dutch, and in the other Half in a corrupt Italian, which they call Romanifh, that is, a Mixture of Frencb and Italian. In every League they have a Synod; and as the People choofe their Minifters, fo, in Imitation of the Switz, every Synod choofes, their Antiztes, or Superintendent. He is call'd the Dean among the Grijons, and hath a Sort of Epiicopal Power; but he is accountable to the Synod: The Office is for Life; but the Synod, upon great Caufe, may make a Change. The People are much more lively than the Switzers, and they begin to have a Tincture of the Italian Temper. They are extreme civil to Strangers; but it feems, in all Commonwealths Innkeepers think they have a Right to exact upon Strangers; which one finds here, as well as in Holland, or in Switzerland.
15. If hall conclude what I have to fay of the Grifons with an extraordinary Story, which I had from the Minifters of Coire, and feveral other Gentlemen, that faw in April I685, about five hundred Perfons of different Sexes and Ages, that paffed through the Town, who gave this Account of themfelves. They were the Inhabitants of a Valley in Tyrol, belonging the Archbifhoprick of Salizburg, but fome of them were in the Diocefes of Trent and Breffe. They feemed to be a Remnant of the old Wetdenfes; they worfhipped neither Images nor Saints, and they believed the Sacrament
was only a Commemoration of the Death of Chrit ; in many other Points they had their peculiar Opinions, different from thofe of the Church of Rome: They knew nothing either of Lutberans or Calvinits; and the Grijons, though their Neighbours, had never heard of this Nearnefs to the Proteftant Religion. They had Mais faid among them; but fome Years fince fome of the Valley going over Germany to earn fomewhat by their Labour, happened into the Palatinate, where they were better inftructed in Matters of Religion; and thefe brought back with them into the Valley the Heidelburg Catechifm, with fome other German Books, which ran over the Valley; and they being in a good Difpofition, thofe Books had fuch an Effeet upon them, that they gave over going to Mafs , and began to worfhip God in a Way more fuitable to the Rules fet down in Scripture. Some of their Priefts concurred in this Change ; but others who adhered fill to the Mafs, went and gave the Archbifhop of Salizburg an Account of it ; upen which he fent fome to examine the Matter, to exhort them to return to Mafs, and to threaten them with Severity, if they continued obftinate : So they feeing a terrible Storm ready to break on them, refolved to abandon their Houfes, and all they had, rather than fin againft their Confciences; and the whole Inhabitants, old and young, Men and Women, to the Number of two thoufand, divided themfelves into feveral Bodies; fome to go to Brandenburg, others to the Palatinate, and about five hundred took the Way of Coire, intending to difperfe themfelves in Swoitzerland. The Minifters told me, they were much edified with their Simplicity; for a Collection being made for them, they defired only a little Bread to carry them on their Way. From Coire we went to Toffano, and from thence through the Way that is juftly called Via Mala. In lies through a Bottom between two Rocks, through which the Rbine runs, but under Ground, for a great Part of the Way: The Way is cut out in the Middle of the Rock in fome Places; and in feveral, the Steepnefs of the Rock being fuch, that a Way could not be cut, there are Beams driven into it, over which Boards and Earth are laid. This Way holds an Hour ; after that, there is for two Hours a good Road, and we pafs'd through two confiderable Villages, finding good Lodging in both : From thence there is, for two Hours Journey, terrible Way, almoft as bad as the Via Mala; then an Hour's Journey good Way to Splugen, which is a large Village of two hundred Houfes that are welld built, and the Inhabitants feem to live at their Eafe, though they have no Soil but a littlé Meadow Ground about them. This is the laft Proteftant Church that was in our Rout: It was well endow'd; for the Minifter had near two hundred Crowns. Thofe of this Village are the Carriers between Italy and Germany, and drive a great Trade; for there is here a perpetual Carriage going and coming ; and we were told, that there pals generally a hundred Horfes through this Town, one Day with another; and there are above five hundred Carriage-horfes that belong to it. From this Place we went mounting for three Hours, till we got to the Top of the Hills, where there is only one great Inn. After that, the Way was tolerably good for two Hours; and for two Hours there is a conftant Defcent, which, for the molt part, is as fteep as if we were going down Stairs. At the Foot of this is a little Village, called Campodolin; and here we found we were in latay, both by the vaft Difference of the Climate, (for whereas we were freezing on the other Side, the Heat of the Sun was uneafy here) and by the Number of the Beggars ; though it may feem the Reverfe of what one ought to expect, fince the richeft Country of Europe is full of Beggars; and the Grijons, one of the pooreft States, have no Beggars at all. One Thing is alfo ftrange, that among the Grijons, the rich Wine of the Valteline, after carried three Days Journey, is fold cheaper than the Wine of other Countries at the Door; but there are no Taxes nor Impofitions here. From Campodolin there are three Hours Journey to Cbavennes, all in a flow Defcent, and in fome Places the Way is extreme rugged and flony.
16. Cbavennes

## Chap. III.

 tbrough Swisseriand, \&c.16. Cbavennes is very pleafantly fituated at the very Foot of the Mountains; there runs through the Town a charming little River. It is nobly built, and hath many rich Vineyards about it; and the Reverberation of the Sun-beams from the Mountains fo increafes the Heats, that the Soil is as rich here, as in any Part of Italy. Here one begins to fee a noble Architecture in many Houfes: In fhort, all the Marks of a rich Soil and a free Government appear here. The Town food a little more to the North about five hundred Years ago, but a Piece of the Alps came down upon it, and buried it quite ; and at the upper End of the Town there are fome Rocks that look like Ruins, about which there hath been a very extraordinary Expence, to divide them one from another, and to make them fit for Forts and Caftles: The Marks of the Tools appear' d all over the Rock in one Place. I meafured the Breadth of the one from the other, which is twenty Foot, the Length is four hundred and fifty Foot; and, as we could guefs, the Rock was two hundred Foot high, cut down on both Sides in a Line, as even as a Wall; towards the Top of one, the Name Salvius is cut in large Letters, a little Gotbick. On the Tops of thofe Rocks, which are inacceffible, except on the one Side, and to that the Afcent is uneafy, they had Garrifons during the Wars of the Valeline: There were fifteen hundred in Garrifon in that which is in the Middle. There fall down frequently Pieces from the Hills, that extremely fatten the Ground which they cover, fo that it becomes fruitful beyond Expreffion: And I faw a Lime-tree that was planted eight and thirty Years before in a Piece of Ground which has been fo cover'd, two Fathom and an half in Compafs. On both Sides of the River, the Town and the Gardens belonging to it, cover the whole Bottom between the Hills; and at the Roots of the Mountains they dig great Cellars and Grottos, and ftrike a Hole about a Foot fquare', sen or twelve Foot into the Hill, which all the Summer draws a frefh Air into the Cellar, fo that the Wine of thofe Cellars drinks as cold as if it were in Ice; but this Wind-pipe did not blow when I was there, which was towards the End of Septewber: For the Sun opening the Pores of the Earth, and rarifying the exterior Air, that, which is compreffed within the Cavities that are in the Mountains, rufhes out with a conftant Wind; but when the Operation of the Sun is weakened, this Courfe of the Air is lefs fenfible. Before, or over thofe Vaults, they build little pleafant Rooms like Summerhoufes, and in them they go to Collations generally at Night in Summer. I never faw bigger Grapes than here ; there is one Sort larger than the biggeft Damafcene Plumbs that we have in England.

There is a Kind of Wine here and in the Valteline, which I never heard named any where elfe, that is called Aromatick Wine ; and as the Tafte makes one think it muft be a Compofition, (for it taftes like a ftrong Water drawn off Spices) fo its Strength, being equal to a weak Brandy, difpofes one to believe that it cannot be a natural Wine: Yet it is the pure Juice of the Grape without any Mixture. The Liquor being fingular, I informed myfelf particularly of the Way of preparing it. The Grapes are red, though it appears white. They let the Grapes hang on the Vines till November, when they are extreme ripe; then they carry them to their Garrets, and fet them all upright on their Ends by one another for two or three Months; then they pick all the Grapes, and throw away thofe in which there is the leaft Appearance of Rottennefs, fo that they prefs none but found Grapes: After they are preffed, they put the Liquor in an open Veffel, in which it throws up a Scum, which they take off twice a Day; and when no more comes up, which, according to the Difference of the Seafon, is fooner or later, (for fometimes the Scum comes no more after eight Days, and at other Times it continues a Fortnight) then they put it in a clofe Veffel. Eor the firft Year it is extreme fweet and lufcious, but at the End of the Year, they pierce it a little higher than the Middle of the Veffel, almoft two Thirds from the Bottom, and drink it off till it cometh fo low, and then every Year they fill it

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up anew : Once a Year (in the Month of Marcb) it ferments, and cannot be drank till that is over, which continues a Month"; but their other Wine ferments not at that Time. Madam de Salis, a Lady of that Country, who entertained us three Days with a Magnificence like London or Paris, had Wine of this Compofition that was forcy Years old, and was fo very ftrong, that one could hardly drink above a Spoonful ; and it tafted high of Spicery, though fhe affured me there was not one Grain of Spice in it, nor of any other Mixture. Thus, as I conceive, the Heat that is in this Wine becomes a Fire, and diftils itfelf, throwing up the more fpirituous Parts of it to the Top of the Hoghead.
Both here, and in the Country of the Grifons, the Meat is very juicy; the Fowl are excellent, their Roots and Herbs very well relin'd; bur the Fifh of their Lakes are beyond any Thing I ever faw. They live in great Simplicity as to their Habit and Furniture; but they have Plenty of all Things, and are very rich. The Family, where we were fo nobly entertain'd, is believed to be worth about two hundred thoufand Crowns. Here the Italian Cuftom, of one only of a Family that marries, begins to take place. There is a Sort of Pots of Stone that is ufed not only in all the Kitchens here, but almoft all over Lombardy, called Lavege; the Stone feels oily and fcaly, fo that a Scale fticks to one's Finger that touches it, and is fomewhat of the Nature of a Slate: There are but three Mines of it known, one near Cbavennes, another in the Valicline, and the third in the Grifons; but the firft is much the beft. They generally cut it in the Mine round, about a Foot and a half diameter, and a Foot and a Quarrer thick; and they work it in a Mill, where the Chiffels that cut the Srone are driven about by a Wheel that is fet a going by Water, and which is fo ordered, that he, who manages the Chiffel, very eafily draws forward the Wheel out of the Courfe of the Water. They turn off firft the outward Coat of this Stone, till it is exactly fmooth, and then they feparate one Pot after another by thofe fmall and hooked Chifiels, by which they make a Neft of Pots, all one within another, the biggeft being of the Size of an ordinary Beef-pot, and the inward Por being no larger than a finall Pipkin : Thefe they arm with Hooks and Circles of Brafs, and fo they ufe them in their Kitchens. One of the fe Stone-pots takes Hear, and boils fooner than any Pot of Metal; and whereas the Bottoms of Me. tal-pots tranfmit the Heat fo entirely to the Liquor within, that they are not infufferably hot, the Bottom of this Stone-pot, which is about twice fo thick as a Pot of Metal, burns extremely. It never cracks, or gives any Sort of Tafte to the Liquor that is boiled in it; but if it falls to the Ground, it is very brittle; yet this is repair'd by patching it up; for they piece their broken Pors fo clofe, though without any Cement, by fewing with Iron-wire the broken Parcels together, that in the Holes which they pierce with the Wire, there is not the leaft Breach, except that which the Wire both makes and fills. The Pafage to this Mine is very inconvenient ; for they mult creep into it for near half a Mile through a Rock, that is fo hard, that the Paffage is not above three Foot high; and thofe, that draw out the Stones, creep along upon their Belly, having a Candle faftened in their Forehead, and the Stone laid on a Sort of Cuhtion made for it upon their. Hips: The Stones are commonly two hundred Weight.
17. But having mentioned fome Falls or Breaches of Mountains in thofe Parts, I cannot pals by the extraordinary Fate of the Town of Pleurs, that was about a League from Cbavennes to the North in the fame Bottom, but on a Situation that is a little more raifed. The Town was half the Bignefs of Cbavennes; the Number of the Inhabitants about two and twenty hundred Perfons, but it was much better built; for befides the great Palace of the Francken, that coft fome Millions, there were many other Palaces erected by feveral rich Factors of Milan, and the other Parts of Italy, who liked the Situation and Air, as 11 as the Freedom of the Government ; fo they ufed to come hither
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during
during the Heats, and gave themfelves all the Indulgences that a vaft Wealth could furnifh. By one of the Palaces that was a little diftant from the Town, which was not overwhelmed with it, one may judge of the reft. It was an Out-houfe of the Family of the Francken, and yet it may compare with many Palaces in Itoly; and certainly Houfe and Gardens could not coft fo little as one hundred thoufand Crowns. The Voluptuoufnefs of this Place became very crying, and Madam de Salis told me, that fhe had heard her Mother often relate fome Paffages of a Proteftant Minifter's Sermons, preached in a little Church which thofe of that Religion had there, which warned them often of the terrible Judgments of God which were hanging over their Heads, and that he believed would fuddenly break out upon them. On the twenty-fifth of Auguf, 1618, a Perfon came and told them to be gone, for he faw the Mountains cleaving ; but he was laughed at for his Pains. He had a Daughter, whom he perfuaded to leave all and go with him; but when fhe was gone out of Town with him, fhe called to Mind that fhe had not lock'd the Door of a Room, in which fle had fome Things of Value, and fo fhe went back to do that, and was buried with the reft; for at the Hour of Supper the Hill fell, and buried the Town and all the Inhabitants, fo that not one Perfon efcaped. The Fall of the Mountains fo fill'd the Channel of the River, that the firt News thofe of Cbavennes had of it, was by the failing of their River; for three or four Hours there came not a Drop of Water, but the River wrought for itfelf a new Courfe, and returned to them. I could hear no particular Character of the Man who efcaped, fo I mult leave the fecret Reafon of fo fingular a Prefervation to the great Difcovery of the laft Day. Some of the Family of the Francken got fome Miners to work under Ground, to find out the Wealth that was buried in their Palace ; for befides their Plate and Furniture, there was great Quantity of Cahth and many Jewels in the Houfe. The Miners pretended they could find Nothing ; but they went to their own Country of Tirol, and built fine Houfes, and a great Wealth appeared, of which no other vifible Account could be given but this, that they had found fome of that Treafure. The chief Factors of Italy have been Grifons; and they told me, that as the Trade of Banking began in Lombardy, fo that all Europe over a Lombard and a Banker fignified the fame Thing; fo the great Bankers of Lombardy were Grifons, and to this Day the Grifons drive a valt Trade in Money; for a Man there of a hundred thoufand Crowns Eftate, hach not perhaps a third Part of this within the Country, but puts it out in the neighbouring States: And the Liberty of the Country is fuch, that the Natives, when they have made Eftates elfewhere, are glad to leave even Italy, and the beft Parts of Germany, and come and live among thofe Mountains, of which the very Sight is enough to fill a Man with Horror.
From Cbavennes we went for two Hours through a Plain to the Lake of Cbavennes, which is almoft round, and is about two Miles Diameter. This Lake falls into the Lake of Como, over-againft Fort Fuentes; when we paffed, the Water was fo low, that the Boat could not eafily get over a Bank between the two Lakes. The Lake of Como is about eight and forty Miles long, and four board, and runs between two Ranges of Hills. I did not flay long enough in Comzo to give any Defription of it. The beft Thing in it is a fine Chapel, which the prefent Pope Innocent XI. who is a Native of Como, is building. From Como we went eight Miles to Codeloggo, beionging to the Swizzers, and from thence to Lugane we had eight Miles on the Lake. This Lake doth not run in an even Current, as other Lakes that rife under the Alps, but the Situation of the Hills about it throws it into feveral Courfes.
The Sroitzers have here feveral little Provinces, of which, during the Wars of Italy between the two Crowns, in Francis I. and Cbarles V's Time, they poffeffed themfelves as a Pledge for Payment of their Arrears; and they were then fuch confiderable Allies, that they made both the Competitors for the Dutchy of Milan court
them by Turns, and became the peaceable Poffefors of almof all that Tract that lies between the Lake of Como to the Country of the Valeffic, or the Vallies. The Inhabitants here are fo well ufed, live fo free of all Impofitions, and the Government is fo gentle, that I muft tell you another Paradox; this is the worft Country, the leaft productive, the moft expofed to Cold, and the leaft capable of Trade of all Italy; and yet it is by far the beft peopled of any that I faw in all Italy. There belongs to the Bailiage of Lugane alone ninety nine Villages, of which a great many are very large, and all full of People. The twelve ancient Cantons have their Turns of all the Bailiages and other Offices here; but when it comes to the Turn of thofe of the Religion, their Bailiffs mult be content with private Devotions in their own Houfe, but can have no publick Exercifes, nor fo much as a Minifter in their Houfes. For here, as in the Valteline, when the Spaniards confirmed the Right of the Cantons, they made an exprefs Provifion, that no Religion, except the Popih, fhould be tolerated here; fo that the Bailiff, who is the Prince, often hath not the free Liberty of his Religion in thefe Parts. The Bailiffs make their Advantages, as well as in the other Parts of Sveitzerland, yet with more Caution; for they take great Care not to give the Natives any Diftafte, though the Miferies to which they fee all their Neighbours expofed, and the Abundance and Liberty in which they live, might, in all Appearance, deliver their Mafters from any great Apprehenfions of a Revolt. A great many Mechanicks of all Sorts live in thefe Parts, who go all Summer long over Italy, and and come back hither with what they have gained, and live free from all Taxes. I was told, that fome Nephews of Popes, in particular the Barberini, had treated with the Swoitzers to buy this Country from them, and fo to erect it into a Principality ; and that they had refolved to offer twelve thoufand Crowns to each of the twelve Cantons; but they found it would certainly be rejected, fo they made no Propofition to the Diet of the Cantons, as they once intended. And it is certain, whenever this Country is brought under a Yoke, like that which the reft of Italy bears, it will be foon abandoned; for there is nothing that draws fo many People to live in fo bad a Soil, when they are in Sight of the belt in Europe, but the Eafinefs of the Government.
18. From Lugane I went to the Lago Maggiore, which is a noble Lake, fix and fifty Miles long, and in moft Places fix Miles broad, and a hundred Fathom deep about the Middle of it; it makes a great Bay to the Weftward, and there lie two Iflands, called the Borromean Inands, which are certainly the lovelieft Spots of Ground in the World. There is nothing in all Italy that can be compared to them ; they have the full View of the Lake, and the Ground rifes fo fweetly in them, that nothing can be imagined equal to the Terraffes here. They belong to two Counts of the Borromean Family. I was only in one of them, which belongs to the Head of the Family, Nephew to the famous Cardinal, known by the Name of St. Carlo. On the Weft End lies the Palace, which is one of the beft iin Italy for the Lodgings within, tho' the Architecture $s$ but ordinary. There is one noble Apartment above four and twenty Foot high, and there is a vaft Addition making to it; and here is a great Collection of noble Pictures, beyond any Thing I faw out of Rome. The whole Ifland is a Garden, except a little Corner to the South, fet off for a Village of about forty little Houfes. And becaufe the Figure of the Illand was not very regular by Nature, they have built great Vaults and Portico's along the Rock, which are all made grotefque ; and fo they have brought it to a regular Form, by laying Earth over thofe Vaults. There is firt a Garden to the Eaft, that rifes up from the Lake by five Rows of Terraffes, on the three Sides of the Garden, that are watered by the Lake; the Stairs are noble, the Wails are all covered with Oranges and Citrons; and a more beautiful Spot of a Garden cannot be feen. There are two Buildings in the two Corners of this Garden ; the one is a Mill for fetching up the Water, and the other is a noble Sumner-houle all wainforted
with Alabaiter and Marble, of a fine Colour inclining to red. From this Garden one goes on a Level to all the reft of the Allies and Patterres, Herb and Flowergardens, in all which there are Variety of Fountains and Arbours ; but the great Parterre is a furprizing Thing : For as it is well furnifhed with Statues and Fountains, and is of a vaf Extent, and juffly fituated to the Palace, at the furcher End of it there is a great Mount; the Face of it, that looks to the Parterre, is made like a Thearte, all full of Fountains and Statues, the Height rifing up in five feveral Rows, about fify Foot high, and about fourfcore Foot in Front; and round this Mount, anfwering to the five Rows into which the Theatre is divided, there run as many Terraffes of noble Walks. The Walls are all as clofe covered with Oranges and Citrons, as any of our Walls in England are with Laurel. The Top of the Mount is feventy Foot long, and forty broad : and here is a valt Ciff tern, into which the Mill plays up the Water that furnithes all the Fountains. The Fountains were not quite finifhed when $I$ was there ; but when all is compleat, this Place will look like an inchanted Inand. The Frelhnefs of the Air, it being both in a Lake, and near the Mountains, the fragrant Smell, the beautiful Profpect, and delightful Variety that is here, makes it fuch a Habiataion for Summer, that perhaps the World hath nothing like it.
19. From hence I went to Sefio, a miferable Village at the End of the Lake; and here I began to feel a mighty Change, being now in Lombardy, which is certainly the beautifullett Country that can be imagined, the Ground lies fo even, is fo well watered, fo fweelly divided by Rows of Trees, inclofing every Piece of Ground of an Acre or two in Compafs, that it cannot be denied that here is a vaft Extent of Soil, above two hundred Miles long, and in many Places an hundred broad; where the whole Country is equal to the lovelieft Spots in England and France; it hath all the Sweetnefs that Holland or Flanders have, but with a warmer Sun, and a better Air. The Neighbourhood of the Mountains caufes a Freflheefs here, that makes the Soil the moft defireble Place to live in that can be feen, if the Government were not fo fevere, that there is nothing but Poverty all over this rich Country. A Traveller in many Places finds almott nothing, and is fo ill furnifhed, that if he does not buy Provifions in the great Towns, he will be driven to a very poor Diet, in a Country that feems to flow with Milk and Honey : But of this 1 fhall lay more hereafer. The Lago Maggiore difcharges iffelf in the River Tefno, which runs with fuch a Force, that we went thirty Miles in three Hours with a fingle Skuller, and the Water was no Way fwelled. From hence we went into the Canal which Francis I. cut from this River to the Town of Milan, which is about thirty Foot broad, and on both its Banks there are fuch Contrivances to difcharge the Water when it rifes to fuch a Height, that it can never be fuller of Water than it is intended it flould be : It lies alfo fo even, that fometimes for fix Miles together one fees the Line exactly before one. It is thirty Miles long, and is the bef Advantage that the Town of Milan hath for Water-carriage.
I will not entertain you with a long Defrription of this City, which is one of the nobleft in the World for an inland Town, that hath no Court, no Commerce either by Sea, or any navigable River, and that is now the Metropolis of a very fmall Country; for that, which is not mountainous in this State, is not above fixty Miles fquare, and yet it produces a Wealth that is furprizing. It pays for an Etablifhment of feven and forty thoufand Men, and yet there are not fixteen thoufand Soldiers effectively in it ; fo many are eat up by thofe in whofe Hands the Government is lodg'd. But the Extent of the Town, the Noblenefs of the Buildings, and above all, the furprizing Riches of the Churches and Convents, are Signs of great Wealth : The Dome hath Nothing to commend it of Architecture, it being built in the rude Gotbick Manner; but for the Vaftnefs and Riches of the Building, it is equal to any' in IIaly, St. Peter's itreff not excepted. It is all Marble, both Pavement
and Walls, both Outfide and In , and on the Top it is all flagged with Marble ; and there is the vafter Number of Niches for Statues of Marble, both within and without, that are any where to be feen. Juft under the Cupola lies St. Carlo's Body, in a great Cafe of Cryftal, of valt Value, but I could not come near it; for we were there on two Holidays, and there was a perpectual Crowd; and the Superfition of the People for his Body is fuch, that on a Holiday he runs a Hilazard that comes near it without doing fome Reverence. His Canonization coft the Town an hundred thoufand Crowns. They pretend they bave Miracles too from Cardinal Frederigo Borromeo ; but they will not fet about his Canonization, the Price is fo high. The Plate and other Prefents made to St. Cerlo, are Things of a prodigious Value; fome Services for the Altar are all of Gold, fome fet with Jewels, others fo finely wrought, that the Fafhion is thought equal to the Value of the Metal. The Habits, and all the other Ornaments for the Function of his Canonization, are all of an incredible Wealth. He was indeed a Prelate of great Merit ; and according to the Anfwer that a Fryer made to Pbilip de Cominies, when he asked him, how they they came to qualify one of the worlt of their Princes with the Title of Saint, in an Infription which he read, which was, that they gave that Title to all their Benefaftors ; never Man deferved of a City this Title fo juntly as Cardinal Borromeo did ; for he laid out a prodigious Wealth in Milan, leaving Nothing to his Family, but the Honour of having produced to great a Man, which is a real temporal Inheritance to it. For as there have been fince that Time two Cardinals of that Family, fo it is efteemed a Cafa Santa, and when-ever it produces an Ecclefiaftick of any confiderable Merit, he is fure, if he lives, to be railed to this Archbihhoprick : For if there were one of the Family capaible of th, and that did not carry it, that alone might difpofe the State to a Rebellion ; and he were a bold Man that would venture on a Comperition with one of this Family. He laid out a great deal on the Dome, and confecrated it, though the Work will not be quite finifhed for fome Ages; that being one of the Crafts of the Italian Prietts, never to finih a great Defign, that, by keeping it in an unfininhd State, they may be always drawing valt Sums from the Supertition of the People. He built the Archbilhop's Palace, which is very noble, and a Seminary, a College for the Sivitzerss, feveral Parifh Churches, and many Convents. In fhort, the whole Town is full of the Marks of his Wealch. The Riches of the Churches of Milan ftrike one with Amazement, the Building, the Painting, the Alars, and the Plate, and every Thing in the Convents, except their Libraries, are Signs both of great Wealth and Superfition ; but their Libraries not only here, but all Italy over, are fcandalous Things. The Room is often fine, and richly adorn'd, but the Books are few, ill bound, and worle chofen; and the Ignorance of the Priefts, both fecular and regular, fuch, that no Man, that hath not had Occafion to difcover it, can eafily believe it. The Convent of St. Vizitor, that is without the Town, is by much the richeft; it is compofed of Canons regular, called in Itaty, The Order of Mount Olive, or Olivetan. That of the Barrabites is extreme rich ; there is a Pulpit and a Confefional, all inlaid with Agates of different Colours, finely fpotted Marbles, and Lapis Lazuli, that are thought almort ineftimable. St. Lawrencece has a noble Cupola, and a Pulpit of the fame Form with that of the Barnabites. The Yefuits, the Theatines, the Dominicuns, and St. Sebastians, are very rich. The Citadel is too well known to need a Defreption; it is very regularly built, and is moft effectual to keep the Town in Order. The Hofpital is indeed a Royal Building ; I was told it had ninety thoufand Crowns Revenue. The old Court is large, and would look noble, if it were not for the new Court that is near it, which is two hundred and fify Foot fquare, and there are three Rows of Corridors, or Galleries, all round the Court, one in every Stage, according to the IIalian Manner, which makes the Lodgings very convenient, and leaves a Gallery before every Door. It is true, thefe take up a great
deal of the Building, being eight or ten Foot broad but then here is an open Space, that is extreme cool on that Side where the Sun doth nor lie; for it is all open to the Air, the Wall being only fupported by Pillars, at the Diltance of fifteen or twenty Foot one from another. In this Hofpital there are not only Galleries full of Beds on both Sides, as is common in all Hofpitals ; but there are alfo a great many Chambers, in which Perfons, who were formerly of a diftinguifhed Condition, are treated with a particular Care There is an Out-houfe, which is called the Lazaretto, which belongs to this Hofpital; it is an exact Quarter of a Mile fquare, and there are three hundred and fixty Rooms in it, and a Gallery runs all along before the Chambers ; fo that as the Service is convenient, the Sick have a cover'd Walk before their Doors. In the Middle of this vaft Square there is an octangular Chapel, fo contrived, that the Sick, from all their Beds, may fee the Elevation of the Hoflie, and adore it. This Houfe is for the Plague, or for infectious Fevers; and the Sick, that want a freer Air, are alfo removed hither.
I need not fay any Thing of the curious Works in Cryftal that are feen in Milan; the greateft Quantities, that are in Europe, are found in the Alps, and wrought here. It is certain, the Alps have much Wealch fhut up in their Rocks, if the Inhabitants knew how to fearch for it: But I heard of no Mines that were wrought, except. Iron Mines; yet, by the Colourings that in many Places the Fountains make as they run along the Rocks, one fees Caufe to believe that there are Minerals fhut up in them. Gold hath been often found in the River Arve that runs by Geneva.
The laft Curiofity that I fhall mention of the Town of Milan, is the Cabinet of the Cbenoine Settala, which is now in his Brother's Hands, where there are a great many very valuable Things both of Art and Nature. There is a Lump of Ore, in which there is both Gold and Silver, and Emeralds, and Diamonds which was brought from Peru. There are many curious Motions, where, by an unfeen Spring, a Ball, after it hath roli'd down through many winding Defcents, is thrown up, and fo it feems to be a perpetual Motion: This is done in feveral Forms, and it is well enough difguifed to deceive the Vulgar. Many Motions of litcle Animals, that run about by Springs, are alfo very pretty. There is a Loadftone of a vaft Force, that carries a great Chain. There is alfo a monftrous Child, that was lately born in the Hofpital, which is preferved in Spirit of Wine : It is double below, hath one Breaft and Neck, two Pair of Ears, a valt Head, and but one Face. As for the Buildings in Milan, they are large and fubftantial, but they have not much regular or beautiful Architecture. The Governor's Palace hath fome noble Apartments in it. The chief Palace was built by a Banker. There is one Inconvenience in Milan, which deftroys all the Pleafure that one can find in it : They have no Gla.s Windows, fo that one is either expofed to the Air, or fhut up in a Dungeon; and this is fo univerfal, that there is not one Houfe in ten that hath Glafs in their Windows. The fame Defeet is in Florence, befides all the fmall Towns of Italy, which is an Effect of their.Poverty; for what by the Oppreffion of the Government, what by the fqueezing Opprefion of their Priefts, who drain all the reft of their Wealch, that is not eat up by the Prince, to enrich their Churches and Convents, the People here are reduced to a Poverty that cannot be eafily believed by one that fees the Wealch that is in their Churches; and this is going on fo conftantly in Milan, that it is fcarce accountable from whence fo vaft a Treafure can be found; but Pargatory is a Fund not eafily exhaufted. The Wealh of the Milamefe confifts chiefly in their Silks; and that Trade falls fo mightily by the vaft Importations that the Easi-India Companies bring in to Europe, that all Italy feels this very fenfibly, and languifhes extremely, by the great Fall that is in the Sills Trade. There is a great Magnificence in Milan; the Nobility affect to make a noble Appearance in their Cloaths, their Coaches, and their Attendants ; and the Women go

Abroad with more Freedom here, than in any Town of Italy.
20. Twenty Miles from Milan we pafs'd through Lodi, a milerable Garriion ; but indeed the Frontiers, both of the Spaniards and the Venetions, as well as thole of other Princes of Italy, fhew, that they are not very apprehenfive one of another. And when one paffes through thole Places, which are reprefented in Hiftory as of great Strength, capable of refifting:a long Siege, he muft acknowledge, that the Sight of them brings the Idea that he had conceived a great many Degrees lower. For Lombardy, which was 10 long the Seat of War, could not refift againft a good Army now, fo many Days as it did then Years. The Garrifon of Crema, which is the firft, of the Venetian Territory, is no better than Lodi, only the People in the Venetian Dominions live happier than under the Spaniard.

The Senate fends Podeffas, like the Bailifss of the Sweitzers, who order the Juftice and the Civil Government of the Jurifdiction affigned them. Thiere is alfo a Captain - General, who hath the Military Authority in his Hands; and thefe are Checks upon each other, as the Bafhaws and the Cadis are among the Turks. But here in Crema the Town is fo fmall, that both thefe are in one Perfon. We were there in the Time of the Fair; Linnen Cloth and Cheefe (which though it goes by the Name of the Parmefan, is made chiefly in Lodi) are the main Commodities. The Magnificence of the Podefa appeared very extraordinary; for he went through the Fair with a great Train of Coaches, all in his own Livery; and the two Coaches, in which himfelf and his Lady rode, were both extraordinary rich: His was a huge Bed-coach, all the Outide black Velvet, and a mighty rich gold Fringe, lined with black Damask, flowered with Gold. From Crema it is thirty Miles to Brefcia, which is a great Town, and full of Trade and Wealth. Here they make the beft Barrels for Piftols and Muskets in Italy. There are great Iron-works near it ; but the War with the Turk had occafioned an Order, that none might be fold without a Permiffion from Venice. They are building a noble Dome at Brefcia. I was fhewed a Nunnery there, which is now under a great Difgrace. Some Years ago a new bifhop coming thither, began with the Vifitation of that Nunnery: He difcovered two Vaults; by one Men came ordinarily into it, and by another the Nuns that were big went and lay-in. When he was examining the Nuns feverely concerning thofe Vaults, fome of them told him, that his own Priefts did much worfe. He fhut up the Nuns, fo that thofe who are profeffed live ftill there, but none come to take the Veil ; and by this Means the Houfe will foon come to an End. The Citadel lies over the Town or a Rock, and commands it abfolutely. Both here and in Crema the Towns have begun a Compliment, within thefe laft ten or twelve Years, to their Podefas, which is a Matter of great Ornament to their Palaces, but will grow to a valt Charge ; for they erect Statues to their Podeftas; and this being once begun, muft be carried on, otherwife thofe to whom the like Honour is not done, will refent it as an high Affront; and the Revenges of the noble Venetions are dreadful Things, efpecially to their Subjects. This Name of Podefta is very ancient; for in the Roman Times, the chief Magiftrates of the leffer Towns were called the Poteftas, as appears by that of Jivenal.

## - Fidenarum Gabiorumve effe Potefas.

From Brefcio, the Beauty of Lombardy is a little interrupted; for as all the Way from Milan to Brejcia is a Garden, fo here on the one Side we come under the Mountains, and we pals by the Lake of Guarda, which is forty Miles long, and where broadeft, twenty Miles over. The Miles indeed all Lombardy over are extreme flort; for I walk'd often four or five Miles by Way of Exercife, and I found a thoufand Paces made their common Mile ; but in Tufcany, and the Kingdom of Naples, the Mile is fifteen hundred Paces. We pals ${ }^{2} d$ through a great Heath for feven or eight Miles on this Side Verona, which begins to be cultivated. Verona

Chap. III.
through SWISSERLAND, $Q^{\circ} c$.
is a vaft Town, and much of it well built. There are many rich Churches in it; but there is fo little Trade ftirring, and fo little Money going, that it is not eafy to change a Piftole without taking their Coin of bafe Allay, which won't pass out of the Veronefe: For this feems a ftrange Maxim of the Venetians, to fuffer thofe fmall States to retain ftill a Coin peculiar to them, which is highly inconvenient for Commerce. The known Antiquity of Verona is the Amphitheatre, one of the leaft of all that the Romans built, but the beft preferved; for tho' moft of the great Stones of the Outfide are pick'd out, yet the great noping Vault, on which the Rows of the Seats are laid, is entire : The Rows of the Seats are alfo entire; they are four and forty Rows ; every Row is a Foot and a half high, and as much in Breadth, fo that a Man fits conveniently in them under the Feet of thofe of the higher Row ; and allowing every Man a Foot and a half; the whole Amphitheatre can hold twenty three thoufand Perfons. In the Vaults, uvder the Rows of Seats, were the Stalls of the Beafts that were prefented to entertain the Company. The Thicknefs of the Building, from the outward Wall to the loweft Row of Seats, is ninety Foot: But this noble Remnant of Antiquity has been fo often and fo copiouny defcribed, that I will fay no more of it. The next Thing of Value is the famous Mufcum Calceolarium, now in the Hands of Count Mafcardo, where there is a whole Aparment of Rooms all furnifhed with Antiquities and Rarities. There are fome old Infcriptions made by two Towns in Africk to the Honour of M . Crafus; there is a great Collection of Medals and Medaillons, and of the Roman Weights, with, their Inftruments for their Sacrifices; there are many Curiofities of Nature, and a great Collection of Pictures, of which many are of Paulo Veronefe's Hand. There is a noble Garden in Verona, that rifes up' in Terraffes the whole Height of a Hill, in which there are many ancient Infcriptions which belong to Count Giusto. As we go from Verona to Vincenza, which is thirty Miles, we return to the Beauty of Lombardy ; for there is all the Way a Succeffion of Gardens: The Ground is better cultivated than I faw it in any other Part of Italy, but the Wine is not good; for at the Roots of all their Trees they plant a Vine, which grows up winding about the Tree to which it joins; but the Soil is too fat to produce a rich Wine, for that requires a dry Ground. There is near the Lake of Guarda, a very extraordinary Wine, which they call Vino Santo, which drinks like the beft Sort of Canary ; it is not made till Cbriftmas, and from thence it derives the Name of Holy Wine ; and it is not to be drunk till Midfummer, for it is fo long before it is quite wrought clear ; but I have not marked how long it may be kept: We had it there for a Groat an Englifh Quart ; I wonder'd that they did not trade with it. All the Cattle of Italy are grey or white, and all their Hogrs are black, except in the Bolognefe, and there they are red. I will not enquire into the Reafons of thefe Things; it is certain Hog's Flefh in Italy is much better than it is in France and 'England; whether the Truffles, on which they feed much in Winter, occafion this or no, I know not; the Husks of the preffed Grapes are alfo a mighty Nourifhment to them; but Cattle of that greyifh Colour are certainly weaker: The Carriage of Italy is commonly performed by them, and this is very hard Work in Lombardy, when it hath rained ever fo little ; for the Ground being level, and there being no raifed Highways, the Carts go deep, and are very hardly drawn.

Vincenza hath ftill more of its ancient Liberty than any of thefe Towns, as Padua hath lefs ; for it fub mitted itfelf to the Venetions, whereas the other difputed long, and brought it often very low. One fees the Marks of Liberty in Vincenza, in the Riches of their Palaces and Churches, of which many are lately built : They have a modern Theatre made in Imitation of the ancient Romans. Lombardy differs in Climate from the Southern Part of Italy, for here they keep their Oranges and Citrons in great Boxes, as we do in England, that fo they may be lodged in Winter, and defended from Vol. II. Numb. ifo.

Breezes that blow fo fharp from the Alps, that they would kill thofe delicate Plants ; whereas in Tufcany they grow as other Trees in their Gardens ; and in the Kingdom of Naples they grow wild without any Care or Cultivation. We were at Vincenza upon a Holiday, and there I faw a Preparation for a Proceffion that was to be in the Afternoon: I did not wonder at what a Franch Papift faid to me, that he could hardly bear the Religion of Italy, the Idolatry in it was fo grofs. The Statue of the Virgin was of Wood, fo finely painted, that I thought the Head was Wax; it was richly clad, and had a Crown on its Head, and was fet full of Flowers. How they did when it was carried about, I do not know ; but in the Morning all People ran to it, and faid their Prayers to it, and kiffed the Ground before it, with all the Appearances of Devotion.

From Vincenza it is eighteen Miles to Padua, all a Garden : Here one fees the Decays of a vaft City, which was one of the biggett of all Italy: The Compals is the fame that it was, but there is much uninhabited Ground in it, and Houfes there go almof for Nothing. The Air is extreme good ; and there is fo great a Plenty of all Things, except Money, that a very little of that goes a great Way. The Univerfity here, though fo much fupported by the Venetions, that they pay fifty Profeflors, yet finks extremely: There are no Men of any great Fame in it, and the Quarrels among the Students have driven away moft of the Strangers that ufed to come and ftudy here ; for it is not fafe to ftir abroad after Sun-fet. The Number of the Palaces is incredible; and though the Nobility of Padua are almoft quite ruined, yet the Beauty of their ancient Palaces fhews what they once were. The Venetians have been willing to let the ancient Quarrels, that were in all thofe conquer'd Ci ties, concinue ftill among them; for while one kills another, and the Children of the other take their Revenges, both come under the Bando by this Means, and the Confifcation goes to the Senate. At fome Times of Grace, when the Senate wants Money, and offers a Pardon to all that will compound for it, the Numbers of the guilty Perfons are incredible. In Vincenza, and the Country that belongs to it, I was affured by Monfieur Patin, that learned Antiquary, that hath been many Years a Profeffor in Padua, that there were five and thirty thoufand pardoned at the laft Grace; this I could hardly believe, but he bid be write it upon his Word. The Nobility of Padua, and of the other Towns, feem not to fee what a Profit their Quarrels bring to the Venetians, and how they eat out their Families ; for one Family in the fame Man's Time, who was alive while I was there, was reduced, from fourteen thoufand Ducats Revenue, to lefs than three thoufand, by its falling at feveral Times under the Bando. But their Jealoufies and Revenges are purfued with fo much Vigour, that, when thefe are in their Way, all other Things are forgot. There is here the Remnant of the Amphitheatre, though nothing but the outward Wall. There is here alfo, as well as in Milan, an inward Town, call'd the City, and an outward without that, call'd the Burgo ; but though there is a Ditch about the City, the great Ditch and Wall goeth abour all, and Padua is eight Miles in Compars; it lies almoft round: The publick Hall is the nobleft in Italy: The Dome is an ancient but mean Building: The Church of St. Antbony, but efpecially the holy Chapel in it, where the Saint lies, is one of the beft Pieces of modern Sculpture ; for round the Chapel the chief Mi racles of that Saint are reprefented in mezzo relievo, in a very furprizing Manner. The Devotion that is paid to this Saint all Lombardy over is amazing; he is called, by Way of Excellence, Il Santo, and the Beggars generally afk Alms for his Sake. But among the little Vows that hang without the holy Chapel, there is one that is the higheft Pitch of Blafphemy that can be imagined, Exaudit, fpeaking of the Saint, quos non audit $\mathcal{G}^{2}$ ipfe Deus; i. e. He bears thofe wbom God bimfelf doth not bear. St. Fufina is a Church fo well ordered within, the Architecture is fo beautiful, it is fo well enlightned, and the Cupolas are fo advantageounly placed, that, if

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the Outfide anfwer'd the Infice, it would be one of the beft Churches of Italy; but the Building is of Brick, and it hath no Frontifpiece: There are many new Altars, made as fine as they are idolatrous, all full of Statues of Marble. This Abbey hath an hundred thoufand Ducats Revenue; and fo by its Wealth one may conclude that it belong'd to the Benedicitine Order. Cardinal Barberigo is Bifhop here; he feems to fet St. Carlo before him as his Pattern; he hath founded a noble Seminary for fecular Priefts; he lives in a conftant Difcipline himfelf, and endeavours to reform his Clergy all he can ; but he is now on ill Terms with his Canons, who are all noble Venetians, and fo allow themfelves great Liberties, of which they will not willingly be abridg'd. He is charitable to a high Degree, and is, in all Refpects, a very extraordinary Man.
In the Venetian Territory their Subjects live eafy and happy, if they could be fo wife as to give over their Quarrels; but though the Taxes are not high, they opprefs their Tenants fo feverely, that the Peafants live miferably. Yet on all Hands round about them, the Oppreffions being more intolerable, they know not where to fly for Eafe; whereas on the contrary, the Miferies under which their Neighbours groan, chiefly thofe of the Ecclefiattical State, fend in Numbers among them, fo that they are well ftock'd with People. But the Venetians are fo jealous of their Subjects underftanding military Matters, which may difpofe them to revolt, that they never make any Levies among them for their Wars. This Jealoufy is the true Ground of that Maxim, though another is pretended that is more plaufible, which is, their Care of their own People, whom they fudy to preferve; and therefore they hire Strangers, rather than expofe their Subjects. It is certain, a Revolt here were no hard Matter, for the Garrifons and Fortifications are fo flight, that thofe great. Towns co:ld eafily fhake off their Yoke, if it were not for the Factions that reign among them, by which one Party would choofe rather to expofe the other to the Rigour of the Inquifitors, than concur with them in afferting their Liberty: And the Inquifitors, in fuch Cafes, proceed fo fecretly, and fo effectually, that none dares truft another with a Secret of fuch Confequence; and the oppreffed Nobility of thofe States retain ftill fo much of their old and unfubdued Infolence, and treat fuch as are under them fo cruelly, that the Venetions are as fecure, as if they had many ftrong Citadels and numerous Garrifons among them. From Padua down to Venice, all along the River Brent, 'there are many Palaces of the noble Venetians on both Sides of the River, built with fo great a Variety of Architecture, that there is not one like another. There is alfo the like Diverfity in the laying out of their Gardens; and here they retire during the hot Months, and fome allow themfelves all the Exceffes of diffolute Liberty that can poffibly be imagined. From Lizza Fucina, which is at the Mouth of the Brent, we pafs for five or fix Miles on the Lagunes, or Shallows, to Venice. Thefe Shallows fink of late fo much, that the preferving Venice ftill an Illand is like to become as great a Charge to the Venetians, as the keeping out the Sea is to the Dutch; for they ufe all pofible Induftry to cleanfe the Channels of the Lagunes, and to keep them frill of Water: And yet many think, that the Water hath failed fo much in this laft Age, that if it continues to abate at the fame Rate, within an Age or two more, Venice may become a Part of the Terra Firsma. It is certainly the moft furprizing Sight in the whole World to fee fo vaft a City fituated in the Sea, and fuch a Number of Illands fo united together by Bridges, brought to fuch a regular Figure, the Pilotty fupplying the Want of Earth to build on, and all fo nobly built, which is, of all the Things that one can fee, the moft amazing. And though this Republick is much funk from what it was, both by the great Loffes fuffered in their Wars with the Turks, and by the greas Decay of Trade, yet there is an incredible Wealth, and a vaft Plenty of all Things in this Place. I will not offer to defcribe either the Church or the Pa-
lace of St. Mark, which are too well known. The Painting of the Walls, and the Roofs of the Halls and publick Rooms in the Palace, are of vaft Value. Here I faw that Story of Pope Alexander III. treading on the Neck of the Emperor Frederick Barbarofla. The Noblenefs of the Stair-cafes, the Riches of the Halls, and the Beauty of the whole Building, are much prejudiced by the Beaftlinefs of thofe that walk there, and leave their Marks behind them, as if this were rather a common Houre of Office, than fo noble a Palace.
I went to the Convent of the Servi, but I found Father Paul was not in fuch Confideration there as he is elfewhere. I asked for his Tomb, but they made no Account of him, and feemed not to know where it was. It is true, the Perfon to whom I was recommended was not in Venice, fo perhaps they refined too much in this Matter. I had great Difcourle with fome at Venice concerning the Memorials out of which Father Poul drew his Hiftory, which are, no doubt, preferved with great Care in their Archives; and fince the Tranfactions of the Council of Trent, as they are of Importance, fo they are become now much controverted, by the difffitent Relations that Father Paul and Cardinal Pallavicini have given the World, the only Way to put an End to Difputes, in Matter of Fact, is to print the Originals themfelves. A Perfon of great Credit at Venice promifed me to do his utmoft to get that Propofition fet on Foot, though the Exactnefs that the Government hath always affected, as to the Matter of their Archives, is held fo facred, that this made him apprehend they would not give Way to any fuch Search. The Affinity of the Matter brings into my Mind a Converfation I had with a Perfon of great Eminence at Venice, that had been long at Confantinople, and was learned far beyond what is to be met with in Italy. He was at Confantinople, when the Enquiry into the Doctrine of the Greek Church was fet on Foot, occafioned by the famous Difpute between Mr. Arnaud and Mr. Claude: And being a zealous Roman Catholick, was dealt with to affift in that Bufinefs; but as a Man of great Honour and Sincerity, he excufed himfelf, and faid he could not meddle in it. He hath a very bad Opinion of the Greeks, and told me, that none of their Priefts were more inveterate to the Church of Rome, than thofe that were bred up at Rome; for they, to free themfelves of the Prejudices that their Countrymen conceive againft them, by reafon of their Education, affect to fhew an Oppofition to the Latin Church beyond any other Greeks. He told me, that he knew the Ignorance of the Greeks was fuch, that as they did not know the Doctrines of their own Church, fo a very little Money, or Hope of Protection from any of the Ambaffadors that came from the Weft, would prevail with them to fign any Thing defired of them. He added one Thing, that though he firmly believed Tranfubftantiation himfelf, he did not think they believed it, let them fay what they pleafed. He took his Notions of the Doctrine of their Church, rather from what they did, than from what they faid; for their Rites, not being changed for a great many Ages, were the true Indications of Doctrines received among them; whereas they were ignorant of Tradition, and apt to prevaricate when they faw Advantages or Protection fet before them. Therefore he concluded, that fince they did not adore after the Confecration, that was an evident Sign they did not believe the corporal Prefence, and was well able to balance all their Subferiptions. He added, he was often fcandalized to fee them open the Bag in which the Sacrament was, and fhew it with no Sort of Refpect, more than when they fhewed any Manufript; and he looked on Adoration as fuch a neceffary Confequent of Tranfubftantiation, that he could not imagine that the latter was received in a Church that did not practife the former. To this I will add what an eminent Catholick at Paris told me, that the Originals of thofe Atteftations were in too exact and too correct a Style to have been formed in Grecce. He affured me they were penn'd at Paris, by one that was a Mafter of the Puri-
sy of the Greek Tongue. I do not name thefe Perfons, becaufe they are alive, and this might be a Prejudice to them.

One of the Ornaments of Venice, was the young Woman that fpake five Tongues well, of which the Latin and Greek were two. She paffed Doctor of Phyfick at Padua, according to the Forms ; but, which was beyond all, The was a Perfon of fuch extraordinary Virtue and Piety, that fhe is fpoke of as a Saint. She died fome Months before I came; fhe was of the noble Family of the Cornaros, though not of the three chief Branches, which are St. Maurice, St. Paul, and Calle, who are defcended from the theee Brothers of the renowed Queen of Cyprus, but the Diftinction of her Family was Pifcopia. Her Merit made all People unwilling to remember the Blemifh of her Defcent on the one Side; for though the Cornaros reckon themfelves a Rank of Nobility beyond all the other Families of $V e-$ nice, yet her Father having entertained a Gondalier's Daughter fo long, that he had fome Children by her, at laft, for their Sakes, married the Mother, and paid a confiderable Fine to fave the Forfeiture of Nobility, which his Children muft have undergone by the Meannefs of the Mother's Birth. The Cornaros carry it fo high, that many of that Family have made themfelves Nuns, becaure they thought their own Name was fo noble, that they could notinduce themfelves to change it for another: And when lately one of that Family married the Heir of the Sagredos, which is alfo one of the ancienteft Families, and extreme rich, and fhe had fcarce any Portion at all, (for the Cornaros are now very low) fome of their Friends came to wifh them Joy; but they rejected the Compliment, and bid them go and wifh the Sagredos Joy, fince they thought the Advantage was on their Side.
There are of the truly ancient noble Families of $V_{e}$ wice four and twenty yet remaining; and among thefe, there are twelve that are thought fuperior to the reft in Rank. Since the firt Formation of their Senate, they have created many Senators. In their Wars with Genoo, they conferred that Honour on thirty Families; feveral of their Generals have had it given them as a Reward of their Service: They have alfo offered it to fome Royal Families; for both the Families of Valois and Bourbon were Nobles of Venice; and Henry III. when he came through Venice and Poland, to take Poffeffion of the Crown of France, went, fat among them, and drew his Ballot as a noble Venetian : Several Popes have procured this Honour for their Nephews; only the Barberini's would have the Venetians offer it to them without asking it, and the Venetions would not give it without they asked it, and fo it ftuck. But during the War of Candia, Cardinal Francis Barberini gave twelve thoufand Crowns a Year towards the War; and the Temper found for making them noble Venetions was, that the Queen-mother of Frence moved the Senate to grant it. In all the Creations of Senators, before the laft War of Candia, they were free ; and the Confiderations were either great Services, or the Dignity of thofe on whom they beftowed this Honour : Thofe new Families are divided into thofe called Ducal Families, and New Families: The Reafon of the fore mer Defignation is not rightly underftood; all thofe Families, fay fome, that are called Ducal, have had the Dukedom in their Houre ; but as all the old Families have had the fame Honour, though they carry not that Title, fo fome of the new Families have alfo had it, yet are not called Ducal. Others fay, that thofe Families that have had Branches made Dukes without their being firft Procurators of S. Mark, or that have been chofen to that Honour, without their pretending to it, are called Ducal. But the true Account of this is, that from the Year 1450, to the Year 1620 , for an hundred and feventy Years, there was a Combination made among thofe new Families to preferve the Dukedom ftill among them ; for the old Families carrying it high, and excluding the new from the chief Honours, nineteen of the new Families entred into mutual Engagements to exclude the ancient Nobility. . It is true, they made the Dukedom fome-
times fall on new Families that were not of this Affo ciation; but this was indifferent to them, as long as the ancient Families were fhut out, and it appeared that they bore the chief Sway in the Election. This Combination was a Thing known to the very People, tho ${ }^{3}$ the Inquifitors did all they could to break it, or at leaft to hide it ; fo that I never met with it in any Author. But this failed in 1620, when Memmio was chofen Duke, and was defcended of the ancient Nobility; which was fo great a Mortification to the Cafe Ducale, that one of them (Veniero) hang'd himfelf through the Rage to which that drove him ; but his Man came in Time before he was dead, and cut him down, and he lived long after in a better Mind. Since that Time one of the Bembos, two of the Cornaros, one of the Contarinis, and the prefent Prince of the $\mathcal{f u f i n i a n i}$, the firt of that Family that hath had that Honour, have been Dukes, who are all of ancient Families; fo that this Faction is fo entirely buried, that it is not generally known (even in Venice itfelf) that it was ever amonglt them. And thus Time and Accidents bring about happy Events, which no Care nor Induftry could produce; for that, which all the Endeavours of the Inquifitors could not compafs, came about of itfelf. It is true, the Factions in Venice, though violent enough in thofe who manage them, are not derived by them as an Inheritance to their Pofterity, as formerly among the Florentines; who though they value themielves as much above the Venetians, whom they defpife as a dull Race of People, yet thewed how little they underftood to conduct their State; fince by domefick Heats they loft their Liberty, which the Venerians have had the Wifdom to preferve. The Faction of the Cafe Ducale was perhaps willing to let the Matter fall, for they loft more than they got by it; fince the ancient Families in Revenge fet themfelves againft them, and excluded them from all the advantageous Employments of the State. For they being only united in that Point relating to the Dukedom, the ancient Families let them carry it; but in other Competitions they fet up fuch Candidates againft the Pretenders of the Ducal Families, as were more efteem'd than they, fo that they fhut them out of all the beft Offices of the Republick. Such a Faction as this, if it had been ftill kept up, might have proved fatal to their Liberty.
It is indeed a Wonder to fee the Dignity of the Duke fo much courted; for he is a Prifoner of State, tied to fuch Rules, fo feverely reftrained, and fhut up as it were in an Apartment of the Palace of St. Mark, that it is not ftrange to fee the greateft Families, in particular, the Cornaros, decline it. All the Family, how numerous foever, muft retire out of the Senate, when a Duke is chofen out of it; only one, that is next a-kin fits ftill, but without a Vote: And the only real Privilege that the Duke hath is, that he can, without communicating with the Savi, propofe Matters either to the Council of Ten, to the Senate, or Great Council; whereas all other Propofitions muft be firf offered to the Sari, and examined by them, who have a Sort of cribunitian Power, to reject what they dinike; and though they cannot hinder the Duke's making a Propofal, yet they can mortify him when he hath made it ; they can hinder it from being voted; and, affer voted, they can fufpend the Execution till it is examined over again: And a Dulke that is of an active Spirit mutt refolve to endure thefe Mortifications; for it is certain that the Savii do fometimes affect to fhew their Authority, and exercife a Sort of Tyranny in rejecting of Propofitions, when they intend to humble thofe who make them: Yet the greateft Part of the beft Families court the Dukedom extremely. When Sagredo was upon the Point of being chofen, there was fo violent an Outcry againft it, becaufe of the Difgrace they thought would arife, if they had a Prince whofe Nofe had mifcarried in fome Diforders, the Senate complied fo far with the People, though the Inquifitors took Care to hang or drown many of the Chief of the Mutineers, as to let the Defign for Sagredo fall; upon which he retired to a Houre he had in the Terra Firma, and never appeared more at Venice : During which Retirement he wrote two

Books:

Books; the one, Memoire Ottomaniche, which is printed, and he is accounted the beft of all their modern Allthors; the other was, Memoirs of the Government and Hiftory of Venice, which hath never been printed; and fome fay it is too fincere and too particular, fo that it is thought it will be referved among their Archives. It hath been a Sort of Maxim for fome Time, not to choofe a married Man to be Duke ; for the Coronation of a Dutchefs runs high, and hath colt above one hundred thoufand Ducats.

Some ancient Families have affected the Title of Prince, and have called their Branches Princes of the Blood; and the Cornaros have done this more than others, yet fome, on the Account of Principalities that their Anceftors had in the Inands of the Archipelago, have alfo affected thofe vain Titles: But the Inquifitors have long fince obliged them to lay afide all thofe high Stiles; and fuch of them, as boatt too much, find the Dinlike which that brings on them very fenfibly; for when they pretend to any great Employments, they are always excluded. When an Election of Ambaffadors was propofed, or to any of the chief Offices, it was wont to be in Terms, that the Council might choofe one of its principal Members for fuch an Employment. But becaufe this look'd like a Diftinction among the Nobility, they changed it five and twenty Years ago ; and inflead of Principal, they ufe now the Term Honourable, which comprehends the whole Body of their Nobility, without any Diftinction. It is at Venice, in the Church, as well as in the State, that the Head of the Body hath a great Title and Honours; whereas this is a meer Pageantry, and under thefe big Words there is lodged only a Shadow of Authority; for their Bifhop has the founding Title of Patriarch, as well as the Duke is called Prince and His Serenity, and hath his Name ftamped upon their Coin; fo the Patriarch hath really no Aurhority, for not only St. Mark's Church is entirely exempt from his Jurifdiction, and immediately fubject to the Duke, but his Authority is in all Things fo fubject to the Senate, and fo regulated, that he hath no more Power than they pleafe to allow him : So that the Senate is as really the fupreme Governor over all Perfons and in all Caufes, as the Kings of England in their own Dominions fince the Reformation. But befides all this, the Clergy of Venice have a very extraordinary Sort of Exemption, and are a Body like a Presbytery independent of the Bifhop. The Curates are chofen by the Inhabitants of every Parifh; and no noble Venetion is'fuffer'd to pretend to any Curacy; for they think it below that Dignity, for one of their Body to engage in a Competition with one of a lower Order, and to run the Hazard of being rejected. I was told the Manner of thofe Elections was the moft fandalous Thing poffible; for the feveral Candidates appear on the Day of Election, and fet out their own Merits, and defame the other Pretenders in the moft fcurrilous Manner imaginable the Secrets of all their Lives are publifhed in moft reproachful Terms ; and nothing is fo abject, that is not put in Practice on thofe Occafions. There is a Sort of an Affociation among the Curates for judging of their common Concerns ; and fome of the Laity of the feveral Parifhes affift ; fo that here is a real Presbytery The great Libertinage that is practifed by moft Sorts of People at Venice, extends itfelf to the Clergy to fuch a Degree, that though Ignorance and Vice feem the only indelible Characters that they carry over all Italy, yet thofe appear here in a more confpicuous Manner than elfewhere, and upon thefe popular Elections all comes out.

The Nuns of Venice have been under Scandal for a great while; there are fome Nunneries that are as famous for their Strictnefs, as others are for the Liberties they take; chiefly thofe of St. Zacbary and St. Lawrence, where none but noble Venetians are admitted, and where it is not fo much as pretended they retired for Devotion, but merely that they might not be too great a Charge to their Family: They are not veiled; their Necks and Breafts are bare, and they receive Company: but that which I faw was in a publick Room, in
which there were Grills for feveral Parlours, fo that the Converfation is very confufed; for there being a different Company at every Grill, and the Italians fpeaking generally loud, the Noife of fo many Talkers is very difagreeable. The Nuns talk very ungracefully, and allow themfelves a Liberty in rallying, that in other Places none could bear. About four Years ago the Pa triarch intended to reform thofe Houfes; but the Nuns of St. Laurence told him plainly they were noble Venetians, who chofe that Way of Life as more convenient, but they would not fubject themfelves to his Regulacions; yet he came and would have fhut up their Houfe, upon this they went to fet Fire to it ; upon which the Senate interpofed, and ordered him to defift. There is no Chriftian State in the World that hath exprefled fuch a Jealoufy of Churchmen's getting into publick Councils as the Venetians; for as a noble Venetion that goes into Orders lofes his Right of going to vote in the Great Council, fo when any of them are promoted to be Cardinals, the whole Family muft, during their Lives, withdraw from the Council, and are alfo incapable of all Employments ; and by a Claufe which they added when they received the Inquifition, which feemed of no great Confequence, they have made it become a Court abfolutely fubject to them ; for it being provided, that the Inquifitors hould do Nothing but in the Prefence of fuch as fhould be deputed by the Senate to be the Witneffes of their Proceedings, thofe Deputies will not come but when they think fit, or ftay longer than they are pleafed with their Proceedings; fo that either their Ablence, or their Withdrawing, diffolves the Court ; for a Citation cannot be made, a Witnefs examined, or the leaft Point of Form carried on, if the e Deputies are not prefent. And thus, though there is a Court of Inquifition at Venice, yet fearce any Perfon is brought into Trouble by it; and there are many Proteftants that live there without any Difturbancee; and though there is a Congregation that have their Exercifes of Religion very regularly, yet the Senate gives them no Trouble. It is true, the Hoftie's not being carried about in Proceffion, but privately by the Prieft to the Sick, makes that uneafy Difcrimination of Proteftant and Papift not offer itfelf here, as in other Places; for the Narrownefs of the Streets, and the Channels through which one muft go, makes this impracticable in Venice, as it is elfewhere; and from Venice this Rule is carried over their whole Territory, though the like Reafon doth not hold in the Terra Firma.

The Venetians are generally ignorant of Matters of Religion to a Scandal ; and they are as unconcerned in them, as they are Strangers to them : So all that vaft Pomp in their Ceremonies, and Wealth in their Churches, is affected as a Point of Magnificence, or a Matter of Emulation among Families, rather than Superftition; for the Atheifin that is received by many here is the dulleft and coarfett Thing that can be imagined. The young Nobility are fo generally corrupted, and fo given up to fupine Ignorance, that a lMan cannot eafily imagine to what a Height this is grown; and for Courage, there is fearce fo much as the Ambition of being thought brave among the greater Part of them. It feem'd to me ftrange to fee the Broglio fo full of graceful young Senators and Nobles, when there was a War on foo with the Turks; but inftead of being heated in Point of Honour to hazard their Lives, they think it an extravagant Piece of Folly for them to go and expofe them, when a little Money will hire Strangers that do it on fuch eafy Terms: And thus their Arms are in the Hands of Strangers, while they ftay managing their Intrigues in the Broglio, and diffolving their Spirits among their Courtizans: And their Service is of late Years fo much funk, that it is amazing to fee fo many come to a Service fo decried, where there is little Care had of the Soldiers, and fo little Regard paid the Officers: The Arrears are fo flowly paid, and the Rewards are fo fcantily diftributed, that, if they do not change their Maxims, they may come to feel this very fenfibly: For their Subjects are not acquainted with War, their Nobility have no Ambition that Way, and Strangers are extremely difgufted. It is chiefly to the

Conjuncture

Conjuncture of Affairs that they owe their Safety ; to the Feeblenefs of all their Neighbours, the Turk, the Emperor, the King of Spain, and the Pope, preferves them from the Apprehenfion of an Invafion, and the Quarrels of their Subjects fave them from the Fears of a Revolt; but a formidable Neighbour would put them hard to it. One great Occafion of the Degeneracy of the Italians, and particularly of the Venetian Nobility, is a Maxim, that for the Prefervation of their Families it is fit that only one fhould marry; to which I will not add, that it is generally believed, that the Wife is in common to the whole Family. By this Means the younger Brothers that have Appointments for Life, and no Families, are not ftirr'd up by Ambition to fignalize themfelves, and fo give Way to all the Lazinefs of Luxury, and are quite enervated by it; whereas the beft Services, done in other States, flow from the Neceffities of younger Brothers, or their Families, whofe Blood qualifies them to pretend, as their Pride and Neceffities pufh them on, to acquire firft a Reputation, and then a-Fortune. But all this is a Myftery to the Venetians, who apprehend fo much from the active Spirits of a neceffitous Nobility, that, to lay thofe aneep, they encourage them in all Things that may deprefs their Minds; and Youth naturally hates Letters as much as it loves Pleafure, when fo far from being reftrained, that it is rather pufhed on to all the Licentioufnefs of unlimited Diforders.

Yet I muft add one Thing, that though Venice is the Place in the whole World, where Pleafure is mof fundied, and where Youth have the greateft Wealth, and moft Leifure to purfue it ; yet it is the Place that I ever faw, where innocent Pleafure is the leatt undertood. As for the Pleafures of Friendfhip, or Marriage, they are Strangers to them; for the horrible Diftruft, in which they all live, makes it very rare to find a Friend in Italy, but mott of all in Venice; and though we have been told of celebrated Friendihips there, yet thefe are now no more. As for their Wives, they are bred in fuch Ignorance, and converfe fo little, that they know nothing but the Supertition on Holidays, in which they ftay in the Churches as long as they can, to prolong the little Liberty they have of going Abroad, as Children do their Hours of Play. They are not employ'd in domettick Affairs, and generally underftand no Sort of Work; fo that I was told, they were the infipideft Creatures imaginable. They are, perhaps, as vicious as in other Places, but it is among them down-right Lewdnefs; for they are not drawn in by Amour ; but in them the firf Siep, without any Preparative, is downright Beafllinefs. And an Italian, that knew the World well, faid a very lively Thing to me, that their Jealoufy made them reftrain their Daughters and their Wives fo much, that they could have none of thofe domeftick Entertainments of Converfation and Friend:hip, that the French or Englifh have at Home. It is true, thofe he faid hazard a little the Honour of their ${ }^{`}$ Families by that Liberty; but the Italians, by their exceffive Caution, deprived themfelves of the true Delights of a married State ; and notwithftanding all. their uneafy Jealoufy, they were ftill in Danger of a contraband Nobility. Therefore he thought they would do better to hazard a little, when it would produce a certain Satisfaction, than to watch fo anxioully, and thereby have an infipid Companion, inftead of a lively Friend, though fhe might perhaps have fome ill Moments. As for their Houfes, they have nothing convenient at Venice ; the Architecture is almoft all the fame, one Stair-cafe, a Hall that runs along the Body of the Houfe, and Chambers on both Hands; but no Apartments, no Clofets, or Back-fairs: So that in Houfes that are of an exceffive Wealth, they have yet no Convenience. Their Bedifteads are of Iron, becaufe of the Vermin their Moilture produces. The Bottoms are of Boards, upon which they lay fo many Quilts, that it is a Step to get up to them. Their great Chairs are upright, without a Slope in the Back, hard in the Bottom, and the Wood of the Arms not cover'd. They mix Water with their Wine in their Hogtheads fo that, for Half the Year, it is either dead or four.
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They do not leaven their-Bread, fo that it is heavy and the Oven is too much heated, fo that the Crumb is Dough, when the Cruft is as hard as a Stone. In all Inns they boil the Meat fiff before it is roafted : and thus they make it tender, and quite taftelefs and infipid. And as for their Land-carriage, all Lombardy over, it is extreme inconvenient; for their Coaches are faftened to the Perch, which makes them as uneafy as a Cart. It is true, they begin at Rome and Naples to have Coaches that are faftened to a Sort of double Perch, that runs along the Bottom of the Coach on both Sides, which are fo thin, that they ply to the Motion of the Coach, and are extreme eafy ; but thofe are not known in Lombardy. And befides this, their Calafhes are open; fo that one is expofed to the Sun and Duft in Summer, and to the Weather in Winter But though they are covered as ours are, on the other Sides of the Appennines, yet I faw none that were cover'd in Lombardy. And thus, by an Enumeration of many of the innocent Pleafures and Conveniences of Life, it appears, that the Venetians purfue fo violently forbidden Pleafures, that they know not how to find what is allowable. Their conftant Practices in the Broglio are their chief Bufinefs, where thofe that are neceffitous are fuing for beneficial Employments, and thofe full of Wealth take a Sort of Pleafure in croffing their Pretenfions. The Walk in which the Nobility tread, is left to them entirely; and they change the Side of the Square of St. Mark, as the Sun and Weather direct. Perhaps a Derivation that Mr. Patin gave me of Broglio from the Greek Peribolaion, a little corrupted, is not forced ; and fince they manage all their Intrigues in thofe Walks, I am apt to think that Broils, Brouillons, and Imbroilments, are derived from the Agitations in thofe Walks.
As for the late created Nobility of Venice, I came by fome Particulars that are not yet feen in Books, which I fuppofe will not be unacceptable. It is certain, that if the Venetians could have forefeen, at the Beginning of the War of Candia, the vaft Expence in which it engaged them, they would have abandoned the Ine, rather than wafted their Treafure, and debafed their Nobility. This laft was highly fenfible to them; for as the Dignity of the Rank they hold is the more eminent, as it is reftrained to a fmall Number; fo all the beft Employments and Honours of the State belonging to this Body, the admitting fuch a Number inco it, as muft rife out of feventy-eight Families, was, in Effect, flaring their Inheritance among fo many adopted Brothers. This had been lefs difagreeable, if they had communicated that Honour only to the ancient Citizens of Venice, or to the Nobility of thofe States that they fubdued in the Terra Firma: For as there are many Citizens, as ancient as the Nobility, only their Anceftors not being of that Council that af fumed the Government four hundred Years ago, they have not that Honour ; fo there had been no Infamy in promoting fome of them to be of the Nobility. It had been alfo under Confultation long ago, upon the Reduction of thofe States in the Terras Firma, whether, according to the Maxims of the Romans, it was not fit to communicate that Dignity to fome of their chief Families, as the fureft Way to give Contentment to thofe States, it being a real, as well as a cheap Security, when the chief Families in thofe Cities were admitted to fhare the Honours of the Republick. It is true, fome of thofe Nobility thought they had Glory enough by their Birth, and Zambara of Brefcia refufed this Honour from thofe that had robbed his Country of its Liberty; but his Pofterity are of another Mind; for they came and bought in this laft Sale of Honour that which was offer'd to their Anceftor, and by him rejected.

When the Senate found itfelf preffed for Money, it was at firft propored, that fome Families, to the Number of five, might be enobled, they offering fixty thoufand Ducats if Venetians, and feventy thoufand if Strangers. There was but one Perfon that oppofed this in the Senate; fo being paffed there, it was prefented to the Great Council, and there it was like to have paffed without Difficulty: But one Perfon oppofed
it with fo much Vigour, that though the Duke defired him to defift, fince the Neceffities of the War required a great Supply, yet he perfifted; and though one of the Savi fet forth with Tears the Extremities to which the State was reduced, he fell upon a new Conceit that turned the whole Council. He faid, they were not fure, if five Perfons could be found, that would purchafe at fuch a Rate, and then it would be a vaft Difgrace to expofe the Offer of Nobility firft to Sale ; and then to the Affront of finding no Buyers when it was offered: And by this Means he put by the Refolution for that Time. But then another Method was taken, that was more honourable, and of a more extended Confequence. Labia was the firft that prefented a Petition to the Great Council, fetting forth his Merits, and defiring that he might be thought worthy to offer a hundred thoufand Ducats towards the Service of the State; that is, to be made noble at that Price. Delfino faid, he thought every Man might be well judged worthy to offer fuch an Affiftance to the Publick, and that fuch as brought that Supply might expect a fuitable Acknowledgment from the Senate, who might afterwards, of their own Accord, beftow that Honour on thofe that expreffed fo much Zeal for the Publick; and this would maintain that Degree, which would be debafed, if it were bought and fold. But it feems the Purchafers had no Mind to part with their Money, and to leave the Reward to Gratitude ; fo the Petition was granted in plain Terms, and the Nobility fo acquired was not only to defcend to the Children of him that was enobled, but to his Brothers, and the whole Family, to a certain Degree.

After Labia, a great many more came with the like Petitions, and it was not unpleafant to fee, in what Terms fuch as came to buy this Honour, fet forth their own Merits; which were, that they had furnifh'd the Republick with Things neceffary for its Prefervation. There was a Sort of a Triumvirate formed, of a Fere, a Greek, and an Italian, who were Brokers, and found out Cuftomers, and at laft brought down the Price from a hundred to fixty thoufand Ducats ; and no Qualificacions were required, if they had Money enough. For when Correge faid to the Duke, that he was afraid to afk that Honour for Want of Merit ; the Duke afk'd him, If he had a hundred thoufand Ducats? And when he anfwered, The Sum was ready, the Duke told him, That was a great Merit. At laft feventy eight purchafed this Honour, to the great Regret of Labia, who faid, that if he had imagined fo many would have followed him, he would have bid fo high, that it fhould have been out of their Power. It is true, many of the Purchafers were ancient Families; but others were not only Merchants, but of the loweft Sort of them; who as they had enrich'd themfelves by Trade, then impoverifh'd themfelves by the Acquifition of an Honour, that as it obliged them to give over, and put them in a higher Way of living, fo it hath not brought them yet any Advantage to balance that Lofs; for they are fo much elefpifed, that they are generally excluded, when they contend with the ancient Nobility; tho' this is done with that Difcretion, that the old Families do not declare always againft the new: For that would throw the new into a Faction againft them, which might be a Prejudice to them; for the new are much more numerous than the old. Another great Prejudice by this great Promotion. is, that the chief Families of the Citizens of Venice, who had been long practifed in the Affairs of State, and out of whom the Envoys, the Secretaries of State, and the Chancellor, that is the Head of the Citizens, as well as the Duke is the Head of the Nobility, are to be chofen, having purchafed the chief Honour of the State, there is not now a fufficient Number of capable Citizens left for ferving in thofe Employments; but this Defect will be redrefs'd in Time.

But if this Increafe of the Nobility hath leffen'd the Dignity of the ancient Families, there is a Regulation made in this Age, that preferves a confiderable Diftinction of Authority in their Hands. Crimes againft the State, when committed by any of the Nobility, were always judged by the Inquifitors, and the Council of Ten: all other Crimes were judged by the Council of

Forty: but in the Year 1624, one of the Nobles was accufed of Peculation committed in one of their Governments, and the Avogadore, in the Pleading, as he fee forth his Crime, called him a Rogue and a Robber. Yet though his Crimes were manifeft, there being but fix and twenty Judges prefent, twelve only condemned him, and fourteen acquitted him. This gave great Offence ; for though he was acquitted by his Judges, his Crimes were evident, fo his Fame could not be reftored: For the Depofitions of the Witneffes, and the Avogadore's (or Attorney General's) Charge were heard by the People: It was propofed to make a Difference between the Nobility and other Subjects; and fince all Tryals before the Forty were publick, and the Tryals before the Ten fecret, it feemed fit to remit the Nobility to be try'd by the Ten. Some forefaw that this would tend to a Tyranny, and raife the Dignity of the ancient Families (of whom the Council of Ten is compofed) too high ; therefore they oppofed it upon this Ground, that fince the Council of Forty fent out many Orders to the Governors, it would leffen their Authority, if they were not to be Judges of thofe who were to receive their Orders. But, to qualify this, a Provifo was made, that referved to the Council of Forty a Power to judge of the Obedience given to their Orders; but other. Accufations of the Nobility were remitted to the Courcil of Ten; and the Body of the Nobility were fo pleafed with this Diftinction between them and other Subjects, that they did not fee this really ennaved them the more, and brought them under greater Danger ; fince thofe who judge in Secret give freer Scope to their Paffions, than thofe in Publick; and who, in Effect, are to be judged by the Publick, which is a very effectual Reftraint upon Judges themfelves. But the Council of Ten being in the Hands of the Great Families, whereas all Sorts are of the Council of Forty, formerly the chief Judicatory of the State, and much ancienter than that of Ten; It had been more wifely done, to have been ftill judged by the Forty: And if they thought it for their Honour to have a Difference made in judging the Nobility and other Subjects, it had been more for their Security to have brought the Tryals of all other Offenders on with open Dcors, and the Nobility, when they were judged, to have the Doors fhut, which is what they very much defire now, but without Hope of obtaining it: For this Power of judging the Nobility is confider'd as the Right of the Ten; and if any Man would go about to change it the Inquifitors would be very quick with him, as a Mover of Sedition, and, in that Cafe, prove at once Judges and Parties. Yet the Inquifitors, being apprehenfive of the Diftafte that this might breed in the Body of the Nobility, have made a Sort of Regulation, though it amounts not to much; which is, that the Nobility fhall be judged before the Council of Ten for enormous Crimes; but that for other Matters, they are to be judged by the Forty ; yet the Council of Ten draws all Cafes before them, and none dare difpute with them.

This leads me to fay a little to you of that Part of this Conftitution fo much cenfured by Strangers ; but is really both the greateft Glory, and chief Security of this Republick ; which is, the unlimited Power of the Inquifitors, that extends not only to the chief Nobility, but to the Duke himfelf, who is fo fubject to them, that they may not only give him Reprimands, but fearch his Papers, make his Procefs, and put him to Death, without being bound to give an Account of their Proceedings. This is the Dread not only of Subjects, but the whole Nobility, and makes the greateft among them tremble, obliging them thereby to an exact Conduct. For though it cannot be denied, that, upon fome Occafions, they may have been a little too fudden, as in the known Story of Fofarini; yet fuch Severities have occurred fo feldom, that the Wifdom of this Body, in making and preferving fuch an Inftitution, cannot be enough admired. In ihort, the Infolence, the Neceffities, and Ambition, that muft needs poffers many Members of fo valt a Body, as the Nobility of Venice, muft have thrown them often into many fatal

Convulfions,

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Convulfions, if it were not for the Dread in which they ftand of this Court, which has fo many Spies Abroad, among the Gondaliers, Iwho cannot fail to difcover all the fecret Intrigues of Venice: Befides the Advices that are thrown in at thofe Lion's Mouths, that are in feveral Places of St. Mark's Palace, within which there are Boxes under the Keys of the Inquifitors; that it is fcarce poffible for a Man to be long in a Defign againft the State, and not to be difcovered. And when they find any in Fault, they are fo inexorable, quick, and fevere in their Juftice, that the very Fear of this is a Reftraint, that perhaps the long Prefervation of Venice, and of its Liberty, is owing to.

The Inquifitors are Perfons fo diftinguifhed for their Merit, all of different Families, and their Authority lafts fo fhort a Time, that the Advantages of this vaft Authority, lodged with them, are conftant and vifible; whereas the unhappy Inftances of their being impofed on, and carrying Sufpicions too far, are fo few, that whenever the Nobility grow weary of this Yoke, and throw it off, one may reckon the Glory and Profperity of Venice at an End. It was terribly attack'd not long ago by Cornaro, when Ferom Cornaro was put to Death for his Correfpondence with Spain. He was not a-kin to the great Family of that Name; yet they thought their Honour was fo much touch'd, when one of its remoteft Branches was condemned of Treafon, that they offered a Hundred thoufand Crowns to have faved him, and preferved the Family from that Infamy. But tho' this was not accepted (for he fuffer'd, as he well deferved) yet it was fo vifible, that none of the Family were involved in his Crimes, that it did not at all turn to their Prejudice: But, upon the firft Oc cafion that offered after that, to quarrel with the Inquifitors they laid hold on it, aggravated the Matter extremely, and moved for Limiting their Authority: But the Great Council was wifer than to touch fo facred a Part of the Government; fo they retain their Power but manage it with all poffible Caution. A Foreigner, many Years in their Service, told me, that the Stories with which Strangers were frighted at the arbitrary Power vefted in thofe Inquifitors, were night Things in Comparifon of the Advantages they found from it; and after Eleven Years fpent in their Service, he faid, he never had fo much as once received a Reprimand from them. And if the Nobility, that have any Commerce with Strangers, confefs it, they are in no Danger; but if they conceal it, or any Circumftances, their Procefs will be foon difpatched. I give no Credic to that which a Perfon of great Eminence affured me was true, that there was a Poifoner-general in Venice, that had a Salary, and was employ'd by the Inquifitors to difpatch thofe againft whom a publick Proceeding would make too great a Noife. This I could not believe, tho' my Author protefted, that the Brother of one that was follicited to accept of the Employment difcovered it to him. There is no Place in the World where Strangers live with more Freedom, and I was amazed to fee fo little Exactnefs among the Searchers of the Cuftom-houfe; for tho' we had a Mule's Load of Trunks and Portmanteaus, yet none offered to ask us, either coming or going, what we were, or what we carried with us? But the beft and nobleft Entertainment that Venice afforded, while I was there, was the Company of M. de la Haye, the French Ambaffador, who, as he hath fpent his whole Life in publick Anabaffies, fo he has acquired fo great a Knowledge of the World, with fo true a Judgment, and fo obliging a Civility, that he may well pafs for a Pattern; and it is no Wonder to fee him engaged in a conftant Succeffion of publick Employments: And his Lady is fo wonderful a Perfon, that I pay them but a very fmall Part of what I owe them, in this Acknowledgment of their extraordinary Civilities: And indeed, without the Advantage of fuch a Rendezvous, a Fortnight's Stay at Venice had been a very tedious Matter.

2I. From Venice we went again to Padua, and thence to Rovigo, which is a fmall Town, and fo to the Po, which divides the Republick from the Ferrarefe, now
the Pope's Territory; and here one fees what Difference of a good and bad Government makes in a Country: for tho' the Soil is the fame on both Sides of the River; and the Ferrarefe was once of the beautifulleft Spots of Italy, as Ferrara one of its beft Towns; while they had Princes of their own, who for fome Ages were Princes of fuch Virtue, and of heroical Noblenefs, that they were really the Fathers of their Country; nothing car be more changed than all this is now. The Soil is 2 . bandoned and uncultivated, nor were there Hands $e=$ nough to mow their Grafs, which we faw withering in their Meadows, to our Wonder. We were amazed to fee forich a Soil thus forfaken of its Inhabitants; and more when we paffed thro ${ }^{3}$ that valt Town, which; fhews what it was about an Age ago, and now fo much deferted, that there are whole Streets without Inhabitants; and its Poverty appears fignally in the Churches, which are mean and poor, for the Superftition of Italy is fo ravenous, and makes fuch Progrefs; that one may juftly take Meafures of the Wealth of Places from the Churches. The Superftition or Vanity of this Age is fo much beyond that of the paft, that all the vaft Buildings of Churches, or rich Convents; and the furprizing Wealth that appears in them on Feftival Days, are Donatives of the prefent Age. So that it is a vulgar Error fome have taken up, who fancy that Superftition is at a Stand, if not in Decay; unlefs it be acknowledged, that the Craft of Priefts hath opened a new Method to fupport their Riches, when the old ones of Purgatory and Indulgences were become lefs effectual; and that is, to engage Men in an Emulation in enriching their Churches, as much as other Italions have in enriching their Palaces; fo that they have a Pleafure as well as Vanity, in feeing fo much dead Wealch in their Houfes and in their Churches. But to return to Ferrara: I could not but ask, how it came, that fo rich a Soil was fo abandoned? Some faid, the Air was become unhealthy, that thofe who ftay, were fhort-lived; but it is well known, that Fourfcore Years ago it was well peopled, and thence it feems the ill Air is occafioned by the Want of Inhabitants; for there not being People to drain, and to keep the Ditches clean, this makes a great deal of Water lie on the Ground and rot, which infects the Air, as is obferv'd in that rich, but uninhabited Champaign of Rome: So that ill Air is the Effect, rather than the Caufe, of the difpeopling the Pope's Dominions. The true Caufe is the Severity of the Government, the heavy Taxes, and frequent Confifcations, by which the Nephews of Popes have devoured many Families of Ferrara, and have driven away many more. And this appears more vifibly, by the different State, as well as Conftitution of Bologna, which is full of People that abound in Wealth ; and the Soil, as it is extreme rich, fo is it cultivated with all due Care; for Bologna fub mitted itfelf upon a Capitulation, by which there are many Privileges referved to it. Crimes are only punifhed in the Perfons of thofe who commit them; but no Confifcations of Eftates ; and though the Authority in criminal Matters belongs to the Pope, and is managed by a Legate and his Officers, yet the civil Government, the Magiftracy, and the Power of Judicature in civil Matters, is entirely in the Hands of the State : And by this Regulation it is, that the Riches of Bologna amaze a Stranger, though it is neither on a navigable River, nor the Center of a Sovereignty, where a Court is kept; and the Taxes the Popes fetch from thence are fo confiderable, that he draws more from this Place of Liberty, than from thofe where his Authority is unlimited and abfolute: For the Greatnefs of a Prince rifing from Numbers of Subjects, thofe Maxims that retain the Subjects, and that draw Strangers are cero tainly the trueft for advancing the Greatnefs of the Ma. fter; and I could not but with Scorn obferve the Folly of fome Frencbmen, who made ufe of this Argument to fhew the Greatnefs of their Nation, that one found many Frencbmen in all Places to which one came: whereas there were no Englifh, Dutch, nor Sroittzers, and very few Germans ; but this is jutt contrary to the Confequence that ought to be drawn from this Obfer-
vations s
vation; for it is certain, that few leave their Country to fettle elfewhere, if they are not preffed at home fo, that they cannot well live among their Friends and Kindred.

But to return to the Wealth of Bologna, it appears in every Corner of the Town, and round it, though its Situation is not very favourable; for it lies at the Foot of the Appennines, on the North Side, and is very cold in Winter. The Houfes are built as at Padua and at Bern, fo that one walks covered under Piazzas; but the Walks here are both higher and larger than elfewhere. There are many noble Palaces, and the Churches and Convents are incredibly rich: Within the Town the richeft are the Dominicans, which is the chief Houfe of the Order, where their Founder's Body is laid in one of the beft Chapels of Italy; and next to them are the Francifcans, the Servites, the Fefuits, and the Canons Regular of St. Salvator. In this laft there is a Scroll of the Hebrew Bible, which, though it is not the tenth Part of the Bible, they fancy to be the Whole; and they were made to believe by fome Few, that hath no doubt fold it at a high Rate, that it was written by Ezra's own Hand, and this hath pals'd long for current ; but the Manufcript is only a fine Copy, like thofe the Feros ufe in their Synagogues, that may be, perhaps, three or four hundred Years old : That Part on which I caft my Eye, was the Book of Efther; fo by the Bulk of the Scroll, I judg'd it to be the Collection of thofe fmall Books of the Old Teftament, that the Fews fet after the Law. But thofe of the Houfe fancy they have a great Treafure in it; and perhaps fuch Jeres as have feen it, are willing to laugh at their Ignorance, and fuffer them to go on in their Error. The chief Church of the Town is St. Petrone's, and there one fees the curious and exact Meridional Line, which that rare Aftronomer Cafini laid along a great Part of the Pavement in a brafs Circle: It marks the true Point of Mid-day from Fune to Fanuary, and is one of the beft Performances that perhaps the World ever faw. In the great Square before the Church, on the one Side of which is the Legate's Palace; among other Statues, one furprized me; it was Pope $\mathrm{Foan}^{3} \mathrm{~s}$, or is fo named by the People: It is true, the learned Men fay it is the Statue of Pope Nicbolas IV. who had a womanifh Face; but as I looked at this Statue very attentively, through a little Perfpective that I carried with me, it appeared plainly to have the Face of a young Woman, and was unlike that of Pope Nicholas IV. which is in St. Maria Maggiore at Rome; for the Statue of that Pope, though it hath no Beard, yet hath an Age in it that is very different from the Statue at Bologna. I do not build any Thing on this Statue, for I do not believe that Story at all ; and I myfelf faw in England a Manufcript of Martinus Polonus, who is one of the ancient Authors of this Matter, which did not feem to be written long after the Author's Time ; in it this Story is not in the Text, but is added on the Margin by another Hand.

On the Hill above Bologna ftands the Monaftery of St. Micbael in Bofco, which hath a moft charming Situation, and is one of the beft Monafteries in Italy; it has many Courts, and one that is octangular, which is fo nobly painted in Frefo, that it is a great Pity to fee fuch Work expofed to the Air ; all was once retouch'd by the famous Guido Reni, but it is now much decay'd : The Dormitory is very magnificent, the Chapel is little but very fine, and the Stalls are richly carved. On the other Side of Bologna, in the Bottom, the Cartbufans have alfo a very rich Monaftery. Four Miles from Bologna there is a Madona of St. Luke's ; and becaufe many go in great Devotion there is a Portico building, which is carried on almoft half way; it is walled towards the North, but ftands on Pillars to the South, and is about twelve Foot broad, and fifteen Foot high: It is carried on very vigoroully, for in eight or ten Years half is built, and this may prove the Beginning of many fuch Portico's in Italy; for Things of this Kind want only a Beginning, and when they are once fet on Foot, they quickly fpread in a Country that is fo entirely fubdued by Superitition and the Artifices of Priefts. In Bologna they reckon feventy thoufand Perfons; I faw not one of the chief Glories of this Place, for the fa-
mous Malpigbius was out of Town. I faw a Play there, but the Poefy was fo bad, the Farces fo rude, and all fo ill acted, that $I$ was not a little amazed to fee the Company exprefs great Satisfaction in that which would have been hils'd off the Stage either in England or France. From Bologna we go eight Miles in a Plain, and then advance inco that Range of Hills that carry the Name of Apennines; though that is ftrictly given only to one that is the higheft. All the Way to Elorence this Track of Hills continues, though there are feveral Bottoms, and fome confiderable Towns in them, but all is uphill and down-hill, and Florence itfelf is juft at the Bottom of the laft Hill. The great Roads all along thefe Hills are kept in fo good Order, that in few of the beft inhabited Councries one finds the Highways fo well maintained as in thefe forfaken Mountains; but this is fo great a Paffage, that all concerned in it find their Account in the Expence they lay out upon it. On the laft, in a little Bottom in the Midft of the Hill ftands Pratolino, one of the Great Duke's Palaces, where the Retreat in Summer muft be very agreeable, for the Air is extreme thin and pure. The Gardens in ltaly are coftly, the Statues and Fountains are very rich and noble, the Grounds well laid out, and the Walks long and even; but as they have no Gravel as we in England, fo the conftant Greennefs of the Box fo much pleafes them, that preferring the Sight to the Smell, their Gardens are fo high fcented by Box-plots, that it is no Pleafure to walk in them; they alfo lay their Walks fo between Hedges, that one is confined in them.

I faw firft, in a Garden at Vincenza, that which I found afterwards in many Gardens in Italy, which was very convenient; there went a Courfe of Water round the Walls. About a Foot from the Ground in a Channel of Stone, along the Side of the Wall; and in this there were Holes, fo made, that a Pipe of white Iron or Wood put into them, conveyed the Water to fuch Plants as in a dry Seafon wanted watering ; and a Cock fet the Water a running in this Courfe, fo that without the Trouble of drawing Water, a fingle Perfon could eafily manage a great Garden. Florence is a beautiful and noble Town, full of great Palaces, rich Churches, and ftately Convents. The Streets are pav'd in Imitation of the old Roman Highways, with great Stones bigger than our Pavement Stone, but much thicker, which are fo hollowed in their Joinings to one another, that Horfes find Faftening enough for their Feet. There are many Statues and Fountains in the Streets, fo that in every Corner one meets with many agreeable Objects. I will not entertain you with a a Defcription of the Great Duke's Palace and Gardens, of the old Palace, and the Gallery that joins it, and of the vaft Collection of Pictures, Statues, Cabinets, and other Curiofities, that mult needs amaze every one that fees them; the Plate, and in particular the Gold Plate and great Coach, are fuch extraordinary Things, that they would require a very copious Defcription, if that had not been done fo often. The great Dome is a magnificent Building, but the Frontifpiece to the great Gate is not finifhed: The Cupola is after St. Peter's, the greateft I faw in Italy; it is Three hundred Foot high, and of a vaft Compafs; and the whole Architecture of this Fabrick is very fingular, as well as regullar; only that which was intended to add to its Beaury, leffened it in my Thoughts; for the Walls, that are all of Marble, being white and black, laid in different Figures and Orders, looked too like a Livery and had not the Air of Noblenefs, which in my Opinion becomes fo glorious a Fabrick. The Baptiftery, that ftands before it, was a noble Heathen Temple ; its Gates of Brafs are the beft of that Sort that are in the World ; there are fo many Hiftories fo well reprefented in Bas-relieves in them, with fo much Exactnefs, the Work is fo natural, and yet fo fine, that a curious Man could find Entertainment for many Days, if he would examine the three Gates of this Temple with a critical Exactnefs. The Annunciata, St. Mark's, St. Croce, and St. Maria Novella, are Churches of great Beauty and vaft Riches; but the Church and Chapel of St. Laurence exceeds them all,

## Chap. III. through SwISSERLAND, Gّ̛c.

as much in the Riches within, as it is inferior to them in the Outfide, which is quite flay ${ }^{\text {s }} \mathrm{d}$, if I may fo fpeak, but on Defign to give it a rich Outfide of Marble. In a Chapel within this Church, the Bodies of the Great Dukes lie depofited, till the famous Chapel is finifhed; but I was much fcandalized to fee Statues with Nudities here, which I do not remember to have feen any where elfe in Churches. I will not offer at a Defcription of the glorious Chapel, which as it is, without Doubt, the richeft Piece of Building that perhaps the World ever faw, fo it goes on fo flow, that tho' there are many always at Work, yet it doth not feem to advance proportionably to the Number of Hands that are employed in it.

Among the Statues that are to be in it, there is one of the Virgin, made by Mickael Angelo, which reprefents her Grief at the Paffion of her bleffed Son, that thath the moft Life in it of any Statue I ever faw. But the famous Library, that belongs to this Convent, took up more of my Time than all the other Curiofities of Florence; for here is a Collection of many Manufcripts, mont of them Greek, that were gather'd together by Pope Clement VII. and given to his Country: There are very few printed Books mixed with them; and thofe Books are fo rare, that they are almoft as curious as Manufcripts. I faw fome of Virgil's Poems in old Capitals. There is a Manufcript in which fome Parts both of Iacitus and Apuleius are written; and in one Place, one in a different Hand had writ, that he had compared thofe Manufcripts; and he adds a Date to this in Olibrius's Time, which is about Twelve hundred Years ago: I found fome Diphthongs in it caft into one Letter, which furprized me; for I thought that Way of Writing had not been fo ancient. But that which pleafed me moft was, that the Library-keeper affured me, that one had lately found the famous Epif tle of St Cbryfostom to Cefarius, in Greek, in the End of a Volume full of other Things, and not among the Manufcripts of that Father's Books, of which they have a great many: He thought he remembered well the Place where the Book ftood; fo we turned over all the Books that ftood near it, but I found it not: he promifed to look it out for me, if I came back that Way ; but I changing my Defign, and going back another Way, could not fee the Bottom of this. It is true, the famous Magliabeccbi, who is the Great Duke's Library-keeper, and is a Perfon of wonderful Civility, and full of Candor, as well as learned beyond Imagination, affured me, that this could be no other than a Miftake of the Library-keeper's; he faid, fuch a Dif covery could not have been made without making ifo much Noife that he muft have heard of it: He added there was not one Man in Florence that either underftood Greek, or that examin'd Manufcripts ; fo that I could not build on what an ignorant Library-keeper had told me. Florence is much funk, for they do not reckon that there are above fifty thoufand Souls in it ; and other States, that were once great Republicks, fuch as Sienna and Pija, while they retained their Liberty, are now fhrunk into nothing; it is certain, that all three together are now not fo numerous as any one of them was Two hundred Years ago. Legborn is full of People, and all round Florence there are a great many Villages; but as one goes over Tufcony, it appears fo difpeopled, that one cannot but wonder to find a Country, that hath been the Scene of fo much Action, and fo many Wars, now fo poor, and in many. Places the Soil is quite neglected, for Want of Hands to cultivate it; and in other Places where there are more People, they look fo poor, and their Houfes are fuch Ruins, that it is farce accountable how there fhould be fuch Poverty in fo rich a Country, which is full of Beggars; and the Style a little altered from what I found it in Lombardy; for whereas they begged for the Sake of St. Antiony, here all begged for the Souls in Purgatory; and this was the Style in all other Parts of Italy through which I paffed.

In fhort, the difpeopling of Tufcany, and moft of the Principalities of Italy, but chiefly the Pope's Domi-
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nious, which are more abandoned than any other, feemed to flow from the Severicy of the Government, the Decay of Trade, and the Weight of the Taxes, which, notwithftanding that Decay of Trade, are fill kept up befides, the vaft Wealth of the Convents, where the only People of Italy are to be found, that live at their Eafe, and in great Plenty, and makes many forfake all Sort of Induftry, and feek fuch a Retreat; fo that the People do not increafe fant enough to make a new Race, inftead of thofe whom a hard Government drives away. It muft needs furprize an attentive Traveller, to fee not only the Venetian Territory, which is indeed a rich Country, but the Bailiages of the Swizers, and the Coaft of Genoa, fo full of People, when Tufcany, the Patrimony, and the Kingdom of Naples have fo few Inhabitants. In the Coaft of Genoa there is, for many Miles as it were, a conftant Tract of Towns and Villages, and all well peopled, though they have fcarce any Soil at all, lying under the Mountains, that are barren, and that expofe them to a moft uneafy Sun, and lie upon a boifterous Sea, that is almoft always in a Storm ; that affords very few Fifh; yet the Gentlenefs of the Government draws fuch Mulcitudes thither, and thofe are fo wealthy that Money brings but Two per Cent. But to balance this, fo ftrange and wild a Thing is the Nature of Man, at leaft of Italians, that I was told, the worft People of Italy are the Genoefe, and the moft corrupted in their Morals, as to all Sorts of Vice ; fo that though a fevere Government and Slavery are contrary to the Nature of Man, and to human Society, to Juftice and Equity, and to that effential Equality among Men ; yet, on the other Hand, all Men cannot bear that Eafe and Liberty that become the human Nature. The Superftition of Italy, and the great Wafte of Wealth in their Churches, particularly thofe prodigious Mafles of Plate with which their Altars are covered on Holidays, fink their Trade extremely; for Silver being in Commerce, what Blood is in the Body, when fo much is dead, and circulates no more, it is no Wonder if fuch an unnatural Extravafation of Silver occafions a great Deadnefs in Trade. I had almoft forgot a Remark that I made on the laft Hill of the Apennines, jult above Florence, that I never faw fuch tall and large Cy preffes any where, as grew all over that Hill; which feemed a little ftrange, that Tree being apt to be ftarv'd by a cold Winter among us, and there the Winters are very fevere. All the Roads in Tufcany are very rugged, except on the Sides of the Arno; but the Uneafinefs of the Road is much qualified by the great Care that is had of the Highways, which are all in very good Condition. The Inns are wretched, and ill furnifhed both for Lodging and Diet : This is the Plague of all Italy, for except in the great Towns, one really fuffers fo much, that the Pleafure of Travelling is much abated by the Inconveniencies that one meets in every Stage through which he paffes.
22. I am now in the laft Stage of my Voyage; for fince my laft, I have not only got to Rome, but have been in Naples; and have now fatisfied my Curiofity fo fully, that I intend to leave this Place within a Day or two, and go to Civita Veccbia, and from thence by Sea to Marfeilles, and avoid an unpleafant Winter's Journey over the Alps. It is true, I lofe the Sight of Turin, Genoa, and fome other Courts ; but though I am told thefe deferve the Pains of the Journey, yet when one rifes from a great Meal, no Delicacies, how much foever they might tempt at another Time, can provoke his Apperite : So I confefs freely, that the Sight of Na ples and Rome have fo filled my Stomach that Way, that the Curiofity of feeing new Places is now very low with me ; and indeed thofe I have of late feen are fuch, that Places, which at another Time would pleafe me, would now make but a flight and cold Impreffion.

All the Way from Florence, through the GreatDukess Country, look'd fo fad, that I concluded it mutt be the moft difpeopled of all Italy; but I changed my Note when I came into the Pope's Territories at Pont Centino, where there was a rich Vale all uncultivated, and not fo much as ftocked with Cattle. But as I paffed from Mont Fiafcone to Viterbo, this appeared Atill more ama.

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zing;
zing; for a vaft champaign Country lay quite deferted, and that wide Town, which is of fo great a Compafs, hath fo few Inhabitants, and thofe fo poor and miferable, that the People in the ordinary Towns of Scot land, and worft Places, make a much better Appearance. When I was within a Day's Journey of Rome, I fancied that the Neighbourhood of fo great a City muft mend the Matter, but was much difappointed; for a Soil that was fo rich, and lay fo fweetly, that it far exceeded any Thing I ever faw out of Italy, had neithe Inhabitants nor Cattle to the tenth Part of what it could bear: The Surprize that this gave me, increafed upon me as I went out of Rome on the other Side, chiefly all the Way to Naples, and on the Way to CivitaVeccbia; that vaft and rich champaign Country that runs along to Terracina, which from Civita Veccbia is above one hundred Miles long, and in many Places twelve or twenty Miles broad, is fo abandoned, that as far as one's Eye can carry one, there is often not fo much as a Houfe to be feen, but on the Hills that are on the North Side of this Valley : And by this difpeopling of the Country, the Air is now become fo unwholfome, that it is not fafe to be a Night in it all the Summer long; for the Water that lies upon many Places not being drained, it rots ; and in the Summer this produces fo many noifome Steams, as are felt even in Rome itfelf; and if it were not for the Breezes that come from the Mountains, the Air would be intolerable: When one fees all this large but wafte Country, from the Hill of Marino, twelve Miles beyond Rome, he cannot wonder enough at it. It is the Rigour of the Government that hath driven away the Inhabitants ; and their being driven away, hath reduced it to fuch a Pafs, that it is hardly poffible to repeople it ; for fuch as would come to drain and cultivate it muft run a great Hazard; and few can refolve on that, when they can hope for no Reward of their Induftry.

It is the greateft Solecifm in Government, for the Prince to be Elective, and yet abfolute; for an hereditary Prince is induced to confider his Pofterity, and to maintain his People fo, that thofe that come after him may fupport the Rank which they hold in the World : But an Elective Prince hath Nothing of that in his Eye, unlefs he hath a Generofity which is not or dinary among Men, and leaft of all among Italians, who have a Paffion for their Families not known in other Places : And thus a Pope, who comes in late to his Dignity, which by Confequenee he cannot hope to hold long, very naturally turns to thofe Councils, by which his Family may make all the Hay they can during this Sun-fhine. And though anciently the Cardinals were a Check upon the Pope, and a Sort of a Council, without whom he could do Nothing even in Temporals, yet now they have quite loft that ; and have no other Share in Affairs than that to which the Pope thinks fit to admit them; fo that he is the molt abfolute Prince in Europe. It is true, as to Spirituals, they retain fill a large Share; fo that in Cenfures and Definitions the Pope can do Nothing without their Concurrence, though it is certain, that they have not fo good a Title to pretend to that, as to a Share in the temporal Principality. For if the Pope derives any Thing from St. Peter, all that is fingly in himfelf, and it is free to him to proceed by what Method he thinks beft, fince the Infallibility, according to their Pretenfions, refts in him alone; yet becaufe there was not fo much to be got by acting arbitrarily in thofe Matters, and a fummary Way of exercifing this Authority might have tempted the World to have enquired too much into the Grounds on which it is built; therefore the Popes have let the Cardinals retain ftill a Share in this Supremacy over the Church, tho' they have no Claim to it, either by divine or ecclefiaftical Warrants: But as for the Endowments of the See of Rome, to which they may juftly lay Claim, as being in a Manner the Chapter of that See; there is fo much to be got by this, that the Popes have engroffed it to themfelves. And thus it is, that the Government of this Principality is very unfteady. Sometimes the papal Family are glorious and magnificent; at other Times they think of nothing but of eftablifhing their

Houfe. Sometimes the Pope is a Man of Senfe himfelf; fometimés he is quite funk, and, as the laft Pope was, becomes a Child again thro' old Age: Sometimes he has a particular Stiffnefs of Temper, with great Slownefs of Underftanding, and an infatiable Defire of heaping upWealth, which is the Character of him that now reigns. By this Diverfity, which appears eminently in every new Pontificate, that commonly avoids thofe Exceffes that made the former Reign odious, the Councils of the Popedom are weak and disjointed. But if this is fenfible to all Europe, with Relation to the general Concerns of that Body, it is much more vifible in the Principality itfelf, that is fubject to fo variable a Head There hath been in this Age a Succeflion of four ravenous Reigns; and tho' there was a fhort Interruption in the Reign of the Rofpiglioff, that coming after the Barbarini, the Pampbili, and the Ghigis, did not enrich itfelf; and yet it diforder'd the Revenue, by the valt Magnificence in which he reigned, more in Twenty nine Months Time, than any other had done in fo many Years. The Altieri did in a moft fcandalous Manner raife themfelves, in a very fhort and. defpifed reign, and built one of the nobleft Palaces in Rome.

He that reigns now doth not raife his Family avowedly, but he eafes not the People of their Taxes; and as there is no Magnificence in his Court, or any publick Buildings now carrying on at Rome; fo the many vacant Caps occafion many empty Palaces ; and by this Means there is fo little Expence, that it is not poffible for the People to live and pay the Taxes; which hath driven, as is believ'd, almoft a fourth Part of the Inhabitants out of Rome during this Pontificate. And as the Pre-emption of the Corn makes, that there is no Profit made by the Owners out of the Cultivation of the Soil, all that going wholly to the Pope; fo there are no Ways left here of employing Money to any confiderable Advantage ; for the publick Banks, which are all in the Pope's Hand, do not pay in Effect. Three per Cent. tho' they pretend to give Four per Cent. Intereft: The Settlement is indeed Four per Cent. and this was thought fo great an Advantage, that Actions on the Pope's Bank were bought at an Hundred and fixteen per Cent. But this Pope broke through all, and declared he would give all Men their Money again, unlefs they would pay him Thirty per Cent. for the continu ing of this Intereft: And thus for a Hundred Crowns principal, one not only paid at firft an Hundred and fixteen, but afterwards Thirty, in all, an hundred forty fix for the Hundred; which is almoft the half loft; for whenfoever the Pope will pay back their Money, all the reft is loft. And now, there is a Report, that the Pope is treating with the Genoefe for Money at Two per Cent. and if he gets it on thofe Terms, he will then pay his Debts ; and the Subjects, that have Money in this Bank, will by this Means lofe Six and forty per Cent. which is almoft half of their Stock. A Man of Quality at Rome, and an eminent Churchman, who took me for one of their Clergy, becaufe I wore the Habit of a Churchman, faid, it was a Scandal to the Chriftian World, and made one doubt the Truth of the Chriftian Religion, to fee more Oppreffion in their Territory, than was to be found in Turkey; tho' in the Hands of Cbrift's Vicar. And I can never forget the Reflection a Roman Prince made upon the Folly of thofe fevere Oppreffions, which as they drive away the Inhabitants, fo they reduce thofe that are left to fuch Degeneracy of Spirit by their Neceffities. The Spaniards, whofe Dominions look fo big in the Map, are brought fo low; that if they had ftill kept the Poffef fion they once had of the United Netberlands, they would fignify no more towards their , Prefervation, than their other Provinces did, which, by their unfkilful Conduct, they have difpeopled and exhaufted Whereas, by their lofing the Seven Provinces, thofe States have fallen upon fuch wife Notions of Government, and have drawn fuch Wealth, and fuch Numbers of People together, that Spain itfelf was preferved by them, and was faved in this Age by the Lofs of thofe Provinces in the laft: And thofe States, that, if they had remained fubject to Spaing would have figni

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fied little to its Support, did now more confiderably, by being Allies, than they could have done, if they had not fhaken off their Yoke. Indeed, if Spain had been fo happy as to have fuch Viceroys and Governors, as at this Time in Naples, their Affairs could not have declined fo faft as they have done. The Marquefs of Carpy, in his Youth, intended to have taken fo fevere a Revenge of an Injury that he thought the late King of Spain did him in an Amour, that he defigned the blowing him up by Gunpowder, when he was in the Council-chamber. But that Crime was difcovered in Time, and was not only forgiven him, in Confideration of the Greatnefs of his Family, he being the Son of Don Lewis de Haro, but after that he was made for feveral Years Ambaffador at Rome : He is now Viceroy of Na ples, and is the only Governor of all the Places through which I paffed, that is, without Exception, beloved and efteemed by all Sorts of Pcople; for during the few Years of his Miniftry, he bath redreffed fuch Abufes as feemed paft Cure, or that required an Age to correct them. He hath repreffed the Infolence of the Spaniards fo much at Naples, that the Natives have no Occafion to complain of the Haughtinefs of their Mafters; for he proceeds againft the Sponiards with no lefs Severity, when they give Caufe for it, than againft the Neapolitans. He hath taken the Pay of the Soldiers fo immediately into his own Care, that they, who, before his Coming, were half naked, and robbed fuch as paffed thro' the Streets of Naples in Day-light, are now exactly paid, well difciplined, and fo decently clothed, that it is a Pleafure to fee them. He examines their Mufters 'fo exactly, that he is fure not to be cheated by falfe Lifts. He hath brought the Markets and Weights of Naples to a true Exactnefs; and whereas the Bread twas generally too light, he has fent for Loaves out of feveral Places of the Markets, and weighed them himfelf; and by fome fevere Punifhments on thofe that fold the Bread too light, he hath brought this Matter to a jult Regulation. He hath alfo brought the Courts of Judicature, that were thought generally very corrupt, into Reputation again; and 'tis believed he hath Spies to watch in Cafe Bribes are ftill going on. He hath fortified the Palace, which was before his Time fo much expofed, that it would have been no hard Thing to have made a Defcent and feized it.

But the two Things, that raife his Reputation moft are, his extirpating the Banditti, and the Regulation of the Coin. It is well known, what a Plague the Banditti have been to the Kingdom ; for they, in Troops, not only robbed the Country, but were able to refift an ordinary Body of Soldiers. Thefe travelled about feeking for Spoil all the Summer long; but in Winter they were harboured by fome of the Neapolitan Barons, who gave them Quarters, and did not only thereby protect their own Lands, but had them as fo many Inftruments ready to execute their Revenges on their Enemies. This was well known at Naples, and there was a Council that had the Care of the reducing the Banditti committed to them, who, as they catched fome few, and hanged them, fo they fined fuch Barons as gave them Harbour; and it was believed, that thofe Fines amounted to near a Hundred and Fifty thoufand Crowns a Year: And thus the Difeafe went on, only now and then there was a little Blood let, which never went to the Bottom of the Diftemper. But when the prefent Viceroy entered upon the Government, he refol ved to extirpate all the Banditti ; and he firft let all the Barons underftand, that, if they harbour'd them any more, a little Fine would not fave them, but that he would proceed againft them with the utmoft Severity; and by this Means the Banditti could find no Winter Quarters, which drove them to fome Faftneffes among the Hills, and they refolved to make good the Paffes, and to accommodate themfelves the beft they could amidft the Mountains. The Viceroy fent a great Body againft them, but they defended themfelves for fome Time vigorounly, and in one Sally killed Five hundred Men: but at laft, feeing that they were hard prefs'd, and that the Viceroy intended to come againft them in Perfon, they accepted of the

Terms that he offered, which were, a Pardon for what was paft, both as to Life and Gallics, and Sixpence a Day for their Subfiftence in Prifon during Life, or the Viceroy's Pleafure ; and fo they furrender'd themfelves: They are kept in a large Prifon, and now and then, as he fees Caufe for it, he fends fome few of them up and down to ferve in Garrifons. And thus, beyond all Mens Expectations, he finifhed this Matter in a very few Months; and the Kingdom of Naples, that had been fo long a Scene of Pillage and Robbery, is now fo much changed, that no Place in Europe enjoys a more entire Security. As for the Coin, it, as all the other Spanifh Money, is fo fubject to Clipping, that the whole Money of Naples became light, and far below the true Value; fo the Viceroy refolved to redrefs this. He confiders, that the Crying-down of Money; that paffeth upon the publick Credit, is a robbing thofe in whofe Hands the Money happens to be, when fuch Proclamations are iffued; and therefore he takes a Method that is more general, in which every one bears his Share, fo that none will be crufhed by it: He laid Taxes on the whole Kingdom, and got a great many to bring in Plate to be coined: and when he hath thus obtained fuch a Quantity, as may ferve for the Circulation that is neceffary, he intends to call in all the old Money, and to give new for it. Thus this Viceroy fets fuch a Pattern to the other Minifters of the Crown of Spain, that, if many would follow, the State of their Affairs would be foon altered.
The Kingdom of Naples is the richeft Part of Italy; for the very Mountains, that make near half the Soil, are fruifful, and produce either Wine or Oil in great Abundance. Apulic is a great Corn Country, but it is exceffive hot, and in fome Years is all burnt up. The Jefuits are the Proprietors of near half Apulia, and they treat their Tenants with the fame Rigour that the Barons of this Kingdom generally ufe towards their Farmers: For the Commons here are fo miferably oppreffed, that in many Places they die of Hunger, even amidft the great Plenty of their beft Years: For the Corn is exported to Spain, but neither Spaniards nor Neapolitans underftand Trade fo well, as to be their own Merchants or Carriers ; fo that the Engliff generally carry the Profit of this Trade. The Oil of this Kingdom is fill a vaft Trade, and the Manufactures of Wool and Soap in England confumes yearly fome Thoufands of Tuns. The Silk Trade is fo low, that it only ferves themfelves, but the Exportation is inconfiderable. The Sloth and Lazinefs of this Nation render them incapable of making thofe Advantages of fo rich a Soil, that more induftrious People would find out. For it amazes a Stranger to fee in their little Towns, the Men walking in the Market-places in their torn Cloaks, and doing nothing. And though in fome large Towns, fuch as Capua, there is but one Inn, yet even that is fo miferable, that the beft Room and Bed is fo bad, that our Foormen in England would make a grievous Outcry, if they were no better lodged. Nor is there any thing to be had in them; the Wine is intolerable, the Bread ill baked, no Vietuals, except Pigeons, and the Oil flinking. In fhort, except one carries his whole Provifion from Rome or Naples, he muft refolve to endure a good deal of Mifery in the four Days Journey that is between thofe two Places. And this is what a Traveller, that fees the Soil, cannot comprehend. But as they have not Hands enough, fo thofe they have are generally fo little employed, that it is no Wonder to fee their Soil produce fo little, that in the Midft of all that Abundance, Nature hath fet before them, they are one of the pooreft Nations in Europe. But befide this which I have named, the vaft dead Wealth, that is in the Hands of the Churchmen, is another evident Caufe of their Mifery. One that knew the State of this Kingdom well, affured me, that if it were divided into Five Parts, upon a flrict Survey, it would be found, that the Churchmen had four Parts of the Five; which he made thus out. They have in Soil above the half of the whole; which is Two and a half; and in Tithes, and Gifts, and Legacies, they have one and a half more : For no

Man dieth without leaving a confiderable Legacy to fome Church or Convent. The Wealth that one fees in the City of Naples alone, paffeth Imagination. There are four and twenty Houfes of the Order of the Dominicans, of both Sexes, and two and twenty of the Francifcans; feven of the Jefuits, befide the Convents of the Olivitanes, the Theatines, the Carmelites, the Benediczines ; and above all, for Situation and Riches, the Cartbufians, on the Top of the Hill that lieth over the Town. The Riches of the Annunciata are prodigious; it is the greatef Hofpital in the World; the Revenue is faid to be four hundred thoufand Crowns a Year. The Number of the Sick is not fo great as at Milan, yet one Convenience for their Sick I obferved in their Galleries, which was confiderable, that every Bed ftood as in an Alcove, and had a Wall on both Sides, feparating it from the Beds on both Hands, and fo much void Space on both Sides of the Bed, that the Bed itfelf took up but half the Room. The young Children that they maintain are fo many, that one can hardly believe the Number they boaft of; for they talk of Thoufands that are not feen, but are at Nurfe. A great Part of the Wealth of this Houfe goes to the enriching their Church, which will be all over within crufted with lovely Marble, in a great Variety and Beauty of Colours. The Plate that is in the Treafury here, and in the Dome (which hath a noble Chapel, and a vaft Treafure) and in a great many other Churches, is fo prodigious, that upon the modefteft Eftimate, the Plate of the Churches of Naples amounts to eight Millions of Crowns. The new. Church of the Jefuits, that of Sc. Fobn the Apoftle, and that of St. Paul, are furprizingly rich. The Gilding and Painting that is on the Roofs of thofe Churches have coft Millions; and as there are about an hundred Convents in Naples, fo every one of thefe, if it were in another Place, would be thought well worth feeing.

A new Governor of the Annunciala is annually chofen, who perhaps puts into his own Pocket twenty thoufand Crowns ; and to make fome Compenfation, when he goes out he gives a vaft Piece of Plate to the Houfe, a Statue for a Saint in Silver, or fome Colofs of a Candleftick; for feveral of thofe Pieces of Plate are faid to be worth ten thoufand Crowns. And thus all the Silver of Naples becomes dead and ufelefs. The Jefuits are great Merchants here ; their Wine-cellar is a valt Vault, and holds above a thoufand Hogfheads, and the beft Wine in Naples is fold by them; yet they do not retail it fo fcandaloufly as the Minims do, who live on the great Square before the Viceroy's Palace, and fell out their Wine by Retail. They pay no Duty, have extraordinary Wine, and are in the beft Place of the Town for this Retail. It is true, the Neapolitans are no great Drinkers, fo the Profits of this Tavern are not fo great as they would be in colder Countries ; for here Men go for a Draught in the Mornings, or when they are dry ; yet the Houfe grows rich, and has one of the fineft Chapels in all Naples; but the Trade feems very unbecoming Men of that Profeffion, and of fo ftrict an Order. The Convents have a very particular Privilege, for they may buy all the Houfes that lie on either Side, till the firft Street difcontinueth the Houfes ; and there being fcarce a Street in Naples in which there is not a Convent, by this Means they may come to buy the whole Town : And the Progrefs that the Wealth of the Clergy makes is fo vifible, that if there is not fome Stop put to it, within an Age they will make themfelves Mafters of the whole. It is amazing to fee fo profound an Ignorance reign among the Clergy; for though all the fecular Perfons here fpeak of them with all poffible Scorn, yet they are the Mafters of the People. The Women are infinitely fuperftitious, and give their Husbands no Reft, but as they draw from them great Prefents to the Church.

It is true, there are Societies of Men at Naples, of freer Thoughts than can be found in any other Place of Italy. The Greek Learning begins to flourifh there, the new Philofophy is much ftudied, and there is an Affembly that is held in D. Fofeph Valeta's Library where there is a valt Collection of well-chofen Books)
compofed of Men that have a right Tafte of true Learning and good Senfe. They are ill looked on by the Clergy, and reprefented a Set of Atheifts, and as the Spawn of Pomponatius. But I found no fuch Thing; for I had the Honour to meet twice or thrice with $z$ confiderable Number of them during the fhort Stay that I made. There is a learned Lawyer, Francifco. Andria, that is confidered as one of the moft inquifitive Men of the Affembly. There is alfo a Grandchild of the great Alciat, who is very curious as well as learned. Few Churchmen come into this ; on the contrary, it is plain, that they dread it above all Things. Only one eminent Preacher, Rinaldi, Archdeacon of Capua, affociates himfelf with them. He was once of the Jefuits Order, but left it; and as that ferved to give a good Character of him to me, fo upon a long Converfation, I found a great many other Things that poffeffed me with a high Value for him. Some Phyficians in Naples are brought under the Scandal of Atheifm ; and it is certain, that in Italy, Men of fearching Underftandings, who have no Idea of the Chriftian Religion, but that which they fee received, are very naturally tempted to disbelieve it ; for finding fuch notorious Cheats as appear in many Parts of their Religion, they are, upon that, induced to disbelieve the whole. The Preachings of the Monks in Naples are terrible Things. I faw a Jefuit go in a Sort of Proceffion, with a great Company about him, and calling all that he faw to follow him to a Place where a Mountebank was felling his Medicines, near whom he took his Stand, and entertained the People with a Sort of a Farce, till the Mountebank got him to give over, fearing his Action fhould grow tedious, and difperfe the Company that was brought together. There are no Preachers or Men of Learning among the Jefuits. I was told they had not Men capable to teach their Schools, and were forced to hire Strangers. The Order of the Oratory hath not that Reputation in Italy as in France ; and the little Learning that is among the Clergy in Naples, is among fome few fecular Priefts.

The new Method of Molinos fo much prevails in Na ples, that it is believed he hath above twenty thoufand Followers in this City. And fince this hath made fome Noife in the World, and yet is generally but little underftood, I will give you fome Account of him. He is a Spanifh Prieft, that feems to be but an ordinary Divine, and is certainly an ill Reafoner, when he undertakes to prove his Opinions. He hath wrote a Book, which is entitled, Il Guida Spirituale, which is an Abftract of myftical Divinity ; the Subftance of the whole is reduced to this, That in our Prayers, and other Devotions, the beft Methods are to retire the Mind from all grofs Images, and fo to form an Act of Faith, and thereby to prefent ourfelves before God; and then to fink into a Silence and Ceffation of new Acts, and to let God act upon us, and fo to follow his Conduct. This Way he prefers to the Multiplication of many Acts, and different Forms of Devotion; and he makes fmall Account of corporal Aufterities, and reduces all the Exercifes of Religion to this Simplicity of Mind. He thinks this not only fit to be propofed to fuch as live in religious Houfes, but to fecular Perfons, and by this he hath propofed a great Reformation of Minds and Manners, He hath many Priefts in Italy, but chiefly in Naples, that difpofe thofe who confefs to them to follow his Method. The Jefuits have fet themfelves much againft this Conduct, as forefeeing that it will much weaken the Empire Superftition hath over the People, make Religion become a more plain Thing, and open a Door to Enthufiafm. They alfo pretend that his Conduct is factious and feditious, which may breed a Schifm in the Church. And becaufe he faith in fome Places, that the Mind may attain fuch a Simplicity in its Acts, as that it may rife in fome Devotions to God immediately, without contemplating the Humanity of Chrift, they have accufed him of laying afide the Doctrine of Chrift's Humanity ; though it is plain, that he fpeaks only of the Purity of fingle Acts: Upon thefe Motives they have fet themfelves much againft Molinos; and alfo pretend, that fome of his Difciples have

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infured into their Penitents, that they may communicate as they find themfelves difpofed, without going firt to Confeffion; which they thought weakened the Yoke whereby the Priefts fubdue the Confciences of the People to their Conduct ; yet he was much fupported both in Naples and in Sicily, and had many Freinds and Followers at Rome. So the Jefuits, as a Provincial of the Order affured me, finding they could not ruin him, got a great King, that is now extremely in the Interefts of their Order, to reprefent to the Pope the Danger of fuch Innovations.

It is certain, the Pope underftands the Matter very little, and that he is poffeffed with a great Opinion of Molinos's Sanctity ; yet upon the Complaints of fome Cardinals, that feconded the Zeal of that King, he and fome of his Followers were clapp'd into the Inquifition, where they have been now for fome Months; but they are well ufed, which is believ'd to flow from the good Opinion the Pope hath of him, who faich ftill, that though he may have erred, yet he is certainly a good Man. Upon this Imprifonment, Pafguin faid a pleafant Thing. In one Week, one Man had been condemned to the Gallies for fomewhat he had faid ; another had been hanged for fomewhat he had writ; and Molinos was clapp'd in Prifon, whofe Doctrine confifted chiefly in this, That Men ought to bring their Minds to a State of inward Quietnefs, from which the Name of 2 uietifts was given to all his Followers. The Pafquinade upon all this was, Si parliamo, in galere ; fi fcrivemmo, impiccati; $\sqrt{2}$ fiamo in quiete, all' fant' officio: e cbe befogna fare? "If we fpeak, we are fent to the Gal" lies; if we write, we are hanged; if we fland quiet, " we are clapp"d up in the Inquifition; what muft we do then ?" Yet his Followers at Naples believe he will come out of this Trial victorious.

The City of Naples is the beft fituated, lies in the beft Climate, and is one of the nobleft Cities of Europe; and if it is not above half as big as Paris or London, it hath much more Beauty than either of them. The Streets are large and broad, the Pavement is great and noble, the Stones being generally above a Foot fquare ; and it is full of Palaces and great Buildings : The Town is well fupplied by Markets, to that Provifions are freh, and in great Plenty. The Wine is the beft in Europe, and both the Fifh and Flefh are extreme good. It is fcarce ever cold in Winter, and there is a frelh Air comes both from the Sea and the Mountains in Summer. The Viceroy's Palace is no extraordinary Building, only the Stair-cafe is grand, but it is now very richly furnihed with Pictures and Statues. There are in it fome Statues of the Egyptian Deities, of Touchftone, that are of great Value. There are no great Antiquities here, only there is an ancient Roman Portico, that is very noble, before Sc. Paul's Church: but without the City, near the Church and Horpital of St. Gennaro, are the noble Catacombs ; which becaufe they were beyond any thing I faw in Italy, and to which the Catacombs of Rome are not to be compared, I fhall defribe them more particularly.
They are vaft long Galleries cut out of the Rock, three Stories one above another: I was in two of them, but the Rock is fallen in the loweft, fo that one cannot go into it, but I faw the Paffage. Thefe Galleries are generally about twenty Fooc broad, and fifteen Foot high ; fo that they are noble fpacious Places, not little and narrow, as the Catacombs at Rome, which are only three or four Foot broad, and five or fix high. I was made to believe, that thefe Catacombs of Naples went into the Rock nine Miles, but for that I have it only by Report; yet if true, they may run towards Puzzuolo, and fo may have been the Burial-places of the Towns on that Bay; but of this I have no Certainty. I walked indeed a great Way, and found Galleries going off on all Hands without End: And whereas in the Roman Catacombs three are not above three or four Rows of Niches, that are cut out in the Rock one over another, into which the dead Bodies were laid ; here there are generally fix or feven Rows of Niches, and they are both larger and higher : Some Niches are for Children, and in many Places there are in the Floors, as it
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were, great Chefts hewn out of the Rock, to lay the Bones of the dead, as they are dried, in them ; but $t$ could fee no Marks either of a Cover for thefe Holes, which lookd like the Bellies of Chefts, or of a Facing to fhut up the Niches when a dead Body was laid in them; fo that it feems they were monftrous, unwholfome, ftinking Places, where fome thourands of Bodies lay rotting, without any thing to thut in fo loathfome a Sight, and fo odious a Smell; for the Niches fhew plainly, that the Bodies were laid in them wrapped in the dead Cloaths, being too low for Coffins. In fome Places of the Rock, there is as it were' a litile Chapel hewn out in the Rock, going off from the common Gallery, and there are Niches all round about, but I faw no Marks of any Wall that thut in thofe Places; though I am apt to think thefe might be Burying places for particular Families.
There is in fome Places on the Walls and Arch old Mofaick Work, and fome Painting; the Colours are frefh, and the Manner Goitick ; which made me conclude, that this might have been done by the Normans about 600 Years ago, after they drove out the Saracens. In fome Places there are Palm-trees painted, and Vines in other Places: The Frefhnefs of the Colours fhew thefe could not have been done while this Place was employed for Burying; for the Steams and Rottennefs of the Air, occafioned by fo much Corruption, muft have diffolved both Plaifter and Colours. In one Place there is a Man painted with a little Beard, and Paulus is written by his Head; there is another reaching him a Garland, and by his Head Laud is written; and this is repeated in another Place right againft it. In another I found a Crofs painted, and about the upper part of it thefe Letters, J.C.X.O. and on the lower part NIK.A. are painted. A learned Antiquary agreed with me, that the Manner of the Painting and Characters did not feem to be above Six hundred Years old; but neither of us knew what to make of thefe Letters: The Lower feemed to relate to the laft Word of the Vifion, which it is faid that Conftantine faw with the Crofs that appeared to him: But tho' the firft two Letters might be for 'fefus, it being ordinary in old Coins and Infcriptions to put a C for an $S$, and X ftands for Cbrift, yet we knew not what to make of the $O$, unlefs it were for the Greek $\Theta$, and that the little Line in the Bofom of the Theta was worn out, and then it ftands for Theos; and thus the whole Infcription is, Fefus Cbrift God overcometb.

Another Picture in the Wall had written over it Sta Fobannes, a clear Sign of a barbarous Age. In another Place there is a Picture high in the Wall, and three Pictures under it; that at Top had no Infcription ; thofe below it had thefe Infcriptions, $S$. Katbarina, $S$. Agape, and S. Margarita: Thefe Letters are clearly modern; befides that, Margaret and Katbarine are modern Names; and the Addition of ta a little above the $S$, were manifeft Evidences that the higheft Antiquity that can be afcribed to this Painting is Six hundred Years. I faw no more Painting, and I began to grow weary of the Darknefs and the thick Air of the Place; fo that I faid not above an Hour. This made me reflect more particularly on the Catacombs of Rome than I had done; I could imagine no Reafon why fo little mention is made of thofe of Naples, when there is fo much faid concerning thofe of Rome; or give myfelf other Account of the Matter, than that it being a Maxim to keep up the Reputation of the Roman Catacombs, as Repofitories of Reliques of primitive Chriftians, it would much leffen their Credit, if it were thought that there were Catacombs far beyond them in all Refpects, that yet cannot be fuppofed to have been the Work of the primitive Chriftians; and indeed, no thing feems more evident, than that thefe were com mon Burying places of the ancient Heathens; one enters into them without the Walls of the Towns, according to the Laws of the Twelve Tables; and fuch are the Catacombs of Rome that I faw, which were thofe of St. Agnes, and St. Sebaftian, the Entry into them being without the Town: This anfwers the Law, though in Effect they run under it; for in thofe Days, when they had not the Ufe of the Needle, they could

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not know which Way they carried on thofe Works, when they were once fo far engaged under Ground as to lofe themfelves. It is a vain Imagination, to dream the Chriftians in the primitive Times were able to carry on fuch a Work; for as this prodigious Digging into fuch Rocks muft have been a very vifible Thing, by the Mountains of Rubbifh that muft have been brought out, and by the valt Number of Hands employed in it ; fo it is abfurd to think, that they could hold their Affemblies in the Midft of fo much Corruption. I found the Steams fo ftrong, that though I am as little fubject to Vapours as moft Men, yet I had all Day long, after I was in them, which was not an Hour, a Confufion, and as it were a Boiling in my Head, that difordered me extremely; and if there is now fo much ftagnating Air there, this muft have been fenfible in a more infufferable Manner, while there were vaft Numbers of Bodies rotting in thofe Niches. But befides this Improbability from the Nature of the Thing, I called to mind a Paffage of a Letter of Cornelius, that was Bifhop of Rome after the Middle of the third Century, which is preferved by Eufebius in his fixth Book, in which we have the State of the Church of Rome at that Time. There were forty-fix Presbyters, feven-Deacons, as many Subdeacons, and Ninety-four of the inferior Orders of the Clergy among chem: There were alfo fifteen hundred Widows, and other Poor maintained out of the publick Charities. It may be reafonably fuppofed, that the Numbers of the Chriftians were as great when this Epifle was writ, as at any Time before Conftantine: For as this was writ at the End of that long Peace, which both St. Cyprian and Laftantius mention, of above an Hundred Years; fo after there were fuch a Succeffion of Perfecutions, and thefe came fo thick, that we cannot think the Numbers of the Chriftians encreafed much beyond what they were at this Time:

There are two Particulars in this State of the Clergy, upon which one may make a probable Eftimate of the Chriftians ; one is, their Poor, which were but fifteen hundred; now upon an exact Survey it will be found, that where the Poor are well look'd to, they are generally the thirtieth or fortieth Part of Mankind; and this may be believed to be the Proportion of the Poor among the Chriftians of that Age ; for as their Charity was vigorous and tender, fo we find Celfus, Fulian, Lucian, Porpbyry, and others, object this to the Chriftians of that Time, that their Charities to the Poor drew vaft Numbers of the lower Sort among them, that they might be fupplied by their Brethren. So that this be ing the State of the Chriftians, we may reckon the Poor the thirtieth Part ; and the whole five and forty thoufand: And. I am the more inclined to think that this rifes near the full Sum of their Numbers, by the other Character of the Amount of the Clergy; for as there were forty-fix Presbyters, fo there were ninety four of the inferior Orders, who were two more than double the Number of the Priefts; and this was in a Time when the Care of Souls was more exactly looked after, than it has been in the more corrupted Ages, the Clergy having then really more Work on their Hands, the inftructing their Catechumens, the vifiting their Sick, and the comforting the Weak, Tasks that required fo much Application, that in fo vaft a City as Rome in thofe Days, in which the Chriftians were fcatter'd over the City, we make a Conjecture, that every Presbyter had perhaps about a choufand Souls committed to his Care ; this rifes to fix and forty thoufand, which comes very near the Sum gathered from the other Hint taken from their Poor: So that about fifty thoufand is the higheft to which we can reafonably raife the Number of the Chriftians of Rome in that Time; and of fo many Perfons, the old, the young, and the Women, make more than three fourth Parts; the Men therefore in Condition to work were not above twelve thoufand, and by Confequence were in no Condition to undertake and carry on fo vaft a Work. If Cornelius in that Letter fpeaks of the Numbers of the Chriftians in exceffive Terms, and if Tertullian in his Apology hath alfo fet out the Numbers of the Chriftians of his Time in a very high

Strain, that is to be afcribed to a pompous Eloquence which difpofeth People to magnity their own Party; and we muft allow a good deal to an Hyperbole It is true, is is not fo clear when thofe valt Cavities were dug out of the Rocks: We know that when the Laws of the Twelve Tables were made, Sepulture was then in Ufe; and Rome being grown to a vaft Bignefs, no Doubt they had Repofitories for their Dead; fo that fince none of the Roman Authors mention any fuch Work, it may not be unreafonable to fuppofe thefe Vaults had been wrought and cut out from the firlt Beginnings of the City, and fo later Authors had no Occafion to take Notice of it. It is alfo certain, that though Burning came to be in Ufe among the Romans, yet they returned back to their firft Cuttom of burying Bodies long before Conftantine's Time; fo it was not the Chriftian Religion that produced this Change. All our modern Writers take it for granted, that it happen'd in the Times of the Antonines; yet there being no Law made concerning it, aud no Mention in an Age full of Writers, of any Orders that were given for Burying-places, Velferus's Opinion feems more probable, that the Cuftom of Burning wore out by Degrees; and fince we are fure that they once buried, it is more natural to think, that the Slaves and the meaner Sort of People were ftill buried, that being a lefs expenfive and more fimple Way than burning, which was both pompous and chargeable; and if there were already Burying-places prepared, it is much eafier to imagine how the Cuftom of Burying grew univerfal without any Law made to inforce it. I could not for fome Time find out upon what Grounds the modern Criticks take it for. granted, that Burying began in the Times of the Anlonines, till I had the Happinefs to talk with the learned Gronovius, who feems to be fuch a Matter of all ancient Learning, as if he had the Authors lying always open before him: He told me that it was certain the Change from Burning to Burying was not made by the Chriftian Emperors: For Macrobius fays, in plain Terms, that the Cuftom of burning Bodies was quite worn out in that Age; which is a clear Intimation, that it was not laid afide fo late as by Conftantine; and as there was no Law made on that Head, fo he and the fucceeding Emperors gave fuch Toleration to Paganifm, that it is not to be imagined, there was any Order given againft Burning; fo that it is clear, the Heathens changed it of their own Accord; otherways we fhould have found that among the Complaints made of the Grievances under which they lay from the Chriftians. But it is more difficult to fix the Time when this Change was made. Gronovius fhewed me a Paffage of Pblegon's, that mentions Bodies that were laid in the Ground; yet he did not build on that, for it may have Relation to the Cuftoms of Burying that might be elfewhere ; and fo Petronius gives the Account of the Butial of the Epbefian Matron's Hufband: But he made it apparent to me, that Burying was commonly practifed under Commodus; for Xipbilinus tells us, that in Pertinax's Time, the Friends of thofe whom Commodus had ordered to be put to Death, dug up their Bodies, fome bringing out only fome Parts of them, and ochers raifing their entire Bodies. The fame Author fays, that Pertinax buried Commodus's Body, and fo faved it from the Rage of the People; and here is a pofitive Evidence that Burying was the common Practice of that Time.

The fame learned Perfon has fince fuggefted to my two Paffages of Feftus Pompeius, that feem to determine this whole Matter ; and tell us by what Names thofe Catacombs were known in the Roman time, whereabouts they were, and whai Sort of Perfons were laid in them: We have alfo the Defignation by which the Bearers were known, and the Time when they carried out the dead Bodies: and it appears particularly by them, that in the Repofitories, of which that Author makes Mention, there were no Care taken to preferve the Bodies that were laid in them from Rotting. His Words are : Pu. ticulos antiquiffimum genus Sepulture appellatos, quod ibi in puteis fepelirentur bomines; qualis fuerit locus, quo nunc cadavera projici Solent extra portam ESquilinam: que, quod ibi putefcerent, inde priùs appellatos exiftimat Puticulos

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Alius Gallus, qui ait antiqui moris fuife, ut patres-familias in locum publicum extra oppidum mancipia vilia projicerent, atque ita projecta, quod ibi ea putefcerent, nomen effe factum Puticuli. The other Paffage runs thus: $V$ Vpce EJ vefpillones dicuntur, qui funerandis corporibus officium gerunt, non à minutis illis volucribus, sed quia vefpertino tempore cos efferunt, qui funebri pompâ duci propter inopiam nequeunt. All this agrees fo exactly, that it will not be hard to perfuade one, that thofe Burying-places, now graced with the pompous Title of Catacombs, are no other than the Puticuli of Eeftus Pompeius, where the meaneft Sort of the Roman Slaves were laid, and without any farther Care about them, were left to rot.

It is very probable, that as we fee fome of the Roman Families continued to bury their Dead, even when Burning was the more common Cuftom ; fo perhaps others continued after this to burn their Dead, this Thing being indifferent, and no Law made about it ; and therefore it was objected to the Chriftians after that Time, that the abhorred they Cuftom of burning the Bodies of the Dead, which is mentioned by Minutius Falix; but this, or any other Evidences that may be brought from Medals after this Time, will only prove that fome were burnt, and that the Chriftians practifed burying univerfally, as expreffing their Belief of the Refurrection; whereas the Heathens held the Thing indifferent. It is alfo clear, from many genuine Infcriptions that have been found in the Catacombs, bearing the Dates of the Confuls, that thefe were the common Burial-places of all the Chriftians of the fourth and fifth Century; for I do not remember that there is any Date ancienter; and yet not one of the Writers of thofe Ages fpeak of them as the Work of the Primitive Chriftians: They fpeak indeed of the Burial-places of the Martyrs; but that will prove no more, but that the Chriftians might have their Quarters and their Walks in thofe common Bu-rial-places, where they laid their Dead, and which might have been known among them, though it is not likely that they would, in Times of Perfecution, make fuch Infcriptions as might expofe the Bodies of their dead Friends to the Rage of their Enemies : And the fpurious Acts of fome Saints and Martyrs are of too little Credit to give any Support to the common Opinion. Damafus's Poetry is of no better Authority; and though thofe Ages were inclined enough to give Credit to Fables, yet it feems this of the Catacombs, having been the Work of the Primitive Chriftians, was too grofs a Thing to be fo early impofed on the World : And this Silence, in a fuperftitious Age, has much Force in it, for fo vaft a Work mult have been well known to all the Romans. It were eafy to carry this much farther, and to fhew that the Bafs Relieves that have been found in fome of thofe Catacombs, have Nothing of the Beanty of the ancient Romon Time.

This is alfo difcernible in many Infcriptions that are rather Gotbick than Roman ; and there are fo many Infcriptions relating to Fables, that it is plain thefe were of later Times; and we fee by St. Ferome, that the Monks began even in his Time to drive a Trade of Reliques; no Wonder then, that to raife the Credit of fuch a Heap as was never to be exhaufted, they made fome miferable Sculptures and Infcriptions, and perhaps Thut up the Entries with Care and Secrecy, intending to open them upon fome Dream, or other Artifice, to give them the more Reputation; which was often practifed, to the drawing much Wealth and Devotion even to fome fingle Relique ; and a few being in this Secret, either thofe died, or by the Revolutions that happen'd in Rome, might have been difperfed before they made the Difcovery: And thus the Knowlege of thefe Places was loft, and came to be difcover'd by Accident in the laft Age, and ever fince fupplied with an inexhauftible Magazine of Bones, which are no other than the Bones of the Pagan Romans, though they are now fent over the World to feed a Superftition that is as blind as it proves expenfive. And thus the Bones of the Roman Slaves, or at leaft thofe of the meaner Sort, are fet in Silver and Gold, and entertain the Superftition of thofe who are willing to be deceived, as well as thofe who feek to deceive the Worid. But becaufe it cannot be
pretended there was fuch a Number of Chritians at Na ples as could have wrought the Catacombs ; and if it had been thought that thofe were the common Burial. places of the Heathens, that might have induced the World to think that the Roman Catacombs were fo too; therefore no Care was taken to examine thef.

I will not enter upon a Defcription of that which is fo well known, as Mont Vefuvio: It had roared fo loud about a Month before I came to Noples, that the Inhabitants could hardly fleep in the Nights, and fome old Houfes were fo thaken by the Convullion of the Hills, that they fell to the Ground; and the great Convulfion above fifty Years ago was fo terrible, that there was no fmall Fear in Naples, for though it lies at the Diftance of feven Miles, they are very timorous, but now the Storm was choaked under Ground; for tho' it fmoak'd much more than ordinary, yet there was no Eruption. It was indeed fmoaking, not only in the Mouth of the little Mount, formed within the great Wafte that the Fire hath made, but along all the Bottom that is between the outward Mouth of this Mountain (which is four Miles in Compafs) and that inward Hill. When one fees the Mouth of this Fire, and fo great a Part of the Hill, covered fome Feet deep with Afhes and Stones of metallick Compofition, that the Fire throws out, he cannot but ftand amazed, and wonder what can be the Fewel of fo lafting a Burning, that hath calcined fo much Matter, and fpewed out fuch prodigious Quantities. It is plain, there are vaft Veins of Sulphur all along in this Soll, and it feems in this Mountain they run thro' fome Mines and Rocks; and as their flow Confumption raifes a perpetual Smoke, fo when the Air within is fo much rarified that it muft open itfelf, it throws up thofe Maffes of Metal and Rock that are fhut in it. But how this Fire draws Air to nourifh its Flame, is not fo eafily apprehended, unlefs there is either a Conveyance of Air under-ground, by fome undifcover'd Vacuity, or a more infenfible Tranfmiffion of Air through the Pores of the Earth. The Heat of this Hill operates fo much upon the Soil that lies towards the Foot of it, that it produces the richeft Wine about Naples, and it alfo purificth the Air fo much, that the Village at the Bottom is thought the beft thereabouts; fo that many come thither from Naples for their Health. There is a Hill in Ifcbia, an Inland not far from Naples, which fometimes fpews out Fire. On the other Side of Naples, to the Weft, one paffeth through the Cave that pierceth the Paufalippe, and is four hundred and forty Paces long; for I walked it on Foot. It is twenty Foot broad, and at firft forty, afterwards but twenty Foot high. The Stone cut here is good for Building; fo that as this opened the Way from Puzzuolo to Naples, it was alfo a Quarry for the Building of the Town, All the Way one difcovers a ftrange Boiling within the Ground; for a little beyond this Grott of Paufalippo, as we come near the Lake of Aniano, there is on the one Hand a Bath, occafioned by a Steam that rifes fo hot out of the Ground, that as foon as one goes a little into it, he finds himfelf in a Sweat, which is very proper for fome Difeafes, efpecially that which derives its Name from Noples. And about twenty Paces from thence, there is another little Grott, that fends out fo poifonous a Steam, that it puts out a Candle as foon as it comes near it, and infallibly killeth any living Creature within a Minute; for in half that Time a Dog, upon which the Experiment is commonly tried, (the Grott from thence called Grotio di Cane)) fell into a Convulfion. From that one goes to fee the poor Remains of Puzzuolo, and of that Bay, once a continued Tract of Towns, being the Retreat of the Ro. mans during the Heats of the Summer. All the Rarities here have been fo often and fo copioully defcribed, that I am fenfible I can add Nothing to what is fo well known. I will fay Nothing of the Amphitheatre, or of Cicero and Virgil's Houfes, for which there is nothing but dubious Tradition. They are ancient brick Buildings in Roman Tafte, and the Vaults of Virgil's Houfe are ftill entire. The Sulfatara is a furprizing Thing; here is a Bottom, out of which the Force of the Fire, that breaks forth ftill in many Pla-
ces, in a thick Smoke full of Brimftone, threw up about an Hundred and Fifty Years ago a vaft Quantity of Earth, which was carried about three Miles thence, and formed the Hill called Monte Novo, upon the Ruins of a Town overwhelmed by this Eruption, which is of a very confiderable Height. They told me, that there was before that Time a Channel that went from the Bay into the Lake of Averno, of which one fees the Beginnings in the Bay, at fome Diftance from the Shore; it carrieth ftill the Name of ${ }^{\prime}$ fulio's Mole, and is believed to have been made by Fulius Cafar: But by the Swelling of the Ground, upon the Eruption of the Sulfatara, this Paffage is ftopp'd, and the Averno is become now frefh Water. It is eighteen Fathom deep. On the Side of it is that amazing Cave, where the Sybil is faid to have given out her Infpirations: The hewing it out of the Rock appears to have been a prodigious Work; for the Rock is one of the hardeft Stones in the World, and the Cave goeth in feven hundred Foot long, twenty Foot broad, and, as I guefs, eightieen Foot high : and from the End of this great Gallery, there is a narrow Paffage of three Foot broad, two Hundred foot long, and feven high, to a litcle Apartment, in a conftant floping Defcent from the great Cave. Here are three little Rooms; in one of them there are fome Remains of an old Mofaick, with which the Walls and Roof were laid over: There is alfo a Spring of Water, and a Bath, in which it is fuppofed the Sybil bathed herfelf; and from this it is faid, there runs a Cave all along to Cuma, which is three long Miles, but the Paffage is now choak'd by the falling in of the Rock in feveral Places. This Piece of Work amazed me. I did not much mind the popular Opinion that is received here, that all this was done by the Devil. The Marks of the Chiffel in all Parts of the Rock fhew, that it is not a Work of Nature. Certainly they had many Hands at their Command, who fet about it; and it feems to have been wrought with no other Defign, but to fubdue the People more entirely to the Conduct of the Priefts who managed this Impofture; fo bufy hath the Ambition and Fraud of Priefts been in all Ages, and in all corrupt Religions. But of all the Scenes of noble Objects in the Bay of Puzzuolo, the Remains of Caligula's Bridge are moft amazing; for there are yet fanding eight or ten of the Pillars, and of fome of the Arches the half is yer entire. I had not a Line with me to examine the Depth of the Water, where the furtheft Pillar is built ; but my Waterman affured me, it was fifty Cubits. I have fince inftructed one going thither in this Particular, and have received this Account from him: That he had taken Care to plum the Water at the furtheft Pillar on the Puzzuolo Side, and found it feven Fathom and a half deep; but he adds, that the Watermen affured him, that on the other Side before Baia, the Water was twenty-fix Fathom deep: But as he had not a Plummet long enough to try that, fo he believed a good deal ought to be abated; for the Watermen had alfo affured him, that the Water wasten Fathom deep on the Puzzuolo Side; and by this Meafure one may fuppofe that the Water is twenty Fathom deep on the other Side : So that it is one of the moft aftonifhing Things one can think of, that Pillars of Brick could have been built in fuch a Depth of Water. It is a noble Monument of that profufe and extravagant Expence of a brutal Tyrant, who made one of the vafteft Bridges that ever was attempted, over three or four Miles of Sea, merely to facrifice fo great a Treafure to his Vanity. As for Agrippina's Tomb, it is no great Matter, only the Basrelieves are yet entire. The marvellous Fifh-pond is a great Bafon of Water, wrought like a huge Temple, ftanding upon eight and forty great Pillars, all hew'd out of the Rock, and laid over with four Crufts of the old Plaiter, which is now as hard as Stone. This is believ'd to be a Work of Nero's. And about a Quarter of a Mile from thence, there is another valt Work, which leads into a Rock, but at the Entrance there is a noble Portico built of Pillars of Brick; and as one enters he finds a great many regular Rooms hewed out of the Rock, and covered over with Plaiter, which is
fill entire, and fo white, that one can bardly think that it hath not been wafhed over fince firit made. There are a vait Number of thofe Rooms; they are faid to be a Hundred, from whence this Cave derives the Name of Centum Camera, i, e. Hundred Cbambers. This hath been as expenfive a Work as it is ufelefs. It is afcribed to Nero, and they fay here he kept his Prifoners. But there is nothing in all this Bay that is both fo curious and fo ufful as the Baths, which feem to flow from the fame Caufe with thefe Eruptions in the Vefurio and Sulfatara, and the Grottos formerly mentioned, that as this Heat makes fome Fountains boiling hot, fo it fends up a Steam through the Rock, that doth not break through the Pores of the Stone where it is hard; but where the Rock is foft and fpungy, the Steams come through with fo melting a Heat, that a Man is very foon dif folved, as it were in Sweat: But if he ftoops low in the Paffages that are cut in the Rock, he finds no Heat, becaure there the Rock is hard. Thofe Steams, as they are hot, fo they are alfo impregnated with fuch Minerals as they find in their Way through the Rock; and near this Bath there are Galleries hewed out, and faced with a Building, in which there are, as it were, Bedfeads made in the Walls, upon which thofe, that come to fweat for their Health, lay their Quilts and Bed-clothes, and fo come regularly out of their Sweats.
It is certain, that a Man can no where pals a Day, both with fo much Pleafure, and with fuch Advantage, as he finds in his Journey to Puzzuolo, and the Bay. But tho' anciently this was all fo well built, fo throughly peopled, and fo beautifully laid out; yet one fees no where more vifibly what a Change Time brings upon all Places; for Naples hath fo entirely eat out this Place, and drawn off its Inhabitants, that as Puzzwolo itfelf is but a fmall Village, fo there is now no other in this Bay, which was anciently built almoft all round; for there are feven big Towns upon it. I cannot pafs by that noble Remnant of the Via Appia, that runs along thirty Miles of the Road between Naples and Rome, without making fome Mention of it. This Highway is twelve Foot broad, all made of huge Stones, moft of them blue, and they generally a Foot and half large on all Sides. The Strength of this Caureway appears from its long Duration; for it hath lafted above eighteen hundred Years, and is in moft Places, for feveral Miles together, as entire as when firt made ; and the Mending fuch Places as have been worn out by Time, Thews a vifible Difference between the ancient and the modern Way of Paving. One Thing feems ftrange, that the Road is level with the Earth on both Sides; whereas fo much Weight, as thofe Stones carry, fhould have funk the Ground under them by its Preffure. Befides, that the Earth, efpecially in low Grounds, receives a conftant Increafe by the Dutt which the Winds or Brooks carry down from the Hills; both which Reafons fhould make a more fenfible Difference between thofe Roads and the Soil on both Sides; and this makes me apt to believe, that anciently they were a little raifed above the Level of the Ground, and that a Courfe of fo many Ages hath now brought them to an Equality. Thofe Roads were chiefly made for Foot Paffengers; for as Nothing is more pleafant than to walk along them, fo Noching is more inconvenient for Horfes and all Sorts of Carriage ; and indeed Mules are the only Bealts of Burthen that can hold out long in this Road, which beats all Horfes after they have gone it a little while. There are feveral Remains of Roman Antiquities at the Mole of Cajeta; but the Ine of Caprea, now called Crapa, which is a little Way to Sea from Naples, gave me a ftrange Idea of Tiberius's Reign; fince it is hard to tell, whether it was more extraordinary, to fee a Prince abandon the beft Seats and Palaces of Italy, and thut himfelf up in a little Inand, in which I was told there was a Tradition of feven fmall Palaces that he built in it; or to fee fo vaft a Body, as the Roman Eimpire, governed by fuch a tyrannical Prince, at fuch a Diftance from the chief Seat, fo that all might have been reverfed long before the News of it could have reached him. And as there is nothing more wonderful in Story,

## Chap. IIII.

than to fee fo vait a State, that had fo great a Senfe of to the Eye that one finds elfewhere. The Flooring of Liberty, fubdued by fo brutal, and fo volupthous a Man as Antbony, and fo raw a Youth as Augufius; fo the Wonder is much improved, when we fee a Prince, at an Hundred and Fifty Miles Diftance, fhut up in an Illand, carry the Reins of fo great a Body in his Hand, and turn it which Way he pleafed.

But I come now to Rome, which as it was once the Emprefs of the World in a Succeffion of many Ages, fo in it there are at prefent more curious Things to entertain the Attention of a Traveller, than in any other Place in Europe. On the Side of Tufcany the Entry into Rome is very furprizing to Strangers; coming along for a great many Miles upon the Remains of the Via Flaminia, which is not indeed fo entire as the Via Appia; yet there is enough left to raife a jult Idea of the Roman Greatnefs, which laid fuch Caufeways all over Italy. And within the Gate of the Porta di Populo there is a noble Obelifk, a vaft Fountain, two fine little Churches, like two Twins, refembling each other, as well as placed one near another, and on feveral Hands one fees a long Vifto of Streets. There is no City in our Part of the World, where the Churches, Convents, and Palaces, are fo noble, and where the other Buildings are fo mean ; which, indeed, difcover very vifibly the Mifery under which the Romans groan. The Churches of Rome are fo well known, that I will not venture on any Defcription of them; and indeed I had too tranfient a View, to make it with that Degree of Exactnefs which the Subject requires. St. Peter's alone would make a long Letter, not to fay a Book: Its Length, Height, and Breadth, are all fo exactly proportioned, and the Eye is fo equally poffefs ${ }^{\circ} \mathrm{d}$ with thefe, that the Whole, upon the firft View, appears not fo vaft as it is found to be upon a more particular Attention; and as the four Pillars, on which the Cupola rifes, are of fuch a prodigious Bignefs, that one would think they were ftrong enough to bear any Superftructure; yet when one climbs to the Top of that vaft Height, one cannot help wondering what Foundation can bear fo valt a Weight; for as the Church is of a great Height, fo the Cupola rifes four hundred and fifteen large Steps above the Roof of the Church. In the Height of the Concave of this Cupola there is a Reprefentation, that though it can hardly be feen from the Floor below, and fo it doth not perhaps give much Scandal, yet it is a grofs Indication of the Idolatry of that Church; for the Divinity is there pictured as an ancient Man compaffed about with Angels. I will fay nothing of the great Altar, of the Chair of St. Peter, of the great Tombs of Paul III. Urban VIII. and Alexander VII. nor of the vaft Vaults under this Church, and the Remains of Antiquity that are referved in them; or undertake a Defcription of the adjoining Palace, where the Painting of the Corridori, and of many of the Rooms by Rapbael and Micbael Angelo are fo rich, that one is forry to fee a Work of that Value laid on Erefoo, and which mutt by Confequence wear too foon, as in feveral Places it is almoft quite loft already. I could not but obferve in the Sala Reggia, that is before the famous Chapel of Sijto V. and that is all painted in Frefoo, one Corner that reprefents the Murther of the renowned Admiral Cbafitllon, and that hath under it thefe Words, Rex Colinii necem probat. The vaft Length of the Gallery on one Side, and of the Library on another, furprize one. The Gardens have many Statues of exceffive Value, and fome good Fountains; but are ill maintain'd both here and in the Palace of the $2 u i$ rinal. And, indeed, in moft of the Palaces of Rome, if there were but a fmall Sum laid out to keep all in good Condition, that is brought together at fo vaft a Charge, they would make another Sort of Show, and be looked at with much more Pleafure. In the Apartments of Rome, there are a great many Things that offend the Sight; the Doors are generally mean, and the Locks meaner, except in the Palace of Prince Borgbefe; where, as there is the vafteft Collection of the beft Pieces, and of the greateft Mafters that are in all Europe; fo the Doors and Locks give not that Diftafte Vo L. II. N U Mb. CXII.
the Palace is all of Brick, which is fo very mean, that one fees the Difproportion between the Floors and the reft of the Room, not without a fenfible Dinlike. It is true, they fay their Air is fo cold and moift in Winter; that they cannot pave with Marble ; and the Heat is fometimes fo great in Summer, that a Flooring of Wood would crack with Heat, as well as be eat up by Vermin that would neft in it: But if they kept in their great Palaces Servants to wafh their Floors, with that Care that is ufed in Holland, where the Air is moifter, and the Climate more productive of Vermin, they would not find fuch Effects from wooden Floors as they pretend to fear. In a Word, there are none that lay out fo much Wealth all at once, as the Itatians upon Building and Finifhing of their Palaces and Gardens, and afterwards beftow fo little on the Preferving of them. Another Thing I obferved in their Palaces; there is indeed a great Series of noble Rooms one within another, of which their Apartments are compofed; but I did not find, at the End of the Apartments, where the Bed-chamber is, fuch a Difpofition of Rooms for Back-ftairs; Dreffing-rooms; Clofets, Servantsrooms, and other Conveniences as are neceffary for accommodating the Apartment. It is true, this is not fo neceffary for an Apartment of State, in which Magnificence is more confider'd than Convenience; but I found the fame Want in thofe in which they lodged : fo that, notwithftanding all the Riches of their Palaces, it cannot be faid that they are well lodged in them; and their Gardens are lefs underftood, and worfe kept than their Palaces. It is true, the Villa Borgbefe ought to be excepted, where, as there is a prodigious Collection of Bas Relieves, with which the Walls are covered over, that are of a valt Value; fo the Statues within; of which fome are of Porphyry, and others of Touchftone, are amazing Things. The whole Ground of this Park, which is three Miles in Compafs, and in which there are fix or feven Lodges, are laid out fo fweetly, that I thought I was in an Englifh Park when I walked over it. The Villa Pampbilia is better fituated, upon a higher Ground, hath more Water-works, and twice the Extent of the other in Soil ; but neither the Houfe nor Statues approach to the Riches of the other, nor are the Grounds fo well laid out, or kept: But for the Furniture of the Palaces of Rome, the publick Apartments are all covered over with Pictures; and as for thofe Apartments in which they lodge, they are generally furnifh'd with red Velvet or Damank, with a broad golden Galloon at every Breadth of the Stuff, and a gold Fringe at Top and Bottom; but there is very litrle Tapeftry in Italy.

I have been carried into all this Digreflion, from the general View that I was giving you of the Pope's Palace. I named one Part of it, which will engage me in a new Digreffion, as it well deferves, that is, the Library of the Vatican. The Cafe is great, but what is lodged in it much greater ; for here is a Collection of Books that fill a Man's Eye: There is firft a great Hall, and at the End there runs out on both Sides two Galleries of fo vaft a Length, that though the Half of them is already furnifhed with Books, yet one would hope, that there is Room left for more new Books than the World will ever produce. The Heidelberg Library ftands by itfelf, and fills one Side of the Gallery, as the Duke of Urbin's Library of Manufcripts fills the other. But though thefe lait are very fair and beautiful, yet they are not of fuch Antiquity as thofe of Heidelberg. When it appear'd that I came from England, King Henry VIII's Book of the Seven Sacraments, with an Infcription upon it with his own Hand to Pope Leo X. was fhewed me, together with a Collection of fome Letters that he writ to Anna Bullen, of which fome are in Englifb and fome in French. I that knew his Hand well, faw clearly that they were no Forgeries. There are not many Latin Manufcripts of great Antiquity in this Library; fome few of Virgil's I faw writ in Capitals.

But that which took up Half of one Day that I
fpent at once in this Place, related to the Difpute on Foot between Mr. Schelftrat the Library-keeper and Mr. Maimbourg, concerning the Cnuncil of Conftance: The two Points in Debate, are the Words of the Decree made in the fourth Seffion, and the Pope's Conrfimation. In the fourth Sefion, according to the French Manufcripts, a Decree was made, fubjecting the Pope, and all other Perfons whatfoever, to the Authority of the Council, and to the Decrees it was to make, and to the Reformation it intended to eftablifh both in the Head and the Members; which, as it implies that the Head was corrupted, and needed to be reformed, fo it fets the Council fo directly above the Pope, that this Seffion, being confirmed by the Pope, puts thofe who affert the Pope's Infallibility to no fmall Straits : For if Pope Martin, that approved this Decree, was infallible, then this Decree is good ftill ; and if he was not infallible, no other Pope was infallible. To all this ScbelArat anfwers from his Manufcripes, that the Words of a Reformation in Head and Members are not in the Decree of that Seffion ; and he did fhew me feveral Manufcripts, of which two were evidently writ during the Sitting of the Council, and were not at all dafh'd, in which there Words were not. I know the Hand and Way of Writing of that Age too well to be eafily miftaken in my Judgment concerning thofe Manufcripts : But if thofe Words are wanting, there are other Words in them that feem to be much ftronger for the Superiority of the Council above that Pope; for it is decreed, that Popes and all other Perfons were bound to fubmit to the Decifions of the Council, as to Faith ; which Words are not in the French Manufcripts; upon this I told Mr. Schelffrat, that I thought the Words in thefe Manufcripts were ftronger than the other, fince the Word Reformation, as it was ufed in the Time of that Council, belonged chiefly to the correcting of Abufes, it being often applied to the Regulations that were made in the monaftick Orders, when they were brought to a more exact Obfervation of the Rules of their Order : So though the Council had decreed a Reformation both of Head and Members, I do not fee that this would import more, than that the Papacy had fallen into fome Diforders that needed a Reformation; and this is not denied even by thofe who affert the Pope's Infallibility. But a Submiflion to Points of Faith, that is exprefly afferted in the Romon Manufcripts, is a much more pofitive Evidence againft the Pope's Infallibility; and the Word Faith is not capable of fo large a Senfe, as may be afcribed to Reformation. But this Difference in fo great a Point, between Manufcripts concerning fo late a Tranfaction, gave me Occafion to reflect on the vaft Uncertainty of Tradition efpecially in Matters that are at a great Diftance from us; when thofe that were fo lately tranfacted, are fo differently reprefented in Manufcripts, and in which both thofe of Paris and Rome feem to carry all poffible Evidences of Sincerity. As for the Pope's Confirmation of that Decree, it is true, by a general Bull Pope Martin confirmed the Council of Coniftance to fuch a Period; but befides that, he made a particular Bull, as Schelistrat affured me, in which he enumerated all the Decrees that he confirmed, and among thofe, this Decree concerning the Superiority of the Council is not named. This feemed to be of more Importance, and therefore I defired to fee the Original of the Bull, for there feem to be juft Reafons to apprehend a Forgery here: He promifed to do his Endeavour, though he told me that would not be eafy, for the Bulls were ftrictly kept ; and the next Day when I came hoping to fee it, I could not be admitted; but he affured me, that, if that had not been the laft Day of my Stay at Rome, he would have procured a Warrant for my feeing the Original: So this is all I can fay as to the Authenticity of that Bull. But fuppofing it to be genuine, I could not agree with Mr . Sclelffrat, that the general Bull of Confirma. tion ought to be limited to the other that enumerates the particular Decrees: For fince that particular Bull was never difoovered till he found it out, it feems it was fecretly made, and did not pafs according to the Forms of the Confiftory, and was a fraudulent Thing, of
which no Noife was to be made in that Age; and therefore in all the Difpute that followed in the Council of Bafil, between the Pope and the Council, upon this Point, no Mention was ever made of it by either Side and thus is car have no Force, unlefs it be to difcover the Artifices and Fraud of that Court: That at the fame Time in which the Necefficy of their Affairs ob liged the Pope to confirm the Decrees of the Council, he contrived a fecret Bull, which in another Age might be made ufe of to weaken the Authority of the general Confirmation that he gave ; and therefore a Bull that doth not pafs in due Form, and is not promulgated, is of no Authority, and fo this pretended Bull cannot limit the other Bull. I will not give you here a large Account of the learned Men at Rome ; Bellori is de fervedly famous for his Knowledge of the Greek and Egyptian Antiquities, and for all that belongs to the Mythologies and Superftitions of the Heathens, and hath a Clofet richly furnifhed with fuch Things. Fabretti is juftly celebrated for his underftanding the old Roman Architecture and Fabricks. Padre Fabri is the chief Honour of the Jefuits College, and is much above the common Rate both for Philofophy, Mathematicks, and Church Hiftory. And he to whom I was the moft obliged, Abbot Nazari, hath fo general a View of the feveral Parts of Learning, though he has chiefly applied himfelf to Philofophy and Mathematicks, and is a Man of fo engaging a Civility, and ufed me in fo particular a Manner, that I owe him, as well as thofe others whom I have mentioned, and whom I had the Honour to fee, all the Acknowledgments of Efteem and Gratitude that I can poflibly make them.

One fees in Cardinal Eftrée all the Advantages of a high Birth, great Parts, and a generous Civility, and a Meafure of Knowledge far above what can be expected from a Perfon of his Rank: But as he gave a noble Protection to one of the moft learned Men that this Age hath produced, Mr. Launoy, who lived many Years with him, fo it is vifible, that he made a great Progrefs by the Converfation of fo extraordinary a Perfon; and as for theological Learning, there is now none of the College equal to him. Cardinal Howard is too well known in England to need a Character from me: The Elevation of his Condition hath not in the leaft changed him; he hath all the Sweetnefs of Temper that we faw in him in England, and he retains the unaffected Humility of a Friar, amidft all the Dignity of the Purple. And as he thews all the generous Concern for his Countrymen that they can expect from him, I mes with fo much of it, in fo many obliging Marks of his Goodnefs, that went far beyond a common Civility, that I cannot enough acknowledge it. I was told, the Pope's Confeffor was a very extraordinary Man for oriental Learning, which is but little known in Rome. He is a Mafter of the Arabick Tongue, and hath writ, as Abbot Nazari told me, the molt learned Book againft the Mabometan Religion, that the World hath yet feen, but is not yet printed: His Learning is not in Vogue: and School Divinity, and cafuiftical Learning, being that for which Divines are moft efteemed, he whofe Studies lead him another Way is not fo much valued as he ought : and perhaps the fmall Account that the Pope makes of learned Men turns on him ; for it is certain, that this is a Reign in which true Knowledge is very little encourag'd. Upon the general Contempt that all the Romons have for the prefent Pontificate, one made a pleafant Reflection to me. He faid, thofe Popes that intended to raife their Families, as they faw the Cenfure this brought upon them, ftudied to leffen it by other Things that might foften the Spirits of the People. No Man did more for finifhing St. Peter's and the Library, and for furniming Rome with Water, than Pope Paul V. though at the fame time he did not forget his Family. And though other Popes, that have raifed great Families, have not done this to fo eminent a Degree, yet there are many Remains of their Magnificence: whereas thofe Popes that have not raifed Families, have thought that alone was enough to maintain their Reputation, and fo have not done much, either to recommend their Government to their Sub.
jects, or their Reign to Pofterity : And it is plain, that the prefent Pope takes no great Care of this. His Life hath been ceraiainly very innocent, and free from all publick Scandal ; and there is at prefent, a Regularity in Rome, that deferves great Commendation; for publick Vices are not to be feen there. His perfonal Sobriety is alfo fingular. One affured me, that the Expence of his Table did not amount to a Crown a Day; though this is fhort of $S j \not f_{0} \mathrm{~V}$. who gave Order to his Steward, never to exceed five and twenty Bajokes, that is, eighteen-pence a Day for his Diet. The Pope is very careful of his Health, and never expofes it; for, upon the leaft Diforder, he fhuts himelf up in his Chamber, and often keeps his Bed, for the leart Indifpofition, many Days : But his Government is fevere, and his Subjects are ruined.
And here one Thing comes into my Mind, which perhaps is not ill grounded, that the Poverty of a Nation not only dirpeoples it, by driving the People out of it, but by weakening the natural Ferrility of the Subjects ; for Men and Women well cloathed, and well fed, that are not exhaufted with perpetual Labour, and with the Anxiecies that Wantobrings with it, mult be much more lively than thofe that are diflteres'd ; fo it is very likely that they muft be much more difípofed to propagate than the other. And this appeared evident to me, when I compared the Fruitfulnefs of Geneva and Switzerrand with the Barrennefs over all Italy. I faw two extraordinary Intances of the copious Productions of Genevo. Mr. Tronchin, Profeffior of Divinity, and Father to the judicious and worthy Profeffor of the fame Name that is now there, died at the Age of feventy fix Years, and had an hundred and fifteen Perfons all alive, that either defcended from him, or by Marriage with thore that defcended from him, called him Father. And Mr . Calendrin, a pious and laborious Preacher of that Town, that is defcended from the Family of the $C a$ a, lendrini, who, receiving the Reformation about an hundred and fifty Years ago, left Lucca, their native City, with the Turretini, the Diodati, and the Bourlamambib, and fome others, came and fetled at Geneva: He is now but feven and forty Years old, and yet he hath an hundred and five Perfons that are defcended of his Brothers and Silters, or married to them ; fo that if he livech but to eighty, and the Family multiplieth as it hath done, he may fee fome hundreds that will be in the fame Relation to him ; but fuch Things as thefe are not found in Italy.
There is nothing that delights a Stranger more in Rome, than to fee the fine Fountains of Water, that are almort in all the Corners of it. That old Aqueduct, which Paul V. reflored, comes from a Collection of Sources five and thirty Miles diftant, that runs all the Way upon an Aqueduct in a Canal that is vaulted. It breaketh out in five feveral Fountains, of which fome yield a Difcharge of Water about a Foot fquare. Thiat of Sixtus V. the great Fountain of Aqua Travi, that hath yet no Decoration, but dicchargeth a prodigious Quantity of Water. The glorious Fountain in the $P_{i-}$ azza Navono, that hath an Air of Greatnefs in it that furprizeth: The Fountain in the Piazza de Spagna, thofe before St. Peter's, and the Palazzo Farnefe, with many others, furnifh Rome fo plentifully, that almort every private Houfe hath a Fountain. All thefe, I fay, are noble Decorations, that carry Ufefulnefs with them that cannot be enough commended, and give a much greater Idea of thofe who have taken fuch Care to fup. ply this City with one of the chief Pleafures and Conveniences of Life, than of others, who have laid out Millions merely to bring Quantities of Water to give the Eye a little Diverfion.

There is an univerfal Civility reigns among all Sorts of People at Rome, which, in a great Meafure, flows from their Government ; for every Man being capable of all the Advancements of that State, fince a fimple Ecclefiatick may become one of the Monfgrgori, may thence come to be a Cardinal, and fo be chofen Pope; this makes every Man behave himfelf towards all other Perfons with Exactefs of Refpet ; for no Man knows what any ocher may grow to: But thiss makes Proferf.
fions of Efteem and Kindnefs go fo promifcuouny to alf Sorts of Perfons, that one ought not to build much on them. The Converfation of Rome is generally upon News; for though there is no News printed; yet in the feveral Anti-chambers of the Cardinals, one is fure tó hear all the News of Europe, together with many Speculations upon what paffes. At the Queen of Sweden ${ }^{s} \mathrm{~s}_{3}$ all that relates to Germany, or the Nortb, is ever to be found; and that Princefs, that muft ever reign among all that have a true Taite either of Wit or Learning; hath in her Drawing-Rooms the beft Court of the Strangers; and her Civility, together with the vaft Variety with which fhe furnifhed her Converfation, makes her the Chief of all the living Rarities that one fees in Rome. I will not ufe her own Words to myfelf, which were, That She now grew to be one of the Antiquities of Rome. The Ambaffadors of Crowns, who live here in anothes Form than in any other Court, and the Cardinals and Prelates of the feveral Nations, that all meet and center here, make more News in Rome than any where; for Priefts; and the Men of religious Orders, write larger and more particular Letters than any other Sort of Men. But fuch as apply themfelves to make their Court here, are condemned to a Lofs of Time that had Need be wel recompenfed. As for one that ftudies Antiquities, Pictures, Statues, or Mufick, there is more Entertainment for him at Rome, than in all the reft of Europe; but if he hath not a Tafte of thefe Things, he will foon be weary of a Place where the Converfation is always general, and where there is little Opennefs practifed and, by Confequence, where Friendfhip is little underftood. The Women here begin to be more converfable, though a Nation naturally jealous will hardly allow a great Liberty in a great City that is compofed of Ecclefiafticks, who being denied the Privilege of Wives of their own, are fufpected of being fometimes too bold with the Wives of others. The Liberties that were taken in the Conflable of Naples's Palace, has difgufted the Romans much at that Freedom, which had no Bounds. But the Dutchefs of Bracciano, a Frencbwoman, hath, by the ExaEtnefs of her Deportment, amidft all the innocent Freedoms of a noble Converfation, recovered, in a great Meafure, the Credit of thofe Liberties that Ladies beyond the Mountains practife with all the Strîtnefs of Virtue; for fhe receives Vifits at publick Hours, and in publick Rooms; and by the Livelinefs of her Converfation, makes her Court the pleafanteft Affembly of Strangers that is to be found in any of the Palaces of the Italians.
I will not engage in a Defcription of Rome, either ancient or modern; this hath been done with fuch Exactnefs, that nothing can be added to what has been already publifhed. It is certain, that when one is in the Capitol, and fees thofe poor Remains of what once is was, he is furprized to fee a Building of fo great Fame funk fo low, that one can fcarce imagine that it was once a Caftle upon a Hill, able to hold out againft a Siege of the Gauls. The Tarpeian Rock is now fo fmall, that a Man would think it no great Matter, for his Diverfion, to leap over it; and the Shape of the Ground hath not been fo much altered on one Side, as to make us think it is very much changed on the other : For Severus's Triumphal Arch, which is at the Foot of the Hill on the other Side, is not now buried above two Foot within the Ground, as the valt Amphitheatre of Titus is not above three Foot funk under the Level of the Ground. Within the Capitol one fees many noble Remnants of Antiquity ; but none is more glorious, as well as more ufeful, than the Tables of their Confuls, which are upon the Walls; and the Infcription on the Columna Rostrata, in the Time of the firlt Punick War, is, without Doubt, the moft valuable Antiquity in Rome.
From this all along the Sacred Way, one finds fuch Remnants of old Rome in the Ruins of the Temples, in the Triumphal Arches, in Portico's, and other Remains of that glorious Body; that as one cannot fee thefe too often, fo every Time one fees them, they kindle in him vaft Ideas of that Republick, and make him reflect on what he learn'd in his Youth with great Pleafure. From
the Height of the Convent of Araceli, a Man hath a full View of all the Extent of Rome, but literally it is now Seges ubi Roma fuit; for the Parts of the City that were moft inhabited anciently are thofe that are now laid out in great Gardens, or, as they call them, Vineyards, of which fome are half a Mile in Compafs. The Vaftnefs of the Roman Magnificence and Luxury is that which paffeth Imagination: The prodigious Amphitheatre of Titus, that could conveniently receive eighty five thoufand Spectators: The great Extent of the Circus Maximus; the Vaults where the Waters were referved that furnifhed Titus's Baths; and above all, Dioclefan's Baths, though built when the Empire was in its Decay, are fo far beyond all modern Buildings, that there is not fo much as Room for a Comparifon. The Extent of thofe Baths is above half a Mile in Compars; the Vaftnefs of the Rooms in which the Bathers might fwim, of which the Cartbuffians Church, that yet remains entire, is one, and the many great Pillars, all of one Stone of Marble, beautifully potted, are Things of which there latter Ages are not capable. The Beauty of their Temples, and of the Portico's before them, is amazing, chiefly that of the Rotunda, where the Fabrick without looks as mean, being only brick, as the Architecture is bold; for it rifeth up in a Vault, and yet at the Top there is an Open left of thirty Foot in Diameter; which, as it is the only Window of the Church, fo it fills it with Light, and is the hardieft Piece of Architecture that ever was made. The Pillars of the Portico are alfo the nobleft in Rome; they are the higheft and biggeft that one can fee any where, all of' one Stone: And the Numbers of thofe ancient Pillars, with which not only many of the Churches are beautified, chiefly St. Mary Maggiore, and St. Fobn in the Lateran, but with which even private Houfes are adorned, and of the Fragments of which there are fuch Multitudes in all the Streets of Rome, gives a great Idea of the' Profufenefs of the old Romans in their Buildings; for the hewing and fetching a few of thofe Pillars muft have coft more than whole Palaces do now, fince moft of them were brought from Greece. Many of thefe Pillars are of Porphyry, others of Jafper, others of granated Marble, but the greateft Number are of white Marble.

The two Columns, Trajon's and Antonin's ; the two Horfes that are in the Mount Cavallo, and the other two Horfes in the Capitol, which have not indeed the Poftures and Motion of the other; the Brafs Horfe that, as is believed, carrieth Marcus Aurelius ; the Remains of Nero's ColofJus; the Temple of Baccbus near the Catacomb of Sc. Agnes, which is the moft entire and the leaft altered of all the ancient Temples. The great Temple of Peace, thofe of the Sun and Moon, that of Romulus and Rbemus (which I confidered as the ancienteft Fabrick that is now left; for it is little and fimple, and ftandeth in fuch a Place, that, when Rome grew fo coftly, it could not have been left alone unchanged, if it had not been that it was reverenced for its Antiquity) the many other Porticos, the Arches of Severus, of Titus and Conftantine, in the laft of which one fees, that the Sculpture of his Age was much funk from what it had been, only in the Top there are fome Bafs-relieves, that are clearly of a much ancienter time, and of a better Manner: And that which exceedeth all the reft, the many great Aqueducts that come from all Hands, and run over a vaft Diftance, are Things which a Man cannot fee too often, if he would form in himfelf a juft Idea of the Vaftnefs of that Republick, or rather Empire.

There are many Statues and Pillars, and other Antiquities of great Value, dug up in all the Quarters of Rome, thefe laft hundred and fourfcore Years, fince-Pope Leo X's time; who, as he was the greatef Patron of Learning and Arts, that perhaps ever was, fo he was the moft generous Prince that ever reign'd : And it was he that firft fet on Foot the enquiring into the Riches of old Rome, that lay, till his Time, for the moft part hid under Ground. And indeed, if he had been lefs fcandalous in his Impiety and Atheifin, of which neither he, nor his Court, were fo much as
afhamed, he had been one of the moft celebrated. Perfons of any Age. Soon after him, Pope Paul III. gave the Ground of the Monte Palatino to his Family: But I was told, that this large Piece of Ground, in which one flould look for the greatef Collection of Antiquities of the higheft Value, fince this is the Ruin of the Palace of the Romon Emperors, hath never yet been fearched into with any Exactnefs. So that when a curious Prince comes, that is willing to employ many. Hands in Digging up and down this Hill, we may expect new Scenes of Roman Antiquities. But all this Matter would require Volumes, and therefore I havè only mentioned thefe Things, becaufe I can add nothing to thofe copious Defcriptions that have been fo oft made of them. Nor will I fay any Thing of modern Palaces, or the Ornaments of them, either in Pittures or Satues, which are Things that carry one fo far, that it is not eafy to fet Bounds to the Defcriptions into which one finds himfelf carried, when he once enters upon fo fruitful a Subject. The Number of the Palaces is great, and every one of them hath enough to fix the Attention of a Traveller, till a new one drives the former out of his Thoughts. It is true, the Palefrina, the Borgbefe, and the Farnefe, have fomewhat in them that leaves an Impreffion, which no new Objects can wear out; and as the laft hath a noble Square before it, with two great Fountains in it, fo the Statue of Hercules and the Bull, that are belows and the Gallery above Starrs, are invaluable. The Roof of the Gallery is one of the beft Pieces of Painting that is extant, being all of Carracchio's Hand; and there are in that Gallery the greateft Number of Heads of the Greek Philofophers and Poets that I ever faw together. That of Homer, and that of Socrates, were two that ftruck me moft ; chiefly the latter: Which, as it is, without Difpute, a true antique, fo it carries in it all the Characters that Plato and Xenophon give us of Socrates: The flat Nofe, the broad Face, the Simplicity of Look, and the mean Appearance which that great Philofopher made, fo that I could not return oft enough to look upon it, and was delighted' with this more than with all the Wonders of the Bull, which is indeed a Rock of Marble cut out into a whole Scene of Statues; but as the Hiftory of it is not well known, fo there are "fuch Faults in the Sculpture, that thongh it is all extream fine, yet one fees it hath not the Exactnefs of the beft Times.

As for the Churches and Convents of Rome, as the Number, the Vaftnefs, the riches of Fabrick, Furniture, Painting, and other Ornaments, amaze one; fo here again a Stranger is loft, and the Convent, that is laft feen is always the moft admired. I corifefs the Minerva, which is the Dominicans, where the Inquifition fits, is that which makes the moft fenfible Impreffion upon one that paffeth at Rome for an Heretick; though except one commits great Follies, he is in no Danger there; and the Poverty, that reigns in that City, makes them find their Intereft fo much in ufing Strangers well, whatever their Religion may be, that no Man needs be afraid there: And I have more than ordinary Reafon to acknowledge this, who having ventured to go thither, after all the Liberty that I had taken in Writing my Thoughts freely, of the Church and See of Rome, and was known by all with whom I converfed there; yet met with the higheft Civilities poffible among all Sorts of People, and in particular among the Englifh and Scottif Jefuits, though they knew well enough that I was no Friend to their Order. In the Gallery of the Englijh Jefuits, among the Pictures of their Martyrs, I did not meet' with Garnet; for perhaps that Name is fo well known, that they would not expofe a Picture with fuch a Name to all Strangers; yet Oldcorn, being a Name lefs known, is hung there among their Martyrs, though he was as clearly convicted of the Gúnpowder-treafon as the other: And it feemed a little ftrange to me, that at a Time, in which, for other Reafons, the Writers of that Communion have not thought fit to deny the Truth of that Confpiracy, a Jefuit, convicted of the blackeft Crime that ever was projected, hould be reckoned among
their

## Chap. III.

through Swissertand, \&c.
their Martyrs. I faw likewife there the Original of thofe emblematical Prophecies relating to Engband, that the Jefuits had at Rome near fixty Years, and of which I had fometime ago procured a Copy, which I found was true. I happened to be at Rome during St. Gregory's Fair and Feaft, which lafted feveral Days. In his Church the Hoftie was expofed ; and from that, all that came thither, went to the Chapel, that was once his Houfe, in which his Statue, and the Table where he ferved the Poor, are preferved. I faw fuch vaft Numbers of People there, that one would have thought all Rome was got together: They kneeled down to his Statue, and, after a Prayer faid to it, they kiffed his Foot, and every one touched the Table with his Beads, as hoping to draw fome Virtue from it. I will add nothing of the feveral Obelifks and Pillars that are in Rome, of the celebrated Chapels that are in fome of the great Churches, in particular thofe of Sixtus V. and Paul V. in Santa Maria Maggiore ; of the Water-works in the 2 uirinal, the Vatican, and in many of the Vineyards: Nor will I go out of Rome to defribe Frefcati (for Tivoli I did not fee.) The young Prince Borgbefe, who is indeed one of the Glories of Rome, as well for his Learning, as for his Virtue, did me the Honour to carry me thither, with thofe two learned Abbots, Fabretti and Nazari, and entertained me with a Magnificence that became him better to give, than me to receive. The Waterworks in the Aldobrandin Palace have a Magnificence in them beyond all that I ever faw in France; the Mixture of Wind with the Water, and the Thunder and Storms that this maketh is noble. The Water-works of the Ludovifio and the Monte Dragone, have likewife a Grandeur in them that is natural. And indeed, the Riches that one meets with in all Places within-doors in.Italy, and the Poverty that one fees every where Abroad, are the moft unfuitable Things imaginable: But it is very likely, that a great Part of their moveable Wealth will be e're long carried into France; for as foon as any Picture or Statue of great Value is offered to be fold, thofe that are employed by the King of France prefently buy it ; fo that as that King hath already the greateft Collection of Pictures that is in Europe, he will very probably in a few Years more carry off the chief Treafures of Italy.

I have now given an Account of all that appeared remarkable to me in Rome. I fhall add a very extraordinary Piece of natural Hiftory, that fell out two Years before, which I had firft from two learned Abbots Fabretti and Nazari, and afterwards more authentically confirmed to me by Cardinal Howard, who was of the Congregation of Cardinals that examined the Matter. There were two Nuns, one in the City, and the other not far from it, who, after they had been for fome Years in a Nunnery, perceived a ftrange Change in Nature, and that their Sex was altered, which grew by Degrees to a total Alteration in one; and though she other was not fo entire a Change, yet it was vifible the was more Man than Woman : Upon this the Matter was looked into: That which naturally offereth irfelf here is, that thefe two had been always what they then appeared to be, but that they had gone into a Nunnery in a Difguife, to gratify their Appetites. But to this, when I propofed it, Anfwer was made, that as the Breafts of - Woman, that remained ftill, did in a great Meafure take off that Objection, fo the Proofs were given fo fully of their having been real Females, that there was no Doubt left of that, nor had they given any Sort of Scandal on the Change of their Sex: And if shere had been any Room left to furpect a Cheat or Difguife, the Proceedings would have been more fevere and more fecret; and thefe Perfons would have been burnt, or at leaft put to Death in fome terrible Manner. Some Phyficians were appointed to examine the Matter, and at laft, after an exact Enquiry, they were judged to be abfolved from their Vows, and were difmiffed from the Obligations of a religious Life, and directed to go in Men's Habits. One of them was a Valet de Cbambre to a Roman Marquefs when I was there. I heard of this Matter only two Days before I left Rome, fo that I had not Time to enquire after it
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more particularly; but I judg'd it fo extraordinary; that I thought it was worth communicating to fo curious an Enquirer into Nature.

And fince I am upon the Subject of the Changes that have been made in Nature, I fhall add one of another Sort, that I examined while I was at Geneva, There is a Minifter of St. Gervais, Mr. Gody, who hath a Daughter fixteen Years old; her Nurfe had an extraordinary Thicknefs of hearing; at a Year old the Child fpoke all thofe little Words that Children begin ufually to leain at that Age, but fhe made no Progrefs s. yet this was not obferved till too late; and as fhe grew to be two Years old, they perceived that the had loft her Hearing, and was fo deaf, that though fhe hears great Noifes, yet fhe hears noching that one can fpeak to her. It feems, while the Milk of her Nurfe was more abundant, and the Child fuck'd more moderately the firft Year, thofe Humours in the Blood and Millk had not that Effect on her that appeared after the came to fuck more violently; and that her Nurfess Milk, being in lefs Quantity, was thicker, and more charged with that Vapour that occafioned the Deafnefs! But this Child hath, by obferving the Motions of the Mouths and Lips of others, acquired fo many Words, that out of thefe fhe hath formed a Sort of Jargon, in which fhe holds Converfation whole Days with thofe that can fpeak her own Language. I could underftand fome of her Words, but could not comprehend a $\mathrm{Pe}-$ riod, for it feemed to be a confufed Noife. She knows nothing that is faid to her, unlefs fhe fee the Motion of their Mouths that fpeak to her; fo that in the Night, when it is neceffary to fpeak to her, they muft light a Candle: Only one Thing appears the ftrangeft; fhe has a Sifter, with whom the has practifed her Language more than any other ; and in the Night, by laying her Hand on her Sifter's Mouth, fhe can perceive what fhe favs, and can difourfe with her in the Night. It's true, her Mother told me that this did not go far, and that fhe found out only fhort Periods in this Manner. Thus this young Woman, without any Pains taken, has, merely by a natural Sagacity, found a Method of holding Difcourfe, that doth in a great Meafure leffen the Mifery of her Deafnefs. I examined this Matter critically, only the Sifter was not prefent, fo that I could not fee how the Converfation pafs'd between them in the Dark.
23. From Civita Veccbia I came to Marfeilles, where if there were a Road as fafe as the Harbour; and if the Harbour were as large as it is convenient, it were certainly one of the moft important Places in the World. All is fo well defended, that it is, with refpect to Storms or Enemies, the fecureft that Port can be feen any where. The Freedoms of this Place, though now at the Mercy of the Citadel, are fuch, and its Situation draws fo much Trade to it, that there one fees an Appearance of Wealth greater than I found in any Town of France; and there is a new Street lately built there, that for Beauty and Largenefs, is the nobleft I ever faw. There is in that Port a perpetual Heat, and the Sun was fo ftrong in the Cbrijtmas Week, that I was often obliged to quit the Key. I made a Tour from thence through Provence, Languedoc, and Daupbine. I will offer you no Account of Nijmes, nor of the Amphitheatre in it, or the Pont du Garde near it; which as they are ftupendious Things, fo they are copiounly defcribed by many, and are generally known to the Engli/b Nation, that if you never went that Way yourfelf, yet you muft needs have received fo particular a Relation of them from thofe that have feen them, that I judge it needlefs to enlarge upon them; nor will I fay any Thing of the Soil, the Towns, or other remarkable Things that I found there.

I have a much flronger Inclination to fay fomewhat concerning the Perfecution, which I faw in its utmoft Rage and Fury; and of which I could give Inftances, that are fo much beyond all the common Meafures of Barbarity and Cruelty, that I confefs they ought not to be believed, unlefs I could give more pofitive Proofs of them, than are now fitting, and the Particulars that I could tell you are fuch, that if I fould relate them with 7 X
the neceflary Circumflances of Time, Place, and Perfons, might be fatal to many that are yet in the Power of their Enemies, that reftrains me. In hort; do not think there ever was fuch a Violation of all that is facred, with Relation to God or Man; and what I faw and knew there, from the firft Hand, hath fo confirmed all the Ideas that I had from Books, of the Cruelty of that Religion, that I hope the Impreffion this hath made upon me, fhall never end but with my Life. The Applaufes that the whole Clergy give this Way of Proceeding, the many Panegyrieks that are already written upon it, and the flattering Sermons that are preached upon this Subject, are fuch evident Demonftrations of theirSenfe of this Matter, that what is now on Foot may well be termed, the Act of the Clergy of France, which yet hath been hitherto efteemed the moft moderate Part of the Roman Communion. If any are more moderate than others, and have not fo far laid afide human Nature, as to go entirely into thofe bloody Practices, yet they dare not own it, but whifper it in Secret, as if it were half Treafon; but for the greater Part, they do not only magnify all that is done, but they animate the Dragoons to higher Degrees of Rage: And there was fuch a Heat fpread over the Country on this Occafion, that one could not mix in any promifcuous Converfation, without finding fuch Effects of it, that it was not very fafe for fuch, as were touch'd with Compaffion for the Miferies that the poor Proteftants fuffered. Some perhaps imagine, that this hath not been approved in Italy; and it is true, there were not any Rejoicings upon it at Rome, no Indulgences, nor $T_{e}$ Deum's were heard of : And the Spanibl Faction being fo prevalent, it is not ftrange if a Courfe of Proceedings, without Example, was fet forth by all that were of that Intereft in its proper Colours ; of which I met with fome Inftances myfelf, and could not but fmile, to fee the Spani/s Faction fo far forget their Courts of Inquifition, as to argue againft Converfions by Dragoons as a Reproach to the Catholick Religion: Yet the Pope was of another Mind; for the Duke d'Eftrée gave him an Account of the King's Proceedings in this Matter very copioully, as he himfelf related it; upon which the Pope approved, and expreffed a great Satisfaction in every Thing that the King had done in that Matter ; and the Pope added, that he found fome Cardinals (as I remember, the Duke d'Eftrée faid two) were not pleafed with it, and had taken the Liberty to cenfure it; but the Pope faid they were to blame : The Duke $d^{\prime}$ Estrée did not name them, though he faid, he believed he knew who they were, and it is very likely that Cardinal Pio was one; for I was told that he fpoke freely of this Matter. I muft add one Thing, that I do not fee the French King is to be fo much blamed in this Matter, as his Religion, which, without Queftion, obliges him to extirpate Hereticks, and not keep Faith with them; fo that, inftead of cenfuring him, I only lament his being bred up in a Religion that obliges him to divent himfelf of Humanity, and to violate his Faith, whenever the Caufe of his Church and Religion require it ; or if there is any Thing in this Conduct, that cannot be entirely juftified from Principles of Religion, it is this, that he doth not put the Hereticks to Death out of Hand, but forces them, to fign an Abjuration, that all the World muft fee is done againft their Confciences; and being the only End of their Miferies, thofe that would think any Sort of Death a happy Conclufion of their Sufferings, feeing no Profpect of fuch a glorious Iffue out of their Trouble, are prevailed on by the many lingering Deaths, of which they fee no End, to make Shipwreck of the Faith: This Appearance of Mercy, in not putting Men to Death, doth truly verify the Character that Solomon giveth of the tender Mercies of the Wicked, that tbey are cruel.
I pafs'd the Winter at Geneva with more Satisfaction than I thought poffible any where out of England; tho' that received great Allays from the lamentable Stories every Day from France; but there is a Sorrow by which the Heart is made better. I ought to make the mott publick Acknowledgments poffible for the extra-
ordinary Civilities that I met with in my own Particular ; but that which pleafed me moft was of a publick Nature; before I left Geneva, the Number of the Engiifh there were fuch, that I found we could make a fmall Congregation, for we were twelve or fourteen; fo I addrefled myfelf to the Council of Twenty-five, for Liberty to have our own Worfhip in our own Language, according to the Englif/ Liturgy. This was immediately granted in fo obliging a Manner, that as there was not one Perfon that made Exception to it, fo they fent one of their Body to me, to let me know, that in cafe our Number fhould grow to be fo great that it were fit for us to affemble in a Church, they would grant us one which had been done in Queen Mary's Reign ; but till then, we might hold our Affemblies as we thought fit : So after that Time, during the reft of my Stay we had every Sunday our Devotions according to the Common-prayer, Morning and Evening; and at the Evening-prayer I preach'd in a Room that was too large for our fmall Company: But there being a confiderable Number in Genera that underttand Engli/b, and in particular fome of the Profeffors and Minifters, we had a great many Strangers; and the laft Sunday I gave the Sacrament according to the Way of the Church of England; and upon this Occafion I found a general Joy in the Town for this, that I had given them an Opportunity of expreffing the refpect they had for our Church: And as in their publick Prayers they always prayed for the Churches of Great-Britain, as well as for the King, fo in private Difcourfe they fhewed all poffible Efteem for our Conftitution; and they fpoke of the unhappy Divifions among us, and of the Separation that was made from us upon the Account of our Government and Ceremonies, with great Regret and Dinike. I fhall name only two of their Profeffors, that, as they are Men of great Diftinction, fo they were the Perfons with whom I converfed the moft; one, Mr. Turretin, a Man of great Learning, that by his indefatigable Study and Labour has much worn out and waited his Strength, amidft all the Affuence of a great Fortune to which he was born : One difcerns in him all the Modefty of an humble and mortified Temper, and of an active and fervent Charity proportioned to his Abundance, or rather beyond it ; and there is in him fuch a Zeal for Religion, as the prefent Conjuncture calls for, with all the Serioufnefs of Piety and Devotion, which fhews itfelf in private Converfation, and in his moft edifying Sermons, by which he enters deep into the Confciences of his Hearers. The other is Mr. Troncbin, a Man of a ftrong Head, and of a clear and correct Judgment, who has all his Thoughts well digefted ; his Converfation has a Charm in it, that cannot be refifted; he is a Man of extraordinary Virtue, and of a Readinefs to oblige and ferve all Perfons, that has fcarce any Meafure: His Sermons have a Sublimity in them that ftrike the Hearer, as well as edify him; his Thoughts are noble, and Eloquence mafculine and exact, and has all the Majefty of the Chair in it, tempered with all the Softnefs of Perfuafion; fo that he not only convinces his Hearers, but fubdues and triumphs over them. In fuch Company ir was no Wonder if Time feemed to go off too faft, fo that I left Genera with a Concern that I could nothave felc in leaving any Place out of Britain.
From Geneva I went a fecond time through Switzer land to Bafil. At Avanche I faw the noble Fragments of a great Roman Work, which feems to have been the Portico to a Temple. The Heads of the Pillars are about four Foot fquare, of the Ionick Order: The Temple hath been dedicated to Neptune, or fome SeaGod; for on the Fragments of the Architrave, which are very beautiful, there are Dolphins and Sea-Horfes in Bas-relieves; and the Neighbourhood of the Place to the Lakes of Iverdun and Morat make this more evident. There is alfo a Pillar ftanding up in its full Height, or rather the Corner of a Building, in which one fees the Remains of a regular Architecture in two Ranks of Pillars. If the Ground near this were carefully fearch'd, no doubt it would difcover Remains of
that Fabrick. Not far from this is Morat; and a little on this Side of it is a Chapel full of the Bones of the Burgundians, that were killed by the Switzers, when this Place was befieged by the famous Cbarles Duke of Burgundy, who loft a great Army before it, entirely cut off by the Befieged. The Infcription is very extraordinary, efpecially for that Age: For the Bones being fo piled up, that the Chapel is quite filled with them, the Infcription bears, that Cbarles Duke of Burgundy's Army having befieged Morat, Hoc fui monumentum reliquit, left that Monument behind it. It cannot but feem ftrange to one that views Morat, to imagine how it was poffible for a Town fo fituated, and fo flightly fortified, to hold out againf fo powerful a Prince, and fo great an Army, that brought Cannon before it. I met with nothing remarkable between this and Bafl, except that I ftaid fome time at Bern, and knew it better; and at this fecond Time it was, that my Lord Advoyer $D^{5}$ Erlach gave Order to thew me the original Records of the famous Procefs of the four Dominicans: Upon which I have retouch'd the Letter I wrote to you laft Year.
25. Bafll is the Town of the greateft Extent of all Sreitzerland, but it is not inhabited in Proportion to its Extent. The Rbine maketh a Crook before it, and the Town is fituated on a rifing Ground, which hath a noble Effect on the Eye, when one is on the Bridge, for it looks like a Theatre. Little Bafll, on the other fide of the Rbine, is almoft a fourth Part of the whole. The Town is furrounded with a Wall and Ditch, but it is expofed on many Sides, and hath now o dreadful a Neighbour within a Quarter of a League of it, the Fort of Hunningen, that it hath nothing to truft to, humanly fpeaking, but its Union with the other Cantons. The Maxims of this Canton have hindred its being better peopled than it is: The Advantages of the Burgerfhip are fuch, that the Citizens will not Share them with Strangers, and by this Means they do not admit them. For I was told, that during the laft War, that Alfatia was fo often the Seat of both Armies, Bafll having then a Neutrality, it might been very well filled, if it had not been for this Maxim. And it were a great Happinefs to all the Cantons, if they could have different Degrees of Burgerihip, fo that the lower Degrees might be given to Strangers for their Encouragement to come and live among them; and the higher Degrees, which qualify Men for the advantageous Employments of the State, might be referved for the ancient Families of the Natives. Bafll is divided into fixteen Companies, and every one of thefe hath four Members in the Little Council, fo that it confifteth of Sixty-four : But of thofe four, two are chofen by the Company itfelf who are called the Malters, and the other two are chofen by the Council out of the Company; and thus, as there are two Sorts of Counfellors chofen in thofe different Manners, there are alfo two chief Magiftrates.

There are two Burgo-mafters, that reign by Turns, and two Zunft-Mafters, that have alfo their Turns, and all is for Life; and the laft are the Heads of the Com panies, like the Roman Tribunes of the People. The Fabrick of the Stadt-houfe is ancient. There is a very good Painting in Frefco upon the Walls. One Piece hath given much Offence to the Papifts, though they have no Reafon to blame the Reformation for it, fince it was done feveral Years before it, viz. in the Year 1510 It is a Reprefentation of the Day of Judgment, and after Sentence given, the Devil is reprefented driving many before him to Hell, and among thefe there is a Pope and feveral Ecclefiafticks. But it is believed that the Council, which fat fo long in this Place, afting fo vigoroufly againft the Pope, engaged the Town in to fuch a Hatred of the Papacy, that this might give the Rife to this Reprefentation. The more learned in the Town afcribe the Beginning of the Cuftom in Bafil, of the Clocks anticipating the Time a full Hour, to the fitting of the Council: And they fay, that in order to the advancing of Bufinefs, and the fhortening their Seffions, they ordered their Clocks to be fet for-
ward an Hour, which continueth to this Day. The Cathedral is a great old Gotbick Building; the Chamber, where the Council fat, is of no great Reception, and is a very ordinary Room.
Erafmus's Tomb is only a plain Infcription upon a great Brafs Plate. There are a great many of Holbein's Pictures here, who was a Native of Bafil, and was recommended by Erafmus to King Henry VIII. The two beft are a Corpo, or Cbrist dead, which is certainly one of the beft Pictures in the World. There is another Piece of his in the Stadt-Houfe (for this is in the publick Library) of about three or four Foot fquare, in which, in fix feveral Cantons, the feveral Parts of our Saviour's Paffion are reprelented with a Life and Beauty that cannot be enough admired. It is valued at Ten thoufand Crowns. It is on Wood, but hath that Frefhnefs of Colour ftill on it, that feems peculiar to Holbein's Pencil. 'There is alfo a Bance that he painted on the Walls of an Houfe where he ufed to drink, that is fo worn out, that very litcle is now to be feen, except Shapes and Poftures; but thefe fhew the Exquifitenefs of the Hand. There is another longer Dance, that running all along the Side of the Convent of the Augufinians, which is now the French Church, and that is Death's-dance. There are above threefcore Figures in it at full Length, of Perfons of all Ranks, from Popes, Emperors, and Kings, down to the meaneft Sorts of People, and of all Ages and Profeffions, to whom Death appeareth in an infolent and furprifing Pofture: And the feveral Paffions that they expref are fo well fet out, that this was certainly a great Defign. But the Frefco being expofed to the Air, this was fo worn out fome time ago, that they ordered the beft Painter they had, to lay new Colours on it ; but this is fo ill done, that one had rather fee the dead Shadows of Holbein's Pencil, than this coarfe Work.

There is in Bafil a Gunfmith, that makes WindGuns, and he fhewed me one, that as it received at once Air for ten Shot, fo it had this peculiar to it, which he pretends is his own Invention, that he can difcharge all the Air that can be parcelled out in ten Shot, at once, to give a home Blow. I confefs thofe are terrible Inftruments, and it feems the Intereft of Mankind to forbid them quite, fince they can be employed to affaffinate Perfons fo dexteroully, that neither Noife nor Fire will difcover from what Hand the Shot cometh. The Library of Bafil is by much the beft in all Switzerland. There is a fine Collection of Medals in it, and a very handfome Library of Manufcripts. The Room is noble, and difpofed in a very good Method. Their Manufcripts are chiefly the Latin Fathers, or Latin Tranflations of the Greek Fathers; fome good Bibles. They have the Gofpel in Greek Capitals, bur they are viciounly writ in many Places. There is an infinite Number of the Writers of the darker Ages, and there are Legends and Sermons without Number. All the Books that were in the feveral Monafteries, at the Time of the Reformation, were carefully preferved; and they believe, that the Bifhops, who fat here in the Council, brought with them a great many Manufcripts which they never carried away.

Among their Manufcripts, I faw four of Hufs's Letters, that he writ to the Bobemians the Day before his Death, which are very devout, but exceffively fimple. The Manufcripts of this Library are far more numerous than thofe of Bern, which were gathered by Bongarsius, and left by him to the publick Library there. They are indeed very little confidered there, and are the worft kept that I ever faw. But it is a noble Collection of all the ancient Latin Authors. They have fome few of the beft of the Roman Times, writ in great Characters, and there are many that are feven or eight hundred Years old. There is in Bafll one of the beft Collections of Medals that ever I faw in private Hands, together with a noble Library, in which there are Manufcripts of good Antiquity, that belong to the Family of Fefch, and that go from one learned Man of the Family to another : For this Inheritance can only pafs to a Man of Learning; and when the Family pro-
duceth none, then it is to go to the Publick. In Bafil, as the feveral Companies have been more or lefs ftrict, in admitting fome to a Freedom in the Company, that have not been of the Trade, fo they retain their Privileges to this. Day. For, in fuch Companies, that have once received fuch a Number that have not been of the Trades, as grew to be the Majority, the Trade hath never been able to recover their Intereft. But fome Companies have been more cautious, and have never admitted any but thofe that were of the Trade; fo that they retain their Intereft ftill in the Government. Of thefe the Butchers were named for one; fo that there are always four Butchers in the Council. The great Council confifteth of two hundred and forty, but they have no Power left them, and they are only affembled upon fome extraordinary Occafions, when the Little Council thinks fit to communicate any important Matter to them. There are but fix Bailiages that belong to Bafil, which are not Employments of great Advantage; for the beft of them affords to the Bailiff only a thoufand Livres a Year. They reckon that there are in Bafil, three thoufand Men that can bear Arms, and that they could raife four thoufand more out of the Canton; fo that the Town is almoft the half of this State, but the whole making thirty Parifhes. There are eighteen Profeffors in this Univerfity; and there is a Spirit of more free and generous Learning ftirring there, than I faw in all thofe Parts. There is a great Decency of Habit in Bafl; and the Garb of the Counfellors, Minifters, and Profeffors, their ftiff Ruffs, and their long Beards, have an Air that is venerable and auguft. The Appointments are but fmall, for Counfellors, Miniiters, and Profeffors have but one hundred Crowns a-piece: It is true, many Minifters are Profeffors, fo this mends the Matter a little; but perhaps it would go better with the State of Learning there, if they had but half the Number of Profeffors, and if thofe were a little better encouraged. No where is the Rule of St. Paul better obferved than at Bafil; for all the married Women go to Church with a Coif on their Heads, that is fo folded, that it comes down fo far as to cover their Eyes, and another Folding covers alfo their Mouth and Chin, fo that nothing but their Nofe appears; and then all turns backward in a Folding that hangs down to their Mid-leg: This is always white; fo that there is fuch a Sight of white Heads in their Churches, as cannot be found any where elfe. The unmarried Women wear Hats turned up in the Brims, before and behind; and the Brims of the Sides being about a Foot broad, ftand out far on both Sides: This Fafhion is alfo at Strasburg, and is worn there alfo by the married Women.
26. I mentioned formerly the conftant Danger to which this Place is expofed, from the Neighbourhood of Hunningen: I was told, that at firft it was pretended that the French King intended to build only a fmall Fort there; and it was believed, that one of the Burgomafters of Basfl, who was thought not only the wifeft Man of that Canton, but of all Swifferland, was gained to lay all Men afleep, and to affure them, that the fuffering this Fort to be built fo near them, was of no Importance; but now they fee too late their fatal Error; for the Place is great, and will hold a Garrifon of three or four thoufand Men. It is a Pentagon, only the Side towards the Rbine is fo large, that if it went round on that Side, I believe it muft have been an Hexagon. The Baftions have all Orillons, and in the Middle of them there is a void Space not filled up with Earth, where there is a Magazine built fo thick in the Vault, that it is Proof againft Bombs. The Ramparts are ftrongly faced; there is a large Ditch, and before the Cortin, in the Middle of the Ditch, there runs a Horn-work, which is but ten or twelve Foot high; and from the Bottom of the Rampart, there goes a Vault to this Horn-work, for conveying Men for its Defence. Before this. Horn-work there is a Half-moon, with this that is peculiar to thofe new Fortifications, that there is a Ditch that cuts the Halfmoon in an Angle, and maketh one Half-moon within another: Beyond that there is a Coun-
terfcarp about twelve Foot high above the Water, with a cover'd Way, and a Glacis defigned, though not yet executed. There is alfo a great Horn-work befides all this, which runs out a huge Way with its Outworks towards Bafl. There is likewife a Bridge laid over the Rbine, and there being an Ifland in the River where the Bridge is laid, there is a Horn-work that fills and ftrengthens it. The Buildings in this Fort are beautiful, and the Square can hold above four thoufand Men: The Works are not yet quite finifhed, but when all is complete, this will be one of the fronget Places in Europe. There is a Cavalier on one or two of the Baftions, and there are Half-moons before the Baftions; fo that the Switzers fee their Danger now, when it is not eafy to redrefs it. This Place is fituated in a great Plain, fo that it is commanded by no rifing Ground on any Side of it. I made a little Tour into Alface, as far as Mountbelliard; the Soil is extreme rich, but it hath been fo long a Frontier Country, and is by Confequence fo ill peopled, that it is in many Places overgrown with Woods. In one Refpect it is fit to be the Seat of War, for it is full of Iron-works, which bring a great deal of Money into the Country. I faw nothing peculiar in the Iron-works there, except that the Sides of the great Bellows were not of Leather, but of Wood, which faves much Money; fo I will not ftand to defrribe them.
The River Rbine, all from Bafll to Spire, is fo low, and is on both Sides fo covered with Woods, that one, that comes down in a Boat, hath no Sight of the Country. The River runs fometimes with fuch a Force, that nothing but fuch Woods could preferve its Banks, and even thefe are not able to fave them quite; for the Trees are often wafhed away by the very Roots, fo that in many Places thofe Trees lie along in the Channel of the River. It hath been alfo thought a Sort of a Fortification to both Sides of the River, to have it thus faced with Woods, which makes the paffing of Men dangerous, when they muft march for fome Time after their Paffage through a Defilé. The firt Night, from Bafil, we came to Brifac, which is a poor and miferable Town ; but it is a noble Fortification, and hath on the Weft Side of the River, over which a Bridge is laid, a regular Fort of four or five Baftions. The Town of Brifac rifeth on a Hill, which is a confiderable Height. There were near it two Hills, the one is taken within the Fortification, and the other is fo well levelled with the Ground, that one cannot fo much as find out where it was. All the Ground about, for many Miles, is plain; fo that from the Hill, as from a Cavalier, one can fee exactly well, efpecially with the Help of a Perfpective, all the Motions of an Enemy in Cafe of a Siege. The Fortification is of a huge Compafs, above a French League, indeed almoft a German League. The Baftions are quite filled with Earth ; they are faced with Brick, and a huge broad Ditch full of Water round them: The Counterfcarp, the cover’d Way, which hath a Pallifade within a Parapet, and the Glacis, are all well executed: There is a Half-moon before every Cortin ; the Baftions have no Orillons, except one or two, and the Curtins are fo difpofed, that a good Part of them defend the Bartion. The Garrifon of this Place, in Time of War, muft needs be eight or ten thoufand Men. There hath not been much done of late to this Place, only the Ditch is fo adjufted, that it is all defended by the Flanks of the Baftions.
But the nobleft Place on the Rbine is Strasburg; it is a Town of a huge Extent, and hath a double Wall and Ditch all round it ; the inner Wall is old, and of no Strength, nor is the outward Wall very good; it hath a Faulfebraye, and is faced with Brick twelve or fifteen Foot above the Ditch : The Counterfcarp is in an ill Condition, fo that the Town was not in Cafe to make any long Refiftance; but it is now flrongly fortified. There is a Citadel built on that Side that goeth towards the Rbine, and is much fuch a Fort as that of Hunningen; and on the Side of the Citadel towards the Bridge there is a great Horn-work that runs out a
great
great Way with Out-works belonging to it. There are alfo fmall Forts at the two chief Gates that lead to Al face, by which the City is fo bridled, that thefe can cut off all its Communication with the Country about, in cafe of a Revolt. The Bridge is well fortified ; there are alfo Forts in fome Inands in the Rbine, and fome Redoubts; fo that all round this Place there is one of the greateft Fortifications in Europe.

Hitherto the Capitulation, with relation to Religion, hath been well kept; and there is fo frall a Number of new Converts, and thefe are for the greateft Part fo inconfiderable, not being in all above two hundred, as I was told, that if they do not employ the new-fafhion'd Miffionaries à la Dragomne, the old ones are not like to have fo great a Harveft there as they promifed themfelves, though they are Jefuits. The Lutberans, for the greateft Part, retain their Animofities almoft to an equal Degree both againf Papits and Calvinifs. I was in their Church, where, if the Mufick of their Pfalins pleafed me much, the Irreverence in Singing (it being free to keep on or put off the Hat) did appear very ftrange to me. The Churches are full of Pictures, in which the chief Paffages of our Saviour's Life are reprefented, but there is no Sort of religious Refpect paid them: They bow when they name the Holy Ghoft, as well as at the Name of Jefus; but they have not the Ceremonies that the Lutberans of Saxony ufe, which Mr. Bebel, their Profeffor of Divinity, faid was a great Happinefs; for a Similitude in outward Rites might difpofe the ignorant People to change too eafily. I found feveral good People, both of the Lutberan Minifters, and others, acknowledge, that there was fuch a Coraruption of Morals fpread over the whole City, that as they had juftly drawn down on their Heads the Plague of the Lofs of their Liberty, fo this having touch'd them fo little, they had Reafon to look for feverer Strokes.

One fees, in the Ruin of this City, what a mifchievous Thing the popular Pride of a free City is: They fancied they were able to defend themfelves, and fo they refufed to let an Imperial Garrifon come within their Town; for if they had received only five hundred Men, as that fmall Number would not have been able to have opprefs'd their Liberties, fo it would have fo fecured the Town, that the French could not have befieged it without making War on the Empire : But the Town thought this was a Diminution of their Freedom, and fo chofe rather to pay a Garrifon of three thoufand Soldiers, which as it exhaufted their Revenue, and brought them under great Taxes, fo it proved too weak for their Defence when the French Army came before them. The Town begins to fink in its Trade, notwithftanding the great Circulation of Money that the Expence of the Fortifications hath brought to it ; but when that is at an End, it will fink more fenfibly; for it is impoffible for a Place of Trade, that is to have always eight or ten thoufand Soldiers in it, to continue long in a flourifhing State. There was a great Animofity between two of the chief Families of the Town, Dietrick and Obrectbt ; the former was che Burgo-mafter, and was once almoft run down by a Faction that the other had raifed againft him ; but he turned the Tide, and got fuch an Advantage againft Obrecbt, who had writ fomewhat againft the Conduct of their Affairs, that he was condemned and beheaded for writing Libels againft the Government. His Son is a learned Man, and was Profeffor of the Civil Law ; and he, to have his Turn of Revenge againft Dietrick, went to Paris, and that he might make his Court the better, changed his Religion. Dietrick had been always look'd on as one of the chief of the Frencb Faction, though he had been at firft an Imperialift, fo it was thought that he fhould have been well rewarded; yet it was expected; that to make himfelf capable of that, he fhould have changed his Religion; but he was an ancient Man, and would not pay his Court at that Rate; fo without any Reafon given, and againft the exprefs Words of the Capitulation, he was confined to one of the midland Provinces of France (as I remember, it was Limofin:) And thus he that had been thought the chief Caufe of this Town's falling un-
der the Power of the French, is the firf Man that hath felt the Effects of it
The Library here is confiderable ; the Cafe is a great Room very well contrived; for it is divided into Clofets all over the Body of the Room, which runs about thefe as a Gallery, and in thefe Clofets all round, there are the Books of the feveral Profeffions lodged apart: There is one for Manuffitipts, in which there are fome of confiderable Antiquity. I need fay Nothing to you of the vaft Height and Gotbick Architecture of the Steeple, and of the great Church, nor of the curious. Clock, where there is fo vaft a Variety of Motions; for thefe are well known. The Bas-relieves upon the Tops of the great Pillars of the Church are not fo vifible, but they are furprizing; for this being a Fabrick of three or four hundred Years old, it is very ftrange to fee fuch Reprefentations as are there. There is a Proceflion reprefented, in which a Hog carrieth the Pot with the holy Water, and Affes and Hogs in priefly Veftments follow to make up the Procefion : There is alfo an Afs ftanding before an Altar, as if he were going to confecrate; and one carrieth a Cafe with Reliques, within which one feeth a Fox; and the Trains of all that go in this Proceffion are fupported by Monkies. This feems to have been made in Hatred of the Monks, whom the fecular Clergy abhorred at that Time, becaufe they had drawn the Wealth and the Following of the World after them ; and they had expofed the fecular Clergy fo much for their Ignorance, that it is probable, after fome Ages the Monks falling under the fame Contempt, the fecular Clergy took their Turn in expofing them in fo lafting a Reprefentation to the Scorn of the World. There is alfo in the Pulpit a Nun cut in Wood lying along, and a Fryar lying near her with his Breviary open before him, and his Hand under the Nun's Habit, and the Nun's Feet are fhod with Iron Shoes. I confefs I did not look for thefe Things, for I had not heard of them; but my noble Friend Mr. $A b-$ lancourt view'd them with great Exactnefs while he was the Frencb King's Refident at Strasburg, in the Company of one of the Magiftrates that waited on him ; and it is upon his Credit, to which all that know his eminent Sincerity, know how much is due, that I give you this Paricular.

The Habits of the People here, but more efpecially of the Women, are very fingular, and furprize Strangers greatly; they are without Doubt very antique, and there is good Reafon to believe that the Tyranny of Fafhion has never born hard upon thefe honeft People. They are ftrongly of Opinion, that as Cloaths are intended to hide Nakednefs, fo the Manner of Cloathing ought to be fuitable to the Condition; and upon this Principle it is, that you fee every body regulate their Drefs here ; fo that when you are once acquainted with their Cuftom, you may diftinguifh by the Garb of every Woman you meet what Condition of Life the is in. As for Inftance, a Country Farmer's Wife wears fhort Petticoats, a Kind of Boddice, and over thefe a Sort of long Jacket, which in the Winter Time is lined with Lambs-skin for Want of better Furs. Her Hair is curled with her beft Skill, and upon her Head fhe weárs a Hat deck'd with Flowers. The lower Sort of Country People wear a Kind of Coif, under which their Hair is gathered up tight. A Tradefman's Wife in Mourning makes a very folemn Figure; her Petticoats are long, fhe has a ftiff-bodied Gown, clofe Sleeves, with Cuffis that turn up almoft to the Elbows, and a Piece of fine Cloth turns up under the Chin over their Mourhs, fo that between that and a very clofe round Cap, you fee Nothing but their Nofe and their Eyes. A Burgher's Wife is till a more extraordinary Spectacle, for the has a white Robe that covers all her Cloaths, a Hood and Fore-head-cloch upon her Head, the Corners of which are ftiffened and ftick out on both Sides, "fo that a ftranger Figure can hardly be feen. Ordinary Women mourn in Black, but with a white Veil before them, which reaches up to their Mouths, and below cheir Knees. A Doctor's Wife has a Garb not eafily exprefs?d, her Petticoats are very long, her Sleéves flounc'd upon her Shoulders, clofe on her Arms, and

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Elbows

Elbows, ftraiter at the Wrifts with Cuffs of white Linnen, and Rings and Bracelets in Abundance. The Body of the Gown is very ftiff with Wings that reft upon their Shoulders, a round Ruff about their Necks, and a monftrous large Head-drefs, beyond the Size of a Turbant. Their young Women, however, have a more agreeable Habit, their Sleeves are open, they wear very fine Linnen, ftiff-bodied Gowns, their Necks clofe covered, Petticoats fo long that Nothing appears under them but the very Points of their Shoes, and on their Heads they wear very large Hats, like thofe before defrribed in fpeaking of the Women of Bafil. Thefe Dreffes will be better comprehended by feeing them in a Print, than by any Defcription that can be given, and this is the more reafonable, becaufe now there is nothing of this Kind to be feen, the French Cuftoms genetally prevail, and Strangers can difcover no Difference between the Habits of the Women at Strasbourg, and thofe of other Frontier Towns in the Frencb Dominions。
27. From Strasburg we went down the Rbine to Pbilipsburg, which lies at a quarter of a Mile's Diffance from the River; it is but a fimall Place, and the Baftions are but little; there is a Ravelin before almoft all the Cortins; and there lie fuch Marfhes round it, that in thefe confift the chief Strength of the Place. The French had begun a great Crown-work on that Side that lies to the Rbine, and had caft out a Horn-work beyond that; but by all that appears, it feems they intended to continue their Works quite round the Town, and to make a fecond Wall and Ditch all round it, which would have enlarged the Place vaftly, and made a Compaifs capable to lodge ten thoufand Men; and this would have been fo terrible a Neighbour to the Palatinate, and all Franconia, that it was a Mafter-piece in Cbarles-Lewers, the late Elector Palatine, to engage the Empire in this Siege: He faw well, how much it concerned him to have it out of the Hands of the French; fo that he took great Care to have the Duke of Lorrain's Camp fo well fupplied with all Things neceffary during the Siege, that the Army lay not under the leaft Uneafinefs. From thence, in three Hours, we came to Spire, which is fo naked a Town, that if it were attacked, it could not make the leaft Refiftance. The Town is neither great nor rich, and is fubfifted chiefly by the Imperal Chamber that firteth here, though there is a conftant Difpute between the Town and the Chamber concerning Privileges; for the Government of the Town pretends, that the Judges of the Chamber, as they are private Men, and out of the Court of Judicature, are fubject to them ; and fo about a Year ago they put one of the Judges in Prifon: On the other Hand, the Judges pretend, that their Perfons are facred. It was the Confideration of the Chamber that procured to the Town the Neutrality that they enjoyed all the laft War. I thought to have feen the Forms of this Court, and the Way of laying up and preferving their Records, but it was not then fitting. The Building, the Halls, and Chambers of this famous Court are mean beyond Imagination, and look more Jike the Halls of fome fmall Company, than of fo great a Body; and I could not fee the Places where they lay up their Archives. The Government of the City is Lutberan ; but not only the Cathedral is in the Hands of the Bifhop and Chapter, but there are likewife feveral Convents of both Sexes, and the Jefuits have a College there. There is little remarkable in the Cathedral, which is a huge Building in the Gotbick Manner, of the wortt Sort. The Tombs of many Emperors that lie buried there are fingular only for their Meannefs, they being barely great Flag-ftones laid on fome fmall Stone Ballifters of a Foot and an half high : There are alfo the Marks of a ridiculous Fable concerning St. Bernard, which is too foolifh to be related; yet fince they have taken fuch Pains to preferve the Remembrance of it , I fhall venture to write it. There are from the Gate, all along the Nave of the Church up to the Steps that go up to the Choir, four round Plates of Erafs, above a Foot Diameter, and at the Diftance of thisty foot one from another, laid in the Pavement; on the firft of thefe is engraven O Clemens, on the fecond O Pia, on the third O Felix,
and on the fourth Maria! The laft is about thirty Foot diftant from a Statue of the Virgin; fo they fay that St. Bernard came up the whole Length of the Church at four Sieps, and that thofe four Plates were laid where he ftepp'd ; and that at every Step he pronounced the Word that is engraven on the Plate; and when he came to the laft, the Image of the Virgin anfwered him, Salve Bernarde; upon which he anfwered, let a Woman keep Silence in the Church; and that the Virgin's Statue has kept Silence ever fince. This laft Part of the Story is certainly very credible: He was a Man of Learning that fhewed me this; and he repeated it fo gravely to me, that I faw he either believed it, or at leãt that he had a Mind to make me believe it; and I asked him as gravely, if that was as firmly believed there? He told me, that one had lately writ a Book to prove the Truth of it, as I remember, it was a Jefuit: He acknowledged it was not an Article of Faith, fo I was fa tisfied.
28. There is in the Cloifter an old Gotbick Repiefentation of our Saviour's Agony in Stone, with a great manyFigures of his Apoftles and the Company that came to feize him, that is not ill for the Time in which it was made, it being fome Ages old. The Calvinifts have-a Church in this Town, but their Numbers are not confiderable. I was told there were fome ancient Manufripts in the Library that belongeth to the Cathedral ; but one of the Prebendaries, to whom I addreffed myfelf, being, according to the German Cuftom, a Man of greater Quality than Learning, told me, he heard they had fome ancient Manufripts, but he knew nothing of them; and the Dean was abfent, fo I could not fee them, for he kept one of the Keys. The lower Palatinate is certainly one of the fweeteft Countries in all Germany; it is a great Plain till one comes to the Hills of Heidelberg; the Town is ill fituated, juft in a Bottom, between two Ranges of Hills, yet the Air is much commended. I need fay nothing of the Caftle, nor of the prodigious Wine-cellar, in which, though there is but one celebrated Tun, that is feventeen Foot high, and twenty-fix Foot long, and is built with a Strength more like that of the Ribs of a Ship, than the Staves of a Tun; yet there are many other Tuns of fuch a prodigious Bignefs, that they would feem very extraordinary if this vaft one did not eclipfe them. The late Prince Cbarles-Lervis fhewed his Capacity in the Peopling and Settling this. State, that had been fo entirely ruined, being for many Years the Seat of War ; for in four Years time he brought it to a flourifhing Condition: He raifed the Taxes as high as was poffible without difpeopling his Country; all Men's Eftates were valued, and they were taxed at Five per Cent. of the Value of their Eftates; but their Effates were not valued to the Rigour, but with fuch Abatements as have been ordinary in Emgland in the times of Subfidies; fo that when his Son offered to bring the Taxes down to Two per Cent. of the real Value, the Subjects all defired him rather to continue them as they were. There is no Prince in Germany, that is more abfolute than the Elector Palatine; for he layeth on his Subjects what Taxes he pleafeth, without being limited to any Forms of Government. And here I faw that which I had always believed to be true, that the Subjects of Germany are only bound to their particular Prince; for they fwear Allegiance fingly to the Elector, without any Referve for the Emperor; and in their Prayers for him, they name him their Sovereign. It is true, the Prince is under fome Ties to the Emperor, but the Subjects are under none. And by this D. Fabritius, a learned and judicious Profeffor there, explained thofe Words of $P_{a-}$ reus's Commentary on the Romans, which had refpect only to the Princes of the Empire, and were quite mifunderftood by thofe who fancied that they favoured Rebellion; for there is no Place in Europe where all rebellious Doctrine is more born down than here.
29. I found a great Spirit of Moderation, with Relation to thofe warm Controverfies that have occafioned fuch Heat in the Proteftant Churches reigning in the Univerfity there, which is in a great Meafure owing to the Prudence, the Learning, and the happy

Temper

Temper of Mind of D. Fabritius, and D. Miek, who, as they were long in England, fo they have that generous Largenefs of Soul, which is the noble Ornament of many of the Englijh Divines. Prince Cbarles-Lewis faw that Manbeim was mark'd out by Nature to be the moft important Place of all his Territory, it being fituated in the Point where the Neckar falls into the Rbine; fo that thofe two Rivers defending it on two Sides, it was capable of a good Fortification. It is true, the Air is not thought wholfome, and the. Water is not very good, yet he made a fine Town there, and a noble Citadel, with a regular Fortification about it ; and he defigned a great Palace there, but did not live to build it. He law of what Advantage Liberty of Confcience was to the peopling of his Country; fo as he fuffered the Fews to come and fettle there; he refolved alfo not only to fuffer the chree Religions tolerated by the Laws of the Empire, to be profeffed there, but he built a Church for them all three, which he called the Cburch of the Concord, in which the Calvinits, Lutberans, and Pa pifts had, in the Order of which I have fet them down, the Exercife of their Religion; and he maintained the Peace of his Principality fo entirely, that there was not the leaft Diforder occafioned by this Toleration: This indeed made him to be look'd on as a Prince that did not much corfider Religion himfelf. He had a wonderful Application to all Affairs, and was not only his own chief Minifter, but he alone did the Work of many.

But I were unjuft, if I fhould not fay fomewhat to you of the princely Virtues, and the celebrated Probity of the prefent Prince Elector, upon whom that Dignity is devolved by the Extinction of fo many Princes, that in this Age compofed the moft numerous Family of any of that Rank in Europe. This Prince, as he is in many Refpects an Honour to the Religion that he profeffes, fo he is in nothing more to be commended by thofe who differ from him, than for his exact adhering to the Promifes he made his Subjects, with relation to their Religion ; in which he has not (even in the fmalleft Matters, broke in upon their eftablifh'd Laws; and though an Order of Men that have turned the World upfide down, have great Credit with him, yet it is hitherto vifible, that they cannot carry it fo far, as to make him do any thing contrary to the eftablifh'd Religion, and to thofe facred Promifes that he made his Subjects. For he makes it appear to all the World, that he does not confider thofe, as fo many Words fpoken at firft to lay his People afleep, which he may now explain and obferve as he thinks fit, but as fo many Ties upon his Confcience and Honour, which he will religioufly obferve. And as in the other Parts of his Life he has fet a noble Pattern to all the Princes of Europe, fo his Exactnefs to his Promifes is that which cannot be too much commended; of which this extraordinary Inftance has been communicated to me fince I came into this Country. The Elector had a Proceffion in his Court laft Corpus Cbrijti Day; upon which one of the Minitters of Heidelberg preached a very fevere Sermon againt Popery, and in particular taxed that Proceffion perhaps with greater Plainnefs than Difcretion. This being brought to the Elector's Ears, he fent prefently an Order to the Ecclefiaftical Synod to fufpend him : That Court is compofed of fome fecular Men and fome Churchmen; and as the Prince's Authority is delegated to them, fo they have a Sort of an Epifcopal Jurifdiction over all the Clergy. This Order was a Surprize to them, as being a direct Breach upon their Laws, and the Liberty of their Religion; fo they fent a Deputation to Court, to let the Elector know the Reafons that hinder'd them from obeying his Orders ; which were heard with fo much Juftice and Gentlenefs, that the Prince, inftead of expreffing any Difpleafure againft them, recalled the Order that he had fent them.
30. The Way from Heidelberg to Francfort is, for the firtt twelve or fifteen Miles, the beautifulleft Piece of Ground that gan be imagined; for we went under a Ridge of little Hills that are all covered with Vines; and from chem, as far as the Eye can go, there is a beautiful Plain of Corn-fields and Meadows, all fweetly divided and enclofed with Rows of Trees, fo that I fancied I was
in Lombardy again, but with this Advantage, that here all was not of a Piece, as it is in Lombardy; but the Hills, as they made a pleafant Inequality in the Profpect, fo they made the A ir purer, and produced a pleafant Wine. The Way near Darmftadt, and all forwards to Francfort, becometh more wild and more fandy. There is a good Suburb on the South Side of the Maine over-againft Francfort, which hath a very confiderable Fortification. There is a double Wall and a double Ditch that goes round it ; and the outward Wall, as it is regularly fortified, fo it is faced with Brick to a confiderable Height. The Town of Francfort is of a great Extent, and feemed to be but about a third Part lefs than Strasburg. The three Religions are alfo tolerated there, and though the Number of the Papifts is very inconfiderable, yet they have the grear Church, which is a huge rude Building; they have allo feveral other Churches, and fome Convents there. There are feveral open Squares for Market-places, and the Houfes about them look very well on the Outfide. Among their Archives they preferve the Original of the Bulla Aurea, which is only a great Parchment writ in High Dutch, without any Beauty anfwering to its Title ; and fince I could not have underftood it, I was not at the Pains of defiring to fee it ; for that is not obtained without Difficulty. The Lutberans have here built a new Church, called St. Katbarine's, in which there is as much Painting as ever I faw in any Popifh Church; and over the high Altar there is an huge carved Crucifix, as there are painted ones in other Places of the Church ; the Pulpit is extreme fine, " of Marble of different Colours, very well polifhed and joined. I was here at Sermon, where I underftood nothing ; but I liked one thing that I faw both at Strasburg and here, that at the End of Prayers there was a confiderable Interval of Silence left, before the Conclufion, for all People's private Devotions. In the Houfe of their puba lick Difcipline they retain ftill the old Roman Piftrina, or Hand-mill, at which lewd Women are condemned to grind, that is, to drive about the Wheel that maketh the Mill-ftones go. There is a great Number of Jezes there, though their two Synagogues are very little, and by Confequence, the Numbers being great, they are very nafty. I was told, they were in all above twelve hundred. The Women had the moft tawdry Embroidery of Gold and Silver about them that ever I faw, for they had all Mantles of Crape, and both about the Top and the Bottom there was a Border above a Hand's Breadth of Embroidery. The Fortification of Francfort is confiderable; their Ditch is very broad, and very full of Water ; all the Baftions have a Countermine that runneth along by the Brim of the Ditch, but the Counterfcarp is not faced with Brick as the Walls are, and fo in many Places it is in an ill Condition: The Cover'd Way and Glacis are allo in an ill Cafe. The Town is rich, and driveth a great Trade, and is very peafantly fituated. Not far from thence is Hockam, that yieldeth the beft Wine of thofe Parts. Since I took Francfort in my Way from Heidelberg to Mentz, I could not pals by Worms, for which I was forry

I had a great Mind to fee that Place where Lutber made his firt Appearance before the Emperor and the Diet; and in that folemn Audience expreffed an undaunted Zeal for that glorious Caufe in which God made him fuch a bleffed Inftrument. I had another Piece of Curiofity on me, which will perhaps appear to you fomewhat ridiculous. I had a Mind to fee a Picture, that, as I was told, is over one of the Poping Altars, which one would think was invented by the Enemies of Tranfubftantiation, to make is appear ridiculous. There is a Windmill, and the Virgin throws Chrift into the Hopper, and he comes out at the Eye of the Mill all in Wafers, which fome Prieits take up to give to the People. This is fo coarfe an Emblem, thatone would think it too grofs even for Laplanders; but a Man that can fwallow Tranfubftantiation itfelf, will digett this likewife.
3r. Nentz is very nobly fituated, on a rifing Ground, a little below the Conjunction of the two Rivers, the Rbine and the Moine: it is of coo great Compals, and too ill
peopled, to be capable of a great Defence. There is a Citadel on the higheft Part of the Hill that commands the Town; it is encompaffed with a dry Ditch that is confiderably deep. The Walls of the Town are faced with Brick, and regularly fortified; but the Counterfcarp is not faced, to all is in a fad Condition, and the Fortification is the weakeft on the Side of the Elector's Palace. There is one Side of a new Palace very nobly built in'a regular Architecture, only the Germans ftill retain fomewhat of the Gotbick Manner. It is of a great Length, and the Defign is to build quite round the Court, and then it will be a very magnificent Palace, only the Stone is red; for all the Quarries that are upon the Rbine, from Bafl down to Coblentz, are of red Stone, which does not look beautiful. The Elector of Mentz is an abfolute Prince; his Subjects prefent Lifts of their Magiftrates to him, but he is not tied to them, and may name whom he will. The ancient Demefne of the Electorate is about forty thoufand Crowns, but the Taxes rife to about three hundred thoufand Crowns; fo that the Subjects here are as heavily taxed as in the Palatinate. There are twelve thoufand Crowns a Year given the Elector for his Privy-purfe, and the State bears the reft of his Expence. He can arm ten thoufand Men, and there is a Garrifon of two thoufand in Mentz. This Elector has three Councils; one as he is Chancellor of the Empire, confilting of three; the other two are for the Government and Adminiftration of Juttice in his Principality: He and his Chapter have Months by Turns for the Nomination of the Prebends. In the Month of fanuary he names, if any die; and they, fuch as die in February, and fo all the Year round. The Prebendaries, or Dome-beers, have about three thoufand Crowns a Year a-piece. When the Elector dies, the Emperor fends one to fee the Election made, and he recommends one, but the Canons may chufe whom they pleafe; and the prefent Elector was not of the Emperor's Recommendation. Befides the Palace at Mentz, the Elector hath another near Francfort, which is thought the beft that is in thofe Parts of Germany.
The Cathedral is a huge Gotbick Building; there is a Cupola in the Weft End, and there the Choir fingech Mafs. I could not learn whether this was done only becaufe the Place here was of greater Reception than at the Eaft End, or if any Burying place and Endowment obliged them to the Weft End. Near the Cathedral there is a huge Chapel of great Antiquity, and on the North Door there are two great Brafs Gates with a long Infcription, which I had not Time to write out, but I found it was in the Emperor Lotbarius's Time. There are a valt Number of Churches in this Town, but it is poor and thinly inhabited. The Rbine here is almoft half an Englijh Mile broad, and there is a Bridge of Boats laid over it. From Meniz all along to Baccharach, there are a great Number of very confiderable Villages on both Sides of the River. Here the Ratstower is fhewed, and the People of the Country all firmly believe the Story of the Rats eating up an Elector ; and that though he fled to this Inand, where he built a fmall high Tower, they purfued, fwimming after him, and eat him up : And they told us, that there were fome of his Bones to be feen ftill in the Tower. This extraordinary Death makes mee call to Mind a very particular and unlook'd for Sort of Death, that carried a poor Labourer off the Ground a few Days before I left Geneva. The Foot of one of his Cattle, as he was Ploughing, fruck into a Neft of Wafps, upon which the whole Swarm came out, and fet upon him that held the Plough, and killed him in a very little Time; and his Body was prodigiouny fwell'd with the Poifon of fo many Stings.
But to return to the Rbine: All the Way from Baccharacb down to Coblentz, there is on both Sides of the River, hanging Grounds, or little Hills, fo placed, as if many of them had been laid by Art, which produce the rich Rbenifb Wine. They are indeed as well expofed to the Suin, and covered from Storms, as can be imagined; and the Ground in thofe Hills, which are in fome Places of a confiderable Height, is fo culti-
vated, that there is not an Inch loft that is capable of Improvement ; and this brings fo much Wealch into the Country, that all along there is a great Number of confiderable Villages. Coblentz is the ftrongett Place that I faw of all that belong to the Empire; the Situation is noble, the Rbine running before it, and the Mofelle paffing along the Side of the Town. It is well fortified, the Ditch is large, the Counterfcarp high, and the Cover?d Way is in a good Condition : Both Walls and Countericarp are faced with Brick, and there are Ravelins before the Cortins: But on the Side of the Mopelle it is very nighely fortified, and there is no Fort at the End of the Stone-bridge that is laid over the MoJelle, fo that it lies quite open on that Side, which feems a ftrange Defeet in a Place of that Confequence: But though the Fortifications of this Place are very confiderable, yet its chief Defence lieth in the Fort of Hermanftan, which is built on the Top of a very high Hill, that lieth on the other Side of the Rbine, and which commands this Place fo abfolutely, that he who is Mafter of Hermanftan, is always Mafter of Coblentz. This belongs to the Elector of Triers, whofe Palace lies on the Eaft Side of the Rbine, jult at the Foot of the Hill of Hermanftan, and over-againft the Point where the Mofelle falls into the Rbine; fo that Nothing can be more pleafantly fituated; only the Ground begins to rife juft at the Back of the Houfe with fo much Steepnefs, that there is not Room for Gardens or Walks. The Houfe makes a great Show upon the River, but we are told, that the Apartments within are not anfwerable to the Outfide. I fay, we were told; for the Germen Princes keep fuch Forms, that, without a great deal ado, one cannot come within their Courts, unlefs when they are abroad themfelves: So that we neither faw the Infide of the Palace at Mentz, nor this of Hermanstan.
32. It is but a few Hours from this to Bonne, where the Elector of Cologne keeps his Court. The Place hath a regular Fortification, ihe Walls are faced with Brick ; but though the Ditch, which is dry, is pretty broad, the Counterfcarp is in fo bad a Condition, that it is not able to make a great Defence. This Elector is the nobleft born, and the beft provided of all the German Clergy; for he is Brother to the great Maximilian Duke of Bavaria, and befides Cologne, he hath Liege, Munster, and Hildefbeim which are all great Bifhoprick. He hath been alfo fix and thirty Years in the Electorate. His Palace is mean, confifting but of one Court, the half of which is calt into a little Garden, and the Wood-yard is in the very Court. The lower Part of the Court was a Stable; but he hath made an Apartment here, that is well furnifhed with Pictures; where as there are fome of the Hands of the greateft Mafters, fo there are a great many Foils to fet thefe off, that are fcarce good enough for SignPofts.

The Elector has a great many Gold Medals, which will give me Occafion to tell you one of the moft extravagant Pieces of Forgery that perhaps ever was, which happened to be found out at the lant Siege of Bonne; for while they were clearing the Ground for a Battery, they difcovered a Vault, in which there was an Iron Cheft, that was full of Medals of Gold, to the Value of one hundred thoufand Crowns, and of which I was told, the Elector bought to the Value of thirty thoufand Crowns. They are monftrounf large, one weighed eight hundred Ducats, and the Gold was of the Finenefs of Ducat Gold: But though they bore the Impreffions of Roman Medals, or rather Medaillons, they were all Counterfeit; and the Imitation was fo coarfely done, that one muft be extreme ignorant to be deceived by them. Some few that feem true, were of the late Greek Emperors. Now it is very unaccountable, what could induce a Man to make a Forgery upon fuch Metal, and in fo vaft a Quantity, and then bury all this under Ground, efpecially in an Age in which fo much Gold was ten times the Value of that it is at prefent; for it is judged to have been done about four or five hundred Years ago.

The Prince went out a Hunting while we were there, with a very handfome Guard of about fourfore Horfe well mounted; fo we faw the Palace, but were not fuffered to fee the Apartment where he lodged. There is a great Silver Cafolette gilt, fet with Emeralds and Rubies, that though they made a fine Appearance, yet were a Compofition of the Prince's own making. His Officers alfo fhewed us a Bafon and Ewer, which they faid were of Mercury, fixed by the Prince himfelf; but they added, that for many Years he has not wrought in his Elaboratory. I did not eafily believe this; and as the Weight of the Plate did not approach to that of Quickfilver, fo the medicinal Virtues of fixed Mercury (if there is any fuch Thing) are held to be fo extraor dinary, that it feemed very ftrange to fee twenty or thirty Pound of it. made up in two pieces of Plate. A Quarter of a Mile without the Town, lies the beft Garden of thofe Parts of Germany, in which there is a great Variety of Water-works, and very many noble Alleys in the French Manner, and the whole is of a very confiderable Extent. But as it hath no Statues of any Value to adorn it, fo the Houfe, about which it lies, is in Ruins: And it is ftrange to fee, fo rich and fo great a Prince, during fo long a Regency, hath done fo little to enlarge, or beautify his Buildings. Bonne and Coblentz are both poor and fmall Towns. Cologne is three Hours diftant from Bonne: It is of a prodigious Extent, but ill built, and worfe peopled in the Skirts of it; and as the Walls are all in an ill Cafe, fo it is not poffible to fortify fo valt a Compafs, as this Town makes, as it ought to be, without a Charge that would eat out the whole Wealch of this little State.

The Feros live in a little Suburb on the other Side of the River, and muft not come over, without Leave obtained, for which they pay confiderably. There is no Exercife of the Proteftant Religion fuffered within the Town, but thofe of that Communion are fuffered to live there, and they have a Church at two Miles Diftance. The Arfenal here is fuitable to the Fortifications, that is, very mean and ill furnifhed. The Choir of the great Church is as high in the Roof as any Church I ever faw; but it feems the Wealth of this Place could not finifh the whole Fabrick, fo as to anfwer the Height of the Choir, for the Body of the Church is very low. Thofe, that are difpofed to believe Legends, have enough here to overfet even a good Degree of Credulity, both in the Story of the three Kings, whofe Chapel is vifited with great Devotion, and flands at the Eaft End of the great Choir; and in that more copious Fable of the eleven thoufand $U_{r} f f_{\text {lins }}$, whofe Church is all over full of rough Tombs, and of a valt Number of Bones, that are piled up in Rows about the Walls of the Church. Thefe Fables are fo firmly believed by the Papifts there, that the leaft Sign of Doubting of their Truth, paffeth for an infallible Mark of an Heretick. The Jefuits have a great and noble College and Church here. And for Thouler's Sake, I went to the Dominicans Houfe and Church, which is alfo very great. One grows extreme weary of Walking over this great Town, and doth not find enough of Entertainment in it. The prefent Subject of their Difcourfe is alfo very melancholy. The late Rebellion that was there is fo generally known, that I need not fay much concerning it. A Report was fet about the Town by fome Incendiaries, that the Magiftrates eat up the publick Revenue, and were like to ruin the City. I could not learn what Ground there was for thefe Reports; for it is not ordinary to fee Reports of that Kind fly through a Body of Men, without fome Foundation. It is certain, this came to be fo generally believed, that there was a horrible Diforder occafioned by it. The Magiftrates were glad to fave themfelves from the Storm, and abandoned the Town to the popular Fury, fome of them having been made Sacrifices to it; and this Rage held long. But within this laft Year, after near two Years Diforder, thofe that were fent by the Emperor and Diet to judge the Matter, having threatned to put the Town under the Imperial Bann, if it had frood longer out, were received, and have put

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the Magiftrates again in the Poffeffion of their Autho: rity, and all the chief Incendiaries were clapp'd in Prifon. Many have already fuffered, and a great many more are in Prifon. They told us, that fome Executions were to be made within a Week, when we were there.

Duffeldorp is the firf confiderable Town below Cologne: It is the Seat of the Duke of Yutiers, who is Duke of Newburgh, eldeft Son to the prefent Elector Palatine. The Palace is old, and Gotbick enough; but the Jefuits have there a fine College, and a noble Chapel, though there are manifet Faults in the Architecture. The Proteftant Religion is tolerated, and they have a Church built here within thefe few Years, that was procured by the Intercefion of the Elector of Brandenburg, who obferving exaclly the Liberty of Religion that was agreed to in Cleve, had Reafon to fee the fame as duly obferved in his Neighbourhood, in Favour of his own Religion. The Fortifications here are very ordinary, the Ramparts being faced but a few Foot high with Brick. But Keiferfwart, fome Hours lower on the fame Side, which belongs to the Elector of Cologne, though it is a much worfe Town than Duffeldorp, yet is much better fortified. It hath a very broad Ditch; and a very regular Fortification: The Walls are confiderably high, faced with Brick, and fo is the Counterfcarp, which is alfo in a very good Condition. The Fortification of Orfoy is now quite demolifhed. Rkineberg continues as it was, but the Fortification is very mean, only of Earth, fo that it is not capable of making a great Refiftance. And Wefel, though it is a very fine Town, yet it is a very poor Fortification; nor can it ever be made good, except at a vaft Expence ; for the Ground all about it being Sandy, nothing can be made there that will be durable, unlefs the Foundation go very deep, or that it be laid upon Pilotry. In all thefe Towns one fees another Air of Wealch and Abundance, than in much richer Countries that are exhaufted with Taxes. Rees and Emmerick are good Towns, but the Fortifications are quite ruined, fo that here is a rich and a populous Country; that hath at prefent very little Defence, except what it hath from its Situation. Cleve is a delicious Place, the Situation and Profpect are charming, and the Air is very pure; and from thence we came to Nimeguen in three Hours.
I will not fay one Word of the Country into which I am now come; for as I know that is needlefs to you on many Accounts, fo a Picture that I fee here in the Stadt-houfe puts me in Mind of the moft perfect Book of its kind that is perhaps in Being; for Sir William Temple, whofe Picture hangs here at the upper End of the Plenipotentiaries that negotiated the famous Treaty of Nimeguen, hath indeed fet a Pattern to the World, which is done with fuch Life, that it may jufty make others blufh to copy after it ; fince it muft be acknowledged, that if we had as perfect an Account of other Places, as he hath given us of one of the leaft, but yet one of the nobleft Parcels of the Univerfe, Travelling would become a needlefs Thing, unlefs in were for Diverfion; fince one finds no farther Occafion for his Curiofity in this Country, than what is fully fatisfied by his rare Performance: yet I cannot give over Writing without reflecting on the Refiftance that this Place made, when fo many other Places were fo bafely delivered up; though one does not fee in the Ruins of the Fortification here, how it could make fo long a Refiftance; yet it was this Town ftemm'd the Tide of a Progrefs that made all the World ftand amazed; and it gave a little Time to the Dutch to recover themfelves out of the Confternation, into which fo many Blows, that came fo thick one after another, had ftruck them.

But then the World faw a Change, that though it hath not had fo much Incenfe given to it, as the happy Conjuncture of another Prince hath drawn after it with fo much Excefs, that all the Topicks of Flatery feem exhaufted by it, yet will appear to Pofterity one of the moft furprizing Scenes in Hiftory, and that which may be well matched with the Recovery of the
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Roman State after the Battle of Canne. When a young Prince, that had never before borne Arms, or fo much as feen a Campaign, who had little or no Counfel about him, but what was fuggefted from his ownThoughts, and that had no extraordinary Advantage by his Education, either for Literature or publick Affairs, was of a fudden fet at the Head of a State and Army, that was funk with fo many Loffes, and that faw the beft half of its Soil torn from it, and the moft powerful Enemy in the World, furrounded with a viftorious Army that was commanded by the beft Generals that the Age hath produced, come within Sight, and fettle his Court in one of its beft Towns, and had at the fame Time the greateft Force, both by Sea and Land, that hath been known, united together for its Deftruction: When the Inhabitants were forced, that they might fave themfelves from fo formidable an Enemy, to let loofe that which on all other Occafions is the moft dreadful to them, and to drown fo great a Part of their Soil for the Prefervation of the reft; and to complicate together all the Miferies that a Nation can dread; when to the general Confternation with which fo difmal a Scene poffeffed them, a Diftraction within Doors feemed to threaten them with the laft Strokes; and while their Army was fo ill difciplined, that they durft fcarce promife themfelves any thing from fuch feeble Troops, after a Peace at Land of almoft thirty Years Continuance; and while their chief Ally, that was the moft concerned in their Prefervation, was, like a great Paralytick Body, more like to fall on thofe that it pretended to fupport, and to crufh them, than to give them any confiderable Affiftance: When, I fay, a young Prince came at the Head of all this, the very Profpect of which would have quite damp'd an ordinary Courage, he very quickly changed the Scene; he animated the publick Councils with a generous Vigour; he found them finking into a Feeblenefs of hearkening to Propofitions for a Peace that were as little fafe as honourable; but he difpofed them to refolve on hazarding all, rather than to fubmit to fuch infamous Terms.
His Credit alfo among the Populace feemed to infpire them with a new Life: They ealily perfuaded themfelves, that as one Wiliiam, Prince of Orange, had formed their State, fo here another of the fame Name feemed marked out to recover and preferve it : It was this Spirit of Courage, which he derived from his own Breaft, and infufed into the whole People, as well as into the Magiftracy, that preferved this Country, Something there was in all this that was Divine. The publick Councils were again fettled, and the People were at quiet, when they faw him vefted with a full Aurhority for that Time with relation to Peace and War, and concluded they were fafe, becaufe they were in his Hands. It foon appeared how faithfully he purfued the Intereft of his Country, and how little he regarded his own. He rejected all Propofitions of Peace that were hurtul to his Country, without fo much as confidering the Advantages that were offered to himfelf (in which you know that I write upon fure Grounds) he refufed the Offer of the Sovereignty of its chief City, that was made to him by a folemn Deputation, being fatisfied with that Authority which had been fo long maintained by his Anceftors, with fo much Glory, and being juftly fenfible how much the breaking-in upon eftablifhed Laws and Liberties is fatal even to thofe that feem to get by it : He thus began his publick Appearance on the Stage with all the Difadvantages that a Spirit afpiring to true Glory could wihh for; fince it was vifible he had nothing to truft to but a good Caufe, a favourable Providence, and his own Integrity and Courage: Nor was Succefs wanting to fuch noble Beginnings; for he in a fhort Time, with a Conduct and Spirit beyond any thing that the World hath yet feen, recover'd this State out of fo defperate a Diftemper, took fome Places by main Force, and obliged the Enemy to abandon all that they had acquired in fo feeble a Manner. And if a raw Army had not always Succefs againft more numerous and bet-ter-trained Troops; and if the Want of Magazines
and Stores in their Allies Country, which was the chief Scene of the War, made that he could not poft his Army and wait for favourable Circumftances, to that he was fometimes forced to run to Action with a Hafte that his Neceffities impofed upon him ; yet the forcing of the Beginnings of a Vietory out of the Hands of the greateft General of the Age, the facing a great Monarch with an Army much inferior to his, when the other was too cautious to hazard an Engagement ; and, in fhort, the forming the Dutch Army to fuch a Pitch that it became vifibly fuperior to the French, that feemed to have been fed with Conquefts ; and the continuing the War till the Prince, that had facrificed the Quiet of Europe to his Glory, was glad to come and treat for a Peace in the Enemy's Country, and in this very Place, and to fet all Engines on work to obtain that, by the Mediation of fome, and the Jealoufies of other Princes : All thefe are fuch Performances, that Pofterity will be difpofed to rank them rather among the Ideas of what an imaginary Hero could do, than with what could be really tranfacted in fo fhort a Time, and in fuch a Manner. And in Conclufion, every Place that belonged to thefe States, and to their Neighbours along the Rbine, together with a great many in Flanders, being reftored, thefe Provinces now fee themfelves, under his happy Conduct, re-eftablithed in their former Peace and Security. And though fome Scars of fuch deep Wounds may ftill remain, yet they find themfelves confidered on all Hands as the Bulwark of Chriftendom againft the Fears of a new Monarchy, and as the Prefervers of the Peace and Liberty of Europe.
Here is a Harveft, not for forced Rhetorick or falfe Eloquence, but for a fevere and fincere Hiftorian, capable of affording a Work that will far exceed all thofe lufcious Panegyricks of mercenary Pens : But a fmall or a counterfeit Jewel muft be fet with all poffible Advantages, when a true one of a great Value needs only to be fhewed, in order to have that Value known.

If one was to offer a proper Manner of writing Voyages to the Confideration and Example of thole that travel, I do not conceive, that a better Model could well be found, than thefe Letters of Bifhop Burnet's. The great End of Travelling is to form right Notions of the Countries one fees, and of the People who inhabit them, and this End our Prelate plainly propofed to himfelf, and to the honourable Perfon to whom he wrote, who was likewife a great Judge of the Truth and Fidelity with which he wrote, fince he had himfelf travelled through thefe Countries, and refided a confiderable Time at Geneva. But at this Diftance of Time we are better judges of his Penetration and Sagacity; for as he reprefents the Conftitution and political Affairs of the Swiffers impartially, fo he very truly forefaw the Diforders that have fince happened in that Country as well as at Genera. As thofe Diforders juftify his Political Capacity, fo they fully convince us of the Truth of the Maxim by him laid down, That Ambition will produce the fame Effects, let the Object of it be great or fimall, and the Defire of Governing a Bailiage will have juft the fame mifchievous Confequences in a fmall Republick, that the Thirf of prefiding over a great Province has in a larger State. So that in all Governments thus conftituted, the very Principles of their Grandeur are alfo the Seeds of their Deftruction, if thefe Governments are not yet diffolved; this is owing to the Care of their Neighbours, and to fome other Accidents; but that they fhould be torn by Divifions, and once in a Century brought to the Brink of Diffolution, is very natural, and what has really happened within the Compafs of our own Memory, when the State of Geneva was faved by the Interpofition of France and the Swiffers, the Government brought back to its firft Principles; and the Government fet right another Age at leaft.

His Prediction with Refpect to Lombardy, and the other Spanifh Povinces in Italy, have been alfo fulfilled. The late King Pbilip V. entred into the quiet Pofferfion of them as Succeffor in the Spanib Monarchy, and was fupported in the Poffeffion of them, not only by the Forces of that Crown, but alfo by thofe of France;
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and yet in a very few Campaigns he was deprived of them by the Germans, under the Command of Prince Eugene, and himfelf and his Grandfather were glad to enter into a Treaty for the total Evacuation of Italy. It is indeed true, that this very Meafure contributed not a litcle to the Prefervation of Spain, of which he had been likewife deprived, if, by ending the Itclian War in this Manner, he had not fecured a new Body of Auxiliaries for its Defence. The Entrance which the Spaniards fince have gained into that Country, in virtue of the Succeffion of the Queen Dowager as Heirefs of the Houfe of Parma, afforded a new Proof of the Solidity of his Conjecture; for we have feen Milan, Parma, Placentia, and all the ftrong Places in Italy, which made fuch a Figure in former Ages, taken and retaken in fucceffive Campaigns; fo that as he rightly judged, the modern Art of War has made a great Alteration in Things, and we have no Reafon to expect that any Sieges for the future will refemble thofe of former Times, any more than that of Troy. A regular Method of attacking, and a large Train of Artillery, foon does the Bufinefs, in Spite of numerous Garrifons and the ftrongent Fortifications.
His Obfervations in refpect to the Territories of the Venetians, and other States of Itely, have been alfo verified. That they ftill continue declining, all modern Travellers agree: That the great Cities which were rich and popolous while free, are now falling to Decay, and in a Manner become Deferts, as well as the Diftricts about them, is not to be difputed; and that it cannot be long before they are either fwallowed up by their powerful Neighbours, or change their Mafters by fome fudden Revolution, is a Thing morally certain; an Event which it is highly probable the prefent Generation will fee. For tho' political Bodies refemble natural ones in many Circumftances; yet in fome they differ, for the latter are often worn out and perifh by Confumptions; yet this happens very rarely to the former, where the Diffolution of one Government, generally fpeaking, makes Way for another; fo that it may be truly faid, a State has many Lives, or which is the fame T hing, though it perifhes in one Form, it is again revived in another, becaufe the Country, and fome Inhabitants at leaft, remain in Spite of all Revolutions; and as in one Age we fee fmall States deftroyed and conquered by gifeat Monarchies ; fo in fucceeding Ages alfo thofe great 'Monarchies fink under their own Weight, and their Dominions crumble again into feparate States. 'ithus the true Politician fees through all thefe Changes, penetrates their Caules, fees the greateft Events at a confiderable Diftance, and is never fubject to Admiration or Surprize, which are Weakneffes incident only to limited Underftandings and narrow Minds.

The Account he has given us of the deplorable State of the People who dwell at prefent in the fineft Countries in Europe, ferves to give Credit to the Accounts we daily received of their Poverty and Diftrefs, which would otherwife furpafs all Belief. It is however worthy of Notice, that within thefe few Years, the Popes themfelves, as well as other Princes of Italy, begin to be fenfible of the Evils refulting to their Subjects, from their Bigotry to their Religion, which they have endeavoured to remove, or at leaft to foften in many Refpects. The late King of Sardinia, one of the wifeft, and greateft Princes of his Time, began this, and thereupon fome Differences arofe between his Majefty and the Court of Rome. The Memorials he fent thither on that Occafion opened the Eyes of the late Pope, and fome of the moft intelligent Cardinals, who thenceforward became willing to make ufe of the fame Methods that Monarch had practifed for the Eafe and Emolument of the Inhabitants of the Ecclefiaftical State; but the natural Slownefs of that Court in all its Motions, and the Fear of the Confequences that might attend any Relaxation of religious Difcipline among a People, naturally fo corrupt as the Italians generally are, has hitherto retarded fo good a Work, though the Thoughts of it are not quite given up, the Pope having lately attempted to fupprefs not only many but almoft all the Holidays peculiar to his Church, which however has not been
found eafy to carry into Execution. The very Attempt however fufficiently fhews, that in the Opinion of the Papifts themfelves, their Faith becomes a political Grievance, againtt which they are obliged to ufe fuch Pre= cautions as are fuggefted by Reaion, which fufficiently diftinguifhes between that Part of their Religion which is grounded on Revelation, and what is no better founded than on the Authority of the Church, or in plain Englifh, the Invention of Priefts. For evident it is, that God will command Nothing that is not for the Good of his Creatures; and as Reafon teaches, fo Experience juftifies this Truth ; for the Chriftian Religion, in its moft effential Points, flourihes no where better than in thofe rough and barren Countries, where our Prelate oblerves ${ }_{3}$ that the People are both happy and rich in Spite, as it were, both of the Soil and Climate; but in the Coun= tries, where Popery is predominant, neicher Soil nor Climate can contribute to render them populous, or the People that are left in them happy. The Inference I would draw from this is, that by Degrees it is more than probable, this great Evil will cure irfelf. For as the Papal Dominions feel it moft, and as it is well known, that the beft Politicians in Europe are generally found at Rome, for Reafons which our Prelate has very judicioully affigned, it feems highly likely from thence, that the Reformation of thefe Abufes, when they come to be intolerable, will be begun here; and when once this is brought about, there is no Room to queftion, that Precautions of the like Nature will be freely taken by all the Princes of the fame Communion, who as they have fuffered themfelves to be lead wrong, will be, no doubt, as ready to be fet right by the Example of this Court. Thus the temporal Intereft of the Pope may prove the Means of redreffing the Diforders occafioned by his firitual Authority.

There has been an Obfervation made by Travellers of all Nations, who have paffed through all Italy, that the People grow worfe and worfe; as you advance, and better and better as you come back, which is another Proof of the Principles before advanced; fince ins thofe diftant Parts of the Country, but more efpecially in Naples and Sicily, the People are univerfally under the Dominion of their Priefts, and indeed the Clergy are the Proprietors of the greater Part of the Lands of thofe Countries, which is the principal Reafon that there is no Trade in Places that feem the fitteft for it ; and that thofe Countries are left uncultivated, which are - naturally the moft rich, and the moft fruitful. But when-ever it fhall happen, as happen it certainly will, that Naples and Sicily fhall fall under the Dominion of an independent Prince, who will ttudy only the Benefit of his Subjects, and the Advantage of his Family, thefe Grievances will be taken away, and the People put in Poffeflion of thofe mighty Privileges, which feem to have been intended them by Nature. For it is impof fible to confider the convenient Situation, the rich Commodities and the feveral Ports that are in thefe two Kingdoms, I mean of Naples and Sicily without flanding amazed, that they are no better peopled; that they have fo few Ships belonging to them, and that all the valuable Commodities they produce, are carried away by Foreigners at an under Rate, and manufactured and exported afterwards to enrich the Inhabitants of other Countries.

The great Dutchy of Tufcony is fince fallen into a worfe Condition than when it was vifited by our Author. The Princes of the Houfe of Medicis, always retain fomething of the Merchant; and though they wanted not Ambicion, and were ftudious enough for the Advancement of their own Interefl, yet they kept always in View the Good of their Subjects, as being truly fenfible, that a Prince could never be great or rich if his Dominions were thinly inhabited, or his People poor. It was with this View, that by the Affiftance of Sir Robert Dudley, an Englijfoman, Son to the great Earl of Leicefer, that took fo much Pains to build the Town, and open the Harbour of Livorno, which we taking our Pronunciation from our Sailors, call Legborn, and which they afterwards declared a free Port. In this, and in other Meafures of the fame Na-
cure, they purfued the $\mathbb{M}$ axims that had been laid down while Florence remained a free State; but there was this Mifchief attended the Change of the Government from a Republick, that its Fate depended no longer upon itfelf, but upon that of the reigning Family, which has brought it into the Circumftances we fee it at prefent, which are very extraordinary, fince it no longer is the Inheritance of that Family, or of the Heirs of that Family, but by Way of Exchange has been given to the Duke of Lorrain, who is at prefent Emperor, and thus labours under two additional Misfortunes; for as it had loft its Liberty before, fo now it has not only loft its Native Princes, who were always the Parents of their People, and fallen under a foreign Yoke, but has actually no Prince at all, and is become a Province lying at a great Diftance from the Refidence of its Sovereign. Thefe are, without Doubt, very grievous Misfortunes, the Confequences of which will be feen daily more and more.

The other States of Italy have alfo fuffer'd much fince they were vifited by our Author; the Dutchies of Mi lan, Mantua, and Guaftalia, are no more ; and it is doubtful whether the fame Thing may not be faid of Niodeno and Mirandola. The Republick of Genoa is certainly undone, if not fubverted; and the two laft general Wars have gone farther in depopulating diftreffing, and impoverifing Italy, than all fhe fuffered in the two Centuries before, and yet in that Time her Sufferings were not fmall. But notwithftanding all this, and though it is farce poffible for a Country to be more wretched than this really is at the Time we are writing, there is no Doubt that a few Years of Peace, and the rifing up of good Princes, might ftill recover it to as good a State as ever it was in for the fe five hundred Years. The Reader will from hence difcern the true Reafon, why the maintaining a Balance of Power in this Country is fo much the Intereft of all the Princes and States that are its prefentPoffeffors, and why the reft of the Crowns of Europe, and the maritime Powers more efpecially, have alfo an Intereft in maintaining that Balance, which is of fo great Confequence to the Commerce of Europe, which can never be well regulated if that Balance fhould be overturned, and, by Addition of Conquefts, the greateft Part of this Country fall under the Dominion of any Prince much more powerful than the reft. We may alfo fee how wife and how right an Expedient it would be, if all the Italian Powers would unite in a Confederacy for preferving the Peace of that Country, by eftablifhing a perpetual Neutrality, which, as it would prejudice no one Power in Europe, to if thofe concerned would go about it heartily, there could be no Doubt of their fucceeding; and this might not only lay a Foundation for their particular Happinefs, but prove a very good Precedent for eftablifhing the univerfal Tranquility of Chriftendom; which if it be a Bleffing that we have fmall Hopes to fee, we may however have Leave to wifh, and pleafe ourfelves with the Profpect of what would certainly prove the greateft and the moft univerfal Good.

Thus we have taken Pains to accommodate the Accounts, Obfervations, and Remarks of Bifhop Burnet, made threefcore Years ago, to the prefent Times, at leaft with refpect to Italy. It is very much to be regretted, that he did not give us a larger Account of his Journey through France, notwithitanding the Reafons affigned by him for omitting it. He fhews himfelf very impartial in attributing the Perfecution of the Proteftants, to the Religion of the French King, rather than to the Haughtinefs and Cruelty of his Temper, and perhaps there was fomething of Juftice in this, becaufe
it is certain, that in other Refpects, this Prince was very far from thewing himfelf of a Blood-thirtty Temper, for there was but one Man of Quality put so Death, during his whole Reign; the Chevalier de Roban; and the King banifhed his Mother for not demanding his Pardon, which at the fame time he declared he would have granted. It is very remarkable that our Queen Mary; who was a moft violent Perfecutrix, was allo a Woman of a mild and gentle Temper; which thews, that the beft Princes are capable of doing as bad Things, as the worft, when under the Influence of bad Counfels. But perhaps it may not be amifs to inform the Engli/h Reader, that the French Memoirs of this Reign, fuggeft a very different Reafon for this Perfecution, and though they do not lay it upon the King, they lay it as little upon the Priefts; for the Account they give of it is this. Lewis XIV. was very defirous to fee the Proteftants converted, as he called it, and for that Reafon gave great Encouragement to fuch of the Clergy as applied themfelves to this Work. This gave Occafion to the Archbifhop of Paris, and the King's Confeffor, Father le Cbaife, to have frequent private Audiences of his Majefty; which lafted an Hour or two at a Time. This gave fuch Umbrage to one of his Minifters, Mr. Louvois, that he determined to put an End to it at any Rate, which induced him to propofe the new Method of converting by Dragoons, as the fhorteft and the moft effectual. If there be any Truth in this, as in deed there is too great Reafon to believe that this was the real Secret of that bloody Bufinefs, then it plainly fhews, that both Princes and Priefts are liable to be impofed upon, and made the Tools of wicked and ambitious Statefmen, who confider Nothing but their own Intereft, and ftick at Nothing that may promote it. It was the fame Perfon that filled the Head of that Prince with thofe dangerous and deftructive Views, that were fo fatal to the Peace of Europe; the Pretence was his Mafter's Glory, and the Intereft of the Crown of France, but the true Caufe was the Senfe he had, that it was impoffible for him to preferve his Power, or make himfelf neceffary to his Mafter, but in Times of War and Confufion, which therefore he made it his conftant Study to promote. The Surprizing of Strasbourg, and the erecting of Hunningen, were both his Schemes, and in fhort, fo were all the bad Schemes in his Time. Befides, he firft taught the French Minifters how to practife upon the German Princes, which they have continued to do ever fince ; and he made it his Boaft, that in a Time of full Peace he had added more to the Dominions of France than the greateft of her Generals in Time of War by their Conquefts: And indeed this was fo true, that he brought four of the Electors to become in a Manner dependent upon that Crown, equally to the Difgrace and to the Danger of the Empire. But Reflections of this Kind may lead us too far, and therefore we will put an End to them here, and with them to this Section, that in the next we may carry the Reader into France, and give him a fhort View of a Country, which in Point of Situation, Climate, and Produce, fcarce yields to any in Europe; the Monarchs of which are the lefs excufable for aiming at univerfal Dominion, fince the Poffeffion of it would hardly put more into their Power, than by quietly enjoying their own Territories, and attending only to the Welfare of their Subjects, they might, without Envy, Trouble, or Danger, find within their Reach. But Ambition is a Perfpective that diminifhes Objects that are near, as much as it magnifies thofe at a Diftance, and confequently, fhews both in falfe Lights.

Travels through the Low-Countries, and Germany towards Italy, interfperfed with curious Obfervations, Natural, Topographical, Moral, Phifiological, Philological, ©®o.

By the late Reverend and Learned Mr. J о н н RAy, F. R.S.

I. An Introductory Account of the Autbor and of bis Performance, in order to heewo the Difference between it and otber Books of Travels. 2. A Defcription of Calais, Dunkirk, Gravelin, Newport, and otber Places in the Spanifh Flanders. 3. An Account of Bruges, Ghent, Bruffels, Louvain, and Antwerp, weith occafonal Remarks on wwhatever is fingular or worthy Notice in any of thole Cities. 4. The Same Obfervations continued, with a copious Defrription of the Nature of Foreign Univerfities. 5. A Defcription of Fort Lillo, the City of Middleburgh, Fluhhing, Ter-Veer, Ber-gen-op-Zoom, Breda, Dort, and Rotterdam. 6. Tbe Defcription of Delft, witht the Monumental Eulogies of William I. Prince of Orange, and 'Admiral Van Tromp. 7. A Defrription of Leyden, zvith an Account of the Univerfity, and of the Grove of Sevenhuys, and the Metbod of making Turfs. 8. The great City of Amfterdam defcribed, weith a very exact Account of its Government. 9. The Autbor's Yourney from thence to Utrecht, weith an Account of the remarkable Places in its Neighbourbood. io. Bois-le-Duc, Haumont, Maeftricht, and otber Places, defcribed. II. The Manners, Culfoms, and peculiar Difposition of the Dutch Nation, togetber with the curious Obfervations made upon that Subject by Mr. Barnham, Secretary to the Lord Hollis. 12. A large Defcription of Liege, witt the Monumental Infcription of Sir John Mandeville. I3. An Account of Spa, Limbourg, and Aix la Chapelle, including the Antiquities and Form of Government of the laft mentioned City. 14. An Extract from Dr. Francis Blondel's Obfervations upon tbofe Baths, efteemed the beft Account ever publijbed of them... 15. A Defcription of Juliers, and of the City of Cologne, and an Account of the Government of that Place. 16. Andernach, Coblentz, and many. otber Places defcribed, weith a particular Account of the Country. 17. A Defcription of Mentz, Francfort, Worms, and Frankendahl. 18. An Account of Spire, Manheim, and Heidelberg, including the. Defcription of the Palatinate. I9. Philipsbourg, Strasbourg, Brifac, and the Country adjacent, defcribed. 20. The City and Univerjity of Bazil defcribed, with various Critical and Hiftorical Obfervations tbereon, and on the Places adjacent. 21. Zurich, Schafthauffen, Conftance, and tbe Coomtry about them, defcribed very exactly. 22. An Account of Lindaw, and otber Torens in Bavaria. 23. A Defrription of Munich, Augsbourg, and Donawert. 24. The Country of Anfpach, and the City of Nuremberg, defcribed. 25 . A Defrription of Regensberg or Ratisbon, Straubingen, and Paffau. 26. A large Account of the Country of Auftria, with a particular Defrription of the Capital City of Vienna. 27. An Account of the Autbor's fourney from thence to the Frontiers of Italy.

'IT is imponfibe to have a jurt Notion of the $\mathbb{N}_{2 a}$ ture and Value of the following Travels, without having fome Account of the learned Perron who wrote them, whofe Name will always do Honour to this Nation. His Farher was a Blackjmimb, at Black Nottey in EJfex, where Mr. Ray was born and died. The firft of thefe Events happened the 29 th of November, 1628. He received his firt Education at the Grammar-School at Braintree, and from thence was removed to Cambridge, where he diftinguifhed himelf by his indefatigable Diligence in his Studies, and his particular Turn to Botany, which was the principal Caufe of all his Travels. In 1658, he made the Tour of Wales and the Weft of England; in 166 I , he vifted the North, and examined the beft Part of Scotland ; in 1662, he made another Journey to Cbefer, and from thence through Wales, into Corrwaull, Devonflire, Dorfetthire, Hampphire, Wilfbire, and returned to London through Berkbire. In 1663, he travelled with Mr. Willougbby, Mr. Skippon, and Mr. Bacon, through the Countries which will be mentioned in the following Pages; and after his Return to England, he made many other Journies into different Parts for the Sake of Botanical Obfervations, of which he left behind him very large Accounts, that hitherto remain unpublifhed. In 1677, he returned into his native Country, and built a Houre in the Parifh of Black Notley, where he paffed the Remainder of his Days. He wrote and publihed a great Number of very Iearned and valuable Pieces, which are too well known for us to give any Account of them. He was jutly efteemed one of the honefteft and molt confciencious Men of the Vol, II. Numb, CXIII.

Age in which he lived; he fuffered in his Youth for noo taking the Solemn League and Covenanht, and loft his Living affer the Reftoration, becaufe he would not take the Abjuration Oatb then impofed in relation to that Solemn League and Covenant, which declared it not binding on thofe who did take it ; and thus he was generally efteemed a Nonconformift, though always not only a Member, but a Deacon and Prieft of the Church of England, in which Communion he died, fanuary 17, 1705. His Travels are written in a very peculiar Stile, and in a very fingular Maniner; he is generally copious, and always exatt, but at the fame Time there is hardly any Thing to be met with in his Accounts that hath been recorded by others; fo that though he defrribes the famie Places with many other Writers, yet the Reader will meet with very few or no Repetitions, which was the principal' Reafon of our inferting his Travels in this Collection, which have been always, and fill are very juftly admired, and generally efteemed. One Thing more it is neceffary to obferve, which is this, that we have omitted his Catalogues of Profeffors, the Times and Subjectss of their Lectures in the feveral Univerfities through which he paffed, as being long ago out of Date, and fo tending neither to the Entercainment, Dor Inftruction of the Reader ; and we lave likewife left out his Catalogues of Plants, becaufe foreign to our Purpofe, though they will ale ways add confiderably to the Value of the larger Collection publifhed under his Name, which being grown fcarce, has been reprinted within thefe few Years.
2. We
2. We went in the Packet-Boat April 18 th, 1663. from Dover to Calais, formerly belonging to the Englijh, fince to the Spaniards, and foon after furrendered to the French, in 1598. Its Situation is very advantageous, and the Fortifications of Earth, with a deep Ditch and Ci tadel to the Land-fide. It exceeds Dover in Bignefs, and the Market-place is a very fpacious Square; the Government of the Place being adminiftred by a Major and four Aldermen.

April 2 1. We continued our Journey, by Way of Gravelin to Dunkirk; the firft is a Place but indifferently built and peopled, feated in a watry Country, and enclofed with a good Number of Out-works and broad Ditches: The fecond may be compared for Extent to Cambridge, being very populous and well fortified. It is one of the four Port-Towns of Flanders.

We travelled along the Sea-fhore from thence to Oftend, taking our Way by Neuport: This latt is another of the Flemiff Ports, having a capacious and fecure Harbour, but will admit of no Ships of any great Burthen; the Streets are broad and uniform, but the Houfes are low, and built of Timber. Ostend is another of the Harbours of Flanders, confiderable both for Strength and Conveniency; being capacious and fecure againft the Violence of the Winds, and capable of receiving Ships of confiderable Burthen ; the Buildings are likewife but low here, yet pretty uniform, and the Streets regular and ftreight, being built all at once, after the famous Siege of three Years, before it could be taken by the Spaniards. Sluys, is another Sea-port Town of this Country, but under the Jurifdiction of the United Provinces; its Harbour exceeds all the before-mentioned for its Capacity, but is growing daily fhallower, and will in Time be choaked up.
3. April 24. Having taken us Places in the Track-boat, bound for Bruges, and drawn by Horfes, we came about a League and an half from Oftend, to one of thofe Locks (called Softegni by the Italians) which are genenerally made at a great Declivity of a Fall of Water, to keep up the Water, and thereby render a River navigable, which either wants Water, or has too fteep a Defcent. Such there are in Guildford River in Surry in Ensland. The City of Bruges is about four Leagues diftant from Oftend, well built, and of a great Circumference, having been formerly a very confiderable City for Trade. Here, when we faw Pieces of Linnen faftned to the Ring of the Doors, where Women were lying in; it put us in Mind of what Erafmus had taken Notice of upon this Head in his Colloquies. But what delighted us much, was a certain Engine made ufe of here, for the drawing up of Water in great Quantities for the Ufe of the City. This is perform'd by Means of a Chain, unto which are faftned Cylindrical Buckets of Iron; the Chain being round in form of a Wheel-band, and put over a large Axis, deeply furrowed, from whence hanging down into the Well below it, and being turn'd about by the Axis, the defcending Buckets have their Mouths downward, take up the Water as they pafs through the Well, which afterwards afcending with their Mouths upwards (yet a little inclining from the Chain outward) they carry up to the Axis, to which as foon as they are come, they muft, by Reafon of their Pofition, turn it out into a Trough placed lower than the Axis, by which it is conveyed into a Ciftern, and thence by Pipes through the City. The deep Furrows in the Axis are made to hold up the Buckets, without which, the Chain would be apt to nip back, by Reafon of the Weight of the afcending Buckets. I have feen many of this kind in France, Spain and Italy. This City has but Seven Parifh Churches, but Convents in a great Number: In the Church dedicated to Our Lady, you fee the Monument of Cbarles, firnamed the Hardy, Duke of Burgundy, who (as the French Infcription tells you) was flain in the Battle of Nancy, 1476. and his Body tranflated thence by the Emperor Cbarles V. We faw here a very tall Fellow, and well-fhap'd; from his middle Finger to his Elbow 25 Inches, the Length of his Hand to the Wrift II Inches, his middle Finger 7 Inches,
ane reft of his Limbs pioportionable: He was af terwards fhown in England.

According to Boetius, a Native of this Place certain fubterraneous Woods are digg'd up ten or twelve Ells deep in the Earth, with the Trunks, Boughs, and Leaves fo apparent, that the feveral kinds of them may be eaflly diftinguifh'd. The like I have been inform'd, are found in Friefland and about Groningen, efpecially in the fenny Ground, where they dig for Turfs. In England they are called Mo/s-roood, and are likewife found in moorifh and boggy Grounds : It is very probable, that in moft ancient Times, before all Records, thefe Places were Woods on the Continent, and being overwhelm'd by the Sea, continued under Water, till the Rivers and Floods brought thither fo much Earth and Mudd, as by Degrees cover'd thefe Trees, and rejoined them to the Continent. As for the Seas often encroaching upon the Continent, it is manifeft on our Coaft of Suffolk about Dunzoich, there being very ancient and authentick Records, which mention a certain Wood a Mile and a half to the Eaft of Duniwich, which is now a great Way in the Sea. And, as to what concerns the filling. up of fuch Places, I have fome Reafons to believe, that if not all, at leaft a great Part of the Low-Countrics have been thus gained from the Sea. I remember that Varenius mentions, that at the finking of a Well in Amferdam, of 100 Foot deep, they met with a Floor of Sand and Cockle-Thells, a convincing Argument that the Bottom of the Sea lay there in former Ages, and that in Procefs of Time, thefe hundred Foot of Earth were accumulated and brought thither by fome confiderable Rivers which depofited the Sands its Stream had wafhed from the high Grounds hereabouts. Of this we have divers other Inftances in the Flats about Venice, and in the Camarg, or the Ine of the River Rbofne, near Aiw in Provence, where (as we were credibly informed) the Watch-Tower had been three Times removed nearer to the Sea, within the Memory of fome People, by Reafon of the Acceffion of Land on that Side. Some object concerning the Trees digg'd up in England, that, as they are generally taken for Firs (a Tree that never grows well in England) this Argument will not hold in refpect of our Country; but till we are better convinced that the Trees they fpeak of are really Fir Trees, the Solution of this Objection meets with no great Difficulty.

We travelled April the 27th, by Water, from Bruges to Gbent, a City which ftands on a great Tract of Ground, but fcarce half built. It has only Seven Parifh Churches, but Fifty-five religious Houfe.

From hence we continued our Journey, April the 3oth, to Bruffels, by the Way of Aloft (a fortified Town) the firt being the Capital City of Brabant, and the Refidence of the Governors of the Spanißh Netberlands. The Inhabitants here, as well as in divers other Cities of the Low-Countries, have Dogs to draw their little Wheelbarrows or Carts, in which they fell Fruits and other fmall Commodities.

May 2. We came to Louvain, a City which for its Circuit exceeds that of Gbent by three Rods, but contains, like that, abundance of void Ground, and is but indifferently built; the Town-houfe, which is very Itately, being the only Structure worth mentioning. It has 43 Colleges, but does not now make the Figure it did.
The Students are diftinguih'd by their Habits, according to their Profeffions, the Divines wearing conftantly Gowns and fquare Caps, which the reft are not obliged to, except at publick Exercifes ; yet none are al lowed to wear Swords in the City. In the four Padagogies, Philofophy only is taught by two Profeffors ; the firt is ftiled Primarius, the other Secundarius. The Primarius reads in the Morning, from half an Hour after fix till half an Hour after feven, and from ten to eleven a Clock. The other in the Afternoon, from half an Hour after one, till half an Hour after two ; and from half an Hour after four, till half an Hour after five. They take the Profeffors Lectures ; (which are divided into Dielata or Thefes, and Propofitions, and Amotata,

# Chap. III. through the Low-Countries, Gec. 

or Objections and Solutions) in certain Note-Books. The Gentlemen Students are placed in a peculiar Form, called Scamnum Nobilium. As foon as the Students come to the Univerfity, they muft enter their Names, with the Prefident of their College; every time they are abfent from a Lecture, they pay a Penny, for each Time of Abfence from a publick Exercife, three Pence, and if they mifs when they are to perform a publick Exercife themfelves, twenty Pence. The Profeffors of each Podoogogy chufe every Year twelve of their beft Scholars, and after they have been publickly examined, out of their Number twelve are felected to be Burfes, and to have their Lodgings, Diet and a good Stipend in what College each of them pleafes, and to choofe what Profeffion they like beft, and it is out of thefe commonly the Profeffors are chofen. Their Degrees here are Batcbelor, Liccntiate, and Doctor. After two Years ftanding in Divinity, they may be created Batchelors or Baccalaurei currentes, and at one more Baccalaurei formati, but can't be Licentiates till feven Years after ; thefe immediately after their Creation, are reputed Gentlemen, and have Liberty to choofe a Coat of Arms. Doctors are feldom created till they are 50 Years of Age, unlefs they have given more than ordinary Proof of their Abilities.
May 4. We took a Walk for half a Mile from Lourvain, to take a View of the Duke of Arefchot's Palace, and the Convent of the Celestines adjoining to it. At Louvain, we faw three Things we had not met with before, viz. Storks, Women Porters, and Troopers begging on Horfeback.
May 5. Leaving Lourain, we travell'd to Mecblin (Malines) a very neat Place, being the Seat of an Archbilhop, and Capital of one of the Seventeen Provinvinces under the Name of the Lordfhip of Mecblin, tho' it has not above nine Villages under its Jurifdiction The Inhabitants are very induftrious in their Manufactories; and among the reft, there are three whole Streets full of Tanners. We continued the fame Day our Journey to Antwerp, by Boat, which fome compare to Florence, but exceeds it in my Opinion for Beauty. It is encompars'd with Fortifications of Earth, faced with Free-Stone, of a confiderable Thicknefs, and a broad and deep Ditch, which together, with its Situation in a level Ground, makes it very ftrong The Citadel built by the Duke of Alva, is a Pentagon The Houfes are generally lofty, and of Brick; the Chapel of the Jefuits very rich and ftately; and the Steeple of St. Mary's Church a curious piece of Architecture, as is alfo the Town-houfe. Our Royal Exibange of London, was built after that of Antwerp, but the Copy much exceeds the Original; this City being much fallen from its Traffick fince the vaft Encreafe of Wealth in the United Provinces. Plantin's Printing-Houfe is the beft of that kind I ever met with.
4. May 15. We embark'd on board a fmall Veffel at Lillo Fort, upon the Scbelde, three Leagues below Antwerp, belonging to the United Provinces: Having a favourable Wind and Tide, we made 54 Englijh Miles, and arrived before Sun-fet at Middleburgb, the Capital City of the Province of Zealand: In our Paf fage we faw feveral Sea Calves upon the Sands. This City is feated in the very Center of the Ine of Walcheren (whence it derives its Name) being of a large Compafs, well fortified, populous and wealthy. It has a Channel reaching from the Town through that Part of the Ine which looks towards Antwerp, capable of receiving Ships of great Burthen, which are brought into the very Streets of the City. It has about 20 Churches, the Lutberans, French, Proteftants, Anabaptifts and 7 feres, having alfo the publick Exercife of their religious Worfhip allowed them here. This is one principal Caufe of their Wealth and Trade. We took a Walk thence to Flufbing, about three Englifh, Miles; It is neither fo large nor fo handfomely built as Middleburgh, the Streets being much narrower; but the Convenience and Goodnefs of its Harbour, together with its Strength and Riches, make it very confiderable.

May 19. We took a Walk to the Fer-Veer, about the fame Diftance from Middleburgh to the North; it doth not come near to Flufing in Bignefs, yet has two very good Harbours, and feveral Wharfs and Keys: As we pals'd along, we found the Banks of the Seafhoar covered with a Kind of Matting of Rufhes or Flags, ftaked down as high as the Tide commonly rifes, to prevent their being wafhed away by the Strength of the Current.
May 20. We pars'd in a Boat from Middleburgh to Bergen-op-Zoom; and in our Way went by the ftrong Fort call'd Rammekens, fituate at the Entrance of the Channel leading to Middleburgh, a Place remarkable for its Fortifications, which are ftrengthned by many Half-Moons, Horn-works, $\mathcal{E}^{c}$. and is look'd on as one of the beft Fortreffes in this Country.

May 2 I. We travelled to Breda, eight Hours from Bergen, which makes about 24 Englijh Miles; it being the Cuftom of the Dutch to meafure their Miles by Hours. This Place may ftand in Competition with moft in thofe Parts for its Strength, Bignefs, and Number of Inhabitants, being enclofed by very good Fortifications, and two broad Ditches, one of which is always fill'd with Water. It belongs to the Prince of Orange, whofe Palace is feen here, and there is a good Garrifon in the Town.

May 22. We continued our Journey by the Way of Gertrudenburg (a fmall but weill fortified Place, belonging to the Dutch) to Dort or Dodrecbt, a City rich, populous, large, and for its Buildings, to be compared with Antwerp itfelf; the Streets being very neatly pav'd (as in all other Cities of Holland) with Stone in the middle, and on each Side with a peculiar kind of yellow Brick, fet Edgeways. The Englifa enjoy great Privileges here, and have two Churches, whereas the French have but one. We faw the Room in the Gun-ners-Hall, in which the Synod, held in this City 1611, was affembled, the Seats thereof being ftill preferved.
6. May 23. We pafs'd in one of their Track $\int_{\text {choots }}$ or Boats drawn by Horfes, to Rotterdam in five Houts. This City is of a triangular Figure, and, next to Am Jterdam, vies with all the other Cities of the United Provinces, not excepting Leyden itfelf, having been confiderably augmented of late, by the Addition of many new Streets. Not far from St. Lawe rence's Church, you fee a fmall Houfe, which having given Birth to the learned Erafnuus, his Picture is fec over the Door, with this Diftich on one Side of it much inferior in Merit to its Subject.

## Etibus bis ortus mundum decoravit Erafmus Artibus insenuis, relligione, fide.

And another thus:

## Fatalis feries nobis invidit Erafinum, At Defiderium tollere non potuit.

His Statue in Brals ftands in the great Market-place, with a Book of the fame Metal in his Hand. As the Inhabitants of Rotterdam enjoy the Conveniency of a very good Harbour, fo Ships of great Burchen are carried into the very Streets, and they addict themfelves chiefly to Naval Commerce. Their Civil Government is adminiftred by a Prefident, four Burgermafters, and twenty four Aldermen or Seriators, which they call the Vroet fobap: Thefe continue in theirStations during Life, choofe all the publick Officers out of their own Number, and if any one dies, have the Privilege of choofing another in his Room ; fo that the Govern ment here, as well as in other Cities of the United Provinces, is a Kind of Ariffocracy with this Difference only, that in fome, the Number of thofe who compofe this Vroetfcbap is more, in others lefs.
5. May 25. We went into one of their Trackfoboots, which go every Hour in the Day from hence to Delft, where we arrived in two Hours. This City is alfo very large, with fair Streets and Water-Channels in them
as in moft other Places in Holland. The Stadtboufe is a ftately Structure, and the old and new Churches are very large. In the middle of the Quire of the laft of thefe, you fee the fumptuous Tomb of William Earl of Naffaw, Prince of Orange, who was affaffinated by the Spaniards, as this following Infcription tells you:
D. $O$. $M$.

Et
Sternce memorice
Gulielmi Naflovii,
Supremi Araufionenfium Principis, Patr. Patr.
Qui Belgii fortunis fuas poftbabuit, Et fuorum.
Validifimos exercitus ere plurimum privalo
Bis confcripfit, bis induxit ;
Ordinum aufpiciis Hifpanice tyrannidem propulit:
Verce religionis cultum, avitas patrice leges Revocavit, refituit:
Ipfam deniq; libertatem tantum non affertam Mauritio Principi,
Paterna virtutis beredi filio, Stabiliendam reliquit; Herois vere filii, prudentis, inviczi;
Quem Pbilip. 1I. Hifp. R. ille Europe timor, timuit, Non domuit, non terruit;
Sed empto percuffore fraude, nefando Sustulit.
Fcederat. Belg. Provinc.
Perenne memor. monum.
Fec.
In the Quire of the old Church is the Tomb of the Famous Van Tromp with this Infcription:

## Aterna Menzoric,

2ui Batavos, qui virtutem at verum laborem amas, lese ac luge.
Batave gentis decus, virtutis bellice fulmen bic jacet, qui vivus nunquam jacuit, $\mathcal{E}$ imperatorem ftantem debere mori fuo exemplo docuit; Amor civium, bostium terror, Oceani ftupor, Martinus Harperti Trompius: 2uo nomine plures continentur laudes, quam bic lapis capit fanè aǹguftior; Et cui Scbola Oriens $\mathcal{E}$ Occidens, mare materia triumploorum, Univerfus Orbis theatrum glorice fuit: Prcdonum certa pernicies, commercii falix affertor, familiaritate utilis non vilis, poftquam nautas ac milites,
 perio, pof L. pralia, quorum Dux fuit aut pars magna, poft infignes, fupra fidem, victorias, post fummos, infra meritum, bonores, tandem bello Anglico, tantum non victor, certe inviclus, X. Aug. Anno Æræ Chriftianæ M.D.C.L.III. Ætat. LVI. vivere ac vincere defit. Frederati Belgii Patres Heroi optime merito M. P.

## Over his Arms was written the following Diftich.

Urbs * Pbobi cineres jaEtat, fed currus \| bonores Ingreditur quoties egrediturque mari.

> * i. e. Delpbi. \| Pbobbi nimirum fou folis.

One Mr. Mere an Apothecary of that City had a fine Musaum of natural and artificial Rarities, and among the reft, the Dens Hippopotami (though I queftion whether there be fuch an Animal) the Horns of the Hircus Bezoardicus, and the Cornua \& Pedes Alcis, call'd the Elk in Englifh; the fame I fuppofe, which in Nere-England and Virginia, is call'd Moofe; a Species of Deer of a tall and large Size, the Horns being without Brow-Antlers, but only a broad Palm of feveral Shags upon it. I faw one of thofe Horns at Lewes, at Mr. Holney's an Apothecary, that weighed twenty five Pounds, and the Skin of an Elk ftuft, in the Great Duke of Florence's Gallery. In the Anatomical Theatre we alfo faw many Rarities, too many to be inferted here. Delft is famous for its Earthen Ware, which is made in great Plenty there, in Imitation of Cbina. The Government is adminitter'd by a Protor or Scbout,
wo Burgomatters, feven Efcherins, and forty Senators, which they alfo call the Vroetfcbap.

May 28. We pafs'd by Water, in lefs than an Hour's Time, to the Hague, being rather a Village than a City, and not enclofed with Walls or any thing elfe; but for the Fairnefs of its Streets and beautiful Houfes, and Number of People, may challenge the Preference before many Cities. The Grove which is near it, is exceeding pleafant, and here I firft faw the Monophyllum grow wild, as I found at Schereling, a Village on the Sea-fide, near the Hague, a Species of Spartum maritisnum, much larger than our Englifh kind. Whillt we were at the Hague, we took the Opportunity of viewing the Burial Place of a certain Lady of Zealand, in the Church of Laufdun, a Village about five or fix Englifh Miles from the Hague, who, as the Infcription tells you, was Margaret the Wife of Herman, Earl of Hennenbergh, and Daughter of Florentius, Earl of Hol land and Zealand, and Sifter to William King of the Romans, \&c. This Lady being about 40 Years of Age, and meeting with a poor Woman that had Twins in her Arms, told her that fhe muft have been difhoneft to her Husband, as not believing that two Children could be begot at once; at which the poor Woman being highly concerned, wifh'd that fhe might bring forth as many Children at a Birth, as there were Days in the Year; which was fulfilled in 1276 , when at one Birth the was brought to Bed of 365 Children of both Sexes, who were baptiz'd by Guido, Suffragan of Utrecht, in two Brafs Bafons, the Sons having the Name of Fobn, and the Daughters that of Elizabeth given them; and foon after died all in one Day, as did alfo the Mother, and were buried in this Church of the Village of Lanfdun. This Infcription is to be feen in Latin, over the two Bafons, in which they fay, thefe Children were baptiz'd, and beneath it this Diftich:

## E. tibi monfrofum nimis \& memorabile factum, Quale nec à mundi conditione datum.

7. May 3r. We went in one of their Paffage-boats in three Hours from hence to Leyden, being, next to Amflerdam, the largeft City in Holland. The great Church of St. Peter contains many Monuments of learned Men, and in the French Church is among others, that of 7ofeph Scaliger. The Schools for publick Lectures is a Structure of three Stories high, of Brick, having two Rooms on a Floor; the two lower being affign'd for Divinity and Phyfick; middlemoft for Law and Philofophy; and the uppermoft contains the Printing-Houfe, fo well known by the Name of Officina Elzeviriana. Every Year a Catalogue is printed in Latin, and affixed to the School-Gates, containing the Names of the Profeffors, and what publick Lecture each of them is to keep the Year following. Behind the School-Yard is the Phyfick-Garden, which enclofes about an Acre of Ground in the Square, and has a confiderable Number of exotick Plants; the Catalogues of which are alfo frequently publifhed here. They have no more than two Colleges here, in the Nature of Hofpitals, for the Suftinence of poor Scholars, the reft of the Students living upon their own Purfe, without any Gowns or Caps, but walk the Streets with their Swords, and appear in the Schools, and perform their Exercifes in them, with their Heads uncover'd. Thofe that have a Mind to be Members of the Univerfity, apply themfelves to the ReEZor Magnificus (refembling the ViceChancellor of our Univerfity) who enters them into the Book, and gives them a Seal, by which they are freed from paying of Excife, yet under a certain Limitation. Befides the publick Lectures, each of the Profeffors allot certain Hours for reading in private (which they call Collegia) for which the Auditors pay a Gratuity. Degrees (of which they have only thofe of Master of Arts and Doctors) are conferr'd here, without the leaft refpect to the ftanding of the Candidates. He that is to commence in any Faculty, propofes only certain Thefes upon a felected Subject in Print, which he is obliged to maintain againft all Opponents, every one
having

## Chap. II1. through the Low-Countries, $\mathscr{C}^{9} C$.

having the Liberty (after Leave ask'd from the Profeffor that prefides) to oppofe the Candidate. Each of thefe Profeffors have a Salary of 200 and 300 l . per Annum allowed them. Befides the Univerfity, there is a great Manufacture of Woollen Cloth fettled in this City. For the reft, the Houfes are very well built, with very fteep Roofs on Purpofe to caft the Rain Water into Cifterns, wherein it is preferved for Uife. Its Streets are for the moft part very, broad, large, and ftreight, furnifh'd with Water Channels. In the Night time certain Watchmen go about the Streets, and making a Noife with a Rapper, tell every Hour what Time of Night it is. In the anatomical Theatre, we faw many Skeletons of Men and Beafts, and among other Rarities, a Box, containing the Skeleton of the Head of an Indinn Creature, half a Stag's, half a Hog'shead; many Leavc of the Betble, not unlike the great Satyrion Leaf; an Ant-Eear; and in the Library, the Manufcripts of Fofeph Scaliger. Leyden is enclofed with a good Earth Wall, and a Ditch, which being furrounded by Rows of Lime-Trees, make very pleafant Walks.

Before we parted from Leyden, we took a Turn to a Village call'd Sevenbuys, about four Leagues thence, to view a very pleafant Grove near it, excellently well ftor'd with wild Fowl, fuch as Scbolfers, call'd Sbags in England, being not unlike Cormorants, but fomewhat Iefs; we were much furprifed to fee them build upon Trees. Lepelaers, call'd Platere and Pellicani by Gefner, fome call them Spoonbills in England. Quacks, call'd Nigbt-Ravens by the Germans, becaufe they always make a Noife in the Night Time, and Reyers or Herons. Befides which this Wood affords valt Numbers of Ravens, Wood-Pidgeons and Turtle Doves. By the Way, we took Notice of Lyfmachia lutea flore globofo, and the Arum five Dracunculus growing in the Ditches. All the Grounds between this Village and Leyden, are Jow, fenny, and full of Pools. We faw the Country People hereabouts bufied in making of Turf: They rake with a Kind of Hoop-net, faftened to a Pole, the Mud up from the Bottom of a ftanding Pool, wherewith having laden a Boat, they throw this Mud with long Shovels on an even Piece of Ground, making of it a Bed of an equal Bignefs as near as they can guefs; this, after it has lain long enough to dry, they tread with pieces of Boards faftned to their Feet, to make it clofe and finooth; then they cut the whole Bed with a Spade into Pieces of the Bignefs of a Brick, and pile them up in Stacks or Ranks, fo that one may fee through them, to give a free Paffage to the Air and Wind, to dry them further, and afterwards are laid up in Barns, the Sides of which are made up with wooden Bars at fome Diftance from one another, to make them fir for Firing.
Gune 6. We continued our Journey in one of the Boats that go from this Place to Harlem, where we arrived in four Hours; being a populous, ftrong and pleafant City; provided with very fair Channels in feveral of its Streets: It has moft delightful natural Groves on that Side where it looks towards Leyden. In the Garden of the Prince's Houfe is a SummerHoufe, where you fee the Pifture of Lawerence Cofer, in a furr'd Gown, holding the Letter A in his Hand, with this Infcription over it:
M. S. Viro Confulari, Laurentio Coftero Harlemenfi alteri Cadmo, छ Artis Typographice circa Annum Domini MCCCCXXXX, Inventori primo.

The Statue and Infrription which was on his Houfe in the Market-place, are no more to be feen, the Houfe being fold. The chief Trade in this City is in Weaving of Silks, Damasks, Velvets, Sattins, Linen Cloths, Ejc. The Sea Coaft near Harlem, and all Nortb Holland, are covered againft the Sea with green Downs.
8. Juure 8. We went hence in two Hours by Boat to Amsferdam, where we met at the Gate no more than two Soldiers, one without, the other within: This City, as it is the biggeft of all the Low-Countries, fo for Riches Vol. il. Numb. 1 I 3 .
and Traffick may compare with any in Europer. At that Time I look'd upon the Extent of it to be the fame with Venice, and confequently lefs by one half than London, but as they were then bufied in enclofing a very large Tract of Ground with a ftrong Wall and deep Ditch (which I hear is fince fill'd up with fately Houfes) it will bid fair for being numbered among thofe of the firft Rank for Bignefs. The chief publick Buildings here are, the Stadtboufe, a moft magnificent Square Pile of Buildings, facd without with Free-ftone; the Foundation of which, as they told us, coft $100000 \%$. Sterling, the Structure being built upon I. 3659 great Piles or Trees driven into the Ground. The Exchange a large oblong Square, frequented by vaft Numibers of all Nations. The Admirally-Houfe, a noble Structure, with fair Rooms. The Magazine and various Hofpitals and Houjes of Correezion. In this City is alfo a publick School, in which are kept Lectures in feveral Faculties, by fix Profentors, efpecially in the Summer Time. The feres, who are richer here than in any other Place, amount to twenty thoufand: In this City are alfo tolerated moft other Religions (not excepting the Roman Calbolick) but none, except thofe of the eftablinh'd Religion, are permitted to erect any Steeples, or to make ufe of Bells for the affembling of the Congregation. In that Itately Structure, called the New Cburch, you fee a very fair Monument, erected to the Memory of Fobn van Galen, with this Infcription:

## Generofifimo Heroi fobanni à Galen $E \int J e n / 2$

2 2ui ob res fortiter $\S f$ feliciter gefas, fexies uno anno Dunkirkanorum predalorum navem captam, © à Barbaris opina fpolia reportata, Ordinum Claff in Mari Mediterraneo Prefectus, memorabili pralio ad Livornam, Deo auxiliante, Anglorum navibus captis, fugatis, incendio et fubmerfione deletis, commercium cum dizti maris accolis refiturit, idibus Martii Anno M.DC.LIII. Et uno pede trauncatus, nono post vietoriand die, annos natus X LVIII. obiit, ut in Jecula per gloriam viveret.

Illuftriff. \& Prepotent. Federati Belgii
Ordinum decreto,
Nob. छ Pot. Senatus Arcbitbalaf:
Qui ef Amfelodami
M. $H$. $\quad P$.

The Pulpit of this Church is valued at eten thoufand Pounds sterling, and there are twenty four eftablifhed Minifters belonging to this City.

The Government is adminifter'd here by the Pretor or Scbout, four Burgomafters, nine Efcbevins, and thirty fix Counfellors or Senators, which they call the $V$ roet $f$ chap. The Prator has the firft Place upon the Bench of the Efchevins: He is elected by the Burgomafers (with the Approbation of the Vroet (cbap) for three Years, bur may be continued in his Office from Time to Time: He is not eligible to this Dignity unlefs he has been a Freeman feven Years. His Bufinefs is to make Laws in Conjunction with the Burgomafters and E/chevins, to apprehend and imprifon Criminals, and he prefides as Chief Juftice in civil as well as criminal Caufes; and with the Approbation of the Burgomafers and Efchevins, determines all Matters before them, and pronounces Sentence againft Criminals, and fees it put in Execution. In other Cities, the Prolor's Concern reaches no farther than to apprehend and profecute Malefactors. The whole Number of Burgomafters confifts of twelve, but four only are regent at a Time, which is a Year: They muft at the Time of their Election be forty Years of Age at leaft. For every Year, the Burgomafiers that have been EJcbevins, chufe by the Majority of Votes, three out of the twelve to be Regents, which three felect one out of the four that reigned the Year before, a fourth, who tenders them the Oath, and officiates as Prefident the firft three Months. The remaining eight Burgomafers are employed in other great Of fices, fuch as Treafurers, Mafters of Hofpitals, and one is fent in Quality of Deputy to the Affembly of the States at the Hogue, one for a Member of the Council
of the Admiralty of Amferdam, \&c. The Office of
the Burgomaflers Regent is, to take Care of the Gothe Burgomafers Regent is, to take Care of the Goment and Peace of the whole Differences between private Perfons, to be Surveyors of the Fortifications, Streets, and publick Buildings. If one of the twelve Burgomafers happen to die, it belongs to the Vroetfobap to chufe another. When the Ef cbevins are to be elected, the Vroetcicap propofes fourteen Perfons, out of which the Burgomaffers feleat feven; but one Condition is, that they muft not be near of Kin either to the Scbout, or any of the Burgomafers Regent. Unto thofe feven the new and old Burgomafters, together with the new elected Efchevins, by the Majority of Voices, add two out of the Number of the Ejcbevins chofen the laft Year, which two for that Year have the firft and fecond Rank among the Efcbevins, who are Judges both in civil and criminal Caufes. The Council of thirty fix, or Vroetfcbap, continue in their Places for Life, and as often as one of that College dies, the reft chufe another in his Place, but no body under twenty five Years of Age is admitted. They not only have the Power of prefenting the fourteen Perfons out of whom the Efcbevins are chofen, but are alfo called together by the Burgomafiers, when any Thing of great Moment is to be debated or refolved upon; fo that the fupreme Power feems to be lodged in them. Not many Years ago, according to the Conftitution of this City, no Body could be Burgomafter, unlefs his Father had been a Freeman a Year and fix Weeks before he was born ; but now any who will pay five hundred Gilders, may be made a Freeman, and after feven Years is qualified to be a Burgomafer; but fuch as do not afpire to this Dignity, may be made Free for fifty Gilders. The City Trained Bands confift of fifty four Companies, divided into four Regiments, of eleven Companies each, one hundred and fifty Men in a Company, which amounted to 8250 . Two Comipanies are drawn out every Night to guard the Ciry, which makes, them fit for Service.
9. Fune the 16 th , we profecuted our Journey to Utrecht by the ordinary Paflage-boat, where we arrived in fix Hours. This is the capital City of the Province of the fame Name; a large Place, furrounded with a good earthen Wall and deep Ditch; but its Streets are not comparable for Neatnefs or Cleannefs to thofe of the Province of Holland, though the Water-channels are alfo conveyed through feveral Screets. The Univerficy here was eftablifhed by the States General in 1636 ; the Profeflors of which, as well as thofe of Leyden, publifh a yearly printed Catalogue of their Names and iniended Leetures. For the Adminiftration of the Government, they have an Upper and Lower Scbout and four Burgomafers, two of whom are new chofen every Year.
Hence we paffed by Boat to Vianien, refembling the Mint, a Place for Refuge belonging to the Lord of Brederode. We faw here a certain Engine for the Weaving of Tape by the Motion of many Shuttles at a Time, at once curious, expeditious and profitable.
We continued our Journey the fame Day 'thro' Leerdam, (about three Hours diftant from Vianen) and the 19th of $\begin{gathered}\text { fune, through Afperen, below which we croffed }\end{gathered}$ the River Wale or Vabalis in a Ferry-boat, and came to a very pleafant walled Town called Bommel, feated in an Inand ;'a fmall Diftance thence we "ferried over the Maefe, and pafing in Sight of two ftrong Forts near the River fide, one called Crevecreur, and the other Engelen, came in four Hours to Hertogenbocch, Sylva Ducis, or Bois-le-duc, as the Frencb call it, and by which Name it is generally known. As this City is feated upon a Kind of a Hill, furrounded with Fens of a large Extent; the greateft Part of which was then (and is generally) covered with Water, we paffed upon Caufeways through a Moat, and over two Draw-bridges, before we entred the Town. Befides which, being ftengthened by a good Wall and deep- Ditch; and defended by a regular Citadel, this, with its Situation, feems to render it impregniable, and yet it has been taken in the late Wars, In the Choir of the Church of St. Yobn, are to be feen the Arms of many of the Knights of the Colden Fleece, and over the upper Stalls
an Infcription in Frencb, importing, That Pbilip, firnamed the Good, Duke of Burgundy, Lorrain, and, Bra bant, had, in 1429, inflituted in the City of Bruges, an Order of Honourable Knights, unto whom he had given the Name of Knigbts of the Golden Flecce, limiting their Number to twenty four, their Chief to be the Duke of Burgundy; or Supreme Lord of the Low Countries for the Time being. The Houfes here are for the moft Part covered with Boards on the Oatfide ; the Marfhes about it produce great Abundance of Wild-fowl, and the fandy gravelly Banks the Herniaria birfuta.
10. Fune the 20th, we travelled in a Kind of Waggon in fix Hours to Eindboven, and thence in four Hours more to Houmont, both fmall but walled Towns, the laft of which belongs to the Bifhop of Liege.
Fune the 2 ift , we travelled for three Hours through Heaths to Bry, a fmall walled Tơwn, and afterwards afcending the Hills, had a full View of Maefricbt, and the River Maefe, where we arrived that Evening, after feven Hours riding. It is a ftrong well fortified City, Itrenthened with very good Out-works. The Magiftracy here are half Protestents and half Romonits, and of the laft are the greateft Part of the Inhabitants ; though the Dutch Proteftants have alfo three Churches, and the Englifh and Frencb one, which they ufe by Turns. The Catbolicks have twenty Convents here, and are allowed the publick Exercife of their Religion. Moft of the old Houfes are of the fame Fabrick with thofe of Hertogenbofob, but many new Brick Houfes have been built of late Years. They were then alfo building a very ftately fquare Structure, intended for their Townhoufe. The River Maefe, which divides the City into two Parts, is joined to both by a large Stone Bridge, fultained by nine Arches, and the leffer Part on the other Side is called the Wick, being not inferior in Strength to the other Part.
As to what relates to the common People of Holland, it muft be confè $\mathrm{s}^{\prime} \mathrm{d}$ they are furly and ill bred, which is the Reafon that no Strangers that know the Country will deal with Inn-keepers, Waggoners,' Boatmen, Porters, and fuch-like, without bargaining before-hand. The Men are generally very large boned and bulky, and thefe, as well as the Women, are conftantly eating as they travel. At their common Entertainments, a Sallad leads the Van, a Kind of ftew'd Meat is the main Part of the Dinner, and it concludes with fome boil'd and butter'd Herbs. The chief Food of the ordinary People is Cod-fifh and pickled Herring, which they cure better than the Englifh. In the publick Houfes you commonly meet with fmoaked Beef, cut in thin Slices, good Bread and Butter, and four or five Sorts of Cheefes. Their ftrong Drink (they call it Dick Beer, and very properly, for it is feldom clear) is fold for three Pence a Quart; the Dearnefs of which arifes partly from the heavy Excife laid upon this, as well as all other Provifions; partly from the Plenty of Money in thofe Provinces, which makes Land fold here at between thirty and forty Years Purchafe. Moft of their Beds are made clofe like Cabins, narrow and fhort, and yet you pay an exceffive Rate for them in the Inns. Their Houres are kept exceeding neat, even to the Outfide of Pots and Pot-hooks, nay, the very Tiles of the Pent-houfes; yet has it been obfervable, that in dreffing their Meats, they are not fo clean and curious as the Englifb. They ufe Organs in moft of their Churches, collect Money for the Poor in Sermon-time, with a Purfe faftened to a Scick, and a Bill hanging to it, The Pfalms to be fung are fet down upon Slates, hung upon the Walls of the Church for that Purpofe. They feldom travel on Horfeback, but generally in Waggons, fome cover'd, others not, but mott by Water; and this on Suridays as well as other Days. Beggars are very feldom feen in Holland, notwithtanding the vaft Multitude of People, this Province containing no lefs than twenty four walled Towns and Cities; fix of which (befides Amifterdom) are bigger than any in England, except London. And upon this Occafion, I cannot durt give you the Heads of fome Obfervations made by Financis Barabam; Efq; who was in Holland, with my

Eord

## Chap. III. ibrough the Low-Countries, ©ic. <br> of the Miners, Labours, who come here to get Stone,

Lord Ambaffadour Hollis, which have been efteemed fenfible and curious.
ir. " There is, fays he, a continual Watch kept * on the Steeples in all the Cities of the United Pro" vinces: The Differences arifing among Boatfmen and " Waggoners, who ihall go firtt, are decided by caft" ing a Die. They gather the Rain Water by Pipes "f from the Houfes, and preferve it in Citterns, as they "do in Venice. The Dutch ftand much in Awe of "their Superiors, becaufe Juftice is done there without "Delay. They are ftrangely addicted to Novelties, " and mightily taken with any thing that is gay. They " are extremely greedy of Profit, yet very jutt in their " Bargains. The Knowledge how to get Money, is "what they efteem above all other Things, and fcaice "c ever apply themfelves to any Thing befides that and " Politicks, in which they are generally well verfed ; "the meaneft of them being qualified by his Birth"right to become a Burgomafter. They fight brave" ly at Sea, though naturally they are of a phlegmatick "Temper, and confequently not fit for brave Exploits
" by Land. They allow of Liberty of Religion, but
" keep a watchful Eye over them to fecure the publick
"Peace; which is the Reafon that it is more difficult
" to hatch a Plot here, than in other Parts; though at
"the fame Time, the People fay and print almoft what "t they pleafe, the fame being included within the ge" neral Notion of Liberty. Moft of them have little "Senfe of Honour or Generofity, being guiided merely "by the Profpect of Advantage or Intereft. They "don't profecute Murder with fo much Violence as "Theft. The Dutch are always careful to folemnize " any great Action done by them, with all the publick "Marks of Honour and Rejoicings, to imprint into " the common People an Idea of the Ability and Wif"dom of their Governors:; which is the Reafon they "f frequently ereet Monuments to thofe who have de" ferved well of the Common-wealth. The ordinary " Sort of Women (if not all) feem to be inore pleafed "s with obfcene Difcourfes than the Englifh or French; "they have alfo the Reputation of making not fo fe"vere an Account of Chaftity before Marriage, but of
" being very faithful to their Husbands. Even the bet" ter Sort of Women are not backward of admitting " Men, though of very little Acquaintance, to a Sa-C " lute; and Kiffing paffes current here, not only at " Parting and Returns, but alfo in Frolicks and fami" liar Converfation. Mof Women are let into all " the Actions of their Husbands, who feldom under" take any thing without their Knowledge and Ap" probation. They have abundance of Chiming in " their Cities, and valt Multitudes of Storks building "their Nefts upon the Tops of the Chimneys. This " however is not only obfervable in Holland, but alfo at "Lourain, and in orher Towns of the King of Spain's "Dominions, as well as in feveral Places belonging to " fovereign Princes in Germany, which contradicts that "commonly received Opinion, that thofe Birds never " build their Nefts but in Common-wealths."
Fune the 22 d , We went from Maeftricht to Liege, four Leagues diftant. As we paffed up the Hills, we obferved at fome Diftance from Maestricbt an arched Paffage into a Vault, but being by the wet Seafon prevented from taking a View of it ourfelves, I will here give you the Senfe of our Royal Society concerning it. This Quarry, fay they, lies within a Cannon-fhot of Maestricht, being cover'd with twenty five Fathoms of Rock or Earth; its Length along the River towards Liege being of fome Miles, and having one Entry near the River Side, Carts can, with a great deal of Eafe, unload the Stones upon the Banks of the River, the Qaarry within lying parallel to the Horizon or Level, and very little elevated above the River. After you have entred the Vault with Torches, it affords a moft furprizing Profpect to the Beholders, who fee fome thoufands of fquare Pillars in fpacious level Walks, generally twenty Foot (and fome more) high, fo regularly wrought, that one would imagine that the whole was defigned for one of the fubterraneous Palaces of the ancient Roman Emperors; whereas the whole is no more than the Effect

This noble Quarry has another remarkable Ule, ferving People for a Retreating-place when Armies are marching that Way, being able to hold forty thoufand Merto who by the many Pillars and Labyrinths, are able to defend themfelves with their Fire-arms, againft any Power that may artack them.

Further upon the Downs, we obferved three or four more of thofe Paffages, and came before Night to Liege, a City, though very large, yet for Beauty and Riches not comparable to any of thofe of Frolland ; the Houres being cover'd on the Sides either with Boards or Clay, and the Streets narrow and very ill kept. The River Maefe divides itfelf, and runs through the Town in two or three Branches, which are joined by feveral Bridges. It is however very pleafantly fituated, but furrounded with Hills, on one of which ftands the Citadel, the Sides of thofe Hills cover'd with ${ }^{-}$Orchards and Vineyards: Provifions are very cheap here, and the People very courteous: The Women are not fo fair as in Holland, and do a great deal of Drudgery. They have Coal-pits near the Town, fome of which are an hundred and fifty Yards deep: The Cathedral Church dedicated to St. Lambert, has fixty Canons or Prebendaries, who mun be all of noble Extraction, except ,that they admit a few Men of Learning among them. Thefe elect the Bithop of Liege. Befides thefe, there belongs to it twelve Canonici mediocres, and twelve more tiled minores five parvoe Mensa. The three States of this Diocefe, compofed of the Clergy, Gentry; and Commons, have' a confiderable Share in the Government, no Tax being to be impofed, or orher Matters of great Weight tranfacted without their Concurrence and Approbation.
This City is in a Manner filled up with Religious Houfes : In the Englijh Jefuits College Garden we faw feveral. Dials, the Invention of the ingenious Francifous Linus; and in the Cloifter of the Williamites, without the Walls, the Tomb-ftone of our Countryman Sir Yobn Mandeville, with this Infcription:

## HIC JACET VIR NOBILIS DNS JOES DEMANDEVILLE AL': DICTUS AD BARBAM MILES

 DNS DE CAPDI NATUS DE ANGLIA, MEDICIN, PROFESSOR, DEVOTISSIMUS ORATOR, ET BONORUM LARGISSIMUS PAUPERIBUS EROGATOR, QUI TOTO QUASI ORBE LUSTRATO, LEODII DIEM VITE SUE CLAUSIT EXTREMUM ANNO DNI $\mathrm{M}^{\circ}$. $\mathrm{CCC}^{\circ}$. LXXI . MENSIS NOVEMBRIS DIE XVII.On the fame Tomb-ftone was alfo to be feen the Figure of an armed Man treading on a Lion, with a forked Beard, and his Hand lift upwards in a Bieffing Pofture, with thefe Words going out of his Mouth, Vos ki palfeis for mi, pour lismour Deiu prcyes por mi ; which being old French, fignifies, You that pafs over sne, for the Love of God pray for me.
13. We left Liege the 26th of func, and travelling for feven Hours over hilly and rocky Places, arrived at the Spina, a pleafant little wall'd Place, fituate in a deep Valley. It is very well built, by reafon of the Concourfe of many Strangers here, for the drinking of Mineral Waters, of which there are four feveral Springs.

We purfued our Journey, fune the 28 dh , to $A k \mathrm{en}$, through Limburgb, three Hours from the Spàa, a Place of great Strength for its Situation, being fituate on the Side of a very difficult Accefs, but it has but one Street, and the Houfes only of Wood. Aken, or Aix la Cbapelle, as the Frencb call it, to diftinguifh it from Ais in Provence, is a large and ftrong Place, and a free Imperial City, being Grengthened by a double Wall, and adorned with no lefs than thirty Churches. The Chair wherein the Emperor fits when he is crowned here, has its Sides of Ivory, and they fay, that the Bottom is made of a Piece of Wood belonging to Noib's Ark. The Government of this City is adminiftred by a Major, two Burgomaflers, fourteen Efchevins, and one hundred and twenty Counfellors. The Major has the

Prefidence

Prefidence among the Elcheivins, is put in by the Duke of $\mathfrak{F u l i e r s}$, and continues in his Place quam diu fe bene gefferit. The Burgomasters are elected by the Majority of the Companies of the City, and adminifter this Office two Years, a new one being chofen, every Year. The Efcherins officiate in Quality of Judges, during Life, another being chofen in the Place of him who dies. The Counfellors are alfo chofen by the feveral Companies (of which there are fourteen or fifteen). The Territories belonging to this City are very large, comprehending near two hundred Villages, enclofed on all Sides with Mountains; which producing abundance of Lapis Calaminaris, this is employed here in great Quantity to turn Copper into Brafs. But what renders this Town moft famous, are the Mineral bot Baths, fome of which are within, the reft without the Town, at a Village called Borcet; thefe latter, both in Heat, and in Abundance of Water, much exceed ours in England, being fo hot, that one may boil an Egg in them. Their Tafte was faltifh, and they were ufed both inwardly and outwardly. One Day as we were walking to Borcet, we faw a certain Pool whofe Waters were lukewarm, by reafon of a fmall Stream of one of the Springs of the hot Baths paffing through it ; they told us that it bred very good Fifh, but that they were obliged to put them into cold Water for two Months before they eat them. Of the Nature, different Kinds, Ingredients, and Ufes of thofe Baths, both within and without the City, Francis Blondel, M. D. has treated admirably, as well as at large, in his Epiftolary Difcourfe, publifhed in French, of which the Subftance follows :

## 14. An Extrait from Dr. Francis Blondel's Difcourfe concerning the Batbs of Aix la Chapelle.

Not to trouble the Reader with the various Opinions of ancient and modern Philofophers concerning the Caufe of the actual Heat of natural Baths, our Author's Account thereof in Reference to thefe of Aken is in Brief as follows.
Thefe Waters (faith he) paffing through a certain argillaceous Earth, pregnant with a kind of nitrous Salt, almoft of the fame Tafte with the Waters of the Baths (which is to be found in good Quantity in the Lands about this City) charge themfelves therewith, and fo become a Menstruum capable of diffolving fuch mineral Metals as are contained in the Veins of the Earth thro' which they run. This Solution he conceives is made by piercing and corroding the Minerals after the fame Manner as Spirit of Nitre and other Aque Stygice are wont to do, which ufually caufes a great Ebullition and Heat. So then the actual Heat of chefe Springs proceeds from the Mixture and Encounter of their Waters (impregnated as is before intimated) with the mineral and metallic Subftances, Juices, and Spirits contained in the Veins of the Earth through which they have their Courfe. The nitrous Salt beforementioned may perhaps be the Hermetic Salt of Monficur Rochas, or the Efurine Salt of Helmont: Now the Water once heated, being contained in the Vaults of the Mountains as in a Stove, continues hot a long Time, the Eruption thereof being, it is likely, at a good Diftance from the Place where it did at firft conceive its Heat.

At the long Continuance and Duration of the Heat of thefe Waters, for fo many Ages paft, no Man need Wonder: For Firft, It is generally taken for granted, that all Sorts of Mines grow and increale purely by Addition, converting the more refined, fubtile part of the Earth, and which hath a feminal Difpofition to fuch a Change, into their own Nature. Secondly, The nitrous Salts, the firft Ingredients of thefe Waters, are alfo reftored in their matrices, after the fame Manner as we fee it happens in the Coput mortuum of Vitriol, which though the Vitriol hath been once or twice extracted from it, will, by being expofed to the Air, again recover more and more; whether it be by Converfion of its Matrix into its own Nature, by a kind of Aggeneration and Tranfmutation, or by imbibing and retaining thofe
fubtile and volatile faline Exhalations, which continually afcend out of the Earth, or wander up and dowa in the Air.

As for the Ingredients of thefe hot Waters in general, he faith, that befides a threefold Salt-nitre fixed, volatile, and mingled, or Armoniack, they partake of a fixed and volatile Sulpbur, a Manna of Allum, fome Vitriol, divers Metals, as Copper and Iron, a very. little volatile Earth, a certain Argilla, Sand and Calaminary Flowers. That they participate of Copper he provess in that, the Territory of Aken abounds in divers Places with Lapis Calaminaris, which is, as it were, the Aliment of Copper: For being mingled in the Furnaces with red Copper, it augments it by the Addition of thirty Pound Weight per Cent. and gives it a yellow or golden Tinc. ture. As for Iron, the many ferrugineous Springs, that are found within and without the City, are an evident Teftimony that there are Plenty of Iron Mines hereabout ; and therefore moft likely it is, if not certain, that thefe hot Waters charge themfelves with that Metal. That they contain a three-fold nitrous Salt, he proves from their natural Evaporations. Firft, The fixed is found in the Wells, of Borcet, and the Emperor, chryftallized into fmall fhining Square Grains, mingled with a litte Flower of Sulphur, fticking to the Covers of thote Wells, which have not been of a long time opened. It may be alfo found in the chemical Examination of the Waters by Evaporation or Diftillation. Secondly, The volatile is carried up by the volatile-Sulphur, as it is hereafter fhew'd in the Defcription of the firtt Sort of thefe Baths. Thirdly, The Mingled, or Armoniac, is daily feen in all the Waters of the City, and of Borcet, fwimming in little Cylinders on the Surface of the Waters, and this is that Cream, or Scum, which is ordinarily found upon the Waters in the Bafons. That they contain the reft of the beforementioned Ingredients, fhall be fhewn in the Defcription of the particular Baths: The Waters where of our Author reduces to four Sorts.
Firft, Nitro-fulphureous, fuch are thofe of the Emperor's Bath, the little Bath, and St. Quirin's Bath. Secondly, Sulphureo-nitrous, fuch are thofe of Compus, or the Poor-men's Bath, the Rofe, and St. Cornelius's Bath. Tbirdly, Sulphureo-nitro-vitriolic, fuch is another Bath of the fame St. Cornelius. Fourtbly, Salfo-alumino-nitrous, viz. thofe of Borcet, a Village adjoining to Aken.

Firft, As for the Nitro fulphureous kind, thole of the Emperor's Bath, and the little Bath, are but one Water, coming from the fame Source, and collected in one and the fame Well.: That Part referved in the Emperor's Bath is divided into five great Bafons, or Receptacles: That in the little Bath into three. All which might be renewed daily, if Time would permit, the Spring is fo copious. But by reafon of the exceffive Heat of the Waters, it is neceffary oftentimes that they ftand in the Bafon fixteen or eighteen Hours to cool, before they be fit for the Patient's Ufe. Notwithftanding when they are come to a juft Temper, one may bathe in in them, and endure them a long time, as thofe of Borcet, without any Inconvenience. This Source hath this Quality peculiar to itfelf, that in its Well one may find diftinctly a Quantity of Nitre coagulated, and good Plenty of Flowers of Sulpbur very light, purely fine, and well fcented. The Nitre fticks to the Sides of the Well, and fo do the Flowers of Sulpbur above that: The which fometimes, whether by the extraordinary boiling up of the Fountain, or by the Impetuofity of the afcending Vapours, or by their own Weight are broken off, and fall back into the Source; from whence being no more diffolved by the Water, they come forth intire into the Bafons. If you take of this Water, and let it ftand in a veffel certain Days, it will precipitate of thefe yellow Flowers of Sulpbur, to the Bottom of the Veffel. Befides thefe volatile Flowers, thefe Waters contain alfo fix'd Flowers of Sulpbur, a comperent Quantity of Nitre both volatile, fix' $d$, and $m i x^{\prime} d$, or Armoniac, a little Allum, lefs Vitriol, the Spirits and Principles of Copper and Iron, a very littie volatile Earth, Argilla and Sand: No Bitumen, for let them

# Chap. III. through the LOW-COUNTRIES, \& C C. 

ftand as long as you pleafe, you thall find no fatty Subfance fwimming upon them, as upon the Spare Waters. The volatile Sulpbur evaporates fo ftrongly, that it carries up with it a Quantity of Nitre, as one may fee after the Solution of the Vapours, congealed and frozen in Winter time, when it remains incorporated upon the Walls, in the Places where the Icicles were. Thefe Waters are in Weight equal to thofe of the Spare; coming frefh out of the Source, they appear whitifh, or bluifh, but having ftood a-while and grown cold, greenifh. They-are very pure, and leave no kind of Mud, or Lutum thermale, behind them; in cooling they yield a fmall Scum or Cream of Nitre. Far from their Source, béing wrought upon by the Air, they let fall a little whitifh Sediment as thofe of Borcet do a blackifh one. They preferve the Colour of Rofes put into them, and caufe them not to wither, as doth common Water. The Vapours afcending from them make Silver Plate black, as thofe of Bercet make it white. The other Source of St. Quirin's Bath differs from thefe in no other Refpect, fave that the Water thereof is cooler. It is referved in three Bafons. In this Well you find neither Sulpbur nor Salt-petre fticking to the Sides, probably becaufe it is open or uncovered.
II. The fecond, or fulpbureo-nitrous Sort of Compus, \&cc. though they fpring up in feveral Places, and have different Wells, yet is the Nature of them all, their Compofition, and mineral Ingredients the fame. The Poor-Men's Bath hath one great Bafon or Receptacle, the Rofe Bath four, whereof two only are ufed, and St. Cornelius's Bath of this Mine two. Thefe Waters are fit for ufe at all Seafons, being of a temperate Hear, more efficacious, and of greater Force in their Operations, than the firft Sort; they weigh two per Cent. more than they, and are of a ftronger Scent. In thefe is never found any Sulpbur condenfed, no not in their Wells, though they be covered: But when they are emptied, and new Water let in (as in the Rofe Bath) the Water running down along the Walls and Seats, into the Bottoms of the Bafons or Confervatories, the external Air prevailing upon it, fo fpread, and in fuch little Quantity arrefts, fixes and condenfes its Sulpbur all along the faid Walls and Seats, refrefhing the Eyes of the Spectators with its Beauty and Luftre. But the Water rifing in the beforementioned Bafons, and covering the Seats and Walls, the Sulphur again unites and incorporates with its Diffolvent, and difappears and hides itfelf therein. The Water of there Sources contains great Quantity of Sulphur, vere fine and fweet, lefs nitrous Salt, a little Vitriol, and lefs Allum, more of the other Minerals and Metals, than of the firft Sort, or thofe of Borcet. So that they are more compounded, oleous and bituminous, than any of the other Sources; and though they come out of the Earth very temperate, as to actual Heat, yet can fick Perfons hardly endure them for any long Time, for the moft part fcarce half an Hour.
III. The third Sort, which I call Sulpbureo-nitro-vitriolic, and is alfo of St. Cornelius, differs from the Precedent, in that the Tafte is a little more acid, the Smell fweeter, and liker that of Spirit of Vitriol, and the Touch lefs oily. It is of lefs Efficacy in Ufe than the fecond Sort, and of more than the firtt. Of this Source there are three Bafons, which, with the two others of St. Cornclius beforementioned, make five in this Houfe. Thefe Waters agree much in their Compofition with the Precedent. They are very pure and clear, efpecially in their Wells; and though they feem troubled in their Bafons, yet taken in a Glafs, they appear clear.
IV. The fourth, or Salfo-alumino-nitrous kind, are thofe of the Neighbourhood, or Borcet. Thefe come out of the Earth extream hor, and in great Abundance, are all of the fame medicinal Quality, have feveral Wells, and are referved in ten or twelve Houfes, each whereof hath two Bafons, or Receptacles; befides which, there is a common Bath expofed to the Air, for the Ufe of poor People. There Waters caft off a copisus Excrement or Tartar, which yet is not Stone, but only a Sand mingled with, and united to the ni-

Voi. II. Numb. if 3 .
trous and aluminous Salt of the Watef, coagulated by the Beating of the cold Air on its Superficies, to which alfo concurs the Cold of the Walls expofed to the fame Air. Thefe Excrefcences are found in the fubterranean Conduits, not only of thefe, but the other Baths in the City; being held to the Fire, they foon become friable, and are nothing but a pure round Sand like the common. The higher Houfes and Bafons have the more of this Tartar, yet is it fo little, that it is not to be feen or perceived in the Water. Thefe Waters are of a different Species, Virtue, and Operation, from thofe of the City, are very eafy to fuffer, and ferve often for Divertifement and Recreation to Perfons that are in Health. The Contents of them are a great Quantity of Sea-Salt and Allum, lefs nitrous Salt, very little Sulphur, and not much of metallick Subftances.

Concerning the Virtues and Effects of thefe Waters inwardly taken, he difcourfes to this Purpofe :

Thefe Waters taken inwardly are very available in the Phthifick, Afbma, or Difficulty of Breathing, occafion'd by tough Phlegm lodging in the Branches of the. Wind-pipe; againtt the Wealsnefs of the Stomach, Indigeftion, Crudities, Flatulencies, Vomitings, Hiccoughs, and inveterate Cholicks. They diffipate and dry up all Manner of Catarrhs and ferous Defluxions; and are very proper to be drunk by thofe that are troubled with the Palfy, before the Ufe of the Baths. They quicken the Appetite, cleanfe the Blood, and open the Obftructions of the Mefentery. They are of excellent Ufe againft hypochondriacal Maladies, efpecially in fuch as have weak and cold Stomachs. They mollify the Hardnefs of the Liver, Spleen and Mefentery. They diffolve and bring away the Gravel of the Reins, and leffer Stones: And here he produces many Examples of fuch as voided Stones upon the Drinking thefe Waters, and among the reft, of fome that had drank the Spare Waters, and came from thence without receiving any Benefit. They cleanfe the Ulcers of the Bladder, diffolving not only the grofs, phlegmatick and vifcous Humours which coagulate the Stone, but even the Stone itfelf, whilft it is yet tender. They have fometimes cured intermittent Fevers of long Continuance, and fcrophulous Tumours. They dry up and heal the Itch, Leprofy, and other Affections of the Skin. They ftop the immoderate Flowing of the Menfes in Women, and cure the Jaundice, the Palenefs and Difcolouring of the Skin in Virgins: And finally they give Eafe and Relief in the Gout. Of all thefe Faculties, he brings Inftances and Examples of Perfons that have been cured. Particularly, thar thefe Waters drunk may have a Power of diffolving the Stone, he proves by this Experiment: Taking a Stone voided by a Man about two Years before, and infufing it in Water hot from the Fountain, for the Space of three Days, we found it (faith he) mollified and reduced into a foft Phlegm. Which Virtue of the Waters was further confirmed to us by a late Accident: For opening the Vault of a Well, there was found a certain Glue or Mucilage, which, it is to me probable, came from the Solution of the Mortar of Lime and Sand in long Time, by the volatile and diffolvent Spirits of the Waters; efpecially there being found no other Cement between the Stones, and in that this fame Glue or Mucilage mingled itfelf intirely with the Waters of the Fountains, without any Appearance of Scum or Fat fwimming on the Top, as Gum of Cherry, or the like is wont to do in Water, and being caft into the Fire burnt not, but dried up. Thefe Experiments and Obfervations were made upon Occafion of a Burgomafter of Riga (who being afflicted with the Stone, drank thefe Waters) his pafing his Urine through a Linen Cloth, and finding therein a certain thick Phlegm left behind, which, being kept a while upon Paper, hardend into a ftony Subitance.
15. From Aken we continued our Journey to Fuliers, five Hours thence, a fmall bur neat City, the Houfes low, but of Brick, the Streets are fomewhat narrow, yet it has a fair Market-place. Its Fortifications are confiderable, but the Citadel, in which is the Dical , Palace, may compare for Beauty, Bignefs and Strength,
wich
with any of Etrope. The chief Employment of the Inhabitants here is the making of Malr. Fune the 30th, we went hence towards Cologne, and paffing thro, Berchens, a little walled Town, met by the Highways, among the Woods and Hedges, with Mezercon Germanicum, Mollugo montana latifolia ramofa, Pulmonaria mas culofa, Galeopfis five Uritica iners flore purpurafcente majore, folio non maculato, and among the Corn, with Vaccaria Germ.

Cologne, dignified with the Title of an Archbifhoprick; is a free Imperial City, and perhaps the biggeft in all Germany, in which however are included three hundred Acres, planted with Vines, befides many other empty Spaces. The middle Part of the City is very. well built, having two handfome Market-places: The Walls are lofty and of Stone, with two deep Trenches and feveral Out-works. In the Cathedral of Sc. Peter are preferved the Bodies of the three Wife Men, that came to bring their Offerings to our Saviour, enclofed in a Cheft of Gold. The Number of the Noble Canons belonging to this Church, confifts of fifty four, befides eight Canons Presbyters ; thefe fixty two, in Conjunction with the Dean (who has two Voices) and two Burgomafters Regent (who have four Voices) of this Cuy, chufe the Archbimop. The Government of the City is in the Hands of fix Burgomafters, feven Efchevins, and one hundred and fifty Councellors; they all continue during Life; but of the firft two are only Regents at a Time for a Year: The Efchevins are chofen by the Archbifhop, as the Counfellors are by the Companies of the City, and fifty only are in Power yearly, fo that it returns to the fame Perfons every third Year. If a Burgomafter dies, the Counfellors have Power to chufe another in his Room. The Inhabitants are generally Roman Catbolicks, yet have the Lutherans a Church within the Walls, but the Calvinifts are obliged to go to Church on the other Side of the Rbine. At Cologne we took a Boat, drawn by $\mathrm{Men}_{3}$ which carried us up the Rbine to Vidich, an inconfiderable Village ; hereabouts we found among the Corn, Delpbinium fore purpuro-caruleo vulgare, and Nigella arvenfis; and in the barren Grounds adjoining to the River, Stacbas citrina Gernanica latiore folio.
16. Next Morning we pafs'd by Bonn upon the fame River, the ordinary Refidence of the Electors of Cologne, and lodged at Night at a poor Town called Brifaca. Fuly the 6th, we paffed by Kbineck to our Right, and came to Andernach, over-againft which is the Caftle of Hammerfein, belonging to the Elector of Treves. Further we pafs'd betwixt two Caftles belonging to the Count de Weets, that on the right Hand being feated upon a high Rock, with a Cloifter adjoining to it. Two Leagues from Andernach we paffed by Engers, and the fame Night came to Coblentz.

This City, which is the moft confiderable belonging to the Archbifhop of Treves, is called in Latin, Confuentes, from its Situation at the Conflux of the Rivers the Morelle and the Rbine ; over the firft of which there is a Bridge here of thirteen Arches, as there is over the Rbine a Bridge of Boats to the ftrong Caftle of Hermanftein, fituate upon a Rock, with a very fumptuous Palace below it, belonging to the fame Archbifhop. Not far from Cobleniz are the mineral Springs, near Helfenftein Caftle, of which Kind there are feveral in thofe Parts; as for Infance, one at Anthony's Stone, four Hours from Andernach, and another at Zwolbach, four Miles from Francfort; they are generally drank mix'd with Wine, unto which they give a pleafant Tafte and purging Quality, but I did not obferve in them what Dr. Blondel affirms, that they fmoak, or are hot when they are mixed with Wine.

Fuly the 7th, we paffed by feveral Caftles and fmall Places upon the Rbine, as the Town and Caftle of Rodefaim on the Left, and Capelle on the Right Hand; next the fmall Town of Rens and Browbach, Boppart on the fame Side, and the Caftle of Bornbolm on the Left. Taking up our Quarters in the Village of Hertfrach, we came, $J u$ uly the 8 th , in the Morning, to St. Goer, a pretty fmall Town, under the Jurifdiction of the Landgrave of Hefle, who has a very handfome Caftle herea
built upon a Rock. The Magiftrates and moft of the Inhabitants are Calvinifts, yet the Lutherans, as well as the Catbolicks, have each their Church. Juft oppofire to St. Goer you fee the Town and Caftle of Wellnich, and further to the Right, the Town and Caftle of $W_{e}$, Sel, under the Jurifdiction of the Elector of Treves; and higher up on the Left Hand, the Town and Caftle of Cub, the latter upon a Rock belonging to the Elector Palatine. The next Place of any Note we came to was Bacharach, a walled Town, adorned with many Towers, famous for the Excellence of its Wine, as is likewife a certain Tract of Ground about Rbingaw, a Town near Mayence. Our Boatmen paid Toll in this, as well as feveral other Places on the Rbine.. We pafs'd the fame Day in Sight of fome mean Townsand Villages; and Fuly the 9th, by Afpithouse Caftle, and immediately after by the Moufe-Tower, built in a little Illand of the Rbine. Further up the River on the Right Hand we left Bing, a tolerable good Town, and paffing by Rbodes, Gifon, Elveldt, and Wallop, to the Left Hand, arrived the fame Night at Mayence or Mentz.

From Cologne, as far as to the Village Vidich, the River is very broad, but thence up to the Moufe-Tower much narrower, from the many Hills and Rocks on both Sides, fome of which are cover'd with Woods; others with Vines and Orchards. The Vines are ty'd to Poles much lower than thofe we ufe in our Hopgardens. The City of Mayence (or as we now call it Mentz) is very large and well fortified; but the Houfes are very old, the Screets narrow and ill paved: The Cathedral of St. Martin's has twenty four Canons, all Noble, who chufe the Archbifhop. The Arms of this Archbihoprick is a Wheel, which they derive from Willigefus, a Saxon, their firf Archbihop, who being a Wbeelright's Son, gave this Wheel for his Arms. Near this Place, the River Maine joining irs Current with the Rbine, we went up the firft of there two Rivers in a Boat, and paffing by Rudheim, a well-built Fort on the Right-hand, belonging to the Landgrave of Hefle Darmfadt, and another walled Town called Hocf, to the Left, arrived the 13th of fuly at Francfort, five Leagues diftant from Mayence or Mentz.

This City is very rich and populous, and not illbuilt, though moft of the Houfes are of Timber: Its Fortifications, which confift in divers ftrong Baftions and a deep Ditch, are very conffderable and well kept : The River Maine dividing the City into two Parts, that which lies oppofite to Francfort is called Saxonbaufen, which are joined by a very noble Stone Bridge, fuftain'd by fourteen Arches. In the great Marketplace are three noble Fountains. The Emperors are in our Days chofen here in the Senate-houfe, and crown'd in the Church of St. Bartholomerv.

I had the good Fortune to get Sight of the Aurea Bulla or Golden Bull, of the Emperor Cbarles IV. which inftead of a Seal had a large golden Medal hanging on it, with the Effigies of Cbarles IV. on one Side, with this Infcription, Carolus quartus, divinâ favente clementia, Romanorum Imperator femp. Aug. on the Reverfe the City of Rome, and underneath, Aurea Roma, and round it this Verle, Roma coput mundi regit orbis frena rotundi. The Government of this City is in the Hands of a Pretor, twelve Burgomasters, fourteen Efchevins, and forty two Councellors. The whole Senate is divided into three Scamna or Benches, Firft, Sabinorum, Secondly, Literatorum, and Thirdly, Opificum: When a Place happens to be vacant in the Bench of the $E f-$ chevins, it is fupplied out of the fecond Bench of the Literatorum; but the Scamnum Opificum rifes no higher. The Senate has the Power of choofing yearly two Burgomaters out of their own Number. The feres, of whom there are great Numbers here, have their peculiar Quarters affigned them, from whence they dare not ftir in the Night-time; they wear a Piece of yellow Cloth to diftinguifh them from other People. The Magiftracy and moft of the Inhabitants are Lutberans, unto whom belong five Churches. Yet have the Romans the free Exercife of their Religion here, and are poffefs'd of two Convents for Men and one for Wo-
men;

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men; but the Calvinists have their Church a good Way from the Town; the Engli/b Church, firft eftablifh'd here under the Reign of Queen Mary; is fallen much to decay, as well as the Engli/h Houfe, which is turned into a Store-houfe. In the Country hereabouts, which is exceeding pleafant, we found growing wild, Gramen amoris dictum, E Ifchermon vulgare, Portulaca fylveforis, and in the Hedges, the Alcine baccifera, which I met with no where elfe in all my Travels.

July 17. We took the Poft-Coach going to Frankenthal; we had fcarce left Francfort half an Hour, when we travelled all that Day, for three German Leagues, through Pine-Woods, and lodged that Night at the Village of Geir/beim.

Fuly 18. We ferried over the Rbine at Kernbeim, and at fix Leagues End came to Worms, a large and ancient City, but much decayed. The Canons of the Cathedral (who are twenty in Number) choofe the Bifhop. The Government of the City is in the Hands of the Lutberans. From hence we came, after an Hour's travelling, to Frankentbal, a Place chiefly confiderable for its Strength, being fituate in a Plain near the Rbine, and provided with good Walls and Out-works: It is under the Jurifdiction of the Elector Palatine; and has three Churches; one Higb-Dutch, another Lorv-Dutch, and the third French.

Fuly 20. We travelled along the Banks of the Rbine, by the Way of Ober/beim to Spire, two Leagues and a half diftant from Frankentbal. Spire, though dignified with the Title of a Bifhoprick, yet is an imperial City, under the Government of its own Magiftrates. The Houfes here are generally large, but not very convenient, and of Wood: The chief, if not the only Thing that makes this Place confiderable, is the Imperial Cbamber, which is kept here, confifting of an Imperial Prefident and thirty fix Affefors, befides three other Prefidents, chofen by the Emperor out of the Delegates; each of the Electors, as well as the ten Circles, fending two Delegates or Affeffors. There is fuch another Chamber belonging to the Imperial Court at Vienna, either of which (without any Appeal from one to the other) determines Controverfies arifing betwixt the Princes and States of the Empire, and betwixt them and their Subjects in fome Cafes: But the Elector Palatine enjoys the Prerogative, Fus non appellandi, of not being cognizable by thefe Tribunals.
Fuly 21. We pafs'd the Rbine to Manbeim, feated upon the very Conflux of the Rbine and Neckar; it belongs to the Elector Palatine, ftrongly fortified, and now ftrengthening by a new Citadel, almoft finifh'd. Who was the Founder of this City, you will fee out of the Infcription over the Neckar Gate :

> Quod felix faxit Jebova,
> Fredericus IIII. Elector
> Palatinus Rbeni, Dux Bavaria,
> E veteri Pago Manbemio
> Ad Rbeni Necrique confurviums
> Fufta fpatiorum dimenfone
> Nobilem Urbem molitus,
> Vallo, fofla, mura claufit,
> Portam bonis civibus aperuit,
> Anno Domini M. DC. X.

From hence we continued our Journey to Heidelberg, where we pafs ${ }^{3} \mathrm{~d}$ over the Neckar into the City by a wooden Bridge, covered over with a Teitum to preferve the Timber. Heidelberg, is not a very large, but a neat and populous City, the Capital of the whole $P a$ latinate and Refidence of its Princes; the Houfes are of Wood, but handfomely built; it is feated at the Foot of a Hill, on the right Side of the River Neckar, and is divided into five different Jurifdictions, independent of one another, Firf, Aulica, under which are all the Princes and Noblemen; the Martial of the Court fits here as Prefident. Secondly, Cancellaria, under which belong all Councellors, and other Officers of the Courts, Advocates, Doctors, Esc. Thbirdly, Bellica, for the Soldiers where the Geieral prefides. Fourtbly, Academica, for the Students, the Rector Magnificus, or Vice-Chan-
cellor for the Time being; is their Prefident; and Fiftbly, Civica for the Citizens. The Members of each of thefe Jurifdictions are not obliged to appear before any other Court but their own. The City is alfo divided into four Wards, under the Government of a Pretor and Burgomatter.

About the middle of the Afcent of the Hill calld Koningstbal, ftands the Royal Palace, a large and ftately Structure, enclofed with a Wall and deep Ditch, hewn out of the Rock, which they may fill with Water when they pleafe; here the Prince keeps his Court. According to the Infcription in High-Dutch upon the Gate, it was begun to be built by Lerois V. in I5I9, but feveral Pieces have been added fince, one of which is called the Englifb Building. In a Cellar under one of the Towers belonging to this Caftle ftood the famous great Tun of Heidelberg, containing 132 Fudders, one of which is equal to four of our Hogtheads; but this Tun is taken to Pieces of late and a new one Building, which is to contain 150 . Fudders or 600 Hogheads. We were invited to dine in the Palace, where we obferved every Thing to be done with great Regularity, and after Dinner the Elector was pleafed to fhew us the Curiofities of his Clofet, and among the reft, a Purfe made of Alumen plumofum, which being made red hot, received not the leaft Harm, but appear'd the fame it was before, after it was cool'd : Two Unicorn's Horns of eight or ten Foot long, wreathed, and hollow to the Top being the Horns of a Fifh, and not a Quadruped, as the ancients vainly imagin ${ }^{3} d$. An Imperial Crown and Globe, belonging to the Emperor Rupert (who was of this Family) richly fet with precious Stones: A choice Collection of ancient and modern Coins and Medals; and among the reft a Copper Swedifl Dollar, of the Bignefs of a fquare Trencher, with the King's Arms and Effigies flampt at the four Corners. The great Church (which formerly contained the famous Library of this Place) as alfo that of the Francifcans, have feveral very noble Monuments of the Princes of this Family, as that of Sc. Peter fhews many of learned Perfons.

The Univerfity of Heidelberg, was founded, $A$. D. 1346. and has three or four Colleges for the Subfittance of poor Scholars. The whole Management of it is committed to the Academical Senate, compofed of Sixteen Profeffors, viz. three for Divinity, four for the Law, three for Phyfick, and fix for Philofophy, but no more than four of them fit in the Senate, for Fear they fhould make too 'ftrong a Party. If a Profeffor dies, the Senate prefents two Perfons to the Prince, out of whom he choofes one. The Senate alfo choofes every Year a Rector magnificentifimus, a Honorary Title, not unlike that of Chancellor of our Univerfity, as the Rector Magnificus, the-chief of the Senate is equivalent to Vice-Chancellor; befides which, they elect two or four more Officers out of their own Number, to manage the Concerns of the Univerfity. The Senate hath its own Jurifdiction, and unlimited Power in criminal Cafes, extending to Life and Death, the Prince referving to himfelf only the Prerogative of Pardoning after Sentence paft. In Philofophy they have no other Degrees but Mafters, and thofe but few of late Years; In Law and Medicine they create both Licentiaites and Doctors; and in Divinity, Batcbelors, Licentiates and Doctors. They have not the leaft Regard to the ftanding of the Candidates, all they have to do being to undergo two Examinations, one of which is called the Examen tentatorium, before the Faculty, in which he is to commence, and in, the Prefence of the Recior Magnificus; the fecond the Examen rigorofum, before the whole Body of the Profeffors and the Recior Magnificus. After all this, he is to hold a publick Difputation fub Prafide, to make a Lecture in his own Faculty, and a Speech. The Ceremony is performed with a great deal of Pomp, and concludes with a fumptuous Feaft, at which are prefent all the Profeffors, and fometimes the Prince in Perfon, or elfe he fends the Marfhal of his Court to reprefent his Perfon, which is the Reafon that oftentimes, when the Candidates have not very ftrong Purfés, two or three join to fave

Charges.

Charges. Here alfo the Profeffors publifh an annual Catalogue of their Names and intended publick Lectures.

The Elector Palatine is abfolute in his Dominions, having alfo the Supremacy in Ecclefiaftical Affairs, which formerly belonged to the Bifhop of Spiers, but fince the Reformation the Ecclefiaftical Jurifdiction has been annexed to the Sovereignty: He is the univerfal Patron of all vacant Benefices, tho' he permits the Ecclefiaftical Council, (compofed of two Clergymen and two Laymen) to prefent unto him two, out of whom he chufes one. The Generality of the Palatinate are of the Reformed Religion, and divided into three PrafeEtures (the biggeft of which is fubdivided into lefs) each of which has an Infpector, who is one of the Paftors of that Profecture, and differs not from the other in Rank or Power, but hath only a larger Salary. Each confiderable Town has alfo a peculiar Prafecture, or Presbytery Thus that of Heidelbergh is compofed of five Minifters of that City, two Deputies from each of the before-mentioned Jurifdictions, except the Aulica, and two from each of the four Wards of the City, making in all twenty one, in which the Laymen have equal Voices with the Minifters, thefe enjoying no other Prerogative in this Point, than that one of them prefidesalways in his Turn. They can't inflict any Church Cenfure, unlefs it be making the Tranfgreffor fubmit to a publick Confeffion at the Church Door, and to promife Amendment, the reft is left to the Determination of the Civil Magiftrate. As the Elector is univerfal Patron, fo he is Mafter of all the Tithes, which for Conveniency fake, he allows to fome Minifters in certain Places, but provides fettled Salaries for the reft out of the Church Revenues.
19. Fuly 25. We hired a Coach, which was to carry us in three Days to Strasburgh: We had farce travelled three Leagues, but we pafs'd in Sight of the celebrated Fortrefs of Pbilipsburgh, feated in a Plain near the Rbine; a League further we pafs'd through Graffe, and lodged that Night at the Village of Linknom.

July 26. After a Journey of four Leagues, we baited at Rafpach, two Leagues further paffed through Stolboven, and a League more through Licbtenaw, all in confiderable Places; we lodged that Night at the Village called Sertz.

Fuly. 27 . We crofs'd the Rbine over a Bridge laid over the two Channels, made of Fir-trees laid clofe together, inftead of Boats, and foon after came to Strasburgh. In our Journey thither we faw Abundance of Indian Wheat planted, as alfo fome Latbyrus fativus, and Cartbamus, or baftard Saffron. The Blattaria, Solidago Saracenica, are wild hereabouts, and in the adjacent Meadows of Strasburgh, Carduus Pratenfis Tragi.

Strasburgb is a free Imperial City, rich and populous, of a great Circumference, and well fortified with regular Out-works. It is govern'd by two Councils, one con fifting of feventy one, in which are fix Burgomafters, as many Stadtmafters, fifteen Patres Patrix, and thirteen felected out of the Militia. The greater Council is compofed of three hundred Citizens, chofen by the feveral Companies of the City. The Women are generally handfome, and the Inhabitants Lutberams, though the Roman Catbolicks have alfo a Church and four Convents, two for Men, and two for Women. The Reformed have their Church at fome Diftance out of the Town. It is an Epifcopal See; the Bihhop has a Palace in the City, but is not allowed to ftay there above three Days at a Time, but may continue in an Inn for eight Days together. The Armory or Arfenal here, may compare with any in Germany, and is not much inferior to any I faw elfewhere. The publick Granaries, Store-houfes, and Wine-cellars, are worth feeing. The Domo, or Cathedral Church, is a noble Structure, with a Pair of folding Doors of Brafs at the Weft End. Here is the famous Clock defcribed by feveral Authors, which is a Piece of moft excellent Workmanfhip, made by a Citizen of this Place, whofe Name was Ifaac Harbrecbt. But what is moft remarkable, is the Steeple, the higheft that ever I met with, and curiounly built of carved Stone, having fix hundred fixty two Steps from the Bottom to the Top: we went up fix hundred and forty Steps to a Place
they call the Crown, from whence we took a View of the adjacent Country at a great Diftance.

About ten Hours diftant from Strasburgh, towards the Side of Stutgard, are very good acid mineral Springs, the Waters of which they drink here and in other Cities with Wine. In this, as well as other Imperal Cities in thofe Parts, the Inhabitants, but efpecially the Women, adhere ftill to an odd Way of Dreffing, which yet is very different one from another, each having their peculiar Habits; fo that their Condition may be diftinguifhed at Sight. Judy 31. We continued our Journey towards Bafil, paffing the fame Day through the Village of Tivelßeim, and Auguft i, through Marklefbeim, and two Leagues thence in Sight of the ftrong Town and Fortrefs of Brifac, feated upon a Rock, and lodged chat Night at Lodefbeim.
20. Aug. 2. After a League and a half riding, we arrived at $B a j l l$, a large and nable City, well built of Stone, the Houfes very high, and painted for the moft Part on the Outfide. It is divided by the River Rbine into two Parts (that on the North-fide being called Little Bafil) join'd together by a Bridge fuftained by fourteen Arches. The chief Ornaments of this populous and rich City are its Fountains, of which it has above three hundred. It is one of the XIII. Swifs Cantons, its Territories comprehending above one hundred Villages. The Bifhop of Baden has not the leaft Jurifdiction in the Town, being not fuffered to lodge here one Night, but keeps his Refidence at Broudint. The Government is adminiftred by a greater and leffer Council ; the laft confifts of fixty four Perfons, chofen by the fifteen Companies, and the greater, of all the Magiftrates and the leffer Council. The Univerfity of this Place was founded by Pope Pius II. in which are feventeen Profeffors, three of Divinity, three of Law, three of Phyfick, and eight in Philofophy and polite Literature. They keep Lectures every Day in the Week in Term-time, except Tbur/days and Saturdays, but have very fmall Salaries. The Ecclefiaftical Goverment is in the Hands of three Profeffors of Divinity, four Scbolarcbee, and the Minifters. The Senate have the Power of nominating three Perfons to any vacant Benefice, out of whom the Minitters chufe one. In thefe Cities the Minifters live upon their yearly Salaries, but in the Country they have half in Tythes and the other half in Money. The Minifters here are at Liberty to change their Profeflion and become Laymen when-ever they pleafe. They are of the Reformed Religion, as are all the other Proteftant Cantuns.
Erafinus lived Part of his latter Days, and ended his Life in this City; his Monument, which is of Marble, on the North Side of the Communion Table in the great Church, being to be feen to this Day. He was the Founder of a College in Bafil for twenty Scudents of Divinity (in which Number are however comprehended the the Beadle and a School-matter) ten of whom are to be Natives of Bafll; they may ftay there as long as they continue unmarried, though the Magiftrates have a Power to command any of them thence, if they think it convenient. They are under the Infpection of a $\mathrm{Re}-$ gent, without whofe Leave none of them dare flay out of the College one Night. In the fame Church where Erafmus lies inter ${ }^{2}$ d is alfo his Library, commonly called Bibliotheca Amberbacbiana, becaufe Erafmus gave it by his laft Will to one Mr. Amberbach. I faw the faid Teftament written with his own Hand in half a Sheet of Paper, bearing Date 12 Feb. 1536 . In this Library are alfo feveral very curious Pieces of Painting, done by that famons Mafter Jobannes Holbenius, a Native of this City; fome Diplomata of the Pope to Erafmus, his Seal and Ring, a fine Gold Medal fent to him by the King of Poland, befides other good Coins and Medals, both ancient and modern ; three Rappers of Copper (worth about a Farthing a-piece) turned into Gold, as they fay, by that famous Alchymift Leonard Turnitius, who tranfmuted the famous Nail of Florence; feveral ancient Entaglio; fome Manufcripts of Amberbach, containing the Antiquities of Augufa Rauracorum, anciently a great City, but now turn'd into a Village called $A u g /$, near Bafll. The Profeffors and Minifters wear Ruffs, and a Kind of Caps painted like Sugar-loaves

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(in which they are imitated by the graver Sort of the Inhabitants) and Gowns which reach juft below their Knees. The Women wear their Petticoats very fhort, and Caps not unlike the young Scholars at Cambridge, with a Tin Girdle. We took alfo a View of the $M u$ faum of Dr. Platerus, where we met with many both natural and artificial-Curiofities of Minerals, Stones, Metals, Animals preferv'd, $\mathcal{J}^{\circ}$. The famous Phanatick David George ended his Days in this City. We found divers Plants growing wild about Bafl, the chief of which were, Scropbularia, Ruta canina dita, and Pafferina Tragi, among the Corn, Pbalangium parvo fore ramofus, Blitum minus album, among the Hedges, Cymbularia Italica bederacea, on the Town Walls near the Strasburg Gate, Stabe major colyculis non fplendentibus, in the Ĝrounds betwixt Frankentbal and Bafil, Polium montanum Lavendula folio, Confolida media Genievenfis $\mathcal{E}$ Cneorum Matthioli feu Tbymelca minor Cordi. But of thefe and other Plants growing abour Bafil, fee C. Baubini Catalogus Plantarum.

We went hence, Auguft the roth, towards Zurick, and in our Way, about a German League from Bafil, paffed through Augst, fuppofed by Amibacbius, to be the ancient Augufla Rauracorum of the Romans, where we faw the Ruins of an Amphitheatre. We travelled afterwards in Sight of a wall'd Town upon the Rbine, and many Hills covered with wild Fir-trees, and paffing through Bruck, a pretty handforme well built, but fmall Town, lodged the fame Night at the Batbs of Baden, about fix German Leagues from Bafil; here we firft got Sight of fmall green Tree Frogs. Thefe hot Baths, about Sixty in Number, are not above half an Englijh Mile from Baden, a City feated upon the River Limagus, on the Side of a Hill, famous for the general Meetings of the Swifs Cantons here.
21. From hence we continued our Journey Auguf $f_{\text {, the }}$ $\mathbf{x}$ th, along the Limagus on one, and very fair Vineyards on the other Side, to Zurick, another City belonging to the Swifs Cantons, fcarce fo big, but much more populous than Baden. Its Fortification is extraordinary pleafant, near the Zurick-Sea or Lake, being divided by the River Limagus (which owes its Rife to this Lake) into two Parts, which are joined together by two Bridges, one for Foot-Paffengers, the other for Carriages, and very broad. The Houfes here, though of Timber and Clay, yet are well built, handfomely painted, and lofty; the Streets indeed are none of the broadeft, but very well paved, and the whole Body of the City enclofed with a ftrong Wall and many Outworks of Earth, after the modern Way; the River Sele (which below this City falls into the Limagus) ferving for a Ditch on the South-fide. The Inhabitants, are Proteftants, much addicted to Commerce, and generally rich. What is worth a Traveller's Curiofity here is, the Colour of the Zurick-Sea, which is green approaching near that of Sea-water, thoigh it has not the leaft brackifh Tafte, to which in Sea-water this Colour is commonly afcribed. Finding afterwards the Water of the Rivers and Lakes near the Alps of the fame Colour, we could not attribute it to any other Caufe but the melted Snow of thofe Mountains, with which they are (at leaft the higher Parts of them) covered for fix Months in the Year, which containing a nitrous Salt, may be fufficient to give the Water this Colour, though not to affect our Tafte.
The Government of this City is adminiftred by two Councils, viz. The greater and the leffer. The laft is compofed of fifty Members, viz. twenty four Tribunes, chofen by the twelve Tribes or Companies of the City, two out of each: Thefe they call the Treelvers, becaufe twelve of them have only their Share in the Government at a Time ; twelve Senators, viz. one out of each Company, chofen by the leffer Council, as Simler tells us, but according to our Information, by the great Coìncil, fix Members more taken indifferently out of the Commonalty, and thofe likewife chofen by the great Council, as we were credibly told; but according to Simler, by the leffer; four Tribunes and two Senators chofen from among the Gentlemen, and two Burgomafters elected by the great Council of 200. Half this Council Vol. II, Numb. CXIV
governs by Turns, and that part which rule, is ftiled Concilium novum; or the nerw Council, as that which goes out is called Concilium vetuls, or the old Council: Xet If any Decree be to be made, the fame is dated in the Prefence of both, for which Reafon the whole Fifty meet once a Week; For the reft, one half of this Council is chofen every half Year, viz. at Midfummer and Cbriftimus, and as the Concilitum vetus goes out, it choofes the Concilium novum, compofed for the moft Part of the fame Perfons that were chofen before:

The whole Council of Fifty determines civil Actions (though Simler fays, no more than eight felectitd out of their Number) as the new Council judges in criminal Cafes alone. The greater Council is compofed of 200 Perfons, viz. Twelve out of each Tribe, making in all fortyfour, eighteen chofen by the Gentlemen, from among themfelves, twenty-four Twelvers, four Tribunii nobilium; two Senatores nobilium, the fix before-mentioned chofen by the great Council out of the People. Thefe choofe Governors (call'd by them Landooghts) and are always confulted upon any Emergency, which relates to the whole Commonwealth. They alfo chufe four Proconfuls out of the twenty-four Matters of the Companies; and two Treafurets, either out of the Number of the twelve Senators, or of the tivelve Tribunes of the nero Council.

Auguft i2. In our Way from Zurick to Scbaffoupen we pals'd by 'a Cataract or Water-fall of the Rbine; which is fo dangerous for the many Rocks that lie under Water, that the Veffels muft unload here, and by the Way found the Orobus fyluaticus purpureus vernuls, the Hepatica nobilis, and Ulmaria major five Barba capri, growing wild. The City of Scbaffbaufen is fituate upon the River Rbine, over which is a Bridge, half of Wood, half of Stone, and fo are moft of the Houfes, very well built ; efpecially in the two great Sireets, which are handfomely paved. The Citizens of this Place, as well as of Zurick, wear Swords conftantly: Thofe of the firft being divided into twelve Companies, each of thefe elect two Tribuni Plebis, and thefe twentyfour make up the leffer Council, having each a yearly Allowance of fifty-two Florins, and nine Meafures of Corn.

The great Coincil is compofed out of thofe twentyfour, and fixty more, (viz.) five chofen out of each of the Tribes. Thefe elect every Year twó Burgomafers, two Treafurers, one Proconful, and one $\mathbb{E}$ dilits, but for the moft part the fame Perfons: A Father and Son, or two Brothers, cannot be chofen at the fame tirse into this Council.
From hence we travelled to Conifance, Auguf the I 3 th, a free imperial City, in a fmall Plain near the Rbine, at the End of the Boden Ska, or Lake of Confance, known anciently under the Names of Lacus Brigantinus, and Lacus Acroniuis, over which is laid à very long Bridge, part of Wood, and part of Stone: The Streets here are very regular and handfome, and the Buildings of Stone. But what makes this Place moft famous is the Council that was held here, 1417. in which the Doctrine of Gobn Hus was rejected, and he condemned to the Fire. It is very frong by Situation, having the Lake on one, and the Fens on the other Side, but its Fortifications are very old and inconfiderable.
22. Auguft 15. We paffed over the Lake in a Boat, to the City of Lindaw (in Sight of the ftrong Town of Oberlingen) fituated in the Middle of the Lake, and furrounded by its Waters on all Sides; being join'd to the Continent by a Bridge of two hundred and ninety Paces long, one half of which is of Stone, the other, viz. that to the Town-fide, of Wood, fo that it may be taken down in cafe of Neceffity. This Place, befides its natural Strength of Situation, is fortified with ftrong Bulwarks, and Stakes driven into the Ground to prevent the Approach of any Boats. It is for the moft part handfomely built, and the Streets are adorned with Fountains, yet thefe laft are not fo facious, or their Buildings fo lofty as at Conftance: It has on one Side a double Wall, between which is enclofed a large Space of Ground planted with Vines, which produce commonly, as we are told, about three hundred Englijh Hogheads per Annum. They have eight Villages belonging to their Jurifdition.

8 D
Auguf

Auguf 17. Taking Poft-horfes at Confance, in order
our Journey to Munich; we changed our Horfes at to our Journey to Munich; we changed our Horfes at Lindaw, an Imperial City, two Germans Leagues thence; at Laykirk, another Imperial City, two Leagues further; at Memmingen, both for Strength and Bignefs, one of the chief of the Circle of Suabia, and dignified with the Title of a free Imperial City, and at MindleBeim, where we lodged that Night. From hence we traveli'd to Landsberg, four Leagues further, a very fair Town, with a handfome Fountain in the Market-place; after which, withous meeting with any confiderable Town, we pals'd by the Lake of Ammerfee, in Sight of the Alps, to Muncben or Muruich.
23. This being a frong and well fortified City, and the ordinary Refidence of the Electors of Bavaria, no Strangers are permitted to enter the Gates without the Confent of the Governor: Cluverius is not in the wrong, when he calls this City the faireft of all Germeny, the Splendor and Beauty of its Buildings, both publick and private, efpecially of the Electoral Palace (which may compare with any in Europe) and of feveral magnificent Churches and Convents, being' fuch as furpaffes any Thing in Germany for its Bignefs, its Streets being the broadeft and moft regular I have met with. Among other Varicties, you fee in the Electoral Gardens a valt Number of Aloc-trees (for fuch they may be called by reafon of the Bignefs of their Stalks, which fhoot up. in one Year) the like perhaps all Europo can't produce in Number both for their Stalks and Flower. Here alfo we met with a Convent of Engrijat Nuns, and found in their Churches Pews and Seais, as is cuftomary in England, whereas otherwife, the lRomanists make ufe only in their Sermons of moveable Chairs and Benches, and clear the Churches fo foon as Sermon is over.
We took a Turn from hence to Augsbourg, and paffing by the Abby of Bernarcines called Pruck, and the little Town of Fridbergh, arrived there the 2 Ift of suguf.
This is a ftately and flrong City, feated upon the River Lech, being about eight Englifh Miles in Compais: Its Eloufes are well built, its Streets fair, and beautified witio many Fountains. Its Arfenal confifts of twelve Rooms, not inferior to that of Strasburgh, as its Townhoufe may challenge the fecond Rank next to that of Amferdan: the upper Room efpecially being very remarkable for its Loftinefs, Gilding, and Paintings, in which it exceeds any 1 have yet feen. The Inhabitants are partly Romanists, partly Lutberans, but the laft are double the Number of the frif, though thefe are in Poffeffion of feven Convents' here, among which there is one Euglifh: Some Calvinifts there are here, but few. It is a free Imperial City, under the Jurifdiction of its own Magiftrates; yet feems fomewhat decayed of late Years, the Number of its Inhabitants being fcarce proportionable to its Bignefs; in the Plains near Augsburgh, leading to Munchen, we faw many rare Plants.
Auguft 28. We left Augsurgh, and travelling three Days out of our Way, in order to take a View of the Farnous City of Nurenbergh, we crofs'd the Danube the firt Diy, about fix Leagues from Augsburgh, at a Place called Donazvert, belonging to the Elector of Bevaria, where there is a wooden Bridge over that River. The 2gth, we paffed through Manbeim and Papenbeim, two pretty wall'd Towns, and having made five German Leagues that Day, lodged at Weiflenbergh, an Imperial City, inhabited by Lutbercins; near which is alfo a ftrong Fort upon a Hill, belonging to the Marquefs of Anfach, a Lutberan Prince.
24. The 3oth, We paffed through a fmall Town called Pleinfeldt, and after a Journey of three Leagues further, clofe by another little walled Town called Rotte, and fo, after two Hours Riding more, arrived at Nurenbergh, which we were no fooner in Sight of, but we highly applauded the Epithet Cluverius befowed upon ii, when he ftiles it Germonicarum fuperbifimam, it being beyond Queftion, that for its Buildings, which are very flately, it exceeds all, and for its Bignefs may compare with any in Germany ; and were its Houfes, which are of Free-ftone, as uniform as the Buildings in the LowCountries, would even out-vie them for Beauty; bew
fides, that under its Dominion, are at leaft an hundred Towns and Villages. It is true, the Ground where it is fituated is very barren, and the River upon which it flands but very fraall, and not navigable; notwithftanding which, by the Induftry of the Inhabitants, who are generally very excellent in all Sorts of Handicraft Works, this City is very rich and populous. They are gerierally Lutberans, and their Churches more adorned and beautified after the Faflion of the Romanifs, than ever we faw in any other Place where this Religion is profefs ${ }^{\circ} \mathrm{d}$. The Roman Catbolicks have one Church allowed them, but the Reformed none. Their great Market-place, and the Town-houfe, are worth a Traveller's Obfervation; it is fortified with a good Wall and Ditches: Their Senate and their whole Government is faid to approach very near that of the Venetions, being for the reft a free Imperial City.

September 3. We fet out from Nurenbergb towards Ratisbon, and came to Altorff, a Town and Univerfity under the Jurifdiction of Nurenbergh. It has a very good Phyfic-Garden, the Catalogue of the Plants therein, as well as another of what Plants grow wild hereabouts, the World ftands indebted for to Dr. Maurice Hoffman. Over the Cloitter of the College, in which are maintained thirty fix Sudents, at the Charge of the City of Nurenbergh, you fee an Infcription in Latin, giving a fhort Account of the Foundation of this Univerfity and College, viz. That the faid College was founded by the Senate of Nurenbergh in 1575, under the Reign of the Emperor Moximilian II., that in $157^{8}$, under the Reign of Rodolpb II. a Gymnafum was eftablifhed here, which in 1633 , under the Reign of the Emperor Ferdinand II. was dignified with the Title and Privileges of an Univerfity.

Dr. Hoffman fhewed us feveral. Cornua Ammonis, or Serpént-ftones, befides many Cockle and Muffel-fhells found near Altorff, of which we alfo faw fome the next Day in our Way to Nieu-markt; upon which Occafion I can't forbear to give, by way of Digreffion, a brief Account, (I.) In what Places they are found. (2.) The different Opinions concerning them. In England, thofe petrified Shells are found at Wbitby or Whitebay, in the North-riding of Yorkfire; at Huntley-Neb, more Northward on the fame Coaft ; at Alderley in Gloucefferfbire; at Cainflom in Somerjethbire, not far from Alderley; at Farnbam in Surry; at Ricbmond in Yorkbire; and in feveral other Places; as for Inftance, at Lyme in DorjetBire, Adderbury in OxfordJire, at Brickwortb in Northamptonfire, about Daventry, Verulam in Hertfordloire, Sbuckkorough in Warwickhire, nay, even the Peak of Derbyfire. Befides thefe petrified Shells, other congenerous Bodies are found in feveral Parts of England, viz. I. The Star-foones, called by fome Afroites, Lapis fellaris, and Stella judaica. 2. St. Cutbbert's Beads, or Trocbites, and, 3. The Capfone, or Ecbinites, called Lapides Brontice by fome, and confidering that Sharks are often taken upon our Coaft, it is a Wonder that no Gloffopetre flould be found in England. As for the Star-foones (fo called from their five Angles refembling fo many Rays) they are found at Sbuckborougb in Warwoick/bire, at CafSington near Gloucefer, and Belvoir Cafte in Lincoln/bire. The Trockites are to be met with on the Weftern Shore of the Holy Ifland, and in the Chinks of fome Stones found in the Bottom of the Channel of the River Tees, the common Boundary between York/bire and the Bilhoprick of Durbam; thefe are of a rotund Figure, and not angular like the former. The Ecbinites or Brontice, are found in divers Places of England, of fevera! Magnitudes and Shape ; and beyond-fea, at Brefcia in Lombardy, upon the Banks of the River Tanaro in Piedmont, four Miles below Afe, but efpecially in the Ine of Maltba, where are alfo many Glofopetra, refembling Sharks-teeth, petrified.

As for thefe laft, Boetius fays, they are found near Deventer, in the Province of Overyjfel; and in Germany, in the Alum-mines near Lunenburgb. Gropius Becanus tells us, that they were digged up in the Ditches of Antwerp, and are found in great Numbers on a Hill near Aix la Cbapelle in Germany, which he ufes as an Argument, that they can't be real Sharks Teeth petrified.

## Chap. III.

 through the Low-Countries, $\theta_{0} c$ 。fied. Georgius Agricola affirms, that the petrified Cockles, and other Sea-Shells, are found in the Stone Quarries of Galsenbergh, and in thofe beyond Mount Maurice, in the Bihoprick of Hildefbeim in Germany. (2.) At Alfeld, a Town of Saxony. (3.) At Hanover, in the Lime-Pits, and near the Village of Lindaw. (4.) In a Village called Rabccbyls, near the Rivulet of Trobitio in Mifnic. (5.) At a Place called the RofeGarden in Prisfia. (6.) Near the Cafte of Spangenbergh in Haflia. (7.) In a Mountain of Italy near Verona. (8.) On the Banks of the River Elfa; and (according to Paufanias) in the Quarries near Megara, and they are alfo found in Tbelfaty, Macedonia, and the Mountains of Calabrio. Bernardus Poliffius fays, tha thofe petrified Shells are found in Fronce, near the Suburb of St. Martiol near Paris ; in the Mountains of the Foreft of Arden, but efpecially about Sedan, in the Provinces of Valois, Xantogne and Cbampaign, and in the Mountains near Soifons.
Foannes de Laet tells us alfo of a Kock near Dijon in Burgundy, and fpeaks much of the Fields about Souivignac, upon this Account. Beffides the beforementioned Places of Italy, they are found in the Mountain of Nicani, in the Modenese, and in the Channel of a Rivulet near Udine in Friuli; Geropius Becanus names Limburgh, Liege, Namur, Tournay, and divers other Places in the Lotw-Countries : Befides all which Places, there is not the leaft Queftion, but that, if firict Obfervations were made in the other Parts of the World, the fame might be difoovered there as well as in Europe.
We will now proceed to give you a fhort Hint of the Opinions maintained concerning them. The firft, and which was generally received among the Ancients, was, That they were originally the natural Bones or Shells of living Creatures, bred in the Sea, which by Deluges, Inundations, Earthquakes, or other fuch like Means, being caft up into thofe Places, being filled with Clay, and fome petrifying Water or Subitance, were in Tract of Time, hardened into the fame Shape and Figures they bore before ; this Opinion they fupport by divers Experiments, as the finding of a petrified Pearl-bearing Shell, in Tufcany, with the Pearl yet fticking to the Shell : Of a Piece of the greater Seanacre (Pimna marina) in which the filk-like Subftance within the Shell being confumed, the Colour of that Subflance remained in the Clay that had filied the Shell. Another Experiment is, that about the City of Volterra, there are many Beds of Earth not flony, but full of true Cockle-fhells, which have fiot undergone the leaft Alteration, though they have lain there at leaft three thouland Years, from whence they would evince, that Tufcany was in former Ages cover'd by the Sea, and confequently fo might thofe other Countries in which thofe petrified Shells are found. Againft this Opinion are two confiderable Objections, not eaffily to be refolved.

The firft is, that at this Rate the whole Body of the Earth muft once have been covered with Water, fince thefe petrified Shells are found at a vaft Diftance from the Sea, nay, even upon the very Tops of the Alps. Some pretend to anfwer this by the general Deluge; but as that proceeded from the Rains, thefe were more likely to carry off into the Seas thofe Shells, than to bring them in. What fome argue from the Words of the Scripture, (The Fountains of the deep were broken $u p$ ) will not anfwer the Point neither; for fuppofing that by the breaking in of the Rivers and Seas, thofe Shells were brought, the fame muft of Neceffity have been. fcattered indifferently over the whole Surface of the Earth. Others are for folving this Difficulty, by referring the fame to fome particular Inuindations, alledging, That thofe Places, where they are found now, might, in moft ancient Times, have been low Places, which, by Earthquakes, have been raifed up to Mountains; but tho' this, perhaps, may tale Pláce in refpect of fome inconfiderable Eminencies or Hills, it is not applicable to thofe mountainous Bulks, fuch as the Alps, Pyrenees, Apemines, it being evident from the moft ancient Records, that though the Face of the

Earth may have undergone fome Change ; yet the fame Mountains, Ilands, Promontories, Rivers and Lakes of any Note, are ftill remaining; without any, Removal in their ancient Stations:

The fecond Objection againft this Opinion is, That among all thefe petrified Cockles or Shells, there are many Sorts not to be found any where now; nay; fome go farther, that among all our Shell-Fifhes, thêre are none found like thofe perrified Shells; unto which; if it be anfwered, that thofe Species are loft, it is a Thing which will fcarce be admitted by many, for though it might be granted, that fome few Species were loft, yet it feems next to an Impoffibility; that a whole Genus, of which there were fo many Species fcattered in fo many far diffant Places from one another, fhould be utterly extinct. As for Inftance, of che Serpentine Stones, or Cornua Ammonis, I have myfelf feen at leaft fix feveral Species, and fome of them of a Foor diameter, being much beyond the Bignefs of any ShellFifh now living in our Seas. Hence it is, that many of our modern Naturalifts have atrributed thefe Bodies to the Effects of a plaftic Power in the Earth, and that they are produced and framed after the fame Mianner as precious Stones, Cryitals, and coagulated Salts, by flhooting up into divers Figures. What makes for their Opinion is, that in the Earth are found many figured Stones, fuch as the Lapides Lyncuriz, Belemnites; Lapides 7 fudaici, Trocbites, and others, which have not the leaft Refemblance to any Shells, Bones, Roots, or Fruits ; to falve up which, no other Recourfe is to be had, than to the before-mentioned Lofs of thofe Species out of the World.
I cannot but mention; upon this Occafion, what I was told by a very credible Perfon, viz. That he had feen a Stone refembling a Cocklefhell, found in the Stomach of an Ox, which, if it be admitted, there is not the leaft Doubt, but that the like may be fo gene. rated in Quarries and other Places. Thefe two different Opinions have given Occafion to a third, viz. That fome of thofe Shells have been truly petrified, and that others are really Stones formed by fome Platic Power in the Earch, imitating the others in their Shapes and Figures. But as this feem to be rather a Shift than a Diffolution of the Objections to be made againf either of the two former Opinions, I am inclinable to adhere to the firft, as feeming to me more confonant to the Nature of the Thing, though at the fame Time I thould be very glad to hear the Objections made agnainft it, more folidly anfwered than they have been hitherto. The Academical Senate of Altorff was compofed at that Time of thirteen Profeffors, three in Divinity, as many in Law, two in Phyfick, and five in Philofophy, who publinh every Year a printed Catalogue of the Lectures they intend to keep the next enfuing Year
25. September 4. We fet out froin Aliorff for Regenfpurgh, or Ratisbon, and paffing through Nieumarkt and Heinmare, two little walled Towns, came to Ratisbon the 5 th at Night, by a fair Bridge built here over the Danube. This City, which receives its Name from the River Regen, which here joins its Current with the Dambe, is very large and well-built with Stonehoufes, the Roofs of which are flat, after the Italian Manner. It is well fortified, but the Streets fomewhat narrow. As it is an Imperial City, it is under the Government of its own Magiftrates; who, as well as the greateft Part of the Inhabitants, are Iulberans, though thieir Bifhop is of the Romib Religion, the Members of which have fome Convents here, and a College of Jefuits.' It is chiefly famous for the Imperial Diet, which is ufually held here.
September ir. We took Boat for Vienna, and paffed on the Left-hand of the River, by a Village and ffony Cafte on the Hill called Thonafein, and three Leagues and a half below Ratisbon, in Sight of the Caftle of Wert, feated at the Confux of the River Wifent, and the Donube, belonging to the Bihop of Ratisbon; we took up our Quarters one German League and a half thence, at Straubingen, a handfome wall'd Town, belonging to the Elector of Bavaria.

September 12. In the Morning we paffed by Pogen and four Leagues below Stranbingen, under a wooden Bridge laid over the Danube, fomewhat lower we faw the fmall City of Dreckendorf, belonging to the Elector of Bavaria, and having pass'd by the Mouth of the River Ifer, and in Sight of Osterboven on our Left-hand, and the Caftle of Hilkersberg on the fame Side, we lodged that Night at a little wall'd Bavarion Town called Vilhoven.
September 13. We came to Paffau or Paffovia, four Leagues diftant from Vilboven, a City confiderable for its Strength, Bignefs, and noble Buildings, the laft of which were very near all confumed by Fire, about nine Months before our Arrival. It is under the Jurifdiction of the Archduke of Infpruck, fituate at the Confluence of the Rivers In and the Danube, over the firt of which is a Bridge to the Town of Infadt. Below Pafou, the Danube being ftreightned by Hills and Rocks on both Sides, begins to run with a much fwifter Stream than before; feven Leagues below Pafau, paffing by the Caftle of Nerwboufe, we took up our Lodgings at the Village of $A / b$, on the right Side of the River.
26. September 14. Paffing through an open Country on both Sides, for four Leagues together, we came to Lintz, a City neatly built after the Italian Manner, with a fquare fpacious Piazza, adorned with two noble Fountains, the Imperial Palace flanding upon a rifing Ground, from whence you have a fair Profpect of the Danube and adjacent Country. Three Leagues below it we paffed by a very fine Village called Matbaufen, and in Sight of the City of Intz, feated on our Right-hand upon the River Ens, feven Leagues below Lintz, the Country begins to be hilly again on both Sides of the Danube, near the Caftle of the Prince of Licbtenfein, by a Village called Greine ; a little below which Place we paffed a Kind of Cataract, the Current being nearly enclofed between the Rocks on both Sides, and render'd boifterous by thofe under Water ; and fomething lower a Whirlpool is made there by the jetting out of Rocks into the River. Afterwards, paffing by a fmall Town called Ips, we lodged that Night at the Village of Morpatch, about eleven German Leagues from Lintz.

September 15. Early in the Morning we paffed in Sight of the rich Convent called Melk, on our Righthand, and about fix Leagues further the Seat of Count Dietricblfein on our Left, within Sight of the rich Abby of Ketrein, famous for its ftony Situation, and the brave Refiftance it made againft the Swedes. Nine Leagues from our laft Night's Lodging, we paffed under a wooden Bridge, near the City of Stein, not far from whence we came to Krembs, a very handfome, ftrong, well-built City, feated at the Foot of a Hill. From hence, being an open Country, the Channel of the River began to be much broader. Six Leagues below Krembs, we paffed by a fmall City called Deuhn, and in Sight of the Caftle of Greitenstien, fituate upon a Hill, at fome Diftance from the River, on the Lefthand, and we faw alfo the City of Cornburgb. Here, and afterwards in other Places, we faw Abundance of Mills in Boats, the Wheels lying betwixt two Boats, placed at a convenient Diftance one from another; fo that the Stream being by Degrees ftreightned between the Boats, forces the Wheel to turn. One of the Boats is with Chains, or ftrong Cables, faftened to the Bank. Within a League and a half of Vienna, we paffed by the noble and rich Abby called Cloyfter Nerwburg, with a little walld Town of the fame Name belonging to it; and having by the Swiftnefs of the Current made nineteen German Leagues that Day, arrived at Vienna, the Capital of Austria, and now the Capital of the Empire.

This City, which, in Proportion to its Bignefs, is the moft populous we had feen yet in our Travels, is the ordinary Refidence of the Emperor, feated upon the Danube, though it receives its Name from the River Wien, which below it, viz. on the Eaft-fide, falls into the former. The Body of the City is not above four or five Englijb Miles in Compars, but the Suburbs are very fpacious, fome of the Houfes of which were lately pulled down, upon the Approach of the Turks towards

Presburgh (not above forty Englift Miles from thence) after the taking of Newobeufel. Vierina has a mott regular Fortification, the Wall of Earth, but very high and thick, faced with Bricks, Itrengthened by a broad and deep Ditch, and defended by many Half-moong and Horn-works. The Houfes are lofy and well-built, with flat Roofs, after the Italian Way: The Markets very well furnifhed with Provifions, but the Streets none of the broadeft. The Emperor's Palace, the Cathedral, and other publick Buildings, are very magnificent. The Emperor himfelf (Leopold) is low of Stature, of a very dark Complexion, black Hair, and thin vifaged, with a thick hanging Under-lip, not unlike his Effigies on his Coins In the Market we firft met here with the Fruit of Sorbus legitima, with Tortoifes, for Six-pence a-piece, found here in muddy Places; and here we alfo faw the Silurus, or Shest-fifb, the biggeft of all frefh Water Fifh I ever faw, fome of them weighing near an hundred Pounds.
27. September 24. We took Coach for Venice, and lodged that Night at a great Village called Trayskerk, four Leagues thence; by the Way we faw great Store of Absintbium Auffriacunn tenuifolium, Claur.
The 24th, after we had travel'd four Leagues, we came to Newestadt, (Neapolis Auftricea) a pretty ftrong fquare Town, well built, but of no great Extent ; having a fair Market-place, and very regular Streets. At three of the Corners it is defended by fo many Baftions, but on the fourth it has a Caftle or Citadel. Near this Place I met with the Afperula carulea, After we had travel'd two Leagues beyond Neresfadt, we began to enter among the Hills, and lodged that Night at Glucknitz, four Leagues from Nervjfadt.
The 26th, We had fcarce made two Leagues, when coming to the Village of Sbadwin, our Coachman hired ten Oxen (which were ready at hand for that Purpofe) to draw the Coach up the fleep Hills, which are the common Boundaries betwixt Au/fria and Stiria. After we had travel'd for fome Time among the Hills, we pafs'd through Mertzfucblag, a fmall City feated upon the River Muercz (where we faw many Mills) and afterwards through Langenwaang and Kriegla, each of which have a Caftle built on Hills. We crofs'd the River near the laft, and paffing through a pleafant Valley furrounded with woody Mountains, lodged that Night at the Village of Kimberg, fix long German Leagues from Glocknitz.
The 27 th, We continued our Journey through the fame Valley, through the Valley of Kapfuberg, in Sight of feveral Villages, Caftles, and Councry-Seats upon the Sides of the Hills, and at three Leagues End came to the City call'd Pruck en der Murre, i. e. Pons'Mures, a neat Place, defended by a Wall, having a fpacious Market-place : The Inhabitants are moftly concerned in Iron-work. Here we pals'd the River Mure twice, and after we had left Lewben, pais'd over a Hill, and fo following the Courfe of the River among the Mountains, lodged that Night at the Village called St. Micbael. Here it was we faw many Men and Women with large Tumours hanging down under their Chins and Throats, fome of which were fingle, fome double, call'd in Latin, Broncbocele, and by fome Englijh the Bavarian Pokes. This, it feems, is a Difeafe natural, and of old belonging to the Alpine Inhabitants: Quis ummidum guttur miretur in Alpibus? Though the Grijons inhabiting the higheft Parts of thefe Mountains, are either not at all, or at leaft not near fo much fubject to this Diftemper. Some attribute the Source of this Evil to the Snow-water which comes from the Alps; others to the virulent mercurial Particles which are mix ${ }^{2} d$ with thefe Waters ; but as this Diftemper is not frequent among other Nations inhabiting mountainous Countries, where the Snow lies as long as here, nay, where their Waters are nothing but melted Snow, neither among the Hungarians and Tranfllvanians, (where they abound in Minerals, and efpecially in Mercury) we had better fufpend our Judgment, till fome ingenious Phyfician, refiding in thofe Countries, fhall affign us the true Caufe and Cure of this Diftemper. We alfo faw more Idiots and delirious Perfons here than any where elfe, which

## Chap. III. through the Low-Countries, \&cc.

I attributed chiefly to the venomous and malignant mercurial Vapours, which will, beyond all Queftion, affect the Brains and Nerves, as is obvious in Goldímiths, Gilders, Miners and Painters; though they generally attribute this to the Ufe of Snow-water, and of the vaft Quantity of Cabbage, which is their daily Food here.

The 28 th, We continued our Journey for three Leagues along the River Mure to Knittlefield, a fmall City, and then paffing through a Valley in Sight of many Noblemens Seats and Caftles, lodged that Night at the Village of St. Georgio, upon the Mure, four Leagues from Knittlefield. The 29th, We continued our Journey along the River Mure, through the fame Valley, as far as Nermarket four Leagues from St. Georgio, and following the Tract of another River, which near Volckmarck falls into the River Drave, we paffed through Freifach, a confiderable City in thofe Parts, feated in a little Valley, betwixt high Hills, and after a League's travelling further, lodged at Heirt in Carintbia.

The 30th, For three German Leagues after, we travell'd ttill through rocky Valleys as far as St. Veit, where the Emperor has a Mint: Three L.eagues further we came to Vilkircken, a Town of Note, but quite ruined by an accidental Fire three Years before. OEFober the ift, We paffed over rugged Rocks, and Mountains all along the Lake Offukerfea, at the further End of which Count Dietrichflein has a ftrong Caftle built upon a Hill. After that, pafing through a pleafant Valley, we crofs'd the River Drave, which begins to be navigable here; and wafhes the Walls of Villach, a Town of Note in this Country, three Leagues from Vilkirck. At fome Diftance from Villach, we pafs'd the River Guile, which joins its Current with the Drave. Hence we travelled again over very rocky Mountains to Orlesteiona, where we lodged that Night.

OEtober the 2 d , We travell'd on for two Leagues through the Mountains to Klein Tarvis, and thence to the River Timent, which exonerates itfelf into the Adri-stick-Sea, and took up our Quarters that Night at Pontieba, the laft Place in the Emperor's Territories, Part of it being fubject to the Emperor, from whence it is called Pontieba Imperiale, as that Part which belongs to the Venetians is thence called Pontieba Veneta; here we were obliged to take a Bill of Health. Between this Place and Klein Tarvis obferving feveral Herds of Goats following the Goat-herds like Dogs, it put us in Mind of what our Saviour fays, And be goeth before bis Sbeep, and they follow bim, for they know bis Voice; which proves that the fame was ufual in thofe Days in Judea. October the 3d, we paffed the River Timent by a Bridge, which here parts Carintbia from Friuli. About a German League thence, we came to a fmall Fort, called Claufen, where they ftopped us till we delivered our Bill of Health. As we travell'd on along the River, we faw many Timber Trees floating down the Stream, which being fell'd in the Alps, are brought to the next Rivulet or Brook, and when the next ftrong Rain Shower falls, forced down into the greater Rivers. We paffed the fame Day through Venfonga, a pretty little City, and lodged that Night at the Village of Hof. pitaletto, and fo entred Italy.

The Circumftances of this worthy Gentleman, at the Time of his going Abroad, were of a Nature that qualified him to enter into fuch Enquiries, and to make fuch Sort of Obfervations as are moft worthy of a Reader's Attention, as being moft likely to convey to him the Advantages of Travelling; without the Fatigue of it. Mr. Ray was in the Flower of his Age; he had reaped all the Advantages of a learned and general Education. He had feen the greateft Part of his own Country before he went into foreign Parts, and the fole Reafon of his going thither, was, for his own Improvement. It is very natural, therefore, to expect from fuch a Man, Remarks and Reflections, very different from thofe of other Travellers; and the Reader will find, that his Expectations in this Refpect are fully anfwered. All his Remarks are curious and important, moft of his Reflections are very fenfible and judicious; he did not VoL. II. NO II4.
dwell on the Superficies of Things, but went to the Bottom. He knew before he went Abroad, all that was worth knowing of the Countries he vifited from Books, and he made it his Bulinefs to prepare the $\mathbb{M}$ aterials for his Enquiries, before he came to the Places where they were to be made; fo that we find him fometimes commending and fometimes correcting the Authors that he had read; which enable us to judge of other Books as well as his own, as it alfo enabled him to bring together, in a very narrow Compafs, an infinite Number of curious and learned Obfervations. It is indeed true, that this gives an Air of Singularity to his Writings, which differences chem extreamly from moft other Books of like Titles; bat this is fo far from being any Way prejudicial to, that in the Opinion of the beft Judges, it adds greatly to the Merit of his Per. formance.

Another Advantage Mr. Ray had beyond moit Travellers, which was derived from the Company in which he travelled; and in Order to place this in a proper Light, it becomes neceffary for us to fay fomewhat of his Fellow-Travellers. Francis Willougbby, Efq; Anceftor to the prefent Lord Middleton, was a Gentleman no lefs diftinguifhed by his eminent Virtues and Knowledge, in all Degrees of Learning, chan by his Defeent from an ancient and honourable Family, and his Poffeffion of a large hereditary Eftate. He was from his Childhood addicted to Study, and when he came to the Ufe of Reafon was fo great a Husband of his Time, that he fuffered no Opportunities of improving himfelf, to flip unemployed; and though he had a Tincture of moft other Sciences, yet thofe that were the chief Ob jects of his Affections were the Mathematicks and natural Philofophy. In order to cultivate thefe, he undertook this Journey with Mr. Ray, in which he kept his Pencil continually in his Hand, and drew with great Exactnefs whatever offered itfelf to his View, worthy of Obfervation. His accurate Hiftory of Birds, his noble Specimen of the Hiftory of Fifhes, both of which were publifhed after his Deceafe, by the Care of his learned Friend, are the lafting Monuments of his Fame and Learning, together with Abundance of curious and learned Effays that are to be met with in the Pbilofopbical Iranfactions; and thefe will appear to us the more extraordinary, when we reflect that he died but a young Man, on the 3 d of Fuly, 1672 , at the Age of Thirty feven. As to Mr, Skippon, afterwards Sir Pbilip Skippon who was allo a Companion with Mr. Ray in thefe Travels, we.fhall have Occafion to mention him more par ticularly, when we come to feieak of his Journey through Spain, and therefore it is only requifite to obferve hêre, that his Talents, his Induftry, and his Accuracy, were not inferior to thofe of his Companions; from whence we may fafely collect, that though thefe Gentlemen had each of them his particular View, to which he chiefly attended, yet their Converfation contributed not a little to help each of their Enquiries, and enabled them to pufh their Difcoveries much farther than they could have done, if they had travelled alone, or if they had travelled in Company, where, while fome were engag ${ }^{\circ}$ d in ferious and folid Studies, others had purfued only fenfual Pleafures, or trivial Amufements.

It muft be acknowledged; that many Paffages in this Section, and many more in the fucceeding Sections, relate to Places already mentioned and defcribed, and therefore it may feem fomewhat unneceffary, more efpecially confidering how much we are ftraitned for Room, to fuffer thefe Repetitions. "But to this, feveral Anfwers may be made, as for Inftance : There is fuch a Connection runs through the whole of Mr. Ray ${ }^{2}$ s Travels, that the Reader will very eafily difcern there was no Choice left for us to make, but whether we would receive or reject all; and he will certainly fee good Reafon to think that he had been very ill treated, if the latter had been our Refolution. It muft be alfo obferved, that his Obfervations are of a very different Nature from thofe of Miffon or Burnet, more efpecially as we have taken Care to leave out a few Paffages, which it was impoflible thould not be the fame in Re-

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Jations refpecting the fame Places; fo that by this Means, Repetitions are for the moft part avoided, at the fame time that the Connection, neceffary for underftanding Mr. Ray's Narrative of his Travels, is maintained throughout. Lafty, it contributes not a little to the Variety and Entertainment, as well as the Utility and Inftruction of a Work like this, to bring together as great a Diverfity of Travels as is poffible, becaufe as the old Proverb fays, Many Men, many Minds. One Traveller makes his Remarks in one Manner, another in another; one fhews himfelf an Antiquary, another is an Hiftorian, a third a Critic, a fourth a Politician, a fifth a Philofopher; and in reading their feveral Remarks, we profit by them all. Befides, it ought to be remembred, that as Travellers differ in their Notions, fo Readers vary alfo in their Sentiments of Things. Such as have a View to traverfe thefe Countries themfelves, cannot avoid fetting a high Value upon Miffon's Manner of Writing ; fuch as have a Tafte for Hiftory and Politicks, muft be charmed with Burnet's Method; and thole again, who are in Love with philofophick Enquiries, moral Reflections, and Difcoveries that are
ufeful to Society, will very probably prefer the Accounts given by Mr. Ray, to Miffon and Burnet both. General Readers who grafp at all, will receive Satisfaction from comparing thefe different Methods, and find in Variety, what they would have miffed, if we had given them the very beft Relation that could have been felected, and that in its utmoft Extent. It was our Bufinefs to gratify the Defires of every Reader, and this alone is a fufficient Apology for the Method that is here taken. A Library of Voyages and Travels implies that fuch Method fhould be taken, and it always has been, and fhall be our Study to fulfil the Title of this Work, to make it as far as we can all that we have promifed, fo as to leave no Room for objecting, that we have been fparing in our Pains to accomplifh what we propofed, and to comply with the Expectations of the Publick, which in all Cafes is unjuft, and in ours would be highly ingrateful, confidering the kind Reception we have hitherto met with, and which as it encourages, fo it lays us under an Obligation to ufe our Endeavours at leaft, to deferve it.

## S E C T I O N VI.

The Travels of the Reverend Mr. John Ray, through the Dominions of the State of Venice, Lombardy, Tufcany, the Kingdom of Naples, the Iflands of Sicily and Malta, the Ecclefiaftical State, the Bifhoprick of Trent, the Country of the Grifons, Switzerland, EOc.

Interfperfed tbrougbout with Hifterical, Political, Pbilofophical, Pbyjfical, and Moral Reflections, togetber with an Account of Abundance of Curiofties Seen and examined in the Courfe of the Autbor's Voyages and Travels, and many otber entertaining and inffructive Particulars.
3. An Introductory Account of what is to be expected from the following Section. 2. Obfervations on the Situation, Extent, Number of People, Revenues, $\mathcal{F}^{c}$. of Venice. 3. Some curious Remarks on the Government of that Republick. 4. Curiofities of different Kinds feen by the Autbor there, with a very difinct and particular Account of the Art of making Venice Soap. 5. A fuccinct Defcription of Padua, and of the Hot Baths at Abona. 6. An Account of Vicenza, and of the chief Commodities in the Country round it. 7. The Cave of Cuftoza defcribed, together with the Manner of making Ventiducts. 8. The City of Verona, and the Country about it defcribed. 9. Some very curious Remarks on the State of Mantua. IO. Ferrara and Bologna defcribed, with an Account of the Country and Trade. II. Some Remarks on the Dutchy of Modena, and of the reigning Family. 12. The Cities of Reggio, Parma, and Placentia, defcribed, with many ufeful Remarks. I3. An Account of Brefcia, Bergamo, and of the Country about thofe Cities. I4. Remarks upon Milan, and the Curiofities the Author faw there. I5. A Defcription of Turin, and of the Country of Piedmont. 16. A very large and accurate Defcription of the City and Republick of Genoa. 17. The Autbor's Journey from thence to Leghorn, including a Defcription of the principal Places in the Grand Dutchy of Tufcany. 18. The Autbor's Voyage to Naples, giving an Account of that City and Kingdom. 19. A Defcription of the principal Places in the Ifland of Sicily. 20. The Autbor's Voyage from thence to the Ifland of Malta, and a Defcription of that Place, its principal Commodities and Manufactures. 21. An Account of the City of Valetta, of the Knigbts of Malta, together with various Remarks on the Country and Inbabitants. 22. The Autbor's Return to, and farther Obfervations in, the Ifland of Sicily. 23. His Voyage from thence to Naples, with fome curious Remarks on the different Provinces of that Kingdom through which be paffed. 24. A Defcription of Florence, with fome biforical Notes as to the Family, Power, and Revenues of the Grand Dukes of Tufcany. 25. The Author's Fourney from Florence to Rome. 26. His.Obfervations on the principal Edifices in that famous Capital. 27. A fuccinct Defcription of the Place, and of the Country adjacent. 28. The Autbor's Fourney from thence to Ancona, with Remarks upon fuch Places as be paffed tbrough in bis Way. 29. An Account of bis Fourney continued from Ancona to Trent. 30. A Defcription of that City, with the Copy of a remarkable Infcription relating to the laft General Council beld there. 31. Several Remarks of our Autbor on the Country, Produce, and Manufactures of Italy, and on the Difpofition, Manners and Cuftoms of its Inbabitants. 32. Obfervations on the Swifs-Cantons, and on the City of. Geneva. 33. Conclufion of this Section, and Remarks.

## Chap. III. through the State of Venice, ©co

THE Defign of this Section is to extract fo much of Mr. Ray's Travels through Italy, as may inform the Reader, in many Partilars, that were either omitted by, or did not occur to the Authors whofe Works have been already inferted, as alfo to enlarge the Accounts already given, with the Defcriptions of the Kingdoms of Naples, the Inands of Sicily and Malta, and many other Places thro' which he paffed, and which were not mentioned by the former Writers. The Reader will alfo obferve, that in regard to the Curiofities of Art and Nature which are mentioned in thefe Travels, they are more clofely and thoroughly examined than in thofe of Mifon, Burnet, or indeed any other; becaufe they were what thefe Gentlemen particularly fought after, and perfectly unflerfood; neither may it be improper to take Notice, that in Confequence of many ufeful Difcoveries made by them in their Travels, and communicated to their Countrymen after their Return, feveral ufeful Trades were fet up, and new Manufactures introduced in this Kingdom. It were to be wifhed, that the fame beneficent and publick Spirit was more common among modern Travellers, and that they would accuftom themfelves to think of bringing home fome valuable Invention, in Return for great Sums of Money fpent in their Travels, and which muft be confidered as intirely thrown away, by fuch as carry their Views no higher than bare Amufement. But let us now return to our Author, and continue the Story of his Travels as near as may be in his own Words.
Oitober 4, Quitting the Mountains, we entred the Plains of Friuli, paffing by Limonia, fituated at the Foot of the Mountains, and fome Leagues further through St. Daniele; after which we forded the River Timent in feveral Places, though in Time of Rain, or when the melted Snow comes down from the Mountains, it is of a confiderable Breadth. The firft Time we paffed the River we came to Spilemberg, feated upon a Cliff, where we faw Cloifters under the Houfes on both Sides of the Streets (a thing common in Lombardy) and after ten Italian Miles travelling, took up our Lodgings in the Village of St. Avogio.

October 5, We travell'd for ten Miles to a walled Town call'd Saribe, encompafs'd by the River Livenza, which divides itfelf into two Branches. We travelled for two German Leagues, and lodged at Conegliano, a fmall City, feated on a Ridge of a Hill. Whilft we travelled in Italy, we met rarely with any wheaten Bread, that which we ufed, being made of Sorgbum, a certain Grain, the Blade of which grows feven or eight Foot high, of the thicknefs of a Finger, bearing a large Pannicle on the Top, the Seed being bigger than Wheat, of a dusky Colour.

OEtober 6. A German League from hence we ferried over the River Anaxus (Piave) and ten Italian Miles further came to the large and famous City of Trevifo, the Capital of the Province call'd Marca Trevifana. Hence we continued our Journey through á fertile Country to Meftre, a fmall Place, feated near the Lagunes, or Flats about Venice, which are dry at low, but covered with Water at high Tide. From whence we pafs'd in a Boat to Venicc. Throughout the greateft Part of Friuli, the Marca Trevijana, and Lombardy, we faw the Corn-fields planted with Trees as thick as our Orchards, againft each Tree a Vine, the Branches of which draw from Tree to Tree in Rows, and make a kind of a Hedge; their Soil being fo rich, that it duffices for the Production of Corn and Grapes, the Trees not giving the leaft Hindrance to the Corn, either by their Droppings or Shadow, becaufe little Rain falls here in the Summer, and the Leaves keep off the fcorching Heat of the Sun, which notwithftanding this fuffices to bring it to Maturity. This part of 1taly has for its Beauty and amazing Fertility, juftly deferved the Name of the Garden of Europe.
2. The famous City of Venice is built upon feveral little Inlands in the middle of Shallows, furrounded by the Sea, called by them Lagunes. Thefe Lagunes are feparated from the Gulph of Venice by a certain Land-
bank (which they call the Lido) about, thirty-eight or forty Miles in Extent, and refembling the Space contained in a bent Bow, fuppofing the firt to be the Continent, and the String the Lido. Venice itfelf is at an equal Diftance of five Miles from each : The Lido ferves as a Fence againft the Violence of the Sea, and has feven Inlets or fmall Harbours, two only being capable of receiving Veffels of any great Burthen, viz. Thofe of Malamocro and Lio. Not far from the Laa gunes moft of the confiderable Rivers of Italy difcharge themfelves into the Gulph, viz. Padus the Po, Atbefis or Adige, Meduacus major or Brenta, Meduacus minor, or Baccbilione, Tiliaventum or Tajamento, Liquentia or Livenza, Silis or Sile, Anofus or Piave; and thefe carrying along with them a vaft Quantity of Earth, may in Time fill up the Lagune; for Gianotti tells us, that in ancient times the City of Verice was ten Miles from the Continent Oriago (Ora lacus) then lying upon the Shoar of the Lagune, which is now five Miles from Fusina, where they take Boat for Venice. The firlt Origin of Venice may be traced as far as the Irruption of the Huns into Italy, under Attila, when many of the beft Families fled for Shelter into thefe Inands, and at laft erected here a noble City. Certain it is, that this City has maintained its Sovereignty thefe 1200 Years, though it be not ftrengthned by any Fortification, but what the Sea affords it, no great Ships being able to approach nearer than the Harbour of Malamocco: thofe Inlets where fimall Veffels may pals, being defended by ftrong Forts; befides, the Channels are fo difficult to pafs, that none but their own Pilots dare venture to navigate through them. The Circumference of Venice (taking in the Giudecba) is of about eight Italian Miles, being divided into two Parts by the grand Cam nal, which paffes through the middle of it in the Form of the Letter S. Each Side is fubdivided into three Wards, called by them Sestieri, viz. Cafello, St. Marco, and Canarejo, on one Side, and San Paolo, Santa Croce and Dorfo duro on the other Side. In the whole it contains 70 or $7^{2}$ Parifhes, and 67 Convents, according to a Survey taken in the Year 158 r . according to which there were then in the City, of Noblemen 1843, Women 1659, Boys 1420 , Girls 1230 : Of common Citizens, Men 2117 , Women 1936, Boys 1708, Girls 1418: Servants 3732, Maids 5753: Of Artifans, Men 32887, Women 31617 , Boys 22765 , Girls 18227: Of Beggars, Men 75, Women 112, Monks 945, Nuns 2508, Priefts 516 , Poor of the Hofpital 1290, Jews 1043. The Sum total of which amounts to $134,87 \mathrm{i}$. Sanforino makes the Number of Souls in his Time to have been 180,000 in which I fuppofe he comprehends the Suburb of Murano and fome other fmall 'Inands. Some of our modern Writers have increafed this Num. ber to 300,000 , but without much Probability, nothing being more common than to magnify the Number of Inhabitants of great Cities; thus I have heard fay frequently, that in Paris there is a Million and a half of People, whereas there is farce half a Million. The whole City is divided into many Iflands, by fmall Channels, thro' which you convey yourfelf and Goods by Boats from one Place to another, there being no Ufe of Carts, Horfes, Coaches, Litters, or Affes, except that they employ now and then Porters in the Alleys, which run a-crofs the City for the Paffage on Foot, for Conveniency of which 450 Bridges are built crofs the Channels of one Arch each, and moft of Stone. The Bridge call'd Ponte di Rialto, is built over the grand Canal, excels all the reft. The Number of Boats for the Convenience of Carriage in the Canal, fome make amount to 10,000 , fome fwell them to 12,000 , fome to 15,000. The Buildings here are generally lofty and beautiful, efpecially thofe along the grand Canal, and the Noblemen's Palaces, which though not very fpacious, yet are very handfomely contrived; they all Itand upon Piles of Wood, like the Houres of Amferdam. The Arfenal of Venice has above two Miles in Circumference, containing a great Store of all Manner of warlike Provifions, 20000 Pieces of great and fmall Cannon, and Arms for 250,000 Men. Here they build and lay up their Galleys (of which, as they fay, they have 200)
and among the reft the Bucentaure, in which the Duke of Venice every Year efpoufes the Sea at three Miles diftance from the City, by cafting into it a Ring, with thefe Words, I efpoufe thee in Token of perpetual Domimion. In this Arfenal are maintained at the Charge of the Publick, 1550 Workmen of all Sorts, fuch as Shipwrights, Carpenters, Smiths, $\mathcal{E J}^{3}$.

This City, according to its Epithet, Venice the Rich, once furpaffed in Wealth all the Cities of Europe, till the Paffage to the Eaft Indies by the Cape of Good Hope was difcovered, at which Time they were not the fole Mafters of the Eaft India Trade only, but were alfo in Poffeffion of all Lombardy and Friuli, of Iftria and Dals matia, on the Continent, befides the Ines of Cyprus and Candia, Zant, Cepbalonia, Corfu, and feveral other Ines in the Arcbipelago: But fince the Lofs of that Trade, and their heavy Wars with the Turks, (in which they loft Cyprus and Candia) their publick Treafure has been much exhaufted, yet the Inhabitants, who have never been fubject to any Ravages or Change of Government, are very rich, and the Government remains ftill in Poffeffion of the following Dominions, viz. I. the Dogado, in which is the City of Venice. 2. The City and Territories of Padua. 3. Of Vicenza. 4. Of Verona. 5. Of Brefcia. 6. Of Bergamo. 7. Of Crema. 8. Marca Trevifana, under which are comprehended the Territories and Cities of Feltre and Belluno. 9. Friuli. 10. Iftria. II. The Territory of Rovigo, formerly belonging to the Duke of Ferrara; the whole extending 250 Miles in Length, and 125 in Breadth. Out of Italy they are poffeffed of Part of Dalmatia, the Inands of Zant, Cephalonia, and Corfu, befide others of lefs Note. We were credibly informed, that the ordinary annual Revenue of the whole Republick amounted to 5,320,000 Venetian Ducats, one of their Ducats being fomewhat lefs than a French Crown: Of which Venice produces 1,400,000 yearly, Breficia 1,000,000, Bergamo 140,000, Padua 140,000, 'Vicenza 200,000, Verona 230,000, Bergamo 140,000, Crema 100,000, Rovigo 70,000, Iftria 150,000, Il Friuli 100,000, La Marca Irevifana 190,000, Gli flati di Mare 450,000, La Zecca 150,000.

Venice abounds in Provifions of all Sorts, efpecially Fifh and Water-fowl, and excepting frefh Water, which muft be brought from the Land, and their rain Water they preferve in Cifterns. The Air of Venice is very fharp in Winter by its Vicinity to the Alps. This City is famous for the beft Treacle, for Paper, Turpentine, Needle-work Laces, Soad, and above all, for the beft Drinking and Looking-glaffes ; thefe are made at Murano, a Town of three Miles in Circuit, in an Ine about a Mile diftant from Venice.

Women of any Fafhion are kept in great Reftraint here, feldom appearing abroad, except it be at Church, when they are fure to have an old Woman for their Guardian. Their Daughters are put at feven or eight Years of Age into fome Nunnery, where they are educated, and feldom. ftir from thence till they are married.
3." The Government is Arifocratical in refpect to the whole, the common People having not the leaft Share in the Government, but in reference to the Nobility may be called Democratical, every one pretending to his Share in it, the Doge or Duke being no more than an empty Title, without any princely Authority. The whole Adminiftration of the Government is in the Great Council, the Senate, or Council of Pregadi, the College, the Council of Ten, and the Signoria; befides feveral other Magiftrates for the Adminiftration of Juf. tice; all which, together with their Method of chufing by Lot, and other Ways of tranfacting publick Affairs, are particularly defcribed by Contarini, Giarotti, and Sanfovinus. The Procurators of St. Mark, though not to be number'd among thofe who have the Adminiftration of the Republick, yet are in great Reputation in this City, this Dignity continuing for Life, and fince its firt Eftablifhment, there having been but few Dukes who were not firft Procurators of St. Mark. In ancient Times there was but one Procurator of St. Mark, whofe Bufinefs was to provide for the Church of St. Mark, and the Treafure belonging: to it, which encreafing by D -
grees, one more was added, and A.D. 1270 , a third and not long after a fourth, till their Number was in creafed to fix, and afterwards in 1423 to nine, and in 1509 to fifteen.
4. Here we faw; firft, the little Diabolus in Carcere; as fome call it, being no more than an Icuncula, or Glafs Bubble, put into a Cylindrical Glafs Tube full of Wa ter, the Bubble having; in the heavier End of it, a little Hole of fuch a Poife, as juft to keep it fmimming upon the Water ; the Glafs-tube being ftopt at one End they clap their Hand to the Mouth of the Tube, and fo preffing down the Air upon the Superficies of the Water, the fame prefles upon the Air in the Bubble which giving Way, makes Room for the Water to enter through the Hole in the Bubble, which becoming heavier, finks to the Bottom, but upon the Removal of the Hand, the Air in the Bubble, by its elaftick Power ex panding itfelf, forces out the Water, and afcends again fo, that in proportioning the Force, they can make it defcend or afcend, as much or as little as they pleafe. For the further Elucidation of which, I refer to Dr Cornelius of Naples, Progymnafmata Pbyjica, in his Epiftle de Circumpulfione Platonica. Among other Curiofities, we faw here a Boy, who by bending his Head becwixt his Legs to the Ground, charged his Belly with Wind, and afterwards difcharged it at Pleafure. A certain noble Venetian alfo fhewed us a fulminating Powder, not much inferior to the Aurum fulminans, of which he gave us the following Receipt. R. Salf of Tartar one Part of common Brimfone two Parts, and Saltpetre three Parts, beat them fine and mix them well: This Powder put into an iron Veffel or Pan, and held over the Fire, as foon as it melts, will explode with almoft as much Noife as the fulminating Powder of Gold,

The fame Gentleman introduced us to a Place where we faw the whole Procefs of making Venice Soap, which is accounted as good as Cafile Soap. The whole Com pofition is made of Oil of Olives, and a certain Lye the laft they make thus: Take of the Ahes of the Herb Kali, known in England by the Name of Beriglia, two thirds; of Kelp, i. e. the Afhes of the ordinary Seawrack, one third; thefe beaten with a Mallet into fmall Pieces, and well mingled, are ground to a Powder in a Mill, not unlike our Cyder Mills, and being fifted afterwards, they mix fome nacked Lime with the Powder, and make it up into Pellets, which they put into Troughs, and pounding Sea-water upon it, (frefh Water would do as well) makes the Lixivium or Lye. The Cauldrons wherein they boil their Soap are very large, the Bottoms of Copper, but the Side made of Stone, bound about with iron Hoops, and enclofed in a wooden Cafe. One third Part of thofe Cauldrons they fill with Oil, and the remaining Part with the Lye, then putting Fire under it, let it boil continually till the Oil be all boiled away, ftill filling up the Defect of the Lye as it boils away; by which Means Part of the Oil, uniting itfelf with the Salt of the Lee, rifes up to the Top in Form of a Scum, which condenfing by the Coolnefs of the Air, produces that which we call Soap. The Trial they make of the Strength of the Lixivium is, when an Egg will fwim in it. The Cruft or Soap they take from the Surface of the Liquor, they fpread upon a Floor, whereon Lime Duft is ftrewed (to hinder the Soap from fticking to it) then fmooth it, and let it dry in a Bed of about the Thicknefs of a good Brick. This, when dry'd, they cut in leffer Pieces, and having cleanfed them by paring the adhering Impurities, feal them with a Seal.
N. B. That Beriglia alone would make the Soap too foft, as the Kelp alone would render it too brittle. The green Colour (of which the Germans are very fond) is given by putting a certain Quantity of Juice of Beet into the Cauldron, with the Oil and Lye.
5. Padua, watered by the two Rivers Brenta and Baccbilio, is of great Antiquity, and if we credit Livy, who was born here, owes its Foundation to Antenor, after the Deftruction of Troy, which is alfo confirmed, not only by Virgil, but alfo by Martial, when he ad dreffes himfelf to Valerius Flaccus, a Poet, and Native of Padua, in thefe Words, Antenorei Spes Evalumne laris. Notwithftanding which,' fome will have the City of

## Chap. III. through the Low-Countries, Eoic.

Altinum to be founded by Antenor, and Padiua by Patavius, a King of Veneti. This City, after having born its Share in the Devaftations made by the Huns and Iombards, and having obtained its Liberty under the Emperor Otbo I. was governed by its own Magiftrates, till Ezzellinus the Tyrant, and not many Years after the Carrarefl lorded it over them, and at laft, in 1405 , fell under the Venetian Jurifdiction. It is furrounded by two Walls, the firft is called to this Day Antenor's Wall, though of a far later Structure, being about three Miles in Circumference, the outward comprehending, with all its Fortifications and Ditches, a Compafs of fix Miles, built by the Venetians, at the Time of the League of Cambray, as may be feen by the Latin Infcription over the Gate of All.Saints.
Hanc antiquifimam Urbem literarum omnium Afylum cujus
agrum fertilitatis Semen natura effe voluit, Antenor con-
didit : Senatus autem Venetus bis belli propugnaculis
ornavit, Leonardo Lauredano Duce Venetorum invic-
tifimo, cujus Principatus varias Fortunce vices excitiens quam gloriofe fuperavit.
However, this City is neither rich nor populous, in any Proportion to its Bignefs, containing, according to my Opinion, not above thirty thoufand Souls, though fome fay, thirty eight thoufand. There is a large and fertile Plain belonging to this City, fo that their Bread is both very cheap and good, according to the Italian Proverb, that Bread of Padua, Wine of Vicerza, Tripe of Trevifo, and Courtezans of Venice, are the beft in their Kind. No Trees are allowed to be planted within a Mile of its Fortifications, the Ground which they call the Wafte, being prelerved for Corn ; for as there is little Ground near this Place for Pafturage, Milk is exceflive dear here. For the Ufe of the Poor, they make Bread of Indian Wheat, and of Sorgum.

It has feveral goodly publick Structures, as, I. The Palazzo della Raggeone, or Town-hall, where the Courts of Juftice are kept, being two hundred and fifty fix Foot long, and eighty fix broad, unto which you afcend by many Steps, having Shops underneath it ; fome will have this to be the largeft Room in Europe, tho', according to our Eye-fight, we thought it not quite fo big as Weftminfer-Hall. 2. The publick Schools. 3. The Church of St. Antbony. 4. The Church of Sc. Fufina, with the Convent of Benediaines. 5. The Palace of the Arena or Amphitheater. 6. The Magazine of Corn and Ammunition. 7. The Ponte Molino, where there are about thirty Mills together upon the River Brenta. 8. The Palace of the Capitaneo. 9. Antenor's Tomb, as they would make us believe, for the particular Defcription of which, I refer to Scbottus and others. There is one remarkable Building here near the Domo, called Mons Pietatis, where they tell you a Stock of Money of forty thoufand Crowns is kept for the Ure of fuch poor People as have Occafion to borrow upon Pawns, for which, if the Sum be fmall, they pay no Intereft, if it be confiderable, they allow only Five per Cent. which defrays the Charges of the Clerks, and other Attendance, the Overplus, if any, being diftributed among the Poor, the Bank always remaining entire. The like Foundations are in many other Cities of Italy.

But what renders this City moft famous is its Univerfity, which acknowledges the Emperor Frederick II. for its Founder, Anno 1220, for a compleat Account of which, I will recommend the Gymnafium Patavinum of Tbomafinus. Such is the outrageous Temper of the Students here, that no Inhabitant or Stranger dare appear in the Streets in the Night-time, which if they happen to do, and meet with a Troop of thofe Nocturnal Vagabonds, they cry to them, Who goes there? and if they anfwer, they bid them turn back, which if they do not inftantly, they muft expect to be faluted with their Piftols they carry with them; nay, Nothing is more common, than if two Parties of thofe Students happen to meet, they retire behind the Pofts of the Portico's or Cloifters, which are on both Sides, and fo let fly one at another.

The Phyfick Garden is well ftored with Simples, but its Fame is chiefly owing to thofe excellent Men which have had the Management of it, as Aloyfus Mundella,

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Aloyfus Anguillara, Melcbior Guilandinus, Facobus Aiza tonius Cortufus, Profper Alpinus, and foannes Veflingius.

The Government of $P$ adua is adminifter'd by a Podefice or Major, and a Capitaneo, the firft for Civil, the fecond for Military Affairs. They are both fent by the Venetians.
6. From Padua we took a Turn to Albano, ancieritly Apona, five Miles hence, to view the hot Springs there which arifing in a rocky Hillock, confifting of a porous Stone, furnifh fuch plenty of Water, that one of them drives an overfhot Mill; and by the Porofity of the Rock and the Salt it contains; wafhes off certain fmall Particles of the Stone, which by Degrees it lets fall again, and precipitates to the Bottom of the Chan nels through which it runs, fo that they pick Abundance of Stone of a dark grey Colour off the MillWheel every Month. The Water is fo hot; that in one of thofe Springs the Inhabitants fcald their Hogs to get off the Hair, being full of white Salt; which coagulates upon the Surface of the Water. The Waters of Albano are ufed only for Bathing.

February, 3. We continued our Journey to Vicenzaj a City not quite fo big, but more populous than $P$ adua; its Compafs being no more than four Miles, buc containing between thirty and forty thoufand Souls. It is feated upon the River Baccbilio, and watered by the Rero or Eretenus, as alfo by two Rivulets called Afticbello and Seriola, but is of no great Strength, being furrounded only by a Brick Wall. It is inhabited by Nobility and Gentry, of which there are faid to be above two hundred Families here. I will not pretend to give an exact Account of the feveral Changes of their Government, referring my felf as to this Point to Scbottus and Leander Albertus. I will only add, that after they had recovered their Liberty, they fubmitted voluntarily to the Protection of the Venetians, which is the Reafon they enjoy greater Privileges than any of the neighbouring Cities. The Theatre of the Academy, called the Olympic, is a very neat Structure, the Inhabitants live chiefly by Silk-worms, and winding, twifting, and dying of Silks. Their Wines hereabouts are both rich and agreeable, efpecially what they call Dolce \& Piccante.
7. Hence we travelled fix Miles to the famous Cave of Cufloza, being fix hundred and fifty Perches, or four thoufand Foor long, and four hundred and ninety Perches, or three thoufand Foot broad, and about three Miles in Circumference. The whole feems to be Nothing elfe but a Cave left from the Digging of Stones, as Trifinus has very well obferved, it being certain, that the ancient Buildings of Padua and Vicenza are of the fame Stone, and the Roof of this Cave is at Diftances fometimes greater, and fometimes leffer, fupported by above one thoufand huge Pillars of the Quarry, of three Perches fquare ; befides, that to this Day, you fee great fquare Pieces of Stone cut round about, and the Tracks of Cart Wheels, whereas there has been no Cart there in the Memory of Man. We faw great Numbers of Bats clinging to the Roof and Sides of the Cave, and fome ftanding Waters, with a Kind of Fifh, or rather Infect, in them, called by them Squille Venetiance, though they properly were the fame called by the Naturalifts Pulices marini, or aquatici, i. e. Seaflees, or Water-flees.

In the fame Village we had alfo a Sight of the famous Ventiduct belonging to a Nobleman of Vicenza, contrived for the Coolneis of his Palace during the Heat of the Summer: To effect which, Channels are cut thro' the Rocks, from a fpacious high-roof'd Grotto to the Palace, fo that when they intend to let in the cool Air, they fhut up the Gate at the Cave, and by opening a Door at the End of the Channel, convey the Frefco into the Rooms of the Palace, each of which has a Conduit or Hole to receive it.
8. From Vicenza we went to Verona, feated upon the River Atbefis or Adige, which being very broad here, has a Stone Bridge built over $\mathrm{it}_{\text {, }}$ reckoned among the faireft of Europe, befides three leffer ones. Its Circumference (without the Suburbs) is feven Miles, and is very populous and ftrong both by Nature and Art, being defended by good Bartions, Towers, and deep Ditches water ${ }^{\text {i }} \mathrm{d}$ by the Adige, befides which, it is Atrengtio
ned by three Forts. We faw here, among other Things, the Collection of Rarities of an Apothecary, one Mapheus Cufanus, confifting of many Aggyptian Idols, petrified Shells, Coins and Medals, and among the laft, a Maximilian and Dioclefian, with this Infcription on the Reverfe, Veronce Ampbitbeatrum.

Another we faw of $M u \int c a r d o$, a Gentleman of $\bar{V}$ e: rona, who had Abundance of Lachrymal Urns and Lamps, Shells and Fruits petrified, Ores and Gems; but efpecially of Roman Medals, among which he Thewed us an Otho of Gold, telling us at the fame Time, that thofe of Brafs wiere all fpurious. But a Defcription of this Collection being already publifhed in Italian, I will not infift upon the further Particulars thereof, or of the Mufoum of Mario Sala, an Apothecary here, which contains only certain Remnants of the Collection of Calceolarius, publifhed long ago.

The Amphitheatre of Verona is a Structure worth a curious Traveller's Obfervation, being both ftately and fpacious, and in outward Appearance, not inferior for Beauty or Capaciouinels to that of Titus at Rome. Of the outward Wall is left only a fmall Piece, from whence you'may make an Eftimate of the whole. But the Remainder of the other Buildings is kept in very good Repair; the Arena being thirty four Perches (each of which is fomething more than fix Foot) long, and twenty two and an half broad, furrounded by forty two Rows of Stones Benches, raifed above one another in the Nature of Steps, capable of containing twenty three thoufand Perfons. For the more ample Defcription of which, I will refer my felf to Schottus, Torellus Saraina, and Lipfius. This City, as well as Padua and Vicenza, after many Changes of Government, was at laft forced to fubmit to the Venetians. Here are excellent Whitewines, efpecially that they call Garganico. The Air is very ferene and healthy, but fharp in the Winter, from the Vicinity of the Mountains, among which Baldus, has got the greateft Reputation, not fo much for the Variety of the Simples that grow there (for the Alps are not inferior in that Point) but chiefly by the Induftry of the Paduan Herbalifts, who, but efpecially Fobn Pona, an Apothecary here, have, in Refpect to them, obliged the World with a perfect Catalogue. Near Verona is the Lake Lago di Garda, (Lacus Benacus) which affords great Quantities of Fifh, but efpecially Trouts, fome of which were a Foot long.
9. We travelled from Verona to Mantua, Fcbruary the 9 th, being twenty four Miles, through feveral good Villages, but not any Towns of Note. Six Miles on this Side of Mantua, we faw the Duke's Palace at Marmirola, a neat Structure, and well furnifhed with Pictures, and adorned with Statues: This City it felf is very ancient, and ftrong by Situaation, being feated in the Middle of a Lake, and well fortified. It is about four Miles in Extent, but not populous in Proportion, containing fcarce fifty thoufand Souls; it has no lefs than eight Gates. A little Way from this City is a Country Seat belonging to the Duke called Pelazzo del $\mathcal{T} e$, wherein you fee a fquare Room, the Roof arched in the Nature of a Cupola, called the Gyants-ball, in which, if two Perfons ftand in the oppofite Corners, one having his Ear to the Wall, may hear what the other whifpers, with his Face to the Corner ; which he that ftands in the Middle, or in the Corner of the fame Side of the Room, thall not. They told us the Duke of Parma had fuch another Contrivance in his Palace of Caprarola, but our Whifpering-place in the Cathedral of Gloucefter, is of a different Nature. Virgil, the great Latin Poet, was born at Andes (now Petula) a Village near Mantua. Here are two Academies of Virtuof, called the $A c c e \sqrt{2}$ and Timidi. This City, after many Changes of Government, was at laft brought under Subjection in 1328 , by Lewis Gongaza, by the Favour of the common People, from whom the prefent Dukes defcended, this Title being conferred upon Frederick Gonzaga in I530, by the Emperor Sigifmund IV. The Revenue of the Duke is about 400,000 Crowns a Year; but as the Expences of the Dukes have exceeded their Incomes, they are much indebted to the Venetians. The common Peo-
ple have this peculiar Cuftom, that their Children have an equal Share in their Parents Eftates, efpecially fuch as are perfonal: A Widow, after the Death of her Husband, takes her Dowry back; but if fhe dies firt, the fame is divided Share and Share alike among her Children: If the dies without Iffue, one half of her Dowry falls to her Husband, the other to her next Kin. If a Woman has Children by a former Husband, and marries another, and has likewife Children by him, one half of her Dowry goes to the Children of the firf Marriage, the other to thofe of the fecond.

Taking Boat here for Ferrara, we paffed by the Way of the Lake into the Channel of the River Min. cio, which coming out of the Lago di Garda, near a ftrong Fort of the Venetians called Pefcbiera, and coming to Mantria, fpreads itfelf into a Lake of five Miles in Length, and at fixteen Miles End, coming to a Bridge and Sluice at a Place called Gorerno, entred the River Po, and paffing down the Stream; came by Ofia, ten Miles from Governo, and ten Miles farther by Maffa, both on the Left-hand, and feven Miles lower to Stellata, a large Village belonging to the Pope: Eight Miles lower we came to Il Ponte, where leaving the Po, we paffed through an artificial Channel of four Miles long to the very Gates of Ferrara, a City confi. derable both for its Bignefs and Strength, it being reputed, for its Bignefs, the ftrongeft in all Italy, being not only defended by ftrong Fortifications, and a deep Ditch, but feated alfo in a fenny Plain. It was formerly under the Dominion of its own Dukes, but now under the papal Jurifdiction. From hence we went by Boats towards Bologna, and having fhifted our Boat feventeen Miles from Ferrara, at a Place called MalAlbergo, reached another Channel, viz. Rbenus Bononien/is, and paffing through nine Locks, arrived at Bo$\operatorname{logna}$, diftant by Water from Ferrara forty five Miles, the greatef Part of the Country between thofe two Places being fenny, not unlike the Ine of Ely in England.

The City of Bologna itfelf is feven or eight Miles in Circumference, of a rotund Figure, the Houfes not very lofty, but adorned with fair Portico's, on each Side of them, to the Streets. Many of their Houfes, though not promifing much on the Out-fide, yet being very neat and convenient within : Its Inhabitants are computed to be eighty thoufand Souls. The Saufages, Wafhballs, and little Dogs of Bologna, are famous all over Italy and other Parts. Their chief Trade is in Silk, and they have the moft convenient Engines for winding and twifting of it, that I ever faw. The Univerficy of Bologna, for its Antiquity, may compare with any in Europe, being chiefly famous for the Study of the Law, though it has a great Number of Profeffors alfo in other Faculties, as may be feen by their annual printed Catalogue of fuch Lectures, as each of them is to keep the following Year. Here we had the Opportunity of feeing the ancient Exercife of Tilting, ftill practifed here in the Carnaval Time : Thofe who enter the Lifts are mounted on Horíeback, and armed Cap-a-pee, adorned with Plumes and Scarfs, with Launces in their Hands, with which they run at one another a full Gallop, aiming at a particular Part of the Body; he that hits neareft to it carrying the Prize. We faw feveral Launces broken, but no body was either hurt or difmounted.

Dr. Ovidio Montalbano, one of the Profeffors here, fhewed us the Mufcum of Aldrovandus, left as a Legacy to this City, and kept in the Cardinal Legate's Palace. What delighted us moft, were ten Volumes of the Pictures of Plants, and fix more of Birds, Fifhes, and other Beafts, drawn in Water Colours. The fame Perfon alfo introduced us to $\mathcal{F}$ acobus Zenoni, an Apothecary, and very curious Herbalift, who, among other Rarities, fhewed us three Pieces of Rock Cryftal, with fome Drops of Water, enclofed in the Middle of them, as might plainly be difcovered by the Motion of the Cryftals.

The fame Day we vifited the famous Chymift GioSeppi Bucemi, who Thew'd us the Effects of the Pbofphorus, a Compofition, which if expofed for fome time to
the Air, and afterwards put in a darlk Place, will appear like a burning Coal for fome time, till by Degrees its Light flackens and quite vanifhes at laft, till expofed again to the Air. The crude Stone which he fhew'd us was like a kind of Sparre, which as he told us, acquired this Quality by being calcined in a fmall Furnace, the pieces of Stone being laid upon an Iron Grate over a Wood-Fire ; but whatever he told us, we could not make fome of thofe Stones, which he fold us, fhine, though we calcined them exactly according to his Directions. The Pboppborus does by Degrees entirely lofe its flining Quality, as we found by Experience, in thofe we brought along with us.
11. February 22. We continued our Journey towards Modena, by the Way of Castel Franco, a ftrong Caftle, belonging to the Pope, upon the Frontiers of Modena, about twenty Miles diftant from Bologna, a Place of no great Extent, but very populous, being the Dukes ufual Refidence, and tolerably well fortified with a thick Wall, a broad Ditch, and fome Outworks. In this Place, as well as Padua, Bologna, and other Places of Lombardy, we obferved the Houres well built of Brick, but not high, and the Streets cloiftred on both Sides, which feems to intimate, that this was the Manner of Building of the Gotbs or Lombards, who fettled in thofe Parts. The Duke's Palace is no large Structure, but very neat within, the Rooms being richly gilt, and adorn'd with Hangings, and Pictures of the beft Mafters. What moft delighted us was the Chamber of Rarities, Jewels, ancient and modern Coins and Medals, ancient and modern Entaglia's, curious Pieces of turn'd Works, dried Plants pafted upon Boards whitened with Cerus; and a very fine Collection of Defigns of the beft Painters, We faw alfo a human Head petrified; a Hen's Egg, having the Figure of the Sun on one Side; Mofs included in a piece of Cryftal; Silver in another; and a Fly in a piece of Anıber, $\mathcal{E}^{3} c$. The ordinary Revenues of the Duke of $\mathrm{Mo}^{-}$ dena, are computed to 350,000 Crowns per Annum, his Expences not amounting to above half the Sum. About twenty eight Miles from Modena, near Paiuli Caftle, iffues out of a Mountain, a Spring of Petroleum; and in another Mountain call'd Monte Nicani, are found Abundance of petrefied Cockles and other Shells.
12. February 24. We fet out from Modena for Parma, and at feven Miles, having forded the River Serchio, and pafsd by a fmall, but ftrong Town called Rubiera, on the Left-hand, after a Journey of eight Miles further, came to the City of Reggio, of equal Bignefs and Strength with Modena, and belonging to the fame Duke, whofe Title is Duke of Modena and Reggio. This laft being built more at Length than the former makes a fairer Shew at a Diftance, having one long and one broad Street. Here are very good Sculptors and Artizans in carving of Ivory and Wood, for which this Town is celebrated throughout Italy. Ten Miles further, paffing through a long Bridge over the River Lenza, we entered the Territories of Parma, and five Miles more, brought us to the Gates of the City of Parma, which exceeds Modena in Bignefs, having broad Streets, but no Portico's.
February 26, In our Way to Placenza, we ferried at fix Miles diftance from Parma, over the River Taro, and nine Miles farther, came to a Town call'd St. Donin, and eight Miles farther, came to a little Town called Fiorenzuola, near which, paffing the River Arta, we came, after twelve Miles travelling, to Placenza. This City is well fortified, and defended by a ftrong Caftle; in Bignefs it is equal to Parma, but its Buildings not fo fair. The Dukes Revenues are computed to be 400,000 Crowns per Annum, though fome fay 500,000; he being, befides Parma, and Plazenza, Mafter of the Dukedom of Castro, and the Country of Roncigliotine. The 27th, We took Horfe for Crema, and paffing through Caftigno in the Milanefe, and two Miles further ferrying over the River Adda, and two Miles thence the River Serio (which falls into the Adda) we came to Crema, a Frontier City, belonging to the Venetians, about thirteen Miles from Placenza, of no large Ex-
tent, but well fortified; its Situation being in a plair near the River Serio.
The 2gth, We continued our Journey, and paffing through Ofanengo, three Miles from Crema, and by the Caftle of Romanenjo, belonging to the Spaniards, came to Sincin, a confiderable Place in the Milanefe: Not far hence we ferried over the River Oy (Ollius) and two Miles further, rode clofe by a fmall Town cali'd L'orza muovi, but well fortified; under the Venetian JurifdiCtion, Two Miles further we pafs'd a great Village called L'orzi Vecbit, and feveral others of Note, and fo came to Brefcia, which is thirty Miles from Crema. The Country hereabouts was well planted with Flax, very populous, and the Fields fenced with Hedges like our Englija Enclofures.
13. The City of Brefoia, is not altogether fo big as Verona, but better inhabited; its Streets being regular and fpacious, with Bricks fet Edgeways on both Sides (as the Cities in Holland are) as are alfo the Streets of Parma, Placenza and Crema. It has a double Wall, the exterior of which is very ffrong, and encompafs'd with a good Ditch, befides a Caftle ftanding on a rocky Hill, which both defends and commands the Town. The Mountains hereabouts afford very good Iron and Copper Ore, and the Inhabitants are great Mafters in Iron Works, but efpecially in making of Guns, which are in high Efteem all over Italy; as is alfo the Cheefe of Brefcia. As they abound in fruifful Valleys, fo their Markets are well ftored with Provifions. The Territories of this City extend in Length, from Mofo near Mantua to Dialengo, in the upper End of Val Canonica, one hundred Miles, and in Breadth, from Lago di Garde to L'orzi nuovi fifty Miles, being full of Towns and large Villages. This City; like many others of Italy, has undergone many Changes of Government during the inteftine Broils of the two famous Factions of the Guelpbs and Gibellines; after which, it fell to the Dukes of Milan, till in 1426 . they fubmitted to the Protection of the Venetians. On the Sides of the Hill where the Caftle ftands, we found Serpent Stones, or Cormua Ami monis, and cther petrified Shells. Marcb the 2d. We continued our Journey through the Villages of Hospitaletta, Cokai and Palazzuolo, the laft of which is feated upon the Banks on both Sides of the River Ollio.

As we were travelling on to Bergamo, we had a full View of the Alps. This City is confiderable both for its Size and Strength, being fituated on the Side of a Hill, encompafs'd by ftrong Walls and a broad Ditch, but without Water: The Cante, though none of the biggeft, yet is very ftrong by Situation. Without the Walls are five large Suburbs, call'd St. Leonordo, at the Bottom of the Hill, inhabited chiefly by Merchants, the Suburbs of St. Antbony, St. Catberine, St. Tbomas, and that of St. Godard. In the Church of the Austin Friars, we faw the Monument of Ambrofe Calepine, the Author of the famous Dittionary. Over his Cell in the Cloilter was a Latin Infcription, intimating, That he was a Native of Bergamo, and a Monk of this Convent, and that he died here, in I 51 II , in the 7 Iff Year of his Age. This City has alfo been fubject to Changes: They firf fubmitted to the Verietions, in 14.28; but were in 1509 , forced to acknowledge the Sovereignty of the French, after they had made themfelves Maiters of Milan, but thefe being expelled three Years after, it remained under the Jurifdiction of the then Duke of Milan, Maximilian Sforza, from whom it revolted foon after to the Venetions, but was forced to return to its former Obedience, till at laft the Venetians got once more in Poffeffion of it, in 1516. and have remained Mafters of it ever fince. They are governed by a Major, a military Commander, Chamberlain, and Governor of the Caftle fent hither from Venice. Bergamo is of fo great a Reputation among the Itaiians, that by Way of Proverb they fay, If Bergamo food in a Plain, it roould be a fairer City than Milan. From hence we went on Horfeback to Calonica, a Village feared upon the River Adda, in the Milanese, whence we went by Water to Milan.
14. This City, which is one of the four Cities of the firt Rank in Italy, (Rome, Wenice and Naples, being
the other three) is alfo firnamed la Grande, from its Bignefs, having ten Miles in Circumference, and of a circular Figure. It contains eleven Collegiate Churches, feventy one Parifhes, thirty Monafteries for Monks, thirty fix for Nuns, eight of regular Canons, the Number of Inhabitants are faid to be 300,000 , but this laft is fomewhat too large.' Provifions are here fo cheap and plentiful, that the Italians have made it a Proverb, That they eat well only at Milan. The Cathedral here challenges the fecond Place after that of St. Peter's at Rome, both for Bignefs and Beauty; being 250 Cubits long, and 130 broad, and of a proportionable Height; but the Grand Hofpital juftly claims the Preference before all others in Europe, for its magnificent Structure and Bignefs. Among other Courts, it has a Square furrounded with a double Portico, one below, the other above Stairs. Its Revenues are yearly 50000 Crowns, out of which are maintained 4000 poor and infirm Perfons. The Monafteries and Churches here are beautified with many Pictures and Statues of the beft Mafters, and adorned with exceffive rich Church Ornaments, for which I will refer myfelf to Scbottus, and others. The Bibliotbeca Ambrofiana, founded by Cardinal Borromeo, is a noble Edifice, filled with excellent Books, unto which Strangers as well as the Inhabitants, have a free Accefs. But the College call'd Hermatbencum, is a truly noble Building, the Court being adorned with a double Row of Cloifters, one above the other, with double Pillars each; the lower of the Ionic, the upper of the Iufcan Order.

The Citadel of Milan, either for its Bignefs or Strength, may alfo compare with any in Europe. The ancient Caftle has been twice enlarged, firft by the French, who taking in a confiderable Piece of Ground, encompafs'd it with a very thick and high Wall, and a deep Ditch; from hence you have a fair Profpect of the whole City and adjacent Country, as well as thofe Fortifications added by the Spaniards, being of a Pentagonal Figure, with a Baftion at each Angle, and a Half-moon between every two Baftions. Scbottus fays, that the Compafs of the whole Fortifications (not including the Trenches) is 1600 Paces. We were told, that within the Caftle, they have a Watermill driven by a Spring, which arifes within the Circumference of the Caftle.

March 6. We faw the Collection of Rarities of Manfredas Sepialius, Son to Ludoricus Septalius, the famous Phyfician, and among other Things, divers Look-ing-glaffes, which by natural Reflection multiplied the Object almoft infinitely. A plain Glafs, with fpherical Protuberances, which reprefented the Objects as often multiplied as there were Protuberances, and another Looking-glafs of the fame Kind; feveral concave Bur-ning-glaffes of Metal; feveral Automata and Clocks, among which, two of a cylindrical Figure, moved without Weight or Spring, only by being placed upon an inclining Plain; fo that their Motion proceeded from their own Weight; befides many other Curiofities both natural and artificial ; for the Defcription of which, I will refer my Reader to the Catalogue thereof, publifhed by the Owner himfelf. There are great Artifts in this City in working and engraving Cryftals, and other Glaffes and Stones. Their Way of Polifhing is performed by a Brafs Wheel, upon which the Powder Smiris, mix'd with Water, is put ; and to fmooth ir, they ufe the Powder of Saffe-mort, or Rotten-ftone, as they call it, which is a heavy Pebble Stone, which by lying in the Water, dies by Degrees, firft degenerating into a light Pumice, and at laft crumbling to Duft. They told us for a Truth, that moft Stones, by lying long in the Water, will die in this Manner, except the clear pellucid Pebbles.

March 10. We began our Journey towards Turin, along the Bank of the River Navilio, and leaving Biagrafla, a fmall Town, to our Left, we lodged at Bufalora, twenty two Miles from Milan. The rith, we continued our Journey over Novara, a ftrong Place belonging to the Spaniards, to Vercelli, under the Duke of Savoy's Jurifdiction; a large Place, but neither ftrong nor populous. The 12 th, we travelled eighteen Miles,
as far as Sian ; and the I 3 th, being fopt by the Floods, were conftrained to ftay at eight Miles Length, at Cbivas ; and the 14 th, paffing by many Waters, and after we had ferried over at Orco and Stura, arrived at Turin.
15. This City, known to the Ancients by the Name of Augufa Taurinorum, and feated upon the River $P_{0}$, is of no great Extent, but very populous, and the ordinary Refidence of the Dukes of Savoy. The old Buildings are but very indifferent, but one new Street, and feveral other Houfes of late Date, are very handfome and uniform. The Piazza is in the Midft of the Street, being a large Square, with a lofty Cloifter on each Side : And at one End of it another Piazza, fronting the Duke's Palace, which is not yet finifhed. The Citadel has five Baftions. Here we met with fome of the Proteftants of the Valleys of Lucern and Angrona, who had lately obtained Liberty of Confcience from the Duke. They told us, that being about fifteen thoufand Souls, they inhabited fourteen or fifteen Villages only, their fighting Men (who amounted not to above two thoufand, being divided into fourteen Companies) under as many Captains, and that they had killed above five hundred of the Duke's People in the laft War, with the Lofs only of forty or fifty of their own. They are the only Proteftants in Italy, having maintained the Purity of their Religion for above thefe twelve hundred Years. Here is alfo an Univerfity, which challenges the firft Introduction of Printing into Italy. As the plain Country about Turin is very fruitfu], fo all Provifions are very plentiful and cheap here; it being certain, that Piemont, for Plenty of Corn, Cattle, Wine, Fruit, Hemp, and Flax, may compare with the beft in Italy; and the Inhabitants apply themfelves more to Husbandry than Traffick; which according to Leti's Obfervations, makes them live generally well, though none are exceffive rich. The Duke's Revenue, if we may believe the fame Author, amounts to $1,800,000$ Crowns; of which Piemont alone produces $1,400,000$. His Poffeffions in Italy are, befides the Principality of Piemont, the two Marquifates of Saluzzes and Afti, the Dukedom of $A 0 f t a$, and the Countries of $N i z z a$ and Vercelli. There are three very handfome Palaces belonging to the Duke near the City, called the Venere, Millefiore, and Valentine. The firft Invention of oil'd Cloth is attributed to Giacomo Marigi, a Citizen of Turin. March 17. Having provided ourfelves with a good Guide, we fet out from Iurin for Genoa, where we arrived in three Days after. Not above a Mile below Turin we crols'd the $P o$ (which begins to be navigable here) by a Bridge ; and after a Mile's Travelling along the River, we afcended the Hills, under which the River runs, and thefe are of a very difficult Afcent.
16. Mar. 18. We proceeded on our Journey as far as Novi, a pretty large Town under the Genoefe, twenty feven Piedmont Miles from Afte; I think they may well pals for thirty five Engli/h. About four Miles from Afte, upon the Bank of the River Tanar, (which is there very high) and on the Sands, under the Bank, we found great Variety of petrified Shells, as Oyfters, Scallops, Cockles, \&c. as alfo thofe Tubili friati, called by fome Antales, which Seignior Rofacco, a Mountebank in Venice, firf fhewed us; Belemnites, and other rare Sorts of Stones. In the Corn Fields, we paffed through, we obferv'd, Ornitbogalum lutem, C. B. in great Plenty, now in Flower. This Day we paffed by a large Village called Non, and another, which had formerly been walled, called Felizan, then Alexandria, a large Town upon the River Tanar, of more Strength than Beauty, the Buildings both publick and private being generally but mean. It was fo called in Honour of Pope Alexander III. becaufe in his Time it was peopled by the Milanefe, whofe City was then almoft quite deftroyed and made defolate by the Emperor Frederick Barbarofla, for fiding with the Pope againit him. The River (which feemed to me as large as the Po, at Turin) divides the City into two Parts, which are joined by a fair Brick Bridge. In our Paffage through the Town, we took Notice of a triumphal Arch, erected to Philip IV. King of Spain, upon his Marriage.
19. We

## Chap. III. through the State of VENICE, ©c

19. We rode from Novi to Genoa, thirty Miles all the two Collegia, and the leffer Council. Then a Boys over Mountains. About Six Miles from Novi, we paffed through a handfonse little walled Town called Gavi, where there is a ftrong Caftle on a Hill over the Town; and about fix Miles further onward, another elegant and well built Town called Voltagio. From hence we afcended continually for about feven or eight Miles, till we came to the Top of a very high Hill, from whence we had a Profpect of Genoa and the Sea. Then we defcended conftantly till we came to the City. In all this Way, we met with and overtook Mules and Affes going to and returning from Genoa, to the Number of five or fix hundred or more.

March 20. We viewed Genoa; which for the Building of it, is certainly the moft ftately, and according to its Epithet, fuperb, City in all Italy. The Houfes are generally ftately, fcarce a mean Houfe to be feen in Town. The new Street anfwers the Fame that goeth of it, It is but fhort, confifting of eight or ten Palaces built of Marble, very fumptuous and magnificent; the meaneft of them (as Cluverius faith) being able to receive and lodge the greateft Prince and his Retinue. The only Deformity of this City, is the Narrownefs of the Streets unanfwerable to the Tallnefs of the Houfes; and yet they are made fo on Purpofe, partly to fave Ground, which here is precious, and partly to keep off the fcorching Beams of the Sun in Summer time, for the Conveniency of walking Cool, for which Reafon I have obferved many of the ancient Towns of Italy and Gallia Narbonentis, to have their Streets made very narrow. This City lies under the Mountains, expofed to the South, fo that it needs muft be very hot in Summer, as witnefs the Orange and Olive-Trees, which grow fo plentifully here, that they can afford thofe Fruits at eafy Rates, and drive therewith a great Trade; furnifhing with Oranges, Florence and a good Part of Tufcany, and fometimes fending them into England. It is built in Form of a Theatre or Crefcent, encompaffed with a double Wall toward the Land. The exterior or new Wall of a great Heighth and Thicknefs, paffes over the Tops of Mountains, and takes in a great Deal of void Ground. The famous new Mole, which now makes this a fecure Harbour is faid to have coft as much as the new Wall. For a Work of that Nature, I believe it is not to be parallelled in the whole World. The Manners of the Inhabitants are not anfwerable to the Beauty of their Houres, they being noted among their own Countrymen the Italians, for proud, unfaithful, revengeful, uncivil to Strangers, and horribly exacting. There goeth a Proverbial Saying of Genon, that it hath Montagne fenza Alberi, Mare Senza Pefce, Huomini fenza Fede, Eo Donne Jenza vergogna, that is, Mountains reitbout Trees, a Sea weithout Fijh, Men witbout Faith, and Women woitbout Sbame. The Number of the Inhabitants mult needs be great, they having loft in the laft great Plague, as we were credibly informed, to the Number of 80,000 Souls. The chief Trade of the Town is Silks and Velvets; they make alfo pretty turned Works of Coral.
The Government of it, according to the new Laws made by the Pope's Legate, and the Emperors, and King of Spain's Ambaffadors, not long after the Time of Andreas Doria, is thus fettled. There is, i. A Duke, who continues in Office two Years. 2. Two Collegia, one of Governatori as they term them, the other of Procuratori. The Governatori twelve, the Procuratori eight, all elected, befides thofe that of Courfe come in for their Lives. 3. A greater Council of 400. 4. A leffer Council of roo. 5. A Seminary for the two Collegia of 120. The two Collegia of Governatori and Procuratori are, as it were, the chief Senate or Privy-Council, or Houfe of Lords, and are chofen twice a Year, viz, about the middle of $\mathcal{F} u n e$, and about the middle of December, after this Manner. All the Seminarium of 120, have their Names, together with their Surnames, and Fathers Names, written in little Scrollis of Parcliment, and put into an Iron Box, which is kept very fecurely under many Locks. When the Time of Election comes, this Box is brought forth before the Duke,

Vol, II. No CXV, who muft be under ten Years of Age, puts his Hand into the Box, and draws out five Scrolls, which are read, and the three firlt if they be capable, ate Gover natori, the two laft Procuratori. If a Man be 100 Miles of the City, he is incapable of being elected for that Time. Likewife two of the fame Family cannot be Procuratori or Governatori together. Therefore, if the two firt that are drawn out, or the two fecond be of the fame Family, the firft is Governator, and the fecond Procurator; if the two laft be of the fame Family, the firft drawn out is a Procurator, and the fecond is returned into the Box again, and the Boy draws out another. So that every fix Months, five are chofen into the Collegia, and five go out, and every one flays in Office two Years. In the Collegium Procuratorum befides the eight, are all thofe who have been Dukes, and are gorie out of Office, who (modo bene fe gefferint) continue Procuratori during their Lives. To fupply or make up the Seminarium 120 every Year, in the Stead of thofe who are dead, made incapable, or chofen into the two Collegia, the leffer Council chufes a double Number, all which muft have three Suffrages of five; and out of thefe, the greater Council choofe half by the majo Vote. For choofing the Councils both greater and leffer, the leffer Council in Prefence of the Duke, and two Collegia, choofe thirty Electors, (all which muft be of the Nobility) by three Suffrages of five. Thefe thirty choofe both the greater and leffer Council, but the leffer out of the Number of the greater, by a like Proportion of Suffrages. The greater Council is affembled upon important Occafions, and with the Duke and two Collegia make the fupreme Power. The leffer Council takes Care of the leffer and ordinary Concerns of the City and Commonwealth. Thofe who are capable of being chofen into the greater Council, mut be twenty five Years of Age; only the thirty Electors may, if they pleafe, or fee it expectient, choofe to the Number of Sixty, who are but twenty two Years old. Of the leffer Council, the one half muft be thirty Years of Age, the others at leaft twenty feven, excepting Doctors of Law and Phyfick, who, if they be weil qualified, may be chofen two Years younger. Thofe who are capable of being chofen into the Seminarium mult be forty Years of Age.

The Choice of the Duke is in this Manner: The Great Council being affembled, there are put into an Urn ten golden Balls, marked with ten feveral Letters; one of thefe being drawn out, is 'hewn to the Confervators of the Laws, who thereupon put into another Urn ftanding by the Duke's Throne, fifty golden Balls marked with the fame Letter, and fifty filver Balls; thefe being thaken together, the leffer Council of One hundred, excluding the two Collegia, draw out each Man a Ball. He that draws out a golden Ball, fhews it to the Cenfors whio fit by, and prefently writes in a Scroll of Paper the Name of him whom he thinks fit to nominate for Duke, and goes out of the Council. When all the golden Balls are drawn out, the two Collegia bring them into Order, and count them over, and if the Number of the Nominated amount to twenty then they are propounded to the greater Council," who out of them, by major Vote, chufe fifteen. Out of thefe fiften the leffer Council chufe fix by three Suffrages of five. Out of thefe fix again, by major Vote, the greater Council chufe the Duke. Thefe Suffrages are all occult, that is given by putting of Balls into Ballotting Boxes. If in the greater Council for any Perfon the negative and affirmative Suffrages are equal, then five by Lot are to be put out of the Council, and the reft to ballot again. Many other Provifions there are in Cafe of Equality or Difagreement, $\mho_{3} c$. Nothing can be propounded in Council but by the Duke, who during the Time of his Regency, lives in the Palace and hath, according to Sanforimus, a Guard of five hundred Swuizers. The Office of St. George is, as far as I underftand it, nothing but a Company of Bankers, who lend Money to the Common-wealth, for which they are allowed fo much per Cent. and have affigned to them the publick Gabels and other Revenues; and for
further Security have Corffeca engaged to them. This Company chufe yearly out of their own Number eight Protectors, who are to take Care of, and manage the Affairs of all the Creditors. Into this Bank Strangers ufually put in Money, and fo become of the Company, for which they reccive yearly Intereft proportionable to the Improvement made of the whole Stock of Monies then in Bank. The publick Revenue of this State is faid by fome to be 1,200,000 Crowns per Annium, and yet fcarce fufficient to defray the publick Expences. There are many private Perfons here very rich. The Republick is thought to be able to raife an Army of 30,000 Men, and to fet out to Sea twelve Gallies and twenty Ships of War. They hold good Correfpondence with all Chriftian Princes and States, excepting the Duke of Savoy, by reafon of his Pretence to the City of Savona.
17. April 2, We paffed in a Boat from Genoa to Porto Venere, and thence crofs'd the Bay of Spezzia to Lerici, where taking Poft-horfes, we rode to Sarzana, a ftrong Frontier Town belonging to the Genoefe, and lodged that Night at Malfa, a fmall City, but dignified with the Titie of a Principality, the Duke being likewife Lord of Carrara. His chief Revenues come from the Marble Quarries: He is of the Genoefe Family of the Cybo's.
April 3, We travelled through a boggy Valley near the Foot of the Mountains, a kind of a defolate Country, as far as Lucca.
Lucca contains not above three Miles in Circuit, but very populous for its Bignefs, the Eafe of the Government drawing thither abundance of People. Its Situation is very pleafant, in a delightful Valley; and its Fortifications and Out-works ftrong, and kept in good Repair. The Buildings are fair, and their Churches, though not very large, yet neat and well kept. The Inhabitants, both of the City and Country, very courteous, and fo careful to preferve their Liberty, that they omit nothing which they think may contribute to maintain it. Their Women here are not kept fo ftrict as in other Parts of Italy, being allowed to walk abroad with a reafonable Share of Freedom : They are generally handfome enough, and in their Drefs affect to follow the Frencb. The Adminiftration of the Government is by the Great Council of one hundred and fixty, chofen every Year from among the Nobility, (the reft having no Share therein) thefe muft be twenty five Years old at leaft ; nine Antiani, and a Gonfaloniere ; thefe laft are chofen a-new every two Months, and are ftiled the Signioria, the Gonfaloniere being their Head, but no more than by his Title. The City is divided into three Wards, called Terzieri, each of which has its Arms or Banner, called Gonfalone, whence the Name Gonfaloniere: On the Corners of each Street thefe Arms are painted, with the Name of the Ward it belongs to, and what Bulwark they are to defend, in cafe of a fudden Attack. The Council chufes three Antiani out of each of thofe Wards. Their Revenue is computed at 100,000 Crowns yearly. The beft Olives in Italy, grow hereabouts.
The City of Pija, formerly a rich and popolous Commonwealth, is, fince its coming under the Florentine Yoak, become poor and almoft defolate, notwithftanding all the Endeavours of the Great Dukes of Florence, who have erected an Univerfity, founded an Order of Knighthood, and built an Exchange there, for the Encouragement of the Inhabitants. Its Situation, which is in a fenny Ground, upon the River Arno, renders its Air very unwholfome and obnoxious to Strangers. What we thought worth our peculiar Obfervation here, were, I. St. Stepben's Church, dedicated to the Order of that Name, founded here by Cofmo, the firft Grear Duke of Tufcany. 2. The College for Students in Law and Pinilolophy (formerly the Houfe of Bartolus) founded by the Great Duke Ferdinand in 1596. 3. The Cathedral, being a moft magnificent Structure of Marble, the Doors of Brafs, curioully engraven, a double Ifle on each Side of the Nave, and two Rows of Marble Pil lars, beautified with ftately Altars, and felect Pieces of Painting, the Sides hung with red Velvet, and the Roof zichly gilded.

On each Side of the high Altar, you fee a Picture, and under each of them an Infcription, giving a hort Account of two notable Adventures of this City, which are expreffed there.

1. Templum boc, ut aucte potentice ac religionis infigne monumentum posteris extaret, Pijamis ex Saracenorum SpoLiis captâ Panormo adijfcatum, ac Sanctorum reliquiis è Paleftina ufque advectis auctum, Gelafius II. P.M. Solemnè pompa confecravit, An. Dom. M.C.XIX.
II. Pafcale II. P. M. autore, Pifani claffe 300 triremiums Petro Arch. Pif. Duce Baleares Infulas, profigatis Saracenis in ditionem redigunt, Cbriftianòque nomini adjungunt captaque regia Conjuge ac filio preclaram vieforiam illuftri pioque triumpbo exornarunt A. D. II 5.
2. The Baptisterium, in the Center of which you fee a very noble Font of Marble, into which, like a Ciftern, the Water runs continually; the Pulpit is alfo of Marble, with moft curious carved Work. 5. The Campo Santo, or Burying-place, being an oblong Square enclofed with a broad Portico, well painted, and paved with Grave-ftones: The Earth which makes up this Churchyard, is faid to be brought from the Holy Land, and to confume Bodies in forty eight Hours. 6. The Steeple, a round Tower, of a great Height, feeming to encline fo much to one Side, as if it were ready to fall, which fome attribute to the Contrivance of the Builder, others to a Defect in the Building. 7. The Aquaduit, which conveys the Water from the Mountains for five Miles into the City, by 5000 Arches, being begun by Cofino and finifhed by Ferdinand I. great Dukes of Florence: This Water for its Goodnefs, is carried in Flafks to Leghorn. 8. The Phyfick-Garden, then but nenderly provided with Plants.

We took Boat here for Legborn (the Portus Liburnus of the Ancients) about twelve Miles hence. This Town is not very ftately nor large, the Houfes being but low, yet uniform, and the Streets regular, with a large Piazza in the middle: It is ftrongly fortified on the Land fide, and fince the Great Duke has made it a free Port, much encreafed in Traffick and Riches: Its convenient Situation for the Levant Trade having drawn thither great Numbers of Strangers, and efpecially Fews, of the laft of which there are computed to be above 5000. Before it was fo well inhabited, it was reputed a very unhealthy Place, by Reafon of its Situation in a fenny Level, without Mountain, or as much as a Hillock within five Miles of it, but fince that time, the Multitude of Fires, and the Induftry of the Inhabitants, have, by draining thofe Marfhy Grounds, rendred the Air as agreeable here, as in moft Parts of Italy.

The Harbour within the Mole is but fmall, but this Defect is compenfated by the Goodnefs of the Road, where there is fafe Anchorage for Ships. Near the Harbour ftands the magnificent Statue of the Great Duke Ferdinand I. the Pedeftal of which is fuftained by four Brafs Statues of chained Slaves, of a gigantick Stature. The Great Dukes often refide here in Lent, for the great Plenty and Cheapnefs of Fifh, though all other Provifions are here at a dear Rate. We faw many Workmen employed in filling of Mark-ing-fones, call'd in Latin, Lapis galactites $\mathcal{O}^{2}$ morocbtbus, by the Italians, Pietra Lattaria; they are found at Monte negro, fives Miles from Leghorn; of the Duft and Filings of which Stone they make Powder for Hair.

We embarked at Leghorn, aboard a Dutch Veffel, bound for Naples, but the Wind being very variable, we fpent five Days in this Voyage. Our Mafter told us, that it was a general Obfervation here, for the Wind to blow Eaft in the Forenoon from the Land, and in the Afternoon Weft from the Sea. We alfo made this Obfervation, that the Wind generally was quite laid with Sun-fet, and we had but little about Sun-rifing. In our Return from Meflina to Naples, and thence to Legborn, we found the Wind contrary, for the moft Part, which according to the Seamens Saying, is commonly fo here in the Summer. We further oblerved, that

# Chap. IIİ. 生brough the State of VE NICE, \&c. 

that the Wind followed the Courle of the Sun, it proving generally pretty well for us in the Morning, but in the Afternoon againft us, the Land being to the Eaft of us, which confirmed what our Capiain had cold us. He alfo affured us, that when they are to make a Voyage from Holland to the Weft-Indies, they fail up as high on the South of Afric, as the Place whicher they are bound in the West-Indies lies; and then fteer their Courfe Weftward, the Wind blowing conftantly from the Eaf, and the Sea running the fame Way; whereas, when they return, they go round the Bay of Mexico, far to the North, and fo pafs over to Europe; which if true, much ftrengthens the Opinion of the Diurnal Motion of the Earth.
18. The lovely City of Naples, extends in Form of a Crefcent along the Sea-fide, under the Hills, refembling in Form, that of Genoa, except that it is much larger, and more populous; for, though the Circumference of its Walls, exceeds not above feven Italian Miles, yet it has very fpacious Suburbs. The Houfes here are generally lofty Structures, of Stone, fiat roofed, and covered with a certain Plafter, which keeps out the Rain to Admiration. Its Situation is to far to the South, and that under Hills, would make the Heat exceffive here, were it not for the conftant Breezes of Wind about Noon, which fo cool the Air, that, except two or three Days, we found the Weather temperate enough, even at our Return, which was in June, when it rain'd very hard three feveral times, though they look'd upon it as extraordinary: For want of Rain, they have a Way of cooling the Streets every Day, by drawing through them a Tun, with Water, in a Cart, which has many Holes in it. The Dialect of the common People here, is far different from the Tufcane, and not very intelligible. Provifions, but efpecially Fruit, is very cheap here, and among the reft, we faw the Cucurbita anguina, Cucumis anguinus, Mala infana, and Limoncelle, fold in the Marker. All the Neapolitans, and generally the Italians, drink their Wine and Water fnowed, by putting the Veffels in which the Wine is, into another full of Snow or Ice, which is the Reafon, that it is not only fold in Stalls all over the Town, but they carry alfo fmall Barrels, with Snow Water on their Backs, crying, Snowed or Iced Water to be fold.

Beltranus tells us, there are 160 Religious Houfes of all Sorts in Naples, viz. 121 for Monks, and 39 for Women, which maintain 1242 I Perfons. This City is defended, or rather bridled, by four Caftles, viz. by the Caftle d' Ovo, built on a Rock in the Sea, with an artificial Caufeway leading to it; the Caftle St. Elmo, feated on a Hill above the City; Castle Novo, for the Security of the Harbour and Galleys, which lie near it and the Torrione di Carmine, being only a Tower belonging to a Convent of the Carmelites, but famous for its having ferved as a Retreat to the Rebels, under Maflaniello:

Naples is famous for the Beauty of its Churches, which are generally fumptuous, fome of them not only paved with Marble, but alfo the Walls covered with it. Of all Things that ever I faw of this Nature, I never met with any that exceeds the Convent of the Cartbufians, adjoining to the Caftle of St. Elmo, having a fpacious fquare Court, with the fineft Cioifter round it that ever was feen. The Pillars, as well as the Pavement of the Portico's, are of Marble of feveral Colours, fo curiounly wrought and polifhed, and fo neatly kept, that it cannot but furprize thofe that behold it. The Granary of Naples is alfo worth the Obfervation of a curious Traveller, both for its Extent and Conveniencies: They told us that there was generally laid up as much Corn, as would faffice the whole City for feveral Years, in Cafe of Neceffity; and that the Bakers of Naples are obliged to buy 25000 Tomoli (Bufhels) of Corn out of it every Month, at a certain Rate, which indeed enhances the Price of Bread, but makes Room for the laying up of new Corn, which is every Day turned in the Store-houfe, by a great Number of Men kept for that Purpofe.

The whole Kingdom of Naples is divided into twelve Provinces; the Nobility are diftinguifhed into five

Seggi or Societies, viz. of Capua, Nido, Montagna, Porta, and Porta nova; compofed of 87 Princes, 124 Dukes, 159 Marqueffes, and feven Earls. It has in all 20 Arbinhopricks, and 122 Bifhopricks (to 30 of which the King of Spain only nominates; ) and 148 Cities; (I) The Province of Terra di lavoro, (the ancient Cam pania felix) has fourteen Cities, among which Capua, Gaeta, Pozzuoli, Aquino and Averfa, are the Chief. (2) Principato Citra, containing eighteen Cities; among them, Campugna, Capri, in the Ine Caprea, famous for the Retirement of Tiberius Cafar, Cappacio, Laurino, 8zc. (3) Principato ultra, which has fourteen Cities; as, Benevento, Avellino, St. Angelo de Lombardt, Monte marino, \&ic. (4) Baflicata, containing eleven Cities, as; Lavello, Polycaftro, Venofa, Monte pelofo, \&xc. (5) Calabria Citra, which has I2, as, Mantea, Paola, Montalto, St. Marco, \&xc. (6) Calabria Ultra, fixteen, as, Reggio, (the Ancients Rbeoium) Belicaftro, Montilene, Melito, Nicoterra, \&xc. (7) Terra d' Otranto, fourteen, as, Gallipoli, Briudif, Oiranto (the ancient Bydrunium) Caftro, \&x. (8) Terra di Bari, fixteen, as, Andria, Barletta, a very ftrong Place, Bifeglia, Polignano or Putignano. (9) Abruzzo Citra, has five only, viz. Cbieti, Sulmona, Benevento, Borrelle, and Ortona. (10) Abruzzo Ultra, has alfo no more than five, viz. Aquila, Airi, Campli, Civita di Peuna, and Teramo. (11) Contado di Molifi, has four, Bojano Guardia, Alferes, Ifernia, and Trivento. (I2) Capitanata, contains thirteen, as Monte St. Angelo, Afcoli, Lucera, Sanito Severo, Manfredonia, \&xc. Among this great Number of Cities, are many which can't compare with the beft Sort of our Villages in England.

Hearth-Money is a cuftomary Tax in the Kingdom of Naples, each Hearth paying fifceen Carolines (about feven Shillings Engli/h) to the King, except the Sclavonians, who pay but eleven Carolines a Year, the whole Tax, deducting what is to be abated for privileged Places, amounts to $6,554,873$ Ducats and fix Carolines per Amum. The Tax, with the Feudatories pay yearly, inftead of perfonal Services, amounts to 120568 Ducats, befides feveral other Excifes and Taxes, the whole Revenue then amounting yearly to 2,996,937 Ducats; three Carolines, and fourteen Grains.

We had the Curiofity to vifit the Philofophic Academy of Virtuof at one of their Meetings, which was then every Wednefday; in the Palace of the noble Marquis Arena, a truly courteous and obliging Perfon; there were not above fifteen or fixteen of the Members prefent, but triple the Number of other Perfons. They fhewed an Experiment of the Waters afcending above its Level, in flender Tubes, upon which, after they had difcourfed a-while, three of the Society made an Harangue each had ftudied on Purpofe, upon a certain Subject; upon which fome Arguments having been raifed pro and con, they concluded the Meeting. I muft confefs that I was not a little furprifed to fee fuch a Company of learned Men, in a Place, where I was of Opinion, they would fcarce allow a reafonable Latitude of Judgment ; and I muft give them their Due, that they were not only well acquainted with the beft and moft refined Authors of the immediately preceeding Age, fuch as Galilei Galileo, Des Cartes, Gaflendus, Harvey, Verulam, \&xc, but alfo with thofe furviving in the prefent Age, as Mr. Boyle, Sir George Ent, Dr. Gliffon, Dr. Willis, Dr. Wharton, Mr. Hobbs, Mr. Hoek, Monfieur Pecquet, \&xc.

April 24. We went by Water to Pozzuolo called by (the Ancients Puteoli) where the Country People brought us Abundance of Sheils, dry'd Hippocampi, ancient Medals and Entaglia, nay, painted Glafs to fell, which they faid, they had raked out of the Sea. Near this Place you fee many Arches of Stone reaching a good Way into the Sea, which has given Birth to that Opinion, that thefe are the Remnants of the Beginning of Caligula's Bridge over the Bay, and that from the Extremity of this Pile to Baje, the reft of the Bridge was made up of Veffels faftned together, and kept by Anchors on both Sides. But to me this feems to be the Ruins of a Mole or Peer, intended for the Security of the Harbour, becaufe upon every Peer, is to be
feen a great Stone perforated, and jetting out to tie Veffels to. Certain it is, as well from the Manner of its Arches, as from the Bricks, that it was an ancient Roman Work. From hence we pafs ${ }^{\text {s }} \mathrm{d}$ crofs the Gulph to Baje, to defcribe the Antiquities of which Place, would require a Volume alone, for which Reafon we will refer the Reader to fuch, both Latin and Englifb Authors, as have given us a full Defcription of them. I will content myfelf with giving you fome Account of the Grots or fweating Places, call'd by them Bogne (Baths) de Tritoli.

This is a ftrait and long Paffage, like a long Entry, the upper Part whereof is fo hot, that fhould a Man walk long upright, he muft be ftifled by the hot Vapours which fill up the upper Part of this Vault, whereas the lower Part is paffable enough, fo that every one is obliged to ftoop. What I obferved chiefly was, that the lower Part of the Vault, as far as it is tolerably cool, was covered on the Sides with a very folid Stone, whereas the upper Part was an unctuous friable Kind of Clay or Plaitter ; and . what is more obfervable is, that at the very Partition of the Stones and the Clay, on the Sides of the Bath, the Difference of the Degrees of Heat is very perceiveable; fo that where you find the Clay reach lower, you muft rule the Inclination of your Body accordingly. We found a watry Vapour contained in thefe fulphureous Steams, as was fufficiently manifeft from the Drops, which notwithftanding the great Heat, were condenfed on the Sides of the Vault.

In our Return from thence, we took a View of the Nere Mountain, called by fome Monte di Cenere, (Cin-der-Mountain) raifed by an Earthquake in 1538, September the 29th, its whole Altitude being now about an hundred Foot perpendicular. We were told that it produced Nothing, yet we found Myrtle, Maftick Trees, and fome other Shrubs there. It is compofed of a fpongy Earth, which makes a great Sound if you famp hard. By the fame Earthquake the Lacus Lucrinus was fill'd up with Stones and Earth, and turned into a fenny Meadow. As we were coming back from Pozzuolo, we viewed alfo the Mountain call'd Solfotara (anciently Campi Pbilegrai) which burns continually. On the very Top of it is a very large excavated Hole, of an oval Figure, 1500 Foot long, and 1000 broad, where is the Burning; befides which, there are divers other Holes, which convey the Smoke as out of a Furnace. Out of thofe Vents I gathered a kind of Flores Sulphuris, and Sal Armoniac, which ftuck to the Mouths of thofe Holes, and thrufting a Sword into them, or any other Iron, you will find it all bedewed with Drops of Water, an evident Sign that there is a confiderable Share of Water mixed with thofe fiery Exhalations; and what confirmed me the more in this Opinion, was, that thofe Flores would not burn or melt, by reafon of the heterogenous Particles mixed with them. The Inhabitants have a Way of feparating them from the Brimftone, which lies as thick as a Cruft all over the Mountain. As you walk, you hear the Earth found every Step you make, as it were hollow underneath ; and what is more, if every Thing be quiet, you may hear the very boiling and bubbling of the Minerals or other Liquors.

About five Miles diftant from Naples, is the famed Mount Vefuvizs, where we found the Ground all about the Sides of it covered with Cinders and porous Stones, which had been caft thus far during the Conflagration: We alfo perceived great Chẩnnels, fuch as are commonly left after ftrong and fudden Floods, which they told us were the Effects of the Waters, which at the Time of Burning are thrown out of the Mountain. We found fome Acotofa ovilla near the Top, and a little lower Collutea fcorpioides, and fome Shrubs of Poplar. It was very fteep getting up to the Top, where is a vaft hollow Pit of a Mile in Compafs, occafioned by the breaking out of the fiery Subftance, at feveral Times with great Violence. We obferved alfo fome finall Vents or Paffages for the Smoak, but were fcarce confiderable enough to threaten an Irruption.

We alfo took a View of the Grotto di Cane, or Dog's Cave, near the Lake of Agnono: It is both narrow and
hort, and (whatever fome may have pleafed to tel the World) you may go into it, and continue there for a long Time without Prejudice, fome of us ftaying at the further End of it. above an Hour ; becaufe the Vapour, whether fulphureous or arfenical, afcending not above a Foot from the Ground, which you may perceive plainly by the Heat in your Feet and Legs, fo that if you bend your Head towards the Ground, you will be immediately fenfible of a Smell like burning Brimfone, which feizing your Head, makes you ftagger, and may ftifle one. We took a Dog, and holding his Nofe down near the Ground, almoft killed him; then throwing him into the Lake to recover him, we found him too weak to fwim, and fo was drowned. We try'd the fame Experiment with a Pullet, which was killed immediately ; and afterwards with a Frog which likewife did not live long ; and laft of all, with a Serpent, which did not hold out above half an Hour. If you hold a Candle below the Part where the Vapours are, it is extinguifhed immediately. I am of Opinion, that many more fuch Grots might be digged hereabouts.

As we were going to this Grot, we paffed through the artificial Paffage or Vault, through Mount Paufili pus, performed by one Cocceius in fifteen Days. We judged it about half an Englif Mile long, though fome will have it as long again. Where it is loweft which is in the Middle, it is twelve Foot high, and broad enough for two Carts to pafs conveniently by one another. As it is fo dark in the Middle (no Light coming in but at the two Ends) that no body can fee one another, fo thofe that pals through it, cry always Alla Marina if they go to the Sea-fide, and Alla mon tagna if they go towards the Country; fo that each taking the Left Hand, they prevent the running upon one another.
We obferved the Fifh-boats out at Sea with Lights at one End, to draw the Fifh after it, and fo they ftrike them with a Mole-fpear.
19. April 29. We continued our Voyage in the fame Veffel, that had brought us hither, to Sicily, and arrived, May the 2d, at Mefina: We failed by the Aiclides or Vulcanice infula, two of which, viz. Stromboli and Vulcano, ftill burn; we faw the firft all in Flames as we pals'd by in the Night time. It being no eafy Matter to make the Mouth of the Streight, by the Faro of Meflna, by Reafon of the Current, which is very violent here, fometimes running towards Calabria, fometimes towards Sicily; our Matter was forced to hire a Pilor for ten Pieces of Eight, who conducted us fafely through it.

The Harbour of Mefina itfelf is very good, being enclofed by the City on one Side, and on the other by a Neck of Land. As the Houfes along the Sea-fide are loftily built of Stone, they make a noble Show at a Diftance, but are but indifferent within, and the Streets narrow and ill paved, which verifies the Italian Proverb, At Meflina you bave Duft, Flcas, and Whores in Plenty. This City ftands in Competition with Palermo, both pretending to the Title of being the Metropolis of Sicily, which is the Reafon that the Viceroy refides eighteen Months in each, during his Government. The Meffnefe boaft of great Privileges granted by Cbarles V. the Emperor, and pretend to the Monopoly of Silk, which was indeed formerly vended at Meflina, but the Palermitcons having got a confiderable Share of that Trade into their own Hands fince, this caufed great Jealoufies between thofe two Places, which affects the whole Kingdom, fome taking Part with one, and fome with the other of thofe Cities. The Inhabitants of Mefina are none of the moft polim'd, haughty in their Converfation, and very prone to Rebellion. The Spaniards are in Poffeffion of four Caftles in and about the City, and the Mefinefe of as many; for the reft, the City Gates are open at all Times. The Government of this City is adminiftred by fix Perfons, whom they call Furots, four of which are chofen out of the Gentry, and two out of the common Citizens. Their Government is annual, and though the firft have the Majority of Votes, yet can they tranfact Nothing of Moment with-

## Chap. III. through the Low-Countries, $\mathcal{G i}^{\circ} c$. <br> out the Confent of the others ; though the Spaniards <br> out of the Boat into the Sea, and turns the Tortoife on

have taken Care to reduce their Authority into fuch narrow Bounds, that there is no great Occafion of Conteft among them upon that Score.
May 5, We hired a Felucca to carry us to, and bring us back from Malta. May 6, We failed with a brisk Gale as far as Catanea, fixty Miles beyond Mefina, a little Town, having nothing confiderable in it, but two or three good Convents. May 7, We made forty Miles to Syracufa, and failed in Sight of Auguta, famous for the Goodnefs of itsWines. The fmall City of Syracufa, in its prefent State, is only that Part of the ancient Syracufa, called Nñơ, being but indifferently built, and flenderly inhabited, but very well fortified to the Land-fide by the Knights Hofpitallers, after they had been expelled Rbodes by the Turks; but Cbarles V. thought it more expedient to beftow a Settlement upon them in the Ifle of Malta. About two Miles from the prefent City, you fee the Ruins of the ancient Syracufa, and among the reft, the Remnants of an admitable and extenfive Amphitheatre.
We were alfo fhown the Grot, commonly called Dionysuus's Ear, being cut out of the Side of a high Clift; it is high roof'd, but not long, and goes a little Winding. In our Return from Malta, we took a View of one of the Burying-places, or Catacombs of the Ancients, of which there are feveral here and in Malta. This belonged to St. Antbony's Church, and confifted of many vaulted Walks cut out of the Rock, having on each Hand other Vaults at Right-angles with them, the Floors of which were about two Foot higher than the Floor of the main Walk, hewn into Troughs or Ioculi, wherein they ufed to depofit their dead Bodies: In fome of thofe were twenty Loculi, more or lefs. At certain Intervals, you come to round Rooms or Halls in the main Walks, where feveral of them meet together, fo that the whole being of a great Extent, might contain many Thoufands of dead Bodies.
20. May 8. The Wind being contrary, we were forced to make ufe of our Oars, and rowed as far as Capo Paffaro, anciently called Promontorium Pacbynum, forty Miles diftant from Syracufa. Upon the utmoft Point of Land ftands a little Caftle, held by a Garrifon of about twenty Men: This Caftle flands now in a little Inand made fo by the Force of the Sea, which not long fince brake it off from the Land. The Wind being contrary, and blowing a ftiff Gale, made the Sea fo rough, that we dared not venture out, but were forced to reft here two Nights. May 10, we put to Sea again, but the Wind fill continuing contrary, and the Sea very rough, when we were gotten about half Way over the Channel, we were forced to return back again to the primo terreno of Sicily, viz. the Caftle of Puzallu. The Greatnel's of the Waves not permitting us to come afhore there, we rowed fix Miles farther South, and put in at a little Cove called the Harbour of Punto Cericolo. The Weather continuing foul, we were detained here three. Days, having no ocher Shelter but a fmall Hut or two, which the two Centinels (who ftand conftantly at this Point, to watch and give Notice to the Country of the coming of Corfairs) had fet up for themfelves to creep into in flormy Weather. We fihould have been glad of frefh Straw to lie on, having Nothing in our Kennel but oid fhort Straw, fo full of Fleas, that we were not able to fleep in it. Our Diet was the Blood and Flefh of Sea Tortoifes, that our Seamen took by the Way, and Bread we brought along with us: Wine we got at a Houfe about half a Mile off our Lodging, but when our Bread failed, we were forced to fend eight Miles for it and more Fifh, for Flefh we could get none.

May ${ }^{13}$, The Wind ceafing, we put to Sea again, and had a very good Paffage over to Malta. By the Way we faw our Seamen take feveral Tortoifes in this Manner: When they efpy a Tortoife foating on the Top of the Water, as they can eafily do at a good Diflance, with as little Noife as they can poffibly they bring their Boat.up clofe to him, then they either catch him with their Hands and draw him up into the Boat, or if they cannot get near enough to do $\mathrm{fO}_{2}$, one leaps Vou. II. Ne ${ }^{115}$ :
his Back, and then with Eafe drives him before him up to the Boat, the Tortoife being not able to turn or Twim away on his Back. They fay, (and it is not unlikely) that the Tortoife, while he floats thus upon the Water, fleeps; which is the Reafon why they are fo fill, and make fo little Noife in bringing their Boat up to him. One of thefe Tortoifes which they caught, had two great Bunches of thofe they call Bernacle-fbells fticking or growing to his Back, and fome of them the largeft and faireft of that Kind which we have ever feen.
As for that Opinion of a Bird breeding in them, (which fome haveaffirmed with much Confidence, and of which Micbael Meyerus hath written a whole Book) it is without doubt falfe and frivolous. The Berracles which are faid to be bred in them, being hatch'd of Eggs of their own laying, like other Birds; the Hollanders, in their third Voyage to difcover the North-eaft Paflage to Cathaia and Cbina, in 80 Degrees 11 Minutes of Northern Latitude, having found tiwo Inands, in one of which they obferved a great :Number of thefé Geefe fitting on their Eggs, $\mathcal{E}_{c}$. as Dr. Fobnfon relates out of Pontanuis. As for thefe Shells, they are a Kind of Balanus marinus, as Fabius Columna proves, never coming to be other than what they ate, but only growing in Bignefs as other Shells do. All the Ground of this Fancy, as I conceive, is becaufe this Fifí hath a Bunch of Cirri fomewhat refembling a Tuft of Feathers, or the Tail of a Bird, which it fometimés puts out into the Water, and draws back again. We were much furprized to find of this Shell-fifh in thefe Seas, fo Southerly, and far from the ufual Scene of the Bernacle Fable.
The Inand of Molta is twenty Miles long, twelve broad, and fixty Miles in Circuit, diftant from the pris moterreno, or neareft Part of Sicily fixty Miles; from the Cape of Calipia, anciently called Promontorium Mercurii, the neareft Point to the Continent of Africa, two hundred Miles, (as divers of the moft skifful and experienced Pilots did affirn to Abela for an undoubted Truth); from the Cape of Spertivento in Italy, but one hundred and ninety ; fo that upon Account of Vicinitys it is rather to be attributed to Europe than Africa, efpe= cially if we allow Sicily to have been of old Time united to, and fo Part of the Continent. The Reafon why others make it a Member of Africa, is becaufe the prefent Inhabitants of the Country fpeak a Kind of $M_{0}$. resko or Arabick.
The old City, called Cittc Notabile, fituate about the Middle of the Inand, hath 35 Degrees 15 Minutes of Northern Latitude, and the longeft Day there is of fourceen Hours fifty two Minutes. I am not ignorant that Heylin and others, who reckon this among the Ifles of Africa, place it neater the Coaft of Barbary, affign it lefs Latitude, and allow the longet Day no more than fourteen Hours; but I do in thefe and other Particulars, follow the more accurate Obfervations of Fobannes Francifcus Abela, a learned Man, and Native of this Inand, in his Malta Illuffrata, written in Italian, and publifhed in Maita, Anino 1646; in Folio. The whole Inand, from the Shallownefs of its Soil there, being in few Places above two Foot Depth of Earth before you come to firm Stone; and from the Lownefs of its Situation; not much elevated above the Level of the Water, and having no confiderable Hill in it, feems to have been in the moft ancient Times, nothing elfe but a great Rock wholly overwhelmed and covered with the Sea; efpecially if we confider the Multitude of Seafhells of all Sorts, Sharks-teeth, Vertebres of Thornbacks, and other Fiih-bones petrified found all over the Iland, even in the higheft Parts of it, and moft remote from the Shore. For that thefe were formed by fome plaftick Power in the Stone Quarries, being nothing elfe but the Effects and Productions of Nature fporting herfelf in Imitation of the Parts and Shells of thefe Animals, I can hardly be induced to believe.

Nature (which indeed is Nothing elfe but the ordinary Power of God) not being fo wanton and toyifh as. to form fuch elegant Figures without further End and Defign than her own Paftime and Diverfion. But a
very likely Thing it is, that the Sea being fhallow above this Rock for fome Ages before, it came to be uncovered, there fhould great Beds of Shell-fifh, harbour and breed in fo convenient a Place, and the Water leaving them, their Shells remain and petrify. I confers its hard to imagine, how the Carcaffes of fo many Sharks fhould come to be lodged here, as by the Mulcitude of Teeth, that have been for fo many Years paft, and are fill daily digged up, we muft needs grant, unlefs by Chance they remain, of the Heads of fuch Sharks as were caught and eaten by the Fifhermen, who it is likely, after the Difcovery of this Rock, frequented here, and made it a Station for Fifhing before it came to be thoroughly and fully inhabited.

To this Difficulty, Mr. Steno returns anfwer in thefe Particulars, I. That fuch Sharks or Sea-Dogs, have each of them fixty Teeth and more, and that all the Time they live they breed new Teeth. 2. That the Sea agitated by the Winds, is wont to protrude thofe Bodies it meets with towards fome one Place, and there heap them together. 3. That Sharks fwim in great Troops or Shoals, and confequently that the Teeth of many of them, may have been left in one Place. 4. That in the Malta Earth, befides thefe Sharks Teeth, are found alfo fundry Cockle-fhells, fo that if the Number of Teeth fhould incline a Man to afcribe their Production to the Earth, on the other Hand, the Make of the fame Teeth, and the Abundance of them in every Animal, and the Earth, like the Bottom of the Sea, and other marine Bodies found in the fame Place, do favour the contrary Opinion. The Soil notwithftanding the Rockinefs and Shallownefs of it, hath been by the Ancients celebrated for Fertility.

## Fertilis est Melite Aerili vicina Cofyrce Infula. <br> Ovid. Faft.

But undefervedly, if we underfland it of Corn, for there is not much Wheat fown here, and that we faw upon the Grounds was but thin and flight. And though Barley be their chief Crop, and of which the Country People make their Bread, yet have they not near enough of that to ferve the ordinary Ufes of the Inhabitants, fo that they are forced to fetch moft of their Bread Corn out of Sicily. The main Commodities which the Inland yields, wherewith the Inhabitants drive a good Trade, and enrich themfelves are, I. Cumin-Seed which they call Cumino agro, or fharp Cumin, of which are gather'd about three thoufand Cantares yearly, one Cantare being equal to 116 Pound Weight, Englijh. 2. Anife-Seed, which they call. fweet Cumin, of which are gathered and tranfmitted into foreign Parts, 1000 Cantares yearly. Thefe Seeds are fold at feven, eight, or nine Crowns the Cantare, and we were told that the Year before our being there, [Anno 1663.] were vended 7000 Cantares of both Sorts. 3. Cotton-Wool, called in Latin, Xylone or Gofipium, of which they fend Abroad yearly, 14000 Cantares in the Hufk. They have of late begun to plant Indigo, which my Author faith agrees with the Soil, and thrives there very well. He alfo mentions a Sort of Excrefcence, or Mofs, or Scurf, which the Rocks about St. Maria el Aalia, and other Places on the North-fide of the Illand, naturally put forth, called by the Country People Vercella, which they fcrape off wich an Iron Inftrument, and having walhed it with a certain Liquor, and mingled it with other Ingredients, (he tells us not what that Liquor or thofe Ingredients are) they expofe it to the Sun, and ufe it to die Wool of a Carnation Colour. This kind of Miofs called in Wales, Kenkerig, and in England, Cork, or Arcel, is gathered and ufed for the fame Purpofe in Wales, and the North of England. Malta hath been famous of old, for a Breed of little Dogs, called Catuli Mariteei, the Race whereof is quite extinct, and now their Cats are as much efteemed. The Rofes of Malita contend for Sweetnefs with thofe of Peftum, and the Honey with that of Hybla or Hymettus: fo that fome fuppofe this Inand had its Name Melita from Ment, fignifying Honey. The Air is clear and healthful, and the People long lived. Not much Rain falls here, yet
fufficient to fupply Water to feed their Springs, of which there are feveral in the high Grounds, or fmall Hills, about the Middle of the Inland. That thefe Springs proceed from Rain Water only, my Author doth very well prove, becaufe they are found only at the Foot of little Hills, confifting of a certain porous Stone, which the Maltefe call Giorgiolena, or a chalky Earth, which eafily imbibes the Rain: And to fpeak in general, that all Springs and running Waters owe their Rife and Continuance to Rain, feems to me more than probable.
r. Becaufe I never yet faw any Springing of running Waters breaking out, either on the Top of a Hill, or fo near the Top, but that there was Earth enough above them to feed fuch Springs, confidering the Condition of high Mountains, which are almoft conftantly moiftened with Clouds, and on which the Sunbeams have but little Force: And yet I have made it part of my Bufinefs, in viewing the higheft Hills in England and Wales to examine this particular. Nor have I yet ever obferved fuch fpringing and running Waters in any Plain, unlefs there were Hills fo near, that one might reafonably conclude they were fed by them. 2. Man Springs quite fail in dry Summers, and generally all abate confiderably of their Waters. I am not ignorant that fome make a Diftinction between failing Springs, and enduring Springs, and would have the former to proceed from Rain, and the latter from the Sea, but I fee no fufficient Foundation for fuch a Diftinction, and do think that both the one and the other are to be attributed to Rain, the failing and enduring being to be referred either to the different Quantity and Thicknefs of Earth, that feeds them, or to the different Quality, the one more quickly, the other more flowly, tranfinitting the Water, or fome fuch like Accident 3. In Clay Grounds into which the Water finks with Difficulty, one fhall feldom find any Springs, but in fandy, gravelly, rocky, ftony, or other Grounds, into which the Rain can eafily make its Way, one feldom fails of them. 4. They who would have Fountains to arife from, and be fed by the Sea, have not as yet given a fatisfactory Account of the Afcent of Water to the Tops of Mountains, and its Efflux there.
For though Water will creep up a Filtre above its Level, yer I queftion, whether to fo great an Excefs above its Equilibrium with the Air, whereas in Pumps, we fee it will not rife above two or three and thirty Foot, or if it fhould, whether it would there run out at the Top of the Filtre, we not having as yet heard of any Experiment that will Countenance fuch a Thing For the Afcent and Efflux of Sap in Trees, I fufpect may be owing to a higher Principle, than purely Me chanical. As for the Sabulum 2 2uellem, or Arena bulliens of Helmont, I look upon it as an extravagant Conceit of his, and yet fome Ground there is to believe, that there is a kind of Earth lying up and down in Veins, which doth like a Filtre, retain the Water, and carry or derive it along, as it lies from Place to Place, till it brings it to the Superficies of the Earth, where it runs out. In other Places there are fubterraneous Channels, like the Veins in Animals, whereinto the Water foak ing into the Earth is gathered, and wherein it runs as above Ground, out of fmaller Rivulets into greater Streams, and where one of thefe Veins open in the $\delta u$ perficies of the Earth, there is a Spring greater or leffer, according to the Magnitude of the Vein. Nor need we wonder that Springs fhould endure the Length of a dry Summer, for in many Sorts of Earth the Water makes its Way but flowly, fince we fee that in thofe Troughs or Leches, wherein our Laundreffes ufually put Afhes, and thereupon Water to make a Lixivium, the Water will be often many Hours before it gets all thro the Afh, and the Lech ceafes to drop, and in many Chy mical Preparations which are filtred, it is long before the Liquor can free iffelf, and wholly drain away from the earthy and feculent Part. Some attribute the Original of Fountains, to watry Vapours, elevated by fubterraneous Fires, or at leaft by that generally diffufed Heat, which Miners find in the Earth, when they come to fifty or fixty Fathoms under Ground, and condenfed by the

Tops

## Chap. III. through the State of Venice, Eic:

Tops and Sides of the Mountains, as by an Alem-bick-Head, and fo diftilling down and breaking out where they find Iffue. And in Reafon one would think, that generally the deeper one digs in the Earth, the colder one fhould find it, fince the Urinators affirm, that the deeper they dive in the Sea, the colder ftill they find the Water, and yet were there fuch fubterraneous Heats, they are not fo great, as that it is likely they fhould elevate Vapours fo high, through fo thick a Coat of Earth, which it muft be an intenfe Heat indeed will carry them through, which Heat none fay is found near the Superficies of the Earth.
Mr. Hook's Account, viz. that Salt-Water being heavier than frefh, by Reafon of its Preponderancy, it may drive up the frefh as high above the Surface of the Sea, as are the Tops of Mountains, before it comes to an Equilibrium with it, it is very ingenious, and would be moft likely, where thefe continued clofe Channels from the Bottom of the Sea, to the Tops of Mountains not admitting the Air, which I believe will not be found in many Places. What is faid about ebbing and flowing Wells, in Confirmation of it adds no Strength, for none of thofe ebbing and flowing Wells, that I have yet feen, do at all obferve the Motion of the Sea, but reciprocate two or three Times, or oftener, every Hour, excepting one on the Coaft of South Wales, in a fandy Ground, by the Sea-fide, not a Quarter of a Mile from the Water which obferves the Tides; but it is no running Water, nor doth it, I believe, arife above the Level of the Sea. I do therefore fhrewdly fufpect for fabulous, whatever has been written of Wells remote from the Sea, which in their ebbing and flowing obferve its Motion. But for a Reafon of the ebbing and flowing of thefe Wells, I muft confefs I am hitherto at a great Lofs. Whereas fome fay, that Rain finks not above a Foot or two deep into the Earth ; if they underftand it of all Earths, it is manifently falfe, for that we fee in Coal Delphs, and other Mines, in wet Weather the Miners are many Times drowned out, (as they phrafe it) though no Water run down into the Mouths of their Pits or Shafts; and in fandy and heathy Grounds in the greateft Rains, little Water runs off the Land, as on Nere-market-beath, Gogmagog Hills, Salibury Plain, \&c. and therefore it muft needs fink in: And out of the Mouth of Pole-Hole, near Buxton, in the Peak of Derby, and other Caves in the Sides of Mountains, in rainy Seafons, Streams of Water many Times run out, where in dry Weather and Summer-time there are none.

Neither is this Opinion we defend, any more repugnant to the Scripture than the other. For whereas it is faid, Ecclef. i. 7. All the Rivers run into the Sea, yet the Sea is not full; unto the Place from whence the Rivers come thitber they return again; we grant it to be moft true, nay we think fuch a Circulation abfolutely neceffary to the Being of Springs, only we affert it to be performed not under Ground, but above, that is, the Clouds take up Water out of the Sea, and pour it down again upon the Earth, and from Part thereof falling upon, and foaking into the higher Grounds, arife the Springs.
But to return to Malta, the Haven is very commodious and fecure, divided into two by a little Promontory or Neck of Land, fome 1500 Canes long, and 380 broad, upon which the new City is built. Of thefe two, that on the Weft fide the City, is called fimply, and per Automafiam, Marfa, that is, the Haven, and is in Length 180 Canes or Poles, often Palms, the Cane Roman Meafure, and is fubdivided into other Creeks or Sinus's. That on the Eaft-fide, called Marfa Mofcetto, is as large as the other, in a little Inand, within which is the Lazaretto; near it Ships that come from infected Places, keep their Quarantine. The new City called Valetta is divided into twenty Streets, eight in Length, and twelve in Breadth, all ftrait, though they be not paved, yet they need it not, the Town being built upon a folid Rock. They want no Uniformity but being level, which the Place being uneven, up Hill and down Hill, will not admit. The Houfes are all Stone, flatroof'd, and covered with Plaifter, which is fufficient here, there falling but little Rain; though they be not
high, yet are they neat and pleafant. Upon the Roof of their Houfes in Summer time, the People fet their Beds as at Aleppo, and neep in the open Air. The Number of the Inhabitants of all Ages, according to a Survey taken in the Year, 1632 , was 10744 , the Number of Houfes, 1891, which Sum is I believe fince that Time much increaled. Over the Gate of this City, leading to the Land, called Poria Reale, you have an Infcription giving an Account of the firft founding and building of it. It is fortified with impregnable Walls and Bulwarks, efpecially towards the Land, where one would think there are too many, and yet they are ftill adding more; within the outmoft Wall, or between the two Walls and Outworks; they have encloled a great Space of void Ground, whether with Defign to enlarge the City, filling that Space with new built Houfes, or to receive the Country People, in Cafe the Enemy fhould land upon the Inand, I know not. All the Walls and Bulwarks are mined or vaulted underneath, that fo, in Cafe the Befiegers fhould get upon them, they might be blown up, and rendred ufelefs. The Charge of all there Walls; Caftles and Fortifications would be intolerable had they not Stone at Hand, and Slaves to work.

This City is well ferved with all Provifions, there being every Morning, a Market plentifully furnifhed with Bread, Flefh, Fifh; Poultry, Fruits, Herbs, Esc. of the beft in their feveral Kinds, and to be bought at eafy Rates. The moft confiderable Buildings in this City; are, I. The Church of St. Fobn the Baptift, Patron of the Order, wherein are many Chapels and Altar-Pieces, richly gilt and adorned. Here lie buried the Grand Mafters that have been, fince the Order was tranflated hither, in a Vault under Ground, feveral of them having in the Church, Monuments with Inferiptions. This Church is not yet quite finifhed. 2. The Cattle of St. Elmo, which ftood here before this City was built, on the utmoft Point of the Promontory, a ftrong Place; but of no great Capacity. Here we obferv'd the like winding Afcent to the Top, without any Steps or Stairs, as in the Tower of St. Mark, at Venice.

Upon the Top of this Caftle is conftant Watch and Ward kept. When they defcry any Veffel coming toward the Inand, be it great or fmall, they fet up a Flag fuitable to the Bignefs of the Veffel; if two Veffels, two ; if three, three; and fo on according to their Number; fignifying alfo by the Place, where they fet thefe Flags, from what Quarter, Eaft, Weft, North or South, fuch Veffel or Veffels come, fo that the City is prefently advifed what Veffels, and how many are near the Port. In this Caftle are imprifoned fuch Knights as have committed any Mifdemeanour, and held in Reftraint, longer or leffer Time, or further proceeded againft, according to the Degree of their Fault. 3. Before this Caftle are the Granaries, where the Provifions of Corn for the City are kept. Thefe are nothing but Caves hewn out of the Rock, in the Form of a Cupola, or ordinary Bee-hive, having each a narrow Mouth above. They are conftantly provided with Corn enough beforehand, to ferve the whole City for a Year. They have alfo Magazines or Stores of Wine, Oil, and all other Neceffaries. 4. The Albergbs or Halls of the eight feveral Nations (Lingue they call them) of the Order. The Nations are French, Italian, German, Engli/b, Provençal, Auvergnois, Cafilian, and Arragonian.

Thefe Albergbs are moft of them fair Buildings like Colleges, and in each of them, is a publick Hall; wherein the Knights of each Nation dine and fup as many as they pleafe, the others have their Parts or Demenfum, fent to their Lodgings, or difpofe otherwife of it, as they fee good. The Seignior of each Nation is Superior of the Albergh, Grand Prior of his Nation, of the great Crofs, gran Croce they term it, and one of the Privy Council to the Great Mafter. Thefe are diftinguifhed from the reft, by a great white Crofs upon their Breafts made of Silk, fewn into their Garments. Here is an Albergh for the Engli/b Nation, or rather a Piece of Ground, inclofed with the Foundation of an
allberg $\sigma_{2}$

Albergh, the Walls being fcarcely reared up. This Ground we are told, fome of the Citizens would have bought and built upon, but the Grand Mafer and Council refufed to fell it, not defpairing it feems, that one Day our Nation may be reduced again to the Obedience of the Romifh Church.
5. The Armory [Sala di Arma] within the Palace of the Great Maffer, confifting of two Rooms ; the one (which they call the Hall) the faireft and largeft Room, employed for fuch an Ufe that we have any where feen; the other much leffer. In both together are kept Arms for 30,000 Men, fo intire, clean, bright, and fit for Ufe, that we were very much taken with the Sight of them. Here are fome of thofe little Drakes, that may be charged behind a Leather Gun, and other Curiofities, the like whereto we have feen in feveral Armories.
6. The Hofpital [Infrmaria] a fair Building, which they are now enlarging. The Sick Perfons are ferved by the Knights, viz. Such a Number of Knights are appointed to carry them their Meat daily with Cap in Hand, which Thing we faw them do in this Manner. The Meat was all brought into the middle of a great Room, where many of the Sick lay. Then one of the Knights (the Steward I fuppofe he was) read the Names of the Sick, one by one, out of the Phyfician's Bill, wherein was prefcribed each Sick Perfons Diet. As he read a Name, the Cook took his Part whofe Name was read, and Difhing it up, delivered it to one of the Knights, who carried it to his Bedfide, where ftood a Stool covered with a Napkin, having Bread and Salt upon it. This Duty their very Name intimates to belong to them, viz. Knights, i.e. Servants of the Hofpital, and therefore we may be excufed, if we have been more particular and circumftantial in defcribing the Manner of it. If any of the Order falls Sick, he is not to ftay in a private Houfe, but prefently repair hither, where he is moft carefully tended, one or two Knights being appointed to be always by him
The Palace of the Great Mafter, where he hath feveral Apartments for Winter and Summer. There is alfo a Stable of good Horfes, in which befides Coachhorfes and ordinary Saddle-horfes, are kept forty or fifty great Horfes. A Thing worth the Noting in this Inand, where there is a great Scarcity of Horfes, that Knights and Perfons of Quality, ride upon no better than Affes. The Slaves-Prijon, a fair fquare Building, where all the Slaves in the City lodge every Night, fo long as the Gallies are Abroad in Corfo. At the ringing of the Ave-Mary-Bell, which is juft at Sun-fet, they are to repair thither; when the Gallies are at Home, thofe that belong to private Perfons are permitted to lodge in their Mafters Houfes. The Number of Slaves now in Town, was about 2000 belonging to the Order, and 300 to private Perfons, befides thofe that were Abroad in the Gallies.
Befides this new City, there are three confiderable Towns diftant from it, only by the Breadth of the Haven. 1. The Ifola (as they commonly call it) or Town of Senglea, with the Fort of St. Micbaiel, feated in a Peninfula, made by two Creeks, running out of the principal Haven. It contains 994 Houfes, and 4050 Souls. For the flout Refiftance it made to the Turks, in 1565 , it obtained the Name of Citta invitta. 2. The Borgo (as they call it) i.e. Burgo del Coffello à Mare, built likewife on a little Lingua or Neck of Land, between two Creeks of the fame Haven, on the utmo-t Cape whereof ftands the Caftle of St. Angelo, divided, for greater Strength, from the Town by a Ditch of Water cut crofs the Lingua. This Burgh contains 782 Houfes, and 3065 Souls. For its Valour and Fidelity in holding out fo refolutely againft the Ottomen Army befieging it, Anno 1565, it is defervedly honoured with the Title of Citta vittoriofa. Between thefe two Burghs is a fecure Harbour, where the Gallies and moft of the other Veffels of the City lie, which in Time of Danger is thut up with a great Iron Chain. 3. Birmula rather. a Suburb of Senglea then a diftinct Town, it contains 642 Fires, and 2778 Souls.

May 25. We rode out to fee fome Part of the Country, paffing two great Villages (Cafales they name them) we came to the old City, called anciently Melita, after the Name of the Inand now Citta notabile, a fmall Place at prefent, but well fortified, containing no more than 565 .Houfes, 2620 Souls. It hath been formerly much. greater, and incomparably more populous. The new City, as being more conveniently fituate, daily drawing away, and withdrawing its Inhabitants. Here they fhewed us the Pillar of St. Paul (as they call it) where when he ftood Preaching (as they fondly believe, or at leant would perfuade us) his Voice was heard diftinctly all, over the Iland. 2. The Grot of St. Poul Here out of a fmall Cave is taken that white Earth, called, Terra di S. Paolo, and by fome Terra Sigillata Meliten/ts, which they feal, and fell to Strangers, attributing thereto, great Virtues againtt all Poifon and Infections. This Cavern, though there be continually great Quantities of Earth taken out of it, according to their conceited Tradition, retains ftill the fame $\mathrm{D}_{1}$ menfions, becoming no greater than it was at firft That St. Poul fuffered Shipwreck on the Coaft of this Inand, and wintered here, and not on that ocher Melita, in the Adrialick Sea, on the Coaft of Dalmatia, now called Meleda, I think it fufficiently proved and made clear by Cluverius, Abela, and others; but that upon Occaiion of a Viper faftened on his Arm, he changed all the Serpents of the Inand into Stones, and endued the Earth with an alexipharmical Quality; to refirt and expel Poifon, is a foperfitious and ungrounded Fancy.
From the old City we rode to the Great Maferers Bofchetto, where he hath a pretty Palace in Form of a Caftle, from the Top whereof we had a good Proif pect of the Inand. Here are a great Number of Gardens and Orchards, well furnifhed with all Sorts of Fruits and Flowers, good Water-Works, and a Grove of Trees; indeed this Palace wants Nothing for Conveniency or Delight. The Palace is fituared upon a little Hill, and the Gardens lie under it in a hollow or Bottom almoft compaffed about with Rocks. But to fpeak of the Inand: Malta hath been inhabited by feveral Nations, and often changed Mafters.

The moft ancient Inhabitants are by Cluverius taken to have been the Pbeaces mentioned by Homer, who were expelled by the Pbericians. The Pbanicians were moft of them driven out by the Gracians. After this it changed Mafters rather than Inhabitants, being firt fubdued and held by the Cartbaginians, then for a long Time by the Romans : After that the Gotbs came hither, who were driven out by the Eafern Emperors: Next the Saracens poffeffed themfelves of it. The Normans expelled them, and got the Dominion. Then the Germans or Suevi became Lords of it; then the French then the Arragonians and Spaniards; and now laft of all, the Order of the Knights Hofpitallers. The Hitory of all which Changes, if any Man defire to be fully and particularly acquainted with, let him confult Abela. In all there Changes, it followed for the moft part the Fortune of Sicily, as having little Strength to refift any foreign Power invading. It is now fo well fortified and manned, that it would prove a very difficult Matter for the greateft Prince or Potentate in the World to take it by Force, having, when it was in far worfe Condition than now it is, refifted and baffled the Arms of one of the greateft Emperors the Turks ever had: It is very populous, containing between thirty and forty great Caffales or Villages, fome of them above 500 Houfes, more like to great Towns than Villages, and twenty fix Parifh Churches, befide thofe of Gozo.

The Number of Fighting Men was faid to be about 25000 , but I believe there are fcarce fo many, for according to a Survey taken in the Year, 1632 , the whole Number of Souls upon the Inand, befides the Knights, was about 501,12 , of which we cannot reckon much above one fifth Part to be fighting Men. And though fince that Time the Number of Inhabitants be much increafed, yet I think farce doubled.

## Chap. III. through the State of VE N IC E., \&ce.

The Language of the Natives is a corrupt Arabick or Morefco, introduced by the Saracens, the ancient Language before their coming in, probably having been Greek, with a Mixture of Punick; whence I think one may reafonably conjecture, that the Saracens did either deftroy or drive out the former Inhabitants. Howbeit, the People can generally fpeak Italian, there being no other Languague but that and Latin ufed in any of the Courts of Malta. The Great Master of the Order is now Prince and fupreme Governor of the whole Ifland, which with Gozo and the adjacent Inles, after the Lofs of Rbodes, was granted to this Order by the Emperor Cbarles V. in the Year I530. The Government is managed with that Prudence and Juftice, that the Illand is now in a very flourifhing Condition, the Inhabitants enjoying a great Deal of Freedom and Security, being alfo in their Carriage and Converfation among themfelves, and to Strangers, fince the Coming in of the Order, very civil and courteous, however for merly they have been branded for the contrary; fo that few Subjects live more happy than they do. The Great Master, when he goeth Abroad, is attended by many of the Knights, and two or three Pages, of which he keeps, (as we were told) about twenty four. The Knights of the Order are always uncovered in the Prefence of the Great Mafter, excepting thofe fixteen which are of the Gran Croce: They take Place, of what Birth or Quality foever they are, according to their Seniority, from the Time of their Admiffion, fo that there is never any Difficulty or Queftion about Precedency.

All the Knights are of noble or genteel Extraction, none being capable of Admiffion, but fuch as can prove their Nobility for three or four Defcents. The Great Mafter wears a black thort Gown, with hanging Sleeves, the reft of the Knights are habited as they pleafe at Home, but when they go in Curfo (as they call it) upon the Gallies, they wear the proper Habit belonging to their Order. The Number of Knights was faid to be between 2000 and 3000, of which, for the moft Part, the Majority refide in the City, except when the Gallies are Abroad. The Name of the Great Mafter, at our being there, was Nicholaus Colioner, of Majorca, and I fuppofe he is ftill living, not having fince heard of his Death.
About five Miles diftant from Malta Weftward, lies the Inand Gozo, called by the Ancients Gaulos, twelve Miles long, fix and a half broad, and about thirty in Circuit. The Soil, like that of Sicily, is very deep and fruitful of Wheat and other Grain. This Ifland is mountainous, yet all cultivated, furnifhed with Store of frefh Springs. It maintains upon it 3000 Perfons, the Number of Houfes being about 500. It was much more populous before the Turkifh Armada moft inhumanly wafted it in the Year ${ }_{15} 65$, carrying a way Prifoners 6000 Perfons. In the Streight betwixt Malta and Gozo lies a little Inand called Comino, anciently, according to Cluverius, Hepbaftia, about five Miles in Compafs, and well cultivated, for the Defence whereof the Great Maf ter Wignacourt caufed a Fort to be built, oppofite to that on the other Side the Streight in Gozo, to fecure the Streight, and hinder any Veffels paffing between the Inands withour Leave.
That there is great Plenty of Shells and Fifh-Bones petrified found in Malta, I have already intimated. I fhall now therefore only Name thofe which are not at all, or but rarely found with us in England. I. Gioffopetre, which are nothing but Sharks Teeth of feveral Shapes and Sizes. Thefe the Maltefe call Serpents Tongues. 2. The Vertebres of Thornbacks, and other cartilaginous Fifhes. 3. Cats.Heads (as they call them from their Likenefs to a little Skull.) 4. Serpents-Eyes of feveral Figures and Colours, the moft of them red and like to thofe they call Toad-fones, the exterior Superficies being a Segment of a Sphere and fhining, as if it were polifhed, fo that they are commonly fer in Rings. I have feen great Lumps or Maffes of thefe cemented together. That the Toad-fone is nothing elfe but the Jaw-Tooth of a Fin called Lupus marinus, by Schonfeldius, Dr. Merrit in his Pinais hath

V O I. II. N ${ }^{\circ} 115$.
firft publifhed to the World, and I doubt not but there have the fame or the like Original. 5. Serpents-Teet which are ffmall, oblong, ftriate Stones, of a polite Superficies, but no certain Figure ; whither to refer thefe as yet, I know not, as neither 6. thofe they call Ser pents Eggs, which are fomewhat like the former, but not ftriate with Lines. 7. Baftons of St. Paul, [Bacult Sti. Pauli, ] having their Refemblance of fmall fnagged Sticks. 8. Petrified Lentils, becaufe for Colour, Figure and Magnitude, fomewhat like to that Pulfe. Befides I found among the Stones I bought there, fome exactly figured like the Fore-Teeth of a Man, and doubtlef many other Sorts by diligent Search might be found which have not as yet been named or taken Notice of. There are but few Trees growing upon the Inand, the greateft Want they have being of Fewel; to fupply which Defect, they have of late begun to make Ule of Seawreck, to burn in their Ovens, prepared after a cer tain Manner, invented by a Peafant of Malta, for which he is highly commended by Abela, as a great Benefactor to his Country.

Here I firlt noted the Cuttom of nitting up the Noftrils of Affes, becaufe they being naturally ftrait or fmall, fuffice not to admit Air enough to ferve them when they travel or labour hard in thefe hot Countries. For the hotter the Country is, the more Air is rreceffary for Refpiration and Refrefhment of the Body, there being lefs of that Menftruum which ferves to nourinh or continue Fire, and confequently the vital Heat of. Ani= mals (which hath great Likenefs thereto) in hot Air than in cold ; whence we fee that Fire burns furioufly in cold Weather, and but faintly in hot. Whether it be becaufe the Air is thinner in hot Weather and hot Countries, or becaufe the reflected Sun-beanss fpend and confume a good Part of the forementioned MenAtrum, or from both thefe Canfes: That the Air is thinner, and confequently the Menftrium alfo more diffufed in hot Weather, is clear in Experience. I need mention no other Experiment to demonftrate it than the Air inclofed in the Shank of an ordinary WeatherGlafs, which in hot Weather dilates itfelf, and in Cold contracts very confiderably. So then to give an Account of the Raging of Fire in the coldeft Weather, we need not have Recourfe to the infignificant Term of Antiperifafis, the true Reafon thereof being the Denfity of the ambient and contiguous Air, containing Plenty of that Menfruum which nourifhes the Fire.
I omitted to mention the ancient Cometria, or fubterraneous Burying-places, called Calacombs, of which there be many in Malta, becaufe of thele we have al ready had occafion to difcourfe in our Defcription of Syracufa in Sicily. That this Inand produces or nourifhes no Serpent or other venomous Creature the common People affirm; but becaufe I find no Mention hereof in Abela, I give little Credit to their Report; fhould it be true, it would be to me a great Argument that this was not the Ifland upon which St. Paul was caft, when he fuffered Shipwreck, but rather that Melite beforementioned; upon the Coaft of Dalmatia, for which there is alfo fome Ground in the Scripture; for that St. Paul, upon the Viper faftening on his Hand, did by his Prayers obtain of God, that all the Serpents in Malta fhould be turned into Stones, and the Inand for the future wholly free from all venomous Beafts, is a Monkifh Fancy grounded upon the torementioned petrified Fifh-Bones, which they fondly imagined were fome time Parts of Serpents; whereas in other Places where Plenty of fuch Stones are found, there is no Lack of Serpents. I confefs it is difficult to imagine how Serpents fhould come at frit to breed here, if the whole Inland were once (as we conceive) a fubmarine Rock covered with the Sea; and as there is no fpontaneous Generation of Animals, as we alfo believe, becaufe it can be fcarce imagined, that any Man fhould on Purpofe bring over Serpents hither, unlefs perchance to fhew them for a Curiofity.

Whether there be venomous Beafts or no, I am fure there are venomous Infects here, the very Biting or Stinging of the Gnats (with which the City is much infetted) being more virulent than in other Places. For
my Part, I do not remember that in England the Bitiny of a Gnat did ever caufe a Swelling, or leave a Mark behind it in the Skin of my Face, (though I know in fome it doth) but there it both raifed a Swelling, and left a Mark behind it, that was not out for a Month after. The Maltefe eafily defend themfelves from the Annoyance of this Infect, keeping them out of their Beds by large Linen Curtains, lapping over one another. At fifft we were not aware of the Trouble thefe Animals were like to give us, and left our Curtains open ; but Experience foon taught us to correct this Fault.
22. In our Return from Malta to Mefina, we ftaid a Day at Catanea, and there took Horfes and a Guide to bring us up Mount 压tna (now call'd Monte Gbibello) the Top of which is reckoned thirty Miles from Catanea, and is one continued Afcent; the Grounds through which we paffed being very fertile, well cultivated and inhabited, the Cinders which are caft out by the Mountain, being inftead of Dung, (after it is diffolv'd by the Weather) which fattens and enriches the Soil. We advanced as far as where the Snow lies, which reached all up to the Top; we could go no farther, however we were near enough to oblerve, that the very Top or Pinnacle of the Mountain, was furrounded with a Ring of Snow, but had no Snow itfelf.

As to the Sicilians, they have not undefervedly the Reputation of being uncivil and rude to Strangers; and the Banditti or Highway-men, are fo frequent, that there is very unfafe Travelling here; the worft is, that they are not contented with Robbing you of all you have about you, but carry you away into the Mountains, nor fet you at Liberty, till you have paid what Ranfome they think fit to impofe upon you. They have fome peculiar Laws and Cuftoms not eafily met with in other Places. If you carry above the Value of ten Crowns in Money out of the Country, it is forfeited if found; the beft is, that a little Money makes the Cuf-tom-houfe Officer, let Strangers pals unfearch'd. No Calves are permitted to be kill'd in this Inand, fo that you fee no Veal at the Tables of the Sicilians, tho' at Malia (whither they carry it by Stealth) is enough of it. No body ought to take above the Weight of an Ounce of Silver, without weighing of it. No young Perfon under Age, muft enter or travel in Sicily, without peculiar Licence. To carry Pocket-Piftols about one is a capital Crime, though long Guns are not only allowed, but alfo carried almoft by every Body: The Reafon of which is, that by the firft a Perion may be affinated before he can be upon his Guard.

After our Return to Meflina, we took Boat, May 27, over the Fretum, to take a View of the ancient Regium, (Rbegio) which now makes but a very mean Appearance, having farce any Thing to boaft of, except iome Gardens, which indeed afford them great Plenty of the beft Sort of Fruits: Here is alfo Abundance of Bricks made, being reckoned the beft in Italy and Sicily. They fhew'd us a fmall Fragment of St. Poul's Pillar that burned, and told us fo many Stories of it, that we were fooner weary of hearing than they of telling.

May 29. We went in a Boat as far as Scylld, to fee the Fifhing of the Sword-fifh: They place certain Fellows on the Cliffs near the Sea-fide, (Huers our Engli/h Fihhermen call them) thefe either by a Signal, if they are out of hearing, or elfe by their Voice, give Notice to the Fifhing-boats, whereabout they fpy the Fifh: Thefe make what Hafte they can towards the Place, whither they were directed, and placing one of the Boats Crew on the Top of the Maft (which have little Steps made for that Purpofe) he gives, from Time to Time, Direction to thofe at the Oars, whither to take their Courfe, according to the different Motions of the Fifh. Being come near enough, they ftrike him with a. Harpoon, and the Fifh being wounded, fwims up and down, till being fpent with the Lofs of Blood, they draw him into the Boat. The Harpoon Iron is faftned to a Pole, the Point being fharp, with Beards on each Side, like a barbed Arrow, fo jointed, that they go eafily in, but refift the drawing of them out. The

Meflinefe looking upon this Fifh as a fingular Dainty, buy it at the Rate of Sixpence per Pound at firf coming in. In May and the Beginning of June, they are catch'd on the Coaft of Calabria, and towards the latter End of June, come over to the Sicilian Coaft, and are taken near Mefina till Augut. As there are no Rocks near the Faro, they are obliged to place their Huers on the Top of a very high Maft, fet up in a large Boat or Brigantine.

They have in the Beginning of June, a yearly Fefo tival, call'd the Feaft of our Lady of the Letter, which is celebrated with more than ordinary Solemnity; for a whole Week together, all the Houfes being illuminated with Candles, Wax Tapers, Lanthorns, \& ${ }^{\circ} c_{0}$. all the Night long. They call it the Fefival of our Lady of the Letter, becaufe it is celebrated in Memory of a Letter, pretended to be written to them, by the Virgina Mary in Greek, of which they fhow you the Latin Copy (the Original being loft) which runs thus.
Maria virgo Foacbim filia Dei bumillima, Cbrifi Jefu crucifixi mater, ex tribu Fuda, firpe David Meffanenjabus omnibus Jalutem \&o Dei patris omnipotentis benedictionem.

Vos omnes fide magna legatos ac nuncios per publicum documentum ad nos mififfe conftat: Filium noftrum Dei genitum Deum \& hominem effe fatemini ; \& in coelum poft fuam refurrestionem afcendiffe, Pauli Apoftoli electi prædicatione mediante viam veritatis agnofcentes. Ob quod vos $\&$ ipfam civitatem benedicimus, cujus perpetuam protectricem nos effe volumus. Anno Filii noftri XII. Indi\&t. I. III Nonas Junii, Luna XXVII, Feria V. Ex Hierofolymis Maria virgo qua fupra hoc chirographum approbavit.
23. June 6. We took a Felucca at Mefina for Naples, and lodged the firf Night at a fmall Town called Tropia, in Calabria, fixty Miles diftant from Mefina. The 7 th, Lodging at St. Lucido, we met there alfo with the wild Jejube. The 8th, We took up our Quarters at Porto Nicolo, a fmall Creek near Scalea, which is ftrengthned by a Caftle. The 9 th, We lodged at Cbiupo, and the roth came to Salerno, where having quitted our Boat, we ftayed the I th. This City, which is dignified with the Title of an Epifcopal See, is at prefent very inconfiderable, having neither Univerfity, nor Scbola illustris, as far as we could learn. The only Thing worth our Obfervation here, was the Monument of Hildebrand (Pope Gregory VII.) who rendred himfelf famous by introducing Celibacy among the Priefts, and his Oppofition to the Emperor. This is to be feen in the Cathedral of St. Mattbew, in the Porch of which you fee many Roman Grave-ftones, with ancient Infcriptions.

The 12 th, We travelled from Salerno by Land to Naples, and pafs'd that Day through La Cava and Nocera, both Epifcopal Sees, and Scafata, Torre d' Annunciata, Torre di Greco. The 30th, We embarked at Naples for Legborn, and the firlt Day advanced no farther than five Miles, to Nigita, a fmall Ine in the Mouth of the Bay of Pozzuolo; but the fecond Day reach'd Sperlonga, a Iitcle fhort of Terracina (anciently Anxur) fixty Miles.

The 3d Day, we pafs'd in Sight of the Monte Circello, (or Promontorium Circeum) deriving its Name from the noted Enchantrefs Circe, who, as it is faid, dwelt here: The Cape extends a great Way into the Sea. About two Leagues from the Point of this Cape, directly againft it, we obferved a great Number of certain Infects, very like the Cicade, fuch as we never mer with before; our Ship's Crew called them Gronge. The Cicada is commonly in our Englifh Schools, rendred by the Word Grafbopper, whereas the fame is a quite different Infect, of a rounder and fhorter Body, fitting upon Trees, and making a much greater Noife than the Grafhopper, which ought properly be call'd in Latin, Lo cufta. The Cicado are frequent in the hot Countries, but feldom to be feen on this Side of the Alps. We lodged this Night at Afura, where we faw the Ruins

## Chap. III. tbrough the State of VENICE, $80^{\circ} \mathrm{C}$.

of an ancient Town, and of the Foundations of certain Buildings in the Water. Not far thence, we pafs'd the fourth Day, the new Town of Antio, and a Mile diftant thence, we faw vaft Ruins of the old Town, and of a great Mole belonging to the Harbour. We ftaid this Night at St. Micbael, a fmall Town not far from Oftia, near the Mouth of the River Tiber.

The $5^{\text {th }}$ Day, we fail'd with a fair Gale to St. Stephano, not far from Orbitello, paffing in Sight of Civita Veccbia, and Porto Hercole, companfing Monte Argentorato.

The 6rh Day, Being overtaken by a Borafco, or Storm of Thunder and Lightning, we rowed is or 20 Miles to a little Creek, under the Tower of Calo di Furno. On the Sea-hore we faw thofe Opercula concbarum, which by fome Naturalifts, are taken for Stones, and called Umbilici marini, by the Itclians, S. Lucies Eyes. The 7 th Day, We reached the Ine of Troia, and the Wind turning againft us, we took Shelter in a fmall Creek near the Tower of Lo Molino.

The 8th Day, paffing in Sight of Piombino, (a City fubject to a Prince of the fame Namc) Populonia P. Barreto, S. Vincentio, Caftagneto, and Vara, lodged at the Tower of Caftiglione. The gth Day, the Sea was very rough, it having blown hard all the Night before, yet we got fafely into Legborn by Noon.
24. Florence, firnamed the Fair, anfwers its Character by the Beauty of its Buildings, tho', in my Opinion, were it not forthe great Number of Stone Palaces (fuch as the Great Duke's, the Palazzo de Pitti, of the Strozzi, Solviati, and others) Antwerp, and divers other Cities in the Low-Countries, might challenge the Precedency in this Point : For though its Streets are well paved with broad Stones, like thofe of Luca and Cologne in Germa$n y$, yet are they very narrow (to keep off the fcorching Heat of the Sun) and the Paper Windows much fhatter'd in many Places, are no fimall Difgrace to the Beauty of this City. The River Arno runs through the Middle of it, over which are built four Stone Bridges, among which, the Ponte Veccbio, or Old Bridge, has Goldfmiths Shops on both Sides. Its whole Circumference is faid to be fix Italian Miles; but of this, the Duke's Palace and Gardens take up at leaft one Sixth, befides fome Hundreds of Acres made into Vineyards. It has forty four Parifhes, including the twelve Priorates. The Number of Inhabitants is computed by fome at Eighty-five thoufand Souls, by others. Ninety thoufand, nay, an Hundred thoufand ; but in my Opinion they fpeak too large. We were told, that it had fifty-fix Nunneries, and twenty-four Convents of Monks, and 37 Horpitals, one of which, viz. the Orpbanotropbium, has 70,000 Crowns yearly Revenue, and maintains 900 Perfons. The chief Strength of this City confifts in, its three Caitles, among which, that on the South-fide has a good Garriion, and an Armory furnifhed with Arms for 30,000 Men. Another is a Fort in the Great Duke's Gardens. The third we viewed not.

The Churches of Florence, if not in all other Refpects, at leaft in Point of. Architecture, are moft excellent : the Cathedral of St. Maria Florida being accounted the moft exquifite Piece that ever was made, efpecially for the Pillars which fupport the Nave or Body of the Clurch, which ftands at fuch a Diftance one from another, and are fo flender, that they do not obfcure the Inles, and afford a fair Profpect at once of the whole Church. The Cupola, (the firft and the Pattern of all the reft) both for its Compafs and Height, exceeds all in Italy, except that of Sc. Peter's at Rome. The Choir, which is of an octogonal Figure, is under this Cupola. The Walls of the Church are covered on the Outfide with Marble, cut into fmall Pieces, and chequer'd, of divers Colours. Within the Church beyond the Choir, you fee four Infcriptions, I. Concerning the Building of the Church, the Foundation of which was laid in 1280. The 2d, Concerning its Confecration by Pope Eugene IV. March 25, 1436. The 3d, Concerning the Union of the Greek and Roman Churches, under the faid Pope Eugene IV. in 1438 . The 4th, Intimates the Removal of the Body of St. Zenobius from St. Lawerence's Church hither, by Archbi-
thop Andreas his Succeffor. In the fame Church I alfo faw the Monuments of Marfilius Ficinus, and of Gio otto, a famous Architect; who firft revived Painting in Italy, as alfo of Pbilip Erubellefbi, another noted Ar= chitect, who defigned the Cupola of this Church and that of St. Larerences's. On the North Wall of this Church is to be feen the Pieture of an Englif Knight on Horfeback, named Jobn Acutus, which makes fome think his Name to have been Sir fobir Sbarpe, though others would have his Name to be Sir Fo.mn Howekwood, becaufe Guicciardin calls him Aucutus, and defcribes him as a great and valiant Captain. Here alfo you fee on a Table, the Picture of the famous Italion Poet Dante, a Native of Florence, but living in Exile, was buried at Ravenna.
In the Church of St. Croce is to be feen the Monument of that great Man Micbael Angelo Buonarota, the famous Architeet, Sculptor, and Painter ; under his Effigies is a Coffin, and under that three Statues fitting; reprefenting Painting, Sculpture, and Architecture.
In the Church of the Annunciata, you fee the Monument of another great Artift, Fobn Bologna, in a Chapel behind the Choir, built by himfelf.
In the Church of St. Mark is the following fmall Infcription on the Tomb of the famous Fobannes Picus Mirandulanus ;

## Fobannes jacit hic Mirandula, ceitera norunit

Et Tagus et Ganges, forran © Antipodes.
Ob. An. Sal. MCCCCLXXXXIV. vixit An. XXXII.
The Church of St. Lazurence contains the Tombs of feveral of the Great Duke's Family, and to this Church belongs the famous Chapel of St. Lasurence, which, when finifhed, will prove the moft magnificent in the World, the Infides of the Walls being laid over with Jafper of feveral Kinds and Colours, Agate, Lapis Lazuli, Touch-fone, $\mathcal{E}^{3}$ c. all neatly polifhed and inlaid, and wrought into various Figures. This Chapel is an Octagon, the Roof of which is a fpacious Cupola : One Side of this Octagon is left void hitherto, being referved for a moft magnificent Altar oppofite to the Door, the reft of the Sides being for the Statues and Monuments of fuch as have been Grand Dukes ; the firft, beginning on the Left Hand of the Door, being intended for Alexander, who was only Duke of Florence, was not yet made up; the reft have their refpective Names fet over their Effigies, each of which ftands in a Nich, fome of Stone, fome of Brafs, and underneath a Coffin or Cufhion, with a Ducal Crown lying upon it, with the following Infriptions in this Order :

Francijcus Mag. Dux Etruric II. vixit ann. XLVI. ob. XIX. Oitob. M. D. LXXXVII.
Cofmus Nag. Dux Etraria II. vixit amn. LV. ob. XI. Kal. Maii, MDLXXXXIV.
Ferdinandus Mag. Dux Etrur. III. vixit amn. LX. ob. VII, Id. Feb. CID ID CIX.
Cofmus Mag. Dux Etrur. IV. vixit amn. XXX.
ob. XXVIII. Feb. Cio Io CXX.
There is one Side remaining for Ferdinand II. the fifth Great Duke, who died fince our Departure; the prefent Great Duke's Name being Cofmus III.
Betwixt the Tombs are the Arms of two of the chief Cities under their Jurifdiction. There are fo great a Number of Towers, Pillars, Fountains, and Statues of Brafs and Stone, and moft excellent Pietures, at Floo rence, that I will not pretend to enter upon a parcicular Defcription of them here, contenting myfelf with mentioning only the two Statuc Equefires in Brafs, much greater than the Lfie; one of Cofmus I. upon the great Piazza ; the other of Ferdinand I. in the Piazza of the Anmunciata; and fo proceed to give you a fhort Account of the Great Duke's Gallery in the Palace, a very handfome Structure, having the Stables under Ground, and above them fair Portico's to walk in ; over thefe, the Shops of all the Artificers that are employed by the Great Duke; above them is that they properly call the Gallery, where in a Walls free for any to come into,
you fee many ancient, and fome modern Statues; and on each Side of the Walk, the Pictures of Princes and other great Perfons. Here we faw, among the reft the Pictures of Queen Elizabeth, King Fames, Oliver Cromzell, and of the before-mentioned Jobannes $A$ cutus.

The Rarities which we faw were preferved in four Clofets, the chief of which were, a very large terref trial Globe, and a Sphera Armillaris bigger than that feveral Stone Tables curioully inlaid with Fragments of precious Stones of various Colours, reprefenting Flowers, Fruits, Birds, Beafts, and Infects, fo naturally, that the beft Mafters of Europe could fcarce have drawn them more exactly. One of thofe Tables (the richeft I ever faw) was fet with many Rubies and Pearls, and valued at 100,000 Florence Scudi, (a Scudi being fomewhat more than an Englifh Crown;) feveral very excellent Cabinets, the beft of which being valued at 500,000 Scudi, was fet with Gems of the firt Mag. nitude; a Pearl of an enormous Size, but not perfectly round ; with feveral Topazes about the Bignefs of Walnuts, large Rubies and Emeralds, befides other Stones of lefs Value, $\varepsilon^{2} c$. Here alfo they hewed us the Nail, half of Gold, half Iron, Part of which they pretend was tranfmuted by Thurnbaufferus, an Alchymift of Bafil, into Gold, but the Iron and Gold was fo coarfely join'd, that it eafily difcovered the Impofture. Befides many ancient Roman Idols and Lamps of various Shapes, and Pictures and Statues made by the beft Mafters.

In the Great Duke's Armory we took Notice of the Armours of many great Perfons, and, among the reft, of a Headpiece pretended to have belonged to Hannibal, having many Morejco Characters on it; Scanderbeg's Sword; the Hair of a Horfe's Mane feven Yards long, and the Skin of the Horfe ftuffed up; a long Gun and a Piftol, the Barrels of beaten Gold; feveral round Bucklers, on one of which was painted a Medufa's Head, by Micbael Angelo, valued at a high Rate; Italian Locks for Women; a Thong cut out of the Hide of a BufAle, 250 Yards long; a great many Iurkifh Arms, EJc. The Argenteria or Wardrobe contains twelve Cupboards, full of rich Plate; one is fill'd with all Sorts of Veffels of beaten Gold; another has an Altar of Gold, fet with Diamonds and other precious Stones, with this Infcription in Capital Letters made up of Rubies, Cofmuts II. Dei gratia magnus Dux Etrurice ex voto.
If I Thould enter upon a Defcription of the Great Duke's Palace, with its Gardens, Variety of Trees, Fruits, Shrubs, Walks, Fountains, Waterworks, \& ${ }^{\circ} \mathrm{c}$. it would require a Treatife by itfelf; the Choice Plạnts we took Notice of in tranfitu were, DiEZamnus Creticus, Quamoclit Indorum; Tragoriganum; Stramonium peregrinum Ger. i. e. pomo Spinofo rotundo; Pifum cordatum, BalSamina cucumerina, Cbamcrrbiphes, \&c.

In the Duke's Theriotrophium we faw a Lion, T'yger, Leopard, Bear, Wolf, Porcupine, Wild Boar; the Snout of the laft being longer than thofe of tame Hogs, the Ears not quite fo long, of a black Colour, as were the Feet and Tail, the reft of the Body being of a grilly or Irongrey Colour, which is conftantly the fame; it being obferved, that moft of the wild Animals, whether Birds or Beafts, keep the fame Colour.

Mof of the Palaces of Florence are built à la maniera rustica, as the Italians call it, that is to fay, of rough hewn Stones, even protuberating above the Superficies of the Wall: For the reft, this City is in a decaying Condition, in refpect, I mean, of what it has been formerly, proceeding partly from the great Declenfion of their Silk Trade with France, as alfo from the heavy Impofitions laid upon them by the Great Duke, who being abfolute, receives the tenth of its yearly, Value of every Houfe, as well as the tenth of what Lands or Houfes are fold; eight per Cent. of the Portion of all Women that are married; two per Cent. out of every Law-fuit, according to the Sum fued for; for every young Heifer that is fold, a Crown; and on all other Provifions, even to the very Eggs, an Excife in Proportion: Nay, he farms the Monopoly of fine Bread (call'd Pane di Bocca) to the Baker, who furnifhes his Table, and pays 1000 Scudi yearly: Befides thefe,

Impofitions, as they render the Generality of the Inhabitants poor, (there having not been a new Houfe builc in forty Years) fo it makes the Prince very powerful, whofe ordinary Revenue is computed at one Million and a half, and by fome two Millions of Crowns per Annum; whereas his annual Expences do not amount to above half the Money, being very thrifty in his Court, keeping his Servants at Board-Wages, and being at a fet Rate with his Cook, Baker, EJc. one of the chief Maxims of State being to amafs great Treafures; for which Reafon the late Great Duke would often fay of our King Cbarles the Firf, That Want of Money ruined bim!

Very few Gentlemen here, but what fell their own Wines by Retail; not within Doors, but by a Hole made in the Cellar-Wall, where they take in and return the Flafks or other Veffels : Inftead of a Signpoft, they hang out Pieces of broken Flafks at their Palace Gates. Notwithftanding this, they look upon it as a great Difparagement to breed up their Children to the Profeffion of Phyfick; but as for Commerce, it is fo well look'd upon here, that from the Great Duke him felf to thofe of the loweft Rank, they all apply themfelves to it vigoroufly. Befides that they call the old State, comprehending the Territories of Florence and Pifa, and the nerv State, comprehending the Territory of Siena, the Great Duke is Mafter of part of the Ine of Elba (likewife a Fief of Spain) part of Graffignana, purchas'd from the Marqueffes of Malafpina; the Earl dom of St. Fiora, bought of the Strozzi ; the Mar quifate of Scanzano, and the Earldom of Pitigliano and Sorano, once belonging to the Urrini ; and fome other fmall Places which he holds from the Emperor, as he is Feudatory to the Pope; for Radicofani in Tufcany, and Borgo fan Sepulchro in Umbria. He has generally the Reputation of maintaining his Fortreffes in a better Condition than any other Prince in Europe, for the Defence of which he maintains, in Time of Peace, Five thoufand Men in conftant Pay. The Guard of his Body are Germons. They have an odd kind of Race at Florence, efpecially in the Summer time, when a certain Number of the fwifteft Horfes are let loofe, and fo run full Speed through one of the Streets, (which thence is call'd Curfo) without Riders. To make them run, they faften fmall Pieces of Leather ftuck with Pricks upon their Backs.

The Ecclefiaftical Revenue in all the Duke's Territories did, according to a Survey taken thereof 1645 , amount to 765000 Crowns per Annum.

It is a conftant Practice, among the Gentlemen as well as Citizens, of any Note here, to put their Daughters to board in the Nunneries as foon as they come to the eighth or tenth Year of their Age, looking upon this as the cheapeft and fecureft Way to educate thens till they are married.

The red Florence Wine (deeper than ordinary Claret) is a Wine much efteem'd both in Italy and elfewhere; it acquires this deep-red Tincture by the letting it ftand longer than ordinary upon the Husks or Vinacea, the interior Pulp of the Grape being white.

Sept. I, We fet out again from Florence towards Rome, and paffing through Caftiano, eight Miles from thence, after we had travelled four Miles further, left the ordinary Road leading to Siena, rode through St. Buco, to a poor wall'd Town call'd St. Donato, fixteen Miles from Florence, and fourteen from Siena, whither we continued our Journey by the Way of Caftellina di Campi, and had a Profpect of Siena ten Miles before we came at it, the Country hereabouts, as well as all over Tufcany, being mountainous and barren. Siena (being about four Miles in Compafs) is a very fair City, the Piazza of which refembling the Figure of a Coc-kle-fhell, is adorned with ftately Buildings: The Cathedral is a moft magnificent Structure of Marble, with a. moft noble Front, and adorned with the Heads of all the Popes, placed in the Wall, round about the Church; fome part (viz. about the Front part) of this Church is pav'd with Marble inlaid, or rather a moft curious Piece of Mofaick Work, containing part of the Hiftory of the Bible, done by Micberino Sanefe: If it had

Chap. III
through the state of VENICE, Woc.
been finifhed according to the firft Project, it would have exceeded any Thing of that kind in the World; as, the Painting of the Library Walls in this Church, containing the Hiftory of Eneas Syluius, afterwards Pope Pius II. half by the Hand of Peruginus, and half by Rapbaal Urbin, is one of the beft that ever I faw, being as lively now, as if it had been done but a few Days. From the Tower called Torre di mangio, we took a full Profpect of the whole City, which is of a triangular Figure, and enclofes a great many Gardens and Vineyards within its Walls: It is fituate upon a Hill, which, together with the Pavement of the Streets (which is of Brick fet Edgeways, as they do in Holland) keeps them very clean, and affords them this further Conveniency, that having good Cellars, they make lit tle Ufe of Snow or Ice to cool their Drink. There is a Room in the Palace of the Podefta, the Roof and Walls whereof are fo excellently painted by Micherino Sanefe, that it is juftly valued more than the whole Palace befides. This Place is pretty much frequented by Strangers, for its temperate Situation in the Summer time; and as the Inhabitants fpeak the Italian in its Purity, fo they are very obliging to Travellers, and all Manner of Provifions are at a reafonable Rate here.
25. Sept. 23. We left Siena, and paffing through Lucignano, Buon Convento, and Tornieri, came to St . Quiricho, (St. Cyriaci Opidum) where I met with abundance of Lavender Cotton. Hence we rode unto $R a$ dicofani, thirty four Miles from Siena, fituate upon a high Hill, and provided with a Garrifon of three hundred Men, being a well fortified Frontier Town of the Great Duke. In this Day's Journey we faw great Plenty of Abfintkium Romanum, Cær. between St. Quiricbo and Radicofani, Cynara filv. and two other Species of Thiftle, one I guels'd to be Carduus tormentofus Lob. the other 1 knew not ; Acarna flore purpuro-rubente patulo; Veronica Spicata carulea; Winter Savory; Aster luteus Linarice folio; Colcbicum all over the Paftures.

Sept. 4, We continwed our Journey from hence to Viterbo, being thirty eight Miles ; and we had fcarce travelled ten Miles, when we paffed over a fmall River near a Place called Ponte Argentino, which on this Side is the common Border of the Pope's and Grand Duke's Territories ; and travelling on four Miles further, came to Aquapendente, a large old Town, fo called from its Situation upon the Top of an Hill, from whence the Water falls down perpendicularly. We obferv'd all the Villages and Towns of this Country to be built on Hills, for Coolnefs Sake : And no fooner were we en tred the Ecclefiaftical Territories, but we found the Fields full of Trees, intermix'd with pleafant and fruitful Valleys, whereas all that Part of the Great Duke's Country through which we pafs'd was very craggy, without Trees, and appear'd to us very barren. From Aquapendente we went on to Lorenzo, a fmall Place at the Edge of the Lake of Bolfena, (anciently of Volfinii) and travelling for five Miles along the Lake, came to Bolfena, and thence mounted up to Monte Fiafoone, where having refrefh'd ourfelves with that moft excellent Wine that grows here, we travell'd for eight Miles, through a fertile Plain to Viterbo, a Town very fpacious, and well fituated, but indifferently built; we obferv'd only two or three handfome Fountains, and one Tomb of Pope Fobn XXI. in the Dome or Cathedral. The hot Springs hereabouts we had not time to take a View of or enquire about.

From Viterbo we travell'd, September 5, through Ronciglione, (a pretty Place belonging to the State of Ca ftro) to Baccano, being twenty two Miles. September the 6th, We went forward, travelling that Day fixteen Miles, to Rome: We afcended a Mountain not far from Baccano, from whence having a large Profpect of the Campania of Rome, being covered all over with a thick Mift, appeared to us at a Diftance like a huge Lake. About three Miles on this Side of Rome we faw an ancient Monument chey call'd the Sepulchre of Nero, the like we had met with before at Modena. About a Mile fhort of Rome, paffing over the Tiber by the Ponte Molle, (the ancient Pons Milvius) came upon
the Via Flaminia, a well-pav'd ftraight Way, having on both Sides many Country Houfes and Gaidens, which brought us to the Porta del Popolo, one of the Gates of Rome.
26. So many Authors have employed their learned Paing in the Defcription of Rome, both ancient and modern, I fhall be very brief in the following Account of it. The Antiquities worth the Obfervation of the Curious, are chiefly the Ruins and Remainders of Pagan Tiemples, Theatres and Ampbitbeatres, Circi, Baths, Aquaduets, Obelifks, Triumpbal Arches, Pillars, Fora, Maufolca, Statues, Altar and Grave-fones, and other Stones, with their Infcriptions; Medals, Entaglia, or Gems engraven with Figures, Sacrificing Veffels and Infriuments, Sepulw chral Urns, Lacbrymal Urns, Ancient Lamps, Weigbts, Rings, \&cc. Among the ancient Temples, which are ftill entire, we have remaining fome Part of them: i. The Pantheon, commonly call'd Rotunda, from its circular Figure, now dedicated to the Virgin Mary and All-Saints, is 144 Foot high, and as many broad, the Roof being vaulted in Form of a Cupola, having no other Light, but that it receives through a round Hole on the Top, of nine Foot Diameter. Its Porch confifted of fixteen tall and maffive Pillars of feeckled Marble, call'd Oriental Granite, each Pillar having but one Stone, of which there are only thirteen remaining now. Upon the Architrave of this Portico you fee thefe Words inferted in very large Letters:

## M. AGRIPPA L. F. COS. TERTIUM FECIT.

This Temple was covered with Copper, till Pope Urban the VIIIth removed it thence, and to appeafe the Grumbling of the People, order'd the four famous wreath'd Pillars and Canopy of the high Altar in $\mathrm{Sc}_{\text {o }}$ Peter's Church to be made of it; the Clavi trabales, or Nails which faftned the Tiles of the Portico, weighing no lefs than 2800 Pounds, out of which was caft a great Cannon, which is ftill to be feen in the Caftle of St. Angelo, with this Infcription, Ex clavis trabalibus Porticus Agrippe, and the Figure of one of thofe Nails engraven upon it. The whole Body of this Temple remains entire, being defpoiled only of its Ornaments and Statues, among which was the famous Minerva of Pbidias. After its firt Building, it had feven Steps upwards, which furrounded the whole Structure, whereas now you muft defcend eleven Steps to go into it; a convincing Proof that a grear Part of the ancient Rome is involv'd in Rubbifh under Ground. Thofe that fhew'd us the Church were very careful to tell us, That the Lintel and Side-pofts of the great Door of this Church (which indeed is exceeding large in all its Di menfions) were all of one entire Stone; which we thought fit rather to believe, than to give ourfelves the Trouble of examining it. In this Church is to be feen the Tomb of that great Architect and Painter Rapbael Urbin with an elegant Infeription.
2. Templum Foriune virilis, or the Temple of the Moon, as fome will have it, but rather of the Sun and Fupiter, now call'd S. Maria Egyptiaca, where the Armenians have their Service. 3. The Temple of the Sun, or of Vefta, as fome affirm, or as others, Templumb Herculis ViEtoris, ftanding not far from the Precedent, viz. by the Tiber Side, near the broken Bridge, and is now call'd La Madonna del Sole, or St. Stefano allo carozze; a fmall round Structure, with a Gallery of ftriate Pillars round about it: It receives its Light like the Pantheon, through a Hole on the Top. Thefe two laft remain entire. 4. Templum Diance Aventina, now call'd St. Sabino, is very large, twelve ftriare Pillars on each Side, dividing the Nave from the Ines. 5 . Templum Herculis Aventini, now the Church of St. Alexius and Bonifacius, near the former, on the Top of Mount Aventine. 6. Templum Fani quadrifrontis, in the Cowmarket. 7. The Temple of Concord, or rather its Remains, being only aPortico fuftained by eight great Marble Pillars of one Stone each, at the Foor of the Mons Capitolinus. 8. The Temple of Saturn, now St. Adrian's Church, the Frontifpiece of which is only the Remainder of the ancient Temple; it ftands near Severus's Arch, at the Foot

8 K
of the Capitol. 9. The Temple of Antonine and Faufina, now St. Lorenzo in Miranda; of this remains entire the Porico, with its Infcription, and fome of the Walls built of maffy Stones, the Marble Pillars which fupport the Portico having a Grain lying one Way, all cleave like Wood. 10. The Temple of Romulus and Remus, fince dedicated to St. Cofmo and Damiano, has fcarce any thing remaining of its ancient Structure. II. Templum Iffdis $\mathcal{E}^{\circ}$ Serapidis five Solis $\mathcal{J}$ Luna, now St. Maria nuova; the few Ruins remaining of the old Church are behind the Cloyfter, the prefent Church being no Part of it, neither ftanding in the fame Place. 12. The Temple of Peace, the Founder of which was Vefpafian, exceeded all the other ancient Temples of Rome in Bignefs, as may be feen by the Foundation, the Ruins of which may eafily be diftinguifh'd; for the reft, there are no more than Part of three Arches left ftanding: The ftriate Pillar, fet up before the Church of St. Maria maggiore, the greatelt of one entire Stone now in Rome, was taken hence, being one of the eight which fupported the Nave or Body of this Temple. 13. Templum Fovis Statoris, three Pillars now to be feen in the Campo Vaccino, were Part of this Temple. 14. Templum Foris tonantis ; of this three Pillars, for the moft Part under Ground, are fuppofed to be Part; on the Architrave whereof are to be feen thefe Letters, ESTITUER, on the Left Hand of the Clivus, as you go from Severus's Arch to the Capitol. 15. The Temple of Faunus, now called St. Stefano rotundo, from its circular Figure: This large Structure is fuftained by two concentrical Circles of Pillars, the outermoft Pillars being lefs than the innermoft, the firft containing forty four Pillars, and the other exactly half the Number ; befides that, the Pillars of the inner Circle ftand at the fame Diftance from one another as thofe in the outer. 16. Templum Herculis Callaici, now Galuzo, of a diagonal Figure, its Roof being a Cupola not much lefs than that of the Pantheon; it has two Doors directly oppofite one to another, and on both Sides betwixt them, eight Niches for Statues. 17. Templum Baccbi extra portam Piam, now the Church of St. Coftanza, without the Walls: This is alfo a round Structure, having a concentrical Circle of twelve Pillars of a lefs Circumference within. Here you fee an ancient Monument of Porphry refembling a large Cheft, having a Stone to cover: it; it is curioully engraven with Branches of Trees, Boys treading of Grapes, of Birds, $\mathcal{E}^{2} c$. In feveral Places of the Roof are Pictures of Bunches of Grapes, and other Things belonging to Vintage, but the Frefhnefs of the Colours, and Rudenefs of the Figures, makes me fufpect them to be no Roman Workmanfhip. They call this the Monument of Baccbus. 18. The Temple of the Sun; of this there remains only fome great Marble Stones in the Garden of the Columna's, fome of them curiounly engraven. 19. The Temple of Romulus and Remus, now dedicated to St. Theodore; it is of a circular Figure, into which you defcend by Steps, like as into the Pantbeon.

Of the ancient Roman Theatres and Amphitheatres, there are remaining only fome fmall Footfteps of the Amphicheatre of Statilius Taurus, near the Church of St. Croce in Gierufalemme, and fome Part of the Walls of the Theatre of Marcellus, upon which the Palace of the Savelli is built: But of the Amphicheatre of Titus, now called the Colifeo, great Ruins are to be feen to this Day, being round without, and of an oval Figure within: It is capable of containing conveniently 85,000 Perfons. Of Circi, there are only fome תender Remnants of that of Antoninus Caracalla, without the City, and of the Circus maximus, of which you may juft difcern the Figure. Of the Circus Agonalis, (now the Piazza Navona) and of the Circus of Nero in Campo Vaticano; as likewife of the Circus Flaminius, nothing is left but their Names. Of Roman Baths very confiderable Ruins are to be feen, viz. thofe of Dioclefian, which had Seats for three thoufand two hundred Perfons to bathe, without feeing one another; of Antoninus Caracalla, which had fixteen hundred Seats all of polifh'd Marble; the TBermice of Titus, of Agrippa near the Pantbeon, of Conftantine near St. Sylvefter's, of Nero near St. EuftaGbius's Church, of Paulus Emilius at the Foot of Monte

Cavallo, called, Magnanapoli; befides many others, of which fcarce any Footfteps are to be feen now.

Among the ancient Aquæducts of Rome, there are only four that have fomething remaining now, viz. the Aqua Martia, conducted thirty feven Miles; the Aqua Claudia, brought thirty five; and the Aqua Appia and Aqua Virginis, both brought eight Miles; the laft of which being repaired by Pope Nicbolas V. is us'd now-a-days, and known by the Name of Fonte di Trivio. Befides thofe, there are two new Aquæducts built by late Popes, of which the following Infcriptions will give you a fatisfactory Account.

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { Sixtus V. Pont. max. Picenus } \\
& \text { Aquam ex Agro Columne } \\
& \text { Viâ praneft. finiftrorfum } \\
& \text { Multarum collectione venarum } \\
& \text { DuCtu finuofo à receptaculo } \\
& \text { Mill. XX. à Capite XXII. } \\
& \text { Adduxit. } \\
& \text { Falicemque de nomine } \\
& \text { Ant. Pont. dixit. } \\
& \text { Ccpit anno I. abfolvit III. } \\
& \text { MDLXXXVII. } \\
& \text { II. }
\end{aligned}
$$

Paulus V. Pontifex maximus aquam in agro Braccianens Saluberrimis è fontibus collectam, veteribus aqua Alfeatince duEtibus refitutis novifque additis XXXV. ab Urbe milliario duxit, Anno Domini MDCXII. Pontificatus fui Septimo.

There are eleven Obelisks remaining, but we took Notice only of nine : I. That which anciently ftood in the Circus maximus, but being broken, was by Sixtus V. fet handfomely together, and placed upon a fine Pedeftal in the Piazza within the Gate called Porta del Popolo, having on each Side an Infcription, and two ancient ones on the oppofite Sides in the fame Words.

## Imp. Cefar Divi $F$. Auguftus <br> Pontifex maximus

Imp. XII. Cof. XI. Trib. Pot. $\overline{\mathrm{XIV}}$.
Egypto in potefatem
Populi Romani redact.
Soli donum dedit.
On the other two Sides are modern Infcriptions. It is engraved on each Side with three Rows of Hieroglyphicks. 2. The Obelisk which now ftands in the Piazza before St. Peter's Church, was taken out of the Circus of Caligula and Nero, and at the Charge of Pope Sixtus V. placed here, as were alfo thofe of St. Maria maggiore and St. Fobn Lateran. This Obelisk is feventy two Foot high, befides the Pedeftal, in all one hundred and eight. It has no Hieroglyphicks upon it. Of the Manner of its Removal, a peculiar Treatife is written; as the four modern Infcriptions on the Pedeftal, and the ancient one on the Obelisk itfelf, may be feen in Roma antica $E^{3}$ moderna. 3. That of St. Fobn Lateran, having three Rows or Files of Hieroglyphicks on each Side of it ; this is one hundred and twelve Foot high, befides the Bafe, where it is nine Foot and an half thick one Way, and eight Foot the other. It is the greateft Obelisk in Rome: From the following Infcription it appears by whom it was brought to Rome, and fer up.

Fl. Conftantius Aug. Conftantini Aug. F. Obelifcum à patre loco fuo motum, diuque Alexandrice jacentem trecentorum remigum impofitum navi mirande vafitatis per mare, Tiberimque magnis molibus Romam convectum in circo maximo ponendum curavit S.P.Q.R.D.D.
4. That of St. Maria maggiore, without Hieroglyphicks, and much lefs than any of the former, was removed hither out of the Maufolerm of Augufus. 5. That of the Piazza Navona, taken out of the Circus of Caracalla, by Pope Innocent X. It has but one Row of Hieroglyphicks, and much lefs than the laft mentioned; of this

Atbanaf.

## Chap. III.

 through the State of VENICE, EOC.Atbanaf. Kircher has written a whole Treatife. 6. That of St. Mabuto, near the Jefuits Church, is only a Piece of the Top of an Obelisk, placed upon four rude Stones; it has fome Hieroglyphicks. 7. That in the Garden of Medicis, is alfo no more than a Piece of the Top of an Obelisk, full of Hieroglyphicks, placed upon a Bafe, without an Infeription. 8. That in the Garden of the Mattei is but very fmall, and broken in two Pieces; the uppermoft has to the Top Hieroglyphicks, but the lotwer Piece none. 9. In the Court of the Palace of the Prince of Paleftrina, you fee an Obelisk lying upon the Ground, broken in three Pieces, with Hieroglyphicks; it feems to have been much longer. Io. Roma antica makes Mention of an Obelisk ftanding at the Foot of the Stairs in the Palace of the Urfini, in the Campo di flore, but we did not fee it. 11. We were alfo credibly informed, that an Obelisk, bigger than any of thofe erected already at Rome, and fuppofed to be entire, was lying under a Row of Houfes in the Campus martius.
Among all thefe Obelisks, thofe that are engraven with Hieroglyphicks are of the fame Kind of Stone, viz. of a hard Marble of a mingled Colour, red and white, which in fo many Ages has not undergone the leaft Alteration by the Weather: Their Figure is taperwife, leffening by Degrees from the Bafis to the Center, yet fo as that they don't terminate in a Point ; but when they are come to that Degree, as to be too fmall to have any Hieroglpyhicks engraven upon them, the Tops are made in the Form of an obtufe Pyramid. It is the general Opinion, and not without a great deal of Probability, that the Hieroglyphicks upon there Obeliks, from the Bottom to the Top, are by Degrees greater and greater, which makes the uppermoft appear of the fame Bignefs with the lowermoft.
Of Triumphal Arches are yet remaining that of Septimius Severus, that of Titus Vefpafian, that of Constantine the Great, that erected in Honour of Antoninus, Septimius's Son, and that of Gallienus and Salonica, called the Arch of St. Vito. We could not find out the Arch in the Via Flaminia, called Arco di Portugallo, in Roma ontica, where you may fee the Infcriptions and Places of thofe Arches.
There are four Pillars yet remaining, viz. the Columna milliaria, which anciently food in the Forum Romanum in the Center of the City, this being the Mark from whence they ufed to count their Miles by a certain Stone fet up at every Mile's End, this Statue being, toward the Top, marked with the Letter I, of a confiderable Bignefs, as the fecond Stone at the firt Mile's End was marked with II, and fo further; fo that ad fecundum lapidem fignified at one Mile's Dittance from this Pillar, ad tertium two, and fo on. It is of no confiderable Bignefs, and now placed on one Side of the Area of the Capitol. The Columna roftrata in the Forum Romanum, erected to C. Duilius, in Memory of the Vietory obtained over the Carthaginians at Sea; the old and long Infcription, which was much defaced, is fupplied in many Places.
The Column of Trajan, of white Marble, which remains ftanding ever fince its firt Eftablifhment, being one hundred and twenty eight Foot high, and the Bafe twelve ; within it you afcend to the Top by a Pair of winding Stairs of one hundred and ninety two Steps, having forty four fmall Windows to give Light; the whole Fabrick is compofed of no more than twenty four entire Stones, each Stone having eight Steps. An Helical Area compaffes the Pillar from Top to Bottom, in Manner of a Screw, on which are carv'd the Actions of Trajan in his Expedition againft the Dacians. The Pedeftal, which was buried under Ground, was laid open again by Pope Paul III. and has the following Infcription :

## S. P. 2. R.

Imp. Cafari Divi Nerve F. Nerva Trajano Aug. Germ.
Dacico, Pont. maximo, Trib. Potef XVI. Imp. VI.
Cof. VI. PP. ad declarandum quante altitudinis mons E' locus tantis operibus fit egeffus.

The Column of Antoninus, much like the former, is
one hundred and feventy five Foot high, has two hunfs dred and fix Steps within, and fifty fix fmall Windows Being miferably broken and defaced, Pope Sixtus $V$. mended and reftored it.

There are but two Mousolea remaining, viz, that of Augufus, and the Moles of Adriant, now called the Caftle of St. Angelo. Of Altar-flones, Grave-ftones and other Stones with Infcriptions, there is vaft Variety all over the City: And of ancient Medals and Entago lie, there are dug up daily, which are fold in the Stiops and Stalls in the Market-places, and great Numbers of them are preferv'd in the Collections of the Virtuofi; where, as well as in the Gardens and Palaces of Perforis of Quality, you may fee great Quantities of fepulchiral Urns of different Shapes and Bignefs, fome of Stone, others of Earth.

Among the Antiquaries of Rome, who have confiderable Collections of thefe before-mentioned Things; as well as of facrificing Veffels and Infruments, Lachrymal Urns, ancient Lamps, Rings, Fizbuld, Teffera hofpitalitatis, Weights, Egc. Leonardus Agulizinus, the Pope's Antiquary, and Fobn Petro Bellori, deferve to be prefer'd before the reft; that worthy and ingenious Gentleman Cavalier Carlo Antonio del Pozzo, fhewed us twenty Volumes in Folio, containing the Figures of moft of the Antiquities in and about Rome, drawn by the Hand with great Exactnefs; and among the reft, we took Notice of the Crepundia Veterum, being Nothing elfe but little Images of Earth refembling Children, Apes, Hares, $\mathcal{B}^{2}$. found in Uris. Of Weights, we faw fome in the Collection of Leonardus Augulinus, made of a dark-red Stone well polifh'd, of the Shape of a Holland Cheefe, of divers Magnitudes, marked on one Side with the Number of Ounces or Pounds it contained. Of thefe Weights, I faw two as big as a large Holland Cheefe, in the Church of St. Maria in Cofmedin, called Schola Graca, and two more in the Church of St. Maria in Traftevere, of which they have a Tradition, that they ufed to tie them to the Martyrs Feet, to fretch and torment them. In the laft-mentioned Collection, we faw alfo a Medal, with the Figure of a Talus on one Side, and this Infcription on the other; 2ui ludit arrbam det quod fatis $\sqrt{2 t}$ : The Fritillus, or Dice-box of the Ancients, like ours ; the Strigiles, a Medal that ufed to be hung about the Slaves Necks, having on one Side the Figure of a She-Wolf giving Suck to Romilus and Remus, and on the other, in three concentrical Circles, thefe Words, Tene me ne fugiam, $\mathcal{O}^{7}$ revoca me in foro Trajani purpuretica ad Pafcafum Dominums meum. A Drinking glafs like a Priapus, of which the Poet, Vitreo bibit ille Priapo. The ancient Roman Timbrel, not unlike our modern ones.
27. Rome is near thirteen Miles in Circumference, but did to us appear not to be fo populous as Venice, Milan, or Naples, as comprehending a great deal of wafte Ground: The Number of its Inhabitants is generally believed to be 120,000 Souls, without Strangers, of which there are great Numbers here; it extends nowadays below the Hills into the Valley by the River-fide, being generally well-built, the Streets ftreight and beautified with màny Palaces, Monatteries and Churches, of which, they fay, there are above three hundred. Provifions are not fo cheap here as at Florence or Na. ples, yet have they great Plenty of them, and exceeding good, their Beef being not inferior to ours in Eng. land. Before they kill their Beafts, they hunt them as we do our Bulls. Their fucking Veal they prefer before all of that Kind in Europe; and their Kid or CCprette, and Pork, is allo excellent good Meat; butt their Mutton is tough and dry. For tame Fowl they may compare with any Part of Europe both in Quantity and Goodnefs, viz. Hens, Capons, Turkies, tame Pigeons, E B. Geefe they have in no great Plenty, buic $^{\text {c }}$ wild Fowl is very cheap, and that of the beft Sort, fuch as Partridges, of two Kinds, the common and red-leged ones, Woodcocks, Snipes, Duck and Mallard, Wigeon, Teal, Quails, Plover, $\mathcal{E}_{c}$, befides what is fold in the Small-bird Market, of Thrufhes, Blackbirds, Larks, $\mathcal{E}^{\circ} c$, nay, even Robin-red. breatts, ${ }^{\prime}$ Finches,

Wag-

Wagtails, Grays, $\mathcal{E}^{3} c$. Befides thefe before-mention'd, you may fee fometimes in the Poulterers Shops, Cranes, Wild-geefe, Shelldrakes, Avofelte, Water-hens, Berganders, and even fuch Birds as are not eaten in England, as Kites, Buzzards, Spar-hawks, Keftrels, Jays, Magpies and Wood-peckers. Neither are they in any Want of Sea or River Fifh, though fold at a dearer Rate than Flefh: Of Frefh-water Fifh, Pike, Carp, Tench, Trout, Eels, Barble, Chevin, and Dace, are the moft frequent; I don't remember I ever faw a Perch at Rome. Of Sea-fifh, they have the Mullus antiquorum, now Triglia, called Rouge by the French, from its Colour; in Cornwall we call them Surmullet : Spiegole, or the Lupus marinus, a Fifh not known in England, Orate, Giltheads; Ceppali, the Mugil of the Ancients, we call it a Mullet in Englifh; Sarde, or the Sprat; Conger or Lamprey; Sole, Plaife, and others of the flat Kind; Merluzzo, we call them Hakes; fometimes fmall Sturgeons; Dog-fih, as alfo Tuny and Sword-fifh.

Wild Boar and other Venifon you fcarce ever mifs in the Market, but their wild Deer (or Capreole) is generally very lean: Sometimes you meet alfo with Porcupine to be fold. Oranges and Lemons are very cheap here, but large Pears and Apples dear, being fold by Weight all over Italy. Their Bread is very cheap, good, and light, though they ufe no Yeaft to raife it. Of Wines they have greater Variety than in any other Place of Italy; as Greco, Lacrime of Naples, Languedoc; Wine of Syracufa and Augufta in Sicily, Orvietano, Jenfana, Monte Pulciano, Monte fiafoone, Cajfelli, Romano and Albanc, more frequently ufed than all the reft. Moft of their Wines are fweet (which they call Abboccati) and fo ftrong bodied, that they will bear half Water. Rough Wines they call Afciuti, though none of theirs are fo harfh as our Clarets, Florence, or red Wines, which are alfo to be had here. Their Olives, though fmall, are exceedingly good and fweet ; of Walnuts, Hazlenuts, and fuch other Fruits as are frequent among us, great Plenty; but our Apples and Pears excel all the reft for Goodnefs.
Rome is alfo noted for various Commodities and Manufactures; as, the beft Viol and Lute-ftrings in Europe, perfum'd Gloves, Combs made of Bufflers Horn, Womens Fans, Vitriol, Effences ; and as for Mufick and Pictures of the beft Mafters, this City may defervedly challenge the Preference before all other Places in Europe. At this Time Cavalier Barberini was the molt noted and the only excellent Sculptor here, and Pietro de Cortona the moft eminent Painter.
The Villa's or Country-Seats of the Princes and other Perfons of Quality of Rome, for Flower-Gardens, Groves, cut Hedges of Cyprefs, Alaternus, Laurel, Bay, Pbillerea, Lourus timus, and other Semper-virent Plants, clofe and open Walks, moft excellent Orchards of Fruit-trees, Labyrinths, Fountains, Waterworks, Statues, Bird-cages, and other Ornaments, but efpecially in their Bignefs, (fome being three or four Miles in Compafs) exceed moft of the Gardens in Cbriftendom; the chief of thofe, (I.) The Villa Borgbefe, efteem'd the beft of all about Rome, though inferior in Bignefs to the (2.) Villa Pampbylia, which lies on the faniculum, without St. Pancras's Gate, being four Miles in Compafs. (3.) The Villa Ludoviraa, belonging to Prince Ludovifio. (4.) The Pope's Garden, called Belvedere, at the Vatican. (5.) The Pope's Garden at Monte Cavallo. (6.) The Villa de Medici, or the Great Duke's Garden. (7.) The Garden of Montalto. (8) The Garden of the Mattei. Each of thefe have their little Pillars, beautified with moft excellent Statues, bafli relievi, Pictures and other Curiofities, for the Defrription of which I refer myfelf to others; neither will I pretend to enlarge upon their publick Structures, but can't altogether pafs by in Silence the Church of St. Peter, being in my Opinion, the moft fumptuous and magnificent Structure that ever was placed upon the Face of the Earth, exceeding in all its Dimenfions the moft famous Temples of the Ancients, being 520 Foot long, and 385 broad, which though it be not fo long as St. Paul's at London, yet as it is much broader, fo this renders it more regular and proportionable to its Length.

The Cupola is of that Aupendious Height and Compais (having the fame Diameter as that of the Rotunde) which fuftaining on the Top a very large Lanthorn, encompafs'd with great Scone Pillars, this renders ir the boldeft and molt flupendious Piece of Architecture the World ever beheld. The Roof is arch'd and divided into fpacious Squares or Panes like Wainfoor, the Ribs and tranfverfe Borders terminating thofe Pannels, being richly gilt, and the Area of each Square fill'd up with a large gilt Rofe. The oval Portico encompaffes a large Area before the Church, confiting of four Rows of great Stone Pillars, fo clofe together, that at a Diftance they refemble a Grove of large Trees. To be fhort, the lofty Porch to which you afcend out of this Area by twenty four Steps, the covering of fome part of the Walls with Marble, finely polifh'd, the excellent Statues, magnificent Altars, moft curious Pictures, and other Ornaments, render this Church the moft majeftick and moft admirable Pile of Buildings in the Univerfe.
Whilft we ftaid at Rome, we took a Tour to Frejcati, twelve Italian Miles thence, anciently call'd Tufculum, where Cicero had a Country-houfe, of which trey fhew as yet fome Remnants: At prefent it is famous for three Villa's, viz. that of Borgbefe, with its Palace call'd Mondragone; the Villa Aldobrandina or Belvedere, belonging to Prince Pampbilio, and the Villa Ludovifa; all which for Walks, Groves, Labyrinths, and other Ornaments, may compare with the beft near Rome; and for Waterfalls and other Waterworks, exceed them. That which pleas'd us moft, (having never feen the like before) was the Imitation of a Tempett, with a Storm of Thunder and Rain, which artificial Thunder they call Girandola. We alfo took a View of Tivoli, the Ancients Tibur, eighteen Miles from Rome; how much Horace delighted in this Place, is evident out of his Verfes. Its Situation is, as well as Frefcati, on the Brow of a Hill overlooking the Campania of Rome. Here are to be feen the Ruins of ancient Temples and other Structures, and a remarkable Waterfall of the River Aniene or Teverone. And the Villa of Efte, for its Gardens, Orchards, Walks, Groves, the Girandola and other Waterworks, may compare with thofe of Frefcati. Not above five Miles from Tivoli, we pafs'd over the Sulphur River, the Water whereof we found of a bluin ${ }^{\circ}$ Colour, and naufeous Smell, not unlike to that of our Sulphur Well at Knaresburgb in Yorkbire; the Channel in which it runs is encrufted with a whitifh kind of friable ftony Matter, which being congeal'd in many Places in the Shape of Sugar-plumbs, they call Confeeli de Tivoli, and fell them in whole Boxes full at Rome. About Frefcati we faw growing wild Abundance of Styrax arbor, which we found no where elfe beyond the Seas.

The Campania of Rome is generally very fertile, but being marihy, and full of ftanding Pools, the Unwholfomnefs of the Air makes that Country but thinly inhabited. One thing more we obferv'd very well worth mentioning during our Stay at Rome, viz, that the Water the Servants brought us in frofty Weather to wafh our Hands, was fo hor, that we thought it had been warm'd on Purpofe by the Fire ; which Phænomenon having been denied by many of our modern Philofophers, who were not fatisfied with the Anliperijtafis of the Ancients, and yet could not give fufficient Reafon for it, we thought fit to be fatisfied of the Truth, by making an ocular Infpection into the Fountain itfelf, the Water whereof we found of an equal Heat with what was brought us. For the reft, the frequent Rains that fall hereabouts make in fome Meafure Amends for the exceffive Drought and Heat of the Summer: And as Rome has fufficient to entertain People of all Tempers, fo it. is a Place well fitted for the Reception of Strangers. As for the Inhabitants, they approach now-adays, in their Furnitures and fome of their Manners and Cuftoms, more to the Englifh thian any of the Italians befides. To enlarge here upon the Court of Rome, the Ecclefiaftical State and Goverment, with that of their Churches and Ceremonies, $\mathcal{E}^{2} c$. as it would require an entire Volume, to without infifting

## Chap. III. through the State of VENICE, \&c.

any further upon thofe Particulars, we will proceed in the Account of our Journey.

Fanuary 24; 1664. We left Rome, and taking our Way towards Venice along the Via Flaminia, pafs'd the Tiber again by the Ponte Molle (Pons Milvius) and at feven Miles Diftance from Rome, through a fniall Village called Prima porta, which fome fuppofe to have been the ancient Boundary of the City on that Side. From thence we travell'd eightMiles further, to Caftel novo, where we took up our Lodgings. All this Afiernoon we kept along the Tiber, upon the Via Flaminia, which reaches as far as Rimini, and is all along pav'd with broad Flints and Pebbles, having on each Side a Border of Stone, and in that Border, at every fecond or third Pace, a Stone ftanding above the Level of the Border. 'In the Fields, as we pafs'd along, we found abundance of Vernal Crocufes in Flower.

Fan. 25. We continued our Journey to Ariano, eight Miles, where leaving the Via Flaminia, we rode round a high Hill, for nine Miles, to a little Town call'd Civita Caftellana, now ftanding on a Hill, not far from whence we had a Profpect of the Duke of Parma's Palace of Caprarola, which feem'd to be no more than two or three Miles off, but was, as they told us, at leaft ten or twelve. After we had travel'd four Miles further, we pals'd the Tiber a little below Boryetto, over a Bridge called Ponte Felice, begun by Pope Sixtus V. and finifhed by Urban VIII. At a fmall Diftance from the River Side we paffed under the little Town of Magliano, built on the Top of a Hill, and travelling for four Miles along the Bank of the River, came to Utricoli, now ftanding upon a Hill, though the Ruins which remain thew the ancient Ocricoli to have extended, at leaft for fome Part, to the River. From hence we rode, for five Miles, over'mountainous and rocky Ways, and a Mile before we reach'd Narni, upon the Brink of a moft dreadful Precipice, extending along the River Nera's fide. Narni (the Nequinum of the Ancients) has borrowed its Name from the River Nar, which paffes below that fteep Rock, upon the Ridge whereof this City is built: It was formerly a Roman Colony, and none of the leaft confiderable ones, but is now very poor and mean. Here you fee the Brafs Statue erected in Memory of Gattamelata, the famous Venetian General, on Horfeback, who was a Native of this Place. Near it you fee the Ruins of vaft Stone Arches, which fome would have to be the Remnants of a Bridge, others of an Aquæduct over the River from one Mountain to another.

Fan. 26. We travell'd thence through a very delightFul and fertile Valley, environ'd with Mountains, and well cultivated, to Terni, anciently Interamna, from its Situation, a near little City, in the Piazza of which ftands a Church which feems to have been an ancient Temple. About four Miles further is the famous Waterfall from the Lake di Pie di Luco. Beyond Terni, at the further End of this Valley, and on all the adjacent Hills, we faw whole Forefts of Olive-trees, and the Country People bufy in gathering them. From Terni we paffed over the Mountains to Tritura; and thence defcended to Spoleto, the Capital of Umbria, thence call'd Ducato Spoletano: The Walls of this City are of confiderable Extent, and the Houfes well built Here are to be feen the Ruins of many ancient Buildings. From hence we paffed through a moft facious and pleafant Valley, enclos'd with Mountains in the Form of an Amphitheatre, the Valley being planted with Trees and Vines after the Manner of Lombardy and the neighbouring Hills full of little Towns and Houfes. About four Miles fhort of Foligno, we paffed under Trevi, a little Town feated on a round Hill. Foligno (Fulginium) is a very pleafant and handfome Town, famous chiefly for Confectioners and good Sweetmeats. Beyond it, at the Extremity of the Valley of Spoleto, we faw fuch another Plantation of Olive-trees as before.

Fan. 27. We afcended from Foligno to a Mountain, by a. Way cut out of the Rock, having a terrible Precipice on our left, and below a Valley furrounded with high and fteep Hills, into which falls a fmall River

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called Dale, which drives fome Paper-Mills. After we had thus travell'd four or five Miles, we reach'd the Top of the Appennine, the Mountains round about us being covered with Snow : On the Top we came into a fmall Plain, having a little Lake or Pool near a Village called Col forito, a very delightful Place in Summer. No fooner had we pafs'd this Plain, buit we began to defcend, and pafling through the Village of Sirravalle, fituated at the Entrance of a narrow Valley, fourteen Miles from Foligno, we continued our Journey through the Mountains, and lodg'd at Valcimarra. Fain. 28, We travelled thro' Tolentino, nine Miles from Valcimarra, a pretty little Town, famous for the Birth-place of that great Critick, Francifcus Pbilelpbus, who was the firft Inventer of the Word Stapes, for Stirrops, which had before no Word in Latin. From hence we rode on ten Miles to Macerata, a large and populous City, the Capital of the Marca Anconitona, and Refidence of the Cardinal Legate. From hence we travel'd thro'Recanati to Loretto. At Recanati we faw a Statue in Brafs of the Virgin Mary in baffo relievo, with a Table having an Infcription upon it giving Thanks to her, that the was pleafed to fettle her Houfe in the Territory of this City.

Loretto itfelf is no more than a fmall City, feated upon a Hill, confifting only of one Street within the Walls, and fuch another without, which makes the Suburb: The Church and College of the Canons ftand at one End of the Street ; and before the Church is a fmall Piazza, having a Cloyfter on one Side, where the Canons have their Lodgings. In the Midft of the Piazza you fee a very fair Fountain, and juft before the Church Door a Brafs Statue of Sixtus V. in a fitting Pofture, with an Infcription, intimating, that it was he who gave a Bifhop and the Title of a City to Loretto. All the Doors of this Church are of Brafs caft, with feveral Hiftories upon them. The Church is built in Form of a Crols, with a Cupola in the middle, directly under which you fee ftanding, the Santa Cafa or boly Houfe, enclos'd in a Cafe of white Parian Marble, curioully engraven with Figures in baffo relievo, reprefenting feveral Hiftories, done by the beft Sculptors of that Age, the full Defcription of which may be be feen in Turfelinus's Hiftory. The Walls of the Houfe itfelf are made of a peculiar kind of Stone (as they would perfuade the World) refembling Bricks both in their Colour and Figure, but to be found only about Nazaretb; which if they could prove to be true, would be the beft Argument to verify their Affertion concerning the Tranfportation of this Houfe from thence; but, in my Opinion, they are real Bricks. But to let the Reader know what Arguments they make ufe of to perfuade the World of the Verity of it, I will here infert the whole Relation as given by themfelves, which being tranflated into thirteen Languages, and hung up in the Church, written on as many Tables, runs thus in Englifh.

## Ave Domina Angelorum.

The miraculous Origin and Iranflation of the Church of our Lady of Loretto.
"The Church of Loretto was a Chamber of the " bleffed Virgin nigh Ferufalem, in which the was born " and bred, and faluted by the Angel, and thereiri "conceiv'd and brought up her Son $\begin{aligned} & \text { fefus to the Age }\end{aligned}$ " of twelve Years. This Chamber, after the Aicenfion " of our Saviour, was by the Apoftles confecrated into " a Church, in Honour of the bleffed Lady: And Sc. " Luke made a Picture to her, likewife extant therein " to be feen at this very Day. It was frequented with " great Devotion by the People of the Country where "s it ftood, whilft they were Catholicks; but when, " leaving the Faith of Chrift, they follow'd the Sect of "Mabomet, the Angels took it and carried it into Scla" wonia, and placed it by a Town call'd Flumen, where " not being had in due Reverence, they again tranfa "ported it over the Sea, to a Wood in the Territory of "Recanati, belonging to a Noblewomen called Loretta, ${ }^{6}$ from whence it took the Name of our Lady of Lo-
"retto:
co retto; and thence again they carried it, by Reafon "s of the many Robberies committed, to a Mountain " of two Brothers in the faid Territory : And from
" thence finally, in Refpect of their Difagreement
"about the Gifts and Offerings, to the common High-
" way not far diftant, where it now remains without
" Foundations, famous for many Signs, Graces and Mira-
"cles; whereat the Inhabitants of Recanati, who often
"came to fee it, much wondering, environ'd it with a
" ftrong and thick Wall ; yet could no Man tell whence
" it came originally, till in the Year 1296, the blefled
"Virgin appear"d in his Sleep to a holy devour Man,
"to whom the reveal'd it, and he divulg'd it to others
" of Authority in this Province, who determining
" forthwith to try the Truth of the Vifion, refolv"d to
"chufe fixteen Men of Credit, who to that Effect
" fhould go all together to the City of Nazaretb, as
" they did, carrying with them the Meafures of this
"Church, and comparing therewich the Foundation's
" Remnant, they found them wholly agreeable; -and
${ }^{6}$ in a Wall thereby engraven, that it ftood there,
"s and had left the Place. Which done, they prefently
"c returning back, publifhed the Premiffes to be true ;
" and from that Time forward it hath been certainly
"s known, that this Church was the Chamber of the
"Virgin Mary: To which Chriftians began then, and
" have ever fince had a great Devotion, for that in it
" daily fhe hath done and doth many and many Mi-
" racles. One Frere Paul de Sylua, an Eremite of great
"Sanctity, who liv"d in a Cottage nigh unto this
"Church, whither daily he went to Mattins, faid, That
"for ten Years Space, on the eighth of September, two
"Hours before Day, he faw a Light defcend from
"Heaven upon it, which he faid was the bleffed Vir-
${ }^{6}$ gin, who there fhew'd herfelf on the Feaft of her
© Nativity. In Confirmation of all which, two virtuous
" Men of the City of Recanati divers Times declar'd
©s unto the Prefect of Terreman, and Governor of the
"aforemention"d Church, as followerh: The one, cal-
es led Paul Renoiduci, avouch'd, That his Grandfather
"faw when the Angels brought it over the Sea, placed
" it in the aforementioned Wood, and had often vifi-
"s ted it there: The other, call'd Francis Prior, in like
"Sort affirm'd, that his Grandfather's Grandfather be-
" ing 120 Years old, had alfo much frequented it
" in the fame Place; and for further Proof that it
" had been there, he reported, that his Grandfather's
" Grandfather had a Houfe nigh unto it, wherein he
"dwelt; and that in his Time it was carried by the
" Angels from thence to the Mountain of the two Bro-
"thers, where they placed it as abovefaid."

By Order of the Right Reverend Monfigor Vincent Caffal of Bolognia, Governor of this Holy Place, under Protection of the moft Reverend Cardinal Moroni.
I. Robert Codrington, Prieft of the Society of Fefus in the Year 1634. have faithfully tranlated the Premiffes out of the Latin Original hanging in the faid Church.

## To the Honour of the ever-glorious Virgin.

29. From Loretto we travel'd, Fan. the 3oth, to $A n$ cona, a populous City much frequented by Merchants, by Reafon of the Conveniency of its Harbour, which formerly was the beft in all the Gulph, but is much decayed of late. Here we took particular Notice of the Ruins of the Stones which fecur'd the ancient Port, where you fee that renown'd triumphal Arch of white Pa sion Marble, erected to Trajan by order of the Senate: The Stones are of a vaft Bignefs.

The Statua equestris of Trajan, which formerly ftood on the Top of this Arch, is removid thence, and fet up over the Gate of the Exchange. Here we were alfo entertain'd with a Difh of Shelfin, of a very pleafant Tafte, call'd Pbolades in Latin, becaufe they live in Holes within a foft kind of Stone, or rather Clay, which being found in great Plenty at Sea, if expos'd to the Air, becomes in Time a perfect Stone: The

## Italians call there Stones Balle di Saffo, and the Fif

 Ballare or Dattyli de mare.Fan. 31. We continued our Journey along the Seacoaft for twenty Miles, to Sinigaglia, (ancientiy Sena Gallica) a fmall Harbour for Barges, but well fortified.
From hence we ftill pais'd along the Sea-fhore for fifteen Miles further to Fano, anciently Fanum Foriunce) a large and well fortified City: Here is a triumpha! Arch erected in Honour of Augufus, which being fomewhat broken and defaced, they have in the Wall by fet a Model of it, as it was entire.

Here was the ancient Temple of Fortune, now the Church of the Augufine Fryars, the Brafs Scatue of For tune, which was there ador'd, ftanding yet in the Palace. The City is govern² by a Senate, confifting of feventy Gentlemen, chang'd every third or fourth Year, but the Governor of the Pope directs all Matters of Moment. This City is by fome accounted the beft fituated of any in Italy.

Feb. r. We continued our Journey feven Miles along the Shore to Pefaro, a very fine City, with a fately Piazza furrounded with fair Buildings, and many Stones with ancient Infcriptions. The Harbour is almof choak ${ }^{* d}$ up, but the Caftle and Fortifications in tolerable Repair. From hence croffing the Country, we pars ${ }^{*}$ d through the Village of Catolica, ten Miles from Pefaro, and from thence along the Sea-fhore for the moft Part, till within two or three Miles of Rimini, when leaving the Shore, we took the Via Flaminia. The Buildings of the City of Rimini are low, but neat, with regular ftrait Streets. Within the Walls of it, we palsid under a high Stone Arch erected to $\mathcal{T}^{2}$ iberius, or according to Scbottus to Augustus' Cafar; the Infcription was much defac'd. In the Piazza they fhew'd us the Stone on which Cafar ftood when he made his Speech to the Soldiers, when he was preparing, to march to Rome: Thefe modern Infriptions are engraven upon it:
C. Cefar Dict. Rubicone fuperato civili bell. commilit. Juos bic in foro Ar. adlocut.
Suggeftum bunc vetustate collapfum Coff. Ariminenfiums Novembris \& Decembr. MDV. Reffit.

In another Piazza ftands a Brafs Statue of Pope Poul V. It being Carnival Time, we faw the Gentlemen here diverting themfelves with Tilting, but they did not run at one another, but at a Pupper of Straw, which they call Bambocrio.

Feb.2. We made a fmall Excurfion to St. Marino, a fmall City and Commonwealth feated on the Top of a very high Hill, about ten Miles from Rimini, the Inhabitants boafting, That they have maintain'd their Liberty uncorrupted for above a 1000 Years. All its Territories are included in one Mountain about three Miles in Length, and nine or ten in Circumference, containing four Villages, viz. Serravalle, Fietano, Monte Giay dino, and Fiorentino; about eight Corn-mills upon the little River Canova, and two Powder-mills. The Arms of this petty Commonwealth are, three Towers upon a Mountain, with this Motto underneath, Libertas perpetua. The Suburb of St. Marin is at the Foor of the fame Hill, whereupon the City is built; here they keep a weekly Market every Wednefday, efpecially for Swine, of which fometimes 5000 are fold in a Day, paying no more than Sixpence Toll for every Drove, whether large or fmall. Befides thefe weekly Markets, they have four great Fairs every Year, the chief of which is on St. Bartbolomerw's Day, where prodigious Quantities of Cattle are fold, to the no fmall Difguft of fome of the neighbouring Princes, whofe Cuftoms are confiderably impair'd thereby. At this Fair they keep a general Mufter of all their Forces. From this Suburb up to the City are two Afcents, the one pretty eafy, and winding about to the furthermoft Gate, by which Coaches may upon an Occafion get up; the other leading to the nearer Gate being very fteep. The City is wall'd on one Side, the other lying at the Brow of a Precipice, being defended by three Towers in a

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Row; and the Hill, even on that Side where the Walls ftands, is fo fteep, that it is inacceffible, except by the Afcents; neither are there any Hills near it, except what are much lower than that whereon the City ftands. The Streets of the City are narrow, and their Houles but meanly built; they have two Cloyfters within the Walls, one belonging to the Difcalcate Francifcans, the other to the Nuns of the Order of St. Clara, and in the Suburb a Convent of the Capucbins; befides that, the Servite have a very fair Monaftery not above a Mile from the City, which has its own Bifhop, and has always a Protector at Rome; who at prefent is Cardinal Barberini, whom they fometimes prefent with fome Cheefes and Mufcatella. Wine, which grows very well hereabouts, and is in great Efteem with the Italian Nobility. They have no Cows, but Goats and Sheep in Abundance. Their Government is adminiftred by a Council of forty five, which they call Corpo di Prencipe; of thefe fifteen are Gentlemen, (of which they have about twenty Families) fifteen Artifans and fifteen Countrymen, who continue for their Lives, and when one dies, another is chofen in his Stead, by two thirds of the Votes; in the Place of a Gentleman, a Gentleman, and fo with the reft.

Feb. 3. We left Rimini, and taking our Way to Ravenna, paffed that renown'd Bridge over the River Rimino, begun by Auguftus, but brought to Perfection by Tiberius, the Stones of which, they fay, are join'd together without any Cement: Certain it is, that the Sides of it are of valt Stones as high as the Borders, and of a proportionable Breadth, without any Mortar or Cement betwixt them that I could fee: It has a large Infcription, intimating when and by whom it was built. About fifteen Miles from Rimini we pafs'd through Cefenatico, and fifteen Miles further thro' Cervia, a poor City, having nothing to boaft on but the Title of an Archbifhop's See. All the Way from Cervia, till within two or three Miles of Ravenna, we travell'd near a valt Pinewood on the right Hand of us, call'd Pigneda, and, if we may credit Scbottus, bears Fruit enough to ferve all Italy. The City of Ravenna lies enclos'd betwixt two Rivers, viz. the Bedefis and Montone, one running on one, and the fecond on the other Side. It is of a great Circumference, but meanly built: It has five Gates, and an old Caftle of Brick, and three fair Convents, viz. the Claffe, belonging the Monacbi Clafenfes; the fecond call'd the Porto, from its being dedicated to St. Maria Portuonfis, belonging to the Canonici regulares Lateranenjes; and the third to the Benedititine Monks, dedicated to St. Vitale, the Church of the laft being a double Octagon, the one concentrical to and enclos'd within the other ; they fay it was built by Juftinian. Thefe Monks fhewed us alfo two Marble Pillars, adding that the Venetions had offer'd their Weight in Silver for them: They were produced at firf by an Heap of fmall Flints or Pebbles united into one Body by a Cement petrefied as hard as the Flints themfelves, and capable of Politure, which Cement, it is probable, might be the Sediment of the fame Stones mixt with a Fluid, and feparated from thence. I have feen the like in the Library at Zurick, and at Verona, in our Ladies Chapel, in the Garden of Signior Horatia Giufi. To the fame Convent alfo belongs the little round Church (call'd the Rotunda) of the Virgin Mary, a Quarter of a Mile without the City, the Roof whereof being fourteen ordinary Paces in Diameter, yet is made of one Stone, having in the midft a round Hole to let in the Light: Upon the Top of this Church food in former Ages the Monument of Tbeodoricus a Gotbick King, of Porphyry, who is fuppos'd to have built it ; this Monument is as yet to be feen in the Wall of the Monaftery of the Succolanti or barefooted Francijcans, with this Infcription:

Vos boc Porpbyriacum ol. Theodorici Gottor. imp. cineres in Rotundo apice recondens, buc Petro Donato Cafio Narnien. prafule favente tranflatum ad perennem memoriam Sapientes Reip. Rav. PP.C. MDLXIII.
This Convent is one of the faireft I met with belonging to this Order; and their Church dedicated to

St. Apollinaris is remarkable, both for the double Row of Marble Pillars brought from Confantinople by Theodoricus, and the ancient Mofaick Work in the Walls. Of the fame Mofaick Work we faw the Figures of the Archbifhops of Ravenna in the Cathedral, eleven of them having a Dove flanding upon their Heads, being chofen by a Dove alighting upon their Heads, if we will credit Scbottus. Not far from the Convent of the Francijcans you fee the Arch erected in Memory of the famous Poet Dante, with his Effigies under it; and two Infcriptions in Latin Verfe underneath, faid to have been made by himfelf, but fo Menderly done, that had he not compos'd better in Italion, he could fcarce have challeng'd a Place among the famous Poets: This City has fcarce any Thing to boaft of now but its An tiquity, being very ill peopled, ill ferv'd with Fifh, notwithftanding its Vicinity to the Sea, ill provided with Inns, and worfe with Water, which verifies the old Saying of the Poet, Sit cifterna mibi quam vinea maló Ravenne, the Water being all brackifh. In this Journey from Rome to Venice we were very fenfible of the Difference in the Air on both Sides of the Appennine Mountains; being very warm on the other, whereas on this Side we found it as cold as it is in Winter with us, which that it proceeded not from any Change of Weather, we were fufficiently affur ${ }^{\text {i }} \mathrm{d}$ of, not only by Enquiry, but alfo becaufe we found Snow lying in many Places in the low Grounds, which was melted even on the Hills of the other Side: The true Reafon of it, $\mathbf{I}$ think is the Heighth of this Ridge of Mountains ${ }_{2}$ which reaching above the lower Region of the Air where the Sun-beams are reflected, hinders the Mixture of the warm Southerly and Weftern, with the cold Northerly and Eaftern Air; and ftops the free Paffage of the South and Weft Winds on one Hand, which would carry the warm Vapours into the other Part, as they prevent the cold North and Eaft Winds from tempering the Heat beyond thefe Mountains; in the fame Manner as fome Travellers relate of a certain mountainous Ridge in the Eaft-Indies, on one Side whereof it is Summer when it is Winter or the other.

Feb. 5. We travelled from Ravenna along the Bank of the River Montone, till within four or five Miles of Faenza, which is twenty long Miles from Ravenna. Faenza is a little neat City; furrounded with a ftrong brick Wall, but fomewhat out of Repair, it is famous for the beft Earthen Ware in Italy. On St. Tbomas's Day yearly all the Gentlemen meet to chufe Magiftrates; viz. nine Senators and a Prefident whom they file Prior for every Month, fo that they have twelve different Senates throughout the Year. From hence we travell'd ten Miles to Imola, half a Mile fhort of which we ferried over the River Senio. Imola (Forum Cornelii) is not fo big as Faenza, yet has a fair Piazza with a Cloyfter on one Side. From hence we continued our Journey upon the Via REmilia to Bologna, Feb. 6. Here they have a Way of boiling their Wines, to keep them better than if left cold. The firft which they call Vino Cotto, appear'd to us much ftronger than the other which they call Vino Crudo.

Feb. 7. Taking the Florentine Procaccio's Boat to Ved nice, we paffed through nine Softegni or Locks to Mal Albergo, where we fhifted our Boat, going down from a higher to a lower Channel, which brought us to Eerrara, forty five Miles diftant from Bologra. From Ferrara we were tow'd by a Horfe through an artificial Channel as far as Ponte, where entring the River Po, we chang'd our Boat again, and were rowid down the Stream twenty feven Miles to Corbola, where entring the Venetian Territories, we were oblig ${ }^{3} \mathrm{~d}$ once more to change in Order to take a Venetion Boat. We had fcarce gone two or three Miles further down the $P_{0}$, when ftriking into a Channel to the Left, we paffed a Sluce near Loreo, and proceeding fifteen Miles further, pafs ${ }^{s} \mathrm{~d}$ near to Cbioza, and Paleftrina, a large Place built among the Lagune, ftanding upon the Lido, entring into the Lagun at the Haven of Malamocco, and arrived at Venice Feb. 9o of which we have given an Account already.

March

March 13. We fet out from Venice, on our Journey to Generva, taking our Way through Rbeetia and Switzerland. To Mestre we went feven Miles by Boat, from thence twelve Miles further by Coach to Trevifo, where taking Horfe, we fpent two Days and a half in travelling to Trent, being eighty Miles. The firft Day, after twelve Miles riding, we paffed through C. Franco, and thence through a fair champaign Country to Baffano, a handfome City upon the River Brenta, where there are Abundance of Silk-weavers. No fooner were we pafs'd Baffano, but we came among the Mountains, extending for fourteen Miles along the Riverfide: We lodg'd that Night at Pont Sigifmund. The fecond Day we ftill kept along the Bank of the River, and about two Miles from Pont Sigifmund, paffed thro' a Gate, where we paid the firft Duty to the Duke of In fpruck. At this Pafs we faw, hewn out of the Rock, a fmall Cattle called Cauolo, unto which there is no Avenues, both the Soldiers that keep Garrifon there, and their Provifions, being drawn up by Ropes and Pullies: It has a Fountain of frefh Water in it, and belongs to the Archduke of Infpruck, though the Venetian Territories extend four or five Miles beyond it. After having travelled fixteen Miles further, we came to a fmall Town called Borgo: and thirteen Miles more, to a rich and popolous Borough called Berzine, not above five Miles on this Side Trent. Upon the River Brenta we faw divers Saw-mills, and Abundance of Timber floating down the Streams; and as foon as we enter ${ }^{3}$ d the Mountains, we found Stoves inftead of Chimneys.
30. March 16. We got to Trent in very good Time, a little but handfome City, feated upon the River Atbefis or Adda, at the Foot of the Mountains which almoft furround it, were it not for the Valley where the River runs. It belongs to the Archduke of Infpruck, but the Inhabitants fpeak Italian. On the Front of the Choir is to be feen the following Infcription, giving a fhort Account of the Council held in this City.

Sacrofanctum poftremum Oecumenicum generale Concilium fuit in hæc celeberrima civitate celebratum; \& quidem fub Papa Paulo III. Anno MDXLV, 13 Decembris pro felice Inchoatione fuit facta Proceffio generalis per totam Urbem, ab Ecclefia Sanctifimæ Trinitatis ad hanc Eiccleftam Cathedralem, quâ finitâ primus Cardinalis Præfidens, qui poftea fuit Papa $\mathcal{F} u$ lius III. [prout etiam alter Card. Prefidens fuit Papa Marcellus II. nominatus] in hoc loco eminentiore, tumc magis amplo, ad celebrandum Concilium \& Seffiones faciendas deputato, ad altare S. \& gloriofiffimi Mar tyris Vigilii hujus Ecclefiæ patroni celebravit miffam de Spiritu S. Ac reliquis ceremoniis peractis fuerunt fub D. Paulo III. celebratæ octo publicæ Seffiones cum decretis, $\&$ aliæ tres ob vaftam peftem in hac Urbe graffantem Bononice, ubi nihil fuit decretum, Anno MDXLVII. Poitea ceffante pefte \& Bellis fuit reductam hoc Concilium, $\&$ in hoc eodem loco fuerunt fub Papa Fulio III. celebratæ aliæ publicæ fex Seffiones cum Decretis Annis 1551, 1552, quibus interfuerunt tres Sereniffimi Principes Ecclefiaftici, S. R. I. Electores Archiepifcopi, Moguntinus, Ireverenfis, Colonienfis, 1 Die Septemb. 1551. hanc urbem ingreffi; prout etiam Sereniffimus Elector Brandenburgenfis duos oratores huc ablegavit. Demum fub Papa Pio IV. Anno 156r. \& 1563. fuerunt celebratæ ultimæ novem publicæ Sefhones cum Decretis in Ecclefia S. Marice majoris hujus Urbis, iftius Ecclefiæ Reverendiffimo Capitulo incorporata, ficuti etiam Ecclefia S. Petri. Et nihilominus ad pedes Sanctiffimi Crucifixi tum in hoc loco exiftentis $\& x$ nunc alio tranflati pro Decretorum corroboratione femper fuerunt publicata omnia dicti Concilii Decreta. Interfuerant fub dictis fummis Pontificibus celebrationi Cardinales Legati I 3, inter quos Cbrifophorus Madrucius: Non Legati 4, inter quos Ludovicus Madrucius: Oratores Principum cotius Europæ 29: Patriarchæ. 3 : Archiepifcopi 33: Inter quos Archiepifcopus Roffanienfis, qui poftea fuit Urbanus VII. nominatus: Epifopi 233: Abbates 18: Generales Ordinum 12:

Theologiæ Doctores $148:$ Procuratores 18: Offir ciales Concilii 3: Cantores 9: Notarii 4: Curfores Рарæ 2.
Sacrofancto Spiritui S. omnium Conciliorum directori facratiffima Die Penticoftes, Anno 1639 . dicatum.

The Inclinations; Manners, and Cuffoms of the Italians.
3I. The Italians are, by the general Confeffion of all that write them, ingenious, apprehenfive of any thing, and quick-witted. Barclay, who is not too favourable to them in the Character he gives them, faith, they have animum rerum omnium capacem; and again, that there is Nothing fo difficult, ad quod Itclici acuminis praftantia non tollatur. They are patient and affiduous in any thing they fet about or defire to learn, never giving over till they mafter it, and attain the Perfection of it. They are a ftill, quiet People, as being naturally melancholly, of a middle Temper, between the faftuous Gravity of the Spaniard, and unquiet Levity of the French, agreeing very well with the Englifh, as the Scots are obferved to do with the French, and Spani* ards with the Iriß. They are very faithful and loving to their Friends, mindful of a Courtefy received, and if it lies in their Way or Power, for one good Turn will do you two. This I had from a very intel ligent Perfon, who hath lived and converfed long enough among them to know them thoroughly. Barclay himfelf confeffeth, that where they do truly love ${ }_{z}$ omnia Difcrimina babent infra tam bumani faderis Sancita tatem, underftand it of the better Sort ; for Shopkeepers and Tradefmen are falfe and fraudulent enough, and Inn-keepers, Carriers, Watermen and Porters, as in other Places, horribly exacting, if you make not an explicit Bargain with them before-hand, in fo much that in many Places the State hath thought it neceffary, by publick Bando and Decree, to determine how much Innkeepers hall receive of Travellers for their Dinner, and for their Supper and Lodging. They are not eafily provolked, but will bear long with one another, and more with Strangers than their own Countrymen. They are alfo very careful to avoid all Occafions of Quarrel, not to fay or do any thing that may offend any Perfon, efpecially not to abufe any one by Jefting or Drollery, which they do not like, nor can eafily bear. No People in Europe are more fcupulous and exact in oblerving all the Punctilic's of Civility and good Breeding, (bella Creanza they call it) only methinks the Epithets they beftow upon mean Perfons are fomewhat ex travagant, not to fay ridiculous, as when they ftile 'a Mechanick or common Tradefman, Signor molto magnifico, and the like; when they are in Company together, they do not only give every Man his Turn of Speaking, but alfo attend till he hath done, accounting it a Piece of very ill Breeding to interrupt any Man in his Difcourfe, as hating to be interrupted themfelves; contrary to the Manner of the French and Dutch, who make no Scruple of interrupting one another, and fometimes talk all together. As careful are they not to whifper privately one to another, when in Company, or to talk in an unknown Language which all the Company underftands not. They do alfo fhew their Civility to Strangers in not fo much as asking them what Religion they are of, avoiding all unnecelfary Difputes about that Subject, which are apt to engender Quarrels ; which Thing we could not but take Notice of, becaufe in France you fhall fcarce exchange three Words with any Man before he asks you that Queftion.

It is not eafy for a Stranger to get Acquaintance and Familiarity with the Italians, they not much delighting to converfe with Strangers as not knowing their Humours and Cuftoms ; yet is their Converfation, when gotten, pleafant and agreeable, their Difcourfe profitable, and Carriage obliging. Moft of them, even of the ordinary Sort of People, will difcourfe intelligently about politick Affairs, and the Government and Intereft of their own Country, being much addicted to and delighted in politick Studies and Difcourfes. Moft of them are very covetous of Liberty, efpecially fuch Ci ties as have been formerly Common-wealths, Difcourfes

## Cháp. III <br> through the Siate of VENICE, छסoc.

or Treatifes of that Subject making deep Impreffions on their Minds; fo that in fome Places, not only Books, but alfo Difcourfes about former Revolutions, are prohibited. Borclay allo faith, that they are gloriofe Libertatis cupidi, cujus adbric imaginem vident. Hence the Princes of Italy build fo many Caftles and Citadels in their Territories, not fo much to defend themfelves againt their Enemies; as to bridle their Subjects, and fecure themfelves againt Tumults and Infurrections. A ftrange thing it is, that of all the People of Italy, the Neapolitans, who never tafted the Sweetnefs of Liberty, nor mended their Condition by their Commotions, but always (as we fay) leap'd out of the Frying-pan into the Fire, fhould be the moft tumultuous, and given to rebel againft their Princes.

Leti tells us of one of thofe petty fubordinate Princes of Naples, called Tbowafo Ferrari, who governed his Subjicts, not like Vaffals, but with that Sweetnefs and Gentlenefs, as if they had been his own Children; yet fome of thefe Fellows taking Arms, came into their Prefence, and faid to him, Sir Prince, We are come 10 drive you out of your Palace, and burn all your Moveables. Why, (anfwers the Prince) Can you find Foult with my Government? Are you aggrieved in any Thing, and it fall be redreffed? No, (replied they) But becaufe we understand that many of our Countrymen bave revolted from their Lords, we alfo, to Bew that we love Revolutions, are re foived to rebel against you. The Italians are greatly delighted in Pictures, Statues, and Mufick, from the higheft to the loweft of them, and fo intemperately fond of thefe Things, that they will give any Price for a choice Picture or Statue.

Tho' all of them cannot paint or play on Inttruments of Mufick, yet do they all affect Skill and Judgment in both ; and this Knowledge is enough to denominate a Man a Virtuofo. Many of them are alfo curious in collecting ancient Coins and Medals. They are great Admirers of their own Language, and fo wholly given to cultivate, polifh, and enrich; that, they do in a great Meafure neglect the Latin, few of them now a Days fpeaking or writing well therein, but mingling fo many Italian Idiotifms with it, that you have much ado to underftand what they fpeak or write. As for the Greek few or none have any tolerable Skill in it the Study thereof being generally neglected and laid afide. They are very temperate in their Diet, eating a great deal of Sallet, and but little Flefh. Their Wine they drink well diluted with Water, and feldom to any Excefs. We faw only one Italian drunk for the Space of a Year and half, that we fojourned in Italy.

Whether it be, that in hot Countries Men have not fo good Stomachs as in Cold, or whether Meat, as being better concocted, nourifhes more, or that the ltalians are out of Principle, Temper or Cuftom naore fober and temperate than other Nations. Their Herbs feemed to me more favory and better concosted than ours. Their Water alfo was not fo crude. But for Flefh, ours, in my Judgment, much excels theirs, being much more fucculent and fapid; yet in Rome have I eaten Beef not inferior to ours. But I fuppofe it might be of German Oxen; of which (as we were informed) there are many driven thither, and for fucking Veal, the Romans (as we have already noted) think theirs preferable to any in the World. The Italians, efpecially thofe of inferior Quality, are in all Things very fparing and frugal, whether it be becaufe they are fo educated and accuftom'd, or becaufe the Gabels and Taxes, which they pay to their Governors are fo great, that they cannot afford to fpend much on themfelves, or becaufe, naturally loving their Eafe, they had rather live nearly than take much Pains.

The Nobility and great Perfons choofe rather to fpend their Revenues in building fair Palaces, and adorning them with Pictures and Statues ; in making ftately and fpacious Orchards, Gardens and Walks, in keeping Coaches and Horfes, and a great Retinue of Servants and Staffieir, than in keeping great Houfes and plentiful Tables, giving board-Wages to their Servants and Attendants, which, in my Opinion, is the better Way of fpending Eftates, thefe Things finding poor People

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Employment, fo that the Money comes to be diftrim buted among them according to their Induftry; whereas the other Way maintain'd in Idlenefs fuch Perfons for the moft part as leaft deferve Relief, thofe that are modeft and deferving choofing rather (if poffible they can) to maintain themfelves and their Families by the Labour of their Hands, than hang about great Houfes for a Meal's Meat. Befides that, great Houfekeeping is very often, not to fay always, the Occafion of great Diforder and Intemperance. Were I therefore God's Steward for a great Eftate, (for fuch all rich Men are or ought to be) I fhould think it more Charity to employ poor People, and give them Money for their Work, than to diftribute my Eftate among them freely, and fuffer them to live in Idlenefs: I mean fuch as are able to labour.

The inferior Gentry affect to appear in Publick with as much Splendor as they can, and will deny themfelves many Satisfactions at Home, that they may be able to keep a Coach, and therein make the Tour à la mode about the Streets of their City every Evening. The Italians when they call, \{peak to, or of one another, ufe only the Chriftian Name, as, Signor Giacomo, Signor Giovanni, Ec. unlefs it be for Diftinction's Sake; fo that you may converfe among them perchance fome Months, before you hear any Man's Sirname mentioned. The Italian Gentry live for the moft part in the Cities, whence it is that the Cities are fo fplendid and well built, fo populous and rich, and the Country fo poor and thinly inhabited; yet are the Noblemen's Palaces rather great and ftately than commodious for Habitation.

In many Cities the Paper Windows (which are for the moft Part tattered and broken) difgrace the Buildings, being unfuitable to their Magnificence: The Houfes are generally built of Stone, thick wall'd and high ronf'd, which makes them warm in Winter, and cool in Summer, but they contrive them rather for Coolnefs than Warmth, and therefore they make the Windows large to give them Air enough. Of the Gentry in Italy, efpecially in Venice, if there be many Brothers of one Houfe, only one ufually marries, and that the eldeft if he pleafes; if he be not difpofed, then any other, as they can agree, among themfelves, the reft do what they can to greaten him that is married to uphold the Family. The Brothers that marry not keep Concubines or Whores, which, though it be a Sin, yet their Confeffors can eafily abfolve them of it.

In moft of the Cities and Towns of Italy there are Academies or Societies of Virtuof, who have at fet Times their Meetings and Exercifés, which are for the moft Part Prolufions of Wit and Rhetoric, or Difcourfes about moral Subjects, curious Queftions, and Problems or Paradoxes, fometimes extemporary, fometimes premeditated. There have their Head, whom they call Prince, and a certain Number of Academitts who are chofen by Ballotting, but they feldom refufe any that offer themfelves to Election. Many of thele Academies affume to themfelves conceited or fanciful Names; and take a fuitable Imprefs or Coat of Arms; as for Example, the Academits of Bergamo call themfelves Eccitati, and their Imprefs is the Picture of the Morning. In Mantua, the Academifts called Accefi, have taken for their Emblem, a Looking Glafs, reflecting the Sunbeams; thofe called Timidi, a Hare. As for the other Cities of Italy; in Rome there are three Academies, the Humoristi, the Lyncei and the Fantafici: In Padua, three; the Ricovartia Infommati and Incogniti: In Bologna, three; Ardenti, Indomiti and one Innominate: in Venice, two; Difcordanti and Gufoni: In Naples, two; Ardenti and Intronati: In Luca, two; Ofcuri and Freddi: In Florence, La Crufca: In Sienna, Intronati: In Genoa, Addormentati: In Vicenza, Olympici: In Parma, Innominati: In Pavia, Affidati: In Milan, Nafcofti: In Ferrara, Elevati: In Rimini, Adagiata: In Cen cena, Offucati: In Ancona, Caliginofi: In Fabriano, Difunito: In Perugia, Infenfati, In Viterbo, Oftinati, in Brefcia, Occulti, in Faenza, Pbiloponn: In Trevifo Perfeveranti: In Fermo, Raffrontati : In Verona, Pbilarmonici : In Maceratia, Catenati: In Aleflandria, Inmobili; In Urbino ${ }_{3}$ Afjorditi.

Mof of the Itatians of any Fafhion wear black or dark colour'd Cloaths, and for the Fafhion of them follow the French, but not too haftily, excepting thofe Countries which are fubject to the King of Spain, which ufe the Spanibh Habit. As for their Vices, they are chiefly taxed for three. I. Revenge, they thinking it an ignoble and unmannerly Thing to put up or pafs by any Injury or Affront. Many Times alfo they diffemble or conceal their Difpleafure and Hatred under Pretence of Friendhip, that they may more eafily revenge themfelves of: whom they hate, by poifoning, affaffinating, or any other Way; for nothing will fatisfy them, but the Death of thofe who have injured thens; and there are Bravo's and Cut-throats ready to murther any Man for a fmall Piece of Money. Befides, which is wortt of all, they are implacable, and by no Means to be trufted, when they fay, they pardon. Hence they have a Proverb among them, Amicitie reconciliate E meneftre rifcaldate non furono mai grate. The Women alfo provoke their Children to revenge the Death of their Fathers, by fhewing them the Weapon wherewith they were murthered, or Cloaths dip'd in their Blood, or the like; by which Means Feuds between Families are maintained and entailed from Generation to Generation. Thefe are the Qualities for which we ufually fay an Englif/bman Italianate is a Devil incarnate. 2. Luft, to which the Inhabitants of hot Countries are, by the Temper of their Bodies, inclined. Hence it is, that all Cities and great Towns do fo fwarm wich Courtezans and Harlots; and, to avoid worfe Evils, the State is neceffitated to give them publick Toleration and Protection. As for mafculine Venery and other Works of Darknefs, I fhall not charge the Italians with them, as not having fufficient Ground fo to do, and becaufe, (as Barclay (aith) Hac fcelera lenebris damnata $\xi^{3}$ negari facilius à confoiis poffunt, $\mathcal{E}$ ab cemulis fingi. 3. Fealoufy, which itrangely poffeffes this People; fo that for every little Sufpicion they will fhut up their Wives in a Chamber, and carry the Key with them, not fuffering them to ftir Abroad, unlefs themfelves accompany them. To falute an Italian's Wife with a Kifs is a ftabbing Matter; and to call a Man Cornuto, or Cuckold in good Earneft, is the greateft Affront or Difgrace you can put upon him. The married Women in Italy, by this Mieans, have but bad Lives, being for the moft Part confined to their Houfes, except when they go to Chureh, and then they have an old Woman attending them; the Doors of their Houfes thut up at Dinner and Supper ; all Vifits and familiar Difcourfes with Men denied them; neither can they fpeak or fmile without Sufpicion. One Reafon of this, among others, may be, becaufe the Husbands knowing themfelves to be fo difhoneft and falfe to their Wives, they prefume, that had they Opportunity, they would not be more true to them. And yet for all this Guarding and Circumfpection, are not the Italian Dames more uncorrupt than the Matrons of other Nations, but find Means to deceive their Hufbands, and be difhoneft in Spight of Jealoufy.
To there I might add Swearing, which is fo ordinary among all Sorts, the Priefts and Monks themfelves fcarce abftaining from Oaths, that I believe they account it no Sin. It is a general Cuftom all over Italy to neep an Hour or two after Dinner, in Summertime; fo that from Two of the Clock till Four in the Afternoon, you fhall fcarce fee any body ftirring about the Streets of the Cities. Indeed if one fits ftill it is very hard to keep his Eyes open at that Time. Either this Cuftom did not prevail when the School of Salerno wrote their Phyfick Precepts, or that Direction Sit breves aut nullus tibi Somnus meridianus, was calculated for England, to whofe King that Book was dedicated. And yet fill the Italian Phyficians advife People, either not to fleep at all after Dinner, or, if they muft fleep, to Atrip off their Cloaths and go to Bed, but only to take a Nod in their Chair fitting.
In many Cities of Italy are Hofpitals where Pilgrims and poor Travellers are entertained, and have their Diet and Lodging for three Days, if they have Reafon
to ftay fo long, gratis, befides a Piece of Money when they go away. There are Hofpitals alfo to receive expofed Children, if I may fo term them, that is, without any Exception, that fhall be brought and put in at a Grate on Purpofe, where, upon ringing a Bell, an Of ficer comes prefently and receives the Child, and asking the Party that brought it, Whether it hath been baptized ? carries it to a Nurfe to give it Suck, and there it is maintained till it be grown up. The Place where it is put in is fo ftrait, as to admit only Children new born, or very young. This I look upon as a good Inftitution in great Cities, taking away from Women the Temptation of Murthering their new-born Children, or deftroying their Conception in the Womb to hide their. Shame. I know what may be objected againft it, viz. That it emboldens them to play the wanton, having fo fair a Way of concealing it, fed ex malis minimum. In Rome, Venice, and fome ocher Cities of Italy, they have a Way of exercifing Charity, little ufed among us ; feveral Confraternities of well-difpofed Perfons raife Sums of Money by a free Contribution among themfelves, which they beftow yearly in Portions for the marrying of poor Maids, which elfe might want Husbands, and be tempted to difhoneft Pratices to maintain themfelves.

This I look upon as well-plac'd Alms, and worthy of Imitation, it being very convenient, and in a Manner neceffiry, that new-married People fhould have iomewhat to furninh their Houfes and begin the World with, and no lefs fitting that young Perfons fhould be encoulraged to marry, as well for multiplying of People, wherein the Strength of the Comtnon-wealth chiefly confirts, as for the preventing thofe Evils to which young and fingle Perfons are ftrongly tempted and inclined. It is a troublefome Thing to travel with Firearms in Italy, you being forced in moft Cities to leave them at the Gate with the Guard, who give you a Tally or 'Token ; and when you leave the City, you bring your Tally, and receive your Arms. This is done to prevent Affaults and Murders, which are fo frequent in many Cities of Italy. For this the Great Duke of $\mathcal{T} u f_{-}$ cany is much to be commended, there being no fuch Murthers and Outrages committed in any of the Cities under his Dominion, as in other Places; fo diligent is he in fearching out, and fevere in punifhing Bravoes, Cut-throats, Affafins, and fuch Kind of Malefactors. As much might be faid for the Pope in the City of Rome, but in other Cities in his Territories there is killing enough.

When you depart from any City, you muft be fure to take a Bill of Healtb out of the Office that is kept every where for that Purpofe, without which you can hardly get to be admitted into another City, efpecially if it be in the Territory of another Prince or State. If any one comes from an infected or fulpected Place, he is forced to keep his Quarantain (as they call it) that is, be fhut up in the Lazaretto or Peft-houre forty Days, before he be permitted to come into the City, fo fcrupuloully careful are they to prevent Contagion.
In Rome, and other Cities of Italy, we have ofren obferved many Labourers that wanted Work ftanding in the Market-places to be hired, whither People that want Help ufually go and bargain with them; which Cuftom illuftrates that Parable of our Saviour, recorded in the Beginning of the Twentieth Chapter of St. Mat thero's Gofpel, wherein the Houfholder is faid to go out about the thbird Hour, and fee otbers flanding in the Mar-ket-place. Verfe 8 ; and in Verfe 6 , he is faid to find others about the eleventh Hour, and to fay to them, coby ftandye bere all the Day idle? and Verfe 7 . they anfwer, Because no Man batb bired us. In Italy, and other hot Countries, fo foon as they have cut down their Corn, they threfh and winnow it ufually, or at leaft a grear Part of it, on a Floor made in the open Air, before they bring it into the Houfe. Hence in the Scripture we read of threfhing Floors as open Places without Roof or Cover. Such, I fuppofe, was that where Boaz winnowed Barley, Rutb iii. 3. Neither is it any Won-

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der that he fhould lie there all Night, for at Aleppo, and even in Malta, in Summer time, they fet their Beds upon the Roof of their Houfes, and neep fub Dio, in the open Air. One Cuftom we have in England, which (as far as I could obferve) is no where ured beyond the Seas, and that is, for Children to beg their Parents and Godfathers Bleffing upon the Knee. One Cuftom which prevails generally in foreign Countries, that is but little ufed in England, that is, to falute thofe that fneeze, by vailing the Bonnet, and praying God to blefs, afiift, or defend them, $\xi^{3}$ c. There is a kind of Sport or Game much ufed to this Day by the Itolions, called, Gioco di mora, which feems to have been ufed by the Ancients, and called micare Digitis. It is for the moft part between two, who put out juft at the fame Time each of them, as many Fingers as they pleafe, and alfo name each of them what Number he thinks fit, and if either of them happens to be the Number of the Fingers, which both of them together threw out, then he that names that Number wins one.

An Account of the Curiofities and Objervations in the feveral Parts of Italy.

In Lombardy and other Parts of Italy, Tartufale, (as they call them) i.e. Tubera Terra, a kind of fubterraneous Mufhroom, which our Herbalifts call in Englifh Trubs, or after the French Name Truftes, are accounted a choice Difh, held by Naturalifts to be incentive of Luft. The beft of ail are gotten in Sicly and thence fent over into Malta where they are fold dear. The Way to get them is to turn Swine into a Field where they grow, who find them by the Smell, and root them up out of the Ground ; and fet one to follow the Swine, and gather them up. Snails boiled and ferved up with Oil and Pepper, put into their Shells are alfo accounted a good Difh : I am fure they are fold dear at $V_{e-}$ nice, and elfewhere, efpecially the great whitifh or afhcoloured Shell-Snails, which we had not then feen in England, but have fince found plentifully upon the the Downs near Darking in Surry; whither, as we were informed by the Honourable Cbarles Howard, Efq; they were brought from beyond Seas by a "Gentleman, whofe Name has flip'd my Memory, and is worn out in my Papers. But Mr. Martin Lifter hath found them on the Banks of that hollow Lane, leading from Puckeridge to Ware. Thefe Snails before Winter, ftop up the Mouth or Aperture of their Sheills, with a thick hard, white Pafte, like a good Lute or Plaifter, and are kept all Winter in Barrels or other Veffels, and fold by the Poulterers. The firft Place where we met them to be fold in the Market, was Vienna in Auffria, where they imitate the Italians, as well in their Diet, as in the Manner of their Buildings.
Frogs are another Italian Viand, which we in England eat not. Thefe they ufually fry, and ferve up with Oil. At Venice they eat only the Loins and hind Legs, as alfo at Florence, and that upon Fifh Days. In fome Places of Lombardy they eat their whole Bodies, and befides their Frogs are of a larger Size than ordinary. Their Flefh inews white and lovely as they lie in the Markets, fkin'd and ready prepared to fry. Howbeit, even there in Italy, Kircher in his Book de Pefee, condemns them as as an ambiguous and dangerous Meat, and I think defervedly; wherefore we do well, having Plenty of better Foods wholly to abftain from them. Lend Tortoijes are accounted with them a better Meat than Sea Tortoifes, and are commonly to be fold in the Markets; they are eaten by thofe Orders of Friers, whofe Rule obliges them to abttain from Flefh, as, Cartbufions, Carmelites, $\mathcal{E}_{6}$. They eat alfo many Sorts of Sbell-ff/b, which we either have not, or meddle not with, as, Purples, Perizimbles of feveral Sorts, Patelle or Limpets, Sea Urchins, which laft are to be found every Day in the Markets at Naples. They eat alfo the Sea Tortoifes, of which the Blood put into the Stomachs, and boiled is the beft Part.
Pofe made into Strings like Packthreads or Thongs of white Leather, (which if greater they call Macaroni, if leffer Vermecelli) they cut in Pieces, and put in their Pots, as we do Oatmeal, to make their Menefra or

Broth, of much Efteem by the Country People. There boiled and oiled, with a little Cheefe fraped upon thems they eat as we do buttered Wheat or Rice. The Mak ing of thefe is a Trade and Myftery, and in every great Town you fhall fee feveral Shops of them. They fcrape or grate Cbeefo upon all their Difhes, even of Fleth; accounting that it gives the Meat a good Relifh which to thofe that are unaccuftomed, makes it rather ṇaufeous or loathfome. Cbefruts roafted and the Kernels ferved up with Juice of Lemon and Sugar, are much efteemed, and by fome called the Piffacbio's of Italy. At Bononia they grind them and make little Cakes of the Flower of them, which, though eaten by the Poor, are no defirable Dainty to a delicate Palate. Roafted Chefnuts are a great Part of the Diet of the poor Peas fants in Italy; as we have elfewhere noted. They eat all Manner of Small Birds as well as the Germans, viz. Wrens, Stares, Titmice, Butcber-birds, and feveral great ones, which we touch not in England, as, Magpies; Fays, Woodpeckers, fackdaws, \&xc. Nay' we have frequently feen Kites and Harwks lying on the Poulterers Stalls, as we have already noted in our Defcription of Rome.

They ufe feveral Herbs for Sallets, which are not yet or have been but lately ufed in England, viz. Selleri, which is nothing elfe but fweet Smallage, the young Shoots whereof, with a litcle of the Head of the Roor cut off, they eat raw with Oil and Pepper; in like Manner they eat Fennel, Artichoak alfo they eat raw with the fame Sauce (the fame Part of it that is eaten boiled.) In Sicily, at the highen Village upon that Side Mount 压tra that we afcended, they gave us to eat for a Sallet, the Stalks of a tall prickly Thiftle, bearing a yellow Flower, I fuppofe it was the Carduus Cbryfantheruus, Dod. which the Ranknefs of the Soil had caufed to mount up to that Stature; befides, in moft of their Sallets they mingle Rockett, Racbetta they call it, which to me gives them an odious Tafte. Curled Endive blanch'd is much ufed beyond Sea, and for a raw Sallet feemed to excel Lettice itfelf; befides, it hath this Advantage, that it may be kept all Winter. Many Fruits they eat, which we either have not, or eat not in England, viz. Fejubes fold by the Huckfters while they are yet Green: Lazarole, the Fruit of the Mefpilus Aronia, of a pleafant acid Tafte, both Fruit and Tree, and exactly like the common Hawthorn, but bigger. Services or Sorbes the true, as big as little Pears; thofe that grow with us are the Fruit of the Sorbus torminalis. Green Figs, both white and blue in great Plenty, a mof delicate Fruit when fully ripe, comparable for the Tafte to the beft Marmalade, and which may be eaten freely without Danger of furfeiting. The Hufks or Cods of Carobs, called in Latin, Siliqua dulcis, in Greek, xegaria, the Word ufed, Luke xv. 16. and therefore by fome fuppofed to be the Hufks the Prodigal is faid to have defired to fill his Belly with. Indeed we thought them fitter Meat for Swine than Men, for though they had a fweet Tafte, yet afterwards they troubled our Stomachs, and purged us, but they have not upon all Men the like Effeet, for the Italians and Spaniards eat them ordinarily without any fuch Trouble, Love-Apples, Mad Apples both raw and pickled: Water-melons which they ufe to eat, to cool and refreft them, and fome Phyficians allow fick Perfons to eat them in Fevers. They are almoft as big as Pompions, have a green Rind, and a reddifh Pulp, with blackifh Seed when ripe; the Italians call there Cucumeri, whereas Cucumbers they call Citrulli.' Several Sorts of Gourds, as, Cucurbita lagenaria, and Cucurbita Flexuof $f_{a}$ five Anguina, which eats very well boild in Pottage, Cucumis anguinis, which is more efteem'd, and indeed better tafted than the Cucumber.
The common People both in Italy and Sicily, eat green chich Peafe raw, as our common People do common Peafe. In their Deferts and fecond Courfes, they commonly ferve up Pine-kernels, and in Time of Year green Almonds, alfo a kind of Sweet-meat or Confection, made up of Muftard and Sugar, which they call Italian Muftard. To cool and refrefh their Wines they ufe generally Snow, where it may eafily be had,
elfe Ice, which they keep in Confervatories all Summer. Without Snow they that are commonly ufed to it, do not willingly drink, no not in Winter. In the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily, they make a Sort of Cheefe which they call Cafeo di Cavallo, i. e. Horfe Cbeefe, for what Reafon I could not learn. Thefe Cheefes they make up in feveral Forms, fome in the Fafhion of a blown Bladder, fome in the Fathion of a Cylinder, and fome in other Figures. They are neither fat nor ftrong, yet well tafted, and acceptable to fuch, as have eaten them a-while. The Pulp or Body of them lies in Flakes, and hath as it were a Grain one Way like Wood. They told us that they were made of Buffalos's Milk, but we believed them not; becaufe we obferved not many Buffalo's in thofe Countries, where there is more of this Cheefe made, than of other Sorts.
In Italy and other hot Countries their Nieat is not only naturally more lean and dry than ours, but, they roaft it alfo till it be ready to fall from the Bones, and there be little Juice lefr in it. Befides, when they roatt their Meat, they draw Coals under the Spit, and let the Fat drop on them, the Nidor whereof perfumes the Meat, but not to our Guft, who are not ufed to it, and what they lofe in dripping they fave in Fewel. Their Roafting differs not much from our Broiling or Carbonading. I fpeak this' of ordinary Inns, and mean People's Houfes; in great Houfes and Inns it is otherwife.
The Italians count not their Hours as we do, from twelve to twelve, beginning at Mid-day and Midnight; but from one to twenty four, beginning their Count at Sun-fet, which is a much more troublefome Way; the fetting of the Sun being a movcable Point or Term, and they being therefore neceffitared to alter and new fet their Clocks every Day; whereas, Midday and Midnight being fix'd Points, the Clocks need no fetting a-new. As for Italy in general, though the Italians imagine it to be the beft Country in the World, and have a Proverb among them, that Italy is the Garden of the World; yet fetting afide Lombardy, Campania felix, and fome few other Places, the reft is mountainous and barren enough: The Earch fo parched up by the Sunbeams, that it bears no Grafs, and (as Barclay faith) feldom yieldeth Grain enough for three Years fucceffively, to fupply the Necefities and Ufes of its Inhabitants, whatever they may boaft of the Itala gleba. The Reafon why the Italians are fo conceited of their own Country is becaufe they feldom travel Abroad, and fo fee not the Beauty and Fertility of others.
I might have taken Notice of the vaft and incredible Number of religious Houfes there are in Italy. I have fometimes thought they might in all of both Sexes, amount to eight or ten thoufand. Of thefe the Gentlemen make Advantage for fuch of their Daughters as either they cannot get Hufbands for, or are not able to give Portions to, fuitable to their Birth and Quality, they can in one of thefe Houfes for a fmall Matter, honourably difpofe of, and fettle for their Lives. The Inftitution of fuch Houfes as thefe, whither young Women of Quality, who, for Want of fufficient Fortunes or perfonal Endowments, cannot eafily provide themfelves fuitable Matches, might retire and find honourable Provifion; would perchance be tolerable, yea commendable, were they purged from all Supertition ; the Women not admitted too young, and under no Vow of perpetual Chaftity, only to leave the Houfe in cafe they married. But becaufe of the Danger of introducing Monkery ; I think it more fafe for a Chriftian State, not to permit any fuch Foundations. Buffes are a common Beaft in Italy, and they make ufe of them to draw their Teams, as we do of Oxen; only becaufe they are fomewhat fierce and unruly, they are forced to lead them by an Iron. Ring, put into their Nofes, as our Bear Wards do their Bears. The Cicada beforementioned. The Flying Glow-rvorms, which are there every where to be feen in Summer-time. Thefe flying or winged Glow-worms, are nothing elfe but the Males of the common creeping or unmingled Glow-worm. Tabuis Columna relates, that Carolus Ventimiglia, of Palermo in Sicily, having out of Curiofity, kept many
unwinged Glow-worms in a Glafs, did put in among them a flying one, which prefertly in his Sight did couple with them one by one, affer the Manner of Silk-worms, and that the next Day, the unwinged ones or Females began to lay their Eggs. That the Males are alfo lying Infects in England, though they do bur: tarely, or not at all fhine with us, we are affured by an Eye-witnefs, who faw them in Conjunction with the common fhining unwinged Glow-worm. Here by the Way it may not be amifs to impart to the Reader, a Difcovery made by a certain Gentleman, and communicated to me by Francis 7 effop, Efq; which is, that thofe reputed Meteors called in Latin Ignes fatui, and known in England by the conceited Names of Fack with a Lantborn, and Will with a Wi/p, are nothing elfe but Swarms of thefe flying Glow-worms. Which if true, we may give an eafy Account of thofe Pbenomena of thefe fuppofed Fires, viz. their fudden Motion from Place to Place, and leading Travellers that follow them, into Bogs and Precipices. Scorpions, which in Italy fling not, or at leaft their Stings are not venemous, as the learned Francijus Redi affirms, though by Experience he found the Stinging of the African Scorpion to be mortal, or at leaft very noxious.

Tarantulas's fo call'd, becaufe found about Tarentum, (though we have feen of them at Rome) which are nothing elfe but a large Sort of Spider, the Biting whereof is efteemed venomous, and thought to pur. People into phrenetick Fits, enforcing them to dance to certain Tunes of the Mufick, by which Means they are cured, long and violent Exercife caufing a great Evacuation by Sweat. There Fits they fay do alfo yearly Return, at the fame Seafon the Patient was bitten. But Dr. Thomas Cornelius, of Cozenza, beforemention'd, a learned Phyfician and Virtuofo in Naples, diligently enquiring into this generally receiv ${ }^{3} d$, and heretofore unqueftion'd Story, that he might fatisfy himfelf and others, whether it were really true in Experience rejects it. Cimici, as the Italians call them, as the French, Punaije. We Englifh call them Chinches, or Wall-Lice, which are very noifome and troublefome by their Bitings in the Night Time, raifing a great Heat and Rednefs in the Skin. They harbour in the Straw of the Bolfters and Mattraffes, and in the Wood of the Bedfteads, and therefore in fome Nofocomia or Hofpitals for fick Perfons, as for Example, at Genoe the Bedfteads are all of Iron. This Infect, if it be crufh'd or bruis'd, emits a moft horrid and loathfome Scent, fo that thofe that are bitten by them, are often in a Doubt, whether it be better to endure the Trouble of their Bitings, or kill them, and fuffer their moft odious and abominable Stink. We have of thefe Infects, in fome Places of England, but not many, neither are they exceffively troublefome to us.
32. We departed from Trent, intending for Coira or Cbur, in the Grijons Country, called in Latin, Curia Rbetorum. We rode ip the Valley where the River Atbefis runs, called Val venofta, every five Miles paffing through a large Village, and one handfome little Town called Burgo, and lodged at a fmall Town called BrunSole. We rode through Bolzan, a confiderable Town, and for Bignefs comparabie to Trent, and ten Miles further Maran, a large Town, and lodged at a Village called Raveland. We paffed through Latourn, Slach, Scblanders, Maltz, all Villages and Towns of Note, and laft of all Cleurn, a pretty great walled Town, and then ftruck up on the left Hand among the Mountains, to a Village called Tavers, where we lodged. We rode on through the Snow to Monafiero, where the Grijons Country begins, and St. Maria, a fmall Terra, and ftopp'd at Gberf, a Village at the Foot of the high Mountains. In this Country the People ufe a peculiar Language of their own, which they call Romansch, that is, Lingua Romana. It feems to be nearer Spani/h than Italian, though diftinct from both: Befides their own Language, they generally fpeak both Italian and Dutch, fo that after we had loft Italian in the Vallies, we wondered to find it here among the Hills. Their Wines they bring all out of the Valtelline from Tirano, about two Days Journey diftant. The Country at this

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Time was all over covered with Snow, fo that they are forced to keep their Cattle within Doors for fix Months; yet the People faid, that thereabouts the Snow did not lie all Summer, no not on the Tops of the higheft Mountains. Here we obferved, that to draw their Sleds over the Snow, inftead of Oxen they made ufe of Bulls, one Bull drawing a little Sled. About Tavers we obferved them fowing of Duft upon the Snow, which they told us was to make the Snow melt the fooner: I fuppofe it was rather for Manure. They ufe Stoves in all Places, and good Reafon they have, the Country being very cold. A great Number of Cbamois or Gemps, [Rupi capre] are taken all over thefe Countries upon the high Hills, as though the People had not told us, we mult needs have gathered, from the Multitude of Horns we faw ftuck up in the Houfes where we lodged. Bears there are, and Wolves enough, among the high Mountains, but not very many. The Men generally wear Ruffs, and long bufhy Beards. All the People (as far as we had Experience, or could judge of them, in that fhort Stay we made among them) we found to be honeft, hearty and civil, and the common Sort very mannerly. Their Houfes are built of Stone, and covered with Shingles of Wood, the Walls thick, and the Windows very fmall, to fence againft the Cold. They have no ftrong Holds or fortified Places among them, nor will they permit any to be erected, having fo much Confidence in their own Valour, that they think they need no other Defence: Indeed their Country is fuch, as one would think, none of their neghbouring Princes fhould cover, unlefs for the Security of his own Territories. We paffed the Mountain of Bufalara in feven or eight Hours. In the Top of the Mountain in the Midway, between Cberf and Zernetz, is an Inn called Furno. From Zernetz we rode in the Valley of the higher Engadine, through Zuotz, a great Terra, and two otherVillages, and lodged at a little Place called Poute.
32. The Grijons are divided into three Leagues, each of thefe fubdivided in Communities, which have each feveral Villages, fome more, fome lefs: The Lega Grija has nineteen Communities; the Lega della cafa Dio, twentyone ; the Lega Dieci Ditture, ten. Each Connmunity has its chief annual Magiftrate, (whom in fome Places they call Maefrale, in fome Places Landman) and a certain Number of Affeffors or Judges, call'd $T_{\text {ruacder, }}$ by them. Each Village chufes its Judges by Majority of Vores, every Inhabitant, above the Age of fixteen, having his Suffrage. There Magiftrates are chang'd every two Years, but confirm'd every Year, and may be depofed by the People. The executive Power and Management of publick Affairs is lodged in the Maeftrale or Landman, who affembles the Truader. Every two Years they have two General Diets, one at Micbaelmas Day, when they chufe Governors of Places; the fecond at St. Fobn Baptifts Day, when they take an Account of all their Officers. To thefe Diets each Community fends its Commiffioners, fome one, fome two, who are to act according to the Inftructions given them. Each League has its Head or Chief; as for Inftance, the Burgomafter of Coira is always Head of the League della cafa di Dio. From the Diet lies an Appeal to the Communities. The Grijons pay no Manner of Taxes; the County of Cbiavienna and the Valtoline in Italy are fubject to them, whither they fent two Bailiffs before Pluers was deftroyed by the falling in of an adjacent Mountain; now they fend but one to Cbiavenna; thefe are called CommiJario's. The Valtoline is divided into fix Dittricts or Prafeiture, each of which has its peculiar Governor fent thither by the Grijons; their Names are, Bormio, Tirano, Tellio, Sondrio, Morbegno and Travona. The People of the Valtoline, and of the Country of Cbiavenna, pay no other Taxes but only for the Maintenance of their Governors.

March 24. We left Ponte, and travelled over very high Mountains, in very bad Weather, it fnowing fo exceedingly, that we were fcarce able to open our Eyes; yet by the Way we took Notice, that the People living among thofe cold Mountains were of a more fwarthy Complection than thofe below. March 25, We came to Coira, the capital City of the Grions, ftanding upon

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a River which falls into the Rbine about half a Mile below it. It is encompais'd with Mountans, except on that Side where the Rbine paffes through a pleafant Valley of very fine Meadows and Pafture-grounds. The Inhabitants of Coire are Proteftants, except the Bifhop and twenty four Canons, who have no Share in the Government of the Town, the Form of which is much like to that of Zuricb and Bafl ; the Citizens being divided into five Companies, each of which chufes fourteen Senators, who compofe the Great Council of Seventy : The fame are chofen commonly again every Year on St. Martin's Day. The Leffer Council confifts of certain Members of the Great Council, viz. five out of each Company chofen every Year, and five Mafters of the Companies for the laft Year, making up the Number of thirty. This Council, with the Burgomafter regent; (whom they call Stattrougbt) judge in criminal Caufes, as Actions of Debt are determined by the five Mafters of the Companies, and ten Members of the Council of thirty. But from them an Appeal lies to the leffer Council. The Grijons have befides Coire two Towns more, viz. Maysield and Eylandts: Some of their Com. munities are Romanifts, fome Proteftants, but moft of the laft, the Number of which is compured at 17000 Fighting Men.

March 29. We went from Coire to Walenfadt, feated upon a fmall Lake called the Wellenfatter-Sea: This, as well as Sargans, through which we paffed, are Vogbtia's of the feven Cantons. The 3oth, we ferried over the Lake to Wefen, and from thence travelled to Glaris, one of the thirteen Swifs Cantons: Here they fhewed us the Horns of the Ibex, (which they call Steinbuck) not unlike, but fomewhat longer than Goats-Horns; they told us, that they were found in Wallifland, and the Archbifhoprick of Saltzburg in Germany; but of the beforementioned Rupicaprea or Gymfes and Mures Alpini majores, called Marmottoes, they have great Plenty; as well as of the Merulce torquate and Merule aquatica; of the Urogallus, or Cocks of the Wood, and the Lagopus a white Bird like a Partridge, feathered down to the very Claws; but of thefe they have greater Plenty among the Grions. The Inhabitants of the two Cantons of Glaris and Appenzel are mixt, two thirds Proteflants and one third Romanifs; for the reft, the Difference of the Government of the feveral Swijs Cantons may be reduced under three Heads; the firft of thofe who have no Cities, where the fupream Power is lodged in the People, viz. Uri, Swits, Underwalden, Zug, Glaris and Appenzel; the fecond of thofe which have Cities, that were fubject formerly to Princes, where the Form is Ariftocratical, as Bern, Lucern, Friburg and Solotburn; the third of thofe, which have Cities which were always free, where there is a Mixture of both, being divided into certain Companies, by whom the Magiffrates are chofen yearly ; of this Order are Zuricha, Ba/jl and Scbafbaufen.
The Canton of Glaris is divided into fifteen Difrizts, fome of which elect five, others fix Counfellors, fome more, others lefs, which make up the Senare or Courcil of fixty, two Parts whereof are Proteflants, and the reft Romanifts. The Sovereignty is lodged in the People, who meet every Year on the laft Sunday in April, all above fixteen Years of Age having their Votes to chufe by the Majority of Suffrages, I. The Landman. 2. The Stadbalter, or his Lieutenant. 3. A Treafurer. 4. A Standard-bearer. 5. The Head Captain, and in Time of War a Lieutenant. 6. The Head Enfign. 7. Three Secretaries. 8. The Apparitor. Each of which has his particular Station and Share allotted in the Government, with fuch Perfons as are joyned with them in Commiffion, for the further Elucidation of which, I will refer myfelf to Mr. Simler in his Swoifs Republick.
The Territory of Glaris is about twenty four Englifa Miles long, the Number of Freemen, of both Religions, about 2500. In the Cantons of Bafil, Zurich, Bern, Lucern, Scbaffbuufen, Friburg and Solotburn, the Citizens are only Freemen, the Inhabitants of the open Country being Subjects under the Government of Bailiffs, who in fome Places govern two, in others three,
in others fix Years. But in thofe Cantons which have no Cities, each Countryman is a Freeman, as far as they belong to their refpective Cantons, for they have alfo their Subjects govern'd by Bailiffs.

April I, We travelled from Glaris through Nafels, and other Villages near the Lake of Zurich, and after an Hour's riding afcended a high Mountain, where we 'found the Ground cover'd with Snow, and the famous Monaftery of the Benedictine Fryars, call'd Eynfodle, where is the Image of our Lady, who has a peculiar Chapel confecrated to her, vifited by many Pilgrims. This Abby is under the Jurifdiction of thofe of Switz, unto which Place we came April the 2d, being no more than a Village, but comparable to a large Town; its Goverment is the fame with Glaris, being divided into fix Quarters, each chufes ten Senalors, which compoles the Senate, confifting of fixty Perfons. Their Officers are alfo the fame as at Glaris. This Canton, as every one of the reft, fends two Meff or Deputies to the general Diet at Baden, of which the Landman is generally one.

April 3. After we had travelled three Miles along the Lake to Brunen, we embark'd for Altorf, and having fpent three Hours more in our Paffage, had a Mile further to Altorf, there being no travelling from Switz to Altorf, unlefs you will take a Compafs of about fixty Miles. It is larger than Switz, and has a pretty Church and a Monaftery belonging to the Capucbins. Here they told us the Story of William Tell and the Lantvogt; the Statue of the firft we faw on the Top of a Pillar, over one of their Fountains, with his Crofsbow on his Shoulder, leading his Son by the Hand, and at fome Diftance a Tower, on which were painted the feveral Paffages of this Story. The Government is the fame with Switz, the Number of Senators and Manner of Election the fame, except that they have a Mafter of the Artillery, and fix Proctors or Councellors befides.

April 4. We return'd to the Lake of Lucern, and went by Water within an Hour's travelling of Stantz, the chief Village of Underwalden, where we lodg'd. Here is a very fair Church, and two Convents, one for the Capucbins, and one of Nuns. In this Place, and at Altorf, Switz, Lucern, \&c, we faw in the Churchyards, Croffes of Wood and Iron upon the Graves, on fome of which hung a little Copper Kettle with holy Water, and many Women coming, with Bunches of Herbs in their Hands, which they dipt in the Kettle, and Sprinkled the Water upon the Graves. Such is their Ignorance and Superftition!

This Canton is divided in Oberwald and Underwald; the capital Village of the firft being Stanner, as Stantz is of the latter. The lower is govern'd by fixty Senators, chofen by eleven Communities, fome more, fome lefs. Their Officers and Elections the fame as in Switz and Uri, except that here they change their Landman every Year. Oberwald has iis own Landman, Officers, $\mathcal{E}^{c} c$. fo that they would feem to be two diftinet Cantons, were it not that they fend but two Deputies to the general Diet at Baden.

Thefe three Cantons of Uri, Switz and Underwalden have no Corn fields or Vineyards, but only PaftureGrounds, being fupplied with Wine from Italy, which is very dear here; and therefore but little drank. The People are generally very honeft and good-natur'd, and keep their Houfes very clean, but are much given to eating and drinking, having Plenty of plain Things at fmall Coft.

April 5. We travelled to Lucern, croffing part of the Lake. It is a very handfome City, pleafantly fituate upon the Lake of the fame Name, and divided in two Parts by a River, which arifing from the Lake, is cover'd here with three Bridges, one for Carts and Horfes, the other two for Foot-Paffengers, covered with a Roof, one being near a Quarter of a Mile long; befides which, it has a fourth Bridge covered like the other, but longer, leading to the Church. The great Church, which ftands withont the Wall, is a very lofty Structure; over the Weftern Door of which is the biggeft Organ that ever Ifaw, the Hollow of the greater Pipes being capacious enough for a Man to creep into. They told us, that
heir Great Council confifted of an hundred and thirty fix, who continue in Office during Life, and when one dies the reft chufe another in his Place. It has two Prefi dents, whom they call Sculteti, who alfo continue for Life, but prefide in their Turns every other Year. For their Manner of chufing thefe Senators and other Offcers, I will refer myfelf to Simler. All the Inhabitants of the Territories belonging to this City are Subjects, and divided into nineteen or twenty Prefectura, but they pay no more than five Batz, or a Hen a Man per An num to the Governor. From Lucern we travell'd, Aprib the 6th, fifteen Miles to Zugh, (Tugium in Latin) feated at the Side of a fmall Lake, but it is lefs by one half than Lucern. The Government here is popular, like thofe of Uri, Sueitz, and Underwalden; but befides the City, the three Communities of Eyry, Menfinguen and Baar have a Share in the Government. Their Magif trates, Officers and Elections the fame as in Uri and Sroitz. To the General Diet the City fends one, and the three Communities the other Deputy. The No mination of the Landvogts or Governors in the Country belongs once to the City and twice to the Communities
The Lake of Zugb (if you believe the Inhabitants) has greater Variety of Fifh than any other of Switzer land; thofe they named to us were, Eels, Carp, Perch Trouts, Salmons; which is very ftrange, by Reafon of its great Diftance from the Sea; Efch, called Grayling in Englifh, Trijea or the Eel-pout, Pikes, (of which we faw one weighing thirty Pounds) White-fifh or Alberlin which is taken alfo in the Lake of Bala in Merioneth/bire in Wales, and is call'd there Guiniad; and in Huls-roater near Perith in Cumberland, and there call'd Schelly; Hafsler, a Fifh I take to be the fame with our Cbarr in Winandenmere in Weftmorland, and the Torgocb of North Wales; Balla, Nafe, (call'd Nafus by Naturalifts) Breams, Crevifes, \&cc. and many more. In the fhadowy Lakes about Sant and Zug, we found Anblatuin Cordi, or Dentaria aphyllos. From Zug we rode April 7. in five Hours to Zurich, of which we have given an Account before

April 13. We travell'd thence four good Leagues to Mellingen, a free Town, not far from Baden, and paffing through Lenfourg, lodged at Arauro, a confiderable Town upon the Aar, four hort Leagues from Mel lingen. The 14th we pafs'd thro' no confiderable Place till we came to Solotburn, nine Leagues from Araure, which, though the Head of a Canton, is not confiderable either for its Strength or Bignefs. April 15, taking a round-about Way out of the ordinary Road to Geneva, we took a View of Bern, fix Hours riding from Solotburn, that we might not leave Swiferland without feeing it.

Bern is a very handfome City, for though the Houfes be not very high, yet they are well built of Stone. The chief Street which is very long, has Cloyfters on both Sides; it lies ftretched out in Length upon a Hill, refembling a Peninfula, being almoft encompaffed by the River, that fide where it is not being ftrorgly fortified with Baftions and Outworks. The Founder of this City, as alfo of Friburg in Switzerland, and of Friburg in Brifgow, was Bercbtoldus Duke of Zerin, unto whom they have erected a Monument in the great Church, one of the neateft Stone Fabricks in all Sweitzer land. The Territories of this City are of fuch an Extent, as to comprehend one third Part of all the Coun try of the Swifs, being divided into fixty Bailyages, befides four others they have in common with Friburg. The Landrogbts or Bailiffs continue in their Stations for fix Years, which makes them very rich without exacting upon the People. They keep here five or fix Bears in a Pit, which are often climbing up and down the FirTrees that grow in the Pit. The Arms of Bern is a Bear, alluding perhaps to their Name, this City being the firft that coin'd the Money call'd Batze, (fignifying a Bear's Paw ) from the Figure of a Bear ftampt upon it, which was afterwards imitated by all the reft of the Cantons.

April 17. We travelled from Bern to Friburg, a very handfome City and likewife the Head of a Canton; its

Situation

Situation is much the fame as Bern, upon a Hill, almoft furrounded with a River, and encompafs'd with Hills, except on that Side where it is joined to the Land.

April I8. We travel'd from Fribourg through Moulton to Laufanna, a great Town and an Univerfity; and April the 1gth continued our Journey by the Way of Morges, Rolle and Nion, confiderable Towns upon the Lake of Genera and Verfoy, a fmall Place on the Lake near Genera, belonging to the French, and came the fame Day to Geneva, where we ftaid for three Months.

The Governments of Solotburn, Bern and Friburg, are much the fame as that of Lucern. In Solotburn the Great Council confifts of One Hundred and Fifteen, the Leffer of Thirty-five; if one happens to die, the Thirty-four remaining chufe another out of the One Hundred and Fifteen, and his Place is fupplied out of the Citizens. In Bern, the greater Council is compofed of Two Hundred, and the leffer of Fortytwo. In Fribourg the greater Council is of Two Hundred likewife, and the Leffer of Twenty-four. All thefe Cities have two Scouts or Confuls, who rule every other Year each in his Turn. He that defires a more ample Account of the Government of thefe and all other Helvetick Cities, may confult Simler de Rep. Helvet. Each of the Proteftant Cantons acknowledge a certain Saint for their Patron, whofe Innage they famp upon the Reverfe of their Money. The Proteftant Cantons are, Zurick, Bern, Bafll, Schafbouyen, and Part of Glaris and Appenzel. That which breeds frequent inteftine Differences among the $S w i / s$, is the Bufinefs of the common Bailiwicks; for the Popith Cantons, being more in Number than the Proteftants, they fend Bailiffs to thofe Places twice to the Proteftants once, who are often opprefs'd and injured by the Popinh Bailiffs, and the Switzers being very jealous on both Sides in their Religion, binc ille lacbryma. On the other Hand, the Proteftant Cantons, though fewer in Number, yet are the more powerful : Befides that, their Land is better, very like ours in England. The Romanifts are accounted the better Soldiers, and good Reafon they have, being more exercifed in War, ferving the Spanifb and Frencb Kings, as being of the fame Religion. Befides, the Zuricbers, who anciently had the Reputation for Valour, are now much given to Merchandize, and to accumulate Riches, and fo taken off from Martial Studies and Exercifes. The Bernefe, though they have far the greateft and beft Territory of all ; (fo that it is faid they can arm as many Men as the Dutchy of Milan, fend into the Field 100,000 Soldiers, and leave enough at Home to till the Land) yet have they no Reputation for Soldiers : They loft their Credit quite in the late Skirmifh with the Lucernefe, who account them rather Savoyards than Switzers. All the Cantons of Sweitzerland coin Money, except Appenzel, Underwald and Glaris, of which Gloris formerly hath coined, though now it doth not. All the Swoilzers in general are very honeft People, kind and civil to Strangers : One may travel their Country fecurely with a Bag of Gold in his Hand. When we came to our Inns, they would be troubled if we diffrufted them fo far as to take our Portmanteaus into our Lodging Chambers, and not leave them in the common Dining-Rooms. They keep their Houfes very clean and polite, like our Houfewives in England. For Plants, going from Zurich to Mellingen, we obferved common Goosberry in the Hedges and by the Way-fides very plentifully, and in fome Places Barberries. Sigillum Solononis and Herba Paris are the moft common Plants that grow in this Country in the Woods and Hedges every where; Amnonymus flore Colutec on the Mountains near Zurich; from Araurw to Solotburn, Helleborafer Maximus on the Hills Sides, as alfo Cbristopboriana, not to mention Fumarica Bulbo $\sqrt{a}$ every where growing in the flady Lanes.

Genero is pleafantly feated at the lower End of the Lacus Lemanus, now called Geaffer-zee or the Lake of Geneva, upon a Hill-fide refpecting the Lake; fo that from the Lake you have a fair Profpect of the whole

Town. It is divided by the River Rbodanus or $R$ bofne into two Parts, which are joined together by two wooden Bridges, one of which hath on each Side a Row of Houfes, after the Manner of London Bridge, only they are low. The two principal and indeed only confiderable Streets in the Town are, the Low Street, i. e. Rue bas, which runs along by the River and Lake-fide, and the High or Great Street, i.e: Rue Grand, which runs up the Hill. The City is indifferently frong, and they have lately been at great Expences to fortify it , à la moderna, with Ramparts and Battions of Earth. Though it be fmall, yet it is very populous, being fuppofed to contain 30,000 Souls. St. Peter's Church, formerly the Cathedral, is handfome and well-built ; and in it is a ftately Monument for the Duke of Roban.

The Citizens are very bufy and induftrious, fubfirting chiefly by Trading, the whole Territory of this Republick being not fo great as fome one Nobleman's Eftate in England for Extent of Land. All Provifions or Vietuals are very plentiful and cheap at Geneva, efpecially Milk, Meats, the neighbouring Mountains feeding Abundance of Cattle. The Tops of Yura Saleve, and other high Mountains of Savoy, Daupbine, and the Alps, where they are bare of Wood, put forth very good Grafs fo foon as the Snow is melted off them, which ufually is about or before the Middle of May : And then the Country People drive up their Cattle to Pafture, and feed them there for three Months Time. Upon thefe Hill-tops they have here and there low Sheds or Dairy-houles, which ferve the Men to live in, and to make their Butter and Cheefe in fo long as they keep their Beafts above. The Men I fay, for they only afcend up thither, and do all the Dairy Work, leaving their Women to keep Houfe below it, as being too toilfome for them to clamber up fuch fteep Hills. By Realon of thefe Cotts, it is very convenient Simpling upon the Mountains; for if a Man be hungry or thirfty, he may foon find Relief at one of them. We always found the People very kind and willing to give us fuch as they had, viz. Brown Bread, Milk, Whey, Butter, Curds, $\mathcal{E} c$. for which we could fcarce faften any Money upon them. For the Temper of the Air, in refpect of Heat and Cold, Geneva, I think, is very like England, there being no great Excefs of either Extreme. The City is well governed, Vice difcountenanced, and the People either really better, or at leaft more reftrained than in other Places, though they do take a Liberty to fhoot, and ufe other Sports and Exercifes upon the Lord's Day; yet moft of their Minifters difallow it, and preach againft it,
33. We fhall now take our Leave of thefe Parts of Europe, with the Satisfaction of having given the Reader fuch Accounts of them as cannot fail, with any reafonable Degree of Attention, to furnifh him with juft Ideas both of Places and Perfons; of the Country of Italy of the principal Cities and remarkable Places therein, and of their Inhabitants. We might, indeed, have given him later Travels, but againft thefe we had feveral Objections, fome of which it may be proper to mention. Modern Travellers commonly vifit Italy for fome particular Purpofe; one is an Antiquary, and his Bufinefs is to confider Monuments, tranfcribe Infcriptions, collect Medals, and write tedious Accounts of them. Another has a Tafte for Painting, and every City that he paffes through, furnifhes him with a fine Catalogue of Pictures, and which is no lefs valuable, an Opportunity of difcovering to how great a Degree he is a Connoiffeur by his Remarks upon it. A third, perhaps, is furioufly addicted to the Clafficks, and his great Point is to fhred out by Virgil, Horace, Ovid, \&cc. and where-ever he comes, gives you their Defcription inftead of his own: A fourth, it may be, is a Politician, and he entertains you with a Recital of the feveral Families through which every little Principality has paffed, before it fell under the Power of the Houfe of Auftria, the Kings of Spain, the Pope, the Swoi/s Cantons, or the State of Venice. A Fifth, poffibly, may be a Virtuofo, and infifts entirely upon Curiofities,

To as to render his Book a Collection of Difcourfes or Differtations upon a vaft Variety of Subjects extremely agreeable to a few, and abfolutely ufelefs to all the reft of the World.

I would not be underftood to cenfure thefe Writers in a dictatorial Manner, or to prejudice my Readers againft them; each and all of thefe Books may be ufeful, inftructive and enteftaining; but they are not fit for a Collection, becaufe, if we take one we muft take all, in order to render the View complete; and this would fwell our Work not only beyond its due, but beyond all Limits; and, after all, anfwer the Purpofe but indifferently: Befides, in moft of thefe modern Books of Travels, you will find continual References to the Authors that we have ufed, becaufe fuch Writers are themfelves fatisfied, that they cannot give better or more exact Defrriptions; and this being the Cafe with refpect to thofe Things that the Generality of Readers defire moit to be acquainted with, it follows for this very Reafon, fuch Travels ought to be preferred in a Defign of this Nature, and the Treatifes of modern Travellers left to the Perufal of fuch as, from their having a like Tafte to this or that Writer, incline not only to read but to ftudy his Performance.

In regard to the principal and general Ends of vifiting Foreign Countries, in order to take a View of the moft remarkable Places in them, to examine their Situation, Excellencies and Defects, the Nature of the adjacent Territories, and their Produce; to obferve the Governments, Number of People, Revenues, the Condition, Inclinations and Manners of the Inhabitants, and to take Notice of the Particulars for which they chiefly diftinguifh themfelves from other Nations; thefe, as they are the profefs'd Intentions of the Authors we have inferted; fo it muft be allowed, that they have executed them with great Diligence, Fidelity and Spirit. Wherever their different Circumftances, different Qualities and different Manner of Travelling, may be fuppofed to have given them an Opportunity of making different Obfervations or Remarks upon different Places, we have been careful to fupply the Reader with their feveral Works; fo that all their Difcoveries are united in this Body of Travels, with as little Repetition as it is poffible.

As for Inftance, Mifon, Burnet, and Ray, all travelled through Svoitzerland; and yet their Accounts are very different from each other: The firf confined himfelf chiefly to the Road, and defcribes only the Places through which, in their ordinary Rout to Italy, moft Travellers muft vifit. The Second having greater Leifure, and a Mind of another Turn, is lefs folicitous about Places, and more concerned about Perfons; fo that from him we receive as clear and diftinet Informations, as to the Tempers and Manners, their Notions in Religion and Politicks, as if we had paffed as much Time as he did among the Srwifs. The Third differs from them both, fpeaks of Places and Perfons too, and takes in befides Abundance of Points, that from their Attention to their particular Views had efcaped the other two ; fo that this may be juftly reckoned a Kind of Supplement to the other Travels; and, by comparing all three, the Defcription may be render'd compleat.

Again, As to Loretto, and the holy Houfe there, it is mentioned by each of our Travellers, and yet there is little or nothing of Repetition in their Accounts; but there is one Thing very fingular in Mr. Ray's, that inftead of entering into a lcng Detail of all that he faw and heard there, and from thence ;remarking upon and pointing out all the Abfurdities and Inconfiftencies of that extravagant Fable, he contents himfelf with tranfribing, which neither of the other two had done, the authentick Account of honeft Father Codrington in plain Englif/; which furnifhes us with fuch a Hiftory of Things, as renders Reflections and Remarks entirely needlefs. His Travels through Naples, Sicily and Malta, are in refpect to thofe who have gone before, abfolutely new, and carry us to the very Frontiers of Europe on that Side; and with refpect to the laft mentioned Inand, I very much doubt, whether
there is a better Deicription extant in any Language. It muft be, indeed, acknowledged, that he runs fometimes into very long Digreffions upon Points of natural Hiftory; and the Reafon that I did not lopp off thefe Digreffions was, their being of general Ufe, and ferving to illuftrate the fame Points, where-ever they occur; fo that confidered in this Light, they are very ufeful as well as very entertaining.
It was the Defign of Mr. Ray and his Company to have taken a View of all the Provinces of France that lay in their Way to return Home, and to have examined them with the fame Diligence and Accuracy as they had already practifed in their Travels through Italy: But this, Scheme of theirs was defeated by the Difference that happen'd between the two Crowns, the French having thought fit, in the firf Dutch War in King Cbarles the Second's Reign, to declare for that Republick againft Great Britain; and, in Confequence of that Declaration, order'd all the Subjects of the Britijh Crown to quit the Territories of France within a certain Time. This obliged Mr. Ray and his Company to alter their Intention and Manner of Traveling; fo that inftead of looking into and enquiring after every Thing, they were conftrained to make their Journey in the common Way, and to confine their Acquaintance entirely to the publick Houfes where they lodged, and the People to whom they applied for Bills of Exchange, and other neceffary Purpofes, excepting fome few Places, of which Mr. Ray has left us fome Account, and Mr. Skippon a larger, which fhall follow in the next Chapter.
It may not be amifs to take Notice here, that Mr. Skippon kept alfo a diftinet Journal of his Travels thro ${ }^{\circ}$ the Low Countries, Germany and Italy; but as moft of the Particulars in them, is different from what we meet with in Mr. Ray, are either honorary or monumental Infrriptions or Accounts of Engines and Machines, we were unwilling to interfperfe them with Mr. Ray's Obfervations, becaufe they would not only have lengthen'd this Section beyond due Bounds, but alfo have afforded the Reader very little that is new, fince they are already included in another Collection. But it is now Time to finifh thefe Remarks, in order to open the next Chapter, which relates to the two great Kingdoms of France and Spain.
But before we come to this, we fhall take the $\mathrm{Li}-$ berty of fuggefting, that if modern Travellers through the Low Countries would examine the new Manufactures that fince thefe Gentlemen vifited them are introduced there, and are exported from thence not only into Germeny and the North, but alfo into the feveral Kingdoms of Europe and the Plantations in America, dependant upon them, it would be a prodigious Service to this Country. In Germany alfo there are many.Enquiries to be made, that would be highly uffeful and in their Confequences very beneficial in refpect to Mines more efpecially, fince we are well affured, that as moft of the Difcoveries, in relation to the Working them to Advantage, have hitherto been brought from thence, by the Care of the Crazoley Family, and others interefted in Iron Works here; fo there are ftill feveral Methods practied there, which are not yet known, or at leaft not generally known to our Pcople.
In Italy alfo there are many Things relating to the the Silk Manufacture that deferve to be enquired into, and we may very well guers at the Importance of fuch Enquiries, by the Reward given to Sir Thomas Lombe for bringing over that celebrated Invention, which has been fo fuccefffully, executed in the Machine erected at Derby: But exclufive of the Manufactures, it would be of great Confequence to the Publick, if any Method could be found to open new Markets for Raw Silk; the obtaining which, in the Channel whereby it now. comes, flands the Nation in vaft Sums; of which, whatever could be faved, would be fo much clear Gains, and confequently the general Balance of our Trade would be much more in our Favour.
The Trade of Naples and Sicily alfo is very capable of being extended and improved, fince it is certain, that the Frencb draw very confiderable Sums from thofe

Kingdoms

## Chap. III, through the State of Venice, © $c$.

Kingdoms for Commodities and Manufactures which they might receive from us, and though fome People entertain a Notion, that fince thofe Countries fell under the Dominion of the Houfe of Bourbon, we are put under greater Difficulties in dealing with their Inhabitants ; yet it is very certain we have ftill a great Advantage over the French, which might be rendered of higher Confequence than hitherto it has been; I mean, the trading with thefe People for their own Goods and Manufactures, which, as on the one Hand it would give us the Preference with refpect to them, fo on the other Hand it would increafe the Shipping employed by us in this Part of the World, and likewife enable us to export their Commodities into feveral Parts of Europe, as well as to our Colonies in America.
To fpeak the Truth, travelling with a Commercial View, though fo vifibly advantageous to us, has hitherto,
been very little practifed, more efpecially of late Years and yet one would think Enquiries of this Nature may prove very fatisfactory, and even as entertaining as the looking after fine Statues, the Pictures of great Mafters, Medals, Bronzes and other Curiofities; fearching after which take up fo much of the Time of moft of our Travellers. Not that I am by any Means an Enemy to Tafte, but that I think in our prefent Condition, fome Refpeet fhould alfo be had to our Intereft, and that in Proportion, as our Expences are increafed by the Share we take, and are long like to take, in the Affairs of the Continent, fo we Chould contrive, if pof fible, to make ourfelves fome Amends, by enlarging and promoting our Commerce, which, whatever Way thofe Affairs turn, is the only Means by which we can ever. be made the better for them.


CHAP.

## CHAPTER IV.

Containing Travels through Spain, France and Navarre, with Defrriptions of the feveral Provinces and leffer Diftricts of thofe great Countries ; of the chief Cities and Ports in them, and of the Commodities and Manufactures, for which they are principally famous.

## S E C T I O N I.

The Travels of Francis Willoughby, Efq; through the Kingdom of Spain; with Ob. Jervations on the Climate and Soil, as well as Produce of the Country; Accounts of natural Curiofities, remarkable Infcriptions, principal Commodities and Ma. nüfactures, and of the Temper, Genius and Cufoms of the Spanifh Nation. Inter/perfed with Jome Remarks by anotber Hand.

1. An Introductory Account of what is to be expected in the following Section. 2. The Autbor begins bis Fourney from the County of Roufillon, and enters the King dom of Spain tbrougb a very barren and defart Country. A large Defrription of the Manner of Gatbering, as alfo an Account of the UJes and Value of Coral. 3. The Country of Catalonia defcribed, as alfo the remarkable Mine of Amethyfts, at the Hill of St. Sigminont. 4. Of the Salt Mines both wbite and red in this Province; and of the famous Dutchy of Cardona. 5. An Account of the Lead-Mines in Catalonia, and of the poor living and wretched Condition of the Inbabitants. The City of Tortofa, the Jafper Mines, and otber Things remarkable in the Autbor's Yourney to the Banks of the River Ebro. 6. A curious and copious Account of the City and Kingdom of Valentia; the Univerfity there, and of the very low State of Learning therein. 7. An Account of the Sugar Works at Olives and at Gandia, and of the great Fertility of the adjacent Country. 8. Obfervations made by our Autbor in bis Travels through the Kingdom of Murcia, the Poverty of the Country, and groos Ignorance and Superfition of the People. 9. A Defcription of the Kingdom and City of Granada, and of the mof remarkable Places in its Neigbbourbood. 10. The Author proceeds to the famous City of Sevil, an Account of the moft remarkable Things there, weith two famous Infcriptions to the Honour of Ferdinand the Wife, and the Family of the great Columbus. II. Of the Country from Sevil to. Madrid, including a Defcription of the City of Cordova, and Several otber Places. 12. The Autbor's Arrival at, and Defoription of Toledo, his Yourney from thence to the capital City of Madrid, with an Account of what be faw mof remarkable there. 13. His Fourney from thence to Burgos, and from that City to the Province of Guipufcoa. 14. An Account of the Principality of Biccay, and a particular Defcription of the firong Towin and Port of St. Sebaftian. 15. A very large and entertaining Account of the Di/pooftion, Mamners, Culfoms, Pecularities, good and bad 2ualities, \&cc. of the Spaniards. 16. Some additional Remarks by another Hand 17. Conclufion of the Section, and fonle Objervations on the moft remarkable Pafiages therein.

THE great Defire Mr. Willougbby had to travel through and examine fuch Countries as were leaft like his own, that his Obfervations and Remarks might furnifh him with a greater Variety, was the Occafion of this Journey into Spain, in which he parted from Mr. Ray, and the reft of his Company, and joined with fome other Engli/b Gentlemen who were refolved to make the Tour of that Country. It may not be amifs to inform the Reader, that, from the Time of King Cbarles's Voyage to that Country, while Prince of Wales, in Hopes of Marrying the Infanta, the Englijs Nation had acquired fo ftrong, and fo univerfal a Dinike both to the Country, and to the People, that very few of our Gentlemen that went Abroad, inclined to vifit it ; fo that we had but very indifferent Accounts of what was remarkable there, as may be feen, by confulting the Books of Geography, printed here of an elder Date. After the Refloration
a very different Spirit prevailed, King Cbarles the fecond, during his Exile, had travelled much, and among other Countries vifited this, and frequently difcourfed of the Singularities he had feen there, and of the odd Humour and uncouth Difpofition of the People. Thefe Difcourfes of the King's, raifed the Curiofity of many, and excited in them a Defire of viewing Places they had otherwife never wifhed to fee, and converfing with People for whom they had long had both an Averfion and Contempt. But befides there were other Reafons that induced Perfons of very different Tempers to think at this Time, a Journey through Spain might afford Matter of Inftruction, as well as Amulement, which was the Cafe of Mr. Willougbby, who had heard that there were various Mines and Manufactures, as well as a Multitude of natural Curiofities in that Country, which might very well juftify the fpending a few Months in furveying and committing to Paperz an Account of
them,

## Chap. IV.

through SPA I N.
them for the Improvement of others as well as his own Saxisfaction. If the fhort Time that he fpent in his Paffage through this Kingdom, did not allow him to fearch into and after every Thing, in as diligent a Manner and with as much Exactnels as tie defired; yet it muft be allowed, that he has given us i very judicious and accurate Account of all that he faw, fo as to afford a true, if not a pleafing Picture of Spain and its Inhabitants, at the Time he vifited them ; the Reading of which will enable us to form a very juft Notion of the Places and the People, which is the great End of Travelling, and the higheft Advaintage that can refult from the Perufal of Books of this Kind. I have met with a Copy of thefe Travels, which formerly belonged to Sir Pbilip Skippon; and in which there are contained fome Explanations and Additions; which are here taken in, and confequently render thefe Travels more curious and valuable. The Neceffity of keeping within Bounds, renders it improper to extend this Introduction farther, and therefore we will now proceed without Ceremony to the Travels themfelves.
2. Auguf 31, 1664. We left Bagnòls in the County of Roufillon, being the laf Town belonging to the French, and at about three Fourch's of a League's Diftance came to a great Stone erected here for a Boundary between France and Spain, and paffing very bad Way among defolate Mountains, after many Hour's riding; we came to Lanfa, the firft Town of the King of Spain's Country. All along thefe Mountains grow Rofenary, common Furze or Gorfe, and Agnus caffus of two Sorts, the one with a carneous, the other with a blue Flower. From Lanfa we went on the fame Day as far as Cande Creux, five Leagues or twenty Englijh Miles from Bagnols. Among there Mountains we met with no Brooks, and fcarce any Water. Sept. i. We intended to have feen the Coral Fifhing here ; but the windy Weather hinder'd us. The Sea muft be very calm and fmooth, elfe it is impoffible for them to fifh for it. It grows downwards (as the Urinators told us) under the hollow Rocks, and not upwards as Trees. I believe rather, that it grows indifferently, either upwards or downwards, according to the Situation of the Rocks. The Engine they make Ufe of for getting Coral is, a great Crofs of Wood with a confiderable Weight of Lead faften'd at the Center, to which alfo a ftrong Rope is fixed, and at each Corner there are ftout Nets made of fmall Cord: They go out in little Boats, and let down this Crofs; and when they have found a Rock at the Bottom of the Sea, he that manages the Rope, thrults it into the Hollows, getting in one or two of the Corners; and if there be any Coral, it entangles in the Nets at the End of the Crofs, by which it is torn off and brought up. The natural Colour of the Coral, while it is alive and growing to the Rocks, is a pale carneous; but when the Scurf (which anfwers to the Bark on Trees) is rubbed off, it is red. The Coral, that dies or is broken off from the Rocks, Ioofes that carneous Scurf or Bark in the Sea, and becomes red, though fometimes it gets a greenif white Ruft. They fay it is fifty Years before it comes to its full Growth; but that, I conceive, is an ungrounded Conjecture; they fometimes, but very rarely, find Branches of three or four Pounds Weight. It rots, dies, grows light, Worm-eaten, and full of Holes like Wood. They all affirmed it to be hard and not foff, as it grows under Water, contrary to the current Tradition of the Ancients, Mollis fuit herba fub undis. I believe the outward Scurf or Bark may be foft, it eafily crumbling off afterwards, which might give Occafion to the Fable. They told us, that a Piece of Coral having the carneous Scurf upon it (wetted) is juft the fame as when it is firft taken out of the Sea. The beft Coral, rude as it is found, is worth a Piftole the Pound, or two or three Pieces of Eight : Polifhed and wrought into Beads, Bracelets, EOc. at Marfeilles it is fold for thirty, forty, and fometimes fixty Sols, (i. e. fo many Pence) the Ounce. They find here white Coral alfo, but very rärely.
To this Account of our Author, the following Particulars may be added

The Opinion of the Anciënts was clearly that it wás a Plant, but this Notion was afterwards queftioned by feveral very learned and great Men; but at this Time of Day, when Opinions in Matters of this Kind are not fo much regarded, we are fatisfied from Variety of Experimients, that the old Notion is a Matter of Fatt, that it is really a Plant which is petrified, or render'd hard by the Sea-water, that it produces Flowers whicli arè actuall vifible ; that in the Flowers there are feed; though entangled in fuch a Màner in a thick claminity white Juice as not to be difcerned. It does not grow either at the Bottom of the Sea, as Kircher thought, or on the Sides of Rocks, as our Author and moft learned Men have believed, but ar the Top of Rocky Caverns, fhooting directly towards the Center of the Earth. It is not true that it has any Root, for it is fixed to the Rock by a thin fmall Plate, and never fureads iffelf by darting Fibres upwards, but grows by attracting its proper Nourifhment from the Sea-water, though its Pores, which are vifible enough, its Seed are carried by the Waves and the thick glutinous Liquor in which it is contained, ficking to the Rock, affords it thereby the Means of growing, but the Structure of it is fuch, that it cannot grow but vertically in the Manner before-mentioned.

The principal Coral Fifheries are thofe in thie Perfian Gulph; in the Red. Sea, in the Siciliank and Neapolitan Seas, upon the Coaft of Africa, upon the Coafts of Minorca, Corfica, and Provence; but it is agreed that no Place yields either better, brighter, or greater Plenty of Coral, than at Cape Quiers' in Catalonia, which is the very Place our Auchor fpeaks of: The Time in which they fifh for it, is from the Beginning of April to the End of fuly. The beft Account we have of any Coral Fihhery, is that managed by a French Company; at a Place called the Baftion of France, on the Coaft of Africa; and as Experience has taught all that are concerned in this Trade, to purfue it in the fame Manner; or at leaft very nearly in the fame Manner; one Defcription will ferve as well as many. When we fay that thefe are the principal Coral Fifheries, we do not mean that there may not be others; for we know there are both in the Eafl Indies and the Weft, but they are fmall and inconfiderable in Comparifon of thofe that we have mentioned, in Refpect as well to the Coral which is ga: thered, as to the Quantities that are gathered; and perhaps it might be worth while to confider, why Co ral grows plentifully in fome Seas, rarely in others, and in many not at all. But at prefent let us fpeak of the Manner in which this Commerce is carried on.

The Coral Fifhers, or as our Author calls them, Urinators, come a little before the Seafon begins, to the Boftion of France, without either Tackle or Tools, without Veffels, and without Money. The firft Thing they do is to feparate into Crews. The Crew of a Coral Fifhing-boat may confift of feven, but it is generally compofed of eight. The Patron, or Mafter of the Boat, the Man that throws the Crofs, and fix Seamen that manage the Boat and affilt in dragging the Máchine aboard. Upon applying to the Company, they are furnifhed with a proper Veffel, which the Fronch ftile Satteau, that is a long fharp Boat with very large Sails, fo that they go at a great Rate, and are not eafily taken. They are likewife furnified with all Kind of Tackle and Provifions upon Credit. Then they enter into Articles for the Price of the Coral, which is generally fixed at a Frencb Crown a Pourid, or thereabouts, They likewife engage to fell all that they take at that Rate, upon Pain of corporal Punifhment if they are detected in a clandeftine Commerce. Thus equipp ${ }^{\text {s }}{ }^{\prime}$, they proceed to Sea, but they are not obliged to deliver their Coral till the Seafon is over. Then each Boats Crew brings their Stock on Shore, where it is divided into thirteen equal Parts, of which the Mafter of the Veffel has four, he that manages the Machine two, and each of the Crew one ; the thirteenth Part belongs to the Company, and goes in 'Difcharge of the Equipment. In a good Seafon, a Boat will bring twenty five huridred Weight of Coral, from whence the Reader may judge of the Profit which attends this Fifhery; and if he defires to be informed of the total Value, it is enough
to fay, that it is thought a very flourifhing Seafon, when two hundred of thefe Veffels are employed. The Bunefs of Coral fifhing is both laborious and dangerous, it requires great Skill and Dexterity to heave the Crols, and no fmall Labour and Diligence to get it on board again, befides the great Rifk they run from Storms, Accidents in their Fifhing and Pyrates, all which taken together, keep the Coral Fifhers fo poor, that the Company never wants Servants.

As for the Ules of Coral, one may fafely reckon three. Firft, thofe for which it ferves in Phyfick, and there want not many Writers who have raifed thefe very high, and fuggefted, that Wonders might be done by Tinctures, Elixirs, Magifteries, and other Preparations of Coral, which in Procefs of Time, however, have been exploded, and are grown altogether out of Ule. But from the Powder and Salt, and fome other Medicines more eafily made, and of as great Efficacy as the former, fince Coral can only operate as a Sweetner, and as an Abforbent, it is ftill a good Thing in this Refpect, and great Quantities of it are continually vended. The fecond Ufe it is put to, is for Toys, fuch as Necklaces, Bracelets, adorning Rock and Shell-Work, and other Purpofes of the like Nature. Laftly, it is exported into the moft diftant Parts of the World, where it is in very high Eifteem, particularly in Perfia, and among the Tartars. But the beft Market in the World (if it could be got thither) is Japan; where it is efteemed beyond all precious Stones whatever, Emeralds, Rubies and Diamonds themfelves not excepted; and this for the beft Reafon in the World, becaufe all thefe Jewels they have, but Coral they have not. The Coral that is commonly brought to Market is either red or white, the former is employed in Toys, and the latter fold to the Apothecaries; but befides thefe, there are fome Pieces of a flen Colour, and fome Green, but this comes from America. When it is wrought into Beads and Necklaces, it fells in the Lerant for about five Shillings an Ounce, fometimes for more. It has been already obferv'd, that large Pieces of Coral are a very great Rarity, and this the famous Mr. Lemery, and fome other learned Perfons afcribe to the Nature of the Plant, but without any kind of Reafon, except this may pafs for one, that Coral is of a very flow Growth, and that muft be allowed to be the true Reafon. For Coral requiring many Years to reach a large Size, and the Coral Fifhers purfuing their Trade conftantly every Seafon, it muft neceffarily follow, that farce any large Coral can be obtained, becaufe they never fuffer it to grow. Befides this, as the Coral Fifhers are paid by Weight, without any Diftinction between great and fimall Coral, they are not at all folicitous as to the Size, Colour or Quality, but are barely taken up about the Quantity of Coral, that they can take and bring to Market. Thefe feem to be the principal and moft material Points that relate to the Hiftory of the fubmarine Plant. It would be equally ufeful and curious, if we could enter into, and furnifh the Reader with as copious, and as diftinct Accounts of the other Curiofities that occur in our Author's Travels. Where this is in our Power we fhall not fail to do it, but in the mean Time, let us return to his Narration, which we fhall again purfue in his own Words.

Near C. de Creux upon the Mountains, they find a kind of Selenitis, which may be cut or flit into very thin Plates like the common Mufcuvy Glafs. Upon the Shore are thrown up Conche venerece of feveral Sorts, and Magnitudes, and other fmall Shells of Affinity to them, which they call Porcellane. Thefe they put in the Juice of Lemons or Citrons, and fet them out in an open Bottle all Night. The Dew mingling with the acid Juice, diffolves the Porcellane: This Liquor they ufe for a Cofmetic. They catch Fifh about C. de Creux as at Naples, by hanging a Firebrand or other Light at the End of the Boat, which intices the Fifh into the Boats. This Day we paffed by Rofes, a ftrong Garrifon, Villa facra, and lay at Figera.
3. September 2. We paffed Crijpia, Bafalon, Argelagues, and lay at Caffel Foulet, five Leagues. All the Way we obferved Abundance of Pomegranate Trees.

Caftel Foulet is a fmall Garrifon. On the 3 d we paffed by Aulot, where we faw a Bufalore, of which there are divers in that Town. It is a Hole or Cave, out of which continually iffues a cool Air. They keep Bottles of Wine, Fruit, $E^{2} c$. in a little Houfe built over the Cave. 'The Wine here kept drinks as cool as if it were kept in Ice or Snow. They fay that it is the Water running and falling down under the Ground that makes thefe Spiracula, which is not unlikely. They are all on the Left-fide of the River, as you go to Vict on the Right. This Day alfo we paffed Rboda, and lay at Vict, feven Leagues. On the 4 th we went to the Hill where the Amethyfts, or Violet Stones, are found, diftant two Leagues from ViEt, called Sigminont. On the Top of the Hill is an Hermitage and Place of Devotion, where Sigminout, a Burgundian King, did Penance. The Amethyfts are found lower in the Side of the Hills. Vifcount Facque is Lord of the Soil, and whoever opens a Mine, pays him a Piftole and a half per Menfem. They find the Stones by following a Vein of reddifh or black Earth, or a Vein in the Rock fo colour'd. They are all hexangular, and pointed like Chryital. There are of three Sorts, the beft are the blackeft or deepeft Violet; others are alfo quite white; fome, but very rarely, are found tinctured with yellow. They fometimes ftick a great many together to the Rock, like Brifol Diamonds, but thofe are never good, the beft are found loofe in the Chinks of the Rock, in a fat, yellowifh, or reddifh Earth. They fcrape out this Earth with long narrow Knives that enter into the Chinks, and then crumble it in Pieces with cheir Fingers to feel for the Stones. They are afterwards ground and polifhed upon Leaden Moulds, after the fame Manner as Chryftal is. Firft they ufe the Duft of Smirilor Emery, and at laft of Tripoli. All along the Way to this Hill we faw Abundance of Arbutus, and Rbus Coriariorum, called Rbondo. In this Country they ufe not Bark of Oak to tan their Leather, as we do, but the Leaves and Branches of this Shrub, which they firft bruife with a perpendicular Stone, and then mingle with Water, and heating the Water lukewarm, fteep the Skins in it three or four Days. In thefe Mountains are alfo found Emeralds, Gold, and other Sorts of Minerals and Stones, but it doth not turn to Account to fearch for them. Topazes are found in a Lake called the Lake of Silees, not far from St. Colonna, near Girona. They find them upon the Shore of the Lakes. At ViEZ there is a great Market-place, and a Church at a Convent faid to have been built by Cbarlemagne, when he had difcomfited the Saracens, and driven them out of Catalonia. This Night we lodged at Moia, having travelled only three Leagues. On the 6th we rode within Sight of Montferret, broken at the Top into Rocks, ftanding like the Teeth of a Saw, from whence it took its Name. There is a Chapel of our Lady, a Place of great Devotion. This Night we lodged at Cafa della. Pobla, a fingle Inn, five Leagues.

We came to Cardona, two Leagues. All the Way as we rode, the Rocks and Stones were full of round Holes, juft like thofe in the Stones at Ancona, in which the Pbolades harbour, and there is no Queftion but thefe Holes have been made by fome Animal before the Stones were hardened.
4. On the 8 th, we viewed the Mountain of Salt, where were three Officers, one to weigh the Salt, another to receive Money, and the third to keep Accounts. The Revenue of this Salt amounts yearly to about 30,000 Pieces of Eight. For every Quintal, that is 104 Pounds, they pay ten Reals. The Salt is hard and tranfparent, like Chryftal, and when powdered white as Snow. They hew it out with Axes and Mattocks, and make Chaplets, Boxes, Ejc. of it. They fay there is no End of it, but that it reaches to the Center of the Earth. Near the Place where they work, there are two Caves within the Rock of Salt, to the End of one of which they durft never venture. Not far from this there is another Mountain of Salt, where the Salt fticks to the Rocks, and is moft of it tinctured with red. Of this red Salt they make broad Plates like Tiles, which they call Ruggiolas; thefe they heat before the Fire,
but never put them into it, and ufe them to take away Aches, ftrengthen the Stomach, keep the Feet warm, Esc. Well heated on both Sides, they will keep warni for twenty four Hours. Amongtt this red Salt there is a kind of Selenitis (which fome call Ifing-glafs, and the Italians, Geffo, from the Latin Word Gypfum, fignifying Chalk, becaufe when burnt, it is turned into a white Calx) which naturally roches into parallelipipeda, of the Eigure of a L.ozenge. Of which Sort of Stones are found in feveral Places of our Nation. About thefe Mountains of Salt grows great Plenty of Halimus and Limonium.

Cardora is a Dukedom, containing three or four VilJages befides the Town. The Duke thereof is one of the richeft Grandees of Spain, having three Dukedoms, four Marquifates, two Earldoms, Esc. The Name of his Family is Folke. He lives, for the moft Part, at Madrid, but fends every three Years a Governor. The King of Spain hath nothing at all to do with this City, and the Duke never impofes any Taxes, but enjoys only all the Tiches of the Corn, Wine, Esc. There is a Council of Thircy-fix, changed every Year, and he that has been of the Council, muft wait three Years before he can be chofen again. 'The laft Thing the Council does is, to chufe a new Council for the Year following. This new Council is divided into four Ranks, not equally, but as the old Council thall think fit, and their Names are put into four Boxes; out of every Box a Child takes out one to be Conful. He that is drawn out of the firft Box is the firft Conful, and fo in Order. Near the Town is a Caftle, and in the Caftle a Tower, faid to be built by Cbarlemagne. Every Duke hath an Oath given him by the Confuls, wherein is an Article, that he muft refide in the Caftle, which is never kept.
5. September 9. We paffed through Kalab, and lay at a lone Inn a League and a half further, four Leagues and a half diftant from Cardona. On the roth we paffed through St. Columba, Rocoafort, and lay at Sirreal, five Leagues and a half. Sept. in. We paffed by Pobia, a famous ancient Monaftery, about two Leagues diftans from Sirreal. In the Church, there are a great many Monuments. They told us thirteen Queens and eleven Kings lay interred there. Then we paffed Praves, and lay that Night at Coulnouvil, five Leagues. All over Catalonia they reckon a League two Hours, and make Account that four Catalonian Leagues are equal to fix French. We heard that there were Amethyfts alfo found about Praves.

On the 12th, we paffed by Falfot, two Leagues from Coulnowvil, where are a great many Lead Mines. The Ore is very rich, and they melt it juft as it is taken out of the Mine, without beating it to Powder. They fell the Ore for forty Reals of Ardif the Quintal, a Quintal being 122 Pounds. Five Quintals of Ore ufually yield four Quintals of Lead. This Town, and the Mines about it, belong to the Duke of Cardona. They told us, that the Vein of Metal lay always Eaft and Weft. The beft and fineft of this Ore they grind to Powder, and thereof make Varnim to lead earthen Pots and Veffels with, fprinkling the Powder upon the Pots. This Night we lay at Tivifa, four Leagues. On the 13 th we paffed Venu-falet, Tivians, and lodged at Tortofa, fix Leagues. All along the Way we faw a great deal of Palma bumilis Hijpanica non jpinofa. The Fruit grew up in Bunches out of the Ground, like the Berries of Arum, and was not much bigger. Thofe that were ripe were of a reddih Colour, of an oblong Figure, and divided into four Quarters ; thofe that were lefs ripe were yellowifh; the Skin and Pulp very thin, and did but juft ferve to cover the Stone. It hath the Smell and Tafte of Dates. The Stones being broken, are not at all hollow, but have a hard white Kernel or Pearl within them. We obferved alfo Abundance of Garoffus (as they call it) i.e. Caroba five Siliqua dulcis, the Cods whereof they give their Mules inftead of Provender. The Spanib Soldiers, at the Siege of Barcelona, had nothing but thefe Siliquce and Water to live upon. All over Catalonia the People are generally poor. They ufe neither Glafs nor Paper in their Windows, but only Shutters of Wood.

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Tortofa is a very poor and defolate Town: There is a Bridge of Boats over the River Iberus, now called Ebro, in Sight of which we rode all along from Tivifos hither. At Tortofa they were wont to make Saltfellers, Mortars, Bowls, Beads, $\varepsilon^{2} c$, of a Kind of Marble of a mingled Colour, red and yellow, found near the Town, which they call $7 a f p e r$, and of another greenifh Marble fpotted with black, brought from Genoa.

We went to the Jafper Mine, about two Miles from the Town, with one of the chief Workmen. We faw there valt Pillars hewn out and wrought for a Church in Palermo. He told us, that all the Veins of Marble, Jafper, ESc. went from Eaft to Weft; that they fawed thofe Stones to make Tables, $E_{0}{ }^{\circ}$ c. with only Water and Sand; that when there was not enough red in the Stone, they made little Holes, and fet in red Stones; that the Cement they ufed for all Stones in Mofaick Work, was made of one half Mattich and one half Greck Pitch; that in building, they joined the Stones together with ordinary Lime, but on the Outfide they filled up the Chinks with a Cement made of the Powder of the Jafpar mingled with Sulphur and Mangra ; to make it more white they put in more Sulphur ; to make it more red, they put in more Mangra. The Jafper was hewed out with Chizzles and Hammers, juft as Stone in our Stone Pits: It is afterwards polifhed with Armoril, i. e. the Powder they ufe to polifh Armour with, and to give it a Luftre, fo that one may fee his Face in it with the Powder of the Cinders of the beft Tin. This Day we fet out towards Valence, paffing Ebro by the Bridge of Boats, and lodged at Galere, a ifmall Village two Leagues diftant from Tortofa.
6. Sept. 16. We paffed by Tregera, whereabouts feemed to be the Ruins of an old Roman Way, Mattheau, Salfandail, and lay at Lefcouvas, feven Leagues Near Lefiouvas we found Store of Oleander with a red Flower. On the 17 th we paffed Cabanos, Pobletta, Buriol, Villareale, Amules, feven Leagues. This Journey we faw a great many Rivers quite dried up, and for above a Month together had farce any Rain, that little that was always came juft from the Sea. On the 18th, we paffed Cbinces, Almenara, Noulvedere, Mafa, Magril, Abalade, and árived at Valence feven Leagues. Near Valence the Country is very populous, and well cultivated; Abundance of Mulberry-trees are planted in Rows all the Fields over. As we paffed through the Market-place at Valence, all the People houted at us, and threw Parings of Melons, $\mathcal{E}^{2} c$. on our Cloaks. It feems they are not ufed to fee Strangers and Travellers there. This was the firft Place in Spain where we were fearched. In this City is an Univerfiry. I heard a Profeffor read Logick. The Scholars are fufficiently infolent and very difputacious. One of then asked me, Quid est Ens univerfale? and whether I was of Thomas Aquinas's Opinion? Another, Quid eft Gemus? None of them underftood any Thing of the new Philofophy, or had fo much as heard of it: None of the new Books are to be found in any of their Bockiellers Shops: In a Word, the Univerfity of Valence is juft where our Univerfities were an hundred Years ago.

In the Kingdom of Valence the King of Spain is not abfolute; but to impofe Taxes, raife Soldiers, $\varepsilon^{2} c$. he mult have the Confent of the three Eftates, i.e. I. the Clergy, 2, the Nobility, 3. the Cities and Villages; and if one of thefe refufe to confent, nothing can be done. Thefe three Eftates have fix Deputies, two for cach, who are changed every third Year. Of the two for the Cities, one is for the City of Velentio, and the other for all the reft. Each City chufing a Syndic, one is taken by Lot to be a Deputy. The fix Deputies have the Care and Government of the Militia. Upon any urgent Occafion, the Deputies muft aflemble the three Eftates, $i$. e the chief of the Clergy, the Nobility, and the Syndics of the Cities. The City of Valence is governed by Six Jurats or Confuls. They are taken by Lot out of fix Urns or Burfes, two out of each: In the firf Urn are the Names of all the better Sort of Nobility that have the Title of Dons, in the

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Second Urn, the Names of all the lower Rank of Nobility that have not the Title of Dons; in the Third, the Names of all rich Citizens that are not Gentlemen: They muft have at leaft four hundred Crowns yearly Rent, befides what their Wives bring. Befides thefe, there is a Rationel and two Syndics changed every third Year, fix Advocates for their Lives, and forty Plebeians changed yearly. The City being divided into fifteen Trades or Companies, each Company chufes two, which make thirty; the other ten are chofen, two by the Rationel, and eight by the fix Jurats, and two Syndics, each chufing one. Of all thefe Officers and the Forty Plebeians confifts the Senate. But nothing can be done, unlefs there be Twenty-nine of the Plebeians prefent at leaft. There is alfo, 1. a Judge for criminal Caufes, taken by Turns out of the three Urns, and changed yearly. He hath an Advocate to affift him, who is changed yearly, but fo that all the Advocates in the City have the Place by Turns: And a Lieutenant Criminal raken by Lot out of the Forty Plebeians. 2. A Mutafa, who has the Care of all Kind of Victuals, Corn, Weights, Meafures, $\mathcal{E}^{\circ} c$. He is taken by Lot out of the three Burfes, as the Criminal Judge is, and hath alfo a Lieutenant out of the Forty. There is befides, a Judge for Civil Caufes, taken out of the three Burfes, who has an Advocate like the Criminal Judge: But he cannot decide Caufes of above fifteen Crowns.
The Univerfity is govern'd by the Town, who every third Year chufe a Recior that mult be a Canon. The other Officers are, a Beadle; a Serjeant and a Puntadore, who is to take Notice when any Profeffor fails to read. There are cight Prapofitit in this Univerfity, four for Divinity, two for the Canon Law, and two for the Civil Law, who have each 500 Crowns yearly. There are alfo four Readers for Philofophy, feven for Phyfick, one for the Greek Tongue, one for the Hebrew, and two for the Mathematicks. Thefe have but fmall Stipends; but all their Scholars, who come to hear their Lectures, pay fomewhat yearly. If a Profeffor promote three rich Scholars, that are able to pay the Fees to any Degree, he may promote a Fourth that is poor for nothing. The Degrees are the fame with thofe in our Univerfities, viz. 1. Batchelor after they have finifhed a Courfe in Philofophy; which Degree cofts about twelve Crowns. 2. Mafter of Arts, which cofts eighty. 3. Batchelor in Divinity, Law or Phyfick, which cofts fixteen. 4. Doctor, which cofts one hundred and fifty. They may be Mafters of Arts prefently after they are Batchelors, if they will; and in like Manner Doctors. In the Market at Valence, and all Spain over, they divide Hens and Chickens into Pieces, and tell them by Quarters ; they make great Veffels of Goat Skins to put Wine and Oil in ; and feffer Bottles, which they call Boto's. The Women paint, laying it on fo thick, as if one daubed Minium upon a Wall. No Garrifon nor Soldier here.
7. Sept. 24. We fet out from Valence, and paffing by Mafoneffe, Cataregi and Seille, and lodged at Muljafes, shree Leagues. Coming out of Valence, we were forced to give Money at three Places to avoid Searching. We pafied Cullera where we ferried over a great River, called Xucar, and lay at Gandia. There is a College and an Univerfity, as appears by this Infcription upon the Wall of the College. Sanclus Francijcus à Borgia Dux Gandia, 4, Propofitus generalis Societatis Fefu 3, hoc Collegium $\mathcal{O}^{3}$ banc Univerfitatem a fundamentis erexit. A. D. 1546. At Cullera the Wine firft began to be fweet, and three Leagues off at Gondia the Plantations of Sugar Canes began. 2. Whether the Nature of the Soil that was fit to nourim the Sugar Canes did not alfo contribute to the Sweetnefs of the Grapes? At Gandia we firft found Raifins of the Sun (as they are called in England;) in Spain they call this kind Panfos, and they feem to be the Duracince of the Ancients. They are all white, round and have a tougher Skin than other Grapes. They gather them when fully ripe, and dip them in a boiling Lixivium of Water and Afhes, juft dipping them in, and taking them out again, and then dry them upon Boards in the Sun, taking
them in by Night, or in foul Weather. The Name Raifin comes from Racemus. Figs are dried juit as they are gathered not being dipp'd in any Lixivium.

On the 26 th, I went to Olives where and at Gandia, are the Engines for Sugar Works; the beft are at Olives. By the Way we faw the Sugar Canes growing in feveral Places. They are planted in low wet Grounds well mucked and dreffed, divided into the Beds or Hillocks and Furrows, They cut the Canes clofe to the Roots in November and December, and cutting off the flender Tops, which afford no good fuice, keep them under Ground till March, and then prick them into thefe Hillocks or Beds. Out of every Talea or Cut, hhoot four, five or fix Canes, which will be ripe the next December. The Knots or Joints of the Cane at the Bottom are very clofe together, farce an Inch afunder; but upwards the Diftance is more, as the Cane grows flenderer. Within is a white Pulp or lith, full of Sap fweet as Honey. They fell them at Gandia to eat, and cutting them into Pieces juft in the Middje, between two Knots, fuck the Pieces, at both Ends: To make Sugar after Canes are cleanfed from the Tops and Leaves, and cut into Pieces they are firft bruifed, either with a perpendicular Stone, running round as Apples to make Cyder, or Olives to make Oil, or between two Axes ftrongly capp’d with Iron, horizontally placed, and turned contrary Ways, and then preffed, as Grapes or Olives are. The Juice thus preffed out is boiled in three feveral Cauldrons one after another. In the third Cauldron it becomes thick and black; and is then put into conical Pots, which at the Bottom have a little Hole ftopped only with coarfe and foul Sugar; Mr. Ligon faith, with Plantain Leaves. Thefe Pots are covered, when full, with a Cake of Pafte made of a kind of Earth call'd in Spanifo, Gritty, and found near Olives, which is good to take Spots out of Clothes; which Cap or Cover finks as the Sugar finks. Mr. Surift told me, that the Clay they ufe with us is To-bacco-Pipe Clay, or very like it, and that the Water in the Clay ferved to wafh down and carry away the Molofes, at leaft the Clay helps the Separation and Precipitation of it. Thefe conical Pots are put into other Pots, into which by the Hole at the Vertex, the Juice drains down through the coarfe Sugar at the Bottom. It drains fo for five or fix Months, in which Time the Sugar in the conical Pots grows hard and white, all the Juice being either drunk up by the Lute or run out by the Hole at the Vertex. The Juice is boiled again fo long as it is good for any thing, but at laft it makes only a foul red Sugar, that will never be better. The conical Loaves of Sugar, after they are taken out, are fet to drain over the fame Pots for fourteen or fifteen Days. To make the Sugar more white they mult boil it again, but about one Sixth is loft every Time. A Pound of Sugar of twelve Ounces is fold at Olives for three Sous and a half, refined for five or fix Sous. The Sugar Juice is ftrained through Strainers of Linnen, as it is put out of one Cauldron into another. They take it out of the firft and fecond Cauldrons fo foon as it begins to boil, but in the third Cauldron they let it boil till the Scum rifes, and then take off only the Scum with a Scummer, and put it into a long Trough to cool, and when it is cool, put it into the conical Pots. One Scum rifes after another in the third Cauldron. The Scum when it is taken of is white, bue turns to a black Liquor in the Trough. They never refine the Sugar more than three or four Times. They ufe for the refining of it , Whites of Eggs, putting in two or three Dozen into a Cauldron. They ufe but one Cauldron for refining. When it is refined it grows white and hard in nine or ten Days. The Juice boiled up is eaten with Bread toafted as Honey; the Juice of the refined Sugar is much better than the firft Juice. The Duke of Gandia fends Prefents of this refined Juice to the Queen of Spain. When they refine it they pus a little Water into the Cauldrons, to diffolve it the better. But for a more exact Defcription of the whole Procefs of the Sugar Works, I refer to Pio in his natural Hiftory of Brafl and Ligon, in his Defription of Barbadoes. The Sugar of Olives, is better than the

Sugar

Chap. IV.
ibroug S SPAIN.

Sugar of Gandia. At Mentria in Granada they alfo make a great deal of Sugar. About Valence, Gandia, $\dot{B}^{3} c$. the Earth is always wrought, and never lies fallow or idle. They reckon five Raccolta's or Crops in one Year. 1. Of Mulbery-Leaves for Silk, 2. Whear and other European Grain. 3. Darf, i. e. Maiz or Indian Wheat. 4. Grapes. 5. Olives, and 6. At Gandia, Sugar Canes. After the Wheat is cut they prefently fow the Indian Wheat. They complained that lately for a great many Years together, they had very bad Raccolta's, for Want of Rain, which had almont ruined Spain.
8. On the 27 th, We paffed Benegana, and lay at Cbativer, fix Leagues and a half. Cbativer is an ancient Town of the Moors, and was once Head of one of their little Kingdoms. About a League from the Town began a very remarkable Aqueduct made by them. It was juft over a River along the Side of a Hill in moft Places, not above a yard or two under Ground, and had a great many Funnels like the Tops of Chimnies, to give Vent, and let out of Water when there fhould be too much. The Tops of thefe Funnels were made of a red Clay and pebble Stones. The Water came almoft to the Top in ail of them, but run over in one. On the 28 th , we paffed in Sight of Montefa, a Caftle belonging to the Knight of Montefa, that wear a red Crofs, Ortemente, and lodged at Beebert, fix Leagues. On the 2gth, near Alicant among the Mountains, there is a very good Breed of Falcons. In the Plains near Alicant grows Abundance of Gramen Jpartum Plinii five Sportularum Officinarum. F. B. i.e. Mat-weed, of which the Frails, wherein they put Raifins and other Fruits are made. This in Spain they call Spar, at Marfeilles, Auffe. The Women hereabout gather Abundance of this, and fleep it in Sea-water till it be well foftened. Then they dry it, and carry it by Sea to Marfeilles, where they fell it at eight Crowns the Milliere: Every Milliere confifts of ten Pachieres; every Pachiere of one hundred Manado's or Handfuls. Of this they make Cables for Ships, Bafkets, © $c$. In this Day's Journey we faw a great many Fountains covered with long Arches to hinder them from being dried up. We paffed Elda, Novelda, Appe, Clavillente, AlBitella, and lay at Orivola eleven Leagues.

On the zoth, We came to Murcia, four Leagues. Near Orivola (which City is an epifcopal See) we obferved many Turpentine-trees, fome with Flower, and fome with ripe Berries. Near Elda they dig up a Sort of Selenite, which they put into Wine to clarify it. About a League from Orviola began the Kingdom of Murcia; two Leagues from Orivola, we were ferced to give Money to avoid Searching. Murcia which gives Denomination to this Kingdom, is a pitiful and defolate Town. The FifhMarket bere is fhut up in a Cage or Grate, as at Genoa, the People crowding abour it, and thrufting in their Bafkets as there. Oifober I. we travelled through a miferable defolate Country to Mula, feven Leagues. On the 2d, we paffed through Caravacca, where they drive a great Trade of making little Croffes of Silver, Brafs, Wood, $\mathcal{E}^{3}$. After that Pilgrims, $\mathcal{E}^{3} c$. have bought them, they carry them to the Caftle to touch them by a famous Crofs, which according to their fabulous Legend, defcended miraculounty from Heaven, which forfooth infufes a wonderful Virtue into them, We lay this Night at a lone Houfe, four Leagues off Caravacca, having travelled in all ten Leagues.
On the 3 d , We pais'd by Venta nova, and came to Huefca, eight Leagues. At Huefca, we firt faw a yellowifh White-wine like Sack. The Kingdom of Granada began about four Leagues before we came to Huefca. The Town of Huefca belongs to the Duke of Alva. On the 4 th, we paffed by Bafa, and refted at Venta eight Leagues. We travelled to Guadix an epifcopal See, and ancient Roman Colony. Upon the Gates we took Notice of this Infcription. Recepit Colonia Accitana Gemelienfis Provincice caput prima omnium Hijpanicarum fidem, Cbriszi fesu, rejeczis idolis evangelizantibus fanitis Torcalo © fociis, Anno Salutis 70. Pontijicatus S. Patri, 37. imperii Neronis 13. Urbs Accis patrona fuo Santilfmo D.D. 1593.

Honorati funt Anici tui Deus.

9: On the 6 th, 刻e traveiled to Granada, fix Leagues diftant from Definos, where we lodged the Night before. Here we faw the Caftle called La Lambra, the Seat of the Kings of Gronada. Within the Walls of the Cattle live Abundance of People, which dare not live in the City for D-bt, or other Caufes. There is a fair Palace begun by Cbarles V. and yet unfinificd s the Outfide of it is fquare, but it is round within, having two Rows of Cloifters, one above another, round about the Court. Adjoining to this is the ancient Pa lace of the Kings of Granada; within there is all the fame kind of Morefo Work, wrought in Mortar and Stone, with Gold and Painting. The Cloifters are fupported by long fiender Pillars. In this Palace is an octagonal Chamber, vaulted at the Top with eight Doors, one in every Side. If one fland in one Angle, and whifper to another who fands in the Angle diametrically oppofite, the Voice is conveyed, as in the Whifpering Place at Gloucefler: But if you fland in an Angle that is not diametrically oppofite, you hear nothing. The Reafon of conveying the Voice, is the Vault above, and the Corners being ftreightned into a very fharp Angle or Channel. In Granada are two great MarketPlaces, one cailed Plafa nova, the ocher de villa Rambla. In the great Church are two Monuments, one for Ferdinand and Ifabella, with this Infcription, Mā̄ometica Selta prostralores Heretica pravicacia extimitores Fernardus Aragonum \& Helijabetba Caftilla, vir \& uxor unamines, Catbolici appellati marmoreo clauduntur boc Tumulo. The other is of Pbilippus I. and of Foanni Daughter and Heir of Ferdinand and Ifabella, without an Infrription. In the River Daro, that runs by Granada, they find Gold among the Sand. In the Mountains of Sierra neveda, near Granada, are faid to be divers Sorts of Minerals, which are not at all looked affer. Near Motril, at the Capo di Gatto, there is a Mine of Granates covered with the Sea. They are pointed as Amethyfts and Chryftal, but the beft come from Africa: we faw that Day Monte facro, a Place within half a League of the Town, of great Devotion. In Cafile; Granada, $\xi^{\circ}$ c. the greater Cities have a Corregidore, and the leffer an filcayde, who adminifters Juftice, and are appointed and fent by the King to govern the Towns. All over the Kingdom of Cafile they eat Flefh upon Saturdays, and obferve only Fridays. On the 12th, we left Granada, and pafing by Santa Feda, travelled to Lotta, eight Leagues. 13. At Lotta we were troubled with Soldiers, that came from the Frontiers of Portugal, to take up their Winter Quarters. There had been of this Party 2600 , but this Summer at Alcantara they were reduced to 900 , the reft being flain, or dead of Difeafes. We paffed this Day by Arcbidona, Lalameda, Laronda, and lay at Pedrera, ten Leagues.
10. On the 14 th, We paffed by Ofuna, la Pobla, and lay at Elazabel ten Leagues. This Country was the beft we faw fince we came into Spain, the Land being: for the moft Part well planted and cultivated. On the 15 th, We paffed by Gandula, and arrived at Sevil, feven Leagues. Between Gandula and Sevil there are A. bundance of Olive-trees. Here we firft faw the greater Sort of Olives, which are ufually eaten in England for a Sallet, called the great Spanifs Olive ; all that we had feen in Italy or in S'pain before, being of the leffer Sort. Here is a brave Aqueduct of Brick, which conveys Water from Carmona, fix Leagues diftant: Under the Arches there are Stalacitites, as at the Aqueduct of Pifa. The Galleons bring nothing Home from the West-Indies, but Plate; the Merchant Ships are loaden with Leather, Cocoa, Sugar, Lana di Vigonna, \&cc. Of the Cocoa Nut, they make Cbocolate, thus, firt they toaft the Berries to get off the Hufk, then pound the Kernels to Powder, and to every Milao, i: e. three Pound and a half of Powder, they add and mingle, two Pound of Sugar, twelve Vanilla's, a litcle Pimentone or Guiny Pepper, (which is ufed by the Spaniards only) and a little Accbiote to give a Colour ; but chefe two laft may be omitted. They melt the Sugar, and then mingle all well together, and work it up either in Rolls or Leaves. Sevil hath of late decayed very much, and doth continually Decay more and more, the Trading Part being moft removed to Cales; the

Reafon

Reafon whereof is, becaufe they pay about twentyfeven per Cent. for all Merchandizes at Sevil, and but four or five per Cent. at Cales. The chief Places to be feen in Sevil are, r. The great Church. 2. The King's or Vice-roys Palace. 3. The Archbifhop's Palace. 4. The Steeple of the great Church like St. Mark's Tower at Venice, which you afcend almoft to the Top without Stairs, by gently inclining Plains. 5. The Franci/can Convent. 6. The Longba, where the Merchants meet about the Affairs of the Flote. 7. The Convent of Notre Dame del Peuple. 8. The Bridge of Boats over the Guadalquivir, i.e. the River Batis. The Town on the other Side this River is called Triana. 9. The Inquifition or Caftle of Triana, juft over the Bridge. 10. An old Tower called Torre d'Oro, where St. Ferdinand, that recover'd Sevil, kept Money made with Leather. I I. The Aqueduct. 12. The old Palace and Garden of the Moors. Near the Bridge, along the River Side, they come every Night with their Coaches, to take the Frefco, In the great Church, between two Altars, are three Monuments for St. Ferdinand the Wife, his Wife Beatrice and his Son Alphonfus. The fame Epitaph in Hebrere, Arabick, Greek and Latin.

Hic jacet illuftriffmus Rex Fernandus Caftelli Eg Toleti Legionis, Gallicia, Sibilla, Cordub.e, Murcie, हु Fabeni, qui totam Hi/paniam conquifivit fidelifimus, veraciffmus, confantiflmus, juftifimus, strenuiffomus, devotifimus, liberalifimas, patientifflmus, piiflimus, bumillimus, in timore EO Servitio Dei efficacifimus ; qui contrivit है exterminavit penitus Boftium fuorum proterviam; qui fublimavit Ege exaltavit omnes amicos fuos, qui civitatem Hifpalem, que caput eft EJ metropolis totius Hifpania de manibus eripuit Paganorum Eo cultui restimit Cbritiano, ubi folvens natura debitum, ad Dominum tranfmigravit ultina die Maii, Anno ab incarnatione Domini 1252 .

In the fame Church is Ferdinandus Columbus, the Son of Cbriftopber Columbus, buried, with this Epitaph.

A qui jace el mucho magnifico Signor Don Hernando Colon. el quel expleo y gaito toda fu viday facenda en aumento di los Lettras y en juntar y perpetuar en efta cividad todos los' libros di podas las fciencias, qui in fu tempo ballo y en ridurlos à quatro libros fegun estan à qui Senelados. Falle fio en este cividad à 12 di fulio $153^{2}$. Air de fu edad 50 an. 10 mefes $\mathcal{E} 14$ dies. Fue thyo del valorofo $\mathcal{E}$ memorabile Signor Don Cbrifophoro Colon. primiero Admirante, qui defcubio las Indias y nuevo mondo en vida di los Catbolicos Reys Don Fernando y Donna Ifabella di gloriofa memoria à onze de Ottobre dy mill quatrocentos y noventa y dofarnos y partio del puerio de Palos a defcubrir las contres Carabelas y novenia Perfonas ì tres de Agofo - iuntes bolbio à Caftilla con la vittoria à quattro di Marzo del anno figuente, $y$ torno despues otras dos vezes a poblar lequale fcubrio, y al fin follefcio à Valladolid vente de Maio de mill y quincentos y feys annos, Roged al Semnor por ellos.

Cbocolate is fold at Sevil for 1omething more than a Piece of Eight the Pound. Vanillas, which they mingle with Cocoa to make Cbocolate, for a Real di Plato. Accbiote, which they mingle with the other Ingredients, to give a Colour, is made of a Kind of red Earth brought from New Spain, wrought up into Cakes: It is fold for a Real di Plato the Ounce. All the Oil and Wine they have in the West-Indies goes from Spain, they not being permitted to plant Vines or Olive-trees, that they may always have a Dependance upon Spain. At and near Sevil we paid two Reals de 2uarto for a Bed; Bread, Wine, Flefh, and all other Commodities exceffive dear, excepting only Olives and Pomegranates, which were better here than in any other Part of Spain. There had lately been a great Plague in Sevil, which had very much depopulated and impoverifhed, indeed almoft ruined the City.
11. I fer out from Sevil towards Madrid: The firft Day we travelled to Carmona, where the Aquedut be-fore-mentioned begins, fix Leagues in all; which Way we faw no Houfes, but a great many Aloe-trees. We paffed les Fontes, and lay at Euia, a great Town of above 20,000 Inhabitants. Between Carmona and Euia is a very good Country, with Abundance of Corn and Olive-trees. Offuna is within four Leagues of Euia
where the Duke of Offuna hath a Palace. We travelled this Day nine Leagues. We paffed over the River Xenil, that runs into Guadalquivir, baited at $A r$ rofith, and lodged at Cordova, eight Leagues. About a League from Cordova we paffed another little River that runs into Guadalquivir. Before we entred Cordove, we rode over a great Stone Bridge that here croffes the Guadalquivir. In the Niddle of the Bridge ftands a Statue erected to the Angel Raplanel with this Infcription.

Beatifimo Rapbaeli angelorum proceri, cufodi fuo vigilantiflmo, qui ante annos 300 fub Pafcbale antifite populum pefte depopulante se medicum tante cladis futurum predivit, qui fubinde anno 1578 venerabili Presbytero Andree de las Roelas S. S. M. M. exuvias evulgavit, EJ tandem patefecit Corduvenfium tuielom fibi a Deo demum datam. Quare ut jufta gratitudo diu ftaret S. P. Q. Cordubenfis banc lapideam ftatuam cautus $\mathcal{O}$ pius erexit, mults procuratione Domini Fofepbi de Valdacanas \& Herera हु Domini Gundefalvi de Cea E Rios Senatorum pontifice Innocente X. Hijpan. rege P'bilippoIV. epifcopo domino fratre Petro de Tapia, pratore domino Alpbonfo de flores छु monte Negro, Amno 1651.

The moft confiderable Places in Cordove are, 1. The Bifhop's Palace. 2. The Cavallerifca, where the King keeps a great many Horfes. 3. The Ruins of Almanfor's Palace, the laft King of the Moors. 4. Ploffa di Corridera. 5. The Church of the Augufine Fryers. 6. The great Church, which was anciently a Mofque. It is large, but very low, fupported by a great many Rows of Pillars, in a quadrate Order, fixteen Rows one Way, and thirty another. Upon many of the Pillars are Moors Heads carved in the Stone, and one or two with Turbants on. In the Middle of this Church is the great Chapel, where are Ceveral Bifhops interred. In one of the Chapels, that is now dedicated to St. Peter, in the Moors Time was kept a Thigh of Mohammed; round about the Cornifh of this Chapel, and that Part of the Church next it, is an Arabick Infcription. The People complain grievoully, that Cordova is quite ruined and undone by Gabels and Taxes. On the 27 th we left Cordova, and, after a League or two riding, entred the Sierra Morena, a miferable defolate mountainous Country, and lodg'd at a little Village called Adamus, fix Leagues. On the 28 ch , we travelled all Day through the Sierra Morena, and lay at a Village called La Conquifta, nine Leagues. 29th; In this Day's Journey we Jaw Abundance of Galls upon the Ilices, which were of like Bignefs, Figure, Colour, Confiftency, and other Accidents with thofe that grow upon Oaks. This Day we firft met with red Wine again, which they call Vino tinto. We got fafe out of Sierra Morena, and came to Almedovar del Campo, a tolerable Borrough nine Leagues. About the Middle of Sierra Morena are the Bounds of the Caftilia nova and Andaluzia. On the 3oth, we paffed by Caraquol, Cividadreal, and lay at Malagon, ten Leagues. Between Malagon and Cividadreal, we paffed over the River Anas, now called Guadiana, which was there but a little Brook. In this Day's Journey we met with a great many great Flocks of Sheep and Goats, going towards the Sierra Morena out of Caftile; it being the Cuftom all Summer to feed their Sheep urpon upon the Mountains of Cafile, and in Winter in the Sierra Morena. On the 3 Ift , we paffed by the Ruins of an Aqueduct, about four Leagues from Malagon, chen Kvenas, a good fizeable Village, and lay at Orgas, ten Leagues.
12. November 1, We paffed through Toledo, and lay at Efquinos, eleven Leagues. As foon as ever we paffed the Sierra Morena, we felt a great Change of Weather, the warm Air that comes from Afric and the Mediter ranean Sea being flopped by the Interpofition of the Mountains. This Day there was here a hard Froft, and pretty thick Ice. The moft confiderable Things in Toledo are, 1 . The Bridge over the Tagus, confifting of but two Arches, one great one, and one little one. 2. The Shambles, where notwithftanding the Coldnefs of the Day, I faw Abundance of Flies; which confutes the Story, that there is but one great Fly there all the Year. 3. The great Church, where there are many Monuments of Bifhops, but without Infcriptions: In

## Chap. IV.

the Capella Maggior lie interred two Kings, and in the Privileges. Guipufcoa is under the Bimop of Pampelona. Capella de los Kes, four Kings. 4. The King's Palace. 5. The Ruins of a famous Engine to raife up Water to the King's Palace. There is fo little of it remaining, that it is impoffible thence to find out all the Contrivance and Intrigue of it. Between Toledo and Madrid the Country is very populous, and the Soil very good. All along the Road, from Sevil to Madrid, the common Fare is Rabbets, red legg'd Partridges, and Eggs, which are fufficiently dear. We arrived at Madrid, fix Leagues; near the Town we paffed over the River Xarante. Madrid is very populous, well built with good Brick Houfes, many, have Glafs Windows, which is worth the noting, becaufe you fhall farce fee any in all Spain befides. The Streets are very foul and nafty. There is one very fair Piazza or Market-place, encompaffed round with high and uniform Houfes, having five Rows of Balconies one above another, and underneath Portico's or Cloifters quite round. The chief Things to be feen in Madrid are, I. The Prifon. 2. The Piazza juft now mentioned. 3. The King's' Chapel. 4. The Palaces of feveral Noblemen, as that of the Duke of Alva, that of the Duke of Medina de Tos Torres, \&xc. 5. The King's Palace, where there is the King's Cavallerifoa and the Queen's Cavallerifa. 6. A great Piazza before the Palace, where are Abundance of Coaches always attending. 7. The Engli/h College of t'beatines. 8. Il Retiro, out of the Town, the Efcurial and El Pardo.
13. On the $5^{\text {th, I fet out from Madrid for Port St. }}$ Sebaftian. We paffed within Sight of the Ffourial and El Pardo, and lay that Night at St. Augufin, fix Leagues. On the 6th we paffed Butrago, and lay at Samoferra; all the Way a barren, miferable, mountainous Country, eleven Leagues. On the 7th we paffed Frecedilie, and lay at Aranda, having croffed the River Durius or Duero, eleven Leagues. On the 8th we paffed Babalon and Lerma, where is a Convent of Dominican Fryers, and a Palace of the Duke of Lerma's, and came that Night to Burgos, twelve Leagues. The moft confiderable Things in Burgos are, 1. The Bridge over the River Relarzon. 2. The Gate at the End of the Bridge, where are the Statues of Cbarles V. of Janus Calvus, of Diego Porcellero, of Fernandez Gonfales, of Nuncio Pafures, of Don Carlotte, all famous Men of Burgos. 3. The Market-place. 4. The great Church, in which are a great many Monuments of Bifhops and Canons, two great Monuments of Pedro Fernando di Velafco, Conitable of Cafiile, and his Wife Mercia di Mendoza Countefs of Haro. This Night we lodged at Quintora Villes, five Leagues. On the 1 oth we paffed by Pancorva, a Place very famous for good Water; Miranda, a great Town, where there is a good Bridge over the River Iberus, and after that we had. paffed two other Rivers, Baiis and Sadurra, and. lay at Erminian, cleven Leagues. At Miranda there is a great Market for Wheat.

On the IIth, We travelled to Vittoria. Over one of the Gates is the Statue of King Bamba, and infcribed in Gold Letters, Hac est Vizioria que vincit, four Leagues. Vittoria is the chief City of all the Comntry called Alaba. We paffed this Day by Salines, the firft Town of Guipufcoa, and lay at Efcarias, nine Leagues. In Guipufcoa they pay no Taxes or other Duties to the King, without the Confent of the whole Country. The whole Diftrict is more commonly called Provincia than Guipufcoa; it is canton'd out into a great many Corporations and Villages, every one of which fends one, two, or three Reprefentatives to the general Meeting, when there is any publick Bufinefs. All Offices are annual, and chofen diverlly, according to the differing Cuftoms of the Town. The chiefOfficer in each Town to determine all civil and criminal Caufes is the Alcalda, but from him they may appeal to the Governor of the Province, fent by the King every third Year, and from the Governor to the King's Council at Valladolid. Next to the Alcalda are two Regidones, to look after the Prices of all Commodities, a Bolfer for the Treafury, a Medino for the Prifon, Argozils or Serjeants, Eic. They boaft that they are the Walls of Spain, and therefore have many

Vol. II. $\mathrm{N}^{\circ} \mathrm{II} 7$. In Guipufcoa and Bifcay they have a peculiar Language of their own, and therefore fend their Children to School to learn Spanifb (which, they call Romance) as we do ours to learn Latin. The Searchers having hindered -us, we were forced to travel a great Way in the Night; we were lighted by Tiafor Teas; which burnt as well, and gave as good a Light as Torches. When they went out, they toffed them up and down in their Hands, which kindled them again. Thefe Teas (fo called, doubtlefs from the Latin Word Tada) are very commonly ufed in this Country, and are nothing elfe but Baftons of Wood hacked and cleft, (but fo as the Pieces hang together) and afterwards foundly dried in an Oven or Chimney. Along the Middle they ufe to cleave them almoft quite afunder. They are made of feveral Sorts of Wood of Robla, i. e. Oak; Haia, i.e. Beach-Tree, but the beft of Avellana, i. e. Hazel. I wonder much at this, unlefs they bave fome Way of preparing the Wood by fleeping it in Oil or inflammable Motter The Tcedx of the Ancients weve made only of the Trunks of old and Sappy Pines.
14. On the 12th, We paffed by Mondragone, where there is a Fabrica of Arms for the King, Oniate, Legajpa, Villa real, and lay at Villa Franca, 1even Leaoues. We left St. Adrion, which is the ordinary Road, a little on our Left-hand. This Country is very populous and wooded, all the Hills being covered with Oaks. They ufe no Ploughs, but turn over the Ground with Tridents of Iron; four or five of them working together, and thrufting in their Tridents all together, turn up a Yard or two of Earth at a Time, which they afterwards drefs and level, like Beds in a Garden. The People are fomething better conditioncd than the Spaniards; richer and far more populous; 1. Becaufe there is a better Government, and greater Liberty. 2. There is Abundance of Wood and Iron. 3. More Rain than in the other Parts of Spain. On the 13 th, We paffed Tolofa, and arrived this Night at St. Sebaftian, having travelled eight Leagues. The moft obfervable Things in St. Sebaftian are, I. The Walls and Guns. 2. A great Convent of Dominican Friars, in which there is a famous Pair of Stone Stairs, each Step being of one in tire Stone, and fupported only on one Side. 3. The Haven. The Government of St. Sebajfian confits of a great Council of all that have one or more Houfes, and are married, but none can bear Office unlefs he have two Houfes; of thefe there are not above 150 or 200, though the Town be very populous, containing about 24,000 Souls. Once in a Year all the Names of this 150 or 200 are put into an Urn, and a Child takes out eight to be Electors. Every one of thefe eight chules his Man. The old Magiftrates that are juft then going out, divide thefe eight, that the Electors have cholen, into four Pairs, fitting them as well as they can, v. g: an old Man and a young together, Esc. Thele four Pairs are put into an Urn. The firft Pair that are drawn out, are the two Alcaldas for that Year, the fecond Pair the Deputy Alcaldas, the third Pair the two Regidores; the fourth Pair the two Deputy Regidores. In much the fame Manner they chufe two Jurats, one Syndick or Attorney-General, one Treafurer, $E_{c} c$. All thefe Officers make a leffer Senate, but in Bufineffes of Importance the whole Number meets. There is no Diftinction of Nobiles and Plebeii, but all that are defcended from Guipufcoans that are married, and have one Houfe, are in a Capacity to be Electors; all that have two Houfes to be Magiftrates ; the Jurats Places are moft defired, there being a great many ecclefiaftical Preferments belonging to the Town, the Difpofition whereof, when they come to be vacant, is in them, who ufually beftow them upon their Relations and Friends. Every Winter there are feveral Whales caught upon this Coaft, they coming hither in Winter, and frequenting here, as they do upon the Coaft of Greenland in Summer. They catch them by ftriking them with a Harping Iron, after the fame Manner as they do Sword-fifh upon the Coaft of Calabria and Sicily. Abundance of Cyder made about St. Sebaftion and Bayonne. On the 14 th , From St. Sebastian I travelled through Orogna, Irim, on the Lefs

Hand of which is Fontarabia, a ftrong Fort juft on the Frontiers of Spain. About half a League from Irimz is the River that parts France and Spain. In the middle of this River is an Inland where the Kings of France and Spain met, when Lerwis XIV. the prefent King, married Pbilip the IV's Daughter. The Inand was divided juft in the middle, and a Houfe built, fo that at the Table where they fat to eat, the King of France fat in France, and the King of Spain in Spain.
15. Spain is, in many Places, not to fay moft, very thin of People, and almoft defolate. The Caufes are, 1. A bad Religion. 2. The tyrannical Inquifition. 3. The Multitude of Whores. 4. The Barrennefs of the Soil: 5. The wretched Lazinefs of the People, very like the Irijh, walking flowly; and always cumber'd with a great Cloak and long Sword. 6. The Expulfion of the fewes and Moors, the firlt of which were planted there by the Emperor Adrian, and the latter by the Caliphs after the Conquelt of Spain. 7. Wars and Plantations. In all the Towns, efpecially in the Soutb and $W_{e} /$ Parts of Spain, a great many Ruins of Houfes are to be feen. Within a Quarter of a League of a Town you begin to fee Ground ploughed, otherwife all a wild Country, and Nothing but Rofemary, Ciftus, Juniper, Lavender, Broom, Lentijcus, E$c$. growing in the Fields and on the Hills. Little or no Hay any where in Spain, they feeding their Mules and Horfes with Straw : At leaft one half of Spain is mountainous. The Spaniards are not fo abftinent as fome People take them to be, eating the beft they can get, and freely enough, if it be at another Man's Coft, and in Inns never refufing Partridges, Quails, E $\mathcal{E}^{c}$. for the Dearnefs. Lazinefs and Slooth makes them poor, and Poverty makes them pinch their Bellies and fair hardly.

They feldom mingle Water with their Wine, it being a common Saying among them, Vino poco et puro, though all over Spain the Wine is very hot and ftrong. They delight much in Pimentone, i. e. Guiny Pepper, and mingle it with their Sauces. In roafting of Meat they never ufe a Dripping-pan, but draw the Coals juft under the Meat, which though it be not fo cleanly, yet is the quicker and more thrifty Way for faving of Fewel. They tear Rabbits in funder with their Hands, when they are almoft roafted, and ftew them in a Pot with Water and Pimentone. To toaft Bread they throw it upon the Coals. They long and ask for every Thing they fee, to avoid which, a Merchant that travelled with me was wont to put fomething into his Vietuals which they did not love. They take Tobacco much in Snuff, and if one take out a Box of Snuff, he mult give fome to all the Company. The beft Perfon in the Company, at Table, cuts and tears the Meat in Pieces, and gives to every Man his Share. They are mof impertinently inquifitive whence you come, whither you go, what Bufinefs you have; moft horribly rude, infolent, and imperious, uncivil to Strangers, asking them, What do you come into our Country for? We do not go into yours ; i.e. this is to be underftood of the middle and inferior Sort of People, many of the Gentry being very civil and well bred.
Their Children are the moft unmannerly and ill-bred of any in the World. The Sons of Frencb Fathers and Spanifh Women, when they are grown up, often turn their Fathers out of Doors, having many Privileges above them for being born in Spain. They are extremely given to Lying ; Almuzzos, and fuch Kind of Fellows, not to be believed or trufted in any Thing they promife. They ride altogether upon Mules, and carry their Portmanteaus before them, for fear they fhould be loft or flolen from behind them; they lie between a high Pummel of the Saddle and an Iron Hook. Inftead of Stirrops, Perfons of Quality ufe great Clogs of Wood, of the Shape of Shoes without Heels. They cut away the Mules Hair clofe to the Skin under the Saddles and Portmanteaus to avoid Galling. Of this Baftard Breed of Animals, the Males are ufually bigger than the Females. 2. Whether the Reafon be that they are always bred of a Mare and an He-Afs. They piis very often. 2. Whether the Reafon be the Sharpnefs of their Urine, or the Smallnefs of their Bladder?

They piifs almoft always when they go through Water. They fhoe them with Shoes a deal broader than their Feet, to prevents I fuppofe, the breaking of their Hoofs. Under the Mouths of their Mules of Burthen, they ufually hang a Net with Provender in it. Thefe Beafts are better at climbing of Mountains than Horfes, have a greater Courage to endure long and hard Travel, and, befides, are maintained at lefs Charge.
The Spaniards feldom ride alone, but fay for a Troppas, as they do for a Caravan in Arabia. The common Phrafes or Forms of Salutation, when they meet or pafs by one another, are, Guarda Dios voffes, i. e. vous autres, i. e. God defend you. Adios, i. e. Adieu. Vaga con Dios, i. e. God go along with you. When they are angry, Cornuto, i. e. Cuckold, is the firtt Word, and fometimes Cornutifimo. When they fpeak to their Mules, or Boys they fend of Errands, they fay Anda Cornuto, i. e. Go, cuckold. When they refufe a Courtefy or Complement to drink firt, go firft, or the like, they fay, Nanper vita mea, i. e. no, by my Life. At any Thing ftrange or ridiculous, they cry out, Cuerpo di Dios or di Cbrifto, i.e. Body of God or Body of Chrift. When they call to one to make him hear, inftead of $E$ coutes in French, or Senti in Italian, they cry, $O$ yes, juft as Criers do in England. When they put off a Beggar, not giving him an Alms, they fay, Voltes perdonné, i. e. Good Friend, pardon or excufe me. As for their Religion, the Spaniards are the moft orthodox and rigid Romanifts in the World, it being a Saying among them, Faltando in uno punto à Dios, i. e. If you leave the Church in one Punctulio; God be with you; you mult needs be damned. All over Spain there are Abundance of pitiful wooden Croffes fet up in the Middle of Heaps of Stone. Under all the Pictures of the Virgin Mary is written, Concebida /in peccado originale, i. e. conceived without original Sin. At the Ave Mary Bell, they all fall down upon their Knees; whereas in other Countries they are contented only to pluck off their Hats. When they have done their Devotions, as alfo after their Meals, when they take away, and when they go to Bed, they fay, Sia lodato il fantiflimo Sacramento, i. e. praifed be the moft holy Sacrament.
For Fornication and Impurity, they are the wort of all Nations, at leaft in Europe; alnoft all the Inns in Andalufa, Cafile, Granada, Murcia, \&zc. having Whores who drefs the Meat, and do all the Bufinefs. They are to be hired at a very cheap Rate. It were a Shame to mention their Impudence, Lewdnefs and immodeft Behaviour and Practices. In Catalonia, Guipuscoa, and fome other Places, they are not fo bad. They are fo lazy, that in their Shops they will fay they have not a Commodity, rather than take Pains to look for it, not to be hired to carry a Portmanteau, go of an Errand, $E^{\circ}$ c. but at an exceffive Rate. Mercers never tie up any Thing they fell, and if they allow Paper, they only rudely mumble up the Commodities in it. Of their fantaftical and ridiculous Pride, and that too in the extremeft Poverty, all the World rings. If there be any Employment that you would fet them about, which they think themfelves too good for, they prefently fay, Send for a Frencbman. Indeed, the French do almoft all the Work in Spain. All the beft Shops are kept by Frencbmen, the beft Workmen in every Kind are French, and, I believe, near one Fourth or one Fifh Part of the People in Spain are of that Nation. I have heard fome Travellers fay, that fhould the King of France recall his Subjects out of Spain, the Spaniards would hazard being all ftarved to Death.
Bread is very fcarce and very dear in many Places of Spain, becaufe of the Barrennefs of the Soil, and Want of Rain, but chiefly becaufe of the Sloth of the People in letting a great deal of Ground lie untilled, and in not taking the Pains to fetch Corn and Bread from thofe Places where there is Plenty. So that in a Day's Journey the Price of Bread will be trebled, and in another Day's Journey fall as múch again. This Summer there was a Tumult at Madrid, the poor People gathering about the King's Palace, cried out, Let the King live, but let the ill Government die; let Exactors

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through
die, Ecc. juft as they did at Naples under the Rebellion of Mafaniello. Upon which the King fent to all the Towns about for Bread Corn, and in two or three Days Bread was very plentiful and cheap. All over Catàlonia Bread is very cheap. The Spanifo Bread is commended for the beft of the World; and well it may be, if, as we have heard, they pick their Wheat Grain by Grain. At my being at Madrid, there was an Engineer there, fent by the Emperor, that had invented a Plow, called by the Spaniards a Sembrador, to fow Corn at equal Diftances, and one Grain in a Hole ; the Defcription whereof hath been fince publifhed in the Pbilofopbical Tranfarions.

In all Kind of good Learning the Spaniards are behind the reft of Europe, underttanding nothing at all but a little of the old wrangling Philofophy and School Divinity. The People are much difcontented all over Spain, complaining of Taxes, evil Counfellors, $\mathcal{F}^{\circ}$. but they have a good Opinion of, and are generally well affected to their King, whofe Intentions they fay are very good. As for their Habit and Drefs, in that they are to be commended that they are conftant to the fame Fafhions, though they be not the moft convenient that might be devifed. To change for the better, I think it rather commendable than blameworthy; but to change out of meer Levity, or an apifh Imitation of ochers, is foolifh and unreafonable.

They wear great Hats with broad Crowns, and the Top broader than the Bottom. Their Hair moft commonly, and efpecially when they travel, they tie up in a Knot behind, and fometimes braid like Women's. Their Bands lie upon black Collars juft of the fame Bignefs, or a little bigger. They are joined to the Collar, and put on Band and Collar together. They wear very much Cambrick Half Shirts, and have their Sleeves open before and behind, both Winter and Summer: They have great Skirts upon their Doublets; their Breeches are very ftrait and clofe to their Thighs, and button'd down on each Side, and reach a little lower than the Knee. They wear very night wrought black Silk Stockings, that the white Linnen Stockings which they wear underneath, may be feen through them. Their Shoes juft fit their Feet, very light and thin, with low Heels. Over their Doublets they wear a clofe Coat or Jerkin, with open Sleeves like the Doublet, and for the moft Part with hanging Sleeves, like Childrens, yet never reaching lower than their Skirts, a very long Sword and a fhorr Dagger hanging juft behind them; and at laft, over all, a Cloak with a great Cape. The Women wear great Fardingales, ftanding fo far out on each Side, that to enter in at an ordinary Door, they are forced to go Sideways; when they go Abroad are covered with a Veil of black, having only a Hole left for one Eye.

The poor People wear Shoes made of Packthread. The moft noble Sport in Spain is the Feu de Tarreau, or Bull-Fighting, praciifed at Valentia, Madrid, \&c. At Madrid, three times in the Year, where in the MarketPlace, a brave Don on Horfeback, and a great many Pages on Foot, fight with a wild Bull; when one Bull is killed or much wounded, they turn in another. Seldom but fome of the Pages are killed; and with thefe cruel and bloody Spectacles the People are much delighted, as were the Romans of old in the Time of Heathenifm.
16. We fee very plainly from Mr. Willougbby's Account, that Spain is not naturally fo poor a Country as is commonly imagin'd. The Climate is excellent, the Soil very far from being bad, and what Corn is produced in Spain may be truly call'd the beft of its kind in Europe. The only thing that is wanting is, a right Government, for this would encourage Induftry, render the Country more populous, and make the People willing to work hard, in order to fare well. It is highly probable, that the Reader will incline to know what are the principal Faults of this Government, whence it comes to pafs that they have fubfifted fo long, and are like fo much longer to fubfift, and what might be reafonably expected in Favour of the Spanifo Nation, if proper Remedies were applied to thefe Evils.

SPAIN.
In the firt Place then, with Regard to the Government, the King, though he feems abfolute enough, wants Power to take thore Steps that may appear neceffary for the Good of his Subjects. In Spain Forms are not only regarded, but reverenced as facred. There is not a. fingle Nobleman in Spain but has very great Rights and Privileges in his own Lands; on the other Hand, there are very few of the great Nobility that have not confiderable Towns upon their Eftates, to which they have granted Immunities; and in Refpect to either of thefe; there can be no Innovation made, thouigh ever fo much; or ever fo apparently, for the Advantage of the Subjects in general. Thus it appears that there is a great deal of Liberty in Spain, and the People are very tenacious of it. The King alfo has great Power, more efpecially in the Countries that hold immediately of the Crown; he therefore favours them in Point of Trade; and in other Refpects; but the Crown of Spain has been fo long at an exorbitant Expence, boch of Treafure and of Men, that it wants Force to rid itfelf of old Inconveniencies, at the fame time that, from its prefent Weaknefs, new ones are continually growing. It mult indeed be owned, that the Cortes, or Affembly of the States, might remove many of thefe Evils, but Princes; if they can avoid it, are unwilling to borrow Powers from their People and Minifters, much more unwilling to have their Management of Power looked into and examined. To fecure the Peace of the Kingdom, the Defcendants of the Moors were banifhed; this depopulated the Kingdom of Granada, then the richeft and moft fertile Part of Spain; and now for want of thofe induftrious People, the moft barren. Upon a Mixture of religious and political Principles, the Jews were alfo driven out, and with them went all Induftry in the low Arts of Retailing and Pedlary, as well as in the fuperior Branches of the mercantile Bufinefs. In a Word, to exprefs the Thing as clearly as poffible to an Englijb Reader, the firt Meafure was calculated to deftroy the Land, and the latter effectually ruined the Money'd Intereft.

The plain Remedies for thefe Mifchiefs muft be the bringing all the Kingdoms in Spain under one Conftitution and Form of Laws, as they are fubject only to one Prince. The raifing Men and Money ought to be reftrained to Cafes of Neceffity, and then it fhould be done as equally as poffible; for when every Body fuffers alike, it very feldom happens that any Body complains. Titles of Honour, and the Privileges annexed to them, fhould be connected with Property, as well as with Defcent, which amongft the People, naturally proud, would prove the greater Spur to Induftry. The Trade of the new World ought to be laid open to all the Subjects of Spain, under Refrictions that may be complied with, and thofe Reftrictions ought not to be relaxed; as it ftands at prefent, this Commerce is fo far in the Hands of the Crown, as to hinder it from being beneficial to the People; and yet there is fuch a univerfal Corruption reigns amonglt the Officers employed by the Crown, that greatly abridges the King's Profits. If Strangers fettled in Spain had the Means of acquiring Property, and the Privileges that ought to be annexed to Property, Manufactures would rife of themfelves, and the Produce of Spanib Commodities would remain in Spain, whereas now all the Advantages arifing from Trade are collected as it were in a Sieve, fo that as they come in they appear to be very great, but they fpeedily leak through, and that to fuch a Degree that little or nothing is left behind.
The Want of Attention to there plain Maxims has rendered the Government weak and infirm; the purfuing Schemes directly oppofite to thefe Maxims has increafed this Weaknefs into a kind of galloping Confumption, and this has enervated the Monarchy to fuch a Degree, that without a fpeedy Reformation, it muft crumble to Pieces by its own Weight; and that this is not a Conjecture but a Fact, appears plainly from the miferable Scate of Sc. Domsingo, Porto Rico, and other Spanib Settlements; but if fuch a Reformation were to take Place, the Kingdom of Spain has in itfelf vaft Refources. There are in it many fine Ports which
would
would enable its Inhabitants to carry on an extenfive
Commerce, and the Means of carrying them on are alfo in the Hands of the Inhabitants. We will give a few Inftances, which at the fame Time that they inform, cannot fail of pleafing and entertaining an intelligent Reader.
To begin then with the Wooll. All the World knows that Spain produces as good, fome, who are well verfed in that Commodity, fay better, than any in Europe; of this the Englifb ufe a vaft Quantity, and of late the French and Dutcb a much greater. Their Wine is alfo a very confiderable Article; fo long ago as the Year 1690. it appeared by their Cuftom-houfe Books, that they exported fixteen thoufand Pipes annually from Maloga, Alicant, Port Sr. Mary's, Porto Real, St. Lucar, and Rota. They make vaft Quantities of Oil in the Inand of Majorca, and in the Country about Sevil and Malaga. Ceftile Soap is another great Article, and befides this, Pot-Afhes for the Ufe of Glafs-works, and the Whitening of Linnen, a Commodity that deferves Notice.

They have great Quantities of the very beft Sort of Salt, of which they fell a great deal at prefent, but nothing in Comparifon of what they might fell. In the Principality of $B i j_{c a y}$, and in the upper Navarre, they have large Quantities of Iron, and that Iron is juftly efteemed excellent. From Bilboa and Sc. Sebaftions they carry on two or three kinds of Fifheries, and thefe might be extended vaftly. We will add to thefe Articles, that of Fruits, which is very confiderable, fuch as Oranges four and fiweet, Raifins of the Sun, and many others; beffides all the Drugs that they derive from the Weft-Indies, which are at once the richeft and mont faleable, fuch as, Cochineal, Indigo, Vanella's, Jalap, Sarfa Parilla, Jefuits Bark, E'c. The Tobacco Trade, Skins and Hides, and a Multitude of other Things might be added.
All this plainly fhows, that if Spein is very thin of People, it is entirely owing to Errors in Government, fince the Country would have wherewithal to maintain its Inhabitants, if it was ever fo populous, and it might be filled with Inhabitants from other Countries, if fome idle fool:in Cuftoms were taken away; for thefe Cuftoms make Strangers leave Spain, as foon as they have acquired Fortuncs in it, which is doubly difadvantageous to the State ; firft by the Lofs of fo many Subjects, and next by the great Sums they carry off. We may judge of this from the Balance that is faid to arife to France, from what is acquired by itinerant Labourers, that go to Spain in the Spring, and return before Winter, which has been computed, and not extravagantly neither, at half a Million Sterling; yet fuch is the Folly of the Spaniards, that inftead of regretting this Lofs, they vaJue themfelves upon it, and believe, that in Comparifon of the French, they are a rich and great People, to whom others willingly fubmit themfelves, for the Sake of getting Bread by them, without confidering that thete Strangers whom they defpife, eat that Bread which they want, and go Home rich into their own Country, while thofe who call themfelves their Mafters are left to ftarve. If this Fact was not evident and undeniable, it would certainly be incredible.
Give me Leave alfo to obferve, that as Spain is a very large Country, and compofed of Provinces that differ very much from each other in Soil and Climate; fo thofe, who feem to be lefs happy in thefe Particulare, are by much the beft cultivated, and fulleft of Inhabitants: As, for Inftance, the Upper Navarre, for the Lower belongs to France, is very cold and mountainous; yet Pompeluna, which is the Capital, is a fair well-built City, and has a good Trade: The People there, and throughout the whole Country, are active, frugal and induttrious, civil to Strangers, and generally fpeaking, free from moft of thofe Vices that are commonly imputed to the Spaniards. It is the fame Thing in Bifcay, where, though the Land is alfo far from being fercile; yet the People are never in Want; their Farms require Labour and Manure ; the Owners befow it chearfully; and there is more Trade carricd on, in Proportion to the Extent of this Diftriet, than
in all the Kingdom befide. The People alfo of Bicay and Navarre are the beft Soldiers, not only as they are robuft in their Conflitutions, and very hardy, but as they are active, diligent and very capable of bearing Fatigue. The Bifcaneers alfo are excellent Seamen ; their Barks are well built; they are well vitualled, and well manned; they fifh for Cods on the Nerefoundland Banks; they have a Share in the Greenland Fifhery; and whereas the Spanifb Seamen in general are fow and awkward, thefe are as brisk and as capable in every Refpeet as ours. But in Valertia, Murcia and Grenada, Countries that were formerly very rich, and produced vaft Quantities of Grain, the Land lies untilled, and the People are poor and farving, merely becaufe they are idle and will not work. In Andalusfa, indeed, which may be ftiled the Paradife of Spain, there is great Plenty, and the Country has a fine Appearance; but even here vaft Improvements might be made, if the Inhabitants were more induftrious, and did not think four Hours Labour in twenty four an intolerable Fatigue.
That the Spaniards have Genius and Parts is certain, and yet both are commonly mifapplied; for as our Author obferves, they are a Hundred Years behind the reft of Europe, in almoft all Branches of Literature : not becaufe they want Abilities, but becaufe they are attach'd to their old Notions, and had rather go on in the Paths of their Forefathers, though ever for rugged and uncooth, than difhonour them fo far, as to ftrike out into better Roads that are new. In Poetry, Romances, Novels, and fuch Kind of Writings, they fhow a Spirit and an Invention, that is a clear Evidence of their falling fhort in other Things, merely from Want of Attention and Application : Yet with all this, their Reverence and Regard for Authority, they want not a flrong Propenfity to Liberty; and though no People in the Univerfe are more loyal to their Princes, yet they are far from being blind to the Errors in their Adminiftration; which, however, they afcribe confantly to their Minifters, never to themfelves. When they meet in the Evenings, as they commonly do in the great Squares of Madrid, and other Cities, they difcourfe very frankly upon all Sorts of Subjects, and fpare their Superiors as little as in the freeft Countries in Europe.
In thefe little Cabals, the fecret Hiftory and Policy of Spain may be very truly learned, at the fame Time that it gives you a very natural Picture of the real Genius and genuine Difpofition of the People. The Birth, the Rife, Progrefs and Summit of every Minifter's Fortune, are here fairly difcuffed; his private Life, as well as his publick Adminiftration, canvaffed, and the Confequences of his Miftakes either predicted before they happened, or traced to their true Sources afterwards. It muft be owned, that thefe Politicians are but very low People; a Taylor, perhaps, or a Shoemaker, is one of the moof enlightened Members of this Society; but they are ftrangely miftaken, who fhall perfuade themfelves from thence, that nothing great or fenfible paffes in thefe Converfations. The very contrary is ftrietly true: This Cuftom has reigned fo long in Spain, that the whole Nation are become Statefinen, at leaft, to fuch a Degree, as to form a right enough Judgment of a Minifter's Behaviour in Domeftick Concerns; and therefore the famous Conde-Duke de Olivarez, had always his Spies amongft them, whofe Reports he committed to Writing ; and it was againft the Charge drawn from them, that he wrote his famous Juftification, which is beyond Controverfy the beft Apology that ever fell from a Minifter's Pen. The King, at the Time he wrote it, was ftrongly inclined to reftore him to his Favour, but the Mob Politicians of Madrid pronounced him undone; as foon as this excellent Piece appeared: A Favourite, faid they, can never rife again, after Showing that bis Mafer was in the Wrong to let bim fall.

Now we are upon this Chapter of Politicks, I cannot help adding a Thought of my own, which is this, that the indulging the People of Spoin in thefe extraordinary Liberties has been the great Secret by which
they have been kept conitantly loyal, without an armed Force ; for the Kings of Spain are neither crowned, as other Monarchs are, nor do they keep any Guards : The firft they think unneceffary in an hereditary Kingdom; and as for the latter, Pbilip the Third faid truly, that Guards migbt proteet Tyrants, but a jult Prince needed no other Guards thon bis own Subjests. The People being thus indulged in Freedom of Speech, and making Ufe of this Freedom openly, never enter into fecret Cabals; fometimes, indeed, they affemble in Crowds before the Palace, and reprefented their Grievances in very round Terms; but they began and ended with this Exclamation, Let our good King live for ever, but let the wicked Adminijtration go to the Devil. A little Condefcenfion, and the Redreffing a few of the moft notorious Grievances, always quieted them fo, that their Monarchs have never thought themfelves in Danger ; and their Minifters know, upon fuch Occifions, how to purchafe Peace upon reafonable Terms. [The Reader is to obferve, that all that is here advanced relates to the Old Spanish Monarchy under the Kings of the Houfe of Auflia; for fince the Acceffion of the Bourbon Family, the King of Spain has not only had Guards, but a very formidable Body of Houfehold Troops. The long War, occafioned by the Acceffion of the late King Pbilip, gave him an Opportunity of eftablifhing thefe; and it is not probable that he or his Succeffors will ever part with them.]
17. We cannot have, for the Time in which they were written, better Accounts than thofe given us by Mr. Willougbby; nor are the Additions lefs curious, more efpecially with refpect to the Coral Fifhery, our former Relations being very little to be depended upon. There was likewife, in the fame Book, as large and -particular a Detail as to Lead Mines; but the Writing being befaced, it was impoffible to pick it out. But there is one Objection to which this Collection would be liable, if we inferted no other Travels but thefe, viz. that they are many Years old; that Things are much changed fince, and that People would be glad to know how they look nearer their own Times. In order to guard againft this, and at the fame Time to fupply another Deficiency, which is the Leaving feveral Provinces untouch'd, we fhall, in the next Section, prefent the Reader with the Travels of an Englifs Gentleman, not only through Spain, but Portugal alfo; later in Point of Time by about thirty Years, than thofe which have been already given, and which are written with great Plainnefs and Perfpicuity. It is, indeed, to be wifhed, that we had a better Acquaintance with their Author, fince this would very probably give us a better Opinion of the Work itfelf; but as we have not, we muft be content to take it the other Way, and efteem the Author for the Sake of his Work, which will appear more pleafant to a modern Reader, as it is writ-
ten in the Language of thefe Times. We might, indeed, have fmoothed thofe of Mr. Willougbby, and render ${ }^{5}$ d them more graceful in the Eyes of many People, by taking them out of their ancient Garb s but againit this we had many Reafons.
It feems but juft, that a Man, and efpecially a Man of his Quality, flould tell his Tale in his own Language, and after his own Manner, efpecially if there be nothing in it barbarous or uncouth: It is very far from being an eafy Matter to give precifely the Senfé of an Author, who writes in our own Tongue, in any other Words thain his own; for either we fall hort of, or exceed his Ideas ; and to be convinced of this, we need only make a Tryal. There is a great Beauty in feeing thefe Variety of Stiles, which is alfo heighten'd by its Propriety. In a Treatife of Geography, or even in a Hiftory of Voyages, Uniformity is requifite; but it is otherwife in a Collection, and thofe have been always efteemed moft, that have been the exacteft in this Refpect, fuch as Ramufos in Italian, Thevenots in French, and Hackluyts in our own. This laft is a very proper Inftance, for by comparing him with his Succeffor Purchas; we may eafily difcern the Inconveniences that attend a finical Nicety, in an Editor who prefers his own Manner of Writing to that of all other Men. The Reverend Author we have laft mentioned, confider'd himfelf, and was confider'd in his own Times as a Wit ; that is to fay, he had a Humour of playing upon Words, and introducing Burlefque Remarks upon very ferious Subjects; which has brought him into Difcredit with the prefent Age, when a chafter and more correct Stile is grown into Fafhion.
But though I do not think it expedient, that an Editor fhould always new cloath his Author ; yet I muft admit, that there are Cafes where this is not only allowable, but neceffary; and in thofe Cafes, according: to the beft of my Judgment, I have never failed ufing this Freedom. But if there be a Beauty in fuch Variety of Stiles, there is likewife a very great Utility; for by feeing the different Methods which Travellers make ufe of, we learn the Excellencies of fome, and the Deficiencies of others, and know from thence how to copy the one, or to avoid the other, when it becomes our own Turn to write. But thefe Reflexions have, perhaps, carried me a little out of my Way, and made the Conclufion of this Section a few Lines longer than it ought to be. The Reader will confider, that all People are fond of talking of their own Trades, and that perhaps Authors are more liable to fall into this Error than others. The beft Amends I can make, after confeffing my Foible, is to atone for it; and as I have already faid all that is neceffary to be faid of the Perfon to whom we are indebted for the following Section, we will proceed to it without any Introduction.

## S E C TION II.

Travels through Portugal and Spain, with a diftinct Defcription of the principal Cities in both Kingdoms; particularly, Lisbon, Coimbra, Porto, and Braga, in the former; Madrid, Valentia, Alicant, $\& c$. in the latter: With a curious and correct Detail of the Curiofities in the Efcurial, and a fuccinct Defcription of the other Royal. Palaces of their Catholick Majefties.

By an English Gentleman.

1. The Autbor's Voyage to Lisbon, and Thoughts of the Portuguefe upon bis frrf Arritial there, witb fome otber-Particulars. 2. A diftinct Account of the City of Lisbon, and the Country, adjacent. 3. The City and Univerfity of Coimbra particularly defcribed, and more efpecially the famous Convent of VOL. II. $\mathrm{N}^{\mathrm{Q}} \mathrm{IIF}^{2}$.

St. Auftin. 4. A Defoription of the Town of Aveyro, and the Country about it. 5. An Account of the famous City of Porto, and of the noble River upon wobich it is feated. 6. The Autbor's Journey from thence to Braga, reith a Vierw of that City, and of the Towns of Viana and Camena. 7. A DeScription of Valentia (in Portugal) and of the Frontier Country towards Spain. 8. An Account of the Spanif Province of Galicia, and of the Towns of Radontella and Ponte Vedra. 9. His Return into Portugal, and by another Route back to Lisbon. 10. Hisis fecond Yourney into Spain, weith a Defrription of Eftremoze and Elvas. 11. His Yourney through Badajos, Merida, Trukillo or Truxillo, to Toledo. 12. The Autbor's Defcription of Madrid, and of the Palace of the Buen Retiro. 13. An Account of the City and Univerfity of Compoftella, one of the moft fanious in Spain. 14. The celebrated Palace and Convent of the Eicurial defrribed, the Religues, Ricbes, and Ornaments enumerated. 15. An Account of the Pantheon, or Place of the Royal Sepulchres. 16. AViere of the old Chapel and Royal Palace of their Cattolick Majefies, and a Recapitulation of the remarkable Tbings in this celebrated Place. 17. An Account of Aranjuez, and otber Places on the Road. 18. A Defcription of the Town and Cafle of Alicant. 19. The Manners, Cufoms, and Bebaviour of the Inbabitants of Valentia. 20. Some very fingular Inflances of the Ignor ance and Superffition of the Spaniards in general. 21. Obfervations and Remarks upon the foregoing Section.

IN the Year 1693 , I embarked on board a Mer-chant-fhip for Portugal, where we arrived without any Accident but fuch as are ordinary at Sea, in the River of Lisbon, in which City flaying feveral Months, I will give you the beft Account I am able of what Iobferv'd during my Stay.
It is feated on divers Hills, which make the Streets very uneafy and unpleafant; befides, the Dirt and noifome Smells arifing from the Filth that runs from their Kitchens (which are all above Stairs) into them, and by Reafon of their Narrownefs can't be dried by the Sun, makes them fo offenfive, that no body cares much to pals through them.
Arriving there in Lent, I was entertained with the Sight of their monftrous Proceffions, wherein I obferved fome of the true Penitents lah themfelves with that Severity that they frequently die of it; for which Reafon it is that the Priefts are obliged to declare to them, That fuch as procure their Death by this Excefs of Folly, are the Occafion of their owen Damnation. But among thefe true Devotees are to be feen many others, hired on Purpofe by the Religious Societies, to increafe the Number of the Penitents; a Thing fo fcandalous, that even the foreign Catholicks reffiding here blufh at it, there being fcarce any but the moft profigate and debauch'd Wretches that will expofe themfelves to fuch dangerous Mortifications for Lucre-fake: Among the reft, they had at that Time employed a certain lewd Fellow, who us'd to ferve as a Porter to the Engli/h refiding there.
They have a vaft Number of Churches and Convents, but few that are magnificent, the Domo, or Cathedral itfelf, being neithếr large nor handfomely built: Their chief publick Structures are, the Royal Palace, feated upon' the River T.agus, the Model whereof was defigned much larger than it is. It has a Cloyfter behind adjoining to it. The Palace of the Archbifhop of Lisbon is a fpacious Structure, with fome good Statues upon the Stairs, the only Kind of Furniture the Portuguefe delight in, there being even in the King's Apartments nothing to be feen but white Walls. Their Houfts are generally very high and pretty cool, but the Streets fo narrow, that inftead of Coaches they are forced to make ufe of Litters, carried by Mules, which are very ftrong and large in this Councry.
It is an odd Sight to fee the Portuguefe, both young and old, appear with large Spectacles faftened to their Ears in the Streets. Their Diet is generally very moderate, and they feldom or never commit any Excefs in Wine : Their predominant Vice is the Converfation of lewd Women, unto which the Heat of the Climate feems to incline them more than Extravagance. The Women paint here very young, and are confequently obliged to follow it as they grow more in Years. The Men are exceeding jealous, and a Sufpicion of Incontinency in a Woman puts her in Danger of her Life; hence they are feldom allowed to ftir abroad, except when they go to Church on Sundays, Holidays, or their Eves.
The Women of Quality wear their Fardingals here larger than thofe of Italy or Spain; they wear Veils to cover their Faces; they look upon it as the greateft Piece of Immodefty to thew their Feet; for which Rea-
fon they wear very long Petticoats, and their Pages or Footmen hold a Piece of Cloth either before or behind them, as they get in or out of their Coaches or Litters, though at the fame Time they go both with their Bofom, and Shoulders bare. The Men's Habit is a black Coat and a Band of our Colcbester Bays, which they turn the wrong Side outward in Mourning ; this is the general Wear, without any Diftinction of Perfons or Quality, unto which they are all fubject without any Difference, Silver and Gold Laces being exprefy forbid among them. The Inquifition makes them all appear good Chriftians, though it is generally believed there are many conceal'd feres, as their fwarthy Complexion and fiery revengeful Temper are the Remnants of their Moori/b Anceitors.
2. The Situation of Lisbon upon the River $\tau_{a j o}$ or $\mathcal{T}_{a}$ gus, makes it a Place of confiderable Traffick; for, not to mention their Commerce in the Eaf Indies and Brafil, they trade with moft Nations of Europe, but efpecially with the Englijh, who take in Salt there for Nerefoundland, and bring back to them dry'd Cod ; befides that, they exchange many of their Woollen Manufactures for the Wine and Fruits of Portugal.

The Extent of the Tagus into a great Part of the Country, affords them likewife a moft commodious Carriage of their Wines, Oils, Fruits, and other Products of the Country: Their Salt, efpecially that of St. Ubes, is tranfported into moft Parts of Europe, and ufed in vaft Quantity in Sweden.

They abound in Filh at Lisbon, but have fome Scarcity of Flefh, efpecially of Beef and Mutton, the adjacent rocky Mountains affording Food only for Goats; however, their tame Fowl, when well fatted, are very good, and their Pigeons both very large and well tafted.

About Lisbon are many Summer-houfes, and Gardens well planted with Orange-trees, the agreeable Scent whereof perfumes the Air at a confiderable Diftance: A Friend of mine had one of thefe Summer-feats at Luz, about four Miles from Lisbon, with a well planted, pleafant, walled Garden, of three Acres of Land belonging to it , which among other Advantages, had this Conveniency belonging to it, that we could go thither in a Coach, a Rarity among thofe craggy Mountains. I fpent a great Part of the Summer there.

During my Stay here, I took particular Notice, that even in the hotteft Seafon, we were conitantly, toward Evening, refrefh'd with a cool Sea-breeze, a Thing I afterwards obferv'd in moft Places about Lisbon.
From this Country feat I ufed frequently to take a Walk to the once fo much celebrated Nunnery of Odevalla, but much reftrained of late Years both in its Revenues, and the free Converfation allowed to that Order in fome of their Convents.
3. Leaving Lifbon, May 6. 1694, I travell'd towards Porto, to take a View of the Country on that Side ; I pafs ${ }^{\prime} d$ the firt Day through a rocky Country to Sacca Veina, and thence two Leagues furcher to Alucrea, and in the Afternoon through Aliandra, Villa Franca, Povia and Cafinora, where I lodg'd that Night,
but badly enough; the next Morning early I purfued my Journey through the Villages of Villa Nova de Remo, Ambofia, and Caftefia; after Dinner I travell'd on near Sancta Terrena, through a plain and moft delightful Country, abounding in Wine, Oil and Corn, and fo came to Paufinio, where I took up my Lodging for that Night ; the next Day I continued my Journey in a no lefs pleafant and delightful Country, over Campo de Galligong, (a delicious Plain, abounding in Corn and Olive-trees) through Alla nerofa, Pialva, and Fandemafans, to Perucbio, where I lay that Night, and the next Morning over Arujon, Pulga, Tobofal, \&c. getting to Coimbra that Night, after four Days Journey in a Horfelitter, being none of the quickeft in thefe Countries.
Before I entred the Gates of Coimbra, I crofs'd the River over a Bridge very remarkable for its Length, as having no lefs than twenty nine Arches, and its being built upon another Bridge, which is fwallow'd up in the Sand, the River being fo fhallow now that 'tis fear'd it will in Time be quite choak'd up. On this Side of the Bridge ftands a Convent and a Nunnery, both belonging to the Francijcan Order, the firft dedicated to St. Bartbolomere, the other to St. Clara. The City itfelf is computed to contain about 30,000 Sonls, and its Situation is like moft of the great Towns of this Country, upon Hills; it has fixteen Colleges and Convents.

The Univerfity has but two Colleges, viz. thofe call'd St. Peter's and S. Paul's, adjoining to each other like one Building. Their Schools make no great Show, though they keep publick Lectures in them in all Sciences; and I was told they had a good Library. I faw a Fidalgo (or Gentleman's Son) perform his Exercife for his Degree of Doctor in Law in the Hall, which is a handfome large Room, common to both the Colleges, hung about the Walls with the Pictures of the Kings of Poruugal. As the Number of Students here is computed at no lefs than five thoufand, (becaufe they are admitted as foon as they can well read, and are diftributed accordingly in different Claffes) fo none but the Children of Perfons of the beft Rank can have their Chambers in the Colleges, the reft being difpos'd in the Town as they beft.can.

The chief of their Convents is that of St. Cruz, being all Noblemen, and of the Order of St. Aufin. The Church belonging to this Convent is a large Structure, with Altars richly gilt, and adorn'd with Silver Candlefticks of great Value: They preferve here many Relicks, but as they are very fhy of fhewing them to Strangers, I obtain'd this Favour by the Affiltance of an Irifb Father; they fhew'd me the Sword of King Alphonfo, wherewith he kill'd five Moorifh Kings; they tell you that King Sebaftian, when he was jutt upon going to the Wars in Barbary, borrow'd this Sword of the Convent, and that the Sword being loft there, together with the King, they inftituted publick Supplications for the Recovery of this Sword, which was one Day found by a Friar upon the high Altar, as he was going to officiate there. But the chief Repofitory of their Relicks is in a Chapel at the End of the Dormitory; here they fhew'd a golden Crofs fet with precious Stones, which (they fay) contains a Piece of the true Crofs, and ufed always to be fix'd on the royal Standard in their Wars againft the Moors; half of one of the Thorns wherewith our Saviour's Head was crown'd ; a Bone of St. Siepben, another of S.. Aufin, a Finger of one of the Innocents flain by Herod, St. Peter's Chains with large thick Iron Links, a Bone of St. Paul, a Leg-Bone of one of the eleven thoufand Virgins fent out of England to the Indies, to marry and encreafe the Cbriftians there ; an Arm-Bone of St. Blazius, a Bone of St. Sebaftian, the Bones of Theotonius in a Silver Cheft, the Bones of five Martyrs put to Death by the Moors in Barbary, whither they were fent to convert them to the Cbrijitian Faith, likewife in a Silver Cheft; a Bone of St. Lawerence: Moft of thefe, befides many others, were brought out of England immediately after the Diffolution of the Monafteries by King Henry VIII. They were fo cautious in fhewing them, and that at fuch a Diftance, that I could fcarce diftinguifh what they were,
which made me never enquire any further about any fuch Things as Relicks in this Country.
4. After a Stay of three Days I left Coimbra, taking my Way towards Aveyro through a pleafant Country, though fomewhat mountainous and rocky: I found my travelling upon a Mule as tedious as in a Litter, for you go no fafter than your Guide, who is on Foot. Aveyro is a very handfome Town, with clean and pleafantistreets, govern'd by a Juftice, as are moft Country Towns here ; it has three Convents, of Dominicans, Carmelites, and the Order of St. Antbony; and four Nunneries, of St. Antbony, Francifans, Dominicons, and Cerinelites; and four Parifh-Churches: Each of the Nunneries contains above a hundred Perfons, including Servants: and the whole City about fifteen or fixteen thoufand Souls. The Duke of Aveyro lives in Spain, under Pretence that the Family of Braganza has ufurp'd the Crown of Portugal, fo that his Eftate being feized upon for the King's Ufe, his Palace is beftow'd upon the Carmelite Nuns. The Town is fenc'd about with a Wall after the Moorifs Fafhion, and has great Plenty of good Fifh and Fowl: The River is of fuch a Deptin that Veffels of feventy or eighty Tun may ride fafe at Anchor under the Town, to which belong above four thoufand Boats, employed for the moft part in carrying Dung from thence into the Country, where the Ground is barren, and wants much more manuring than the Soil about Lifbon. Much Salt is alfo made hereabouts, which is carried into the Country, and into Galicio.
From Aveyro to Porto is ten Leagues; the firt five I went by Water, for taking Boat at twelve at Night, I came the next Morning to a little Village called Varr, whence I travelled the other five on Horfe, through a barren Country, to Porto, the River of which affords a fafe Harbour, being fo environ'd with Hills, as to protect Ships againft the Violence of any Winds; the Ships may ride urder the very Walls of it, which are very high, but at that Time the City was without a Garrifon.
5. The City of Porto itfelf is very handfomely built, and the Streets neatly pav'd, though feated upon Hills, On the other Side of the River called Sarra, ftands a Convent of Austin Friars, a fpacious Structure, containing about forty five Brothers, who call themfelves Dons: Their Dormitory I found to be two hundred and fifteen Paces long, and five broad. Near it is a Nunnery of St. Dominick. Somewhat lower, on this Side of the River, at a Place called Gaia, (famous in ancient Times for the Palace of the Moorib/Kings) is another Convent of twenty eight Friers, of the Order of S. Anionio. In the Convent of the Serria they fhew'd me a pair of Crutches of a lame Child, which was cured by a certain little Image of our Lady in Bafforelievo in the fame Church: The like you fee in feveral other Churches, as alfo wooden Legs and Arms, nay, fometimes the Pictures of the Perfons pretended to be cur'd near the Saints Image that is faid to have wrought it.
This City has four Parimh-Churches, the Cathedral, which is but fmall in Comparifon of others of that Rank, the Church of S. Nicbolas, of S. Victoria, and S. Peter; they appear${ }^{\circ}$ d to me richer and better gilt than thofe of Lifbon: Seven Convents of Friars, viz. the Francijcans, S. Fobn Novo, S. Eli, (drefs'd in Purple) the Dominicans, Carmelites, Benedistins, and the Tanograpes, an Order following the Difcipline of the $7 e-$ fuits, and upon that Score in much Repute here. They have alfo a College of 7 fevits and four Nunneries, viz. of S. Muncbecba, S. Bento, S. Clara, and the Recollettes, an Order peculiar to this Country, and feidom to be met with but in Seaport Towns, being intended for Seamen to beftow their Wives in till their Return; Orphans are likewife educated here till they come to Years of Maturity to chufe either Marriage or a religious Life; Widows are alfo permitted to enter into this Order after the Deceafe of their Husbands, provided they vow Chaftity for the Future. The whole City is reckon'd to contain fifty thoufard Souls, including the Suburbs, in one of which is another ParifhChurch dedicated to S. Alphorijo. It is a Place of valte

Trade,

Trade, the River (which fupplies them with great Quantities of Provifions, Wines, Oyl, Corn, Fruits, Éc. out of the Country for Tranfportation) having from its Conveniency got the Name of The Golden River. The Bar, through which the Ships come in, is a very narrow Paffage, with Rocks on both Sides. Over againft it, near the Village of St. Fobn, is a Fort kept by a fmall Garrifon.

The Epifcopal Palace near the Cathedral feem'd to be a magnificent Building, but was not inhabited then, becaufe the Bifhop, being at Variance with the Clergy of his Diocefe, was at Lisbon.
6. From Porto I travel'd to Gamarains, over fteep and rough Hills; it is a pretty neat Town, well built upon a Level of a confiderable Compafs; it has five Convents of Monks, viz. the Dominicans, Carmelites, Capucbins, Francifcans, and Aufin Fryars; and three Nunneries, Francifcans, Carmelites, and Dominicans, but no more than two Parifh-Churches. The whole Place is enclofed by a ftrong and high Wall, and there are to be feen here the Ruins of a Caftle, faid to be built for one of the Kings of Portugal's Brothers.

From hence I continued my Journey the next Day to Braga, the moft ancient Archbifhoprick of Portugal, and which to this Day difputes the Precedency and Primacy with the Archbifhop of Toledo in Spain.

Braga is a fpacious City, well wall'd according to the Fafhion of this Country. The Cathedral is fomething bigger than in moft other Places in Portugal, and ftrongly built, as are moft of their Structures; for they have hereabouts a Kind of very durable tho' coarfe Marble, and their Loam very white and fine, and confequently exceeding binding, as may be feen by their old Buildings. In this Church is a Monument of the Duke of Bayonne, (a Thing the Portuguefe do not much regard) who being met upon the Road to this City by a great Number of People to honour his Entry, and dying there foon after, order'd by his Will a confideráble Revenue to be employ'd for diftributing a certain Allowance to the Poor every Morning in the Cloyfters of the Church; adding, That fince be was not able to feaft them, be would take Care they fould not go without a Breakfaft. The Tomb, which is about a Yard and a half high, ftands in the Ine of the Church, being all of Brals, with his Effigies at full Length, which appear'd to have been gilt formerly; the Grates about it hinder'd my reading the Infcription. Not far from the Dome ftands the Archiepifcopal Palace, an old Pile of Building, which made but an indifferent Shew on the Outfide, being not then inhabited by reafon of the Death of the Archbifhop.

The next Place I came to in this Journey was. Viana, one of the pleafanteft Towns in Portugal, feated on the Sea-fide, fo that from the Key you may fee any Ships that fail along the Coaft : It is well paved, the Streets upon a level, with very good Buildings. Its Strength confifts only in a fmall Caftle on the Sea fide, which commands the Harbour, but they had at that Time a Garrifon of a thoufand Foot and two Troops of Horfe, and in the Caftle about thirty-feven Great Guns mounted: There was lately built a Magazine for the King, containing Arms for about twenty thaufand Men, and fome Accoutrements for Horfe. They fhew'd us a fmall low Building within the Precinct of the Caftle, faid to be built for the Imprifonment of King Alpbonfo. For the reft, this is a Place of pretty good Trade, tho' the River is not navigable far, by reafon of the Sands which choak up the Channel.
From this Place I travel'd for three Leagues very pleafantly along the Sea-fide to Camena, feated in a Plain; and though the Frontier Town on the Borders of Galicia, it is of no great Strength, but commonly provided with a good Garrifon ; there ftands, however, upon a Rock near the Entrance of the River, a little Fort, commanding the Paffage toward the Harbour, but it was guarded only by fix or eight CountryFellows at that Time, and had not above three or four Guns mounted; within it is the Convent of St. Antbony. This Place has fome little Trade, two ParifhChurches, two Convents of Dominicans and Francifcans, and one Ninnery of Dominicans.
7. If you intend to go from hence into Galicia, you mult crofs the River, which is the common Boundary between Spain and Portugal on this Side.

I went from Camena to Villa nova de Silvero, an ano cient Town in the Road betwixt Camena and Valentia; as it is a Frontier Town, fo it hath a Wall after the Manner of this Country, with a Garrifon.

Valentia, likewife a Frontier Town, upon the Borders of Galicia, advantageounly fituated for being made a ftrong Place, but almoft without Defence, though fo near to Spain; it is true, fome Works it had, but without Men or Arms to defend them, all the Defence they have being the Fort Lovelio, about a Mile from the City, in Oppofition to which, the Spaniards have one or two on their Side of the River. At this Place the King's Officers make ftrict Search, whether you carry more Money with you than is allow'd; the fame is done on the Borders of Galicia by the Spaniards, in your Return hither, which they do with Severity enough, unlefs you make them civil by a little Money. Here you muft alfo give Security for the Return of your Mule.
8. The firf Spanifh Town you come to after you have croffed the River, is Tine, an Epifcopal Seat, but meanly built, which made me without any Stay continue my Journey to Vigo, a Sea-port Town in Galicia, feated upon a River, and accounted one of the beft Harbours of $S p a i n$, formerly the Rendezvous of the Spani/b $A r$ mada or Fleet, when they made a much better Figure at Sea than they do now. Here their Galeons, and the French Squadron commanded by M. Cbateaurenand, were deftroyed by the Engli/b and Dutch, in the Year 1702. For the reft, the Town is of no confiderable Traffick, few inhabiting here but Fifhermen, which makes their Houles appear very mean. It is reckon'd among the garrifon'd Towns of Spain; but this Garrifon confifts only of fixty Country Fellows, who are fummon'd out of the adjacent Country, for the Defence of fome llight Works provided with a few Guns, and are changed every Day. It has one large Parifh Church, but meanly built, and two Convents, one of Friers, the other of Nuns, both Francifcans. About three Leagues down the River you fee the Inles of Bayonne.

From hence I paffed for three Leagues down a noble River towards Ponte Vedra, lined on hoth Sides with Hills and pleafant Valleys, and fome little Redoubts oppofite to one another, for the Defence of the River. As you pafs along this River, you fee Raduntella, a ftately Town, built upon the Bank of the River, in the Middle of which is an Iland, with a Convent of Francifcans upon it, the Gardens of which being planted with Fruit-trees, made a pretty Show at a Diftance. At the End of this River you muft travel a League and a half by Land before you come to Ponte Vedra, thro' very rough and uneven Ways. Ponte Vedra is a large but meanly built Town, though the River (which difcharges itfelf into the Sea) affords them fome Conveniency for Traffick. The chief Thing worth taking Notice of, is the Church of our Lady, a large Fabrick, and adorn'd on the Infide with fome curious Wrought Work on the Ceiling, and the Pillars, which are Mar ble, a Thing feldom obferved in the Churches of $G a-$ licia. The Front of this Church hath alfo fome very fine Relievo-roork; among the reft, our bleffed Lady on her Death-bed, with the Apoftles and fome of the ancient Fathers about her.
The Archbifhop of St. Fago's Palace here is a large Structure, but appear'd much decay'd: It has two Parifh Churches and three Convents, two of Francifcans, and the third of Dominican Fryers, one of Nuns, and a Jefuits College. The Magazine here had alfo fome good Brafs Guns, and fome Small-arms.
9. Galicia appear'd to me a Country very like Portugal, as well in refpect of the Soil, as of the Manners and Cuftoms of its Inhabitants, who alfo differ but very little from the Portuguefe, even in their Habit and Language; and as there is fcarce any Footfteps of Induftry or Husbandry among them, fo you fee nothing but Poverty where-ever you turn your felf.
The indifferent Ufage I met with in all thofe Places thro' which I paffed, made me foon alter my Refolution

## Chap. IV. through Portugal and Spain.

of going further that Way; fo I return'd to Porto the fame Road I came, but took another Way from Porto to Lisbon; for, after having pals'd Aveyro, inftead of going to Coimbria, I took the Road of Fygera, a fmall Maritime. Town, yet not without fome Trade in Salt and Oyl, Ships of about a hundred Tons being able to come up the River hither: They have a Caftle with fome Guns for their Defence. The Salt is made near this River, and the adjacent Country affords great Abundance of Olives.
Betwixt Aveyro and Fygera is the Town of Mira, much celebrated for vaft Store of wild Ducks thereabouts, which they take in a peculiar Manner, without either Nets or Guns, by throwing Sticks at them as they rife and take Wing, which they do with fuch Dexterity, that they knock down feveral at a Time.
I pafs'd the River near Fygera the 25 th of $7 u l y$, which being on a Sunday, and Sr. Fames's Day, I had fcarce travel'd two Miles to Lavos, where meeting with an Irijs Prieft, he would fain have engaged me to go about four Leagues with him, to a Chapel dedicated to St. fames, where (he told me) was a Family which had this Peculiar to irfelf, that on this Day, when the People of the adjacent Country came to pay their Devotions to the faid Saint, and are regaled with a large hot Cake by the Town; any of them can go to the Oven, though never fo hot, and turn the Cake without the leaft Danger ; but I chank'd him for his Care, and told him, that having no great Faith in fuch Matters, he muft excufe me, if I did not go fo far out of my Way. I came the fame Day to Lazia, the Seat of a Bifhop, whofe Palace is a noble Structure: For the reft, the Town is but indifferently built; it hath three ParifhChurches, the Cathedral, St. Diago, and St. Peter's ; the firft appear'd to be a large handfome Fabrick, but I did not view the Infide of it : They have four Convents of Austin Fryars, Dominicans, Francijcans, and Capucbins, and a Nunnery of Dominicans. Near it, upon a very high Hill, you fee a Caftle belonging to the King, which at a Diftance appear'd to be a noble Building.
In my Way from Lazia to Terena I pals'd by Batalia, where is faid to be the beft-built Church in all Spain, perfected by fome Engli/b Workmen; it contains the Sepulchres and Tombs of the Portuguefe Kings. The Steepnefs of the Rocks, over which I was forced to pafs, together with the Length of the Way, made this the worft Day's Journey I ever had, which made me not get to Terena till late at Night; and having fourteen Leagues to Lisbon, I fet out early in the Morning, and after I had rode two Leagues, embark'd on the River, (fending my Mule by Land) which brought me the fame Day to Lisbon. I obferved a great deal of Poverty in the Country through which I pafs'd, the poorer Sort living for the moft part upon Brow and Water. This Brow is a Kind of courfe yellowifh Bread, made of a certain Indian Corn called Millio; certain it is, that many hundred Families live upon this, without ever tafting Meat in all their Life-time. The Country, through which I pals ${ }^{\prime}$ d, affords farce any Wood for Timber, the Oaks, which are but few, appearing no bigger than Shrubs here; Olive and Corktrees they have in Abundance, and I faw fome pretty large Groves of Pines.

The Autbor's Fourney from Lisbon to Madrid.
10. I fet out, Sept. 1, 1694 , from Lisbon for Madrid ; I went three Leagues by Water on the other Side of the River to Allegalego, whence, continuing my Journey the next Day, I travel'd for eight Leagues through a barren Country to Vento Novo, and the next Day by the Way of Monte Major (a very good Village) to Ryolio, a fmall ruined Town with an old Mooribs Caftle, which affords a fine Profpect into the adjacent Country. The next Day I travel'd on to Eftremoze, a Place noted for Earthen Ware, then garrifon'd with eight Companies of Foot, and three Troops of Horfe. Thence I went to Elvas, the lait Frontier Town of the Portuguefe, bordering upon Spoin on that Side, a Place of good Strength, and famous for the fix Months Siege it fuftained againft the Spaniards, in their laft Wars. Near
Vor. II. $\mathrm{N}^{\circ}{ }^{1} \mathrm{I} \%$.
it is a moft noble Aquaduct, three Leagues and a half in Length, and of a vaft Height in fome Places where the Ground is low ; where, for a confiderable Way together, there were no lefs than four Arches built upon one another with vaft Expence. Not above two Engli/b Miles beyond Elvas you come to a fmall River, which being the common Boundary betwixt Spain and Portugal on that Side, you are no fooner pals'd it, but you come to the Campo or Plain, where was fought that memorable Battle betwixt the Spaniards and Portuguefe in their laft War, with the Lofs of feven thoufand Spaniards; in which Action the Englifs had a confiderable Share, acting as Auxiliaries on the Portuguefe Side.

The firt Town belonging to the Spaniards, on this Side, is Badajos, a ftrong Place, into which you enter over a Bridge of twenty-fix Arches. The next Day I travel'd to Merida, into which you muft pafs over a Bridge of above fixty Arches: This Place affords fome Entertainment for curious Travellers, as the Ruins of fome ancient Roman Buildings, a fpacious Caftle, now turn’d into a Prifon, a noble Arch of van Stones joined without Mortar, the Work of fulius Cafar, a curious Pyramid by Augufus Cafar, the Remnants of rome ancient Roman Aquaducts, and another modern one, by which the Water is convey'd into the Town a great Way. From hence I travel'd to Trukillo, through a woody and mountainous Country: The Town itfelf is very well built, with feveral goodly Structures belonging to Perfons of Quality; it has five Parifh-Churches, as many Convents of Fryars, and four Nunneries : The Villages upon the Road were molt of them very large', but the Dwellings only of Mudd; however, I took Notice by the Way of one fpacious and noble Palace belonging to the Conde de Lopefo: I lodg'd at Telaveyra de Royna, a very handfome Country Town, having eight or nine Parifh-Churches, thirteen Convents of Monks, and five Nunneries.

From hence I travel'd five good Leagues out of my Way to take a View of the City of Toledo, a magnificent Place, nobly built, and adorn'd with fately Churches, very rich in Plate and Jewels. The Image of our Lady in the Cathedral has a Garment cover'd all over with Pearl and precious Scones of an ineftimable Value: The Paintings are anfwerable to the reft. It is the Metropolis of all Spain, and the Archbifhoprick is accounted the moft confiderable for is Revenues in Cbrifendom, though that of Braga difputes the Priority with it. The Cafilian Language is fpoken here in its Purity, and feveral great Councils have been held there. The prefent Archbifhop is a Cardinal. The King's Palace or Castle is a facious Pile of Building, and the Stables belonging to it are capable of containing at leaft five hundred Horfe.
12. Madrid is only a Villagé, but may defervedly be called the largeft of that Kind in Europe ; the Soil round about it is not fo mountainous as in Portugal, but very fruifful, which agrees beft with the nothful Temper of the Spanierds. This Place, though the ordinary Refidence of the Kings of Spain, is not feated in a very wholfome Air, occaaioned, queftionlefs, by the adjacent River, which is often dry: This River is a Branch of the Tagus, rifing near Toledo, whence it continues its Courfe as far as S. Terence, fourteen Leagues beyond Lisbon in Portugal. The Buildings here are generally very good, of Brick, and fome of the Streets regular, fpacious and noble, but very dirty, naufeous, and full of Filth. Their Churches are for the moft Part very fine. The Palace of the Almirante of Caftile is highly remarkable for its excellent Piftures, in the Collection whereof the Spanib Lords fpare no Coft; among the reft I took Notice of one done by Titian, reprefenting Ixion embracing the Cloud; it was pawn'd to this Lord for five hundred Dubloons, much lefs than it was worth.

In the King's Summer-houre, a little Way out of the Town, called Buen Retiro, I took Norice of many curious Pieces of Painting by Tiliin, Rapbael Urbin, Borm domna, Annibal, and Vandyke, but has nothing elfe remarkable either within or without, being built only of Brick, except that in the Garden you fee the Statue of

King Pbilip IV. on Horfeback, finely done in Brafs, placed on a Marble Pedeftal. On the Canals are Plea-fure-Boats, and fome Summer-houfes for the Muficians to divert the King, whilf he takes his Pleafure in thefe Boats upon the Canals. At the Entrance of the outer Court are the King's Stables, that for the Saddle-horfes had at that Time about fixty, chofen out of all Nations ; in thofe for the Coach-horfes were three Setts of Black, as many of light Grey, alf of Flanders Breed, one of dark Grey, and two Setts of very fine Duns, befides fix Setts of Mules. Adjoining to thefe is the Armoury, a facious handfome Room, fill'd with many curious Suits of Armour, belonging formerly to their Kings: Here they fhew you divers Suits, once ufed by the great Cbarles V. with a Sword prefented him by the Pope; his Armour is eafily diftinguifhed from others by our Lady's Image he always wore engraved on his Breait-piece; a Jarge polifh'd Steel Plate the faid Emperor ufed inftead of a Looking-glafs when he put on his Armour, and an eafy Chair, in which he nept, eat, drank, and difpatch'd Bufinefs when in the Camp; feveral other Suits of Fbilip II. PbilipIII. PbilipIV. and among the reft, one for the late King Cbarles II. though it is certain he never wore any; it is double gilt, and fet with precious Stones: Here you fee alfo the Armour of that warlike Cardinal Ildefonfo, and feveral Trophies and Colours taken from the Turks.
The outward Court of the Palace is a large Square, with Cloytters on both Sides, the Stables and Armory fronting the Palace itfelf; it confifts, of two Quadrangles, with Cloyfters both above and below; one of thefe Quadrangles is alloted for the King, the other for the Queen's Lodgings, but are not to be feen unlefs when the Court happens not to be there.

I pafed through three or four indifferent Rooms (as far as they would let me go) to fee the King at Dinner; the Dining Room was large, but indifferently furnifh'd, the Room before it was lefs, but crufted over on the Walls with fine Jafper and Marble. The King has always twelve Difhes at Dinner, and eight at Supper, ferv'd up in as many Silver Plates, and attended by as many Halberdiers, who make every one uncover as the Meat paffes by. There is a glorious Appearance at Court every Day, as well of Coaches as a great Number of People, the Reafon is, becaufe all the chief Courts of Juftice, belonging to the feveral Provinces under the Spanib Dominion are kept in the Palace.
Many of the Streets of Madrid have Fountains, but fuch as have nothing extraordinary in them. The Placa Major, where they keep their Bull-feasts, is a noble Square. The Prado of S. Hieronomo is fprinkled every Evening with Water out of the many Fountains placed there for the Conveniency of the Coaches that take the Tour-a-la-mode there. Crofs the Water the King has ancther Houfe, call'd Cafa del Campo, where he refrefhes himfelf fometimes in the Heat of the Summer under the cool fhady Walks, the chief Conveniency of this Seat.
13. From Madrid I took a Turn to Alcola de Henares, or Compofella, in Latin Complutum, the greateft Univerfiry (next to Salamanca) in Spain, founded by Cardinal Ximenes. The Buildings of the City itfelf are none of the beft: The Univerfity-College, where all publick Exercifs are kept, acknowledges the great Cardinal Ildefonso for its Founder; the other Colleges are, that of Madre di Dios, of Malca, the Trilingue, the King's College, that of Mena, of Manrique, of S. Clesment, of Lugo, that of Arragon, of Verdes, of S. Ambrofe, of S. Catberine, of S. Dennis, that of the Ruffians, and S. George's College, built and well endow'd by a Portuguefe Count, for the Ule of thirty Frijh Students; but the Count dying before it was quite brought to Perfection, the King leiz'd on the greateft part of the Revenues, leaving only a flender Allowance for the Maintenance of eight Students, who are obliged by Oath, after feven Years Stay in the College, to preach the Gofpel in fome of the Northern Parts. There are befides, thefe the Coileges of S. Peter and S. Paul, and that of the Gremmarians.
Their Convents of Monks are, thofe of the Order of S. Aufin, of S. Thomas, S. Bafi, S. Bernard, and that
for the Complutenjes, the Carmelites, the Oratory, the Fefuites, two of the Trinitarians, the Difcalccats, two of The Mercenaries, the Minims, the Agonifonts, the Aufin Friars Difcalceats; the Convent of the Angels of $S$. Diago, S. Fobru de Dios, and that of Leom, befides ten Nunneries. I heard one of their Difputations, and it feem'd very odd to me, that the Refpondent, after having repeated the Opponent's Syllogifm, did not anfwer in Latin, but in his native Tongue. Juft before the high Altar in the Chapel of the Univerfity College fands a white Marble Tomb, containing the Body of the beforemention'd Cardinal Ildefonfo, his Effigies in a cumbent Pofture, all excellently done, and encompaffed with Brafs Grates; Mabomet's. Lamp, and fome Turkib Colours taken by him from the Turks, are liung up in the fame Chapel.
The Cathedral here is a fpacious and noble Fabrick, in which (among others) I took Notice of a white Marble Tomb with a Latin Infcription, erected to the Memory of Dr, F. Gonzales.
This City ftood formerly on the other Bank of the River, at the Foot of an high Hill, but being laid defolate by the Moors, it was afterwards rebuilt in the Place where it fow ftands.
Over the Water, on an high Hill, in a little Chapel, they preferve a red Crofs, which (they fay) was fent down from Heaven and put into the Hand of one of their Kings, as he lay encamped againft the Moors, who were entirely routed. In the Cathedral they fhew you a miraculous Stone, which formerly afiorded fuch Abundance of Oil, that they fupplied att the Lamps of the Church with it ; but thofe who look'd after it making a Gain of it, by felling it for other Ules, the Miracle ceafed.
14. During my Stay at Madrid, I made another Excurfion to take a View of the Efcurial, that Wonder of the World, built by King Pbilip II. purfuant to a Vow he made before the Battle at St. Quintin againft the French, and having obtain'd the Viftory, he dedicated the Convent adjoining to the Palace to S. Larwrence, (it being his Day when the Battle was fought) and placed in it two hundred Friars of the Order of S. Ferome, under a Prior nominated by the King, and a College or Nurfery for young Students. It is feated about feven Leagues from Madrid, among the Mountains in the Kingdom of Toledo, having to the Eaft and Weft very delightful Plains watered with many Rivulets and Springs. Its Form is a large Square, each Side whereof is 2630 Foot long, with a fine Tower on each Corner; the Materials are a Sort of very hard Stone, fpotted with grey; the greateft Part of the Architecture is of the Dorick Order, with fome of the Ionick, Corintbian, Compofite and Tuf. can: The whole Fabrick is fubdivided into four leffer Squares, which have fixteen Gates; the chief Entrance is on the Weft Side, through three Gates, over which ftand the Statues of S. Lawerence, the Patron of this Fabrick, and in the Middle the Arms of Spain.
The firtt Quadrangle is two hundred and thirty foot long, and a hundred and twenty fix broad: The Front of this inner Court is adorn'd with fix Pillars of the Dorick Order fixty eight foot high, upon which are placed fix Pedeftals, and upon them as many Statues of the Kings of the old Teftament, viz. David, Solomon, Fofas, Ezekias, Febofbophat and Mamafes, with Crowns of Brafs on their Heads weighing a hundred Pound each, and the Scepters (of the fame Metal) fifty Pound each; David's Harp, likewife of Brafs, weighs no lefs than three hundred feventy five Pounds. Under each of thefe Kings are the following Infcriptions:

| David | Solomon | Ezechias |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Operis | Templun | Mundata |
| Exemplar | Domino | Domo |
| A Domino | Adificatuma | Pbaje. |
| Recepit. | Dedicarit | Celebravit. |
| Jofias | Jehofaphat | Manaffes |
| Volumers | Lucis | Contri |
| Legis | Ablatis | tus |
| Domini | Legem | Altare |
| Inverit. | Propagavit. | D. Instou |

ravit.

You enter into the Cburch by five Arches twenty eight Foot high and fourteen broad; the Length of the Cburch is three hundred fixty four foot, and its Breadth two hundred and thirty; its whole Height, from the Floor to the Crofs on the Top of the Cupola, is three hundred and thirty foot; the Architecture is of the Dorick Order; it has fix Ines, two of which make a Crofs, the other four meeting into a Square; it has befides this twenty four noble Arches, fifty large Windows, and thirty nine Galleries with Silk Curtains: There are here alfo no lefs than twelve noble Croffes of Jaf-per-flone, fet over fo many Chapels, and forty Altars, in their peculiar Chapels, beautified with excellent Pictures of the Saints.

The Floor of the Church is pav'd with grey and black Marble, and the Ines are illuminated with a vaft Number of large Silver Lamps; the Middle Ine alone has fourteen Balconies of two Yards three Quarters in Length. The grand Chapel is magnificent beyond what can be imagined, its Length is twenty Foot, the Breadth fifty, and the Height an hundred; you afcend into it by the middle Ine, by twelve Steps of the fineft Jafper of Fifty three Foot long; the Chapel is parted from the Body of the Church by curiounly wrought. Rails of Brafs gilt; the Paintings are very excellent here, fuitable to the reft: It contains four Sorts of Architecture, which are ninety three Foot high, and forty nine broad, the firt of the Dorick Order with fix Pillars, the fecond of the lonick with as many, the third is Corintbian, and the fourth the Compofite, with two Pillars fuftaining the Roof and Arches; they are all of the beft Jafper, curioully polifh'd, the Bafes and Capitols of Brafs gilt: In one of the Pillars of the Dorick Order is the Cufodia or Place where the Sacrament is kept; on each Side is an Original of Perugrino an Ilalian, one reprefenting our Saviour's Birth, the other the Adoration of the three Eaftern Kings; the four Evangelifts, in Brafs gilt, ftand on the Sides of the Pillars: In the Ionick Order is painted S. Lawrence's Martyrdom, by the fame Perugrino: On the Sides are two Originals, one of Chrift tied to a Pillar to be fcourg'd, the other reprefenting Chrift bearing the Crofs, by Frederico Zuccbero, and four Statues of Brats of as many ancient Fathers of the Church: In the Corintbion Order you fee the Affumption of our Lady, and on the Sides the Refurrection, and the Defcent of the Holy Ghoft, all Originals, painted by the fame Hand: Between two Fyramids are two brazen Statues of S. Andrew, and S. Fames the Patron of Spain; the Compofite Order has but two Pillars, and in the Middle of them our Saviour on the Crofs, S . Peter and S. Paul on the Infide, and the Virgin Mary and S. Jobn on the Outfides; they are all four of Brafs, gilt, and thirteen Foot high each.

The Cuflodia or Box wherein the Sacrament is kept, is of a round Figure, made of various Stones; its Height is fixteen Foor, and its Diameter feven and a half, fupported by eight Columns of Diafpare, imitating the Rainbow in their various Colours; they fay, that this Stone is not to be wrought but by Diamonds, and that the Workmanhip of this coft eighty thoufand Ducats. Over the Cuftodia you fee the Statues of the twelve Apoftles, and at the Top the Refurrection of our Saviour. You enter into this Chapel (called the Segrario) by two Doors of Jafper, one on each Side, and afcend to the Alcar by ten Steps of the fame Stone, which alfo furnifhes the Materials for the Floor ; it has its Light through a curious Cryftal Window on the Eaft fide with Iron Bars gilt; it is beautified with Pictures reprefenting the Myftery of the Eucharift, 'with a Rainbow and many Angels over it. On the right Side of the Altar you fee five Statues in Brafs upon their Knees, of the Emperor Cbarles V, his Daughter, and two of his Sifters; on the other Side are placed the Arms of Spain, with five Statues underneath correfponding to the others, viz. one of King Pbilip 1I. of his Queen Anne, of two of his former Wives, and of his Son Cbarles. Under this Altar is the Pantbeon or Bu-rial-place of the Kings of Spain of the Aufrian Eamily, of which more hereafter. This Church has re-
ceiv'd much additional Beauty by the excelient Paint: ings of the facred Hiftory by the rare Hand of Lis queforo an Italian.
15. Among their Relicks (of. which, they fay, they have fomething of every Saint) they fhew fome of the Hair of our Saviour and the bleffed Virgin, as alfo fome of their wearing Apparel, fome Thorns of his Crown, and one of the Nails wherewith he was nail'd to the Crofs, fome Remnants of his purple Habit, divers Relicks of St. Fobn the Bapisiz, of the Apoltles; Martyrs, and the entire Body of S. Lawrence, the Head of S. Ferome, and the Herds of feveral other Saints. They tell you, that they have no lefs than five hundred and ffty Pixes and Cbalices of Gold; Silver and Chryftal, among which they fhew one faid to have been of fered to our Saviour by one of the three Eaftern Kings. In the Middle of the Ine is the Cboir, fronting the Chapel; its Length is ninety fix Feet, its Breadth Fifty fix, its Height forty eight, the Floor cover'd with the fame Marble as the Church, and the Walls painted with the Martyrdom of S. Laurence and S. Ferome, the firit by Romulo, the laft by the juf mention'd Luquefio, who has alfo painted the Glories of Heaven on the Top: It is illuminated by a Chryfal Branch of twenty eight Lights, the Prefent of the late King Cbarles II. and has two Orders of Seats curiouny wrought with precious Wood: On each Side is an Organ, with crofs Galleries gilt, and in the Church are fix more, one of Silver, the Gift of Cbaries the Fifti.

The Sacrifly is a hundred and eight Foot long, and thirty broad, the Pavement of Marble of divers Colours, and the Cieling and Walls painted with the beft Originals (thircy four in Number) of facred Hiftory; the Gift of Pbilip IV. by the greatef Mafters in that Art, viz. Titian, 'Rapbael Urbin, Paulo Veronefe, Tintoret, Andrea del Sarto, de Bordonon, Guido Bolvgnefe, Annibal, Caraccbe, Van Dike, and others. Near the Sacrifty you defcend by Steps of the beft Marble into the Pantbeon; containing the Sepulchres of the Kings of Spain of the Auftrian Family, being efteem'd the fineft Piece of this kind in Europe. Over one of the Gates, (which are of Brafs gilt) underneath the Arms of Spain, you fee upor a black Marble this Infcription in golden Letters:

## D. O. $M$.

Locus Sacer mortalitatis exuviis Catbolicorum Regum
A Reftauratore Vite, cujus Aree Max. Auftriaca adbuc pietate fubjacent. Optatam Diem expectantium.
Quam pof fuam Jedem fibi E fuis
Carolus Cafarum Max. in votis babuit,
Pbilippus Ildus Regum Prudentifimus elegit,
Pbilippus IITius verè pius inchoavit, Pbilippus IVtus
Clementia, Conftantia, Religione Magn. Auxit,
Ornavit, abfolvit; M.D.C.LIV.
The Arms of Spain, cut in precious Stone and richly gilt, are placed here between two Statues of Brafs gilt, one reprefenting the Fall of Man the other the Hope of a Refurrection. ThisDoor brings you by the beforemention'd Steps of the fineft Jafper and Marble into the Pantbeon, which is overcrufted with the fame, and moft artificially polifhed; its Form is round withour, and octagonal within, in each of the Squares being repoffted the Urns for the Royal Bodies, four in each Square, there were then in all twenty fix of thefe Urns, of grey Marble, fupported by four Lion's Paws of Brafs gilt ; of the fame Me tal there is an oval Figure in the middle of each of thefe Urns, containing the Names of fuch royal Perfons as are interr'd there, in black Letters. In the Square fronting the Door fands the Altar, and upon it a large Crofs of Brafs gilt, fixed within another of black Marble, of which alfo the whole Altar is compos'd, except that it has fome curious Ornaments of the choiceft Porphyry: On each Side of the faid Crofs ftands a Pillar
of green Genoua Marble, with brafs Bafes and Capitols gilt. On the Gofpel-fide of the Altar lie inter'd the Bodies of Cbarles V. Pbilip II. Pbilip III. and Pbilip IV. and on the other Side fuch of their Queens as brought them forth Iffuie, fuch as die without being not admited to be buried here, but in another Sepulchre allotted for the Branches of the Royal Family. The Pantbeon is enlightened by a curious Branch of Brafs gilt, with twenty four Lights; the Floor is cover'd with the fame Stone as the Walls, and wrought into the Figure of Stars.

The Convent has no fewer than five Cloyiters, the biggeft being no lefs than eight hundred Foot fquare, painted all about with the Life, Death, Refurrection and Afcenfion of our Saviour. The old Chapel affords three excellent Pieces, that of St. Larerence on the Gridiron in the Middle, and on both Sides the Offering of the three Eaftern Kings, and Chrift's Sepulchre, both by $T$ itian, befides divers other Originals of facred Hiftory of the beft Mafters: They boaft here of one of the Innocents Bodies entire, of one of the Waterpots in which Chrift turn'd Water into Wine at the Wedding of Canaan, and of one of the Bars of the Gridiron on which St. Lawerence was broil'd; but thefe are not to be feen by Hereticks. In the Refectory you fee a celebrated Piece, by Tition, of the Lord's Supper, brought hither from England during the Exile of King Cbarles II. and pawn'd for 15,000 l. Sterling.
I had no Opportunity of feeing the Royal Palace, which is not very large, and was told it contain'd little of Moment except the Paintings ; but the Library muft be own'd a noble lofty Structure, two hundred Foot long and thirty fix high, the Stalls of the Books (which are all letter'd on the Back) being of Cedar and other precious foreign Woods: it has feven Pillars of the Dorick Order, the Floor is cover'd with white and grey Marble, and the Ceiling with curious Paintings reprefenting the Arts and Sciences, and the moft celebrated Authors, by Perugrino; but thofe Hiftories of Arts and Sciences you fee under the Cornifhes, are of the excellent Hand of Bartbolomero Carducbo. In the Middle of the fame Room fand feven Tables of Jafper and Marble, and two of Porpbyry, with Globes and Spheres placed upon them. They preferve allo fome ancient Medals and Writings on the Bark of Trees; their moft valuable Manufcripts are, De Baptijmo Puerorum of St. Austin's own Writing, a Piece of St. Cbrysoftom, Apocalypfis de Sancto Amadeo, four Books writ by St. Therefa, a Letter of St. Vincent, the Original of St. Leveis Beltram of the Conception of the Virgin Mary, with divers other Pieces of St. Gregory, St. Anaftaje, and St. Cbry fostom.
The moft excellent Paintings on the Ceiling of the Church, and over the great Stairs, by that great modern Artift Luca Giordano a Neapolitan, and but lately finih'd at the late King's Expence, are no fmall Addition to the Beauty and Glory of this ftupendious Fabrick, which I was told contain'd, with every Thing belonging to it, above thirty-fix Leagues in Circuit; certain it is that there belong to this Structure fifteen Cloyfters, eleven Courts, twenty-five Fountains, thirteen Statues of Stone, and thirty eight of Brafs gilt ; the Number of original and other choice Pictures is computed at 1602 , befides 540 more on the Walls; the Copies of Landfkips, Fruits, $\mathcal{E}^{\circ} c$ are not to be number'd: It has befides this nine Refectories, five Infrmaries, two fine Apartments for the Reception of Strangers, and nine Kitcbens; it was twenty-four Years before it was finifhed, and coft King Pbilip II. fix Millions wanting only two thoufand Ducats, unto which adding the Charge of the Pantbeon and other additional Buildings, and the Reparations made after the Fire happen'd in 1671, the whole Charge has been computed at no lefs than eight Millions of Ducats. I have nothing to add to the Defcription of this wonderful Piece, except the curious Walk of double Rows of Elm-trees, leading from the little Town below to this Royal Foundation.
17. I left Madrid, Dec. 3, 1694 , and lodg'd the firt Night at Valdemore, whence I turn'd fomewhat out of the Road the next Day to go to Aranjeutz, moved
with a Curiofity to view the King's Palace there, the Situation of which among Woodlands (a Rarity fcarce ever to be met with in this Country) put me in Mind of my native Country England. For the reft, the Houfe is but ordinary for a Royal Palace, the Gardens and Walks not very large, yet better contriv'd than any I ever faw either in Spain or Portugal; here are many excellent Statues and Fountains, brought hither from all Parts by the Emperor Cbarles V. and thofe that are more modern are very good ones; the great Number of thefe Statues, of Brafs and Marble, together with the pleafant Fountains all along the fhady Walks and Arbours of large Elms, and fome Oak and Afh, (great Rarities here as well as in Portugal) render this Place very delighful, its Situation being between two Hills, upon the very Banks of the River Tagus, from whence fome Walks run up the Hills for a League together, yet the Air is efteemed not extraordinary healthful. Here the King keeps his beft Male Affes for Breeding.
I lodged the next Night at Ocanno, a Place noted for the beft Caffile-Soap, and the following Night at Corral de Almogner. As the Road betwixt Madrid and Alicant is paffibly good for a Coach, fo the Country is generally fertile in Corn, Oil and Wines, and the rocky Parts produce Abundance of Rofemary, Thyme, and fuch-like Sweet-herbs, wherewith they feed their Sheep and Goats. The next Place I came to was Albarzete, noted for good Knives, Daggers, and Sciffars ; notwithftanding this the extream Poverty of the CountryPeople, and confequently the ill Accommodation one meets with upon the Road, (where you are oftentimes deftitute of Provender for your Horfes, a Bed, nay, Bread and Wine) renders Travelling very difficult and tedious in Spain; however, I got at laft fafe to Alicant, the $13^{\text {th }}$ of December, after a Journey of ten Days in a Calafh.
18. The Town of Alicant is pleafantly feated betwixt Hills along the Sea fide, where there is a continual Paffage of Ships bound to or from the Mediterranean; it fuffered much in the late War with the French, who with three Bomb-Veffels threw in about 4700 Bombs, and deftroy'd fix hundred Houfes; they told it as a great Miracle, that above three hundred of the French Bombs fell upon the Cathedral dedicated to St. Nicbolas, of which one only pierced through the Roof, whereas the whole Miracle was only to be attributed to the flrong Cupola's and Arches which cover it. The French bombarded the Town with incredible Dexterity, throwing their Bombs even over the Caftle, that ftands a good Way above the Town, upon fo high an Hill, that I had enough to do to get up to it, though when I came there I found nothing worth the Trouble I had taken, except a fine Profpect, the whole Spanib Garrifon confifting of only five or fix Guards, and perhaps as many Guns. Alicant is of no Strength, and the People fo unfit to defend it, that at the Time of the French Bombardment they all retir'd into the Mountains, not excepting the Officers themfelves, and had certainly deferted the Place, had not one Mr: Nereland, an Englijb Merchant, ply'd the French with two Guns from the the Mole, and by his Example encourag'd fome of them not to leave the Place to the French.
19. The Gentlemen here of Valentia, both in their Drefs and Actions, much more imitate the Frencb than the Cafilians; they are of a hafty, vain and bafe Temper, and fo bigotted to their foolifh Niceties, or Spanis Punctilio's, that upon a very flender Occafion they will either murther one another themfelves, or hire others to do it, there being many of that Sort of Mercenaries in this Country, who will facrifice any Man for a few Pieces of Eigbt, which they commonly perform by Shooting. There Murthers produce fometimes no fmall Diforders, the Friends of the murtherd Party thinking themfelves oblig'd to revenge his Death, go in ftrong Parties, fome a hundred in a Body, arm'd each with five Guns, (one Fufee, and four leffer ones in the Girdle) and fo going into the Field, furprize one another wherever they can, it being their Principle not to attack their Enemy but upon a manifett Advantage; I was toid there were
at that time two fuch Parties in the Mountains of forty on a Side each, and I was credibly inform'd, that not long ago two fuch-like Fellows were executed at Valen$t i a$, who confefs'd that one of them had murthered thirty three Perfons, and the other no lefs than feventy feven. The Government of the Kingdom of Valentia is adminiftred by a Viceroy, but the Town of Alicant has its peculiar Governor, who commands alfo the Garrifon when they have any, all their ftanding Forces thereabouts confifting in a few Troops of Horfe, and fome Foot Militia, for the Defence of the Coaft.

The City contains betwixt thirty and forty thoufand Communicants; their Civil Adminiftration is by a Juftice, like our Mayors, and fome Aldermen; it has fix Convents of religious Men, viz. the Fefuites, Dominicans, Auftin Friers, Carmelites, Francifcans, and Capucbins; two Nunneries, the Monges de la Sangue and Capucbins; and as many Parihh Churches, S. Nicholas and S. Mary's. For the reft, Spain is at prefent in a very low Condition, through the weak Adminiftration of the Queen-Mother, the King's Want of Education, and the Feuds among the Grandees, which has depriv'd them of all their former Strength both by Sea and Land, for Want of Money, Provifions, and all other Things requifite for the Maintenance of a Fleet and Army ; and what is worfe, without any future Profpect of having thefe Things redrefs'd. It is true, the King's Revenues are very great, but being anticipated, little of them comes into the King's Coffers; for the Spanif Indies are computed to amount to ten Millions a Year in their Revenues to the Crown, and their Seaport Towns mult needs bring in conifiderable Cuftoms, were it not that the Officers are both remifs and corrupted in their Places.
20. About half a League from Alicant is a famous Convent of Nuns, whither there is a great Refort of Pilgrims, to pay their Devotions to the Sancta Faz or Holy Face kept in this Nunnery; among thefe are tipecally many Seamen, who when they leave Alicant, frequently make a Vow of performing their Devotions here after their fafe Return, which they per orm barefooted after a profperous Voyage. The Sinry of chis Holy Face runs thus:

Our Saviour going io his Crucifixion, a certai:, Woman call'd Veronica, who was jut then moulding Dough, and had a Napkin girt about her, coming out of her Houte at the Norle of the People, and feeing our Saviour's Face all dropping with Blood and Sweat, took the folded Napkin and fo wiped his Face, the Impreffion whereof remained upon the three Folds; thefe the Cburch has prelerv'd as holy Relicks, one whereof (they fay) is at St. Peter's at Rome, the other in a Convent near Malaga, and the third here, which (they fay) came hither over Sea, and landing in Valentia, upon the Confines of two Parifhes, a great Conteft arofe which of them it belong'd to ; to decide this Difference it was agreed to blind a certain Perfon, who fhould walk for fome time with the Sancia Faz thereabouts, and that thofe fhould be Mafters of it in whofe Precinct he happened to drop it ; which was done accordingly, and it happening to fall in this Place, a Conwent and Cburch was founded for its Prefervation. Its Virtue was the firft time experienced in a great Drought, when being carry'd in Proceffion, it rain'd immediately, and that in great Abundance. By Permiffion of one of the Fathers I had Liberty given me to look upon it a fecond time, as near as the Glafs in which it is enclos'd would allow of, and found it rather to refemble the Face of a Child, than a Man of that Age, as our bleffed Saviour, at the Time of his Suffering, which made me look upon the whole as fabulous; and I remember, a certain Italian Painter feeing it, did not ftick to fay, It was the worft Daubing be ever fawe. Once a Year, viz. the 17 th of March, there is a great Feaft celebrated at Alicant in Memory of this Holy Face, when 'tis brought into the City, upon which Occafion great Rejoycings are to be feen every where, and the Night generally concludes with Bonfires and a fine Firework. During my Stay at Alicant, I had the Oppor-
V ol, II, NQ CXVIII.
tunity of feeing divers of their Proceffions, and among the reft, that on Corpus Cbrifi Day, one of the moff celebrated in thofe Parts: The firt Pageant reprefented the Hiftory of Adam and Eve, how the Serpent enticid her, how they eat the forbidden Fruit, and were threatned by the Angel with a naked Sword: The nexts Abrabam's Sacrifice of his Son Ifaar, acted by living Perfons, who (as we were told) were Fifhermens Children, and had their Leffons taught by the Priefts, and their Pay from the Town for their acting. Thefe Pageants are made upon Waggons, with Boards laid upon them, both the Stages and Actors being thus drawn by Men along the Streets; there were followed by certain Giants, to perfonate the Gentiles, after whom came a Serpent reprefenting Temptation, and after this a Dragon with his Mouth wide open, to reprefent Hunger : Next to thefe came the feveral Companies of Tradefmen with their Banners; then the Capucbins, Carmelites, Aufin Friars, and Francifcans, each carrying the Image of the Founder of their Order, and that of the Virgin Mary, fplendidly attir'd ; then followed fome Morris-dancers, and after them fome Churchmen of Note, and a few little Children drefs $\mathrm{s}^{3} \mathrm{~d}$ up like Angels, ftrewing Flowers before the Bifhop, who walk ${ }^{9} d$ under a Canopy, carrying the Hoft.

2I. We have in this Section a very good Supplement to the laft, for the Author, who travelled only for his Pleafure, and by Way of Diverfion from the Fatigues of Bufinefs, enters into no deep political Speculations, but keeps pretty much to the Surface of Things, and tells us in what Light they appeared to him, at the Time of his Paffage. What he fays of Portugal is certainly very juft, and we have good Reafon to believe that Things are not much mended there at this Day. Yet this Country is juftly efteemed the fineft Part of Spain, if it be confidered as having belonged to it, both in earlier Times, and little more than one hundred Years ago. It lies very conveniently for Health, for Pleafure and Commerce, along the Sea-fide, feveral large navigable Rivers running through, and emptying themfelves into the Ocean in its feveral Provinces, and thereby making many, and fome of them excellent Ports, at the fame Time that the Trade through the Country is by the fame Means much facilitated.

The Kingdom of Portugal may boaft of as fine a Climate, as almoft any Country in Europe, for though from its Southern Situation it is very hot, yet this is fo tempered by Breezes from the Sea, as not only to become very tolerable, but alfo very pleafant. It may alfo boaft of as much Variety as almoft any Country, for the Northern Provinces are mountainous, and this renders them cool and wholfome, though lefs fruitful than the plain and flar Country about Lisbon; and here, as well as in Spain, it has been remarked that thefe Provinces are more populous and better cultivated than where the Soil is more indulgent, which renders the People vicious and lazy, confequently indigent, and in a wretched Condition. In the former Part of this Volume we have treated fo largely of Brazil, and in our firft Volume faid fo much of the Rife and Progrefs of the Naval Power of Portugal, the Empire fhe once had in the Eaft-Indies, the Manner in which it declined, and the very low State to which it is at prefent reduced, that there is no Neceffity of adding any Thing on thofe Subjects' here. But it may not be amifs to obferve; that, how paradoxical foever it may feem, yet there is good Reafon to doubt, whether the Diamond and Gold Mines that have been difcovered of late Years in Brazil, have been fo very advantageous to this Country as is generally fuppofed.

To explain this Notion it will be fufficient to hint to the Reader, that, independent of its Plantations, Portugal is very far from being a poor Country, or deftitute of the Means of carrying on a very extenfive Commerce. The Proportion in Extent between the Kingdoms of Spain and Portugal is, upon a fair Computation, thought to be as fix to one, and yet it is believed that the Commodities and Manufactures are very nearly equal, that is to fay, though Portugal is but a

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fixth Part as big as Spain yet the Produce of the former is equal to that of the latter. This confifts chiefly in Wool, Wine, Oyl, Oranges, Lemons, Raifins, Fige, and other kinds of Fruit, with various other Commodities of lefs Value. There is likewife in Portugal a very rich Silver Mine, by good Judges efteemed the beft in Europe, from whence there has been fometimes drawn three hundred thoufand Pounds Sterling a Year. Yet with all thefe Advantages, and though there appears to be a vaft Trade at Lifbon, Porto, and other Places, the Advantages which the Inhabitants derive therefrom, are very far from being fo confiderable as might be expected. The great, indeed almoft the fole Caufe of this is, their having little or no Turn to Trade themfelves; fo that, as in Spain, the whole is in a good Manner managed by Foreigners.
Immediately after the Acceffion of the Houre of Braganca to the Throne, it fell almoft intirely into the Hands of the French, and what little efcaped them, was managed by the Italians. But the Crown of France affecting to treat the late King of Portugal with great Haughtinefs, that Prince, who was a Man of Spirit and of Parts, took fuch Meafures as threw the Commerce of his Kingdom into other Hands, and upon the French King's prohibiting Brazil Tobacco and Sugar, he prohibited, in his Turn, moft of the French Commodities and Manufactures. About the fame Time he fet up Silk L.ooms in Lisbon, and other Places, which deftroyed the Trade of the Genoefe, Venetians and Florentines. The Dutch became then Mafters of this Trade, in which allo we had fome fmall Share; which increafing by Degrees, and the late War about the Spanifb Succeffion giving fair Occafion to a clofer Correfpondence between the two Nations, we foon rivali'd, and at laft furpaffed the Dutch.

But how this Trade flands at prefent, is a Queftion I am not well able to determine : Certain it is, that we feem to have fill a Superiority over all other Nations, and employ in it a great Number of Ships that export vaft Quantities of our own Manufactures. On the other Hand, we import alfo prodigious Quantities of theirs; and though from Time to Time confiderable Sums in Gold come over from thence, which looks as if the Balance was ftill greatly in our Favour ; yet there want not fome Sufpicions, that a confiderable Part of this Treafure arifes not from the Portuguefe Trade, but from the Balance of our Trade with Holland, which is paid us in Portuguefe Gold by the Dutch; and, if there be any Truth in this, it alters the Care greatly. But however, let that Matter be as it will, two very important Deductions may be made from thence; the firft is, that from their not carrying on Trade in their own Bottoms, the Portuguefe are immenfe Lofers notwithftanding the valt Cargoes they bring Home annually from Brazil; the other is, that the Britijh Nation are great Gainers by the Balance of their Trade, whether that Balance arifes from the Dutch or the Poriuguefe; fo that on the Whole we fee, that the fureft Mark of a flourihing Trade is the Number of Ships employed; for while Navigation increafes, Trade increafes; and, whenever it declines, Commerce muft decline with it.
Our Author's Reflections upon what he faw in his Travels through Spain, are very pertinent and natural; and he appears to have reprefented the Country, the Towns and the Inhabitants, with the utmioft Candour and Veracity. It is -certain, that he faw Spain in the very wortt State fhe ever was, or indeed any Country could be in, which was towards the Clofe of the Reign
of Cbarles II. when her Councils were weak and diftracted, her Treafures exhaufted, her People impo verifhed and diftreffed,' her Armies confumed, and her Armada's, from being the Terror, become the Contempt of all Europe. It will appear very ftrange for a Man to advance it feriouly ; yet I muft confefs it is my own Opinion, that the War, occafioned by the Spanif Succeflion, notwithftanding all the Inconveniences that attended it; rather helped than hurt the Spani/h Affairs. The Nation, at the Time of the Death of Cbarles II. was in a Kind of Lethargy; and though this Accident threw her into violent Convulfions ; yet even thefe were Signs of Life, and in that Light favourable Symptoms. Had there been a Reign or two more of thofe feepy Monarchs, their vaft Dominions in Europe, Afrit and America mut have been broke to Pieces; whereas, notwithittanding the War, they remain tolerably whole.

It is indeed true, that their Country became the Scene of Action, which it could not be without fuffer ing from it; but, on the other Hand, this very Circumftance brought great Sums of Money into it, and kept a great Part of their American Treafure at Home, Things unknown in Spain for two Ages before. It may, indeed, be faid, and faid with Truth, that a very large Part of the Treafure that arrived from New Spain, came into the French King's Coffers: But even this was no Detriment to the Spaniards, if the Thing be confider'd in its true Light; for, in the firft Place, none of thefe Treafures could have been received, if they had not been efcorted by French Ships of War ; and, in the next, France employ'd thofe Sums, and more, in Supporting the Intereft of Spain; fo that the Nation loft nothing thereby, but was rather helped.
What proves to a Demonftration, that this is not merely a Conjecture, or a political Notion plaufibly defended is this, that after the War was entirely over, and the late King Pbilip fixed upon the Throne, both his Armies and his Fleets were in a much better Condition than Spain had feen any for a whole Age before; which enabled him to attempt, and would have enabled hinz to have reunited Sicily and Sardinia to his Crown, if the Britifh Fleet had not interpofed and crufhed his newraifed Naval Force in the Streigbts of Meffnc. A very great Stroke, this was efteemed, by thofe who confider'd it barely as a Victory at Sea; but to Men of another Caft of Mind, who meditate the Revolutions of Power, and the Mutations of Empire, it appeared in a much ftronger Light, as it fruftrated the Schemes of Cardinal Alberoni, and compelled his Mafter to part with a Minifter, whofe Genius was capable of reftoring the Forces of that Monarchy, and rendering Spain almoft as terrible under the Government of the peaceable and pious Pbilip V. as it had been under the ambitious and politick Pbilip II.
Since that Time Spain has been govern'd by a Kind of fecond Rate Genii, under the Influence of a female Spirit, reftlefs, ambitious, and at the fame Time avaritious and intriguing; fo that the People are almolt in their old Condition; and while they are flatter'd with the Hopes of conquering Principalities Abroad, and giving Laws to Europe, they are finking under the Weight of a weak and arbitrary Government, into Slavery, Poverty, and Diftrefs at Home. If any Thing can fave them, it muft be a Peace, when King Ferdinand the Sixth will find himfelf in a Condition to act according to his own Inclinations, which are faid to be entirely Spanifs; and that his Defire of fettling the Infant Don Pbilip in Italy, arifes chiefly from their being a Sea between that Country and Spain.

# The Travels of Pbilip Skippon, Efq; afterwards Sir Pbilip Skipponis and the Reverend Mr. Fobn Ray, through the beft Part of the King. dom of France; interfperfed with a great Variety of hiftorical, political, philofophical and mechanical Remarks and Obfervations. 

## Collected from the Journals of thofe ingienious Perfons.

1. An Introductory Account of Sir Philip Skippon, and of the Subject of this Section. Thbeir Departure from the Territories of Geneva, and their Arrival in thofe of France. 2. An elegant and exact Defcription of the City of Lyons, particularly of the Catbedral Church of St. John, the famous Clock there, and the Cabinet of Curiofities belonging to Mr. Servier. 3. Their Yourney to and Defoription of the ancient City of Grenoble, and of the mof remarkable Things therein.- 4. A very curious and circumftantial Relation of the Grand Chartreufe, and of the Manner in whbich the Monks live there. 5. Their Yourney from Grenoble to Orange, with an Account of the principal Places they miet with, and of the Face of the Country between thofe two Cities. 6. The City of Orange particularly defrribed, in the State it was then in under the Minority of the late King William the Third. 7. Their Yourney from Orange to Avignon: A Defcription of this laft-mentioned City, and of the mof remarkable Edifuces therein. 8. The Country between Avignon and Nifmes defcribed. A fulll Account of this City, and of the Antiquities there. 9. An Account of the City of Montpelier, and tbe Obfervations of our Travellers there. The Hijory of the Manufacture of Verdigreafe. The Art of Bleeching Wax. 10. A particular Defcription of the Confectio Alkermes. The Metbod of making Oil from Olives. The Burning Fountain at Peroul. 11. Their Excurfion from Montpelier to Frontignan. The Metbod of making Raimns of the Sun, and other Rajins. I2. Their Travels along the Sea-Coaft, weith an Account of wwat they obferved mof remarkable in their Yourney. 13. Anotber Yourney of theirs, with fome Account of the great Cities of Marfeilles and Toulon. The Mettod of Planting and Curing Capers. II. Their Fourney from Lyons to Paris, and a foort Account of the principal Places they paffed througb upon the Road. 15. A Defcription of Paris by Mr. Skippon, interifjerfed with many curious Particulars. 16 . Remarks upon the French Nation, and a particular Account of a very finn-
gular Tranfaction during the Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell. gular Tranfaction during the Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell. 17. T'be State and Revenue of the Clergy of France. 18. Mr. Skippon's Return to England. 19. Obfervations upon the foregoing Section.

${ }^{\text {r. }}$ WE are now, according to our Promife, to refume the Thread of Mr. Ray's Travels, who, in his Return from Italy, paffed through the Kingdom of France; but for the Reafons which have been already affigned, his Accounts of that Country are far lefs copious and diftinct than thofe he has left us of Italy: Yet this is in fome Meafure fupplied by the Journal of Pbilip Skippon, Efq; afterwards Sir Pbilip Skippon, whom we have mentioned before, and who was the Companion of Mr. Ray, from the Time they left England till this Gentleman left him, for the Sake of returning more fpeedily to England, at Paris. Sir Pbilip Skippon was a Gentleman of great Parts and Learning, as appears from the excellent Journal of his Travels, which being drawn up with regard to his private Ufe only, and not for the publick View, is an exceptionable Teftimony of his Candour, good Senfe, and Impartiality. He was a Man of an ample Fortune, and travelled purely for the Sake of Improvement and Anufement. He was therefore extremely inquifitive, where-ever he came, into all that might furnifh him with Knowledge or Pleafure ; and he kept fo exact an Account of every Thing he faw, and defigned with his own Hand, fo accurately, every Engine or Machine, that he thought worthy taking Notice of, that one cannot help wondering, confidering the Pains he took in viewing Things, how he found Time to defcribe them fo carefully, and to accompany them with his Reflections.

At his Return Home, he led a retired, or at leaft a ftudious Life, as appears from the Books which compofed his Library, and are now difperfed. In the Title Page of each of them is his Name, and the Year when they were bought or given to him, written in a very fair Italian Hand; and many of them have very
learned Notes, judicious Corrections, or pertinent and pleafing Remarks upon their Margins. Thus much it thought due to the Memory of this Gentleman, as having feen many of thofe Books, and poffefs'd fome. We will now come to the proper Bufinefs of the Section, and open it from his Journal, which is much more exact and full than what Mr. Ray thought fit to publifh; though nothing can be better than the Accounts of the latter, which he thought proper for publick View ; and therefore we have brought both into this Section for the Reader's Conveniency, in their Order of Time ; fo that they are intermixed but not blended, that it may be feen to which of thefe Authors the Accounts, Remarks and Obfervations belong.

Wednefday, July 19, (fays Mr. Skippon) we hired Horfes of the Cbaffe Marin, for four Crowns a Piece, (our Diet included) and allowed for the Carriage of our Portmantesu's two Sols for every four Pounds Weight, above what was allow'd, and left Geneva about Eleven of the Clock, then paffed over Pont d'Arve, where there is a Geneva Guard, and over the Bridge is the Duke of Savoy's Guard, that fearches for-Salt, Ecc. We went through two or three Villages belonging to Geneva, and, after two or three Leagues riding, ferried over the Rofne, paying five Sols a Man. Half a League further we came through Coulongi, a Village where the French King's Officers fearch Paffenger's, Portmanteaus, $\xi^{2} c$. Half a League from thence we rode in a narrow Paffage between the Mountains, divided by the Rofne on the left Hand of us, and pafling through a fmall Port called Clufa, (where fix or feven Frenct Soldiers keep Guard) were examined whence we came, $\mathcal{E}^{\circ} c$. About two Leagues thence we obferved the Place where the River Rbofne, in the Winter-time, runs under great Stones for about half a Stone's Caft, after it paffed
through
through a Channel three or four Yards broad. Half a League farther brought us to our Lodging at Cbafstillon.

The 20th, We fet forward about Four in the Morning, and rode thros mountainous Ways, paffing by a Fall of Water called Piffe Vache, which Golnitz, in his Itinerary, fays, runs under Ground into a Lake called la Bougie, that was on our left Hand. La Bougie is divided into two Parts by a Wall, one Part is marhy, belonging to St. Germain, the other belongs to Nantua, filled with Water and ftored with Fiif. We travelled through Nantua, a long Town with Portici like thofe of the Rue-bas at Geneva; it is feated at the End of the Lake we had on our Left Hand. This Place is noted for good Needles. It is three Leagues from Cbastilion. Three Leagues farther we baited ar Cerdon, having rode between Box-hedges and a hilly Way, making a fteep Defcent juft before we arrived at Cerdon, where our Cbaffe Marin changed his Horfes. After Dinner, we afcended a rocky Hill, and then enter'd a Plain which continues to Lyons. Two Leagues from Cerdon we ferried over the River D'Aine, and three Leagues thence lodged at Verbonne. This Day we took Notice of the Shepherds Huts made of Straw, and placed on little Carts.
2. On the 2 Ift , at Break of Day, we mounted, and, after two Leagues riding, came through a walled Place, and three Leagues thence rode through hilly Ways till we came to Lyons, where we firft went through a Suburb full of Victualling-houfes. At the Gate we received a Billet to lodge in the Town, then made a fteep Defcent in a well paved Way, and after weighing of our Portmanteau's, we took up our Lodging at the Efou d'Or, or Crown of France. This is a very fair City, Part fituated at the Meeting of the Soane and Rbofne, and Part on the other Side of the Soane; the Houles are high and well built, only defaced by the Raggednefs of their Paper Windows. There is a great Commerce carried on here, and large Shops full of all Sorts of Wares.

We faid at Lyons till the 25 th of $7 u l y$, and remarked thefe Particulars: The Maifon de la Ville is a very hadfome Fabrick, having a fair fquare Piazza before it, with a large Fountain. On one Side of the Piazza is a ftately Front erecting. The Rooms we faw here have thefe Names; la Cbambre Confulaire, where the Provoft and four Efchevins fit; la Cbambre de la Confervation, where the Merchants fic. In the Great Hall are the Pictures of the fourteen Lereis's, Kings of France; the Roof painted. Another Hall with the Pictures of the Efchevins; a little Chamber for Banquets, $E^{\circ} c$. S. Nicy is a pretty Church. La Cbaritie is the Hofpital, a great Building. N. Dame de Foutrier is on the other Side the Soane, built on the higheft Ground, where there is a fmall Pyramid erected to the Virgin Mary. Here we had a full Profpect of the City. Before another is a fmall Pyramid, and thereon is infcribed the Name of God, and Unity, and Trinity, in feveral Languages.

Without St. Just's Gate is a large Suburb; the Carmelites, that go barefooted, have a pleafant Convent with large Gardens, whence a pleafant View of the Town. The Fryars in this City are very importunate Beggars, coming into Strangers Chambers. The Feaft of St. Yames was kept while we were here, and we faw this Proceffion. Firft went a great Banner, then a great Cake or Loaf, (called Pain Benedit) upon a Fellow's Head; after that two Pipes and a little Drum, which made fome Mufick in the Interval between the Fryars Singing. Belle Cour is a fpacious wide Space, where there is a Mall and a pleafant Walk of Trees by it. Mr. Palmer, Brother to the Earl of Caflemain, was at this Time in Lyons, at the Academy Royal, and who lately turned Papift. The Proteftants are about 2000 Families in this City, and have a Temple at St. Romain, two Leagues up the Soane. Monfieur Moze, an Apothecary and a Proteftant was very civil to us.

The Monument of the two Lovers is on the other Side the Soane; it feems to have been fome Roman Building, and is built of great Stones. Two Forts, la

Pierre Scize on the Soane Side; for St. Jean is on the fame Side with the Body of the City. The Soane is a very flow River, and there are crofs it one Stone and two wooden Bridges. On one of them a Cuftomer demands a Liard of every one that paffes over. St. Fean is the Cathedral, which is large, and remarkable for a Clock with Motions like that at Sirasburgb; every Hour a Cock on the Top claps his Wings twice, and crows twice; after that an Angel comes out of a Door and falutes the Virgin Mary, and at the fame Time the Holy Ghoft defcends, and God the Father gives the Benediction. The minute Motion hath an oval Circle, and yet the Handle or Index always touches the Circumference. Invented by M. Servier.

We had good Luck in feeing this M. Servier's Cabinet, his Humour being very difficult. He was a Soldier in his younger Days; but about twenty-two Years ago he retired hither, and invented many ingenious Pieces of Clock-work, Machines of Water, EGc. which he hath defcribed with his Pen, and bound them up together in a thick Folio, and made the Models of them in Wood with his own Hand. Thefe Things we took Notice of, which we had not before feen in Italy and Germany. The Hand of a Minute Wratch moved every Time the Ball fprings up; in a certain Engine, a Lizard creeping up a perpendicular Rule, fhews the Hour of the Day. A Moufe creeping upon a Rule, placed horizontally, doth the like. There are done by Magnets : An Hour-Glafs that turns of itfelf, when the Sand is run out, and at the fame Time the Hour Figure placed over the Glafs, is changed. Several hydraulick Machines. An Atlas bearing a Globe, and upon its Equator was hewn the Hour of the Day. The Clock upon a declining Plane does not go when placed upon an horizontal Plane. A Ball put in at the Mouth of a winding Serpent runs through it, and afterwards paffes up the Tail of another placed on a moveable Axis, and comes out of his Mouth. A Tortoife put into a Bafon of Water, will never ftand ftill till he points to the Time of the Day. A Balaftra to fhoot Granada's at a certain Diftance. A Circle, with the feveral Humours of Perfons written on it, and if you touch the Gnomon or Index, it will point to the Humour (as is pretended) of him that touches it. A Door that opens both Ways. Two Gates, when one fhuts, the other opens. Two Dials, a pretty Diftance from one another, moving the Index of the one, turns the Index of the other; but when M. Servier took a little Piece of Iron or Load-ftone (colour'd white) out of the Point or End of the Index that was moved, the other would not ftir. A Cannon to fhoot downwards; it is placed on a declining Carriage, an Axis with Cords winds it backwards and forwards, and when the Cannon comes to the further End, a Circle of Lead is round the Mouth. We were told, that the Germans living in Lyons have great Privileges; that they have diftinct Courts to judge Civil and Criminal Matters, and when they make Harangues to the King they fpeak ftanding.
3. The $25^{\text {th }}$, Hiring a Poftilion for a Louis $d^{\circ} \mathrm{Or}$ a Man, we left Lyons, and rode over a long Stone Bridge, crofs the Rbofne, and then paffed through a large Suburb, and entered on a large Plain, where we travelled four Leagues, and after that rode thro' a pleafant Country, caft up into Hillocks, and fix Leagues from Lyons, dined at Artas, having paffed through but one Village before. After Noon we came through Merieu, la Baftie, Cbampier, and at Night lodged in la Frett, three Leagues from Artas. 26th, We rode a good Way in a level Valley, and at two Leagues from la Frett went through Moyran; a little from thence we entered between the Mountains, and travelled through a fruitful Valley, planted like Lombardy, with Rows of Trees and Vines climbing about them; fometimes we mounted ftony Hills, among them paffed through Rives a Village noted for its Iron Works; four Leagues from Moyran, we arrived at Grenoble, riding by a double Pall Mall, jult before we entered the City. This Night it fnowed on the Mountains near Grenoble.

Chap. IV.
through FRANCE.
Grenoble is a large City fituated in a fruitful and pleafant Valley near the Meeting of the River Drac with the Xere. The Houfes are generally meanly built, and the Streets are not handfome. A long Street (on the other Side of the $X$ Sere) joined to the City by a wooden and a Stone Bridge. On the fame Side, upon the Top of a high Hill, is a Fort called la Bafile; a Wall runs up that Hill. The Arfenal is another Fort guarded now by about 150 Soldiers. The Cathedral is a mean Church. The Jefuits are building a neat Chapel. The Proteftants are here about 5000, their Temple is within the Walls, and is of an octagonal Figure, with a tall Roof; within are Seats for Counfellors of Parliament and Perfons of Condition, a little Gallery with wicker Windows, where many Times Popifh Gentry, $\mathcal{G c}$. fit incognito, three Minifters. The Duke of Lefdiguieres's Palace has fine fhady Walks, and a fair Garden.
The Bifhop of this City is a Prince; within the Palace is a Room where the Parliament fits, the Lacqueys will fuffer no Swords to be worn here, except you give them a fmall Piece of Money. Ancient Infcriptions on fome of the Gates which are printed in Golnitz's Itineerary. Three Liards paid for every Horfe that paffes the Bridge with Stone Arches. We vifited a Garden of Simples belonging to a Courifellor of Parliament, (who was civil to us) and Monfieur Bernard, an Apothecary.
4. On the 27 th. Paying four Crowns for two Horfes and a Guide, we immediately rode out of the City, afcended the Mountains, and at a League's Diftance came thro' a Village call'd Sapene, and a League and a half further pafs'd through the Valley of Ckertreufe Village. Thefe Valleys, among the high Mountains or Alps are well cultivated, having great Store of Oats, and other Corn and Meadow Ground. At a narrow Paffage between two high precipitous Rocks, we paffed over a Bridge, crofs a Torrent, and knocking at a Gate, were let in by a Servant belonging to the Monaftery of the Chartreufe; then we afcended a mountainous Way above a Quarter of a League, till we paffed by a large Building, where Perfons of all Trades live, and who are habited like the Fathers of the Cartbufian Orders, and work for the Convent. A good Diftance farther up we arrived at the Grande Cbartreufe, where the Porter afk'd us whence we came, and called a Lay-Brother, who introduced us into one of the Halls appointed to receive Strangers in. At the Gate we left our Swords and Piftols. Seven Hours riding from Grenoble hither.

This Convent is feated under one of the highert Mountains in thefe Parts, and difcovers far and near into the adjacent Countries. As foon as we came into the Hall, Wine, Bread and Cheefe were fet before us, and one of the Fathers, a very intelligent Man, vifited and difcourfed fometime with us about the News of Europe, which he was no Stranger to. A Boy guided us up into the Mountains, and fhewed us a neat Chapel, dedicated to S. Maria de Cafalibus, which is prettily adorn'd with the Letters of her Name in Gold, and with Scripture Epithets: Beyond this we faw S. Bruno's Chapel, built on a Rock. At Night we had our Supper and Beds prepared for us. We obferved the Friars, at Even Song, bowing their Heads as they fat, at the Saying the Gloria Patri, $\mathcal{E}_{c}$. Sixty Fathers, and as many Lay Brothers here. No Women but thofe of the royal Blood can enter this Cloifter. There are two Ways more to come to this Convent, befides that from Grenoble, viz. one from Lyons, and the other from Cbamberry. In their Stable they keep about fixty Horfes, befides Mules and Affes.

28th, We faw their Church, a dark and narrow Building ; before the Altar ftand four tall Brafs Candlefticks, within the Choir the Fathers fit, and without fit the Lay-Brothers. The Fathers rife to their Devotions at Midnight, and are in the Choir three Hours, but then they fleep till Seven or Eight in the Morning, when the Maffes begin. The Cloifter is a very long and narrow Square; we went into one of their Cells which are not kept fo neat as thofe we faw at Venice. At
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Meal Time feveral Servants bring Bread, Wine, Ėc. and open a little Window by the Side of the Cell-Doors and there put in the Provifion. On Fridays they fatt ftrictly, and this Day we faw what they eat, viz. two or three Spoonfuls of cold Peafe boild, four or five Pears, and a few ftewed Prunes and raw Plumbs, befides a fmall Pittance of Bread and Wine, and at Night they had no Supper. In the Refecitoriums are two Tables befides the Priors; at the upper End they dine here together, only on Sundays and great Feftivals.

In the General of the Order's Lodging, we obferved the Pictures of St. Marinn at Naples, the Chertrufe of Paria, and the Convent nigh Avignom, $\xi c$. Places belonging to this Order. In the Chapel is an Altar Piece of great Value. In the Chapter-Room is a large Pifture, how feven of this Order were executed for Treafon (they fay for Religion) in Henry the V(IIth's Days, in England. Cardinal Ricblieu profeffed himfelf firlt of this Order. The Lodgings to entertain Princes in are very neat; the Chapel there is within crufted over with Marble; we gave the Cook a 2 uart d'Escue, and having eaten our Breakfaft, and written our Names in a Book kept by a Porter, we mounted and rode back to Grenoble the fame Way we came.
5. We fayed in Grenoble till Auguf the firft, and one Day rode out, and after twice fording the River Drac (which makes a great Wafh) at a League's Dir. tance, went over Pons de Clef, a large Arch crofs that River, where we paid one Sol a Man; a League further we paffed through a large Village called $V i f$, and about a League thence by S. Bartbolomerv, anocher Village, and Cbaftecu Bernard, where we faw Flame breaking out of the Side of a Bank, which is vulgarly call'd la Fountaine qui Brule ; it is by a fmall Rivulet, and fometimes breaks out in other Places; juft before our Coming, fome other Strangers had fried Egos here. The Soil hereabouts is full of a black Stone like our Coal, which perhaps is the continual Fuel of this Fire.
Auguft the ift, We took Boat for Orange, and went down the Rivers $Y$ fere and the Rbofne, twenty Crowns was given for a Boat, and the Paffengers paid proportionably to the Length of their Journey, fome more fome lefs: Afrer we had left Grenoble three or four Leagues, we durlt not ftir from the Banks fide, a furious Wind arifing and ftopping us for the Space of an Hour. Then nine Leagues from Grenoble, we arrived at our Lodgging in la Faurie, a Village on the right Side of the ITere.
2d. At Break of Day, we entered our Boat, and at two Leagues Diftance paffed under a Bridge with Stone Arches, and a wooden Penthoufe over it; Romans a great walled Place lay on the right Hand thence. We went three Leagues to the Meeting of the Xere and the Rbofne, where we obferved for a good Space the 2 fere kept itfelf unmingled with the $R$ bofne, which was of a whitifh Colour and much troubled, the Xere being much clearer and greenih. A League down the Rbofne we landed at Valence, a poor City and Univerfity, fituated on the left Side of the River: Afterwards we went by the Vivaretz and Sevemues, and paffed by Montlimer on the left Hand, and Viviers on the right, both walled, though mean Places, and at fourteen Leagues from la Fourie lodged at Bourga, a walled Town on the right Side of the River. Many Peages and Tolls paid by the Boatmen as we came along.
3d, After two Leagues we came to Pont S. Ejprit, a ftately Stane Bridge, with eighteen great Arches, and four little ones; between every Arch is a Window. It is curioufly paved with fquare Stones, a Hand broad, two Coaches can go abreaft on it, it is not made ftrait, but bending out againt the Stream. The Town of S. Efprit on the right Hand is walled; a League further we landed at a Peage or Toll-Place belonging to Orange, (we might have landed a League nearer to Orange) where we gave thirty five Sols a piece for a Horle to carry our Things thither. We walked abous two Leagues in a level and fruiffut Country to Orange.

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In Valence, Bourg and other Places, we obferved Meafures of Corn cut in Stone, and little Portals to let the Corn out of them.
6. Orange is but a fmall and meanly built City, and the Walls are not confiderable, but there are Outworks which if well look'd after, would render it very ftrong, by Reafon of its Situation in a Plain. The Caftle is built on the higheft End of a long Ridge of a Hill; it was formerly of greater Strength, when it had walled Bulwarks round about, which the French King, in this Prince of Orange's Minority, caufed to be blown up with Gunpowder, when at the fame Inftant, (thirty) all Roman Catbolicks were overwhelm'd in the Ruins. The Governor is Count de Dbona, but his Deputy or Lieutenant is a Frencloman and a Papift. Within the Caftle were now about a hundred Soldiers, who civilly admitted us into the Caftle, and Thewed us many great Pieces of Cannon, and their Armory ftored with Arms enough for 5000 Men. In the Middle of the Caftle is a very deep Well of good Water, cut out of the Rock. C. Marius's Arch, and la Torre ronde are Antiquities without the Walls; on fome of the Engravings of the Arch was written, BODUIACUS. The Circus is a flately Ruin within the Wall.

The People here are very civil, and of a much better Humour than the French; when the French King had the City in his Poffeffion, many of the Gentry turn'd Papifts. The Univerfity is not confiderable, having about four Profeffors, and one of them is one Guy, I think a Scotchman. The Roman Catholicks have now the Ure of the Cathedral : The Inhabitants of this Principality are at leaft half Proteftants, and who were fenfible of the Change of Governors. On the Tower of the Maifon de la Ville, we faw many falle Weights nailed to the Wall. The Prince hath a Parliament here of both Religions, and hath paffed a publick Amneftia of all Offences, wherein he calls the King of England, and the Marquis of Brandenberg, his Uncles and Tutors. In a poor Woman's Houfe, we faw an old Roman Pavement of Mofaick Work, very curious reprefenting a Cat with a Rat in its Mouth; round about were Squares.
7. 4 th, Giving four Livres and fifteen Sols for three Horfes and a Guide, we travelled a ftony Way two Leagues, in a Country where Thyme, Lavender, Box, E'c. grew plentifully, many Mulberry and Olive-Trees planted in the Fields; we paffed by Cbafteau neuf, on the right $H_{a n d}$ of us, and a League further ferried the River la Nafque, paying for each Horfe one Sol a League, thence riding nigh the Rbofrie, we entered Avignon at Port St. Lazare, upon which Gate was written, Clave Petri tuia. Having thewed our Bolletins of Health, which we took at Grenoble, leaving our Fire-Arms with the Guard, and taking a Note to lodge in the City, we came to a Sign of a Town call'd St. Flour, where we lay till Monday the feventh of Auguft.

In the Cathedral, a fmall Church fituated on the Rocks nigh the Windmills, we faw an ancient Monument of Benedittus XII. Pope, a Miller's Son. The Palace is adjoining, guarded by Soldiers, Cbigi Cardinal Padrone is Legat and Governor, M. Columnia Vice-Legat, who (chey faid) was fuddenly to be removed, becaule he had given fome Sufpicion to the French King, by making a kind of Fort before the Palace Gate, and laying up a large Quantity of Corn. On the Outfide of the Palace where the Prifon is, are pictured, hanging by the Heels, the chief of the late Rebellion againft the Pope; and in the Bando 200 Piftoles are promifed to any Perfon that can bring the Head of any one of them; thele Rebels live in Safety at Villeneuf, a Place t'other Side of the Bridge, juft crofs the Rbofne, which belongs to the Fronch King, who hath threatned to burn alive any that fall offer to lay Hands on them. Monfignor Lomellino is the new Vice-Legat.

The Dominicans Church is a large Building of one Aich. The Cordeliers Church is larger in the Sacrifta; they inewed us a round leaden Box with a leaden Medal, plain on one Side, and on the other the Figure of Laura, and thefe Letters, M. L. M. I. which is interpreted by fome, Madonna laura moria jace. This Me-
dal with Italian Verfes on her, written by Petrach, in a neat Character was found in that Box, lying at her Breaft, when Francis I. took up her Body, who alfo made Verfes on her in French, which are kept with the others. In an obfcure Chapel we faw her TombStone.

In St. Martial's Church we fearched for Cafmir King of Poland's Monument, but could not be informed where it was; nigh the Alar is a very ftately Tomb that reaches almoft to the Top of the Church, and below lies the Figure of a Bifhop, and over him our Saviour and the Apoftles Effigies, and fo upwards are many Marble Figures. The Celefins Church hath a Marble relievo Altar, which they fay is but of one Piece, having many Figures in it: The Picture of a Skeleton drawn by King Renatus, who gave the Altar. In the Middle of the Choir is a handfome Monument of Clement VII. Pope. In a long Chapel adjoining, is the Legend pictured of S. Peter of Luxenbourg.

The Coining-houfe is oppofite to the Palace, and has a new fair Front. The Jefuits have a pretty Chapel, and an indifferent Studium; in the Area of it are Dials, with Directions to know what it is $0^{9}$ Clock; in fuch Cities as are under Kings, and in fuch as are under Commonwealths, the one is called Horologium Regium, the other Ariftocraticum, in which they have placed Geneva. The Gate on the Rbofue Side is open every Day, but befides that, there is but one more open at a Time, and that they change every Week. About 700 Italian Soldiers in the City. Here are fome Palaces and good Houfes, but the Generality of the Buildings are mean, and the Streets narrow; the Inhabitants are in Fear every' Night that the Rogues fhould creep in at their Windows.
8. The 7th, Giving fifteen Livres of France, we hired three Horfes and a Poftilion, who guided us firft over the long Bridge at Avignon crofs the Rbofne, which Bridge is entire on the City Side, but broken on the Side of France, and repaired with Wood. It feems to have been a Roman Work, is built of Stone, and paved (though now much defaced) like that at St. Efprit, and it is more bending againft the Stream. Some Way on the Bridge ftands a Centinel, and the Avignon Searchers lodge there, to ftop and enquire into Merchants Goods. When we were almoft over the Bridge, our Poftilion paid about one Sol a Horfe. At the End of the Bridge is Villeneuf, a Village, and a little Way thence on the River Side, S. Andre, a ftrong Place of the French King's. Leaving thefe Places behind us, (without entering them) we rode among fome Vineyards, and then travelled a ftony Way over little Hills, till we came by Remoulin, a fmall walled Place, about a fhort Englifh Mile thence; we arrived at Pont du Gard, a ftately Antiquity, well defigned by Dr. Bargrave, and defcribed in Golnitz and Deyron's Antiquities of Nifmes. A League from hence we dined at Sefignon, a fmall Village; and in the Afternoon rode a direft and level Way between Olive Fields, (the Olive-Trees were much mortified by the Extremity of the laft Winter) and after three Leagues riding, arrived at Lutzenbourg, a good Inn without the City of Nifmes.

We faw the Amphitheatre, the Outfide whereof is very entire, and is two Stories high, the Steps or Seats are ruined, and the Arena filled with Houfes. Over the great Entrance are two half Bulls in Stone, and on the Outfide is a Wolf fuckling Romulus and Remus; alfo a Triple and Priapus, or Penis winged, and the Figure of a Woman holding by a Bridle. In a private Houfe we faw Eagles excellently well made in Stone; a double Statue of a Woman having two Bodies and four Legs, it was made without a Head, but now they have fixed on it, the Head of an old Man; fome will have this to be the Statue of Geryon, but Deyron contradicts it. A fmall Piazza call'd. Place de Salamandre, from a Pillar with a Salamander upon it. La Maifon Quarre is a fair Antiquity within the City, being one Pile of Building, adorn'd with Statues, Pillars, $\xi^{\circ} c$. Within the Port de la Couronne are many old Infcriptions, and an ancient Statue with his Hands upon his Head.


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After a little Walk without the Town, we faw the Ruins of the Temple of Diana, which is under the Side of a Rock, and clofe by is Fons Diane, which firft makes a deep Pond, and fends Water enough to furnimh all the Gardens of the City; in Winter, or any rainy Seafon it overflows very much. La Torre Grande, on the Top of a Hill, is a ruin'd Tower of the old Roman Wall; in other Places are feen the Ruins of the old Wall. The Circuit of this City was but 2000 Paces lefs than Rome, and was built formerly upon feven Hills. The Front of the Cathedral is adorn'd with ancient Carving. A large Plain or Level round the Town, except on one Side, where feveral Hills run along in a Hill. The Splanade is an open Walk without Port de la Couronne, fometimes frequented by a great deal of Company. In the Maifon de la Ville are kept two or three Crocodiles, (dead) which are the Arms of Ni mes, and fignify their Founders came out of Egypt.

In a Court of this Maifon de la Ville, is erected on two Pillars againft the Wall the Monument of Dandalo the General of the Proteftants. The Proteftants of this City are three Parts out of four, and they had two Temples, but one is lately pulled down : Every Morning they have a Sermon, and in the Afternoon Prayers: On Sunday they have four Sermons; they have three Bury ing. places without the Walls, and they had a College and Profeffors, but now the Jefuits are Mafters: The Proteftants have a Bell to ring them to Church.

Thus far we have followed Mr. Skippon's Journey, who, as we obferved in the Introduction, fuffered nothing to efcape him. Whatever he faw remarkable, he committed to Writing immediately, and the Defcription of it to his Journal; whatever was particularly curious, he examined more clofely, and the Refult of his Examination was alfo committed to Writing. In like Manner he recorded whatever was communicated to him that deferved Notice. All this however was done in a hafty and unpolifhed Manner, for the Affitance of his own Memory, and not at all with a View, or even with a Sufpicion that it fhould one Day appear in Print.

It was otherwife with Mr. Ray, who, though he kept fuch a Journal as Mr. Skippon, yet revis'd and improv'd what he fet down in it, and where he had an Opportunity, compared it with the Notes of his Friend Mr. Willougbby. He begins his Defcription of France, with an Account of the City of Montpelier, to which this Introduction was requifite; but now we are arrived at a more copious and polifhed Account of Things, we fhall make Ufe of Mr. Ray's Travels fo far as they go, and thall then take up with Mr. Skippon's Journal again, in Order to fupply the Deficiencies that would orherwife appear in the Courfe of thefe Travels, and which has hitherto rendred Mr. Ray's liable to the Cenfure of being fomewhat abrupt and unconnected. Thus he writes:
9. Montpellier is a round Town ftanding upon a Hill, in the Midft of a ftony Country, fomewhat bigger than Geneva, but not fo populous, the Number of Inhabitants at prefent being about 25000, of which two thirds are Papifts, and one Proteftants. The Proteftants have two Churches (Temples they call them) in Town. The Streets of this City are very narrow, fhort and crooked, without any Uniformity or Beauty at all, fo intricate, that its half a Year's Work to underftand them all, and learn the Way from Place to Place. The Houfes are many of them, well built of free Stone, which were they fet well together in order, would make three or four handfome Streets. No larger Piazza or Marketplace in Town. The Number of Apotbecaries in this little City is farce credible, there being thirty Shops, and yet all find fomething to do ; their Cyprefs Powder, fweet Bags, Caffolets, Treacle, Confection al Kermes, and Hyacintha, having a Name all France over. The Queen of Hungary's Water (as they call it) made here, is likewife much bought up. It is nothing but common Spirit of Wine, in which Rofemary Flowers have been macerated and diftilled from the faid Flowers. The Wines hereabout are very ftrong, and bear Water well.

Their Vineyards are of dwarf Vines, without any Support, the Standards, when the Branches are pruned
off, being like the Standards of our Ofier Gardens. Ac Montpellier, the beft Verdet or Verdegreafe, Viridi aris; is made. They told us that fo good could not be made elfewhere, though they ufed the fame Method and the fame Materials; whether it be to be attributed to the juft Temper of Heat, or the Nature of the Wine they ufe, or fome other unknown Quality. The Manner thus; Firf, they take Grape Stalks well cleanfed from the Raifins, and from all Filth, and putting in the Bottom of a Pot, a Quantity of the beft red Wines they fet Sticks crofs, a little above the Wine, and upon them lay a Quantity of Grape Stalks, firft alfo drenched in Wine, and lei them alone about ffreen Days, more of lefs, according to the Seafon, till they come to make (as they call it) a Rofe, that is, the Outfides become to Appearance dry, and the Middle only wer.

Thefe Grape Stalks being thus prepared, they put in the Bottom of a large earthen Pot of the beft red Wine, that begins to be four, but is not yet come to be Vinegar, to the Quantity of about two or three Inches Depth; fomewhat above the Wine they fet Sticks crofs the Por, and having ready many little Plates of Copper, they lay upon the Crofs-fticks, firft a Layer of the prepared Grape-ftalks, then a Layer of Copper Plates, and fo alternately, S.S.S. i. e. Stratum fuper fratum, till the Pot be full. In the Middle of the Por they ufually leave a Hole all along, for the Vapour of the Wine to afcend, neither are the Copper Plates laid near together for the fame Reafon; when they have filled up the Pot, they cover it, and fet it in a Cellar, and after fome five or fix Days turn the Copper-plates; letting the Pot remain in the Cellar three or four Days more. In eight or ten Days, according to the Seafon, the Verdet will be come.

Then they take out the Plates, and laying them fix or feven on a Heap, put them, in a Trough, and fprinkle the Edges of them with the fame Wine, for three or four Days; next they prefs them with heavy Weights for four or five Days, and laft of all, fcrape off the Verdet with Knives, and moulding it with a little Wine, dry it and fell it. The fame Plates are again put into Pots, and ufed as before. So then the Verdet is nothing but the Ruft or Scurf of the Copper, calcin'd by the Vapour of the Wine.

Here alfo we faw the Manner and Procefs of Blanching of Bees-Wax. Firft, they melt the Wax in a great Copper Cauldron, then they have ready a Mould or Form of Wood, of the Figure of a Sugar-Loaf, or the Block of a Steeple crown'd Hat, which having befmeared over with. Slime of Snails, they dip into the Wax thus melted. This takes up a Skin or Film of Wax, as Candles upon Dipping do.

This they fmooth with their Hands, and dip in Water, and when it is cold take it off the Form, from which, by Reafon of the anointing the Form with the forementioned Mucilage, it will readily flip in the Form of a Cone or long crucible. Thefe Cones (fo let me call them) are fet in a Garden in Ranks, fingly one by one, fuppported with Canes or Reeds, crofling one another on this Fafhion.


Round about they fet Pots with Water, wherewith they frinkle the Wax often, to keep it from melting. In Summer Time, when the Sun lies hot upon it, fome fix or feven Times a Day, otherwife but three or four Times. In fourteen or fifteen Days, the upper End of thefe Cones will grow white, and then they turn them to whiten the other End. In a Month's Time, more or lefs, according to the Weather, they will become White all over.

Then they melr the Wax again in earthen Pans like Metce or Scuttles, and run it fo melted, through the Neb of a Tin Pot, into Water, and as it runs down into the Water, a Man either breaks it with his Hand into. Grains or works it into round Figures like
fpira.
fpiral Wreaths, or Corelle, and thefe they expofe again to the Weather, in the Garden and Order as before, still they become purely white, and then melt into great Pieces to fell. The Mucilage wherewith they befmear the Forms, is made of Snails taken alive, Shells and all, and pounded in a Mortar, till they become a perfect Pap or Vifcus. The Form once befmeared well over with this Pap, will laft dipping many Times. Wax whitened is almoft twice as dear as yellow Wax. Yel low Wax is folutive, and ufed where there is an Inflammation, and the Sore not ripe; white Wax, on the contrary very aftringent. They fay Montpellier is a Place proper for the Whitening of Wax; and that the fame Workmen coming over into England, found the Air of a differenc Temper, and not convenient for this Trade. At Montpellier is made the beft Confectio Alkermes, as Reafon there is it Mould, the Grain which gives it its Denomination, being in no Country of Europe found fo plentifully as here.

The Manner of the Preparation of this Grain, for the making the Confection, you may find fet down in the Pbilofopbical Tranfactions, No XX. p. 362, and I fall therefore here omit. Thefe Grains have formerly been thought to have been proper to the Dwarf or Shrub Ilex, called therefore Ilex Coccifera, and a by Fruit or Excrefeency of the Twigs of that Plant. But my learned and ingenious Friend Mr. Martin Lifter, who hath been very happy in making Difcoveries in natural Hiftory, hath found the like Grains here in England, upon the Twigs of Cherry and ocher Trees, and judged them to be the Work of an Infeet, and by her affixed to the Twigs for Nefts to breed and harbour her young ; and indeed to me they appeared to be fo, eafily receding and falling off from the Wood, when the Young are hatch'd and gone. As for the Grains themfelves, they are fo like the Kernes Grains, that they are farce to be dininguithed, and grow to the Twigs juft in the fame Places and Marner. But for a more full and compleat Hiftory of them, I refer the Reader to Mr. Lifter's Letters publifhed in the Pbilofopbical Tranfacions.

IO. At Montpellier I obferv'd the Manner of making Oil Olive: Firft, they take Olives, whether frefh gathered or laid awhile on a Heap, it matters not (as they told me) and bruife or grind them to a Pafte, as we do Apples to make Cyder, with a perpendicular Mill-ftone running round in a Trough. This Pafte, or the Olives thus bruifed, they put in round thin Baskets, made of Spartum, like Frails, having a round Hole in the Top: But both Top and Bottom clapping together, fo that when preffed they look like a thin round Cake. Half a Score or more of thele Baskets, filled with Olive Pouce, they lay on a Heap in the Prefs, and letting down the Prefs Beam, fqueeze them at firft without any Mixture. Then winding up the Beam they take out the Bafkets, and into each one put a good Quantity of fcalding Water (which they have always ready) and fhaking the Bafket mingle it with the Pouce, and then piling them upon one anorher, as before, prefs them down a fecond Time.

This fecond Operation they repeat again, and then taking out the Pouce, put in new, and proceed as before. The Oil, together with the Water, runs out into Veffels fet to receive it. The Water with the Anmurca finks to the Bottom, and the Oil fwims above it, which they take off with a Copper Difh, like a Fleeting-difh, as good Houfewives fkim the Cream from their Milk. The Water mixed with the red Juice of the Olive becomes red and thick, not at all mingling with the Oil ; fo that it cannot eafly the leaft Drop of it, be taken up without perceiving it. It is faid, that in Provence, they fpread their Olives on a Floor, after they are gathered, and there let them reft thirty Days to dry, and for that Reafon their Oil is better than that of Languedoc. Others lay them on a Heap a-while, to let them fweat as they call it.
It is worth the noting, that, though the Olives be very bitter, and of a very fiery ungrateful Tafte, yet the Oil which is drawn from them is fweet, the like is obferved in bitter Almonds, and it is very likely might be in all other bitter Fruits, which is a fufficient Proof,
that the Tafte of fuch Fruics doth not inhere in the Oil, at leaft which is made by Expreffion; and it deferves Examination, whether the chymical Oil may not alfo be divefted of the Tafte of the vegetable, from which it is extracted: Olives when they come to Maturity, change Colour, and become black as fome other Plumbs do, but it is very late in the Year firt. They are then nowwithftanding of an horrid and ungrateful Tafte, firing the Throat and Palate of one that eats them. They afford moft Oil when full ripe, but beft as they told us when gathered and preffed green. Sometimes they picte ripe Olives, but they will not laft; therefore, thofe which they pickle to fend Abroad, are gathered green. The Pickle they ufe is nothing elfe but a Brine of Salr and Water.

Near Peroul, about a League from Montpellier, we faw a boiling Fountain (as they call it) that is, the Water did heave up and bubble as if it boiled. This Phænomenon in the Water was caufed by a Vapour afcending out of the Earth, through the Water, as was manifeft, for if that one did but dig any where near the Place, and pour Water upon the Place new digged, one fhould obferve in it the like bubbling, the Vapour arifing not only in that Place where the Fountain was, but all thereabout; the like Vapour afcending out of the Earth, and caufing fuch Ebullition in Water it paffes through, hath been oblerved in Mr. Hawkley's Ground, about a Mile from the Town of Wigan, in Lancaßire, which Vapour by the Application of a lighted Candle, Paper or the like, catches Fire and flames vigorounly. Whether or no this Vapour at Peroul would in like Manner catch Fire and burn, I cannot fay, it coming not in our Minds to make the Experiment.
ir. From Montpellier we took a Journey of Pleafure to fee the adjacent Country, and firlt we rode to Frontignon, a little walled Town by the Estang Side, three Miles diftant, which gives Name to the fo famous Mufcate Wine. The Country about this Town, toward the Sea Southward, lies open to the Sun, but toward the Land Northward, it is encompaffed with a Ridge of Hills in Form of a Bow, touching the Sea at each End; fo that the whole is like a Theatre: In the Arena, and on the Sides of the Hills grows the Mufcate Grape, of which this Wine is made.

In this Space are contained two other little Towns, the one called Miraval, the other Vich; this laft gives Name to a mineral Water, fpringing near it, much ufed hereabout. It hath an acid vitriolic Tafte, but nothing fo ftrong as our Spaze Waters, and therefore I guefs the Operation of it is much weaker. At Frontignan and other Places, we faw the Manner of making Raifins [uva pafles, they take the faireft Bunches, and with a Pair of Sciffars frip off the faulty Grapes, and tie two Bunches together with a String, then they dip them in a boiling Ley [Lixivium] into which they put a little Oil, till they are very plump and ready to crack.
Fo. Baubinus faith that they let them continue fo long in the boiling Lixivium, quo ad faccefcant tantum E\% corrugentur ; but we obferved no fuch Thing, for they did not continue the Bunches half a Minute, but prefently took them out again, and wafhed them in a Veffel of fair cold Water; then they put them upon wooden Poles for two or three Days in the Shade to dry, and after that expofed them to the Sun, taking them in the Night Time, or rainy Weather. Cyprianus Ricbovius defcribes the Manner of making Raifins in Spain thus: There are (faith he) two Sorts of Uve paffe, or Raifins, the one of thofe call Raifins of the Sun, of a blue Colour, the other of the Uve paffe Lixa, which they call frail or Pakket Raifins.

In preparing the firft Sort they thus proceed; when the Bunch they defign for that Purpofe begins to grow ripe, they cut the Footftalk of it half afunder, that fo the radical Juice or Moifture may be at leaft in 2 great Meafure detained, and not pafs to the Grapes, and fo they leave it hanging on the Vine. Then by the Heat of the Sun, the Grapes are by Degrees dried. When they are fufficiently dry, they gather them and put them up in Veffels. The fecond Sort they make on this Fafhion: when they prune their Vines,

Chap. IV.
through FRANCE.
they bind up the Cuttings in Faggots, and referve them till the Vintage time. Then they burn them, and of their Afhes make a Ley or Lixivium, which they boil in great Veffels, and therein immerfe the Bunches of Grapes one by one. Afterwards, to dry them, they fpread them upon a paved Floor clean fwept, made for that Purpofe in the Vineyard, that fo they may be more fpeedily dried by the Sunbeams.
When they are fufficiently concocted and dried, they put them up in Frails or Baskets. After the fame Manner they prepare their dried Figs, by dipping them in a Lixivium made of the Afhes of the dried Branches of the Fig-tree, cut off in pruning. But however, they fupertitiounly obferve to make their Lixivium for Raifins, of the Ahes of the Branches pruned off the Vine, $\mathcal{E} c$. I doubt not but the Afhes of any Wood indifferently taken would ferve as well for that Purpofe.
12. From Frontignan we rode to Balleruch, to fee the hot Waters, which are ufed as well inwardly as outwardly. At our being there, which was in the Begin ning of September, the Water was fcarce Lukewarm; they told us that in the Winter it was very hot. The Bath is not above two flight Shors diftant from the Eftang, and the Water thereof taftes very falt and brackin, whether by Reafon of the Seas being fo near it, or becaufe the Water comes from fome Salc Mine, I know not; yet the lattér feems the more probable, becaufe, fhould it come from the Sea, the Water ftraining thro fo much Sand, would probably lofe its Salt by the Way, as we have found by Experiment in England. At Gabian, about a Day's Journey from Montpellier in the Way to Beziers, is a Fountain of Petroleum: It burns like Oil, is of a ftrong pungent Scent, and a blackifh Colour. It diftills out of feveral Places of the Rock all the Year long, but moft in Summer-time. They gather it up with Ladles, and put it in a Barre fet on one End, which hath a Spiggot juft at the Bottom ; when they have put in a good Quantity, they open the Spiggot to let out the Water, and when the Oil begins to come, prefently ftop it. They pay for the Farm of this Fountain about Fifty Crowns per Annum. We were told by one Monfieur Beaulbofte, a Chymift in Montpellier, that Petroleunz was the very fame with the Oil of Jer, and not to be diftinguifhed from it, by Colour, Tafte, Smell, Confiftency, Virtues, or any' other Accident, "as he had by Experience found upon the Coaft of the Mediterranean Sea in feveral Places, as at Berre near Martegue in Provence; at Mefina in Sicily, \&cc.

They make Salt of the Sea-Water drawn into fhallow Pools, and evaporated by the Sun-beams, in Sum-mer-time. Firts, they let the Water into a large fhalJow Plain, like the Cooler in a Brewhoufe, and there being well heated they run it into feveral fhallow Beds, like the Beds of a Garden; when the Sun hath dried up all the Water, they let in more, and fo again three or four Times, till the Salt, remaining at the Bottom of thefe Receptacles, come to be three Fingers thick, and then they take it up with Shovels, and heap it on little Hills; but the whole Procefs of this Operation being exactly defcribed in the Pbilofophical Tranjactions, Numb. 5r. p. 1025.
I fhall forbear to enlarge any further concerning it. Now that I have mentioned Martegue, I fhall add the Manner of making Botargo out of Mr. F. Willougbby's Notes. At Martegue they take Abundance of Mullets [Mugiles not Mulli, as one would be apt to think by the Englifh Name] in their Burdigos, which are Places in the Shallows inclofed with Hedges of Reeds. The Male Mullers are called Allettants, becaufe they fhed the Milt, [Lac pificium.] The Females Botar, of the Rows or Spawn of which Botargo is made. They firft take out the Spawn intire, and cover it round with Salt for four or five Hours, then they prefs it a little between two Boards or Stones, then they wafh it, and at laft dry it in the Sun for thirteen or fourteen Days, taking it in at Nights.
13. December 7 th, 1665 . From Montpellier we made an excurfive Voyage into Provence. The principal Cities and Towns that we faw were, I. Lumel four Leagues
diftant from Montpellier. 2. Arles, a confiderable City; once the Head of a Kingdom, called anciently Arelates ftanding upon the River Rbofne, which; a good Way above this City, divides itfelf into two Branches; and makes an Inand called the Camarg. All this Illand is full of Vermicularis frutex growing by the Ditch Sides all along. Beyond this City, in the Way to Marfeilles; we paffed over a large Plain or Level, all over covered with Stones, called now the Ciraux or les Cbamps pierreux; anciently Campi Lapideito. 3. St. Cbamas, a large Burgh; flanding upon the Ridge, and on each Side a narrow Hill, which is perforated like Pauflypus. 4. Marfeilles; an ancient City, not great but well built, with tall Stone Houfes for the moft part, and very populous:

We were told that the Number of Souls was about 120,000. The Streets are narrow as in moft of the ancient Towns in this Country, to keep off the forching Beams of the Sun in Summer-time. The Haven is the moft fecure and commodious that I have feen; the Entrance into it is fo ftrait and narrow, that a Man may eafily caft a Stone crofs it, but the Haven within large enough to contain 500 Veffels or more; of an oval Figure. On one Side of this Haven the Town is built, which compaffes it more than hialf round, having before it a handfome Kay well paved, which ferves the Citizens for a Walk or Promenade. This Haven is not capable of Ships of above 600 Ton.
On the Rocks near this Town, I found growing plentifully, the fame Colutea I obferved at St. Cbamas: Valeriana rubra Dod. Carduus galacites, I. B. By the Sea-fide, Tragacantba, Maffilienfum plentifully : Aster luteus fupinus, I. B. Titbymalus myrfinites augufifolius; Coronopus Maflienfis, Lob. 5. Baufet. 6. Oliole, two litcle Towns. 7. Toulon, no great Town, but well fortified, and the belt Haven the King of France hath on the Mediteranean Sea, having a large Bay capable of the greateft Veffels, where there is good Riding for Ships. At Toulon they make Holes in their Stone Walls at three or four Foot Diftance near the Ground, and there plant Capers, the Fruit whereof they prepare and pickle after this Fafhion. They gather the Buds or Bloffoms of the Flowers before they be explicated, and fpreading them thin, lay them in the Shade to wither for three or four Hours, to prevent the Opening of the Flower. Then they put them in a Veffel, and pour Vinegar upon them, covering the Veffel with a Board, and fo let them ftand for nine Days, at the End whereof they take them out and prefs them gently, and put them in frefh Vinegar, letting them ftand as long as before : This done the third Time, they put them up in Barrels with Vinegar. Some mingle Salt with their Vinegar, which is the beft Way, and preferves the Capers for three Years, both for Colour and Tafte, as good at the Firft.
I obferved near Baiufet great Plenty of Myrtle in the Hedges; near Olliole, Accantbus Sativus; Altbcaa frutefceus folio rotundiore in cano C. B. Fumaria minor five tenui folia Jurrecza I. B. Acacia trifolia; Teucrium vulgave; Arifarum latifolium Cbryfocome Ger. 8. St. Maximine; near which is the famous Grot of Mary Magdalen, called St. Baulme. 9. Aix, anciently Aque Sextice, from the hot Baths that are there. This is a very ele gant and plearant City, well built with fair Stone Houfes, having broad Streets and handfome Piazzas. 1o. Ses logne, Selonia.
In the Cordeliers Church lies buried Nostrodamus the famous Frencb Prophet, whofe Verfes the Frencbmen efteemed as Oracles. In the Church Wall is placed a Stone with this Infcription to his Memory.
D. M. Cariff offa M. Nosiradomi unius omnium mortdo lium judicio digni, cujus pene divino calamo totius or bis ex aftrorum infuxu futuri eventus confcriberentur Vixit an. 62. m.6. d.10. Obit Salo MDLXVI Quietem pofteri ne invidete. Anna Pontia Gamells Solonia conjugi optimo. $V, \dot{F}$.
II. Aiguemortes, a fmall Town, but of great Strengeh, near the Sea, in a fenny Place, fix Leagues diftant from Montpellier. From Montpellier we returned to Iyons,
from Lyons we travel'd with a Meffenger to Paris, from Paris again to Calais, and fo crofs the Strait to Dover; whence we at firft fet out, and began our Journey.
14. Thus we have run through all that Mr. Ray has left us concerning France; but for the Sake of obtaining more Particulars of that Journey, in which Mr. Ray feems to have been lefs circumftantial than ufual, we fhall have Recourfe to Mr. Skippon's Journal of their Travels from Lyons to Paris, in which the Reader will find very few Repetitions, and many fingular and curious Remarks thar, for any Thing I can difcern, had efcaped the Obfervation of former Travellers, and are not taken Notice of by any that came after them, more efpecially the Story which he tells us of the Son of Count St. Geran ; which he has related very fuccinctly, and that has fince been made the Subject of a confiderable Treatife. It may not be amifs to oblerve, that the young Gentleman, who thus recovered his Title and Fortune, married, and had only a Daughter, who, by the Intereft of the Family, was put into a Convent; by which Means the Eftate defcended very nearly in the fame Way that it would have done, if the Fraud had never been difcovered.

March 6, We gave forty five Livres a Man, for Horfes to a Meffenger, who for that Money maintained us from Lyons to Paris, and allowed him five Sols a Pound, for every Pound our Portmanteaus weighed, above fix Pound, which he carried on a Sumpter-horfe. By the Cocbe d'eau, a Conveyance by the River Soane, we fent fome of our Things, and paid but three Sols per Pound. Dr. Moulins, Mr. Lifter, Mr. Ray and myfelf, were in Company this Journey with fome Frenchmen. We went through a very ftony Way, and paffed over Hills, and three Leagues from Lyons pafied through la Brelle and three Leagues further brought us to our Lodgings in Tarrara. This Day we obferved Oxen thod with Iron. 7 th, We mounted before Day, and rode over the Mountain of Tarrart, where we found Snow. After three Leagues riding we came throngh St. Savorin, and thereabouts obferved a perpendicular Stone moved by Water, to bruife Hemp, held underneath by two Boys. Three Leagues further we dined at St. Nicholas in Roanne, and there ferried over the Louvre, each giving two Sols Marque. We paffed a pleafant Valley, and four Leagues from our Baiting-place, lodged in Pas de Quandiere a fmall Village.
The 8 th, We rode, for the moft Part of four Leagues, thro' hilly Way, and dined at l'Efcu de France in Paliffe, where she Count de S. Geran hath a Houfe. The prefent Count came thus to his Eftate; his Uncle being next prefumptive Heir, made a Compact with a Midwife, who delivered the prefent Count's Mother, but by cafting her into a Sleep, the Midwife perfuaded her into a Belief the was delivered of a dead Child; when the Midwife conveyed away the little Infant, who was bred up by a Country Woman, and being grown to fome Years, the Countefs defired, and took him for her Page, on whom the beftowed very good Breeding; and in the mean Time the Midwife, on her Death-Bed, confeffed the Cheat, and declared the Page to be the Countefs's true Son. This Difcovery occafioned a great Suit between the Uncle and the young Heir; but at laft it was determined by the Parliament of Paris, in Favour of the Heir the Countefs's Son, who is now Count de St. Geran. Four Leagues from Palife, having traveled good Way in a pleafant Country, we lodged at the St. Grorge, without the Walls of Warene, a fmall Town.
On the gth, we traveled feven Leagues, and dined at the Three Moors in Moulins, where many Women came to fell their Sciffars, Knives, $\mathcal{E}^{\circ}$ c. Moulins is an indifferent City, which afforded little of Remark, befides the ftately Monument of Montmorency, who was beheaded in the Maifon de Ville at Touloufe. The white Marble Statues of the Duke and his Lady lay on a Tomb of black Marble ; a fair Marble Statue is on each Side, and over them a Marble Urn, and other Ornaments. We rode feven Leagues from Morlins in very good Way, (as we did in the Morning) and lodged this Night without the Walls of St. Pierre de Montier. Hereabouts began fony Caufeways. On the roth, we
rode five Leagues, paffed a ftone Bridge over the River Loire, and dined at the Flower de-lys in Nevers where the poor People defired us to buy their Bagatells of Glafs. This City is meanly built nigh the Loire on a rifing Ground, and hath an indifferent fair Cathedral where are feveral marble Monuments: The Steeple of this Cathedral is handfomely adorned with Statues, After Dinner we continued our Journey about two Leagues and an half, and tafted of an acid Water fpringing up plentifully in the Middle of a Court, walled about. This Water is much drank in Auguft and is reputed very good for curing the Stone, \&cc. It is near Pogue a Village. This medicinal Well rifes in the Level of a Valley. Two Leagues and a half far ther we reached la Cbarité a walled Place, fituated upon the Loire. Over the Gate we entered at is written,

## Ifi Varietaie Securitas jub Lilio.

Our Inn was handfome, the Sign of the Croix dor.
On the IIth, we took Horfe about Four in the Morning, and rode three Leagues to Pouilly, where we drank very good Wine, which that Place is noted for Four Leagues thence we dined at Cofne, a walled Place, noted for Dogfkin Gloves. In the Afternoon we travel'd five Leagues to Bony, and one League and an half farther lodged in Briare, a fmall walled Town. At this Place begins a Channel cut from the Loire to the Seine, the Water being Lept up by Locks or Sluices. On the other Side of the Loire, in Berry, and about two L.eagues from Cofue is Sancerre, a Town fituated upon a Hill; formerly a ftrong Place and well defended by the Proteftants about ninety Years ago ; they held out folong, that they underwent the greateft Miferies of Famine, fome Women digging up their Children they had buried three or four Days before. We met on the Road many Savoyards, who were Chimney-fweepers at Paris, \&cc, They come off the Mountains of Savoy in the Beginning of Winter, and return thither in the Spring.

The 12 th, we rode four Leagues, and dined at the Efcu de France in la Bufiere, a fnall Village. Seven Leagues further we lodged in Montargis, a City where we faw nothing worth our Obfervation. An indifferent Caftle ftands here on a Hill: There is an Archbifhop of this City, and the King fends a Governor. In the Roadi we took Norice of many thatch'd Houfes, and many Country-houfes with high and fteep Roofs cover'd with Slate. The I3th, we travel'd about five Leagues, and had on our Right Hand Pont a Gaflon, a walled Town, and a League thence dined at the Angel or Maifon rogue, a Houfe that ftands in the open Fields. In the Afternoon we went over a Plain fowed with Corn, and five Leagues from our Bait paffed by Milly, a large walled Place on our Lefr Hand, and one fhorr League thence arrived at Corrance, where we lodged. This Afternoon we faw on our Right the Wood of Fontainbleau. The 14th, we rode about a League, and paffed among Rocks where Travellers are often robbed. About two or three Leagues farther we faw, on our Right Hand, Corbilly, a City in a Valley, with many Villages round it. Seven Leagues from Corrance we dined at $\mathcal{F} u r i f i$, at the Sign of the Golden Lyon. Three Leagues thence we paffed through Ville fuifue, and there, on the Top of a Hill, had a Profpect of Paris, where we fafely arrived after we had traveled two Leagues.
15. On our Left Hand we had a fair Hofpital; from Corbilly to Paris is a Caufeway in a ftrait Line, and well paved with fquare Pebbles. Nigh Paris we obferved feveral Stone Quarries. This Stone is of very great Advantage to the City of Paris; for were it not thus plentiful, the Buildings would be but indifferent. We faid in this City till April $\mathrm{r}, \mathrm{I} 666$, too fhort a Time for fo great and remarkable a Place ; but the French King's Declaration of War againft England commanded us out of France, within three Months after the Proclamation thereof, which was on the $1 / f$ of February, N.S.

What I could obferve during my Seay here, I haftily
put in Writing, viz. Every Wednefday there is a Horfemarket in Fauxbourg S. Victor, and every Saturday at Port Richlieu. At Mount Martre is made the Plaifter called Plaifter of Paris, and they have this Saying about it, Il y a plus de $M$. Martre à Paris que de Paris à M. Martre. Cardinal Mazarine left a great Legacy to build the College of four Nations, Italian, French, Spanifh and German; a good Part of it was now finifhed; the Front is ftately made, like a Theatre, and it looks upon the Lowure, being placed on the oppofite Side of the River Seine. The Sorbonne College is a magnificent Structure. The Doccors wear black Gowns; and when Exercifes are perform'd, they wear a white Furr, which hangs athwart the Breaft. L'Hôtel de Ville en la Place do Grave is an old and fair Building. Pont Neuf in the Middle is joined to the Inand Notre Dame Church ftands in. The Brafs Statue of Henry IV. on Horfeback, made by Bologna (who is buried at the Annunciata in Florence) itands in the Middle of the Bridge, having Infcriptions and Baff relievi, defcribing his Victories, Erc. Place Dauphine is a triangular Plazza built very uniform, and juft in Sight of Henry IVth's Statue. Rue de Harlay is behind that Piazza, where all the Houfes are of the fame Building. Place Royale is an uniform Square, very near, having a green Court railed about, and a fmall Portico under all the Houfes. Notre Dame is a fair Church with a handfome Front, adorned with Statues, and two flat Steeples, from which is a good Profpen of the City. Several Colours hang up in this Church, two of them were taken by the Englifh. The Baftile is like the Tower of London, for Prifoners of State, where the King gives them Allowance. It is near Port St. Antonine. The Arfenal conffits of many Courts, and has lair Walks in a Garden nigh the Gity Wall. St. Germain Auxerrois is a pretty Church nigh the Louvre, and is called the King's Parifh Church. The Tbuilleries is the Garden belonging to the Louvre, which they would not permit Strangers to fee at this Time. The Louvre Gallery is 900 Feet long; under half the Length of it are Stables.

Before the Louvre Gallery, not far from Pont des Tbuilleries, ftood an old Tower called la Tour des Anglois, which was thrown down the laft Year. Some fay, the preceding Kings durft not throw it down, becaufe of a Prophecy that France fhould be then conquered. The Louvre will be a vaft Place when it is finifhed; that Side towards the River, and the End towards the Tbuilleries is already built. Donec totum impleat orbem, and Virtuti Regis invicififmi, infcribed on feveral Parts of the Cbefteau de Louvre. In the Jefuits Church Rue St. Anthoine, is Lewis the Thirteenth's Heart kept in a Golden Cafe, held up by two Silver Angels. In the fame Church is a fair Altar, with about four Brafs Figures or Statues, being the Monuments of this Prince of Conde's Father. I rode out of the City two Leagues to St. Clou, where Madame Henrietta, Dutchefs of Orleans our King Cbarles the Second's Sifter, hath a Palace and Gardens. In the Parifh Church of St. Clou is a fpiral Marble Pillar, and Infcriptions to Henry III. whofe Heart is kept here. In a Chapel under the Choir is the old Monument of St. Clou; two Leagues thence we came to Verfailles, a pretty Pleafure-houfe built by M. Foucquet. Here rare Birds and other Animals are kept, but the Conceirge would not let us fee them, or the Rooms of the Houfe, becaufe we had no Ticket from M. In the Room, they fay, are Cabinets, are LookingGlaffes, $\xi^{3} c$. curiounly adorned with Silver Fillegreework. Here I faw Levers XIV. and his Queen, attended by a Foot Company of Swi/s, armed with Back, Breaft, and Head-pieces, a Company of Srei/s with Halberds, and a Company of French Foot, befides his Guard in Livery on Horleback, armed with Carbines. The King has alfo a Guard of Younger Brothers, who ferve him voluntarily, and wear whitifh Coats with Silver Lace; they carry Muskets. Out of thefe the King oftentimes choofes his Officers. The Lord Douglas was formerly the French King's Page, who at this Time commanded a Regiment of Scots, which the King of England fent for over upon the Declaration of War between Erance and England.

Every Monday comes out the Fournal des Scavans, a Pamphlet written by one Mr. Galloyer a Parifan, and but a young Man. M. Foncquet is Profeffor in the King's Garden, which is a handfome large Place; but that at Montpeliier is bigger and more pleafant. M. Marchand, formerly an Apothecary, hath travelled fome Parts of the Levant, and is very skilful in Herbs; he hath the beft Hortus Siccus that we ever faw, the Plants. being neatly faften'd on with a Glew, which he freely told us was made thus: Take of IEfbyocolla and 乡идоксдаの, ana; cut thefe fmall, and then boil them with Colom cynth, and afterwards diffolve all in Vinegar. Among the dried Planti, Medica Ciliaris and Ferrum cquinum; Siliqua multiplici, are moft remarkable. We mer accidentally with one M. Crock, a Phyfician in Amiens, who feemed to be a very ingenious Perfon. In a dirty narrow Screet, called Rue de la Ferranerie, we faw the Well, which Ravillac ftood againft, when he ftabbed Henry IV. the King's Footmen, going through St. Innocent's Church-yard, which is juit by. St. Innosenl's Church-yard hath many Charna! Houfes round about, and it is obfervable, that none of the Graves there are digged much above one Foot and an half deep, and yet the Flefh of the dead Bodies is fuddenly confumed by the Earth, which is of a chalky Nature. When they make new Graves, they fometimes met with whole Coffins, but the Flefh quite confumed within them. In Lent-time no Butchers can Fill Fleh, the Horpital having the Gain of all the Flefh that is eaten at Paris in this Seafon; which muft be a confiderable Profir, if they always, as they did this Lent, fell Beef at eight Sols per Pound.

St. Euftace is a fair and large Church. Voldegrace is a new Church building, at the Expence of the late Queen Mother of France; it hath a handfome Afcent up to it, by feveral Stone Steps, which lead into a Portico in the Front of the Church: It is made after the Italian Fathion, and hath a Cupola between the Choir and the Nave. The Queen's Heart is buried here. The Carthufions have a great Cloifter in the Fauxbourgh St. Germains, and have large Walks. Luxembourg is a fately Palace, and very uniformly built ; it hath fair and large Walks, like thofe of the Roman Villa, where all Perions may walk with Freedom. Madamoifolle the Prince of Conde's Sifter lives here. Every Hour of the Day there paffes a Hackney-coach from the Place Royab to Luxembourg-boufe; and another Coach goes from Rue St. Honore to Rue St. Faques, where the Bookfellers live. Every one pays five Sols for his Place, but goes with other Company, and for that Reafon it is not ufual for Perfons of any Quality to go in them. Palais Cardinal is a fair Palace with handfome Wallss. Here Madame Henrictta, Dutchefs of Orleans, lives. At one Side of this Houfe is a publick Stage, where the Italian and French Comedians act by Turns. I faw here $1 l$ Maritagyio d'una Statua; a merry Play, where the famous Buffoon Scaramuccio acted; three antick Dances pleafed the Spectators. The Quatro Scaramuccie was another pleafant Italian Comedy. We ftood in the Parterre or Pit, and paid thirty Sols for feeing the firft, and but fifteen Sols for feeing the laft. We faw a French Comedy, entitled, L'Eflourdie; which was better acted than we expected. We paid for fecing this, and ftanding in the Pit, fifteen Sols a Man. In the Marais du Temple are another Company of Frencb Actors, who have Machines to move their Scenes. M. le Dauphin hath his Company of Boys, who, they fay, act very well. The Sale des Macbines, in the Lourre, is made like that at Modena, and by the fame Workman Gafpar Vigarini ; this is larger, and the Roof of the Theatre richer gilt; they fay it will hold 5000 People, and that at Modena but 3000 ; one of the Machines moves a Hall with the King and Courtiers. The Sea is well reprefented in one Machine. Noblemen's Houfes are called Hoftels, and over their Gates are always written the Names of them; $a s_{2}$ Hoftel des Ambaffadeurs near the Luwmbourg. Hoftel de Sully is in Rue St. Antoine; Hostel de Vendofme in Rue St. Honore. The Matburins are the Padri di Rifcbatto, and are thus called in Paris, becaufe St. Mathurin's Body
was formerly kept here ; which is fince carried to the Place where he was born, called Arcbant, a Village in Gaftinois. In the Cloyfter here is a Tomb-ftone with a Sphere on it, and round about it this Infcription.

## De Sacrobofco qut compuftita Joannes <br> Tempora difcrevit jacet bic a tempore raptus Tempore qui fequeris, memor efto quod morieris, Si mifer es plora, miferans pro me precor ora.

Clermont College is a fquare and high Building, that belongs to the Jefuits who teach here, in feveral Schools, about two thoufand Boys, many of whom are Gentlemen's Sons boarded here, having feveral Halls to dine in, and long Chambers to lodge in. They fay about 400 Boys live here in this Manner, and are not fuffered to go out of the Gate without Leave. Many of the Scholars wear colour'd Gowns, fafhion'd like the Sophifters in Cambridge, and have large Velvet round Caps when they learn Logick, and fquare Caps when they read Philofophy. At a Difpute, we faw the Duke of Guife, a young Lad. Le Palais is in the fame Ine with Notre Dame, where the Courts of Judicature fit ; the Lawyers wear black Gowns and fquare Caps. In the Hall are many Shops and Galleries. One Varennes is the only Proteftant Bookfeller here, who, to fignify whether Mafs is faid or not, hangs out a Pafteboard, having on one Side the Letter $N$. and on the other the Letter O. for Non and Ouy. This is taken Notice of by the Proteftants that come to the Hall, that they may avoid the Elevation of the Hoft. Efchelle du Temple is a great Ladder that ftands in the Corner of a Street not far from the Place where the Templars formerly lived. The chief Streets are, 1. Rue St. Faques. 2. Rue St. Martin. 3. Rue Montmartye. 4. Rue St. Denis. 5. Rue St. Honore. There are ten Fauxbourgs or Suburbs, twenty Gates, eleven Bridges, fix hundred Streets in the City and Suburbs, more than thirty-two thoufand Houfes, and above one hundred Religious Houfes or Convents. At the Gobelins is a Houfe where Tapeftry is made. Nigh Port St. Honore, the Lord Hollis, the Englifb Ambaffador, dwelt.

The Fair of St. Germain begins the 3d of February, and holds all the Lent ; the Place the Fair is kept in, is a large fquare Houfe with fix or feven Rows of Shops, where Cuftomers play at Dice, when they come to buy Things; the Commodity is firft bought, and then they play who Thall pay for it. After Candlelighting is the greateft Gaming; fometimes the King comes and plays. Here we faw the Picture of our Saviour's Afcenfion, Sc. Peter, Sc. Paul and two Angels; it was made by Antonio Moro, who lived in Cbarles the Vth Time; it is valued at 200 Piftoles. The Erame is curioufly carved, and very richly gilt. The Theatins have a fair Church and Cloitter, a Building by the River Side, fome Diftance below the College of Four Nations. Cardinal Mazarin gave a Legacy for the Erecting this Convent. 1. Pont St. Micbel, 2. Pont aux Cbange, 3. Pont Notre Dame, and 4. Petit Pont, have Shops on each Side. The Pont Notre Dame is a very uniform Street. 5. Pont Marie, fome Years ago had many of its Houfes, at one End, tumbled down in the Night, by a violent Stream of the River. Every one without a Sword pays two Livres that paffes over. 6. Pont de Bois, which joins the Ine Notre Dame Church ftands in, to Ine Notre Dame, where are new and handfome Streets. An Englif Boat rowed by twelve Men, two of them Englifh, in this River, and bslongs to the Dutchefs of Orleans. The King hath one or two Pleafure-boats. Crofs feveral Streets of Paris hang little Bells and Chains, which are rung when Thieves break into Houfes in the Night-time. The Cbaftelet is a Prifon not far from Pont aux Cbange, where Men are clapt up for Debt, and fometimes criminal Matters. Such as are found murdered in the Streets are brought hither, and expofed to View, that they may be known. Vade in Pace is a clofe Prifon in Convents, where they keep fuch as have been profeffed of their Order, and are turned Proteftants. They feed them with Bread and Water, and there let
them lie fometimes all their Days. It is like a Dungeon, having only fome Light from the Top, whence their Meat is let down.
16. A Frencbman, at the firft Sight, is very civil and familiar, and will as fuddenly forget his Acquaintance with you; they will ask you, whether you are of the Religion, i. e. Proteftant or of the Eglife, i. e. Romans Catholick Religion, the firft Time you fall into their Company, and enquire who made your Cloaths, what they coft, and twenty fuch Queftions. If you employ a Porter, $\xi^{\circ} c$. and not agree with him before Hand what he fhall have, he will go away grumbling, though you give him more than he could have expected if a Bargain had been firft made. None but Gentlemen, or fuch as have been Officers in the Army, can wear Swords, E'c. when they travel. The French Women are generally bad Houfewives, minding their Cloaths; and dreffing moft, which they will have in the Fafhion; and the Humour of obferving Modes muf be fatisfied in both Sexes, though their Bellies pinch for it; for in moft Families their Diet is both coarfe and nender. The Women drink ufually Water, and fomecimes a little Wine ; they have a Breeding fo free, that in England we fhould efteem it immodeft, the Hugonet as well as popifh Ladies, fpot and paint their Faces, which, however, fome of their Minifters do not approve; and, in a Word, Women of both Religions, agree but too much in their Morals.

Swearing and Curfing, with the Addition of obfcene Words, are cuftomary in both Sexcs. Yet there are fome Men and Women among the Hugonots that are truly religious. Look on a French Woman, and you fhall fee her fare you in the Face, which is a Confidence that better becomes the Men, who feldom or never are put out of Countenance. The French are ftrangely impatient at all Games, efpecially at Cards, which tranfport fome that lofe into a Rage, and they make a dreadful Noife, with Blafphemies, Curfing and Swearing in a horrid Manner. At this Time moft People complained of their King's impoling Taxes, $\mathcal{E}^{3} c$. yet they feemed to boaft of him, and were proud to think themfelves Subjects to an abfolute Monarchy. Shirking or Sharping is as natural to a Frencbman as his Oaths; and tho ${ }^{\text {P }}$ his Carriage be free, yet he is ftingy enough of his Purfe, and will fooner lofe a Friend than a Penny, and fimali Interefts will govern his Affections; Exceptis Excipiendis.

Malefactors receive their Sentences on their Knees, which pronounced, the Hangman prefently ties a Rope about their Necks, and conveys them to the Prifon; whence after Confeffion, they are immediately hauled to the Gallows, fo that fometimes they are condemned in the Morning, and hanged before Night. If one hath endeavoured to kill another, and the affaulted Perfon lives, yet the Juftice of France will condemn the other to die, taking the Will for the Deed. The Marquis de l'Ange, a Proteftant, and reputed a ftout Man, was divorc'd not long fince from his Wife, a very handfome and virtuous Woman. She after fome Years complained to her Friends, that the Marquis was not able to get her with Child: This made fome Difturbance among the Relations, but at laft, when Phyficians, $E^{3} c$. had given in their Teftimonies, they could perceive no external Fault in either; it was agreed by both Parties they fhould prepare themfelves, and a Day was appointed by the Phyficians to be not far off; but notwithftanding all the Endeavours of the Marquis, it was concluded by a Decree of Parliament, that they might be divorced. The Lady is fince married to another, and hath Children by him, and the Marquis hath another Wife, and hath got her often with Child.

April 7. After Dinner, and juft as Mr. Howlett, Dr. Ward, Mr. Ray, Dr. Moulins, Mr. Litter and myfelf, were going out of our Lodging towards the Chaffe Maree, a kind of a Cart, that fetches Finh from Calais, one of the French King's Officers, a Captain de Guet, asked for Monfieur Moulins; and while he exchanged two or three Words with him, he fet his Bafton, which he had under his Cloak in two or three Pieces, together; and prefently came in eight or ten Mufqueteers, who
feized on Dr. Moulins, and hurried him away in a Se- upon the faid Security; to which he anfwered as before, dan to the Baftile; the Captain firft read the Order or Warrant commanding him to apprehend one Moulins wherever he could find him. Mr. Howlett, Dr. Ward, and Mr. Ray went away this Day for England, but Mr. Lister and myfelf not liking that Way of travelling by the Cbaffe Maree, ftaid a little longer in Paris; in which Time we could not learn any Thing concerning the Imprifonment of Dr. Moulin's, only Gueffes were made that his chief Crime was, he had lived too long among the French Proteftants in Languedoc; and that the French King fufpected he might difcover the prefent Inclinations of that Party after his Arrival in England, he being very intimate with fome of good Quality, that were difcontented with the prefent Management of Affairs in France.

When Oliver Cromwell was Protector, there happened this Accident at Nifmes; the Proteftants having a Right to chufe Magiftrates, the popifh Party were refolved to hinder them by Force on the Day of Election, and had fome of the King's Guards, and all the Papifts in Arms ftanding ready about the Town-Houfe; the Proteftants alfo armed in great Numbers, and one Proteftant Gentleman being nigh the Door that led into the Maifon de Ville, had a Pittol in his Hand, and being demanded why he ftood in that Pofture, anfwered, to defend their Privileges; then they commanded him to deliver up his Arms, which he refufing, the Guard Shot him dead ; which gave fuch an Alarm to the Proteftants, that they immediately fired at the Guards and others, and killed the Bifhop of Nifmes's Nephew, and then turned the Guards, and the reft of the Papifts out of the City. After that they began to fortify, and had many of their Friends come in daily to their Affitance, from the Sevennes, \&c. But fome more confiderate Perfons confulting what was to be done, at laft refolved to fend Dr. Moulins, then in Nifmes, into England, and acquaint the Protector with it, and to defire his Interceflion with the Court of France; fo Dr. Moulins immediately and privately rode away for Lyons, in bitter fnowy Weather, and in eight Days arrived in England, having firft waited upon Lord Lockbart, the Englifh Ambaffador at Paris. In this Journey, Dr. Moulins rode Poft with a Frencbman, that feeing the Poftboy fall down dead with the Extremity of Cold, opened his Codpiece, and rubbed his Membrum virile, with Snow, till he recovered him, which he did in a little Time, and the Boy was able again to ride Poit. Dr. Moulins ftaid but a very fhort Time at London, and then returned with Secretary Tburloe's Letters to the Englijh Ambaffador and Cardinal Mazarine ; the Pofffript of the Letter to Cardinal Mazarine was written with the Protector's own Hand; the Words were to this Effect : As you Serw Kindness to the Proteftants, so you bave me your Friend or your Foe. Dr. Moulin's, upon his Arrival at Paris, delivered the Letters to the Ambaffador; within a fhort Time he attended on the Ambaffador to the Cardinal's, who read the Letter, and then had fome private Conference with Lockbart ; after which Moulins was called in, who heard the Cardinal promife to the Ambaffador, the Proteftants at Nifmes fhould not be meddled with; and added, Mr. Ambaffador, Kou know France is not in a Condition to deny England any Thing. Acccordingly, Orders were fent exprefs to ftop the Troops which were marching againft Nifmes, and within a Day's March of the Place when they received the Orders.

Dr. Moulins fent a Note for fome Linnen to our Lodging, and Mr. Lifter returned by the Meffenger a little Billet, which only condoled his Misfortune, but the Captain of the Guard at the Baftile tore it in Pieces. All this while we heard of no Crime laid to his Charge. He was kept a Prifoner at the King's Charge, and well dieted and ufed. After the City of London was burnt, the French King fent a Courtier, I think Rouvingny, to Moulins, to acquaint him he fhould make any Province in France his Prifon, if he would give Security in a great Sum of Money not to go out of it, which he faid he was not able to give. Some Time after the King offered him all France for his Prifon,

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At laft the King fent for him and told him, he had done him no Wrong, and then bid him begone out of France within a Fortnight. This Relation I had from Dr. Moulins after his Coming into England.
17. The Romifh Gallican Church confifts at prefent of fourteen Archbifhopricks, which are, 1. Lyons. 2. Ambrune. 3. Aucbs. 4. Arles. 5. Tours. 6. Rbeims. 7. Bourdeaux. 8. Tbouloufe. 9. Bourges. 10. Narbonne. 11. Aix. 12. Vienne. 13. Rouen. 14. Paris. Under thefe Archbihopricks art Eighty five Suffragan Bifhopricks, which contain 7000 Parfonages, Priories, and Parifhes, above i140 Commanderies of Malta, 157000 Chapels, befides 557 Abbeys of Friars, and above 700 Convents of Cordelicrs, exclufive of the Carmelites, Jacobins, Augufins, Cartbufans, Caleftines, Fefuits, Minims, and other religious Orders, who polfefs 14077 Convents. To thefe Clergy belong 259000 Farms, and 17000 Acres of Vineyards, which are by them leafed out in Fronce, not reckoning 3000 Acres from which they take the Third and the Fourth. The Revenue of the faid Church is eftimated at 920,000 Crowns per Annum, exclufive of the Refervations in their Leafes, which aniount to 120,000 Crowns, confinting of three Livres each. The faid Calculation. was made by order of the Affembly of the Clergy of France, held in the Auguftine's Convent, at the End of Pont Neuf, in Paris the 16th of November, 1635 .
18. April the ift, Mr. Poiey, Mr. Lifter and myfelf gave eighteen Livres a Man for our Places in a Coach-Waggon that holds eight Perfons; we had in the Coach with us, one of Generva, (a Genevrite as they vulgarly call them) who had lived many Years, and married a Wife in Venice; but the laft Year the Inquifition took Notice of fome that were privately Proteftants, and clapped two into Prifon. This Man had Intelligence of their Defign, and therefore prefently, retired out of Venice, and undertook a Journey for London, where he refolved to end his Days. We had allo in the Coach, a ftout young Swedifb Soldier, who had folen away a young Woman ; and that Morning we fet forward, three Frencbmen pretending themfelves the King's Officers, attempted to get her away, and carry him to Prifon, becaufe he had dreffed the Wench he fometimes call'd his Wife, in Men's Cloaths ; but the Swede outvapour'd them, and turned them down Stairs, and went after them, hectoring them all the Way to the Inn-Gate. When I came to London, I met with this Swede, and asked him in Italian, where was his Belia Donna, he replied, he had difmiffed ner; and faid, Fo Tenge una piu, bella, i. e. I have got a handfomer. This Day we rode through St. Dennis, four Leagues from Paris, and four Leagues further lodged in Bearmont, a little Town fituated by the River Loazzo. We obferved fome few Vineyards this Day. 2d. We travelled four Leagues, and dined at the White Crofs in Tilliar, and three Leagues further lodged in Beaurais, a large Town but the Houfes low, and built of Wood.

The Royal Manufacture here employs four or five hundred Men in weaving Tapeftry, having feveral Looms in long Chambers; and Painters are invited thither to draw the Piftures that are to be woven. We obferved thofe that weave have the Picture they work juft underneath the Tapettry they are weaving. The Cathedral in this City was not finimed. The Choir is built like thofe in Englond, very high and handfome within and without: There is a large Piazza in this Town. On the 3 d , after fix Leagues riding, we dined at St. Puy; then three Leagues brought us to Pais, a Village where the Duke of Crecqui hath a Cantle. On the 4th, we went five Leagues, and dined in Airaines, a great Village, and after Dinner rode four Leagues more to Abbeville, a large Town with wooden Houles. Good Guns and Piftols made in this City. There are likewife three or four large Piazza's here. St. Ulfrane is the chief Church, a lofty fone Building, not finifhed. The River Soanne croffes the City in three Places; limle Veffels of 80 Tons come up hither, the Sea being but
three
three Leagues off. Between Airanies and Abberille we paffed by a Fort. On the 5th, we rode five Leagues, and dined in Berneil, a Village five Leagues thence, and lodged in Montrevil, a Garrifon Town indifferently bailt, but well paved and fortified; where we entred, there was a treble Wall, and good Ditches, and where we went out, was a fteep Defcent into a marlhy Ground. On the 6 th, we travel'd two Leagues, very bad Way, to Fran, a fmall Village ; and after Dinner rode hilly Way five Leagues to Boulogne, a City built on a Hill. The Suburbs called the Baffe Ville, where we lodged; a little Sea-port here. All the Way, in this Journey from Paris, we bargained for our Meat before Meals, and at Night did the like, or elfe bought it out of the Cook's Shops, paying only for our Lodging, Ufe of Table-linnen, $\mathcal{E}^{\circ} c$, in the Inn. Piccardy is a great Corn Country.

On the 7 th, we rode bad hilly Way, three Leagues to Marquife, a Village, and four Leagues further to Ca lais: Half a League before we came into the Town, we defcended into the Fenny Country about it. We paffed alfo by a ftrong Cittadel, and among many little Cottages, which are ufed, as fome told us, for Peft houfes in Time of Infection. Entring Calais, the Guards only examined how many Englija and Frencb we were in the Coach. On the 8 th, after taking a Paffport from the Judge-Major, and our Things fearched, we delivered our Paffport without the Gate, and entring the Englif乃 Packet-boat, failed two Hours S. W. to gain the Wind; and in three Hours, without once changing Board, we fafely arrived at Dover, a Boat fetching us a Shore. The Author concludes his Journal with this Infcription.

Deo<br>Omnipotenti<br>Maximas reddit<br>Gratias<br>P. S.

19. Thefe Travels of Mr. Ray and Mr. Skippon may prove both ufful and entertaining to the Reader in many Refpects, not only though they were written fo long ago, but even from that very Circumftance. They Thow the Condition that France was in at that Time of Day, the Size and the Number of the Inhabitants in feveral of the principal Cities, and above all, the Situation of Things before the Edict of Nants was recalled, and the Proteflants were obliged to quit that Kingdom: This will afford the Means of making many ufeful Comparifons to Perfons who have their Heads turned for rational Politicks, and ground their Opinions of Kingdoms and States, not upon the loofe and yeneral Reprefentations of the ordinary Rank of Writers, but upon Obfervations of their own, founded in Facts that may with Reafon be concluded certain. As for Inftance, our Author laft-mentioned gives us the State of the Clergy in France at the Time he was there: I will alfo give another fhort State of it as it now ftands, from a Book publifhed with Royal Authority : There are at prefent, in the Dominions of the French King, 18 Archbifhopricks, 113 Bifhopricks, 770 Abbeys of Men, and 317 of Women, to which the King names: There are befides 250 Commanderies of the Order of Malia, which fhows not only the Power of the Clergy in that Kingdom; but alfo the Power and Influence of the Crown over the Clergy.
We may learn likewife, from thefe Travels, fome very curious Circumftances with refpect to Manufactures and Commerce. Thofe Things that appeared fo new and fingular even to thefe great Men, are now very common in this Kingdom. We are no Strangers to the Art of making Verdigreafe; and, as for the Art
of Blanching or rather Bleaching of Wax, it is not only known, but practifed here with as great Succefs as Abroad; fo that the Notions of peculiar Excellencies of the Climate or Water of France appear to have had no Foundation in Nature, but were the mere Chimera's of French Vanity; and there is no Doubt that, upon proper Experiments, the fame Thing will be found true in other Cafes. It is, indeed, highly likely that thefe Travels occafioned our looking into and transferring feveral French Manufactures hither ; and therefore this Kind of Writing ought, of all ochers, to be encouraged.
There was an Attempt made in King fames the Firft's Time, to introduce the Silk Trade into this Kingdom, and a Plantation of Mulberry-trees was raifed for that Purpofe at Cbelfea; but it failed, not becaufe the Thing was found impracticable from any Faults in the Soil or Climate, but becaufe thofe concerned in the Project, wanted Steddinefs, and thofe employed under them, Care and Induftry; without which, nothing of this Kind can be ever brought to bear. I have been informed, that in Hamp/fire fome Trials of the like Nature have been made with great Appearance of Succefs; but thofe that were concerned made fuch a Secret of their Proceedings while living, that the Thing could not be conveniently carried on after their Deceafe. It has been likewife afferted, that Olive-trees might be cultivated in at leaft five of our Southern Counties; but we delight, it feems, rather in having Rarities in our Gardens, than Riches in our Fields.

The French had that Notion too, as well as we, but Henry IV. the very beft King they ever had, beat them out of it, and compelled the Inhabitants of the pooreft Provinces of France, to become wifer and richer in Spite of their Teeth. He made Ufe of his Power to make his Subjects happy ; and defired it, for no other Purpofe, as appears from an Anfwer he made, when it was nily infinuated to him in Prejudice to the Proteftants, that he could do nothing in Rocbelle, which was then in their Hands. It is a Mijtake, faid the King, I am absolute in Rochelle, for I can do there juff as much Good as I pleafe. His Succeffor dragooned the Proteftants out of France, though the moft induftrious People in it, becaufe they were not of his Religion; but Henry IV. dragooned his Subjects of all Religions into planting Mulberry-trees, and making Silk. One, from a Principle of publick Spirit, obliged People to do what they ought againft their Inclinations, becaufe he knew it was for their Good; the other from a narrow and bigotted Spirit, drove People out of his Dominions, who were doing all the Good they could.
But there is no Need 'of making Ufe of Force here, another Method would do the Bufinefs much better. A Reward of Ten Thoufand Pounds for the firt Hundred Weight of Silk, or the firt Hoghhead of Oyl, upon Security given to make the like Quantity annually for twenty Years after, might beftow upon us both Commodities, if it be poffible for us to enjoy them.; if not, the Reward would never be obtained, and therefore no Hurt would be done.

We find, in thefe Travels, a remarkable Point of fecret Hiftory; I mean the Protector's faving the City of $N i$ imes, and that from the moft authentick Authority, with many other Things which we might look for in vain any where elfe. But with regard to Matters of a later Date, which come nearer our own Times, and that may better enable us to judge of the prefent State of France, it is neceffary that we fhould have in this Collection, Travels of another Nature, and in another Seafon, which the Reader will find in the next Section; and, from the Perufal of both, will be more inftructed and better entertained than they could have been with either, if it had flood fingle.

## SECTION IVV.

Travels through France, interfperfed with hiftorical, political and medical Obfervations, made with great Care and Circumfpection, in two different Journeys through that Kingdom, the laft of which was compleated in the Year 1702, and the Whole revifed by the Author a little before his Death.

By Doctor John Northeigh, of the Royal College of Pbyficians.

1. A fhort Introduction. The Autbor's Entrance into the King dont of France. The Places be pafed through in bis Journey to Paris. 2. A large and curious Defcription of that City, weith an Account of the principal Edijces and otber Things remarkable, offerved therein by the Autbor. 3. A very copious and circump Fantial Defrription of the Univerfity of Paris, and of the feveral Colleges of wobich it is compofed. 4. A Defcription of Jome of the principal Cburches in this City; alfo of the Houfes belonging to the Jefuits. 5. The Abbey of St. Germains defcribed, woith fome Account of the Curioftities there. 6. The Palais, the Cbappel of St. Louis, the Palace of Luxemburg and the Obfervatory defrribed. 7. An Account of the Bridges in Paris, weitb fome biforical Remarls. 8. The Place de St. Victoire, and the Triumphal Arch erected to the Honour of Lewis XIV. 9. An Account of the principal Gates of this City. 10. A Defrription of the French King's Country Palaces, particularly Fountainbleau, St. Germains, and Marli. II. A more particular Defor ription of Verfailles, and fome otber Palaces not far from it. 12. A Defrription of the Monaffery of St. Dennis, where the French Kings are interred. 13. The Autbor's Journey to the Sea-Coaff througb Pontoife, Roan, Dieppe, Abbeville and Calais. I4. The Autbor's 'Yourney from Paris by Charrienton to the Banks of the Loire, zeith bis Obfervations in bis Pafage. 15 . Nevers, Moulins, and otber Places deforibed, weith fome Account of the Waters of Bourbon. 16. A Defcription of the City of Lyons, of the mof remarkable Buildings, and otber Curiofities there. 17. This Subject continued revith an Account of tbe adjacent Country. 18. The Autbor's Remarks on the French Government and Nation. 19. Some Obfervations upon the foregoing Section.

Ware acquainted with very few Circumftances relating to the ingenious Gentleman, who was the Author of thefe Travels. He was bred at the Univerfity of Oxford, as Mr. Wood informs us, and traveled through the greateft Part of Europe, purely for the Sake of Improvement and Information. He entred France from that Part of the Low Countries now under the the Dominion of the French Monarchs, having before paffed through the Territories of the Republick of the United Provinces, which he has alfo defcribed; but confidering we have inferted Travels through that Country already, we thall not fatigue the Reader with Repetitions, but give him at once our Author's own Account of the Places he paffed through in his Way to Paris.
The firf Place we came to in France, properly fo call'd, (without its Conquefts) was Peronne, formerly a Frontier Town towards Cambray, and well fortified after the old Way, being the firtt on that Side in Picarciy. Here the Cuftom-houfe Officers fearched us as fricely as if we had firt fet Foot into the French Territories, though we came out of the French Conquefts, and had paid Duties there to the fame King. It is feated upon a Level on the River Somme, not unlike our Salisbury, but in Bignefs approaching near to Exeter, in that Part of Picardy called the Vermandois or Sans-terre; the firft being the Situation of the ancient Veromandue; St. Quintins, which is not far off, being fuppofed to have been the Augulfa Veromanduorum of Cajar.

From Peronne, paffing through the little Village of Marfipo, we came to Roy, formerly a Town of Note, (as its Ruins fufficiently teftify) feated on the River Moreul in the Sans-terre; then taking our Way through the Village of Gourney, furnamed Sur le Arondeburg, in the Ine of France, we came to Pont firnam'd St. Maixerice, upon the River Oyfe, having an old ftrong Wall, and a good Bridge that brings you to it crofs the River. From hence travelling three Leagues further, we came to Senlis; a Bifhop's See, Suffragan to that of

Reimis; fome would have it the Augufomagus of Ptolomy. The Great Church, dedicated to the Holy Virgin, is fuppofed to have been built by the Englif. The next Town betwixt this and Paris is the Louvre, feated in the Dukedom of Valois, once the Sirname of the Royal Family, before it was fwallow'd up in the Houfe of Bourbon. Picardy has generally a pleafant and fertile Soil.
2. Thence we came to Paris, the Metropolis of France, which fome have compared with London for its Extent, Buildings, and Number of Inhabitants. As for its Circumference, the fame is eafily difcover'd from off the Towers of their Notre Dame or Our Lady's Church, to be much lefs than our's, though it lies in a more circular Figure. The Houfes, it muft be confefs'd, look very handfome on the Outfide, being built with a fair white . Free-ftone (found thereabouts) with handfome Safh-windows.

The Number of its Inhabitants is, in my Opinion, beft guefs'd at, without any furcher Scrutiny, by the People you meet with in the Streets, efpecially on the Pontneuf, the greateft Paffage in Paris, and that a very fhort one, notwithflanding which, you fhall very rarely fee near fo many People there, as you meet every where walking all along from Tower-bill to WefminfterAbbey: Add to this, that their By-Sireets and Alleys are not near fo throng'd with People as ours in Lons don; and if Trade is the main Thing that renders Cities populous, (as we fee in thofe of Holland) it is evident that our Metropolis challenges the Preference upon that Account. What fome would alledge in Reference to the Number of Coaches in Paris is of no great Confequence, though I am apt to believe we may carry it even upon that Account.

This fo much celebrated City is feated in a moft delighfful Plain; their Houfes are generally fix or feven Sories high : By common Computation Paris has betwixt thirty and forty thoufand Houfes, and about feven hundred thoufand Souls.

The Streets are much handfomer and lefs dirty than they were formerly, (which gave it the Name of Lutetia) and their Squares are exceeding noble ; they are enlightned in the Night-time by Lanthorns hung on Lines. The whole Bulk of this fpacious City is divided into three Parts; the firft is called la Ville, containing the four Suburbs of St. Antoine, Du Temple, St. Martin and St. Denis, being encompafs ${ }^{\circ} \mathrm{d}$ with the Sein on one Side, and Walls on the other ; the fecond is call'd la Cite, feated betwixt the firft and the third, upon what is properly call'd the Ifle, furrounded by the Branches of the before-mentioned River, and joyn'd to the reft by Bridges, being the moft ancient part of the Town; the third Part is called the Univerfity, feated on a rifing Ground, containing the Colleges erected for the Promoting of Learning, and the Fouxbourgs or Suburbs of St. Germain, St. Micbael, St. Faques, St. Marcell, and St. ViEtoire.

The Suburb of St. Germain has the beft Palaces and Colleges. For the reft ; in all the three Quarters are reckoned forty Parifh Churches, forty two Abbeys and Convents, forty Nunneries, twenty four Hofpitals, forty eight Colleges, belides feventeen Chapels; fo that Charity and Religion feems to take up a confiderable Part of this great City. The S'ein paffes through the Middle of it, and the Water is very fweet and frefh here, but has no Tide, like our Thames about London. So much of it in general. We will now proceed to give you the Particulars. The Louvre, were it finifh'd according to the firt Defign, would queftionlefs exceed all Structures in the World, whereas now only two Sides are compleated, viz. that towards the Sein and Thuilleries, the Hotels of Crequi, Longueville and Montaufier being fince built within the Compals of this Scructure, which for this and fome other Realons (amongft which the Siding of this City, with the Malecontents in this King's Minority is none of the leaft) is fuppos'd will never be finifh'd, it being certain that the third Part of the Charges employ'd in Building of Verfailles, would have made this as compleat and magnificent a Structure as ever the World beheld: Some fay Pbilip the Auguf was the firt Founder of it, above 500 Years ago, but the Fabrick, as it now ftands, oweth its Rife to Francis I. The Hall call'd le Salle de Cent Swifs, formerly the Hall of Audience for Ambaffadors, was by Mary de Medicis turn'd into a Playhoufe. On the Porches you fee feveral Infcriptions, fufficiently demonftrating that the French were always good at flattering their Monarchs, though they then did not come up to that Height as they have fince, in beftowing the Epithet of Viro Immortali and other fuch-like blafphemous Expreffions upon them. Upon this Occafion I can-. not forbear inferting three Diftichs made by the French Poets, exceeding for their Loftinefs the Structure itfelf:

Rex, Regnum, atque Domus, tria funt Miracula Mundi! Rex animo, Regnum viribus, arte Domus.
Non orbis gentem, non urbem gens babet ullam, Urbfue Domum, Dominums nec Domus ulla parem.

## Louvre Domus, Dominus Ludovicus, Regia Rege Digna fuo, Calo eft bac minor, ille Deo.

All the Antiquities and Roman Statues, with a moft curious Cabinet of Paintings formerly preferv'd here, are tranfported to Verfailles; there are however fome Pieces left of le Brun's, and that celebrated Piece of Paul Veronefe?s Wedding of Cana, prefented to the King by the Senate of Venice; for the Servi, in whofe Church it food on the Altar, having fold the fame to the French King, the Senate hearing of it, to check thefe mercenary Monks, prefented it to the King. Their Academy for the cultivating and improving the French Tongue, infituted by the prefent King's Farher, confifting of forty or fifty of the moft ingenious Perfons of the City, is kept here ever fince. Many of the chief Artifts belonging to the King have their Apartments in this Pa lace: their chief Painter then was M. le Brun, fince dead; their head Graver was Girardon; and for Sculp-
tures, Medals and Coin, M. Rotier, whofe two Brothers have the Honour to ferve in the fame Employment to the Kings of England and Spain. And not far from thefe they fhew you another fpacious Place call'd the Guard meuble, fror'd with all Sorts of Paintings, Tapeftries and curious Cabinets.

The Thuillery is alfo a Part of the Lourere, where it faces the fine Garden of the Tbuilleries; it was formerly furnifh'd with Abundance of the beft Painting, and other Movables of the beft Workmanflip, which have been carried to Verfailles: That Part which fronts the Garden is a long beautiful Piece of a Fabrick begun by Henry IV. and compleated by Lewis XIV. The Theatre in it is exceeding noble, and the Gardens before if not inferior to any in Europe, not excepting even Verfailles; the Walks and Plantations whereof are indeed more coftly, but not more delighfful and regular. At the lower End of it, ftands a noble Statue of Verity carried off in the Arms of Time, with this Infcription;

Opus Petri à Frankavilla Comeracenfis, Ann. 1609.
There are divers excellent Pieces extant of this great Mafter.

The Royal Palace, call'd Palais Royale, does alfo belong to the King, being the ordinary Refidence of the Duke of Orleans, the King's only Brother, when in Town; it is compos'd of two fair Courts, with a delicious Garden behind it ; Cardinal Ricblieu was the Founder of it, who alfo built here a Theatre on Purpofe for Tragedies, of which he was a great Admirer ; but fince Moliere had Liberty to act his Comedies there, and after his Death the Opera's were acted in the fame Theatre. The Place-Royal is a vaft Square, open towards the Street of S. Honore, intended chiefly for the King's Statue, which is to be put in the Middle, for which Reafon they have demolifh'd the Hotel de Vendome, and ruin'd the Convent of the Capucbins.

Near this is another Structure call'd le Palais Brion, defign'd for a Library, but fince turn'd into two Academies, viz. for Architecture and Painting; the firft erected by M. Colbert; Manfard, Perault, Blondel and Felibien were Members of ir, ; they meet two or three Times a Week to confult about the moft curious Models in Architecture that can be contriv'd. That of the Painters acknowledges M. Noyers, Secretary of State, for its Founder, but M. Colbert for its Reftorer; of this M. le Brun, their great Painter, was Prefident. They keep here a good Collection of original Paintings of fome of the beft Mafters, Statues, Buftoms of ancient Roman Sculpture to defign by; befides which, they hire every Day fome clean-limb'd Man or Woman, who expofe themfelves naked to their view. The Houfe, known by the Name of the Cabinet $d u \cdot R o y$, contain'd formerly great Store of curious Pictures, Medals, Agates, and fuch-like Rarities, as alfo the Anticalia found in Cbilderic the Firft's Tomb at Tournay, with his Library, and a confiderable Collection of Manufcripts, among which was St. Cyprian's Work, brought thither from St. Laterence's Library at Florence; but thefe are for the moft part now at Verfailles.
The Academy of Sciences was likewife founded by M. Colbert; they are employ'd in promoting Mathematicks, Phyfick, and natural Philofophy, like our Royal Society, which exceeds theirs both in the Number of its Members and Advancement of Learning. They have many Nobemen's Houfes of Note, call'd by them Hotels; that of the great M . Colbert, now in the Porfeffion of the Marquis of Seignelay, is a very noble Fabrick, and his Library is moft exquifite, both for its Number of good Books and curious Manufcripts; they fhew you a ManufcriptBible as old as the Reign of Cbarles. le Cbouve; the famous Hiftorian M. de Thou has alfo left the Publick an excellent Library. Moft of their Noblemens Palaces of Note are furnith'd with very good Collections of Original Pictures by the moft excellent Hands, which they have purchas'd for the moft Part from the covetous Italians; among thefe the Palais Mazarin, and the Hotel de Seiguier, deferve to be particularly re-
membered:
membered ; the firft is noble without, and curiouny furnifhed within, with Statues and Paintings both ancient and modern, of the Hands of Grimsaldi and Romanell, two famous Italian Painters, fent for hither upon that Account; the King has taken the beft of them, yet there are many Cabinets, Tapeftries, and other rich Veffels of Stone and Silver, lefr. The fecond was at to excellently well furnifh'd with all Sorts of Curiofities, and particularly with precious Cbina-works of all Sorts, but fince fold or diftributed.

The Recolets have a very good Library, and fome excellent Paintings: Hard by is the Hofpital of St. Lewis, founded for thofe that are infected with the Plague, by King Henry IV, but at prefent is made ufe of for the Sick of the Hotel de Dieu. In the Street of St. Avoye is an old large Palace belonging to the Graind Prior of France, but formerly appertaining to the Knigbts Templars; it has a confiderable Revenue annex ${ }^{3}$ d to it. In the Street of St. Leweis is a noble Fountain, adorn'd with Tritons and other fuch-like Ornaments.

Their Maijon de Ville or Torenboufe flands in the Place called the Greve, built by King Francis I. Neither the Place nor Structure are anfwerable to the Greatnefs of fuch a City as Paris; however, there is a noble Way leading to it, enlarg'd in 1675 , with Caufeway-banks on both Sides.

The Place Royal is a magnificent Square, near as fpacious as our Great Lincoln's-Inn-Field, enclos'd with Piazza.Walks, and the Platform with Iron Rails; the Statue of King Lerwis XIII, fet up by Cardinal Ricblieu, ftands in the Middle of it, with feveral Infcriptions on it in French and Latin; the Horfe is faid to be the Work of Volterre a famous Italian, who made it for King Henry II. The faid Cardinal's Houfe ftands in the fame Place, having among other Curiofities an excellent Collection of Paintings.
The Baftile is a Place not unlike our Tower, furrounded with a plain Wall and eight antique Turrets, and ferves for the fame ufe, viz. for a Magazine and a Prifon for Prifoners of Quality. There is another very good Arfenal not far from this, a fpacious Pile of Building, three great Courts and a Garden ; the Portal is fupported by Cannons inftead of Pillars, with this Infription in Capitals:

## AEtna bac Henrico Vulcania tela minjifrat, Tela Giganteos debellatura furores.

Here many Workmen are employ'd by the King, to caft Statues and other Works in Metal.

The Abbey of St. Victoire, in the Poffeffion of the Canons Regular of St. Aufin, is one of the moft ancient Foundations in Paris; it has a good Library, and fome Manufcripts; and Students are permitted to make ufe of them three Times every Week. The noted Mr. Santeuil belong'd both to this Houfe and Order. The Fardin Royal or Pbyjick Garden (of which Mr. du Verney, an excellent Anatomift, was Surveyor) is maintain'd at the King's Charge, and Botanick Lectures are kept there during the beft Seafon for Plants; it is fomething longer, but not broader, than that of Oxford. There alfo belongs to it a very good Anatomy-School, ftored with Skeletons of Animals, and among the reft with one of a very large Elephant. In the King's Laboratory every Body is admitted to fee the Operations, and the Medicines made here are beftowed upon the Poor.

Near it is the Hofpital General, as they call it, a vaft. Pile of Buildings, finif'd in 1657, by Cardinal Mazarin, and containing near fix thoufand poor People, who are employ'd here in different Sorts of Work, and when fick well look'd after. Another of their Hofpitals is that call'd Hotel Dieu, a very large Building, but neither handfome nor extraordinary convenient, being fometimes overcrowded with Sick, and too clofely built up round about it. As it is the chief Horpital in Paris for the Sick, the Nuns of St. Aussin are oblig'd
to tend and look after them, which they to tend and look after them, which they do with fo much Tendernefs fometimes, that they don't care much

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to return to the Nunnerys ${ }^{\text {j }}$ for, not long before, a certain Irifmimat being recovered by the Care of his pretty Nurfe, made flift to carry her away without being ever heard of fince : The Danger and Trouble that muft needs be the Attendants of this Employment, making the fame very meritorious among the Roananifts; the Ladies of the firt Quality fometimes employ themfelves in thefe Acts of Piety; and it was in this Place that (not long before) the Dutchefs of Nemiour's, Mother to the Dutchers of Orleans, got the Small-pox, and her Death into the Bargain. Not far thence is the Horpital de lid Cbarite, where the Friers of St. Fobn perform the fame Office as the Nuns do in the former : Each Room has three Rows of Beds.

There is another Hofpital in Paris they file The Ind curable, becaufe only fuch as are paft Cure are admitted into it.

But what exceeds all the reft is, the Hotel Royal des Invalides, or the Royal Hofpital for maimed Soldiers, or thofe render'd unferviceable by Age, founded upon the fame Defign as our Cbelfea Hoppital, built at the prefent King's Charge, from 1670 to 1678 . The whole Structure is compofed of five Quadrangles, one large one in the Middle, flank'd with two other fquare ones on each Side, with Piazza's and Cotridors or Galleries round them all; the whole Fabrick being of fine hewn Stone, makes a very noble Appearance. The Kitcheri is very large and handfome, and in their Refectories (where the Soldiers eat) you fee moft of the Sieges un dertaken in the late Wars by the French, painted on the Walls. The Apothecary's Shop belonging to this Place is the beft contriv'd and as well furnifh'd as any I ever met with in all my Travels. The Soldiers are attended here by the Sifters of St. Lazarus. Confidering the Freedom allow'd to Strangers, to be prefent at their Operations perform'd in all their Hofpitals, the Advantage of their Chymical Lectures, Phyfick-Garden, and frequent Practife in Anatomy, Paris feems the moft accomplifh'd School for young Phyficians; and to be preferred in this Refpect to Leyden, Pa, dua, Montpellier, Cambridge, and Oxford itfelf. The Houre known by the Name of the Gobelins, in the Suburbs of St. Marcell, was formerly famous for the making and dying of the beft Scarlet Clochs, but now divers Sorts of the beft-Workmen are employ'd here at the King's Coft and Profit, in making the fineft Tapeftry, Plate, Mofaic, Iron, Copper and Brafs-Works, Statuary, Sculpture, Embroideries, $\mathcal{E}^{2}$. Thefe Suburbs have a Church dedicated to St. Marcell, where you fee the Tomb of the celebrated Peter Lombard.
3. The Univerfity of Paris, which makes up one third Part of the whole, is worth the Curiofity of a Traveller ; they make it as ancient as Cbarles the Great, and fay it was he encompafs'd it with a Wall; hence it is that they celebrate a certain Day to his Memory, when all the Heads of the Univerfity meet at the College of Navarre. Formerly the Univerfity of Paris had more Colleges and Students, the Number of the firt (where publick Exercifes are perform'd) is at prefent reducid to eight or nine, among which the Sorbonne, the College du Pleffis, that of Navarre and of Harcourt, are the chiefeft : They had alfo formerly the Privilege of being exempted both from the civil and criminal Juriddiction of Paris, which is now lietle regarded.

The chief Things profefs'd here are Divinity; Phyfick, Law, and Arts, or Philofophy; for each of thefe they chufe, four Times a Year, a Recior or Profefor: The Sorbonne and the College of Navarre are the moft confiderable for Divinity: The Schools' for the Civil Law are in the Rue de Baurais, lately new model'd by the King's Orders. The Phyficians liave a fair Anatomical Theatre in the Rue de Boucbiere; and their College call'd de quatre Nations, (i. e. of four Nations) viz. thofe of France, Picardy, Normandy, and Germany, is dedicated to their Faculty of Arts.

The Sorbonne has got its Name from Robert de Sorbonne its Founder, formerly a plain and ordinary Fabrick, but now turn'd into a magnificent Structure, chiefly by the Care of Cardinal Ricblieu; it has always been famous for its learned Profefors, ever fince its
firft Foundation, which was under the Reign of St . Lewis, as the Infcription on a Brafs Plate in the Church teftifies ;

## Ludovicus Rex Francorum, fub quo fundata fuit Domus Sorbone, circa An. Domini MCCLII.

The Profeffors and Students are lodged in the Apartments about the great Quadrangle.

The Library is kept in a handfome and lofty Room, much increafed by the Liberality of the faid Cardinal, efpecially with fome Manufcripts, diftinguifhed with his Arms upon them. Among other curious Pieces, they fhew you two large Volumes of Livy, an old Tranflation of antiquated French, written in the Reign of Cbarles V. embelifh'd with Paintings in Miniture on Vellum ; which Art has been loft above two hundred Years ago. They have good Store of Divinity Works, and all Trannations of the Bible. The Picture of the Cardinal their Benefactor hangs at one End of the Room, at Length, in his Habit; and, at the other, ftands his Buft in Brafs, done by the excellent Hand of $V a$ rini. The Fathers and School-Divines are regularly placed one after another, with their refpective Annotators in the Rows underneath. After they have fre quented the publick Lectures for three Years, they are qualified for the Degree of Batchelors, who wear Lambikins and Tippets like our Batchelors of Arts at Oxford; after two Years more, they may be promoted to the Degree of Licenteats, who generally are the Opponents to fuch as take the Degrees of Doctors. I was prefent at fome of their publick Exercifes and Difputations, which were managed with a great deal of Decency and Order. The Subjects on which moft generally they exercife themfelves are, the Sacrament, the Tranfubftantiation, Trinity and Incarnation, which in the Roman Church being look'd upon as the fole Object of Faith, even in Contradiction to Senfe and Reafon, I could not but admire to hear the Opponents urge oftentimes fuch Things as are accounted and declared heretical among them.

The College of Navarre, the next in Rank, acknowledges King Pbilip the Fair and his Queen for its Founders, as the Infcription under the Statues teflifies. Formerly none but Noblemen's Children were admitted here, but now all Sorts, without Diftinction. They have four Profeffors in Divinity, and the Archbifhop of Paris is Prefident of it. In I684, the Magiftrates of Paris founded an annual Panegyrick for this prefent King, on St. Lereis's Day.
The College de Harcourt is a large Structure near the Sorbomne, where continual Exercifes are held for inferior Forms of Students in Logick and Philofophy; they print their Thefes, and difpute categorically, without confining chemfelves frictly to Syllogiftical Rules. The College du Plefis was reftored by Cardinal Ricblieu, being as it were the Nurfery of the Sorbonne, who always place a Governor of their own College over it. The Faculty of Arts for the four Nations is a different Foundation from the College of the Quatre Nations, thefe Artifts having peculiar Houfes allotted them, and chufe each, every Year, a Prefident of their own Nation.

The College of the 2uatre Notions acknowledges the Cardinal Mazarin for its Founder; the Portal hath this Infcription:

> Ful. Mazarin: S. R. E. Card. Baflicam, \& Gymnaf. F. C. A. MDC.EXI.

It has a double Court, and a good Library of the Cardinal's own Collection, which is open to every body at certain Hours in the Day. The Number intended by the faid Cardinal's Will were fixty, viz. fifteen from about Pignerol and the adjacent Parts of Italy, fifteen for the Alfatian Youch of Germany, twenty for thofe of the Nerw Conquefis in the Netherlands, and ten for Rouflion and Catalonia; but neither the Strucure nor Institution is compleated yet. As the Doctors of
the Sorbonne are Governors of this College, fo their Books in the Library treat of the Cannon and Civil Law; mixed with Abundance of School-Divinity.

The College Royal, founded by Francis I. for Law, Phyfick, Mathematicks, and the Oriental Languages, was carried on farther by King Henry IV. Mary de Medicis, and Leweis XIII. though not brought to Perfection, the Profeffors receive their Salaries from the King, without any Dependance on the Univerfity. It is feared near St. Fames's-ftreet and the College of Cambray.
4. The Englifh Roman Catbolicks have a good Nunnery and Convent of the Benedictines in Paris, founded in 1657 . In the Nunnery many young Ladies of Popifh Families are educated. Among their Churches, the Cathedral called Noftre Dame challenges the firtt Rank, an antique Gotbick Strucure, compleated at feveral Times, more flrong than noble, a very ancient Bifhoprick, founded (as they fay) by St. Dennis not long after the Apoftles Time, but made an Archbifhoprick fo late as 1622, by Pope Urban VIII. In the Choir you fee divers good Pieces of Painting and rich Tapeftry, and Abundance of Gold and Silver Plate for their Altars: It has about fifty Canons belonging to it, among which was once the famous Hiflorian Poulus Emilius Veronenfis, whofe Tomb is to be feen in one of the little Chappels.
The next is the Fefuits Church ; on the Front of their College you fee thefe Words in Capitals, Collegium Ludovici Magni. This Society was firft introduced into Paris by du Pratt, who prefided at the Council of Trent for France, and afterwards proved a great Benefactor to them, as well as that famous and unfortunate Minifter of State M. Fouquet. The Library, which was his Gift, is a very good one, both for Number of Books and Manufcripts, among which are many Protestant and Socinian Authors. Thefe Fathers have another College in the Street of St. Antbony, the Church whereof is a magnificent modern Struentre, carried on in Part by Cardinal Ricblieu, under ise Reign of King Lerois XIII, whofe Heart is entombed here, as well as that of Henry de Bourbon Prince of Conde.
They have lately built another in the Suburbs of St. Germain, called the Novitiates, the Church whereof is but fmall, but the Architecture moft excellent; it was built at the Charge of M. Noyer, Secretary of State. The Church of St. Generieve, with its regular Canons, is faid to have been founded by King Clovis, who has an old Tomb here, which has been embellifhed of late Years, for they have put on his Head a Crown with a Flower de Luce, whereas thofe Arms were not till long after ufed by the Crown of France; juft as in fome other Popifh Countries I have obferved our Saviour painted with Beads and a Rofary in his Hands. They have alfo put a modern Infcription upon the old King's Tomb. But the chief Ornament of this Church is the Tomb of that great Frencb Philofopher Des Cartes; it has two Infriptions, one in French Verfe, the other in Latin.
The Apothecary's Shop belonging to the Convent, and the Library, are neatly difpofed, where they have ancient Bufts, Coins, Medals, and other Antiquities : Father Molinet has a curious Collection of Rarities of his own; and the famous Architect Father Creil was a Member of this Convent. In the Monaftery of the Facobins is to be feen the Monument of Humbertus, the laft Prince of Daupbine, who having no Iffue, fold this Principality to Pbil. de Valois, and, embracing a monaftical Life at Lyons, became firft Prior of. this Convent, and afterwards Patriarch of Alexondria, as the Infcription tells you.
5. The Church of the Carmelites is, for its Antiquity, not inferior to any in Paris, being fuppofed to have been founded by St. Dennis; it now contains the Heart of the Great Turenne, and has divers excellent modern Paintings and other Ornaments within. That called Val de Grace is both a modern Inftitution and Structure, after the Italian, founded by Queen Anne of Aufria, upon the miraculous Birth (as they ftile it) of the prefent King, after the had been married twenty-two Years: Her Heart, as alfo that of our Henrietta Maria

Dutchers

Dntchefs of Orleans, lies entomb'd here. The Altar and Cupola are exceeding fine, and upon the Portal you fee thefe Words,

## Tefu nafcenti Virginique Matri.

All the Nuns are of noble Extraction, and chufe a Lady Abbefs every three Years: Madam la Valliere, once the King's Miftrefs, retreated to this Nunnery, to do Pennance for her paft Mifcarriages.

In the ancient Abbey of St. Germain are the Tombs of many of their ancient Kings, who us'd to be buried here, before the Time of the Inroads made by the Nortbern Nations, as of late at St. Dennis. That of Cbilperio has only thefe few Words, in a very old Character, on a plain Stone,

## Rex Cbilpericus boc tegitur Lapide.

But that this was but Part of his Tomb, is evident from the Infcription on a broken Tombftone dug up fince in another Place; which fhew how much in thofe Days, they were afraid of being difturb'd in their Graves.

## Hic jacet Cbilpericus Francorum Rex.

Ego Cbilpericus Francorum Rex precor ut inde in IEternum non aufferentur offa mea.

Queen Fredigonde, who died in 6or, is alfo entomb'd here; and Clotbarius, and the fecond Son to Cbilperic, of the fame Name with his Father, with their Wives. Among the modern Monuments chiefly remarkable are that of the Duke of Vernouil, Prince of Bourbon, natural Son of King Henry IV, who was Bifhop and Abbot of St. Germain, but afterwards relinquifhing the monaf. tical State, married the Dutchefs of Sully. Here is alfo interr'd the young Duke of Bourbon, Son of the prefent King of France, and Cafmir King of Poland, who after having refign'd his Crown, died Abbot of this Place; their Epitaphs and Infcriptions are too long to be inferted. Here are buried alfo fome of the Family of Douglas of Scotland. They have a very good Library here, formerly accounted one of the beft in Paris, and which ftill has the Reputation of excelling all the reft in Manufcripts, except the King's. They pretend to have the Pfalter of St. Germain, which he generally ufed at divine Service, and a Miffal of nine hundred Years old, written with a Stile on little Tables of Cedar. They fhew you a great Volume brought by a French Ambaffador from Confantinople, with Atteftations of moft of the Bifhops of the Greek Church, concerning their Belief of Tranfubftantiation, which they produce as an undeniable Proof againtt the Opinion of the Proteftants; though to fpeak the Truth, it is very probable that thefe good Fathers might do much out of Complaifance both to the King and the Ambaffador, nothing being more obfervable among the Greeks than to accommodate themfelves, both in Difcipline and Doctrine, to thofe among whom they live; as is particularly remarkable at Rome and Venice.

The Fathers of this Abbey formerly publifh'd a very good Edition of St. Auftin's Works, from the beft Manufcripts in Europe; and Father Dachiery, of this Houfe, has fent Abroad divers Volumes of his Specilegium, containing many, Curiofities and Antiquities taken out of their Manufcripts. They tell you, that the Church being built in the fame Place where ftood anciently the Temple of Ifis, a Statue of which Goddefs remains on Part of the Walls, a fimple old Woman was feen to worfhip it for a Saint, which the Fathers having had Notice of, they broke it to Pieces.
6. Another of their publick Structures is. what they call le Palais, becaufe in old Times it was the Refidence of their Kings, but by King Pbilip the Fair appropriated for the Affembly of their Parliament. The Hall in which anciently their Kings ufed to perform their greatel Solemnities is very fpacious, and arch'd, with the feveral Courts of Juftice in particular Chambers about it; the ancient Chamber of private Audience is now the Room where the Remainders of their ancient

Parliaments affemble when the King has any Thing of Moment to propofe to them ; it opens always on 'St. Martin's Day, when the Members attend in the GreatHall in their Scarlet Robes. Here is alfo kept the Court of Aids, which has a feparate Jurifdiction from the Parliament; their Court of Cbancery, and the Cbamber of Accounts are the fame as our Excbequer Court : they plead by Way of Bill and Anfwer, Plaintiff and Defendant, but in a more fummary Way than in our Court of Cbancery, much like our Civil Law Courts of Jiudicature; though at the fame Time there are not wanting Inftances, that their Suits have been protracted for a great many Years. Here all the Patents of the Peers are regittred, as well as their Cbartors and other Records.

In the Chapel of St. Lerris, belonging to the Law yers, they flew you Abundance of Relicks, which they vouch for authentick; as, the Sponge dipt in Vinegar and Gall; the Head of the Spear wherewith they pierc'd our Saviour's Side, and the Purple Robe entire, though at Rome they fhew with the fame Affurance a Piece of it. Near this Palace is the Square call'd la Place Dauphin, of a triangular Form, buile immediately after the Birth of Lerois the XIIIth, which gave it the Name Daupbin.

The Palais de Iuxembougb, or Palais d ${ }^{3}$ Orleans, built by Mary de Medicis, is one of the moft regular and magnificent Structures in Paris; Madamoifelle $d^{3}$ Orleans has her Lodgings on one Side, and the Dutchefs of Guife on the other, in whofe is that famous Gallery of Paintings of Mary de Medicis, reprefenting her whole Life, from her Nativity to the End of her Goverment, the Work of the excellent Paul Reuben, who, they fay, beftow'd two whole Years upon it; her Meeting with Henry IV, juft before Marriage, he all in Armour, and the dreffed with all imaginable Advantage, and the moft beautiful and amorous Looks in the World, is a moft exquifite Piece: The fame Dutchefs has moft of her other Apartments curiouny furnifh'd with the choiceft Italian Pictures, among thefe the wandring David, by the Hand of Guido Reni, is moft excellent. The Gardens are fuitable to the Magnificence of the Palace, and ópen for publick Walks.

The Obfervatory, built by the prefent King for Aftronomical Obfervations, is a vaulted Fabrick, without either Wood or Iron-work, three Stories high; befides which, you defcend by two hundred Steps into a Cave with little Alleys, from whence there is a Profpect thro ${ }^{9}$ the very Top of the Houfe to the Sky, in Order to obferve the Motions of the Stars by Day; but this Contrivance has not anfwer'd Expectation, no Stars being to be feen there, but the Light only, which they impute to the not paffing of any Stars through the Ze> nith of Paris; but it is fomething ftrange that this Defect fhould not have been forefeen by their Artifts; though otherwife the Building is better contriv'd than ours at Greenteich.
Near it is the Tour de Cbarpente or the Timber Torver, all of Carpenters-work, for the fixing of their Tubes and Telefcopes; M. Cafini is the chief Supervifor of all this Bufinefs, the fame who was Profeffor of Bolognia, and made that famous Meridian Line in one of the Churches of that-City; he has a very good Salary allow'd him by the King, and deferves that Reputation he is in with the Publick, and if poffible a greater.
7. Among the Bridges of Paris there are only three worth taking Notice of; the firf is, the Pont-Royal, or Royal Bridge, 'a ftrong plain Piece of Stone-work, but lately built crofs the Sein to the T"builleries; in 1685 a Silk Bag of Medals was lodg'd in fome of the Mafonry of it, to perpetuate the Memory of their Lewis le Grand; it was included in a Cedar-Box, with a blue Sattin, and the Arms of France upon it: One of thefe Medals was very large, of Copper gilt, befides twelve others of Gold and Silver; one among them had for its Motto, Germania Jervata; another, Jufit Quiefcere: another Rbeno Batavifque unâ fuperatis; and on another is reprefented Jupiler, with this Motto, Vibrata in fuperbos Fulmina, and underneath, Genua emendata. What Vanity!

The fecond is the Pont Noifredame，charg＇d with Houfes fomething like our London Bridye，but not near fo big．The next to this is the Pont Neuf or Nerw－ Bridge，a curious Fabrick，（though not near fo large as that of London）firt begun by King Henry III．but fi－ nifh＇d by his Succeffor Henry IV．whofe Statue on Horfeback ftands upon it much beyond the natural Size； it is a moft excellent Piece of Workmanihip of Yobn of Bologn，an Italian Artift，but defcended from French Parentage；it has feveral Infcriptions about it，relating to fome memorable Actions，and the Batcles of Yury and Arque are reprefented in baffo relievo upon the Pedeftal，on each Angle of which lie four Slaves of maffy Brafs．
8．That noble Monument，erected in the Place of St．Victoire，to the Memory of their prefent King，by the Care（if not at the Coft）of the Duke de la Feuillade， is certainly the moft excellent Piece of Statuary that can be beheld either in Italy or any where elfe，and the French boaft，that it exceeds all that ever were made of this Kind，not excepting even thofe erected to the Greek and Roman Emperors．The King＇s Satue is of maffy Brafs，thirteen Foot high，in his Robes，with a Victory ftanding behind him，of the fame Bulk and Metal，crowning him，poifed with his Foot on a Globe； under his Feet is a three－headed Cerberus，to denote the triple Alliance over which he triumphed，at the Foot whereof you fee thefe Words，Viro Immortali，the laft of which they explain of the Immortality of bis Fame． The whole was caft all at once，and weighs above thirty thoufand Pound．The Pedeftal is twenty two Foot high，which，with that Part of the mafly Mould the Statue ftands on，being three Foot，and the Satue itfelf thirteen，makes this fuperb Piece about thirty eight or near forty Foot high．Upon the Pedeftal reft four Slaves of Brafs，much beyond the natural Large－ nefs，with Bafo relievo＇s of his Battles and Conquetts． It ftands in a very fpacious Square，and to render it the more uniform，they demolifhed many Houfes，and the Duke pull＇d down Pare of his Palace．The Satue it－ felf is enclofed by fately Iron Grates that environ a Floor of Marble ；and a Centinel is always placed near it．The grand Infcription upon it runs thus：

> Ludorico Magno
> Patri Exercituums
> E Ductori
> Semper felici,
> - Domitis bostibus, protectis fociis, Adjectis Imperio fortiflimis populis, Extructis ad Tutelam Finium firmiJfmis Arcibus. Oceano \& Mediterraneo inter fe junctis, predari vetitis loto mari Piratis: Emendatis Legibus. Deletâ Calvinianâ impietate; Compul/is ad Reverentiam Nominis Gentibus remoti ifmis, cunctig; fummâprovidentia, छ乛 virtute domi forifg; compofitis.
> Proncijcus Vicecomes d'Aubufon, Dux de la Fueillade ex Francic Paribus, E Tribunis Equitum unus in Allobrogibus Prorex $\mathcal{G}$ pratorianorum pedituns
> Prafectus.
> Ad memoriam posteritatis Sempiternam.
> P. D. C.

Befides this，there are feveral Verfes，fome for the Sta－ tue，fome relating to the hiftorical Part reprefented in the Baffo relievo＇s；as for Inftance，that relating to the Statue．

Tali de ore ferens，orbi $E^{2}$ Sibi，jura modumq； Dat Lodoix，famamq；affectat vincere faEiis．

There are divers others upon his Paffage of the Rbine，the Peace of Nimegher，the Dutch and the Ger－ sions，but that on the Genoefe for Haughtinefs exceeds all the reft．

Vane Ligur，frustraq；animis elate fuperbis；
Fufitiam monitus dijce， $\mathcal{F}$ non temnere Divos．

The Triumpobal Arcb was，at the Time of my being there，not brought quite to Perfection；but if you will believe the French，it is to eẍceed all of that Nature in Europe，whether ancient or modern：It is true，the Defign promifes fomething very noble；the Models confift of two Faces of an extraordinary Height，with three Portals，after the Manner both of the ancient and modern Romans；the Orders of the Columns are finely defigned，and the Captives and Trophies moft exqui－ fitely done，by the famous Perault，who tranflated Vi－ truvius．The King＇s Statue on Horfeback is defigned to be placed on this Arch．
9．The other Gates of the Town（as many Trium－ phal Arcbes）are all proud Pieces of Architecture ；that of St．Dennis（which leads to the Place of the fame Name）is above feventy Foot high，and as many over， adorn＇d with Columns，Baffo relievo＇s，and Trophies， with fome Infcriptions relating to the Paffing of the French over the Rbine，and their taking of Maefricbt． The Gate of St．Martin is fifty Foor high，and as many wide，having on each Side an Infcription relating to this Kingss Actions．The third Gate is that of S $\mathrm{C}_{\text {。 }}$ Antbony，erected in King Henry the Second＇s Time，buit new embellithed by the City，with fome Infcriptions likewife relating to the prefent King．The Frenco boaft，that Cajar makes Mention of this City，and that he laid Siege to it，being then enclofed betwixt the two Branches of the Sein，the fame that is now called the 1／he．Some of their Hiftorians add，that Ceflar，after the Conqueft of Goul，had his Head－Quarters here，and built feveral Caftles on the Sein．They all agree in that Point，that the Name of Lutetio was given it by the Romans，from its Situation in a moilt dirty Soil，be－ twixt the two Branches of the River ；the modern Name of Paris，being deduced from Paris，one of the Kings of the Gauls．

This City is much more gay and fplendid in outward Appearance than wealthy within，nothing being more frequent than to meet with B ：ggars that appear in H a－ bit like Gentlemen．It has few or no Pumps，moft of their Waters being preferved in Cifterns．I took par－ ticular Notice here of two Medals that went about at that Time，made in Spleen to Pope Innocent XI；one reprefented our Sir Edmund－bury Godfrey ftrangling，with this Motto，Juflu Pontificis；the other had his Holi－ nefs＇s Head or Buft on one Side，and an Altar，Pix and Chalice turn＇d topfy－turvy on the other，with this In－ fcription，Ponlifcis quis credat opus？Another I met with at the fame Time no lefs odd than the two former， having the King＇s Buft on one Side，and a broken Co－ lumn on the Reverfe，on the upper Part whereof hung a Scroll of Parchment with thefe Words written upon it，Edictum Nancii rever fum．

10．Mezeray fays，that Paris was firt paved and walled under the Reign of King Pbilip II．firnam＇d the Auguf；；and near it the French King has many Palaces， where he refides at Pleafure ：That called Fountainblean， feated in the Ine of France among Woods，is of an irregular Structure ；but its convenient Situation for Hunting makes the Court frequently retire thither in the Summer－time．Its Fountains and Canals are very good，and it has one noble fpacious Hall，the reft of the Apartments being neither large nor magnificent enough for a Royal Palace，though fome very good Paintings are to be feen in them；in the Queen＇s Gal－ lery the Conquefts of Henry IV．are excellently well done in Freforo and in the Gallery de Cerfs underneath this，you fee all the Royal Palaces of France，with Land－ kkips of the Country round them curioully painted；not to mention the Paintings in the King＇s and Queen＇s Ca－ binets．The Chapel Royal is alfo a very good Fabrick and well adorn＇d．
In their Play houfe is to be feen a curious Marble Chimney－piece，reprefenting the Battle of Ivry fought by King Henry IV．The Gardens are beautified alfo with Statues；and formerly a good Library belonged to it，fince removed to Paris．The moft noted Apart－ ment in this Palace，is what they call the Salle de Con－ feil，famous for the Conference occafioned by M．dus Pleflis＇s Book againft the Marfs，in which the celebrated

M．Perron
M. Perron (afterwards Cardinal) pretending to fhew at leaft five hundred falfe Quotations, a Conference was appointed to be held in this Room on May 14, 1600 , in the Prefence of King Henry IV. the Prefident de Tbou, and the famous IJaac Cafaubon; the firft for the Romanifs, and the laft for the Proteftants: The firt Day was fpent in examining only nine, and each Party challenging the Victory, the Conferences were difcontinued; Du Pleffis afterwards publifhing a Treatife upon thefe Debates, the fame was anfwered by Perron.

The Palace of St. Germain, feated on a rifing Ground near the River Sein, about tour or five Hours from $P a$ ris, and one from Verfailles, is built in the Nature of a Caftle, furrounded with a dry Ditch; a noble Stone Gallery runs round the Middle of the whole Structure, which is of an oval Figure: The Covering of this Pile is of flat Free-ftone, each Stone being three Foot long, two broad, and three Inches thick : On one Side of the Garden is a moft delicious Terras-walk, with the River running under it, 3350 Paces long; and on the other Side it is flank'd by a moft delightful Wood. I found hereabouts the wild Genifa Hipanica, or Spartunn Hijp. Cluf. Cbab. or the Spanifb Broom, and the Onobrycbis Spicata, commonly call'd by us Saintfoin, brought from France firt, where it grows wild. In the Garden I obferv'd, among other curious Plants, the Agrifol. Odoratum, a fmooth Holly with fweet-fcented Flowers.

The Cbateau Neuf was built by Henry IV, upon the Brow of the Hill near the other, its Gardens defcending by Degrees down to the River; here are to be feen the noble Ruins of Grotto's, Cafcades, and Waterveorks. About an Hour from hence is Marli, a moft delightful Sum-mer-fear, built by the prefent King (rather gay than magnificent) at the Head of a Canal, with feveral Houfes along the Side of the Water for the Courtiers; they were then bufy in cutting a Way to it through an adjacent Wood. Near this Palace, on the Sein, is that fo much celebrated Watervoork of Marli, by which the Current of the River is, by the Help of an Engine-mill built upon it, forced over two or three vaft Hills, by Iron Pipes of half a Foot Diameter, jointed into one anocher, and feveral laid by the Side of one another, every Stroke of the Mill throwing a vaft Quantity of Water into the Bafons on the Hill, which from thefe Bafons is convey'd by fuch anocher Mill higher, over all the Eminencies, when gathering into a fmall Lake, the fame by Aquaducts furnifhes with fufficient Quantity of Water both Marli and Verfailles.
11. Verfailles, the moft beautiful Palace in Europe, is feated in a dirty defart Ground; that Side which faces the Scables is not fuitable in Magnificence to the reft, as that which fronts the Garden furpaffes all that can be imagin'd fumptuous; its Roof glittering with Gold, affords a glorious Profpeet at a Diftance; and the Garden for Statues, Canals, Groves, Grotto's, Fountains, Waterwoorks, or what elfe may be thought delightful, far furpaffes any Thing to be feen of this kind in Italy; and its Riches and Beaury within are altogether anfwerable to its Outfide. The Royal Cabinet for Medals, Coins, Painting, and fuchlike Curiofities, has the Choice of all Iialy could afford. The King's Lodgings are enrich'd with Utenfils of mafly Plate, even to the Bedfteds, Balufters and Rails: The Gallery towards the Side of the Garden is the nobleft that ever I beheld in my Life, for its moft delicious Profpect, Statues and Looking glafles plac'd between the Pannels. The modern Paintings in this Palace are for the moft part of Mignard, Poufin and le Brun, among which the Battles of Alexander are highly efteem'd. At one End of the Garden is the Place where they breed all the foreign Beafts and Birds the Eaft and Weft-Indies afford: And what they call the Trianon is a cool Retreating-Place for the King after his Walks, fuitable in all Refpects to the reft.
About two Leagues thence M. Louvois, the late prime Minifter, had erected a noble Palace with vaft Coft, the Ground rifing into a pleafant Terras, with fine Gardens behind it. Near Paris there is another of the King's Houfes, call'd Madrid, both unfurnifh'd and unfinifh'd
they tell you that it was built by King Francis 1, who having promis'd to pay his Ranfom at Madrid, gave it this Name, and carrying the whole Sum thither, paid the Spaniards with this Equivocation inftead of Money.

Hard by it, viz. at Ruel, a fmall Town, ftands a pretty litcle Palace built by Cardinal Ricblieu; it is neither ftately nor magnificent, but has very neat Gardens and curious Waterworks.
About two Leagues from Paris, on the Afcent of the Hill of Sr. Cloud, is another of the King's Houfes where the Duke of Orleans fometimes refides for his Diverfion ; the Gardens are very pleafant, the Galleries very beautifui, and fome of the Paintings very good! It was here that King Henry the IIId was ftabb'd, by one Clement $\hat{t}$ a Monk.
12. In our Tour to Roan, Diep, and the Sea-coafts we paffed through St. Dennis, about a League from Pa ris, famous for the Sepulchres of the French Royal Race, and the Abbey built by King Dagobert, formerly call'd Catullia, but fince dedicated to St. Demnis, the Areopagite, whofe Body lies inter'd here; though the Monks of the Convent of St. Emeran, near Ratisbon in Germany, difpute that Point with them, and pofitively affirm; that they have the whole Body, and thofe of St. Dennis only a Finger. They boaft here of the Sepulchres of feveral other Saints, as of their King St. Lervis, St. Hilary Bifhop of Poiztiers, St. Hypolito one of the fanctified Martyrs of the Tbebcarn Legion, and one of the Innocents murcher'd by Herod's Command. The mof remarkable among the Tombs of the Royal Family are thofe of Francis I. and Lewois XI. Here you fee alfo the Tomb of the Great Marfhal de Turenne, placed by the the King's Order (but at the Charge of his Nephew) in a Marble Chapel built for that Purpofe; he lies at full Length, furrounded with Laurels and Trophies in Relievo, with a Roman Eagle at his Feet retreating as it were back wards, with difplay'd Wings at the Sight of his formidable Enemy: For though this Abbey is chiefly defign'd for the Sepulchres of the Royal Family, yee by the King's Favour, fuch of his Subjects as have fignaliz'd themfelves in his Service are alfo fometimes interred here. There is a Crofs of maffy Gold on the Altar feven Foot high, fet with Diamonds and the bett Pearls, and a Table of Gold, the Altar iffelf being alfo plated over with Silver.
13. From hence we pafs'd on to St. Pontoyfe, an inconfiderable Place, feated upon the River Oyfe, which rifing in Picardy, runs a little below it into the Sein. The Country of Normandy betwixt this Place and Roans is champaign and extremely fertile, efpecially in Apples, of which they make excellent Cyder.

Roan is the Metropolis of Normandy, and one of the Cities of the fecond Rank in France; its Situation is upon the Banks of the River Sein, at the Foot of a Hill, and to the oppofite Bank you pafs by a handfom Bridge of Boats, two hundred and feventy Paces long, which being pav'd, rifes and falls with the Tide; below it you fee the Pillars of an ancient Stone Bridge, beaten down fome Years ago by the Violence of the Current; fomething lower Ships of about two hundred Tun can ride with Safety: Near the River-fide flands a very anciens Caftle with Turrets, now the Refidence of the Governor. Two other Rivers (viz. the Robbee and Reinelle) run alfo through this City, which has two Charches remarkable; the Cathedral, dedicated to our Lady, exceeds in Beauty and Regularity that of Paris; here you fee the Tomb of Yobn Duke of Bedford, Regent of France in King Henry the IVth's Time, but the Monument is not anfwerable to the Grandeur of fo high a Perfon. The Church of St. Toin is alfo a lofty Structure, but chiefly famous for its great Bell. The Streets of Roan are narrow, and their Houfes for the moft part of Wood and Plaiter-work; here it was the Engli/b burnt the Maid of Orleans; this Place was the Rotou magus of the Romans, and the Refidence of the Dukes of Normandy; it is at prefent a Bifhop's See, and was lately a Place of very good Traffick.
From hence we travel'd through a very good Country and bad Road to Diep, a pretty litcle Sea-pors Towns

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the
the Streets whereof are more fpacious and regular than thofe of Roan; they are very ingenious here at working in Ivory. The little Harbour lies betwixt two Cliffs, and the River Arquo runs into it ; anciently it was known by the Names of Fulia bona and Deppa, and then ftrongly fortified; it has ftill a good Caftle and Wall. From Diep we continued our Journey through a little Place called Eu, feated upon the River Breffe, which being the common Boundary on that Side betwixt Norimandy and Picardy, difcharges itfelf into the Sea about a League below it.

Near the River's Mourh we faw on the Cliffs another fmall Town call'd Criel-port, and fo paffing through Francberille, came fafely to Abberille, a poor old Town, meanly built and extremely dirty, in that Part of $P_{i}$ cardy they call Pontbieu. They are noted here for making Guns and Piftols, but they are rather fine than ferviceable. It is feated upon the River Somme, which falls into the Sea near St. Valery, from whence Barks can come up to this City. B fore the French had made themfelves Mafters of the Province of Artois, this was a Frontier Town of a confiderable Strength, and inacceffible in fome Parts, being almoft furrounded by the Fenns. It is alfo a Bifhop's See.

From hence we travel'd by the Way of Heddin to Calais, from whence we could difcover the chalky Cliffs of Dover; it is of no great Compars, but regularly fortified, and ftrengthened with a good Cittadel; the Town-houfe is but fmall, but the Market-place fpacious. Some Antiquaries would have it to be the fame mention'd by Cafar in his Commentaries, under the Name of Portus Iccius, which fome again explain of Boulogn, others of Doway. The Lots of it by the Engiifl is alledg'd to have been the chief Caufe of our Queen Mary's Death.

## The Doctor's Second Journey.

14. As you travel from Paris, in a Kind of Dutch Treck- Cobuyt along the River Sein, you pafs by Cbarenton, a curious fittle Place, feated on the Banks of the Marn and Sein, and once famous for the Privileges the Proteftants enjoy'd there. Above it is a neat Houfe belonging to Madamoifelle. In the next Place is Corbeil, of no great Confequence, the Caftrum Corbolium of the Latins, call'd by Cafar Fofedum or Metrofedum on the Sein, where its Waters are mix'd with thofe of the Fuin or the Eflampes.

Higher up, on the River, you fee another little Place, abour four or five Leagues from Corbeil, call'd Melun, (the Melodunum of the ancient Romans) which gives Title to the Vifoounts of a very ancient Family. Here the River Sein dividing into two Branches, makes a little Illand, which you pafs by two good Bridges. The Barge, which carries you from Fountainbleau down the River to Paris, being drawn by three or four Horfes, runs in ten or twelve Hours, fixteen of their Leagues, or about forty eight Engli/h Miles. In the Woods thereabouts I took Notice of the Milyfopbillum, Orobanche, Rapum Genifte, Ger. Park. Cariopbillum olens, C. B. our Broom-rape, Polygonatum, Latifol. vulg. C. B. the Solomon's Seal, befides all Sorts of Spurges of the Efula and Tytbimalus kind.

The next Place we came to from Fountainbleau was Nemours, having nothing remarkable, except that it gave Title to the ancient Dukes of that Name. Near it is the Abbey of Surcafon, of the Order of St. Bernard. Here we oblerved the Women of the Town (even fuch as were in very good Habit) to come to the Inns to collest Alms from Travellers for the Poor.

From hence we travel'd on to Montargis, an old walled Town, but of no great Note, except that being Part of the Demefnes belonging to the Crown; it gives Title to the King's Brother, who is Duke of Orleans and Montargis ; it has, however, a very ancient Church with curious Pillars, and an antique Caftle built in the Midft of Ruins : The prefent King's only Brother has laid the Foundation of a Church here; but it remains unfinifhed, there being nothing compleated but a fmall Portico, in which, on a black Tablet of Marble, is a French Infcription with Golden Letters, incimating, that
he laid the firft Stone of this Church in 1677, in Me mory of his Victories obtain'd in the Battles of Montcafel, St. Omer and Buchar.

From Montargis we continued our Journey to Briare, whither Cardinal Ricklieu caufed a Canal to be brought from Blefneau, a Tract of twenty Miles, and thereb made a Communication betwixt the Loing (which falls into the Sein) and the River Loir, fo that by the Help of Sluices, Boats can pafs through all three; the Banks of the Loir lying all along on the Flats, as you fee near the Sea-fhore, make it a very pleafant River. Near it we found the Cariopbillus marinus, Ger. Hob. Funcus C. B. or the Sea-Gilliflower, which is rarely found in Inland Countries, but commonly in Salt Marfhes near the Sea-fide.
15. From hence we pafs'd through Cofne, a little Place noted for the making of Knives, and fome Mills for polifhing Iron and Steel, and fo in Sight of la Cbarite, an inconfiderable Place, to Nevers, feat ed near the Conflux of the Loir and the Nibatre, the Capital of the Territory of Nivernios, though the Houfes are but meanly built, reprefenting more of Antiquity than Beauty. It is a Bifhop's See, Suffragan to that of Sens, and gives Title to the Dukes of Nevers, (now in the Family of Cardinal Mazarin) Cafar mentions it under the Name of Nipernum or Noviodunum.

The next Place we came to was Moulins, near which are the fo much celebrated Waters of Bourbon, even in the Time of the Romans; they are of the Nature of our Batbs and thofe of Aix la Cbapelle, compofed of a bitumenous Subftance, impregnated with an Alcalifate Salt which being mix'd with an Acid, caufes a Fermentation and produces the fame Effect on Syrup of Violets as the Salt of Tartar, turning it green. Of late they have been much ufed inwardly againft the Gout and other nervous Diftempers. The above-mentioned Town of Moulins is of no great Extent, though once the Refidence of the Family of Bourbon, who built a handiome Caftle here ; the Inhabitants are reputed excellent Workmen in Steel and Iron, Knives and Sciffars, $\mathcal{E}^{\circ} c$.

Among their Churches and Convents (of which they have feveral) thofe of the Cartbufians and of the Vifitation are moft remarkable, the laft containing the Monument of the Great Duke of Montmorency, who was facrificed to the Power of the Cardinal Ricblieu. The whole Chapel confifts only of a fmall Cupola to cover him ; his Canopy and Armour is fupported by Angels, with his own Effigies and that of his difconfolate Lady lying by him, in an elevated Tomb, with the Statues of Pallas, Hercules, Cbarity and Religion, all of the choiceft Marble, much beyond heir natural Grandeur, with this Infcription to his Memory

Henrico 11. Montmorenciaei Ducum ultimo, optimo EJ maximo, Francice Pari, Tbalaffiarcho, Polemarco, Terrori bofium, Amori fuorum.

Maria felix Urfina, ex Romana Stirpe Conjux unica, cui ex immenfis viri Divitiis, una amor viventis, E' defuncti Cineres, fceliciflimo poft exactos Conjugis An nos XVIII. Marito incomparabili, de quo dolere nibil unquam poterat, nifi mortem bene merenti pofuit. Ann Sal. MIכLII. Sui luclus XX.

It is remarkable, that they were forced to behead him in the Town-houle for Fear of the Populace, whofe Darling he was; his Dutchefs was fo highly afflicted at his Death, that fhe forfook the World and retired into this Monaftery, where the ended her Days in Tears for the Lofs of a Husband the loved more than her own Life. I was credibly inform'd, by a Perfon who was well acquainted in that Family, that her Fondnefs to the Duke was fuch, that the would not ftick to affift him in his Amours.

We had hitherto travel'd for the moft part through fertile Plains; but coming near to St. Sopborin and Brefle, two fmall Placés, we pafs'd through Mountains cover'd with Pines and Firrs, which afforded great Variety of Plants: Thofe I took Notice of en paffent were, the Polygala Lutea, call'd by Cbabre. Polygala vulg. maj.

## Chap. IV.

fol. angufiffrmus, a kind of Milk-wort ; the Melifopbillum or wild Baum; the Bellis Carulca Monspel, though growing alfo in other Parts of France; blue Dafies. In the Woods we obferved the feveral Species of Orcbis, Spurges of all Kinds, but efpecially the Titbymalus Cuprificus.
16. From Brelle we foon came to Lyons, the largelt City of France next to Paris, feated at the Confluence of the Soan and the Rbofne; the laft runs here with a fwift Current, and over the firft they keep a Chain of Boats link'd together, to prevent Barks from paffing by without paying Cuftom. Its Situation was anciently, as well as now, at the Conflux of thefe two Rivers, as appears from a Paffage in Seneca; and that its Name was Lugdunum among the Romans, is evident from the following Infeription found at Gaeta in Italy.
L. Minutius 2 L. Fil. L. N. L. pro N. Plancus
Caff. Cenf. Imper. iter VII. Vir Epulon:

Triumph. ex Rhetis cedem Saturni fecit de manubiis agros divifft in Italia Beneveriti, in Gallia colonias deduxit. LUGDUNUM E Rauracum.

Part of the City is built on the Hills of Tornir and St. Sebaftian, the reft along the Banks of the Rivers; the Market-place is handfome, and the Town-houfe (lately built) a fine Structure. In the Carmelites Church is an Altar of Agate and Lapis Lazwi; the Capucbins have all the pretended Miracles of their Saint painted on the Walls of the Cloytter; among which you fee one where he pays his Apothecary with Prayers inftead of Money.

The Church of St. Foon is their Cathedral, the Chapter compofed of Gentlemen of the beft Families, and formerly boafted of having had therein feveral Kings and Princes: They compute, that in the thirteenth Century they had, at the fame Time, one Son of an Emperor, nine Sons of Kings, fourteen Dukes Sons, thirty of Counts, and twenty of Barons; there belong no lefs than three Churches to this Chapter, viz. that of St. Fobn before-mentioned, of St. Stepben, and of the Holy Crofs; in the firft is to be feen the Clock fo much celebrated for the Variety of its Motions and Mechanifm. The Huguenots, during the CivilWars, knock'd down many of the Heads of the Saints that were placed to adorn the Front of this Church. Their Theatres and Opera's are not inferior here to thofe of Paris; and the Fefuits College upon the Rbofne is the fineft Structure in the whole City, being a regular Quadrangle curiounly painted in Frefco, which is fomewhat defaced on the Eaft Side, where the Weft Winds from the Mountains bear upon it : I found them to perform their publick Exercifes much after the fame Manner as they do at $P a$ ris. Their Chapel has a fine Altar-piece of Lapis Lazuli, and an excellent Piece of Painting by Blanchard, who died while we were there. The Apartment for their Library is fpacious and handfome, but the Books not extraordinary, and at that Time were all diforder'd, by reafon of a late Fire that broke out in the College ; they have, however, fome Manufcripts of the Bible, but not very old; and Pliny's Natural Hiftory and Decades finely printed on Vellum about two hundred Years ago, all the capital Letters in Miniature, gilt and embelifhed as we fee the old Mafs-books. The moft valuable Piece of the whole Library is a Manufcript of the fame Author's Natural Hiftory, four or five hundred Years old; many obfolete Words, fuch as illod, jocondifSimo, \&c. demonftrate it to be a Piece of a confiderable
Antiquity. Antiquity.
The Abbey of Daifne, juft without the Town, is an ancient Piece of Architecture, with very good Mofuick Work, the Picture of God the Father (excellently done) being almoft defaced by Age. This Abbey is the fame Place where Caligula had erected his Atbencum for the Improvement of the Greek and Latin Tongues, (mentioned by Suetonius) Rewards and Punifhments being
propofed to fuch as did either well or ill ; to this 7 propofed to fuch as did either well or ill; to this $7 u$ -
venal alludes,

Palleat ut nudis preflit qui calcious anguem,
Aut Lugdunenfem Rhetor dicturiis ad aram.
Here they fhew you the fo much celebrated Buckper of Scipio, which, upon due Enquiry, is fo far from being his Buckler, that it is racher a Bafin or Difh well gilt and embofs'd; for, according to the ancient Form of Armoury, it is too unweildy, and its Concavity within no Way adapted to the Bending of the Arm and covering the Body. Add to this, that all Bucklers both ancient and modern, have their Ornaments of Painting or Gilding on the Outfide, and not within the Concavity ; and I remember, that talking with M. Patin, a great Antiquary of Padua, upon this Subjeet, he was of the fame Opinion; it being crack'd, it was cramp'd on the Back with fmall Iron Bars. They have here a more authentick Piece of Antiquity, I mean the Speech of Claudius, who was born here ; it is to be feen in the Front-walk of the Town-houfe, and the Word illod for illud, and the old Romin Punctation betwixt evefy Word, fufficiently fhews its Antiquity. They have alfo fome Obelifks, but not fo ancient as thofe at Rome; that near the Facobins Church is infcribed $O$ WD.


Their Sc. Peter's Nunnery is a fine Foundation, and the parochial Church of St. Niege, adorn'd with feveral fine Pieces of Painting by le Erun.
17. The Prifon of the City is built upon a Rock, unto whi h they have cut out a Way with vatt Charge and Difficulty; but it is probable that this was rather done to make a Way into the Town by the Waterfide, it extending, perhaps, before out into the River, which now runs juft by she Street that lies under the Rock. This Place being feated on the Confines of Italy, was one of the beft Magaziries of the Romans in Gaul; fome of the greateft Men of Rome have honour'd it either by their Birth or Abode, befices the Emperors Claudius, Germanicus, Geta, Caracalia; and here are ftill to be feen fome Remnants of the Roman Antiquities, of their Baths, Aquaducts, and Part of an Amphitheatre. At prefent the King's Treafury for that Part of France is kept here, and another called the Court of Commerce. Two General Councils have been held ar Lyons in 1245, under Innocent IV. and in 1274, by Gregory XI ; befides which, they had feveral Synods here long before, as that affembled by St. Irenceus in 197, and another in the Time of Sr. Cyprian, under Fauftinus B:fhop of Lyons; it was upon this Occafion St. Cyprian writ that Letter to the Pope, which begins thus, Fouftinus Collega nofter Lugduni confitens, \&c. In my Walks about the Carmelites Church-walls 1 obferved the Fumaria major fcandens, the large Fumitory; the Muscatellina fol. fumarice bulbo $\int_{6 e}$ J. B. or the Radix cavia minima, Ger. the Mufkrood Crowefoot; Bellis major, the Enneaphyllon of Pliny, or the great bastard Hellebore; the Hypericum vulg. C. B. St. Fobn's Wort. About the City grows alfo the Ancbufa Lutea, a Kind of baftard Gromel with a yellow Flower.

I was not a little furprized to fee fo fruitful a Soil as all the Country betwixt Lyons and Savoy (called Daupbiny) almoft deftitute of Inhabitants, though well. enough cultivated in many Places; but upon Enquiry found, that this Part of the Country being allotted for Winter-quarters to the French Horfe, the Peafants ufed to come thither only in the Spring, to fow the Seed, and in the Summer to reap the Product thereof, and fo retire into other Parts. This fertile Tract of Dauphiny brought us to the utmoft Borders of France on that Side, viz. Pontebeauvofin, an obfcure Place feated upon an inconfiderable River called Gyer, which, however, is the common Boundary here betwixt France and Savoy. The chiefeft Plants of Note I obferved in Dauspbiny were, the Valeriana rubr. anguifol C. B. the nar-row-leaf'd red Valerian; the Radix Rodia or Roferwort, in great Plenty; Linaria fol. Bellidis J. B. a Kind of Toad-flax with a Daify Flower; Imperatoria vulg. or the common Maftervort; Parietaria cerulea quedam, a Sort of blue Pellitory; the Cataname fol. Cyani Delech. $A$. Coronop. J. B. which Cbabreus would have the Sijamoidis minus Matth. a certain Grafs with the Leaves of the Blubottles and Flowers of the Buckiborn Plantain.

We were no fooner pals'd the Bridge of Pontbeavoifin, but we were fenfible of the Difference of the Country; for whereas we had left behind us the fertile Plains of Daupbiny, the other Side of the Banks of the fame River reprefented to our View the frighful Alps, the Precipices whereof would have been more dreadful to us, had not the many Vineyards we found on the firft Afcent taken off a great Part of the Horror we had conceiv'd at the firft Sight of them.

As you afcend the firf Rocks, you fee and hear the Cataracts of the River Guyre among the Precipices, over which you ride by a Way cut out and fupported by Art: Along this terrible Road I found among the wild Hedges the Oxyacantba, the Privet, Ligufrum \& Vaccinia nigra. From this narrow Paffage you proceed further into the Alps, where the Duke of Savoy has made a Road thro' the Middle of the Rock, near which is erected a Stone with this Latin Infcription:

## Carolus Emanuel II.

## Subaudice Dux. Pedem. Princeps. Cypri Rex. Publicâ

 felicitate partâ ingulorum commodis attentus, breviorem fecurioremque viam Regiam, à natura occlufam, Ronanis intentatam, cateris defperatam, dejectis foopulorum Repagulis, equatâ montium iniquitate, que Cervicibus imminebant, precipitia pedibus fubfternens, aternis populorum Commerciis patefecit. Anno Domini, 1670.About half-way betwixt this noted Paflage and Cbambery you fee a delightful Fall of Water from one of the higheft Rocks, which being continued afterwards by three or four more gradual Falls joining into a Current, and from a valt Height fpreading iffelf among the craggy Precipices, produces here a natural, but more pleafant Cafcade than all the Art and Expences of Verfailles are able to afford.
From hence we proceeded to Cbambery through a Sort of a Valley, (in refpect of the other Mountains) a Town not fo confiderable at prefent as in former Ages, when it could boaft the Refidence of the Dukes of Savoy, but now has nothing to fhew but old Houfes and Walls, and a ruin'd Ditch about them; it is the Cameriacum of the Latins, and ftill the Capital of the Dutchy of Savoy, where there Parliament is conven'd, and the Chamber of Accounts kept: Its Situation is on the little River Orban, in a Sort of a Valley furrounded with Mountains; the Churches and Convents, the Town-houfe, Mar-ket-place, and a great Number of Fountains, make fome tolerable Show. Here we firft obferv'd what we afterwards found common over all Italy, the Houfes built fo as to jet out into the Streets, and fupported by Pillars, which form a Sort of Alley or Cloyfter, under which you may pafs fecure from Rain and the Heat of the Sun. The Mall without the Town is handfome. Another fuch Plain brought us to Montmelian, a Place of great Strengh both by Nature and Art, in Savoy, feated on a high Rock at fuch a convenient Diftance from the adjacent Mountains, that though they overlook it, they don't command it ; the River Hero runs by the Town that bears the fame Name with the Caftle, with an impetuous Current, and joining with the Arche, another rapid River made by the melted Snow, falls into the Rbofne at Arbigny, a little Place above Montmelian, as the Ifere does at Grenoble, the Acceffion of thefe rapid Rivers being the true Occafion of the impetuous Courle of that River. This Fortrefs is the Key of the Mountains on this Side, as Sufa is on the other ; but notwithftanding its Strength, it was taken by the French in I691, and is now demolifhed.
The Country hereabouts being all mountainous, hath a very indifferent Profpect, except fome few Valleys, which feem to promife fomething of Fertility; and the People looking as meagre and dejected as the Soil is barren, they feem to be made for one another, and adapted to that Slavery they are forced to fuffer from their Prince, who has model'd his Government after that of France.
We had farce pals'd the River Ifere at Monturelian,
but we came into a Valley much more pleafant than any we had yet met with in Savoy, and continuing our Way towards Argentier, we met the roaring River Arche, which at that Time (it being Midfummer) was fo fwelled by the melted Snow from the Mountains, that we were forced to leave the ordinary Road near the Waterfide, and, inftead thereof, climb up a dreadful Precipice, call'd by them Mount Greny or Grezy, as high if not higher than Mount Cenis itfelf. On the middle Region of this Mountain you fee a few fmall Farm-houfes, there being thereabouts fome cultivated Ground, which you can perceive below, but when you come to it, you find another Mountain rifing upon the former, like $P_{e}$. lion upon Ofla: The Froth and Sediments which are by the Impetuofity of the River Arche forc'd down from the Mountains, make its Waters appear in the Valley as black as Pitch, almoft like the Wafhes of Dyehoufes.
We kept however along the Current of this River for fome time through Argentier, Efperies, and la Cbambrey, inconfiderable Places, and we no fooner left the laft, but we were forced to climb up the Mount, by Reafon of the Inundation of the River Arche, the Defcent whereof brought us to. St. Fobn Morienne, once the chief City of the Madulli, and an Archbilhop's See, which gave the Title of Earls of Morienne to the Dukes of Savoy. From hence we went on to St. Micbael, a low watery Place: On the Top of the Mountain I obferv'd as well as I could the Mentba Cattaria montana, Valeriana Alpin. Latifol. Valerian. Alpina Anguffifol. the Caryopbill. Alpin. minimus; the fmall Mountain Pink of the Alps; afterwards I found it in great Plenty on another Hill. St. Micbael was formerly a Convent, but now only a Village, near the Banks of the River Arcbe, which they pals over hereabouts by Bridges of Timber made of the Trunks of young Fir and Pines, laid athwart, which being round and ill joyn'd, tremble under your Feet as you pafs them.
The next Place we came to was St. Andre, an inconfiderable Town feated among the Mountains; juft over againft it is fuch another Cafcade or high Waterfall, but not altogether fo diverting as that near Cbambery. The Current of this River, render'd impetuous by various Waterfalls, is almoft like the Torrents of our Millpools, but more foul and furious. I took Notice hereabouts of the Abfintb. Latifol. Ponticum or Rom. and the Abjnth. tenuifol. minus, which fome would have to be Abfintb. Communue minus of Gefner and Gerard. Above St. Andre the River Arche is, at a Place call’d Termignon, augmented by a Channel of Water coming from another Part of the Mountains, which brought us to Lafnebourgb or Lanfebourgh, a Place that has nothing remarkable, except its Situation at the Foot of Mount Cenis: Here croffing the River Arcbe, we took our Leave of it, which rifes about two Leagues above this Place with a pure but fmall Source, and affords in the Neighbourhood as well tafted Trouts as our beft Rivers. We were now come to the Paffage of Mount Cenis, (the Cinijoum of the Ancients) which we perform'd by the Help of Mules we were furnifhed with at Lafinebourg. This Mount exceeds in Height thofe of St. Goddard and Sampion, by which you enter Italy from Swoitzerland: Mount Cenis being in fome Places cover'd with Pine and Fir-trees from the Top to the Bottom, afcending regularly one above another with the gradual Rifing of the Mountain, affords the moft natural Grove that can either be devifed by Art or expreffed by the Pencil. About May thefe Mountains open the vaft Storehoufes of Snow, which melting by Degrees till O8tober, (when they begin to harden again) make the Rivers fwell hereabouts in the Heat of the Summer, when the Sources of moft other Rivers are very near exhaufted.
The Paffage of Mount Cenis, notwithftanding its Height, is not very unpleafant; the Precipices being not perperpendicular, gave our Eyes Liberty to look about with lefs Trouble, and the Slownefs of our Cattle (which made me walk on Foot) allow'd me fufficient Opportunity to expatiate a little Way out of the Road, and to take Notice of a great many Plants; but hav-
ing loft the Collection at Sea, I can only give fuch as I accidentally remembered and fince fet down, viz. the Caryoph. Alpin.minor in prodigious Quanticies; the German. Columbinum, and what is more remarkable, the Geran. Argent. Alpinumn ; the Cranes-bill; the Hyacinth. Caruleus Ger. or Racemofus carul. minor, C. B. Funcifol. toward the Bottom out of Flower ; Calceolus Maria, ad Ger. Elleborine major. Park. ftell. for. rotund. C. B. About the Bottom, Helleborine for. alb. C. B. or Damafonium Alpinum J. B. the little, wild, white Hellebore; Iris fl. albo ; the great white-Hower'd Iris, or Flower de Luce wild; the Herba Paraly/s or Paralytica Alpina, out of Flower; the Caryopbillat. Montan. or Caryopbillat. Alpin. Lutea; Cafp. B. yellow Mountain; Avens, flos Caryopbill. Alpinus pumilio dictus; the litele Dwarf-mountain Pink, or rather a Lycbnis, agreeing with the Defrription of Ger. who from its Calix calls it of the Lycbris Kind ; Sedum Alpinum, Exigui fol. C. B. Sedum Alpin. minim. for. carneo, Schol. Botan. Helleborus niger, Lob; verus Park. Ger. $f$ l. Albo \& Atro rubente ; the black Hellebore, Gentian. maj. f. lut. \&c.
I took this Opportunity to make a frict Examination of the Snow, as it lay incruttated in hard Cakes on the very Top of the Mountains; fome of thefe are fuch as have lain there for feveral Years, the Sunbean3s not being able to diffolve them quite, by reafon of their vaft Thickness.

In the Midit of the Top of Mount Cenis, near the Road, (which is flank'd by orher higher Rocks) you fee a pretty large Lake gather'd, quettionlefs, by the melted Snows, as the Coldnefs of the Water feems to tellify; in the Midft of it the Duke has a handfome Houfe, and another juft by the Road ; one for Devotion (of which the Priefts take Care) and the other for his Diverfion, which lies almoft in Ruins by Neglect. Here it is you take Carriages to defcend the Mountain, being only wooden Chairs carried by two Poles: By this Carriage you are convey'd down the rocky Precipices, which are however not fo dangerous or dreadfiul as fome have reprefented them; for though yourr Horfes are led about a further Way, you may defcend, for the moft part, without much Difficulty on Foot, which I chofe rather to do, than be jolted in thefe uneafy Chairs. Here is alfo a little Horpital for fuch as fall fick by the Way, and a fmall Chapel to bury fuch as periih in the Snow, from thence called the Tranfit. The Plain on the Top of this Mountain (which is about four Miles long) has alfo an Inn for the accommodating Paffengers, fuitable to the Circumftances of the Place: The Afcent is accounted four Miles, but the Defcent no more than two. Novalefe has not any Thing remarkable, except its being the utmoit Frontier of Savoy near the River Semar, which joins its Waters with the Doria at $\mathcal{S u f a}$, where begins the Principality of Piedmont.
18. Though the Frencb live under the moft difpotick Government in Europe, yet are they fo fond of it, that they laugh at other Governments, which do not come up to that abfolute Power, of which they frame themfelves fuch plearant Imaginations, that in the Midft of their Slavery they find out an Oligarchy in their Council of State, an Arijfocracy in their Parliaments, and a Democracy in their City Governments, adminiftred by Provoits, Mayors and Merchants, and thereby would introduce into the World the moft perfect Mixture of a Commonwealth; when, to fpeak truly, all thefe different Qualifications make up but one entire Chain of Slavery. They boaft of the Policy of France as loudly as of their Conquefts; and it muft be confers'd, that in their Military Affairs they follow, in many Things, the Footfleps of the ancient Romans, but want their Honefty and true Generofity. The Body of the People is compofed of the Nobility, Husbandmen, Artificers and Traders; the Peafants, being condemned to perpetual Drudgery, furnifh the Field with Labourers and Soldiers, for when they are fuck'd to the very Marrow by the Gentry and Tax-gatherers, they muft either chufe to ftarve at Home, or feek for a Livelihood (fuch an one as it is) in the King's Armies. Arcificers and Traders are much encouraged in France, being the Court-

Sponges, from whence they fqueeze out what juice they have gather'd before by one Means or other. The King commonly picks out the moft ingenious among them for his own Service, and the reft are employ'd in converting the Products of France into Manufactures exported into Foreign Parts.

The Clergy of France has of late been look'd upon with fomewhat of a jealous Eye by the Laity, both by Reafon of the Encreafe of their Number, and feveral Ecclefiaftical Ufurpations; thefe Encroachments of the Clergy at Home, and the pretended Power from the Popes Abroad, has made them revive our Lord Digby's Diftinction betwixt the Church of Rome and the Coure of Rome, and not to be fo fond of the Fure Divino Doctrine of the Priefthood, but that the Privileges of the Gallican Church, and the Regale, have been made to give Laws to both; witnefs the Synod and the Decrees made there in 1682, againft Pope Innocent XI; the Profeflion of the Proteftant Religion being to be rooted out, fome were for attempting it by mild Ways, which were follow'd at firt, but foon changed for Fire and Sword, as the moft effectual Means, either to make them fly the Kingdom, or to comply with the King's exprefs Commands. This is differently taken among the French, according as they are more or lefs devoted to that unchriftian Doctrine of the Extirpation of Herefy.
19. The Remarks of this Gentleman are fuch as might be expected from one of his Education and Profeffion; and as he doth not feem to be prepoffeffed in Favour of the French, fo there appear on the other Hand no Signs of Prejudice againft them. This may be jufly efteemed a peculiar and a confiderable Advantage to his Writings, for, generally fpeaking, moft of our Travellers take one or other of thefe Turns. If they are Men of Vivacity, they grow fond of French Cufloms, and of Frencb Notions, receive for Gofpel. every Thing that they are told, magnifying in their Relations both the Country and its Inhabitants, and labour to perfuade fuch as read their Writings, that France is the fineft Part of Europe; and the French Nation our of all Comparifon the moft powerful People in it. Such again as embrace oppofite Sentiments, run with equal Violence into the other Extream; they find nothing lovely in the Place, and exclaim perpetually at the Slavery, the Poverty, and the Vanity of the People. Whoever takes his Notions of France, and the French, as a Nation, from either of thefe Sort of Writers, will be infallibly minled; and as in the prefent Situation of Things efpecially, Mifakes of this kind may be extremely fatal, by tending to infpire an Apprehenfion, that the Power of the moft Chriftian King is irreffifable, and therefore it is to no Purpofe to oppofe; or to create an Opinion that the Power of France is a mere Bugbear, and that at the Bottom; notwithflanding the Noife that is made about it, we have little or nothing to fear. To overturn both thefe Errors, and to give the Reader as near as may be a true Picture of the prefent State of that Kingdom, we will enter into a fhort political Anatomy of it, which, as it could not be expetted from Travellers, fo it may ferve as a Supplement at leaft for fome Time, to whatever has been publifhed of that kind. We have taken a great deal of Pains to become, in fome Meafure, Mafters of this Point, and we fhall report what has been the Refult of our Inquiries as concifely, as correctly, and with as much Candour as is poffible.
It is very certain that in Point of Situation and Extent, the Dominions of the Crown of France are very confiderable, they lie between the forty fecond and the fifty fecond Degrees of North Latitude, in the fixth feventh and eighth Northern Climates; fo that they enjoy a very pleafant and wholfome Air, and generally fpeaking a
rich and fruifful Soil, which by the Way rich and fruitful Soil, which by the Way however is far enough from being improved to the utmoft Advantage. From Weft to Eaft, that is, from Point Conquef in Britany, to the City of Strosburgb in Alface, they reach pretty near fix hundred Miles, and from South to North, that is, from the Frontiers of Roufillon to Dunkirk, they extend upwards of five hundred Miles.

But

But there is another Method of computing, which will prove more fatisfaciory than this to the intelligent Reader. France, according to the exacteft Computation, contains about a twentieth Part of Europe, and is certainly much better peopled than Spain, Italy, Rufia, Sweden or Denmark, but is not near fo populous as Holland, England, or fome Parts of Germany. If we could depend upon the French Accounts, we fhould reckon there are in it twenty Millions of People, but it is very certain that they are apt to ftretch in their Computations, and that according to the eftablifhed Rules of political Arithmetick, we cannot affirm the Number of its Inhabitants to be above fourteen Millions, and, in my own Opinion, even this Calculation is rather too high, confidering that according to their own Reckoning, the Number of Perfons in Religious Houfes, that is to fay, both Men and Women, amount to four hundred Thoufand. As to their Secular Clergy, I never faw any juft Computation, but I think there cannot be much fewer, and if we take in thofe, who from other Confiderations lay themfelves under Obligations of leading fingle Lives, the Number will not fall much fhorr of a Milion, which mult be a prodigious Drawback on their Increafe as a People.

This great Country is divided into thirty fix Governments, of which that of Paris is efteemed the firft, that is to fay, diftinguifhing it, and the Diftrict dependant upon it, from the Ine of France. It is faid to contain fifty one Parifhes, fifty two Monafteries for Men, feventy eight Convents for Women, fixteen Hofpitals, fifty Hotels, five Royal Palaces, fifty Colleges, twelve Suburbs, and fix hundred and fifty fix Streets. 2. The Ine of Franice, which is generally fpeaking a good Country and well inhabited. 3. Picardy, a very fine Province, yielding Plenty of Corn and Fruits; the Capital of which is Amiens. 4. Cbampagne, famous for Corn, Cattle and Wine; its Capital is Troie. 5 . Burgundy, a very large, and very fertile Country, its Capital Dijon. 6. Daupbine, fomewhat mountainous, but generally fpeaking well cultivated, and the Valleys very fruitful; the Capital Grenoble. 7. Provence, which though it cannot boaft of producing much Corn or Grals, it is remarkable for its Wines, Oils, Saffron, and a great Variety of Fruits ; the Capital is Aix. 8. Languedoc, is the largeft and by many accounted the beft Province in the Kingdom, producing great Quantities of Corn, Fruit, and Wine ; the Capital is Toulouze. 9. La Foix, fo called from its Capital, is neither large nor Fruitful. 1o. Bern and the lower Navarre are accounted but one Province; the Capital of the former is Pau, and of the latter St. Fobn Pie de Port. I I. Guiene, is a very fine, and a very rich Province; the Capital of which is Bourdeaux. 12. Saintonge and l'Angoumois make but one Government, tho' it has two Capitals, viz. Saintes and Angoulefeme. I 3. The Country of Aunis is very fmall, but very fertile and well peopled; the Capital is Rochelle. I4. Poitou is a very large Province, about 180 Miles from Weft to Eaft, but not the fineft Country; the Capital is Poiftiers. I5. Britanny is very fertile in Corn and Paftures, has in it many rich Mines, and is well feated for Trade; the Capital is Rennes. i 6. Normandy, which once belong'd to us,' is one of the faireft and fineft of the French Provinces, though it produces no Wines; the Capital is Rouen. 17. Havre de Grace, a very fmall Government, taken out of Normandy purely on-the Score of the important Port which gives a Name to it, and is its Capital. '18. Maine and Percbe; the Capital of the former is Nantz, of the latter Mortagne, paffable Countries both, but nothing extraordinary. 19. Orleanois, famous for its Wines; the Capital is Orleans, which gives the Title of Duke to the fecond Son of France. 20. Nivernois, a very fmall Country feated on the Loire, and confequently both fruitful and pleafant: There are alfo fome Iron Mines in it ; the Capital is Nevers. 21 . Bourbonnois, a good Country, which is alfo full of Wines, and famous alfo for its Baths near the Caftle of Bourbon; the Capital is Moulins. 22. Lionnois, a rich and noble Country; its Capital is the famous City of Lyons, remarkable on many Accounts,
but chiefly for its being the Seat of the Silk Manufac. ture. 23. Auvergne, a large Province, in which are found all the Neceffaries of Life; and the Inhabitants of which are confidered as the beft Farmers in France: the Capital is Clermont. 24. The Limoufin, a barren mountainous Country, the Inhabitants of which how ever are very induftrious; the Capital is Limoge. 25. Marche, a fmall, well watered Country; the Capital of which is Gueret. 26. Berry; it is faid to have the fineft Meadows and Paftures in France ; it produces a great deal of Wool, and therefore moft of the Cloth Manufactures are in this Country. 27. Touraine, commonly called the Garden of France: Few Provinces boaft of better, and none has fo little bad Land; the Capital of it is Tours. 28. Anjou, a very fine well watered Country; the Capital of which is Angiers. 29. The Saumurois, taken out of Anjou, a fmall Country, the Capital of which is Saumur. 30. French Flanders, the richeft and fineft Province belonging to the French Crown; the Capital is Lille. 3I. Dunkirk; this Town and Diftrict makes a Government, ever fince it was fold by us in 1662. 32. Metz and Verdun; the former is fituated at the Conflux of the Seille and the Mofelle, and is now one of the ftrongeft Fortreffes in Europe. Verdun upon the Meufe is large, populous, and well fortified. 33. Toul upon the Mofelle ; this, with the other two Cities before mentioned, are commonly ftiled the three Bifhopricks, and were taken out of Lorrain before the Whole of that Country became a Sacrifice to the French Ambition. 34. Alface, a large, fruitful and rich Country, torn from the Empire with little or no Pretence, and kept, as it was got, by Force; its Capital Strasbourg. 35. Franche Comte, or, as it is commonly called, the County of Burgundy, fruitful in Wine, Corn and Wood ; another Conqueft without Right ; the Capital of which is Bifancon. 36. Roufillon, a mountainous and barren Country, the Capital of which is Perpignan.

Thefe Governments were thus eftablifhed in 1698. by Louis XIV. They have fuffered fome Alteration fince, and are liable to the like Changes from the Will and Pleafure of the King, who may if he pleafes join two of them together, or feparate them if he thinks fit. The Reafon we have mentioned them fo particularly is, that we may fhow how they are governed; and by that Means how much France is changed from what it was, and how effectually the Power of the Crown is eftablifhed. In every Province there is a Governor, who is a Perfon of the firt Rank, and his Poft is generally for Life; but as it is fuppofed that he cannot always attend the Functions of his Office, the King appoints a Lieutenant General if it be a fmall Province, if a large one, two or three, each of which has his particular Diftrict, in which his Power is independant. Befides thefe Lieutenant Generals, there are alfo the King's Lieutenants, who have fmaller Diftricts; and the Governors of Towns are likewife appointed by the Crown, and are independant of the other Officers. In Places that have Citadels, thofe have likewife their Governors independant of the Governor of the Town, and by the Help of thefe Checks it is impoffible for thofe Difturbances to happen, which were fo frequent in every Reign before the lat. Heretofore it was common for the King to grant the Survivorfhip of the Government to the Son or next Relation of the Governor ; but now another Method is taken, for the Father actually refigns to the Son, who has the Title, but the Exercife of the Office is referved to the Father by a Brevet, which gives him likewife the Power of refuming the Title, if his Son dies before him. The Adminiftration of Juftice in the Province is vefted in the Parliament to which it belongs, in which the Governor has a Seat, which however is a mere Point of Honour, and, gives him little or no Power. As this creates a new Diftribution of the Kingdom, with refpect to Parliaments, fo there is alfo a Third in reference to Taxes, by which it is diftinguifhed into Generalities and Elections; and at the Head of thefe are the Intendants. By this Kind of Policy, which was invented by Ricblieu, and perfected by his Succeffors, every Part of the Kingdom is immediately under the

Power

## Chap. IV.

through FRANCE.

Power and Infpection of the Minifters ; and the Princes of the Blood and Great Lords, notwithftanding they have ftill the Title, Authorities and Revenues of Governors, have nothing of that Kind of Power that was fo dangerous in paft Times. But with refpect to their Lordfhips, they have ftill very great Prerogatives; which though they do not render them formidable to the Crown, give them fuch a Power over the common People, that without doubt the Peafants in France are as miferable as any in Europe; and this is the true Secret why their Infantry, notwithftanding all their Difo cipline, is not near fo good as the Englif, the Sroifs, or thofe of fome of the German Princes; for Men born and bred under Oppreffion, have never that true Spirit and Courage that is fo remarkable in Freemen. The Artizans and Manufacturers. are fomewhat better treated, and in the Cities of France they have Immunities and Privileges which at firft Sight bear a near Refemblance to Liberty; yet even thefe give Way upon any Exigence; fo that after all, the King is abfolute Mafter of every Rank of his Subjects, and difpofes, in a great Meafure, both of their Perfons and Properties at his Pleafure, which is the true Reafon why fo many leave their Country, and fettle elfewhere.

We have hitherto ir this Account reprefented Things in general ; and indeed it would require much more Room than we have to fpare to enter into Particulars. It may very well fuffice to fay, that the ruling Maxim of the French Government is to fuftain and to extend the Power of the Crown, to which every Thing mult give Way. The Church, as a State Machine, is managed with greater Addrefs in France, than in any Country in the World. Louis XIV. was a Bigot in his Practice, but not in his Church Politicks; for while he dragoon'd his Hugonot Subjects, out of pious Regard to the Principle of Unity, he countenanced and approved the nice Diftinction between the Roman and the Gallican Church. For by this Contrivance he procured for himfelf, and has left to his Succeffors, two Reins; by which the Ecclefiaftical Machine is governed with Eafe. If the Pope is to be managed, and the Influence of the See of Rome becomes neceffary to the Eldeft Son of the Cburch, then one Rein is pulled, and the Royal Power is exerted in Support of the papal Authority: But if fome ftubborn, long-headed or well-meaning Cardinal is advanced to the fupreme Dignity in the popifh Hierarchy, who has a greater Regard to the Whole than to any Part, and will not employ either his Credit or his Power to ferve the Purpofes of the Gallic Monarch, then he plucks the other Rein, and makes his Holinefs fully fenfible, that without his Affuming the Title, he is truly and effectually Head of the Gallican Church. It muft be confeffed that this Sort of Policy is not without its Inconveniencies, and thofe too that are very evident, and fometimes very troublefome, fuch as continual Heart-burnings and Struggles, vexatious Difturbances, and a kind of perpetual Perfecution, under all which Mifchiefs the Gallican Church has now la boured near thirty Years: But this gives no Pain to the Miniftry ; they look upon it as a neceffary Evil, and raife and fall the Tide of Perfecution as Intereft directs. Thus the greatelt Part of the French Clergy are obliged to conform to the Court Creed, as well as to the Catholick Faith ; and that Part of his Subjects are now moft in the King's Power, which were leaft fo in his Predeceffors; and thofe Men receive their Inftructions from the Cabinet, who, from the Nature of their Office, have the ftrongeft Sort of Influence over the Common People. By this Management alfo the Government draws a large Revenue from the Church, which in former Times was reckoned impracticable. The Tenths, which are annually paid to the King, amount to about Sixty thoufand Pounds ; the Free Gifts, which are now become a ftated and regular Revenue, amount to above two hundred thoufand Pounds a Year, that is, in Time of Peace; for in War the extraordinary Free Gifts bear fome Proportion to the Exigency of the publick Affairs.

The Ecclefiaftical and Civil Government in France was reduced by Degrees pretty near the fame it ftands at prefent under the Reign of Lewis XIII. and the 1 m .
provements only are to be attributed to his Son and Succeffor ; but with refpect to the Military Eftabliffo ment, Lewis XIV. was its original Founder. Before his Time a few Companies of Guards, and the four old Corps as they are ftill called, were all the ftanding Troops of France; neither were they exactly of the fame Nature with the Regiments that are now kept up; though this is not a Place to difcufs the Difference. It is fufficient for us to obferve, that the Prince laft mentioned, finding every Thing at home difpofed accord ing to his good Pleafure, when he took the Ads miniftration into his own Hands, refolved to lay hold of that Opportunity to fecure the boundlefs. Authority, of which he was poffeffed in his own Dominions; and at the fame Time to make himfelf terrible to his Neighbours. It was to this End that he eftablifhed firft, under the Notion of Guards; a very confiderable Force, which is now ftiled the Troops of the Houfehold, and afterwards, as Occafion offered, raifed Regiment after Regiment, both of Horfe and Foot, and kept them in conftant Service. It was by the Help of this Standing Army, that he gained fo many and fo great Advantages over Spain, and the reft of his Neighbours, and annexed feveral conquered Provinces to his Dominions, which at the fame Time afforded him an Opportunity of increafing the Number of thefe regular Troops, and of covering his Frontiers on every Side with Abundance of ftrong Fortrefles. By Degrees other States in Europe found themfelves obliged for their own Defence to raife and maintain regular Troops likewife, which afforded that ambitious Prince a Pretence for augmenting his to as great a Number as was poflible for him to maintain; and his Example in this, as well as in moft other Points, has been exactly followed by his Succeffor. So that immediately before the Breaking out of the prefent War, the Standing Troops of France confifted of one Hundred and twenty thoufand Foot, twenty thoufand Horfe and Dragoons, and between eight and ten thoufand Invalids; that is, in the whole, to about One hundred and fifty thoufand Men. The keeping up fo large an Army, and the maintaining fo many Garrifons, is as ferviceable to the King, as it is burthenfome and ruinous to the Kingdom; inafmuch as it keeps fo great a Proportion of able and active Perfons in a State of abfolute Idlenefs with Regard to the Publick, at the fame Time that heavy Taxes are raifed upon the induftrious Part of the People for their Subliftence. But it muft be allowed, that it finds Employment for the Nobility and Gentry of France more efpecially, as it is become almoft an indifpenfible Cuftom tor them to fpend their Youth, at leaft the firft Part of it, in the Service ; by which they are brought infenfibly into a Dependance upon the Court and have their Minds filled with falfe and Clavifh Notions of the Glory of their Grand Monarch, which entirely gets the better of the natural Paffions that all Men of Birth and Breeding in other Nations, have for the Ser vice of their Country. Thus the Reader fees, that the Church, the Law, the Civil Employments, and the Military, being wholly at the Pleafure of the Court, the far greater Part of the active People in this great Country have their Lives and Fortunes at the Difpofal of the Crown, and fpend the beft Part of their Days in the Maintenance of a Syltem calculated to hold them in irrecoverable and perpetual Servitude.

As for the political Government, it is managed by feveral great Councils, or rather Committees of. Council, of which there are at prefent four, which are ftiled the Council of State, the Council of Difpatches; the Royal Council of Finances, and the Royal Council of Commerce. The firft Civil Officer in France is the Chancellor, the only Officer that is not removeable at the King's Pleafure; that is to fay, he cannot be turned out without being brought to a Tryal; but the King may and frequently does take the Scals from him, and put them into the Hands of another Perfon, who has the Title of Keeper, and the Power of Chancellor, who is removeable at the King's Pleafure. There is gene rally a Perfon at the Head of the Miniftry, either with or without the Title of prime Minifter, and with more or lefs Authority as the King pleafes: At prefent this
is the Cardinal de Tencin. For the Management of publick Affairs there are four principal Secretaries of State, who have each their feparate Deparments. Thefe are at prefent the Count de Maurepas, who has the Marine; the Count de Puifieux, who is Secretary for Foreign Affairs; the Count de Saint Florentin, who has the Care of Domeftic Concerns; and the Count $d^{\prime} A r$ genfon, who is Secretary at War. The principal Officer of the Revenue is the Comptroller General of the Finances, at prefent M. de Macbauilt, who has under him a Multitude of Intendants and other Officers, fubject to the Direction of the Council of Finances, of which the Duke de Betbune is Prefident. As to the ordinary and fettled Revenue of the Crown of France, if we may believe their own Writers upon that Subject, it is not at all increafed in its real, though it is confiderably augmented in its nominal Value. In 1683 , it was computed at $116,873,476$ Livres, and in 1730 , it amounted to no more than $140,278,473$ Livres, which make 5,844,973 Pounds of our Money, which hews that neither the general Wealth of France, nor the Income of the King, are near fo great as is commonly imagined. It is, indeed, very true, that in Time of War the King levies much larger Sums; but it is very plain, that even thefe muft fall fhort of what fome Prople would perfuade us they amount to, fince there muft be always a Proportion between the ordinary and extraordinary Revenue ; and confequently, if we know the one, we may very eafily compute how far the other can be carried, becaufe even under arbitrary Governments, fome Meafures muft be preferved, and fome Regard had to the general Income of the People, which is lefs in Time of War, at the fame Time that the publick Expence is greater.

With regard to the Commerce of France, there remains no Sort of Doubt, that it has grown more extenfive and more profitable than formerly, when Trade was very little known in this Country. It may feem a little ftrange, but the Faft is certainly very true, that the Commercial State of this Country is entirely under the Direction of the Crown; and in this there feems to be the lefs Hardfhip, becaufe it may be very truly affirmed, that the Commerce of France is as much or rather more the Work of their Minifters, than of their Merchants. When Colbert was at the Head of Affairs, he made the Increafe of Manufactures, the Facilitating Domeftick, and the Improving Foreign Trade, one of the principal Objects of his Miniftry. In this he was very fuccefsful; he underftood Commerce as a great Man fhould underftand it, fo as to render it beneficial to a Nation, without confulting too minutely the Profit of private Perfons. Upon this Occafion I will venture to relate, after an eminent French Author, a very fingular Story: He invited feveral eminent Merchants to meet in his Cabinet, in order to difcourfe on the Principles of Commerce, and promifed them the utmoft Liberty in Converfation. At their firft Meeting, a certain Merchant, who was confider'd as the beft Head amongft them, made a fett Harangue againft the Management of the Duties, and fpoke fo bluntly, that the Minifter rofe in great Heat, and bid him hold his Tongue, for that was no Part of his Bufinefs. If no Freedon, no Speech, anfwered the Merchant, we will be going, if you cannot hear, it is impoffible you fhould learn, and if you will not correct what is immediately in your own Power, what are we to expect? Colbert bid him fit down, and go on, and from that Time forward never checked any of them, let them fay what they would. By this Means, in a few Years, he knew more than them all. Madam de Maintenon was likewife a great Politician in Commerce; and it fell out, when the Affairs of Louis XIV. were in the utmoft Diftrefs,
that fome of his Minifters propofed pofponing the Pay ment of the Sums due to his Bankers for a Year : To which the King feemed inclined. The Lady, who was fpinning at the other End of the Room, without quitting her Work, addrefs ${ }^{3} \mathrm{~d}$ herfelf to the King in thefe Words: Sire, If youi fop Poyment to your Bankers, they will lofe their Credit with their Foreign Correfpondents, wobich wbile they maintain, you are newer at a Lofs for Money in any Part of Europe. Wbile Tbings continue in this State, your Distrefles are known only to a fere ; but if you take this Refolution, you will become a Bankrupt in the Eyes of the whole World: Stop therefore your Pen. Cons, the Money deftined for Buildings, and otber Pleafures, and pay the Bankers punitually, for Credit is the true Bafis of Power. The King took her Advice, which was certainly better than that of his Minifters; and it an fwered the End that was propofed.

By this it appears, as well as by what was faid in the former Volume, of the French Eaft- India Company, that the Commerce of France is the Creature of the State; and from thence it follows, that though in particular Branches it may flourifh wonderfully, yet, taking in the Whole, it is nothing near fo confiderable as it might be, nor can it ever be made fo under a Government conftituted like that which fubfitts in this Country at prefent ; which is one of the beft Reafons that can be affigned, why the ordinary Revenue of France is not higher now than it was many Years ago, and why even very fmall Sums of Money, in Comparifon of what are raifed elfewhere, are raifed here with fo much Difficulty. The Shipping of France is certainly increafed, but not in that Proportion that is commonly imagined, much lefs in the Degree fome of our political Writers have afferted, for I have actually feen Computations of the Shipping employed in only one Branch of Trade very confidently laid down, which I could demonftrate to be very near, if not beyond the whole Shipping of this Country; a very clear and inconteftable Proof of this, is the prefent State of their Navy. I have before me a Lift of it, in the Year 1693 . when it confifted of One hundred and fourteen Ships of the Line, but at the Beginning of the prefent War, they had not forty Sail of Men of War and Frigates of all Sizes: I have likewife before me a Memorial prefented by the Merchants of France, to the Count de Maurepas, at the Clofe of laft Year, in which the Loffes fuftain'd thereby, are computed at Two hundred Millions, which makes Nine Millions three hundred thoufand Pounds of our Money. In this Memorial it is faid, that if the King could maintain Sixty Men of War and Frigates, including the Breft Squadron, which is reckoned at twenty Sail, the whole Trade of France might be well protected, which is an Evidence, that it is very far from being protected at prefent, and that the King has not any fuch Force as the Merchants think is requifite for that Purpofe. While the War continues it is impoffible he fhould, foreign Subfidies, and the Expences of his Land-Forces run away with all, and more than all; fo that if our Naval Force was employed in Diftreffing the Frencb Trade, in every Part of the World, but more efpecially in the Weft-Indies, there is no Doubt that we might put them back for half a Century, at leaft; and if at the End of this War, there fhould remain fuch a Part of the Sinking Fund, $\mathrm{as}_{s}$ would enable us to take off the Duties upon Sugar entirely, I believe their Wef-India Trade could never revive. But I ought to ask my Reader's Pardon for this Digreffion, and for extending my Remarks to fuch a Length; but the Defire of fhewing, that if France be a Hydra, it is not impoffible fhe may meet with a Hercules, was what led me thus far, and I hope will ferve for a tolerable Excufe.

## CHAPTER V.

Comprehending Travels through the remoteft Parts of Germany, Boo bemia, Moravia, Hurgary, \&c. to the very Frontiers of Europe upon that Side; interfperfed with the Hiftory of Mines, Salt-works; Fifheries, and other curious Particulars.

## S E C TION I.

A Voyage from England to Holland, with a Fourney from thence, by Land, through the Electorates of Cologne, Treves and Mentr, the Lower and Upper Palatinate, Bavaria and Auftria, to Vienna; from thence tbrough Moravia, Bohemia and Saxony, to Hamburgh; with many judicious and ufefuil Obfervations.
By the very learned Dr. Edward Browne, of the Royal College of Phyficians.

1. Introduciory Account of the Autbor. He embarks at Yarmouth, and proceeds by Sea to Rotterdam. Defcription of that City. 2. A very curious Account of the Hague, Leyden and Harlem. 3. A con pious and circumfantial Defcription of what is moft remarkable in Amfterdam. 4. The like Account of the City of Utrecht, and of the Country about it. 5. A Defcription of Boileduc, Breda and Dort. 6. The Author's Pafage into the IJand of Walcheren, with a Defcription of Middieburgh and Fluming. 7. The Courle of the River Schelde, and the City of Antwerp deforibed. 8. The Autbor's Fourney continued through Bruffels and Maeftricht to Cologn. 9. His Journey from thence to Bonn, with fome very curious Obfervations. 10. An Account of the Autbor's Fourney from Bonn to Francfort, and of the Places be paffed through upon the Road. I1. A Succinct Account of Frunckfort. 12. A Defcription of the City of Heideiburgh, and of the Palatinate. 13. His fourney from Heidelburgh to Nurembergh, with a Defcription of the laft-mentioned City. 14. The Country of Bavaria and Auftria defcribed, with the principal Towns in them. 15. A large and particular Account of the City of Vienna. 16. A Viewo of the Emperor's Court, and of that Prince's Manner of living. 17. Of the celebrated Library at Vienna, and the Emperor's Collections of Curiofities. 18. The moft remarkable Things in the Neigbbourbood of this City defcribed. 19. The Autbor's Remarks upon the Cuftoms and Manners of the Inbabitants in that great City. 20. A Defcription of the remaining Part of Auftria and Moravia. 21. His Fourney through the Kingdom of Bohemia, with an Account of the Silver Mine at Guttenberg. 22. The famous City of Prague defcribed, together with an Account of fome other remarkable Places in Bohemia. 23. A Defcription of the City of Drefden, and of the Country of Saxony. 24. The Author's Journey through Freiberg, Leipfick and Magdeberg; with an Account of thofe great Cities. 25. A Defcription of the noble City of Hamburg, with the Autbor's Remarks upon the German Nation.

1T is now Time that we fhould lead the Reader out of Europe; of which, however, many Countries remain yet undefrcibed; for the making known of which, we could think of no better Method than digefting, into the clofeft Order poffible, the Travels of the ingenious Dr. Brozene through moft of thofe Countries, Accounts of which are ftill wariting. He was the Son of the famous Sir Thomas Browne of Norroich, fo well known to the learned World by the many curious and valuable Works he publifhed. As for this Gentleman, he received the firf Part of his Education under the Care of his worthy Father ; and having paffed through the Circle of School Learning, was removed to the Univerfity of Oxford, where, after having taken his Degrees regularly, and with much Reputation, he refolved to travel, as he did, through the greateft Part of Europe; and having Recommendations where-ever he came, to Perfons the moft diftinguifhed for Rank and Learning, acquired thereby va-
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rious Opportunities of making deeper and better Obfervations than is common wirh Travellers in fuch hafty Tours. He publifhed two Volumes of his Voyages and Travels, which were extremely well received; and in the Account given of them by the Secretary of the Royal Society in the Tranfactions, they are very highly and juftly commended. He after wards took his Degree of Doctor of Phyfick, and became a Member of the College, Fellow of the Royal Society; and, in regard to his great Knowledge and Experience, was promoted to the Rank of being the King's Phyfician. He enjoy'd thefe Honours, together with an univerfal and unblemifh'd Reputation, for many Xears, and was very juftly confider'd as an Honour to his Family and Profeffion. We have taken the Liberty to range his Travels in the Manner moft fuitable to the Nature of this Collection, and becaure it was impoffible to preferve a proper Connection, without taking in his Account of the United Provinces, the Low Countries, and fome Part

9 C
of Germany; we chofe rather to retain them, though many of the Places had been before fpoken of in former Chapters of this Book, than to begin abruptly with his Accounts of Auftria, Bobemia, Hungary, \&c. for the Sake of which they were chiefly inferted; but as all he fays is equally entertaining and inftructive, we apprehend that this cannot be confidered as any Inconvenience.
I went in the Year 1668, from Norivicb to Yarmouth, a Sea-Port in the County of Norfolk, at the Entrance of the River Yare: Where being furnifh'd with Letters of Recommendation by Sir Fames Fobnfon to Amsterdam, Francfort, Venice, and Vienna, 1 embark'd the 14 th of Augut in Yarmoutb Road, aboard the Angel Ketch, Burthen Fifty five Tuns; and fet fail for Rotterdam. It was not long before we difcovered Goree Steeple, and immediately after the Briel, fituate at the Entrance of the River Mofa, or the Maefe; which having its Rife in the Mountains of Vouge, or Vaugefus, paffes by Verdun, Dinant, Namur, Liege, Maefricbt, Ruremond, Venlo, and feveral other Places, and here difcharges itfelf into the Ocean. In our Paffage up the River we faw many ftately Villages, the moft noted of which were MaefelandSluice, Scbiedam, and Delfis-Haven; and came afhore about Six in the Evening at Rotterdam.
Here I had Sight of two of the largeft Men of War belonging to Holland, viz. the Crane, and the Waffenaer; the laft of which was built in Lieu of that in which Admiral Opdam was blown up, as he was engaged againft his Royal Highnefs the Duke of York. The Points of the Keys of this City are very fair, and the Channels, which extend into the very Centre of it, fo large and deep, as to be capable of receiving Ships of great Burthen. It is very populous, the Houfes well built, and the Streets very clean. The Organs of the great Church, the Tower, and the Monument of M. De Wit, the Statue of Erafmus upon the Bridge, and fome other Curiofities, are worth the Obfervation of a Traveller. It being then Fair-time, we faw fome Drolls acted, and fome Rarities, viz. Lions, Leopards, and among the reft a Woman of feven Foor high.

From Rotterdam we paffed forward to Delft, paffing by the Powder-Houfe (a beautiful Scructure at fome $\mathrm{D}_{\mathrm{i}}$ flance from the City). The Piazza of Delft is very large, the Town-houfe fronting it at one, and the new Church with its high Steeple at the other End. This Church is famous for the Tomb of William of Naflaro, Prince of Orange, together with his Wife and Son, Prince Maurice, whofe Statue is in Armour, with his Dog lying at his Feet, with four Obelisks fupported by ten Marble Pillars: It flands in the Middle of the Ine. The old Church contains the Tomb of the famous Van Trump, carved en the Walls, his Effigies lying upon a Cannon, furrounded with Arms and Trophies. In another Church we were fhewn the Monument of Admiral Hein, who took the Spanish Plate Fleet: And in a large Houfe, in a Wall, the Marks of fome of the Bullets, by which Prince William was murthered, in 1584.
2. The Hague is celebrated for being the ancient Refidence of the Counts of Holland, and now of the States-General; it is about three Englifh Miles from Delft. It has a very fair Piazza, many well built Houfes, and the Pall-mall, the Wood, and the Park, are very beautiful Places; but what furpaffes all, is the Way from hence to Scbeveling, which is paved with Brick for three Miles, with feveral Rows of Trees on both Sides, as far as to the Steeple of Scbeveling. The City of Leyden (nine Miles diftant from the Hague, may for its Neatnefs compare with any in Europe, its Streets being beautified with noble Houfes, and large Channels on both Sides : Its Fortifications are after the modern Way. One of the chief Antiquities of Leyden, is what they call the Hengit Casile, (or the Berg,) from its Founder Hengit the Saxon. On the Top, into which we went by very handfome Stairs, we faw a very fair Arbour, a Labyrinth and Well, and at the Bottom is a very good Houfe of Entertainment. But what furpaffes this, are the Ruins of an ancient Fortrefs not far from this City, at the Village call'd Cat.
roick, upon the Sea, known by the Name of Arx Britannica; which being built by Caligula, and afterwards ruin'd by the Normans, was overwhelm'd by the Sea at laft ; yet not fo, but that at certain Times, when the Tide is very low, its Ruins have been plainly difcovered, and fome Antiquities have been found with this Infeription: Ex Ger. Inf: that is, ex Cermania Inferiori. The Stadt-houfe has a very fair Front towards the Street. In the Anatomy Hall you fee many Skeletons, of a
Whale, a Horfe, Deer, Cow, Cat, and Fox, and two Legs of an Elephant, befides thofe of Men and Women, fome Mufcles preferv'd, and one entire Body with the Skin and Flefh.

The Phyfick -Garden is none of the largeft, but abundantly ftock'd with Plants of all Sorts. Near it flands the College where the Publick Leetures are kept every Day, and under it is the Printing-Houfe of the Univerfity. In the Stadt-houfe, in the Apartment of the Burgermafters, I faw a moft curious Piece done by Lucas van Leyden, reprefenting the Day of Judgmenr. Near the fame Place is alfo flewn the Table of that famous Taylor, Yobn of Leyden, upon which he ufed to work, before he took upon him the Trade of a Reformer, and came to be King of the Anaboptifits in Germany. From Leyden I travell'd to Harlem, feven Duicb Leagues (or twenty one Emglilh Miles) thence. Its Situation is very pleafant, among Groves of Trees. The great Church furpaffes for irs Bignefs all others in Hollond, and is full of remarkable Infcriptions. The Pictures of all the Earls of Holland, in the Prince's Houfe, are very good Pieces; and in the Summer-Houle of the Garden is that of Laurence Cofier, a Citizen of this Place, whom they file the firft Inventor of Printing; whereas others afcribe the fame to a certain German, named Jobn Gottenberg. In the other Rooms you fee feveral excellent Pieces of Paintings of Hemskerk and Goltzius; but thofe of Cornelius of Harlenz exceed the reft, efpecially his Hiftory of Herod's killing the Children; his Feaft of the Gods, in which Vulcan's Foot is efteemed moft; and his Collation of a Nun and a Monk.

On the other Side you fee a Piture of a Ship with Saws, in Memory of the glorions Action done by thofe of this Town, who under the Reign of Frederick Barbaroffa, fighting againft the Saracens, took Damiata, entering the Port by Means of Saws faftned to the Keels of their Ships, which cut the Chains of the Harbour. Here is alfo an Hofpital for Sixty aged Perfons, and another for the Sick, both very handfome and neatly kept. Here I obferved the firft Time their Way of Whipping Malefactors with Rods: They tie their Hands ftretch'd upward as high as they can, to a Poft erected upon a Scaffold, with an Iron round their Wafte, and fo give them as many Stripes as are allotted them by their Judges. The Lake near Harlem, call'd the Horlem Meere, is above twenty Miles long.
3. The next Place to Harlem is the City of Amferdam, famous throughour the World for its Riches, Trade, Shipping, fair Streets, and magnificent Buildings. Its Situation is upon the River $\mathcal{Y}_{e}$, being formerly the Seat only of a few Fifhermen; but being favour'd in Time with the Title of a City, by the Earls of Holland, was ftrengthned with a Wall 1470, againt thofe of Utrecht; and many Years after, by the Emperor - Maximilian, honour'd with the Imperial Crown over their Arms, which are three Croffes on a Pale. It is Yalmoft incredible how this City is increafed of late Years, being now encompals'd with a new Wall, and large Ditch, after the Modern Way of Fortifications. The new Streets efpecially are very fpacious, with large Channels. The River Amfel (from whence it has borrow'd its Name) alfo paffes through it, being let in under a very handfome Bridge of eleven Arches, and twenty fix Paces broad, which makes part of the Wall. This whole vaft Body is built upon Piles of Timber driven into the Earth clofe to one another, the Foundation of the Tower over-againft St. Catbarine's Church, being faid to confift of 6334 great Trees; and I myfelf was an Eye-witnefs of the valt Number of Trees

## Chap. V. through Austria, Bohemta, Moravia, ف̂̉c. 743

I faw them drive into the Foundations, where the EaftIndia Houfe was to be enlarged ; and at another Place, where they were Jaying the Foundation of a Lutberan Church.

The nobleft Strufure of all this Country, and one of the fineft in Europe, is their Stadt-houfe, built of Freeftone, ilo Paces in Front (in which it exiceeds St. Peter's Church at Rome, ) and Eighty one Paces deep. At its very Entrance, on the Right-Hand, you fee the Hall where Malefactors receive their Sentence ; the Marble Statues here hanging down their Heads, as if grieved at what was pronounced. All the Floors are covered with Marble, and the Roofs finely carved, painted, and gilt ; Atlas, bearing a Globe upon his Shoulders, ftands on the Top of it. The Globe is of Copper of ten Foot Diameter, and exceeds, as far as I ever heard or faw, any Ball or Globe of this Nature. That of St. Peter's Church at Rome, and that of Florence, being lefs; and fuch as I have feen upon any of the Turki/b Mofques, don't come near this in Bignefs; nay, the largeft of thofe three famous Balls at Morocio, are, according to the Report of thofe that have feen it, inferior to this The Exchange of Amferdom is very fair, exceeding large, and frequented by an incredible Num ber of People. Moft of their Churches are ftately Edifices. The Partition with Ballifters of Brafs in the new Church are truly noble; and the Carvings of the Pulpit exceed the reft.

The Tombs of Van Hulfe and Hemskerk, in the old Church, are very well worth a curious Traveller's Obfervation: The laft of thefe two has rendred himfelf famous by his fuccefsfnl Expeditions in the Eaft-Indies, after their firft Settlement there, by the Way of the Cape of Good Hope, when they had found the North Paffage by Nova Zembla impracticable. Their Houfe of Correction is alfo worth Obfervation ; having at its Entrance two Lions bridled with this Infeription:

## Virtutis eft domare qua cuncii pavent.

A proper Emblem for the Purpofe it was intended, viz. to bridle the Infolencies of fuch as are riotous in the Streets, or commit Diforders, and the Extravagancies of the Sons of Citizens, who are paft the Government of their Mafters and Parents. They are employed in Gaining their Bread by rafping Brazil Wood; and if they refufe to perform their Task, and become incorrigible by Blows, they (as we were told) put them in a large Ciftern, with a Pump by them, and fo letting in the Water upon them, force them to work for their Life.

Their Spin-buis is intended for the Correction of young Women, fuch as live loofely, or are taken in the Streets, and other fufpicious Places: Sometimes the Citizens fend their Daughters hither for Chaftifement, and thefe have Chambers allotted them ; I faw above an hundred Women in one large Room, fome of which were very well drefs'd. In the Hofpital for Children are 600 Orphans, well educated and look'd after. The Dol-buis is like our Bedlam, intended for delirious Perfons. The Gaft-buis, an Hofpital for the Sick; as the Mannen-boufe is an Hofpital for old Men. They have befides this, a laudable Cuftom throughout all Holland; which is, that upon the Appointment of any Meeting at a Tavern, or any other Occafion, certain Forfeitures are put into a Box kept in all Publick-Houfes, for the Ufe of the Poor, which is the Reafon that farce ever any Beggars are feen in the Streets.

Their Eaf-India-Houfe contains an incredible Store of Spices, and other Indian Commodities. Their Admiralty Houfe, where they keep their Stores for Shipping, is furrounded with Water for its greater Security, and near it lie Seventy two Men of War. On the Top of this Houfe (as moft of Note of this City) is a Cif tern for the Reception of Rain-Water, to fupply the Defect of Spring. Water, which is very farce. At the Entrance of the Gate, we faw the entire Body of a a Mian preferved from Corruption, enclofed to the Watte in a Canoe, made of Fifh-fkin, fo clofely fewed together, that no Water could get in. The handfomeft

Streets of Amsterdam are, the Harlemi-Street, the Cingel, Princes Graft, Kaijers Graft, and Heeren Graft, as allo the Nerw Ifland. Among other Rarities I faw here a Globe, the Workmanthip of Vingbomes, betwist fix and feven Foot Diameter; it was all of Copper, and very well painted, with all the new Difcoveries made in 1641 ; at 42 Deg. S. Lat. and 170 Longit. thofe towards the N. W. of Fapan, about Noria Zembla, the Tartarian Sea, beyond the Streights of Voygats, viz. Nero Holland, Weft-Friefeland, \&xc. Though moft of thofe Difcoveries are contradicted by Martiniere, who made a Voyage into thofe Parts in 1653 , from Copenbagen, efpecially as to the true Pofition of Zembla, its Coherency to the Continent, the Length of the Streights of Voygats (which they make ten, but he thirty five Dutch Leagues) and a Paffage through it into the Tartarian Ocean.

I had the Curiofity to take a Profpect of the City from the Steeple of the Church, which by Reafon of the Unevennefs of the Houfes, did not appear altogether to beautiful as thofe of Italy, which are flat on the Top. Every Day, at Eleven a Clock in the Forenoon, there is very good Mufick at the Stadt-houfe, being the Gift of the Earl of Leicefter. The Chimes, of which there is a Sett in moft Steeples here, make alfo a very agreeable $H$ Harmony.

Among other Perfons of Note, I got into the Acquaintance of Dr. Ruifh, who frew'd me many Curiofities in Anatomy; fuch as the Skeletons of Children, and Fœeus's of all Ages, very neatly done; the Lymphatick Veffels preferved, with all the Valves; all the Veffels of the Liver feparated from the flefhy Part; many Mufcles diffected, and whole Bodies kept entire, without the leaft Signs of Corruption. Dr. Swammer dam fhew'd me feveral of his Experiments, according to his Treatife De Refpiratione, with a Collection of many Inlects. Glauber, the noted Chymift, gave me a Sight of his Laboratory. And Blofius, famous for his Obfervations upon Veflingius, gave me many Marks of his Civility.

It is to be obferved, that the Jews live at Amferdams in more Splendor than in any other Part of the World being provided with magnificent Houfes, and a very fair Synagogue, and have among them Perfons of Learning, and endow'd with other good Qualifications; fome of them having lived under the Notion of Chriftians in other Places. There was one Juda Leo, who had a Model of the Temple of Solomon, the Fort of the Temple, the Tabernacle, and many other Curiofities of that Nature. I alfo faw the Ceremony of the Circumcifion of a Jerwibh Child; they thruft a Probe betwixt the Glans and Preputium, and dilating it fo, that both the inward and outward Skin be drawn forward, by a certain Inftrument they hold the Skin clofe to the Inftru ment ; the remaining Skin being put back immediately, the Blood ftopp'd, and the Plaifter applied : All there prefent finging all the while, that the Cries of the Infant may be the lefs heard.

I pals'd from Amfterdam to Utrecht in feven Hours, in one of their Track Scbuyts, or large Boats, drawn by Horfes, through the artificial Channels which are made for this Purpofe in moft of the Provinces, as well of Holland, as of the Lore-Countries.
4. Utrecbt, (anciently Antonina, and afterwards Ultràjectum,) the Capital City of the Province of the fame Name, is very large, and handfomely built. It has been an Epifcopal See for near thefe thoufand Years: Its firlt Bifhop was Willebald, an Englibman. It was made an Univerfity in 1636 . The great Church has three Steeples one above the other, from whence I took a full View of the adjacent Country, which is very plain, and fo populous, that there are no lefs than fifty one walled Towns, to any of which you may go in a Days Journey thence. Here is alfo an Englifh Church, in the Middle of which is a Pillar, the Foundation of which was laid upon Bulls Hides, in 1099, with the Picture of a Bull with this Infcription:

Accipe Pofieritas quod per tua faccula narres,
Tourinis cutibus fundo folidata columna efl.

The Library belonging to this Church has feveral old Manufcripts, and among the reft a Bible in fix Volames, painted and gilded afier a very ancient Way. The two German Idols, beftowed upon this Place by the Emperor Henry IV. are worth taking Notice of for their Antiquity's Sake: As alfo a Horn faid to be made of Ivory. I faw alfo three Sea-Unicorns Horns, (being an Animal in the Northern Seas) one of which being tipp'd with Silver, ferved for a Drinking-Cup. They were about five Foot long; though the King of Denmark has two that were taken near Nova Zembla, that have ten Foot in Length: This King's Father had fo many of them, that he beftowed above one hundred of them for the making of a magnificent Throne. I myfelf have feen fome fifteen Foot long, and a Walk-ing-Staff, a Sceptre, Scabbard for a Sword, and other Curiofities made of the Teeth of this Animal, but could never be convinced of its Effects againft Poifon; or any contagious Diftemper, though I have given it frequently, and in very great Quantities.

Here I had alfo the Honour to fee Dr. Cyprianus ab Oesterga, Dr. Regius, Voetius, the only Member left alive of the Synod of Dort; ; but unfortunately mifs'd the Sight of the famous Anna Maria Skurman, fhe being gone into the Country, yet had the good Fortune to fee her Picture, drawn by her own Hand, with this Infription:

## Cernitis bic pictâ noftros in Imagine vultus, Si negat ars formam gratia vefira dabit.

I travel'd from Utrecht, in two Hours, to Friffeick, and croffing the River Leck to Vianen, where there is nothing remarkable befides the Houie and Gardens of Count Brederode, accounted the nobleft Family in Holland, as that of Wafenger is the moft ancient, and that of Egmont the richef. A Mount belonging to this Garden, makes Part of the Rampart of the Place. The Statues of the Twelve Cafars, of Aristotle, with fome Pyramids, Parctions, and Paintings, are Ornaments, fuitable to a Traveller's Curiofity.

Hence I pafs'd by Boat through the Country of Arkel, and came the fane Night to Gorcum, a City fituate near the three Rivers, the Ling, the Waal, and the Maese: It has a pretty handfome Market-place, and a Church with a very high Steeple. The Fortifications are of Earth; and over the Water-Gate you fee this Infcription :

Civitas in quâ maximè Cives legibus parent, छ in pace beata, EO bello inviita. 1642.

Which Infcription feemed to have been fulfild in 1672 , when the powerful Army of Leerwis XIV. King of France, who conquered thirty Cities in one Campaign, did not extend their Conquefts beyond this Place. From Gorcum I went to Worcum, on the other Side of the River, and fo by the Cattle of Loveftein, famous for the Imprifonment of Barnevelt; which, fince that Time, has given that Name to the whole Party, which is generally called in Holland the Loveftein Faction.
5. Paffing farther up the Maefe, we came the next Day to Hertogen Booche, having left Proye on the Left, and Heufden on the Right Hand. This City, called by fome Sylua Ducis, Boifeduc, and Bolduc, is a well fortified City, fituate upon the River Difa, or Deefe, which joins its Waters, two Leagues below this Place, with the Maefe, being one of the chief Frontiers belonging to the United Provinces on that Side, and ftrong both by Art and Nature. Its Avenues are only Caufeways made through the Marfhes, with various Turnings, commanded by fix fmall Forts; befides which, the Town is both commanded and defended by a Cittadel, confifting of five regular Baftions. The Market-place here is triangular. In the Cathedral (which is dedicated to St. Fobn) are many of the Arms of the Knights of the Golden Fleece, and on the upper Stalls an Infrription containing a fhort Account of the firl Inftitution of this Order, by Pbilip firnamed the Good, Duke of

Burgundy, Lorrain, and Brabant. It was made an Epifcopal See in 1559, and taken by the Dutch from the spaniards in 1628.

From hence we purfued our Journey through a plain and fandy Country to Breda, a City fituated upon the River Merk. It is very well forified, with a large Ditch round the Counterfcarp, and a Ravelin betwixt each Battion, joined to the Rampart with-infide of the Ditch: befides a good Number of Half-moons and Hornworks, and a Parapet frengthened with a double Row of Elms. This Place belongs to the Prince of Orange. The spaniards took it in the Beginning of the Lover Country Wars; but the Dutch not long after furprized it, by putting eighty armed Men in a Boat covered with Turf, who thus entred the Cantie.
It was taken by the Spaniards in 1625 , and afterwards regained again by Frederick Henry Prince of Orange. It has a very fair Church, in which are many good Tombs; and among the reft thofe of Englebert Count of Naflarw, with his Family; of the Heer Van Horn, and his three Wives; and of Henry Earl of Noflaw, who being the Founder of the Cantle of Brede, his Armour is fupported by four Warriours upon their Knees: The Gardens, Gallery, Walks, and Dials belonging to this' Cafte, are worth a Traveller's Obfervation. From Breda we travel'd by Land to St. Gertruydenberg, the utmort Frontier Place of the Duich on the North Side of Brabont. It is of no great Extent, but abounds in Fifh, which are catch'd in a Kind of a Lake called the Waart, made fo by the Fall.ng into it of the Maefe, and divers ocher Rivers. You fee here a very fair Church, and the Ruins of a large Stecpie. We pals'd hence over a large Water, which had overflow'd the Country, and drown'd tweniy-two Parifies, and, paffing by the ancient Tower called Murvey Houle, came to Dort, or Dordracum. This City, which is feated in the Waves of thofe great Lakes made by the Maefe and the Wael, is reckoned the chief Town of Soutt Holland, as having the Privilege of the Mint, and the Staple for Rbenijb Wine and Englifh Cloth; we have two Churches here, as the French lave one. The great Church has a Steeple of 312 Steps high. It took a View of the Aparment where the Synod of Dort had been held in 1611; which was a very fair one, and had an extraordinary agreeable Profpect into the Country. The large round-bellied Veffels, which fland betwixt this City and Cologn, internixed with long Liege Boats, afford an odd Spectacle to Strangers.
6. I embarked in a Veffel bound for the Ine of Walcberen, and failing by moft of the Inands of Zeeland, and in Sight of the Towns of Williamfiadt, Zirickzee, Tergoes, \&c. we came afhore at Ter-Vere, where there is a convenient Harbour. It has a fair long Marketplace. The Scotch have had a Factory here for above 200 Years; over-againft it you fee a Steeple, the poor Remainder of a noble Town, which has been fwallow'd up by the Sea.
From hence to Middleburg the Way is paved with a Kind of fmall hard Brick; the fame being to be obferved in many Places alfo in Holland. The City of Middieburg is feated in the very Centre of the Ine of Walcheren, being very well built, fpacious and populous, the fourth Chamber or Port of the Eaf-India Company; Amferdam being in the firt Rank, Rotterdam the fecond, and Fuyfing the third. There is a broad Water within the Compars of the Town, from whence is cut a Channel, which carries Veffels to the Sea. It is very well fortified, and beautified with many fair Churches, and other publick and private Structures. The new Church is of an octogonal Figure, with a Cupolo; the Steeple of the old Church is famous for its Height, the Town-houfe confiderable for its old Statues, and the Piazza of a circular Figure. The Country round it being cover'd with fruitful Gardens. The Zealanders are generally great Lovers of the Family of Orange. Hence I went to Flufbing, a ftrong Sea-port Town, ftrengthen'd with Stone-Waills towards the Sea, and Mud-works to the Land-fide. This being one of the firlt Places the Dutch took from the Spaniards in 1572, was, together with Rammaken and

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the Brill, made a Cautionary to Queen Elizabeth, 1585 , and reftored again to the United Provinces in 1616 , by King fames I. The Mouth of the Harbour is furrounded with Piles driven into the Ground, and thefe again are fecured by Rufhes, Flags and Reeds, ftaked down, intermix'd with Ofiers and Hurdles, to break the Force of the Water. The Stadt-Houfe is a noble Structure, ftanding in the Market-place, and affords a fair Profpect in Front, which is adorned with three Rows of Pillars, one above the other; the lower Row being of the Dorick, the fecond of the Ionick, and the Uppermoft of the Corintbian Order, on the Top of which is a Gallery, from thence you may difcover Ships at a great Diftance at Sea. We faw here many Ships, and among them fome Men of War of confiderable Bignefs. The Women in the Ifle of Walcheren are clad for the moft Part in red Cloth, and wear Straw Hats. If a Man happen to die here, a. great Bundle is laid at the Door, if a Child a little one, if a Male it is put on the right Side, if a Female on the left. When a Woman is delivered, they give Notice of what Sex the Child is of to all the Neighbourhood, by tying a Piece of Lawn to the Rapper of the Door, made up into the Shape of a Puppet, and reprefenting the Sex of the new born Child. I returned to Middleburgb by Land, where I embark'd again, and paffing down the River by the Fort Rammaken, entered the River Schelde, and failing up, pafs'd the Fort Frederick Henry, and fo to the Fort Lillo, where we were forced to ftay till our Ship was fearched. Juft oppofite to the laft of thefe two Forts, on the other Side of the River, is the Fort called Lifgens boek, and on the other Side another call'd de la Croix, the laft belonging to the Hollanders; the Spanib Forts to defend this Frontier are, the Pbilip, the Pearl, and the Mary.
7. The River Scbelde, mentioned by Cafar, has its Rife in the Country of Vermandois, and paffing by Cambray, Valenciennes, Tournay, Dornick, Oudenard, Gbent, Rupelmond and Antwerp, divides itfelf afterwards into two Channels, whereof the Southern is call'd the Hont ( $\operatorname{Dog}$, ) the other taking its Courfe from Bergen-op-Zoom, falls into the Sea between the Ines of Zealand. The next Day we continued our Voyage upon the Schelde, and arrived fafely at Antwerp. This City is of a large Extent; its Walls very broad, with Rows of Trees upon them, faced with Brick and Free-Atones, after the modern Way, though the Baftions are none of the largeft, but the Ditch is very broad and deep. The Ci tadel is accounted one of the beft Fortifications of five Baftions, in thofe Parts, very well lin'd with Brick and Stone, and commanding the City; the River and the adjacent Country. There is alfo another Fort near the Scbelde. The Exchange of Antwerp is fupported by thirty fix Pillars, each carved a different Way. It ftands in the Middle of four Streets, which lead unto it. The Meer, the moft remarkable Street of the City, has the Water running under it, and here the Coaches meet to take the Tour-ala-mode; at one End of it you fee a large Brafs Crucifix, placed upon a Pedeftal of Marble. The Fefuits Church exceeds for Magnificence any that ever I met with out of Italy. The Front is a noble Piece of Architecture, having the Statue of Ignatius Loyola on the Top. The Roof is for the moft part painted by Rubens and Van Dyke; the Carving is moft excellent, and the Flower Work done by Segers a Fefuit. It has a very handfome Library, kept in four Chambers, the Founder of which was Godfrid Houtappel, whofe Tomb is to be feen in a Chapel on the South-fide of the Church. The Carmelite Church is famous for the large Statue of Silver of the Virgin Mary. The Church of our bleffed Lady is the biggeft, and the Steeple the nobleft and one of the beft built in the World, being 459 Foot high. This Church abounds alfo in many curious Pieces of Paintings, and among the reft, there is one highly efteem'd, done by Quintin, who being at firft a Smith, made that curious Iron Work of the Wall before the Weft Door; but afterwards, to gain his Miftrefs, turn'd Painter, and became famous in this Art. His Head, cut in Stone, is placed near the Church Door, with this Infcription:

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## Connubialis amor de Nulucibre fecit Apellem.

I took alfo a View of the Abbey of St. Micbael, feated upon the River Scbelde; among other Rarities I faw here a Glafs which reprefented the Pictures of our Saviour and the Virgin Mary, collected from the putting together of divers other Heads: One being reprefented from a certain Pifture, which contained no leis than thirteen Faces, and the other from one of twelve. That of the Virgin Mary had this Infcription:

## Diva nitet variis expreffa Maria Figuris.

In this Abbey, which contains fixty three Monks, faw alfo the Tomb of a Countefs of Brabant, who was drowned, and her Statue. Near the Wharf-gate, you fee the Church of St. Wallurgis, an Englifs Saint. The Town-houfe of Antwerp is a fine Structure, that belonged formerly to the Eaftern Merchants very magnificent and large, but run to Ruin; here were preferved, feveral Sorts of Mufical-Inftruments, not known now-a-days. The Hejfen Houfe has been none of the worft in former Time. The Water which they make ufe of in Brewing, is conveyed hither from Herental, at leaft thirty Miles, by Means of a Canal. This City produces alfo many great Collections of Picures, and fome of the beft Miniature, done by Gonfol; of that kind I faw one curious Piece, done by thirty five feveral Mafters.
8. I went from Antwerp to Brufels by Water, changing Boat five times, by Reafon of the many Locks and Sluices, the Country abour Bruffels being 200 Foot higher than Antwerp. There is a Place calis ${ }^{2}$ d Fontaine, about five Miles from Brufels, where three Rivers crofs one another, and one of them is carried over a Bridge. The Market-place of Brufels is a long Square, having the Town-houfe 'at one End, and oppofite to it the Royal Palace, near which the Counts of Egmont and Horne were beheaded. On the Top of the Townhoufe you fee the Statue of St. Nicbael, the Patron of this City, in Brals. In the Church of the Carmelites, the Altar is a very noble Piece, and near the Church ftands a Statue of a Boy piffing, which ferves inftead of a continual Conduit. We alfo took a View of the Armory, which was well furnifh'd formerly, but has now only fome few Remains, fuch as the Armour of Cbarles V. of the Duke d $d^{3}$ Alva, of the Cardinal Infanta, and fome few others, and divers Bucklers curioully wrought ; the Sword of Cbarles V. wherewith he ufed to make the Knights of the Golden Fleece ; and fome Banners taken at the Battle of Pavia from Francis I. Before the Court of the Palace ftand five Brafs Statues, and on one of the Towers a Bird pierced with an Arrow, in Memory of the Shot which the Infanta Ifabella made. The Park has very pleafant Walks, fet with Trees, and intermingled with Grotto's, Fountains, and Water-works ; one Piece comes near to Frafcati, imitating the Sound of all mufical Inftruments, by a Kind of perpetual Motion. But what is moft furprifing in this Park is, the Echo, which makes ten or twelve diftinct Replies. The Church of St. Gudula claims the Preference for Bignefs ; and two Chapels here are worth the Travellers Obfervation; in one of which is prefented the Hoft, which bled when ftabb'd by the $\mathfrak{J}$ eres. The Dominican Church is famous for the Monuments of the Duke and Dutchefs of Cleve, in Corintbian Brafs. The Beguines, or pious Maids, (a Kind of Nuns) of which there are near 800 at Brufels, have alfo a very fair Church, which is milk-white, and lately built. The Englifb have alfo a Nunnery here. There were at that Time above 300 Houfes fhut up, infected with the Plague, and marked with this Token,

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Which made me haften away; fo that after I had dined at the Fih-Tavern, (noted for its Pictures)' I re. turned to Antwerp, and travelling the $4^{\text {th }}$ of Oifober,

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through an open Country, I took up my Quarters at Molin brufle, and entring the Country of Liege the 5 th, arrived the 6 th at Maefricbt, a fltong City, fituated upon the Maes, four Leagues below Liege. It is chiefly confiderable for its Out-works, the Wall itfelf being old. To remedy the Inconveniency arifing to the Town from an adjacent Hill on the S. E, Side, they have made an Horn-work within a Musket-fhot of it, and a high Baftion anfwering to it, covers the Town. Under this Hill is one of the beft Quarries of Stone in the World. On the other Side of the Maes is a Suburb called the Wicke, rather ftronger than Maeßfricht, unto which it is joined by a Bridge of nine Arches. The Country on that Side is flat : The Houfes of Maeflricbt are none of the handfomeft ; yet the Town-houle is a ftately Structure, ftanding in one of the Piazzas; in another Piazza flands the Great Church. This Town was taken by the Spaniards in 1632 . October the 7 th, I pafs'd through Gallop, and came the fame Night to Aken, Aix la Cbapelle, or Aquijgronum, famous for its hot Baths. From hence I purfued my Journey to $\mathcal{f u} u$ liers, but being late, we pafs'd by it, leaving it to the Right. Not far from this City runs a fhallow but fwift River, called the Roer, at the Confuence of which with the Maes is Roormonde, the capital City of the Spanifb Gelderland, feated upon a rifing Ground.
9. Cologne, Collen, or Colonia Agrippina, anciently the chief Seat of the Ubii, who firft-inhabited the Country of Bergues, were infefted by the Germans, and, implo. ring the Protection of the Romans, were by them placed on the other Side of the Rbine, and fettled in this Place by Agrippa Lord Lieutenant of Gallia, and was afterwards named Colonia Agrippina, in Honour of Agrippina Daughter of Germanicus, and Wife of Claudius, whofe Birth-place it was. It may for Extent vie with any City of Germany, and is fortified to the Land-fide with two high Walls and two deep Trenches, and beautified with feveral Rows of pleafant Trees, and fecured on the Side of the Rbine by a Wall of Stone; but its greateft Strength confifts in fome Out-works, Halfmoons and Ravelins. The chief Streets are broad, and paved with broad Stones. Maternus, who was prefent at the Ccuncil of Arles, was their Bifhop at leaft 1350 Years fince. Great Part of the Town is taken up with Churches and Monafteries, many of them very well endowed, there being to moft of the Houfes of the Canons and Prebends, large Gardens and Vineyards. The Church of St. Kunibald lies on the North Side of the Town; but the Convent of the Dominicans is a very fair modern Structure. The Fefuits Church is full of rich Ornaments; and that dedicated to St. Gereon (who was martyr ${ }^{\circ}$ d thereabouts in the Time of Maximianus) contains above 1000 Saints Heads. In the Church of St. Urfula you fee her Tomb, and thofe of ir,000 Virgins flain by the Huns. The Tomb of Urfula has this Infcription:

Sepulcbrum Sancia Urfule indicio Columbe deteitum.
Upon many of thofe Tombs were old Croffes and Lamps. The Church is alfo full of the Bones and Heads of Martyrs. The Cathedral of St. Peter is a large Structure, but remains unfinifhed. Within the Body of the Church are four Rows of Pillars, and the Choir is very handfomely built; behind it are fuppofed to be the Tombs of the three Wife Men of the Eaft, or the Kings of Arabia, commonly called the three Kings of Cologn' Milcbior, who, as they fay, offer'd Gold, Gofpar Frankinfence, and Baltbafar Myrrhe. They relate, that their Bodies were firft tranflated to Conftantinople by Helena, the Mother of Conftantine the Great; from thence to Milan by Eastorfus their Bifhop, whence they were removed above 500 Years ago, viz. 1164. to Cologn, by Rainold Bifhop of this Diocefe. All the Canons of this Church muft be Noblemen. Upon one of the Ruins in the Street, you fee a Tomb made of one Stone, of which Kind many more are to be met with in other Places of this City. Of thefe I faw a great Number at Arles in Provence. The Townhoufe is an elegant Strufure; on the Front of which
is a Man in Baffo reliero, engaged with a Lion, who, as they relate, was a Burger-mafter of that City, that having exafperated the Clergy againt him, upon fome Difference, they fent in a Lion upon him, whom he flew upon the Spot. The Elector of Cologn, who is alfo their Archbifhop, has two Palaces here, but by Agreement is not to flay above three Days at a Time. It is a free Imperial City, notwithftanding which it does Homage to the Elector,

The Inhabitants are generally Roman Catbolicks, and the City, by reafon of the vaft Number of Convents, Churches, and Reliques, is filed the Rome of Germany. However, the Luttberans have a Church within the Precinct of the Walls, and the Colvinifts another at Mulbeim, about two Miles below it, on the other Side of the Rbine. Jutt oppofite to Cologne is the Village of the Dutz, inhabited chiefly by Yeros. They fpeak but a Kind of odd High-Dutch; but to recompence this, the Latin and Frencb are much in Ule here. It was made an Univerfity in 1388 , and has four very good Hofpitals, two for young and old Perfons that are infirm, and two for the Sick. After we left Cologne, we were drawn up the Rbine by Horfes, and lodged the fame Night at a fmall Village, near which Fulius Cafar made his Bridge over the Rbine.
io. We came the next Day to Bonne, the ordinary Refidence of the Elector of Cologne. It was formerly called Castra Bonnenfa, as being the Station of the fixth Legion in Winter, in the Time of Tacitus. The Archbifhop's Palace is a noble Edifice, ftretching a good Way into the Rbine. We took our Quarters this Night at the Foot of one of the feven Hills near the Rbine, moft of which have old ruined Caftes upon them. On the 15 th we pafs ${ }^{\circ}$ d by a very pleafant Inand, with a Convent in it ; we faw allo the Convent at Remagen, built upon a Rock, and fortified with round Towers, and came the 16 th in the Morning to Andernach or Antenacum, one of the Roman Fortreffes upon the Rbine. Some affirm, that this was the Birth-place of Caligula, and that Valentinian was buried near it. There are divers Mineral Springs hereabouts. The City is only fortified with an old Wall. The Waterpaflage being grown tedious, we hired a Coach to Coblentz, and paffing through a very agreeable Country, planted with Wallnut Trees, and in Sight of two of the Elector of Treves's Country Houfes, we crofs'd the River Mofelle, over a very fine Bridge, fuftain'd by thirteen Arches, built in 1344, by Archbifhop Baldwinn. We went immediately to the Convent of the Dominicans, very agreeably feated upon the Banks of the Rbine; the Prior of which being in our Company, he would needs keep us with him all Night, and entertained us with an handfome Supper, and excellent Mofolle Wine. Coblentz or Confuentia, is fo called, from its Situation at the Confluence of the Rbine and Mofelle, which make two Sides of it, the Third being a noble Fortification, aftes the modern Way, from one River to the other, which makes it of a triangular Figure. It has an old Wall within the Works, and is under the Juriddiction of the Elector and Archbifhop of Treves, as is likewife the Caftle of Hermanfein, (Hermans ferna) by fome called Ebrenbreitstein, built juft over acainit it on the other Side of the Rbine, being join'd to Coblentz by a long Bridge. At the Font of a Rock juft underneath this Cattle, you fee a very noble Palace belonging to the Elector, having two very large Wings, and a Fort with five Pavilions, facing the Rbine. Not far from Coblentz, the Cartbufians have a Convent pleafantly feated upon a Hill.
Oitober the Iyth, we continued our Voyage upon the Rbine to Boppart, a wall'd Town upon the Weftern Bank, an ancient Fortrefs of the Romans, known by the Name of Bodobriga.
The 18th, we dined at St. Goar, a Place upon the River, under the Jurifdiction of the Lantgrave of Heffe, who has a Cafte here. On the Outfide of the. Wall of the Town is faftned a Collar of Brafs, given, as they fay, by Cbarles V. It is the Cuftom, that fuch Strangers as come afhore here, mult put their Knees into this Collar, when they are ask'd, Whetber they woill bo

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Jprinkled with Water, or Beer, or Wine? If they are for the Wine, they muft give an Entertainment of Wine to the Company. The Queen of Sreeden paffing by that Way not many Years before, had prefented them with a great Silver Cup, which they commonly drink out of. The 19th, We purfued our Voyage to Baccbarach, famous for its excellent Wines; under the Elector Palatine. Hence we pafs'd by a very old Caftle, fituate upon a Rock in the Middle of the Rbine, called Pfalts, becaufe hither formerly the Princeffes $P$ alatines were fent to be brought to Bed. The next Day we paffed along with a rapid Stream, which is very dangerous by Reafon of the many Rocks that lie under Water; and a little above it we had a full Sight of a round Tower, on a Rock in the Rbine, commonly call'd Moufe-Tower, built by Hatto, Archbifhop of Mentz, who having at a Time of general Scarcity invited a great Number of Poor to prefent them with Corn, inftead of relieving, fet Fire to the Barn in which they were enclofed, and whilft they made lamentable Cries, he faid, Hear bow the Mice fcream. Soon after, being perfecuted with Rats and Mice to that Degree, that he was not able to abide in his Palace, he built this round Tower in the Rbine, but being alfo profecuted thither by the Mice, he miferably ended his Days. Not far above it, upon the Weftern Bank, you fee the Town of Bing or Bingium, an ancient Roman Fortrefs upon the Rbine, at the Conflux of that River, and the Navus or Naw, over the laft of which is a very fine Stone Bridge. It belongs to the Elector of Mayence. From Bing we fet forward for Mayence, and in our Way at Rudeßbeim in the Rbine (fo famous for the Excellency of the Wine) we were fhew'd a Boy, whofe Hair was as woolly as any of the African Moors, but of a whitifh Colour; I took fome of the Hair along with me.

Mentz, or Mayence, Moguntia, by the Latins, is fituated juft below the Confluence of the two Rivers, the Main, and Rbine, over againft it ; extending in Length towards the River, abounding with Monafteries, Churches, and publick Buildings; but the Streets are narrow, and the private Houfes built after an antick Fafhion; the Country round it is extreamly fertile. Nayence claims the Invention of Printing, but may rather be faid to have brought it to Perfection. It is famous for the Defeat of the Roman Legions, under Varus, by the Germans, which happened near it; and Guftavus Adolpbus, the victorious King of Sroeden, made his publick Entry here, 163 I . in great Magnificence, and laid two Bridges, one over the Main, the other over the Rbine, the firlt of which is taken away fince, but the other remains in the fame Station. The Elector of Mayence is the firft in Rank of the Electoral College, and has his Place at the Emperor's right Hand in all publick Affemblies. But his Territories are not fuitable to his Dignity, being far lefs than thofe of Cologne and Treves; befides that, they lie fattering in the Palatinate and Franconia However his feizing the City of Erfurdt has been no fnall Addition to his Power; where he has built a Cittadel on St. Peter's-Hill, which ferves for an Inlet into Tburingia.

If. From Mayence we continued our Voyage up the Maine to Franckfort, an Imperial City, call'd TrajeCTum ad Mcenum, becaufe the Franks ufed to pafs and repafs here, whilft they made War upon the Gauls, and to diftinguifh it from Franckfort upon the Oder, an Univerfity belonging to the Elector of Brandenburgh. The City is very large, divided in two by the River, the leffer of which is called Saxon-Houfe, joined to the other by a fair Stone-Bridge, fupported by twelve or thirteen Arches. The Advantage of the River Main, which paffes by Bamberg, Scbweinfurt, Wurtzburg, and other Places, and is join'd by the River Tauber, and others of lefs Note, together with its running into the Rbine, renders this City very commodious for Trade, as may be feen at the Time of the two great Marts kept there every Year, in March and September, when there is an incredible Concourfe of People of all Nations, who buy and fell their Commodities, but efpecially Horfes and

Books, though at other Times the Bookfellers have little Bufinefs here.

In Saxon-boure is a Palace, belonging to the Knights of the Teutonick Order, which is a Sanctuary for Debtors and Criminals; for fourreenD ays. Abundance of Jews live in, and frequent this Place they are diftinguifh'd from the Chriftians by their Habits, which is a Ruff for the old Ones, a Bonnet for the younger Sort, and a peculiar Head-drefs for their Womèn. We continued our Journey from Franckfort through the Bergftraet, and paffing by Darmfacit, travelled through a very fruitful Country, full of Wall-nut Trees, Vines, Corn, and Tobacco in fome Places. Coming to Heidelberg, we pafs'd the River Neccar or Necarus, rifing in the Sylva Martiana or Black Foreft, and continuing its Current through the Duke of Wittenberg's. Dominions, joins its Waters with the Rbine at Manbeim. It paffes by Sultz, Tubingen, Stutgard, Hailbrun, Heidelberg, and divers other noble and famous Cities.
12. As for the City of Heidelberg, its Situation is betwizt a River and a Ridge of Hills; extending from Eaft to Weft, which makes it unfit for a regular Fortification. It was made an Univerfity, in 1346 : It was taken by the Spaniards in 1620. when the famous Library that was preferved there in the Great Church, was carried to Rome, and added to the Vaticank Library, where I faw it in I664 on one Side of the Gallery, oppofite to that of the Duke of Urbin's. This Church, as well as that of St. Peter, contains many beautiful Monuments of the Palatitue Family and other Perfons of Note. The French have a Church here as well as the Lutberans; the laft of which is call'd the Church of Providence, and the Elector, though a Calvinift, laid the firft Stone of it: The Electoral Family are now Papifts.

The Town-Houfe is remarkable for its Clock, which has feveral Motions, and reprefents feveral Figures of Men, fighting of a Cock, $\mathcal{E}^{\circ} c$. when it Atrikes. The Elector's Stables are near the River-fide, but one half of them has been ruined in the laft German Wars, as well as the Statues that were on the Outfide of the Caftle; which being upon an Eminency has among other Things a very large Tower, formerly call'd Truizkayjar or Defiance to the Emperor, the Name of which is fince changed into that of the Star-fort. Near it is a beautiful Garden, adorn'd with Grotto's; Caves and Water-works. But the moft remarkable of all are the Cellars, replenifhed with Veffels of Wine, of a more than ordinary Size, among which, that commonly call'd the Tun of Heidelberg furpaffes the reft, built in 1664 , containing near 200 Tuns; inftead of Hoops it is made with large Knee Timber, like the Ribs of a Ship, well carved and painted, and fupported by Pedeftals likewife carved. On one Side is a Stair-cafe forty three Steps high, leading up into the Gallery, which is on the Top of this great Veffel.

There is a folitary Place not above a Mile from Hei. delberg, where you fee three very fine Springs come forth out of the Mountain, and after they have fill'd five Ponds, and paffed through three Cafcades or Falls, carry fo ftrong a Stream through the adjacent Plains, that they turn four Mills within a fmall Diftance one of another. It is call'd the Wolfs Fountain, from a certain Princefs, who, as they fay, was torn to Pieces near this Place by a Wolf. At Heidelberg I was vifited by two Englißmen, Mr. Villers and Timotby Middleton. Thefe belonged to a certain Monaftery call'd Lobensfeldt; poffeffed formerly by the Fefuits, but befow'd fince upon the Engli/h, who, to the Number of about an hundred, leaving their Native Country, in 166 r , fertled themfelves with their Families in this Convent, a few Miles from Heidelburg. They call'd themfelves Cbristian Feres, maintain'd a Community of many Things, did not cut nor fhave their Beards, and obferved many other Ceremonies enjoin'd in the Old Teftament. Their Head was then one Mr. Poole of Norwich.

Whillt I was at Heidelberg, I took a Turn to Spires, and afterwards to Maabeim. The firft (fuppofed to be Urbs Nemetums of the Ancients') is fituate in a Plain near
the Weftern Banks of the Rbine. The Swedes, in the laft German Wars, demolifh'd it. The Epifcopal See is under the Juridiction of the Archbifhop of Mayence; it is well built, and has feveral good Churches. In the Cathedral, which is beautified with four large Towers, the Roman Catbolicks, Lutberans and Calvinifts preach in their Turns at different Hours. It is very populous from the the vaft Concourfe of People which attend their Law Suits here. The Imperial Chamber, which was by Maximilian eftablifh'd at Worms, being fince removed to Spires, in which, not only private Caufes, but alfo the Differences betwixt the Princes of the Empire, are determined without Appeal. Manbeim lies at the Conflux of the Rbine and Neccar, which, from a Village, is in a few Years encreafed to a Town, with large fair Streets, walled about and defended by a very ftrong Caftle or Fortrefs. I faw the Model of a Palace the Elector is building, and in that Part which is already built, are many good Pictures, and among the reft, a Landfkip, with the Hiftory of the Swifs Confederacy.
13. In our Way from Heidelberg towards Nurenberg, we travel'd along the Neccar in rocky Ways to Mojpach; the fecond to Poxberg, where we faw nothing but an old Caftle ; and the fame Day came to Merkentbal, or Mergentbeim, the Refidence of the Grand Mafters of the Teutonick Order. It is a very well built Town, with a handfome Piazza, which has a Fountain in the Centre, and a Statue of one of the Grand Mafters of this Order, with a long Corridore from the Palace. This Order took its Rife under the Emperor Frederick I. who, in his Expedition againft the Holy Land, being accompanied by many Gentlemen of Germany, in Emulation of the Knights Templars, entred into an Order, which being approved by Pope Celeffine III. they waged afterwards War againft the Pagans inhabiting Prulla and Livonia, and fubdued them; of which they remain'd Mafters, till they were at firtt difpoffers ${ }^{3} \mathrm{~d}$ of thefe Countries by the Poles, and afterwards by the Swedes; fo that there is nothing remaining now of this Order, but a few Commanderies in Germany. They wear a plain black Crofs on a white Mantle ; and the Dignity of Grand Mafter (who takes Place of all the Bifhops) is generally beftow'd upon one of the firft Rank among the Princes of Germany.

As we pals'd by Lauterbach, we faw a Church, a very noble Structure, on the Top of a high Hill, where the Pilgrims perform their Devotions in great Numbers. The next Place we came to was Rotenberg, an Imperial City, fituate near the Head Spring of the River Tauber; which, after it has pafs'd by Rotiengen and Landen, falls into the Main near Wertbeim. We lodg'd that Night at Burgperner, paffing the next Day by Scbantzbach, came before Night to Nurenberg. This City may very well claim the Prerogative of being the faireft in Germany; molt of the Houfes being built of Free-ftone, very high, and many of them painted on the Outfide, and adorned with gilded Balls on the Top; they are generally fix or feven Stories; and though the City is at a good Diftance from any navigable River, and fituated in a barren Country; yet is it very populous, the Induftry of the Inhabitants being fuch, as to be accounted the beft Artificers in Germany, in Steel, Brais, Ivory, and Wood, which creates a vaft Trade here, and retains it.
The three chief Churches are, the Hoppital Cburch lately built; that of St. Larerence, which is famous for its Bignefs, with two Steeples in the Front; and that of St. Sebald, which excels the reft. Here you fee a wooden Crucifix fo carved, as to be valued at an exceffive Rate: Without the Church is another of black Wood. In fhort, as the Lutberan Religion is exercifed here in its full Pomp, fo this ftately Church, and efpecially the Pulpit, which is excellently carved and gilt, may challenge one of the firft Places among thofe of that Religion. Every Morning Half an Hour is fpent in this Church in reading certain Paffages out of the Scripture by the Prieft, before he preaches to the People. The Senate-Houfe is worth the Notice of any Traveller; the Hall is very fpacious, and the Chambers lofty, and adorn'd with many good Pictures,
the Floor being paved with Stones gilt, and internix'd with feveral Colours. In one of thefe Chambers you fee the Picture of moft of the Great Perfons of Germa$n y$, that were entertained in the Halls; another of the Three Brothers of Saxny ; an Elephant painted to the Life; a Piece of St. Fobn, a nother of St. Mark, and two more of St. Peter and St. Paul, both done by $A l$ bert Durer ; but that of Adom and Eve, by the fame Hand, exceeds all the reft, with this Infcription:

## Albertus Durer Alman faciebat pof Virginis partum, I50\%.

There is alfo another very rare Piece, of St. Luke drawing the Picture of our Saviour, and the Virgin Mary. As you enter the Shambles, you fee a large Ox carved in Wood, and painted over, with this Infcription:

Omnia babent ortus fuaque incrementa, fed ecce
Qucm cernis, nunquam Bos fuit bic, Vitulus.
The Caftle of Nurenberg is feated upon a Hill. The Emperor's Picture, his Chapel, a very fine Well, and other Pictures of the Electors, are very remarkable. They fhew'd us alfo the Armour of Hebbele van Gailleingen, a famous Sorcerer in thofe Parts, and the Print of his Horfe's Feet in the Wall of the Caftle; from whence, as they tell you, he leap'd with his Horfe over the Town Ditch. They were then bufy in making a new Fountain; I muft confefs, that the Brafs Statues intended for it, were excellent Pieces: The Sea Horfes were of a very large Size, and the Sea-Nymphs exceeded the ordinary Stature of Women: The Statue of Neptune, defign'd to be fet on the Top, was above ten Foot high.

The fmall River Pegnitz paffes through the City, near which are feveral Stone Bridges; below it joins with the River Rednitz, that unites its Waters with the Maine at Bamberg, which laft falls afterwards into the Rbine. The River Rednitz has its Rife at Weifenburg, at no great Diftance from the River Altmul, which falls into the Danube not far from Ratisbon. This Conveniency induced Cbarles the Great to endeavour a Communication between the Rbine and the Danube ; but after he had advanced about two German Leagues in this Work, his warlike Employments, and fome other Difficulties, made him give over his Defign.
14. Not above four Leagues from Nurenberg is $A l$ torff, a Town under their Jurifdiction, with an Univerfity erected in 1623 . They have here a very handfome Phyfick Garden, containing above 2000 Plants. The Anatomy School is not very large, yet has feveral Skeletons, of a Hart, of a Horfe, of a Man, and of a Bear, bigger than a Horfe; befides fome very ancient Pictures, as that of Mofes, and of a Ninivite. Dr. Wagenicyl (whofe Brother travell'd with me from Heidelberg) Profeffor of the Civil Law and Hiftory, fhew'd me alfo a good Collection of his own, of Rarities and Coins, which he had gather'd in his Travels through Europe. In the Univerfity Library I faw a fair Hortus Eyfetenfis, and Youngerman's Collection of Plants, by his own Hands.
Leaving Nurenberg, we paffed through Newmark in the Upper Palatinate, belonging to the Elector of Bavaria; and the next Day by the Way of Heinaw, fubject to the Duke of Nervburg, to Ratisbon, anciently called Augufta Tiberii, and Colonia Quartanornm, from the Fourth Italick Legion, which had their Quarters affigned them here, as being the chief Place belonging to the Romans on thofe Frontiers. Some are of Opinion, that Tiberius fettled a Colony here in the Year of our Saviour's Paffion; but it owes its chief Increafe to the Emperor $A r$ nulpbus. Near it the River Regen falls into the $D a$ nube, whence the Germans give it the Name of Regensburg. It has a Bridge of Wood below the Town, and another of Stone, the faireft that is to be feen upon the Donube, being fupported by fifteen Arches. It is an Imperial City, and tolerably well fortified, and has many ftately Buildings, both private and publick. The Cathedral of St. Peter is a very fair Edifice, on the

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South-fide of which you fee the Picture of St. Peter in a Boat, and on the oppofite Side the Apoftle's firft Miffion. In the Piazza ftands a fmall but very neat Church ; the Convent of St. Paul, another of St. Emerammus, Bifhop of Ratisbon, and a celebrated Saint in thofe Parts: Albertus Magnus, who was alfo Bifhop of Ratisbon, has made no fmall Addition to its Fame. But the chief Glory of this Place is the Diet, or General Affembly of the States of the Empire, which is call'd together here. Upon this Occafion the ViceMarhal is obliged to take Care that Lodgings are provided for the Perfons that are to appear there; that Provifions may be brought thither in Plenty, and fold at a fet Rate; that the Place of the Affembly be adorned fuitable to fo great an Occafion, and the publick Safety be not violated.
In this Place I entred that famous River the Danube, which beginning to be navigable in Suabia, paffes by Donawert, Newburg, and Ingolfadt; it is increafed by the River Licus, or Leck; by which the Commodities of the famous City of Augsburg are tranfporied into it. From Regensburg we pass'd the firft Day to Tbonarefiein, (Danube-ftone) where is a Caftle feated upon a high Rock, and thence to Pfeter, famous among the Ancients, by the Name of Vetera Castra, now an inconfiderable Place. The Boats made Ufe of upon the Danube are generally flat bottom'd, and broad at the Head and Stern ; there is an Apartment for Paffengers in the Middle, and they have very large Rudders, the better to command the Boats where the Current is fwift. The next Day we paffed by Straubingen, a wall'd Town belonging to the Elector of Bavaria; and the fame Afternoon by Swartz, where we faw a Church upon a Hill, much frequented by Pilgrims; we lodg'd that Night at Deckendorff, near which the River Ifer, or Ifara, after having paffed by Land/but, Frifing, and Munchen, (the ordinary Refidence of the Elector of Bavaria) falls into the Danube.
T'bur day, being November the I5th, we pafs'd by Wiffoven to Paffar, Pafforia, or Boiodurum, a handfome City in the lower Bavaria, formerly known by the Name of Caftra Batava among the Romans, who had fettled a Colony there. It is compofed of three Towns, viz. Illfadt, Paffow, and Instadt, and feated at the Meeting of the three Rivers, the Inne, the Danube, and the Iltz. It has feveral very fair Churches, amongft which that of St. Stephen exceeds the reft. The Bifhop's Refidence is a Caftle built upon a Hill; his Revenues are very confiderable, Part of which arife from the great Lead-Mine at Bleyberg in Carintbia. It was, not many Years ago, almoft laid in Afhes, by an accidental Fire, and as moft of the Streets have been rebuilt fince after the Italian Manner, fo this City may now juftly claim to be inferted in the Number of the ten confiderable Cities upon the Danube, viz. Ulm, Ingolfadt, Ratisbon, Paffaw, Lintz, Vienna, Presburg, Strigonium, Buda, and Belgrade; the eight laft of which I had the Opportunity to fee, before the End of my Journey.

Juft by a Wall, oppofite to the Great Church at PafSarw, ftands a very large Head cut in Stone, the Mouth being two Spans wide, and the reft proportionable. In the River Iltz, which comes from the North, they find Abundance of Pearls: And the noble River Inne coming from the South, and paffing by Infprung, is augmented by the River Saltz, (upon which ftands the City of Saltzburg) difcharges itfelf with great Force into the Danube, being the largeft Stream that hitherto had joined that River. The River Inne rifes among the Alps in Tyrol. The 16 th we arrived at Liniz, the Capital of the Lower Aufiria, not fo confiderable for its Bignefs as Neatnefs, the whole Town being built of a white Free-fone, and the Market-place very facious and handfome. The Caftle lies upon a Hill, and is fortified after the modern Way. It has a Bridge alfo over the Danube. When Solyman the Magnificent befieged Vienna, this was the Rendezvous of the Imperial Army. It was befieged by 40,000 Peafants in Ferdinand II's Time but relieved by Pappenbeim. Somewhat below Lintz, the River Draun, which rifes out of the Genmunder Sea (or Lacus Felicis) joins irs Current with the Danube.

The $177^{\text {th }}$, we pals'd by Embs, or Anifa, fituated up-
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on the River Anifus or Onafus, which rifing near the Frontiers of Saltzburg, and being augmented by the River Saltza, upon which ftands Maria Cell, noted for Pilgrimages, divides the Higher and Lower Aufria, and then falls into the Danube. Hereabouts ftood the ancicent Lauriacum, a Roman Garrifon, where a great many Roman Coins and Antiquities are found. On the North Side of the Danube we faw a Seat of the Earl of Leicbtenfeyn, near the Village of Greim. Not far below this Village are two dangerous Paffages in the Danube, called the Strudel and the Wurbel; the firft is a Place where the River being forced among the Rocks; fome under, fome above Water, the Waves are broken, and render the Current rapid and troublefome, requiring a great deal of Skill to pafs through the Ledges of the Rocks, efpecially when it is low Water ; the fecond is a Kind of Whirlpool, where the Current being forcibly repel'd by a great Rock, turns round with much Violence. Hard by, on the Top of a craggy Rock, you fee a large Crofs, and at the Foot a Chapel dedicated to St. Nicbolos, who being look'd upon as Patron and Protector of fuch as have pafs'd fafely this Way, a Boat comes thence to receive fuch Prefents as the Paffengers are willing to give. We took up our Lodgings this Night at Ips, on the South-fide of the Danube ; oppofite to which is Befenbeug or Usbium Ptolomei. Two German Leagues below lps lies Pecblarn, believed by fome to be the old Arlape, where the River Erlaph falls into the Danube. A Mile and a half lower you fee Melcke, formerly the Refidence of the Marqueffes of Aufria, which was thence removed, firft to Leopold, and afterwards to Vienna. The City is built along the South-fide of the River ; the Monaftery of the Benedicitines is feated upon a high Hill; has very great Endowments, and many Monuments of great Perfonages, and among the reft the Tomb of St. Colman. We dined at Steyn, where is a ftately Bridge over the Danube. Near to this lies Crembs, a walled Town, and on the oppofite Side Maitern; not far from whence is the rich Monaftery called Ketwein.- A little beyond it the River Traifn, or Tragifama, comes from the South. Afterward we pafs'd by the famous Town of St. Pold; and taking up our Quarters that Night at Sc. Eldorff, went the next Day by Tbuln, Stockerau, and Cloister Neuburg, fafely to Vienna.
15. Vienna, called Wien by the Germans, and Beach by the Turks, is the capital City of all Aufria, fituate in $43^{\circ} 20^{\prime}$, differing not much from the Latitude of $P a$ ris, the Seat of the Archdukes of Auftria and the German Emperors. According to ancient Geographers, this City belonged to the Upper Pannonia; the Limits of Pannonia extending as far ha Kalemberg, or Mons Cetius, about fix Miles to the Weftward of Vienina; beyond which all that lies more Weftward, betwixt that Mountain and the River Inne, or Oenus, which falls into the Danube at Paffaro, was anciently called Noricum.

Several of the Roman Emperors, and efpecially Marcus Antoninus Pbilofopbus, have made themfelves famous by their great Actions againft the Marcomanni and Quadi; the laft of which, after he had routed thefe Nations, fell fick at Carnuntum or Petronel, and died at Vindobona now Vienna, fituate upon the South Shore of the Danube; which is the Reafon, that at feveral Times, but efpecially in 1662 , many Romon Antiquities have been found hereabouts; the laft was a Kind of Coffin containing hard Earth and Bones, with a fmall Gold Coin, a Glafs Urn in a Brafs Cafe, an Iron Knife like thofe ufed anciently in Sacrifices; a little Roll of pure Gold, clofed with a Golden Cover at both Ends, with an Infcription; which, according to Lambecius's Opinion, was in old Pannonian CbaraEters. Not far from the Monument itfelf, which was under the Foundation of a Wall near the old Palace, they found a Head in Brafs, a Patera, Lamps, Lachrymatories, and other Veffels of the fame Metal, and a Copper Coin of Antoninus Caracalla.

This City is not feated upon the Channel of the $D a$ nube, but only upon a Branch thereof, of which there are feveral that make divers fmall Inands. - The River Wien (which has imparted its Name to the Place) pafles by the Eaft-part of the City, and below it falls into the

Danube

Danube: Its Floods ofien do confiderable Mifchief to the City, though at other Times it is fo fhallow and narrow, that one may ftep over it: It divides Part of the Suburbs from the Body of the City, the former are very fpacious and full of fine Houfes, Gardens, Walks, and other Conveniencies. The Body of the City is well fortified, being feparated from the Suburbs by a fair Efplanade, defcending in an open Ground for 300 Paces. Its Fortifications are after the modern Way, composs ${ }^{\circ} \mathrm{d}$ of ten Baftions to the Land-fide, and a very deep Ditch, which though it be kept continually dry, for Fear the Water fhould fpoil the Cellars, which are very deep here, yet they can let the Danube into it at Pleafure. It has two Baftions toward the Water, on the North-fide of the Town. The Baftions are very large, the whole Fortification of a great Breadth, well faced with Brick, and edged with Free Stone. Befides, which it has an old inward Wall, built with the Ranfome of our King Richard I. who was detain'd Prifoner there, in his Return from the Holy War.
The whole Circumference, Suburbs and all, takes up a great Tract of Ground; but the Fortifications of the City don't exceed three Englijh Miles, but is exceeding populous, nothing being more deligheful than to fee Turks, Tartars, Greeks, Tranfilvanians, Sclavonians, Hungarians, Croatians, Spaniards, Italians, Frencb, Germanss Polanders, all in their own Country Habits. It has fix Gates, viz. I. The Stuben Gate to the Eaft. 2. The Carintbian Gate to the South. 3. The Cafle Gate. 4. The Scotch Gate. 5. The Nero Gate. And, 6. The Red Tower Gate, to the Northward, leading to the 'Bridge over the Damube; befides which there is a Port by the Emperor's Palace, towards the Water-fide: There is a certain Nunnery in the Town, call'd Himmel Port, or the Gate of Heaven. The five firft of thefe Gates are vaulted through the Town-Wall, with convenient Draw-Bridges to pafs the Ditch. The fixth is a Paffage under a Tower, towards the Bridge of the Danube:' For as that River runs through a low Country, it divides itfelf into feven fmall Channels, which are join'd by as many Bridges made of many thoufand Trees laid clofe one to another. There is a very remarkable Bridge at Vienna call'd the High Bridge, made by the croffing of two Streets by equal Angles; but the Ground in one Street being equal in Height to the Tops of the Houfes of the other, they have been forced to build a Bridge or Arch in the lowermoft Street, to let the upper pafs over it. For the reft, the Houfes here are of Stone, for the moft Part fix Stories high, and flat-roof'd after the Italiain Manner.; the Streets are of a middle Size, neither broad nor narrow: Their Cellars are worth a curious Traveller's Obfervation ; in fome of them I found four Cellars one under another, well arched, with two Pair of Stairs to go into them. In fome I obferved an open Space in the Middle of each Roof, for the Reception of the Air, and from the loweft a Tube, to convey the Air into it out of the Street, much after the fame Manner as they do in the Mines.

I can't here pais by the Encomium Eneas Sylvius gives of Vienna; viz. Tbat it bas Palaces fit for Kings, and Cburches wobicb Italy may admire: Which is much better verified now. For the Imperial Palace is a truly noble Structure, and excellently well furnifh'd; it has two Courts, one very large, the other lefs, where the Emperor's Lodgings are. Over the Gate you fee no other Infcription but the five Vowels in Capital Letters, viz. $A, E, I, O, U$; which fome have interpreted thus: Aufric Eft Imperare Orbi Univerfo; though I am apt to imagine, that this is not the true Senfe of thefe Letters. There is befides the two before-mentioned Courts, another fmall one, where are the Lodgings of the Pages; where I took Notice of a large rough 7 fapis Stone, of about nine Fcot Diameter, which lay unregarded upon the Ground, though a little Piece that was polifhed, fhewed that it was full of beautiful yellow, red, black, and white Veins: It was a Prefent of the Archbifhop of Salizburg, in whofe Territories are noble Quarries, and Stones of feveral Sorts. Next to this the Palace of the Count de Draun, and that of Count Rotbal, lately built; with feveral others, are very confiderable. This City
has alfo noble Churches, and rich Convents; as for Inflance: Thofe of the Carmelites, of the Francifcans, of the Benedidtines, and of St. Nicbolas : In the Church of the laft I faw the Tombs of Count Strozzi and Cardinal Harracb. The Convent of the Dominicans is a very fair Structure: The Church of the Auftin Friars is very large, and has in the Middle a Chapel, the Model of which was taken from the Holy Houfe of Loretto; the Top being adorn'd with many Colours taken from the Turks and Tartars, various of which were not fquare, but Efcutcheon-wife, fome full of Circles, with Halfmoons within them.

The Jefruits Colleges are all very fair and fpacious here; the Front of their College, which faces the Hiazza, has a Statue, or Column of Copper, belonging to it, which ftands in the Centre of the Market-place, refting upon a Pedeftal of white Stone, with four Angels, Efcutcheons, and the bleffed Virgin on the Top: It has alfo divers Infcriptions, by which the Emperor dedicates AuAria to her Patronage and Protection.

When I came into the Sootch Convent, it raifed no fmall Curiofity in me to know how the Scotch became fo confiderable here, till I was inform'd, that Vienna had been many Ages ago a Receptacle of the Scots, in their Pilgrimages to ferufalem; and that Colman, a Saint in high Veneration in thofe Parts, was not only a Scotchman, but alfo defcended of the Blood Royal of Scotland, and barbarouny murthered by the Peafants at Stockerou, four German Miles from Vienna; who hung his Body on a Tree, where it remained uncorrupted a Year and a half, and after many Miracles was buried at Stockerou, and from thence removed firt to Melk, and afterwards into Hungary, where it was preferved for a long Time after at Alba Regalis, or Stulweiffenburg. The Church of St. Peter is highly efteem'd for its Antiquity, being the oldeft in the City, and built in the fame Place where ftood before the Altar dedicated to Domitian, called Ara Flaviana.
In the Cathedral of St. Stepben are many fumptuous Monuments of Princes, and other great Perfons: It is a very noble Fabrick, but none of the higheft, by Reafon of the Paintings of the Glafs Windows; it is covered only with Tiles of Wood, yet makes no ill Shew. But what is moft worth Obfervation, is the Steeple and Spire, high, large, ftrong, and nobly built: It has on the Top, inftead of a Weather-cock, a Crofs under a Star and Half-moon, well gilded : This Star and Half-moon was, as they relate, put upon this Spire by Order of Solyman the Magnificent, who when he had befieged the City, offered to fpare the Cathedral, provided they would fet upon the Top the Turki/J Arms, viz. the Half-moon and Star ; which the Citizens comply'd with. This Spire has the largeft Crockets I ever faw, being above a Yard long, and adorned with Foliage Work. The Steeple is accounted 465 Foot high : I went up half Way by $33^{8}$ Steps; whence I could fee the Hamburger Hill, near Prefourg, and the Courfe of the Danube through a great Part of Aufria.
In the Room where I was, they had wooden Hammers, which they make Ufe of from Good-Friday till Eafter-Sunday, the Ufe of Bells being forbidden during the Time our Saviour was in the Grave. In the latt Siege the Crefcent on the Top of the Steeple was fhot down, and has not been put up again there. Near one of the Doors of the Church is a Stone fix'd into the Wall, which they believe to be one of thofe wherewith St. Stepben was ftoned to Death: It looks like a Pebble, and is very fmooth, by the frequent Rubbing of the People, who touch it with their Fingers when they go to Church.
I was hewn a nother Stone, which they faid, was one of thofe that kill'd St. Stepben in St. Saturnine's Church, at Thouloufe in France. Befides many Monuments of great Perfons, which are in the Church of St: Stepben, there are alfo feveral Tombs of Men famous for their Learning, as of Fob. Faber, Bifhop of Viemna; Fo. Cufpiviamus, and Sebafianus Tengnagelius, the laft of which, according to the Infcription, was verfed in fifteen Languages.
The Univerfity of Vienna may alfo challenge the Preference before moft others, in Refpect of its Antiquity, the Number of Students, their Accommodations and Privileges, Albertus the Third is reputed the Founder,

# Chap. V. through Austria, Bohemia, Moravia, $\theta_{0} c$. 

above 300 Years ago; who diftinguifh'd the Students into four feveral Divifions or Nations, each of which, befides the General Conftitutions, had their peculiar Rules and Privileges; they were Auftrians, Nations of the Rbine, Hungarians, and Saxons.

To the Auftrian Divifion belonged thofe of Friuli and Irent, all Italy, and other Provinces beyond the Mountains. Under the Nations of the Rbine were comprehended the Suevians, AlJatians, Franconians, Heflians, and the other Provinces, France, Spain, Navarre, Holland, and Brabant To the third Clafs of the Hungarians, are joined the Bobemians, Moravians, Sclavonians, and all that ufe the Sclavonian Tongue, as alfo the Germans. To the Clafs of the Saxon Nation, belong the Saxons, Weftpbalians, Tburingians, Mifnians, Brandenburgers, Pruffans, Livonians, Lufatians, Pomeranians, with the Ultramarine Kingdoms of England, Scotland, Ireland, Sweden, Norway and Demmark.

As in thefe feveral Divifions all Europe is comprehended ; fo it muft be confefs'd, that there are in this Univerfity Students of many Nations, who fometimes, when any Differences arife among themfelves, ftand up each for their refpective Divifions; but are fure to unite together, if any Contentions happen betwixt the Students and the Citizens, or Jews. As for their natural Philofophy, they have not yet attain'd to our new Way of explaining Things, by Corpufcular Morions, and Experimental Philofophy; though fome of them were very inquifitive after our Royal Society, as well here as at Altorff; and I have been folicited even from Caffovia in Upper Hungary, to fend the Tranfactions of our Society thither : A manifeft Sign, that if they were once lead into the Path of our modern Philofophy, they would without all Queftion follow our Footfeps. For the reft, they are well verfed here in Languages, Hiftory, and Antiquity.

I remember I was prefent here at a publick AnatomyLecture of a Woman, which lafted nineteen Days perform'd by Dr. Wolfftregel, a learned Phyfician. I obferved the Pyramidal Mufcles to be very plain and large, and the Uterus of a Size larger than ordinary ; the Cartilago Enfiformis was double, and the Lungs very black. The Motions of the Eye were very nicely fhewn by an artificial one of Ivory, and another of Paftboard, contrived and made by himfelf; and after the Diffection of the Mufcles of the Pbarynx, Larynx, Os Hyoides, and the Tongue, he reduced them with an admirable Dexterity into their proper Places, to difcover their natural Pofition. The Anatomy-Theatre was capable of holding a hundred Perfons.
16. This Univerfity has, among other Privileges, the Power of Life and Death, in refpect of their own Members. But what gives the greateft Luftre to this famous City is the Refidence of the Emperor Leopold, born in 1638. His eldeft Brother Ferdinand, King of the Romans, dying before his Father Ferdinand III. Leopold fucceeded in the Empire, and married Margareta In fanta of Spain, the Daughter of Pbilip IV. He is the Darling of his People, and equally beloved both by the Soldiery and Clergy. He is of a grave, but graceful Afpect, and has the long Chin, and remarkable Lip of the Family of Auftria. He is well verfed in the German, Italian, Spanifh, and Latin Languages; and as he takes Delight in Reading, fometimes for feveral Hours together, to he is always forward in countenancing learned Men. He alfo delights in Mufick, and frequently compofes himfelf; which makes all the Church-men, and others, encourage Mufick and Muficians. The Emperor himfelf has excellent Mufick, both Vocal and Inftrumental, in his Palace, and fome of his own Compofitions are play'd in his private Chapel, where eight or ten Pages of the Emperor, Earls Sons, ferve at the Altar, with white Torches in their Hands, whilft the Eunuchs are finging.

His Recreations abroad confift chiefly in Hunting, efpecially the wild Boar. The young Nobility formerly ufed to encounter a wild Boar, fometimes a fingle Perfon alone, but fince the unfortunate Accident that happened to Count Nicholas Serini, who was kill'd by one of thofe Creatures, the Huntfmen are always at Hand, when
the Boar is at a Bay, that the Emperor, or others there prefent, may the more fafely kill it. There are grear Numbers of thefe Creatures hereabouts, their Flefh being a common Difh at Vienna, and of a delicious Tafte; for they feed upon Acorns, Beach-maft, and Chefnuts, and upon the Sprouts of Broom, Juniper, and other Shrubs, as alfo upon the Roots of Fern; they will fometimes leave the Forefts, and range in the Corn-fields and Vineyards. It is the Huntiman's Bufinefs to keep a watchful Eye over them; and they are fo fkilful in that Game, that by the Tread of their Feet, and canting their hind Feet out of the Track of their Fore-feet, they will tell you, whether it be a wild Swine or tame Hog; nay, whether it be Male or Female, Young or Old, Lean or Fat, $E^{2} c$.

The Emperor,' as he is a good Huntiman, fo he takes a great Delight in Horfes: He has a very fine Stable fill'd with manag'd Horfes, brought from Turkey, Tartary, Poland, Iranfylvania, Germany, Bobemia, Hungary, and Naples. It was fomething furprizing to $\mathrm{me}_{\text {s }}$ to find in an inland City fuch confiderable Magazines of Naval Stores, as I found at Vienna: Thefe are employ'd in the Fleet upon the Danube againft the Turks; being a kind of Gallies, carrying great Guns, and a confideras ble Number of Soldiers, befides Seamen. They are laid up behind one of the Baftions of the City, and fome of them are kept at Raab and Comorra.

The Imperial Court was at this Time compofed of many wife Counfellors, great Generals, and refined Courtiers; fuch as, Eufebius Wenceflaus, Duke of Sagan. Prince Lobkorwitz, Lord High Steward, chief Minifter and Favourite of the Emperor, being the Perfon who difcovered the late Hungarian Revolt, for which Count Peter Serini, and Nadafti, paid with their Heads. Henry William Count Stabrenberg, Marhal of the Court, Fobn Maximilian, Count Lamberg, Lord Chamberlain, who has near a hundred Gentlemen of the Bed-Chamber under him, all Barons and Counts: They wear a Golden Key upon the Breaft, as the Grooms of the Bed-Chamber wear one of Steel : Two of each attend every Night. Gundaker, Count Dietrichstein, Mafter of the Horfe. Count Zinzendorff, chief Hunts-Mafter. The Count of Averberg, chief Faulconer, who has twelve others under him. . The Count de Paar, Poft mafter-General. Leopold Wilbelm, Marquis of Baden, Captain of a hundred Hartbires, who are a kind of a Horfe-Guard of the Emperor's Body, arm'd with Piftols and Carabines, without the City; but within, the Foot carry Launces and Javelins with broad Points. Francis Auftin, Count Walleftein, Captain of a hundred of the Emperor's Foot-Guard of his Body. Sixty Pages, moft of them Counts and Barons. Raymund Count de Montecuculi, who has fignaliz'd himfelf in Po land, Hungary, and Germany; the Emperor's General, Prefident of the Council of War. Next to him was Count Soucbes, a Native of Rocbel; and his Son Governor of Leopolfadt. Count Lefly, Nephew to Count Lefly, who was fent in the Quality of Ambaffador to the Port from the Emperor, is alfo look'd upon as one of the beft Commanders the Emperor has: Befides a great many other brave Officers, who have fhewn their Valour upon a thoufand Occafions; fo that though the Emperor never takes the Field in Perfon, yet has he been very fuccefsful in his Wars, efpecially againft the Iurks. The Courts of both the Empreffes are filled with Perfons of great Worth. Among the Clergy, and Men of Learning (of which the Emperor is a great Lover,') the 'Fefuits, Moelner, and Boccabella, are the chiefeft. And to fum up all, it is certain, that Vienna is the moft likely Place for any Foreigner, whether Soldier or Scholar, to make his Fortune, provided he be of the Roman Catbolick Religion.
17. It will perhaps be furprifing to fome, that upon the utmoft Limits of the learned Part of Europe, the Emperor is Mafter of a Library, which both for the Number and Value of Books, gives Way to no other Library in Europe. The wort is, that the Receptacle is not fuitable to fo valt a Treafure; for though it is divided into eight fpacious Rooms, in which the Shelves ftand fo clofe, that there is farce an eafy Paffage left
betwixt
betwixt them, yet many Books lie upon the Ground. The Manufcripts have their peculiar Places, diftinct from the printed Books, and are divided into fix different Claffes, viz. Theological, Yuridical, Medicinal, Pbilofopbical, Hiforical, and Pbilological. The Manufcripts of Hebrew, Syriack, Arabick, Turkih, Arnienian, EEtbiopick, and Cbinefe Books, are without Comparifon the beft Collection that is to be found.

The choiceft Books of which this Library is compofed, (which has been collecting ever fince the Time of Maximilian I.) are : The famotis Library of Buda, of Mattbias Corvinus, Son of Huinniades. The choice Library of Wolfgangus Lazius; as allo 3000 Books of Fobannes Sambucus. Augerius Busbequitis made a confiderable Addition to the reft; and in his two Turkey Embaffies, bought a great many choice Greek Manufcripts at Conftantinople, which are mark'd thus with his own Hand, Aug. de Busbeck. emit. Constantinopoli. There was alfo a confiderable Number added out of the Library of the learned Fobannes Cufpinianus, the Emperor's Library-keeper: And the noted Libraries and Mathematical Inftruments of Tycho Brabe, Kepler, and Gafjendus, were purchafed for it.

But the greateft Addition of all was made by that noble Library of Count Fugger, which confifting of 16,000 Volumes, was purchafed by Ferdinand the Third. Befides which, the learned Peter Lambecius, the prefent Library-keeper, Hiftoriographer, and Counfellor of the Emperor, has brought hither the choiceft Books out of the Library of Infpruck; and himfelf is Mafter of a moft excellent one of his own, which will in Time be added to the Imperial Library. I had it from his own Mouth, that there were at leaft 80,000 Volumes in this Library, which are encreafed by the Acceffion of other Books, which are purchafed, efpecially in the Turki/b Dominions, where the Emperor keeping a conftant Refident, no Opportunity is let nip to buy up any good Greek Manufcripts in their Convents. I remember myfelf, that when I was at Lariffa in Thelfaly, the Refident, Seignior de Cafa Nora, was continually enquiring after Greek Books in their Monafteries, the prefent Emperor fparing no Coft to purchafe them; and were it only for the Number of Books, it is certain, that by the Right the Emperor has of having two Books of whatever is printed in Germany, this Library might foon increafe to a vaft Number.

As Lambecius conferred on me a thoufand Obligations, fo he was fo kind as to give me a Sight of all the rare Copies in this Library, among a vaft Number of which, I took an Account of the following: A Letter in the Cbinefe and Tartarian Language, from the Emperor of Cbina, to the prefent Emperor Leopold, weaved in a.very fine Roll. Another Roll written in an unknown Character, but moft refembling Greek. A Book in the Runick Language. A very fair Manufcript of Ptolemy, the Maps colour'd. A Copy of Livy, the moft ancient Manufcript extant, a thoufand Years old, in large Letters, without Diftinction of Words or Sentences, brought hither from the Infpruck Library. A very fair Manufcript in Greek of Diofcorides, 1 roo Years old, in large Characters, without Diftinctions of Words or Accents; the Plants finely painted; with the Pictures of Diofcorides, Galen, and fome other noted Phyficians. Two Books of Geometrical Propofitions demonftrated in the Cbinefe Language; whereof one with Pictures. An old Greek Manufcript in great Letters, without Diftinction of Words or Accents. A Greek Manufcript 1300 Years old, of the Book of Genefis, without Stops or Accents. It contains forty-eight Draughts in Miniature, or Water-colours, relating to the Habits of the Ancients, to the Manner of their Feafting, their Poftures at Meals, Attendance of Servants, and Mufick. Among other Things, the Execution of Pbaraob's Baker is worth Obfervation, his Head being thruft through a forked Piece of Wood, and his Hunds tied behind him. A Book of Painting in Miniature, by Albert Durer; and a Sphere wirh a Globe within it, carved and painted by the fame Hand. A Book of Micbael Angelo; wherein befides many Raricies in Architecture, all the Paintin'gs and Defigns of the Belvedere are feen in Miniature. A very fair Al-
choran in Arabick, with the Turkifb Explication interlined betwixt it. A Bible in the Coptick and Perfian Languages. Lutber's Bible, with many Notes, written by his own Hand. A fair Greek Manufcript of the New Teftament, written with Golden Letters upon Purple 1500 Years ago. A Magical Glafs of the Emperor Rudolpbus. Sixteen thoufand Pieces of ancient Greek, Roman, and Gotbick Medals and Coins, in Gold, Silver, and Copper. They pretend to have two Copper Coints of the Emperor Marcus Otbo. Being willing to add a few Drops to this Ocean, I prefented fome Coins, Intaglia's, and Infcriptions, not to be found in Gruterus's Great Work; which I met with in the remoteft Part of the Emperor's Dominions; which being fhew'd to his Imperial Majefty by Mr. Lambecius, he was fo well pleafed with them, that he not only permitted me the Ufe of what Books I defired, but alfo granted me a free Pafs, in Latin, through the Empire, exempting my Goods from being fearched;-which is no fmall Conve niency, in a Country where a Traveller is to" pafs thro' fo many different Jurifdictions.

After I had taken a full View of this Library, I thought I could not beftow my Time better than in vifiting alfo the Repofitory or Collection of Rarities made by the Care of many fucceeding Emperors; in viewing of which, I fpent feveral Hours; but fully to fet down all the rich and magnificent Curiofities I faw here, is much beyond the Compafs of this Treatife, (the Catalogue which is kept of them taking up a large Volume in Folio) fo I will content myfelf with meritioning only a few of the beft out of a great many, from whence the Reader may be able to give a Judgment of the reft. The Whole is divided into fourteen Cafes or Cupboards.

1. Contains many curious Veffels turn'd out of Ivory, Cups of Amber, Spoons, and other Veffels, of Mother of Pearl, fine Works of Coral, a Galley of Ivory, and two Cups, one turn'd by the prefent Emperor's own Hand, the other by Ferdinand III. Several Cups of the Rhinoceros's Horn. In the 2d; An Elephant with a Cattle, and many other Rarities of Workmanthip on his Back. Two fine Pillars all of Ivory, with Baffo relievo, and other Varieties in Ivory. A. Picture in Oil of Ganymede, by Corregio. In the 3d, An old Man's Head in Oil, by Albert Durer ; vaft Varicty of Watches and Clockwork ; a fine Centaur in Silver. The 4 th, Alfo contains Watches and Clocks; a triumphant Chariot; a Turk of Quality with his Attendance ; a Landfkip and a Cupid, by Corregio. In the $5^{\text {th, }}$ Are Variety of curious Works in Filegree, brought from Spain and the Indies; and a Bafon of Agate finely wrought. The 6 th, contains an excellent Collection of Intaglia, and old Roman Stones, of ineftimable Value for their Workmanfhip and Bignefs. - A large Agate, on which is wrought the ViEtory of Augustus Cefar over the Dalnatians and Panronians; it is five Inches long, and four broad, of a very high Value; befides feveral Heads and Figures cut in Onyx's, Shells, and Sardonyx's; and a Chain with the Heads of the whole $A u$ Arian Family. In the 7 th, Divers Pieces of Mother of Pearl, curiounly wrought. The Head of Maximilian I. in Plaitter-work, with a Lock of his own Hair, and the Twelve Cefars Heads. Another Head, excellently well done in Oil, by Han's van Ach. In the 8th, A Veffel made of one Piece of Chryital, of a Yard and a half high; an Urn; feveral Hands, with other Chryftal Works. The gth, Has a very noble Ewer of Chryftal, and another noble Veffel; many curious Croffes, and other Varieties. The Ioth, Containing five rich Crowns; the Imperial Crozon adorned with precious Jewels, and a large blue Sapphire on the Top. A Model of the Croron wherewith the Emperors are crown'd, much exceeding in Value the Original. A Paragon Diamond, weighing I7 $\frac{1}{2}$ Carats. Several very large Rubies. A Sceptre made of Unicorn's Horn, fet with precious Stone. A Locket made of very large Diamonds. A moft magnificent Sceptre, Globe, Crols, and Crown, valued at 200,000 Crowns. An Opal as big as one's Fift, as it came out of the Mine, with many other very fine Opals, and a very large Emerald. In

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the IIth, A Golden Bafon, ufed at the Baptifm of the Aufrian Family. Divers Golden Sceptres, Scimeters, Knives, and other Prefents from the Ottoman Court. Three rich Dog-collars, fent from England, with this Mark DCDC. A great Piece of pure Gold, of the $^{\text {C }}$ Bigners of one's Fift, as it came out of the Mine. Another Piece of Gold Ore, where you fee the pure Gold fhooting forth upon a white Stone ; befides divers other Bafons of Gold, and Veffels of Coral. In the 12 th, Great Store of Veffels of Fafpis, Agate, Lapis Lazuli, Oriental Granates, Cups of Onyx and Sardonyx, one very great one of an Ametbyt, and divers very large ones of Lapis Nepbriticus. In the 13th, Are divers Flowers made out of precious Stones. A large high Veffel of Bobemian Topaz. A Cup made of an Hungarian Diamond. A Piece of Ambergreafe of the Bignefs of a Man's Fift. A very fine Fajpis Stone. A large Agate Stone on the Outfide, and a Bed of large Ametbyts naturally in it in the Middle, which is look'd upon as a great Rarity. In the I 4th, Are many noble Chryfolytes; Jacinths, Oriental Granates, Beryls, and Aquamarines. A very rich Emerald, or a Cup of that Stone ; three great ones having been already taken out, valued at 300000 Crowns. Grear Numbers of Gold Veffels, and rare Figures in Coral; Turkiß Knives, Gauntlets, E®c. fine Wax-works, large Bezoar-ftones; a Golden Medal of the Emperor's Arms, worth 1000 l. Sterling, a Cup faid to be taken out of Solomon's Temple; a moft curious Bafon and Ewer of carved Ivory; King Pbilip 1I. of Spain in Diamond Armour, fet in Gold; a curious Picture of an old Man courting a young Woman, with this Motto :

## Arctum Annulum nè gestato.

'A very fine Crucifix of Pearl; the Buff-coat of Gufavus Adolphus King of Sweden, in which he was kill'd near Lutzen; all the Gofpel written and painted; the Head of King Cbarles I. King of England, in Marble.; Priefts Garments fet all over with Pearls ; an ineftimable Agate Difh, betwixt three and four Spans Diameter, in which you fee in natural Characters $X R I S O S$ : Unto which may be fubjoin'd that mott magnificent Chain of Pearl taken from Count Teckley in the late Hungarian Wrar, as I have been informed fince.

One Day I had the Curiofity to walk up the Hill which lies two Engli/b Miles from Vienna, from whence I had a full Profpect of the City and Country, as far as to the Mountains of Styria, covered with Snow ; and in my Return took a View of the Emprefs Dowager's Houfe without the Town, call'd la Favorita.
18. Two Englijb Miles to the Eatt of Vienna are the Gardens of Rodolphus II. which are fomewhat ruinous now. They confift of an inward and outward Garden, the inward being about 200 Paces fquare, much of the fame Bignefs as the Place Royal at Paris. It has a Cloifter fupported by forty Pillars of white Stone on each Side; and is covered with Copper, as are alfo the Pavilions. In certain other Buildings they keep Lions, Tigers, and other wild Beafts, which breed here. Some fay that Solyman the Magnificent pitch'd his own Tent in this Place, when he befieged Vienna.

At two or three, Miles Diftance from thence, is a Place called Arnols, whither many Devotees go on Pilgrimage, efpecially in Lent, with heavy Crofles on their Shoulders. Here you fee a Houfe, the Model of which is taken after the Holy Sepulchre of Ferufalem, with a very curious Copy of the Picture of our Saviour and the Virgin Mary, at full Length ; the firlt is exactly fix Foot high, the laft two or three Fingers Breadth lower. They are done after the Original in St. Jobn de Lateran at Rome. I faw one Day the Emperor and Emprefs go thither on Foot, the Road being very dufty, and were followed by the greateft Part of the Court. Somewhat nearer to the City, is another Place call'd Itzing, likewife much celebrated for Devotion. In the Road from Vienna to it, the twelve Stations of the Crofs are marked out in the fame Manner as is obferved in the Via Dolorofa, near Jerufalem, in Memory of our Saviour's going to the Mount Calvary. The Em-

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peror has a very fine Park juft by Vienna, with a Houfe of Pleafure in it: I alfo took a View of Luwenburg, a Houfe of Retreat alfo belonging to the Emperor; it is an old Structure, not very large; there is alfo a Sum-mer-Houfe, built in the Middle of a Pond, and an Octagon in the Marfh, from whence they let frequently fly at the wild Beafts. Over the Emperor's Palace Gate you fee a Rib and Jaw-bone of an extraordinary Size, which they told me were human Bones, but appear'd to me more like the Bones of an Elephant.

From this Place I took a Progrefs to Mannerddorff; fituated near the River Leyta; famous for the Bath, call'd the wild Bath, over the Spring of which is built a Church: The Water being only Luke-warm, they boil it, and fo bath in Tubs: That being judg'd beft; from what fticks to the Sides of the Copper when it is a Boiling; it feems to be impregnated with Sulpbur, Saltpetre, and Cbalk: The Water leaves a Turquois Colour upon the Stones, and the Vapours, which condenfe and adhere to the Roof and Sides, give it a Tincture of Gold. The Phyficians of Vienna have publifh'd a Treatife in Higb-Dutch of this Bath:

From hence I went to the Neweidler-Sea, or Lake, which is three German Leagues broad, and feven long, abounding in Fifh, and is encompals ${ }^{\circ}$ d with a great Number of fmall Towns and Villages: It has got its Name from Nerefiedle, a Town fituated on the North-fide of it, with a Caftle upon a Hill. Near this Place is a black Earth, of which they make Saltpetre. Afterwards I proceeded four Englijb Miles up the Danube, to the famous Quarry of Altenburg. The Beds or Rows of the Stones don't lie horizontally; but elevated to the North, yet follow the Shape of the Hill in their Situation. I found here a Subitance between a Clay and a Stone, call'd by them Liverfone; upon many of which you fee the Figures of Trees and Leaves, but not fo plain as in thofe of Florence.
I pafs'd by Cloifter Newburg, a Town belonging to a rich Monaftery of the fame Name. Upon one of the Peaks of Calenbergh, before-mentioned, live certain Hermites, call'd Camaldulenfes, a very fevere Order, living upon nothing but. Herbs and Roots. Near their Cells they had paved the Ground with thofe figured Stones. It being now near December, the Branches of the Danube were frozen over, and the Ground being covered with Snow, afforded good Paftime for the Ladies, who at this Seafon take their Recreations in handfome Sledges in feveral Shapes, viz. Grifins, Tygers; Swans, Dolpbins, Scallop Sbells, \&xc. In one of thofe Machines the Lady is feated richly attired in Velvet, lined with rich Furs, adorned with Laces and Jewels; and Velvet Caps lined with Sables. The Sledge is drawn by one Horfe, adorn'd with Plumes, Ribbonds; and Bells ; and as this Paftime is commonly performed in the Night Time, the Footmen ride on Horfeback with Torches, the Gentlemen fitting on the Sledge, behind the Lady, to guide the Horfe.

Cbristimas they celebrate here much after the fame Manner as in Italy. On Cbrifmas-Day the Emperor dines in publick. Upon St. Stephen's Day he went to the Cathedral, where he kneeled upon the Altar, and kifs'd the Plate whereon the Hoftio had lain. On Twelfth-day they celebrated at Court the old Cuftom of choofing King and Queen; and the Lot falling upon Count Leflie to be King, the Emperor laid the Cloth, and the Emprefs fill'd out the Wine. Not long before Cbriftmas, I faw the Solemnity of the Marriage of Count Serau, with a natural Daughter of Pbio lip IV. King of Spain, where I could not but be furprized at the Splendour in which the Ladies appear'd upon this Occafion. Not long after I faw alfo a very pompous Funeral, the Corps of Count Draun, which was brought from Italy, being interr'd in the Dominican Church, and a very fumptuous Castrum Doloris was raifed, fet round with a vaft Number of Wax Torches and Candles.

During my Stay at Vienna, the Election for a King of Poland being at Hand, after the voluntary Abdication of King Cafmir, there paffed Meffengers daily through Vienna. The Czar of Mufcovy's Son, the

9 E.
Duke

Duke of Newburg and the Prince of Lorrain were Competitors for the Crown ; but the Poles thought fit to pitch upon Micbael Wijnoweitski, a Native of Poland, for their King. I faw alfo at the fame Time at Vienne, the Spanifh Ambaflador Don Baltbajar de la Cueva; the Pope's Nuncio was Carlo Caraffa. Befides which, the Venetians had their Ambaffador at Vienna, who folicited Succours for Candia, which the Turkija Envoy oppofed with all his Might. Much about the fame Time came an Ambaffador from the Cbam of the Crim Tartars, named Cba Gagi Aga, who prefented the Emperor with feveral very fine Tartarian Horfes, in Return of which he was regaled by the Emperor with fome Plate, a Silver Bafon and Ewer, and a very fine Watch for the Cbam. They were lufty, ftrong-limb'd Fellows, but very coarfe, their Habit long fur'd Vefts and Caps. They took a valt Quantity of Tobacco in very long Pipes.
19. Among the Greeks, who live and trade at Vienra, I was chiefly acquainted with three confiderable Perfons; one was an Abbot, who had been forced to quit his Convent for Fear of the Turks; another, who called himfelf Confantine Cantacuzenus, being defcended of the Royal Blood of the Cantacuzeni; the third was a Greek Prief, named Feremiab, who having travelled in Queft of a young Man, taken by an Algerine, and retaken by an Englijh Ship, through Italy, France, Germany, the Low Countries, and England, had retained a moft peculiar Kindnefs for the Englifb, who, he faid, had treated him more courteoully than any other Nation.

The Country about Viemna is fo fertile in all Things, that People live here in great Plenty; and if any Scarcity fhould happen, the Danube fupplies them from remoter Parts. Hungary, Italy, and Germany, furnifh them with fuch Varieties of Wine, that you may drink thirty feveral Sorts at any good Table in Vienna; neither are they deftitute of good Beer. Houltadt in AuAria affords them Salt, from whence the Emperor draws a vaft Revenue. Sheep and Oxen they have in great Plenty of their own, yet are they fupplied with the laft out of Hungary and the Grand Seignior's Dominions. Wild Boar is a great Difl with them, their Fat being as delicious here, as that of our Venifon. Neither do they want Hares, Rabbets, Partridges, Pheafants, a Fowl called in Latin, Gallina Corylorum, \&c. The Danube furnifhes them with vaft Plenty of $\mathrm{Fi}_{1} \mathrm{~h}$, fuch as Carps, Trouts, Tenches, Pikes, Eels, Lampreys of all Sorts, white Fifh, and large Creviffes, befides Fifh not known to us. Here you meet with the Scbeiden, the Silurus Gefneri, which exceeds the Pike, Salmon, nay, any of our River Fifh in Bignefs; but the biggert of all are the Haufons, called HuJones, by Fobnfon, being fometimes twenty Foot long. Some will have this to be the Fifh named Anacetus by Alian, which he fays is catch'd in the Ister. I faw them bufy in fifhing for them in the Ine of Scbutz, between Presburgh and Comorea, for they feldom come up hisher, it being fuppofed that they come out of the Euxine-fea. They are not unlike the Sturgeon in Tafte, and they eat them both frefh and pickled. It is full of Griftes, having a hollow nervous Chord down the Back, which, when dried, they ufe inftead of a Whip. When they fifh for them, they blow a Horn or Trumpet. Venice furnifhes Vienna with Oyfters, Sturgeon, and orher pickled Fifh, with Red-Herrings, Oranges, Limons, and other Fruits. They are much difpofed to Jollity in this City; nothing more common than to fee them dancing and fencing for Prizes on Holy-Days, and fpending their Time in Merry-making, which made me wonder that they have not a Company of Players belonging to them.

Their Way of executing Criminals is commonly done by cutting off their Heads; though in Cafes of High Treafon, they firft cut off the Right Hand, and next the Executioner ftrikes off the Head with one Foreblow. I remember I faw one executed in this Manner ; and no fooner was the Head feparated from the Body, but a Man ran fpeedily to catch the Blood, which gufhed out of the Neck, which he drank, and then ran as
faft as he could: They look upon this as a Remedy againft the Falling Sicknefs. I had heard of fomething like this in Germany before, and I well remember, that Celfus tells us, that in his Time, fome epileptical Perfons ufed to drink the Blood of the Gladiators ; yet moft Phyficians exclaimed againft this Remedy, and I did not ftay long enough here to learn the Effects of it.
At Presburgb they have an odd Way of Execution, (which is alfo in Ufe at Metz). They have an Engine framed in the Shape of a Maid, which the criminal Perfon is obliged to falute; but at the fecond Salute, fhe embraces him, and cuts him through the Middle.
It muft be confefs ${ }^{3} \mathrm{~d}$, that the Winters are very fharp here, but their Rigour is much mitigated by their fleeping betwixt two Feather-beds, and the Stoves they make Ufe of to warm their Rooms, as well here as in molt other Parts of Germany and the Northern Countries. The Citizens of Vienna are generally well clad, and wear Furs very much, and the Womens Bonnets, which they wear upon their Heads, are both lined and faced with fome Fur or other. The Climate is very healthful, yet have they an epidemical Difeafe, called Colica Aultriaco; among them, which is very difficult to be cured. In the Court and City they fpeak very good German, but the Country People fpeak fomewhat thick, and have a different Tone, and divers odd Words. I faw a certain Trick, performed at Vienna, which at firt Sight fomewhat furprifed me, viz. a middle fiz'd Man laid upon his Back, had a heavy Anvil fix'd upon his Breaft ; upon which two lufty Fellows, with great Hammers, gave at leaft a hundred Blows, till they had cut an Iron Horfefhoe, about half an Inch thick, afunder.

No other Religion but the Roman Catbolick is permitted the publick Exercife of Worfhip here, the Proteftants being obliged to go to Church as far as Prefburgh, forty Miles from hence; for which Reafon a Coach goes thither every Day, befides the Convenience of the Paffage by the Danube; the Exercife of the Proteftant Worfhip being frictly forbid here ever fince the Battle of Prague, the fame being allowed before in the Church of the Holy Gboft at firf, and afterwards at Arnolds, not above an Englifb Mile from Vienna In this City are Abundance of $\begin{aligned} & \text { Fews, } \\ & \text {, but thefe have their di- }\end{aligned}$ ftinct Habitations on the other Side of the Water. They are, indeed, permitted to traffick in a certain Street in the Day.time, but muft leave the City before Night. They have frequent Broils with the other Inhabitants, and more efpecially with the Students. Whilft I was there, thefe laft affaulted the Feros Town, where divers were killed on both Sides; the Confequence of which was, that many of the feros were to be banifh'd againft a certain Day. The Emprefs being then with Child, they prefented her with a Silver Cradle; but as fhe was their declared Enemy, fhe would not accept of it, and it was chiefly by her Means that afterwards thev were banifh'd, not only out of Vienna, but alfo out of all Auffria; for as they were ufful on one Side, for the Sale or Exchange of many Things, and ufed to furnifh the Officers with Accoutrements and other Neceffaries; fo on the other Hand, they fpoiled the Trade of the Citizens, and were accufed of holding a fecret Correfpondence with the Turks. The Fewijb Phyficians pretend to more than ordinary Skill in Urines, which makes the common People refort to them, and to look upon their Predictions as Oracles.
20. Being now refolved to take my Leave of Vienna, in order to my Journey for Prague, I took a Place in the Coach, which goes thither in fix Days in the Summer, and eight in the Winter. We pafs'd over the great Bridge upon the Danube near the Chapel of St. Bridget. After we had pals $s^{\circ} \mathrm{d}$ the River, we enter'd that Part of Aufria which lies betwixt the Danube and the River Tbeya, and travel'd in Sight of Cornenbergh, feated near the Hill Bifnebergh, which lies oppofite to Calenbergb. Hence we came to Stockerau, famous for the Death of St. Colman: It is feated at the Conflux of the River Mial and the Danube. From thence, by the Way of Gunterfdorf to Koldorff, which (though on the other Side of the River Theya) is reckoned the firf Village of Moravia, and fo farther to Znaim. It is ob-
fervable,
rervable, that in this Part of Aufria, which extends along the North-fide of the Danube, believed to be inhabited in former Ages by the Marcomanni and Quadi, chere are not any Towns of Note; the Romans having had their Stations and Colonies on the South-fide o that River. Yet is the Country well inhabited and full of Villages. I came in Sight of one of the chiefeft Places call'd Crembs or Cremona Aufria. Znaim is a good Place upon the River Tbrya; the common Boundary betwixt Moravia and Auftria, which, joining its Waters at laft with the River Mark, thereby opens itfelf a Paffage into the Danube. This Town is the Fourth in Rank among thofe of Moravia; Olmutz, Brun and Iglaw, being the other three.

We continued our Journey from hence over Ulverfkirken, Paulitz, and Moravian Budrocife to Zimmaro, and taking our Way through Byrnitz, came to Iglaw, upon the River Iglaw, a Place pleafantly fituate upon a Hill, on the Frontiers of Bobemia. Its Fortifications are very ftrong, after the modern Way, efpecially on one Side, and the Market-place is one of the largeft I ever met with. Moravia is a very plentiful and pleafant Country, being irrigated by divers Rivers, among which the Mora or Marck is the Chief; it rifes on the North-fide, and paffing through the whole Extent of the Country falls into the Danube near Presburgh. The other Rivers of Note are, the Theya, or Tbeyfa, the S'warta, the Scbwitta, which run into the River Marck.

2I. After we left Iglaw, we enter'd Bobemia, the firit Place we came to being call'd Stecken; thence to Teutcbin Broda, near the River Saczua, and fo further through Haberne to Fanikaw, famous for the Battle which was fought there, the 24 th of February, 1643. betwixt the Imperialifs and Swedes; the firft had the better of it at the Beginning, but falling to plundering, were defeated by the Swedes. In this Town I happened to meet with a Gentleman, who lived at Scbacklitz, not far from the Rifgeberg, or Mountains of Giants, fituate near the Head Spring of the River Albes or Elbe; I was curious to enquire of him, what he knew concerning the pretended Spirit of Ribenzbal, which they fay infects that Country, but I could get nothing from him that was fatisfactory; all what he told me amounting to no more than that he verily believed there was fuch a Spirit, but that he had not done any Harm thefe twelve Years laft paft. I have heard divers fuch Reports among the Mountains and Mines of Germany. Thus they talk of Spirits in the Silver Mines of Brunfwick, and in the Tin-Mines of the Slackenwalde in Bobemia, but they talk of them only.

From J̌anikarv we continued our Journey to Czaflare, the chief City in the Circle of that Name. This is reputed the Burying- place of $Z i f c a$, the famous Bobemian, General who forced the Emperor Sigifmund to quit that Kingdom. From Czafare, we came to Guttenberg, about twelve Englif Miles from Prague, a very confiderable Town, near the River Elbe, and famous for the Silver Mines about it. There are in all about thirty of them, but as the Hills hereabouts are not very high, fo the Mines are not fo deep as thofe in Hungary, and in fome other Places of Germany; however fome are almoft feventy or eighty Fathoms, and have been wrought at there 700 Years. I went into one of them which was firft digged, called the Cutten-Hill, (Cutten fignifying a Man's Garment) which has got its Name as they fay from a Monk, who found a Silver Tree there, which gave Occafion for the Digging of this Mine, which is no more than nineteen Fathom deep: The chief Vein of the Ore, which is about a Foor broad, runneth South. It contains both Silver and Copper, of the firft, a hundred Weight yields about an Ounce ; of the laft, eight, nine, ten, or more Ounces; though fome Ore contains eight or nine Ounces of Silver in the hundred Weight. When they meet with a blue Earth in Digging, they are in Hopes of good Ore.

From hence we pafs'd through Colline, and fo by the Way of Bobemion Broda (to diftinguifi it from the Teutonick Broda) came to Prague, the capital City, and
formerly the Refidence of the King's of Bobernia. I foon perceived, even at a Diftance, that the Walls of this Town enclofed a larger Tract of Ground, than any in Germany, but confiderable Abatements are to be made for the wide Spaces and Mills encompaffed within them. It is fuate upon the Moldou, a large rapid River, having its Source in the South Part of Bobemia, and, before it comes to Prague, being augmented by the Rivers Sarfa and Watta, and to the North of Prague by the River Egra, at laft empries itfelf into the Elbe. This great Body is divided into three Cities, viz. the Old, the Nere, and the Leffer City.
22. The Old Town is feated on the Eaft-fide of the Moldou, being the moft populous Place of the three: and confiderable for the Univerfity, frequented by a vaft Number of Students, this being the only one of the whole Kingdom, though it is not comparable now to what it has been. If we may believe Lerois du May, there were, in 1409, when Gobr Huss was Rector, above 40,000 Students ; and it is credibly reported among them, that when the Emperor Cbarles the IVth, would have retrenched fome of their Privileges, 24,000 Students left the Town in one Week, and not long after 16,000 more. This Part of the Town has alfo feveral Colleges and Monafteries, and among the relt the $\mathcal{F e}_{\ell}$ fuits, which is a very handfome one.

The New Town is of a very large Extent, encompaf: fing the Old Town, together with the River, being divided from it by a Ditch, into which they can let the River. The Irifh have a Convent of Francifcans here, and the Jefuits have likewife a noble College, They were then bufy in making fome Baftions, and a Citadel for the Defence of the Town, but they were not finifh'd

The Lefler Prague, is feated on the Weft Side of the Moldou. It is far beyond the Old Town in Pleafantnefs and handfome Structures, being join'd to it by a very ftrong Stone Bridge, of fixteen great Arches, the whole Fabrick 1700 Foot long, and 35 broad, with two high Gates, under two large Towers at each End. Part of this Town is built upon a rifing Ground, on the Top of which ftands Hartfcbin, or Upper Prague, where the Emperor has a Summer-houfe, and a moft magnificent Palace. In this Part of the City is alfo the Cathedral Church of St. Veit, containing many ancient Monuments. Moft of the Houfes of the Nobility are alfo in this Part ; among which the Garden and Palace of Coloredo excel for Neatnefs, but it is not very large. The Palace of Count Wallenfein, afterwards Duke of Friedland, General of the Emperor Ferdinand II. his Armies, is a very ftately Structure, built upon the Ruins of at leaft 100 Houfes, which were pull'd down for that Purpofe: The Hall is a very lofty and fpacious Room, and the Garden exceeding beautiful, on one Side of which you fee the Place where they ufed to manage his Horfes, with a noble Fifh Pond near it: On the other Side you fee the Aviary, beautified with Trees and a Garden; the Model being taken from the Aviary of Prince Doria at Gerioa. But what is moft furprifing are the large Stables, where you fee a Marble Pillar betwixt each Horfe; every Horfe having a Rack of Steel, and a Manger of Marble, fixd in a Nich of the Wall: Over the Head of each Horfe you behold his Picture, as big as the Life, with his Name under it. Thus a Bay-Horfe was named Monte d'Ore, a Mare Bella Donna, but his beloved Horfe's Name was Mas, Querido. The current Language of Bobemia is a Dialect of Sclavonian, though all the Perfons of Quality here, and not a few of the Inhabitants both in the City and Country, fpeak very good Higb Dutch. The Leffer Prague was furpriz'd by the Srevdifb General Koning fmark, in the long German War, who carried off an incredible Booty.

A Part of Prague being inhabited by Feres, is thence call'd the fews-Town. They are here in great Numbers, and deal chiefly in Jewels, and efpecially in thofe Stones that are found in the Mines of Bobermia. I bought fome Bobemian Topazes, very well cut, of them, at the Rate of feven or eight Crowns a Stone.

Fobn Hufs, and 'ferome of Prague, who endeavour'd to bring about a Reformation in thofe Parts 800 Years before Lutber, are not as yet forgotten among the Bobemians, who keep Silver Medals to the Memory of thefe two great Men; upon which Account I cannot help mentioning, what Eneas Sylvius, afterwards Pope Pius II. Fays of them two, viz. That John was more in Pears and of greater Autbority, but Jerome excelled in Eloquence and Learning; That they faced Deatb with unparallel'd Confency, finging Hymns in the Midft of the Flames. He adds, None of tbe old Pbilofophers fuffer'd any Kind of Death revith so couragcous a Temper, as these the Flames.
As the fame Author has made a Comparifon betwixt the City of Florence and Progue, I cannot forbear to give you my Obfervations upon this Head, which I made myfelf, both from the Top of the Domo at Florence, and from the Cathedral of St. Veit, on the Hill of the Leffer Towen. I found Prague to comprehend a much larger Compafs, and to be more populous than Florence. The Streets of the firft are much longer ; and the Windows of the Palace being of very fine Glafs, made a much better Show than the ragged Paper Windows of Florence: The River Arno, which paifes through this laft, bears not the leaft Comparifon with the Moldau at Prague; and the great Stone Bridge over this River, bears a full Proportion to, if not exceeds, not only any one, but all the four Bridges of Florence. The Emperor's Palace alfo upon the Hill is a very noble Structure. On the other hand, it muft be confefs'd, that the Cathedral of Florence, built of black and white marble; the Chapel of St. Lozerence, and the Great Duke's Gallery and Rarities, exceed any Thing I faw at Prague. Upon the White Hill near Prague was, 1620. November the 8 ch , fought the famous Battle betwixt the Armies of the Emperor Ferdinand II. and Frederick Elector Palatine, in which the latter was routed.
23. The Winter coming on, I would not go by Water to Hamburgb by the Moldau, which near Meinick falls into the Elbe; fo that being obliged to travel by Land, I left Prague and the Moldou to the Right, and pafs'd through Zagetbal, Welverne, and Budin, to Labafilz upon the Elbe. After having crofs'd the River Egra, (which arifing near the City of the fame Name, falls afterwards into the Elbe) I came by the Caftle of Kriegstein, feated upon a high Rock, thence to Aufig, a.fmall City, and fo by the Way of Nolndorff, and over the Mount Kninsberg to the Frontiers of Mijnia; taking our Way through Peterfwald, Hellendorff and Kijz. bel, near the laft of which are Iron Mines and Works. Having fpent nine Days by Coach, from Inglaw, on the Confines of IMoravia, to this Place, not reckoning my Stay at Prague, which is computed to be 200 Englifb Miles, the Ways being very bad in fome Places, efpecially in the Winter Seafon.
As we were going toward Dredden, I took a View of the Bobemion Rocks behind us, which refembled, at a Diftance, the Ruins of an old Wall; but could not be convinced of what moft Geographers have told us of Bobemia, That it is enclofed in a great Foreft, though it is not to be difowned, but that both within the Country, and in fome Parts near the Borders, there are confiderable Woods, believed to be Part of the old Sylvia Hercinia, or Hercinian Forest. The Bobemians have been at all Times a flout and warlike Nation; and though the common People are fomewhat rough, the Gentry are very obliging and polite. They abound in lufty and flrong Horfes, but fince their unfortunate Revolt, they have loft moft of their Privileges, and many thoufand Families have quitted the Kingdom.
We continued our Journey through Mifnia to Dreflen, one of the moft remarkable Places in all Germany, being the Refidence of the Electors of Saxony upon the Elbe, over which is a ftately Bridge, fupported by feventeen Arches. The Fortifications of the City are very ftrong, after the modern Way; the Baftions faced with Stone, furrounded in fome Places with a double Ditch. It has three Gates. The Things moft worth Obfervation are, The Italian Garden in the Suburbs, the Huntivg-boufe in the Old Town beyond the River, and
the Electoral Palace, with the Houfe for Wild Beafts; Stables, and Arrenal. The Hall in the Elector's Palace is very fpacious, and chiefly remarkable for the many Draughts of Cities, Pictures of Giants, and the Habits of feveral Nations, very well done.
But what is moft furprifing is, the Collection of Ra rities, divided into feveral Chambers. The firf contains all Manner of Mechanical Inftruments, made very artificially. In the other Chambers, thefe following are moft worth Notice: A Tube-Glafs four Ells long; divers artificial Works of Coral; Bowls and Cups made out of Mother of Pearl; Caftles of Gold and Mother of Pearl; a Cup made of a Stone taken out of an Ox's Stomach, of a Foot long; a Stone as big as one's Fift, taken out of a Horfe, refembling a Bezoar-fone; fome very pure Ore out of the Mines of Freiberg; a natural Crofs of the fame Ore; one hundred twenty one Heads carved on a Cherry-flone ; a Chryftal Cabinet, fold by Oliver Cromzvell; Cbarles II. of England, on Horfe-back, carved out of Iron; King Cbarles I. his Head; an Organ of Glafs; feveral unpolifh'd $\mathcal{T}_{0}$ pazes, ten Inches diameter; a Cup made of a Topaz; feveral Emeralds, an Inch in diameter, as they grow in the Rock.

Figures of Fih in Stones; the Stones dark colour'd, the Fifh of a Gold Colour; two large fine Pieces of pure Gold Ore ; a White Hart as big as a natural one, made of the Filings and Shavings of Harts-horn. Another Chamber contains all Manner of Matkematical Inftruments, and a Library of Mathematical Books and Maps ; an Unicorn's Horn, which they.affirm to be of a Land Unicorn, becaufe it is neither wreathed nor hollow. The moft remarkable Pitures, among a great Number, are, the Siege of ferufalem, by Colier, valued at a high Rate; two Nuns, by Lucas van Leyden; a Picture of Dr. Lutber. Here is alifo a rowling Bullet, to demonftrate a perpetual Motion.
Of Clock-works you fee a vaft Variety: A Cuckows finging, a Horleman- riding, a Ship under Sail, an old Woman walking, a Centaur running and fhooting, and a Crab crawling or creeping upon a Table; all done by Clocik-work, to the Amazement of ordinary Spectators. In the Stables, and Chambers thereunto belonging, you fee a noble Stable full of Horfes, each Horfe eating out of a Rack of Iron, and Manger of Copper. Near them is a curious Fountain and Pond, furrounded with Ballifters, where the Horfes are watered; a long Walk arched, and painted with very fine Horfes ; over which is a Gallery, with the Pictures of all the Dukes and Electors of Saxony, in their Electoral Robes and Military Habits; two Beds of Marble ; a Horfeman of Silver, bringing a Cup of Wrine in his Hand, moved by a Spring; a Pair of very fine Piftols, with Stories of the Old and New Teftament upon them; a Glafs Gun; a Gun, which difcharges forty Times without being charged again ; a Lock without a Cock. Another Chamber has many rich Sleds and Accoutrements, made Ufe of in the Winter-time upon the Snow. A White Bear's Skin ftuffed; Tigers and Lyons Skins ; a Cafforwares Skin; very fine Armour for Men and Horfes; a Picture of a Laplander; a Lapland Magick Drum; a Chamber full of all Sorts of curious Hunting Tackle and Arms.
The Arfenal is a long Square, a Building containing near 400 Brafs Pieces of Ordnance ; of Mufquets and other Arms a great Quantity ; divers Silver Coats of Mail, E'c. In the Hunting-houfe in the Old Town are maintained fifteen Bears; Fountains and Ponds are made here for the Conveniency of wafhing themfelves, in which the Bears much delight. Round the Pond you fee high ragged Trees or Pofts fet up, where the Bears climb up and down, and Scaffolds on the Top, where they fun and dry themfelves after they have been fporting in the Water. The Horn Gallery here is alfo worth taking Notice of; out of which you pafs through three Chambers, one painted with all the different Sorts of Hunting, the fecond with Fowl, and the third with all Kinds of Wild Beafts. In the Houfe where the Wild Beafts are kept, was a Marian, a four legg'd Beaft, which hangs on the Bows of Trees by the Tail.

## Chap. V. through Austria, Bohemia, Moravia, Egc. <br> A wild Mountain Cat of an extraordinary Size; five deemed the bef. This is melted in peculiar Furnace,

young Bears, five old black Bears; the Feet, Head and to feparate it from the Ore; fome of which yields Neck, longer than thofe of the black, but not fo thick; two Lions and ten Lioneffes.

The Italian Garden and Summer-boufe in the Suburbs, contained two noble Obelisks, two beautiful Fountains, Theatre and good Landfkips. They were built by two of the Elector's Eunucbs. It is not many Years ago fince Drefden has been made a City. The Revenues of the Elector of Saxony are very confiderable, arifing chiefly from his Impofitions upon Commodities, Excifes upon Beer and Silver Mines. The chief Church of Drefden is very fair. They are reputed to fpeak the beft Higb Dutch here, and throughout all Mifnia, which is a pleafant, fruitful and populous Country.

After I left Drefden, my Curiofity led me to Frieberg, noted for many confiderable Mines, which are within two Englißh Miles of the Place. Among thofe I took particular Notice of three; one call'd the Higb Hill,' the deepeft in thofe Parts, being Seventy feven of theirs, or Two hundred and eight of our Fathoms deep, which Depth exceeded any of the Mines I faw in Hungary. The fecond Mine I faw was call'd the Prince of Heaven, which not many Years ago, produced an Ore fo rich, that an Hundred Pounds weight afforded an Hundred and thirty Marks of Silver, or Sixty five Pounds in the hundred; but it is a conftant Obfervation among the Miners, that where the Veins are richeft and pureft, they are thinneft, and generally not above the Breadth of two Inches. The Ore, as it generally runs, ffords not one Ounce and a half of Silver in the Pound and they work it, if it holds above half an Ounce, which may feem fomewhat ftrange to thofe who know not, that even in the Silver Mines of Peru and Cbili, they will work the Silver Ore, which affords not above four or five Ounces; and the rich Ore in the Mines of Potof does not commonly produce above ten or twelve Ounces of Silver; though this Hill alone, if we may credit Alberto Alonfo, has produced in Silver fince it has been dug, betwixt four and five hundred Millions of Pieces of Eight. They have here feveral Ways of opening the Ore to prepare it for Melting ; as, by Lead, and a kind of Silver Ore which holds Lead.
The Sulphur Ore alfo which is found here, after its Calcination, proves no fmall Addition towards the melting of Metals; as likewife the Scblich, or pounded and waihed Ore, and the Scblaken, being the Drofs, Sediment or Scum, taken cut of the Vortiegel (Pan) which received the melted Minerals, let out into it at the Bottom of the melting Furnace. Their Treibhearth, or Furnace of Separatins, where the Litbarge is driven, which I faw here, is more like that defcribed in Agricola, than thofe I faw in Hungary. Some of the Litharge is Green: They walh the pureft Ore, and fuch as is mix'd with Stones or Spars ; and they have this Peculiar, that before they melt the Ore in the MeltingFurnace, they burn the pounded and wafhed Ore on the Roasting Hearth, as they term it. They make much Ufe of the Virgula divina or Forked Hazel, to find out the Silver Ore, or any other Treafure. I never faw them ufe it in the Mines of Hungary, where I was, but I took particular Notice of the Manner how they ufe it here ; yet as it is amply defrribed in fome Books, and is better feen than reprefented at a Diftance, I will not enlarge further upon that Subject.

The third Mine I vifited was call'd the Neckbreaker, about eighty of our Fathoms deep: The Ore it produces is either Copper and Silver, or Silver and Lead, and fometimes all three; but they work only for Silver I found the Mines cold as far as the Air could penetrate, but otherwife wârm enough. Where they are at the deepeft, they are full of Damps; but that which troubles them moft, is the Duft, which fettles upon the Lungs and Stomachs of the Miners. They have excellent Engines here to prevent the Inconveniencies arifing from the Water. But I muit not omit a rich Sulphur Ore, hard and ftony, that with red Spots being

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three Pound of Sulphur out of 100 Weight of Ore which as it melts runs out of the Eurnace into Water or the Exhalations of the Ore are condenfed into Brimftone, by the Coldnefs of the Surface of the Water placed to receive it. It is purified again, by melting it a fecond Time. Some of this Brimftone Ore holds Silver, fome Copper, but in very fmall Quantities: The Remnants, after Sulphur is feparated from the Ore ${ }_{j}$ is referved for a double Ufe; either for the melting of Silver, or the making of Vitriol. In the firt Cafe, a certain Proportion of it is caft into the Melting-Furnace of the Silver, which, as the Miners term it, helps to make it Flux. In the making of Virriol or Copperas; they take the Ore from which the Brimftone has been feparated, and burn it over again, or let it continue to burn in the open Air, then putting it into a large Vef fel, pour as much Water upon it as is requifite to imbibe the Vitriol; which Water being afrerwards boiled to a certain Confittency, is let out into Coolers, where the pureft Part of the Vitriol adheres to Sticks fet for that Parpofe, the reft fetling on the Sides and at the Bottom. It is obfervable, that the Ore, after it is deprived of its Vitriol, has not the leaft Virtue left in opening Metals, or rendring of them fluid.
24. The City of Frieberg itfelf is of a circular Figure, furrounded with ftrong Walls; Its Streets are handfome, and fo is the Market-place: The Elector's Palace is a very beautiful Structure ; it has five Gates. But what exceeds all the reft, is the Church of. St. Peter, famous for the Monuments of many of the Ducal Family, among which, that of Maurice, Duke and Eleftor of Saxony, excels, being accounted the nobleft in Germany, raifed three Piles high of black Marble, with many fair Statues about it in Alabafter, and white Marble, which is the Reafon, that when this Town was furrender'd, Oitober the 5 th, 1632 , to the Imperialifts, the Elector of Saxony paid 80000. Crowns to fave the Tombs of his Predeceflors, and the Robes, Jewels, Rings and other Enfigns of Honour, that were buried with them.

There were certain Vaults and fubterraneous Paffages from the Mines into the City, which are faid to have been difcover'd firft ir89, fince which time the Silver Mines at Scbneeberg, Annebergb and Foachims Dale, have been found, viz, in 1526. After having taken a View of what I thought moft curious in and about Frieberg, I travell'd by Waltbeim and Coldick to Leipfock, feated upon the River Elster, which having its Source in Vogtland, paffes by this City, and afterwards falls into the River Salá.

It is a very rich Place, celebrated for its three Marts or Fairs every Year, when there is a great Refort of Merchants from all Parts. The Houfes are generally ftately Buildings, being for the moft part fix or feven Stories high. It has a Caftle, but neither this nor the Town are well fortified. The Church of St. Nicbolas has the Reputation of being within one of the fineft $L u$ theran Churches in Germany.

This City is famous for three Battles fought near it in our Age; the $1 / t$, Between Guftavus Adolpbus, King of Sweden, and Count Tilly, the Imperial General, 1631 , in which the laft was totally routed. The $2 d$, Some Years after, betwixt Torstenfon the Sreedifh, and Arch-duke Leopold William, the Imperial General. The $3 d$, about a League and a half from hence, near Luizen, fought between the fame King of Sreeden, and Wallenfein Duke of Friedland, the Imperial General in which the Sroeeds were again victorious, notwithftanding their King was nain before the Beginning of the Battle, as he was going to take a View of the Pof ture of the Enemy. There is alfo a good Univerfity at Leipfock, erected there whilft the Troubles continued in Bobemia, with the Hufites, when 2000 German Schollars came hither at once from Prague.

Erom Leipfick I profecuted my Journey to Magdeburgh, through a plain Country, betwixt the Rivers Sala and Elbe, through Lonsberg, and near Peterfaorff, and fo

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by the Way of Koebten (the Refidence of the Prince of Anbalt) to Caln, fituate upon the River Sala, not far before it falls into the Elbe. In this Neighbourhood is the famous Mountains, ftiled the Fichielberg, much celebrated for the Mines, Baths, and mineral Waters near it, and for four Rivers, running to the four different Quarters of the World, viz. The Main to the Weft, the Nab or Nabus to the South, the AEger to the Eaft, and the Sala to the North; which four Rivers afterwards join the three capital Rivers of Germany, the Danube, the Rbine and the Elbe.

Hence we pafs'd through Saliz (noted for its Saltfprings) to Magdeourgh, feated upon the River Elbe. This, which in former Ages was the Metropolitan City of Germany, but now under the Jurifdiction of the Elector of Brandenburg, is of a very large Circumference, but fcarce half built, fince it was deftroyed by Tilly the Imperial General, who put 56000 Perfons there to the Sword. The Cathedral Church is a very fair Structure, built after the Model of our Engliff Churches; by the Emperor Otho I. and his Emprefs Editha, the Daughter of our Englifh King Edmund. Her Effigies in Stone ftands ftill in the Church, with the Reprefentation of eighteen Cafks of Gold by her, which fhe gave thereto. The Lutberan Churches are very handfome here, and the Jefuits very fine, as indeed they are in all other Places. In the Cathedral Church of St. Maurice, I faw the Statue of the five wife Virgins fmiling, and the five foolifh Virgins lamenting, which were not ill done. Among the reft they fhew'd feveral odd Relicks, viz. The Bafon in which Pilate wafh'd his Hands ; and the Ladder whereon the Cock crow'd, after St. Peter's Denial of our Saviour. Among the Ruins of the Cloifter of the Aufin Friars, are ftill remaining Luther's Chamber, his Bedftead, and his Table. Upon the Door are certain German Verfes, which tranllated into Englifh are to this Purpofe:

> Great Luther lodg'd witbin this little Room, While as a Monk this Cloifter was bis Home; And we in Rev'rence of bis Mem'ry keep The Bedfead upon which be us'd to Neep.

At Magdeburgh I began to be fenfible that I had left behind the true Purity of the German Language, for here you begin to hear another Dialect, generally called the lower Saxon, fpoken in all the Nortb of Germany, at Hamburg, Lubeck, and other Cities in thofe Parts. However People of Fafhion converle in High Dutch, and their Sermons are generally held, and Books written in the fame Language. The City of Nogdeburgh is highly celebrated in Germany, as having been the firtt where the moft famous Turnaments were inftituted in the Year 638 , by the Emperor Henry, firnamed the Fowler. The Condition of thefe Turnaments or Exercifes of Cbivalry were, That none but of the ancient Nobility, no Baftard, no Ufurper, no Perfon attainted of High-Treafon, no Oppreffor of Widows and Orphans, none born of Parents, whereof one was of ignoble Extraction, no Heretick or Murderer, Coward, or who had given Offence to Ladies in Word or Deed, fhould be admitted into the Lift, and not above one in a Family at a Time. Princes were to come attended with four Squires, Counts and Barons with three, a Knight with two, and a Gentleman with one. He that was defirous to enter the Lifts, appear'd at the Prefident's Lodgings, where his Name and Quality being regiftred in the Prefence of three Heralds, the Champion deliver'd unto them his Helmet and Sword, and after Confeffion enter'd the Litt, attended according to his Quality. Their Horfes were to be without Defect, their Furniture according to the Rules prefcribed, and the Saddles without any rifing behind or before. Having performed all Manner of Exercifes, they expected the Sentence from the Judges, and he who obtained the Prize, received it from the Hand of fome Lady, or from the Prince who gave it.

But after thefe Paftimes had continued for fome Ages, they were abolith'd upon very weighty Confiderations,
thefe Exercifes having caufed no fmall Emulation among the Nobility, fo that at the twenty third Turnament, held at Darmfladt, 1473, this Animofity rofe to fuch a Height between the Gentlemen of Franconia and thofe of Hefle, that feventeen of the former and nine of the latter remained dead upon the Spot. The Winter now coming on apace, I haftened my Journey to Hamburg which I performed in the Stage-Coach in four Days, taking our Way through the Elector of Brandenburgb and the Dukes of Lunenburgb's Territories. In this Road I took Notice of many fmall Mounts of Earth, the ancient Funeral Monuments of Great Commanders; (which are alfo found in England) and fometimes Rows of great Stones; and in one Place I faw three great mafly Stones in the Middle, in a large fquare, enclofed by other large Stones, fet up on End
25. The City of Hamburgh, one of the greatef, richeft, and perhaps the mont populous Cities of Germany, is feated in a Plain, being well fortified after the modern Way, yet are their Works not faced with Stone. But the Territories belonging to it are of no great Extent. It is divided into the Old and New Town; It has five Gates; the Stone-Gate, which leads to Lubeck; the Dyke Gate; the Grafs-Brook Gate; the Dome Gate, and the Ellern or Altena, a Town belonging to the King of Denmark. Their Buildings are very handfome, with very grand Entrances, and fpacious Halls. The Senate Houfe is a noble Structure, beautified with the Statues of the nine Worthies. The Exchange was then enlarging: It is celebrated for its fair Churches, and noble Steeples cover'd with Copper. The Church of St. Catbarine has a noble Front, and round the Steeple you fee a Crown well gilt. The Steeple of St. Nicbolas is fupported by great Globes. The other great Churches are, the Dome or Catbedral Church, St. Peter's, St. James's the Great and Lefs, St. Micbael's Church in the New Iorin, befides feveral leffer ones, as of St. Gertrude, St. Jobn's, St. Mary Magdalen, the Holy Gboft, the Blue Coat Hof pital Cburch, and Se. George's in the Suburbs. The River or rather Lake call'd Alfer, paffes through it into the Elbe, which is juft beyond the Town, join'd by another fmall River call'd the Bilde. The Tide paffes daily twice through moft of the great Screets, through Channels, though the City lies eighteen Leagues diftant from the Mouth of the Elbe.

As it is excellently well fituated for Commerce, fo it abounds in Shipping; for befides its Paffage into the Ocean, it is but an eafy Day's Journey from Lubeck on the Baltick-Sea, befides, that by the River Elbe, they carry on their Commerce by Water with a great Part of Germany, even as far as Bobemia. The Conveniency of Trade drives many foreign Merchants thicher, among which the Engli乃h Company enjoys great Privileges; it being computed that they vend there about 100,000 Pounds worth of our Woollen Manufactory annually. I left Hamburgh the ioth of December, when embark. ing in an Engli/s Veffel, we got that Day to Stadt upon the Zwingh, which near it falls into the Elbe. It belongs now to the King of Sweden; and here it was the Englifh Merchants refided for fome Time, upon fome Difcontent with the Hamburgbers.
it th, We pats'd Gluckfadt, feated upon the Holfatian Shoar, and belonging to the King of Denmark: We anchor'd that Night at the Mouth of the River Oaft, which rifing in the Dutchy of Bremen, falls into the Elbe, a Mile from Brunfouttel, on the oppofite Side of the Holfatian Shoar. 12 th, We pafs'd Cook's Haven, in Hopes to reach the Sea that Night, bur being becalm'd at Three in the Afternoon, were forced to Anchor again, between Tbickfand to the North, and Necvark to the South, near a Light-Houfe. I3th, The ftrong Wind forcing us back to Cook's Haven, I embrac'd the Opportunity to go a-fhore, and took a View of the Caftle, which belongs to the City of In amburgh. It is a fquare Fort with a double Ditch, and at high Tide, fome Veffels come up to the Channel, which reaches up to the Fort, but at low Water it is dry. Both the Town and Caftle are call'd Reutzbuttel, being not far from the Lands-End, and the Governor therrof is always one of the Senate. Within three Duys after we

## Chap. V. through Austria, Bohemia, Moravia, छ®o.

fet Sail again with a brisk N.E. Wind for England, and fcarce were we out of the Mouth of the Elbe, but we got Sight of a certain fmall Ine, belonging to the Duke of Holfein Gottorp, called the Holy Land, which as it is very high, fo it is a fafe Direction for Ships, efpecially thofe that come from Sea, without which they would be often at a Lofs from the Lownefs of the Shoar near that River's Mouth. This Inand, which is very fmall, is reputed to have about 2000 Inhabitants, who live for the moft Part upon Fifhing, and by carrying Lobfters and other Sea-fifh to Hamburgh, London, and Queenborough. We chofe the main Sea that Night, but the next Day made nearer to the Shoar, and fail'd in Sight of Amelandt and Scbelling; and in the Evening difcovered the Lights at the Vly and Texel. The next Day, having a fair Wind, we took down our Sails in the Evening, for Fear of coming too near the Engli/h Shoar in the Night-time, and next Morning difcovered the Northforeland, came the fame Day to an Anchor in Margaret Road, and came as fafely afhoar on Cbrifmas Day.

Now I muft confefs, that after I had taken fo full a View of Germany, I found it quite different from the Conceptions I had formed of it myfelf. 'For to fpeak firft of its Rivers, they are fo noble and great, that they excel thofe of Italy and France, it being certain that the Po, the Arno, Garigliano, and other Rivers of Italy, bear not the leaft Proportion to them ; and though France has four great Rivers, viz. The Loire, the Seine, the Rbofne, Garonne, as well as Germany has the Danube, the Rbine, the Elbe, and the Wefer, yet has France none that can come in Comparifon with the Danube and Rbine. 'Tis true, France has many fine Cities and Seaports, yet they do not come up in Number to thofe in Germany, and I much queftion, whether it has any Places that exceed Hamburgh, Lubeck, Dantzick, Bremen,
\&tc. Belides which, the whole Country is full of populous Towns, great Villages, ftrong Caftles, Seats of Perfons of Quality, delicious Plants, Forefts, and pleafant Woods. Nay, Germany affords even under Ground Mines of Gold, Silver, Copper, Iron, Tin, Lead, Quick-Silver, Ancimony, Coal, Salt, Sulphur, Cad$\mathrm{mia}, \varepsilon^{2} c$. and is full of the beft Arcificers to work in them. Add to this the eafy Converfation of the People, who are great Lovers of Strangers, and honeft in their Dealings: The Women are generally well complexioned, of a fober Behaviour, faithful to their Husbands, and good Houfe Wives.

Befides that, Germany affords an inexhauftible Stock of Men, the People being naturally fruitful, not exhaufted by long Sea Voyages and Engagements ; and by Colonies fent into far diftant Countries; the only Confumption of Men being in the Wars; and if they have none at Home, they will reek for them Abroad, being generally inclined to martial Exploits; and their Perfons of Quality are always averfe to Trade. To conclude, when I confider the prefent Condition of Germany, their great and populous Cities, with the Strength of their Fortifications, the valt Number of their magnificent Struc. cures, publick and private, and their civilized Manner of living in them, and compare all this with the Character Tacitus gives of the ancient Germans, That they lived poorly, fcattered, without Towns or Villages, ignorant of Arts, and fuch like,' I cannot but be pleafed with the Expreffion of a certain learned Perfon, tho' long ago, upon this Subject, That if Ariovifus and the other great Men of Germany of thofe Times, fhould rife out of their Graves, and take a full View of their Native Soil, they would fancy themfelves to be in another World, and never acknowledge this for their own Country.

## S E C TIONII.

A Defcription of the noble Kingdom of Hungary, in which its various Prerogatives and many Excellencies are pointed out; the Nature of the Country, its various and admirable Productions, the Difpofition of the People, their Language, Manners and Cuftoms are, from the Knowledge of the Writer, clearly and copioufly fet forth; interfperfed with a Variety of Geographical, Hiftorical, Phyfical, Political and Literary Remarks, upon various Subjects.

## By' the learned Dr. Edward Browne, Prefident of the Royal College of Phyficians.

I. An Introduction, witto fome Account of the Autbor's Defign in this Treatife. The Climate and Soild of Hungary deficribed. The fanous Rivers by wbich this Kingdom is watered. 2. Of the feveral Bridges that render this Country famous, particularly the admirable Bridge of Effeck, the intended Bridge of King Sigifmond, and the Ruinss of that built by the Emperor Adrian. 3. Of the Iflands. in, and Fleets upon tbe Danube ; as alfo of the famous Lakes in Hungary. 4. Of the large Plains in tbis Country, and boove they facilitate Travelling. 5. Of the vart Quantities of all Sorts of Fi/h, and of fome Species pe-
culiar to the Danube. 6 . The prodigiouss Fertility of the Country culiar to the Danube. 6. The prodigious Fertility of the Country defcribed, and of the Excellency of its Wines, Bread, Beef, \&cc. 7. Of the Language of Hungary, and of the adjacent Provinces. The general Knoweledge the People bave of Latin. The State of Learning there. 8. An Accouns of the old Hungarian Crown, the vaal Veneration tbe People bave for it. The Martial Difpoftion evvili of their Ecclefiafficks. The Tomb and Epitaph of the Roman Poet Ovid. 9. The Pyrrhic Dance fill underfood and pracizijed by the Heydukes. TThe State of Hungary at the Time of the Author's being there. Ac-
count of the Froutier towards the Tuks in count of the Frontier towards the Turks, as it then food. 1o. Of the Roman Stations, Garrijons and Antiquities of this Country. II. A A curiouss Account of a prodigious Treafiure of ancient Greek Medals
found at Deva, with Remarks op ton found at Deva, with Remarks upon fome Roman Medals that bave been alo found in tbis Country. 12. Of the Habits and Arms of the Hungrians, and the Reafons weby they bave been imitated by the
neigbbouring Nations. neigbbouring Nations. 13. A fuccinct Account of Tranfivania by anotber Hand.

A$S$ we have already given an Account of the Author, we fhall only obferve, that having fpent a great Deal of Time in vifiting the different Parts of the Kingdom of Hun. gary, and in the Examination of the Curiofities it contains, Dr. Browne thought he could not do a more acceptable Service to his Countrymen, than by giving them a fuccinct View of the Refult of thefe Examinations and Inquiries. It is a received Opinion, that the Air in this Country is very unwholfome, which is attributed to many Caufes ; firft, the Flatnefs of the Country, for where there are no Mountains, there are feldom any Winds fufficient to cleanfe and purify the Air. 'Secondly, the Soil being marhy and full of Minerals, the Vapours rifing from thence are fuppofed to be tinged with Particles far from being Salutary to the human Body, Thirdly, the extream Heat in Summer, and the thick Mifts and Fogs in Winter and in Autumn, contribute not a Jittle to draw this evil Report upon the Climate But after all, it is very certain, that the Natives of Hungary live many of them to a vaft Age; and though it be true, that it was formerly filed at Vienna, Ccemeterium Germanorum, that is, the Churchyard of the Germans, yet perhapz a candid Judse upon a fair Hearing, would be inclined to acquit the Air of Hungary of the Murder of the Germans, and advife a frefh Indictment againft the Wines. The Truth of the Matter feems to be, that in this rich and plentiful Country, Strangers are apt to indulge themfelves too much; and in that Cafe it muft be owned, that the Climate is not very favour able, for without vigorous and conftant Exercife, the Natives themfelves would not be able to maintain fuch robuft Conftitutions as they are famed for, confidering the Liberties they take in Eating and Drinking.
But except this Charge in Relation to the Air, there feems to be no Impeachment againft the Excellency of this Country, which in Time paft, and while under the Government of its Native Princes made as great a Figure as any in Europe ; and its Inhabitants had the Ho nour to give the firtt Check to the Arms of the Mabometans on this Side, as the French did on the other, and prevented them thereby from over-running all Europe Since it fell under the Dominion of the Houfe of Auftria, it has indeed made a lefs Figure, and grown more out of Knowledge as all Kingdoms do when they become Provinces; and to the fame Caufe it has been owing that the Turks have made themfelves Mafters of fo great a Part of it, and that it has been fo ruined and diftracted by inteftine Divifions and civil Wars, that for their Severity and Length, there are farce the like to be met with in Hiftory. But thefe are cafual Events common to other Countries as well as Hungary, and which cannot be reafonably urged as derogatory from or deftructive of thofe high Perfections, which it enjoys from Nature, and which ought to render it as much the Object of Attention to Strangers, as any other Country upon the Globe. For if we were to enumerate the feveral Advantages that diftinguifh thofe Countries of the World that are moft defervedly famous, we might venture to affirm, that almoft all of them may be found here. Since if Germany boafts her fine Rivers, Italy her golden Fruits, Sicily her copious Harvefts, France her generous Wines in fhort, if the numerous Commodities of Europe, if the luxurious Plenty of $A j a$, if the various Curiofities of Africa, if the Silver of Mexico, and the Gold of Peru, are fit Objects of our Admiration, Hungary muft claim it too; no Country is better watered, none more fertile, none more pleafant, none yields better Fruits, none produces richer Wines, none abounds more with Cattle, none, notwithftanding all thefe Riches above Ground, can boaft a greater Wealth below. But to clear up all this, let us now enter a litule into Particulars.

On the Eaft-fide it has that noble River Tibifous, or the Tbeyfe, rifing at the Foot of the Carpatbian Mouncain, in the Country of Maromorus, and being increafed by the Waters of the River Marifous, or Marifa, and of feveral others, joins its Current with the Danube beeween. Waradin St. Peter, and Belgrade. This River carries valt Quantities of Stone Salt from the Salt Mines of Hungary and Tronfilonia, and fo by the Donube to all

Places as far as Presburgb, (it being not permitted to be carried higher, that it may not obftruct the Sale of the Aufrian Salt) a conifiderable Quantity of the fame Salt being carried down the Danube, and fo by the River Morava into Servia, and other Countries adjacent. On the Weft-fide is the River Rab (Arabo) which has its Rife in Styria, and being in its Paffage augmented by the Waters of the Louffiz, Pinca, Guncz, and other Rivers, falls into the Danube near Raab or Favrinum. The late Defeat of the Turks at St. Gotbard near this River, has rendered its Name famous to Pofterity. Upon the South-fide are two very confiderable Rivers the Dravus or Drave, and the Savus or Save. The firt has its Source in the Country of Salizburgh, (Part of the ancient Noricum) and after a Courfe of three hundred Miles through Carintbia and Hurgary, difcharges itfelf into the Danube near Erdoed or Teutoburgum. At its Entrance into Hungary, it is joined by the long River Mur; but a great Way before that, even near its Source, it is a confiderable River. The Save, the fecond noble River on that Side, has its Spring in Carintbia, and being augmented by the Acceffion of many other Rivers, after a Courfe of three hundred Miles, joins with the Danube near Belgrade. It is a very beautiful Stream even at Crainburgh (Carnodunum) an handfome Town not far diftant from the Head-fpring; which is fo confiderably enlarged afterwards, that ic contains feveral remarkable Inands, as that of Metubaris, on the Weft-fide of Sirmium, and that of Seffeck (Segefitca) near Zagabia, whereupon was anciently built a ftrong Fortrefs, unto which the Romans ufed to carry their Provifions, and other Neceffaries from Aquileia, and fo by Land to Nauporius, for the Ufe of their Forces in thefe Provinces. Into the fertile Plains between thefe two Rivers, viz. the Drave and the Save, Solyman the Magnificent retired from before Vienna, and fo farther to Belgrade. On the North-fide of Hungary are the Rivers rifing from the Carpatbian Hills, which are the Boundaries betwixt that Kingdom and Poland, viz, the River Gran, which falls into the Danube over-againft Gran or Strigonium; the River Vagus, or Waag, which joins with the Danube near Comorrab: Ir'is generally conceived to equal the $P_{0}$ in Italy: This I am fure of, that at Frieftadt (above fifty Miles before it runs into the Danube) it is already a confiderable Scream, and has a long Bridge over it ; and another very near to its Source at Trenfcbin, a handfome Town, famous for thirty two Springs of hot and Mineral Waters. Befides thete, that great and famous River the Danube paffes through Hungary, not any one Province having to large a Share of this River, as this Kingdom: For taking this River from the City of Ulm in Suabia, (where it begins to be navigable) it paffes by Ingolftadt, Ratisbon, Straubing, Paffau, Lintz, and Vienna, unto Presburgh; from whence it continues its Courfe for at leaft three hundred Miles through Hungary, before it comes to Belgrade. Not to mention here its fmoother. Paffage along the Shores of Servia, Bulgaria, Wallacbia, and Moldavia, and its Divifion into many Mouths, by which, after it has received into its Channel above fixty great Rivers, and, by a modeft Computation, kept its Courfe for fifteen hundred Miles, it difcharges into the Euxine or Black Sea; thence it is vifible, that in refpeet of its different Parts, it might well be mentioned by a double Name by the Geographers, viz. by that of Danubius, and Ifter. Strabo afcribes that Name unto it below its Cataract, or Water fall, near Axiopolis, in the Inferior Mosfa, or Bulgaria; whereas Appian, and moft modern Authors, begin it, at its Confluence with the Save, near Belgrade.

Befides thefe large Rivers, it has divers others, Fluvii non ignobiles, as Pliny very juftly ftiles them, viz. The Sarvizza, or Orpanus, rifing near Efperies, (Vefprinium) and paffing by Stulweiffenburgb (Alba Regalis) falls into the Danube. The River Walpo, or Vulpanus, which has its Rife near a Town of the fame Name; we pafs'd over it by Walcovar, and the River Bofneth, or Bacunthus, which empties itfelf into the Save not far from old Sirmium.
2. Moft of thefe great Rivers are covered with long
on yot Bordent of SClAV ONIA f Omer HUNGARY.


Bridges. The Bridge of Boats over the Danube, betwixt Strigonium and Barcban, is the firft upon this River after you come from Viemna. I faw alfo the Ruins of a Stonebridge, upon the Shore of St. Andrew's Inand; by Virovicbitz; but the Turks now-a-days neglect thofe Bridges, inftead of which they make Ufe of Bridges of Boats, which they find more ufeful, and contrive fo conveniently, hat they may with Eafe open a Paffage for Veffels that come that Way. Such a Bridge of Boats is betwixt Buda and Pef, over the Damube, being above half a Mile long; and if Sigijmund had lived to effect his Defign of building a Stone Bridge in that Place, no Bridge in Europe could, in all Probability, have compared with it.

Colocza, formerly an Archbifhop's See, has alfo a Bridge; and near Walcovar is another over the River Walpo. But the Bridge of Effeck (anciently Murfa) bails partly over the Drave, and partly over the low marfhy Grounds and Fens, juftly challenges the Precedency before the reft. It is five Miles long, with Towers upon it at each Quarter of a Mile, being handfomely railed on both Sides, and fuftained by large Piles of Wond, nine or ten in a Rank for each Arch. Count Nicholas Serini burnt that Part of it which was built over the Drave in the laft Turkilh War, inftead of which, the Turks have laid a Bridge of Boats a little below the other, which I pafs'd in 1669. Here it was the unfortunate King Lereis of Hungary engaged with the Turks under Solyman, which coft him his Life. In ancient Times there were likewife many Bridges over that Part of the Danube, known generally by the Name of Ister. Darius King of Perfia made a Bridge of Boats over that Mouth of the Ifer called Ofium Sacrum : And, according to Nicephorus, Confantine built a Stone-bridge over it; but that admirable Bridge built by the Emperor Adrian, (if we may give Credit to Dion the Hiftorian) furpals $s^{d} d$ all the reft. Some of its Ruins are to this Day to be feen near Severin, about twenty Hungarian Leagues from Belgrade. It confifted of twenty Piles of fquare Stone of one hundred Foot high, befides the Foundation of fixty Foot broad, the Diftance betwixt each of them being one hundred and feventy Foot, and joined by Arches with this Infrription:

## PROVIDENTIA AUG. VERE PONTIFICIS VIRTUS ROMANA QUID NON DOMAT? SUB JUGUM ECCE? RAPITUR ET DANUBIUS.

And for an everlafting Memorial, many Coins were ftamp'd in Silver with this Infcription, DANUVIUS.
3. Not any River, that I know of, has fuch large and well-peopled Inands as the Danube; as the Inle of St. Andreew's, betwixt Vicegrad and Vacia: Another lies a little below Buda, againft the Weft-fide of which ftands Adom, forty Miles long, and containing many Villages; another oppofite to Mobatz, and another at the Confluence of the Drave and the Danube, and another new one near Belgrade, where forty Years ago there was not the leaft Footiteps of an Inand to be feen: And if the River Leyta be the Boundary of Auftria, the Ine of Scbutz (Infula Cituorum,) excels all the others, being well-peopled, and full of good Villages, befides divers confiderable Towns, fuch as Comorrab, Samarien, \&cc. Another Thing is obfervable in the Danube, that no River whatever, at fuch a Diftance from its Mouth, can boalt of fuch confiderable Naval Engagements as this ; the Emperor keeping his Gallies at Vienna, Prefburg, and Comorrab; as the Turks do theirs at Strigo nium, Buda, Belgrade, \&rc. It feems not a little furprifing, when we read, that Mabomet at the Siege of Belgrade, appear'd upon the Danube with 200 Gallies, and other arm'd Veffels, which were fo fmartly engag'd by the Chriftian Fleet, that befides what were taken, the Turks were forc'd to fet their own Veffels on Fire, to prevent their falling into the Hands of the Enemy The Chriftians had a Fleet of twenty four Gallies, and eighty other arm'd Veffels, befides Tenders and Ships of Burthen, at the Siege of Buda: And when Solyman the Magnificent lay before Vienna, the Imperial Admiral Vol. II. N9i2I.

Wolfgang Hodder, did a fignal Piece of Service with his Veffels; for coming out of Presburg, he funk the Turkifb Veffels, which carried the heavy Cannon, intended for the Battering the Walls. Hungary is alfo furnilh ${ }^{\text {d }} \mathrm{d}$ with feveral confiderable Lakes; as the Lake Baleton, or Platfee, as they call it; (the Volcea of the Ancients) extending a great Length between Efperies and the River Drave, being guarded with feveral Forts; which have proved of great Ufe againft the Incurfions of the Tuirks. The Nerwidler-Sea, being feven German Leagues long, and three broad, having borrow'd its Name from the adjacent Town of Nerofidel, a handfome Place, fituate upon a Hill, with a fmall fquare Caftle. This is the fame mentioned by Pliny, under the Name of $P_{e i j o}$; and the modern Hungarians call it Terteu, lying juft half Way betwixt Vienna and Sabaria.
4. The vaft Plain of Pampus, in Paraguay, in America, is famous for its Extent, being 2000 Miles long; I remember that famous Sea-Captain, Mr. afterwards Sir Fobin Narborough, told me, that there is all low Land from the Plate River, to the Middle of the Streights of Magellan. The great Plains of Mujcory and Poland, are alfo famous throughout Europe; however, thefe are intermix'd with Trees; and fometimes whole Woods, whereas the Plains of Huing ary are clear and open; and; if compared with our Englißs Plains, as of Salifury, Lincoln, and Neromarket, exceed them as far as a fullgrown Man does a Child ; fuch are the Plains of Aufria from Vienna to Mount Simmarein, upon the Frontiers of Styria. I myfelf travelled from Vienna to Belgrade, through one continued Plain, for 400 Miles, without any. Eminencies, except one inconfiderable Wood near Bacna and Sbilberg, beyond Dotis: And this Plain taken from its firlt Beginning, viz. at Mount Kalenburgh; (Cetius,) two German Leagies Eaftward from Vienna, and fo beyond Belgrade, along the Northfide of the Danube, to the very Frontiers of Wallachia, exceeds by much that renowned Paffage from Labor to Agra in the Indies. It is true, Upper Hungary has Abundance of Woods and Hills, yet are thefe intermingled with large Plains. The Levelnefs of Hungary proves a confiderable Conveniency for Travellers, who are carried in open Chariots, carrying two Men befides the Driver, drawn by two or three, and fometimes four Horfes a breaft. Hungary has more large Cities upon the Danube than any other Province; for among the ten confiderable Cities which are feated from Ulm unto Belgrade, four, and thofe very large ones, belong to Hungary, viz. Presburg, Strigomium or Gran, Buida, and Belgrade; unto which if you add Pef, it makes up the Fith.
5. All the Rivers and Lakes of this Country furnifi them with vaft Quantities of Fifh: The River Thefe is fo famous for its Plenty of Fin, that they have a common Saying, That one Part in three confits of Fiffo And the Budziack, which falls into the Theyfe near Tockay, is fo full of Fifh, that the Country People faý, It fmells of Fibs; being to be undertood of the dry Summer Seafon, when its Waters are very low; though (as I was credibly inform'd by a certain Officer) it is thirty Fathoms broad, and $8 \frac{1}{8}$ deep; but being of this Figure V , he told me, it could not be well fifh'd with Nets. The Damube alfo affords a plentiful Share of Fifhes, as Trouts, Percles, Carps, the largeft and fineft I ever met with; and befides many others, a certain Fifh called Coppen, or Capito; a Bifcurrie, a kind of Lamprey, a Grundel, or fpotted kind of Cobites, with fix Beards, two fhort, and four longer; another Filh, exceeding in Bignefs a Pike, call'd Scbeyden, the Sjliurus of Gefiner, and at certain Seafons gteat Numbers of Hufones, call'd by them Haufons, which are fometimes twenty Foot long, a delicious Fifh, not unlike a Sturgeon. There are fet Fifhing-places, and peculiar Store-Houfes for that Uie upon this River, the higheft thereof is above Comorrab, in the Ine of Scbutz; but the -greatef Plenty of Finh is near Kilia in Wollacbia, where they take and falt many Sorts of Fiff coming out of the Euxine Sea, and fend them into the adjacent Countries. Thefe Rivers afford alfo great

Plenty

Plenty of Water-Fowl in the Winter, and among the reft Pelicans, but I never faw any Swans upon the Danube.
6. The Land here affords the like Plenty of Provifions of all Sorts, but efpecially of Bread and Wine, their Bread being as good as any in Europe, made light by kneading for a confiderable Time; and that fo cheap, that you may buy as much here for Two-pence, as we generally do for Twelve-pence in England; the fame being to be met with in the Iurki万b Dominions in thefe Parts. Their Grapes are both large, and of a lufcious Flavour, among which thofe of Virovichitz, near Vacia, excel the reft; their Vines are very noble, witnels thofe of Tockay, which are in great Requeft; and the pleafant and rich Wines of Sirmia, in the Southern Parts of Hungary; the Vines of this Province having been planted firft by the Emperor Probus, near Mount Almus, or Arpataro. At Vienna are no lefs than thirty Sorts of Wines to be fold. Neither are the Hunvari. ans at all negligent in improving their Grounds by Husbandry. I remember that in February I faw every Night great Fires in the Country, occalioned by the Burning of the Stubble and old Grafs, which rendred the Ground more fertile againft the next Seafon. Inftead of our Barns, or Hay, and Cornftacks, they ufe deep and fpacious Caves under Ground, whither they retire allo with their Families, in Cafe of a fudden Inroad from the Turks or Tartars. They have vaft Plenty of Hares and Deer, as alfo of all Sorts of Poultry, Partridges, Pheafants, $E^{\circ} c$. vaft Store of Sheep, having in fome Places long fpiral Horns, and long curl'd Wool; of Oxen fuch prodigious Numbers, that, according to a well grounded Computation, they fend to Germany, Italy, and other Parts, above 100,000 yearly. They have alfo good Store of Boufftes, which are very ufeful to them, elpecially in ploughing fome ftiff Grounds. Neither do they want Horfes, fome of which are pretty large, but generally fmall, though exceeding fwift; I faw above 1000 of them belonging to the Village of Lower Sene, or Senia, near Comorrab.
7. Their Language is peculiar to themfelves; I heard a Minifter praying and preaching in a Church at Bitcbka, and though he that was with me was very well vers'd in the Sclavonian, Germon, Turkih, Vulgar Greek and Ilalian, yet could he not find the leaft Afinity in it, with any of thefe beforemention'd Languages. The fame we obferv'd in the Albanian Language, in the Northern Part of Epirus, and Weft of Macedonia, where indeed the Sclavonion is ufed by fome, but their own Language in common Converfation among themelves, could not be underftood by the beft Linguifs, both Cbristians and Turks, that travel'd along with us. Thus, in fome Parts of Hungary, the Sclavonian is much in Ufe; I remember that at Friestadt (call'd Colgotz by the Hungarians) I heard them preach in Sclavonian in the Church of the Town, but the lirancifcans preach'd in Hungarion. This Remotenefs of their Language from others, makes them much addicted to foreign Languages, efpecially the Latin, which moft of the Gentry and Soldiery fpeak fuently enough, and there is farce a Coachman, or Footman, but what underftands as much of it as will ferve to make him underftood; this makes the Latin Tongue very ufeful through all Hungary and Tranfloania; but beyond Belgrade the Sclavonian is the univerfal Language; it being certain that you may travel with the Germans and Sclavonian from Hamburgb to the Frontiers of Tartary and Conftantinople itfelf; the Sclavonian being generally fpoken in Servia, Bulgaria, Romania, and Part of Macedonia, befides in many other Parts; io that a Man may make Shift to paifs with this Language from the Adriatick Shore in Dalmatia, unto the Tartarian Ocean. It is farce to be fuppos'd, that in a Country fo near unto, and fo much expofed to the Violences of a barbarous Neighbour, I mean the Iurks, there fhould be any Seminaries of Learning, there being no Univerfity in thofe Parts beyond Vienna; and though of old they have had many learned Men, yet thefe had their Education in Foreign Parts as had of o!d St. Ferom, and St. Martin; and thofe, Perrons of Quality in Hungary, who intend to breed up their Children to Learning, fend them
now-a-days to Vienna, Breflau, Prague, and fome other Univerfities in Germany. At prefent there is a Gymas fium, or fmall Univerfity at Schemnitz. The Hungarians boaft however of their once fo famous Library of Buda, founded by their King Mattbias Corvinus, the Son of Humiades, about 200 Years ago, confifting of feveral Thoufands of Books, and among them many Greek and Latin MSS, not to be purchafed; Part of it was carried off into Turkey, after Solyman had furprized that City, and the choiceft thereof procured afterwards for the Imperial Library at Vienna, when Cufpinianus was Keeper thereof; many of thefe Books being mark'd with the Arims of Corvinus, viz. a Crow bearing a golden Ring in bis Beak; thefe, with the fucceeding Additions of Bubocquius, Wolfgangus Lazius, Fugger, \&cc. together witn the choicef Manufcripts brought thither by Petrus Lambecius, the prefent Library-Keeper, from the Ambrofan Library near Infpruck, are Part of the 80,000 Volumes mentioned in the Imperial Library ; of "which I had the Favour not only to fee the rareft Manufcripts, and other Rarities, but alfo to have feveral of the beft Books to my Lodgings; and at my coming away, the fame learned Perlon prefented me with a Catalogue of fome hundreds of Alcbemical Manufcripts, with an Offer to have any of them brought to Englond, or to be tranfcribed at Vienna. There were lately about 400 Books (the Rcmnants of the Corvinian Library) left at Buda, but carelenly kept by the Turks, and were confumed in the great Fire that happen'd there, in 1669.
8. The Hungarions have a moft profound Veneration for their Crown, which, they tell you, was fent to their King Stepben by Pope Benedizz VIII. being admonifh'd by an Angelical Apparition to fend it to Stepben, and not to Mifca the then King of Poland, his Competitor: Hence it is, that they have always been fo careful to preferve it, as thirking the Fate of the Kingdom to depend on the Poffeffion or Lofs of it. Formerly it was kept in the Caftle of Vicegrad, but at prefent in that of Presburg. This Crown has alfo a moft peculiar Figure, being a very low Crown, with a Crofs upon it, enclofed with four Turnings up like Leaves, one whereof is as large as two of the o:hers. As it is a hard Matter to get Sight of the Original, fo I was forced to be contented with the Sight of the Model thereof, in the Treafury of the German Emperor Lecpold, exactly made after the Fathion of the Hungarian Crown of Gold, and befet richly with precious Stones, perhaps richer than the Original. Though the Hungarians want neither Inclination to or Abilities for Learning, yet have they generally been moft addicted to Martial Exploits, even to the Clergy, witnefs that unfortunate Battle of their King Lewis near Mohatz, in which fix Bifhops were nain with that Monarch. Some are of Opinion, that the famous Poet Ovid being recall'd from his Banifhment at Tomos, near the Euxine Sea, died at Sabaria in Hlungary, in his Return Home; where they fay, his Tomb was found, with this Epitaph made by himfelf:

Hic filus eft vates quem Divi Cefaris ira, Augutti Patria cedere juffit humn.
Scepe mifer voluit patriis fuccumbere terris,
Sed fruftra, bunc illi fata dedere locum.
9. In Hungary I alfo firft obferved the Pyrrbical Saltation, or warlike Way of Dancing, which the Heydukes perform by Dancing with naked Swords in their Hands, advancing, brandifhing, and clafhing the fame, turning, winding, elevating, and depreffing their Bodies with fingular Activity; finging at the fame time to their Meafures, after the Manner of the Greeks.

The great Deeds of Attila, King of this Country, and his numerous Armies, together with that memorable Battle fought againft the Roman General Rtius, (who was a Myfian or Servian by Birth) in whicn 200,000 were flain, is fufficiently famous in ancient Hiftories; and how far they extended afterwards their Conquefts over their Neighbours, is teftified by the Banners carried at the Coronation of their Kings, viz. that of Hungary, Dalmatia, Croatia, Sclavonia, Galifa, Rafcia, Servia, Bulgaria, Bofnia, and Ludomiria; and it mut be confefs $s^{s}$, to the everlafting Honour of the Hungarians,

## Chap. V.

and Defcription of HUNGARY.
that of all other Nations they have put the longeft Stop to the victorious Arms of the Turks; and had it not been for their inteftine Divifions; which the Turks have known very well how to improve to their Advantage, it is more than probable the Ottomans would never have been able to penetrate fo deep into this Country as they have done; notwithftanding which, a very confiderable Part thereof remains to this Day under the Emperor's Jurifdiction as King of Hungary, viz. almoft all Upper Hungary, from Presburgb unto Tockay and Zatbmar ; and in the Lower Hungary there are ftill in the Poffefion of the Chriftians, (befides divers other Places of Note) the three ftrong Bulwarks of Chriftendom, viz. Raab, Coniorrab, and Leopoldfadt, of which I took a full View, the laft being erected fince the Lofs of Newbaufel, and fortified after the fame Manner. It is feated on the Weft-fide of the River Wang oppofite to Friestadt; its Fortifications, which were begun in 1665 , confift of fix regular Baftions and Ravelins, and were not quite finifhed in 166 g , when I was there.
10. Thefe Quarters are famous in ancient Hiftories for the Prefence, Birth, Death, and great Actions of many Roman Emperors; not to fpeak here of Trajan, Caracalla, Galienus, Conftantius, and others; the Emperors Aurelianus, Probus, Gratianus, and Mawimianus, had Sirmiuns for their Birth-places; and Claudius Gotbicus died in or near it. Forianus and Valentinianus were Pannonians by Birth, and Ingenuus, Governor of Pannonia, was faluted Emperor by the Masian Legions, as was Vetranio in the fame Country. When Pbotinus was Bifhop of Sirmium, a General Council was held in that Place. The Roman Armies being fo frequent in this Country, no doubt but they brought Abundarce of their Copper, Silver, and Gold Coin hither, of which I obrained a good Number at Petronel, of old Carnuntum in Pannonia, and with many more at Sene, or Senia, near the Danube. An Armenian Merchant, with whom I lodged at Belgrade, furnifhed me with a good Quantity of Roman Coins at my Return, which he had got at Old Buda or Sicambria, at Old Sirmium, in the Country now called Scbremnia, and at Murfa or Effeck.
11. Near Deva, Lyfmacbus King of Macedon and Tbrace, is fuppofed to have kept his Court, in the Neighbourhood of which that unparallel'd Mafs of ancient Golden Coins was'found, under the Ruins of an ancient Caftle : For a ftrong Current of Water having been forced that Way by long continued Rains, which wafhed away the Rubbifh that had covered thofe Golden Medals, and the Glance of this coftly Metal having drawn thither many of the neighbouring Peafants, they difcovered thefe Medals, weighing two and three Crowns a-piece, having on one Side the Image of $L y$ Simactus, and on the other Side a VīFory; under thefe Medals they alfo found a Golden Serpent, which Ge-neral Caftalde fent unto Ferdinand, who had alfo 1000 of thefe Medals, befides 300 Caftalde had for his Share; of which there were collected, (after the Peafants had taken up a vaft Quantity) to the Value of Io,oçol. So that there was fcarce a Man found hereabouts, but what had fome of them, fo infinite was the Sum. This Caftle was fuppofed to have been fome Time the Refidence of King Ly/machus, and this Coin remained here from that Time ; it being a received Cuftom among the Ancients, for fuch as buried their Treafure, to place Serpents there, as the Symbol of a faithful Keeper. Among other Medals, there were alfo found two Medals of Gold, one of Ninus, the other of Semiramis, which were prefented to the Emperor Cbarles the Fifth. As I pafs ${ }^{\circ}$ d through the old Roman Towns, the Inhabitants brought me feveral Sorts of old Coins, which they term Heatben-Money; and in Bofnia and Servia the Armenians drive a great Trade with them, and fend them by the Way of Ragufa into Italy. Among other Coins I found one of Copper pretty frequent here, but not eafily found in other Parts. It was a Coin of the Emperor Julius Pbilippus, having on one Side the Head of Pbilippus, with this Infcription, IMP. C. M. JUL. PHILIPPUS. AUG. and on the Reverfe a Woman between a Lion and a Bull, with this Infcription, P. M. S. COL: VIM. AN. VII. which may be; Provincice Mo.
fae Superioris Colonia Viminacium Annona Septimo data Viminacium being a Roman Colony in Mefa Superior (now Servia) fuppofed to be Singidunum or Senderin upon the Danube, at the Mouth of the River Morawa or Marofh. The Lion and Bull feem to declare the Fitnefs of the Soil for Agriculture, and the Warlike Temper of the People, and by thefe two Animals fitting peaceably together, the Prudence of Pbilippus. Annona Septima, queltionlefs, intimated the feventh Diftribution of Corn by Pbilippus, the conducting of which was committed to the Legio XVI. Frumentaria.
12. The Habit of an Hungarian, for its Conveniency; efpecially in Warlike Exercifes on Horfe-back, is made Ufe of by all the neighbouring Nations, as the Croations; Sclavonians, and the Turks themfelves, living near the Frontiers, though otherwife very nice in this Point. The Hungarians delight generally in Blue, Yellow, Green, and Purple Cloth, Black being a Colour rarely to be met with here, the Priefts themfelves being clad in long purple Garments. Two Sorts of Weapons are mof common among the Hungarians, viz. a Kind of Iron Mace, called Catfon by them, with a round Iron Head, with Furrows in it, and Spaces cut away to ren. der it the more light; the other they call Balto, being a Kind of a Hacchet, with a Head fomewhat like a Hammer, but broader, and at the End makes the Shape of the Letter Delta.
13. The Country of Tranfivania was formerly a Part of the Kingdom of Hungary; but as I propole to give only a fummary Account of the Place and its Inhabiants, I thall not meddle with its ancient Hittory. It is bounded on the North by the Carpatition Mountains, on the South by the Principality of Walacbia, on the Eaft by Walacbia and Moldavia, and on the Weft by the Kingdom of Hungary. I believe there is no Country in the World fo nearly equal in Length and Breadih, each being about one hundred and forty Englifh Miles, it may be very truly ftiled a Country of Wonders; for to Travellers, who have feen the reft of Europe, it appears altogether aftonifhing. The Air is temperate, and, generally fpeaking, wholfome; the Soil wonderfully fruitful, the Water commonly but indifferent, as being frequently tinctured with Minerals, or, which is worfe, with Allom or Arfnic. There run through it four great Rivers, viz. the Marifus and the Samos, both which fall into the great River Tbeyfle, the Alula, which difcharges itfelf into the Danube, and the Cbryja, which the Germans call the Krufcb from its Windings, in which, I verily believe, it exceeds the Meander itfelf, for one is obliged to pafs it thirty Times in half the Number of Miles.

The Country is finely chequered with Woods and Plains, Mountains and Vallies: There are many ftrong Paffes in it, and fome of its Cities are naturally fo well feated, that with the Help of very fmall Improvements from Art, they might be rendered impracticable. To Speak of its Plenty, is a Theme that might exercife the ableft Pen; for it is extremely difficult to know where to begin, or when to leave off. The Wheat that grows here is the faireft and fineft in Europe, and fo cheap, that, with refpect to the Subfitance of an Individual, it has hardly any Vahe: The Oxen in this Country are large, fat and fine, and their Flefh wonderfully juicy and pleafant; yee I quefion whether one of them was ever fold for an Englifh Guinea, but from twelve to fifteen Shillings is the common Price; and yet, if I may be allowed the Expreffion, they are the Saple Commodity of the Country, and are bought up for the Auffian and other Markets. They want not any other Kind of Cattle; and as for Hogs, they go in Droves like Sheep, are prodigioully far, firm and well tafted; fo that the Bacon of this Country is truly excellent. All Kind of tame Fowl are here both cheap and good; as for wild, they are fo common and in fuch Plenty, that they farce bear any Price at all. Fing are not fold in Tranflyoinia, nor are you much troubled with the Sight of them, every Man, poor or rich, fines where he pleafes, and with what Inftrument he pleafes; if he takes more than will ferve for a Meal, he throws them in again after chufing the largeft and the beft, for
nobody
nowndy will touch a Fifh that has been dead an Hour before it is dreffed.
They have a very ftrong ferviceable Breed of Horfes, and befides thefe, they have a wild Sort with Manes that reach almoft to the Ground. As for their Wines, they are rich, ftrong, and full bodied, much fuperior to thofe of Auftria, Moravia and Walacbia, but inferior in Flavour to fome of the Wines in Hungary. Honey and Wax they have in Abundance, and of the former they make a Mead, which, when it is long kept, is richer and ftronger than moft White Wines. In their Mountains are Mines of Gold, Silver, Steel, Iron, Lead, Copper, Quickfilver, Salt and Brimftone.

As for the Inhabitants of this Country, to fpeak of them diftinctly would take up a Volume, and that Volume might be filled with Matter very inftrutive and entertaining. What I have to fay however fhall be contained in a few Words; there are four Nations that are look'd upon as Inhabitants of Tranfylvania. The firft of thefe are the Saxons, who are fuppofed to be the Remains of the ancient Dacians; they have a Language peculiar to themfelves, and are governed according to their own Laws and Cuftoms; the Capital of their Country is Hermanfadt, which is a confiderable Place; and befides this they have fix other Cities, and amongtt them Cronstadt and Claufenberg are confiderable Places. The Inhabitants of Towns are a civilized and good Sort of People, but the Plains are occupied by the Heydukes, who, in the Days of the Princes of Iranfyluania, were a Sort of Militia, and indeed for Strength, Activity and Valour, there are very few Nations that can compare with them. In Time of Peace they are Graziers, and live by Breeding, Feeding, and Selling of Cattle.

The Siculi inhabit the Northern Part of the Country towards the Carpatbian Mountains; they are fuppofed to be Defcendants from the Huns, and are as rugged and barbarous as the Country they dwell in ; they refemble the Highlanders of Scotland, or rather the old Irifh, for they value themfelves upon their Nobility, and the meaneft Creature in the Country infifts upon it, that he is a Gentleman of Birth. They too have feven Towns, fuch as they are, are brave to a Degree of Madnefs, and contend for what they call Liberty, with a Fiercenefs that no Authority or Force has hitherto been able to tame.

The Hungarians have five Counties, and their Metropolis is Alba Julia, which is very far from being either a large or beautiful Place. Thefe People were much favoured by the Ragot $k i^{\prime}$ 's, and other Princes of $T_{\text {ran- }}$ Sylvania, which encouraged them to make various Attempts upon the Privileges of the Saxons; nor were their Differences lefs frequent with the Siculi, fo that no Country was ever more torn or diftracted with civil Diffentions than this. Each Nation had its Dyet apart, and, which is ftill worfe, the feven Cantons of the Saxons were independant of each other, and their Dyets at Cloufenburg were in the Nature of States-General.

There is a fourth Nation in Tranfyluania, which live all over it, but without having Land, Property or Government; thefe are the Cingars, in plain Englifh, Gipfies; they had great Privileges from the Princes of TranSylvania, pitched their Tents where they pleafed, removed when they pleafed, and did almoft what they pleafed; but the Race of thefe Vagabonds is almoft extinguifhed, I mean in Tranfylvania, for there are enough of them yet in the Turkifh Dominions. They are without Controverfy the moft arrant Scoundrels in the Univerfe, Atheifts by Profeffion, Thieves by Trade, and have only this fingle Virtue, that they pretend to none. With all this they are a lively, active and ingenious

People, and, which is ftill more extraordinary, when there is nothing they can fteal within their Reach; they will be very induftrious. Like our Gipfies they are very expert Fortune-tellers, and have fuch Knowledge in Phyfiognomy, that they never fail to promife every Man or Woman that applies to them, what he or the likes beft, and pick their Pockets for their Pains; they are very fucceifful as Quacks; very fkilful as Farriers, are good Blackimiths, and the moft able Tinkers in the World.
We have now fhown the fairett Side of the Picture let us turn the Reverfe. As rich and as fine as this Country is, as healthy, brave and vigorous its Inhabirants; yet, whether they are the happieft or the wretchedeft People upon Earth, is a Queition one cannot eafily refolve. As for Want, that is a Thing unknown, but with Regard to fix'd Property, Lands, Farms, and what we call Eftates, they are far from being common. As for the Saxons, there fupreme Delight is Drunkennefs; fat Bäcon is the only Difh they defire, upon which they pour as much Wine and Mead as their Stomachs will hold, and then fleep fixteen or twenty Hours till they are fober. The Heydukes are the merrieft Mortals if the World ; they dance with their Swords drawn, and their Targets upon their Left Arm, with inconceivable Agility; and the Strokes of their Bucklers, and the Clafhing of their Swords, correfpond with the Tune that is played; to which the Gracefulnefs of their Motion, and the Sweetnefs and Serenity of their Countenances, add fuch a furprizing Beauty to the Sight, as renders it extreamly delightful. They have Mufick always at their Feafts, drink in Tune, and keep Time by clafhing their Muggs. An Excurfion is their fole Pleafure, and Induftry would certainly be very dreadful to them, if they had any Conceptions of it. But as they neither fee it or hear of it, they fight, feaft, and fleep all their Lives long, in fhort, they live without Care, and die without Thought.

But if a good Government could be eftablifhed in this Country, and the People brought under due Regulations,' they might certainly become both rich and powerful, as it is not a fifth Part of their Land that is cultivated, nor one Tenth of their Mines wrought. Some Cloth they make, but it is coarfe, and only fit for their own Ufe, but one may guefs what Induftry would do in this Part of the World, by what one Baron Lefley in the Emperor's Service actually did; he employed twenty of his Soldiers as Drovers, and they at proper Seafons of the Year carried Cattle to Vienna, by which in five Summers he acquired One hundred thoufand Florins; and having vefted his Stock in proper Commodities fent it to Venice, whither he repaired at the next Carnival, where he found his Capital doubled, with which he bought a noble Lordfhip in Bobemia, and being naturally a Man of OEconomy, and a good Mafter, made his Vaffals happy, and lived himfelf with all the Magnificence of a Prince.

But notwithftanding all this, the Towns in Tranfylvania are, generally fpeaking, mean; the common People live in Hutts; their Roads are bad at all Times, in wet Weather impaffable; the People fave nothing, and will rather abandon their Homes than pay Taxes; in fhort, they are proud of a Plenty which they abufe, and of a kind of Liberty, which is worfe than any Sort of Subjection. They have all Sorts of Religions amongft them without Morality, and, in the Midft of the moft valuable and faleable Commodities in the World, have few Manufactures, and little or no Trade. In fhort, they are Barbarians that think themfelves the happieft People in the World, and might be really 10, if they would become civilized.

## S E C TION III.

Travels through Hungary into Theffaly; a Defcription of the City of Lariffa, and of the Grand Seignior's Court there, with other curious Particulars; together with a Defcription of other Parts of Hungary, more efpecially of the Gold Mines, and fome Remarks upon the adjacent Countries, then and now making Part of the Hereditary Dominions of the Houfe of Auftrias

By the Learned Dr. Edward Browne.

1. Introduction to this Section, including the Motives and Defign of our Autbor's fourney. 2. He Jets out from Vienna, and arrives at Petronal the Carnuntum of the Romans, with an Account of the Coins, and other Remnants of Antiquity found there. 3. A Defcription of the City of Presburgh, the prefent Capital of the Kingdom of Hungary. 4. An Account of the City of Raab, and the Manner in rubich it zeas betray'd into the Hands of the Turks. 5. The City of Comorrah defcribed, weith an Account of fome Antiquities found there. 6. A Defcription of Newhawfel and Senir, with various remarkable Paf. Jages. 7. An Account of Strigonium or Gran, and of the Cafle of Vicegrade, with fome otber Places in that Neigbbourbood. 8. A copious Relation of the Baths, and wohatever elfe is roorthy of Notice in the Royal City of Buda. 9. A Defcription of Tolnor, Mohatz, and Zygetch, and feveral curious Particulars. 10. An Account of the Town of Effeck, and of the famous Bridge near it, Juppofed to be one of the longeft in the World. II. Obfervations upon the Country and its Irbabitants from thence to Belgrade. 12. A Defoription of that important City and Fortrefs. 13. The moft remarkable Pafjages in the Autbor's Journey from thence to Lefcovia. 14. A Defcription of that Place, and of the famous Mountain Hœmus. 15. The Author's Account of Macedonia, with feveral curious biforical Remarks and Obfervations. 15. A Defoription of the City of Larifla, and the Country about it. 17. The fame Subject continued, more efpecially with regard to Mount Olympus. 18. A Defcription of the Grand Seignior's Perfon and Court. 19. Mifcellaneous Remarks, and, among/t other Things, of the different Modes of Sbaving. 20. The Manners of the People, and the Reafon of their being bandfomer than the Macedonians. 21. Of the Produce and Commodities of Theffaly, and of the great Plenty of Provifions. 22. Some Remarks on the vaft Extent of the Greek Cburch. 23. A Continuation of the Author's perfonal Remarks in tbis Country. 24. The Manner of Travelling through the Grand Seignior's Dominions. 25. Of the great Miferies indured by fuch as are Slaves among the Turks. 26. Of their Manner of Burying, and of the many Tombs that are to be met with on the Roads. 27. A very copious Detail of the Cultoms and Manners of the Turks, with Remarks upon their good and bad Properties. 28. The Autbor's Fourney from Comorrah to vijit the Mines. 29. A large Defcription of the Mines at Schemnitz, and the Manner of working them. 30. Of their Produce, and of the Manner of purifying the
Metal, when extraEted from the Ore. Metal, when extracted from the Ore. 31. An Account of a Gold Mine loft, and fome otber curious Particulars. 32. The Autbor's Journey to Eifenbach, with an Account of the Baths there. 33. A large and curious Account of the Gold Mines at Kremnitz, their Produce, and Manner of working them. 34. The feveral Methods made Ufe of for Separating and cleanfing the Gold. 35. An Account of the 2uickjiver and Copper Mines. 36. The Autbor's 'Journey to that of Herrn-graundt, and bis Obferviations there. 37. An Account of a Vitriolate Water that turns Iron into Copper. 38. A very fingular Account of the bot Batbs at Stubn, 39. A Defoription of the Salt Mines at Eperies; with fome otber
remarkable Particulars.

THE ingenious Author, in the Collection of his Travels which he publifhed, has regarded rather the Relation between Places, and the natural Connection of Things, than the Order of Time, for with refpect to this, his Journey to the Mines was prior to that which he made to Lariffa. In following this Method, he fought the Reader's Conveniency and Information, to whom it was of little Confequence when he travel'd, provided he was well inform'd of what he faw. While the Doctor lived, his Rank in his Profeffion, his high Reputation, univerfal Acquaintance and agreeable Converfation, gave his Travels the Vogue, and every body read them with Applaufe; but now they begin to grow a litcle out of Date, merely on the Score of their being made fo long ago; and yet we have nothing better, or, to fpeals the Truth honeflly, nothing near fo good.

Indeed, it is not at all probable that we fhall ever meet with any Thing of the like Kind of equal Value; for in the firft Place, Dr. Browene travel'd at a proper Age, not after pafing a Year at the Univerfity, but after having paffed with Applaufe through both UniVor. II. $\mathrm{N}^{\mathrm{Q}} \mathrm{I}_{2 \mathrm{I}}$
verfities, and was in his twenty-feventli Year. In the next Place, he was a Man of great Learning, very well fkilled in ancient Hiftory, and a perfect Matter of the Greek Language. We may add to this, that he was alfo acquainted with Phyfick, Botany, Anatomy, natural Hiftory and Chymiftry; which laft feems to me to have been his favourite Study. But the main Recommendation of all remains yet behind; he did not travel for the Sake of Amufement, and to kill Time, or as a Trader in Expectation of Gain, or in pure Obedience to a Father, who defired, that Traveling fhould fer a Polifh upon his Education; but he travel'd for the Sake of Knowledge, that he might employ his junior Years in procuring Materials fic for the Meditations of old Age; that he might vifit thofe Countries with his Eyes, of which modern Books gave him fo bad an Account ; and that he might gratify his peculiar Inclination to the Study of Minerals, by infpecting himfelf the moft famous Nines of Europe. When he had executed his Defign, and found his Head fraught with Knowledge fuperior to that of other Men, and very conducive to the publick Good, he refolved not to conceal it ; and thus the. Writing and the Publication of his

Book

Book were both the Effects of that great and generous Turn of Mind, which firt put him upon Traveling; not any mercenary Defign of Advantage, or a Scheme of making his Court to any great Man by a flattering Dedication.
We cannot heip, therefore, reading his Book with Satisfaction, becaufe, on the one Hand, we are certain that his Labours had no other Object than the Difcovery of the Truth, and that he was a Man of too much Parts and too much Learning to be impofed upon himfelf; befides, in the Courfe of his Narration it appears, that he fpared no Pains, and grudged no Expence in order to obtain an exact Acquaintance with whatever he thought it worth his While to enquire about; and as he took Time fufficient to examine all Things carefully, and to fer them down circumftantially while he was abroad, fo he did not hatten the Publication of his Book at home, till he had thoroughly digetted as well as reviewed his large Collection of Materials. In a Word, he had all the Diligence of Sir Pbilip Skippon, all the Accuracy of Mr. Ray, and feems to have had a more extenfive and penerrating Genius than either of them, of which we fhall receive indubitable Proofs in the Courfe of this Section. Thus much I thought due to the Author's Character, as well as requifite to excite the Readers Attention, which having awaken'd by this fhort and I hope not improper Introduction, we will now proceed to the Doctors's Narrative, as near as may be in his own Words.
2. After having pafs'd the Winter at Vienna, I met with a fair Opportunity to fee the Grand Seignior's Court, which then, and a confiderable Time before, refided at the ancient and famous City of Lariffa in Theffaly. As I do not pretend to give you the Names of all Places through which I pafs ${ }^{5} \mathrm{~d}$, fo on the other Hand you' will find mentioned fome which are not to be found in Maps, at leaft not in any that ever I met with. Between Vienna and Presburgh, the firf Place worth my peculiar Obfervation, was the Town of Petronel, and Haymburg Hill and Caftle : The firt is fuppofed to be the old Carnontum; one of the ftrong Holds of the ancient Pannonians, who, one hundred and feventy Years before our Saviour's Birth, bravely repulfed the Romans here, but were forced to fubmit to the Power of Auguftus, who made it a Roman Colony, and the Station of the Legio XIV. Gemina, and of the Claffis Iftrica; and by Degrees arrived to that Pitch of Greatnefs, that it became the capital City of all Pannonia Superior, comprehending all that Tract on the South Bank of the River Danube, wherein now are Haymburgh, Dutch Altenburgh, and Petronelii. Here I met with Variety of Medals, Infcriptions, and the Ruins of a moft noble Aqueduct, and the Remnants of a ftately Fabrick, which I thought might have belonged to a Temple of fonus, but is generally fuppofed to have been a triumphal Arch, erected in Memory of a Victory obtained by Tiberius, in the ninth Year of our Saviour, over the Pannonians and Dalmatians. Petrus Lambecius has, befides other Antiquities of this Place, given a Draught of the one Side thereof, and of the back Part I took a Draught myfelf. In this Place it was that the Emperor Antoninus Pbilofopbus, when engaged in a War with the Marcomanni or Moravians, refided for three Years, and died at Vienna (or Vindobona.). And here Severus was elected Emperor by the German Legions. But this great City was laid defolate by Attila the Hunn, there being nothing remaining now, where the old Carnutum food, but fome ruinous Foundations of the Houfes and Streets, fcarce difcoverable by the Eye.

Of Roman Coins there have been, and ftill are, found fuch Quantities, that even the Peafants bring them to Sale, of whom I bought a good Number ; and I re member, that Mr. Donallan an Irifh Gentleman, my Fel-low-Traveller, as we were viewing the Ruins of the ancient Foundations, flruck by chance a Silver Coin with his Foot out of the Earth.
3. Presburgh, Pofonium and Pifonium, is pleafantly feated on the North-fide of the Danube, ten German Leagues to the Eaft of Vienna, now the capital City of Hungary, under the Emperor's Jurifdiction, and,
fince the Surprifing of Buda by the Turks, the Place of Convention of the Eftates of that Kingdom, and fince the Lofs of Gran (Strigoninm) the Metropolitan City. Its Caftle is very noble and ftately, built of white Stone, on the Top of a Hill, where is now kept the fo much efteem'd Hungarian Crown. The Garden of the Arch. bifhop is exceeding fair, the Walks, Grotto's, Laby: rinths, and Fifhponds, very noble, and the Figure of Jeronymo, well worth the Obfervation of a Traveller: In the Cathedral Church is interr'd the Body of Sr. Fobannes Eleemofynarius, Bihop of Alexandria. Part of this Church is in the Poffeffion of the Fefuits; the Lum therans have likewife a handfome Church here.
4. Raab or Favrinum, a ftrong Frontier City, is feated at the Confluence of the Rivers Raab, the Rabnits, and the Danube. It has two Bridges, one laid over a double Ditch, leading towards Auftria, and the other towards Stulweiffenburg, or Alba Regalis: Its Fortification confifts of feven Baftions and four Cavaliers or Mounts. I. The Caftle Bastion, upon which ftands the Governors Palace. 2. The Water Baftion, on the Side of the Danube. 3. The Baftion of the Holy Hill. 4. The Middle Baftion, to the Eaft on the Land-fide. 5. The New Bafion. 6. The Imperial Baftion; and, 7. The Hungarian Baftion, facing the River Raab. Here the Turkifs Governor was kill'd, when the Chriftians furprized this City. It lies in an open and plain Country, there being no Eminency near it, except a fmall Hill, which is undermined, ready to be blown up in Cafe of the Approach of an Army, for which Reafon alfo a Spy Tower is built at fome Diftance, to give timely Notice in Cafe of Need of an approaching Enemy. Sinan Baffa the Turkib General, under the Reign of Acbmet III, after having loft a vaft Number of Men before this Place, and 12,000 in one Affault, took it by Compofition, by the Treachery of Count Hardeek the Governor, who paid for it with his Head. But in a few Years after was recover'd by the Chrittians, who furprized it in the Night-time, under the Conduct of Count Swartzenburgb and Count Palf, who put all the Turks to the Sword. At Raab and Consorrab we were fhown feveral Sorts of Warlike Inftruments, viz, a Morning-Star, as they call it, being a Club fet round with Spikes; ufed in the Defence of Breaches, and in affaulting of Towns; Earthen-pots, fill'd with flinking and combuftible Materials, to throw in among the Enemy; a Lebn Brader, or Plank, fet with Hooks, to be fix'd to the Out-fide of the Works, cover'd flightly with Earth ; a Werf Kugel, or Kind of Hand-Granadoe; a Spanibh Ritter, or Cbeval de Frife, to be faftened in the Earth, to keep off the Horfe, provided with long Iron Spikes on all Sides. At this Place the Turkifb Cbiaufes or Meffengers are obliged to ftay to receive their Difpatches, the Court of Vienna being much pefter"d with them before that Order, as they were fent continually with fome infignificant Meffage or other from the Governors of the Turki/b Frontier Places, for the Prefents Sake, which they expect at their Departure.
5. Comorrab, Crumenum or Comaronium, is a large and ftrongly fortified Place, feated at the Eaft End of the Ille of Scbutz, looking over the Danube and Waag. The ftrongeft Fort is called the Tortoije from its Figure. After Sinan Baffa had made himfelf Mafter of Raab, he was alfo for trying his Fortune againft this Town; but being repulfed with great Slaughter in all his Attacks, he was for tempting the Fidelity of the Governor Barors Brown, unto whom he fent five Turks, under a Pretence of a Parley, with very advantageous Offers; but this brave Man, though dangeroufly wounded, having firft given them the Hearing, caufed four to have their Heads cut off, which he put upon lony Pikes upon the Bulwarks, and fent back the fifth with this Meffage; That he was miftaken in his Perfon, if he judged of him by the Treachery of Count Hardeek; and that he mighe reft affured, he would live and die in the Defence of the Place committed to his Charge by the Emperor. In the innermoft Caftle of Comorrah, I faw three very ancient Tombs, brought thither formerly from Senia, a Place of Antiquity not far off, two of which having Infcriptions not to be met with in Gruter, I thought fit to infert here.

On:

# Chap. V. through Hungary, Thessaly, Macedonia, Goc. 67 <br> On one of them : <br> moderate Heat. This was the Metropolitan City lof 

## MEMORIAE JULIAE EMERITAE QUAE VIXIT AN frr VALERIA MASCLENIA FILIAE piISSIMAE.

And on the Cover
D. M.

The Infcription of another was this :
MUAL VALERIANI LEG IIİ F L VIXIT AN XLII ET MUALUL PIOE Q PUBL' FIL VIXIT AN VIII SIM CONDITIS ULPIA PARATIANE Marito et ulpia valeria filia $\operatorname{EL}$ REDESTS.
D. M.

And on the Cover this following:

## ITA $\triangle$ MrPIE؟ษイX XIMETATIATROC

The third Tomb was of the fame Figure, but without any Infrription. Of fome other Places, through which I pafs'd alfo the Year before, I fhall fpeak only en pafant.
6. Nerwbarofel, call'd Vywar by the Hungarians, is fituate by the River Nitra, not far from Nitria, a ftrong Place, taken by Count Zouches, in the late Wars. Newbawesel is a regular Fortification of fix Baftions, in the Form of a Star. After Count Forchatz, the Governor thereof, had rafhly engaged with the Turks at Barchan, they laid Siege to this Place, and after a flout Defence made themfelves Mafters of it by Capitulation; though it is generally believed, that if the Vifier had had not fpent his Time and Men in this Siege, he might have put moft of the Emperor's hereditary Countries into a great Confternation, whereas the Emperor's Auxiliaries being join'd by that Time, the Turks receiv'd a fignal Difgrace near St. Goddard, the Lofs of which Battle procur'd a fpeedy Peace. The Turki/b Baffa lives now in the Palace, formerly belonging to the Archbifhops of Presburgb. Sene or Senia, a Place of Note for many Remains of Antiquity found there now and then. Here, by the Favour of the Byra or Judge of the Place, I got a Roman or Heatben Key, as they call it, and feveral Sorts of Coins, fome of Gold, and fome Intaglia's, fome of which I prefented to Petrus Lambecius. The Inhabitants will have its Name to have been anciently Apollonium, but without any grood Ground. In our Way betwixt Raab and Datis, we pals'd in Sight of Martinberg, a ftrong and handfome Town, feated upon a Hill. Datis, Tata or Theodata, twelve Englijb Miles from Comorrah, has fcarce any Thing remarkable, except its Caftle, and fome natural Baths near it. But to return into the Road; we were row'd from Comorrab in a Saick of twenty four Oars, the Hungariains rowing on one, and the Germans on the other Side; thus paffing by Sene, Nefmil, and Rodzoan, we came to Motch, the Frontier Place, where we were to ftay for the Turki/h Convoy, which being ready in the Morning, their Officers went afhore firtt, and next our Veyda, or Veyvod, with the Interpreter, and Chief of the Company, with a flow Pace, and at Meeting faluted one another by fhaking, of Hands together; then delivering our Boat to the Turks, they faftned it to their Saick, and fent one into ours to fteer it. At parting they faluted the Chriftians with one Gun, and fo with eighteen Oars row'd down the Danube, we carrying the Eagle in our Flag, and they the Double Sword, Star and Half-moon. The Turkibs Saick having brought us to Gram, fet our Boat afhore, and fo left us; the Governor took no Notice of us, but being reprimanded upon that Account by an Aga, who came from Nerwbarvjel with four Troops of Horfe, we were foon difpatch'd.
7. The City of Gran, Strigonium, or Offrogon, is fituate on the South Side of the Danube, near its Confluence with the River Gran ; it is divided into the upper and lower Town, each of which bas its peculiar Walls, that of the lower Town commanding the Danube. The Hill of St. Thomas, which overlooks the Place, is alfo fortified with a Wall. Here are natural Baths of a

Hunsary, which gave Birth to St: Slepben, their firt Chriftian King, and King Stephen III. lies entombed here. This Place has endurd many remarkable Sieges, having been often taken and retaken: It yielded in 1683, to the Duke of Lorrain. Oppofite to it is Bars cban, being joili'd to it by a Bridge of Boats. :From hence we paffed to Vicegrade or Vizzegrade, having two Caftes, the Upper Caftle being feated upon a high Rock, where formerly the Crown of Hungary was kept. The lower Cafte has been formerly a fair Structure. Here are alfo to be feen the Ruins of an ancient Fabrick of Arches of fquare Stone: This Place, after it hâd been a confiderable Time in the Hands of the Turks, was furrender'd to the Duke of Lorrain in 1684. Oppofite to Vicegrade lies Maroz, where there is a handifome Church, the Chriftians living pretty weil at Eafe here, under the Turks, becaufe of its voluntary Serreitder to them. Below this Place, we faw the large Inand of Sc. Andrere in the Danube, and fome Ruin's of Stofie upon the Shore of the Ine, which the Turks told us were the Remnants of a Stone-Bridge. Beelow this, pafing by Virocbivitz,famous for its large and noble Grapes, wé carne to Vacia, forinerly an Epiicopal See, which has now two Mofques and one Chriftian Church. It was taken by the Turks in 1541. and regain'd by the Duke of Lorrain in 1684, after a fignal Defeat given the Turks near that Place, but being not tenible by Reafon of fome adjacent Hills, was quitted the fame Year in Autumn.
8. We changed again our Convoy here, and we came to Buda, formerly the Capital City and órdinary Refidence of the Hungarian Kings, and at prefent of a Turkifo Vizier, who has feveral Bafbas under his Jurifdietion. This City is of a large Circumference, pleafantly feated upon the Donube, divided into the Upper and LowerTowo ; wherein are to be feen the Remnants of many magnificent Structures, -built by the ancient Hungarian Kings, and efpecially Maittbias Corvinus, in whofe Palace the Vizier now refides. This had anciently three moft admirable Statues of Brals, of Hercules, Apollo and Diana, at its Entrance, which were by Soliman caft into great Guns; the whole Palace, in all other Refpects not approaching to its ancient Glory ; however, here are feveral handfome Mofques and Caravanfera ${ }^{5}$ s. On the Top of Sc. Gerard's Hill is a Fort, which overlooks the Town and Couniry. But what Buda has moft to boaft of now-a-days, are its natural Baths, efteemed the nobleft in all Europe, both for the Largenefs of their Springs, and the Magnificence of the Buildings; for negligent as the Turks are in their private Houres; yet we found them moft fumptuous in their publick Structures; as their Caravanfera's, Mofques, Bridges, but efpecially their. Batbs, bathing being in great Requeft among them and all ocher Mobamimedans.
There are here in all eight Baths, of which I took a View during my. Stay in this City; viz. Three towards the Eaft and South-Eaft Part of the City, in the Way to Confantinople, and five towards the Weft End of the Town, in the Way to Old Offen and Gran. The firt is a large open Bath, at the Foot of a rocky Hill, call'd Purgatory. The fecond has a Cupulo on the Top, flands near the fame Hill, but more into the Town. The third they call the Batb of the Green Pillars (tho ${ }^{*}$ now they are red) over againit a Carazanfera: The Spring is very hot, yet ufeful without the Addition of cold Water ; it contains a petrefying Juice, which is to be difcover'd on the Sides of the Bath and its Spouts, where it leaves a Gummy Stone behind it \& and the Vapours of the Bath coagulated on the Cupola, the Irons reaching from one Column to another, and on the Ca pitals of the Pillars, form long Stones like Icicles, which you fee hanging to all there Places. The Bath is of a circular Figure, fet aboue with large Pillars fupporting the Cupulo, which has divers Openings, for the free Paffage of the Exhalations, notwithftanding which, the Bath continues always as hot as a Stove. The Water is let out every Night after the Women have done Bathing.

The Baths on the Weft End are, firlt, Tactelli, i. e. the Table Batb, being but fmall, the Water whitihn, and of a fulphurous Smell, they both drink of, and
bathe
bathe in it; what is drunk, is receiv'd from a Spout conveyed into the Bath; I gave a Piece of five Sols to a Turk, who holding it under the Spout, to let the Water fall upon it, and rubbing it in the mean Time with his Fingers, gilded it for me in half a Minute. The fecond is Barat Degrimene or the Bath of the Powder Mill, arifing in an open Pond near the High-way, and its Waters being mix'd with thofe of the Pond, makes one Part of it of a whitifh Colour, and clear in another, as likewife cold and hot in feveral Parts ; being conveyed crofs the High way into a Powder-Mill it becomes ufeful in making of Gunpowder, whence it got its Name. The third is Cuzzoculege, the Little Bath, or the Bath of the Saint, being kept by Turkif Monks. The Water near the Spring-head is fo hot, as not to be fit for Ufe, but being conveyed through one Bath into another, becomes tolerable. The Water differs neither in Smell, Tafte, or Colour, from common Water, being without the leaft Sediment, except that the Sides of the Bathing-Room are cover'd with a green fpongy Subftance. The fourth is called Caplia, a noble Scructure, of an octogonal Figure; with a very handfome Bath in the Middle, furrounded with a Trench of Water to bathe the Feet in: On each Side it has a Niche, wherein is a Fountain. In the Anti-chamber, where the Cloaths are left, is alfo a beautiful Fountain, with a Stone Bafon; the Water of this Bath is alfo very hot; and not without a petrefying Juice. The fifth is the Bath of Velibey, the nobleft of all the reft, having a fpacious Anti-chamber; the Bathing-room is allo very capacious, high arch'd, and advanced with one great $\mathrm{Cu}-$ polo in the Middle, juft over the great round Bath, befides four leffer ones at the four Corners, over as many private Bathing-Rooms, where the Turks take off all the Hair of their Bodies with Pflotbrum, mix'd with Soap, except their Beards. The middle Cupolo is fupported by twelve Pillars, betwixt eight whereof are Fountains of hot Water, and between the reft Places to fit down, where the Barbers and Bath-men attend. In each of thefe Places are two Stone Cifterns, one for cold and the other for hot Water, to be mixed as every one thinks fit, the Water being not fit to be ufed without the Addition of cold Water : For the reft, it has a ftrong fufphurous Smell, and contains a petrefying Juice. The Mornings are appointed for the Men to bathe in, and the Afternoons for the Women. If you have a Mind to bathe, you are brought into the Antichamber of the Bath, where being furnifhed with a Cloth and Apron by thofe that attend, you lay by your Cloaths, and fo enter the Great Bath, where fitting down on the Side or between the Pillars near a Fountain, you are well rubb'd, with your Hands and Arms ftretch'd out, by the Barber, after which you bathe. If you pleafe, or the Cuftom of your Country requires it, you may have your Head fhaved, and your Beard alfo, except the upper Lip; next the Barber rubs your Breaft, Back, Arms and Legs with a Hair Cloth, either fitting or lying upon your Belly; then having wafhed your Head with Soap, and thrown cold Water upon you all over, you walk in the Steem of the Bath for fome Time. This City is generally called Offen by the Germans ; fome trace the Original as far as to a Brother of the famous Attila, called Buda. And to confefs the Truth, the Situation of this Place upon the Banks of the Danube, where it gathers its Water in one entire Channel, and that upon an eafy Afcent of rifing Hills, from whence there is a Profpect out of many of the Creeks crofs the Danube, into a beautiful Country, and of the City of Pest ; fo excellent a Situation, I fay, added to the Advantage of its hot Springs, might well invite the Conquering Huns to prefer this Place for the Building of a City, before all their other conquered Countries. The City of Buda was the ordinary Refidence of the Hungarian Kings, till it was conquer'd by Solyman the Magnificent, the I 3th of Auguf 1541 . There is another Place called Old Offen, fuppofed to be that ancient Sicambria, where the Sicambrion Soldiers had their Quarters in the Time of the Romans. Here fome Antiquities and Infcriptions have been difcover'd formerly.

Upon the Eaft-fide of the Damube, directly opponte to Buda ftands Peft, in a Plain, of a Quadrangular Figure. This City imparts its Name to the whole' Country; or Comitatus Peftbienfis, (Hungary being divided into Counties like England) and is joined to Buda by a Bridge of Boats above half a Mile in Length.

I was fomething furprized at firft, when I faw the Turkib Women wear long Breeches, reaching almoft down to their Feet. Over thefe they wear their Shifts, and over thefe a Kind of a long Garment; their Headdrefs covers their Faces, except the Eyes, almoft like our Penitents. Whilft we ftaid at Buda, wie took View of one of the Turkibh Convents, where we were entertained in a large Room, not unlike a Chapel, with Melons, and fome other Fruit, by the Monks. The Superior, called Julpapa, i. e. Father of the Rofe, having a Girdle about his Middle, emboffed before wịh a white Stone called Galactites or Milk-ftone, bigger than the Palm of a Hand. They have a fuperftitious Opinion, that Mabomet turned a whole River of Arabia inio a Kind of Stone. From the Houfe where we lodged, we had a fair Profpect of the Danube, and were often vifted by divers Cbiaufes (Turki/h Meffengers.) The Mafter of the Houfe being a Rafcian, was thought to hold a fecret Correfpondence with a Frainiifan Fryer of Peft, and with fome other Perfons of Note at Comorrab, Raab, and Vienna: We were alfo very civilly entertain'd by Mortizen Epbendi, who had been in Quality of Envoy-Extraordary at the Court of Vienna, and would needs have me fit upon a Stool, brought in for that Purpofe, being fenfible that their Way of fitting crofslegg'd would not be very agreeable to me. Among many other Queftions, he ask'd me, What was the King of Poland's Name ; and when I told him it was Micbael Wifnowitski, he replied, Micbael is a good Name, it is the Name of the greateft Saint in Heaven, except Mary.
9. From Budo we travel'd by Land to the Eaft, and paffing by Ham Zabbi Palanka and by Erzin, came to Adom, call'd Tzan Kurteren, i. e. Anima liberata, by the Turks; which Name was given it by Solyman the Mag. nificent, becaufe here he made the firf Halc with his Army, after his Retreat from Vienna. Hence we came to Pentole or Pentolen Palanka, which fome are of Opinion was the old Potentiana, where the Huns were overthrown by Macrinus and Tetricus, the two Romon Generals. Some will have this to have happened near Adom. From hence we went on to Fodwar in Sight of Colocza, feated on the other Side of the Danube in the Road to Temefwar, and fo further by Pax, or Paxi, to Tolna, the old Altinum or Altinium, near which the Huns fought a fecond Battle, and routed the Romans with the Lofs of $40,000 \mathrm{Men}$ on their Side. It is inhabited by Hungarians and Rafcians, who are often at Variance. Thence we came to Feni Palanka, where we pafs'd the River Sarvizza (or the Urpanus) which rifes near Efperies, and paffing by Stulveiffenburgh (Alba Regalis) joins its Current below it with the Danube.

From thence, by Setzar to Botofeck, and fo to Setz, a large Town, near which we faw the Ruins of an old Caftle upon a Hill, enclofed with Pallifadoes. Here is a new Caravanfera. Hence we went on to Mobatz, but before we came to this Place, paffing by a fmall Bridge over the Brook Curaffe, we took a View of the Place where the unfortunate Hungarian, King Lewis, after the Lofs of the Battle near Mobatz, fought Oetober 29, 1526, was plunged in the Flight with his Horle in the Mud, and miferably perifhed. His Body being difcover'd by Cotrifous, who was near him when he was drowned, to the Hungarians, it was taken up and buried at Alba Regalis, the Place of Sepulture of the Hungarian Kings. Near this Place we mer with a Caravan of two hundred Perfons under a Guard of Fa. nizaries, and frequently upon the Road we faw numerous Droves of Oxen driving towards Vienna, belong. ing to the Eattern Company there, who, as they have the Monopoly of Oxen in that City, fo they have Liberty to buy them in the Grand Seignior's Dominions. The fame Day we faw the City of Five Cburcbes (Quinque Ecclefic) and Zigetb to the Right of us. This lanis is
ftrong

# Chap. V. through Hungary, Thessaly, Macedonia, ©o c. 

ftrong Place, fituate on the Side of a Fen, in which there is an Inle, and beyond it a Caftle. This Place is famous for the unparallel'd Refiftance made here by Count Serini againft the Turks; for, after having been forced out of the Town, he retired into the Ine, and from thence to the Caftle, where, after having repulfed the $\mathcal{T} u r k s$ in feveral Affaults, he fallied out with twenty four Men, (all that were left) who were all llain by the Infidels, in endeavouring to break through their Lines.
10. From hence we pafs'd on by Barinowaar Darda, or Draza, to Efeck or Ofjeck, fuppofed to be the old Murfa, or at leaft very near it. Its Situation is very low, the Streets being paved with Timber Trees laid crofs-wife ; upon one Side of the Gate you fee fome Remnants of an old Roman Infription, M. ELIAN $\mathcal{E}^{\circ} c$. and on the other Side a Maid's Head cut in Stone Here you fee alfo an uncommon Dial, brought hither from Serinwear; and the largeft Piece of Ordnance that ever I faw in thore Parts, not lying upon Carriages, but upon Bodies of Trees. But what furpaffes all the reft is, the famous Bridge of Elfeck, built of Wood, partly over the River Drave, partly over the adjacent Marhes, being five Miles long, railed in on both Sides, and defended by certain Towers at every Quarter of a Mile's Diffance. But of this elfewhere; it being the greateft Paffage from Servia, and other of the Grand Selgnior's Dominions, into Hungary. Count Nicbolas Serimi, to hinder Supplies from coming to the Grand Vizier's Army, burnt that Part of the Bridge which was laid over the River Drave, (rebuile fince) and in his Re turn alfo fet Fire to Five Cburcbes, which lies to the Weft of Efeck.
From hence we travel'd to Valcowar, where there is a ftately Bridge of Wood over the Walpo, (Valpenus) a River affording great Plenty of Fifh, upon which, to the Weft, ftands alfo the Town of Walpo; then by Sotzin Palanko, and Towarnick, or Tabornick, to Netrovitza, a large Town near a Lake, and fo to Simonovitz, leaving to the Right of us (at a great Diftance) the fo famous ancient Sirmium, a Place fcarce worth taking Notice of now, except for its Antiquity. The Country hereabouts is called Scbremnia; but that Part extending nearer to the Drave, Bofoga.
Ir. In this Country many Families, nay the Inhabitants of whole Villages, have their Habitations under Ground, like the Troglodytes, and the fubterraneous Nations bordering on Egypt. We faw fome Weills near them, where they draw their Water like our Brewers ; they no fooner got Sight of us, but they retired to their Caves, their Dogs by their Barking having given them timely Notice of our Approach. We alighted to take a View of the Houfes of thefe poor Chrittians, which we found tolerably well contrived within, divided by Partitions with wooden Chimnies, and a Window at one End a little above Ground: All Things were neatly kept, though but poorly, after the Falhion of thofe Parts. Their Speech we found to be a DialeEt of the Sclavonian.

We continued our Journey between the Danube and the Save; we came to Zemlin upon the Danube, and from its Caftle had a fair Profpect of Belgrade; whither we pafs'd from hence by Water.

Belgrade, Taurunum, Alba Graca, or Greek-Weifenburgh, or Nandor Alba, as it is called by the Hungarians, is a large, ftrong, populous, and trading City in Servia or Muefia Superior, feated at the very Confluence of the River Save and the Damube, the firt being to the Weft, and the other to the North. The Danube is very broad here, and its Current fo rapid, that it feems to cut off that of the Save, as the Rbofne 'doth the Sein near Lyons in France. The Water of the Danube feems more yellow and troubled, and that of the Save greenifh and clear. At the very Mouth of the Save is an Ine, made there of the Settling of the Sands of both Streams, about thirty-five Years ago, which is now full of Wood.
12. As we entred Belgrade, I pals'd by the WaterCaftle, and afterwards by the Upper Cafte, both large, and ftrengthened with feveral Towers. The chiefeft Trading-Itreets are covered over Head, to keep off the
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Sun and Rain. The Shops are no bigger than Taylors Shopboards, and very low, the Shop-People fetting upon them as our Taylors do, and felling their Wares to the Chapmen, who remain without, and feldom enter the Shop There are befides thefe at Belgrade, two large Bezafans, or Places where the beft Commodities are foid; they are built crofs-wife like the old Cathedrals, with Walks within, like to thofe of our Old Exchange above Stairs. They have alfo two Exchanges built of Stone, with two Rows of Pillars over one another, but were almoft filled up with Merchandizes. The Grand Vizier had lately built a ftately Caravanfera, at his own Coft, with a Fountain in the Court, and juft by a Molque with a Fountain before it; this being the firt I ever faw within-fide. He had alfo built a Col1 -ge for young Scudents, one of which I faw in a green Garment, with a four-corner'd Turbant on his Head. I obferved alfo great Numbers of Sepulchres near Belgrade. We lodged at an Armerian Merchant's Houfe, where we were well accommodated, and our Landlord conducted us to feveral other Armenians, who had very fair Houfes, and entertain'd us with Coffee, Sherbet, and very good Wines of the neighbouring Country. There are very few Trading People in thofe Places where the Armenians do not live; they have a Church at Belgrade, and feem to be more open, candid, and fair-dealing than the Greeks and feros.

Belgrade is a Place of great Trade; its Situation at the Conllux of the Damube and Save, and the River Thbey Je falling into the Danube near it, as the River Drave does not far from it, and the Morava, or Marofh, not much below it : All this, I fay, togerher with the Advantage of a very fruifful adjacent Country, through which the Donube paffes towards the Euxine Sea, is fufficient to make Belgrade one of the moft flourifing Cities in Europe, were it in the Hands of a People that knew how to improve all thefe Advantages. This City was formerly the main Bulwark of Hungary, which has feveral Times ftemm'd the Current of the Turkih Victories, witnefs the Difgrace received here by Mabomet the Great; but was at laft taken by Solyman the Magnificent in 152 I .
13. Atter we had left Belgrade, we continued our Journey through Servia, and paffing by a very high Hill called Havilleck, to the Weft of us, (where we faw the Ruins of an old Monaftery) we caine to Hijfargick near the Donube, though our Maps place it at a good Diftance from it. Here we bid adieu to the Danube, at a Place where it had run already from Ulm in Suabia, where it begins to be navigable, about 900 Miles, befides what is to be accounted for from its firf Source thither, and has feveral Hundreds of Miles to run before it difcharges itfelf into the Euxine Sea. The next Place we cáme to was Collar, not far from Samandria, an old Roman Colony, but now an inconfiderable Place. From hence to Hafan Bafa Palanka, about forcy Englifh Miles from Belgrade, where we found a Lion worrying a Wolf, in Stone, a very ancient Piece.

Coming afterwards to Baditzna, we faw feveral Bulgarian Women, whofe Drefs feemed to us very odd: For they wear a Kind of Canopy upon their Heads, fet about, as well as their Foreheads, with all Sorts of Foreign Money; we alfo beftow'd fome Pieces upon them, as an Addition to their Ornaments, which they thankfully received. Much in the fame Manner have I feen fome Gracian Women attired, their Foreheads being cover'd richly with Duckats of Gold, and Pearl; but their Head-drefs was not raifed fo high.
We pals'd forward for Yagodna, pleafantly feated in a moft delightful Country; and in a few Hours after we had left it, turning off to the South, we faw to the Right of us, on the Side of a Hill, the Tomb of a Turkija Saint, about four Yards long, and a fquare cover'd Place near it: Our Cbiaus having performed his Devotion here, we went forward through great Woods by Cbiffick, where there is a Caravanfera; but we thought it more fafe for us to refrefl ourfelves, and our Horles, at an adjacent Farm-houre, belonging to a Merchant of Belgrade. Hence we travel'd all Night to the Morava, or Mofcbius (the Marofo) the chief Rivèr

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of this Country, arifing in the Mountains in two Streams, the one call'd Morava di Bulgaria; the other Morava di Servia; and uniting afterwards in one Channel, falls into the Danube at Zendecir, or Singidunum, oppofite to the Rafcian Shore. We happening to pafs this River in a Place where it was very broad, deep and rapid, the Cbiaus betook himfelf to his Prayers; and after the Danger was over, it put me in Mind of the rapid River Varus or Var, on the Confines of Provence and Italy, which, when I pafs'd on Horfeback, two Men were forced to go on the lower Side of me, to keep my Horfe from beinig carried downwards by the Violence of the Current. By this River the Commodities of Servia and Bulgaria, are carried into the Danube, and from thence to other Places; as on the other Hand, Salt, and various other Commodities of the Product of Aufria and Hungary, are brought up againft the Current of the fame River. Near. this River, Hunniades furprized the Turkib Camp by Moonlight, with 10,000 Horfe, with the Slaughter of $30,000 \mathrm{Men}$, and 4000 taken Prifoners.

At laft we came to Halli Fabifar, or Crußovats, a Place of Note in Bulgaria, having a handfome Church, with two fair Towers. From hence we continued our Journey for a whole Day through Hills and Forefts, and and came at Night to Procupie, fuppofed by fome to be the old Villa Procopiana; the Turks call it Urcbup. We lodged here this Night at a Merchant's Houfe of Ragufa, where we met with very good Accommodation. Here we met with a Roman Catbolick Monk, who fpoke Latin (a Rarity in thofe Parts) and one of their Phyficians, whofe Knowledge went no further than the Compofition of fome ordinary Simples; his Way was to offer his Service to the People every Morning in the Market-place.
14. From hence we travel'd to Lefcoa, or Lefcoria, a Town feated upon the River Lyperitza, which may well be call'd the Meander of Mafia, having fo many various Windings betwixt the Hills, that in lefs than twelve Hours time we pafs'd it ninety rimes. This put me in Mind of the Italian River Taro, which I pals'd forty times betwixt Parma and Fornovo. I found nothing worth taking Notice of here, except an ancient large Tower, but without any Infcription. We were alfo much diverted with the great Concourfe of People met together on Account of a great Fair, which is annually kept in an Enclofure near the Place. We continued our Journey the next Day over the Mountain Clifura (one of the Branches of Mount Hermus) where our Eyes were furprized with the Brightnefs of the Rocks, which confifting of Mufcovia Glafs, made a pleafing glittering Show; like that mentioned by Olearius, of Lapis Specularis, betwixt Permeras and Schamacbia, which fhined like Diamonds. We defcended through a narrow rocky Way, by the ftrong Caftle of Kolomboiz, or Golobotz, which brought us co Urania, a ftrong Pafs with a Caftle at the Foot of Mount Cliffura, and commanding that Paffage.

The whole Ridge of Hills, which extends betwixt Servic and Macedonia, is a Part of Mount Hamus, which under divers Names reach from the Adriatick to the Euxine Sea; vifiting by the Way feveral Paffages which Pbilip King of Macedon took care to fhut up, to fecure himfelf againt the neighbouring Nations; tome affirm, That from the middle Peaks of Mount Hemus, there is a Profpect both to the Adriatick and Euxine Seas. But King Pbilip, who made Trial of it, found himfelf difappointed in his Expectations, and fo was I ; for being upon one of thofe high Mountains, but fomewhat nearer to the Adriatick Sea, I found that the Mountains of Albania cut off the Profpect on that Side. From hence we went forward to Comonava, where there is Itill a Greek Monaftery on the Side of the Hills, and fo to Kaplanlib or Tygres Town; then to Kuprulib, or Bridge Town, having a good Bridge over a confiderable River call'd $P$ finia. It was cafually fet on Fire before we left it, and a great Part of it burn'd.

From hence we travel ${ }^{3}$ d by the Way of Isbar to Pyrlipe, firt paffing the high and craggy Mountains of Pyrlipe in Macedonia, which glifter like the Clifura, and
probably contains, befides the Mufcovia Glafs, fome Minerals. There we faw maffy Stones lie upon mafly Stones, without the leaft Earth about them; and upon a high Ridge or Rock, many Sceeples high, a very ftrong Caftle, belonging formerly to Marco Crollowitz, a famous Man in thofe Parts.
15. After this, paffing through a plain Country, we came to a large pleafant and well-peopled Town of Ma cedomia, call'd Monafter, or Toki, where great Preparations were making for the Reception of the Sultana, whe was to lie in here; where I afterwards heard fhe was de livered of a Daughter, who lived not long. From hence we went on to Filurina and Ecciffo Verbeni, where are plentiful Springs of Mineral Waters: But as we were defcending the Hill which leads to the Town, we had Sight of that noted Mount, Olympus, though Seventy Miles off; and to the Left of us, of the two Lakes of Petriki and Ujtrova, one whereof, as they fay, was made by the removing of great Stones out of the Side of the Hills, whereby Vent being given to the Subterrarieous Waters, they broke out into the adjacent Plains. Coming to Egribugia, we quitted again the Plains, and paffed over high Rocks to Sariggiole, built partly upon a Hill, partly in the Plain ; the firft being inhabited by Chriftians, and this lower Part by Turks: Upon one of the adjacent Rocks ftands a Caftle. Not far from this Place we went through a Paffage cut through the Rocks, like a Gate, through which alfo paffes a Rivulet; this Pafs commanding the Accefs of this Country, which put me in Mind of the Paffage of La Cbiufa, in the $\mathcal{F} u$ lian Alps, betwixt Venfone and Ponteva, which is fhut up by the Venetians every Night. We paffed alfo by a Hill of a fine Red Earth, whereof they make Veffels, much efteem'd in thofe Parts; we proceeded over very dangerous Rocks, in narrow hanging Ways, with dreadful Precipices on one Side, where the Carkaffes of Horfes, which were tumbled down, gave us fufficient Warning to be upon our Guard. Afterwards we faw Mount Olympus upon our Left, till we come to Alef fone, or Aleffew, a Place of Note, where the Greeks have a Monaftery, belonging to thofe of the Order of St . Bafll; the Building whereof was a quite different kind from that we had feen before.

From hence paffing a River, we entred a pleafant Place of five Miles long, with divers Towns in it; and afterwards over a Hill, a Branch of the Mount Olympus, on the Top whereof we faw an Old Man beating the Drum to give Notice, that the Paffages on both Sides were free from Robbers. We defcried from thence into the Plains of Tbeffaly; and turning to the Left, paffed over the River Pbaribus, which comes from under a Rocky Mountain, not in fmall Springs, but in one continued Channel, and taking its Courfe through the Vineyards and Corn-fields to Tornovo, runs unto Lariffa, of which we fhall hereafter fay more.
In our Return we left the Road about Kaplanlib, taking that of Skopia (the Scupi of Ptolemy) call'd Ujcopia by the Turks, being a large and trading City. It is feated on the Frontiers of Mafia and Macedonia, at the Foor of Mount Orbelus, upon the River Vardar or Axius: in a pleafant fertile Country intermix'd with Hills and Plains. It was formerly an Archbifhop's See: Above 700 Tanners live here, who make moft excellent Leather. There are feveral handfome Sepulchral Monuments, and fair Houfes here, as that of the Cadib, and of the Emir, or one of Mabomet's Kindred, whole $\mathrm{Fa}=$ ther was in great Veneration in thefe Parts. In the Court-Yard of the Houfe of Emir you fee a Fountain built like an old Caftle with Towers, out of the Tops whereof fpring the Water. The Floors in their beft Houfes are generally covered with Carpets, and the Roofs divided into Triangles, and many other Figures well painted, and richly gilt, but without any Figures of Animals or Vegetables. The Bezaftan, or chief Mar ket-place here, is covered with Lead, and the trading Streets with Wood; it contains alio a confiderable Number of Turki弓 Mofques. The moft fplendid of all ttands upon a Hill, having a fpacious Portico, fuftain'd by four Marble Pillars; near it is an Arch, wich a Brook running under it, which feems to be an ancient Plece ;

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as alfo a large Stone (being part of a Pillar) with this Infeription, S HANC. Not far without the City you fee a moft noble Aqueduct of Stone, from one Hill to another, over the interjacent Valley: It has about 200 Arches, and is a noble Piece of Antiquity. The Country hereabouts has been the Field of Great Actions in the Roman Times; here Regilliamus did fuch mighty Feats, that he deferved a Triumph. Hereabouts ftood alfo Parecopolis, and Ulpianum. This City drives a confiderable Trade with Belgrade and Salonichi, which is the old Theffalonica.

The Sanziack of Servia is under the Juriddiction of the Beglerbeg of Rumelia, or Greece; as our Geographers generally mention this Place as a very confiderable one, fo I thought fit to give a more particular Account of it. From hence we went on to Cat/banich, a Fortrefs commanding the Paffage of the Hills, and travelling on reach'd the Plains of Colova in Bulgaria, known for the great Actions perform'd here, though not much exceeding Lincoln Heath. Some take it to be the Campus Merule. Here it was that Lazarus, Defpot of Servia, at the Head of 500000 Men (the greateft Chriftian Army that ever was brought into the Field) was worfted by Amurath, and he flain in the Field; nor was he furviv'd long by Amuratb, who viewing the dead Bodies, was ftabb'd by Michael Cobilovitz, a Chriftian Eoldier, left for dead in the Field ; whence this Part, to this Day, is call'd, The Field of the Sepulcbre, where a Monument is erected to the Memory of Amuratb.
In thefe Plains alfo Hunniades engaged three Days fucceffively againft Mabomet, but being very unequal in Forces, was put to the Rout at laft.

We travell'd on to Prefina, a mof beautiful Town; but the Plague being there, we took a Gypfy for our Guide, who conducted us through a fruitful Country, but very ill peopled, and were much refrefhed with the fair Carnations that grew by the Way. On the right Hand we faw a Bath, which we found arched within; the Water had a red Sediment, and a petrefying Juice, as might be feen by the grey Stone it had produc'd. It is not above two Leagues from Bellachorque, or Curfumde, which has a Convent with an old Church near it, with two handfome Towers. From hence paffing over the Hill $\mathcal{F} a f n e b a t z$, we came to Efselleck, betwixt the two Channels of the River Marofh, and thence by a Caftle upon a Hill, near which is a Convent famous in thofe Parts for the Sepulchres of Kenez Lazarus, and of St. Romanus, whofe Bodies were interred here. But it is Time to return to Larifa.
16. Larifa, the Capital City of Tbeffaly, feated by the River Peneus (the moft confiderable of this Country) has to the North the famous Mount Olympus, and to the South Part of the Plains of Theffaly, being inhabited by Cbrifians, Turks, and Feres, the firtt of which have feveral Churches here; it has alfo many fair Bezantens or Turki/b Mofques. Its Situation is very pleafant, on a rifing Ground, on the upper Part whereof ftands the Grand Seignior's Palace, having large jetting Windows on all the four Sides, to give the freer Paflage to the Air ; here the Grand Seignior had kept his Court for feveral Years, to be nearer to Candia, and for the Convenience of Hunting and Hawking; he ftaid there for fome Months after we came away, and then removed to Salonicbi, and afterwards to Belgrade. It is now an Archbifhop's See, having divers Suffragan Bifhops under it. We went into the Cathedral of St. Acbilleus, where we faw the reverend Father Dionysus (who was then Archbifhop) ftanding in his Throne in his Epifcopal Habit, and his Crofier in his Hand. The Summer being very hot, 1669 , the Grand Seignior retreated for two Months to Mount Olympus, to enjoy the frefh Air, whence he had a Profpect of part of the Igrean Sea: This Removal proved deftructive to a great many People, who being obliged to attend the Court, and being overheated by the afcending of fo high a Mountain, were fo ftruck by the fudden Alteration of the cold Air, that they $d y^{\text {sd }}$ foon after, efpecially fuch as had, in their Heat and Thirft, drunk of a certain Spring of a whitifh Colour, who were immediately feized with a Coldnefs at their Stomachs, and died in three or four

Days after. Of Horfes and Camels there alfo died a great Number, and the Sulcan himfelf was ill for feveral Days; he kill'd one of his bett Horfes there, by forcing him up a cragged Peak called Pytbagon, or Krfo fagon, where ifarce any Body durft follow him ; and had he not been with held by the Prayers ol his bett Friends, he would have leap'd over a Fiffure or Cleft in the Rocks.
17. The ancient Greeks (the beft Romancers in the World, efpecially when they fpeak of their own Country) will have Olympus to reach beyond the Clouds, and therefore have affign'd 7 upiter, and the Gods, their Refidence thereabout: I am fure I faw Clouds above i:; and to me fome Parts of the Alps appear'd much higher ; and in September there was no-Sign of Snow upon Olympus, whereas the higheft Peaks of the'Alps, Pyrencan and Carpatbian Mountains, befides feveral others in Europe, are never without it; of which Olympus alfo had a confiderable Share upon the firf Rain that tell hereabouts; it being well known, that when it rains in the Valleys, it fnows upon thofe and all other high Mountains.

I faw, as I told you, the Olympus at feventy Miles Diftance, and it confifts not of one high rifing Peak, as fome defcribe it, but is a long Ridge of Mountains, ftretching out a great Way in Length : Its Extent from Eaft to Weft makes the Inhabitants, at the Foot of the North and South Sides, as fenfible of the Difference of the Air, as if they lived in very different Climates; which makes good the Words of Lucan :

## Nec metuens imi Borean babitator Olympi, Lucentem totis ignorat nootibus Arcton.

Paulus Emylius, the Roman Conful, furprized King Perfeus, by marching about this Hill along the Seafide. At the Siege of Lariffa by Antiocbus, Appius Claudius, by making Fires on many different Places of Olympus, fo terrified the King, that he left the Place, and the Conful Martius found Means to bring his whole Army over this great Mountain.

Larifa has been frequently vifited by feveral famous Princes; King Pbilip of Macedon, the laft of that Name, kept his Refidence here for a confiderable Time. Whether Xerwes honour'd this Place with his Prefence, when his Army march'd through T'beffaly towards Thermopile, the Hiftories of thofe Times do not exprefy mention; but certain it is, that Pbilip, the Father of Alexander the Great, having form'd his Defign againt Greece, took the City of Larifa upon the River Peneus, and afterwards made good Ufe of the Theffalian Horfe againt the Greeks. Before the Battle of Pbarfalia, Scipio was quarter'd here with a Legion; and this was the firft Place of the Retreat of Pompey, after his Overthrow; according to Lucan:

## Vidit prima tuce tefis Lariffa ruince <br> Nobile, nec victum fatis caput.

And going down the River, went out to Sea in a Boat, and was taken in by a great Ship which was ready to fail.

The River Peneus rifes from Mount Pindus, which running by Lariffa, and being augmented in her Paffage by feveral other Rivers of Theffaly, exonerates itfelf into the Sinus Thermairus or Gulf of Salonicbi, paffing by the famous Valley of Tempe, and running betweên Mount Olympus and $O f f$, into the Sea. Over this River, which (according to the Defcription of Homer) has a very clear Stream and Bottom, is a handfome Stone-Bridge, fupported by nine Arches, with Holes or Paffages in the folid Parts betwixt the Arches, to afford a Paffage to the Water, when the Water rifes high by the Floods. The City being then crowded with People, by reafon of the Grand Seignior's Refidence here, many of the Turks had fee up their Tents in the lower Grounds near the River; and thefe not coming within a Yard of the Ground, afford a free Paffage to the Air. The neareft Port of Note unto Lariffa is that of Vollo (the old $P a_{0}$ gafo) in the Sinus Pagaficus, or Gulf of Ammira; not
far from whence food the ancient Argos Palafgicum, from whence the Argonauts fail'd for Colcbos; by this Way the Grand Seignior receives his Intelligence from Candia, and his Afatick and African Dominions. Near the Promontory Sepias (not far from hence) Xerwes loft 500 Ships, by a Tempent from the Eaft.
58. As the Grand Seignior Molommed IV. went often abroad a Shooting and Hawking, attended by a great Number of his Huntfmen, Falconers, and others, and alfo went often to the great Mofque, I had many Opportunities of feeing him; among the reft, I took once a full View of him, as he was coming out of the Palace to go to the Mofque. Before the Halace I faw reveral very fine Horfes richly accoutred, which were rode by fome of his Attendants in the Court-Yard, till he looking out of the Window, made a Sign to let them know which he would make ufe of; he no fooner appear'd without, but he was received with great Acclamations, and very low Reverences, both near and at a Diftance; the Streets were made clean, and a Janizary placed at every Corner, to remove any Thing which might be in the Way. The Chiaules lead the Van on Horfeback, thefe were follow'd by twenty four Perfons of Quality on Foot ; on each Side of his Horfe walk'd two Janizaries, with large fpreading white Feathers of a Fathom high, faften'd to their Caps; and thefe fhaking as they walk'd along, were high enough both to fhade and fan his Face. After him follow'd many very fine lead Horfes, and feveral Perfons carrying Cuhions and Pillows to the Mofque.

The Grand Seignior was then fearce thirty Years of Age, well proportion'd, but fomewhat fhort-neck' $d$, inclining to Fatnefs, of a fallow Complexion. For the reft, he was of a ftrong Conftitution, delighted in hard Riding; his Countenance fomewhat ftern, yet he would invite with a kind Look, People to approach him. I heard of no Phyfician of Note he had about him; but the Grand Vizier had taken feveral Chriftian Surgeons along with him to Candia. The Caimacban, or Deputy to the Vizier, had the chief Management of Affairs of Staie, in the Abfence of Acbmet the Prime Vizier. I went with Ofman, Cbiaus, to fee his Palace, which was a fine Structure ; where I heard ten Men playing all at once in a high Room, upon large Wind. Inftruments, which they do at certain Hours every Day, making a very loud, yet not unpleafant Noife, even to fuch as do not underftand their Mufick.

The Sultana was at the fame Time at Lariffa, by Birch a Candiot, and much beloved by the Grand Seignior ; the was but low of Stature, and fomewhat mark'd with the Small-Pox ; being then big with Child, great Preparations were made for her Delivery at Monafter, a pleafant Town in Macedonia, the Roads were then a Plaining, and the Hills laying level, with broad Bridges over the Rivers, for her more convenient Paffage thither. The Grand Seignior's Son, who was with her there, was then fix Years of Age.

I heard, at feveral different Times, the Turks fing their ufual Songs, and, among the reft, one concerning that famous Ferwits Impoftor Sabata Serv, whom CuJJum Baffa forced to turn Turk. This Cufum Baffa is a Man of great Reputation at the Oitoman Court, and much valued for his Skill in Phyfick, (a Thing not much known in Turkey.) He was formerly Vizier of Buda, and is now Vizier of Erzrum, upon the Frontiers of Georgia and Perfia, and married to one of the Grand Seignior's Sifters. Of Padre Ottomonno, a Dominican Friar, whom I had feen at Turin, and who was thought to be the Grand Seignior's Brother, I could learn nothing here.

Ig. The Wintering of that vaft Army of Xerxes under Mardonius, is an undeniable Teftimony of the ancient Fertility of The foly, which continues to this Day; for notwithftanding the vaft Concourfe of People, occafioned by the Sultan's Refidence here, every Thing was fo cheap, that one might dine at a common Vic-tualling-houfe, upon roafted and boil'd, and have good Sherbet to drink, for Six-pence a Head; and an Officer arm'd with a Club, with twenty-four Followers, begt the Streets fo quiet, that not the leaft Difturbance
was to be heard of there in the Night-time. The hot Weather which happened in September, 1669, occafioned frequent Fevers and Agues in thofe Parts, as about the fame time other Parts of Europe were much infected with Quartan Agues. It being then their Vintage, I tafted of their Muft, or new Wine; and I obferved that fome of the zealous Turks, who would not drink Wine, yet would take a plentiful Draught of this with a great Deal of Eagernefs.

During the hot Seafon, we ufed frequently to vifit the Barber, who perform'd his Bufinefs very weell, and would trim every Man according to his Country FaThion. The Greeks always leave a bare Place of the Bignefs of a Crown-piece, on the Top of their Heads, round which they let the Hair grow to the Breadth of two Inches, and fhave all the reft of their Head. The Croation fhaves his Head on one Side, and on the other lets his Hair grow as long as it will. The Hungarian keeps only a Fore-top, the reft being fhaved all over the Head. The Polanders dont have their Heads, but keep their Hair cut fo as it comes down to the Middle of the Forehead, and the Middle of the Ears. The Turk fhaves his whole Head, leaving only a Lock upon his Crown. The Franks wear their Hair long, without Maving their Heads, but to give no Offence to the Turks, generally turn up their Hair under their Caps; but the Greek Priefts keep and wear their Hair long.

The Party to be fhaved fits low, fo that the Barber, who lays on much Soap, takes of a great deal of Hair at once, and finifhes the whole Bufinets in a few Strokes. A Veffel of Water, with a Cock, hangs commonly over the Head of thofe that are to be fhaved, fo that the Barber lets out the Water upon them as he pleafes. I faw accidentally in one of the Barbers Shops of Lariffa, an ancient and very noble Monument, or Tombftone, of a Jafper-green Colour, through the Top-ftone of which the Barber had caufed a Hole to be made to ferve him for a Ciftern.

In the Market-place fit certain Money-changers, who exchanged our Duckats, and Rix-Dolars, into Medines, Afpers, and five Sols Pieces, of which great Plenty is to be found in thofe Parts. All the Trading Streets were cover'd with Wood; their Shops were generally fmall, but well enongh provided, the Shopkeeper fitting like a Taylor, and felling his Wares to the Buyers, who commonly remain ftanding in the Street: Such Commodities as are not to be had in the Shops, are cry'd about the Strects by a Man on Horfeback, who at the fame Time tells the People what Price they are to be fold at.
20. I had been much pleafed with the Sight of the Yeveral Stables of Chriftian Princes, as that of the French King's, the Vict-Roys of Naples, the Elector of Saxony's at Drefden, and that of Count Walleftein's at Prague; but for Horfes, I mult confefs none of there could compare to thofe I faw at Larifa, being chofen from among the beft of the Turkib Empire, fo richly equipp'd with moft ftately Saddles and Bridles fet with precious Stones, and fo tractable, that I could not but be furprized thereat. I faw among the reff fome Tartarian Horfes, valued chielly for their Hardinets and Swiftnefs, being for the reft rather unfightly, than beautiful. Some of the richeft Greck Merchants are well verfed in the Itclion Tongue, which is preferr'd here before either Latin or French. The Feros of Macedonia, Servia, and Bulgaria, commonly fpeak Spanifh; and thofe of Hothgary, High-Dutch, for Conveniency in Difcourfing with Strangers.

At our being there theSeafon was fo parching, that even the greateft Rivers were very low, and the fmall ones quice dry, except one, I took Notice of about feven Miles on this Side Tornovo, which continued to flow plentifully in one copious Channel from under the Rocks. This general Drought however of the Country, put me in Mind of the Deluge which happened in the Time of Deucalion King of Theffaly (as fometimes we are api to remember Things by Contraries, ) when by the Stop . ping of the Current of the River Peneus (into whicin molt of the others run, ) the whole Country of Theflaty? which is plain, and enclos'd on all Sides by Hitls, was

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laid under Water for a whole Winter : I know fome who are of Opinion, that all Tbe $\int$ Jaly was, in the moft ancient Times under Water, till the Mountains Offa and Olympus being torn afunder by a violent Earthquake, the River Peneus forced its Paffage that Way by Tempe, into the Sea.

I remember, that as we were travelling in Macedonia, our Chiaus told me, that within a few Days I fhould fee Frencbmen in thofe Parts; meaning the Theffalians, the Country People wearing narrow brim'd Hats like the French Hats, then laiely in Fafhion. The Tbeffalians had always the Reputation of being Warlike, and are accounted fo to this Day among the Turks, this Country having been very famous in ancient Times, not only for the Battles fought in the Plains of Theflaly, but alfo for its having produced many great and worthy Perfons; and Hippocrales, the Father of Phyficians, lived and practifed here, and died about Lariffa, being buried betwixt that Flace and Gyrton. The Theffalians are generally well made, have very black Harr and Eyes, with a frefh fanguine Complexion; and their Women are much celebrated, among Strangers, for their Beauty; the Macedonions, who inhabit a Hilly Country, being of a much rougher Complexion; and the Moreans, or ancient Peloponnefians, who live more to the South, inclining to Swarthinefs.
21. The Country abounds in Horfes, and they have the largeft Bufflos in all Greece, except thofe of Santa Maura in Epirus. They have alfo Plenty of fine yellow and black Tortoifes, which are good Meat ; but the Turks ufe to laugh at the Chriftians, for eating them, when they had fuch Plenty of Mutton, and all Sorts of Fowl. This Country alfo produces very large and moft delicious Figs, and the beft tafted Water-melons that I ever met with; likewife Pomegranates, Oranges, Limons, Citrons, and Vines, which grow low here like thole of Montpellier, and though not fupported, bear large Branches, and Grapes as big as our Damafcens, and of a moft lufcious Tafte. The Wine of the Country is rich, but has a refinous Tang.

The Tobacco they plant, they efteem beyond what is brought from orher Parts, being ftronger and more pungent. Their Fields are cover'd with Sefamum, and Cotton-Trees, which though but low, make a glorious Show; as alfo with Almond and Olive-Trees; the Greeks pickle their Olives ripe, whereas ours are all green. The Gourds in the Hedges, with their large yellow Flowers, and the different Sorts of green Thorns, and Sempervirent Oaks, make the Ways exceeding pleafant. The Ilex Coccifera, and Cbermes Berry, or the Excretion ferving for dying and making the Confection of $A l$ chermes, are very plentiful in this Country. The high Hills produce Afclepias, and Helleborus; and the ftony Plains Carduus Globofus, Cyfus, Lavender, Sweet Mar joram, Rofemary, and other fweet-fcented Plants. The Platanus, or Plain-Trèe, grows very fair and lofty in Macedonia.

They ufe a great deal of Garlick in their Difhes, and their Onions exceed ours, not only in Bignefs, but alfo in Tafte; being tharp, and pleafantly pungent upon the Tongue, without any offenfive Smell; they agreed very well with my Stomach, though I never ufed to eat Onions before. They are ufed here at moft Collations the $\mathcal{T} u r k i / b$ Cbiaus, who had travell'd almoft through all the Turkij/b Dominions, told me, that the Onions of Egypt only, exceeded thofe of Theffaly in Goodnefs which was the firf Time I really underftood that Paffage in the Scripture, of the Ifraelites longing after the Onions of Egypt. They have alfo a Fruit call'd Patle jan, or Melanzan (mala infana) between a Melon and a Cucumber, out of which, they take the Seed, and after having fill'd the Concavities with the Meat of Saufages, they pare and boil them, which makes a very good Difh.
The Foreign Minifers who attended the Grand Seignior's Court at Lariffa, were the Imperial Refident, and the Ambaffadors of Ragufa and Wallacbia; thore Ambaffadors that refide at Conftantinople chielly on Account of Trade, being not obliged to follow the Court.

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The Imperial Refident having got Leave of the Sultan (by Reafon of the great Concourfe of People at Lariffa) to chufe which of the neighbouring Towns he pleafed for his Refidence, he pitch'd upon Tornovo, a large and pleafant City of Theffaly, twenty Miles to the Weftward of Larifa near the Hills, where mof of the Inhabitants are Chriftians, having eighteen Greek Churches there, whereas the Turks had no more than three Mofques, The chief Churches I took Notice of were, the Cathedral of Si. Stepben, the Church of St. Demetrius, of Cof mus, and Damianus, of the Nativity of the Bleffed Virgin, of St. Elias (with a Monaftery adjoining to it, of St. Anaftafius, of the Twelve Apottles, of Sr. Nicholas, (with a Convent alfo) and of St. Antbony the Hermite. The B hhop of this City is a Suffragan to the Archbithop of Lariffa.
22. Before I travell'd into thefe Parts, I could never conceive that the Eaftern Countries contained fuch vaft Numbers of Greek Chriftians as are to be found in Grecia and the Greek Inands; in the Turkilh Parts of Dalmatia and Croatia, in Rafcia, Bofnia, Servia, Thrace, Sagora, Bulgaria, Perfia, Beffarabia, Coffackia, Podolia, Moldavia, and Wallachia; befides the vaft Dominons under the Jurifdiction of the Czar of Mufoovy: Which put me in Mind of what a certain learned Aurhor fays upon that Head, viz. That if a true Computation werc made of the Greek Cbritions in Europe, they would far exceed thofe of the Roman Religion.

The Font or Bafon in the Greek Churches is generally made of plain Stone, and plac'd immediately upon the Floor of the Church, which feems to be done for Conveniencies Sake, for being not contented with fprinkling of Water upon the Child's Head; the Prieft, having firft blefs'd the Water, and dipp'd the Crucifix into it three Times, takes the naked Child by one Arm, and putting it into the Font up to the Wafte, with the other Hand laves the Water thrice over his Head; which that it has been the ancient Cuftom among them, may eafily be gathered from what is related of the Emperor Confantine VI. Conftantinus fextus, dictus Copronymus, quod Infans dum baptizaretur aquam facrams ventris folutione maculaffet; The Dipping of the naked Body in Water being apt to move it. Some of their Children I faw baptiz'd before the Navel-ftring was fallen off.
23. The Fields round this Place were full of Vines, Sefamum and Cotton-Trees. The Emperor's Refident, named Signore di Cafa nova lived here in great Splendor, with a Retinue of about thirty Perfons, fome Chritians and fome Turks, and has two Fanizaries attending at his Gate. He was a Milanefe by Brrh, much addiEted to Sudy, civil and courteous in his Behaviour, but referv'd. The Ambaffador of Ragufa had made Choice of the fame Town for his Refidence; but they never vifited one another, by Reafon that the Ragufan being here in the Quality of an Ambaffador, would nor give the Precedency to the other, who had only the Character of a Refident; which fometimes gave great Occafion of Laughter to the Germans, who look upon the Ragufans no otherwife than as Vaffals.

Here I muft not pafs by in Silence the many Civilities I receiv'd from a certain Greek Merchant of Tornovo, whofe Name was Demetrius, who entertained us with a great deal of Freedom at his Houfe, at feveral Times, and brought his two Daughters to bid us welcome, whom we faluted after the Cuftom of our own Country. They were very well drefs'd after the Greek Fafhion, with their Hair braided and hanging down their Back ; their Shoes and Slippers painted, and (which fomething furprized us) their Nails colour'd with red, by a certain Tincture drawn with Water and Wine out of the Leaves of a certain Plant call'd Cnà or Alcanna, broughe out of Arabia and FEgypt, and much ufed in Turkey, where fome colour the Mains and Tails of Horfes with ir. The Gracions of Scio, who wear Gloves, ufe alfo this Tincture to colour them upon thofe Parts that touch their Nails. It muft be confefs ${ }^{2} \mathrm{~d}$, that the Gracian Countries bear now-a-days'a quite different

Face

Face from what they have done in ancient Times; the many Incurfions of barbarous Nations, and the late Conqueft by the Turks, having laid defolate many great and once famous Cities, and exchanged the Names of the reft, not leaving even the ancient Names of the Rivers, which generally are beyond the Fate of Towns. Thus the Rivers of Macedonio, the Axius, Erigonus and Aliaomon, which I pafs'd, have now Names which have not the leaft Afinity to thofe of former Ages. The famous River Peneus has undergone the fame Fate, as well as Apidanus, Enipeus, and others that join their Waters with it. Lariffa is call'd Jeni-Sabar by the Turks ; and Tbeflaly, Comenolitari
24. It feems to be one of the greatef Delights that attends Travelling, to behold, as one moves along, à different Face of Things in Habits, Diet, Manners, Cuftoms and Language : Of this we had our full Share af ter we had travelled a Day's Journey beyond Raab and Comorrab; for before we reach'd Buda, we enter'd upon fo different a Courfe of Life, efpecially as to Habit and Manners, (which with fome fmall Alteration, continues to the utmoft Part of Afia, viz. Cbina) that we though ourfelves in a Manner in a new World. Though we were provided with good Paffes, and had taken all other imaginable Care for our Security, yet we were not without Fear from the Huffars, who knowing' all the By-ways, commonly rob all they meet with as far as the Bridge of Effeck; neither were we in lefs Fear of the Cingars or Gyphes, who are noted here for their Robberies; though they live in the Towns of Hungaria, Servia, Bulgaria, Macedonia (and fome allo in Theffaly) by Labour and handy-craft Trades. They are generally fuppofed to have their Original from the Frontiers of Wallacbia. They have a Way of Colouring their Hands and Feet of a reddifh Colour, with Cnì, and fome of the Women colour the Extremities of their Hair alfo.

We were in no fmall Danger of being robb'd as we travel'd from Belgrade into Servia, by three Horfemen, who coming up with us difcharged their Piftols; had it not been for our Chiaus, who knowing them to be Spabies, fhew'd them his Feather, bidding me to dif charge at the fame Time my Piftol, to let them know that we were not unprovided; whereupon they left us. Caravanfera's; or publick Inns, built by charitable Benefactors to the Publick, for the Lodging of Travellers upon the Road, we feldom made Ufe of, the Rooms being very fpacious: We were but a few in Company, and not fitted for Places where we muft provide every Thing one's felf; and therefore private Houfes were much more convenient for us: Befides that the Situation of thofe Caravanfera's is often-time fuch, as not to be fecure againft the Infults of Robbers, which are too frequent in thofe Parts, though punifhed with the greateft Severity; for which Reafon, in moft dangerous Paffages, Drummers are appointed, who by Beat of Drum give Notice to Travellers, that the Roads are fafe.

However, in the main, we had fufficient Accommodation; for from Comorrab our Boat was towed by a Saick of twenty-four Oars, till we came to the Turkib Frontier Town, where meeting with the Turkib Convoy, our Boat was faften'd to their Saick with eighteen Oars, till we came to Buda, from whence we were carried in open Chariots, with two, three or four Horfes a-breaft, and that very fwiftly, through a very pleafant Country, to Belgrade. Here we were mounted on good fure-footed Horfes, which would carry one fafely twenty Miles in a Stage: They are very free, tender mouth'd, and tractable; which made the Owners not well pleafed with our Spurs, which are feldom ufed by the Turks. They have generally a lighter and leffer Shoe than our Horfes. Moft of thefe Countries abound in good Horfes, which are very fleet ; but they never dock them, looking upon a long Tail as a great Ornament to a Horle, which they will handfomely make up, and adorn to render it more fo.

The Bafla of Temeftear prefented Ragotzi with a Horfe, which he nlighting, cut off the Horfe's Ears,

Main and Tail, and to fent him back again; whith the Bafa took for fuch an Affront, that he did not defilt till he brought about the Ruin of Ragorizi, as be might have expected. They do not feed them out of high Mangers or Racks, but lay their Hay before them almoft even with the Ground

In the Caravanfera's they tie their Horfes to Rings, faften'd to the Side of a long Place a little elevated, upon which the Travellers fleep as they can, their Hay being laid fomewhat lower at the Feet, whereon their Horfes feed. They plough generally with Oxen and Buffelo's, and have great Variety of Ploughs and Carts, fome whereof I faw in Macedonia with Wheels of folid Weod, in the whole Piece, perhaps the betrer to refik the rough and ragged Ways of a rocky Country. We obferved among the People in general, that they will be much obliged with a fmall Prefent, fuch as Knives, Sciffers, and other Toys; nay, we gave fometintes a Glove to one, and the Fellow to another, which they took very kindly. Thus the Bulgarian Women wosld be well pleafed with a fmall Piece of Silver Foreign Coin, and put it as an Ornament to their Head-drets, though they had others of much more Value there before.
25. In our Journey about the Mountains of Servic, we were in great Danger from Wolves, efpecially in the Woods, where they would come very near us in the Night-time ; fo that we were forced to remain clofe together, and keep our Fire-Arms in Readinefs : Neither were the Dogs lefs troublefome; for no fooner came we near a Town, or left it, but they, would eithee meet or follow us at a confiderable Difance, and with Barking and Biting our Horles Legs, be very offenfive. I remember, that at my coming to Comorrah, which happened to be about Midnighr, we were fo clofely purfued by the Dogs, which were thut out of Doors on Purpofe, that we were forced to feek for Shelter in the Guard-houfe.

The Fear, in which the poor Chriftians live in the fe Parts, could not but move us greatly to Compaffion, where we faw them retreat to the Woods, at the firt Sight, to avoid us; which made us many Times ride after them to undeceive them. But the miferable Condition of che Slaves and Captives is almoft beyond exprefing, efpecially if you confider the Variety of their hard fate, and the odd Chances that reduce them into this miferable State ; fome by Trachery, fome by Cliance of War, others being fole by the Tartars; among all which, thofe who belong to the Grand Seignior leems to be in the worft Condition, as being paft all Hopes of being redeemed or exchanged. Of thefe I mot with one at Egribugia in Macedonia, who, though he had a Tole-Table Place at the Pof-houfe, yee was quite dejected upon that Account. In Theffaly I met with an Hungarian, who being taken at the Battle of Barchonit, firft ferved a Turk, and afterwards was fold to a Jere with whom he endured great Hardhip; but being at laft fold to an Armenian, he behaved himelf fo well, that his Mafter gave him his Frecdom, and coming to Larifa, he was entertain'd in the Imperial Refudent's Service. He was a very worthy P.rlon, who bad retain'd his Chriftianity among all thele Changes of Fortune. He fpoke Hungarian, Sclavonian, Turki/h, Armenian, and Latin, and, notwithttanding his Ravifh Condition, had been fo curious as to take Draughts of many Monafteries, Abbeys, Mofques, and other conliderable Buildings in Armenia, Perfia and Turkey, which he fhew'd me. 'The Turks make peculiar Obfervations upon the Captives of feveral Nations: Thus they fap, a Ruffan makes the beft Galley-Slave, a Georgian a good Courtier, and an Albanian a good Counlellor, Esc. I remember that the firft Time I went to have a Sight of the Grand Seignior, Ofmen Cbiaus kept backwards ; having ask'd him the Reafon, he anfwer'd, I take no great Pleafure in coming too near bim.
26. As the Iurks are commonly buried near the Iighways, Tombs and Sepulchres are met with every where hereabouts, but are not very fplendid, coniniting only of a Scone at the Head, and another at the Fuot, fome

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of which are two, three or four Yards high ; fome have a Turbant cut upon the Stone at the Head; fome alfo fet up two Pillars of Stone, and fometimes raife the Scpulchres after the European Fafhion, placing two Pillars upon them, one at the Head and the orher at the Feet. Of thefe I faw feveral at Scopia; but their neateft Way is to erect a Pavillion, fupported by four Pillars.

As we travel'd through Servia, I faw to the South of Fagodna, on the Side of a Hill, a Iurkib Tomb $^{\text {a }}$ four Yards long, which, the Cbiaus told me, was the Tomb of one of their Saints. As I could fcarce conceive that the Length of a Man fhould extend to that Height, fo it put me in Mind of what I once heard Mr. Wood fay upon this Account, viz. That he had leen feveral Graves in the Southern Parts of America, of four Yards in Length; and having never met with an Americon that came near that Height, he had the Curiofity to have one of the Sepulchres opened from one End to the other, wherein he found a Man and a Woman fo placed, that the Woman's Head lay at the Man's Feet, and confequently required a Grave of four Yards long. I thought I might, without the leaft Hazard, relate this upon the Credit of a Perfon, who has given fufficient Proofs of his Ingenuity to the World, by his accurate Maps of the Streights of Magellan, its Inands, and the Coaft from the Plate River to Baldivia in the South Sea.

In our Travels in thefe Parts, we met often with Tur$k_{i} \|_{3}$ Fairs, which are kept in fome large Ground, enclofed and divided into Streets, where you may furnifh yourfelf with all Manner of Things not to be feen in thefe Weftern Parts, and have Mufick at a chéap Rate; which, though none of the beft, yet ferves to pals away the Time pleafantly enough. We had the good Fortune, in all this Journey, to light upon no more than one Place infected with the Plague, viz. at Prefina, in the Plains of Cofora, which made us make what Hafte we could thence to a Gypfie's Houre among the Hills, where we met with a good Accommodation. The Turks were very well pleafed to fee me take out my Pocket-Book, to write down fuch Obfervations as I had Opportunity to make, and were much taken with my Writing fo quick with a Pen made of a Goofe Quill; whereas theirs are made of a Reed, where with they will write very well upon finooth Paper.
27. I would often, as Occafion ferved, look into fuch Maps as I had brought along with me; whereat the Cbiaus fmiling, faid, There is but little Dependance to be had on Maps, for they do not mention niany great Towns, and thofe they do are often not rightly placed. We Cbiaufes, added he, who fpend our Days in Travelling, take Notice of all Places, and know their Turkib Names, are the beft Map-makers; and I muft confefs, that in feveral Particulars I was convinced he fpoke nothing but the Truth; for I found the Maps of Hungary not exact, and thofe of Servia, Bulgaria, Macedonia, and Tbeffaly, very imperfect. In Upper Hungaria many Towns were omitted, and as many ill placed ; in the Lower alfo not a few. The Danube feems to take too great a Circumference to the S. W. before the Theyfle falls into it. In Servia I found IFifargick placed a good Way from the Danube, which runs jult by it. Procupic or Urcloop, and Lefcoe or Lefcovia, confiderable Towns (the laft upon the River Liperizza) I found quite left out, as likewife Kaplanly or Tygrefs Town; in Macedonia, Kupruly or Bridge Town, Urania, Pyrlipe, Comonara, Eccifo Verbeni, as alfo the Lake of Petriki; and the Towns of Oftrovo, Egribugia, Sariggiole, and Sarvizza, and the River Injecora near it; thus I found neither Aleflon nor Tornova, though one of the moft confiderable Cities in Theffaly; and to confeís the Truth, he that travels into Macedonia, will never be able to fquare the true Situations of Towns and Rivers to their Pofitions and Defcriptions in Maps, not excepting thofe that have been very lately publifhed of Grecce.
It was one of my chiefert Pleafures in this Journey to converfe with Cbiaufes, who have (if they are come to any Age) feen much of the World in their Travels, and
confequently are good Company, and can give a good Account of Things. Ofman, Cbiaus, who was our Conductor, and then of about fifty Years of Age, fpoke three Languages, viz. The Turkif, Sclavoniam, and Italian, was a brave honeft Fellow, who had travelled thro ${ }^{\circ}$ the greateft Part of the Grand Seignior's Dominions, and proving old, had feated himfelf at Buda as a Cbiaus to the Vizier: He took a very obliging Farewell of me at Buda, conducting me withont the Gates, with many a Dios and hearty Wifhes of a happy Return into my own native Country; and I muft feak well in Honour of the Turks, thar in all my Journey I met with very civil Ufage from them; I never came into a Room where the Turks were fitting, but they would give the firlt Salute; and defiring 'me to fit down', offer fome Coffee or Tobacco, except that now and then the Boys, and fome few of the Scum of the People, would call us long hair'd Infidels: The worft Language I ever received was from a Fere at Larifa, whom I had employ'd to buy fome Things; but had it not been for the Grand Seignior's Refidence in that City, fome of the Turks that were prefent would have taught him better Manners.
I found the Turks much addicted to taking of Tobacco in thofe Parts; they carried it in litule Bags by their Sides, and uled to take it in Pipes of an Ell long, made of Reed, with an Earthen Bowl at the End, laying one End on the Ground, and holding the other in their Mouths. I was not much ufed to Tobacco, yet out of Complaifance, I would now and then take a P!pe with them after their Manner, which, by reafon of the Length of the Pipe, I found cool, and lefs diftafleful than any other. I was alfo much taken with the Neatnefs and Cleanlinefs of the Turks, and with their wafhing of their Feet, Hands, and Faces; I ufed to be mightily pleafed to fee our Cbiaus, at the sight of a Spring, or any clear Water, alight and wafh himfelf. He was very curious in winding up his Turbant every Morning, and combing of his Beard ; nay, they are fo nice, that they carry a Pitcher with Water with them to the Houfe of Office; when they make Water, they reft upon one Knee, ftretching out the other Leg.

Juftice is a Virtue much encouraged, as well as reverenced, in Turkey; of this we had an Inftance in our Return to Egribugia in Macedonia; for coming to Sariggiole, we met by the Way with a Turki/h Aga, who having a numerous Attendance, had taken up all the Horfes at Egribugia, fo that not being likely to be fupplied, we refolved to continue our Journey upn the fame Horfes to another Stage, finding our Horfes ftrong and able enough to travel through the Plains we were to pals ; but we were fcarce got without Egribugia, when we were ftopt and carried by the Poft-matter of the Place before the Cadi or Judge. He alledged againtt us, that he being the Grand Seignior's Servant, who had given him a certain Allowance for every Horfe he provided, we were injurious to him in paffing through the Town without taking Horfes from him ; for whinch he defired Reparation. We found the Cadi fitting upon a Carpet in a contemplative Pofture, leaning his Elbow upon four or five Folio Books; he commanded his Servants to give us each a Difh of Coffee, and asking what we had to fay in our Defence, the Cbious urged, that we were going upon very urgent Bufinefs, had the Cbaimacbam's Letters, and were employed by the Grand Seignior to the Emperor of Germany; and that he was the Cbiaus to the Vizier of Buda, whither he was to conduct us. 'Upon mature Deliberation, the Cadi faid, The Cbiaus mut not be fopped in bis Fourney, nor the Poft-mafter unconfider'd; and fo calling for the Poftmafter's Book, took his Pen, and fet down a sultomine to be allowed him in his Accounts to the Teftardar or Treafurer, and fo winh'd us a good Journey.
The Turks, it feems, make ufe of a Maxim contrary to that of Auguffus, who thought fit to put fome Limit to the Roman Empire; whereas their chief Aim is to enlarge their Dominions by new Conquefts; unto which their hardy Education, fobir Courfe of Life, and unlimited Obedience to their Prince, feems to encourage them : Certain it is, that their Aim is beyond Huxgary,
and I have heard fome Turks of Note often fay, we muit try our Fortunes again before Vienna; where the Star and Half-moon then remain'd upon the Steeple of the Cathedral Church of St. Stepben, above the Crofs ; and I could not, without a great deal of Grief, take Notice of a particular Crofs (not known to our Heralds) lunated, to be feen in many Frontier Places, whereby the Inhabitants, as they teftify their Chriftianity by the Crofs, fo they acknowledge the Turki乃 Sovereinty by the Half-mcons.

## $A$ Fourney from Comorrah or Gomorrah, to the Mine-

Towns in Hungary, and from thence to Vienna.
28. Having fatisfied my Curiofity at and about Comorrah, I purfued my former Refolution of taking a Journey to the Copper, Silver, and Gold Mines of Hungary; and being unwilling to take fo long a Journey as to Presburg again, to bring me into the ordinary Road, towards them, I pitch'd upon a nearer, though not much frequented Paffage ; taking therefore my Way along the North Shore of the Ine of Scutz, till I came to the Confluence of the Rivers Waag and Danube, I paffed over to Gutta, a Fortification raifed fince the late War, in a marthy Ground, between a Branch of the Danube, the Waag, and the Swartz, within a Mile of Newoboufel, which we plainly faw from the Steeple of the Church of Gutta. It had then a Fort of 130 Men, commanded by an experienced and brave Officer, whofe Name was Mr. Mattbias Frureurdt. Their Boats, in which they will pafs the greatef Rivers, are only one Piece of Wood hollowed out.

From hence we went on by way of Forchatz to Scbel$l a$, where is another Fort to hinder the Incurfions of the Turks and Tartars, and about half a Mile from this Place is a certain Concavity in the Earth, which burns like the Solfaterra near Naples; and fo forwards to Schinta, a large Fort which commands the River and the adjacent Country. It confifts of four Baftions, and has a Tower in the Middle. At the Gate hangs a great Rib, a Thigh-bone, and a Tooth, which, they fay, belonged to a Giant ; but I judge them to be of an Elephant. We came afterwards to Leopolfadt, a regular Fortification of fix Baftions, where the young Count de Zoucbes then commanded. Not far from hence, paffing the Rivers, we came to Frieffadt, a handfome large Town, but lately ruined by the Turks. I took a Draught here of the Caftle and Palace belonging to Count Forcbatz, which was a Structure that would have been thought elegant in Italy.

The Lutberan School had been lately ruined by the Turks. They pay a yearly Tribute of four Pence a Head, whether of Men, Women, Children, Sheep, Oxen, or Horfes: They are much inured to Hardhip, and their Women rarcly marry above once. Bathing and Sweating naked in Stoves, with their Feet in warm Water, is much ufed here, as alfo Cupping and Scarrifications. There were only twelve Fryars left in the Convent of the Francifcans, the Roman Chriftians having faarce any other Priefts but Monks hereabouts. About fourteen Englifh Miles from hence is Banca, which has fifteen Baths in a low Ground near the River, three of which are fpoiled by the Waag, which has there tranfgrefs'd its ordinary Bounds. About twenty Years ago there were allo hot Baths on the other Side of the River, but thefe are likewife fwallowed up by the overflowing of the River. The Water of thefe Baths cafts out a white Sediment, and tinges Copper and Silver in an Inttant as black as Ink. Not far off is a Quarry of Stone, and feveral Chalk Veins, which being of all Sorts of Colours except Green, and curiounly mix'd or marbled, was very pleafing to the Eye. It being the 18 th of March , the cold Weather hinder'd us from bathing in fo open a Place, though we faw feveral Women and Children in them, and our Charioteer bathed himfelf in one of them at Midnight.

March 2f. Some Mufqueteers having been fent us by Count Zoucbes for our Guard, we continued our Journey, and paffing by Ripnich, a Caftle at Docatzi, belonging to Baron Berrini, came the fame Night to To-
polcban, a Town upon the River Nitra, great Part whereof had been confumed by Fire in the laft Wars. At Bellitz, a Mile from hence, are likewife hot Baths. We pals'd the next Day by Clefch, and through a great Wood by Hocbroife, inhabited by Germans, and came to Sernowitz, fituate upon the River Gran, having a Caftle built upon a Rock. It is tributary to the Turks, March 28. We pals ${ }^{\circ} \mathrm{d}$ the River Gran in the Morning and travelling among the Hills, came to Hodrytz, by which runs a rapid Stream, of great Ufe to move the Engines employed in the pounding, walhing, and melting of Silver Ore.
29. Hence we travelled over a Mountain call'd Hell, and fo to Scbemnitz, which claims the Precedency for Bignefs before all the other Mine-Towns in Hungary, and where a great Quantity of Silver Ore is digged every Day. It is a well-built Town, moft of the Inhabitants being Lutberans, who have three very handfome Churches here. It has alfo three Cantles; i. The Old Cafle in the Town, where there is all Sorts of Wind-Mufick at Six in the Morning, at Twelve at Noon, and at Six at Night. 2. The New Castle, built by a Lady in a Place where formerly the Gibbet ftood. 3. On a high Peak, where a continual Guard is kept to difcover the Approach of an Enemy, in which Cafe the Signal is given by the Difcharge of a Culverin. The Country being very hilly, the Streets confequently very uneven. There are hereabouts very good Mines, among which thefe are the moft remarkable: The Windfcbacht-Mine, the Trinity, that of Sc. Benedict, St. Fobn, St. Mattbias, and another called the Three Kings; but the Windjobacbt and the Trinity are the beft and moft wrought. The TrinityMine is at leaft feventy Fathoms deep, builc and keps open with Under-Work, at a vaft Expence, the greateft Part of it being in an earthy Soil. The Ore is very rich, and generally blue, cover'd with a white Clay, which gives the Streams where they work it a milky Tincture, and is that Subftance, as I fuppofe, commonly known by the Name of Lac Lune, or the Milk of the Silver.
Some of thefe Veins run to the North, and other rich Veins to the N. E. If two Veins happen to crofs one another, they count it lucky; fo that the Veins of Ore keep not the fame Point even in the fame Mine; but as they have no certain Way to know where they are, or which Way they run, fo they mult proceed by Guefs, and perfevere in their L.abour till they light upon the Veins. They don't make ufe of the Virgula divina, or forked Hazel.ftick to direct them (as they do in the Silver Mine at Friburgha in Mifria) but dig on, according as they judge it moft likely to fucceed. They fhew'd me one Place, where they had digged fix Years together, when afterwards they found the Vein of Ore but two Fathom diftant from the Place where they firft began; and they fhew'd me another Place, where they digg'd twelve Years before they found the Vein, which prov'd fo rich, that in a flore Time they were very well paid over and above their Charges. I went fo far into this Mine, that I pafs'd quite under a Hill, and came out on the other Side.

I defcended allo into the $W$ indfcbacbt-Mine as far as the Water would permit me, by 300 large Steps or Stairs of a Ladder; deep in the Earth I faw a large Wheel of thirty fix Foot Diameter, turn'd by the Fall of fubterraneous Waters; by the Help of this Wheel feveral Engines are moved, which pump out the Water from the Bottom of the Mine up to the Concavity, where this Wheel is fix'd. The Water which turns the Wheel, does not fall lower into, the Mine, but is convey'd thro' a Cuniculus, or a fubterraneous Paffage made for that Purpofe, together with the Water pumped from the deepett Part of the Mine, to the Foot of a Hill, where it difcharges itfelf into the Valley. Befides this Wheel, there is another above Ground, which lies Horizontally, turned by twelve Horfes, which alfo ferves to pump Part of the Water out of this Mine. I was told, that no lefs than 200 Men were employed in all the Works belonging to this Mine. I found fome Places very cold and ochers fo hot, that I was forced to open my Cloaths, which were only Linen before: It being always hor

## Chap. V. throuz̧ Hungary, Thessaly, Macedonia, छ®o

where they work, they work eight Hours naked, if is left at the Bottom, and is melted afterwards, and the they can hold it fo long, and then reft eight Hours. They fhewed me a Place, where fix or feven Perions were ftilled by a Damp; to prevent which for the Future, they have placed a Tube there; the like they have over all Doors and Paffages where they intend to dig for a great Space, and have no Paffage through, whereby they let in, or let out the Air, or carried about according as the Miners under Ground ought to be ventilated. The blackifh Ore is generally the richeft, much of it is mix'd with a hhining yellow Marchafite, which if not in too great a Quantity, is very welcome, becaufe it renders the Ore fluid, and eafy to be melted; but if this is found in too great a Proportion, they are of Opinion that it preys upon the Silver in the Mine, and in the Furnace over-volatilizing it, and whilft it is a melting carries it upwards with the Smoak; for which Reafon they call it the Robber. There is alfo frequently found a red Subftance, growing to the Ore, call'd Cinnabar of Silver, which being ground with Oil, makes a VermiIion equal to, if not furpaffing the common Cinnabar made by Sublimation.

1. 30. Thefe Mines alfo produce Cbrystals, Ametbyyts, and Ametbiftine Mixtures, fometimes in the Clefts of the Rocks, fometimes near or join'd to the Ore ; as alfo a natural chryftalliz'd Vitriol, particularly in a Mine in Paradije Hill, There is alfo great Variety in the Silver Ore, in refpect of its Richnefs, or Proportion of Silver : A hundred Weight of fome Ore yiclds not above half an Ounce of Silver, fometimes two Ounces, chree, four, five, even unto twenty Ounces; what is richer is very rare, though fome have been found to hold half Silver, and I myfelf have feen fome fo rich as to be cut with a Knife.

- To difcover the Richnefs of the Ore, a certain Officer is appointed, whom they call the Probieter, (EfayMafter) which he does in this Manner. They bring him a Specimen of each Sort of Ore digg'd out of the Mine, of all which Sorts he takes an equal Quantity, and (the Ore being firft dry'd, burn'd and pounded) adds to all an equal Proportion of Lead, melts and purifies them, and then by exact Scales, takes the Proportion between the Ore contained in it, of which he gives an exact Account to the Work-men employ'd in the great Melting Furnaces; who, according to his Report, add or diminifh the Quantities of thofe Subftances, which are to be mix'd with the Ores, to melt them in the melting Furnaces; as for Inftance, to a 100 Centen, or 10,000 Pound Weight of Silver Ore; a hundred Pounds Weight, or a Centen of which contains two Ounces and a half of Silver, they add forty Centen of Leicb (which is Ore pounded and wafhed) 200 Centens of Iron-Stone, which is not Iron Ore, but a Stone found in thofe Hills of a Liver Colour (perhaps the Lapis Hematites) a certain Quantity of Kis (a Sort of Pyrites) in Proportion as there is a greater or lefs Quantity of Marchafite mis'd with the Ore, and of the Slacken as much as they think fit. This latt is nothing elle but the Scum taken off from the Top of the Pan, into which the Metals run, and is a Subftance made out of the former mentioned, by Fufion.

Whatfoever is melted in the melting Furnace, is let out through a Hole at the Bottom into the Pan, faftned in the Earth before it ; and thus exposd, it acquires, as it cools, a hard Scum, Drofs or Cake, which being continually taken away, the remaining Metal becomes purer; unto this they add Lead, which carries all the Silver down to the Bottom, and after fome Time the melted Metal is taken out, and afterwards melted again in the driving Furnace, where the Lead, or what elfe remain'd mix'd with the Silver, is driven off by the blowing of two great Pair of Bellows; and runs over from the melted Silver in Form of Litbarge of Silver; but that which comes laft, being longeft in the Fire, rurns red, and is call'd Litbarge of Gold, though both be driven from the fame Metal. Moft of the Scbemnitz Silver-Ore. contains fome Gold : This they feparate after the Silver is melted, by granulating it, and afterwards diffolving it in Aqua fortis niade out of a peculiar Vitriol, prepared at Cbremnitz, whereby the Gold

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Aqua fortis being feparated from the Silver by Diftillation, ferves again for the fame Ufe.

Bur it is Time to quit the Subject for Fear of ene tangling myfelf- too far in a Bufinefs, the accurate Defcription of which would require entire large Volumes, as well as thofe of Minnia, fo exacly defcribed by Agricola. Lenys in his Works concerning Minerals, are alfo worth Reading, and Lazarus Erker has given a very nice Account of the principal Ores and other Mineral Bodies. But after all, it mutt be confeffed, that there are few Places in the World to be compared with this, where Art and Nature frive to fhew their utmoft Force, to procure Riches. The Emperor Rudolpbus being a great Encourager of Mines, they work to this Day much after the fame Manner, eftablifhed in his Time, except that many of their Engines and Inftruments are much improved fince. It feems to be fomewhat odd, yet is neverthelefs very true, that in a Place where every Week a vaft Quantity of Silver is digg'd up, and carried away by Cart Loads, I could not meet with one pure Silver Piece. This happened to me at Scbeminitz; for being defirous to fee what Alteration feveral of thofe Mineral Waters in that Country would make upon Metals, I would fain have had a Piece of pure Silver, which, however the whole Town was not able to furnifh me withal, the current Money of the Country being all mix'd with Copper ; fo that I was forced to borrow fome Silver Croffes and Medals, to try the intended Experiment.
31. Near to Scbemnitz (where old Scbemnitz ftood) I daw a high perpendicular Rock, Part of which from the Top to the Bottom is of a fhining blue Colour, with fome green and yellow Spots, which appear'd as beautiful to the Eye, as if it had been one entire Mafs of Lapis Lazuli, finely polifhed: I was not a little furprized at the Sight thereof, and fhould have been more fo, had I not heard before from a certain Spaniard who had lived a confiderable Time in the West-Indies; That there is a Rock like this near the Silver Mines of Peru.
Ac Glass-Hitten (about; feven Englifo Miles from Schemnitz) there was formerly a rich Gold-Mine, but is loft ever fince the Inroad made by the Tranfloanian Prince Betblem Gabor into thofe Parts, when the Inhabitants flying, the Entrance was ftopp'd up, and has not been known fince. The Owner thereof has however thought fit to leave fome Directions and certain Marks behund him, whereby in Time the fame might be difcovered again ; with the Figures of his Inftruments upon the Barks of the Trees; which Inftruments having already been found by Digging, thus much is intimated, That where they find a Stone on which a Face is carved, they are near the Entrance of this rich GoldMine.; and to open the Paffage into it, they are only to remove a certain Part of the Rock thereabours, which was made ufe of by the Owner, to ftop up the Entrance into the Mine.
Glafs-Hitten is alfo a Place very well known and much frequented by Reafon of its natural Hot-Baths, of which five are conveniently built with handfome Steps into them, and cover'd with fair and lofty Roofs. The Springs are very tranfparent, having a red and green Sediment; the Wood and Seats under Water, being cover'd with a ftony Subftance, and Silver is gilt by being left in them. But that call'd the SweatingBatb excels the reft, its Spring being draind through a Hill before they iffue forth into the Bath; at one End of which is a Cave, into which you afcend by feveral Steps, which being heated by the Therma, like a Stove, by chufing your Seat either higher or lower, you may enjoy either a more remifs or more intenfe Degree of Sweating at Pleafure. The Sides of this Stove, as wëll as thofe of the Bath, by the continual. Exhalations of the hot Springs, are cover'd with a red, white and green Subftance.

Whilt I was bathing myfelf in the largeft of thefe Baths, a certain Fellow who was dhewing Tricks of Activity to the Men and Women that were then in the Bath, gave me a fatisfactory Account concerning feve-

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rob
ral Queftions I ask'd him about the natural Vitriol, which he told me was to be found in feveral Mines hereabouts, cryftallized in Lumps, and fit for Ufe; but efpecially in a certain Mine near Scbemnitz, now given over by Reafon of the Earth's falling in, in feveral Places. About two or three Days after he came to me at Scbemnitz, and having brought along with him, Lamps, and Minemens Habits for me and cwo more, we went together into the Mine, where he fhew'd me the Vitriol fhooting upon the Stones and Earth, nay, upon the Floor and Sides of the Paffages, in the fame Manner as it does in the Pans, and about the Sticks, not hanging from the Top like to Icicles, as I have feen in feveral Places before. Glafs-Hitlen belongs to the Earl of Lippey, of whore Family was the famous Polycarpus Procopius Bocanus, who being fent by the ArchbiThop of Presburgh, to inveltigate the Curiofities of thefe Countries, died before his Obfervations came to Light.
32. Eifenbach, not above four Englifb Miles from hence, and about fix from Schemnitz, has alfo hot Baths, with a red Sediment, and containing a confiderable Quantity of petrifying Juice, as may be feen by the Timber on the Sides of the Bath, fome of the lowermoft of which, near the Water, were quite turn'd into Stone; it bears the Spout through which the Spring was convey'd into the Bath, being under Water, though of Wood, yet not in the leaft changed, the Reafon of which muft be afcrib'd to the volatile Particles of thefe Waters, which are carried immediately upwards with their Exhalations. I remember, that in the Bath of the Green Pillars at Buda, thefe Vapours condenfed by the high Cupola built over it, and on the Irons extended from one Column to another, and on the Capitals of the Pillars were formed into long Stones Jike Icicles, hanging to all thofe Places, fuch as I have obferved in many fubterraneous Grotto's, and efpecially in England, in Okey-bole in Somerfetfoire, and Pooles-bole in Derbybire.
This is evident from the fulphureous Parts contained in thefe Waters, which however are not difcoverable, if you either boil or evaporate the Bath-water, as being carried away with the Steam; and nothing is more common than to fee the Sulphur of the hot Wrater ftick on many Places over the Bath. I perfectly remember, that leaning one Day over the Balifters of the Lower Bath at Baden, I found my Buttons, which were of Plate, tinged by the fulphureous Particles, of a fair Gold-colour, though at a good Diftance from the Water. This Accident tempted me to the Trial of another Experiment, viz. I took Care to hang fome Money at one or two Foot Diftance, which was colour'd likewife in lefs than a Minute; which made me conclude, that its petrifying Quality confifted chiefly in its volatile Particles. I brought away with me feveral Pieces of this petrified Water, of five or fix Inches Diameter. But to return to Eifenbach. It has in all three Baths; two of which are conveniently built ; the third made by the Water let out of the former, is called the Snake-bath, from the Number of Snakes coming into it immediately after it is fill'd with thefe Waters.
33. March 30. I fet out from Scbemnitz, and taking my Way from Glafs. Hitten and Apfelsdorff (where the Archbifhop of Presburgh has a Palace) I afterwards paffed the River Gran, and travelling among the Mountains, I faw certain Entrenchments caft up from one Ridye of the Mountains to the other, to defend themfelves againtt any fudden Incurfions; then following the 'Traces of the fame yellow Silver,' which owes its Colour to the Ore which it wafhes above, we came to Cbremnitz, ftanding very high, efpecially the Church of St. Jobn, at fome Diftance from it, which is fuppofed to ftand upon the higheft Ground in Hungary. The Town is but fmall, but the Suburbs are of a pretty large Compafs. As the Mine here is the oldeft, fo it is the richeft in Gold of all the feven in thefe Parts, which are, Scbemnitz, Cbremnitz, Newfol, Koningsbergb, Bocbantz, Libeten and Tiln
The Gold Mine of Cbreminiz has been work'd, for very near a thoufand Years, being nine or ten Engli/h Miles in Length. It has one Cuniculus or Horizontal
and its Depth being at leaft 170 Fathoms; into which they do not defcend by Ladders, but are let down in certain Seats of Leather, broad and conveniently contriv'd, faftned to the End of a Cable, by the gentle Turning of a Wheel, to which the other End of the Cable is faft ned. This Mine has fix perpendicular Schachts, Shafts or Pits, (1) That of Rudolphus, (2) of Queen Aime (3) Ferdinand, (4) Matrbias, (5) the Windboibt, and (6) Leopold. I went into the Mine by the firt, 108 Fathom deep, and after many Hours Stay there, was drawn out again by Leopold's Schacht or Pit, in a ftrait Line above 150 Fathoms, a Height furpafing that of the Pyramids by a third Part. It was kept up on all Sides with fair Trees, laid upon one another from the Bottom to the Top, in the fame Manner as all the other Mines are here, that have not Rock on all Sides. Moft of the Veins run to the North and Eaft, and they work towards one, two or three, as they call it in the Miners Language, who direct themfelves Under-ground by a kind of Compafs, not of thirty two Points (as is ufed at Sea) but by one diftinguifh'd into twenty four, which they divide into twice twelve, as we do our Days, and fo compute by Hours.

The Gold Ore is fome white, fome black, fome red and fome yellow; but the white with black Spots is accounted the beft, as alfo the Ore next to the black Veins. As this Ore is not rich enough to be made Trial of in fmall Parcels, to inveftigate the Proportion of the Gold it contains, fo they take another Way for the Proof thereof; by pounding a confiderable Quan tity, and wafhing it in a fmall River running by the Town; which being branch'd out into feveral artificial Channels, runs over the Ore continually, and thus wafning away the earthy Part from the Metalline, becomes thereby tinged below the Town (after its Paffage over fo much Ore) with a dark yellow Colour, the fame with the Earth over which it runs. This is manifeft at Cbriftmas, Easter and Whitfuntide, on each of which Feafts, the Miners ceafing from their ordinary Works in the Mines for two Days together, the River flows as clear below as it does above the Town.

There have been Pieces of pure Gold found in this Mine, of which I have feen fome in the Emperor's and Elector of Saxony's Repofitories, one of the Breadth of the Palm of my Hand, others fomewhat lefs; but thefe are efteemed great Rarities. The yellow Earth of the Grounds about Cbremnitz, but efpecially of the Hills to the Town are not without Gold, which is the Reafon that a great Part of one of thofe Hills is quite dig'd away, the Earth having been wafh'd and managed in the fame Manner as the pounded Ore, not withour good Profit. Mattbias Dollinger, the Surveyor of the Mine at Cbremnitz (who entertain'd me very obligingly) has of late found out a certain Engine to pound the Ore much finer than it was before; by which Means they now obtain a confiderable Quantity of Gold out of that Ore, which otherwife would have yielded none.

There are certain Paffages in this Mine, cut through the Rock, which being long difufed, the Sides whick were formerly fpacious enough to carry the Ore through, were grown now fo near one another, that we were fcarce able to pafs. Their Way of conveying the Ore from Place to Place, or to the Bottom of the Pit (from whence it is drawn up) is performed by a certain Cheft they call the Dog: It is higher behind than before, and runs upon four Wheels, having a Tongue of Iron at the Bottom, which being fitted into a Channel of Wood, cut in the Middle of the Bottom of each Paffage, cannot deviate thence, fo that a little Boy runs with 300 or 400 Pounds Weight of Ore in the Chariot before him, without any Light, through thofe dark Paffages with great Swifnefs, and coming out, turns out the Ore upon the Ground, and fo back again, thro' the fame Way he came. They make Ufe of another Engine or Cheft, altogether like this, except that inftead of an Iron Tongue, is has four Rowlers, befides the four Wheels; with this they carry the Ore from the Mouth of the Mine, or down the Hills to the Bucbseorke, (as they cal! it) where it is founded and whand, the Wa

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Way being laid all along with Fir-trees, and fo contrived, that the Rowlers muft needs rowl upon the Firtrees, without being able to over-turn or run out of the Way, fo as to be managed by a Child, and fometimes a Dog, there. paffing ficarce a Week but that betwixt 300 and 400 of thefe Chariots, containing each 400 Weight of Ore, are carried down thus to every Buchwoorke. There were then in this Mine two very pernicious Damps, befides others that were lefs dangerous ; one was in a Scbacbt, Sbaft, Pit or Puteus, the other in a Stall, as they call it, or Paffage, or Cuniculus; no Lamp would burn in them for any Time, and fo long as they did, the Miners would venture to flay there; but as foon as they went out, they were drawn up again: They find thefe Vapours more peftiferous, where the Water is very high; but that in the Cuniculus they were in good Hopes to correct by Perflation, and digging another $P_{\text {affage }}$ into it.

They told me, that at one Time they loft twentyeight Men in four feveral Paffages, viz. feven in each Cuniculus. At the firf finking of Leopold's Scbacbt or Pit, they were extremely troubled with pernicious Damps, which they qualified in this Manner: They fixd a Tube reaching from the Top to the Bottom of the Pit, but this not anfwering altogether their Expectations, they were obliged to have Recourfe to another Invention, viz. by ftopping the Pit, by Means of a broad flat Board, which covered all the Sides of it, except where the Tube was, and fo forcied out all the Air in the Pit through the Tube, which they were forc'd often to repeat till they made feveral other Paffages into it, whereby the Air is render'd wholfome enough; for as I was drawn up through it, I found not the leaft Difficulty in Breathing. Altermans Fore-ftall or Cuniculus, 500 Fathoms long, was, by the Carelefsnefs of a Boy, wiping the Snuff of his Lamp upon the Wood, burn'd in 1642 , and fifty Men fmothered in it; they were all afterwards taken up, except one, whofe whole Body feem'd to have been confum'd by the Corrofivenefs of the Waters of the Mine; there remaining nothing but his Cloaths.
34. This Mine alfo contains red, white, blue and green Vitriol and vitriolate Waters. There is alfo in this Mine a certain Subflance adhering to the Gold Ore, and confifting of fmall pointed Parts like Needles of a purple Colour, and frining, the Colour of it being yellow like Brimftone, they give it the Name of Antimony of Gold. Various Sorts of Cryftals are alfo found here, and among them fome yellow ones.

Near the Gold Mine in the fame Hills, is a Vitriol Mine, at leaft eighty Fathom deep; containing a red, and fomewhat greenifh Ore or Earth. This they infufe in Water for three Days, and then pouring it off, boil it for feven Days fucceffively in Leaden Cauldrons till it is coagulated to a white thick Subftance, which being reduced to a Calx in a Furnace, they keep for the making of Aqua Fortis, or the Separating Water ufed at Scbemnitz. Where they pound the Gold Ore, a Foundation of Wood is laid, at leaft three Yards deep, upon which they fpread the Ore. Over this are twenty four Beams, covered at the Bottom with Iron, for the better grinding of the Ore, which is always covered with Water, and the Work continued Day and Night without Intermiffion, making Ufe of Fir, or fome other refinous Wood, inftead of Candles.

This Grinding, as I told you, is performed by the twenty-four Beams, moved by four Wheels, viz. fix Beams by each Wheel; the latter, which runs from the pounded one, being let into little Pots or Cifterns; perhaps feven or eight one after another, and at laft into a very large one, of perhaps half an Acre of Ground; which, after it is well fettled, is let out.

The pounded Gold Ore they call Slich, among which they account that the richeft, which is neareft to the Beams, where it is firft pounded: Then they take the Slicb wathed fo long, as, perhaps, in a hundred Pounds Weight there may be half an Ounce, or perhaps an Ounce of Gold and Silver, two Thirds whereof are generally Gold, (the Cbremnitz Ore being rarely without fome Mixture of Silver, as the beit of the Scbemnitz

Silver Ore contains, for the moft part, an eighth Part of Gold, in Proportion of the Silver:) To this Slicb they add Lime-ftone, and ßaken and melt them together in the Melting-Furnace. This Melting produces that they call Lech, which Lech being burn'd with Charcoal to render it more porous, is then call ${ }^{2}$ d Rost. This Roft they mix with Sand; and melt it again in the Melting. Furnace, then let it out into the Pan, and proceed as in the Melting of Silver.

Among feveral other Ways they have to feparate the Gold from the pounded Ore, they have one perform'd without the Ufe of Lead, viz. The pounded Ore being well wafh'd, they lay it in Powder upon Cloths, fo that by the eafy defcending of the Water over it, and their continual firring it, the earthy Parts are wafh'd away, and the heavier and metalline remaining on the Cloth. In the fame Manner they proceed with Sheep- fkins and Wool, being placed where the Rivulets come either from the Works, or the Hills. The Cloths in which the Ore is thus fettled, they walh in feveral Tubs, and the Water', after fettling, is poured off from its Sediment: This Sediment being again wafhed feveral Times, and ftirr'd up in feveral Veffels, they at laft fprinkle Quickfilver upon it, and knead it well together for two Hours ; then wafhing it again in a wooden Veffel, (after they have firt feparated good Part of it, which the Quickfilver touches not, by friking the Veffel againft their Legs) they reduce the Mixture of Gold and Quickfilver into an Amalgama.

After this, having feparated again the Quickfilver, by ftraining it through a coarfe Cloth firft, and afterwards through a fine, they put the remaining Mars upon a perforated Plate, which they fet over a deep Pan placed in the Earth, in the Bottom of which is a good Quantity of Quickfilver: Over this Pan and Plate they lute a Cover, and making a Charcoal Fire upon it, force the Quickfilver, as yet remaining with the Gold, downwards to the reft in the Bottom of the Pan, and afterwards taking out the Gold, purify it once more in the Fire.
35. Having paffed feveral Days at Cbremmitz, I travelled forward to Nerevol; and as I paffed over the Hills on the Eaft-fide of Cbremnitz, upon the Top of one of them I faw a valt Stone or Rock alone, near the high Road ; thefe Hills being for the moft Part covered with Wood, which are of great Service to the Gold Mine. Paffing on furcher, we came in Sight of the Village of Lila, near which are the Quickfilver Hills. From hence we came to the River Gran, upon which Nerevol ftands, which has a handfome wooden Bridge over the River, and a handfome Row of Piles crofs the River to fop the Wood, which about ten Miles higher is thrown into the River, and withour any further Labour, by the Force of the Current, carried down to Nerevol, for the burning, melting, cafting, and hammering the Copper in that Copper-Mine.
Nervol is a very handfome Town, having a fpacious Piazza, at the upper End of which ftands a fair Tower. The Church, which ftands within the Caftle, is covered with Copper, and within it are many carved Figures of Wood and Stone Relicks, which, though not much reverenced, yet are preferved by the Lutberans, who are in Poffefion of this Church ; the fame being obferved in moft other ancient Lutberan Churches.

All about this Town are the greateft Copper Mines in all Hungary; but the Copper iffelf being fo ftrongly united to the Stone, or Ore, the Copper Ore of this Mine is burnt and melted fourteen Times before it produces Copper fit for Ufe. The firf Melting is perform'd with a certain Stone they call Fluft-fein, and its own Drofs, and with Kis, or a Sort of Pyrites. Then it is carried to the Rost-beartb, as they term it, being great Stacks, or Heaps of Billets, upon which it is laid, and thefe being fet a-fire underneath, the Ore is burned into a Subftance called Roft; which being repeated thus feven or eight Times, it is then melted again in the Melting-Furnace, and at two Furnaces more at Mifmills, and twice more at the Hammer. This Kis is brought hither from Fefna, which melted is ufed in the Meling of Silver.

At Mifmills, not far from hence, they have a Way of getting a certain Quantity of Silver out of the Copper, by adding Lead to it whilft it is a melting, after which they take out the melted Metals, mixed together in Spoons or Iron Difhes. After it is cold, they give it a quick Fire again as it lies upon crofs Bars, until the Silver and Lead melts and falls through. The Copper after by many reiterated Meltings it is made fit for Ufe, is cut in Pieces by very large pointed Hammers, moved by Mills, and afterwards formed into Plates, with other flat and round Hammers.
36. The Surveyor of the Works of Nerefol did not only entertain me with a Prefent of Wine and Fowls, but alfo gave me a Letter to the Governor of the Cop-per-Mine of Herrn-grundt, to procure for me the fame Treatment there. This is a fmall Town feated very high between two Hills, about an Itungarian Mile from Newol: He found the high Lands thereabouts all cover'd with Snow, whereas in the Valleys between this Place and Nerefol we met with none. We felt the Air very piercing at the Entrance of this Mine, being only in our Miners Habits, which confift only of a Linnen Coat and Drawers, a ftiff round Cap, like the Crown of a Hat, a Leather Apron turn'd behind, and two Pieces of Leather faftened to the Knees, to defend them againft friking upon the Rocks, or the Fall of any Earth upon them. But within the Mine it was warm enough
I paffed into this Mine through a Cuniculus called Tachfoln, and vifited moft of the remarkable Places in it ; you defcend into it by certain Trees fet upright, with deep Notches cut into them to reft the Foot upon. As this Mine lies very high in the Hill, fo they are not troubled with Water, but often with Duft, and fometimes with very pernicious Damps. In one Place they fhewed me how they had remedied a very peftiferous Damp, by blowing a valt Pair of Bellows for feveral Days together. But what is moft obfervable is, that thofe Damps are not only to be found in thofe Parts of the Mines where it is full of Earth and Clay, but alfo where it is rocky. I faw one Place where there had been a very bad Damp, furrounded on all Sides with fo hard a Rock, that they had been forced to open their Way with Gunpowder ram'd into long Holes, and fo blown up; for it is to be confider'd, that a great Part of this Mine is within the Rock, where confequently they need no Timber to keep it up, as they are forced to do in thofe Paffages, that have either Earth on both Sides, or Rock on one and Earth on the other Side. The Paffages of this Mine are neither horizontal, nor near to a perpendicular, but moderately inclining up and down, having many large Cavities within.

In one Place where we defcended, we found the Paffage ftop'd by fome Earth lately fallen in; but one of our Guides finding the Earth yet loofe, without more Ado digged his Way through, and, notwithftanding the Earth fell continually upon him, got through, though a great Heap of Earth tumbled after him, which they foon carried off with their Engines call'd Doggs, and fo clear'd the Paffage. This Mine has very large Veins, fuch as they call Cumulatio, and the Ore is very rich, a hundred Pound Weight of Ore yielding commonly twenty Pounds of Copper, fometimes thirty, forty, fifty, and even to fixty in the Hundred; but a great Part of it is firmly united to the Rock, nay, in many Places the Rock and Ore are one continued Stone, with this Difference only, that one Part of it will yield Copper, the other none; which is diftinguifh'd only by the Colour, and that at firft. Sight, the Copper Ore being for the moft Part either yellow or black, the yellow being pure Copper Ore; whereas the black contains alfo a Proportion of Silver.

This Mineral produces white, green, and blue Vitriol, and a red clear tranfparent; as alfo a green Sediment of a green Water, call'd Berg-Green, uled by Painters. Here are alfo found Stones of a beautiful green and blue Colour, and one Sort upon which Turcoifes have been found, and therefore call'd the Motber of Turcois.
37. But above all the reit, there are two Springs of

Vitriolate Water here (call'd the New and the Old Ziment) which turn Iron into Copper, and confequently deferve our peculiar Obfervation. Thefe Springs lie very deep in the Mine, and commonly the Iron laid in it, is turn'd into good Copper in about fourteen Days Time, with this further Advantage, that the worft and moft ufelefs Iron is turn'd into the pureft Copper, much exceeding in Goodnefs that of the Ore, which muft run through many Fires before it is render'd ufeful, whereas this made by the Vitriolate Springs is very malleable, and eafily melted; for I myfelf have melted it, without the Addition of any other Subftance. I took a good Quantity of this Copper out of the Old Ziment, and among the reft a Piece of Copper of the Figure of a Heart, which had been laid in it eleven or twelve Days before, having the fame Figure, but was as perfectly Iron then, as it is Copper at this Day. Some will not allow this to be a Tranfmutation of one Metal into another, but that this Water being faturated with the $\mathrm{Vi}_{-}$ triolum Veneris, and meeting with a Body fo apt to receive it, as the Mars, or Iron, it depofes Venus, who immediately infinuating herfelf into Mars, precipitates his Subftance, and in Lieu thereof fubftitutes her own Body. But this Opinion is fufficiently contradicted by Experience ; for though, in the Changing of Iron into Copper, many Parts are feparated, and lie at the Bottom of the Ziment, yet the fame melted produces no Iron, but an excellent Copper, as I found it by my own Experience. I have fince feen fuch a Kind of Tranfmutation attempted by Art, and not without Succefs, which deferves Confideration. After having taken a full View of the Mine, I was reconducted to the Surveyor's Houfe, who entertain'd me very handfomely, prefented me with a Chain of Copper tranfmuted in thofe Springs; and among other Curiofities fhew'd me an exact Map of this Mine, with moft curious Delineations of all its Paffages, with a Scale to meafure the Diftances of the Places in the Mine ; which, for its Extent, Number of People, and admirable Order, might well be compared to a very confiderable fubterraneous City. I faw him take fome Copper Ore, which being well heated and caft into common Water, made it like the natural Baths which arife near thefe Hills. At parting we drank out of a Cup made of this tranfmuted Iron, gilt over, having a rich Piece of Silver Ore faftened in the Middle of it, with this Infcription engraven on the Outfide :

## Eifen ware ich, Kupfer bin ich <br> Silberg trag ich, Goldt bedeckt mich. i. e.

Copper I am, but Iron I was of old;
Silver I carry, cover'd am with Gold.
The yearly Profit arifing to the Emperor from his Mines, is computed at 120,000 l. Sterling. But if more of thofe Vitriol Springs fhould be difcovered (as fome have already been at Zolnock, and other Places near the Carpatbian Hills) the fame would be confiderably increafed. But if like Springs faturated with the Vitriol of Silver, fhould be difcovered near the Silver Mines, and the fame by a skilful Artift improved to the beft Advantage, the Profit likely to arife from fuch a Tranfmutation would amount to an immenfe Sum.
38. From Herrn-grundt we travel'd to Stubn, about twenty Englifh Miles from NereSol, and fourteen from Cbremnitz. Here we faw, near a Brook, feveral hot Baths, highly efteem'd, and much frequented; the Wa. ter is very tranfparent, of a fulphureous Smell, with a green Sediment; it colours the Wood over it green and black, but does not change the Colour of Metals fo foon as moft others : I left Money in it a whole Night, which I found but faintly colour'd.

There are feven Baths here: 1. The Nobleman's Bath. 2. The Gentleman's. 3. The Country-man's. 4. The Country-woman's. 5. The Beggar's Bath. 6. For fuch as are infected with the Frenib Difeafe. 7. The Gypfies Bath. They are much of the fame Degree of Heat as the King's Bath in Englond, in a fine Plain furrounded with Mountains, thole to the Enft being the

## Chap. V. through Hungary, Thessaly, Macedonia, $\varnothing_{0} c$.

$f_{\text {ame, }}$ which on the other Side are fo rich in Metals. From Stubn we went on to Boinitz, croffing the River Nitras, and leaving Privitz, a large Town, to the Left of us. At Boinitz are alfo five natural Buths, of a very gentle Heat, covered all of them under one large Roof. Into the Nobleman's Bath you defcend on all Sides by ftrong Stairs, the other four being of Wood, but handfomely built,

From hence we continued our Journey to Wefonilz, fourteen Engli/b Miles, and the next Day to Trenfobin, which they count four Hungarian, or twenty eight Englifh Miles, which took us up a whole long Day's Journey. Trenfobin is a very handfome City upon the River Waag, having a very handfome wooden Bridge over that River, and a fair Piazza. The Jefuits Church is a noble Structure, and the Caftle (belonging to Count Fellbafey, ) feated very high; about a Mile from the City are two choice Baths, and the Country hereabouts affords feveral good Springs of Mineral Waters. Here it was that we met with Count Rotbal, who being then on his Way to Eperies in Upper Hungary, to treat in the Quality of the Emperor's Commiffioner, with thofe of Abaff Prince of Tranjylvania: I engaged fome of his Attendants to make an Enquiry into the Salt Mines there, of which they afterwards gave me the following Account.
39. About two Englifh Miles from the faid City of Eperies, is a famous Salt Mine 180 Fathoms deep; for the moft Part in an earthy, and not a rocky Ground.

The Miners defcend it firft by Repes, and afterwards by Ladders. The Salt Veins are fo large, that éntire Pieces have been found of 10000 Pound Weight, which they commonly cut into long fquare Pieces of two Foot in Length, and one in Thicknefs; which is afterwards ground betwixt two Stones. Though the Mine be cold and moift, yet is the Salt not eafily diffolved: Notwithftanding which, great Part of the Water of the Mines is fo much impregnated with Salt, that when boil'd, it affords a bluifh Salt, which the Country People give their Cattle. The Colour of the Stone Salt of this Mine is fomewhat inclining to a grey; but when ground to Powder is very white, and confifts of pointed Parts, or Foffets. Another Sorts of Salt there is alfo, which confifts of Squares and Tables; and they have a chird Sort with long Shoots. There is alfo fome Difference in the Colour of the Salt
of this Mine, fome of which is grony mix'd with the Earth participating much of its Colour ; and even that which is as pure as Cryftal, often receives divers Tinctures: I faw once in the Middle of a Cryftal Salt, with long Shoots, a delicate blue ; and at the Count of $R_{0}-$ thai's a large Piece of a tranfparent yellow; fome Pieces are fo clear and fo hard, that they carve them into difierent Shapes and Figures like Cryftal. Of all thefe Sorts I brought fome Pieces with me to England. But it is Time to take our Farewell of the Mines, and to return to our Journey ; which we continued near to the River Wag, to Novo Mnefto; and the next Day to Tirnaw, feated in a Plain. The following Day we reach'd the Danube, and took up our Quarters that Night at Prefourgh, (of which we have fpoken before.) Here pafling the Danube in two Ferry-boats, we travelled by Homburg Tower, by Haimberg Hill, by the Town of Haimberg, by Rogelforun, Vijcbet, and Swecbet, to Vienna. We obferved in thofe Countries in Upper Hungary, through which we paffed, Things wore a quite different Face from that of Aufria, and from what in all Likelihood they have been formerly; moft of them having been fubject to the Ravages of the Turks and Tartars in the laft War, and fome of them being forced even now to pay a yeariy Tribute to the Turks. The Inhabitants live fo meanly, that chey fcarce afford themfelves neceflary Furniture for their Houfes. Even in thofe Countries under the Emperor's Jurifdiction, many of the Inhabitants, being either Lutberans or Calvinifts, and in conftant Fear from the Roman Clergy, are but little fatisfied in their Condition.

Formerly almoft all the Mine-Towns were inhabited by Lutberans, but now the Officers are all Roman Catholicks. And at Schemnitz, one of the Lutheran Churches was taken from them. And we were inform'd, that Count Palf had enjoyn'd all his Lutberan Tenants, at and about Boinitz, either to change their Religion, or to quit their Houfes and Lands. You meet alfo in Places of Hungary with Anabaptifts; and near the Frontiers of Tranflluania, with Unitarians. Even the Roman Catbolick Hungarions are not a little jealous of the Germans, and the Court of Vienna; becaufe they think them preferr'd before them, and that their Privileges are not well maintain'd, which is the true Source of almoft univerfal Difaffection.

Appendix to the former Section.

## A Journey from Vienna to Venice by Land, with a diftinct Account of the Quickfilver-Mines in Friuli, including the Author's Obfervations in his Paffage through Styria, Carintbia, and Carniola.

By Dr. Edward Browne.

1. The Defign of the Autbor's Fourney. A Defoription of the Baths at Baden, four German Miles from Vienna. Remarks upon the Nature and UJe of thefe Batbs. 2. A Defcription of the City of Neultadt, and fome otber Places in Auptria. 3. An Account of the Town of St. Veit, or St. Faith, the Antiquities in its Neigblourbood, and the fingular Metbod of inftalling a Duke of Carinthia. 4. A Defcription of various Antiquities in this Neigbbourbood, and of the Civilities paid to the Autbor, by feveral Scotch Officers in the Imperial Service. 5. The wonderful Paffage into Carniola through Mount Luibel, refembling that of Paufilipo in the Kingdom of Naples. 6. An Accouni of the ancient Nauportus, famous for the Landing there of the Argonauts. 7. A curious and copious Defcription of the Zirch-nitzer-See, cheemed the greateft natural Curiofty of its Kind in the World. 8. The Autbor's Journey to, and Defcription of the Quickflver-Mines at Idria in Friuli. 9. The Autbor's Remarks upon the Country and Inbabitants. 10. An Account of Palmanova, a Fortrefs of the Venetians, beld at. this Iime to be the beft in Europe, and confdered as the great Bulwark of that State againft the Turks. II. The Autbor continues bis fourney to Venice, and after a Joort Stay there, refolves to return by Land to Vienna. 12. A curious Defcription of the Venetian Dominions on that Side, and of the different Manners of the People on the oppofite Sides of the Bridge over the Fella. I3. Some furtber Remarks upon the Country of Carintbia, and on the Lead and 2uickfiver Mines therein. I4. The Autbor's Remarks on the moft confiderable Paflages in bis Journey. 15. Some additional Obfervations upon the foregoing Seetions.

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AFTER having taken a View of feveral Places about the City of Vienna, I made a Journey to Venice on Horfeback, for the Conveniency of faying at a Place, or going out of the Road at Pleafure. The firt Place of Note we faw was Baden, four German Leagues from Vienno, a walled Town, feazed near a Branch of Mount Cetius, the common Boundary of Noricum and Pannonia. Near the City paffes a River call'd Sreechet, which about a German League from Vienna falls into the Danube. It has three Churches, that of the Austin Friars, of our Lady, and St. Stephen. But what makes this Place moft remarkable, are its nine Baths, two whereof are within the Town, five withont the Wall, and two beyond the before-mentioned Rivalet.

The Duke's-Bath, being the chirf and by much the largeft, is twenty Foot iquare, in the Middle of a Houfe of the fame Figure built over it: The Vapours pafs through a wooden Tunnel at the Top, but the Water is carried in at one Corner of the Bath, near the Bottom, by wooden Pipes, under the Town-Wall from the Spring-head, which rifes not far thence to the Weft ward.

The Springs of all the other Baths are conveyed into them through Holes of the Plancher, they being on all Sides cover'd with Wainfcot. The Water is generally tranfparent, inclining fomething to a Blue, and makes the Skin appear pale, like the Smoak of Brimftome: It turns Metals black in a few Minutes, except Gold (the Colour of which it heightens, but the Coin of the Country (which is a Mixture of Copper and Silver,) it turns in an Inftant from a White, into a dark Yellow, which however foon after turns black.

The Water gives a delicious green Colour to the Plants it wafhes, and fometimes leaves a Scum upon them, of a Purple mix'd with white. Near the Springhead it has a great Refemblance to the Sulphur River between Tivoli and Rome, but its Scent is not fo naufeous, nor does it incruftate its Banks as that does,

This Spring-head is worth the Obfervation of a curious Traveller, in Regard it rifes under a rocky Hill, into which is cut an arched Paffage of forty Yards Length, through which I paffed, and found it as hot as a Stove, occafioned by the hot Spring-Water running under it, (like that of Tritola and Baje) the greatell Part of this Cave being incruftated on the Tops with a white Subftance, which towards the Entrance becomes harder and ftronger. I had fome of the Pipes which conveys the Bath-Water opened; and from the Upper Part of the Pe Pipes took off a good Quantity of Powder like Flower of Brimftone fublimated; whereas nothing like it was found in the lowermoft Parts of the fame Pipes. I dropp'd Oleum Sulpburis per Campanaws into this Water, which it received without the leaft Agitation: But the Oleum Tartari per deliquium dropp'd into it, caufed an Ebullition, as in the making of Tartar Vitriolate.

The (2d) Bath within the Wall is call'd, Our Lady's Bath, being about twelve Foot broad, and twenty four in Length, and one End of it under a Church of the fame Name. This feems to be more impregnated with Sulphur than the reft, and is bluer, leaving a yellow Flower upon the Boards, as the reft do a white. The (3d) is the Nerw Batb without the Gate. The (4th) the Feres Bath, having a Partition in the Middle to feparate the Men from the Women. The (5th) St. Fohn's Bath, of a triangular Figure: The ( 6 ch ) the Beggars Bath; fo fhallow, that they are forced to be drawn in it. The (7th) is the Bath of the Holy Crofs, about two Fathoms fquare, intended for the Clergy. The (8ch) St. Peter's Bath, the Waters of which are greener than the reft. The (gth) is the Sour Bath, fet about with Stone Balafters, with a fair Cupolo and Lanthorn on the Top. The Water of it is very tianfparent, and will colour Money black without touching it ; but if once cold, will not change the Colour of Metals although they be boil'd in it. The hotteft of thefe Biths reach not the Heat of the Queen's Bath in England. They ufe no Guides here, but direct themfelves with a fhort turn'd Staff.
2. A Captain in the Emperor's Service prefented me with a Gempskugel, which is faid to be an Excrefcence upon the Liver of a Rupicapra, or wild Goat, in the Mountains of Tyrol, to which they attribute a fignal Vertue in the Difeafes of the Liver, malignant Fevers, and the Plague itfelf. The Soldiers of thele Parts make great Account of it, being poffefs'd with an Opinion, that it renders them invulnerable for two Hours after they have taken it. From hence I travelled on io Nerefladt, one of the moft confiderable Cities of Aufria: It is of a fquare Figure, having a Piazza in the middle; it has four Gates, three whereof are to be feen from the Piazza. St. James's Church has two Steeples in the Front. The Emperor has a large fquare Caltle here, having a Tower on each Corner, which, as well as the greateft Part of the Town, is to be feen at a great Diftance, its Situation being in a low marfhy Ground encompafs'd with a Ditch and a double Wall. Here Count Peter Serini, and Frangipani, the Heads of the late intended Rebellion in Hungary, were beheaded.

From hence we went on through the Plains towards Mount Simeron (Part of Mount Cetius,) upon the Top whereof you fee a great Heap of Stones, which make the Boundary betwixt Auttria and Styria; the Afcent of it is very rocky, and fo fteep, that twenty four Horfes or Oxen, are fcarce able to draw up a Coach with Safety. In our Way we paffed by Newkirckel, where is a Chapel with a little red Pinnacle, built, as they fay, by an Englifh King, and lodged that Night at Scbotwein, or Schadtzeein, a ftrong Town, fituate on the Paffage leading up to the Rocks betwixt the Hills; the Houfes on the Sides of the Rocks being inacceflible but from the Top. This Town having the Mountain on both Sides, and being Thut up with a Gate at each End, is therefore by fome ftıled Clauftra Auftrice; and a fmall Brook coming down from the Hills, paffes under the Wall of it. From hence we travelled to Mebrzufchlag, where they beat out Iron into Bars: From thence pafing by a fwift Rivulet call'd Murtz, to Keimburg, and by a Caftle belonging to the Family of Stubnberg, one of the moft ancient in Germany, came to Prug, or Muripons, a well built Town, with a fair Piazza, feated upon the River Mur, or Muer, a fwift large River, but not navigable. There is another Town of the fame Name upon the River Leyta, call'd Prug upon the Leyta for Diftinction's Sake.
3. We went on from hence to Lubeim, where the Staple of Iron is; and thence to Knitelfeldt and $\mathfrak{F} u d$ enburg, along the River Mur. The next Day to Hundtsmark and Newmark, and fo to Freijach, fuppofed by fome to have been Virunum, and by others Vacorium, in Sight of Altenbofn, the Caftle of Itrowitz, and the Caftle of Tottenbrun, which belongs to the Archbihop of Saltzburg. From hence we travell'd to St. Veit, or St. Faitbs, (Vitapolis) formerly the Capital of Carintbia, feated at the Confluence of the two Rivers Glan and Wunich, encompaffed with a Wall; it has fix Churches, and a handfome Piazza, in which ftands a noble Fountain, the Bafon being of white Marble cut out of one Stone, five Fathom in Circumference, which was brought hither from Saal, or Zolfeldt, a Place near it, abounding with Roman Antiquities, of which this is one.

In Sight of this City are four confiderable Hills, viz. that of St. Veit, St. Ulrick, St. Laurence, and St. Helena, with a Chapel upon each of them; to all which, upon a certain Day in the Year, the Inhabitants, for thirty Englijh Miles round, come in Pilgrimage on Foot. We had here the Diverfion of a Latin Comedy at the Francifcans Convent; it being then in May, we found the higher Hills covered with Snow, whereas the lower were very green, and full of Fir and Larch-Trees. Many of the Inhabitants here are troubled with hard Tumours in their Throats, fome as big as their Heads (Strumatici,) which they are obliged to cover in cold Weather, when they are much difcolour'd. There is an Hofpital without the City for thofe, as well as fome others that are Blind, Dumb, and Changelings. We obferved however, that the better Sort of People, who ufe a good Diet, were feldom troubled with this Diftemper; though

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their Throats much exceeded in Bignefs thofe I faw before in the Alpine Parts of Savoy.
From hence we continued our Journey to Saal, or Solua, an ancient Roman Colony, mentioned in the Map of Wolfgangus Lazius, by the Name of Colonia Scluenjs, with a Field near it call'd Ager Soluenhis, or Zolfeldt; a Place noted for Roman Antiquities, many of which have been carried away into ocher Parts. Here I faw that fo much celebrated Piece of Anticuity of the King's Chairs; being of Stone, fet together in the Form of two Elbow-Chairs, turn'd back to back. Upon three of the Stones are Infcriptions, which appear to be much more ancient than the Fabrick of the Chair. At the inftalling of the Duke of Carintbia (whether a King or Emperor) either he or his Reprefentative fits in that Part of the Chair which faces the Eaft, a Peafant fitting at the fame Time in the other Part to the Weft. Among other Ceremonies, the Peafant rifing up, prefents the Duke with a fat and lean Ox; the Duke being obliged to return the fat one, and keep the lean one, receives afterwards a gentle Box on the Ear, from the fame Peafant, and the Inftalment is thus concluded.

The Church of Saal having had the good Fortune to efcape the Fury of the barbarous Nations, is very ancient; and on the Walls has many old Roman Antiquities of Befo relievo, taken firt out of Zolfeidl. Among many others, I took parcicular Notice of thefe: A Cbariot drawn by two Horfes. A Cbariot weith a Man in it. A Wolf licking of Fruit fallen from a Tree. Hector drawen bebind Achilles bis Cbariol about Troy. Four very fair Heads unto the Middle. Two Wolves, eacb bolding a Horn and a Cup between them, out of wobich foots a Vine veitb Leaves and Grapes; this is over the Porch. Within the Porch is a Cupid holding of a Buncb of Grapes; Romulus and Remus fucking of a Wolf: Two Figures over the Crucifix by St. Cbristopber, with fome others; all which, as I told you, were brought hither from Zolfeldt, where I alfo faw many Infcriptions; one upon a Stone on the South-fide of the Church was this;

## hercvid. E <br> EPONAE.AUG. <br> PROSALUTE.IMP. <br> CAES. M. AVR. <br> ANTONINI. PII: FE. <br> LICIS. INVICTI.

As alfo feveral Roman Coins of Copper and Silver found in thefe Parts. I brought away a Golden Medal of Trajan.

We went from thence to Clagenfurt, (the ancient Claudia) now the capital City of Carintbia, being a handfome four fquare Town, well fortified with a ftrong Wall, and a broad Rampart. Its Streets are very regular ; and the Piazza in the Middle, being adorned with a Marble Column hath a Statue of the Virgin Mary upon it, as alfo a Statue of the Emperor, and, what exceeds all the reft, hath a moft noble Fountain in the Centre, over which is a Dragon of a prodigious Size, made out of one Stone, Hercules with his Club flanding before it. This was likewife brought from Zolfeldt. Thefe mountainous Parts afford three noble maffy Fountains, viz. thofe two of St. Veit and Clagenfurt, and that of Salizburg of white Marble. Clagenfurt being at that Time full of Soldiers, we were very civilly entertained by feveral of the Officers, but more efpecially by Count Lefley their Commander in Chief, Baron Hay, and Lord Paifley, who carried me in the Count's Barge through an artificial itteight Channel into the Werd Sea, or Lake of Clagenfurt, to a Country Seat call'd Loretto, moft pleafandly feated; having a Chapel belonging to it, built in Imitation of that of Loretto in Italy, which I found exaEtly conformable to the Original.
5. From Clagenfurt, we turned to the South, and after fix or feven Engli/b Miles, pals?d the River Drave over two wooden Bridges, with an Iland in the Middle; and within two Hours after entring among the Hills at a Place call'd Hammer, (where the Iron is beat out) continued my Journey towards the high and great Moun-
tain of Luibel. Soon after we faw ourfelves arrived by the oddeft Defert of Rocks that can well be imagined, at a great Cafcata or Water-fall, which having worn out the Rocks underneath, appears at firf Sight to be artificial. The Afcent is very furprifing, being enclofed with Walls, turning backwards and forwards, to the very Pinnacle of this great Mountain Luibel, Part of the Carnick Alpes, dividing Carintbia and Carniola. Coming up as high as the fteep Rocks and Peaks would let us, we were amazed to fee our Guide lead us Sideways through an artificial Road into a Paffage cut quite through the Mountain, like the famous Grotto of PauGlipo by Naples. It has a Roof of Wood-work in the Middle, which is continued unto the Carniolian Side. The Roof of this Paffage is very high, its Length ${ }^{1} 56$ Yards, and four Yards in Breadth, affording daily Paffages for Country Carriages and Carts.
Having never heard or read of this furprifing Paffage, I at firft imagined it to be forne old Roman Work, till I was credibly informed, that it was much later, there being formerly no Paffage into Carniola this Way ; but People entred it by going about a great Way by Villach. In afcending this high Mountain, being infefted with much Rain, and a fierce Storm, till we came to the highen Part of it, I had the Opportunity to fee the Clouds defcend, and after it was pafs'd to afcend again fo high, as to get over Part of the Mountain, and a Stream of them pafs'd through the rocky Paffage out of Carniola to the Carintbian Side, directly contrary to our Way, who came out of Carintbia into Carniola. As we reached this Grotto by a continual Afcent, fo no fooner were we got through it, but we defcended by Degrees, firft to St. Anna, two Englijb Miles downward, next to Nereyfattel, fix or feven Miles lower, and fo defcending fill till we came to Crainburg, (the old Carnodunum) a handfome Town, feated upon the River Save, from whence, through a very pleafant Plain four German Leagues long, we came to Labacb (Lubiana) the capital City of Carniola, through which runs the River of the fame Name, which afterwards difcharges itfelf into the Save. This is a very handfome City, its Caftle, which is fituate upon a Hill, óverlooking iwo large Valleys to the N. and S. but being commanded by another Hill that lies near it, its Fortifications are neglected of late Years. Mr. Io/h, a Scotch Apothecary in this City, fhew'd me various curious Minerals of thofe Parts.
6. Labach is fuppofed to be the ancient Nauportus, fo famous for the Landing of the Argonauts, who fetting out from Argos Pelafgicum in Thefaly, fail'd to Colchos, on the Eaft fide of the Euxine Sea; but being purfued by the Veffels of the King of Colchos, fteer'd their Courfe Northward to the Mouth of the Danube, and paffing up that River, till they came to the Confluence thereof with the Save, they next went up the Save, and fo the River Labach, till they landed at this Place call'd anciently Nauportus, from whence they return'd by the Way of the Adriatick Sea into Greece. So that in my Travels I had been near the Place of their fetting out in Theffaly, and at their Landing-place in Carniola.
From Labach we travel'd towards the Zircbnitzer See, or that famous and moft furprifing Lake of Zircbnitz, having the Marfhes on our Right, and the Hills on our left Hand, till we came to Brounitza; and then palfing over them, we reach'd Zircbnitz, a Town farce containing three hundred Houfes, but which has given its Name to that ftupendious adjacent Lake. Here, having received the neceffary Directions and Accommodations from the Hands of the Judge of the Place, for viewing of the Lakes, we went to Seedorff, a Village about half a Mile nearer the Lake, and thence to Niderdorff, where we took Boat, and fpent fome Time in taking an exact View of the Lake.
7. This Lake is about nine or ten Engli/b Miles long, and half as broad, enclofed with Hills at fome Diftance, and to the South-fide with the Birmbaumir Foreft, of a great Extent, and faid to abound with Deers, Wild Boars, Foxes, Wolves, and Bears.

What makes this Lake moft remarkable, or rather furprifing, is, that every Year, in fome Part of the Month of Fune, the Water thereof defcends through
certain Holes at the Bottom, under Ground ; and in the Month of September returns by the fame Ways, with a very fpeedy Afcent, rifing up to the Height of a Pike, and fo covering the Ground again. Whilt the Water remains under Ground, the Earch produces very fpeedily great Plenty of Grafs, yielding Food for Catcle in the Winter; and, during that Time, you may fee the Hares, Deer, and other Wild Beafts, refort thither from the adjacent Forrefts, of which great Numbers are then taken by the Country People.

The Lake affords vaft Plenty of Fifh, though that as well as Part of the adjacent Country being a Lordfhip belonging to the Prince of Eckenberg, the Country are not allow'd the Liberty of Fifhing, except upon the reciring of the Water, when they take vaft Numbers of them, by intercepting their Paffage as they are going under Ground. As far as I was able to learn, this Lake brings not up any unknown Fifh at the Return of the Waters, but only fuch as went down, and are found in moft other Lakes, fuch as Carp, Tench, Eels, the which having fpawn'd before they go down, the Fry has about three Months Growth, when they are brought up again through the fame fubterraneous Paffages.

The Water in this Lake is of a very different Depth, in fome Places not above four Foot, and not far thence perhaps twenty Yards; fo that the Ground being as it were divided into fraall Hills and Valleys, the Fifhermen have given peculiar Names to feven of them, which in the Sclavomian (this Country Language) are, Vodanas, Refbetu, Sitarza, Ribibkiama, Naknibu, Levilße, Kottel. I myfelf pals'd over five of the aforementioned Valleys, and faw a rennarkable Stone call'd the Fijßers Stone, becaufe, by its Appearance, they guefs when the Water will begin to retreat under Ground ; as alfo by a peculiar Hill, which being higher than the reff, becomes a pleafant Inand at the Return of the Water.
Upon the moft exact Enquiry I could make, I could not find that this Lake had fail'd one Year to defcend and afcend again ; or how long it was fince this Property had firft been obferved; fo that it feems more than probable, that this Lake does not owe its Rife to any Earthquake, but has been the fame from all Antiquity, and, if my Conjecture fails me not, is the Lugea Palus of Strabo, who, notwithftanding this, as well as all the other ancient Geographers, make not the leaft Mention of this furprifing Quality.

The neareft Part of the Sea unto this Lake is the Sinus Tergefinus, and Sinus Flanaticus, or the Gulph of Triefte, and the Gulph of Quevero; at within a few Miles Diftance, divers confiderable Rivers have their Sources, as the Labach, the Corkoras or Gurk, the Colapis or Culp, which falls into the Save, and the Vipao or Amnis Frigidus, which runs into Lyonfo by Goritia, befides divers others. I obferved the Ground about this Lake very hollow, and full of Caverns: The like I took Notice of in feveral other Parts of Carniola, not unlike unto Elden Hole in Derby/bire; and, if we may give Credit to what feveral of the beft Perfons at Zirchnitz affured us, the Prince of Eckenberg had the Curiofity to go into one of thofe Caverns, and came out again upon the Side of a Hill.
8. Being upon my Departure, I was in fome Doubt, whether I hould go to Tbrejte, (Tergefum) a Sea-port in the Adriatick Sea, belonging to the Emperor, and thence by Ship to Venice; but having a great Curiofity to fee the famous Quickfilver Mine at Idria in the Country of Goritia, I went from Zircbnitz to Lovec, and paffing through the mountainous Parts of that Country, came to Idria, enclofed with Hills on all Sides, a River of the fame Name running juft by it; which is ftiled by Leandro Alberti, Juperbifimo fume d'Idria, though it was very fmall and fhallow then, and after great Rains, Fcarce has Water enough to carry down the Fir-trees, and other Wood made ufe of in the Mines, for Building and Fuel, which being caft into the Water above this Place, are flop'd by fome Piles fet crofs the River, as we oblerved in the River Gran near Neworol.

The only Thing that makes this Town worth taking Notice of, are the adjacent Quickfilver Mines; the En-
trance into which being fomewhat lower than the Town itfelf, this makes them fomewhat fubject to Water floods, to empty which, they are provided with excellent Engines, and other Devices: The deepeft Part of the Mine, from its Entrance, is betwixt 120 and 130 Fathoms. This Mine affords two Sorts of Quickfilver ; one call'd the Virgin Quickfilver, the other plain Quickfilver. They call Virgin Quickfilver that which difcovers itfelf without the Afiftance of Fire, and is either found in the Earth or Ore naturally as it is, or falls in fmall Drops, or fometimes ftreams out in a confiderable Quantity down into the Mine. Thus feven Years before I faw it, they had fuch a Stream coming from the Earth, which at firt was as fmall as a common Thread, and afterwards as big as a good Pack-thread, but did not continue for above two or three Days. They alfo reckon that Sort of Quickfilver, Virgin Mercury, which is feparated by Water in a Sieve firft, and afterwards in a long Trough with fmall Holes at one End, without the Help of any Fire.
Plain Quickfilver, or Mercury fimply fo called, is that, which being not at firf perceivable to the Eye, is forced by Fire either out of the Ore or native Cinnabar of Mercury, which they dig out of this Mine. The Ore is of a dark brown Colour, mix'd with red, but the beft is a hard Stone, which before they put into the Fire, is firft gronly powder'd and work'd by the Sieve, to feparate the Virgin Quickfilver, if any be found in it. The Quickfilver Ore of this Mine is the richeft of all that ever I faw, for it generally contains half Quickfilver, or in two Parts of Ore one Part of Quickfilver, and fometimes, in three Parts of Ore two Parts of Quickfilver. I defcended this Mine by the Pit of St. Agatba, by Ladders, and came up again by that of St. Barbara ; an Afcent of 639 Staves or 89 Fathoms. I faw in the Laboratory, where the Quickfilver is feparated by the Force of Fire, 16,000 Retorts of Iron, each of which coits a Crown at the Iron Furnaces in Carintbia. They employ at once 8 coo Retorts, with as many Recipients, for the drawing over the Quickfilver in fixteen Furnaces, fifty Retorts in each, viz. twenty-five on a Side, twelve above and thirteen below of each Side.

Fune the 12 th, 1669 , When I was there I faw them carry away into Foreign Parts forty Saumes of Quickfilver, each Saume containing 315 Pounds Weight, to the Value of 4000 Ducats: It is carried upon Horfes Backs, two fmall Barrels upon each Horfe. In the Caftle I faw 3000 Saumes of Quickfilver at once, all made up in double Leather, and in another Houfe as much of the beft Ore as could be feparated in two Years Time, unlefs they fhould have more than ordinary Plenty of Wood coming down by the Rains ; though, by reafon of the high Hills about them, it fnows oftner here than it rains.

It is a Cuftom for all the Strangers who come into the Caftle of Idria, to have their Names fet down in a Re-gifter-Book kept for that Purpofe, with the Names of their Native Country. In the large Catalogue thereof, we met with but few Englijh Mens Names, and of late Years only with Mr. Evelyn and Mr. Pope's Names, with their Companies, who after their Return, had their Obfervations inferted in the Pbilofopbical Tranfactions. As the better Sort of the Inhabitants of this Town generally fpeak five Languages, viz. the Friulian, Sclavonian, German, Latin and Italian, (befides that fome alfo fpeak Frencb) fo it is very fit for the Reception of Strangers.
9. From Idria we paffed the Swartzenberg or BlackMountain, and defcending ten Miles through a fony Country, came to Adefini, and fo to Goritia (the old Noreja) the chief City of the Country of Goritia, pleafantly feated, over-looking a fair Plain to the South. The Imperial Governor refides in the Cafte, having a Guard to attend his Perfon. As we were travelling in the Night-time, we had fometimes about us a great Number of large Glow-worms, which put in Papers, gave a dim Light, and in fome Places in the Plains the Air was full of flaming Flies. There is Abundance of that neat kind of Acer, whereof Violins and ocher Mu-
fical

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fical Inftruments are made, as well in thofe Parts as in Carintbia, and the Archbihoprick of Saltzburg, where they make Trenchers and Tables of it, and fell them at a cheap Rate; I brought fome of the fair broad Leaves from thence.

Leaving Goritia, I pafs'd the River Soncius or Lizonfo, which rifing near the Hills, empties itfelf into the Adriatick Sea, famous for the Death of Odoager, who was flain near it in a Batcle by Tbeodorick King of the Gotbs, and the Inroad of the Turks made hereabouts, in 1477, under the Reign of Mabomet the Great; after which, travelling: through the Meadows, we came unto the ftrong City of Palmaं Nova, built fince by the Venetians to prevent the like Incurfions. All this long Circuit, till within a Mile of Palma Nova, we travelled through the Emperor's Dominions, which are much larger than generally apprehended; and as I have fooner or later feen the greateft Part of them, I can't but think him a great and powerful Prince, he being in Poffeffion of all Auftria, Styria, Carintbia, Carniola, Part of Croatia; Ifria and Friuli, Part of Alfatia; Tyrol, Bobemia, Moravia, Sile. Sa, Part of Lufatia; and a confiderable Part of Hungary.
10. Palma Nova in Friuli, is the largeft regular Fortification I ever met with in my Travels, having nine Baftions, bearing the Names of as many noble Venetians; on each Courtain there are two Cavaliers, the Rampart is much higher than the Wall, and the Ditch thirty Paces broad, and twelve deep; being kept dry to render the Town more healthful, but may be fill'd in Cafe of Neceffity. It has three Gates; viz. Porta Maritima, Porta di Cividal, and Porta di Udine. The three Baftions Fofcarini, Savorgnan, and Grimani, lie betwixt the Porta Maritima and the Porta di Udine; thofe three called Barbara, Dona and Monte, betwixt the Porta di Udine and Porta di Cividal, as thofe of Garzoni, Contarini and Villa Cbiara are betwixt the Porta di Cividal and the Porta Maritima. Each of thefe Gates were then covering with a very far Half-Moon. In the Middle of the City is a Sexangular Piazza, from whence there is a fair Profpect to the three Gates, and. fix Streets quite through the Town. In the Centre of it is fix'd a Standard over a triple Well ; the Front of the Cathedral facing the Piazza, which is alfo beautified with divers Statues; and a finely gilc Obelisk. There is in the Middle of the Bridge an artificial Drawbridge, fo contriv'd, that upon the Approach of any Force, the Centinel, by touching only an Iron Spring, can draw it up.

I have in my Travels made Obfervation of feveral Kinds of well-contriv'd Drawbridges, amongt all which none pleafed me better than thofe of Amferdam, which part in the Middle, fo that the Maft-head or Break-water of the Ship bearing againft it, opens it, and affords a free Paffage to the Veffel without any other Help. The Venetians have made a Channel from Palma Nova to the Sea, capable of Veffels of good Burthen. This Fortification, which was begun by the Venetians in 1594, is efteem'd here one of the ftrongeft in $E u$ rope, having been contriv'd by the Advice of the beft Engineers.
11. From Palma nova I went to Maran St. Vito, a Port Town of the Venetians in Friuli, fo named from St. Vito, who is faid to have been buried in this Place. At this Town we took a Felucca, and failing by the Shore of Friuli or Patria, we palfed by Porto di Taiamento, and came to Caborle. In this Inand there is a Church dedicated to the bleffed Virgin, feated upon the Sea-fhore nigh the Waves, yet faid never to be overflowed by the Sea, being as it were, the Halcyon Neft of its Patronefs, and a Place of remarkable Devotion. On this Shoar we refrefhed ourfelves, and were diverted while at Sea, in feeing them take Shell-fifh; and then paffing by Livenza, where the Sea came formerly up as high as Opitergium, and afterwards by Porto di Piave; I arrived at Venice, entering by the Porto de Cafellit, paffing by the Cartbufans Convent, and landed at the Piazza of St. Mark. Here I found the whole City highly concerned for the hazardous State of Candia, which was loft foon after ; Dominico Contarini, the prefent Duke was

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fedulous in that Affair. The Voyage of Gbiron Frant cifco Marchese Villa, General of the Infantry of Candias with a Journal of a Siege, had been lately publmed; and was in many Hands. There was a Supply of Auxiliaries in good Readinefs. It was at that Time a more than ordinary hot Seafon, and fome of our Engtifo Sea-Captains and Mafters told me, that they had felf dom met with fuch hot Wreather even between the Tropicks. Having formerly had a View of Rome, Nas ples, Florence, and the great Cities of Italy, and paffed fome Time ar Pudoa a few Years before, I made but a Thort Stay about Venice; and having reviewed what was moft confiderable, and renewed my Acquaintance wich fome worthy courceous Friends at Venice and Padoas Mr. Hales the Conful, Mr. Hobfon, Dr. Cadined, and others, I difpofed my Affairs for my Return to Vienne the ordinary Way.
12. In order chereto, I took Boat at Venice; and landed at Mefire a pretty Town, and the beft Place for Accommodation for fuch as travel into Germany by $T_{y}$ rol, or into Auftria by Friuli; from hence I cravelled ten Miles through a pleafant plain Country, till I came to Trevifo, which gives its Name unto the Country about La Marca Travigiana, a handfome City adorned with good Houtes, Churches, Towers and Fountains. The clear River Sile or Silo runs through it, and afterwards into the Sea between Mefire and Murano; it abounds in good Wines and Fruits, and was a chief Seat of the Lombards in thefe Parts. This old City, after having run various. Fortunes, and bing under the Subjection of the Huns, and other conquering Nations; and fometimes obeyed the Signiora della Scala, and the Carraref, was united to the State of Venice in the Year 1388. It was converted to the Chriftian Faith, by Profdocbimus, a Follower of St. Peter. Eight Miles from hence flood the ancient City Altinum, founded by Antenor, and deftroyed by Attila. From thence I came to Lovadina, and croffed the great River Piave, Plavis, or Analfus, which arifing in the Mountains, paffes by the Cities of Belluna and Feltre, then to Concian o: Coniglian, and next to Sacille or Sacillum, formerly a Bifhop's See, under the Patriach of Aquileio, a pleafant and well built Place, efteemed the Garden of the Republick, and feated by the River Livenza, or Liquentia; which paffing by Motta, runs into the Gulf of Venice: Here I took a Guide to conduct me through the Plains and Meadows, and came to Spilimbergo, where I again took a Guide to crofs the fwift River Taiametito, or Tiliaventum; this is efteemed the greateft River in Friuli, arifing above in the fulian Aipes; and running down into the Adriatick Sea, and often overflowing a great Part of the plain Country. This fwift River put a Stop to the Incurfion of the Turks, when Scander, Buffa of Illyria, broke into Friuli with twelve thoufand Horfe, and deftroyed all before him; in the Reign of Sultan Bajazet the IId. Not far from Spilimbergo, I pafed a neat River or notable Cut, call'd, La Brentella, fixteen Miles long, made by the Venetions, for the better bringing down of Wood from the Mountains, to be ufed in the making of Glaffes at Murano: It is all paved with a good Stone Bottom and Sides; the Bottom is round, fo that it is fomewhat like a Tube opened or fplit in two. Then I paffed by St. Daniel, feated upon a Hill by Hospitaletto, and came to Venfone, a Town feated at the Beginning of the Hills, and formerly the Limit of the Verietion Dominions; thence by Rejuta to la Cbiufa, a Place remarkable for the ftraight Paffage of the Alps, where the Venetians keep a Guard, and fhut up the Paffage every Night. From thence I came to Pontebe or Ponte Fella, upon the River Fella, the exact Confines between the Venetian and Imperial Dominions; and furely a Man can feldom pafs more clearly and diftinctly, from one Country into another, than in this Town. On one Side of the Bridge live Italions, Subjects unto the State of Venice ; on the other Side, Germans, Subjects unto the Emperor. Upon the one Side, their Buildings, their Manner of living, their empty Rooms, large Windows, Iron Bedfeads, fhew them to be Italians: On the other Side immediately, their Stoves, higher Bedfteads, Feather Beds one over another, fquare

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Tables,

Tables, and their Bafon and Cloth by the Wall, declare them to be Germans. The Bridge itfelf is alfo half ILalion, half Dutch, one Part being built of Stone, and the other of great Trees laid over, after the German Eafhion of making Bridges. Between Venfone and Ponteba there are many great Cafcala's, or Falls of Waters; but of feveral Paflages of the Alps, this feemed unto me the beft and moft eafy. In thefe mountainous Places I was entertain'd with ftrange Stories of the Snow, which cover thefe Hills in the Winter ; as how many Pikes Length the Snow was deep in fome Places; how round the Country would look when all the craggy Rocks were cover'd ; how a Snowball, thrown down from a Mountain, would fo gather and augment in the Fall, as to do great Mifchief in the Valley; and that if the fmallef Bird thould but fcrape with her Foot at the Edge of an high Hill, that little Beginning might fo increafe in the Defcent, upon a Thaw, as to overwhelm an Houre at the Bottom.
13. From hence, by Tervis and Tirl, unto Villach or Willack, an handfome Town, and one of the chiefeft in Carintbia; but before I came to Villach, I went to fee the natural Baths, which were not much out of the Way, at the Foot of an Hill, about an Englibh Mile from the Town, and in good Efteem. There are two clear fulphureous Baths, but very gently warm, and have an Acid, and no unpleafant Tafte. The Bottom is not planchered nor paved, but hath its own natural Spring and Settlement with it; yet into one there is a hot Spring let in, which arifes by it. They are large, and have Stairs to defcend into them, with little Rooms of Wood about them for Accommodation: They are cover'd over, and they bathe in them cloathed with Shirt and Drawers, as in Aufria. Not far from hence is a Lake called the Ofracker-See, from Oflack, a Town upon the Side thereof, and is one of the molt confiderable Lakes in Carintbia, there being befides it, thefe which are remarkable, the Wbite Lake, the Millfatter, the Werd, and the Forcbien. This Lake doth not only abound in Fifh, but affords great Plenty of Offacker Nuts, which the People eat, and fome make Bread of, which notwithftanding, upon Examination, I found to be no other than very large Seeds of Tribulus Aquaticus or Water Gallthorps. From Villach I foon came to the Werd-See, and keeping it continually on my Right Hand, I travelled by the Side of it till I came to Clagenfurte, and then paffed again to St. Veits, where I met Mr. Donellan, from whom, upon my former Defires to him, I received an Account of the great L.ead Mines in Upper Carintbia, at Bleyberg, where they have worked eleven hundred Years, and the Pits are deep. Federnus Stollen or Cuniculus is an hundred and ten Fa. thoms deep in the Earth, and the Hills fo high about it, that upon the Melting of the Snow in the Spring, there is often much Hurt done, the Snow rolling and falling in fuch valt Heaps, that nothing is able to refilt it ; fo that in the Year 1654 , it fell fo vehemently, that it deftroyed and carried away fixteen Houfes. He prefented me alfo with many handfome natural Curiofities, collected by him in thofe Parts; one of which, among the reft, I cannot but mention, which was a rich, large, fair Piece of natural Cinnabar, found in Crezaltar, in the Foreft of Cre, two German Miles from St. Veits, in the LordMip-of Ofterwitz, where there hath been great Quantities found out; for the Herr von Standach about thirty Years ago, as he was hunting in this Forelt, being thirlty, and laying down to drink out of a Stream, which runs from the Top of the Hill, he perceived the Stream to be full of Cinnabar ; but fince it hach been fo diligently fearched after, that without working and digging for it there is none to be found. From St. Viets I continued my Journey by Friefach, where formerly there was a Gold Mine, and then by Neromark, Hundfmark, Pelffolz, Knitelfeldt, Luibm, Prug, Kemberg, Mebrz-u Scblag, Scbadiwien, Newkirc$k e l$, Nerefadt, Solinare, Trafkircbell, Newdorff, to Vieina.
14. This my Return from Venice to Vienna, about three hundred and fifty Italian Miles, was the moft quiet Journey I ever made; for not meeting with good Com.
pany, I perform'd it alone, and upon one Horfe; and although there are feveral Nations, and no lefs than four Languages fooken upon this Road, yet I met with no Difturbance from any, nor did any one ask from whence I came, or whither I would go; no Trouble as to Bills of Health, and good Accommodations in the Inns at an eafy Rate. They are, for the moft part, a plain People, make good Soldiers, little mutinous, but obedient to Commands, and hardy, and are of good Ure and Service unto the Emperor. In my Travels in Germany, I feldom failed to meet with feres; but in this Journey I met with none, or fuch as I could nor well diftinguifh ; for though there were then whole Villages of Fews in Austria, yet they were prohibited in Styria, and feverely banifhed out of Carintbia; fo that for thofe $\mathcal{F}$ ews, who travelled between Venice and Vienna, the Emperor difpenfes with them as to their Ruff, and the Venetions as to their Red Hat. I went this Journey when the Sun was in Cancer, in the hotteft Time of the Year, and Heat was very offenfive to me in the great Plains of Friuli and Aufria, but in the Alps it was much more moderate, and the Country was all green and pleafant ; when, on the contrary, all the Grafs in Auftria was burnt up by the Sun; and if there were not a continual Breeze about the Middle of the Day, upon all great Plains, efpecially in Southern Countries, the Heat would be intolerable ; and I could not but take Notice, how pleafantly the the poor Peafants in the Alpine Countries diverted chemfelves in the Fields, and after their Labour would be lively and brifk, fometimes play at Cards with Cards of a Span long, fuch as they have in thofe Countries; while the rich Countrymen in Auftria were faint, and gafping for Breath; nor did it any Thing avail them, that Auftria was more Northern than Styria or Carinthia, for there may be as much Difference as to the Temperature of the Air, as to Heat and Cold in one Mile, as in ten Degrees of Latitude, and he that would cool and refrefh himfelf in the Summer, had better go up to the Top of the next Hill, than remove into a far more Northern Country. I have been ready to freeze on the Top of a Hill, and in an Hour's Time after have fuffered as great Inconvenience from the Heat of the Valley at the Rifing of the Sun; I have been upon a Hill with a clear Sky and good Weather, and have feen a Valley encompaffed with Mountains, and covered over with Clouds much below us the Sun fhining upon the upper Part of the Clouds made them appear like fine Down or Wool, and made the fofteft, fweeteft Lights and Shadows imaginable ; afterwards, when we defcended into this Valley under the Clouds, we had no fuch pleafant Profpect, but were rained upon the moft Part of the Day. In that hot Country of Arabia, Travellers complain moft of the Cold they fuffer in paffing the Hills. The Mountains in Italy and Spain, are, fome of them covered with Snow and Ice all the Summer long. I have heard that Mount Atlas is fo alfo, from Dr. Butler who lately travelled in thofe Parts, and from others, when in Great-Britain there is no fuch Thing. At London we have Winters for the moft Part favourable; when Captain Fames, who went to difcover the North-weft Paffage, and to fearch if there were any Communication between the Atlantick. Ocean and the Soutb-Sea, in the Northern Part of America, as there is in the Southern, fuffered more Hardfhip in the fame Degree of Latitude, than the nine Englifomen, who were left all the Winter in Greenland; and Baffin, on the contrary, upon the fame Defign, had a pleafant Voyage in an open Sea, and met with Inhabitants upon the Shore, till he came within nine Degrees of the Pole. But I fhall wander too far out of the Way, and therefore will put an End to this Difcourfe.
15. In the laft Folio Edition of Dr. Browne's Travels, there are added, his Journey to Cologne in 1673 , on Purpofe to view the Baths of Aix la Cbapelle, and to examine the mineral Waters of the Spa; as alfo his Travels through Italy, which were firft made, and which had coft him twelve or fourteen Years to digeft and put in Order. It may not be amifs however to inform the Reader, that in thefe he fhewed himlelf a very
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learned and curious Antiquary, of which, we have a clear and pregnant Inftance in what he fays of the Cicy of Padoo, which, for that Reafon, we fhall tranfcribe for the Reader's Satisfaction and Entertainment, though otherwife much ftraitned for Room, and very impatient to take our Leave of Europe. "The Landing-place " of Padoa is handfomely fet off, with Stone Steps conss tinued for a long Space along the Side of the River, " after the Manner of the Landing place at Gbent, and "s fome other elegant Cities of the Lorw-Countries. The 's outward Wall is ftrong, being well fortified accord" ing to the modern Rules of Fortification, in the s: Time of Leonardo de Loredaro, Duke of Venice; and * to render it more ftrong, the Rivers of Brenta and "6 Baccbiglione are let into the Town-Ditch. The in"ward Wall is now moft confiderable for its Antiqui"ty, and for retaining the Name of its Founder, it "c being ttill call'd Antenor's Wall: It contains a far * lefs Space of Ground than the former Padoa, being "b built in this Refpect like to the City of Aix la Cba" pelle, or Aken, having one Town within another. "That Patavium or Padoa is one of the oldeft Ci*ties of Europe, built prefently after the Irojan © War, is confeffed by ancient Writers, and fo genees rally believed of old, that Livy lays it down for the * Ground-work of his Hiftory, beginning in this Man© ner, Tam primum omnium fatis conftat Troja capta, \&c. \& In the firtt Place it is fufficiently manifeft, that "Troy being taken, the Grecians executed the utmoft © of their Rage upon the Trojans, Eneas, and Antenor only excepted, by Reafon of their ancient Friend"fhip with the Greeks, and in Refpect that they had © always endeavoured to make Peace and reftore $H e$ se lena. After various Fortunes, Antenor brought a great * Number of the Heneti, who having loft their King « Pylemon at the Wars of Troy and being driven out sc of Papblagonia by a Faction, were now feeking new * Seats, and a Captain to lead them, and came along "s with them to the Bottom of the Adriatick Gulf, drove © out the Eugenians, who inhabited between the Sea * and Alper, and eftablithed the Trojons and Heneti in ©s thofe Countries.
" Martial alfo Saluting Flaccus, a Padoan Poet, calls © him.

## cs Flacce Antenorei fpes Eo Alumine Laris.

*A And that you may more firmly give Credit to it, you may further alfo have the Authority of a Goddefs os for it, for Venus is introduced expoftulating in thefe ${ }_{-E}$ Terms with fupiter in the Behalf of Eneas.
« Quem das finem Rex magne, malorum?
«Antenor potuit, mediis elapfus Acbivis

* Illyricos penetrare finus alque intima tutus:
*Regna Liburnorum et fontem fuperare Timavi,
* Unde per Ora navem vafto cum murmure montis
*St mare proruptum et Pelago premit arva fonanti
* Hic tamen ille Urbem Patavi Sedefque locarit
© Teucronum et genti nomen dedit armaque fixit.
"What Time, great King, fhall terminate our Woes?
"Safe could Antenor break through all his Foes;
"Pierce to the Bottom of the Illyrian Bay,
* View Kingdoms where Lyburnian Princes fway;
${ }^{6}$ Pafs the nine Mouths of fierce Timarus Waves,
${ }^{66}$ Which roars upon the Hills, and o'er the Valleys "r raves,
"And there could fix, and on that Foreign Ground
"Great Padoa's Tow'rs for After-Ages found.
"New name the Race, and free from all Alarms,
* Hang up in Peace his confecrated Arms.
"In thofe Days, when the Art of Navigation was " but in its Infancy, and the Mariners very unwillingly "6 parted with the Sight of Land, Antenor was forced " to keep clofe, and creep along the Coaft of Pelepon-
*s nefus and Epirus, and then fail by the Illyrion and "s Liburnion Shoars, which are very uneven and trouble-
"c fome to deal with, being full of Creeks, unfafe Bays
${ }^{\text {se }}$ and Rocks, befides very many Inands of various
"Shapes; whereas if he had croffed over to the Italian "Coaft, he had had a nearer Voyage, and fail"d with "Pleafure all along an even, bold, brave Shoar. The " People of Padoa are well pleafed with the Thoughts " of their ancient Founders and Progenitors; and they " ftill preferve the Tomb of Antenor, near to which at " prefent ftands the Church of St. Laverence, and in " their publick Shows they will be fill reprefenting " fomething of Troy and the old Trojons; and in one "Place I faw a Horfe of Wood about twenty Foot " high, in Imitation of the old Trojan Horfe, but I " fuppofe nothing near fo big as the frit Original: " Yet when I confider, that above eleven hundred " Years after the Deftruction Troy, when Towns " and Buildings were very much amplified and impro"s ved, Pompey coming in Triumph could not enter " even the great Triumphal Gates of Rome itfelf in a "Chariot drawn by Elephants, an Animal that feldom " or never comes to be fo high as this Horfe, it may "well be fuppofed that they could not have received " even this poor Model of the firft great one into the " old Town of Troy, without pulling down their Walls. "The City of Padoa was always a Friend to the Ro" mans, and did them great Service in their Wars " againft the Galli Senones, the Umbrians, Boians, In"Jubres, Cimbrians and Cartbaginians, and ftuck clofe " to their Intereft till the Time of the Declination of " the Roman Empire.
"When Attila the powerful King of the Ifuns, with
"Fire and Sword deftroy'd it; and when afrer divers " Years it was rebuilt by the Favour of Narfes the Eunuch, "General to the Emperor Justinian, it was again la" mentably ruined by the Longobardian Princes, who, by " fhooting Arrows with Firebrands fixed to them, fer "s the City on Fire, and took it. But under the Em" pire of Cbarles the Great and his Succeffors, it arofe " out of its Afhes again, and flourifhed for a long
" Time, being governed firft by Confuls, and then by " a Podefta, until the Time of their dreadful Tyrant "Ezzelin, who harraffed, banifhed, tormented and " maffacred the Inhabitants, cramming their own Wells "within the City, full with mangled Bodies, and, " amongft other Severities, upon an angry Diftafte "s againft them, flew ten thoufand of them in one Day " at Verona. But notwithftanding thefe Cruelties, they " recover'd their Liberty again after the Death of $E z$ "zelin, and by Degrees became very powerful, having " under their Juridiction Vicenza, Verona, Trent, Ire " vifo, Feltre, Belluno, Ceneda, Seravalla, CboJa, Baflano, " with its Territories; all the Polefine or Peninfula, and " the greateft Part of Friuli, with other important "Places, when in the End Marfilio de Carrara made
" himfelf Captain or Governor of the City.
"This noble Family of the Carraref, very powerful " in thefe Parts, came from their Caftle of Boffano, and
" lived in Padoa, where they became very confiderable, " and fiding with the Pope againft the Emperor Fre-
" derick the Second, they were driven out by Ezzelin;
" but when, upon the fuccefsful Attempts of the Ro-
" man Legate Angedin, a Commander under Ezzelin,
" was overthrown, they were again reftored, dignified,
" and eftablifhed in the Government of Padoa, which " they poffeffed with fome Variety of Fortune from
" one to another, in their own Family, for about an
" hundred Years, in the Conclufion of which they were
"feized on by the Venetians, who thought fit to pur
"Francifco Novello and his Sons to Death in the Year
" 1405. And after this Manner, by having totally
" extinguifhed the noble Family of the Carraref, with-
" out Fear of any further Claim or Difpute, they pof-
" feffed themfelves of the City of Padoa, and hold it " in their Hands to this Day.
"The Buildings at Padoa, both publick and private, " are very confiderable; for moft of the City is built " upon Arches, making handfome Portico's or Cloyfters " on each Side of the Street, after the Manner of the "Houfes in the Piazza of Coveni-Garden, which at all "Times afford a good Defence againft the Sun and "Rain, and many of the Houfes are painted on the $\because$ Outfide with very good Hiftory Painting in Frefco:
ss their Churches are fair, and divers well adorned.
'The Domo or Cathedral Church is large, feated near
" the Middle of the City, endowed and mightily en© riched by the Emperor Henry the Fourch, whofe Emprefs Berla lies buried here. The Revenues of this
"Church, at prefent, are reckoned to amount to a
" hundred thoufand Crowns a Year; and befides the
" Monuments of many eminent Perfons, they preferve
" here the Body of St. Daniel, of Cardinal Pileo de
"Praito, and of Cardinal Francefco Zabarella.
is The Church of St. Antonio is vifited by Perfons far "s and near, and the exquifite Defign, artificial Carving
\% in Marble, the handfome Choir and rich Ornaments
${ }^{6}$ make it worth theereeing. The Top of the Church
's is made up of fix Cupola's cover${ }^{2}$ d with Lead. The
"Chapel of St. Antonio is nobly fet out with twelve
si Marble Pillars, and a rich Roof. Between the Pil-
"f Jars are carved the Miracles of this Saint, who lies
" interred under the Altar, upon which ftand feven
"Figures made by Titian Afpetti, a good Statuary of
"Padoa; and behind the Aliar there is a moft excel-
" lent Baffo relievo done by Sonfovinus, Tullius, Lombur-
"dus, and Campagna Veronenfis. Over againgt the Cha-
"pel of St. Antorio ftands the Chapel of St. Felix, and
${ }^{66}$ his Tomb, nobly wrought with colour'd Marble, and
ss the whole fplendidly adorned with the Paintings of
" the highly celebrated Giotto. The chief Relicks in this
*Church are the Tongue and Chin of St. Antonio, a Cloth
" dipped in the Blood of our Saviour, three Thorns of
s6 his Crown, and a Piece of the Wood of his Crofs,
${ }^{66}$ fome of the Hair and Milk of the bleffed Virgin,
" and fome of the Blood of the Marks of St. Francis:
os Before the Front of the Church, there is a handfome
"Brafs Statue on Horfeback, reprefenting the great
"Venetion General Gattamela. St. Anionio lived fix and " thirty Years, died upon the thirteenth of 7 une, $123 \mathrm{I}_{3}$, ${ }^{66}$ and was canonized by Pope Gregory the IXth, in the
ss City of Spoleta, 1237.
"The Convent of the black Monks of St. BenediEz 6: may compare with moft in Itaily, and their Church
" dedicated to Santa Giuftina, built by Palladio, is one
" of the faireft in Europe. St. Giuftina was a Virgin
"s and Martyr, Daughter to Vitaliano of this City; fhe
" fuffered Martyrdom in the Time of Maximianus the
"Emperor. In this Church there are ftill preferved, as
" they fay, the Borly of St. Luke the Evangeift, of St.
" Matthias the Apoflle, of two of the innocent Chil " dren, of Pradocbimus, of the Converter of thefe Counos tries to the Chriftian Faith, and firt Bifhop of Padoo; " of Maximus their fecond Bifhop, and of Santa Giuf"tina. The Front of this Church looks into a fpacious os Place, called Prata della Valee, where the Gentlemen " meet in their Coaches in the Evening for their Plea"fure. In a handfome Room or Burying-place on the "South-fide of this Church, is a round old red Mar" ble Sione, upon which the Heads of many Martyrs s were cut off, and near to it, a fine white Marble '6 Well, call'd, Pozzo di Martiro, or the Martyr's "Well, a Place of great Devotion
"Where the Temple of Funo frood in old Time, ${ }^{66}$ there is now built a handfome Church dedicated to St. 'Aucufin, wherein are divers Monuments of the Fa-
© mily of Carrara, the Tomb of Cbarlotta, Daughter
"to Fames King of Cyprus, and of Petrus Aponenfis, a ". great Philofopher. Il Ponte Melino, where there are "thirty Water Mills together, and the Caftello della
" Munitioni, both built by Ezzelin, are worth the fee" ing. La Corte del Capitanio is fplendid, and was "the Palace of the Carrarefi. The Palazzo della Ra"gione, where the Courts of Juftice are held, is very " large, beautiful, and highly confiderable, both with" out and within, being built of Marble, with Rows of "Pillars without and within; there are Heads and In
\& fcriptions for divers eminent Perfons of this City; the
" Length thereof is two hundred fifty fix Foot, and "the Breadth eighty fix, without any Pillar or Support s 6 in the Middle.
"The Univerfity of Padoa was founded in the ${ }^{66}$ Pear 1220, by the Emperor Frederick the IId, and "the Schools are fair and large, containing one Qua-
's drangle, with Rows of Pillars above and below, and "s befides handfome Schools on every Side, there is a "s very convenient anatomical Theatre. The Phyfick"6 Garden is large, of a round Figure, walled about, " and well flored with Plants. The Prefects hereof " have been Men of Note, as, Aloy fus Mundella, Aloyfius, Anguillará, Melcbior Guilondinus, $\because \mathfrak{F}$ acobus Antonius; Cortufius, Profper Alpinus, and Foannes Veflingius.
"The Arena, or old Amphitheatre at Padoa, is an
"Antiquity very remarkable, and the Remains of fome of the Arches are to be feen fill in the Gardens " backwards, but the Arena itfelf, and the whole Po"s dium are preferved intire and free, and empty. And " at one End thereof is built a handfome Palace, the "Front of which looks directly into the open Amphi" 6 theatre, and is a Portion of an oval Figure, and the " whole Area or Arena of the Amphitheatre ferves " for the Court to it, in fuch Manner, that the En" trance being now at the End, directly oppofite to " the Houfe, the handfome Profpect of it, and the "c clear Avenue to it is extraordinarily furprifing, and " extreamly noble ; and I could not imagine that any " Gentlemen would ever defire to have a fairer Court"yard to his Houfe, than the fpacious Plain Arena " of an old Roman Amphitheatre, nor a better Wall "than a high, intire handfome Podium, the like to " which perhaps is not at this Day any where elfe to " be feen. And I muft freely confefs, that of the Re" mains and Ruins of twelve old Amphitheatres which " I have feen niyfelf, I have not met with any one " that comes near it ; for in the Amphitheatre at "Doue in Poictou, which is cut out of a Rock, and " being of a fmaller Dimenfion, and Part of the Bots tom being fill'd up, there is no vifible Beauty of the "Podium ; the like may be faid alfo of that at $\mathrm{Nizza}_{2}$ " near the River Varus, and that at Pozzuolo.
"That at Nifmes is filled up with Dwelling-houfes " in fuch Manner, that the upper Seats only are di"ftinctly vifible. The Amphitheatres of Bourdeaux " Xainctes, Arles, Garigliano, that at Rome, near the "Church of Santa Croce in Gierufalemme, and others " are at prefent fo much ruined, that nothing of this " Nature diftinguifhable is to be expected, nay even " about the Arena at Verona, and the great Collifeo or "Domitionus's Amphitheatre at Rome, the Ground is " now rifen fo high, that the Podium is at prefent " either buried or disfigured. But as the Arena at $P_{a}$ " doa, is clear and evident in this Part, fo it is wanting " in all the reft, and he that defires at. this Day to ' view all the Parts of an Amphitheatre, muft not fee "s one but many; and by joining them together in " his Thoughts, he may collect the Figure, Proportion " and Dimenfions of this fumptuous Sort of Buildings " of the old Romans.
"From the Walis of Padoa there is a pleafant'Profpect of a plain Country to North-Eaft and South, and of the Euganean Hills to the Weft, which fupply the Town with Variety of Plants, and "great Numbers of Vipers. At a few Miles Diftance are the hot Baths of Abano, and the Mineral drinking "Waters of Monte Orione, as alfo Maribefe Obizzi's " Country-Houfe, which we. faw with great Delight, " it being weil defign'd and accommodated with a "good Armory, a Theatre for Comedies, handfome "Stables, and a Tennis-Court, and nobly painted both "s within and without by that Mafter Poulo Veronefe."s This large Extract fhows his Manner of treating Antiquities, and māy ferve as a ufeful Memorial to young Travellers who are defirous of knowing how to digeft their Thoughts, and to unite the Knowledge they have brought from the Univerfities, with what they collect from vifiting the World. It is really a very difficult Thing to give our Author his due Praifes; for the more we confider what is written, the more Reafon we fhall fee for commending him ; and which is not a little extraordinary, the more we confider what he has omitted, the greater Reafon we fhall have to admire his Prudence. There are however fome Paffages in his Writings, which perhaps may be a little obfcure, not from any Want of Knowledge in the Author, but rather


## Chap. V. through Hungary, Thessaly, Macedonia, Eogc. 789

from his Superabundance, which hinder'd him from difcerning that what was extremely clear to him, might be very dark notwithftanding to Perfons of lefs general Knowledge, and to fuch as had not found an Opportunity of confidering particular Subjects in fuch a Light, as to be able to underitand the Hints he gives about them.
As for Inftance, what he fays of the Miners Compafs, feems to ftand in Need of Explanation. They work, fays he, towards One, Two, or Three of the Clock; for the Miners differs from the Mariners Compafs, being not divided into thirty-two, but into twen-ty-four Points. This is very 'true, not only in regard to the Hungarian and German Mines, but with relpect to our own Coal Mines, where, if you ask any of the Workmen about the Courfe of the Veins, they anfwer you, that it dips towards Six $0^{\circ}$ Clock ; which is utterly unintelligible to common People. The Truth of the Matter is, that the Miners and Mariners Compafs is founded upon different Principles, though I very much doubt, whether a Method might not be found of ufing the Mariners Compafs to very great Advantage in Mines; but at prefent we have not Room to infift upon this, and fhall therefore content ourfelves with obferving, that in the Miners Compafs the upper Twelve o'Clock anfwers to the Meridian of the Place where the Mine is, and from thence the Hours are mark'd on each of the Semicircles; fo that Six $0^{\circ} \mathrm{Clock}$ makes a Quadrant on each Side, and each of the Hour Lines is diftant from the other fifteen Degrees; fo that in Fact, the Miners Compafs is a Kind of Dial, and when they fay they have worked to fuch an Hour, they mean that they work to fuch a Point as the Sun bears from them at the Time of the Day which they mention.

There is another Paffage in thefe Travels, which deferves alfo to be infifted upon, and that is, the Hint given by the Author about the vaft Advantages that might arife to the Houfe of Aufria, from the Practice of a philofophical Secret ; in fhort, his own Experience had convinced him, that the Vitriolate Springs really and effectually changed Iron into Copper; from whence he inferr'd, that Springs might be found in the Silver Mines, which might have the like Effect with refpect to Copper, or rather with regard to Copper Ore, which might poffibly be managed in fuch a Manner, as to difpofe it to fuch a noble Change; for the Doctor obferves, that not the beft, but the worft Iron anfwered the former Experiment moft effectually; for which many Reafons' might be given; but as what we have already faid will fully anfwer the End we propofed, and let the Reader fully into the Senfe of what the Author delivers in the following remarkable Words, we fhall dwell upon it no longer.
". The Profit which the Emperor makes by his " Mines, fays he, is reckoned to amount to an hun"dred and twenty thoufand Pounds Sterling, yearly. " But when they come to deal with deeper and richer "c Veins of Ore, and that there fhall be by Degrees "c more of thefe Virriolate Copper Springs difcover'd, "t this Revenue will be then increafed. And it is more "t than probable, that Time will bring more of them "s to Light; for at Zolnock, and other Places near the "C Carpatbian Hills, there are divers of the fame Springs "c already made Ufe of. . But if, furthermore, confi"c dering the Noblenefs of thefe Springs, containing in " them the true mature Salt of Venus, fome Perfons " hereafter fhall be fo fortunate, as moreover to difco"r ver and experimentally improve the Ufe of Springs
" and Fountains faturated with a-Vitriolum Lunce, and " learn perfectly how to adapt metalline Bodies to the " adequate Energy and Activity of fuch Waters; the " Improvement by Tranfmutation, as it is at prefent " more than ten to one, fo it will in thofe Days amount " to above a hundred to one; and the Ure of thefe " Mines and metalline Labours may hereby effectually " prove, in Times to come, one of the richeft Jewels " in the Imperial Crown."

We are now to take our Leave of Dr, Edrward Brozone and his Travels, with which we fhall clofe this Section, this Chapter, and this Book. We fhall, indeed, in the firft Chapters of the next, be obliged to enter into the Defrription of feveral Parts of Europe; but as the Travels included in thofe Chaprers relate chiefly to Afa; and as it would have been very difficult to divide them, without breaking the Thread of the Difcourfe, and thereby deftroying the Connection between its Parts, we judged it better to involve all fuch Travels in the Third Book. The Reader will obferve, the Ufes which may be made of this Collection are not only much more numerous, but more excellent alfo in their Nature, than thofe which refult from any Kind of Geographical Performance, how accurately foever performed, becaufe we do not dwell upon the Su perficies, but go to the very Bottom of Things; and in the Accounts that we have given of the feveral Parts of Europe, we have taken all imaginable Care to treat fuccinctly ${ }^{\prime}$ of what appeared trivial, and to be more copious upon Points of real Ufe, and which contribute to the Improvement of folid Knowledge. If we had been allowed more Room, we fhould doubtlefs have anfwered all Purpofes better ; but we have made the beft Ufe of what we had, and we may fafely affirm, that no Collection of this Kind has, fo far as we have already gone, treated èvery Country we have mentioned more fully, or given the judicious Perufer an Opportunity of underftanding its paft and prefent State more clearly.

It fhall be our Study to execute what is to come in the fame Manner, fo that every Part of this Performance may, as near as it is poffible, correfpond with the Whole of it. Some fmall Differences there may be, which lie out of our Power to hinder, becaufe of the Inequality in the Capacities of thofe Authors: we tranfcribe ; but if we make the beft Choice we can of thefe, and give their Accounts in the beft Manner that we are able, it is all that can be expected, indeed all that can be performed by us; which every candid Critick will allow. In fucceeding Times, there will no Doubt be Variety of Voyages and Travels fent into the World, and amongtt them probably there will be feveral fuperior in Value to thofe that have gone before them; but with refpect even to thefe we have provided, as far as it lay in our Power, for the Reader's Service, becaufe they may be eafily digefted according to our Method, and be ranged upon. new Shelves in the fame Library. We fay this; that the Publick may be apprized of the true Value of what we have given them, and be fatisfied, that this Collection can never be out of Date, the Authors which it contains, and thofe which it will contain, not only have at prefent, but will always have their Value; and how neceflary or how pleafing foever it may be to perufe new Voyages or Travels, or new Collections of them, yet it is impoffible they fhould ever fuperfede the Neceffity of reading thefe, becaufe the Perufal of them will be always requifite to the perfect Underftanding of fuch as are later in Point of Time.


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# Or, A Complete Collection of VOYAGES and TRAVELS. 

## B O OK III.

Voyages to and Travels through the Dominions of the Grand Signior, and through the other Empires, Kingdoms and States in Afia; with curious and copious. Accounts of fuch Parts of that great Continent as are leaft known.

## C H A P. I.

Voyages through the Iflands of the Arcbipelago: Travels through moft of the Provinces under the Dominion of the Grand Signior ; with a full Account of the prefent State, Forces, Revenue, Commerce, Bic. of the Turks.

## S E C T I O N I.

The Voyages and Travels of the Celebrated Mr. John Thevenot, from Italy to Conffantinople, including a very curious and exact Defcription of the feveral Places he touched at in his Paffage ; of the feveral Cities he vifited upon the Coafts; and a moft exact View of Conflantinople at the Time he vifited it. Interfperfed with a great Variety of Hiftorical and Political Remarks, equally inftructive and entertaining.
Extracted from the laft. Edition of the Autbor's Travels, printed at Amfterdam in 1727.
x. An Account of the Autbor and of bis Family; the Occafion of his Voyages, and the Manner in wobich, they were undertaken. 2. His Arrival in Sicily, and his Defcription of that IJand and its Coafts, weith. fome Account of Scylla and Charybdis. 3. An Account of the IJand of Malta, and the Obfervations made therein by our Autbor during bis Stay there. 4. He profecutes bis Voyage from tbence towards Conftantinople, and defcribes the IJlands touched at by the Way. 5. Acurious Account of the celebrated Streigbts now called the Dardanclles. 6. Several Cities on the Afian Coaft between the Streights and Conflantinople, defcribed by the Autbor. 7. The feveral Cities on the Thracian Side of the Streights defrribed in the like Manner. 8. An Account of the feveral IJands in the Propontis. 9. A Defcription of the City of Conflantinople, its Ports, Walls, Gates, Towers, \&cc. Io. Continuation of this Defcription, zevith a large Account of the noble Catbedral called Santa Sophis, now turned into a Turkifh Mofque; with an Account of Jeveral otber Mofques and magnifcent publick Buildings. if. $A$ very copious Defcription of the Seraglio, taken not not only from Mr. Thevenot, but from Tavernier and Wifher's Accounts. 12. Of the Divan, or Grand Signior's Council of State, and the Manner in wwhich Caufes are heard there, and the Metbod in which Ambafadors are received in publick Audiences. 13. The Secrets of the Seraglio, with the Manner of the Grand Signior's living with bis Wives and Concubines. 14. The Policy of the Seraglio, comprebending the entire Detail of the Education of the Sultan's Servants there, by which they are qualifed for the chief Places in the Em-
 pire. 15. The Government of the Seraglios, containing a carious Account of the Grand Signior's. Houfs vifions of bis Courcount of bis Manner of Living, together wiith a Detail of the Expences and Prom vifions of his Court. 17. The Cultoms and Rules of the Seraglio, and the Manner of the Grand Seig-
nior's going abroad in State. I8. The Manner inn which their Bayram or Carnival is kept. Defcription of the Old Seralio. The Manner ine which their Bayram or Carnival is kept. 19. A veral Places adjoining, 21. The reft of the Country of the Afiatick Side of the Bofphorus defcribed. 22. An Appendix, conffing in a great Varity of entertaining and infructive Paffages, exiracted from other Authors. 23. Hiflorical, Political, and Mifcellaneous Remarks on the foregoing Section.

$T$ is impoffible to read, with any Satisfaction, the Travels and Adventures of an Author, without having fome Knowledge of who or what he was, and of his gene. ral Character in the World. Mr. Fobn Therenot was of the fame Family with the famous Melche zidec Therenot, who publifhed a large and curious Collection of Voyages, Part originally written, and the relt very accurately tranflated from Spani/h, Italian, Englifh, and other Languages, into French; which is the Reafon they are very often confounded together, by fuch as are not well acquainted with Literary Hiftory, but borrow what little Knowledge they have, from Title Pages, Indexes, and Journals. The elder Thervenot travelled, in deed, for fome Time, but never without the Limits of Europe ; nor did he think any Accounts of his Voyages worthy the Notice of the Publick. He was appointed Library-keeper to Lewis XIV. and not only difcharged the Duties of his Office with great Diligence and Fidelity, but Jikewife enriched that noble Storehoure of Learning, with upwards of two thoufand Volumes from his own Study. He was particularly careful in collecting Manufcripts in all Languages, and more efpecially in the Englijh, Spanih, Ihaliam, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Syriac, Arabick, Turkib and Perfian Tongues; all of which he underftood perfectly. He died by too great Abftinence, which he flatter'd himfelf would have cured an Ague, on the 29 th of OEtober in 1692 , in the fe-venty-firft Year of his Age.

Our Author had, from his very Youth, a ftrong Inclination to travel, in Hopes of gratifying that Curiofity, which excited him to enquire into and examine after whatever appear ${ }^{3} \mathrm{~d}$ new or curious, ufeful or entertaining. It was to gratify this Inclination of his, that he went to Rome, where meeting accidentally with the celebrated Mr. Herbelot, the moft learned Man of his own, or perhaps of any Age, in every Branch of Oriental Literature, he caught from him to violent a Paffron for penetrating into whatever was curious or extraordinary in the Eaft, that he refolved to continue his Travels to the moft diftant Yart thereof; in which he flatter'd himfelf with the Hopes of having the Company of the very judicious Perfon before-mentioned; but fome Family-Affairs, which required the Prefence of that learried Gentleman, obliged him at that Time to return into France; but Mr. Thevenot having made all the neceffary Preparations for this long Expedition, and being encouraged to undertake it by his Friend, who promifed to join him in the Ifland of Malta, refolved to proceed in the Execution of the Defign he had undertaken.

Accordingly, on Monday, May 1, 1655, he left Rome, in order to go and embark at Civita Veccbia on board the Galley commanded by Count Gaddi, in which he began that Voyage of which we intend to give the Reader an Account in this Section. He appears, by his Writings, to have been a Man of great Accuracy and Diligence, as well as of wonderful Curiofity and Vivacity, of a bold and enterprifing Spirit, merely for the Sake of Knowledge; for he does not appear to have trad any Turn towards Profit or Glory. His fole Aim was to know; and as to Wealth and Power, he left them to the Covetous and Ambitious. He was very careful in his Enquiries, took very little upon Truft, examined alt Things with his own Eyes, committed his Obfervations to Writing immediately, and, after his Return to France, revifed and publifhed them at Several Times, at the Requeft, and to fatify the Importunity of his

Friends. He appears to have hảd a large Share of ufeful Learning, which enabled him to make juft and proper Enquiries; as well as very judicious, and at the fame Time very entertaining Remarks. He was very inquifitive, but very far from being credulous; he had a ftrong Difpofition to learn, and was ready to fubmit himfelf to be taught by any whom he found more knowing than himfelf. He was free from Prejudices or Prepoffeffions, was very defirous of knowing the true Siate of Things, and very willing to communicate his Knowledge. In a Word, his Candour and Integrity procured him the general Efteem of all who knew him, and have had the fame favourable Effect with refpect to his Writings, to which we fhall now proceed.

2: He continued his Journey from Rome, and upon Fune the 2d. he embark'd at Civita-Veccbia, and came to an Anclior before the Port of Mefina in Sicily in Seven Days. This Town lies oppofite to Rbegio in Italy, from which it is diftant about fixty Miles. It was buile by the Meffinians of Peloponnefus, and from them took its Name, being anciently call'd Zande. Is is a fafe Harbour by Nature, and round it are feveral fair Palaces built very uniform, which form a pleafant Profpect. The Mole, which muts in the Port; has a Tower by it to fecure the Entry, and another in the Midft of it. This Town is but a melancholy Place, though the Streets are fair and large. Oiver the Door of the Cathedral Church is written, Gran-Mercy a Meffine, in Memory of the Surrender of that City to the French, when they took Sicily. Before it is a great Piazza, with a Theatre in the Middle of it; where the Victory of Lepanto is reprefented in Brafs, and a brazen Statue of Don Yobin of Austria ftands by it. The Novitiate of the Jefuits ftands upon an Hill that over-looks the Town.

There are eighteen ftrong Caftles in it, but four of them only are in the Hands of the Spaniards: The Mefinefe have the reft. The Town is very rich, by Reafon of the great Trade in Silk driven there. There are no Inns for Strangers, fo that they are obliged to lodge in a wretched Tavern by the Harbour. All Things are cheap, the Wines ftrong, but bad. It is an Archiepifiopal See. The Streiglts are made dangerous by Scilla and Cbarybitis, though anciently they were much more fo than now, becaufe Navigation is improved. Scilla is a Rock near the Caftle Scyllio, on the Italian Shore. Cbarybdis is the Meeting of two contrary Eddies, which by beating and clafhing one againft another, make a Noife like the Barking of Dogs, and by caufing Veffels to turn round about, fuck them down to the Bottom ; nor is the Harbour itfelf fafe from it, for the Currents will fometimes carry the Ships out into it, and therefore the Mefinefe have always a great many Pilots in Readinefs to affift Veffels in Danger.

Sicily is of a triangular Form, each Angle making a Cape, which are now called Difaro, anciently Pelorus, Pafaro, anciently Pactionis, and Bocho, heretofore Lilibaum. It is but three Miles diftant from Italy, being feparated from it by a dangerous Streight, call'd, The Pbaro of Meffina. It is the moft confiderable Inand of the Mediterranean Sea, both for Bignels (being 700 Miles in Compars) and Fruitfulnefs, produces Plenty of Corn, excellent Wines, Olives, and other Neceffaries of Life, infomuch as that it was call'd one of the Granaries of Rome. It contains a great many fair rich Towns, but it is much annoy'd by Mount Gibello, or, as it is Ati led by the Ancients, 无tna, which contirually cafts forth Abundance of Flames, and covers the Land about it
with Afhes for a great Way; this Inand is alfo much infefted with Earthquakes. It has been under the Dominion of many Nations, viz. Greeks, Cartbaginians and French; at this Time fubject to the King of Spain, who has always a Vice-Roy there, that has his Refidence half a Year at Palermo, and the reft at Miefina. From all thefe Nations the Sicilians have derived fome Vices which makes them revengeful, haughty and jealous, efpecially of the French, whom judging by their vindictive Temper, they fufpect not to have forgotten the Sicilian Vefpers, and for that Reafon always wear their Daggers by their Side even in their Shops and WorkHoules. They are of a fubtle and malicious Wit, ready to contrive or execute any Mifchief.

From Mefina he failed to Agoufta, which is but an ordinary Town with one Street, but the Country about it produces excellent Wine, which has a ftrong Flavour of Violets: Then coafting along by Syracufe, now corruptly called Saragoufia, formerly the Metropolis of Sicily, and Birth-place of Archimedes, the Country about which produces excellent Mufcadine, he made the Ifle of Malta, anciently call'd Melita, from the Plenty of Honey it yielded.
3. This Ine is low, and the Soil a foft Chalky Rock, yet it produces very good Fruits, as Figs, Melons, which grow fo eafily, that they require no Care but to preferve them; Grapes very good to eat, but not for Wine; Cotton, but little or no Corn, for that is brought from Sicily thither. The Air is fo hot, that there is no Walking in the Sun; and the Nights are as intollerable, if not through the Heats, yet through the Stinging of Musketoes; yet is fo wholfome for old Men, that they can hardly die. They drink their Wine with Ice. Head-aches and fore Eyes, caufed by the Whitenefs of the Earth, are there common and dangerous. There are no venomous Beafts in the Ine, nor can any live in it, which the People attribute to St. Paul's Benediction, and they give the Earth of the Grott, where he lived, for an Antidote againft Poifon, with greater Succefs than Terra Sigillata. The Inand is populous: The People are of a brown Complection and are very revengeful. The Women are beautiful, and familiar, for though they hide their own Faces with their Mantle, they fee every Body's elfe.

They fpeak Arabick, but Italian is allo common. Here are feveral Ports and Creeks, but the chief Havens are the Great Port, and that called Marfamouchet. In the great Port are all the Gallies of the Order laid up, and all the Veffels that are to make any Stay at Malta, either to load, careen or refit, put in there, fhut with an Iron Chain: The Port of Marfamouchet is for Ships to perform their Quarantine in, before they have Accefs to the Town, and for fuch as by Reafon of foul Weather can't get into the great Port, as alfo for the Corfairs, who come only for a little Time, and fo will not go into the great Port, becaufe it is hard to get out again. As foon as the King of Spain had given the Inland of Malta to the Knights of St. Fobn, Sultan Solyman refolving to extirpate them, who had given him fo much Trouble, fent a powerful Army to take it. The Turks landing near the Mount Pelegrino, attack'd the Caftle of St. Erme, kill'd all that defended it, and took it. Then they turned againft the Ine de Sangle, but were affaulted fo furiounly by the Caftle of St. Angelo, who firing their Cannon, level with the Water, upon them, funk their Boats and drown'd their Men, which being repeated feveral Times, the Turks defpairing of Succefs, and finding Recruits come to them out of Europe, drew off, and left the Ine in the End of September, 1565 .

After the Turks were gone, the Knights refolv'd to build a new Town, where the Great Matter with all the Order might conveniently dwell. They pitched upon the Tongue of Land where the Caftle of St. Erme ftands, from whence the Turks had fo furiounly driven them. The Great Mafter Fobn la Valetio laid the firf Stone of it, March 28. 1566. and from himfelf called it Valetta; it has been fo fortified fince, that none exceed, and few Places can equal it. The Entry into the Port
is defended by the Caftle of St. Erme, the Baraque, which has nine Pieces of Cannon, and the Battion of Italy, and on the other Side by the Caftle of St. Angelo, and a Tower, which has two or three Pieces of Cannon The Town is no lefs ftrong by Land than towards the Sea, being begirt with good Walls, built upon very high Rocks, with feveral Baftions and other Pieces of Fortification, which are equally fair and ftrong. The Baraque is very delighful, being covered with lovely Orange and Lemmon-Trees planted in Rows, and hav ing a great many Fountains, where the Water-works playing very high, give mighty Diverfion.
From the Port you go up an Hill to the Town, which is fmall, but very pretty. It hath but two Gates, one leading to the Port, the other into the Country There are feveral Churches in it, but that of St. 7 obn is the Chief. On one Side of it is a lovely Piazza, and at each Angle a Fountain. It is a large Building and pretty high, paved with beautiful Marble, and adorned above with many Colours taken from Infidels. In this Church they pretend to have many fine Reliques, viz. St. Fobn Baptif's Right-Hand, and many others
There are feveral admirable Buildings in the Town, among others, the ftately Palace of the Great Mafter, in which is a Magazine of Arms for 35 or 40000 Men, kept very clean and in "great Order, and among them the Arms of fuch great Mafters as have been wounded in any Action, are to be feen with the Marks upon them This Palace looks into a large Square, in the Middle of which is a charming Fountain, which throws up Water in great Quantities, and very high, and fup plies the whole Town. The Palaces of the Confervatory and Treafury are fair Buildings, and fo are the Inns.

The Hofpital is very well built, and the Hall for the fick Knights is hung with Tapeftry, where they are at tended by Knights, and ferv'd in Plate. Poor Travellers find Entertainment here, till they can get Paf fage to the Place they are bound to, and then they are furnifhed with Provifion, and their Charges are born through their Voyage. The Jefuits have a very well built Houfe and a College there, and even the meaneft Houfes make a good Show, being built of a large fquare white Stone, which retains its Colour long and feems always new : They are all flat Roofed. The Streets of the Town are incommodious, becaufe one goes always up Hill and down, but they are wide and Itrait. The faireft reacheth from the Caftle of St. Erme to the Royal Gate, which is almoft a Mile long, and in it they make the Horfes and Affes run the Pallio upon their Days of Rejoicing. The Country about it is full of Gardens and very agreeable Places of Pleafure. About twelve Miles from the City the Grand Mafter hath a Palace, built in Form of a Caftle, and very uniform, the Halls of which are adorn'd with excellent Paintings, and it has very neat Gardens full of Orange, Citron and Olive-Trees, with feveral lovely Fountains. At a little Diftance from the Houfe is a Grove ftock'd with Game for his Diverfion.
Five Miles from Malta is the Inle of Gozo, which is thirty Miles in Circuit, twelve in Length, and fix in Breadth. It is a very wholfome Air, and though mountainous, is almoft all cultivated, for the Inhabitants delight more in tilling the Land for Corn, than any other Sort of Husbandry, though it has many Places well watered, and fit for Gardening and Pafture On our Lady-Day, September the 8th, the Knights keep a Rejoicing yearly for the Turks raifing the Siege of Bourg, with Mals, Shooting, Feafting, Races of the Pallio, and many other Diverfions.
4. Leaving Malta, Tburday Nov. 1655 , he failed by the Ine of Sapienza, and having weathered Cape Matapan, came to an Anchor in the Bay of St. Nicholas, in the Ine of Cerigo. Cape Matapan is a Promontory of the Morea, formerly called Tenarus, where Arion, carried by a Dolphin, was put on fhore. This Country is inhabited by the Meinots, a People who lived in the Mountains without Law or Government, and are fub-


jeet to thofe who have mot Power in the Country; fometimes the Venctions, and fometimes the Turks. All their Bufinefs is to rob Travellers.
Cerigo was anciently called Porpbyris, becaufe of the great Quantity of Porphyrion Marble found there, and Cytbera. Venus, who is fabled to have been born of the Froth of the Sea, firft dwelt here, and had a Temple near the Sea-fide, the Ruins of which are ftill fhewn. It is the firft Inand in the Arcbipelago, or Egean Sea, fixty Miles in Compafs, and five from the main Land. The Venetions are Mafters of it, and keep a good Garrifon there, becaufe it is a Pafs of very great Importance.

From Cerigo, where the Ship paid the Conful a Piaftre for Anchorage, he failed to Zia, leaving many inconfiderable Illands on the Right-hand, as Melo, Antimelo, \&cc. This Ine was anciently called Ceos, or Cea, it is Chaped like an Horf-Thoe, and fify Miles in Circumference. The Soil is pretty good, producing Corn, Wine, Grafs, and a great many other Things, and the Harbour is full of Fifh. The Irhahitants pay a Tribute to the Turks of 3400 Piaftres, and to the Venetians 2600, befides the Extortions and Robberies they meet with, which fo impoverifh them, that they are often forced to leave their Hlabitations. They are good Pcople, and deferve to be pitied, becaufe of the Miferies they fuffer both from Chriftians and Turks. The chief Town of the fame Name is five Miles from the Port; it is a large Place, containing feven hundred Houfes but there is not above four hundred of them inhabited, the reft being forfaken fince the War of Candia. The Houfes are built of Stone and Earth, rank'd on the Side of an Hill like the B.nches of an Amphitheatre. The Gaftle is ruinous, but ftrong, fo that fixty Turks, with two Mufquets only, held out againft the whole Venetian Army, ander General Morofini, till Want of Water forced them to yield.

From Zia he failed to Andra, anciently called Andros, fixity Miles from it, and eighty in Circuit. It is reckoned the moft fertile Ifland of the Archipelago. It produces almof all Things neceffary, and Silk more efpecially, for which they have a great Trade. The Port is pretty good, and the Town adjoining to it hath about two hundred Houfes. In the whole Illand are about fixty Villages, of which the moft confiderable are Arni and Arnolacos, inhabited by the Arnauts or Albanions, who are about twelve hundred Souls, and all of the Greek Church, differing in Language and Cuftoms, yet all without any Difcipline. Near thefe Villages is a large Monaftery of an hundred ignorant Monks, called Tagia, who have a neat fmall Church, which they fupply, and fix leffer ones. There is a great Number of Greek Churches in the Ine, which are under the Government and Difcipline of a Greek Bifhop. The Latins alfo have a Bifhop there, and fix Churches, of which the Cathedral is dedicated to St. Andrere. The Capuchins preach in them, and teach a School, to which the Greaks fend their Children from as far as Atbens.

The Turks difpore of the temporal Affairs of this Ine, and are but uneafy Neighbours to the Chriftians. The Jefuits have a Church dedicated to St. Veneranda, and an Houfe near the Valley Monites, with a Garden full of Fruit-trees of all Sorts, which yield them confiderable Profit. The Houfes in this Ine are ill built, and both the Air and Water bad. The Inhabitants are civil their Women are chafte, and fpeak well, but their Apparel is unbecoming. The Inhabitants of the Towns love good Cheer and Diverfions, and care not much to labour, but the Peafants are very induftrious. Their Food is Goat's Flefh, for though in their Woods there is good Venifon and Wild-fowl, yet they have neither Huntmen nor Fowling-pieces to catch them. The Sea affords them no Fifh. They have neither Phyfician nor Chirurgeon, but when they are fick, betake themfelves to the Mercy of God as their only Remedy.
5. From Andra he failed by the Negropont, Sciro, Ipficera, Cbio and Tenedo, to Troy, where there are ftill confiderable Ruins of that ancient and famous City, and thofe of great Extent, viz. An Harbour, Pieces of large Pillars, and the Remains of a great Temple; but

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the Learned fay; that they are only the Ruins of fome Buildings erected there by the Romans long after the Deftruction of Troy. From hence he paffed the Mouths and entred the Channel of Hellefpont, where the Turks firft paffed over into Europe, and failing betwixt the Cafles of the Dardanels, came to an Anchor. The Dardanels are two Caftles, built on each Side the Channel of the Hellefpont by Mabomet II. Son of Amuraib II. The one ftands in Europe, in Romania, in the very Place where Seflos formerly ftood. This Caftle is triangular, and befides two Baftions, hath three Towers covered with Lead, and twenty large Guns, which carry Stone Bullets of fixty Pound Weight. The other is in Afa, in a Plain where anciently Abidos ftood. Thefe two Forts are the Keys of Conftantinople, though at two hundred Miles Diftance, for they can hinder any Ship, Friend or Foe, to pals them without Leave, unlefs they will run the Hazard of being funk. All Ships that come from Conftantinople, are fearched here for contraband Goods and fugitive Slaves. Thefe Places are famous for the Loves of Hero and Leander, and Xerxes's Bridge into Europe, which was made hereabouts. From Andra to this Caftle is 280 Miles.

From thence he fail'd to Gallipoli, which is reckoned thirty five Niles. This Town was built by Callias, Prince of the Atbenians, from whom it was called Calliopolis, which now is corrupted into Gallipolis. This Place is but thin peopled: The Greeks that dwell in it fell Raki, or Brandy, for the moft Part, and their Houfes have Doors not above two Yards high, to keep out the Turks, who will ride in elle when they are drunk, and turn all Things upfide down. It has a Tower and Arfenal, where are commonly laid up feveral Grullies.
6. Departing thence he paffed the Ine of Marmora, which gives Name to the Sea, that was formerly called the Propontis, and failing along by the Seraglio and Conftantinople, came to an Anchor at Galata, where is the Harbour of that City. The Sea of Mermora, or the Propontis, which is about 120 German Leagues in Comm pafs, lies between the $38^{\circ}$ and $41^{\circ}$ of Northern Latitude, which makes the Clime fo temperate, that it has neither the Inconveniences of fharp Cold, or burning Heats, which is the Reafon that both Sides of it has been fo well adorn'd with famous Cities: For on the Afion Side ftood Cbizico, a Town formerly famous not only for being built by the Argonauts 500 Years before Rome, but for its lofty Towers, magnificent Buildings, large Arfenals and Magazines, fine Amphitheatre and convenient Port, though Nothing now remains of all thefe Things but frightful Ruins, which are the Habitations of Owls.

Nice, called by the Turks Ifnich, famous for the firft General Council. It is almoft fquare, and ftands at the Extremity of a Bay in a fine Plain. On the N. E. is a Ridge of Hills, which abound with Wood, Vines, Fruits and Fountains. It is encompaffed with Walls full of round Turrets, and had a Covert-Way that ran by them, but it is now ruined. The City is pretty large, the Streets neat, and has at leaft 10,000 Inhabitants, as well Greeks as $\mathcal{F}$ eros and $\mathcal{T}$ urks, who trade in Corn, Fruit, Cotton, fine Cloth, $\mathcal{F}^{2} c$. to Conftantinople. There are here many Remains of Pagan and Chriftian Antiquities, but thefe are fo defaced by the Turks, that nothing admirable is to be difcerned.

Montagma, or Nicopolis. It ftands on a Bay anciently called Cianus Sinus, from the City of Cium, which once ftood there. This Town is fmall, but by Means of the Bay drives a great Trade to Conflantinople, for its Nearnefs to Burfa brings all the Traffick of Bitbynio to it. The Inhabitants are about five or fix thoufand Greeks, Turks and Fews, and are all Merchants, and live by their Trade in Fruits, which they fend to. Confantinople.
Nicomedia, which, next to Constantinople, has the pleafanteft Situation of any City in the World. It ftands at the Bottom of a Bay, and runs up the Side of an Hill, adorn'd with many Fountains, and is cover²d with FruitTrees, Vineyards and Corn. Their Garden-Fruits are extraordinary, and their Melons are thought by fome 9 Q
to equal thofe of Cachon in Perfia for Goodnels, which are reckoned the bett in the World. Here are Abundance of Remains of Antiquity, enough to fatisfy the Curiofity of Travellers. It was built by the Nymph Olbia, but has its Name from. Nicomedes, King of Bithynia, who enlarged it. It is famous for the Death of Hamibal and Confantine the Great, for the early Converfion of its Inhabitants to Chriftianity, and the many Martyrs who fealed the Faith with their Death.

It is called Ifmit by the Turks, and is a large and populous City, having about 30,000 Inhabitants, Greeks, Armenians, Feros and Turks, who molt of them live by trading in Silks, Cotton-Wool, Linnen-Cloths, Fruits, Earthen and Glafs-Wares, and feveral other Commodities, which make it a City of great Traffick. There are a great many Greek Churches and fair Mofques, with feveral Inns and neat Bozaars, or Market-Places, in this Town. Moft of the Ships and Veffels which belong to Conftantinople are built here, but they are forry Artifts at it. On the right Side of the Bay of Nicomedia is a Fountain of Mineral Water, which the Turks and Greeks fay, cures all Diftempers, and therefore flock to it mightily.

Cbalcedon. This Town was once famous for the Temples of Venus and Apollo. Many Chriftian Churches, and among them one dedicated to Sr. Euphemia, where the Fourth General Council fate, and in Part of which, as it ftill remains, the Greeks have yet their Religious Worfhip, and ftrong Fortifications, and other fine Buildings it had; but is now reduced to a Village of rooo or 1200 Houfes, and thofe very ruinous. The City gives Name to the Screights adjoining, which are called Fretum Cbalcedonicum, Bopphorus Cbalcedonius, as well as Bofphorus Tbracius, and near it is a Light-houfe and a Pleafure-houfe belonging to the Grand Signior, called Finari Kioske, which Sultan Soliman II. built for his Retirement with the Ladies of the Seraglio.
7. On the Thracian Side ftands Kodofto, or Radifo, a Town well fituated at the Extremity of a Bay, which affording it a very good Haven, fills it with Inhabitants, who drive a Trade all over Thrace, the Propontis and Black Sea. In it are three or four large Mofques, and fome fmall ones, fome Chriftian Churches belonging to the Greeks, and two Ferwißh Synagogues. The Town lies along the Sea-flore, where the Trade is, and toward the Land are many Gardens ; but the Fruit is not very good, becaufe the Gardiners of Turkey are but unskilful in their Art.

Perinthus, or Heraclea, which once gave Law to Byzantium, but now is fubject to it. This Town lath two good Havens belonging to it, but one of them is fo choaked up with the Rubbifh and Filth of the City, that it ferves only for Barks and Saicks. The Amphitheatre of Heraclea was one of the feven Wonders of the World; but now there are only fome hatter'd Ruins of it. There are alfo feen many Pedeftals with Greek Infriptions to Severus, Trajan, and other Emperors, who had conferred any fignal Benefit upon the City; but the Statutes which once ftood upon them are thrown down and demolifhed. The Town at prefent is but thinly inhabited, and drives but a fnall Trade, though they have many Commodities, fuch as great Quantities of Cotton, Olives, Fruits, both green and dry, Skins and Wool. The Cathedral is one of the fineft in all Greece, having a handfome Roof, and being very neat in the Infide, and better contrived than the Patriarchal Church of Conftantinople. There are five or fix Churches befides, but none of them in fo good a Condition as the former, and two of them are wholly difufed. But though the Buildings and Trade of this City daily decay, and Time may blot it out of the World, yet the Sufferings of many Chrifian Martyrs in it will keep up its Memory as long as the World endures.
8. In the Proponits are feveral Inands, viz. Mermore, which gives Name to the whole Sea, and is about ten Leagues in Compafs. The chief Towns in it are Gallioni and Craftio. The Caloyers, or Greek Monks, have feveral Convents or Hermitages in it. They are very

Town is of the fame Name. It hath two other Vil lages called Aloni and Arabi Kieny, becaufe it is inhabited by Arabians only. 3. Contalli, which has a Town of the fame Name: And, 4. Gadoro, which has only fome Houfes and Cloyfters for Monks: Thefe four Illands go all by the Name of the firft, and lie in a Clufter, abounding with Cattle, Corn, Wine, Fruits, Cotton, $E^{3}$ c. Their Fifhery is allo good, but they regard it only for their own Ufe, becaufe Confantinople is fupplied from Places in its Neighbourhood. Nearer to Conftantinople lies another Knot of Inands, called by the Turks Papas Adaff, by the Greeks Papa Doniffa, or the Inlands of the Monks; and by the Europeans, The Pope's Ifes. If Conftantinople were in the Hands of the Chriftians, they would be a perfect Paradife, and every one would have his Houfe of Pleafure there; but being fubject to the Ravages of the Turks, who often go thither to be drunk, and in their Heat rifle their Gardens and Vineyards, they lie in a Manner uncultivated, and only a few Caloyers manure a little Bit of Land by the Monafteries for Herbs and Roots for their own Ufe. Thefe Caloyers are Monks of St. Baftl, who retain the ancient Way of Living and Habit, without any Alteration. They lead a very retired and auftere Life, and never eat any Flefh. They obferve four Lents in the Year, befides feveral other Fafts; and fome among them are fo abftinent, as to be fatisfied with eating a little Bread and Pulfe, dreffed with Salt and Water, once a Day; and others by Cuftom have brought themfelves, to eat once in two or three Days, during their Lents; and it is faid fome will eat but feven Times in the feven Weeks of their longeft Lent, though this feems improbable; but thefe are only the moft devout, which are but few. The reft order Matters fo cunningly, that they obferve nothing lefs than Fafting ; for though indeed they eat no Butter, Fifh, Eggs, or Oil, and drink no Wine, yet they ufe other Things luxuriounly, as Oifters, Cavear, and Shell-fifh, for Fifh; Almonds, Piftacho's, and Nuts, for Butter ; Aqua Vita, Coffee, and Sherbet, for Wine, $E^{2} c$.
9. Conftantinople has the happieft Situation of any City in the World. It lies in Europe upon a Point of the main Land, jetting out towards the Bofphorus of Tbrace, from whence it is but half an Hour's Paffage into Afia On the Right-hand is the Wbile Sea, or Propontis, by which there is an enfy Paffage into Afa, Egypt, and Africa, whereby it is fupplied with all the Commodities of thofe Places. On the Left-hand it hath the Black or Euxine Sea, and Palus Mcotis, by which it is furnifhed with all the Commodities of the North; infomuch that there is Nothing that can be neceffary, ufeful, or pleafant, which is not brought plentifully to Conftantinople, the Winds always ferving to bring in Commodities from one of thofe Parts. The Port is by Nature the lovelieft in the World, being fix Miles in Compafs, and a Mile over, and fo deep in all Places, that a Ship may lay her Head a-fhore without Danger.

It was anciently called Byzontium, and was built by Paufanias, King of Sparta. The Emperor Severus demolifhed it, to punifh the Rebellion of the Inhabitants, and Conftantine the Great rebuilt it, calling it Nero Rome firft, and then Confantinople; being afterwards dedicated to the Virgin, it fometimes bears the Name of Partbenopolis; the Turks call it Iftambol, or Stamboul. After the Divifion of the Roman Empire ; it was the Seat of the Eaftern Emperors, from whom, in 1209, it was taken by the Venetions and French, but recovered by the Paleclogi fifty Years after, and fell into the Hands of the Turks on Wbitfunday, 1453, who have kept it ever fince. The Air in Summer would be very hot and incommodious, were it not cool'd by a Breeze which comes every Afternoon from the Mouth of the Port, by which it is render'd very healthful, fo that no Difeafes are known here but the Plague, which makes a great Havock every Year. It is very fubject to Earthquakes, fo that fometimes two happen in a Day. The Figure of it is triangular, one Side lying toward the Propontis, the other on the Port, and the third toward the Land. It is all encompaffed with good Walls, and to the Land Side they are double, being built in fome Places

## Chap. I.

to the LEVANT.
of Free-ftone, and in others of Free-ftone and Brick. markable Things without the Walls, both of the City It hath twenty-two Gates, fix toward the Land, as many. along the Port, and ten on the Streight of the Propontis, which have all Landing-places and Stairs, and the whole City is about tweive Miles in Compafs.

The Cafte of the Seven Towers joins the doubleWalls on the Continent Side to thole that lie upon the Propontis. It was anciently one of the City Gates, called The Gilded Gate, from the gilt Ornaments of it, and had four Turrets; but Mabomet II. becoming Mafter of Confantinople, added three new ones, and made it a Caftle, ftrong enough to keep the Treafures of the Empire, and for that Purpofe it ferved a long Time; but at prefent it is only ufed as an honourable Prifon, where the Grand Signior fhuts up fuch Perfons of Quality and Slaves of Note as have incurred his Difpleafure. If any Chriftians are confined in it, their Priefts are allowed to come and fay Mafs to them in a little Chapel; and if they are Knights of Malta, or other Perfons of Quality, they are allowed to go out, if an Ambaffador, or other Perfon of Note, will be engaged for their Return. Sultan Ofman and Heuffein Ba/ba were ftrangled in this Cafte.
Without the Walls, hard-by one of thefe Caftles, are two large Statues of white Marble in Baffe Relief, the one feems to be Endimion, and Diana coming down to fee him, and the orher the Nine Mufes, with the Horfe Pegafus. They are done by a good Hand, but inferior to fome Pieces in Europe. In going by Sea from this Caftle to the Seraglio, there is a fquare Tower ftanding in the Sea, at about two Paces from the City-Walls, where, they fay, Fuftinian imprifoned Belizarius, his famous General, out of meer Jealoufy, and having ftript him of all, forced him to beg his Subfiftence of charitable Paffengers. Not far from this Tower is a Fountain, to which the Greeks always pay a great Veneration, and, upon the Day of Chrift's Transfiguration, carry their Sick to it , to whom they give fome of the Waters, and cover their Bodies a While with the Sand, and they fay, wonderful Cures have been thus done by it. The Greeks have Abundance of thefe miraculous Fountains, which they fuperftitioufly honour, and the Priefts encourage them in it for their own Gain. Near this Fountain flands the Kioske, or Pleafure-houfe of the Boftangi Baba, or Overfeer of the Gardens. It is a Pavilion cover'd over juft without the Walls of the Seraglio, and overlooks the Propontis and Bofpborus Tbracius; but he, being in the fourth Poft of the Empire, has no Time almolt to take the Air. Beyond this Kioske are a great many Cannon planted, fo as to ftrike any Ships that pafs between Wind and Water, to hinder the Entrance into the Seraglio or Port, if any fhould attempt it by Force. There Pieces are always charged, but never difcharged, unlefs it be upon the firft or fecond Day of the Month Bairam, to give the Muljelmen Notice of that folemn Feaft, or upon the Account of publick Rejoycings, as the Taking of a City, or conquering fome Province.
In the Middle of there Pieces of Cannon is one of the four Pofterns of the Seraglio, called Boftan Capi, or the Gate of the Gardens. It is fortified with two large Turrets, and guarded by two Companies of Boftangi's, or Gardiners, who keep all from entring at this Gate, but the Sultanas and Officers of the Seragtio. After you have paffed the Cannon, and doubled the Cape, where you pafs a Fountain, from which moft of the Ships take in their freft Water, you come to two Kioskes, built by Sultan Soliman to view the going out and coming in of the Men of War, and divert himfelf with his Women, of which he had Plenty. Both of them are well adorn'd and furnifhed with gilded Cupola's, Alcoves, Sopha's, Quilts, Cufhions, Carpets, and all other Things fit for §o great a Prince, but nothing can be imagined more noble than one of them. At thefe Pleafure-houres always attend fome fmall Galleys and Saicks, ready to receive the Grand Signior and his Train whenever he pleafes to divert himfelf. Thefe Galleys and Barks are very neatly gilded and painted all over, the Oars and Grappling Irons not excepted. Thefe are all the re-
markable Things without the Walls, both of
and Seraglio. We muft now go into the City.
ro. It ftands upon feven little Hills, as old Rome did, and the Houfes are fo difpofed, that one takes not away the Sight from the other. The Streets are narrow for the moft part, but there are feveral fataty Buildings in them. There are many magnificent Mofques in it, of which the moft magnificent is that of Santa Sopbia, which was anciently a Chriftian Church, builc by the Emperor Fuffin, enlarged, enriched, and adorned by Fufinian, and dedicated to the Wifdom of God, Hagia Sopbia. The Turks have changed it, into a Mofque, but retain the Name. This Fabrick is 114 Paces in Length, 80 in Breadth, and as many in Height, fquare without, but round within. The Mofque is very fpacious, hath a Dome in the Middle, in the Form of a flatted Globe, which is a fingular Kind of Architecture. It is paved with fine Marble, and matted, that the Cold may not hurt fuch as come to worfhip without Slippers, and fquat down in their Service. There is a Tomb, which, the Turks fay, is Conffantine's, and a Sone on which, they believe, the Virgin wafhed our Lord's Linen, and they bear a great Reverence to it.
The Church was painted in Mofaic with Croffes and Images of Chrift, the Holy Ghoft, the Virgin, and other Saints, which yet appear, though the Turks have endeavour'd to deface them, for they duffer no Images. Within are two Galleries one over another, that go round the Church, and are fupported by fixty-two Pillars, which, 'tis fuppofed, were for the Women when it was a Church. On the Out-fide of the Church are four Steeples, very high and flender, on which are feveral Balconies, from whence the Maezims call to Prayers. Ir's big enough to hold 40,000 People, which Number ufually meet in it at their Bairam or Pafiover. In a little Street on the Back of this Church are two large thick Pillars, where, they fay, Juftice was wont to be adminiftred, and by them an old Tower, where the Grand Signior's Beafts are kept, viz. Lions," Wolves, Foxes, Leopards, a fpotted Lynx, the Skin of a Giraff, and other rare Creatures.
Befides this Mofque, there are feven others, call'd Royal or Imperial, of which the Chief is called Solimania, becaufe it was built by Sultan Soliman, whofe Coffin remains in it, adorned with Carpets, a Turban fet with Heron-Feathers and precious Stones, and Lamps burning. Several Alcorans are chain'd to it, that the People may read them, and pray for the Defunct's Soul, and fome are hired to do it, for the Grand Signiors take care to leave a Fund for concinual Prayers to be faid for them after their Death. Near this there is another, where lies the Body of a Sultana whom Soliman loved extreamly, as alfo of Sultan Selim, his fecond Son. This Mofque hath a moft lovely Cloifter, with Bagnio's and Fountains. The New Mofque, built by Sultan Acbmet, is one of the faireft and moft magnificent in Conftantinople. The Entry into it is through a large Court. It is a great Mofque, hath a ftately Dome, and is full of Lamps, and many Curiofities in GlafsBalls.
The faireft of all, are the Molques of Sultan Mebemmet, Sultan Selim, and that which is call'd Cbabzadeb Mefdgidi, i. e. The King's Son's Mofque, being buile by one of Soliman's Sons, and Bajazet's. All thefe Mofques have Hofpitals and Schools, where a great many poor Scholars are maintained, and educated. Moft of the ancient Statues, Obelisks and Pillars, fet up by Conftantine and his Succeffors, are entirely ruined, yer the large Hippodrome, called by the Turks, Atmeidan, where they exercifed their Horfes in Racing, is ftill to be feen. It is a large Square, 550 Paces long, and 150 broad. In the Midft of it is an Obelisk pretty entire, mark' d with Hierogliphick Letters, and at a little Diftance from it a pretry high Pillar, made of large Stones, laid one upon another without Cement, and towards the End of it is a Pillar made of three brazen Serpents twitted together, and the Heads make the Capital. It was faid to be the Talijman or Spell, raifed by Leo Ifouricus the Emperor againft Serpents, fo that none would come near, till Mabomet II, when he took Conftantinople,
beat off the under Jaw of one of them with his Zagaje, and now they are faid to do no Hurt, becaufe it is flanding. The Occafion of erecting it is as fabulous as the Virtue, and fo the Relation may be fpared.
The Grand Bezifan?, or Excbange, is a noble Building and a glorious Sight. It is a great round Hall, built all of Free-Stone, and furrounded with a thick Wall, by which are Shops full of the richeft Commodities, It hath feveral Gates, which are flut faft a Nights, and becaufe no Body lies in it, it is guarded by feveral Warchmen, till it is opened again. Each Body of Merchants of Tradefnen have an Apartment by themfelves, and no Man may fell the fame Commodities in another Place, All Manner of Goods are here fold, during the Time it is open.
There is alfo another Bezifanz, but neither fo large nor fo well flocked with Goods. There are alfo ieveral Bazaars, or publick Markets, in one of which, called the Auree Bazaar, or Womens Market, is a i iillar of an extraordinary Hecight, called, the Hiflorical Column, becaufe from the Top to the Botton, which is 147 Foot, are reprefented in Baffo Relievo, feveral Expeditions, Battles, and other remarkable Events, during the Enpire of Alrcaiius. 'Tis all of Marble, but much deficiced, and the Houfs fland fo near to it , that one can't have room to examine or find out the Figures of it. There are Stairs in it to afcend up to the Top, but the Turks will fuffer no Man to go up them. In the Quarter of the Yanizaries, near the Baths of Ibrahinn Bafba, in the Court of a private Man's Houfe, ftands the Column of the Eniperor Marcian. Ic is all of fpotted Marble, about fifteen Foot high, and its Capital of the Corintbian Order. On the Top is a fquare hollow Stone, adorned with four Eagles at each Corner. It is reafenable to think his Heart was put in this Stone, and his Body buried under the Column. The other is call'd, Tbe Burrat Pillar, becaure it has been lately burnt by a Fire that happen'd near it, which has fo flateter'd it, that they have been forc'd to keep it tight with Iron-Bars. It is compofed of eight Picece of Porphbyrian Marble, fo neatly join'd, that they feemed but one Stone, till the Fire damag'd it, but now they are all feen.
ri. The Grand Signior's Seraghlio's are alfo remarkable Buildings. They are the Palaces where the Ottoman Princes ordinarily keep their Courts. The Word is taken from Serrai, which fignifies a noble Houfe. There are two Seraglio's belonging to the Grand Signior, viz. The Old, and the New, which being much the more noble Building, though nothing fo magnificent as the Palace of fo great a Prince ought to be, is called the Grand Seraghio. It is of a triangular Form, two Sides whereof are encompanied by the Tbracian Boffborus, and the other divides it from the Town. It flands in the Place of the anciene Byzantiumin. It is three Miles in Comppafs, and is enclofed within a very flrong Wall, upon which are divers Warch-Towers, on which the Aggliain-Oglams watch Night and Day. It hath many Gates both to the Sea and Land-fide, but the chiefeft is towards the City, and that is ufed daily, but the reft are never opened but upon fome fpecial Occafion, thofe to the Sea-ward, when the Sultan or fome chief Officer of the Seragio open them for Pleafure, and thofe to the Land-ward, when the Grand Seignior orders fome Great Man to be put to Death, or upon fome other great Defign.
The chief Gare above-mention'd is guarded Day and Night by the Companies of Capoocbees, or Porters, under the Connmand of the Cappocbbe- Beffac's, or Captains of the Porters. A Company of fanizaries watch without the Palace, who are to give Notice of any Accident. And by the Sea-fide, the Agliam- Oglams watch in Tow. ers upon the Wall, and if any Shipping attempt any Mirchief, they have Ordnance realy charged, and the Gunners lying clofe by them. In this Seraglio are many flately Rooms, fuiting the Seafons of the Year, the greatelt Part whereof are built upon plain Ground, and fome upon the Fills and Sea-fide, which are called $K i$ osks, or Banquetting. Houres. Among thefe is the Chamber where the Grand Signior gives Audience to Ambaf-
fadors, Batha's, Ecc. This Room ftands in a Court adorn'd with many delicate Fountains, and is furnifled with rich Carpets and Crimfon Velver embroidered with Pearls, and the Walls covered with fine white Stones, and by it is a frall Room covered wilh filver Plate, hatch'd with Gold.
To there Lodgings of the Sultan belong fair Gardens, with all Sorts of Flowers and Fruits, pleafant Walks and Marble Fountains. There are alfo Lodgings for the Women like a Nunnery, wherein the Sultana Oween, the other Sullana's, and all the Grand Seignior's Women Slaves dwell, in which are Bed-chambers, DiningRoomis, Bagnios ${ }^{\text {s }}$, and all other Buildings neceffiary for the Service of the Women. There are alfo convenient Rooms for the principal and inferior Officers, all well furnifhed, among which are the Hazineb, or King's private Treafury and Wardrobe, both fliong Buildings with Iron Doors, which are kept continually fhut, and the former is fealed with the King's Seal. In the Seragalio are alfo Rooms for Prayer, Baths, Schools, Butteries, Kitchins, Diftilling-rooms, Places to fwim in, to run Hories, and for Wreftling and Shooting at Buts, and, in a Word, all other Conveniencies for a Prince's Palace.
At the Entrance into the Seraghio is a very large and flately Gate, where there is a Guard al ways flanding of fifty Capigies. This leads into a very fpacious Court of near a Quarter of a Mile fquare, but it is not paved. The Baf/an's, and other great Men may ride into it, and near the Gate is a Piazza for the Shelter of Men and Hores. On the Right fide of it is an Hofpital for all that fall fick in the Seraghio, and an Eunuch called Ha Peler Agafif, looks after them. On the Left Side is is Place where they keep their Timber and Carts, to be ready for the Service of the Palace, and over it an Hall, where are hang'd up Weapons of Antiquity, as Cimitars, Javelins, Bows, Head-pieces, Gantiets, $E^{\circ} c$ c. which are lent to the Soldiers when the Grand Signior, or chief Vizier makes any folemn Entry into Connfantutinople.
After having paffed through this great Court, you come to another Gate, lefs than the former, but neater and more cortly, in which chere is alfo a ftately Porch, and a Guard of Capoocbees. This leads into another Court lefs than the former, but far more beautiful and pleafant, adorned with Fountains and Walks, Rows of Cypreffes and Grafs-Plats rail'd in, where the Gazels, feed. It is near 300 Paces fquare, and the Walks are paved. In this Court all muft walk on Foot, except the Grand Signior. On both Sides of this Gate is an open Gallery, where the Cbiauffes, or Purfuivants, the fanizaries or Foot-Guards, and Spabi's, or Horfe. Guards, fland in their Ranks, very well apparell'd, when any Ambarfadors enter, or on other folemn Occafions. In this Court are feveral Kitchins, with their Offices and Larders, for the Sultana's, and other Officers of the Court. On the Left Side is the Sultan's litete Stable for about thirty five Horfes for his Highneffes Ufe, and over it Rooms for their Furnitures, which are very rich, fet with Jewels, to the Admiration of all Beholders. Next the Stable are Rooms for the Officers of the Divan, or Court of Juftice, and by then the Chamber, where the Divanf fits, and a lietle behind that is the Gate that leads to the Womens Lodgings.
At the End of this Court is the Royal Gate, which leads to the Sultan's Lodgings, and may not be entred by any, but fuch Gentlemen as attend him, and others that ferve him, without Leave from the Sultan himfelf. This Gate is kept by the Capee-Aga, or chief Chamberlain, and a Company of white Eunuchs. The Courr is paved with fine Marble, wrought with Mofaic Work, and adorn'd with curious Fountains, and a Lake where the Grand Signior has a fine gilt Boat for his Recreation. In the Buildings, which are fumptuous, are a Chamber of Audience, a Row of Summer-Rooms flanding on a little Hill, and looking toward the Sea, a large Hall flanding on Pillars, and opening towards the. Eatt, and by it the Grand Signior's BedChamber, the Walls of which are covered with the fineft Cbina Metal, and the Floors with very coflly Perfiena Carpets of Silk and Gold. The Pofts of the Bedfted
are Silver, the Canopy, Bolfters, Mattreffes, and Pallets, are all of Clort of Gold. Behind the Hall is a Place to thoot in, where for that Purpofe are laid up many Bows and Arrows.
12. The Divan fits four Days in a Week, viz. Saturday, Sunday, Monday and Tuefday, upon which Days the Vizier-Azem, or chief Vifier, who is the fupream Judge, and reprefents the Grand Signior, with all the reft of the Viffers, the two Cadilefchers, or Judges of the Armies in Greece and Natolia; the three Tefterdars, oi Treafurers; the Reiskitaub, or Chancellor; the Ne foannge, or Keeper of the Mark, with their Secretaries and Clerks; the Cbioufh-Bafba and his Officers, are to be at the Divan by Break of Day. All Canfes are determined by the Vizier-Azem, if he pleafes, for the Baba's do not fpeak, but only hearken and attend till he refers any Thing to their Judgment, as he often does for Expedition, referving the Caufes of the greateft Confequence and Importance to himfelf, as the Caimekam or his Deputy does alfo in his Ábfence.
The Petitioners fpeak for themfelves, or defire the Help of a Cbiaufh, for they have no Pleaders, or Attorneys. When the chief Vifier hath heard their Suits, he confults with the $B a ß a a^{\prime} s$, and then refolves and determines them as he will himfelf. This he doth ufually after Dinner, and then he repairs on Sundays and Tuef days to the Chamber of Audience, to give an Account to his Sublime Highnefs of what Bufinefs he has dif patched. Sometimes the Grand Signior will come privately to a little Window, which is cover'd with a Lattice, and looks into the Divan, to hear the Caufes; and this forces the chief Vifier to act circumfpectly and juftIy in managing Affairs, while he fits in the Divan, tho' at other Times his Hands are open to Bribery, and he will carry Bufinefs as he pleafes; but all Things are dif patched without Delay.

When an Ambaffador from any great Prince is to kifs the Grand Signior's Hand, the Grand Vifier calls a great Divan of all the Grandees of the Port, and all the Cbiaubes, Mutafurraka's, Spabi's, and Fanizaries are or der'd by the Captains to drefs themfelves in the beft Manner they are able, and ftand in their Places in the fecond Court. "When the Divan is fet in their Or der, the chief Vifier fends a Cbiauk-Bafba with many of his Cbiaußbes on Horfeback, to conduct the Am baffador to the Divan, where he is placed clofe to the Vifier, who having complimented him a while, entertains him at Dinner, and then conveys him to a Room by the Imperial Gate with his Attendants, till the Sultan is ready to receive him. In the mean Time the Ambaffador's Prefent is carried about the fecond Court, in the Sight of all People, and then is brought to the Sul tan, and the Grand Vifier fends the Ambaffador feveral Vefts, appointed by the ancient Rule, for himfelf and Gentlemen, to put on for that Ceremony.

The Vefts for the Ambaffador are of Cloth of Gold of Burfa, but for the reft, they are of little or no Value ; yet the Ambaffador muft make a-Prefent to the Grand Signior of more than the Worth of them. Then the Ambaffador is conducted by the Mafter of the Ceremonies to kifs the Sultan's Hand, (which is, indeed, but his Hanging-fleeve ;) which done, the Druggoman, or Interpreter, declares the Ambaffador's Commiffion; to which the Grand Signior makes no Anfwer, (for he difdains to fpeak to a Chriftian) but fpeaking to the chief Vifier, refers all Proceedings to his Difcretion, and fo the Ambaffador departs, bowing his Head to the Sultan, but pulls not off his Hat at all. Other Ambaffadors of Petty Princes, or State though they have Vefts given them alfo by the Grand Signior, yet come not to the Divan, but go privately with their Prefents. All Ambaffadors are maintain'd by the Grand Signior, except thofe from the States of Venice, during their Abode at the Port, but it is hard to get his Allowance through the Bafenefs of the Officers.
r3. All Perfons, that live in the Seraglio, are the Grand Signior's Slaves, as are alfo all that are fubject to his Empire; for they all acknowledge, that whatever they Vor. II. Ne. CXXIV
enjoy proceeds from his Good-will, and that their Eftates and Lives are abfolutely at his Difpofal.

There are in the Sultan's Court about twelve hundred Women old and young. The Sultan's Concubines, who are kept for their Beauties, are all young Virgins, ftollen from foreign Nations, inftructed in good Behaviour, Dancing, Mufick, Singing, and curious Sowing; and are given to the Grand Signior as Prefents by the Tartars, Bafhaws, and other great Men, and fo their Number is uncertain. Thefe Virgins, immediately upon their coming into the Seraglio, are made Turks by ufing this Ceremony: They are to hold up their Finger and fay thefe Words, There is no God but God alone; and Mahomet is the Meffenger of God; and then being examined by an old Woman, called Kabiyab Cadun, i. e. the Mother of the Maids, they are placed in a Room with their Equals in Age and Difpofition. All the Wo~ men live like Nuns, but have large Apartments to dwell' in. Their Beds are coarfe and hard, made of Flocks, and by evcry tenth Virgin lies an old Woman, and there are Lamps always burning by them. Near their Apartments they have Baths and Fountains for their Ufe, and, above their Bed-chambers, Places to fit and few in. They dine in Companies, and are waited upon by other Women, wanting Nothing that is neceffary for them. There are alfo Schools for fuch as will learn to read or fpeak the Turkifb Tongue, work or play, and fome Hours are allowed them for Walking and Recreations.

The Sultan never fees thefe Virgins, unlefs when they are firft prefented to him, or when he defires to have one of them for his Bedfellow, and divert himfelf with Mufick, or fome other Paftime. When the Grand Signior defires a frefh Mate, he gives Notice to the Kabiyab Cadzn, who picks out the faireft and moft plealing, and having placed them in two Rows in a Room, brings in the Sultan, who walking four or five Times in the Midft of them, views them, and as he goes out, throws his Handkerchief into the Virgin's Hand which he chufes to lie with. This Choice is accounted a great Favour, and the Cadun ufes all the Art fhe can to prepare her for it, by attiring, painting and perfuming her, and at Night the is brought to fleep with the Grand Signior in certain Chambers fet a-part for that Bulinefs in the Womens Lodgings. By the Bed they have great wax Tapers burning all Night, and Moorifh Women fitting by them. In the Morning when the Sultan rifes, he changes all his Apparel, and leaves them to her he lay with, and the Money in the Pockets, and then departs to his own Lodgings, from whence he fends her immediately a Prefent of Jewels, Money and Vefts of greater or lefs Value, according to the Satisfaction he received from her.

If any conceive by him, and bring him forth his firft begotten Child, fhe is called Sultana Queen, and if it be a Son, the is confirmed and eftablifhed by great Feafts and Solemnities, and thenceforward has an Apartment, Servants, and a large Revenue appointed her, and all Perfons in the Seraglio muft pay her the Refpect of a Queen. The other Women that bear him Children are called Sultana's, but not Queens, yet live in feparate Apartments, are well ferved and attended, and have no Want either of Money or Apparel, according to their Degree. But if it happens that the firit-begotten Son of the Queen, Heir to the Empire, dies, and another of the Sultana's have a Son to fucceed the deceafed Heir, the former is deprived of her Revenue and Royalty, but remains a Sultana, and the latter becomes Queen; and fo the Title runs from one Sultana to another by Virtue of the Son's Right to the Succeflion.

In Times paft the Grand Signior was married to the Queen, but now the paffes without celebrating any Nuptial Rites; yet the Mother of the Heir enjoys all the Prerogatives of a Queen, and has a Guard of thirty or forty black Eunuchs, under the Command of the KizlarAga, their Mafter, to be employed on her Occafions. Thefe Sultana's never go out of the Seraglio but in the Sulran's Company, and are never feen by any but fuch as attend them, who are thofe black Eunuchs, and have all
cut off clear to the Belly, that there may be no Danger from them.
The Grand Signior's Daughters, Sifters and Aunts, have their Lodgings alfo in the fame Seraglio, and being royally ferv'd, and fumptuoufly apparell'd, live by themfelves in continual Pleafures, until fuch Time as, at their Requeft, the Sultan fhall be pleafed to give them in Marriage, and then they come forth, and carry each of them a Cheft along with them, which the Grand Signior gives them full of rich Apparel, Jewels, and Money, to the Value of about thirty thouland Pounds Sterling, befides what they hoarded for themfelves before, which arrounts fometimes to a great deal; and if the Grand Signior be difpored to deal generounly with them, they are fuffered to carry with them twenty Women Slaves, and as many Eunuchs, and he continues their Allowance of a thoufand or fifteen hundred Afpers a Day, which they had in the Seraglio, and furnifhes their Houfes; and if the Hufband of fuch a Lady has not an Houfe fit for her, the Sultan gives her one of his own.
As for the Hufband, he is to make her a Bill of Dowry of at leaft 100,000 Checquins in Money, befides, Vefts, Jewels, and other Ornaments, which amount to a great Sum. Being married, they converfe with Men no more than they did before, except their Hurbands, but only with Women, vifiting their old Acquaintance in the Seraglio, but not without the Grand Signior's Leave. The Sultana's thus married, are for the moft part their Hurbands Miftreffes, infulting over them, and commanding them as they pleafe, wearing an Hanjar, or Dagger, in Token of their Power over them, and fometime they will put them away and take others, and fuch a Divorce commonly proves the Death of the Hußband, whom the Grand Seignior leaves to their Will.

The other Women either grow old in the Seraglio, and fo are made Miffreffes of the young ones, or are fent into the old Seraglio, which they account their beft Fortune, becaufe from thence they may be married, with the Confent of the Miftrefs, and carry away the Riches they have got, which is very confiderable, partly by faving out of the Sultan's Allowance, and by the Prefents made them upon their Bairan, and by the BaSaa's Wives. Hither alfo, after the Sultan's Death, are all the Sultana's fent, except the Sultana Queen, and if they are wealthy, they marry to Men of reafonable Quality, yet with the good Will of the Miftrefs, and Confent of the Grand Signior. The Women of the Seraglio are punifhed for their Faults very feverely, and are foundly beat by their Overfeers, and if they prove difobedient and incorrigible, they are by the Sultan's Order fent into the old Seraglio, and the beft Part of what they have, taken from them; but if they are found guilty of Witchcraft, Whoredom, or any fuch notorious Crime, they are bound Hand and Foot, and being put into a Sack, are in the Night caft into the Sea.
14. The Seraglio may be properly termed the Seminary or Nurfery of the beft Subjects, for in it all have their Education, who afterwards become the principal Officers or fubordinate Rulers of the State and Affairs of the Empire, and thefe are they which are called the Agliam-Oglans, i.e. unexpert and untutor'd Youths. There are ordinarily about 6 or 700 of them, from twelve to twenty five or thirty Years of Age at moft, being all Chriftian Children, gather'd up every three Years in the Morea and throughout all the Parts of Albania. They are taken from fuch Families as are fuppofed to be of the beft Spirit and moft warlike Difpofition, and as foon as they are brought into the Seraglio, they are circumcifed and made Turks. They are at firft put to very bafe and navifh Employments, fuch as to ferve in the Stables, Kitchens and Gardens, Digging and Cleaving Wood, and are made to row in Saicks or Barges, and to lead the Greyhounds to Courfing, or whatever elle they are commanded to do by the OdaBafba's, or Captains. They are allow'd from two to five Afpers a Day, but afterwards fuch as have a Defire to learn, are taught to read and write, and generally all of them are taught to wreftle, leap, run, throw the

Iron-Bar, hhoot the Bow, difcharge a Piece, and all other Exerciles becoming a Turkibs Soldier.

The Grand Seignior makes ufe of them, when he intends a Journey to any Place for pitching his Tents, removing or carrying his Chefts, and fuch like Services, for which Employment he never takes with him lefs than three or four hundred of them. The BofangeeBafba always takes with him a good Number of them, when by the Sultan's Order he puts fome great Man to Death, which is commonly done by the Hands of thefe Agliam-Oglans. They are capable of being made Stewards to the Boftangee-Ba/ba, and may rife to that great Office, which is an eminent Place, for he hath the Keeping of all the Grand Signior's Gardens, and Houfes, fteers the Sultan's Saick, and wears a Turbant in the Seraglio, and if he be in Favour, he is preferred to higher Dignities, viz, to be Captain-Ba/ba, Ba/ba of Cairo, Damadcus, Aleppo, \&rc. and fometimes he comes to be Vizier-Azem, or Prime-Minitter.
There are other Youths educated in the Seraglio, called Itcboglans, but in a far better Manner than the former. They are brought up in Learning, in the Knowledge of the Law and Military Exercifes for the Sultan's and their Country's Service, and to underttand thofe Things which belong to the Government of the whole Empire. By the ancient Inftitution they fhould be always made of Chriftian Renegado's and Captives of the nobleft that can be found; but the Capee-Aga; or chief Chamberlain, brings in fome natural born Turks of the beft Afpects, and who promife well, but with the Sultan's Confent. The Number of them is uncertain, but it is faid, they are commonly about one hundred. As foon as they come into the Seraglio, they are exceedingly well inftructed, and daily taught, as well polite Behaviour, as the Rites and Ceremonies of the Mabometan Law, and whatfoever may tend to the Improvement of their Minds, and for this Purpofe there are four Oda's, or Schools, being fo many Degrees, every one higher than the other.
In the firt, called the Cboukou-Oda, they all come when they are but Children, and there learn Silence, the Poftures of holding down their Heads and Jooking downwards, with their Hands before them join'd acrots, which are expreffive of fingular Reverence, and are ufed by fuch as are before the Sultan. Then they learn to write and read the Turkib Tongue, and are taught their Prayers by Heart in the Arabian Tongue, and that they may learn thefe Things well, are encouraged to Admiration. In this School they flay about five or fix Years, and fuch as are dull ftay much longer.
In the fecond School, called 2uilar Oda, they are taught by more learned and fufficient Tutors the PerFian, Arabian and Tartarian Tongues, and to that End the Profeffors take great Pains in reading divers Authors in thofe Languages. Here they begin to wreftle, fhoot the Bow, throw the Iron Mace, tofs the Pike, run and handle their Weapons, $\mathcal{E}^{\circ}$. and in thefe Exercifes in feveral Orders and Places they fpend certain Hours daily, and are feverely punifhed if they are found negligent in the leaft.
In this Oda they alfo fpend four or five Years, and being become ftrong Men fit for any Thing, they are removed to the third, where forgetting Nothing they have already learn'd, they are taught further to ride, and how to behave themfelves in the Wars. Befides all this, every one of them learns a Trade neceffary for the Service of the Sultan's Perfon, as to Thave, make a Turbant, fold up Apparel handfomely, pare Nails, attend at the Bath, keep Hawks, to be Sewers, Querries of the Stables, Target-Bearers, wait at Table, छ̌c. While they are in thefe three Schools they are but meanly apparell'd, having yearly only two Cloth-Vefts, fomewhat fine, but their Linen is coarfe. In this Oda their Punifhments are fevere, for their Mafters will give them an hundred Blows for great Faults upon the Soles of their Feet or Buttocks, infomuch that they are oftentimes left for dead. In this School none is fuffered to be familiar with any but their Companions, fo that none may fpeak with them, but by Leave from the Capee Aga, and that in the Prefence of an Eunuch. When

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they go alfo to the Bath, or about any other Bufinefs, they have Eunuchs attending them, to keep them from any Lewdnefs, and for the fame Reafon they have Eunuchs lying by them always in their Bed-Chambers,

Here alio, before they are raifed to the 4 th Oda, the Eunuchs ufe all Arts to try whether they are firm to Turcijm, and have no Inclination to Chriftianity, and being thus proved, they are preferr'd to what is call'd, Haz-Oda, or, The Prince's Cbamber. Here it is that all Punifhments ceafe, and they may freely converfe wich all the Great Men of the Seraglio, and being cleanly and neat in their Apparel, the Grand Signior takes them along with him when he goes abroad upon Pleafure, if none of his Women be with him. Out of the young Men thus perfected and compleated in their Education, the King chufeth his $A g a$ and and ${ }^{\text {Ba's }}$, viz. the Seliitar Aga, the Sultan's Sword - Bearer ; the Cbioadar-Aga, he that carries his Yagmoorlick; Rachi Aga, Yeoman of the Stirrup; Mataragee-Aga, who brings him Water to wafh his Hands and Face; Talbenter-Aga, he that brings his Turbant; KernbafirAga, he that looks to his Apparel and the wafhing of his Linnen; the Cbef/negir-Bäba, the chief Sewer the Dogangea-Bafoa, the chief Falconer; the ZagargeeBafba, the chief Huntfman; the Turnackgee-Ba/ha, he that pares the Sultan's Nails; the Hamaungee-Bafba, the chief Accomptant; and the Teskeregee-Ba/ba, his High nefs's Secretary.

All thefe are created out of the eldeft of the Itchoglans of the fourth Oda. They are always in the Sultan's Prefence, holding their Heads down, and Hands a-crofs, never fpeaking; but whatever the Sultan commands, they are wonderful ready to obey. They wait at the Sultan's Table, and he is pleafed with their Service and Company. He will ride with them, and play at the jecrit and other Sports when he is fo difpoled. He often gives them Prefents of Vefts, Swords, and Bows, and fometimes ready Money. He entrufts them with the Difpatch of Embaffies, and though they mult not go themfelves, yet finding out what Prefents the Prince, to whom the Embaffy is to be fent, ufes to give to Ambaffadors, they fell it to a Cbiaufh; and this is done to enrich them againft the Time he fhall fend them out of the Seraglio, to be Generals at Sea, or Batha's of fome great City, as Babylon, Aleppo, \&c. or makes them Beglerbergs of Gracia, Natolia, \&c. When any is thus fent out, the next in ftanding fucceeds, unlefs his ill Behaviour has made him incapable; and fo all live in Hopes of Greatnefs and Riches. Before their Departure, they ftay a while till their Beards are grown (for they are always fhaved in the Seraglio) and then they receive handfome Prefents of the Sultana's and Bafha's, and when their Beards are grown, they pay their Vifits to all the great Men of the Court.
15. In the Seraglio there are likewife other Minitters for neceffary Services, as alfo Buffoons, Tumblers, Muficians, Wreflers, and Mutes. Thefe laft are in great Requeft, becaufe the Grand Signior thinks it below his Dignity to fpeak to any about him familiarly, and therefore he makes himfelf merry with thefe Mutes, who though deaf and dumb, will reafon and difcourfe of any thing by Nods and Signs, as other People do by Words; nay, many of them can write very fenfibly and well, which is admirable.

There are alfo White Eunuchs, who attend the Grand Signior at his Gate. The chief of them is, I. the Capee Aga, or Chamberlain, who is in greateft Auchority with the Grand Signior ; for he alone is allowed to fpeak to him, and prefent all Petitions, Meffages, and Writings, and accompanies the Sultan where-ever he goes. His Salary is eight Sultana's a Day, i. e. about three Pounds Sterling, befides Prefents from all that have any Bufiners with the Sultan.
2. The Hazinebdar-Ba/ba, or the Trealurer of the Houfehold, who keeps an Account of all the Treafure brought into this inward Treafury, which is only the Wealth of ancient Sultans, and the Revenue of Egypt, and the adjacent Provinces, and takes it out upon Occafion. He hath the Cuftody of all the Sultan's Jewels,
which he either wears, or are prefented him, and keeps a Regiftry of them, when received and when given away. He fucceeds the Capee-Aga, when he dies.
3. The Keelergee-Ba/ha, i. e. Mafter of the Wardrobe, into which are brought all the Prefents of Cloth of Gold, Plate, Silks, Woollen Cloths, Furs of all Sorts, Swords, Raw Silk, Carpets, and whatever elfe ferves for his Majefty's Ufe, of which he keeps particular Inventories, as we!1 as Servants under him, and his Salary is one thoufand Afpres a Day, viz. 50 s. Sterling. He is commonly in Favour with the Sultan, and ufually fucceed to Hazinebdar-Ba/ba.
4. The Sarai Agajee, i. e. the Keeper of the Seraglio. He fees that all Things be prepared for the Service of the Palace, and that the Rooms be kept as they ought to be, and that all the Officers do their Duty. He is allowed to ride up and down the Seraglio, in the Courts, Gardens, and by the Sea-fide, as the three former are : His Penfion is eight hundred Afpres, or 40 s. a Day. befides Vefts and Furs; he fucceeds the Keelergee-Ba/ba The three laft may not fpeak to the Emperor, unlefs in Anfwer to any Thing he afks them.
The Number of there Eunuchs is about two hundred, and they are all not only gelt, but cut fmoth when they are very young, and that with their own Confent, which is obtain'd by affuring them what Great Men they will be, for otherwife they would be in Danger of Death, as the Workmen in that Bufinefs affirm. They are brought up with the Ichoglans, and are taken from the fourth Oda to ferve the Grand Signior, who employs them in the Government of his other Seraglio's, and his Seminaries of Youth at Confantinople, Adrianople, and other Places, makes them Bohba's of Cairo, Aleppo, and other Cities, and fometimes Vifiers of the Bench. They are allo trufted by the Capee-Aga to keep the King's Curiofities and valuäble Rarities, as great Pieces of Ambergreefe, Musk, Balfom, Cups of Agat, $\mathcal{E}^{3}$ c. for though they are, generally fpeaking, not of much Courage, yet they are accounted of great Judgment and Fidelity.
The Black Eunuchs and Black Moor Wenches ferve the Sultana's and the reft of the Queen's Women. Thefe Eunuchs, while they are Boys, are brought up as the White ones are, and after are fet to ferve and wait at the Sultana's Gate, under the Command of the KilarAga. They are allowed a Penfion of fifty or fixty Afpers a Day, and two Vefts, with Linnen and other Neceffaries, yearly, befides Prefents given them by fuch Women as come to vifit the Grand Signior's Women. They are never fent abroad in any Employment, but ferve for ever in the Seraglio. They are called by the Names of Flowers, as Rofe, Narcifus, \&xc. Their Bufinefs is to carry Meffages and Notes from the Sultana's to the Capee-Aga, to be delivered to the Sultan, and attend upon the Ladies in Sicknefs and Health.
16.The Grand Signior's Sons by the Queen are brought up by themfelves, by choice Nurfes, which are found out of the Seraglio, and if he has Sons by other Sultana's, they are brought up alfo by themfelves, but may play with them till they are fix or feven Years old. They live with the Women nine or ten Years, and about fourteen are circumcifed with great Pomp, as Weddings are kept among Chriftians. The Sons, from five to ten Years of Age, are taught to write and read by an Hojab, or School-mafter, who for that End is admitted into the Womens Apartment for certain Hours, but fees them nor, unlefs two or three old ugly black Moorib Women; but Daughters are little regarded. When the Sbawbzazodeb, or Sultan's Son who is Heir to the Crown, is circumcifed, he is fometimes fent abroad with a fuitable Equipage, and under the Care of his principal and trufty Eunuchs, to be Governor of Magnefia, and the Provinces about it, but as Deputy to his Father. The Eunuch is bound to give continual Advice to the Grand Signior of his Son's Deportment; fo that if he tranfgref's the Limits of his Commiffion in the leaft, he quickly falls into Difgrace, and into a Sufpicion of Rebellion.
The Victuals in the Seraglio is drefs'd by fuch of the

Agliain-Oglans as are brought up to this Service, called. Askees or Cooks. They wear white Caps for Diftinction, and are about two hundred from the higheft to the meaneft Officers of the Kitchen. They begin their Bufinefs early in the Morning, for the Grand Signior: rifing: betimes, they muft have always fomething ready for his Breakfaft. He dines at Ten o'Clock in the Forenoon; and fups at Six in the Evening, both in Summer and Winter. He fits down with his Legs acrofs, according. to the Turkißh Fafhion, and has a rich Napkin laid before him. He carves for himfelf, but ufes neither Knife nor Fork, for his Meat is fo tender and delicately dreffed, that he eafily pulls it in Pieces with his Fingers. He hath two wooden Spoons, the one to eat his Pottage, and the ocher to fup the Syrups with, which he ules to quench his Thirft. He ufes no Salt nor Antipaft. He tafteth of all the. Difhes one by one, and clofes his Meal commonly with a Boclava, or Tart; and when he has dined or fupp'd, watheth his Hands in a golden Bafon, fet with precious Stones.

His ufual Diet is wild Pigeons, Geefe, Lamb, Hens, Chickens, Mutton, and fometimes wild Fowl, and ufually as much boiled as roafted of all of them, with Broths, Preferves, and Syrups in Porcelaine Difhes, and fome Tarts and Pies. When he has done eating, he concludes with a Draught of Sherbet, and feldom drinks more than once at a Meal. He feldom or never fpeaks at Table, but to favour fome Aga, to whom he fpeaks a Word or two, and throws him a Loaf. The Grand' Signior's Difhes are all Gold or yellow Purcelane, fcarce to be had for Money, in which he eats chiefly in their Ramazan or Lent, which lafts a whole Moon, and only by Night, as all the Iurks $^{2}$ do ; but they make no Difference of Meats, excepting Swines Flefh, and Things ftrangled, which are forbidden by their Law at all Times. The Sultan feldom eats Fifh, unlefs when he is by the Sea-fide with his Women, where he fees it taken. The Meat which is left at the Grand Signior's Table is carried to the Aga's that wait; and after Dinner the Sultan diverts himfelf with the Mutes and Buffoons. The Capee-Aga hath a Table by himfelf, dreffed in his own Kitchen, and with him the Hafnebdar-Baba, Sarai Agafee, the Sultan's Phyficians, eat, and what he leaves ferves all the White Eunuchs. The Youths in the Oda's have two Loaves a-piece and boil'd Mutton, with Pottage made of Rice, Butter and Honey allow'd them daily.
The Queen and Sultana's are at the fame Time ferved by the Black Eunuchs, but in Copper Difhes, unlefs the Sultan be with them. They drink their Sherbet with Snow, which cofts dear to bring it from the Hills, and keep it under Ground. They eat no Cheefe but Parmefan, rent by the Bailo, or Refidentiary of Venice. All thefe Things are done in fuch Order, that all is finimed in lefs than two Hours Time. The Grand Signior's, Sultana's, and Batha's Bread is made of Wheat, brought from Burfa, and ground there, and is very white and favoury; the reft of the Bread for the Seraglio is made of Corn brought out of Velo in Greece. There are vaft Quantities of Bread fpent in the Seraglio, becaufe every one has a large Allowance made by the chief Vifier. The Rice, Lentils, and other Pulfe, is brought twice a Year out of Egypt in Galleons. There is a vaft Quantity of Sugar fpent in Sherbets and Boclava's, but they eat little Spice, except Pepper. This is brought out of Egypt, with a great Quantity of Conferves, Dates, Prunes, pickled Meats, and dried Plumbs, though four hundred Halvagi's are continually at Work to preferve others.
The Honey ufed at the Sultans Table comes from Cio, but the reft comes from Walacbia, Tranfluania, and Moldaria, in great Earthen Jars. The Oil is brought from Modon and Coron in Greece, and is much ufed in Meats and Lamps; but the Sultan eats only what comes from Candia and Zant, which is the deareft and beft. Their Butter comes by Shipping out of the Black Sea From Bogdianio and Caffa, in Ox and Buffalo's Hides. They eat very little or no frelh Butter, nor eat much Milk, unlefs it be Yoghourd, i. e. fower or clotted Cream.
In the Seraglio are fpent in dried Beef of Cows of Bof.
urnia, killed when they are great with Calf, becaufe they fay their Flefh is then more tender and favoury, four hundred yearly; and the daily Provifion is two hundred Sheep, one hundred Lambs and Kids in their Seafon, ten Calves, fifty Geefe, one hundred Hens, one hundred Chickens, and two hundred Pigeons. In the Seraglio there is little Fifh eaten, though the Sea yields Plenty, and therefore the Chriftians buy it cheap. The Seraglio is plentifully ferved with Fruit from the Sultan's Gardens, and Prefents fent to the Grand Signior from all Parts; fo that they fell a great deal, and the Money is given to the Sultan for his Privy Purfe.

The Furniture of the Sultan's Kitchins are of Brafs, but fo well kept, and fo large, that they are as fine a Sight as can be feen. The Grand Signior's Cloaths differ little in Fafhion from other Mens, only in Length and Richnefs. His Turbant is like the Bajba's, only he wears Plumes and Gold Clafps, which they do not. He Aleeps upon Matraffes of Velvet and Cloth of Gold co ver'd in Summer with Sheets, embroider'd with Silk, and in Winter with Luferns, or Sables. When he lies alone in his own Lodgings, he is watched by the Pages of his Chamber, two at a Time, and two old Women wait on him with burning Torches to light him, if he pleafes to fay over his Beads, which they pray by at the Hours of Prayer: in the Night, viz. at Midnight, and two Hours before Day. The Women's Habit is much like the Men's, for they wear Cbachbirs; or Breeches, and Buskins, and neep in them ; but they have thin ones for the Summer, and thick for the Water.
17. The feveral Stipends of the Officers of the Seraglio are paid by the Tefterdar, out of the outward Treafury, who fends them their Vefts againft the Carnival; and if he fails at the Times appointed, upon any Complaint he will be utterly ruined, or at leaft difplaced. If any of the Itcboglans or Agliam-Oglans die, his Chamber-fellows are his Heirs; and fo it is with the young Women that never lay with the Sultan : But if any of the Eunuchs, who are generally very rich, dies, all comes to the Grand Signior himfelf, except he be out of the Seraglio, for then the Sultan has only two Thirds, and the reft he may difpofe of by Will, if the Sultan will confent to it; but to fecure his Parts, there is an Officer, called the Beytel Marelgee, who, as foon as any one dies, enquires after their Eftates, and certifies the Tefterdar of it, that he may feize it for the Grand Signior; yet the Beytel Mawlgee, for his own private Gain, will very often conceal a great Part of the Eftate of the Deceafed, to divide it privately betweeen the Kindred and himfelf. If any falls fick in the Seraglio, they are immediately carried, in a Cart cover'd with Clorh, and drawn with Hands, from their Chamber to the Lazaretto or Holpital belonging to the Palace, where they are kept fo clofe, that none can fpeak with them without great Difficulty, but the Phyfician and Apochecary; and, when recover'd, they are carried back in the fame Manner to their Chambers. The Grand Signior is at vaft Expences in Gifts to the Sultana Queen, chief Vifiers, Serdars or Generals, and Captains of his Forces by Sea and Land, Tefterdars and others, in Vefts, Bows, Swords, Plumes, E $c$. and he allows the Sultana Queen and Vifier-Azem in the Wars to be very generous, according to their Stations. He Way go out of the Seraglio when he pleafes, either by Water or Land. When he goes abroad by Water, he is carried in his Saick or Barge cover'd with CrimfonVelvet, richly embroider'd, under which he fits, his Aga's ftanding all about him, and is row'd by the $A g$ -liam-Oglans, the Bostangee-Baba fteering, When he goes by Land, he always rides on Horfeback, and commonly goes out of the great Gate of the Palace. When he goes to the Mofque on Fridays, he is accompanied through the City by all the Baßba's and Grandees of the Port, befides a large Retinue of Servants, who march at his Stirrup.

The People in his Way follow him with repeated Acclamations of Happinefs, which he returns by a Nod, and fuch as are, or believe themfelves wronged, prefent to him their Arzes, or Petitions, which his

Highnefs

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Highnefs orders to be received, and being read at his Return, he gives Command for Redrefs, to make good the Title he gives himfelf, that he is Awolem Penarwh, i. e. The Refuge of the World. The Grand Signior at Confantinople, by the Sea-fide, has a large Stable of a thoufand Horfes, for the Ufe of his Houfhold, of which the Imrobor-Ba/ba, or Mafter of the Horfe, has Charge, and leffer Stables at his Houfes of Pleafure in the Country, of ten Horfes each. He has allo Studds in Burfa, Aarianople, and many other Places for Stal lions, which furnifh him with very ftately Colts, befides fuch as are daily fent him from Cairo, Damafous, Bagdat, and other Places, by the Bafha's. For his meaner Servants, he has Horfes from Walacbia, and for his Baggage five thoufand Mules to carry Pavillions, Chefts, Water, and other Neceffaries for Travelling; of which alfo the Vifer-Azem makes ufe when he goes in Quality of General in any Expedition.
18. Upon the firft Day of their Bairam, or Carnival, the Sultan fhews himfelf publickly, and lets all the great Men and better Sort of his Servants kifs his Veft, and then he is richly drefs'd with all his beft Jewels, and fits down on a Perfian Carpet, where his Tabt or Throne is fet, the Chief Vifier telling him the Names of the Perfons, that he may take Notice of them, and chielly he refpects the Mufti, Cadelefcbers, and other Doctors of the Law of the higheft Degree. The Ceremony being ended, he goes to the Mofque of Santa Sopbia, the Company attending him, and hears the Mamaz, or Divine Service, and a Sermon; which being concluded, tho' he retires to his own Lodgings, and dines alone, as upon other Days, yet he orders a fumptuous Banquet in the Divan for the Bafha's and Grandees, and a great Dinner in the Court-yard for the reft of the Company, and after Dinner fends them a Bairam-Lick, i. e. a Newyear's Gift, to all according to their Qualities. During year's three Days of the Bairam, he caufes Shews of Fireworks to be made all Night, and a Drum to be beaten all the while, the Sultan, with his Sultana's, as well out as in the Seraglio, diverting themfelves with them, as well as with other Sports and Tricks, which the Sultan tolerates all that Time.

But as the Grand Signior gives, fo alfo he receives Prefents at this Time from the Bafha's and great Perfons, who ftrive to exceed one another in the Value of their Gifts, that they may gain Favour. The Bairams is celebrated alfo in all the Grand Signior's Dominions at the fame Time, as well as at Confantinople, the Streets being fet out with pretty Devices and Salunjacks, or Swings very artificially made to folace both Old and Young: But in this Fit of Turki/b Mirth, it is dangerous for Feres or Cbrifitians to ftir out, for the Turks, putting off their wonted Sobriety, are very infolent, and will do them a Mifchief, if they do not give them what Money they demand.
19. Befides the Seraglio we have been defrribing, there is another in Conflantinople, as has been obferved, filed the Old Seraglio, fo called, becaufe it was the firft built by Mabomet the Second, whin he took Conftantinople to be his own Palace. It is a large Place, about three Quarters of a Mile in Compafs, and feated in the nobleft Part of the City. It is environ'd with an high Wall, and the Buildings are very fair. It hath but one Gate belonging to it, and that is of Iron, which is kept by a Guard of White Eunuchs. The Inhabitants of it are all Women and Eunuchs. The Women are only fuch as have been put out of the Sultan's Seraglio, viz. the Sultana's of the deceafed Grand Signiors, fuch as are fallen into Difgrace with the Sultan for their ill Conditions or rude Behaviour, or fuch as are infirm and defective in fomething that fhould fit them for the Sultan's Bed. They are governed by an old Woman, called Kabiya-Cadum, i. e. the Woman-Overfeer, who is to take Care that they have all Things neceffary for them, according to the Cuftom of the Houfe. The Sultana's have Lodgings apart, and are reafonably well ferved, though far hort of what they had in the Sultan's Seraghio. If they are rich when fent thither, they take Care to make it known, and that procures them a good Husband and Jointure. The Sultan will fometimes go thither to vifit

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his Grandmother, Sifter, or other Relations, or when he is melancholy.
There are other Seraglio's in Constantinople, which belong to private Perfons, but built with an ugly Appearance for Fear of giving Jealoufy to the Grand Siga nior, though within the Walls, which are high, there are very beautiful Apartments, adorned with Gold and Azure, and the Floors cover'd with fine Carpets, the Walls faced with fine Tiles like Cbina. In the Halls and Chambers they have a Rifing about a Foot higher than the Floor, which they call a Divan, covered with richer Carpets than the reft of the Room, and embroidered Cuftions fet againft the Wall. Here they reft, receive Vifirs, and fpend moft of the Day. There are alfo many great Buildings in the City like Monafteries, which they call Hans, with Galleries and Chambers, where Merchants have Lodgings and Warehoufes at eafy Rates, viz. one or two Afpers a Day. They bring in a great Revenue to the Owners. They are built of Free-Stone round a Court, which has generally a Fountain in it. The Walls are ftrong and well barr'd to fecure the Goeds. The faireft of them in Constantinople is the Valide, built by the Grand Signior's Mother. The Houles of Conflantinople are all of Wood, very indifferently built, and very fubjeef to Fires from their taking much Tobacco. The Streets are crooked and narrow, ftanding alfo up and down Hill. The Caravanfera's are built as the Hanis, but are ufed only to lodge poor Travellers and the Servants of the Caravan, who have Rooms there for little or nothing.
20. Galata is the Suburb of Conftantinople, feparated by the Port only, in which there are Saiks, or fmall Boats, and Wherries, to carry you at all times for a fmall Matter. You may go by Land, but it is a little about, and you pafs by the Atmeidan, or Field where the Turks exercife their Archery, and go in Proceffion to make Prayers to God for the Succels of their Arms, and whatever elfe they want. Then you go to Cafumpafoc, a great Village, where is the Arfenal for building Galleys, Maones and Ships: It has 120 Docks, and a Magazine of Arms for 60,000 Men, but it is inacceffible to Chriftians. In it are, befides the Capou-dan-Ba/ja's, or Admiral's Lodging, a fpacious Bagnio for the Grand Signior's Slaves, of whom there are many Thoufands, and live very miferably. This Town is divided from Galata only by the Burying-Places.

Gaiata is a pretty large Place, the Houfes are good and well builc. Many Greeks live there, and the Franks, who cohabit with them, have five Monafteries and as many Churches. It has a large Tower in it, and by the Sea-fide the fineft Fiih-Market in the World, where there is great Plenty of all Sorts of Fifh to be had cheap. The Greeks keep here a great many Taverns, which draw the Turks from Confantinople thither, who are very infolent in their Drink, and dangerous then to be met with, fo that this is one of the greateft Inconveniencies in Confantinople.
Beyond Galata lies Pera, a large Borough, which is feparated only by Burying-Places. In this Town refide the Ambalfadors from Chriftian Princes, for the Emperor's, King of Poland's, and the Republick of Ragoufa's only may refide at Confantinople. The Houfes are high and handfome, being inhabited only by Greeks of Quality. Over againft the Seraglio, on the RightSide, ftands the Topbana, i. e. the Place where all the Guns and Artillery are caft, and it gives the Name to all the Quarter. The Houfes of thefe three Places ftand fome higher and fome lower, like an 'Amphitheatre, and form a pleafant Profpect from the Port or Sea.

2I. In Afa, if you crofs the Sea, which is about a Mile over, you come to Scbutari, paffing by Leander's Tower. It is a large Town, and there the Grand Signior has a ftately Seraglio and lovely Gardens. A hitle lower lies Cbalcedon, once a City famous for the fouth General Council, but now a pitiful Village. The Prince's Ife, which is four Hours Sail from Confantinople, and contains two little Towns of Greeks, has excellent Air, and the Channel of the Black Sea, call'd the Tbracian Bofphorus, is very convenient to take the Air upon, being twelve Miles long, affording a delighful Profpeat
of flately Houfes and lovely Gardens. This Channel affords Plenty of Fifh, efpecially Sword-Fifh and Dols phins. Six Miles from Confantinople are two Forts, built to hinder the Inroads of the Coffacks, who would otherwife feek their Booty in that City. At the Mouth of the Bofphorus is a Rock, about fifty Paces from the Land, where ftands a Pillar of white Marble, called Pompey's Pillar, becaufe raifed by him (as it is faid) in Memory of his Victory over Mitbridates. Over-againft this Rock in Europe is a Village by the Sea-fide, call'd Fanore, where is a Tower, with a Light on it always for the Convenience of Veffels to keep them from the Rocks, on which they are in Danger from frequent Tempefts and Currents, caufed by the Danube, Boriftbenes, Tancis, and other Rivers falling into this Sea, to fuffer Shipwrecks, and from thence it is called MauroTbalaffa, i. e. The Black-Sea; and by the Greeks, the Euxine, or Axene Sea, i.e. Inbofpitable. Near the Channel of the Black-Sea there are a great many Siacalles, or wild Dogs, fomething like Foxes, but fuppofed to be engendered between Wolves and Dogs. They howl dreadfully in the Evenings and Nights, efpecially in cold and bad Weather. 'I hey are very mifchievous, and as fierce as Wolves. The Land on Europe fide is a fine Country, full of Gardens and good Pafture, and Villages inhabited by Greeks. A little further are the fine Aqueducts that fupply Conflantinople with Water in great Abundance.
22. As we are now conftrained to think of every Method of faving Room, inftead of giving feveral Travels thro' the fame Country, we mult be obliged to fupply the Defects of fuch as we infert, by Additions from other Authors, at the Clofe of every Section, and this plain Account of the Matter may very well ferve for an Introduction. Our Author has given a very good Defcription of the Dardanelles, which the Turks call Bogar Heffarleri, that is, the Streights of the Hellefpont. It is certain, that they fpeak in very high Terms of thefe new Caftles, which they would have che World believe are the ftrongeft Fortreffes in the World, as well as the great Security of Conftantinople ; but though they are right as to the Importance of thefe Caftles, yet they are much out of the Way as to the Caftles themfelves, which undoubtedly are very pitiful Fortifications.

There is Reafon to believe, notwithftanding this fwelling Language in which they fpeak of them, that the Turks are not in Reality perfuaded of the Truth of what they fay, with Refpect to thefe Caftles, for they are fo jealous of a Chriftian's making any Draught of them, that if a Man looks at them more fteadily than ufual, they prefently confine him; and if he frould be caught with a Pencil in his Hand, he would certainly be put to Death, The Batteries level with the Water, are terrible only to Sight, from the large Size of the Cannon, and the prodigious Stone Bullets which they difcharge. It is indeed true, that after the great Viftory gained near thefe Streights by the Venetians, in 1657 , their Admiral Mocenigo was deftroy'd in attempting to paif, which hindered their victorious Fleet from going up to Conftantinople; and this has raifed their Credit with the Chriftians, yet without any great Reafon. There is a wide Difference between the Paffage of a Galley, and that of a Man of War with a brisk Gale; for as thefe Cannon are fixed, and not upon Carriages, they can make only one Difcharge, for to load them again takes a great Deal of Time, and the People employed in that Service muft be expofed all the while they are performing it.

In order to force this Paffage, two different Methods may be made Ufe of, neither of which can be faid to be expofed to infurmountable Difficulties. In the firft Place, the Caftles may be attacked by Land, and that without any formal Siege, as they are no otherways fortified than by a fimple Rampart and a Paraper, fo that a Battery or two of large Cannon would quickly make a Breach; nor is it at all impoffible, that thefe Caftles might be carried by a Scalade, and then the Paffage would be free from all Interruption. The fame Thing mighr perhaps be effceted by a Bombardment, or rather ghere is no Doubt of it, and therefore there is no Ne-
ceffity to run the Rifk of thofe formidable Batteries. But, Secondly, even this might be very practicable, fuppofing it neceffary, for with a brisk Gale, a whole Fleet might pafs, and if two or three of the firt Veffels were old Ships laden with Wool, it is highly probable the Stone Bullets would not do them much Harm; fo that after all the impregnable Fortreffes of the Dardanelles, as the Turks call them, are in Reality little better than Bugbears, and fo it will certainly appear whenever an Attempt of this kind thall be made.

The Account our Author gives of the Turki/h Name of the Capital of their Empire, is not very fatisfactory, and indeed it is very hard to meet with any that is fo, and therefore we will endeavour to clear up that Matter effectually. All the Turki,h Authors of any Note, but efpecially their Hiftorians, call it, Conftbantbinab or Cons Atantiniab, which is the City of Confantine, and is the Trannlation of Confantinople into their Tongue. As to the Vulgar Name of Stamboul, it arofe thus; The Turks hearing the Greeks often fpeak in their Language of going to the City, for fo emphatically they call Conflantinople, miftook the Greek Words, zis tey widiv, which they pronounced, is Stinpolen, for the Name of the Place, and fo called it corruptly, Stanpoli and Stamboul; but their learned Writers being afham'd of fo grofs a Corruption, and yet finding it impoffible to rid themfelves of a Word fo long in Ufe, have brought in a new Orthography, and write it Ifambol, which fignifies in their Language, the Affembly of the true Belief, or the Capital of Believers; and to the beft of our Knowledge, this is the cleareft and moft correct Account that can be given of the Matter.
Our Author has barely touched, as became a Traveller, on the feveral Changes that has happened to this famous City ; but perhaps the Reader will be pleafed to fee thefe Matters placed in a clearer Light, the rather too, becaufe very few of our Books of Geography, or of general Hiftory, are tolerably correct or exact in this Point. The City of Conftantinople received that Name, according to Eufebius, Anno Domini, 328, from Contantine its Founder, who removed hither the Seat of his Empire from Rome. It was firft befieged under the Reign of the Emperor, or rather Tyrant Pbocas, by Cbozroes, King of Perfa, or rather it was blocked up by him for eight Years together, that is, from An. Dom. 603. to 611 , when it was delivered by Heraclius, who thereby merited and obtained the Empire.

In the Year of the Hegira 52. A. D. 672 . it was befieged by $Y_{e} f d$ the Son of Moavia, the firft Caliph of the Family of the Ommiades. This happened under the Reign of the Emperor Conflantine, furnamed Pogonates, and it was at this Siege that $A b u$ Aivo, the laft of the Companions of the Prophet Mabomet, ended his Days. The Greek Emperor found himfelf fo preffed by this Siege, that he was almoft in Defpair; for at the fame Time that the Saracens Army lay before it on the Land Side, it was blocked up by a prodigious Fleet of theirs at Sea. But the famous Engineer Callinicus invented a Sort of Wild-Fire, called from thence the Greek Fire, which would burn under Water, and therewith deftroyed the whole Fleet.
A.H.99. A. D.717. It was again befieged by Mof. lemab the Brother of Solyman, the feventh Caliph of the Family of the Ommiades, Tbeodofius the IIId. being then Emperor of the Greeks. It was relieved by Leo, the Ifaurian, who caufed the Emperor to be haved and thut up in a Cloifter, feating himfelf upon his Throne. A.H.164. A. D. 780. Haroun Rajcbid, Son of the Caliph Mabadi, came before it with a vaft Army of Saracens, the Greek Empire being at that Time governed by lrene, as Regent to her Son Conftantine the VIth. furnamed Porpbyrogenetes, who found herfelf fo hard preffed, that fhe was glad to deliver herfelf by a fcandalous Treaty, in which the promifed to pay an annual Tribute to the Caliph, of Seventy thoufand Pieces of Gold.

The Greek Empire declining from this Time, and the Power of the Mabometans increafing to fuch a Degree as threatned all Cbrifendom with Slavery, produced thofe famous Expedicions, that make fuch a Figure
in Hiftory, under the Title of the Croifades. And the People of Con/tantinople having firft put out the Eyes of their Emperor Alexis, and then throwing him from a high Place, beat him to Pieces, when he had reigned only ten Weeks; Baldwin Earl of Flanders furprifed the City, $A . D .1204$. and was proclaimed Emperor of the Eaft.
He did not reign quite a Year, and was fucceeded by his Brother Henry Earl of Flanders, who held the Government ten Years. Peter Courteney (of that noble Family which fitl fubfifts in England) having married his Daughter, fucceeded him, and was killed in the fixth Year of his Reign. His Son Pbilip yielded the Empire to his Brother Kobert, who was murdered after a Reign of feven Years. His Son Baldwin II. fucceeded, though a Child, under the Tutelage of Fobn de Brenne, who ftiled himfelf King of ferufalem.
A.H. 630. A. D. 1232 , Batu, Grandfon to Gengishkan, the Founder of the Tartar Empire, after overrunning Mufovy, Poland, Silefia, Bobemia, and Hungary, advanced through Bulgaria to befiege Confantinople. Upon this Occafion, the Eaftern and Weftern Chrittians joined, gave him Battle, routed him, and forced him to abandon his Defign. In 1259, or, as fome fay, in 1262 , Micbael Paleologus recovered ConAantinople from Baldrwin Courienay, and the Greek Emperors held it from that Time, though their Power was very weak.
A.H. 857. A. D. 1453. Mabomet, Emperor of the Turks, laid Siege to this City on the gth of April, and took it by Storm on Tuefday, May the 2gth, in WbitfunWeek. The Turks maffacred forty thoufand Men in cold Blood, pillaged the Churches, Monafteries, and Palaces, the Greek Emperor Conftantine Paleologus being killed, as fome fay, in the Breach; or, as others report, trampled to Death by his own Soldiers in their Flight.
It is a Point out of all Doubt, that the Cbriftians in general are ftiled Franiss at Conftantinople, and throughout all the Eaft but it is not quite fo clear why they are called fo; moft. People imagine it is a Corruption of French, and that the Turks do not diftinguilh between Frencbmen, and other Nations, who, like them, wear Hats, and not Turbants ; but others who have lived long in Turkye, affirm, that it is from the Itatian Word Franco, which fignifies Free. In order to apprehend this clearly, we are to confider, that once a Year the Turks collect a Tribuce from all their Subjects that are not Mabometans; and this Capitation they hold to be very reafonable, becaufe they enjoy the Protection of their Government without fighting for it in War, or undergoing any troublefome Offices in Time of Peace; fo that if it were not for this Tax, they would be in a berter Condition than their Mafters, which in the Turkiß Logic would be very unreafonable.

Another Maxim of theirs is, that the Grand Signior is the great Judge of the whole World, the Redrefler of all Wrongs, and hence his Seraglio or Courc is ftiled the Port, and upon this Principle they confider his Dominions as the Refuge of Mankind in general ; fo that they admit all Strangers to come to them who will, and to fettle amongtt them if they pleafe, granting them immediately the fame Privileges with their native Subjects. But then again it muft be alfo underfood, that all Subjects in Turkey are held to be Slaves, and therefore not at Liberty to quit the Dominions of the Grand Signior. without his Leave; which if they do their Eftates are forfeited. But the Subjects of Foreign Princes that come to refide in the Grand Signior's Country for the Sake of Trade, live there by Virtue of Capitulations granted by the Turki/b Monarch to them at the Requeft of their Sovereigns; and being by this Means free from the Capitation Tax, and all the Confequences of being reputed Turkibs Subjects, are from thence ftiled Franks.
The Reader will pleafe to obferve, that though it be very true, that long before any fuch Capitulations were made, Cbrifians might be called Franks in the Eaf, upon the fore-mentioned Suppofition, yet this will by no Means prove that the latter Etymology is falfe, becaufe nothing is more common than this Kind of double Senfe of the fame Word. As for Intance, A.
mongt us, a Turk fignifies the fame Thing with Mabo meian, and what they call I/aifm, many of our Writers tranflate $\mathcal{T u r c i}$ m, or the Religion of the Turks; and yet we make ufe of the fame Word in a more reftrained, and indeed in a more proper Senfe; for the Nation govern'd by the Grand Signior, who by our old Writers is commonly called from thence the Great Turk.

Thefe are Things that may appear to be but of fmall Moment, but every Thing is of Moment that contributes to render what we read in Books of Hiftory and Voyages perfectly clear and dittinct; and I dare affure the Reader, that if he is very converfant in Books of this Kind, he will find thefe Remarks to be very ufeful: as to the French Writers, they adhere unanimounly to the firft Senfe of the Word, and would perfuade us, that the French King is regarded at Conftantinople as the firft Prince in Cbrifendom; and for a clear Proof of this, they tell you, that he is filed Padiba, or Emperor, which is very true, but at the fame Time proves Nothing. For when the Lord Cbandois, Anceftor to the prefent Duke, was our Ambaffador at Confantinople from King Cbarles II. he might have procured him the Title of Padiba alfo for a Prefent, but he thought that the Turks asked rather too much; and as he knew they fet no great Value upon Titles, he thought it for the Honour of the Englifh Nation to fet lefs, or his Britannick Majefty had been at this Day ftiled Padifa as well as he is King of France, and would have been alike the better for both. But it mult be allowed, that the French have a much clofer Correfpondence with the Turkibb Court than any other of the Cbriftian Powers ; the Reafon of which is, that other Powers lave nothing to do with them but in a Commercial Way; whereas the French treat with them alfo on a political Confideration, and are in that Refpect as good, perhaps I fhould not much err if I had faid better Friends and Allies to thofe Infidels than to any of their Chriftian Neighbours; and if this has procured them greater Marks of Honour and Refpect from the Turks, than are paid to other Nations, however it may flatter their Vanity, it adds but little to their Reputation.
23. The Account given by our Author of the Manner in which Perfons are educated in the Seraglio, plainly proves, that it is a mere vulgar Miftake, which prevails as to the Ignorance of fuch as are advanced to Employments in that Empire. It appears, that far from wanting Education, they are regularly bred up in all that Sort of Knowledge which is requifite for the fufficient Difcharge of thofe Offices to which there is a Probability of their rifing; and, perhaps, there is hardly a Nation in the World where fo much Care is taken. It is true, that thefe young People are brought up in a Manner very different from ours; but then their Government is alfo very different ; and provided they are fo educated, as to ferve effectually that Government to the Service which they are bound; this, with refpect to them, is certainly a right Kind of Education. But I doubt whether our Author's Account of the Turkib Miniftry is quite fo exact, becaufe it is not eafy for a Traveller (let his Genius be what it will) to gain, in a few Weeks or even Months, an exact Knowledge of fuch Matters. Sir Dudley North, who refided many Years in $\mathcal{T} u r k y$, and had many Opportunities of enquiring into and obtaining a perfect Acquaintance with the Manner in which Things are there adminifted, has given us, in very few Words, a clear and more diftinct Account of this Matter, than is to be met with almoft in any other Writer: Which runs thus.
"For the better Underftanding of thefe Affairs, it " is abfolutely neceffary, firft, to fay fomething con" cerning the Nature of the Government, of the Office " of Vizier-Azem or Chief Vifier, and of the feveral "Kainachams, which are his Subftitutes, and act only " in his Abfence. The Turkiß Government is directly "that of an Army, being under the fame Methods in " the City in Time of Peace, as in the Field during "War. The Grand Signior is the General; he hath " indeed a double Capacity, the one as Head of the "Empire, the other as a private Perfon. As Head of "- the Empire, he hath a daily Pay out of the publick

Treafury;
"Treafury; and his common and ordinary Charges, " both at home and abroad, are born by the Tefterdar " or Treafurer for the Empire. As he is a private "Perfon, he receives Prefents, Fines, and Conficca-
"tions, and defrays many extraordinary Expences, as "Buildings for charitable Ufes, Jewels for himfelf and "his Women, \& 6 . Which Treafury is under the Care " of the Hafna Kiiafi or Treafurer of the Grand "Signior. Here is to be noted, that in his private "Capacity he is always vaftly rich, and heaps up "very great Treafures, when many Times the Publick "Treafury is exhautted; fo that in Wars he is often " forced to lend great Sums of Money to the Publick, " which they are fure punctually to pay back again.
"The next in Office under the Grand Signior, in
" the Government, is the Vizier-Azem, or Chief Mini-
"fter, who is of that Credit in the Empire, that the "Grand Signior calls him Tutor ; and, indeed, he acts " all both in Peace and War. The Grand Signior " minding his Pleafures, leaves all to him: And this " happens not more out of Luxury, than from the " Maxims of their Policy: But when the Grand Signior " is an active Prince, and will look into Bufinefs him"felf; or when he is jealous, and his Nature fickle,
"apt to hear and believe Complaints againft his Great
" Minifter, the Vizier fignifies much lefs. When the
" Grand Signior goes to the War, he carries with him
": all the Officers of the Court, even the Mufti, Judges, " and all. The like doth the Grand Vizier when the
" Grand Signior flays behind: But then he leaves a
"Subftitute, which they call Kaimacbam, to act like
" him in his Abfence ; and all the other great Officers " of State make their Subftitutes in the like Manner ; ". fo that the Grand Signior hath as formal a Court as " he had before. So alfo in Cafe he doth not flay in "the Imperial City of Constantinople, but removes to " any other Part of the Empire, where-ever he goes, " he carries with him his whole Court ; but then, not " to leave the great City deftitute, a new Kaimacbam " and other Subftitutes are appointed, whereby, not"withffanding the Abfence both of the Grand Signior " and Vizier, the City hath the fame formal Govern" ment as if they were all there, with this Difference, "that thefe are Underlings, and dare not meddle in " great Matters.
"But in all Bufinefs of Concern, they receive Orders "from their Principals abroad, and att accordingly.
"The Government being thus fupplied, there is no
"Need (unlefs upon extraordinary Occafions) for the
"Ambaflador of any Nation to attend the Perfon of
" the Vizier; but they may difpatch their Bufinefs in
"Confantinople, the Refident of Germany only except-
"ed, who continually attends the Vizier's Camp at
" fome reafonable Dittance."
This gives us a clear Idea of the great Office of Vi -zier-Azem, and the Manner in which he executes in Perfon, and by his Subftitutes. We are generally perfuaded, that as the Grand Signior is an abfolute Monarch, and acountable to none, fo he governs entirely according to his Will and Pleafure, which appears to us to be the fole Caufe of the frequent Changes that are made in the Adminiftration; but in this we are certainly much miftaken. I muft confefs, it is a little befide the immediate Purpofe of thefe Remarks, to infift upon this Point ; but as I have fome Reafon to be acquainted with the Turkijs Polity, and the Difcufing of it cannot fail of pleafing the Reader, I cannot help indulging myfelf in fetting this important Point in a true Light. A very wife and great Prince would be abloute in any Country, let its Conflitution be what it will; and in Defpotick Governments, a Prince of no great Parts, that will fuffer himfelf to be governed by an able Minifter, may ftretch its Authority to its utmoft Bounds. But let the Government be ever fo abfolute, an unfteady Prince would be ever a Slave; and in Turkey this is always the Cafe.
The Grand Signiors coming to their Power without any Acquaintance with the World, and under the Influence of an ambitious Mother or an intriguing Wife, feldom follow their own Choice in appointing a Vizier;
and it is a Maxim in the Eaft as well as the Weft, that the Miniter, who is raifed by a Faction, is ruined by a Faction. Befides, in all Defpotick Governments the Populace or Mob is the dernier Refort ; and it mult be fo in the Nature of Things, for where all Men are Slaves, as they are by Law in the Ottoman Dominions, though the Grand Signior has the Name, yet the Commons, that is, the Soldiery and the loweft of the People, have in Fact the Supreme Power. Thus then it appears, that a Grand Signior of limited Abilities has a very limited Power, being under the Influence of the Factions in the Seraglio on one Side, and under the Terror of the People on the other. The frequent Changes therefore in the Government are fo far from being the Effects of Plenitude of Power, that in Reality they demonftrate the Want of Power in the Sultan. But in Cafes of this Nature, it is beft to recur to Faits.

In the Minority of the Emperor Mabomet IV. when the Seraglio was torn by Factions, Viziers were made and depofed continually, and the greateft Part of Europe looked upon this as the Effect of the Emperor's Will : At laft a great Mutiny happened amongft the Spabis, or Turkjlh Cavalry, who put the then Vizier Azem and all the Bafha's to Death, except one old Man, whofe Poverty made him contemptible. This was the famous Cuperli, or, as the Name ought to be written, Kioprili. Yet in this Maffacre the Spabi's miffed the chief Inftruments of thofe Mifchiefs which the Empire had fuffered. Thefe were the Kiflar Aga and the Selicter, who really governed the young Sultan, and made and depofed Viziers at their Pleafure. Thefe fartious Men finding, as we fay, that they had only Hobfon's Choice, declared Kioprili, Vizier Azem, upon a Promife that he would do nothing but by their Direction ; to which he confented, provided they gave their Directions in Writing. The Change of Men producing no Change of Meafures, the Spobis mutinied again, and Kioprili, inftead of Theltering himfelf behind the Gultan's Throne, went directly to the Mutineers, and told them, that if they were difpleafed with the Government, it was fit they fhould know who were the Governors, producing at the fame Time the Directions he had received. This had its Effect, the Spabis went directly to the Scraglio, and demanded the Heads of the Killer Aga and the Selifzar, which the Sultan was not in a Condition to refufe. Kioprili had then a private Audience of that Monarch, who was exceflively alarmed, and doubted even of his own Safery; but the old Man foon fet his Heart at reft; he told him he was now a Monarch, and himfelf a Minifter, that the Spabis had done his Bufmefs, and he would do theris ; and he was as good as his Word, for in two Years Time there was not a Soul of them left alive.
He governed the Empire with great Dignity for feven Years; and as he lived, fo he died, Prime Minifter. His Mafter made him a Vifit when he was near his End, and deploring the Lofs of fo good a Servant, he defired he would recommend his Succeffor ; upon which he told the Grand Signior frankly, that his Son Acbmet Kioprili, who had been hitherto employed wholly in Civil Affairs, was the fitteft Man to fucceed him. He was accordingly declared Vizier Azem, held that Employment feventeen Years, and was the greateft and beft Minifter the Turks ever had. Under their Adminiffration, which lafted near twenty-five Years, and ended with the Death of Acbmet, the Emperor maintained his Power, and the Empire recovered its Credit. After his Deceale Factions revived, new Fluctuations in Government enfued, and at the laft the unhappy Sultan was depofed, and five Years afterwards died in Obfcurity.

In all Governments, Court-Factions are dangerous, and the true Sources of popular Difcontent and general Infurrections. Great Princes and wife Minifters know how to prevent, or to quell Fastions if they cannot be prevented; and the Felicity of a People does not depend fo much upon the Conftitution under which they live, as the Genius and Capacity of thofe who adminifter Affairs under that Conflitution, be it what it will. It is not therefore the Defpotick Power of the Grand

Signiors

Signiors that is the Source of their Subjects Miferies and their own Misfortunes, but the Want of that Power in proper Hands, the fhifing Minifters continually, running from one Syttem of Affairs to another, not as the Situation of Things directs, but as the Intrigues and Factions in the Seraglio compel; and though the Minifters, and fometimes their Mafters fuffer, the Eunuchs and the Women are generally in Fault.
Timid Princes are commonly governed by thefe Sort of People; they liften to Whifpers in their Clofets, and hold their Councils in their Bed-Chambers. Their Divans, where the Affairs of the Empire ought to be tranfacted, into which only Men of Bufinefs are admitted, become Things of Courfe, and the Grand Signior gives his Orders where he ought to confult what Orders fhould be given. It is departing from the Genius of the Ottoman Empire that has funk it into that low Condition that we fee it at prefent, and what has happened in Turky, will happen every where; for in all Climates, and in all Ages, the fame Caufes will produce the fame Effects. A Government founded as that of the Turks is, in Military Vircues and the Adminiftration of the Government by a fingle Perfon, muft crumble by its own Weight, where thofe Virtues and that Ca-
pacity, which are effentially neceffary to direct it, are wanting.

Governments founded upon better and more rational Principles, fuch as Juftice, Liberty, and perpetual Re. gard to the publick Good, will decay more flowly; but will infallibly decay, when thofe Virtues are loft in factious Contentions for Power, Contempt of the Sos vereign Auchority, and Difregard of publick Happinefs, from the mean and pitiful Ambition of raifing private Fortunes. But we have wandersd too far from the Bufinefs of this Section, and into Reflections that cannot perhaps be purfued to the general Satisfaction of our Readers. Therefore we will here put an End to our Remarks, and return to the Obfervations of Mr. Thevenot, which will make the Reader Amends for this fhort political Digreffion, by leading him again into the flowry Paths of Amufement. Yet, why do we travel through every Part of the World but to know it? Or, what have we to do with the Cuftoms, Manners and Policy of the Turks, if not to improve ourfelves, by confidering the Miftakes, and the Confequences of thofe Miftakes in other Nations? This is, or at leaft this ought to be, the End of Reading and of Writing.

Containing an Account of the Cuftoms and Manners of the Turks, their Learning and Religion, the Form of their Government, their Forces by Sea and Land; as alfo an Account of the Chriftians and $\mathcal{F}$ eros, inhabiting Countries, that are fubject to the Grand Signior.

Taken chiefly from the Travels of Mr. John Thevenot ; interfperfed with many curious, ufeful and entertaining Particulars, extracted from the Works of other eminent Authors.

1. Of the Perfons of the Turks, the Manner of their Drefing amongft various Ranks of People, efpecially amongft the Janizaries. 2. The Manner of their eating and drinking, preparing their Vicruals, and by rebat Explications they So far fatisfy themfelves, as to drink Wine upon Occafion. 3. Of the Language and Learning of the Turks, and of their Fondnefs for Agtrology. 4. The Religion of this Nation, the Author's Account of Mohammed from the Greek Writers, and other Particulars. 5. Their Praying for the Dead, and the Reafon of it; their Notions of a future State, and of the Happine $F_{s}$ of the Bleffed, and Mifery of damned Spirits, with their Doctrine of univerfal Redemption. 6. Of the Ceremony of Circumcijon, the Time whben, and Manner in which it is perform'd. 7. Of the Manner of keeping their Ramadan or Lent, and of their Feaft of Bairam or Eafter; their Extravagance and Folly at that Seafon, and the great Rifque Chriftians run by appearing in Publick at that Time. 8. Their Ablutions or ceremonious Wafbings, and publick and private Prayers, and the Manner of Preacbing in their Mofques. 9. Of the cbaritable Dijpofition of the Turks, and of their Readinefs to forgive each other, and to avoid long Enmity and bafy Quarrels. 10. Their Pilgrimages to Mecca, and other Precepts of their Religion. II. Of the Turkinh Clergy; their Offices, Credit, and Power, and of their Dervifes or Monks. 12. Of the feveral Kinds of Marriages practifed amongt them, and of their Diiorces. 13. Slavery amongft the Turks not near fo grievous as it is generally reprefented, fo that fome Slaves bave refufed Freedom. 14. The Manner in which the Turkinh Women pafs their Time, and the Cafes in which they are entitled to be divorced from their Husbands. 15 . Their Cufoms in burying the Dead, their Mourning and Praying for them. 16 . The Virtues and Vices of the Turks, their good and.bad Qualities very impartially fated. 17. The unlimited Power of the Grand Signior, upon robat Principle founded, and bow exerted. 18. Of the Office of Vizier Azem, the Viziers of the Bench, and otber Officers and Governors. 19. The Manner in rwbich 'Jufice is adminifter'd in the Divan, and within the Provinces. 20. The great Care taken to preferve Peace and Plenty in the Capital, and otber great Cities on the Empire. 21. Of the Money current in Turkey, and of the Weights ufed in Tradetbere. 22. Of the Punifbments in UJe in Turkey, both for Men and Women. 23. Of the Military Efablijb. ment and different Sorts of Troops employ'd in the Grand Signior's Army. 24. Of the Manner in robich bis Forces are raifed, and the Funds appointed for their Maintenance. 25. Of their Naval Afoirs, and the Reafon of their being in fo indifferent a Condition. 26. Of the Greek Chriftians that live int the Dominions, and are the Subjects of the Grand Signior. 27. Of the Armenians, and the Difference of their Faith from that of the Greek Cburch. 28. Of the feveral Orders of Greek Monks, and their Manner of living. 29. Of the reft of the Greek Clergy, and their Influence over the People of their Communion. 30. Of the Virtues, Vices, Cufoms, Manners, and general Difpofition of the Greek ChriVol. II. $\mathrm{N}^{\circ}$ I24.

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ftians.
fitians. 3 r. Of the Jews that live in the Grand Signior's Dominions, their Manner of living, and the Caufe of their being generally bated and defpifed. 32. Mifcellaneous Obfervations collected from various Autbors, ferving to explain the foregoing Articles. 33. Remarks biforical, political and critical upon this Section.

THE Turks are commonly well fhap ${ }^{4}$ d, and have none crooked or cripple among them, but are of robuft and ftrong Confitutions for the moft Part: Their Habir is very fit to make them feem graceful, and to cover all Defects; for next their Skin they wear a Pair of Drawers, and over them a Shirt and Doliman, reaching down to their Heels, like a clofe bodied Caffock, made of Sattin, Taffata, or other neat Stuff, which is quilted in Winter, and this they gird about with a Sath, or Leathern-Belt, adorned with Gold or Silver-Buckles. At their Girdles they commonly wear two Daggers, or Cangiars, their Handles and Sheaths being garnifhed with Gold and Silver, and fometimes precious Stones, and their Pouch for Tobacco. Over the Doliman they wear a Feredg or Night-Gown, which in Winter-time they line with rich Furs, if they are able. Their Stockings are of Cloth, and the Feet are Socks of red and yellow Leather few'd to them. Their Shoes, which they call Padouches, are of the fame Colour, like our Slippers. Their Heads are covered with a Crimfon Velver Cap, without Brims, about which they wreath a white or red Turbant, which is a Sarf of Linen or Silk-Stuff, many Ells long, and by the Fafhion of it the Quality of the Man is known.
The Attire of the Ladies of Confantinople hath a particular Air of Grandeur and Magnificence in it, and far furpaffes the Drefs of the other Women of that Country. Their Tarpous, or Head-Drels, is made up of many Handkerchiefs of various Colours, all wrought with Gold and Silver, befet with all Manner of precious Stones, and adorn'd with feveral Sorts of Flowers. They can put it on or off without undoing it, and ufually wear it feveral Days, and then put it into another Fafhion, but it is often fo heavy, that it is a Burthen to them. They wear outward a white Gown, edged at the Bottom with Gold-Laces and Fringes, and lined with Furs in Winter, as the Mens. The Ladies of the Seraglio wear fometimes on their Heads a Calpak, or Fur-Cap, others a round Platine, as the Ferei/h Women, with a Feather on each Side, and Plumes at their Ears. The fanizaries wear upon fome fpecial Occafions a Sercola, or Cap of Ceremony, which hangs down behind, and has a Pipe of gilt Leather before, half a Foot long, and reaches to the Middle of their Foreheads, otherwife they wear a Turbant of white, red, or other Silk, as the common Sort of Turks do.

They fhave their Heads, and fay the Devil neftles in Iong Hair, but they fuffer their Beards and Muftachoss to grow, and have a great Efteem for a Man with a lovely Beard, and account it a great Affront to take a Man by the Beard. They fwear by the Beard or Head of their Father, Grand Signior, or the like. They falute one another by laying their Hands upon their Breafts, and bowing a little, Jay, Sela meon Aleicom, i. e. Peace be with you, and the Perfon faluted returns the like Anfwer, which was the ancient Way of Salutation, as appears from Scripture, and is very grave. The Left Hand is the moft honourable with the Turks, becaufe it is the Sword-fide, fo that the Cbristians and Turks, though neither will give the upper Hand one to another, agree well in Walking together, through Difference of Opinion.

The Turks make great Ufe of Bathing, both for keeping their Bodies neat and clean, and for their Health's Sake; and in every Town they have many fair Bagnio's, the fmalleft Village being feldom without one. They are all made of the fame Fafhion, differing only in Bignefs and Ornaments. All that go into them Shave off all the Hair of their Body, and go in naked, all but their Privities, which are cover'd with a Napkin. A Servant alfo rubs them well behind and before, to Kupple their Bones before they go in. Such as cannot have themfelves, fetch off the Hair with the Powder of
a certain Mineral called Rufma, which being mingled with Lime and hot Water, and laid upon any Place, will fetch off the Hair in half a Quarter of an Hours Time. In Malta they ufe Orpiment for the fame End. Having bathed, a Servant with Soap and Cloths cleanfes the Body from all Filth, and then they are dried with warm Cloths, and fo drefs. The Price of the Bagnio is two Afpers for the Mafter, and as many to the Man, if he will be well ferved. The pooreft Perfon that is, Man or Woman, goes to the Bath at leaft once a Week. The Women go in by themfelves, and are ferved by Women only. It is a capital Crime for a Man to go into the Bath where the Women are. Great Perfons have them in their Houfes for themfelves and Wives.
2. The Turks have no fumptuous Feafts, but are contented with a fmall Matter. They cook their Meat themfelves, for they have no Sauces but what are made at firt Sighr, as Oil, Pepper, $\varepsilon^{\circ} c$. Their ufual Food is Pilau, which is Rice boil'd with a Pullet, a Piece of Mutton, Beef, or the like, and for want of Meat, with Butter. Their Bread is light, but coarfe, like our Bifcuit, and flat. They fpread a Carpet of Turky Leather on the Ground, called a Sofra, and fquatting down upon the Ground like Taylors, eat it with Wooden Spoons, and inftead of Napkins they ufe a long blue Cloth caft round about the Table, They fay, Bifmillah, i. e. In the Name of God, before they ear, as we do $B e-$ nedicite. They pull their Meat in Pieces, (for they ufe no Knives) and then every one takes his Share. They feldom drink at their Meals, but, having eaten, rife and fill their B=llies with Water, and then fay, Handillab, i. e. God be proifed. Having finifh'd their Meals, they wafh their Hands.

They drink Water ufually, becaufe Wine feems to be forbidden by the Alcoran; but the Goodfellows fay, it is a Council, not a Precept, and fo drink it plentifully; but few do it in publick, except the fanizaries or fome Defperadoes. They never mingle Water with their Wine, and laugh at the Chriftians for fo doing. It is plentiful at Conftantinople, and all over the Arcbipelago. The poorer Sort for Cheapneis drink a Liquor made of Barley and Millet, fomewhat like our Beer, but not fo pleafant. This Drink will make them drunk. They alfo drink Coffee all Hours of the Day. They make it of the Berry parch'd and peal'd. This Liquor they hold to be good to cure the Head-ach, and keep down Vapours from the Head; it comforts the Stomach, and helps Digeftion; nay, they fay it is good againft all Maladies. To mix any Thing with it makes it lefs wholfome and ufeful. All Sexes and Ranks, Rich and Poor, drink at leaft two or three Dime's a Day in Turkey. At the Coffee-houfes the Mafter hath Mufick to divert his Cuftomers, and draw others in. They have alfo Sherbet, which is a very good Drink, made in Egypt, of Sugar, Lemmon-Juice, Musk, Ambergreafe and Rofe-water. At their great Treats they give Coffee, Sherbet, and Perfume ior their Beards. They fpread Quilts on the Ground for their Bedding, and every one lies on his own, and the Mafters lay them on their Divans.

Their Recreations are either to fleep, fmoak a Pipe of Tobacco, or play on the Tambour, which is a Kind of Lute; and though it be no pleafant Mufick, they will play all Day on it; but Scholars read or write. They laugh at the Fronks for walking backward and forward. They entertain their Company with Difcourfe, or a Game at Cheis, Draughts, Tables, or fuchJike Plays; but they never play for Money, or any Thing of Value, becaufe they account it finful, and yet will Ipend whole Afternoons at their Games; but their moft ufual Game is Mancalo, at which they play with Shells in Boxes like our Tables. The Recreations of Soldiers are their Military Exercifes, viz. Mooting at Marks or Butts with Bows and Arrows, darting the

Chap. I.

Zagaye, fhooting with an Harquebufe running. The other Turks make a great Diverfion of Puppet-Shews, which, though performed a different Way from ours, yet are more pleafing; their Songs are pretty, but very obfcene ; and fo are many of their Poftures.
3. The Turki/s Language is a Primitive and Oriental Tongue, and though not very copious, yet is grave and pleafant, and. with a little Supply from the Arabian and Perfian, is rich and elegant enough. The Turks are not-much addicted to Sciences, yet have Doctors of their Law, who explain it in all the Senfes that can be given it. Some affect Aftrology and Poetry, in which they have pretty Conceits, but they generally ufe the Perfian Language, and the Tone they fing in is agreeable enough through Cuftom. Their Mufick is a little Lute with three Strings, and the Flute. Many among them pretend to Fortune-telling, and have good Luck at it. They divine by the Alcoran, and four Arrows, which they call confulting the Book, and naming two of the Arrows Cbrifians, and the other two, Turks, make them fight by reading the Alcoran; if the Cbriftians overcome, they look upon the Action, whether in War or Peace, which they are to undertake, to be unlucky, and fo will not enterprize any thing. They never go out to War, but they make this Experiment. They alfo divine with Beans, by taking out an uncerain Number, and then counting them, confult the Book to fee what the Number fignifies; and by a Piece of Timber almoft fquare, which they call Eliph, which having Letters written on each Side, he that feeks his Fortune, takes it, and rolling it three Times, puts the Letters together, and then confults the Fal, or Fortune-Book, what the three Letters fignify.
They have few or no Phyficians, being very healthy, becaufe of their frequent Bathings and Temperance. When they are fick, they make Ufe of their common Receipts, and, if they fail, confult the feros, or fome Renagado Chriftians, who learn their Skill at the Coft of many. When they bave the Head-ach, they fcarify, lance, or fear the Place, and that cures them. In other Diftempers they alfo ufe Burning, and endure a live Match applied to the Place with Patience. Doubtlefs, Phyficians might do them more Service, and help them at an eafier Rate; but they are fuch bad Paymafters of Men for their Skill, and befides, if a Phyfician fhould be unfuccefsful, and a Patient die under his Hands, they will accufe him of killing him, which is a Difcouragement to the Art among them.
4. The Religion of the Turks is full of Fopperies and Abfurdities, of which it would be no hard Matter to convince them ; but that Mabomet, to prevent any better Information, hath commanded, that whofoever contradicteth it fhould be put to Death. Mebomet was an Arab, and illiterate, a Driver of Camels, and a Man of no Morals; but friking in with a Greek Monk, who had forfaken his Monaftery, and had fome Smattering of Learning, he was by him enabled to lay the Foundation of that great Sect, which hath hitherto infected fo large a Part of the World. He made Ufe of the Oid and Nerw qefament in compofing the Alcoran, that he might draw both feres and Cbriftians to fubmit to it, though both are confufedly applied; but the Turks hold, that it was written in Heaven by God himfelf, and brought Chapter by Chapter to Mabomet by the Angel Gabriel. No Chriftian may touch it, and the Turks, by reading it merit, in their Opinion, Paradife. It is written in pure Arabick, and the Turks believe it cannot be turn'd into any other Language ; and for that Reafon they account the Perfians Hereticks, becaufe they have tranflated it into their Tongue.
This Book contains all their Laws, both Canon and Civil, but is full of Rabbinical Fables. According to this Book the Turks believe in and worhip God, the Eternal and Almighty Creator of Heaven and Earth, but they will not acknowledge a Trinity, nor allow any Images in his Worfhip, either painted or graved. They have a peculiar Fondnefs for Predeftination which they extend even to the moft indifferent Actions. They are firmly perfuaded, that under the Reign of every Em:
peror the State will infallibly and perpetually have either a difaftrous or happy Fate. That Death is fatal both in War and Peace, and therefore as they willingly take up Arms, believing that if they are killed by their Enemies, they fhould fome Way or other have died at Home, fo they take no Care to keep themfelves from the Rlagues, or other infectious Difeafes, and are offended at Chrittians for it.

They believe, that Jefus Chrift was conceived by the Rauah, i. e. The Breath or Spirit of God, in the Womb of the Virgin; but they deny him to be the Son of God, who is one, and hath no Companion; That he was a great Prophet, and wrought many Miracles among the Gewes, and foretold the Coming of Mabomet, under the Name of the Comforter, but they deny that he was crucified ; That Jefus Chritt fhall come to judge the World, and fhall reign forty Years in Damafcus, marry and have Children, at which Time Anticbrift fhall arife, and deceive many, fetting a Mark on their Foreheads; but Chrift fhall deftroy him, and fhall next afcend up into Heaven, and then the Day of Judgment fhall come. In fhort, they give great Honour to Jefus Chrift and the Virgin Mary, and if they hear any Man fpeak ill of them, they will chaftife him as feverely as if he fpake againt Mabomet; for they believe that the Gofpel was fent to Jefus, as the Law was to Mofes, and the Pfalms to David.

They believe all the Prophets, and that Paradife fhall be filled with the Juft, and Hell by the Wicked. They fay moreover, That the Power of God is fuch, that at the Creation of the World he prefix'd and appointed a fet Time for every Man's End, that the Wit or Device of Mortals cannot divert nor prevent, which makes them not only very refolute and courageous in their Wars, and upon all other Occafions, but they laugh at and forn all Means to drive away Difeafes and prevent Death, as if they oppofed God's Will in fo doing. They deny a Purgatory, but hold that there is a Place called Araf, between Paradice and Hell, where they hhall be that have done neither Good nor Evil. In Paradice Mabomet promifes the Bleffed, delicious Gardens, full of pleafant Fruits and Fountains, Rivers of Waters, Milk, Wine and Honey, Scarlet and Green Cloathing, and lovely Virgins, with Skins as white as a new-laid Egg, and black Eyes, always young and Virgins; that God fhall appear to them every Week on Friday; That thole that are in Hell fhall drink fcalding hot Water, and eat of the Fruit of the Tree Zacon; That if they have Faith, after all their Sins thall be confumed and wafh'd in the Water Solzaboul, they fhall be admitted into Paradice, where they flall receive and enjoy as much Happinefs as thofe that entred at firft ; but fuch as have no Faith, and are meer Atheifts, fhall burn everlaftingly in Hell-Fire.
5. They pray for the Dead, as the Papifts do, and invocate their Saints to recommend them to God. They acknowledge Guardian Angels, not only to every Muffulman, but to every Affair and Member, and attribute all that befals any Body to them, becaule they wait upon them in all Places but when they go ta do their Occafions, and then they leave them at the Door. They alfo believe, that when a Man is buried, his Soul returns to his Body, and two Angels, called, Munker and Guanequir, come to him, and if he has lived ill, they bring him an ugly Creature, that reprefents lis Sins and bad Deeds, to torment him till the Day of Judgment; but if he hath lived well, they bring him a lovely Creature, which reprefents his good Actions, and which gives him a great deal of Content, and ftays with him till the Day of Judgment.
They believe, that not only the good Mulfelmen, but fome Beafts and Fowls fhall enter info Paradice, viz. The Prophet Saleb's Camel, which he raifed to Life in Perfia; Abrabam's Ram; Mofes's Cow, whofe Athes are mingled with the Water of Purification; Salomon's Ant; the Queen of Sbebas Parrot, which brought her the firt News of Selomon; Ezras Afs, which, they fay was raifed to Life many Years after it had been dead, to prove a Refurrection; Jomab's Whale ; the litte

Dog Catmer, that attended the four Sleepers, who flept 372 Years; and Mabomet's Camel, that carried him from Mecca to Medina to his Friends Houfe by a certain Inftinct.
6. They circumcife their Children as the Fews do, not at eight Days, but at eleven or twelve Years old, that they may make a Profeffion of their Faith in thefe Words, There is no God but God, and Mahomet is bis Propbet. The Turks, as well as Ferws, make great Rejoycings at the Circumcifion of their Children; for upon the Day fixed for the Ceremony, the Child is fet on Horfeback, and carried about the Town with Timbrels and Mufick, and being circumcifed in his Fathers's Houfe, he makes a Feaft for all his Relations and Friends, at which they are merry, dance and fing, and the next Day the Guefts make Prefents to the Child according to their Quality. When a Cbristian turns Turk, he is circumcifed after the Manner aforefaid; but if a fero turns, his former Circumcifion is fufficient, and he only is obliged to make the afore-mentioned Profeflion; for which the Turks have fuch a Reverence, that if any Fews or Cbrifians pronounce them inconfiderately, they mult turn Turk, or be burnt.

This Circumcifion, called by the Turks, Schounnet, is only a Mark of their Obedience to Mabomet's Example and unwritten Command, for there is no Mention of it in the Alcoran; but they take it to be fuch a Token of Difobedience to their Law not to be circumcifed, that fuch as are uncircumcifed, whether Children or Chriftians, are not allowed to be prefent at their publick Prayers ; and though there be no Perfons to keep fuch out of their Mofques, yet if any are fo bold (as fome have been) and are taken, they are burnt alive, or impaled. Upon fome fpecial Occafions fome are admitted to circumcife at feven or eight Years old; but in Cafe of Poverty, it is more ufual to ftay till fourteen or fifteen, till either the Parents of the Perfon to be circumcifed, or the Perfon himfelf, is able to defray the Charges of it ; or if neither are able, they wait till fome rich Perfon is circumcifed, that they may thelter themfelves from the Charge by his Purfe.

Men of Eftates, at the Circumcifion of their Children, make many Prefents to the Youths that are circumcifed with them, and give liberal Alms to their poor Neighbours, that by their Prayers the Grace of God may defcend upon the new Muffelman, and their whole Family. When any poor Renagado Chriftian is circumcifed, two Bafons are carried after him to gather the Alms, which the Spectators freely give them, though they have a common Proverb among them, Tbat be that bas been a bad Chriftian, will never wake a good Turk. The Time and Place for Circumcifion is not fix'd, for it may be done by a Prieft or Chirurgeon, either at the Bath or Parents Houfe. They name their Children as foon as they are born, and do not ftay till they are circumcifed, by putting fome Grains of Salt into their Mouths, and fo lifting them on high, as dedicating them to God, fay, God grant N. N. that God's boiy Name may be as favoury in tbis Mouth, as this Salt is, and that be may preferve you from being too much in. Love with the World. As to thofe that die young, before they are circumcifed, they believe that thofe are faved by the Circumcifion of their Father.
7. The Turks receive the Ten Commandments of Mofes's Law, and caufe them punctually to be obferved by all; and to them Mabomet has added five, viz. r. To believe One Only God, and to worfhip him as fuch. 2. To faft during the Ramadan. 3. To pray at the Hours appointed. 4. To give the Poor yearly the Fortiech Part of their Subfance. And, 5. To go in Pilgrimagè to Mecca once in their Lives.

The firft of thefe they obferve very punctually, fhewing great Reverence to God and his Name, which they never pronounce, nor hear pronounced, but with great Reverence, and will not fet about any Action, but they firt fay, In the Name of God; yet they fwear much by God, when they would be believed.

The fecond Commandment is to keep Lent, or Ramadan, in Eatting, whereby the Flefh is mortified, Concupifence fubdued, and the Soul purified. This Faft
lafts a Month, and is kept in the Month called Ramadan; becaufe (as they fay) the Alcoran came down from Heaven in that Month. This Lent begins as foon as fuch Pcople as are fet on Hills and high Places on Purpofe can difcover the New Moon, and the firt Meflenger of it, if a credible Perfon, hath a Reward given him for publifhing it, and then the Ramadan is appointed all over the Town by publick Proclamation.

The Manner of keeping it is thus: It is faid in the Alcoran, That they may eat and drink all Night long, till they can difeern a white Thread from a black by the Morning-Light ; but after that, it is unlawful for them to eat, drink, or fmoak Tobacco, yea, to touch their Wives; and thus their Nights are turn'd into Days, their Minerets being all hung with Candles, and their Coffee-houfes are full all Night. In Summertime this Faft is very troublefome, for though they are burnt up with Heat, they may not drink. Every one is obliged to keep this Lent, and fome are fo ftrict as to keep it in their Travels, and in the Army, though they may defer it to a more fit Opportunity. There are many that do not keep it, but they munt eat and drink privately; for if it be known, they will be at leatt Baftinado'd. The Punifhment of drinking Wine in Lent, is to have melted Lead pour'd down their Throats; and it hath been executed, though rarely. None may marry in Lent.

When the Ramadan is ended, the Bairam, or Eafter, begins with the next New Moon, which is publifh'd by firing of Guns, and publick Bonfires and Rejoycings. At this Feaft the Houfes and Shops are adorn'd with fine Hangings, Tapeftries, and Sopha's ; the Streets are full of Swings, adorn'd with Feftoons, in which they fit down, and are tols'd in the Air, while Mufick, both of Inftruments and Voices, hired by the Mafters of the Swings, pleafes their Ears. They have many other Diverlions, as Mills, Fire-works, $\mathcal{E}^{2} c$. which they get ready fome Days before the Bairam. Many Women, who never ftir abroad the reft of the Year, have Liberty to walk about thefe three Days ; but it is dangerous for the Franks to appear, becaufe the Turks, being got drunk, will ftab them with their Cangiars, or to be fure make them pay dear for their Paffage, by exacting Money from them.

One Thing very commendable is done at this Time, which is, that they pardon all their Enemies, and are reconciled to them; for they have made a bad Easter, if they keep Malice in their Hearts againft any body; and for this Reafon, when they meet any of their Acquaintance in the Streets, they kifs one another, wifhing a good Eafter and mutual Happinefs one to another. This they call the Great Bairam, to diftinguifh it from the Little Bairam, which they keep feventy Days after. Their other Feftivals are, the Night between the rath and 12th of the Moon called Rebiul Ervell, wherein Mabomet was born; as alfo the Night between the 26 th and 27th of the Moon Rebiul Abber, when they believe that Mabomet afcended up into Heaven upon the Alboraob, as he tells them in his Alcoran; and on Tburdday the 4th of the Moon Regule, they have Prayers in their Mofques till Midnight, and then return home and feait. On all thefe Feftivals the Steeples of the Mofques are deck'd with Lamps in feveral Figures, which make a very pretty Sight.
8. The third Command of the Turks is, To pray at the Hours appointed; but becaufe they always wafh before they go to Prayers, 'tis neceffary to Speak of their Ablutions. They are of two Kinds, one is called Goufl, which is a general Wafhing of the whole Body, and this they are obliged to ufe after they have lain with their Wives, or after Nocturnal Pollutions, or when any Urine, or any other unclean Thing, hath fallen upon them. The other is called Abdeft, which is performed by turning their Face to Mecca, and wafhing the Hands, Nofe and Mouth three Times. This they ufe after their Needs, or when they have handled any Thing that is unclean, and for both thees they have Baths and Fountains near all their Mofques: If any one happens to break Wind upwards or downwards, or any Blood or Filch iffue from their Body, if

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they vomit, fall into a Paffion, faint, are drunk, laugh at Prayers, embrace a Woman, or touch any naked Part of her, fleep at Prayers, touch a Dog, or any unclean Beaft, all thefe Accidents make void the $A b$ def, fo that it mult be renew'd before they can legally go to Prayers.

The Places of Prayer are their Morques, which on the Outfides are like our Churches. They have by them Towers or Minerets, which have a Balcony round them, from whence the Murzim call them to Prayers. In the Infide there is nothing written, but the Name of God. When they pray they turn toward the South becaufe Mecca lies on that Side. They have a Pulpit for the Imans to preach in, and the whole Mofque is cover'd with Matts for the Eafe of the People's Kneeling, and Carpets for the better Sort. Their Prayers are in an unknown Tongue. They have them five Times a Day, viz. at Break of Day, at Noon, between three and four a Clock in the Afternoon, at Sun-fetting, and about an Hour afterwards in the Evening. On Fridays they have Prayers at Nine oㅇlock befides, and in the Ramadan, or Lent, at Midnight, and all are prefent at them, and then they may go to work, or open Shops, but moft of them reft and make merry, or vifit their Friends. When the Hour of Prayer is come, the Muezim, going up to the Mineret, fings and cries with all his Force, putcing his Fingers in his Ears, Allab Ekber, \&c. i. e. God is great, God is great, God is great; bear weitnefs there is but one God, and that Mahomet is bis Prophet; Come and prefent yourfolves to the Mercy of God, and ask Forgiveness of your Sins; God is great, \&xc. and this he does towards the four Corners of the World, beginning at the South, and ending at the Weft.

While he is crying, every one goes to the Abdest, and then to the Mofque, or if they cannot go, fay their Prayers at Home. They leave their Shoes at the Door of the Mofque, or carry them in their Hands with them. When they are entred they bow to the Keble, i.e. a Nich in the Southern Wall, and then go to their Seats, and wait till the Iman or Prelate begin Prayers, and then join with him. In praying the Men lift up their Hands to their Shoulders, and then lay them upon their Navels, and the Women lift up their Hands but half-way, and clap them on their Breafts. When Prayers are ended, they bowe both to the right and left Side, as to the two Angels, Kerim, and Ki-atib. When they are at Prayers they are fo attentive, that they will turn neither this Way nor that. They never talk in their Mofques, but carry themfelves always with great Reverence. They are but few who go not every Day to Prayers at Noon, Afternoon and Night, for if they obferve not thefe three Hours they are punifh'd feverely, and this they muft do in Travelling. All their Prayers do not laft above half an Hour at moft, and feldom above a Quarter. They are commonly of a very ordinary Compofure, efpecially in the leffer Mofques, and upon ordinary Days; but during the Ramadan, and upon ligh Days, they are fomething better.

The Mabometans, during the Time of their Prayers, obferve a grave Silence and a modeft Deportment, kneel-- ing till the Prayers begin, and then joining with the Inarin in repeating the Prayers foftly after him, and imitating his Geftures with Kneeling and Proftrations, which are more or lefs, according to the Hours ; for in the Morning and Afternoon they ufe but fix, but at Noon, Night and Evening, eight. When thefe are finifhed, fome Chorifters get up into the Galleries, and fing in Parts a Sort of an Anthem of an indifferent good Air. On Mondays, Wednefdays and Fridays, a Preacher mounts the Pulpit, to explain fome Point or other of the Alcoran, which he underftands and expounds as he thinks fit. Any one may be prefent at thefe Sermons, as well as thofe made in the Market-place. They conclude all with fome Prayers for the Sultan and the Succels of his Armies; to which all the People fay, Amen.
9. The 4th Command is Charity, to give the fortieth Part of their Goods to their Kindred, if they have any, and if not, to their poor Neighbours, and for want of
them, to the firft they meet. This Command is well obferved by them, fo that Beggars in Iurky are very rare. And, indeed, they perform great Acts of Charity in founding Hofpitals, building Bridges, and Inns for the Caravans, bringing Water into the Highways, fetting Slaves at Liberty; and they that have not Ability to do thefe Things, mend the High-ways, fill the Cifterns with Water, and fhew Travellers the Fords; and if offered Money, they refufe it, for they 「ay, they do it for God's Sake, and not for Money. Their Charity alfo extends to Birds and Beafts, for fome will buy Birds in the Market to let them lly, and they believe, that the Souls of thofe Birds will one Day teftify their Kindinefs to God. Others will leave confiderable Means to maintain fo many Dogs and Cats.

To this Command of Charity may be reduced that of forgiving Enemies, not of their State and Religion, (for thofe their Law obliges them to hate) but their particular and private Enemies. And indeed they obferve this Law fo well, that there are few Enmities among the Turks; for if there happen any Quarrel, they are obliged to ufe their utmoft Endeavour to pacify it, and commonly they do not defift till it is, adjufted; and that the Reconciliation may be firm, the Perfons at Difference are obliged, before they pray to God on Friday, which is the Weekly Sabbath, to proteft, as in the Prefence of God, that they freely pardon their Enemies, or elfe they are taught, that their Prayers will not be heard. If the Perfons at Variance will not be reconciled, they part them by Force, and carry them before the Cadi, or fome other Judge, who will give them two or three hundred Drubs on the Bottom of their Feet, and make them pay two or three thoufand Afpers. The Severity of thefe Punifhments generally keep the Turks fo much within the Bounds of their Duty, that they feldom quarrel, or injure one another ; nay, they do not fuffer themfelves to be tranfported with Paffion, or to fwear.
10. The fifth Commandment of the Turks is to go to Mecca, which is the worft obey'd of any of them, becaufe feveral for Want of Money, and others by their Affairs, are hindered from going fo tedious a Pilgrimage ; yet many go yearly, and fuch are reverenced ever after under the Name of Hagies, or Pilgrims, and others get ready to do it. Next to there Commandments they have feveral Prohibitions, which they cannot break without Sin , as, I. To make, or have any Figures of Man, Woman or Beaft; and this they obferve fo ftrictly, that they are angry at the Sight of any, and though they are great Lovers of Watches and Clocks, yet if they have any Figure on them, they will not accept of them, though given. 2. To lend Money upon Ufury, and they are careful to abfain from it, but they will make Bargains that differ little from it. 3. To forbear unclean Meats, as Hogs, and fuch Creatures as the ferws account unclean; and this they. Atrictly keep, and fome will rather ftarve than eat of them. 4. Not to drink Wine, but this they fay, was only a Council of Mabomet, and fo they often drink it, and are drunk; yet if any Wine be fpile upon their Cloaths, the greateft Drunkard will labour to get out the Stain, and the moft fcrupulous will wear them no more, left they be found guitty of Sin.
II. The Turks have their Clergy, as all other Reli-gions have, to refolve their Doubss, and celebrate divine Service. They continually ftudy the Alcoran, and are moft of them knowing Men. The chief Ecclefiattick is the Mufti, whom they reverence as much as the Romanifts do the Pope. He is chofen by the Grand Signior, and is always a learned Man in their Way, i.e e much verfed in the Alcoran, for he refolves all Matters of Confcience, and gives his Decifions in Jittle Writs, called Fefta, to which even the Sultan himfelf muft ftand, but by adding thefe Words, God is the beft Fudge, he fhews that he pretends not to Infallibility. He is married, and had in fo great Veneration, that the Grand Signior rifes to meet him and falute him when he comes to Court. It is unlawful by their Law to put the Mufti to Death, yet fome Emperors have done it. There is but one Mufti, and his Refidence is ordinarily at Conftantinople, where finding Bufinefs enough,

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the Cadilefquers, Moullab's or Cadi's, or Juftices and Naibs, perform his Office in other Places. The Sultan confults with the Mufti about State-Affairs, as when he defigns to put any Prime Minifter to Death, difgrace the Prime Vizier or Ba/ba, or undertake any other Bufinefs of Importance, becaufe 'tis a Notion among the People, that there is more Equity in a wife and pious Perfon's Judgment, than in the abfolute Power of a Prince, though as it is now ufed, 'tis meer Formality, for the Mufti mutt comply with the Will of his Prince. Every Mufti muft have been a Cadilefquer firft, and have difcharged that Office well before he is raifed to that Dignity. He has no Power over the Imans, or Priefts, becaufe the Turks have no Hierarchy.

Thofe who officiate in their Mofques, and read Prayers there daily, are the Danifchmend, or as the Franks call them, Talifmans, and the Iman is the Chief of them. The Muezims, or Church-Clerks, call them to Prayers from the Minerets of the Mofques, and the Hodgia's are old Men of Integrity, very knowing in the Alcoron and Civil Affairs. Thefe are confulted in Affairs of Importance, and fometimes preach on certain Feftivals. They have feveral Sorts of Monks, of which the Dervices are the Chief. They live in common, and have their Superior, as Popifh Monks have. They go very mean in their Apparel, and wear on their Heads a Cap of white Felt, like our Night-Caps. Every Tuefday and Friday they make a Dance in the Middle of an Hall, rail'd in fquare, where are two Pulpits, the one for the Superior, and the other for the Vicar. At the other End of the Hall is a Scaffold, where feveral Dervices are placed to play on the Flutes or Drums. When they have fung fome Prayers, the Superior makes a Sermon upon fome Words of the Alcoran in Turkib, which are read to him by the Vicar in Arabick. When the Sermon is ended, the Superior with the Vicar, come down from the Pulpit, and having, with the reft of the Dervices, taken two Turns about the Hall, all the InItruments play in Concert, and then begins the Dance. They pafs before the Superior, and falute him humbly, and then making a Leap, fall a-turning upon their left Foot as a Windmill driven by the ftrongeft Wind, and though they fletch out their Arms, and fometimes Thut their Eyes, they never touch one another, but keep Time to the Mufick, and never make the leaft falfe Step. The Author of this Dance was one Hazreti Merolena, a Dervife, who is reckoned a Saint among them, but all their Dervifes and Santo's are Hypocrites.
12. The Marriage of the Turks is of three Sorts, and fo they have as many Sorts of Wives. 1. Lawful Wives, and thefe they take after this Manner: The Man that defires to be married agrees with the Parents or neareft Relations of the Maid about the Dowry they will give their Daughter or Kinfwoman before a Cadi, who writes it down. This done he gets an Iman to blefs his Marriage, and then the Bridegroom on the Marriage-day leads the Bride to his Houfe, her Baggage being carried on Horfes or Camels before them, and there they fealt and are merry, the Men and Women by themfelves, and commonly they have Mufick and Poppet-Shows, as alfo the Women called Tebingene, to Thew Tricks for the Diverfion of the Company. Thefe Wives the Turks may divorce when they pleafe, by going before the Cadi, and faying, Alei talac be talaii, i. e. l part with ber for three Times: But if a Man put away his Wife wrongfully, he mult give her her Dowry; but if he does it upon juft Grounds, or flie forfakes him, he gives her nothing. When a Woman is thus divorced, fhe may not marry another Man till four Months be patt, that fhe may know whether fhe be with Child, for if fhe be, the Huband that divorced her muft keep it, and if fhe be not, fometime fuch Matches are made up in that Time. A Man that hath divorced his Wife cannot marry her again, till the hath been firft married to another Man, and then he may take her back. When they are thus married, if the Hubband happen to die, the Wife takes her Dowry, and no more, and if the Wife dies, and leaves Children, they may conftrain their Father to give them their Mother's

Dowry. Of thefe Wives the Tirks can have but one though fome have faid four.

They may alfo have Wives of Keben, which they take with lefs Ceremony than the former; for they only go to the Cadi, and tell him, that they take fuch an one to be their Wife, promifing to give her fo much if they divorce her. This the Cadi writes down, and gives the Man a Copy, and he may keep her or divorce her as he pleafes, performing his Promife, and maintaining the Children he hath by her. The Turks may have feven of thefe Wives, nay, as many as they can keep, but to fave Charges, few of them will have more than one or two.
Their other Wives are Haylaykes, i. e. Women-Slaves, and of thefe every Man may have as many as he pleafes, and the Children begotten of them are held as legitimate as thofe of the former Wives, and have as much Title to the Inheritance of what their Father leaves behind him, if by his Will he infranchizeth them, otherwife they remain Slaves to the eldeft by the lawful Wife but if a Turk takes a Slave for his Bed, he may not fell her again if fhe have Children, but fhe becomes a Member of his Family; if the proves barren, fhe may be fold as often as her Mafters will.

The Turks may buy all Sorts of Slaves of every Religion and Nation, but Cbristians and Feres may not buy a Turk. At Confantinople is a Market for Slaves in a Place near the Beziftan every Wednefday, and every one may buy freely for their feveral Ufes, their Luft not ex cepted. Thefe Slaves are bought and fold like Horfes, view'd, review'd, and felt all over their Bodies, and their Mouths look'd into, being alfo examin'd of their Country and Age. A beautiful Virgin at thefe Markets is held at an high Rate, but the Seller is anfwerable for her Virginity, for if the prove otherwife, he muft reftore the Money fhe was fold for, and bear a fharp Fine for his Fraud.
13. The Slaves of the Turks are not fo miferable as they are commonly fuppofed. They are frequently the Under-Mafters of Families, for if they light on a good Mafter, or are endued with any Talent, their Mafters will love them, and will feldom hinder them from going to Church to pay their Devotion: They are very frequently alfo in Favour with their Miftrefles, who through a tender Compaffion, natural to their Sex, give them Prefents. Their Mafters, indeed, are obliged by their Law to exhort them three Times a Day to embrace the Alcoran, but they feldom force them to renounce their Faith. Thefe Things have made fome Slaves to refufe their Liberty, and being made free to return again to their Servitude.
14. The Turki/b Women are commonly beautifuI, ftreight and well-fhaped, for they never go abroad without their Veil to cover their Faces. They paint their Eye-brows with Sarmee, which gives them a blackifh Colour, and their Nails with El-banna, which is a reddifh brown. They are very cleanly and neat, for going to the Bath twice a Week they have neither Hair nor Dirt upon their Bodies. Their Cloathing and Shoes are much like the Mens, but their Head-Attire is different, for they make a very long Trefs of their Hair, which hangs down to the Small of their Back, and if they want Hair, they ufe an artificial Trefs, or a Cafe of Sattin.
In the Houfe they cover their Heads with a Cap of red Cloth, like our Night-Caps, but with four Horns or Points on the Tops, to the Middle of which they ftitch a Round of Pearls, and tie it below with a Handkerchief of fine Stuff wrought with Flowers of Gold and Silk ; but when they go abroad, they change it for one made of gilt Pafte-board, and muffe up their Head fo in a Linen Cloth, that nothing but their Eyes is uncovered, nay their Shift Sleeves cover their Hands, becaufe it is a Thing of ill Repute fo much as to fhew any Part of their Bodies; yet in a Corner of the Streets, they will venture to uncover their Face to a Friend, or a young Man they like, though, if they be difcovered, they are baftinado'd.

The Turkib Women are very haughty, and extreamly lazy, and though they do nothing but fit on their $D i_{-}$

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vans embroidering an Handkerchief, yet they muft go fine and have their Slaves, though their Hurbands be ever fo poor. This Idlenefs makes them vicious, and feek only Ways of having their Pleafure, of which the Hurbands are fo jealous, that they will not fuffer them to fhew themfelves to Men; and if they do, they are fure to receive the Baftinado on their Buttocks. Upon thefe Accounts no Women are fuffered to go to the Mofques, Markets, or appear in their Hufbands Shops.

The Wives have not the Privilege of Divorcing their Huband, as their Hufbands have of Divorcing them, unlefs they deny their Wives the Things which they are obliged to furnifh them withal, as Bread, Pilou, Coffee, and the Ufe of the Bed once in eight Days, and Money to go to the Bagnio twice a Week; for, if they fail in thefe Things, they may go the Cadi and demand a Divorce, which if the Cadi, upon going to the Houfe, finds true, he grants her Suit, as alfo if the complains, that he hath offered to ufe her contrary to the Courfe of Nature, which fhe expreffes by Turning up the Soal of her Slipper, without Saying a Word.
15. When any one is fick, the Imans go and pray with him, and if he dies, all the Neighbours know it by the Howling of the Women, who cry out as if they were in Defpair. The Friends and Neighbours go immediately to condole with them, weeping and mourning in a doleful Tone ; but yet, as if they were finging, they rehearfe the Praifes of the Dead, viz. The Wife will fay of her dead Husband, He loved me So weell, be gave me Plenty of every Tbing I flood in Need of, \&cc. and all prefent join with her, repeating her Words, and imitating her Geftures. This lafts feveral Days, as often as any new Vifits are made; nay, fometimes thefe Cries are renewed at the Year's End. After thefe Lamentations comes the Burial, for which the Relations wafh the Body, and fhave off all the Hair, and then shey burn Incenfe about it to fcare away evil Spirits and Devils ; and then praying God to be merciful to him, they wrap him up in a Sheet, and put him into a Coffin and Bier, like ours, but with his Face downward, and covered with a Pall, which is red ; if the Perfon dead be a Soldier, green; if a Scberiff, i. e. one of Mabomet's Relations, black, with a Turban; which is red, if he be a fanizary; red and white if a Spabi; green if a Scheriff; and white if any other Man.
As he is carried to the Burying-place, which is with his Head foremoft, the Priefts go before, faying certain Prayers, and often calling upon the Name of God : After the Corps, which is carried by four Bearers on two Sticks, follow the Relations and Friends, the Women come laft howling like mad Folks: Being come to the Burying-place, they take the Body out of the Coffin, and bury it in the Earth, and leaving the Women to mourn, depart. When the Grave is filled up, the poorer Sort ereft a Stone over the Head of the Deceafed, for the Angel that examines them to fit on ; but the richer Sort have Tombs of Marble, and at both Ends a Turbant of Stone like that of the Deceafed. Their Burying-places are always without their Towns, that the Air may not be infected by the corrupt Vapours of the Graves, and this was the Cuftom of the Ancients. The Iurks Burying-places are commonly by the Highway-fides, that Travellers may pray for them, and always diftinct from the Chriftians. After the dead Body is interred, the Relations and Friends, for feveral Days, come and pray upon the Grave, that God would deliver the Soul of the Deceafed from the Torture of the Black Angels, exhorting him not to be afraid. The Women alfo do the fame with fo much Paffion, that one would think them abfolutely diftracted. Many on Fridays bring Vietuals and Drink to the Graves, and leave it there for Travellers, that they may pray for the dead Perfon, for whofe Sake it is given shem.
16. In fine, though in Chriftendom the Turks are accounted barbarous, yet, in. Truth, they are good People, and love honeft Men, whether Turks, Feres, or Cbriffians. They do not chink it lawful to cheat or rob
a Cbrifian more than a Turk, but carefully obferve that excellent Command, To do to otbers only wobat we are weilling otbers Joould do to us. They are, indeed, guilty of great Extortion from the Franks, but it is through the Inftigation of the Feres and Cbristians, who envy one another, and feek each others Ruin. Ufury is efteem'd a very great Sin by the Turks, and is very little practifed. They are very devout and charitable, very zealous for their Religion, which they feek to propagate all over the World; and whenever they love a Cbrifian, they exhort him to turn Turk.
They are ever loyal to their Prince, whom they highly reverence, and blindly obey, and are never known to betray him, but willingly die for him, whenever he commands it: They never quarrel or fight among themfelves, and know not what Duels are, which may be faid to proceed from Mabomet's wife Policy, who forbad them Wine, and Gaming for Money; and the good Turks fo religioully obferve thefe Laws, that they will not drink a Drop of Wine, and always play for Diverfion. They are very temperate, and never commit any Excefs in Quantity or Quality of Victuals fo that it may be truly faid of them, They eat to live, and do not live to eat. Yet are they not without their Vices, for they are fo proud, that they think themfelves above all other Nations, and that the World was made for them. They difpife the Yews and Cbrifizians fo much, that they call them Dogs; and the Rabble think they do a good Act. Some of them are fo fuperititious, that if at their firt going out in a Morning, they meet a Cbrißian or fore, they return home again, faying, God preferve us from the Deviil.
The Turks love not hard Study, and think it enough to learn to read and write. They often ftudy the $A l-$ coran, which comprehends all their Law, both Canon and Civil, and fome apply themfelves to Aftrology and other Sciences. They are very amorous, but their Love is brutifh, for they are the greateft Sodomites, and boalt of this infamous Vice. They are very covetous, fo that Money will do any Thing among them, both at Court and in the Country. They are very friendly and civil, if they can gain by it; but common People are purchafed at a cheaper Rate, for let them have but Drink enough, and they will do any Thing for you.
17. The Turks are fubject to one Prince, called by them, The Sulton, and by other Nations, The Grand Signior, or Emperor of the Turks. He comes to the Empire by Inheritance, and is always of the Ottomana Family, for which the Turks have fo great a Veneration, that they will not fubmit to any ocher. When the Grand Signior dies, his Son fucceeds him, or, if he have none, his Brother, who fixes upon a Day when he will go by Water to the Mofque of Efoup, where being feated upon a Tribunal of Marble, raifcd upon Marble Pillars, the Mufti fays fonie Prayers, girds him with a Sword, and then he makes his Entry into Conftantinople with a Cavalcade to the Seraglio, and this Ceremony ferves inftead of a Coronation. The Emperor is no fooner fettled on the Throne, but he takes care to fecure to himfelf the Poffeflion of it, by firt fhutting up all his Brothers fo clofe, that none can tell where they are, and, if he has Children, putting them to Death by ftrangling them, making a Scruple of Confcience to fhed the Royal Blood. The chief Reafon of this Fratricide is to fecure the Militia to himfe:f; for fo long as he has a Boother alive, they are ever threatening him with a Revolt, unlefs he will augment their Pay as they pleafe. When the Grand Signior is fettled on his Throne, he frequently minds nothing but his Pleafures, being attended with a great many Buffoons, viz, Mutes and others, who ftudy continually to invent fome new Pranks to divert him, and his Bafba's fend him Multitudes of the fineft Women to gratify his Luft. His Power is abfolutely and entirely defpotick, and his Will is the only Law by which he rules. He is not curb'd by any written Law or Cuftom, io that the Oppreffed have not fo much as a Righe to complain. He may take away any Man's Eitate, prefer the meaneft Perfon to the higheft Dignities, and fend for the Heads of whom he has a Mind, without Trial
or Juftice, and none has any Right to enquire the Caure.

This unlimited Power of their Sultan is founded on the Mabometan Religion, which enjoins a blind Obedience to all his Commands under Pain of Damnation; but the Turks are freed in a great Meafure from the Effects of it, by his retiring fo much from Civil Concerns to his Pleafures; for as to all publick Bufinefs, he refers that to his Minifters, who have the whole Management of his Affairs, yet are obliged, on certain Days every Week, to give him a fummary Account of them. When the Grand Signior is weary of ftaying in the Seraglio, he goes abroad to take the Air, either by Water or Land.

When he goes by Water he has little Attendance. His Galliot comes to the Kioske of the Seraglio, and from thence he goes to Scudaret, or the Black Sea, to take the Air, being row'd by two Bohangi-Bafha's, and twenty-four others, being their Favourites, on each Side. When he goes by Land, it is either in Pomp, as he does through Conftantinople to the Mofque; but then he has fo many Petitions put up to him againft the ill Management of his Minifters, that they hinder it all they can; but he will often go abroad incognito in Difguife, to fee if his Orders be punctually obferved, and the Chriftians are glad of it, for by this Means they are free from Affronts. Sultan Amuratb went often out thus, and one Day caufed a Butcher's Head to be cut off, for felling Meat above the Price fix'd, and two Men more to be beheaded, at another Time, for fmoaking Tobacco, which he had Atrictly forbidden, becaufe, by taking it in their Beds, feveral great Fires had been kindled in Conftantinople, which had burnt down great Part of the City.
18. The chief Minifter of State is the Grand Vizier, who is called King by the Turks. He it is that receives Ambaffadors, hears their Propofals, and gives them an Anfwer, the two Audiences which the Grand Signior allows them, being only for Ceremony at their coming and Departure. He takes Care to pay the Army, decides Law-Suits, condemns Criminals, and manages the Government, having in his Cuftody the Imperial Seal, and difcharges the Office of the Grand Signior. This is a very heavy Charge, and requires a great deal of Sagacity and Prudence; and yet for all that, few can hold it above fix Months before they are frangled, they create themfelves fo many Enemies ; and they that do efcape; muft by their Gifts make great Friends at Court, and have the Protection of the Mother of the Grand Signior, the moft beloved Sultana's, and others.

Next to this great Officer are the fix Viziers, called Viziers of the Bench, who are properly the chief Counfellors of State, but intermeddle not with the Government, being only confulted upon Points of Law by the Grand Signior and the Vizier Azem. The other chief Charges are the Cadilefquers, or Judges of the Army, which are as it were Chief Juftices, or Sovereign Judges, both of Civil and Military Affairs. They have under them Cadies, or Inferior Fudges, being Bailiffs or Provofts, before whom are tried ordinary Caufes, Marriages made, Liberties given to Slaves, and the Writings, called Heudgets, or Decrees ordered.

The Caimacan is the Captain and Governour of Confiantinople, Lieutenant of the Grand Vizier, but has no Authority but in his Abfence, and then he performs all the Offices of that important Charge. The Baßa of the Sea is the Admiral of the Naval Forces of the Grand Signior ; and the Beys are the Governors of the Maritime Provinces, and are obliged to keep the Grand Signior's Gallies in good Order.

The Aga of the fanizaries, who is the Colonel-General, or Commandant of that formidable Body of the Soldiers called Janizaries, is a confiderable Station. He is allowed to come into the Grand Signior's Prefence with his Arms in abfolute Liberty, and with a confident Deporment, whereas all the other Grandees of the Eort appear with their Arms crofs their Bodies, in Token of profound Submifion.

The Bafba's are a Kind of Viceroys in the Provinces; their Office is to adminifter Juftice exactly, and to keep
the People in Subjection to their Government. They are obliged to pay a Tribute of Money and Slaves yearly to the Grand Signior, befides the Carache and other Impofts, But they generally abufe their Authority, and are more arbitrary than the Grand Signior himfelf, their Aim being to raife a Fortune fpeedily by their Spoils and Oppreflions. The Sultan is forced to diffemble his Knowledge of thefe Difordars for Want of Power to fupprefs them, becaufe they have the Soldiers fometimes more at their Service than he.

The five chief Batha's are thofe of Babylon, Cairo, Buda, Natolia, and Romania, who have a Privilege of having Horfe-tails carried before them.

The Beglerbeys are next to thefe, and are as it were fo many Sovereigns in the general Government of the Empire, which the Grand Signior gives them. Under the greateft of thefe are feveral Sangiac-Beys, who govern fmall Provinces.

The Spabi's are a Body of 15000 Men, maintained out of the Revenues of the Grand Signior's Manors, or Timars. They pafs for the Nobility or Gentry of the Country, and ftand much upon their Honour. The Zaims differ not much from them.
19. The Cbiaux-Ba/ba is the Chief of the Purfuivants, or Meffengers, who carry the Prince's Commands to all Places, are fent of Ambaffadors, and have the Cuftody of all Prifoners of Quality. The Government of Cities is managed by five Kinds of Officers; the $B a f b a$, who judges criminal Caules; the Sub-Bajba, who is his Deputy; the Wairwod, who regulates Affairs in the City, walks the Rounds twice a Week, examines Weights and Meafures, fuppreffes Tipling-houfes, punifhes Drunkards, and all fuch as commit any Diforders, feverely ; the Cadi, who is the Judge of all Civil Suits, and the Receiver of the Cuftoms, and not only receives the publick Duties, but takes Cognizance of all fraudulent Practices relating to pecuniary Duties, and judges as he fees fit. Thefe Officers make it their Bufinefs to ruin and difcredit one another.
They have no written Laws but what are contained in the Alcoren, which they hold to be the Rule of Faith, and Standard of Juftice; and every Thing that it forbids is efteemed unlawful and punimable. Neverthelefs the Bafha's and Cadies judge as they pleafe, for the Book is fhort, has but few Laws and moral Precepts, and thofe it has are fo ambiguounly exprefs'd, and deliver'd in fo loofe a Manner, that thofe greedy Officers cannot defire a more favourable Opportunity to fatisfy their Avarice, for they judge without Appeal, and caufe their Sentence to be executed upon the Spot. It is true, fome injured Perfons have appealed to the Divan, but it is fo hard, as well as chargeable to carry a Caufe thither, that few will attempt it.

The Divan is the great Council and Affembly of the Nation, where all Affairs of State are debaced, all Suits are finally decided, for any body may be heard there, of what Country, Quality, or Religion foever he be, and the pooreft Man has Liberty to ask Juftice of the Grand Signior in Perfon, and deliver him his Petition, which as foon as he has read, he gives Sentence according to Equity. If it be for Debr, rhe Vizier, upon Supplication, fends a Cbiaus: to fetch the Debtor into Court, and the Creditor bringing his Witneffes, the Prifoner is condemned, and the Sentence is immediately put in Execution ; for all Things are difpatched with fo much Expedition, that a Matter no fooner comes to a Hearing, but it is prefently judged and finally determined.

No Trial, unlefs in a difficult Cafe, will laft above four or five Hours without Sentence given one Way or other, fo that no Man is wearied and ruined by Lawyers and Delays, as in other Places: Nor is there any Fear that Juftice will not be adminifter' $d$, becaufe ar the End of the Hall where they fit, is a Window covered with black Crape, where the Grand Signior hears and fees when he pleafes, without being difcerned, and the Judges, fearing he may be there, dare not adminifter partial Juftice, for if he finds it out, it would, immediately coft them their Lives.

The Treafury is opened upon all Divan Days, but firft the Cbiaux-Bafba looks whether the Seal be whole, and then takes it off; and when they have taken out, or put in what they think fit, he feals it again with the Grand Vizier's Seal. While the Divan is fitting, the Aga of the fanizaries, the Spabilar-Agafi, the Cadiles. quers, the Officers of the Divan and the Viziers, being introduced by the Capidgi-Ba/ba and Cbiaux-Ba/ba, are brought before the Grand Signior, to give an Account of their feveral Charges, and what they have done, and none of them can promife themfelves to bring back his Head again, becaufe the Grand Signior, for a fmall Offence, will caufe them to be ftrangled on the Spot.
20. In all Things the Turks are great Lovers and Obfervers of Order. They take fpecial Care of Provifions, that all Things be had in Plenty and at reafonable Rates, and he that has taken Pains to bring Fruit to the Market firtt, has no Advantage but to take his Money firft ; for he mult not exact a great Price, or fell dearer, unlefs he has a Mind to be foundly drubb'd, baftinado'd and fined. They have Officers to examine every Man's Weights and Meafures, who daily go their Rounds; and if they find any Man's Weights too light, or that he fells his Goods too dear, they fail not to order him fo many Blows with a Cudgel on the Soles of his Feet, and make him pay a Fine; fo that moft Sellers are fo much afraid of offending, that they will give you fomething above Weight, and they dare not cheat the leaft Child.

Every one is obliged to hinder any Quarrels or Diforders that happen in the Streets; for there is a Law, that if a dead Man be found before any Man's Door, he muft pay for his Blood 500 Piaftres, or 45000 Afpers ; fo that every Man is obliged to fee, that no Noife be made before his Door, and hinder all ill Effects of it. If he who committed the Fact be taken, and convicted of it, he is difcharged of the Sum, and the Murtherer is punifhed, unlefs the Relations of the deceafed will hearken to an Accommodation, for then the Murtherer is allowed to ranfome himfelf, which is ufually done by paying three or four hundred Crowns.

To prevent any Accidents in the Night Time, all Perfons whatever are prohibited to go Abroad after Evening is fhut, except in the Romadan or Lent; and if the Under-Bahha, who is Captain of the Watch, and walks his Rounds all Night, as our Conftables do, meets any Man, he is carried before the Codi, who examines him, and if he cannot give a good Reafon for his being out late, he is fined and baftinadoed; and if he be difmiffed without Fining, it is a lafting Difgrace to him, and he lies under Sufpicions.

2 r. The Money current at Confantinople is, the Mangour, which is half a Quadrin, Copper-Money, and Six of them make an Afpre, which is a little Piece of Silver, flamp'd with the Grand Signor's Name, and worth eight Deniers, or three Farthings Sterling. The IJolette is worth fifty five Afpers. The Alani, or German Rix-Dollar, fo called becaufe it is ftamp'd with a Lion, in Turki/b Afan, is worth eighty Afpers, and the Piaftre, or Picade, 90. The Turkib Cbequin is worth two Piaftres, and the Venetian ten Afpers more. The Afpres are many of them counterfeit. Their Weights are the 2 Uirat, which is four Grains, and fixteen of them make a Drachm; the Medical is a Drachm and an half, twelve Drachms make an Ounce; the Rotte is twelve Ounces; the Oque is three Rottes, or four hundred Drachms ; and the Cantar is an hundred and fifty Rottes.
22. The Turks ufe feveral Sorts of Punifhments for Offenders ; thofe for fmaller Faults are Blows upon the Soals of their Feet, or Buttocks, with a fmall Stick. The Feet of the Sufferer are fo held up by two Men in a Talacca, or Wooden Inftrument, that they cannot ftir them, and then two more with Switches lay on the Blows upon them, as upon a Smith's Anvil, till he that is to fee to the Execution fays there is enough. Such as have received many Blows (as fometimes they inflict three or four hundred) are not able to go for three or four

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Months after, but they'll bear thirty without any great Inconvenience.

Mafters dare give no other Correction to their. Servants and Slaves than this, and they are ufually fo fevere, that for Fear of Punihment, they are wonderfuliy well ferved. You may fee their Servants ftand before them a whole Day together like Statues, with their Hands upon their Bellies, expecting their Mafter's Command, which at the leaft Wink of an Eye is obey'd. SchoolMafters do not whip their Scholars as we do in Chriftendom, but baftinade them on the Soles of their Feet. When they chattife any Perfon on the Butcocks, the Party is laid on his Belly, and the Blows are laid on over his Drawers. Sometimes they give five or fix hundred Blows, but that is the higheft; and if any Man hath been thus handled, a great deal of mortified and fwollen Flefh mult be cut off with a Razor from his Buttocks, to prevent a Gangrene, and he muft keep his Bed five or fix Months before he is able to go about his Bufinefs.

Women are alfo chaftifed this Way, when they deferve it: Such as deferve Death for their Crimes, are punifhed with Strangling, Hanging, Drowning, B-heading, Burning, Empaling, or Throwing upon Spikès of Iron. When any Man is to be hang'd, which is done for Robbery or Murder, they will make a Chriftian the Executioner, if they can light of any. In Beheading, which is done for Rebellion or Sedition, they are fo dextrous, that they never mifs cutting them off at one Blow. The Gancbe, or throwing upon Spikes or Hooks, which is performed by letring the Malefactor fall upon them, and hang there feveral Days, till he expire with Hunger, Thirtt and Pain, is accounted fo cruel a Dearh, that the Turks very feldom practife it.
The Turks that turn Cbrifians are burnt alive with a Bag of Powder hang'd about their Necks, and a pitch'd Cap upon their Heads; but Cbriftians that do or fay any Thing againft the Law of Mabomet, or are taken with a $\dot{\text { qurkj}} \mathrm{b}$ Woman, or go into a Mofque, are empaled, unlefs they will turn Turks; for they are fo zealous for their Religion, that a Chrifitan may redeem his Life by turning Turk, whatever Crime he has been guilty of; but in thefe, as well as many other Cafes, if he will not turn Turk, he is put to Death ; but a Turk has no Way to fave his Life, if he happens to commit the like or even a leffer Offence.
23. The Grand Signior's Arnss have acquired him that vaft Power and large Dominions he holds by their Means, taken from his Neighbours, for he always maintains a flanding Army both in War and Peace, to defend himfelf and furprize others : His whole Army, which confifts of Horfe and Foot, are punctually paid once in two Months. The Infantry are of feveral Orders, as Capigi's, or Porters, who keep the Gates of the Seraglio, and fland round the Grand Signior when he gives Audience to Ambaffadors: They are in all three thoufand, and have a Captain, called the Capigi-Bafba: They execute Death upon fuch as are fallen under the Sultan's Difpleafure : They wear a Cap with a Cone half a Foot long. Solaques, which are the Grand Signior's Life-guard, and attend him when he goes abroad in the City: They wear a Doliman with Hanging. fleeves, and a Cap fluck with Feathers in Form of a Creft, their Bow always hangs on their Arm, and their Quiver is always full of Arrows ready to draw, if Need requires; but the chief of their Infantry are the fanizaries, who are either Children taken for Tribute, and educated in the Oda's of the Seraglio, or Renegado Cbrifians, and fome few Turks. This Order was inflituted by Ottoman, the firft Emperor of the Turks.
They call one another Brothers, and will not endure the meaneft of their Body to fuffer the leaft Injury, and none but their Officers dare lift up an Hand againft them, upon Pain of Death : They can beat any Man, and no body dare touch them ; for no Intereft or Money can fave the Life of him that has beaten a Fonizary; and upon this Account Ambaffadors take them into their Retinue, and Travellers hire them for their

Guides:

Guides: They are diftinguifhed from other Turks by their Caps, called Zarcola's, which being made like the Sleeves of a Cajaque, hang down behind, and have a Cone on the Forehead half a Foot long, gilt with Silver and embroidered. Their Pay is from two to fix Afpres a Day, and a Piece of Cloth every Year.
The Fanizaries of the Port are 12000 in Number, and live in two Inns or Colleges, containing one hundred'and fixty Chambers, in every one of which are thirty, forty, or fifty Soldiers. Every Chamber has three Officers, viz, the Cbobargi, or Captain ; OdaBalha, the Chief; and the Vikil Hardge, i.e. the Steward. Over thefe is the Kiaya-Bey, or Lieutenant-General of the Fanizaries; and over all, the Aga, or General, who is always a Muteferaca, or Perfon of Quality. He has not Power to punifh any Soldiers by himfelf, but upon Complaint he delivers him to the Oda-Bolba to be punifhed, which can be done only in the Night, for Soldiers can neither be beaten or put to Death in Publick. They are beaten on the Soals of the Feet for ordinary Crimes, and if they deferve Death, they are ftrangled, and thrown into the Sea in a Sack, a Cannon being difcharged for every one that fuffers. The other lower Orders of Infantry are Azapes, or Pioneers; Dgebegi's, or Men at Arms ; Topidgi's, or Gunners; and others.

The Grand Signior's Cavalry are the Cbiaux; their Employment is very honourable, for they execute moft of the Commands of the Grand Signior and his Bafba's, and are fent on Embaffies to Foreign Princes: Their Caps are a Foot in Diameter, and are long and flat above: The Grand Signior and his Bafba's wear them. The Mutefaraca's are all Perfons of Quality, and their Captain is the Grand Signior himfelf, and therefore they never go out to War but when the Grand Signior goes in Perfon.
24. The Spabies are the ordinary Troopers, or LightHorfe, and are of two Sorts. Some receive their Pay every two Months, which is from fifteen to forty Afpres. They are divided into fix Regiments, and have each a feveral Commander, called Buluk-Agaf, and different Colours. The others have, inftead of Pay, a Timar, or Penfion, from the conquer'd Territories, where they refide ufually, and obey the Sangiac-Bey, or Lord of the Mannor, that rules that Quarter. They are very numerous, being difperfed all over the Empire, and, being required by the Grand Signior, bring him many Horle to his Wars. The Grand Signior is Heir to all in his Pay, if they die without Children; but he takes but two Thirds, if any leave Danghters.
Things being thus fetted, it is eafy for the Grand Signior to raife an Army of two or three hundred thoufand Men in a very little Time, by fending his Orders to the Baffa's and Sangiacs only, who come in with their Servants, Soldiers of their Governments, and $\mathcal{T}_{i}$ -mar-Spobi's inftantly. Nor is he at more Charge in War than Peace, for all maintain themfelves and Servants ; and fo good Order is kept in their Camps, that where-ever they are they draw a Market, becaufe they pay exaçly for what they håve; nay, Merchants travel fecurely by or through them, without Fear of being plundered. All their Soldiers are both ftrong and couragious. They live on a fmall Matter, and are fo har: dy as never to be wearied with Travel, or long Marches.
They fight like Lions, chufing rather to be cut in Pieces than retreat, unlefs the Enemy exceed them much in Number. That which makes them fo couragious, is the Confidence they have in Deftiny, believing, that they can't die before their Time is come, though an hundred thoufand Men feek their Lives, and if they die in the Field, they fhould alfo have died at Home, which makes them fearlefs of all Difeafes and Dangers. They are alfo fo zealous for their Religion, that they will chearfully die in Fighting againft the Enemies of their Law, believing that they die Martyrs, and fhall, after Death, enjoy the Delights that Mabomet hath promifed them.

They will blindly obey the Ofders of their Commanders, ruaning into the greateft Dangers of War as chearfully as to a Feaft; and befides, they are
well armed with a good Musket, and a handfome Sword, with other fuitable Habits and Accoutrements, infomuch, that it is not to be thought ftrange, if they are very ftrong by Land, and bring almoft every Thing to pafs that they undertake.
25. But though the Turks are fo potent by Land, and fucceed well in their Wars there, yet are they neither fortunate nor ftocit by Sea, and always worfted, unlefs they be fix to one; and the Reafon is, becaufe they have neither good Ships nor good Men. They are, very unskilful in Building their Ships, and when they have done, they not only want good Sea-Oficers to manage them, but Soldiers to man them; for even thofe fanizaries, who know not what it is to give Ground on Shore, always go to Sea againit their Wills, and if they can get off for Money, never fail to do it; and no Wonder, if their Navy can never be vittorious, when all Things are fo unfic for Battle. And hence it is, that the Venetians gain great Advantages over them, and particularly in 1656. gave them fuch a fignal Defeat at the Dardanelles, where they loft twenty feven Ships, thirty feven Galleys, and eight Maones, that all the Turks were put into Confternation by fo great an Overihrow, and imagined themfelves to be Slaves to the Venetians, who, had they purfued their Victory, would certainly have driven the Turks out of Confontinople, and, perhaps, out of Europe; for the Grand Signior was preparing to fie into Afa, and the Turks believing that God had decreed that Time for their Expulfion out of Europe, as one of their Imans had foretold, would eafily have departed; but the Venetians neglecting the Advantage, fuffered the $\mathcal{T u r k s}$ to refume their Courage, and thereupon they grew more terrible to the Chrittians, whom they could not fee without Regret, and threatned them with Deffruction at their next Bairam, according to their natural Infolence.
But as the 7 fonizaries; when obedient to the Grand Signior, render him one of the moft formidable Princes upon Earth, fo they ftrangely limit his Power when they lofe that Refpet to him, and revolt, which they pretty often do; and then, flighting all Commands, they follow the Dictates of their own furious Paffions, and run down all that comes in their Way, for they have ftrangled feveral Grand Signiors, and among others Sultan Ofman, becaule they fmelt out his Refolution of diffolving their Body, as the only Curb to his unlimited Power, and fet up his Uncle Muftapha in his Place; and in the next Succeffion Sultan Ibrabim, his Brother, and Father of Mabomet, who reign'd in the Year 1655 . And this. Prince they reduced to fuch Streights, that he was forced to grant them all that they demanded, and put many of the chief Officers of the Court to Death to appeafe them; but whoever they attempt againft, yet they always fo refpect the Royal Blood, and have fo great a Veneration for the Race of Ottoman, that they never fo much as dream of altering the Succeffion from that Family.
26. The Subjects of the Grand Signior who are not MuJulmen, are either Chriftians or Fews. The Greeks are the chief of the Cbrifians. They wear the fame Habit with the Turks, except that they may not wear green on any Part of their Bodies, without Danger of being foundly baftinado'd and fined, nor a Turbant all white, left they be forced to turn Turks, or die for it; but all other Colours they may wear, though it be better not to ufe all red or all yellow, for Fear of offending the Soldiery. The Papa's, or Greek Priefts, are always clad in Black, but their Cap has : a Lift of white. They wear long Hair, and fo do their Monks.
As for their Religion, they differ from the Church of Rome in thefe Points: 1. They maintain that the Holy Ghoft proceeds only from the Father, and not from the Son, but at moft by the Son; yet they believe him to be God, and the Spirit of the Son. 2 . They deny the Pope to be Head of the Church, and have four Patriarchs of equal Authority, to whom they fubmit in their feveral Jurifdictions, viz. Constantinople, Antioch, Alexandria and Ferufalem; but they are all raifed by Bribery to their Dignities by the Grand Signior

## Chap. I.

to the LEVANT.
and Confirmed by the Grand Viziers and Baha's of hofe Countries, as the Grand Signior's Deputies, from whom they receive a Caftan, or Veft, at their Confir mation. They have feveral Archbifhops and Bifhops inder them; but they muft firft have been Caloyers, of Monks, and obferve their Rule during their Lives The Priefts are regular, who are not married, and Seculars who marry. 3. They admit of no Purgatory, but hold a third Place, where the Bleffed remain in Expectation of the Day of Judgment, before which Time, though they believe not the Saints to be admitted into Paradife, yet they pray to them to intercede for them. 4. They ufe leavened Bread in the Sacrament, fuch as they commonly eat, and communicate in both Kinds, as well Laymen as.Priefts, and Women and Children as Men, and condemn the Latins for depriving the Laity of the Cup. 5. They have four Lents, but the firft, which begins fix Weeks before Eafter, and lafts till that Feaft, they keep moft ftrittly, calling it the great and holy Faft; for they eat nothing then that hath Blood, nor Oil, but only Herbs and Shellfifh, as the Cutcle-Fifh and Oifters. In the other three Lents, one of which is kept in Honour of the bleffed Virgin, and the other of St. Peter and St. Paul, they may eat Fifh and Oil.
27. The Armenians keep their Lent ftricter than the Greeks, for they eat no kind of Fith nor Oil, nor drink any Wine, but live only on Bread, Water, Herbs and Roots. Their Churches are like ours, except that the high Altar is divided from the reft of the Church by wooden Partition with three Doors, which make a kind of Sanetum Sanciorum. They have no Images, but Pictures only. They never kneel in their Churches, not fo much as at the Elevation of the Hoft, but lean upon Crutches, of which they have Abundance for that Purpole. No Man can be admitted into Priefts Orers till he is full thirty Years old. Priefts are allow'd to marry but once in their Life-time, and that to a Virgin, who is alfo under an Obligation not to marry, if her Hufband dies.

Their Mafs is much the fame in Subftance with that of the Latins, fave that it is much longer, for it takes them five Hours in a Day to read it over only, which occafions fo many of the Clergy to omit it, that there is farce any Place where it is regularly read, unlefs it be in Mount Atbos and Neomagni, a City of the Inland of Scio, and in fome few well regulated Monafteries, Their whole Liturgy is divided into feven Books. I. Triodion, which contains the Office for Faft-Days. 2 Euchologion, which is a General Office for all Days, and all Occafions. 3. Paraclitiks, which contains all the Hymns. 4. Pentecafterion, which is the Service of the Church from Easter sto Wbitfuntide. 5. Meneon, an Office belonging to each Month. 6. Horologion, the Service for all the Canonical Hours for every Day. 7 Antoloion, which comprehends all that ufes to be read in the ordinary Service of every Month throughout the whole Year. This Part of their Liturgy, they fay, every Prieft ought to have, and it ought to lie in every Church ; but as to the reft the Length of them is fo tedious, and the Price fo great, that moft of the Bifhops, Priefts, yea, even their Caloyers, never trouble themSelves with them.
28. Their Caloyers, or Monks, lead a very auftere and exemplary Life. They make three Vows: i. O renourcing the World. 2. Abftaining from Flefh: And, 3. From Marriage; which they very ftrictly obferve, fpecially in the larger Monafteries of Mount Atbos Neomagni, Mount Sinai, Sc. Saba and St. Micbael of Jerufalem, which are thofe that are beft governed Their Food is the Product of the Earth, and Fifh, ex cept on Faft-Days, when they will not eat any Thing that hath Life. Some of them, who are called Afcetai, live only on the Fruits of the Earth, and to that End leave their Cloifter to live on the Mountains, and never return but on great Feftivals, to affift at the publick Service. All their Morks are divided into three Orders, viz. St. Bafll, Elias, and St. Marcellus; and in all of them they have three Sorts of Monks, Superiors or Elders, called Egoumenoi, the profeffed and other Fathers,
and the Novices, with the Lay-Brethren; but the Superiors, though had in great Veneration, have little Authority, except in impofing fome trivial Penances; for they are afraid left by Severity the Monks fhould turn Turks, as they have had many Inftances, and therefore their monaftick Difcipline is almoft loft; yet they ftill retain the Prerogative of ftripping fuch Monks of their Habit, who have been guilty of fome notorious Crimes; and will not fubmir to their Rules

The Profeffed alfo take the fame Liberty to lay down their Habits when they pleafe, yet not without fome Scandal to the others, and rendering themfelves contemptible ; however, upon their Repentance, and undergoing fome flight Penance, they are re-admitted. Thefe profefs ${ }^{\circ} \mathrm{d}$ Monks, fo long as they are in the Convent, take care of the Fruit, Corn, Sheep, and other Things that belong to the Cloifter. The Novices and LayBrethren work in the Fields, and though they return ever fo weary from their Labours in the Evening, yer they muft attend at a long Prayer, and make many Genullexions, which they call Netaniai, before they eat their Supper, or go to their. Reft. Over all thefe Monks are placed Provincials, or Vijitors; but inftead of reforming the Abufes of the Monafteries, which fould be their Bufinefs, they onty gather up the Money which the Patriarch exacts of them. And, indeed, thefe Vifitors come fo often, that they are miferably poor, and are become thereby ignorant and illiterate, becaufe the Time they ought to fpend in their Scudies, they are forced to employ in labouring for a Suftenance.

But, notwithftanding this general Poverty of the Monks, fome few Monafteries are fo well endow'd, and their Monks are fo rich, as to be able to raife great Sums of fifty or fixty thoufand Crowns to purchafe the Patriarchate, nay, fometimes before the Poffeffor is dead, for the Grand Signior never refufes Money. Their fecular Priefts, called by them, Cofmicoi Iereis, are thus made : Firft they take their Tonfure upon them, i.e. are fhaven on their Crowns the Breadth of one's Hand, and are thus taken into the Service of the Church. Then after fome Months they are created Anaguofta's, or Readers, becaufe it is their Bufinefs to read the Mattins; Pfalms, and fome other Things, which the Clerks ufe to fing. When they have ferved the Church fome Months in this Office, the Bifhop confers upon them Deacons Orders, and a Power of waiting at the Altar, and chanting the Epiftle: When they are Deacons, if they have a Mind to marry, they are allow'd to do it, provided they give Notice to the Bifhop of the Woman and her Abode, that he may enquire after her for if the be not chafte, wife, and handfome, the is nor a fit Wife for a Prieft, nor will the Bithop fuffer their Marriage. And, indeed, the Greeks are fo ambitious to beftow their Daughters on the Priefts, that if it be known that a Prieft defires to marry, all are forward to feek out the greateft Beauty for him, as if they were to confecrate it to God, and to court fuch Women they are difpenfed with in their Service, and, upon their Return into it, are made Priefts.
29. The Under Minifters of the Greek Church are, I. Seruopbylaces, or Sextons, who look after the confecrated Plate, and other Utenfils of the Church. 2 The Colonarcbai, who inform the Singers what Tunes to fing. 3. The Tyrroroi, or Porters, who open and Thut the Church Doors. 4. The Canidlaptbi, who take Care of the Tapers, of which they confume many The Service of the Greek Church is faid feveral Times a Day. In the Monafteries they rife at Midnight to perform a particular Form of Devotion, called Mefonuczion, and to prepare them for fome great Feftival, they turn it into an Holonution, or an All-night Service. After this they celebrate a Service at Break of Day, called Oortos; another at the firft Hour, called Protiora; and fo again at the fecond Hour, called Tritiora; and as Nine o ${ }^{\text {C Clock }}$ in the Morning, called Ektiora: Then follows the Ennati, the Liturgy, and the Eucharift at Three o'Clock in the Afternoon, and Efperines, or Evening-Service ; after which they ufe fome llight Ex ercife till they go to Supper, and when that's done, they return ggain to Church, to perform the Service called

Apodipbo

Apodipho, or, the Service of the Night, which in the Romifh Church is called the Complines.
The Minitters of Churches follow the Example of the Monks as near as pofible, fo that in all Churches, be they rich or poor, there is every Day performed the Hagia Koinoma, or Celebration of the Eucharift, and fome Churches more than once, but at different Altars. None of thefe Ceremonies or Ufages are performed in Conformity to the Church of Rome, for they abominate both them and all their Cuftoms, and if a Latin Prieft fhould fay Mafsat any of their Altars, they would wafh them as polluted. At the Clofe of every Thurfday they excommunicate the Pope and all the Latin Bifhops, and damn them as fo many Hereticks and Schifmaticks.
They have fo great a Number of Holidays, that there is no Day in the Year but is confecrated to fome Saint ; but thofe they have in greateft Veneration, are, befides the Feafts of Chrift and his Apoftes, the Invention and Exaltation of the Holy Crofs, in September; the Feaft of St. Demetrius in October; St. Fobn Cbry fofom, and the Virgin's Entrance into the Temple in November ; St.Nicbolds, St. Spiridion, and St. Ignatius, in December; the Feaft of St. Bafll, St. Antbony, St. Atbanajus, St. Cyril, St. Gregory Nazianzen, and Chrift's Baptifm, in 'fanuary; St. Simeon's meeting with Jefus and St. Blafus in February; the forty Martyrs in March; St. George in April ; St. Atbanafius, Conftantine the Great and Helena, and the Invention of St. Fobn Baptije's Head in May; St. Marinus, Elias the Prophet, St. Parafaua and St. Pantaleon in $\mathcal{F} u l y$; Chrift's Transfiguration, the Death of the Virgin Mary, and the Beheading of St. Jobn Baptift in Auguft.
On thefe Days they read in the Church the Life and Actions of thefe Saints in the vulgar Tongue, out of their Synaxarion, or Martyrology, and conclude the Service with the Diftribution of the Eucbarif; and generally the People, who come to hear, bring an Offering of Bread, Wine, Oil, Tapers, and the like, for the Ufe of the Priffts, and give liberally to the Poor, even beyond their Abilities. They celebrate Eaffer, which they call, Há $\alpha a$ avaotacipov, i. e. the Paffover of the Refurrection, with great Demonftrations of Joy. By the Laws of their Church, they are obliged to confefs themfelves four Times a Year, but not fo particularly as the Church of Rome requires, and after they have done fome Penance, or promifed, they are abfolved in Form of a Prayer: Let tby Sins be forgiven.
They look upon Baptifm as indifpenfibly neceffary for Salvation; and though they baptife rot till eight Days are pafs'd after the Birth, unlefs in Cafe of Neceffity; yet, when a Child is in Danger, they allow Laicks of borh Sexes to baptife, becaufe they dare not hope well for Children who die unbaptifed. They rebaptife Hereticks and Apoftates, when they repent and defire to come into their Church. Among the former they reckon the Papifts : They have a great Averfion to Images in Baffo-Relievo, and fay, the Papifts imitate the Heathens in the Ufe of them, but the Pictures of Chrift and the Saints they account holy, and pay a Reverence to them, and to that End fet them up in their Churches on their Fefivals.
30. They condemn all the Weftern Chriftians for eating Things ftrangled, and account them Hereticks for fo doing. They follow the Doctrines of the ancient Fathers, and the Canons even of the firtt General Councils, very exactly, and think all others of no Force. The Turks make them pay very fevere Capitations for their Religion Sake, and which is worfe to them, take their Children from them often by Force, to educate them in the Mabometan Faith, and make them Icboglans. Though they have many Churches, yet they are obliged to take great Care to keep them in Repair, for Fear they flould have no Churches at all, for the Turks very rarely will fuffer them to rebuild them, if they fall; but they are allow'd to repair them. In their Churches they have a Candleftick which holds three Candles, by which, they fay, is reprefented the Holy Trinity; and another two, which fignify the two Natures in Chrif. Their Sacerdotal Veftments have alfo the like Myfteries. In giving the Blefing, they make
the Sign of the Crofs from the Right to the Left, contrary to the Latins.
Maids fhew not themfelves before they are married, even to their Relations, and therefore go not to Church for Fear of being feen. They are married by a Prieft, and give a Ring like the Latins, but take Godfathers and Godmothers, which they do not. The Bride and Bridegroom being come before the Papa or Prieft, he fays fome Prayers over them, while the Godfathers and Godmothers hold a Garland of Flowers, mix'd with Orpine, over their Heads, and a Pall over it. The Father and Mother of the Bride give her; and when Prayers are done, the Bride and Bridegroom drink to one another, and the Glafs being given to the Prieft, he merrily drinks it off, and then breaking the Glafs, fays, So may this Bridegroom break the Virginity of the Bride. Their other Rites are like thofe of the Latin Church.
Their ordinary Way of Living is much like the Turks, only they are more wicked, for they are covetous, perfidious, treacherous, Sodomites, revengeful to the higheft Degree, very fuperftitious, and great Hy pocrites, for which Qualities they are fo much defpifed by the Turks, that they do not value them though they turn Mabometans. They are greater Enemies to the Papits than the Turks are, and none would hinder them from being Mafters of Turkey more than they, if Providence fhould fo favour them to recover what the Turks hold in Europe. Their Women are beautiful, but a little too fat, and moft of them very proud.
31. The Ferws in Turkey ufe the fame Habits with the Turks, only may not wear green, or a white Turbant, or red Vefts, and fo are obliged to wear their Meftes, Pabouches and Caps, which are fhaped like an Hat, of a Violet Colour only. Their Religion is contained in the Old Testament and Talmud. As to their Manners, they are great Cheats in all Places, and their only Contrivances are to vex both Cbriftians and $T_{\text {wrks }}$ with their Taxes and Tricks, which is the Reafon they are hated and defpifed in all Places. All the 7 feres and Male Cbriftians, which are fubject to the Grand Signior, pay the Karadge year!y, which is a Tribute of four Piaftres and an half, beginning to pay it about nine Years old; but the Cbrijfian Priefts and Monks are exempted from it, and fo are the fervijh Rabbi's; the Women alfo paying Nothing. This Tax brings in a great Revenue to the Grand Signior, and no body can avoid it by changing their Habitation, for at whatever Place they come in their Travels, their Karadge is demanded, and if they have paid it in any other Place, they muft fhew their Acquittance, and if they can't produce one, they muft pay it, and take a Note or Acquittance to ferve them in other Places; but fuch as are not Subjects to the Grand Signior, do not pay this Tribute, and to fhew that they wear an Hat, and have a Certificate of their Abode from a Conful.
32. The Accounts already given from the Works of the moft authentick Authors that have been publifhed, cannot fail of entertaining as well as inftructing the Reader ; but, perhaps, it may not be amifs to make fome Additions to thefe, from Materials of another Nature ; fuch as the Informations of thofe who have refided long in the Dominions of the Grand Signior, and Books written in or tranflated from the Oriental Languages. To render thefe Remarks of the more Ufe, by keeping them in a certain Method, we will, as near as may be, purfue that which in the Courfe of this Section has been already laid down. The Drefs or Cloathing of the Turks, though it appears odd and uncooth to us, is neverthelefs founded upon Reafon, and for that very Caufe is not much affected by Fafhion; as they have Nothing of Levity in their Nature, fo there is Nothing can give Men a graver Appearance than the Eafern Habit; and in refpect to all the Ufes of Cloathing in a Climate like theirs, it will be found, that it anfwers them perfectly well. By changing the Stuff of which their Robes are made, from Silk to Cloth, and from plain Cloth to Cloth lined with Furrs, the Change of Seafons is provided againft. Their Habit agrees likewife with their Manner of Living, they
ride without any Inconvienency. The Manner in which their Houfes are furnifhed is fuited to their Garb, and every Part of that is well contrived for the great Ufe they make of Bathing. The only Thing in the Turkijh Drefs, that feems to deferve Reprehenfion, is their Turbants, and it is obfervable, that this is the only Part of it that is fubject to Fancy or Change; for as to the reft, there has been little or no Difference introduced in the Courfe of many Years.

The modeft and temperate Way of Living, in Ufe amongtt the Turks, is very commendable, and the more fo, becaufe it is not carried to any Degree of Severity or Extravagance. They abftain from all Animals that die of Difeafes, that are choaked, ftrangled, or knocked on the Head, or that break their Necks; but in Cafes of great Neceffity, they allow that even thefe may be eat; but from Blood and Swines Flefh they moft religioufly abftain. They hàve not many Difhes, nor any great Variety of Dreffing, but thofe they have are favoury, cheap, provided with little Trouble, and their Meals are foon over. All this is alfo very agreeable to their Climate and Way of Life, but at certain times, when they have a Mind to indulge, they have their Niceties, efpecially in Paftry and excellent Liquors, which they ftile Sherbets, compofed of a Variety of Ingredients, and always cool and pleafant. But after all, their great Dainty is Water, and fome, from a Principle of Charity, carry it in Stone Veffels through the Streets of Confantinople, and offer it with great Civility to fuch as defire to drink; whence we difcern the Propriety of that Eastern Expreffion, which occurs in our facred Writings, of giving a Cup of cold Water; which, from the Difference of our Manners, does not appear to be any great Matter here.

As for the Practice of Drinking, the common People in thofe Countries have it not; fo that if you offer Workmen any Thing for that Purpofe, they anfwer very naturally, that they are not dry; but ftill you may oblige them, if you are difpofed, by calling the CoffeeMan, who ftands at the Corner of every Street with his Utenfils, and all working People will be very grateful for a Difh of Coffee. But that we may not deal altogether in Generals, we will take this Opportunity of fpeaking particularly to three Heads, with refpect to which we find very little in our printed Books that is exact and worthy of Credit. Thefe three Heads fhall be Coffee, Opium and Wine.

As to Coffee, which the Turks call Capbuab, it was firlt ufed in the Country where it grows, in the Kingdom of Yemen in Arabia-Felix, which from its producing Coffee, our famous Mr. Ray delivers it as his Opinion, that it may be Atiled not only Felix, but Felicifima, that is not barely the happy, but the molt happy. A Multitude of Writers have defribed Coffee, and fome have pretended long ago to give us diffinct Accounts of their own Knowledge and Experience, and yet it is but a very little while that we have known any Thing of it with Certainty, fo as to be difabufed in Reference to thofe Fables that have gone current for many Years, though without having Foundation or even Colour of Truth. The Tree then that produces Coffee is in Reality a kind of Jeffamine, which bears firft a very beautiful and odoriferous white Flower, inclining to yellow, which is compofed of five Leaves refermbling the Spanifh Jeffamine. As thefe Flowers drop off, the Fruit begins to appear, which is at firt green, then of a pale red, turns next to a bright Crimfon, by Degrees of a very deep red, and at laft inclines to a dufky Brown. In Size and Shape it refembles a honey Cherry, bur inftead of a Stone, there lies within the Pulp two of thofe that we call very improperly Coffee-Beans, with their flat Sides joined to each other, and their Convex Sides outward ; as there are Flowers, green Fruit, and ripe, all upon the fame Tree at once, there are feveral Coffee Harvefts, but the moft confiderable is that in May, when by laying Cloths under the Trees, and fhaking them, the ripe Fruit drops off in great Quancities, out of which the Beans are taken, and very carefully dried, firf in the Sun, and then in the Shade, and upon their curing in this Refpect, their Goodnefs chiefly depends.

VQL. II. No ${ }^{125}$.

It is faid, that the Virtues of Coffee were firft difcovered by the Frinking of Goats that fed upon it, and their living almoft wholly without Sleep, which put a Prior of a Convent upon trying what Effect they would have upon a much groffer Animal, a fat, fleepy, lazy Monk, upon whom having wrought a wonderful Cure; Coffee came into gencral Ufe. I cannot vouch for the Truth of this Story fo well as for what follows. It paffed from Arabia into Egypt, where it began to be much taken Notice of, the Turki, $\beta_{0}$ Doctors doubting whether the Ufe of it was not forbid by their Law, becaufe they held its Properties to be the fame with chofe of Wine. This Point was cleared up by a Mufti, who was a great Friend to that Liquor, and wrote a Treatife in Defence of it, A.H. ${ }^{8} 75$. A.D. 1470 . The Name of this learned Mufii was Abda leader Bent Mobammed, and his Sirname Al Anfari, and the Titie of his Work, Omdat al Safuût fi ball al Cabuat: We have been the more particular in mentioning this Book, becaufe there is a Copy of it in the French King's Library amongft the Arabick Manufcripts, $\mathrm{N}^{\circ} 944$, and there are in it fome very curious Obfervations.

It is faid that there are in Grand Cairo, no lefs than two thoufand Coffee-houfes; there are a vant Number at Confantinople, and in all the Cities in the Turkifs Dominions; but fometimes on Account of the diftracted State of their Affairs, thefe Coffee-houfes are fhut up; but in Times of Peace they are much frequented, more efpecially in the Mornings and Evenings, when fuch as are moft at Leifure, and are in tolerable Circumftances, pals an Hour or two there in Converfation, in hearing the Mufick which the Mafters of fuch Places provide, or Books of Tales read, for which chey have People on Purpofe, who from a kind of Pulpit divert the Audidience with Collections of Stories of all kinds, good, bad or indifferent. I will for the Reader's Amufement quote one, which is not much amifs.
" When the Tortar Slaves are crofing a River, and "find themfelves in Danger of being drowned, they "s catch hold of the Horfe's Tail that paffes before them, "a and by this Means frequently efcape. From hence "comes the Proverb, Lay bold of the Iail if your can, "" and be fure keep it faft. There was an honeft Mufful" man once, that by applying it luckily efcaped being " empaled, and the Cafe was thus; he had fpent many "Years in Study, had molt Part of the Alcoran by
"Heart, was acquainted with many Sciences, but by
" attending to them, had fipt a very material Science,
" that of knowing how to live; fo that when he grew " " Years, though his Mind was well fed, his Body "was in Danger of Want. He addreffed himélf "to the Sultan Mabomet the IVch. on whofe Memory " be Peace! Befeeching him to fave a Son of Science "from ftarving. The Sultan having confidered his " Cafe, gave him no other Anfwer than this; Friend, "woith all your Learning don't you know, that the "World is a Tail, and bappy is be that gets hold on " it. The Muffulman went Home in Defpair, where " after paffing three Days in deep Meditation, he thus " addrefled himfelf to his Ruffian Slave, from whom " he had learnt that Tongue; Infidel, fays he, let us "change Cloaths, carry me to the Market, and fell " me to fuch a one. His Orders wère obeyed; he " worked for fix or eight Months in the Fields with " the other Slaves, and appeared fo very fupid, that " he was the Jeft of all his Companions. At the End "s of that Time he began to preach, affirm'd that he had "V Vifions, and that the Prophet, whofe Name be blef"fed, had taught him the Alcoron, of which he repeat"c ed many Chapters. This made a very great Noife, " he was vifited by every Body, and Nobody went " empty handed ; at laft, the Grand Signor heard of "it, and fent for him. As foon as he came info his "Prefence, the Sultan recollected him, Friend, faid he, " bave I not feen you before? For God's Sake cry"d " be, do not betray me, you know the World is a "Tail, and I have but juft got hold of it. The ifue " of the Matter was, that the Man got a living by his "Wit, and the World has got a good Story. My "Friends you'll be never the worfe for hearing it, and
beliews
" believe me, you will be much the better for remem" bring it; for of all Kinds of Knowledge, there is none " more important than this, that the World is a Tail, "r and beppy is he that can lay bold of it." I have feen a Book that belonged once to Sir Roger Manly, the true Auchor of the Turkib Spy, which contained the Stories that were read in a Week at a Coffee-houfe at Damafcus, and it was in Italian. I wonder it has not been publifhed, for in my Judgment it was much fuperior to any Thing of the Kind that I have feen in Print, and I do not doubt but there are many fuch Collections in the Cabinets of the Curious in Italy and France.
Every body knows that the Turks are great Takers of Opium, and much has been written upon thofe Subjects, about which, however, there are many Miftakes; we will endeavour to redify fome of them. The Turks call it Affoun, and the beft comes from Aboutige in Egypt. It is very true, that as much as we have heard of Opium, there never was any of it in Europe. That which is ufed by the Turks of Diftinction, is drawn by Incifion from the largeft Sort of Black Poppies, by laying new Ropes under them in the hottett Seafon of the Year ; when they are flit with a Lance, the Liquor falls on and fticks to the Ropes in Drops of an Amber Colour, which are carefully collected, and fold at a confiderable Price; and this is the true Opium. They afterwards mow and extract the Juice from the Poppies, which over a fow Fire they reduce to the Confiftency of Turpentine, and afterwards make it up in Lumps and cover it with the Leaves; this is properly Meconium, but is what we receive for and generally call Opium. The beft is of a black Colour, tough rather than brittle, of a pungent ftupifying Smell, and free from Drofs and Sand. The wort Sort is of feveral Colours, clammy in fome Places, hard in others, and full of Drofs and Impurities. What is extracted from Garden Poppies in Europe, is what we ftile Diacodiums ; and this, if it be carefully made, of the largett and beft Poppies, properly cultivated, and in a very dry hot Seafon, comes nearer Opium, and may be ufed with better Effect than the Meconium.

When the latter is purified and diffolved in fome convenient Vehicle, it is ftiled Loudanum, and when compounded with other Ingredients, thefe are marked by a Variety of Epithets added to the Word Laudanum. There is alfo a folid Laudanum, which is only the Meconium well purified, and reduced again into a folid Form. The very beft Method of doing this is by mixing the pureft Meconium with Rain-Water, and then evaporating it over a now Fire, to the Confiftence of a Syrup; after which it will foon grow dry of itfelf.
The Turks, the Perfians, and, indeed, all the Eaftern Nations, take Opium as we do Wine or Drams; and the Cbinese are faid to have the beft Preparations of it in the World. It exhilerates the Spirits wonderfully, and the Ufe of it is fo bewitching, that when People have once got a Habit of taking it, they cannot leave it off; and as they feel the Effects of it lefs by Ufe, they are obliged to increafe their Dofe, till at laft they come to take amazing Quantities. Mr. Gracin, an Author of good Credit, fays, that he faw a Fellow at Bengal, who for a Roupy took four. Ounces of it, which made him fleep all that Day; but the next Morning he came to himfelf, and appear'd not much the worfe for it. This, however, is very unufual, and it is very rarely that any Perfon in Turkey ventures upon half an Ounce, and this muft be after many Years Pradice. Thofe who take it while they are young, feldom live to be above fifty; but thofe, who begin to take it at that Age, are not fo much affected with it.

As to Wine, there is nothing clearer than that the Ufe of it is forbidden to the Turks by the Interpreters of their Law, except in Cafes of Neceffity, when it is prefcribed them as Phyfick. The Clergy make a great Point of carrying the Edicts againtt the Ufe of it into the ftricteft Execution, but to very little Purpofe; and what they do of this Kind, produces as bad Confequences as Drunkennefs; for upon the coming out of any new Edits, or once or twice in a Year to keep up a Show of executing the old ones, the Sub-Baflhaw and bis Officers go into fome miferable Tippling-houfe, let
all the Wine about, take every Penny of Money they can lay their Hands on, break and deftroy whatever they meet with in the Cabin; and, to complete all, treat the Mafter of the Houfe, at his own Door, with a delicate Baftinadoe; of which, if he complains, or infinuates that he depended upon the Officer's Protedtion, in Confideration of an annual Prefent, he is probably fent to Goal into the Bargain. But notwithftanding all this, there are every-where Tippling-houfes kept by the Greeks, for the Sake of getting a little Money, where yet they are expofed to a great many Inconveniencies, and to the daily Infults of the Turks when in their Cups.

Their Hovels are both within and without the moft defpicable Places that can be imagined. Four Mud Walls compofe the Houfe, plaifter'd on the Infide, painted over with bawdy Figures, drawn in Charcoal by drunken Turks, three or four rotten Benches, and a few Earthen Pots in which the Wine is both drawn and drunk. Wretched as thefe Places are, they want not Company or Noife from Morning till Night, the Greeks being exceffively abufive, and the Turks brutally quarrelfome in their Liquor; which fhews, that, from a political Principle, the Prohibition of Wine in thefe Countries is a very right Thing.

Almoft all our Travellers agree, that the Turks are extravagantly ignorant; but the Queftion is, whether themfelves are good Judges of this, and whether it lies much in their Way to be acquainted with fuch as apply themfelves to Letters. It is, indeed, very true that the Turks are prodigioully fond of Aftronomy, Geomancy, and other Arts of Divination, which are very juflly mentioned as Proofs of their Ignorance; but in Excufe of this, we fhould confider, that mean People practife this with Belief, and that Perfons of higher Stations do it out of Cunning. We ought alfo to reflect, that it is not fo long fince we ourfelves were addifted to thefe Fooleries, in which, after all, the Turks excel us extremely, not that their Aftrology or other Arts are a Grain more certain, but the Cheat is managed with infinitely greater Dexterity. The Turks have Grammars and Dictionaries of their own Language ; Books of Divinity, Hiftory, Poetry, Phyfick, Mathematicks and Morality ; fo that after all, perhaps, they are not quite fo barbarous in this Refpect, or at leaft not fo univerfally ignorant as they are reprefented; nor do we find, that in any Negociations with their Viziers, they are apt to be over-reached in their Politicks.
Their Religion, indeed, is abfurd enough; but this is common to them and to other Mabometons; and, perhaps, they appear more abfurd to us, than they really are, from our Want of being acquainted with many of their Doctrines. It is moft certain, that they entertain very odd Notions of the State of the Dead, and are actually perfuaded, that they have fome Kind of Senfation in their Graves. An Engli/b Merchant once walking by a Turkijb Village, with a Fanizary before him, came to the Burying-place of the fewe, where a miferable, fhabby-looking Fellow was fitting before one of the Tombs; upon which the Fanizary ftept up to him, and accofted him in thefe Words: You old Rafcal, wobat do you do out of your Grave? get into it again tbis Minute, and don't stink the World a Second Time! The poor ferw marched off as faft as he was able, and the 7 Fanizary took it for granted that he was fneaked into his Grave again.

But with all their Superftition, there is no Want of Free-thinkers amongft the Turks, who take great Lio berties with their Religion, and perhaps believe very little more of it than the Cbrijtians themfelves. But they are obliged to keep their Notions very fecret, for the Civil Government flanding upon the fame Bafis with their religious Belief, any open Declarations of Infidelity would not only render a Man highly infamous, but fubject him alfo to grievous Punilhments. The Dervifes or Monks are fometimes Enthufiafts, but, generally fpeaking, they are notorious Cheats and Hypocrites; they commonly affect a very warm Zeal for their Reli: gion, which they exprefs by being very rude to Cbriftigns, and taking uncommon Freedom with Perfons of
all Ranks among their own People, who very unwilling ly fubmit to their Impertinences for Fear of opening the Eyes of the Vulgar, who cannct but bear a great Reverence to Religion, when they fee that the more ftrict Profeffion of it, fets the meaneit Man on a Level with the greateft. Some of the enthufiaftical Dervifes are fincere in their Way, and do fome Service to Society by reproving the great People for their Offences.

As to the Slaves in Turkey, they are the moft fubmif five, tractable and obedient Creatures in the World, and tho' there are Mafters, that from the natural Brutality of their Tempers, treat them harfhly enough, yet generally fpeaking they are tolerably well ufed; nor are they totally precluded from the Benefit of the Laws, for a Slave may fummon his Mafter before the Cadi for ill Ufage, and if he alledges that their Tempers are fo oppofite, that it is impoffible for them to agree, the Cadi will oblige his Mafter to fell him ; but then it muft be allowed, that this Way of coming to Market does not much recommend him to the next Mafter; what affords thefe poor People moft Ground of Complaint, is, the little Care taken of them in the Time of the Plague; for the $\mathcal{T}$ urks upon a Principle of Fatality, and a Belief that every Man's Fortune, as they phrafe it, is written in his Forehead, when they lofe one Slave by the Difeafe, put the next not only into his Room, but into his Bed, without taking any Precautions, and fo lofe perhaps half a Score, one after another.

An Englifh Merchant who was very intimate with an honeft and fenfible Turk, that was half ruined by this wild Way of acting, convinced him of the Folly of it, by a very eafy and natural Experiment. He bid hirn take three large fine Lemons, one of which had juft begun to rot, and place them fo as that this rotten Lemon touched one of the found ones, and not the other; the next Day the found Lemon corrupted; the Iurk faw the Force of the Argument, caufed his Slaves Chamber and Bed to be well wathed with Vinegar, all the Utenfils changed, and every, Thing to be thoroughly perfumed, and thefe Precautions had their Effect, for the next Slave he had did very well, and it is to be prefumed, the Mafter was cured of his Folly ever after. By the Way let us obferve, that the Price of Lemons is a fure Way of knowing whether the Plague increafes or decreafes, when Conftantinople is infected, for almoft the fole Nourifhment they give the Sick, is the Juice of that Fruit, which they fuck continually, and as foon as one Lemon is exhautted, a frefh one is put into the Hands of the Patient, Experience having taught them, that Acids contribute moft of any Thing to the Cure of this Diftemper.

That the Turks are exceffively jealous, is a Fact as certain, as that their Women are exceffively lewd; and therefore if a Woman fpeaks to a Man, they take it for granted, that fhe has lain with him, or would lie with him, if She had an Opportunity; and when a Frank attempts to perfuade a Turk of the contrary, by infinuating that they may like the Company of a Man, for the Sake of Converfation, their common Anfwer is, Friend, if you catch a Perfon's Hand in your Pocket, would you think it was a fufficient Excufe if he fhould tell you he did it only out of Curiofity, to fee what was in it. The beft Security they have againft their Slaves, the only Males that have any Opportunity of coming near their Women, is the Severity of their Chaftifements, for an Offence of this kind he is punifhed with Death without Mercy; yet even this dreadful Remedy is not always effectual, for their Women having fo much Leifure on their Hands; have Intrigues always in their Heads, and it is allowed that none in the World exceed them in their Skill of managing them with Dexterity and Secrecy. We have already obferved, that the defpotic Power of the Grand Signior and the Vizir Azem is neceffary, according to the Scheme of their Conftitution; and though it is not limited by Law, yet it finds a natural Reftraint from the Fear of popular Infurrections, which are more terrible in this than almoft any other Country. As to the Iurkib Juftice, it is a Point of all others, the leaft underftood by Strangers, at which we need wonder the lefs, when we confider,
that even in Europe, one Nation knows very little of the Laws and Cuftoms practifed in another. Bur however it is certain, that the Turkif Law very much refembles what is ftiled the common Law in this Kingdom ; that is to fay, it depends upon Maxims and Rules that are founded chiefly in Ufage.

But there is one Thing that deferves particular Notice, and that is, that in no Country in the World there are fuch Numbers of falfe Witneffes, nor are thefe lefs ufed by the Chriftian Merchants eftablifhed amongft them, than by the Turks themfelves; for as every Thing in their Courts of Juftice muft be proved by two legal Witneffes, that is, by Mufumen, Merchants, would find. it impoffible to recover their Right, if they were fo fcrupulous as not to make Ufe of this Practice. In fuch a Cafe they call in a Couple of Turks of their Acquaintance to their Affiftance, and thefe baving firft very ferioufly afked the Merchant, if the Fact be as he flates it ; upon his anfwering in the affirmative, immedrately tell him, Well, upon thy Credit we will fwear 11, and are as good as their Words, for which they are gratified with a fmall Prefent; nay, in pubick Caufes, fuch as Petitions for repairing a Church, if the Caufe fticks for want of a Witnefs, a grave Turk that flands by will come in a Volunteer, and tell a formal Story how he came to know fo much of the Marter as will fut the Thing a-going ; but he experts to have his Prefent next Day, and it would be a Thing of very bad Confequence to neglect it ; but the greateft Objection to the Turkib Law arifes from the Corruption of thofe who difpenfe it ; for every Man is at Liberty to apply to the Cadi privately, and then without Doubt what he fuggefts is fupported by more weighty. Arguments than can be delivered in Words. Yet with all thele Difadvantages, and without Doubt they are not inconfiderable, an Englifh Lawyer who had great Opportunities of examining this Point to the very Bottom, has fuggefted, that the Turkib Manner of Proceeding is not wachout fuch Conveniences as balance all thefe Defects. The Reader no doubt will be glad to hear him, as his Remarks upon this Head are more to the Purpofe, than thofe that could be made by any other Man, not of the Profetion.
" One fovereign Virtue, fays he, of the Turkifb Luw, " is this, that every Man is his own Bailiff and Sum" moner, without the Plague of Procefs, Returns, "Alias, Pluries, and I know not what Hooks or Crooks, " that often beggar a Suitor, before he can bring his "Adverfary to anfwer him. But a Man, in this Country, " requiring the Adverfary to go before the Judge, he " muft without Shift or Delay go ; and if he offers to "efcape, a Thing fcarce known there, he muft run " quite away, for the very People will almoft deftroy " him if they catch him. Here is no fuing out a Writ, " going to the Sheriff, from him to the Bailiff, with a " farther Train of ill Confequences I am afhamed to " remember.
"Another Virtue, and a fingular one, is, that no Man " anfwers by Attorney, but in proper Perfon only. "The Courfe is, when the Parties come before the "Judge, the Plantiff makes his Demand for Money " lent, the Price of Goods fold, or the like. The Judge " fits all the while with his Paper upon his Hand, and " writes his Minutes. What Say you to it? Says he to " the other, and then he makes his Defence; if there " be a Writing fhewed, the Defendant fails not to " own it; there are no Non eft faifums for pure Delay, " to be tried. It is there infamous in the greateft De" gree for a Man to deny his Writing, when fhewed " to him before a Judge, or indeed any Matter of Fact "that is true, after it appears to have been fo to his "Knowledge. What a vaft Retrenchment of Delay " and Charge is this? Men anfwering in Perfon can "fcarce be brought to fpeak falfe; they muft be " ftrangely abandon'd to all Shame, that in the Face 's of a Court, without ftammering or blufhing, will do "fo. Whereas when they fit at Home, and leave s6 their Attorneys and Council to plead for them, "s there fhall be falfe Pleas for Delays profefedly, os and no Concern at all to their Countenances.
${ }^{6}$ The Turkib Law feems to have another Virtue, ${ }^{66}$ which lies in the Method of Proof; after the Judge 's hath heard the Demand and the Anfwer, he confi ${ }^{6}$ ders on which Side the Proof lies; If the Dealing be
" denied, as by the Defendant's faying he bought no
" Goods of the Plaintiff, or the like, the Judge bids
${ }^{6}$ the Demander prove it ; and if Witneffes are not rea-
" dy, he gives a few Days to bring them, becaufe he
" might expect the other Party would have owned the
" Dealings; but if he faid, It is true, I bought the
"Goods, but I paid bim for them, then the Judge bids the
${ }^{6}$ Defendant prove; but he will never let Witnefs
" come to fwear on both Sides to one and the fame
${ }^{6}$ Fact, for that is to make fure of a Perjury; fo in a
"Turkib Court, Witneffes never confront and upon
" Oath contradict one another ; but being once taken
" as Witneffes, the Caufe is at an End, the Demand is
${ }^{6}$ made and proved, What would you have more?
" But yet, if the Witneffes are not credible, that Ex"ception is allowed, and Witneffes heard to prove it,
6 and the Judge determines thereupon, whether he fhall
"s believe the Witneffes or not, and accordingly judges
6 of the Main.
"Another admirable Virtue of the Turkib Law is,
${ }^{66}$ that Decrees or Decifions never fight one with ano"s ther; and yet the Party hath the Benefit of an Ap-
${ }^{6}$ peal. They call their Decree an Odgett, which is a
" fmall Scrip or Ticket, which' the Judge writes upon
" his Hand, and gives out to the Party that hath ob-
"s tained Sentence. After this Odgett made and fign-
"s ed, and given out, no Judicature or Authority in the
"Empire can queftion or difcharge the Matter, or the
" Effect of it, no not the Great Divan, although the
" Odgett were made by the meaneft Judge in the Em-
" pire. This feems very much to refemble the Laws
" of the Medes and Perfians, when a Decree might
's not be revoked. It is certain, that in Turkey there
" cannot be more than one Odgett or Decree in one
's and the fame Caufe.
" A Turkih Judge would laugh, if he were told of
cs our Judgments, Writs of Error, and Error upon
' Error, Appeals, Reviews, $E^{2} c$. with full and entire
"Sentence of the Caufe pronounced in all, and the
" latter giving the former ill Language, and looking
${ }^{66}$ as if a Judgment in a Caufe were but a Foundation " whereupon to commence a new Suit, to the incoms6 prehenfible Delay and Expence wherewith the Parties,
" their Heirs and Affigns are tormented. But it will
" be faid, How then can the Parties have an Appeal ?
"As to that, if either Side thinks the Judge unskilful
" or partial, at any Time before Odgett made, he may " appeal to a Superior Judge, and then the Caufe is
"s as if it had not been heard; but the Parties go be-
" fore the Judge by Appeal, as if the Caufe originally
" came before him, and then he makes the Odgett;
"s but whoever makes it, the Odgett is irreverfible.
" A farther Virtue of the Turkiß Law is this: All
"Equity is comprehended in it. Men there are bound
" by their Contracts as well as here; but if a Contract
" prove very unequal, the Judge takes Notice of the
" Unreafonablenefs, and gives Relief. As if a Man takes
" an Houle to build at half the true Value; when the
"Work is done, he may fue in a Quantum meruit for
" the Whole; and it is enough to fay, I thought I
" might have done it for the Price, but was miftaken.
"This goes farther than our Courts of Equity, for
" they do not relieve againft any hard Bargains, with-
" out Eraud or Circumvention proved. It hath been
" faid, they do not fit there to relieve Fools; but if "we confider well, it will be found, that all Perfons "circumvented by Fraud, are fo far within that Deno" mination. But granting full Relief may be had, " what doth it coft to come at it ? In this Refpect the "Turkib Law is fimple, for it not only difallows all " over-reaching Bargains but, the Judgment of them "falls proper in one and the fame Suit, which Party "foever promotes it. And even here very good Pa-
" triots have deciared it fit, that the Court having Ju-
${ }_{-}^{6}$ rifdiction of the Caufe in Point of Law, fhould alfo
judge of the Equity emergent thereupon: But the prefent Conftitution doth not allow it.
"The Civilians reproach the common Law, faying, "it wants Equity, and needs a particular Judicature to "fupply it. But I think theirs worfe, for they have " no Mitigations, and all is funmum jus. And then "s they contradict themfelves, laying, Apices juris non "funt jura; and more grony leap over their Law, " judging as they fay, ex autboritate, againf Law, which, "s in their Language, is nobile Officium Fudicis. But the
"Turki/b Law feems, in there Refpects, to be moft con"s fiftent and complete. One Thing more I will ven-
${ }^{66}$ ture to alledge in Favour of the Turkibh Law, which
"s is of admirable Ufe, and that is, their Difpatch. A
"Caufe feldom lafts a Week, and very often is opened " 6 and determined in a Day; and there is fearce any ${ }^{6}$ Means to prolong it, but demanding Time to pro"duce Teftimony to Facts, about which the Parties "6 happen to differ ; their alledging and anfwering "6 for themfelves orally before the Judge, keeps down " Differences of Facts. For the Pride or Shame of "6 the Parties, as well as Integrity, will make them fave "proving, and, for the moft part, own what they " know to be true, and fo bring the Matter in Judga " ment upon the right Point.

It may be objected here," That this Proceeding is " precipitous, and Corruption a-part, for Want of "Advice and Deliberation of the Parties, as well as on "s the Part of the Judge, Wrong may be done; and "Juftice is a facred Thing, and ought to have the greateft Regard. It is granted that Juftice is a rare "Thing, if it may be had; but if it is to be gained by "failing through a Sea of Delays, Repetitions and " Charges, really it may be as good a Bargain to ftay " at home a Lofer. A wrong Determination expedite, " 6 is better than a right one after ten Years Vexa'tion, Charge, and Delay. A good Caufe imme" diately loft, is in fome Refpects gained; for the " Party hath his Time and Tranquility of Mind refer" ved to himfelf to ufe as he pleafeth, which is a rare "Thing in the Opinion of thofe who have felt the " Want of both, and of their Money into the Bargain. " The Reafon why Juftice is fo facred, is not becaufe " the Caufe of Suit, or Thing claimed in itfelf is of "s any Regard, for that Argument will bring all Things "s to a Levelling, as why fhould one Man have too " much, and another want? But becaufe it preferves "s Peace and Quietnefs among Men, which is the great"eft of all temporal good Things; and confequently, ${ }^{6} 6$ wrong Judgments, foon and final, have the Virtue of "6 Juftice, becaufe Peace and Quietnefs is thereby pre"ferved. But Delays have an Effect directly to the " contrary, for thofe maintain Feuds and Hatred, as ${ }^{6}$ well as Lofs of Time and Money; fo that if it be 66 faid, that in the End Juftice is fecured thereby (which " I do not grant) I anfwer it is done by unjuft Means, " and comes to the fame. But is it not a fad Tbing, fay "fome, for a Man to be burried out of bis Right? Is it "not a fad T'bing a Man Bould bave a Fever? As "s the Body, fo the Eftate muft be obnoxious to Infir6 mities; there is no Perfection in either State, and " that is always beft which is fhorteft, and hath the leaft 6 Anguifh or Pain.
" I fhall alledge but one Inftance farther, where I " think the Turki乃h Law is remarkably diftinguifhed, and " it is on the criminal Side: If a Man comes to the Judge, "s and with Clamour, as the Way is, complains that he ' is robbed of his Goods, the Cadi will ask him, By "whom, and where is the Thief? And if he fays he " does not know, perhaps punifh him as a Knave, that ${ }^{6}$ pretends to be robbed to cheat his Creditors. What, "fays he, doth not the Grand Signior protect his Sub" jects? If you are robbed, find the Thief, and Right " Shall be done; if you want Help, take an Officer, " but do not accufe the Grand Signior's righteous Go"s vernment. Now to add here a Word or two of their 'criminal Juftice, I fhall obferve, that it is executed ${ }^{6}$ with fuch Rigour, as keeps down Ofences fo effec". tually, that in that great City of Conftantinople, there

## Chap. I.

to the LEVANT.
 's Years, as in one, I may fay, in one Seffion, in Londion. "If a Thief is ca'sght, they make more Account of " him by difcovering others, than by the Example of " his Punifhment ; and they handle him at fuch a Rate, " that he cannot but difcover all he knows. He fhall
" fometimes be fecretly chained to an Officer, and fo " go about the City, and whom he points to is taken "up. The firft Thing done, is to fee that he makes
" full Amends to the Perfon robbed, and when that
"Perfon declares he is fatisfied, he is fent away with a
" Menace, that he concern not himfelf for Favour to
"s that Man. And, after all, what hath this poor
" Thief to reward him for all his Ingenuity and Ser-
" vice to the Publick, by difcovering? Nothing but
" to die without Torment, for if the Judge be difla-
" tisfied with his Behaviour, he makes fuch a publick
" Torture of him, as muft terrify all Rogues from the
" like Practices; otherwife he is committed to an Of-
" ficer to be fimply hanged, and then that Officer takes
" him into the Street, and chufes what Man's Sign or
" Poft he pleafes, and conftrains whom he thinks fit to " perform the Ceremony; and a Frank, if he comes " by unluckily at that Time, is not fafe from being pre= " ferred to the Employment.
We have dwelt fo long upon this Subject, that it is neceffary for us to be the fhorter in regard to the reft. The general Accounts we have of the Turkibh Manners are, at one and the fame Time, both true and falfe. True in regard to the Relaters Knowledge, who delivers what he faw and knew ; but falle, as it is applied, by afcribing what he collected from the narrow Circle of his Acquaintance to a whole Nation. The Turks are like other People, fome are Men of Senfe, others Blockheads; there are Men of Learning amongft them, as well as Multitudes that are ignorant. Drunkennefs is common among the meaner Sort, and much worfe Crimes amongft thofe in an exalted Station. Their Paffion for Women, and the effeminate Life they lead in their Apartments, has a very bad Effect even amongft Perfons of the greateft Diftinction ; and, to fay the Truth, there is fo little Felicity to be enjoy'd under their Conftitution, that we need not wonder at the Pictures modern Travellers draw of the prefent State of the Ottoman Empire, in which all that have Power are Oppreffors, and all that have it not, are oppreffed.

The Greek Chriftians, that live under the Yoke of the Grand Signior, are the molt miferable Pcople in the Univerfe; and though all of them do not appear fo, yet in Fact they are moft miferable Slaves. If they can get nothing, they muft of Courfe pafs their Days in Meannefs and Poverty ; and, if they come to have any Thing, they muft ftill wear the Appearance of Meannefs and Poverty to keep it. It is, indeed, true, that fome of them lift up their Heads a little, and live in a State much fuperior to what we have defcribed; but they muft have powerful Protectors to do this, and they muft be continually acknowledging the Favour of this Protection by Prefents equal to, if not above their Abilities; and, after all this, if any Change happens, and fuch Changes are continually happening to their Protectors, they are torn to Pieces, and ruined in an Inftant. But before this happens, they are equally defpifed and hated by the Turks, and the very meaneft of them will infult the Greeks with Impunity. But in the Midft of fo much Calamity, and under the heavy Load of fuch barbarous Oppreffion, thefe People keep up their Spirits, if to be eafy and merry may be fo called, and will be as frolick and gay over their Cups, as if they had milder Mafters, or lived in abfolute Freedom, according to the common Proverb amongft us, fo much ufed and fo little underfood, viz. as merry as a Greek. The Turks have fo much Policy as to indulge them in the free Exercife of their Religion, and to keep up their Hierarchy, which, generally fpeaking, keeps them in the Interefts of their Manters, fo as to prefer the $\mathcal{T} u r k i / b$ Government (bad as it is) to that of any Chriftian Power not of their own Religion. But if ever the Ruffan Empire comes to be fettled on a firm
VoI. II. $\mathrm{N}^{\mathrm{e}} 125$.

Foundation, and there fhould happen a Succeffion of two or three great Princes, the Turks would run a confiderable Hazard of finding that Prophecy trues which they have amongft them, that the Mufcovites will one Day fubvert their Empire.
The forws in the Grand Signior's Dominions are pretty much the fame that they are every where elfe, that is, a Kind of neceffary Evils. At Confantinople, Smyrna, Aleppo, and other Ports, every Chritian Houle, and, indeed, every Merchant of any Rank, has his Fere, who, if he has Goods to fell, finds him Cuftomers: and, if he wants to buy, finds out the Commodity is wanted. By their Ufefulners in this Refpect, they have a Share, and not a trifling Share, in all Sorts of Dealings; and fome of them arrive at Wealth, but never at Refpect ; for as they hate Turks and Cbrifitians equally, fo both Turks and Cbriftians hate them in Return; and for the far greateft Part of the Nation, they are in as low and defpicable a Condition as it is poffible to conceive a People, and which feems to be the very Extent of human Mifery : They are deftitute even of Hope, for no Revolution that can poffibly happen in a Country, the moft fubject of all others to Revolutions, can ever prove favourable to them; but they muft be content to drudge on under the fame heavy Yoke, let who will be their Maiters.
33. We will clofe this Section with fome Remarks upon the Decadence of the Turki万b Empire, which tho' its Dominions are very near as extenfive as ever, yet is very far from having the fame Force that it had heretofore. This proceeds from a Multitude of Caufes, but the principal is the Extinction of their ancient Spirit. It is very truly obferved by an eminent. Author that has been already quoted, that theirs is a Military Government, and that the Contitution is formed upon this Plan. It is for this Reafon, that a State of War is natural to, as well as perfectly confiftent with the Wel fare of their Empite, which can never enjoy interior Peace, if the Arms of the Grand Signior be notem ployed on one Sideior other. Almolt every State befides is oppreffed by War, and recovers its Strength in Time of Yeace ; but the Reverfe of this is the Cafe in Turkey, where War is almoft always beneficial, and Peace brings along with it the greateft Danger. But for many Years paft the Turkifh Difcipline growing relax, their Troops are no longer fo formidable, and their being continually beaten by the Cbrifians and the Perfans, has made Peace neceffary at leaft, if not agreeable.

This has been attended with an innumerable Train of Mifchiefs and Inconveniencies, for their Soldiery being never disbanded, as making a Part of their Conftitution, grow more and more formidable at Home, in the fame Proportion that they became more and more defpicable Abroad, which muft be the Cafe of all Countries that put their Truft in a Standing Army. Their Officers alfo being no longer preferred for their Military Virtues, but in Confequence of Cabals and Intrigues, are Soldiers only in Shew ; and the fame Difpofition fpreads itfelf downwards, fo that a Fanizary is at prefent terrible only from his Staff and his Cap, and to thofe he fhould protect, who fee Nothing in him now that is military except his Infolence. The Government alfo is fallen of late Years into the Hands of the Men of the Law, who for that. Reafon do all they cain to maintain Peace, notwithftanding that they cannot but be fenfible how much the Empire fuffers from the Extinction of that Spirit, by which it rofe and extended itfelf to that prodigious Dominion it ftill preferves.

But we may fafely affirm, that how large foever it may be, it is now no more than an infirm gigantick Body, which reels and totters under its own Weight, and would be infallibly overthrown, if its Neighbours fhould unite to bring about its Deftruction. The RufSians, the Poles and the Hungarians, would at this Day be a great Overmatch for the Ottomans, and it would be no difficult Thing for each of thore Nations, to bring fixty or feventy thoufand Men into the Field, be fides Irregulars. The Venetians are now no longer what they were, and their Maritime Power is funk to fuch a Degree, as to make no Figure at all in Europe, but

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even
even weak, as it is in Conjunction with the Pope's Gallies, thofe of other Italian Princes, and the Naval Power of the Knights of Malta, it would be very capable of giving Difturbance to the Turks, and of making a formidable Diverfion in Favour of fuch a Confederacy.
This is very far from being a mere empty Scheme or vifionary Project, for moft certainly, if thefe Powers were to confider their own Interefts, they would find it much eafier to gratify their Ambition in its full Extent by attacking the Turks, than by injuring each other, fince the Provinces depending upon that Empire, which by fuch a Confederacy might infallibly be torn away, are in every Refpect more fruitful and more valuable, as well as out of Comparifon more extenfive than thofe Countries about which they have been for many Centuries difputing. Befides, this would change the general Face of Affairs extremely, and open many new Branches of Commerce to all the trading Nations in Europe, which would make them ample Amends for the Lofs of that Profit they make by dealing with the Turks. The Paffage to the Black-Sea would be then fet open, and that noble Country which is now ftiled Crim-Tartary, from being in the Hands of thofe Barbarians, would be inhabited by a civilized and focia People, inftead of ferving for a Den of Thieves and Murderers, who fubfift by Rapine, and the Ruin of their Fellow-Creatures.

If once that Spirit of Intrigue could be conjured down, which, for two or three Centuries has diftracted and difturbed Europe, fuch a Defign as this might be eafily brought to bear ; and there is the more Reafon to wifh it, becaufe it would not only contribute to the Glory of the Chriftian Name, but to the common Eafe and Benefit of Mankind. It would afford to Sovereigns that Satisfaction which is truly royal, of relieving diItreffed and injured Nations, and reftoring them to thofe Rights of which they were at firft difpoffeffed, and from which they have been fo long withheld by barbarous and brutal Force. It would recover incredible Numbers of People from an abject State of Slavery, to a rational and induftrious Way of living, which would change the Face of the Countries they inhabit, and make them appear once more adorned with all the Advantages that Art can procure, from the bountiful Dif pofitions of Nature, not more profufe in any Part of the Globe, than in thofe neglected Territories, that groan under the Iron Sceptre of the Grand Signior; nor is it to be feared, that the Changes which fuch a Revolution would produce, fhould be attended with any of thofe fatal Confequences that commonly follow fuch

Events ; becaufe inftead of depopulating thefe Countries, it would certainly prove the Means of drawing into them prodigious Acceffions of People.

The Weakners and Nakednefs of the Turkiß Government would then lufficiently appear, for they would be neither able to carry off any Number of their Subjects from the Countries they loft, nor would they dare to treat with the fame Ufage as they now do, the Chriftians remaining under their Power, becaufe in Proportion as that declined, they would be compelled to abate of the Infolence that is fupported by it. Nor would the Advantages derived from fuch Conquefts belong only to the Powers that made them, for every Part of Europe would feel the Benefits of fuch a Change, fince it muft be attended with a vaft Alteration of Manners, and a free Communication with Countries, that are now as much hidden and unknown, as either the Northern or the Southern Extremities of the Univerfe. Add to all this, that the apparent and extenfive Profits, which murt redound from fuch Expeditions, would exciee a new Spirit in the Chriftian World, and very probably procure frefh Settements and Plantations in more favourable Climates, and at Diftances far lefs remote than we are now forced to feek them.

We fhould then fee the Greek Inands, that are now fo many Defarts, fmile again in all their native Beauty, the venerable Remains of Roman and Greek Antiquities would be difinterred, and new Structures rife, however unequal to them, out of their Ruins. It would be eafy to expatiate much further, on fo agreeable and pleafing a Theme; but what I have faid is fufficient to awaken the Thoughts of the intelligent Reader, and therefore it is high Time that I fhould call of my own, in order to refume the Thread of our Narration, and return to the Travels from whence I have digreffed. But before I do this, give me Leave to declare, that I am thoroughly perfuaded, that this Change is not at a very great Diftance, but, that either the prefent or the next Generation, will infallibly fee fomething of this kind accomplifhed, which in all Probability had been attempted before this, if the Change in the French Conftitution, which has brought them to act upon the Tur$k i / b$ Syftem, had not called off the Attention of the Chriftian Princes, to fet Limits to that all grafping Power, which before it is long, will be alfo crufhed by its own Weight ; for Structures raifed by Violence and Fraud, have fuch Weakneffes in their Foundations, that they cannot fubfift for any Length of Time, but when at their greateft Height fink into Deftruction, by the very Means whereby they were raifed.

## S E C T I O N III.

An Account of feveral of the moft remarkable Cities in Afid, of various Iflands in the Archipelago, and of Things moft obfervable in them, both with Refpect to their ancient and prefent Condition; with Remarks Hiftorical, Phyfical and Geographical.

Extracted chiefly from the Writings of Mr. John Thevenot ; but intermixed with Accounts from Wheeler and Le Brun.

1. A Defcription of the City of Burfa, or as fome call it, Prufia, with an Account of the Seraglio's and Tombs of the Turkinh Princes in its Neigbbourbood. 2. The famous City and Port of Smyrna defcribed. 3. A curious and copious Defcription of the Camelion, from Wheeler's Travels. 4. A Viere of the noble City of Ephefus, from the Writings of Le Brun. 5. The adjacent Country defcribed, with fome Account of the famous River Meander. 6. A curious Defcription of the Iland of Chio, of the Maftick Trees, and the Trade arijng from the Sale of that Gum. 7. The famous Convent of Niamoni, one of the beft belonging to the Greeke, defcribed. 8. Of the cbief City of the Ifland of Chio, which bears the fame Name, from the Accounts given of it by feveral Autbors. 9. A very particular and difinct Vierw of the moft remarkable Places in that Ifland. 10. Of the Inbabitants of Chio, tbeir Manners, Cufoms,

Trade,


Trade, and dreadful Oppreffions by the Turks. II. The IIlands of Patmos and Naxos defcribed, with an Account of the Inbabitants, and of the State of the Greek and Latin Churches. 12. Of the Iflands of Pa ros, Delos, Micone and Tina. 13. The Iflands of Nio and Santorini defcribed, with fome very curious Particulars relating to the latter. 14. An Account of the Ifland of Polecandro, and its Inbabitants. 15. A Defcription of the Iflands of Milo and Chimolo, with a very curious Account of the Hot-Baths in the former. 16. Sifanto and Thermia defcribed, with an Account of their Produce, and of the Cuffoms of their Inbabitants. 17. Of the Iflands of Ajora and Scyra, reith an Account of their Inbabitants. 18. Of the IJands of Samos and Nicaria, and of the peculiar Privileges which the Women enjoy in the latter. 19. A Defcription of the Ifland of Coos, now called Ifola Longa, and of the famous Cafle of Bodrou, which formerly belonged to the Knights of St. John. 20. Of the famous IJand of Rhodes, the Manner in which it woas taken by the Turks, and the Remains of the Cafles, Palaces, and otber Structures erected there by the Knights of St. John, wobile they were Mafters of it. 2I. A large and curious Defcription of the noble IJland of Cyprus, weith an Account of its ancient and prefent State. 22. Mr. Randolph's Account of the Ifland and Kingdom of Candia, and of the long War fuffained by the Venetians againft the Turks, in Defence thereof. 23. Mifcellaneous Obfervations and Remarks from various Autbors.

'MR. Thevenot left Confantinople, Auguft 30, commodious. It boafts of being the Birth-place of 1656. and fail'd in a Saique to Montagna, from whence he rode to Burfa, which was called by the Ancients Prufia, the Metropolis of the ancient Kingdom of Bytbynia, and was the Capital City of the Turkib Empire in the Reign of Orcan, the Son of Ofman, the firft Sultan, who took it in the 726 th Year of the Hegyra, and in the Year of our Lord, 1325 ; but it was taken from Bojazet by Tamerlane. It is about ten Miles diftant from Mount Olympus. It is pleafantly fituated, and Water is fo plentiful, that befides what they have in all their Dwellings, they have Fountains in their Houfes of Office for their Ablutions. They have fome Waters that run through the Town, fo hot, as to boil an Egg, of which they have made feveral Bagnio's, which ferve for the Cure of many Diftempers, and People come above ico Miles to wath in them. There are many fair Houfes in the Town, and above 200 Mofques; many Hons, very magnificently built and conftantly inhabited, becaufe the Caravans from feveral Places pafs through this Town; but the moft remarkable Buildings of this City are the Sepulchres of the firft Turki/b Emperors and their Sultana's, in fo many Chappels built Dome-wife.

Among them is faid to be one, of a French Sultana, who being taken Captive, and prefented to the Grand Signior, fo much ravifhed his Affections, that he enjoy'd her, but permitted her to exercife her Religon to her Death, The Cbrifians after her Deceafe defired to have the Care of her Burial, but it was not granted them, and fo fhe lies in a little Chapel, arch'd and inclofed with Walls among the reft. This Town is about half a French League in Length, not entirely wall'd, and has a Caftle ftanding in the Middle on a little Hill, which has Baftions that in their Opinion render it impregnable; but the Water that fupplies it runs through the Tuwn, and fo may be cut off. No Cbrititian is allowed to go into it, left they fhould endeavour to regain it, becaufe it was taken from them by ftopping the Water. Within this Caftle was formerly the Seraglio of the firtt Sultans of the Ottoman Family, but it is now demolifhed. It is faid to be built by an Emperor's Daughter, who was cured of a Leprofy by wafhing in the hot Waters of this Town, being taught the Experiment by a meally Hog, that by wafhing in it was cured. Clofe by the Town is an Hill, where a Turkib Hermit lives in a Chapel, which is enclofed with good Walls and Iron Gates. In it are the Tombs of one Roland, or Orland, and his Son, with his Sword and Mace lying on a Table juft by, who valiantly defended this Caftle againft the Saracens in the Life of the Foundrefs, and flew many of them.
2. From Burfa he went to Smyrna with the Caravan, and becaufe Nothing is to be met withal upon this Road but Water, Travellers mult carry all their Provifions and Houfhold-ftuff along with them, or want both. The Way lies through Tablitalie, Loubat, Soufurluc, Dgelembe, Palamout, and Manafa, to Smyma. This Town is a noted Place in Ionia, built at firt by Tantalus, named fo from an Amazon who took it, and when it was demolifhed by an Earthquake, rebuilt by Mark Antbony nearer the Sea, to make the Harbour more

Homer.
The Turks call it Ifmyr. It is a large Town, and well inhabited both by Turks and Cbrijtians, but is neither pleafant nor ftrong. It is commanded by a Cafte, at the Bottom of which, in the Way to the Greek Church called Santa Veneranda, is a great Amphitheatre, where Si. Polycarp, St. Yobn's Scholar and Bifhop of Smyrna, fuffered Martyrdom. Near it are the Ruins of St. Fobn's Cathedral Church, which had feveral large Chapels, and in one is till a Tomb, which the People fay is St. Polycarp's; but it feems rather to be that of fome Turk. The Port is but fmall, but the Road is fpacious and fafe, and has a Caftle lately built, to hinder what Ships they pleafe from coming in, or going out. By the Road ftands the Cuftom-Houfe, and the Houfes of the Confuls and Merchants, Franks, who have, for the moft Part, a Back-door towards the Sea. In it is a Cadi to adminifter Juftice.

Befides Turks, there live in it Cbrijtians of all Countries, Greeks, Armenians, and Latins. The Greeks have two Churches, viz. St. Veneranda, where their Archbifhop officiates, and St. 'George, which belongs to their Monks. The Armenians have alfo two Churches, and the Latins as many, one of them belonging to the Capucbins, which is over-againft the French Conful's Houre, and the other to the fefuits, which has a lovely Houfe adjoining to it. The Country about it is plain and fertile in Ulive-trees, and full of Gardens. All Things there are in Abundance, and their Wine is moft excellent. It is very fubject to Earthquakes, which happen every Year, and often ruin the Town; but it is foon rebuilt again, becaufe of the Convenience of its Situation. The Air in Summer-time would be very hot, if it were not for the low Wind, or North Breeze, as they call it, which blows regularly every Day, and much qualifies the Heat

We have a larger and more correct Account of this City in Sir George Wheeler's Travels, which we will add in his own Words. Smyrna hath fo many Advantages from its natural Situation, that notwithftanding the great Calamities which have befallen it by War, and moft prodigious Earthquakes, that no lefs than fix Times have over-thrown and almoft utterly ruined it Yet it hath ftill been thought worth the Repairing and Reftoring to all the Beauty the Art of its Inhabitants could contrive to adorn it with; notwithfanding alfo, that from fome old Tradition they expect the Seventh fhall be its utter Ruin, never to be repair'd. Is is fituated at the Bottom of a Bay, efteemed twenty Miles to its Mouth, fecured with high Mountains on every Side from all Winds but the Weft; whence from Sea they can receive no Damage : For the Hermus which emptieth itfelf into it, maketh a Bank of Sand that barreth the raging of the Sea out, yet leaves fuch a Paffage in it, although but narrow, that he muft be a very Ideos of a Pilot that cannot bring a Ship in fafe into the inmoft Part of the Bay; where he may find Room and Depth enough, with very good Moorage.
This Bay hath Mount Sypilus Nortb. Another Mountain, which I judged to be the Mefogijmonds,
mentioned by Ptolomy and Strabo, Nortb-Eaft. The into the Bay Soutbrwards, and of the Plain much more mentioned by Polomy and
Hills whereon the Town flands, from Eaft to South. North-East than the New Smyrna of our Times; but From thence to the Promontory Argemum, winding about to the Wefteria Point. Mons Mimas, now called the Brotbers, from the two higheft Points. Here is indeed a little Gap, being the Mouth of the Bay, but thence Hills begin to rife again to joyn to Mount Sipylus. Of this Entrance I fhall have Occafion again to fpeak when I part hence. But as to the reft, thefe Mountains are not fo near, but that they leave fruitful Fields round about between the Bay and them, well planted with Olive-yards, Vineyards, and Corn Fields among them; and from the Town to Mount Sipyius is a Valley of four or more Miles in Length, and near a Mile broad in fome Places, which with the Gardens about the Towns, and the Town itfelf, drink up two pretty Streams of good Water, one rifing Nortbward from the Mountain Sipylus, and the other Soutbward from Mount Mimas, which join together Norib-Eaft of the Town, and what it fparech, which is but little, the Sea receiveth at the Nortb-Wefl-End of the Towi. That which cometh Nortbwards from Mount Sypilus, is a confiderable Stream, driveth feven Mills, and hath A-. bundance of Fifh in it. The other, coming from Mount Mimas, is the greateft Part brought to the Town in Aquæducts, two of which are well built, with Stone Arches croffing the Valiey or deep Fols, which itielf hath dug between two Hills, whereof the Northernmofs is where Old Smyrna flood, now only a Cafte. The reft of the Water is divided amongtt the Gardens.
Smyrne is a Place of great Antiquity, and is reputed to have had the Amazon Smyrna for it Foundrefs. They therefore ftamped their Money with the Figure of her Head. I got feveral Pieces of them, very rare, and faw many more in the Cabinet of an ingenious Merchant there, Mr. Falkener, who defigns his Collection for the Univerfity of Oxford. One fmall one hath her Head crowned with Towers, and her two-edged Hatchet on her Shoulder, almoft worn out with Age, and about it are theie Letters, $\Sigma \mathrm{mypna}$, on the other Side the Prow of a Ship, and thefe, $\Sigma \mathrm{mrpnim} \Omega \mathrm{N}$. From another I faw of the Emprefs Tranquillina, is to be feen her whole Habit, which is thus: Her Head is crowned with a Tower, as before, her two-edged Axe upon her Shoulder, holding a Temple in her Right-hand, perhaps referring to fome Temple Tranquillina had built, in a fhort Veft down to her Knees, and Buskins half Way her Legs. There is fomething alfo fhe holds in her Left-hand, befides her Axe, which perhaps is her Bow. In another fhe is drefled in the Hahit of Hercules.
Of the ancient Situation and Beauty of this Place, Strabo giveth the beft and fhorteft Account. Thence, faith he, (defcribing it Nortbward from Ephefus) is another Bay, in which is Old Smyrna, twenty Stadia, or two Miles and half from the New. When the Lydians had deftroyed Smyrna, the Country thereabouts was only adorned with Villages for four hundred Years togecher; after which, Antigonus reftored it, and after hin, Exyimacbus. At this Day it is, of all the Affan Cities, moft beautiful. Part of it is built upon the Mountain, but the greater Part on the Plain to the Haven, unto the Temple of the Motber of the Gods, and to the Gymanaum. The Streets are mofic excellently built, and as much as poffible, reduced into Right Angles, all paved with Stone. It hath great and fquare Portico's both in the higher and lower Parts of the City. There is a Library, and the Homerion, which is a fquare Portico, with a Temple containing his Statue; for the Smyrnoites are very zealous for the Nativity of Homer amongft them, and have a Brafs Piece of Money called by his Name, Homerion. The River Meles runneth by the Walls. There is a Haven on the other Side of the City, which may be fhut up at Pleafure. Thus far Strabo.

The Old Simyrna that was in his Time, in all Probability, was on a Hill Soutb of this that is now, and Weft of the Cafle-hill; for there are fome Steps of Heaps of Stones laid in fome Order, as if a Wall had been there. This New Smyrna, but the Old one of our Times, without Doubt, took upall the Hill the old Cafle ftandeth on and then adjoining to it , down to a Point running

North, I believe, not much more, if fo much; for turning into Frank-Areet, is a Wall which feemeth to be Part of the ancient Walls of the City, although the Month of the River Meles is juit without the prefent Buildings; which is not far, and might eafily be turned thither, if nearer to the Walls formerly. Along this Wall, from the Sea, you come to the Foundation of a great Building of hew'd Stone they were then demolifh ing, which might have been the Sybils Temple, the great Mother of the Gods.

After difcouring largely of the Antiquities that fill remain here, and of the State of the ancient Chriftian Church of Smyrna, he proceeds thus. The Greeks that are here have but two Churches, yet they are numerous, this Place being the Seat of their Metropolitan. But befidcs them, here is a great Number of Chriftians of all Nations, Seets and Languages. The Latin Church hath a Monatery of Francijcens; the Armenians have one Church; but the Englijh, which are the mott confiderable Number next the Greeks and Armenions, have only a Chapel in the Conful's Houfe, which is a Shame, confidering the great Wealth they heap up here beyond all the reft : Yet they commonly excel them in their Paftor; for I efteem a good Englifb Prieft an Evangelift, if compared with any of the reft. The Hollanders, I believe next to the Englijh, are more numerous than any Nation of the Franks, and take no more Care, as I could learn, of their Religious Worfhip. But as to Trade, none ftrive to outvy each other fo much as the Englifo and Hollanders, whereof Smyrna and Aleppo are now the chief Places in the Levant. The Trade was formerly pretty well divided between them; but fince their War with the French, the Englijh have much the greater Part of it.

The chiet Commerce confifts in raw and Perfian Silks, Grograms, both in Yarn and alfo woven, brought to this Scale by the Perfans and Armenians, and much Cotton, raw and made in Yarn, $\mathrm{E}_{\mathrm{c}}$. which groweth all about thefe Countries, and the Inands of the Archipelago, being brought by the Greeks and Turks to be fold here. The Englijb Factory confifts of fourfcore or an hundred Perfons, moft of them younger Sons to Gentlemen, who give three or four hundred Pounds to fome great Merchant of the Levant Company, and bind thcir Sons Apprentices for feven Years, three whercof they ferve at London, to underftand their Mafters Concerns, and then their Mafters are obliged to fend them to negotiate in thefe Parts, and to find them Bufinefs, out of which they are allowed a certain Sum per Cent. where by their Induitry in Traffick for themfelves, allo upon good Gains, but little Lofs, they live genteclly, become rich, and get great Eftates in a fhort Time, if they will be but indifferent good Hufbands, and careful of their own and their Owners Bufinefs.
The Officers allowed over them by the'King and the Levent Company, are a Conful, a Chancellor, a Treafurer, a Divine, and a Phyfician. The Conful is allowed by the Levant Company, three thoufand Dollars a Year Salary, and five hundred of Gratuity, befides other Perquifites and honef Ways, whereby he may get much more. His Office is to maintain the Privileges granted by the Grand Signior to the Engli/b Nation, againft the Injuries and Infolencies of the encroaching Turks, inflead of an Ambaffador to decide all Differences that happen between Factor and Factor, to fee that no Injury be done by any of the Factory to the Turks, and to punifh Delinquents : So that he doth, in Effect, govern the Bufinefs of the whole Factory there, but yet from his Sentence, there may be an Appeal made to the Ambaffador. Mr. Ricaut was then Conful, who writ the State and Policy of the Ottoman Empire, and a Treatife of the Greek Church, an Appendix to the Turkifb Hiftory down to his Time, and alfo an Account of the feven Churches of Afia. He was very obliging to us, amongft other Favours, in directing and informing us, concerning the'e Parts. Their Chaplain is allowed five hundred Dollars a Year Salary by the Levant Company. He hath befides, a Warehoute
allowed
allowed him to trade with, befides cuftomary Gifts of all the Merchants yearly, which a much more. And indeed the whole Factory live together in the greateft Amity, Peace and Freedom, of any of them I have feen beyond Sea.

The French and the Venetians have alfo their Confuls here, but they are in no great Credit amongtt the Turks. The Englijh have the beft Reputation for their honeft Dealing, and therefore ordinarily their Word is taken inftead of Searching. But the Armenians pay more Cuftom than any. The Turks have thirteen Mofques, and the Fereos feveral Synagogues, all which make the Town populous, though ill-built, and without either Strength or Beauty. All that defends it from the Incurfions of Corfairs, is a little Fort at the Strait coming in about five Miles from the Town, whofe great Guns are its beft Security: For it hath but a little Ditch about it, and the Walls fuch as by two or three great Guns would be beat to the Ground. As to the Caftle on the Hill above the Town it is nighted, and although it hath the old Wall about it, I believe built by the Greek Emperors, yet it is only a Heap of Ruins within, with here and there fome arched Caves, ufed anciently for Citterns or Granaries, as fome think, having only two or three little Guns mounted againtt the Haven, to falute the Captain of the Gallies, or as Mr. Smith faith, the new Moon of Bairam. About the Walls are fet one or two of the Roman Eagles well cut, and another Boffo relievo of Men on Horleback. Over the Door is an Infcription in Marble, in the latter Greek Characters, but too high and difficult to be read.

There is another little old fafhioned Caftle at the Harbour, for the Gallies and Boats. On the other Side of which Harbour is the Scale or Cuftomhoufe for the Grand Signior's own Subjects. Beyond which, Southwards under the Hill, where St. Polycarp's Tomb is, are the Eniglifb and Dutch Burying-places, and North of the Caftle along the Shore, is, Firtt, the new Bezeftein, built out of the great fquared Stones of the Theatre. It is in Form like a Street, to fhut up at each End; the Shops are little Rooms, with a Cupola over each of them covered with Lead, and little Holes on the Top, with Glafs to let in the Light; oppofite unto this is a very fine Kan now Building. Af ter which is the Scale and Cuftom-houfe of the Franks, and then follows Frank-freet along by the Water-Side, with their Scales and Warehoufes, very convenient to lade and unlade their Goods, and is the pleafanteft and beft built of any Part of this prefent Smyrna.
3. As it muft be allow'd that no Author extant has given fo clear, fo curious, or fo correct an Account of that wonderful Animal the Camelion, as Sir George Wbeeler has done; and as he was led to this by his feeing fo many of thefe Creatures at Smyrma, it cannot but be agreeable to the Reader, to perufe his Remarks on fo entertaining a Subject. About Smyrna fays he, are Abundance of Camelions, which is an Animal fomething refembling a Lizard, but hath his Back gibbous like a Hog, and its Feet are divided like the Claws of a Woodpecker or Parrot, two Claws before, and three behind, which are not feparated from each other until near the Ends. A long Tail it hath like a Rat, and is ordinarily as big, but it hath very little or no Motion with its Head. They are in great Abundance about the old Walls of the Caftle, where they breed, and lie in Holes and Heaps of Ruins. Several we faw, and two we kept twenty Days at leaft, in which Time, we made thefe following Obfervations upon them.
Their Colour ufeth to be green, darker toward the Back, and lighter towards the Belly, inclining to a Yel low, with Spots, fometimes of a reddifh Colour, and fometimes whitifh. But the Green would often change into a dark Dirt Colour, without any Appearance of Green. The whitifh Spots would fometimes vanifh, or turn into the fame Dirt Colour, and fometime remains, Sometimes they would only change into a darker Colour, of a kind of Purple-like Tincture, which ufed of ten to happen when it was difturbed. Sometimes from a green all over, they would be fpotted with a pure

Voe, II. No $125^{\circ}$
black, which alfo happened fometimes when it return'd from the black, ordinarily when it flept under a white woollen Cap, it would, when uncovered, be of a white or Cream Colour. But this it would do alfo under a red Cap. I never faw any change red or blue, altho ${ }^{\circ}$ they have been laid upon thofe Colours often, and continued there a long Time. But upon green they would become green, and upon the dark Earth they would foon change to that Colour. One of the fame Bignels, of which I made a Draught, I caught as I was walking on the Side of the Hill near the old Caftle, where I faw many which had changed themfelves from the Colour of the fpeckled Stone Wall, to a grey, with Spots like Mofs. This I found on the Top of a green Buhh of Prunella Spinofa, which, when I firft caft my Eye upon, it was of a bright green Colour; but as foon as it perceived that I faw it, immediately let itfelf drop to the Ground, and I as foon ftopp'd to look for it, but could fee nothing; yet continuing to look about earnefly, at laft I perceived it creeping away to a Hole in the Rock, being changed to a dark brown Colour, exactly like the Earth, which was then of that Colour after a Shower of Rain
This changing of Colours is given to this Creature by Nature for its Prefervation. For it is very now in its Pace, lifting up its Legs high and not quick, as if they faw not the Way before them, or rather, as if they fearched for Hold to climb up by, which they can do very well on a Bufh, Tree, or Wall. When it faw itfelf in Danger to be caught, it opened its Mouth, and hiffed like a Snake. In a fmall Time after I put it into my Handkerchief, it turned of the fame Colour, with fome white Spots, and a little Tincture of red. This little one changed its Colour more nimbly than others that were greater. The Caufe of which I attribute to the Wildnefs of it, the other having been kept a good while before it was given us, and confequently tamer. The Eyes are as wonderful as the Colours, which are as my Lord Bacon hath remarked, large in Proportion to the Bignefs of its Head, being commonly bigger and larger than a Pea. Bui that which feems moft obfervable, his Lordfhip hath taken no Notice of. It is covered all over with a thick Skin, of the fame Subftance with the Body, the Grain being in Circles juft to the Center or Middle, where there is a Hole no bigger than a fmall Pin's Head, by which it receives Light, which mult make the Angle of its Vifion very acute. The Head being immoveable, it cannor turn itfelf to the Objects as it lifteth. But to make Amends for all fuch Inconveniencies, Nature hath given moft wonderful Motions to its Eyes, beyond thofe of any living Creature It cannot only move them at the fame Time, both forward and backward, upward and downward ; but alfo one forward, the other backward, the one upward the other downward, the one fixed on one Objeet, and the other moving according to the Motion of fome other Object, and fo is capable of all the Changes imaginable, which my Comrade Mr. Spon, and I often éxperimented with a great deal of Aftonifhment.
The Tongue is a kind of little Trunk, of a grifly Subftance, above half an Inch long and hollow, join'd to his Throat by a flrong membranous and flefhy Subftance, in which it is fheathed when it is in the Mouth. It will dart this out of its Mouth above an Inch, being fmeared with a glutinous Subflance to catch Flies, which ftick faft to it as to Bird-lime, and fo are brought into its Mouth. Thefe Flies are their ordinary known Food, although I never faw them catch any, but faw one that was almoft dead, having a Fly in its Mouth. The reft of its Suftenance is Air, of which it will fill itfelf, being fet out in the Sun, until it becometh much fwollen. Of its Excrement I remarked Nothing. But my Comrade reported, that a Perfon of Curiofity at $L y$. ons, affured him from his own Obfervations, that although the Camelion did eat little or nothing, yet is neverthelefs made much Excrement.

They will live without any Suftenance befides Air, a very great While, as will many other Animals of the like cold Nature, viz. Serpents and Lizards, E3c. One that I open'd had Guts, but I perceived Nothing in 10 A
then:
them; but the Reafon I believe was, becaure it was even ftarved, having been kept a great while, and then almoft dead. Its Lungs reach near the Length of its Body, confifting of a thin skinny Subftance, full of fmall Veins, and divided into two Labels placed on each Side, and filled with Air, which being let out, thofe Labels fhrunk together. Its Tail is of very great Ufe to it in climbing. It will twine it about a Bone or a Stick fo faft, that if it lets go, or falls fhort in reaching at any Thing elfe with its Claws, it will hang faft by the Tail, and furtain and recover its whole Body by it. The little one that I caught, I put into a Glafs fo deep, that it could not reach the Brim with its Fore-feet by much, nor could take any Hold with its Claws; and yet it got itfelf out, and almoft efcaped from me, as I faw afterwards, by flanding upon its Fore-feet, and hoifting itfelf up backwards, until it catched hold of the Brim of the Glafs with its Tail ; by the Help whereof it lifted all its whole Body out. And this is what I oblerved of this wonderful Animal, which thus challengeth Praife for its Creator the Lord of all Wonder.
4. Epbefus lies not above fourteen or fifteen Leagues from Smyrna. In the Way is a Village called Sedequi, about three Leagues from Smyrna, fituated in a very pleafant Country; for which Reafon the European Confuls of Smyrna have their Country-houfes there, and frequently retire thither to divert themfelves with Hunting. The reft of the Way from Sedequi to Epbefus is over a very pleafant and large Plain. Epbefus, once fo noted a City, is now nothing but a confufed Heap of Rubbifh, Pieces of Marble, demolifh'd Walls, broken Columns and Chapters. That Part, which is at prefent inhabited, is bounded on the Eaft with a large Plain, which reaches as far as the Archipelago, and on the Sides with high Hills. The moft remarkable Things in it are, The old Church of St. Fobn the Evangelif. It had anciently four Gates, but two of them are wall'd up. You enter into the Church by a Defcent of fixteen Stairs, at the Bottom of which is a Fountain. Within it are four Pillars of Porphyry fpotted with Black and Red, twelve Foot and an half in Circumference, and thirty-fix Foot high, being one entire Piece of Stone, which bears up the Roof. There are alfo two other Pillars of Sameon Stone, and round about the Church, on the Outfide, is a Gallery having four Pillars a-breaft, and fix in Length, fet off in the Middle with an Octogon Fountain, each of whofe Sides are ten Foot long, and one Foot thick. The Church hath two Domes, and is cover'd with Lead. The Turks having converted it into a Mofque, have added a Mineret, and adorn'd it after their Fafhion; but the greatef Rarities of it, when it was a Church, were carried to Conftantinople to Sultan Soliman, to adorn the Mofque he had erected there.

The Caftle ftands on an Hill juft by it, and has a very ancient Tower ftill ftanding, on the Top of which is a very curious Piece of Sculpture, or Baffo-relievo, which, as fome fay, reprefents the Hiftory of the famous Roman, Marcus Curius; but others fay, the Deftruction of Troy. The Truth is, none dare come near enough to take an exact View of it, and fo they only guefs at it. In paffing it, you may difcern three Pieces of Marble, one reprefents Baubmal, the fecond a Man fallen dead from his Horfe, and a Perfon in a Senator's Habit ftanding by, feems to lament the Accidênt, and the third is the Figure of a dead Body laid out ready for Interment.
A large Inclofure, where anciently flood the Temple of Diana; but there is nothing remarkable of it, but one large Gate much ruined and defaced. Within it, on the North Side, is engraven on a Stone a Man on Horfeback, with a Dog by him, and a Serpent twifted round a Tree. On the South-fide are two Infriptions, the one within, in thefe Words, ACCENSO. RENSI ET ASI压; and the other, M. P. VEDI NICERH. VEDIAE. PAVILLIMX. M. HIEEVXORIS EI. But the Learned cannot tell what they mean. On the Front of the Gate are thefe Words graven, UNIOR CANIUSIUM; but they are fo niingled, that their Meaning is not to be guefs'd at.
Two Amphitheatres, where Prizes ufed to be anci-
ently fought; but nothing now remains of them, but Part of the Walls of one of them, built after the antique Manner of large Free-Stones. Hard by thefe Amphitheatres is a large Square, where are a great many Pieces of broken Columns, Chapters, Frizes and Pedeftals, of a wonderful Bignefs. Upon fome of them are Arches of a prodigious Bignefs, and in the Body of one of the Columns are a Pair of Stairs, which lead a great Way under Ground. Among the Ruins are fome Remains of the ancient Baths.

The Grotto, called, The Cave of the feven Sleepers, who Hying into that Place to avoid the Perfecution in the Reign of Decius the Emperor, two hundred and fifty Years after Chrift, fell into fo found a Sleep, that they did not awake again till the Reign of Theodofius II. who was a zealous Protector of the Chriftians, and fuppofed they had flept but one Night, though it was near two hundred Years.
A Tomb, or Monument, on which are feveral Greek Characters, and four little Children in Bafjo-relievo, with feveral Marble Statues buried under Ground, yet fo carelefly, that the Feet of fome of them appear'd above.
5. About a fmall Hour's Journey from Ephéfus are to be feen the Fonts, where, they fay, St. Fobn the Evangelift baprized the Chriftians. It is a grey JafperStone, fixteen Foot in Diameter, but a little mangled by Travellers, who ufually carry away a Piece of it. The Greeks have many like them. About half a League further, upon the Top of an Hill, is a Fabrick, faid to be the Place where St. Paul was imprifon'd. There are four Rooms curiounly wrought in Marble, ftill ftanding. From this Cafte is a pleafant Profpect over the Plains and Meadows, where the River Meander makes fo many Windings and Turnings, as ravifhes the Spectator with Wonder and Delight at once. The Water of it is very pleafant, and the Current of it fo ftill, that one can hardly difcern which Way the Stream runs, unlefs it be at the Mouths where it empties itfelf into the Sea. Not far from Ephefus lies an Inand called Scala Nova, but by the Turks, Cous-Adaf, or the Ifland of Birds. Here are the richeft Mufcadine Wines made, of all the Inands of the Archipelago.
6. From Smyrna Mr. Thevenot went for a Diverfion to fee the Wonders of Cbio, fo much talked of throughout all Afa. This Inand, which may be called the Paradice of Greece, is governed by Cbrijtians, though under the Authority of the Turks, who command in fmall Matters. They chufe themfelves COSS, one half Greeks, and the other half Latins, who, during the Time of their Continuance, take Care of all Affairs. The People obtained thefe Privileges by fubmitting voluntarily to Mabomet II. when he conquer'd Greece, and the Turks fuffer them to enjoy them without Controul. Up and down the Country are feveral Churches, belonging either to the Popifh Bifhops or Monks, but the Greeks have many more in feveral Places, the Latin Churches being reckon'd but three hundred and one, but the Greeks five hundred: They are all very well ferved, and Divine Service is performed with as many Ceremonies, as if it were in the Heart of Cbrifendom, for the Turks moleft them not, but they have a free Exercife of their Religion, infomuch that on Corpus Cbrifti-Day the Eoly Sacrament is carried about the Streets under a Canopy, without any Fear of Indignity that may be offered by the Turks, though nothing is more odious to them than that Ceremony.

When any Man is found killed in this Illand, whether Cbristian or Turk, the Author of the Murther is diligently fought for, but if he be not found, the Town mult pay the Price of his Blood thus flain, at the Rate of 12,000 Afpers, which is affeffed upon every Houfe by the $\operatorname{COSS}$; but if the Murtherer be found, his Blood fatisfies for all, and no Money is paid. The Cadi and Turki/b Officers make Advantage of thefe Fints. In the Ifland are twenty two Villages that have Maftick Trees, which are in all an hundred thoufand. They are Lentisks, crooked like Vines, and creeping on the Ground.

They prick thefe Trees in the Months of Auguft and September, and the Maftick, which is their Gum, fweating out by the Holes made in the Bark, runs down the Tree, and falls upon the Ground, where it congeals into flat Pieces, which they gather fome Time after, and lay it in the Sun to dry, and then range and fhake them in a Sieve to feparate the Duft from them, which fo fticks to the Faces of thofe that do it, that it cannot be got off but by rubbing their Faces with Oil. Thefe Villages produce above one thoufand Chefts of Maftick, of which they pay to the Grand Signior yearly three húndred Chefts, or three hundred Weight, containing ninety Oques a-piece, every Village being affeffed according to their Quantity of Trees, and the reft they are obliged to fell at a certain Rate, to the Farmer of the Cuftoms. This Maftick is by Diofcorides allowed to be the beft in the World, though it grows alfo in other Places. It is a white Gum which enters into the Compofition of many Ointments, and the Greeks ufe to chew it much, becaufe it makes them fpit, whitens their Teeth, and fweetens their Breath; they put it alfo in their Bread to make it more delicate. The chief of there Maftick-Towns is Callimacba, which hath two Gates that ftand always open, fix Greek Churches, and a Nunnery. It is well peopled, and round it are faid to be thirty Greek Churches.
7. Some Miles from this Town lies Niamoni, i. e. the Old Virgin, where is a Convent of Caloyers or Greek Monks. It ftands among Woods and Rocks, being built by Confantine Monomancus, Emperor of Confantinople, in 1050. The Church is adorn'd with a great many Pieces of Marble and Porphyry, and among others with thirty two Marble Pillars. The Dome is full of Pictures of Mofaick Work, and the Church is kept in good Repair. The Convent is very fpacious, and built in the Form of a Cafte: No Woman may enter into it. There are commonly two hundred Monks in it, under the Government of an Abbot, and it muft never exceed that Number.

When any Places are vacant, fuch as will fupply them, and become Caloyers, muft pay one hundred Piaftres, and carry what Eftate they have into the Convent, which they enjoy for Life, and then leave it to the Convent, unlefs they have a Kinfman who will become a Monk, and then he may give one Third to him, on Condition, that at his Death it go to the Convent. The Convent gives to the Monks every Day black Bread, Wine, but not good, and rotten Cheefe; and, if they will have any Thing elfe, they muft provide it as well as they can; and fome live well on their own Eltates, and keep a Horfe to take their Pleafure ; the reft muft make a Shift with their Commons, yet on Fefivais and Sundays they eat altogether in their Hall or Refectory. This Convent pays the Grand Signior five hundred Piaftres a Year, for their yearly Revenue is above fixty thoufand Piaftres; and in their Treafury they have above a Million of Gold, for two Thirds of the Inand belongs to them. The Monks that die among them are laid in the Church of St. Luke, jult without the Convent. They have two Bells, and there are little ones in every Village, but the Turks throughout their Dominions, allow them no where but here.
8. The chief Town of this Ine is of the fame Name. It hath good Houfes, and the Streets are wide enough for Coaches: It is not large, but well peopled, and moft Part of the Inhabitants are Chriftians, either Greeks or Latins, who have each of them a Bifhop, and feveral Churches; but the Greeks have moft by far. They have alfo many Convents of Nuns, but not fo ftrictly flut up, but that Men may come at them, and they will be kind to them, fometimes even beyond the Bounds of Chriftian Charity. They may leave their Convent when they pleafe; and their Bufinefs, while they are in it, is to embroider in Gold, Silver and Silk upon Handkerchiefs, Purfes, $\mathcal{E C}$. and they are very skilful in it. The Latins have five Churches in the Town, the firt is the Bifhop's, which is fair and large, but built fince the Turks have been Mafters of Cbio, according to an Agreement made between the French King and the Grand Signior.

To this Church belongs a Burying-place, where all the French that die in this City are interred; which was given to it - by Mr. Fobn Dupuis, of Marreilles, the French Conful there. The Capucbins alfo have a large and fpacious Church, which ftands over-againft their Convent, which is neatly built, and has a large Garden, but wants Water. They are forced to keep their Gate continually flut, becaufe of the Turks, who, if they get in, fpoil their Gardens, and commit many other Infolencies. They teach the learned Languages and Chriftianity to all Children that are fent to them, The Jefuits allo have a Church and College, and are of three Congregations. The Facobins and Cordeliers alfo have fair Churches. The Turks have their Mofques, and the feres their Synagogues. The Town is but fmall, and not ftrong, but hath eight Gates, and a pretty good Caftle to defend it. The Turks live in it, and are generally about eight hundred Men. No Cbrifian may lodge in it ; but the feres, for their Security, pay a certain Sum yearly to dwell in it, for they would find but bad Entertainment among the Cbrifizans.
It was built by the Genoefe, when they were Mafters of the Ine, and commands the Port. Four Miles from the City, near to the Sea-fide, is to be feen a vaft Stone, which was cut out of fome Rock ; it is almoft round, but the upper Part is flat, and fomewhat hollow. On the upper Part are Places like Seats cut in the Stone, of which there is one, higher than the reft, like a School-mafter's Chair, where, as Tradition reports, was Hower's School, where he taught his Scholars, M. dut Mont fays, he faw nothing but a fquare Altar cut out of a Rock, with the Figures of an Ox, Wolf, Sheep, and Rabbit, in Bafforelievo, and thinks, that in all Probability there were no Schools there, but that it was a Place where Sacrifices were offered to the God Pan, or fome other Rural Deity. The Ine of Cbio is eighty Miles in Circuit, and very populous, containing, befides the chief Town Cbio, already defcribed, fixty Towns and Villages, inhabited for the moft Part by Chriftians.
9. The chief Villages are Cordomolo, which contains about five hundred Inhabitants: The Country about it is very fertile and well watered, yielding annually one hundred and fixty, or one hundred and feventy Tun of Wine. Some Years ago, feveral Pieces of Gold, Silver, and Copper Money, of the Emperor Confantine, were found there. Five Miles from it is a lovely Valley half a Mile long, where is a Spring of Water, to which there is a Defcent by twenty five beautiful Marble Steps. At the End of it was a Temple of fine Afh. colour'd Marble, but it is pull'd down, and the Stones broken, and this only to get the Iron and Lead. that joined them together.

Beyond it is Vichi, a Village inhabited by three hundred Souls, having a Church dedicated to the Virgin. Beyond it is Cambia, which has one hundred Inhabitants, and lies among Rocks, Hills, and Woods of wild Pine-trees, which they fell for Timber to build their Galleys. Among the Mountains are feveral Churches. Below this Village is a Valley, where ftands a little Caftle built upon a Rock, which is almoft inacceffible. Over-againft this Caftle is the Mount of St Elias, which is the higheft Place of all the Inand, and is feen from Tenedo, which is above one hundred Miles diftant. It has a Church dedicated to that Saint built on it, but is ufually cover'd with Mifts and Snow. In the Middle of this Mountain is a large Spring, which waters the Fields about it, and makes them very fertile, and they are planted with all Sorts of Fruit.

In a Wood hard by lies Spartonda, a Village inhabited by about fifty Shepherds, but very pleafant, affording Plenty of good Water and Fruits. Between Calandre and Coronia there is a Bath of Sulphur by the Sea-fide, under extraordinary big Oaks. It is called Hayafma, i.e. the Holy Water, becaufe the Water being drank, cures many Difeafes, but by the violent Operation it has killed many. Three Miles from the Sea, at the further End of the Inand, is a Town called Sc. Helena, built on a Rock, containing two hundred Inhabitants, two Churches, and a Chapel. The Inhabitants of this Place firmly believe, that if a dead Body does not
corrup
corrupt in forty Days, it turns Zorzolacas, or a Nomolacas, i. e. an Hobgoblin. The Chapel is highly efteemed for its Sancticy by all the Villages round about.

From hence one goes to Voliffo, which is a great Village, with about three hundred Houfes, and fitteen hundred Inhabitants. It is feated on an Hill, and has a Caftle built by the famous Belifarius, the Emperor fuftinian's General, who was forced afhore there by a Storm. The Country about it is very pleafant, open and fruitful, and the Inhabitants raife five thoufand Weight of Silk yearly, with which they pay their Tribute. They are, vicious, and it is thought they lie under a Curfe of being always deftitute of Bread

Near this Place is Varvarifo, where there is a Church dedicated to St. Marcella, to whom they keep a folemn Feaft, called Panagirio, and the Prietts fing Praifes to her all Night long.

Three Miles irom this Village is the Monaftery dedicated to St. Jobn, and by it a Village called Fitta, near which is a great Village, where there is a running Water that drives eight Mills, which ferve all the Villages thereabout, for the Peafants have Hand-mills, and their Wives grind their Corn. From hence you go to Sieronda, which is an ancient fpacious Tower, inhabited by fifty Shepherds, who have a Church in it. A little farther is Lecimiliona, a Village of one hundred and fifty Inhabitants, and a Church. There begin the Maftick Trees. Two Miles from thence is Elata, the Inhabitants of which are famous for taming of Parcridges.
10. At Armolia, which is a little farcher, is made all the Earthen Ware ufed in the Ine. It lies in a Plain full of Maftick Trees, and contains five hundred Inhabitants and feveral Churches. Over-againft this Village ftands a Caftle, called Apollieno, very ftrong to refift the Corfairs. It was built in 1440 by Nicbolas Juftiniani, and has a Church in the Midft of it. The Village Mefta exceeds all the reft in Strength and good Building, and contains three hundred Inhabitants and feveral Churches. By it are two Harbours, Aidinamy, and San Nicbita, but this laft is neareft Pergi, a grèat Village with a Tower, containing two thoufand Inhabitants and thirty Churches. The reft of the Villages have the like Number of People and Churches, and in many of them are Caftles and Towers, built to defend their Towns and Maftick-Trees from the Ravages of the Turks of Natolia, who croffing the Sea in Boats or Gallies, come and carry away both the People and their Goods; for which Reafon they have built. Towers all round the Mand, at four Miles Diftance one from another.

This whole Inland is very fubject to Earthquakes, yet would be very fertile were it not fo ftony, and had more Water, for it rains fo lttle there, that every Spring the Turks, Greeks, Latins, and Feres, are forced to make Proceffions to obtain Rain. But notwithftanding the Hillinefs and Drinefs of the Inand, it has all Things neceffary and good in fufficient Quantities. It yields Corn and good Wine, but being thick, fome do not like it, becaufe, they fay, they mult both eat and drink it. All Things are cheap there, and excellent Partridges may be had for little or Nothing, for they keep them tame like Turtles, and have Keepers, who drive them out in the Morning, and whiftle them in at Night, which Call they always obey. The Inhabitants of this Illand are the only People who have preferved their Liberty under the Turks, living as they think fit, and exercifing their Religion with all imaginable Freedom, only paying them their fettled Tribute.

They are generally Cbrifians, many of them are Pa pifts, and the reft of the Greek Church. They are apparelled after the Fafhion of the Genoefe, and have much of their Humour. They are in Countenance (that is, the Men) fo ugly as would feare a Man, though their Perfons are proper and well fhap'd. They are very proud, yet their Gentlewomen go to Market to buy Provifions, and carry them openly in the Streets. They love the Spaniards better than the French, but had rather be under the Government of Turks than Cbrifians.

The Cbiots make much Damask, Sattins, Taffata's, Fuftians, and other Silk Stuffs, and drive a Trade in
many Places with their Saiques, viz. to Grand Cairo, and the Maritime Cities of Barbary and Natolia. Such as are not obliged to work or follow Bufinefs, fit whole Days under the Trees talking together. Learning is out of Ufe in this Country, but profound Ignorance reigns among them, yet they have naturally a fharp Wit, fo that to avoid their Cheats in Dealing, a Man had need of all his Eyes about him. They are much given to Pleafúres, and love exceffive Drinking.

The Women are very beautiful and well Maped, their Faces are as white as the Jafmin they wear on their Head, and are very charming, but their Breafts are fcorched with the Sun, which is much to be wonder'd at, becaufe they take as little Care of their Faces as Breafts. They are always very neat in their Drefs, wearing on their Heads very white Linen. They have a very brink and lively Wit, which renders them the moft talkative Women in the World, but are extreamly vain in their Apparel, wearing the fineft Stuffs they can get; but whereas they ufed formerly to load themfelves with Rings and Jewels, efpecially upon the Vigil of St. Fobns? Day, they now are forbidden it under the Pain of Excommunication by the Pope, becaufe the Captain-Ba/ba, feeing this Finery, impofed a Tax of 50,000 Piaftres upon them, and made them pay it, fo that they wear no Gold, Silver nor Jewels about them.

The Cbiots, both Men and Women, are much given to Dancing, and on Sunday, and Holidays they dance all Night promifcuoufly, both in the Cities and Villages, and a Stranger is freely allowed to put in with them. They are not at all jealous, but their Women and Maids are allowed to ftand at their Doors to fee and talk with fuch Men as pafs by; and they will be as merry and familiar with Strangers, as if they had been acquainted with them all their Days.
II. Another Inle of the Arcbipelago, bordering upon Afa, is Patino, Palmofa, or Patmora, anciently Pathmos. It is but eighteen Miles in Compafs, and has but one well built Town in it, with a Caftle in the Middle of it, called, The Monaftery of St. John, where 200 Greek Monks live. St. Fobn the Evangelijt, being banifh'd into this Iffe, is faid to have wrote here his Revelations. They carefully keep in their Church a Body fhut up in a Cafe, which they likewife fay, is the Body of St. Fobn, and fhew a Grotto where they likewife fay, St. Fobn wrote the Apocalypfe. There are about 3000 Souls in the Ine, who have much ado to live, the Inle being very dry and rocky. No Turks live in the Inand, but they are all Cbrifians who pay Tribute to the Grand Signior. The Corfairs put into this Inand to careen, and take frelh Water.

The Ifle of Nixia, anciently Naxos, is 120 Miles in Compafs. It was fubject to the Sanudi and Somarigi, Venetian Dukes, till the Turks took it under the Emperor Solymus, yet there are ftill in it feveral noble Families defcended of thofe Dukes. The Land is fruitful in all Things, but efpecially the Valley of Darmilla, which has eighteen Villages: They feed many Cows, Sheep and Goats, and their Country yields many Vines, of which they make great Quantities of Wine and Cheefe, which they fend to Alexandria, Smyma, and Cbio. Near the Town by the Sea, are Salt-pits and a Pond, which they farm out to Fifhermen. In the Marhes of the Valley of Plietri, they catch great Plenty of very fine Eels. Their Woods are full of Rocks and folitary Dens, where there lie large Stags. The Peafants catch Partridges by ftalking with an Afs, train'd up to it, and they have Plenty.

There are many Monafteries in this Ine, and one of of them, which is built in Form of a Tower, is very ancient. There is alfo another called Fanaromeni, dedicated to the Virgin, which has feventy Rooms, and a fmall Church, but the Monks are extreamly ignorant, and by their Vicioufnefs one would judge they ferved fome Uniknown God. By the Sea-fide, over-againft the Inand of Nicaria, is to be feen upon a very fteep and ruggid Mountains fome Ruins of the Caftle of Apollo; and it is a Wonder how Stones could be got up fo high to build it. By it are four little Towns well inhabited.

## Chap. I.

to the Levant.

On the Hills hereabout many Goats feed upon an Herb, called Ledum, which leaves a kind of vifcous Dew upon their Beards, that turns into a kind of Gum, of a very good Smell, called Labdanum, or Laudanum, and is gathered by cutting off their Beards.

As you go to the Town, there is a Caftle upon a very high Hill,' which commands the Villages of Darmilla. Near the Town, upon the Rock Strongyle, is the Palace or Temple of the God Baccbus, built of very white Marble, but the Turks and others carry it away daily for their private Ufes. Bacchus may well have a Palace at Naxos, where they are fo great Drunkards. The Tower and Ducal Palace are ftill in being in the Town. There are two Archbifhops in it, a Latin and a Greek. The Cathedral Church of the Latin Archbifhop, dedicated to the Affumption of our Lady, is very handfome, and very well ferved by fix Canons and feven Priefts, but their Revenue is inconfiderable, for the Archbifhop has no more than twenty Piaftres of yearly Rent. He hath a Seat in the Country with a Church, at a Place called San Mamma; the Church is paved and lined with Marble, but not kept in very good Repair.

In the Caftle the Jefuits have a forry Houfe, and the Greeks a Chappel, that belonged formerly to the Dukes. Without the Town are Recollets and Capucbins, who make many Profelites to the Roman Faith. The Inhabitants have fuch violent Feuds among them, that fometimes they will not fpeak one to another as long as they live; but the Women are more obftinate than the Men, and are great Medlers in other People's Bufinefs. The Women wear fo many Coats one over another, that they are fcarce able to go, and their Shoes are fo ftrait, that they can hardly get their Feet in, but they are faid to be pretty honeft and chafte. From the Sale of their Wine, Cheefe and Silk they raife their Tribute.
12. About fix Miles from Nixia is the Ine of Paro, anciently called Paros, which has three Caftles, feveral Villages, and a good Harbour for all Sorts of Veffels, fair Churches, and many Greek Priefts and Monks. The Antiquities of this Ine, confifting in Statutes, Marble Chetts, Ecc. were carried away by an Englifh Gentleman, who cook all he could find here, as well as at Delos, now called Sedrille, where was Plenty of them; but now there remains but one Image of a Woman fo large that it cannot be ftirr'd. This Ine was famous for its noble Quarries of Marble, and for the Oracle of Apollo heretofore, but now it is the Refort of the Corfairs. The Ifland of Mycone, anciently Myconus, was once a well peopled Inle, but now is almoft forfaken, becaufe of the rigorous Perfecution of the Turks. It is about three Miles round.

Over-againft this Inand is the Ifle of Tine, formerly Tenes. It belongs to the Venetians, is well peopled, and hath a very ftrong Caftle built upon a Rock, and the Houfes ftand one above another. It is forty Miles in Circuit, and yields Plenty of Provifions and Silk, but it is fo overftock'd with People, that many are obliged to go out of it, and dwell at Smyrna and Cbio. There is a Latin Bifhop in it, and the Women are handfome and courteous enough.
13. Nio, called of old Oliarus, which was not long fince inhabited by the Albanians, a barbarous and warlike People, who ufed to go all Night arm'd by the Sea-fide, and is a fruitful Country in all Things, efpecially Woods of Oaks, and other Trees, which they cut down and fell to other Places, You fail then to Sentorini, formerly called Tberafia, which is thirty Miles about, and fixty from Condy, from which it may be feen. There are feveral Caftles in this Ine, viz. That of St. Nicholas, the Houfes of which are built upon a black Rock, that is frightful. A Greek Bifhop has his Refidence there, and about 500 Souls about him; but they live moft of them in Caves made in PumiceStone, and it is pleafant to fee them come out of the Ground like Coneys, while others are plowing over their Heads.

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Scaro, built on a frightful Mountain, fo fteep, that thofe who go up to it muft climb with their Hands and Feet. It contains 150 Houfes, and the Greeks have a Church there, in which are two Images of mafly Silver; one of our Lady, and the other of St. Micbael. It formerly belonged to the Latins, who have fill a. Bi fhop there.

Pirgo, near which is a Chapel of our Lady, with many large Caves, where about two hundred People live. Between thefe Caftes lies an Hill, from whence one may fee the whole Inand, which is planted with Vines, but has no Trees, but Fig-trees and white Mulberries. They make more Wine than they fpend, which their Neighbours fetch from thems to carry to Cbio, Snyrna, and other Places. They make all Sorts of Stuffs, and by the Sale of them they raife Money to pay their Tribute. In this Place are one thoufand Souls, almoft all Greeks, and the Cadi refides here. Their Houfes are well built, all white, and wall'd in, fo that each looks like a Tower.

At Scaro there is an Houfe of the Nuns of St. Dominick, but their Lodgings are poor and Air bad: Their Church is kept in good Order, and ferved by a Chaplain. On St. Stopben's Hill, between Pirgo and Nebrias lived a Woman, that in ancient Times gave Victuals to all the People for a whole Year that a Plague and Famine lafted, and there are ftill remaining feveral Statues of her.

Crotiri, inhabited by an hundred and fifty Souls, and about it there are feven Villages, but ill peopled. The Inhabitants of the Iffe live very meanly; their Bread, called Schijes, which is made of Wheat and Barley, is as black as Pitch, and fo harfh that one can hardly fwallow it; for they bake it but twice a Year, becaufe they have no Wood but what they buy by the Pound from Nio. They have no Fifh or Flefh, but feed only on Beans, Peafe, Eggos, and Bifcuit. They have little or no Fruit but Grapes, which are plentiful. They know not what Phyficians, Chirurgeons, and A pothecaries are ; they are ftout, and can defend themfelves from their Enemies with Stones. The People live a beaftly Life, doing nothing but eat, drink, neep, and play at Cards.

The Ine at a Diftance looks like Hell, being on the Shores all black and fcorched by an Eruption of Flames, which happened about an hundred and twenty Years ago. About the Year 1638 , there was another Eruption of Fire in the Port, which, with an incredible Noife, was heard two hundred Miles from thence, caft vaft Numbers of Pumice-ftones out of the Sea, like Bullets, and fo infected the Air, that many on the Ine died, and feveral loft their Sight, but recover'd it fome Days after ; and all the Silver turned red, even in Mens Chefts and Pockets, but in a few Days came to itfelf. Seneca fays, this Ifland ftands upon Mines of Sulphur, from whence thefe Fires proceeded. It is faid, that Alexander founded the Sea in this Place, but could find no Bottom; yet a Ship may come to an Anchor at-Tirefia, a little Ifle by it.
14. The Ine of Policandro is eight Miles in Compafs and a pleafant Place: 'There is but one Village of one hundred Houfes, and three hundred Souls in it: It has three well built Churches, and two Monafteries, one of Men and another of Women. The Convent of Monks is well fituated, and dedicated to the bleffed Virgin. It has a little Garden, and a Fountain of excellent Water in it. The Nuns obferve no Rule, but live as Nature teaches them; their Church is dedicated to St . Yobn, and a Monk fays Mafs in it on all Sundays and Holydays. The Caftle ftands upon a very high Hill, but all the Houfes are ruinous, except a Chapel dedicated to St. Micbael the Arch-angel. From it one may fee all the Inles of the Archipelago. The Inhabitants of this Ille are honeft, civil, and courteous People, efpecially the Women, who are very handfome. They have good Bread, Fowl, Sheep, and other Things neceffary, but no Wine; fo that what they drink comes from Santorini, which is but thirty Miles diftant. They have no

Trades

Trades among them, becaufe their Port, which is indifferent good, is infefted by the Mainots and Corfairs, who lodge in a Church by the Sea-fide.
15. The Inand of Milo, which is fo called from Mylos, a Mill, becaufe they have many Wind-mills in it, and it affords Abundance of Mill-ftones, is thirty-fix Miles about. It is fruitful in all Things, and exports yearly to Candia, Venice, and other Places, between three and four hundred Tun of Wine. They have a Mine of Brimftone, and another of Pumice-ftones, which they farm to one of the Inhabitants for one thoufand five hundred Piaftres yearly. Three Miles from the Town are certain hot Baths of Sulphur, where difeafed People from feveral Places wafh and recover theirHealch. The Port is fix Miiles long, three over, and has a good Depth of Water, and two Miles from it, in a Grotto, is a Fountain of Luke-warm Water, which gives fo much Heat, that an artificial Bath cannot make one fweat more. In this Ine is a Town where two thoufand five hundred Souls live, and an old Caftle inhabited by five hundred more. They have a Latin and Greek Bifhop.

The Latin Cathedral is without the Town, dedicated to St. Peter, but without Ornaments ; and the Bifhop celebrates in a Chapel that joins to a Greek Church. He has many Tithes, of which he gives to the Greek Bifhop. one third Part. He has alfo many well built Churches in good Repair under him, and many Priefts to officiate in them. Moft of the Inhabitants are Greeks, who live much at their Eafe, and are civil, but, as ufual wicked and perfidious. Their Women go in a very ugly Drefs, fpeak very ill, and cannot pronounce the Letter $L$. They are, however, very charitable and kind to Strangers. They have all Neceffaries for Life, but no Phyficians or Chirurgeons. There are no Turks in the Ine, but it is govern'd by four Deputies of the Town.

Half a Mile from Milo is the Ine called Cbimolo, or Argentara, which hath a good Harbour, and a Village containing about two hundred Souls, which was burnt by the Corfairs in 1638 . Thefe poor People live in great Mifery.
16. The Ine of Sifano, or Sifanto, anciently Sifanus, is thirty-fix Miles in Circuit, and has a Caftle upon a Hill, with double Walls, inhabited by three thoufand Souls; and there are no other Houfes in all the Inand, unlefs it be fome Country-houles of private Men. The Harbour is not good. There is upon it a Latin Bifhop, and a good Greek Vicar; but the Bifhop's Chapel is little and very poor. There is alfo a Monaftery of Greeks built upon a Hill. The Ille produces not Provifions enough for above two Months in the Year, and for the reft of the Year, the People fetch it in Barks from other Places. They are very great Rogues, but their Women are very honelt, and go with their Faces cover'd. There are no Manufactories or Trades, but Weavers, Shoe-makes, Joiners, and fuch-like.

The Ine of Thermia, fo called from the Therma, or hot Springs in it, which give a great Relief to fick Perfons, is thirty-fix Miles in Curcuit. The Town contains about three hundred Houfes, inhabited by about two thoufand Souls. The Greeks have fifteen Churches in it, and a Bifhop, who refides fix Months here, and as many at Zia. There is alfo a Caftle and a pretty Village, called Mef. The Ine is almoft all plain, has few Trees, yet is fruitful, and abundant in all Things. The Inhabitants are reputed to be honeft Pcople, and trade in Stuffs, Threads, and other Commodities, raifing thereby Money to pay their Tribute. The Venetian Corn only goes in this Ine, as it doth in all the others, except Naxia, Andro, and Scyra, where Turkifh Money goes. Their Women are vertuous, handfome, and wear a neat Drefs. The People live pretty well there, and a Cadi commands, with four Procurators, chofen out of the Citizens of the Town.
17. Ajora is an lle eighteen Miles about, and depends on the Inle of Scyra, who keep fome Shepherds there to feed their Sheep. There are four Churches in it, but Divine Service is perform'd in them at Eafter only, when the Shepherds communicate. The Cor-
fairs hinder its being cultivated, becaufe they take away the Oxen, and fometimes the Sheep.
The Ine of Scyra, which in the vulgar Greek fignifies Signora, or Miftrefs, is fo called, becaufe it ftands in the Midft of the other Ifles, and by its Height commands them all. It is thirty-fix Miles in Compafs, and having a dry Soil, but few Trees, abounds with Plenty of Provifions, as Flefh, Fifh, and Venifon. The Water is good. They have no Villages of Note, but only fome fattering Houfes up and down in the Country. The People are much addicted to Devotion, and efper cially the Women, who are very filly. There is much Hatred and Envy always amongft them, by reafon of the Oppreffion they fuffer from the Turks, and Oppreffion of the common Poverty. They are almoft all La tins, and have feveral Churches. The Cathedral ftands at the upper End of the Town, and is dedicated to St. George, and ferved by feveral Priefts, who have a $\mathrm{Bi}-$ fhop for their Superior, and he lives on his Revenue and Tithes. The Capucbins are diligent in Preaching, Catechizing, and hearing Confeffions, by which they do much Good.
18. From Cbio Mr. Thevenot failed into Egypt, and in his Paffage, being left before the Inle of Samos, he took a View of it. It is a very barren Country, though famous for having been the Birth-place of Pytbagoras, Polycrates, and the Sibyl. It is eighty Miles in Circuit. Over-againft Samos, and pretty near it, is the Ille of Nicaria, anciently called Icaria, from Icarus the Son of Dedalus. It is of a long Figure, and the Land is very dry, and full of Rocks, in which are the Houfes of the Inhabitants, who are in all about three thoufand Souls, very poor and ill clad.

They are much addicted to Swimming and Fifhing up Sponges and Wrecks, and the richeft Men, or Papa"s in the Ine, give their Daughters to the beft Swimmer, which is tried before the Damfel and her Father. He that can remain longeft under Water wins the Maid. They pay the Grand Signior Tribute in Sponges. They have Vineyards among the Rocks here and there, and they make of the Grapes a Sort of white Wine, as clear as Water, which paffes by Urine as foon as it is drunk. The Wine, as alfo Wax and Honey, they trade with to Cbio. The Women are Miftreffes there, and as foon as the Hufband is arrived from any Place, the Wife goes to the Sea-fide, and takes the Oars, and carries them Home, after which the Hufband can difpore of Nothing without her Leave. The Inhabitants are well fhaped and ftrong. The old Greek Emperors of Confantinople banifh'd Perfons of Quality that had offended them into this Ifle
19. Leaving Samos, he came to the Ine of Stancbio, otherwife call'd Ifola Longa, ninety Miles diftant from it. It was anciently call'd Coos, is feventy Miles in Circuit, and very fruitful, efpecially in good Wine. On the Port by the Sea-fide is a pretty good Caftle, where the Turks keep Garrifon. The Town lies behind it, where there is a prodigious Tree of that vaft Extent, as to cover 2000 Men eafily, for the Branches being fupported with many Stones and wooden Pillars; there are feveral Barbers Shops, Coffee-houfes, and fuch like Places, befides Benches to fit on under it. It was anciently famous for the Temple of REfculapius, and the Births of Hippocrates the Prince of Phyficians, and Apelles the Prince of Painters. The Knights of Malta held it when they were Mafters of Rbodes, and there are ftill many Monuments remaining in it. Strangers are here more regarded by the Women, than is grateful to their Hurbands.

From hence he failed to the Caftle of Bodrou, which lies over-againft Stanchio at twelve Miles diftance. There is a good Port, but fo fhut up with Dirt, that great Ships can't get into it. You enter this Caftle through feven Gates, over which are feveral Coats of Arms, which belonged to the Knights of Rbodes, that commanded there, for in fome of them are Croffes of Malta. There is above 300 of thefe Efcutcheons. Beyond the fixth Gate is a Platform, where there are fix Cannon pointed toward the Sea. The laft Gate is made of Iron $_{2}$ and there ftands a Guard of fifteen or twenty Men continually

## Chap. I.

to the LEVANT.
continually. The Caftle is frong, and the Walls high, both built of a Sort of Stone, which great Guns can not hurt. The Sea beats upon one Side of it, which has Port-holes, with great Guns mounted, which can eafily hinder Ships from approaching it. It is alfo very ftrong towards the Land, the Walls being as found as if they were lately builc. No Horfe can approach it, and yet it may be eafily taken, by cutting off the Water that is brought to it by an Aqueduct. The Houfes in it are ruinous, and there are many Pieces of Pillars found among them. The Country about it is fruitful in Grapes, Figs, and fuch like Fruits.
20. From Bodrou he failed to Rbodes, which is 100 Miles from Stancbio. The Ille of Rbodes hath Lycia on the North, being parted from it by the Sea, which is twenty Miles broad, the Ine of Cyprus on the Ealt, Candia on The Weft, and Agypt on the South. It is roo Miles in Circuit, lying in a temperate Climate. The Soil is fruitful, and hath feveral Villages in it well inhabited, befides a fmall City which is ftrong. This Illand has been under the Grecks, Saracens, who loft it to the Knights Hofpitallers of Jerufalem in 1309, who held it 200 Years, and now is in the Hands of the Turks, who under Solyman 1I. took it in 1522 . by Compofition, 'and that more thro' the Treachery of Andrea d'Amaral, Chancellor of the Order (who being angry that he was not chofen great Mafter at the laft Election, inform'd the Turks of their Weaknefs, by a Letter fhot to them on an Arrow) than by Force, though his Army confifted of 200000 Men.

The 'Town hath two Harbours, of which the Great Port, being fquare and facious enough, is not very fafe, when the Wind blows from the E. N.E. or S. E. On the Right Hand at the Entry of this Port is a new "Tower, built by the Turks, in a Place where the old Tower of St. Nicholas ftood. It is well furnifhed with Cannon, hath a Baftion behind, and Curtine reaching to the Walls of the Town; over againft this Tower ftands the Caftle of St. Angelo, but fomewhat ruinous.

This Caftle and Tower were built in the Place where ftood the Feet of the great Coloffus, one of the feven Wonders of the World, between the Legs of which a Ship under Sail might pafs. It reprefented the Sun, and was caft by Cbares the Lyndian. It, was feventy Cubits high, ftrided fifty Fathom, and carried a Lighthoufe in one Hand. It was overthrown by an Earthquake, and being broke to Pieces by the Saracens, was fold to a Ferw, who loaded 900 Camels with the Metal, and carried it to Alexandria, in the Year of our Lord, 954, and 1461 Years after it was made. The Port of the Galleys, which is covered by the Caftle of St. Erme, is a good Harbour, and able to contain many Galleys, but the Mouth of it is fo narrow, that one Galley only can enter at a Time. It looks to the E. N. E. and is every Night fhut with a Chain. A little up-land above the Port is a Burying place, and in it fifteen or twenty Domes of Free Stone well built, and fupported moft of them by four Arches. Thefe are the Sepulchres of the Beys, or other Perfons of Quality in Rbodes, who have been killed in the Wars. On the Side of this Port is a Piazza with fome Trees and a Fountain in it, and at the Bottom of it the Arfenal, where the Galleys and Saiques are built. The Town is fmall, but ftrong, having high and well built Walls, planted with Faulcons on the Top, and below there are Port-holes for great Cannon.

It hath three Gates, one to the Sea, where Corn is fold, and two to the Land-fide. Over the WaterGate is fet up the Dragon's Head, which was thircy three Feet long, wafted all the Country round, and was flain by Deogate de Gozon, one of the Knights of St. Fobn. The Streets of the Town are pretry broad, all paved with little Stones, and for the moft part covered 'with Pent-houfes on each Side. There are feveral fair Buildings in it. St. Fobn's Church is ftill ftanding, but is turned into a Mofque. Over the Gate in a Nich, which hath a round Cover, are the Figures of our Saviour and the bleffed Virgin, and St. Jobn holding the Crofs, cut in Baffe Reliefe. No Chriftian is now fuffered to go into it. The Street of the Knights lay juft as you
come out of the Church, as the Arms upon the Houfes fhew; but now Rbodes is inhabited only by Turks and Feres, for though the Cbriftians are permitted to keep Shops in Town in the Day-time, yet in the Night they muft retire to the Villages in the Country about it. Lindo, the Country of Cbares, who made the Coloffus of Rloodes, is a little Rock at the Point of the Ine of Rbodes, fixty Miles from the Town. It has a fmall Town on it, with a very good Fort.

2I. At the Bottom of the Mediterranean, lies the noble Ifland of Cyprus, famous in all Ages for the Fertility of its Soil, the Excellence of its Climate, and the Advantage of its Situation. It has been known in different Ages of the World, by very different Names, and fome of thefe are fuch, that it would be a difficult Thing to point out clearly the Authorities upon which they are founded. In the Holy Scripture it is called Kittim, from Kittim the Son of Favan, the Son of $\mathcal{F a}$ phet, the Son of Noah, who firft poffeffed it; in fucceeding Times it was called Cerafis, becaufe of the many Promontories it thrufts into the Sea like Horns; Macaria, becaufe of the Fruitfulnefs of the Soil, and Happinefs of the Climate; Afperia from the Roughnefs of the Soil ; Collinia from its numerous Hills; AErofa, becaufe of the Mines of Copper or Brafs, which were firft faid to be found there; Amatbufia, Papbia, Salaminia, Lapitbia, from the Towns of Amatbus, Papbo, Salamine, and Lapitbus. At length it was called Cyprus, but from whence is not very clear; fome fay from its Copper Mines, others from Cyprefs Trees, which were in a Manner peculiar to it.

In ancient Times it was confecrated to Venus, who is ftiled by the Poets, the Cyprian Goddefs, and the Reafon of this feems to have been from the Wantonnefs of its Inhabicants, as this again may be derived from the Excellence of its Climate, and from the Fertility of the Country. The longeft Day is about fourteen Hours and a half, their Weather in Summer is prodigioufly hot, fo that fometimes their Brooks, and even their Rivers have been dried up; and in the Reign of Conftantine the Great, when they had no Rain for thirty fix Years, it was in a great Meafure deferted, 'but fuch Accidents, or rather fuch Judgments happen feldom, and therefore ought not to be mentioned as Objections to the general Repute this Country has been in for its great Fruitfulnefs. It was anciently governed by Kings, of whom there were nine when Cyrus reduced it; but it feems they remain Tributaries, and were not ftripped of their Dominions; for long after this, we find the Greek Orator Ifocrates, addreffing two of his Orations to two of the Cyprian Monarchs; and in the Time of Alexander the Great, the King of Citium is recorded to have prefented him a moft excellent Sword, which he ufed afterwards during his Life.

Upon the Divifion of his Empire, Cyprus fell under the Dominion of Ptolemy, and was governed fometimes as a Province, fometimes as a feparate Principality by that Family, till conquered by Portius Cato for the Romans, who carried from thence feven thoufand Talents, which was more than ever came into the Roman Treafury by any former Conquett. After the Divifion of the Roman Empire, it belonged to the Greeks, from whom it was taken by the Saracens, recovered from them, and governed by Dukes or Princes. In I191, it was conquered by our King Ricbard I. who firt mortgaged it to the Knights of Rbodes, and then gave it to Guy of Iufignan, whoie Family held, it for many Generations.

Under there Princes it was divided into twelve Coun ${ }^{2}$ ties, containing forty eight great Cities, and upwards of eight hundred Villages. Cbarlotta, the laft Heirefs of that Family, was driven out by 7 ames II. her Baftard. Brother, who married Catbarine Cornaro, of a noble Venetian Eamily, adopted Daughter of the Republick, to whom fhe bequeathed this Kingdom, to which, however, her Right was but indifferent. The Venetians came into Poffeffion in 1473, and held it almoft an hundred Years; but at laft it was taken from them by Solyman II. Emperor of the Turks, after a long and glorious Defence, and with Circumftances of moft in-
famous
famous Cruelty and Treachery on the Part of the Turks, who have kept it ever fince.

It abounds with Wine, Oyl, Corn, Sugar, Cotton, Honey, Wool, Turpentine, Alom, Verdigreafe, all Sorts of Metals, and moft excellent Salt. This Ifland affords feveral good Ports, all the Materials requifite for building of Ships, all the Commodities that can be defired for carrying on a great Trade ; and, if it were under a right Government for one Century, might be able to defend itfelf againft all its Neighbours. At prefent it is thinly peopled, and not half cultivated. A Turkib Baha deftroy'd all the Sugar Canes, to prevent the Cypriots from having too much Wealch; an Evil which there is now no Reafon to fear.

In a Word, it is at this Day the cleareft Proof that can be given, how much a bad Government can defeat all the kind Intentions of Nature; for in Spite of all the Advantages that a Country can poffibly have, there never was a more difmal or defolate Place than this Inand is at this Day, from having Millions of People, there are now in it fcarce thirty thoufand; from a Climate that produced a perpetual Spring, it is become both unwholfome and unpleafant; from Cities and Towns that touched each other, there are now only Villages and Heaps of Ruins; from Abundance of all Things, the Inhabitants are reduced to Indigence and Starving ; fo that except to confiderate and intelligent Perfons, the Face of the modern Cyprus refutes all that ancient Authors have faid in its Favour. Such are the Effects of a falfe Religion and tyrannical Government.
22. Ir would be inexcufable in fpeaking of thefe Inands, to fuffer that which makes the greateft Figure in Hiftory, to remain hidden and out of the Reader's View; I mean the Inand of Candia, fo long the Theatre of War between the Venetians and the Turks. The Inhabitants of this Inland are allowed to be fenfible, as well as brave and hardy; whereas the Sciotes, or Inhabitants of the Inand of Scio, are commonly called Praflinos by the Turks, which is as much as to fay Green. The Reafon of this is, that a TurkiJb Bahha, much efteemed for his Wifdom, obferving the, Manners of the Inhabitants of that Inland. faid, that a wije Sciot and a green Horfe were Rarities equally bard to be met with. By this unlucky Sarcafm he ftamped the Name of Prafinos upon this whole Nation. But for the Candiots, though the Turks hate them, yet they cannot help owning, that they have both Courage and Underftanding, of both which they gave ample Teftimony in the Courfe of the long War before-mentioned.

Among others who have recorded the Events of that famous Difpute, our Countryman Mr. Bernard Randolph, is thought to have done it with as much Fidelity as any. He fpent upwards of twenty Years not only in the Levant, but amongtt thefe Iffands; and upon his Return home, he compofed a Defcription of them, which was printed in a thin Volume in 2 Uarto in 1687, at the Theatre in Oxford. It appears from thence, that he was a plain well-meaning Man, more concerned about Matter of Fact, than the Stile or Manner of relling his Story: What he related was chiefly from his own Knowledge, which gives great Credit to his Accounts, and in fome Meafure excufes the Roughnefs of his Language, and his Writing without any Method. It appears from the Works of the judicious Sir George Wheeler, that Mr. Randolpb's Book was printing, when he was writing his Travels; and for this Reafon that worthy Gentleman fpeaks very refpectfully of that Performance, and refers his Reader to it, as a Kind of Supplement to his own: Yet in moft Parts of his Book Mr. Randolpb is wonderfully concife, and tells us more or lefs of a Place, not in Proportion to its Size, Situation, or Importance, but as he was little or much acquainted with it himfelf. Of this Iland, however, he freaks copioully enough, and has tlírown together, in his Defcription, the principal Actions in that War, which coft the Grand Signior Mabomet IV, fo much Trouble, and which broke the Force, and exhaufted the Treafure of the Venetions to fuch a Degree, that they have never been able to recover. We will give che Reader, therefore, his Account in his own Words.

The Inand of Candia, (which in old Time was, and alfo now is by the Turks called Crete) hath fol lowed, for the moft Part, that of the Empire of Greece, and is now fubjected to the Tyranny of the Turks, after a War for above twenty feven Years; in which Trme the Venetians did bravely, and with unparallel'd Courage, defend the City of Candia to the laft Exiremity After a clofe Siege for near two Years Continuance, thic Vizier there in Perfon, and with him the beft of all the Ottoman Forces, they were forced to furrender, yet upon the moft honourable Terms that themfelves could propofe, carrying away with them not only their. Cannon and all other Ammunition, but alfo the Bells which were in the Steeples, and whatever elfe they thought worth their Labour. The Vizier was fo much overjoyed that the City was furrendred to him, that he appointed feveral of the Turki/h Boats to affitt the Venetions, if they fhould have Occafion for their Help in carrying their Goods to the Ships. He was fo obferving of bis Word on the Ceffation, that he caufed two $\mathfrak{F}$ anizaries to be put to Death for attempting to force their Way into the City.
All Europe has heard of this great Siege, how many thouland Bombs were caft into the City; how many Mines and Fornellos were blown up; and how many bold Affaults the Turks made. They had at laft work ed themfelves fo near the Walls, that it was impoffible for the Befieged to make ufe of any of their great Guns; for no fooner could a Man appear to level a Gun, but there was a Shower of Bullets and Arrows; fo that the $\mathcal{T}$ urks would often attempt to undermine, and the Venetians did countermine them; and when they met under Ground, they fought moft defperately. The Venetians have an Engine which they call Irombo di Fuoco, it is as long as a half Pike, the Staff bigger ; at the End are two Irons about two Foot long, in the Form of a Fork, in which is faftened a Trunk made of Iron, and fome are of Wood; In it are five Charges, each firing feverally and at a certain Time, and carry feveral Bullets to do Execution as far as a Pittol ; they fet Fire to it at the Fore-part, and have a Touch to reach from one Chamber to the other.

Another Invention they had to fifh up the Turks when they attempted to undermine their Walls; they had Hooks made in the Form of a Boat's Grapling, the Points fharp, faftened to a Rope, and four or five Foot of Chain at the End; thefe Hooks they often caft over the Walls amongtt the Turks, and feldom fail'd to bring up a Turk, fome faftened by the Cloaths, others by the Body. I have heard fome of the Officers fay they have taken feveral in a Night, for when the Hook was faftened, they gave them not Time to unhook themfelves, but had them foon over the Walls. At the Greeks leaving Candia, there happened a moft fad Accident, a new Ship, called La Fregatta Galliera, or the Gally Frigat, was pitch'd upon for tranfporting moft of the Principal of the Gentry, and the greatelt Part of the Riches of the Citizens ; there was alfo (befides what were mounted) fifty great Brafs Guns ; the Paffengers were between two hundred and fifty and three hundred, befides two hundred Mariners and upwards. Being between an Inland called Obo and the Port of Cerigo, the Ship opened, and not a Man was faved. The reft of the Fleet got well, fome to Zant, others to Ceffalonia, Corfu, and Venice, landing the Greeks as they had a Fancy to the Place which they came to, or as they found Friends. Thus they left their Eftates to the Enemy, and not above five or fix Greeks remained, who being in Years, and fickly withal, defired Leave of the General that they might end their Days there. In the Articles of Peace it was concluded, that the Venetians fhould keep Pofieflion of three fmall Inets which are clofe to the Inand of Candia, and have each a very ftrong Caftle. The Turks laughed at their Propofals, faying, We bave the Hen, and the Cbickens will follore of Courfe.
This Ifland had twenty Cities, and above one thoufand Towns, Villages, and large Monafteries; now there is not above four Cities and three hundred Towns and Villages. To give you an Account of them, I will begin with the Eaftern Part. This was formerly a Pro-

## Chap. I.

to the LEVANT.
vince called Sittia; the head City had the fame Name fanding in a Bay at the North Eaft Part of the Inand on the Weft Side, extending from the North to the Bot tom of the Bay Southerly, above a Mile in Length. The Caftle ftood on a rifing Ground to the North Weft of the Town, built of a coarfe Marble Stone. The Wenetians finding the Place was not tenable, caufed feveral Mines to be made, by which they deftroy'd the Caftle and Town, and fo went to Candia. By the Ruins it may be feen, the Builders had no Thoughts fo foon so have left them. Moft of the Walls are entire, and fome have lower Rooms with Beams, which are patch'd up, and ferve for Store-houfes to put Corn in, when any Ship comes to lade. In the Year 1680, I was here, and loaded a Settee of Provence, Capt. Steppe Bremon, who belongred to Caffis, about ten Miles from Marfeilles. The Wheat was the Bafha's own, which he fold at three Timins a Killoe, (i.e, about 14 d. the Bufhel.) The Turk, who came with me from Candia, was an ordinary Servant ; but as we travelied the Road, and when we came hither, he would domineer at a Atrange Rate. Here are no Inhabitants nearer than twelve Miles, at a fimall Village called Alona, faving at a fmall Houfe and Chapel, which is a Metoiki, (or Chapel of Eafe to a Monaftery up in the Mountains) about a Quarter of a Mile from the Sea: Amongtt others, the Greek Priefts brought their Tenths to the Turks: They all defire to have a Seaman to meafure their Corn, ra ther than the Turks; for they will ftir the Corn about with their Hands, and prefs it down : But the Mafter was content to take it with a juft Meafure, and favour'd the poor Greeks what he could.

At Alona refides the Bafha's Lieutenant, who has one hundred Spahi's to guard the Coatt from Privateers, but more to gather in the Tenths. The Greeks maintain them at their own Charge. To the Eaftward of Sittia, on a Point of Land, is a Monaftery dedicated to St. Ifidore, to which belongs a great Revenue; it maintains about forty Calojeros. There are feveral rich Lamps, and other Ornaments of Silver and Gold. Here they fhew you the Picture of the Bleffed Virgin, which, they fay, was brought by Angels from Stancoi, and was found in a Cave of that Mountain. They have Lands on the Inand of Rbodes, where they have a Metoiki and feveral Calojeroes to gather in the Crops of Corn, Oil, and Wine ; the Turks allowing them to enjoy it, calling it Vacofa, or Poffeflions for God's Ufe; yet they will receive their Tenths from it. The Gomina or Overfeer of this Monaftery had made his Efcape, taking with him above two thoufand Pieces of Eight in ready Money and Plate; but being purfued, he was taken at Scarpante, an 'Inand lying in the mid Way between Candia and Rbodes, and by the Bafha's Order put to Death.

To the South of Alona, about ten Miles, is a very high Mountain, called by the Turks, BaJba Dogg; from it may be feen the Sea to Eaft, Weit, North and South. Here are the Ruins of a Caftle, called formerly Barozza, becaufe it was built by a Gentleman of that Name: If is fquare, about fixty Foot high, with a Tarazzo and Battlements on the Top ; each fquare is about forty Foot. The Wall is very thick, the Door about ten Foot from the Ground, having a dry Ditch about it. Of thefe there are feveral about the Inand, like the old built Caftles that are Itill in Ireland: For formerly the Candiots ufed to war amongt themfelves ; but now all fuch Quarrels are ended by their Subjection to a common Mafter.

The City of Girapetra is in the South Part of the Ifland, having no fecurre Port, but an open Road, where Veffels in the Summer Time may lie with Security from the Weather, but not from Privateers, for while I was there, they carried away a Saike which came from $A$ lexandria. The Town is walled round, and hath a fmall Caftle, which lies higher than the Town. Here is conftantly a Garrifon of two hundred Ganizaries, beIIdes there are feveral Turks who are Merchants, fo that in all they can raife five hundred fighting Men. There is about it a very fine Plain full of Olive-trees, and fome very pleafant Gardens. Their Howles are well built of

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good Stone, the Rooms very lofty, but few Houres above two Stories high. In the Year 1675 , one Monfieur Crevellier, a famous Privateer, landed five hundred Men in the Bay of Spina Longa; travelling in the Night, he came next Morning, juft at the Dawning of the Day, and found the Turks at their Sabbab Nomas, or Morning Prayer, fo he made himfelf Mafter of the Town, carrying away two hundred Slaves, nailing up the Guns which were in the Caftle. The Turks who were at the South Part of the Town, betook themfelves to fome fmall Veffels, for they had not the Heart to return home to fetch their Arms. Monfieur Crevellier, to retreat with this great Prize, refolved to kill what Horfes he found, fecuring twenty for himfelf and Officers to ride on and form the Rear.

This Enterprize was effected in lefs than fix Hours after they entered the Town, for they did not make any Stay to ranfack the Houfes. After they were departed, about three hundred Men, Turks and Greeks, were got together, and marched a Mile or two out of Town, and had not Crevellier killed the Horfes, he could never have got out of the Ifland. It is very ftrange, that fo many Men could come with that Secrecy as not to be difcovered, and that the Hearts of thofe Turks fhould be fo funk. Immediately they difpatched Expreffes to the City of Candia, writing to the Bafha, that about fifteen hundred Cbriftions had landed, and carried away two hundred Prifoners, moft of them Men of the Garrifon. The Bafha asked the Meffenger, if the reft of the Inhabitants were alleep, or dead? No, fays the Meffenger, but their Hearts were, being all furprized, fome in their Mofques, and fome in the Coffee-houfes, and not a Man that had his Senfes; moft of the Horfes alfo being killed. The Bafha asked him, how he efcaped? He anfwered him, that he had the Wit to hide himfelf, as a great many others did. There were three Gallies in the Mole of Candia, under the Command of one Bobba Haffan, who were fent to look after Crevellier, but to no Purpofe, for they returned without feeing him.

Since this there is an Order, that the Gates fhall be fhut an Hour before Sun-fet, and not opened till an Hour after Morning Prayers; and now there are feveral Guards on the Mountains; befides, the Batha of Candia has threatened the Providitore at Spina Longa to complain to Venice, if he fuffer any Privateers to come into that Bay; fo as for fome Years they have attempted nothing. The Country towards the South is not fo mountainous as in the North and North-Weft Parts ; having feveral large and plearant Plains, which have many Ruins of fine Towns. To the Eaft of Girapetra, about ten Miles, I went to fee a Cave under the Mountain of Tro, as they now call it, where, they fay, Se. Paul preached. It is a large Chapel, having twelve Pillars, all cut out of the Rock by the Chrittians in the Night-time. Some fay, but without Grounds, it was finimed in lefs than a Month. Clofe by is a Fountain, where, they fay, he ufed to baptize; and it is now called St. Paul's Fountain ; the Water thereof is very. good to cure fuch as have fore Eyes. From Girapetra to Bonifacia is 14 Hours Riding, moft in Plains, very delightfome, there being very high Mountains to the North, with moft pleafant Valleys between, and Abundance of Cyprefs Trees. Bonifacia ftands on a rifing Ground, having only the Walls of a Caftle.

The Inhabitants are moft of them Greeks, very poor; here is a Metropolitan who pretends to be next to the Archbifhop of Candia. There are two Italian Churches, the Doors of which are now made up with Walls to keep Cattle from going in. The Greeks have four fmall Churches, but one would contain more than all the Inhabitants. They have now new-nam'd the Place, calling it, Malafacia, inftead of Bonifacio (good Face) it being fo much alter'd from what it was in former Time. From Bonifacio to the Labyrintb is about ten Miles, or three Hours riding, Weft, moft a Plain. Several Men have feveral Opinions, about this Building (if I may call it fo.) But one Signior Venetando, who was born in a neighbouring Village, gives this Account, that a certain King of this Illand had fo great a Hatred for all Women, that he order'd this Place for his Courr, and at
laft lived fo privately ${ }_{3}$ that he would not fuffer any to come to him, but fuch as adminiftred Affairs, and ruled in his Stead; he would feldom come out, but to worfhip at a Temple dedicated to Fupiter, which ftood clofe by it. In this Labyrintb he ended his Days, and had a famous Tomb built for him, the Ruins of which they fhew you.

The Labyrintb is about two Miles about, being fo covered on the Top with Earth, as it feems to be all firm Land; we entered it with two Torches and Candles in Lanthorns, having a Line to direct us out again. The Way is plain under Foot, and arch'd over Head, fome Arches being about ten Foot high, fome more, fome lefs, with feveral Windings. I made it my Bufinefs to oblerve, if there was any Thing of a Building in the Pillars or Sides, but found it moftly an entire Stone, which they told me fo well cemented together, that indeed it appeared fo. Here are a great many fimall Vaults, about four Foot long, two broad, and two over, which were for Burying-places. There are Abundance of Batts which hang in Clufters, fome are larger than ordinary. We endcavoured to fright them, forching their Wings, by which we found there was Life in them; their Sleep is obferved to be much more found with a North-Wind, than with a South-Wind; as their Spring comes on, they leave this their Palace. We had almoft ended our Line, being about ico Pikes, which is about eighty Yards, and then returned out, being a good Hour in the Labyrinth. The Damps are very great, againit Rain it is always dropping, but very dry with Northerly Winds. At the End is a Lake, and they tell you, that fome who have attempted to go to, have been drawn into it. Our Curiofity did not invite us to fee it, for though it were not true, as in Probability it is not, the noifome Smells are enough to flifle one.

To the South, and clofe by, is a fmall Village with two Churches, which feem to have been anciently Temples. To the South-Weft, about ten Miles diftant, is that famous and great Mountain, call'd Pfrila Vuona, formerly Mount Ida; at four of the Clock it cafts a Shadow on the Labyrinth. On it are many pleafant Monafteries, with Groves of Cyprefs-trees, and Abun dance of Fountains. Some fay the Coaft of Barbary may be feen from the Top. From the Labyrinth to Candia, is about ten Hours riding, moft in a Plain, till within ten Miles of the City. On the right Hand, about a Mile from the Road, is a moft ftately Monaftery, dedicated to our bleffed Saviour, which was built by Order of the Emperor Conftantine the Great. It hath always been continued to the Greeks, and kept its Splendor thl the late War, when it was much defaced.

There are in this Inand Abundance of Monafteries, but very poor, and fome are fhut up for Want of Monks. Candia Noro is about fix Miles from the City of Candia, Southward, being a ftrong Caftle, having Mount fove to the Weft. Here the Turks kept their Treafure and Ammunition in the-Siege of Candia. It is feated very pleafantly on a rifing Ground, giving a Profpect to the Sea. It is now chiefly inhabited by Greeks; the Cattle has a Garrifon of Turks, which the Bafha intended to bring to Candia, and demolifh the Caftle, having writ to the Porte about it, but he had no Anfwer. Candia fo famous, and generally known for the brave Defence it made againft the Turks, appears by the Ruins, to have been one of the beft Cities in the Mid-land Seas. It is feated on the Northfide of the Mand, almoft Mid-way, between Canea and Sittia, in a pleafant Bay, having an artificial Port fecured from the North-wind by a Mole about 200 Yards long, with a ftrong and large Caftle at the Head, called Caftel del Molo, having twenty great Guns. From the South is a low Yoint of Land, which runs into the Sea, Norch, that fecures it from the Eafterly Winds, and makes the Entrance not above thircy Yards wide; upon this Point of Land, the Turks have built a cover'd Way, with a very thick Wall, full of Holes for fmall Shot, ftrongly arch'd over, reaching from the Arfenal to the Entrance into the Port, where is a fmall Fort, with four great Guns, alfo very ftrongly arch'd over, fo as no Bomb can deface it. At the Right-hand at coming out
of the Gate to the Mole, is a new Fort, built with four very great Guns, which lie level with the Water ; over them are eight fmaller Guns. This Fort is oppofite to the Mouth of the Port, and is arch'd over to prevent Danger from Bombs or Wild-fire.

On the Mole are feveral great Guns, planted with Arches over them. To the Eaft of the Arfenal is the old Caftle, call'd La Batiaria del Arfenal, which is rebuilt with a Ditch round it to bring in the Sea, moft cut out of a firm Rock. The Port is almoft round, and fecure againft any Wind for Galleys and fmalle Veffels, but there is not Water enough for Ships of any confiderable Bignefs. It is filled very much with the Rubbifh that the Rains carried into it from the City, and would certainly have been choak'd up in a few Years, had it not been for a French Merchant, one Monfieur Dodei, who to ingratiate himfelf with the Bafha, caufed an Engine to be brought from Marjeilles to cleanfe it. There are the Ruins of twelve Arches of the Arfenal, and about fix Arches are yet entire, but they ufe them only to work in when the Gallies are there; no Gallies having been built here.
The City is not repaired towards the Land, where the Walls are fo much fhaken, that it will require a great deal of Time and Coft to fortify them. From the Port, towards the Weft upon the Wall, are fifty large Guns planted. The Fort of Sc. Andrea, at the Northweft of the City, is well repaired, having a double Wall toward the Sca. In all there are about 400 Guns planted on the Walls and Outworks, which are fix Miles in Circumference. The Gates of Candia are the beft I ever faw, the Arch or Gaiehoufe being about 100 Yards long; and the Gates ten broad; the Arch is all built of firm Stone. It will take up three Hours to walk round the Outworks; there are feveral Mines which were never blown up; every Mine had a diftinct Name. I was in one Mine, which was above a Mile in Length, being above fix Foot high, and three broad. All the Plain for above two Miles without the Walls, is like a new plow'd Field, where you cannot walk, but mutt fee Pleces of dead Men's Bones. None are permitted to walk round the Works, but fuch as have a Licenfe, and a Fanizary with them.

The Turks take a Delight to give an Account of the Strength of the Place, and efpecially will thew you a fmall Cave or Arch, where the Venetian General ufed to fleep, (as they tell you) to fecure himfelf from the Bombs. Not above one eighth Part of the Houfes that formerly were, are now inhabited, very few being left intire; nor do the Turks repair any but thofe where they dwell; the chief Moque is well repaired; it was formerly a Church dedicated to St. Mark, and ftands to the Eaft of the great Piazza, to the South of it are part of the Walls of old Candia, clofe to which are built up a Row of Houfes, two Stories high, for the Fanizaries.

The Bafha's Palace is a little below the great Mofque, on the other Side of the Way; oppofite to it is the great Hall, formerly called, La Sala di Configlio, which is a very ftately Building; of white Marble, with feveral Works in Baffo Relievo to the South Eaft of it ; ftands the Church of St. Francifco, with an entire Cloifter, which is now a Mofque. The Street from the Mole to the chief Piazza is in good Repair, being broad, and paved with large even Stones; the Houfes are alfo well inhabited, but that part towards the Weft, is a Heap of Ruins, among which live the feros, who have very large Houfes; but fome of their upper Rooms have no other Shelter from the Weather, but a few Matts made faft upon Poles. The Beams of the old Houres are bought up and carried to Venice, Zant, and other Places, and being made of Cyprefs Wood, they ferve to make Chefts and Cabinets, many of which have been brought to England. The Number of the Inhabitants of the City is not reckoned to be above 10,000 , including Greeks. There is a continual Garrifon of 2000 fanizaries, befides the Bafha's Guards. Since the taking the Place, they have granted Liberty to all that will come to inhabit there, but all their Encouragement cannot bring the Candiotes to dwell there. Formerly the Plain was full of Olive-trees, with moft beautiful Pleafure-

Houfes and Gardens. Now nothing but Ruins are to be feen.

The City ftands on a rifing Ground from the Sea, and the Houfes were fo built with Terraffes, that moft from their Tops could have a Sight of the Sea. From Candia to Rettimo is about twelve Hours Riding. The City ftands on a Point of Land very pleafantly, having a Port to the Eaft, which is almoft choak'd up, fo as no Galley can get over the Bar, being laden, but Brigantines and fmaller Veffels are very fecure againft all Winds. Towards the Sea are no Walls, the Rocks there fortifying the Place, fo that no Enemy can come but by Land. This Place was the firft the Turks made chemfelves Mafters of, putting all to the Sword, to ftrike the greater Terror into the reft of the Inand. Since they poffeffed it, they have built three new Forts towards the Sea, and a Wall, with a dry Ditch to Landward.

It is now chiefly inhabited by Turks, who trade to Confaniinople confiderably. The Houfes are here entire, according to the Venetian Manner of Building. There are fome Greeks that dwell in the City, but they have a fmall Town about a Quarter of a Mile off, in which are two Churches, where they have the free Exercife of their Religion. The Country hereabouts is very pleafant, full of Olive-trees, and from the Sea-fide the Land rifes eafily to the Foor of the Mountains of Sfacia, about eight Miles from the City, which from the Sea feems to be all a Wood; from which Mountains run feveral pleafant Streams, and one very large River, called Platonica, which is continually full, being fupplied from above a thoufand Fountains, which the Mountains produce.

Thefe Mountains of Sfacia are abounding in all Things neceffary for Life, and Nothing can be more delightfome in the Summer-time. They reach near chirty Miles to wards the South-Weft, and in fome Places about ten in Breadth, coming down clofe to the Bay of Suda. The Cheefe which is made here is bought up by the $V e$ netians and other Merchants, and tranfported to France, Italy, Zant, $\mathcal{E J}^{c}$. It is the beft Cheefe that is made in any of the Southern Parts, and generally as good as our Cbefbire Cheeres, being made as big; belides which, they have great Plenty of Honey, Wax, Silk, Wooll, Cordovan Leather, and a Sort of Goats-hair little inferior to that of Angura in Afia. No Olives, Oranges, or Lemons grow here. There are above an hundred Villages on thefe Mountains, befides feveral Monafteries. The Inhabitants are a warlike People, and withftood the Turks above twenty Years after Rettimo was taken, living as the Mainiotes in the Morea. There are fuch difficule Pafles to them that an Army cannot march. Now at laft they are brought into Obedience, and by humbling themielves to the Vizier, he granted them great Privileges to encourage them, left they fhould take Part with the Venetians, who have the Inand of Suda fo near them.

As the Vizier pals'd by, in his Way from Canea to Candia, they brought him feveral Prefents the Mountains produced, which he was fo well pleafed with, that he exempted them from going with him and paying their Attendance on him, only he obliged them to furnifh the Camp with Mutton at a certain Rate. Moft of his own Provifion was carried from hence, Sheep at three Timins (about a Shilling) a-piece; Butter at a Timin the Oke (a Groat for two Pound eight Ounces); Cheefe at the fame Rate, and at this Price they were obliged to carry it as far as the Camp before Candia, where an Officer gave them an Acquittance, which was abaced them out of their Tribute. They have a certain Drug, called by the Venetians Oldain, much of the Colour of Liquorice in Balls; it is a very great Comforter of the Head, having a pleafant Smell, being burnt it gives a pleafant Scent. Moft of this is bought up by the Venetians, and fent to Venice. Here is alfo a Sort of Wood which the Greeks call Plaete Excillo; it burns like a Torch, and gives a moft fragrant Smell; much of it was ufed to burn at the Siege. Every Night, at the Vizier's and other great Men's Tents, chey had Fires of this Wood, the Wood being cut fmall, and put into an Iron Grate
at the End of a Poll faftened in the Ground. If a Man be hot in the Plain in riding two or three Hours up the Hills, he Ball find fo great an Alseration in the Air as is incredible.

About fifteen Miles from Retimo is a lovely Fountain called Boghare Bajbe, ftanding fo becween two Mountains, that at Two in the Afternoon it is hady, continuing fo all the reft of the Day. The Water is fo cold as will caufe a Dew upon any Fruit that is put into it; and tho' a Man ever fo hot mould drink of this Water, it will do him no Harm. In the Summer-time here are always fome Perfons of Quality, who bring their Beds, and continue for feveral Days together. The Sfacioti are a healthy, frong and flout People; they pretend to be of a very ancient Stock : Some there are, who derive their Families from before the Coming of our Seviour. I faw a Callojero that was one hundred and ten Years of Age; he was very lufty, and could walk very well with a Staff. Part of thefe Hills are under the Jurif diction of the Bifhop of Retimo, and Part under that of Canea. From Retimo to Canea the Read is mof by the Sea-fide, pafing by the Bay of Suda, having the Mountains of Sfacia on the Left Hand.

Canea is feated in a fine Plain, about three Miles from the Botton of the Bay of Suda, and upon the Sea to the North, having a very fair Harbour, which may be called a double Port, the one being round, the other ftretching away to the Eaftward, where are two Arfenals. It is fecure againft the worft of Weathers. The Entrance is narrow, and not above eighteen Font Water ; to the Weft of which the Turks lately have built a new Battery with twenty very large Guns; and above it, to the South, is a great Cittadel, in which are forty good Guns. To the Eaft of the Entrance is another great Caftle, which commands the Port called the Sabioniera, with the Arfenal. Round about the Port is a broad Key, which is always crowided with Merchandize, and is Jittle inferior to the Port at Marfeilles. The Houfes are all well built, and not much battered. The Walls are in very good Repair, having a dry Ditch about thirty Yards broad, and fix deep from the Land on the other Side. The Walls are about thirty Foot high; within them the Earth is raifed about ten Foot higher than the Walls, there being a Walk between. There is a Mount, which they call the Marteningo, where formerly were ten Guns; but now it is of no Ufe. Toward the Land there are four Baftions ; to the South is the great Gate called La Porto di Retimo ; to the Weft is a Mace placed on the Wall, to thew where a Bafha, at the Taking of the Place, firft entred the City: Before the Gate is a Half Moon built of Earth, about twenty Foot high; at each End is a fmall Pyramid of Mortar and Sculls, which are the Sculls of Chriftians who were flain before the Place in the Year 1666.

The Venetions then atcempting to regain the Place under the Conduct of Marquis Vila, a Savoyard, 5000 Men were landed at Culatte, at the Bottom of the Bay of Suda, and were encamped before the City feveral Days. The Turks fallied out of the City to the Weft, furprifing the Chriftians, and had a very great Victory, purfuing them to the Fort, which was built at the Bottom of the Bay. In this Flight there were above 1500 killed, and feveral taken Prifoners; amongft the latter was one Captain Scot, a Scotfman, who had his Hand upon the Drawbridge of the City ; he was carried afterwards to Smyrna in the Gallies, and there redeemed by the Englifh Merchants: But when he came to Verice, his Arrears were paid him, and he returned his Ranfom to Smyrna, which remains there in Bank till another like Occafion fhould prefent itfelf. The City is near three Miles in Circumference, and is much better inhabited than Candia, having a Bafha and other Officers, as in Candia, only in all Councils the other hath the Precedence.

The Country about is very pleafant, being all a Plain for above fix Miles to the South and Weft, planted with young Olive-trees, fo that it feems to be a Garden. It is well fupplied bothwith Flefh and Fing; of the latter there is great A bundance, for befides the Sea, there is a Lake about ten Miles to the South, which furnifhes
them
them with great Varrety of all Sorts. The Trade is much greater here than at Candia, it lying fo convenient for the Morea, Italy, and other Places. The French have a great Trade for Oil, Wool, Wax, Cheefe, and feveral other Commodities, having a Conful and two Merchants. The Venetians have alfo a Conful, but moft of their Oil is fhipped off from Suda, to which Place it is brought from Retimo and other Places thereabout. All great Ships come to an Anchor at a Place called St. Todoro, being two fmall Inets, about five Miles to theWeft of the Port of Canea. There is very good Anchorage, and a fmall Fort to defend them. On one Inand, notwithtanding it feems to be all Srone, and is very low, there are feveral Fountains of good frefh Water.

No Greeks live within the City. They have a new Town built to the South, about half a Mile off, where are two long Streets very commodious, and here they enjoy entire Liberty; their Churches are open, and the Bimop hach a very plealant Houfe, living in good Efteem. Clofe to this Town runs a pleafant River, which is feldom dry; there are likewife feveral pleafant Gardens well ftockt with all Sorts of delicious Fruits. The Turks have alfo fome Gardens here, but they muft retire into the City an Hour before Sun-fet, Winter and Summer, or elfe muft remain out all Night, the Gates being then Aur, and a ftrift Watch kept about the Walls. The Turks of this Place are generally very rich, and incline to Trade, giving all Encouragement to have Me erchants come and refide amongtt them. There was an Engli/b Merchant here, one Mr. Trenchard, who was recommended to the French Conful to have his Arfiftance, but in a little Time he grew weary of the Place

Here they keep their Oil in great Veffels called Timi, which are fquare and made of Wood, fome will hold twenty Tuns. They have a fpecial Regard to preferve the Efteem of their Oil, nor will they force a Merchant to take any longer than it comes clear, not mixing the Bottoms, as in fome Parts they will, by taking a hollow Cane, and putting it to the Bottom, by blowing through which they raife the Foot of the Oil, fo that thick and thin goes together. Here they fell the Foot of the Oil at an under Price, and this ferves to make Sope. Moft Parts of Turkey have an Efteem for Caneá Oil above others. Some will have it to be the better for that the Trees are all fo young; others impute it to their Care in the making, for here they gather all their Olives, whereas in the Morea, they thrafh them down with Poles. The Wines are generally efteemed above all others. The red Mufcadine they call here Leattico, it is a richer Wine than Tent at Cadiz, and much more pleafant; I have feen it fold at fifteen Gallon, for half a Dollar. White Mufcadine is not fo good, as that of Luxuria in Ceffalonia. Some are of Opinion, that in the War, the true Mulcadine Grape was loft; on the Mountains, there are fmaller Sorts of Wines, fo as a Man may have what Sort he pleafes.

All Sorts of Provifions are very plentiful, but in the Summer-time the Mutton hath generally a bad Tafte, which proceeds from their Feeding on fome Herb on the Mountains. Here are Fowls of all Sorts in Abundance, but efpecially a Bird called Beccha figgo, which is almoft a Lump of Fat; they are valued about four for an Afper, or eight for a Penny. Turtle-Doves and Quails are very plentiful. Their Beef is fmall, but very fweet. Of Fruits there is no Sort but what they have. I never faw larger Pears than are brought from the Mountains, being a Sort of Sugar Pear. The Mufk Melons are very good, but their Water Melons are fingular, Salating there is all the Year of all Sorts; no Place is efteemed to have larger and better Endive and Carduus than there are here. I have feen Sugar Canes of a great Height, full as good as what are brought from Grand Cairo. There are Abundance of Simples which are bought here for France and Italy.

Some fay the Reafon why no venemous Thing will live on this Ifland, is the Quantity of Dittamo that grows here. Others fay it has only been fince St. Paul fet Foot upon the Inand. Moft of the Candiotes pretend to have great Knowledge in Simples. The Women are
experienced Doctreffes. One I have Reafon to fay was very fkilful, fhe having in a little Time wrought a great Cure upon me; for by Accident a Bullet having paft through my Leg, I applied myfelf to her, and in fif teen Days the cured it. She did not allow me to eat any Flefh till it was perfectly well. They have feveral Antidotes againft the Plague, but they had not the Effect they pretend to, for feveral of the Doctreffes were fwept away by that Difeafe ; but moft certain it is, that after St. Jobn Baptift's Day it did here abate, as they always obferve it to do in moft of thefe Eaftern Parts.
There are feveral other Places that have had the Name of Cities, which are now Heaps of Ruins; many hundred ftately Palaces there were, that now have only fome Walls, and thofe moftly fallen down. The Can diots keep their Habit, that is, the Women; but the Men are dreffed alla Turcbeffa, efpecially the better Sort. They are as ignorant of the Antiquity of their Country, as the Mereotes, that have been above 200 Years in Slavery. There is no Latin Church upon the whole Ifland, as I was inform'd, but what is fhut up, or converted to the Turks Ufe. Before the Turks conquered this Inland, there were above a Million of Souls, whereas now there are not 80,000 , of which not above 30,000 Turks, on the whole Inand.

The Inlets, which the Veneiians have about the Ifland of Candia, are Carabufa to the Weft End of the Inland, about fix Miles from the Main, having a very good Port between the Ifet and the main Land: The Caftle is very ftrong, mounting about eighty Guns. In the late War it withfiood feveral Affaults, but lying fo far from any confiderable City, the Turks did not fo much Mind it as they did Suda. Here is a Garrifon of Venetian Soldiers, and a Proveditore, who is under the Inquifitore at Suda. In Time of Peace with the Turks, they have a continual 「rade and very good Correfpondence with them, having all Sorts of Provifions at very reafonable Rates.

Spina Longa lies about forty Miles to the Eaft of the City of Candia, at the Entrance of a great Bay. The Inet is not above a Mile and a half about ; it has a very good Fortification round it, befides it is fteep all round, fo as an Enemy cannot well Land. It is not above a Mile from a Point of land, where the Turks raifed a Battery, and continued for a Week to batter the Caftle, but to little Purpofe, for moft of their Dwellings are in Caves under Ground. Here and at Carabufa there is no Water but what is brought them by Shipping, or what they fave in great Cifterns and Jarrs. Here is alfo a Proveditore, and a Garrifon of Venetian Soldiers.

Suda lies in a great Bay, about thirty Miles from Retimo, Weft, twelve Miles from Canea, and nine from the Bottom of the Bay South-Eaft, having the Land to the South about a Mile, on the North North-weft, not above half a Mile diftant. This Inland is about two Miles in Circumference, not above fifty Foot above Water at the higheft Part, being all rocky and fteep. To the South-weft lies a long Rock about ten Foot above Water, and not above twenty from the Ifland; againtt it is the Entrance up to the Caftle, very fteep and winding, having two Gates and a ftrong Counterfcarp, before you pafs into the main Caftle. The Wall about the Inand is low but very thick.

To the Weft is a Mount, called Il Marteningo, about thirty Foot high, and three hundred in Circumference, very ftrongly built with fmall Stone and Mortar, which has above 1000 Shot in it. They are fo faft in, that it would endanger its falling, if they fould be pulled out. The Fortifications of the Catle are quite round, the Iflet, wherein, and upon the Marteningo, are about 120 Guns planted. The Turks have feveral Times attempted to take this Place, and to that Purpofe, in the Year, 1659 , they built fix Caftles, three on each Side of the Bay, from whence they continued to batter it, and fecured the Harbour fo as no Ship or Gally could come to bring them Succour, but what in the Night fmall Veffels would adventure to get in.

In the Year 1665 , the Captain Bafha attempted to reduce it: he came with forty five Gallies, but durft
not adventure to land any Men. He caufed the Gallies to batter that Part of it which is towards the Sea, while on the other Side they continually fired from the fix Forts. The Venetian Fleet was fo difperfed, that they could not come to relieve them. The Befieged were much itreightned for Provifions, but moft for Want of Water; for above a Month they had but a Pint a Day, and were fo difheartned, that they were near inclining to furrender the Place. But it pleafed Good to fhew them his Goodnefs in a fignal Manner, by a Shot from the Enemy, which ftruck a Piece of Rock afunder at the Bottom, a little above the Sea, out of which fprang a Water whick fufficed them to drink. I have feen the Fountain, and drank of the Water, though it is not very pleafant. Several Officers that were in the Inand avowed this for a Truth, it being noted in the Venetian Hiftory of Suda. The Winds coming about Northerly, the Venetian Fleet came from Zante, forcing the $\tau^{2} r k j 万$ Gallies to retreat. The Captain Bafha was killed with a great Shot, upon which the Army broke up and retired to Canea:
The Vizier, in his March from Canea to Candia, paffed by here, and with Admiration beheld the Place, but would not attempt any Thing at that Time, faying, it was not worth the Men which had been already lof againft it. The Port is very commodious, being one of the largeft in all thefe Seas, and there is very good Anchorhold all over the Bay, at the Bottom of which are Saltpans. The Turks have here a fmall Tower, where are two or three Servants of the Cuftomer of Canea, to fee that no Goods are carried away which have not paid Cuftom at the City. In Time of Peace they have all Provifions from Canea at the Market Price, and there is a good Correfpondence betwixt the Inquifitore of Suda and the Bafha, who often fend Letters to one another. The Governor of Suda hath the Title of Inquijtore Generale delle Ifole di Levante; Cerigo and Tine being alfo under his Government, although there be Proveditors to both. The Venetians have no Benefit from thefe Inands, but are at a continual Charge to miaintain the Garrifons in each. The Bottom of the Bıy they call Cullatte.
23. In collecting the Materials for this Section, we have met with fome more diftinct and connected Accounts of the Military and Naval Forces of the Turks; which, as they come in properly enough at the Clofe of this Defcription of their Dominions, Ghall be here inferted ; the rather, becaufe they will enable the Reader to difcern what Probability there is of thofe Events happening, which were mentioned in the laft Section. It is with Bodies Politick, as with the natural Bodies; they get over even violent Difeafes when attacked in their Youth; but when Infirmities grow upon them in their old Age, they feldom, if ever, efcape. The moft that can be hoped for in fuch a Cafe, is a gentle and gradual Decay; but even this can hardly be expected in fome Conftitutions. That of the Turks has neither -Food nor Phyfick, but continual Wars. If thefe are fuccefful they thrive ; if not, their Diftempers increafe, and their political Difeafes grow more and more dangerous. It is not with them as with States of another Texture, where the Laws themfelves will, for a long Time, maintain the Form of the Gonernment by the Refpect the People have for them. In thefe Countries the Laws are derived from the Will of the Grand Signior, and confequently-they are good or bad, wife or otherwife, according to the Temper of the Prince. Whenever, therefore, it happens, and in the Decline of every Government it generally happens, that a Race of weak and degenerate Princes fucceed to the Empire; this alone mutt bring on its final Ruin, which might, perhaps, have been diverted by the Intervention of a great Genius. It would be no difficult Thing to bring many Inftances in Support of this Doctrine, both from ancient and modern Hiftory; but that it is high Time to leave our Reflections, and come to Matters of Fact, which, we dare promife the Reader, are important enough to deferve, and fufficiently curious and entertaining to command his Attention.

Though the greater Part of she Turki/b Infantry carries the Name of fanizaries; yet it is certain, in all this great Empire, there are not above twenty-five thou-

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fand who are true fanizaries or Ianizaries of the Porte. This Soldiery was once compofed only of Tributary Children, inftructed in the Turkijb Religion \% but at prefent this is not obferved, and People are not molefted on this Account, fince the Officers take Money of the Turks themfelves to be entred in this Body. Formerly the Fanizaries were not permitted to marry, the Turks being perfuaded, that the Cares of a Family render Soldiers lefs fit for the Exercife of Arms. Yet now-adays they who will, marry, with the Confent of their Chiefs, who alfo at the fame Time give them a Sum of Money. The principal Reafon, which keeps the $\mathcal{F a}$ nizaries from marrying, is, that Batchelors only arrive at Offices, the moft defirable of which are to be Chiefs in their Chambers; for this Soldiery are all lodged in a large Quarter, divided into one hundred and fixty two Chambers. Every Chamber has a Chief, who commands in it ; but out of it he only performs the Office of Lieutenant of the Company, and receives Orders from the Captain. Every Chamber has its own Enfignbearer, its Expenditor, its Cook, and its Water-Carrier. Above the Captains there is only the Lieutenant-General of the fanizaries, who sf fubject to the Aga.
Befids the common Pay, the Emperor gives the $\mathcal{Y}_{a}$ nizaries every Year a compleat Suit of Cloth of Salonica, and every Day allows them a Quancity of Rice, Mear, and Bread. The Chamber lodges them for One half per Cent. upon the Pay they receive in Time of Peace, and feven per Cent. in Time of War. This Pay is but from two to twelve Afpers a Day, and is never raifed but by little and little in Proportion to their Service. When they are difabled they have an Allowance for Life. The Cap peculiar to the Fanizaries is made like the Sleeve of a Coat, one End is put upon their Head, and the other hangs down upon their Shoulders; to this Cap before is faftened a Sort of Spike half a Foot long, of Silver, gilded and adorn'd with fome falfe Stones. When the Fanizaries march into the Field, the Sultan furnihes them with Horfes to carry their Baggage, and Camels to carry their Tents, to wit, one Horre for ten Soldiers, and one Camel for twelve. At the Acceffion of every Sultan their Pay is augmented at leaft one Afper a Day.

The Chambers inherit the Effects of thofe Meribers who die without Children, and the reft, though they have Children, always leave their Chamber a Legacy. The Solees and Peyes alone among the fanizaries are the Emperor's Guard ; the reft of the Corps never go to the Seraglio but to attend their Officers upon Divan Days, and to prevent Diforders that might happen in the Court ; they are generally placed Centinel at the Gates and the Crofs-ways of the Town, to keep Watch there. They are feared every where, and refpected, tho' "they carry only a Cane in their Hand, for Arms are not delivered to them but when they take the Field. The greater Part of the $\mathcal{f}$ anizaries do not want for Education, being taken from the Body of the Azamoglans, which either through Impatience, or on fome other Account, they frequently forfake. Thofe who are to be admitted among the Fonizaries, pass along in Review before the Officer, and every one takes hold on the Bottom of his Companion's Veft. Their Names are entred in the Grand Signior's Regiftry, after which they all run up to the Mafter of their Chamber, who, to make them know they are under his Jurifdiction, gives them every one a Box on the Ear as they pafs by. At their Inrollment they take two Oaths; the firlt is to ferve the Grand Signior faithfully; the fecond, that they will not fubmit to the Will of their Comrades in Matters relating to the Body.
There is no Order of Men in Turkey fo united as that of the 7 anizaries; it is this ftrict Union which preferves their Authority, and gives them the Courage fometimes to depofe the Sultan. Though there are but twelve or thirteen thoufand in Conftantinople, they are affured that their Brethren, what Part foever of the Empire they are in, will not fail to approve their Conduct. If they think they have Occafion to complain, their Difcontent begins to fhew itfelf in the Court of the Divan, at the Time of the diffributing the Difhes of Rice
to them, prepared in the Grand Signior's Kitchen: For they eat it quietly, if they are contented, and on the contrary, they throw the Difhes on the Ground, and turn them toply turvy, if they are out of Humour at the Miniftry. There is no Infolence they fcruple to utter at fuch a Time againft the principal Minifters, being well perfuaded they Thall obtain Satisfaction; for this Reafon the mof favourable Opportunity is taken early to prevent their Rifing, efpecially at the Time when they give them feveral Days Pay together.

The Mutinies of the Fanizaries are much to be dreaded: For how often have they in an Inftant changed the Face of the Empire? The fierceft Sultan's and the molt ikilful Minifters have often found how dangerous it was to keep on Foot, in Time of Peace, a Militia who fo well underftand their own Interefts. They depofed Bajazet II. in 1512 ; and promoted the Death of Amurat III. in 1595. They threatned Mabomet III. with Dethronement. Ofman II. who had fworn to deftroy them, having imprudently difclofed his Defign, was difgracefully treated by them, for they made him walk on Foot to the Cafle of the feven Towers, where he was ftrangled in 1622. Nuftaplia I. whom this impudent Soldiery put in Ofmon's Room, was depofed two Months after, by the fame Hands that advanced him. They alfo put to Death Sultan Ibrabim in 1649 , after they had dragged him ignominioully to the feven Towers. His son Mabomet IV. was not fo unhappy indeed, but they depos'd him after the latt Siege of Vienna, which mifcarried yet only by the Fault of Cara Muftapba the prime Vizier. In this Sultan's Stead was preferred his Brother Solyman III. a Prince of no Merit, who was alfo depofed in his Turn fometime afterwards, as others have alfo been.

With Refpect to the Sultanefs Mother, the Viziers, the Caimacan, the firt Eunuchs of the Seraglio, the Grand Treafurer, and their Aga himfelf, the Janizaries value them not, and demand their Heads upon the leait Uneafinefs. All the World knows how they ufed, at the Beginning of this Century, the Mufti Fefullab Effendi, who had been Preceptor of Sultan Muftapba. This Prince who loved his Tutor blindly, was not able to prevent his being drawn upon a Hurdle to Adrianople, and thrown into the River. The only Expedient which could ever be devifed to reprefs the Infolence of thefe Soldiers, was to encourage the Spahi's againft them, and thereby make them jealous one of another, but they agree together too we!l upon certain Occafions. It fignifies nothing to change their Quarters, for as the Abfent always ftand to what their Fellows have done, it is impoffible to avoid their Fury, when they have once taken it into their Head that they have fuffered fome great Injuftice. The Hiftory of the Turks can furnifh few Examples of their having been appeafed, without confiderable Largeffes, or without its cofling the firt Officers of the Empire their Lives.

They have never dar'd to confifcate the Treafure of the Janizaries, nor to fhare the Goods their Officers poffers in Property, in feveral Parts of $A \beta$ ga, as at Ca taya, at Angora, at Caraiffar, and in other Places. When the General dies, the Treafurer inherits his Goods; he is the only Officer whofe Efficts are not feiz'd to the Emperor's Profit. This General has the Privilege of prefenting himfelf before the Sultan with his Arms at Liberty, whereas the Prime Vizier, and the other great Men of the Port, never appear in his Prefence, but with their Arms acrofs their Breaft, which is rather a fervile than a refpectful Pofture.

After the Aga, the Principal Officers of the Fanizaries are the Aga's Lieutenant, the Grand Provoit, the Captain of the Serjeants, who march by the Emperor's Side upon Days of Ceremony, the Captain, of his Foot Archers, and the Commander of his Pages, on Foot; thefe laft as well as the Archers, march by the Grand Signior's Perfon when he walks through the City. They are but threefcore, and wear Caps of beaten Gold, embellifh'd before with Milk white Feathers. As for the Foot Archers, or Archers of the Guard, they are in Number three or four hundred, and in a Day of Battle, they are about the Sultan, arm'd only with Bows and

Arrows, that they may not frighten the Grand Signior"s Horfe. Their Habit is a Coat of Cloth, tucked up at the Corners as high as their Wain, fo as to Mew their Skirts; their Cap is Cloth, and ends in a Point, and is adorn'd with Feathers, in Fafhion of a Plume. Thefe Archers thoot with their left Hand, as well as with the right, which they are taught, that fo they may never turn their Back upon the Sultan: When he paffes over Rivers, they fwim by bis Horfe, and found the Fordings with all the Diligence imaginable: As a Reward, the firt Time the Sultan paffes the River, he caufes a Crown a Piece to be given to every one who was up to the Knee in Water, and if they were up to the Middle, they have two Crowns, and three if they were above the Waift. Out of the Body of the Fanizaries are taken the Gunners, and thofe who take Care of the Arms.

The Gunners are about twelve hundred, and receive their Orders from the Grand Mafter of the Artillery; they live at Topana, in Apartments divided into fifty two Chambers;; but it is very happy that they are not as dextrous as the Chriftians in the cafting and managing Artillery. They who look to the Arms are fix hundred in Number, divided into fixty Chambers; they lodge in Apartments near Saniza Sopbia. They not only take Care of the ancient Arms which are in the Arfenal, but of thole of the Janizaries and Spabi's, which they deliver out to them in good Order, when they are going into the Field.
Befides the Fanizaries now mentioned, all the Provinces of this vaft Empire are fili'd at prefent with Foot Soldiers, who bear the Name of Fanizaries; but thefe Fanizaries of the fecond Order are not inrolled in the Body of Fanizaries of the Port; and have nothing of the ancient Difcipline of the Turks. All ill Perfons who would fkreen themfelves from the ordinary Courts of Juftice, and honeft Perfons alfo who are willing to cover themfelves from the Infults of others; they who would efcape the Taxes, and be excufed from publick Offices, purchafe of the Colonels of the Fanizaries who are in the Towns of the Province, the Title of Fanizaries. They are fo far from receiving Pay, that they give feveral Afpers a Day to thefe Officers to enjoy thofe Privileges; fometims they pafs for Invalids, or Penfioners for Life, and live quietly at Home, without being obliged to go into the Army. Is it furprifing after this, that the Turkijh Forces are fo much diminifhed? They never have had fo many Soldiers, nor fuch fmall Armies. The Officers who are obliged to take the Field, pals their own Domelticks for Soldiers, and put the Pay of thofe who ought to bear Arms in the Prince's Service into their own Pockets. The Corruption which is introduced into this great Empire, feems to threaten it with fome flrange Revolution.

Neither muft we confound with the Fanizaries, another Sort of Infantry, call'd Azapes and Arcangi's. The Azapes are the old Muffulman-Bands, more ancient than the fanizaries themfelves, but very much defpifed. They ferve for Pioneers, and fometimes are meerly a Bridge to the Horfe in marfiny Grounds, and fo many Fafcines to fill up the Ditches of a Place befieged. The $A r$ cangi's have no more Pay than the Azapes, but are appointed only to ravage the Frontiers of the Enemy. Yet in full Peace, (for the War is not efteemed to be declared, unlefs the Artillery be drawn into the Field) they are perpetually making Incurfions and pillaging their Neighbours. If any one among thefe Troops happens to become a good Soldier, after fome vigorous Action, he is entered in the Body of Fanizaries. This is the State of the Turki/h Infantry, nor is that of their Cavalry at prefent one Tittle better; it is compofed of two Sorts, known by the Name of Spabi's, but they muft be carefully diftinguifhed.

The one are upon the Emperor's Pay, and the other not. The Spabi's in Pay are divided into feveral Standards, the Principal of which are the Yellow and the Red: Thofe who have no Pay are of two Sorts, the Zaims and the Timariots. The Spahi's in Pay are taken from among the Ichoglams and the Azamoglans, who have been bred up in the Grand Signior's Seraglio's. Their loweft Pay is twelve Afpers a Day, and
the higheft a hundred. Thofe who come from Icboglans generally begin with twenty or thirty, which are increafed according to their Merit or the Intereft of their Friends. In Time of War all the Spahi's in Pay, who bring in Heads of the Enemy, are advanced two Afpers a Day; and they who firt acquaint the Sultan with the Death of any of their Comrades, are raifed as much. The Spahi's are paid in the Hall, and in ehe Prefence of the Grand Vizier or his Chiaia, in order to avoid all Occafion of Complaint.
Though the Spahi's are born of unknown Parentage, they may yet be looked on as the Nobility of the Country; their Education makes them more accomplifhed than the other Turks, and in every Place good Manners ought to conftitute a real and true Nobility. Thofe of the Red Standard were heretofore only Servitors to the Yellow; but now they are all equal, and the Red have even overtopt under Mabomet III. who in a Battle in which the Spahi's of the Yellow gave Ground and fled, reftored the Fight by the Valour of the Red. The Arms of both are a Lance and a Scymiter, and they make Ufe of a Dart, which they manage with wonderful Dexterity, and the Dart has a Steel Point at one End, and is about two Foot and a half long. They alfo carry a Sword, but it is faften'd to the Saddle, and hangs down upon the Horfes Thigh, fo as not to hinder them in diffharging their Piftol and Carbine. Some likewife ufe Bows and Arrows, efpecially the Spahi's of Anatolia; for thofe of Europe or Romelia rather chule the Arms in Ufe with us. Thefe Troops, however, fight without Order and in a Crowd, inftead of throwing themfelves into Squadrons, and rallying regularly.
Mahomet Kuperli the Grand Vizier, who was a great General, was fo far from bringing them to Difcipline, that he affected to humble them and keep them ignorant, for Fear of increafing their Infolence, fince which Time they have extremely loft their ancient Reputation. They baitinade them now on the Soles of the Feet, left, if they fcourged them, they fhould be difabled from mounting their Horfe; and for a contrary Reafon the Fanizaries are fcourged, becaufe they are obliged to ufe their Feet in marching. When the Grand Signior goes to command his Army in Perfon, he caufes large Sums to be divided among the Spahi's. One Spahi and a Janizary are placed Centries at each Cord of his Tent, and the fame at the chief Vizier's. The other Standards of the Spahi's are the White, the White and Red, the White and Yellow, and the Green. The moft famous Spahi's are thofe called Mutafaraca, who receive forty Afpers a Day. The Emperor is their Colonel; their Duty is to attend upon him : They are about five hundred.

As to the other Cavalry, called Zaims and Tamariots, they are Perfons to whom the Grand Signior gives certain Commands, term'd Timar, for Life, on Condition they maintain fuch a Number of Horfe for his Service. The firft Sultans, being Mafters of the Fiefs of the Empire, erected Baronies or Commands out of them, to reward any extraordinary Services, and principally for raifing and fubfifting a Body of Troops without iffuing Money. But it was Solyman II. who eftablifhed the Order and Difcipline of there Baronies, and fettled by his Decrees the Number of Men each one fhould be obliged to find. This Body has been not only very powerful, but very celebrated alfo through the whole Empire. But Avarice, the common Vice of the Eaft, has made them decline feveral Years ago. The Viceroys and Governors of Provinces prevail fo far by their Intrigues at Court, that even the Commands which lie out of their Government are given to their Domefticks, or to them who offer the moft Money. The Zaims and the Timariots differ little more than in their Income. The Zaims have the moft confiderable Commands, and their Revenues make from 20,000 to 818,819 Afpers. If they produce even an Afper above this, it becomes the Property of fome Bafha. Alfo when a Commander dies, his Command is divided, fuppofing the Income of it has been augmented under the Deceafed, as it commonly happens to be, for they are generally improved rather than leffened.

The Zaims are obliged to maintain at leaft four Horfe, which is after the Rate of one Man for 5000 Alpers of Rent. There are two Sorts of Timariots, the one receive their Provifions from the Port, the other from the Viceroy of the Place; but their Equipages are lefs than thofe of the Zaims, and their Tents are fmaller and proportioned to their Revenue. They who receive their Patents from the Coirr, have from 5 or 6000 to 19,999 Af pers; if they fhould receive one Afper more, they would pars into the Rank of Zaims. They who have their Patents from the Viceroys, have an Income from 3000 Afpers to fix thoufand. Every. Timariot is bound to provide one Horfeman for every 3000 Alpers his Income produces. The Zaims. and Timariots are obliged to march in Perfon to the Army on the firt Orders, and nothing can excufe them. The Indifpofed are carried in Litters, and their Children in Baskets and Cradles. The Timariots muft furnifh Baskets to their Troopers, to carry Earth for filling up Ditches and Trenches. Thefe are better difciplined than thofe who are properly called the Spabi's, though the Spabi's are more per!onable and luity; and whereas the laft never engage but in a Crowd at the Head of the ancient Cavalry, the Zaims and Timariots are divided into Regiments, commanded by Colonels under the Batha's. The Batha of Aleppo is Colonel General of this Body of Horle when he is in the Army, becaufe being Seraskier of the Army by his Place, it belongs to him to command in Chief during the Abfence of the Grand Vizier.
It is not ftrange that the Turks are fo weak at Sea, becaufe they want good Mariners, skilful Pilots, and experienced Officers. The Pilors of the Grand Signior fcarcely know how to ufe the Compafs, and thofe of the Saicks, which are their Merchant-fhips, certainly underftand Nothing of it. They fteer by their Knowledge of the Coatts, which is very erroneous, and they generally truft themfelves in long Voyages, as to Syria and Egypt, to Greeks who have run the Courfe with Cbriftion Privateers, and have got the Track of the Countries of $A f a$ and Africa by Rote. However, if the Turks would apply themfelves to Navigation, they would eafily become Mafters of the Mediterranean, and chafe away the Corfairs who do fo much Mifchief to their Traffick. Without reckoning the Supplies they might draw from Greece, or the Inles of the Archipelago, Egypt, and the Coaft of Africk, the Black Sea alone would furnin them with more Wood and Rigging than are needful for even a very formidable Navy. At prefent the Maritime Forces of this great Empire are reduced to twenty eight or thirty Men of War, and they arm not above fifty Gallies.
The Turks had much more powerful Fleets in the Time of Mabomet II. of Selimus and Solyman II. but they never made any great Expeditions. Since the War of Candia, they have mightily neglected the Sea, and perhaps would have done fo much more, if Mizomorto the Captain-Bafha had not in our Days reftored and improved their Navy. The Advantage which arofe by the Sea to the Inands of Spalmadori, under the Venetians, made him fet a wonderful Value upon the Inand of Scio, and gave the Mabometons fren Spirits. He was a Man of extraordinary Capacity for the Sea, and tried all Methods to engage Chriftian Officers in the Grand Signior's Service. The Sultan may now have fix or feven Renegado Captains, who are well experienced ; but the Seamen know nothing of the Tackle, and the Gunners are miferable to the laft Degree.
The Succefflor of Mizomorto was but little efteemed. Adram a Bafha, who was named the Admiral upon the Death of the other, was able to have brought the Condition of the Turkjb Navy to Perfection, if fome, who envied him, had not grot him ftrangled a little after his Promotion. He was known among the Turks by the Name of the Bafha of Rbodes, and among the Chriftians by that of the Butcher's Son of Marfeilles. He was taken very young in a Ship belonging to that City, and was fo unhappy as to turn Mabometan. He had the Character among the Turks of a very upright Man, and very difinterefted. It is faid, that as he was going the Round one Day to execute Juftice at Scio, he asked
to whom three or four She-Afhes belonged, which were loaded with weighty Stones, and were tied to the Door of a certain, Houfe; and underftanding their Mafters were hard-by at Breakfaft, he paffed on ; but at his Return, being difturbed to find the poor Creatures were ftill in the fame Condition, and that no Care had been taken to feed them, he fent for their Owners, and told them, it was but jult that the Affes fhould eat in their Turn. The Peafants readily affented; but were furprized, when he order'd each to bear one of the Stones upon his Back all the Time the Affes were eating. The fame Story is alfo told concerning Sultan Asorat.

The Poft of Captain-Bafha is one of the nobleft in the Empire. He is great Admiral and General of the Gallies ; his Power is abfolute when he is out of the Dardanelles, fo that he can ftrangle the Viceroys and Governors who are on board, without waiting for the Sultan's Order. The Grand Vizier is the only Minifter who is above him : It is the fecond Poft in the Empire, and he is accountable to the Grand Signior alone. Not only the Sea-Officers, but all the Governors of the Maritime Provinces likewifé receive Orders from him. At Conftantinople there are not above twenty eight or thirty Men of War. The Gallies are diftinguifhed into two Claffes, namely, thofe of Conftantinople and thofe of the Arcbipelago; thofe of Conftantinople are at Sea only in the Summer. At the Clofe of the Campaign they are difarmed, to be laid up in the Arfenal of Caffums Baffe; the greater Part of the Beys or Captains are Renegades. Befides the Body of the Galley, Artillery, and Bisket, the Emperor alfo allows them Pay, and the reft of their Equipage, which confifts of two hundred Oars, and a Boat to go on Shore.

If the Captains are rich enough to fubfift their Slaves who row, they make a confiderable Profit, for they are allowed twelve thoufand Livres for Rowers, and make an Advantage alfo of the Journeys in which they employ their Slaves by Land during the other Part of the Year. When there are not Rowers enough, they prefs the Slaves of private Men at Confantinople; but very little Service is done by thefe poor Wretches, who have no Experience, and perifh moft of them at Sea, as the Service of the Sea requires much more Practice than that of the Land. To reinforce the Soldiers of the Gallies, the Turks add fome of the Janizaries. The Gallies of the Archipelago are obliged to be in a Readinefs to put to Sea at all Times. The Captains are paid by Affignments upon the Inlands, and are bound to find their own Slaves, and pay them, for the Grand Signior allows them only the Veffel, Artillery, and Rigging.

They avoid an Engagement all they can, in order to preferve their Slaves; and molt of them have neither the Number of Gallies they ought to maintain, nor their Equipage compleat, becaufe the Captain-Bafha for a Sum of Money (which the others know proper Ways enough to hand to him) often winks at it, confequently the Military Difcipline is very indifferently obferved. The Beys of Rbodes and Scio ought to provide feven Gallies for each Inand; he of Cyprus fix ; thofe of Mytelene, Negropont, Salonica, and Caval one a-piece. Andros and Syra only one, and Naxos and Paros the like. The Captain-Batha fails round the Archipelago in the Summer, to raife the Capitation Tax, and learn the State of Affairs which have happened. He commonly holds his Days of Audit in a Port of Paros, called Drio, which is the Center, as it were, of the Arcbipelago. The Officers of the Inlands repair thither to make their Prefents to him, and pay in the Sums at which each Inand is taxed. Here alfo the CaptainBatha finally judges all Matters, as well Civil as Crio minal.

The only Danger that can now be apprehended from the Turks, muft arife from the Wickednefs of Cbrifion Renegadoes, more efpecially Men of defperate Fortunes, who have had long Experience, and arrived at confiderable Dignities, either in Military or Naval Service; for thefe Men may, by repeated Memorials, awaken the Turkih Minifters to a true Senfe of their

Condition, and may alfo propofe amending their Dir cipline, by introducing that of the Germans, and fo the laft Evil would be worfe than the firf, fince Turki/g Infantry, thus difciplin'd, would be infinitely more terrible than the Fanizaries have ever been. That this is not altogether a groundlefs or idle Sufpicion, appears from two Inftances in our own Time, viz. the Port's fending an Aga into Holland to treat with Mr. Langallerie, a Frencbman, who quitting the Service of his own Prince, was raifed in that of the Allies to that of a Lieutenant General; but growing difcontented, as thefe Sort of People generally do, after the Peace was con cluded, propofed tranfporting a Colony into the Morea, and reviving the Ottomon Naval Power in the Archipelago. His Schemes were received, a Perfon fent to treat with him in Holland, and confiderable Sums of Money paid him; but fome of his Practices requiring his Prefence in Germany, he went thither, was feized and imprifoned, and continued in that Situation, till in a def perate Fit of Madnefs he put an End to his own Life.

The recent Example of Count Bonneval is another of the fame Kind; he was a Man of one of the beft Families in Fronce, but profligate in his Morals, and without any Principles whatever. He too quitted the Service of France to enter into the Troops of the Allies, where he obtained very great Preferment, and if any Thing could have fatisfied his Ambition, might have had it; but having conceived, fome Prejudice againft his Patron Prince Eugene, he behaved in fuch a Manner as forced the Imperial Court to proceed againft him with Severity, which fo exalperated his haughty Spirit, that he retired to Turkey, where having fome Differences with the Erench Ambaffador, who refufed to take him under his Protection, and being claimed as a Subject of his Imperial Majefty, which by the Treaty of Peace then fubfifting would have obliged the Iurks to have given him up, he found himfelf under the dreadful Neceffity of abandoning the Chriftian Faith to fave himfelf from being thus delivered.

Thefe Circumftances are not taken from the fabulous Hiftory of his Adventures, but from his own Letters, and therefore the Reader may depend upon them. This Man might have proved as ufeful to the Turks as dangerous to the Cbriftions. He had ferved againft them in the laft War in Hungary, was perfectly acquainted with the Errors in their Difcipline, and without Doube would have fet them right, as appears from the Memorials that he prefented from Time to Time, and which muft be allowed to be very judicious in their Kind ; but he was never much eiteemed or greatly trufted by the Inficels; and to fay the Truth, as Things ftand at prefent in that Empire, it is very improbable that fuch a Man fhould fucceed, for many Reafons, out of which I will mention a few.

The Nation in general are ftrongly wedded to their own Cuftoms, and have an infuperable Contempt for thofe of other Nations. The Difcipline of the Fanizaries is now corrupted to fuch a Degree, that there is nothing they dread fo much as a Reformation; they no longer confider their Kind of Life as a Military Profeffion, in which Preferment is to be derived from Merit, but as a Trade of which they are inclined to make the moft they can, and therefore deteft all Thoughts of being put out of the Way in which they now are, and would certainly mutiny, if a new and ftrict Difcipline was infifted upon. The qurki/b Minifters are naturally fufpicious of Renagadoes, forefeeing that if they fhould rife to confiderable Employments, it muft be at their Expence, the Thoughts of which they cannot bear; and therefore though they cannot refufe fuch People Protection and Countenance, yet they always ftudy to deprefs and keep them under; but we know not what Time, and the Lights of Experience may produce, and therefore we ought to be upon our Guard againft all Accidents.

Befides in a Country fo fubject to Revolutions, Nobody can pretend to decide about what may happen. A new Emperor may arife of a martial and enterprifing Genius, and may take the Reins of Government into his own Hands, and pay very little Deference to
his Minifters. Such a Prince, from the Genius of the Turkib Conftitution, would very foon become the Darling of his People, more efpecially if Succefs hould attend any of his Undertakings; and in that Cafe he might very poffibly have Recourle to Renegades, as Perfons the moft capable of ferving him, which if they were able to do, he would not fail to raife them in Spite of all Oppofition; and this once accomplifhed, the Effects that muft attend it would become terrible to Cbristendom; for confidering that general Depravity of Manners, and that dangerous Spirit of Irreligion, which prevails over all Europe, there is nothing more likely than that fuch a Turn as this would draw all the turbulent and reftlefs Spirits in this Part of the World to feek their Fortunes under the Turks, and then perhaps it would be too late to think of any Remedy for fuch an Evil.

But if an oppofite Spirit could be raifed in Time, if Chriftian Princes could be prevailed on to lay afide their inteftine Jealoufies and Difputes, and think of augment-
ing their Subjects, and increafing their Dominions, at the Expence of their common Enemy; we have already fhewn, that this might be very practicable: We will conclude this Section with oblerving, that how little foever we hear of it, Things on this Side are really at a Crifis, and in the Space of a very few Years we thall fee them take either one Turn or the other; that is to fay, either the Chriftian Princes, more efpecially the two Imperial Powers of Germany and Rufla, the King of Poland, and the State of Venice, will think of recovering what has been torn from them by the Ottomans ; or after fome fudden and great Revolution among the Turks, the Face of Affairs will change, and they will refume their Defigns againft the Cbriftians too, which they are always encouraged by that Power, which, as it feems to have adapted the Maxims of their Policy, has for many Years acted as if it was the natural and unalterable Ally of the Infidels, and in that Light as well as others the common Enemy of Cbriftendom.

## SECTIONIV.

> A Journey from Aleppo to Ferufalem, containing a curious and accurate Defrription of the Holy Land and City, interfperfed throughout with great Variety as well of Philological, Phyfical, and Philofophical ; as Hiftorical and Critical Remarks.

By Henry Maundrele, M. A. late Fellow of Exeter College, and Chaplain to the Factory at Aleppo.

1. An Introductory Account of the Author and his Performance, in which is Shewn the Nature, Defign, and UJes of this Section. 2. The Author Sets out in Company with fourteen Englifh Gentlemen from Aleppo; the Manner of their Travelling, and the Nature of their Accommodations. 3. They are furprized in their Fourney by a Storm, and obliged to take Shelter among the Tombs of Turkifh Saints. 4. An Account of the City of Latichea, and of a Nation called Neceres, wobo are of all Religions, and of no Religion. 5. They continue their Journey to Tripoly, and meet reith feveral Antiquities in their Pafage. 6. A Defcription of that City, with an Account of the Entertainment they met with there. 7. Their Vifit to Oftan Balba of Tripoly, the Ceremonies of their Reception, and webat pafled at their Audience. 8. A Defcription of Gibyle, the Byblus of the Ancients, famous for being the Birtb-place of Adonis. 9. A very curious and learned Account of various Antiquities in this Neigbbourbood. 10. A fuccinet but curious Relation of the Emir Faccardine, bis Subjects and Succeffors. II. The Autbor's Account of Tyre and Sidon, with fome Remarks upon the Prophecies relating to thofe Cities. i2. A Defcription of Solomon's Cifterns, the City of Acra or Ptolemais, and other Places in that Neigh. bourbood. 13. They pafs the River Kifhon, and travel through the Country of Samaria. 14. Some very curious and fatisfactory Remarks on the ancient Fertility and prefent Barrennefs of the Land of Judea. I5. A very copious and circumfantial Account of the Ceremonies annually ufed at the Cburcb of the Holy Sepulchre on Good-Friday. 16. The Celebration of Eafter, and the Autbor's Vifit to the Sepulcbres of the Kings. 17. The Author's Fourney to the River Jordan and the Dead Sea, with a Defcription of both. 18. A Fourney to and Defcription of Bethlehem, with Variety of critical Obfervations and Remarks. 19. His fourney to the Convent of St. John in the Wildernefs, with a Detail of the remarkable Places be fawe therein. 20. A very particular Account of the Holy Fire at Jerufalem, and of fome very extraordinary Pratices of the Monks and Priefts. 21. A circumfantial Account of the moft remarkable Places in the Neigbbourbood of Jerufalem. 22. The Autbor's Viait to Mount Olivet, and the Palace of Pilate, the Pool of Bethfaida, and otber Places. 23. Their Departure from Jerualem, and Fourney from thence to Nazareth. 24. A Defcription of that Village, and of Mount Tabor. 25. An Account of what bappened in their Fourney till their Arrival at Damaicus. 26. A very large and accurate Defcription of that City and tbe Country about it. 27. An Account of the great Turkifh Caravan of Pilgrims that go annually to vifit Mecca. 28. A very curious and copious Defcription of the City of Balbeck, the Palmyra of the Ancients. 29. An Account of the Turkifh Punijbment called Empaling; a Defoription of Mount Libanus, and the Autbor's Return to Aleppos. 30. Another Journey of his from Aleppo to vifit the River Euphrates, the City of Beer, and the fruitful Country of Mefopotamia. 31. Remarks and Objervations upon the foregoing Section.

THE Author of thefe. Travels was a Gentleman who, during the Time he refided in the Univerfity of Oxford, laid a Foundation of an extraordinary Character, in Point both of Learning and Manners. He applied himfelf with great Diligence to the Reading of Greek Authors, and a ftrong Turn towards Antiquities and Church-Hiftory; and though his Conftitution was far from being ftrong, and his great Patron Dr. Sprat, Bifhop of Rochefter, had it in his Power to provide for him at home ; yet, upon the very firf Propofal of his going Chaplain to the Factory at Aleppo, he very chearfully and gladly embraced it ; and, during his Refidence there, was equally happy himfelf, and agreeable to the Gentlemen who then refided there, as I have been informed by feveral who were there at that Time, and by fome that accompanied him in his Journey. It may not be amifs to obferve, that the worthy Bifhop Frampton was his Predeceffor in this Employment; and as he was a Man of great Piety and Purity of Manners, fo, on the other hand, his Converfation was fo chearful and entertaining, and he had the Art of introducing learned Subjects with fuch Eafe, and of enlivening them in fuch a Manner, that he diffufed a Spirit of Literature through the whole Factory; fo that when Mr. Maundrell came firft amongtt them, he profeffed himfelf aftonifhed at the frrict Order and perfect Regularity in which they. lived; exhibiting, as himfelf fays, in all their Actions the beft and trueft Signs of a Chriftian Spirit, fincere and chearful Friendhip among themfelves, a generous Charity towards others, a Converfation innocently chear.. ful, addited to no Pleafures but fuch as were honeft and manly ; and, in fhort, in all Points fo well difpofed, that it feemed rather a College, and a wellgoverned College too, in fome famous Univerfity, than a Factory of young Merchants, fent there to make their Fortunes. We need not at all wonder, that in Company like this Mr. Maundrell rejoyced in his Situation, or that amongft other Advantages he there enjoyed, he fhould lay hold of vifiting the Land of $\mathcal{F} u d e a$, and the Places confecrated to the Reverence of all Chriftians, by their having been the Scenes of the principal Acts of our Saviour and his Apoftes in the firft Ages of the Church. What he faw with Pleafure, he has related with great Accuracy and Judgment; and the Learned, both of our own and of Foreign Countries, are agreed, that annongft the numerous Relations of Journeys to the holy City, there are none that, in Point of Candour, Fidelity, and Exactnefs, furpaffes this; which is the Reafon that we have given it a Place in this Collection, and dare recommend it to the Reader as an excellent Performance of its Kind, filled not only with all that can be reafonably expected from it ; but alfo with a great Variety of curious and uffful Learning, which can hardly fail to inftruct and pleafe.
2. On February 26, 1696, I fet out with fourteen Englijh Gentlemen from Aleppo, defigning to vifit the Holy Land at the next Eafter, and the firft Night we took up our Quarters at the Honey-Kone, about an Hour and a half Welt of Aleppo. A very indifferent Lodging we had; for here it is to be noted, that in travelling this Country, a Man does not meet every Night with Inns as in England; but you muft either lodge under your own Tent, or elfe in Publick-houfes, founded for your own of Travellers, called by the Turks, Kanes; to which all Comers are welcome, paying a fmall Fee to the Kane-Keeper, if they be able. And here you muft expect nothing but bare Walls, for all other Neceffaries mutt be carried by every one that travels.
On the 27 th, we parted from the Honey-Kane, and paffing by Oorem and Keffre, we entred into the Plains of Kefteen, of a vaft Compafs, and in moft Places very fruiful. At our firft Defcent into them at Effoyn, we -counted no fewer than twenty four Villages; and Kefteen itfelf is a large Village on the Wefl-fide of the Plain, encompars ${ }^{\circ}$ d with fo many Fields of Corn, that the Inhabitants breed many Pigeons. At this Place we faw, over the Door of a Bagnio, a Marble-ftone carved with the Sign of the Crors, and the Gloria Patri, \&c. which.was probably the Portal of fome Church former.
ly. On the 28 ch , we left Kefteen, and continuing in the fame Plain, abounding with Corn, Olives and Vines, we came to Harbonoofe, and from thence to a very rich Valley called Rooge, which is wall'd on both Sides with high Mountains; and having travel'd in this Valley four Hours, we pafs'd through the Skirt of the Lake or Sea of Rooge, and from thence we came to Te-ne-ree, where we paid our firft Caphar. Thefe Caphars are certain Duties paid by Travellers to Officers that attend in their Stations to receive them. They were at firf levied by Chriftians, for repairing the Ways, and fcouring them from Robbers; but under that Pretence the Turks now exact unreafonable Sums, though themfelves are often the greateft Robbers.

After this Caphar, we crofs'd over the Mountains on the Weft-fide of the Valley of Rooge, and defcending into a Valley, we pals'd Bell-maer, and came to Sboggle, which is a large but filchy Town, fituate on the River Orontes, over which you pafs to it by a Bridge of thirteen fmall Arches. The River hereabouts is pretty deep, and yet fo rapid, that it turns great Wheels, made for lifting up the Water by its natural Swittnefs, without any Force added to it, meerly by confining its Stream. We lodg'd here in a large and handiome Kane, founded by the fecond Grand Vizier Cuperli, and to well endow'd, that it fupplies every Traveller with a competent Portion of Bread, Broth, and Flefh. It was crouded with $\mathcal{T} u r k i / b$ Hodgees or Pilgrims, bound for Mecca; but we found a peaceable Reception among them.
3. March I. we parted from Sboggle, and crofs'd a Mountain on the Weft-fide of the Valley, from which we defcended into a third Valley like the two former ; and having pafs'd the Village Bedame, we entred into a woody Country, where our Road was very rocky and uneven, but yet pleafant, becaufe it prefented us with the Profpect of Plants and Flowers of divers Kinds, as Myrtles, Oleanders, Tulips, and other aromatick Herbs. After this we defcended into a low Valley, at the Bottom of which there is a Fiffure fo narrow, that you cannot difcern it till you come upon it, though you may hear the Noife of the Stream running into it at a great Diftance. They call it the Sbeck's Wife, from a Woman of that Quality that fell into it. From hence we came in one Hour to a Place called the Sultan's Stone, where we pitch'd our Tents, and lodg'd for that Night.

On the 2d, we left our Campagnia Lodging very early, the Weather being yet moitt and cold, and came in an Hour to the Caphar of Crufa, and from thence in another to the Foot of a Mountain called Occaby, which we afcended with great Difficulty, and then we found a fine Country planted with Silk-Gardens, through which we came to Belulca, and there repair'd to a Place which is both the Kane of the Village, and the $A g a^{3}$ 's Houfe; but though we gave him a fmall Prefent, we could hardly obtain a dry Part of the Houfe to lodge in. In the mean Time, being informed that there were feveral Chriftians Inhabitants in this Place, we went to vifit their Church, which was only a Room about four or five Yards fquare, wall'd with Dirt, and cover'd with Bufhes, in which was an Altar of the fame Materials with the Walls, paved at Top with Potherds and Slates; and in the Middle of the Altar ftood a Crofs made of two Laths naild together, on each Side of which there are two or three old Pictures of our bleffed Lord and the Virgin, $\mathcal{E}^{\circ}$ c. a very mean Habitation for the God of Heaven, but yet held in great Efteem by the poor People, who come hither with great Devotion, and hang the Room with Bags of Silk-worms Eggs, that by the Holinefs of the Place they may bring a Bleffing upon them, and increafe their Virtue.

On the 3d, we left Belulca, and arrived at Scbolfatia, a poor Village, fituate upon a fmall River, now fwollen fo high with the late Rains, that it was not fordable; which put us to a Nonplus, not knowing what to do till the Rain abated; and then we pitch'd in the open Field, though thoroughly foak'd with Wet. But after the Rain had ceafed a little While, it began to pour down a-frefh with Lightning and Thunder, and then

Chap. I.
from ALEPPO to JERUSALEM.
we fent a Turk to a Sbecks Houle hard by, to try if by any Means we could get Admittance there; and at laft, with good Words, having declared, that we had no Intention to defile their Faith, we were permitted to fecure our Baggage in the Houfe, whilft we fhelter'd ourfelves among the Tombs from the Rain, which pour'd down all Night long. A Sbeck's Houfe is a Stone Fabrick, of fix or eight Yards fquare, roof'd with a Cupola, erected over the Grave of fome eminent Sheck, i. e: one who by his long Beard, whining Prayers, and Pbarafaical Pride, (the great Virtues of the Mabometan Religion) has purchafed the Reputation of a Saint ; of which Sort there are many in this Country, to which the People repair with their Vows and Prayers, which they offer in thefe Shrines, not to the Saints, as the Papifts do, but to God only, whom alone they adore
4. On the 4 th : This Morning we found the River fordable, and got to the other Side of it with our Baggage, from whence afcending a very fteep Hill, at the Top of it we were prefented with the firft Profpect of the Ocean ; and to the Weftward, we had a View of the City Laticbea, built by Seleucus Nicanor, and by him call'd Laodicea, which Name it ftill retains with a little Corruption. After it was reduced to a low Condition, it now begins to flourifh again, being put in a Way of Trade by Coplan Aga, a Man of great Wealth and Authority in thefe Parts. From the Hill laft mention'd, we defcended into a fpacious Plain, having the Sea on the Right-hand, and Mountains on the Left. In which Plain we difcern'd two ancient Tombs, which were Chefts of Stone, two Yards and a half long each, cover'd over with large Tables of Stone, carv'd on the Outfide with Ox-heads, and Wreaths hanging between them, after the Manner of adorning Heathen Altars

Above an Hour from thefe Tombs we were ftopt by another Stream, but here we found a fafe Paffage to the other Side, and then we were forc'd by the Rain to make the beft of our Way to Jebilee. After this Manner our Road continued for feveral Days, between the Sea on the Right, and the Mountains on the Left; but the Mountains go under different Names, and are inhabited by feveral rude People. In that Part of them above $\mathcal{F}$ ebilee, there dwell a People called by the Turks Neceres, of a very fingular Character for it is their Principle to adhere to no certain Religion, but to put on the Colour of that Religion which is profeffed by thofe with whom they converfe : And fo with Cbrifians they profefs themfelves Cbrifians, with Mabometans they are good Mufulmans, and with Feres they pafs for fezos. All that is certain concerning them is, that they make very much and very good Wine, and are great Drinkers, but in Religion they are very Proteus's.

On the 5 th; This whole Day we fpent in Jebilee, having a convenient new Kane to lodge in, built by Oßtan their Bafhaw of Tripoly. Febilee is feated clofe by the Sea, having a vaft and fruitful Plain on the other Sides of it ; its ancient Name was Gabala, and fo it is call'd by Strabo. In the Time of the Greek Emperors it was a Bifhop's See, and is ftill accounted a City, though it makes a very mean Figure at prefent. The moft remarkable Things in it are a Mofque and an Alms. houfe, built by Sultan Ibrabim; in the former is his Tomb, which we found to be a great wooden Cheft erected over his Grave, and covered wih a Carpet of painted Callico, trick'd up with a great many Ropes of wooden Beads, which is the Turks ufual Way of adorning the Tombs of their holy Men. In this Mofque we faw feveral Incenfe-Pots, Candlefticks, and other Furniture, being the Spoils of Chriftian Churches.

The Turks reported, that he divefted himfelf of his Royalty, and liv'd twenty $^{2}$ Years in a Grotto by the Sea-Side; and to confirm the Truth of their Relation, shey fhow the Cell where he abode, and another Grot twice as large, which had three Niches or Praying-places hewn in its South-fide, as they always are, for that Way che Mufulmen are oblig'd to fet their Faces, in Reverence to the Tomb of their Prophet. From this

Mofque our Guide carried us to a Chriftian Church which we found to be nothing but a fmall Grotto in a Rock open towards the Sea, having a rude Pile of Stones for an Altar ; which poor Chappel is the only Place, as the Curate told us, allow'd to the Greek Chriftians for Divine Service. But the moft confiderable Antiquity in Febilee, is the Remains of a noble Theatre, of which the Semi-circle is all that's now ftanding, being an hundred Yards in Compals, having in it feventeen Windows, between which are large maffy Pillars ftanding againft the Wall, that is three Yards three Quarters thick of firm Stone, by which Means it has been preferv'd thus long from the Jaws of Time, and the Ruin which the Turks bring upon moft Places.

On the 6th, having done with Febilee, our Road continued by the Sea-fide, and banifh'd us in two Hours to a fair deep River, call'd the King's River; on both Sides of which we faw the Footfteps of fome confiderable Buildings. About half an Hour further we paffed the River Jobar, and on the other Side ftood a great Square Tower, and round about it there was the Rubbifh of a great many other Buildings. And all along this Day's Journey we obferv'd the Ruins of Caftles and Houfes, which teflify that this has been formerly a Place of great Strength and Beauty. Strabo calls that whole Region, from Febilee as far as Aradus, the Country of the Aradii, and gives the Names of feveral Places fituate along the Coaft, which cannot be now diftinctly known. Only the Balanea of Stribo feems to be that Place which the Turks now call Baneas, which ftands about a Furlong from the Sea, and has fuch a pleafant Situation, fuch Ruins, and fuch a Bay, as fhews it to have been a commodious Habitation, Leaving Baneoss, we went by the Sea-fide, and in one Quarter of an Hour we pafs'd by an old Caftle, on the Top of a high Mountain, built in the Figure of an equilateral Triangle, which the Turks call Mercbab, which probably is the fame Caftle mention'd by Adrichomius under the Name of Margath, to which the Bifhops of Balanea were forc'd to tranllate the See, by Reafon of the Infults of the Saracens. About an Hour and half from Baneas, we met with a fmall clear Stream, which induc'd us to take up our Lodgings near it, about two or three Furlongs from the Sea, having in Sight on the Mountains above us a Village call'd Sopbia, inhabited only by Maronites, and a little further, Refeck, poffefs'd by the Turks; and a little further Merakiah, poffefs'd. by Cbrifions and Turks together.
5. On the 7 th : Next Morning we came in three Hours to a deep River call'd Nabor Hufine, having one Arch large and well wrought; and in an Hour and half more we reach'd Tortofa, anciently call'd Ortbofia, being a Bifhop's See in the Province of Tyre, frequently mention'd by the Writers of the Holy Wars as a ftrong Place, as it appears to have been. What remains of it is the Caftle, wafh'd on one Side by the Sea, on the others fortified by a double Wall, between which there is one Ditch, and another compaffing the outermoft Wall. You enter this Fort over an old Draw-bridge which lands you in a fpacious Room, which on one Side refembles a Church, having at this Day feveral holy Emblems, as that of a Dove defcending, and that of the holy Lamb; but on the other Side it has the Face of a Caftle, being built with Port-holes inftead of Windows. On the South and Eaft-fide of it ftood anciently the City, encompaffed with a good Wall and a Ditch, of which there are fome Remains; but of other Buildings there is nothing left, except a Church which is an hundred and thirty Foot long, ninety three broad, and fixty one high, fo entire, that it might eafily be repair'd; but. it is now made a Stall for Cattle, in which we waded up to the Knees in Dirt when we went to fee it.

From Tortofa we fent our Baggage before towards Tripoly, which we follow'd not long after, and within one Quarter of an Hour we came to a large Channel of a River, now almoft dry; and in half an Hour more we came to a fmall Inand about a League from the Shore, call'd by the Turks, Ruad, which is fuppored to be the ancient Arphad, or Arpad (mention'd, 2 Kings xix.

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13. Ger. x. I8. Ezck. xxvii. II.) and the Aradus of the Greeks and Romans, which feem'd to be fill'd with Buildings like Caftles, and to have been anciently famous for Navigation. About a Quarter of an Hour further we came up with our Muliteers, who had pitch'd our Tents at a Place where we found feveral notable Antiquities, having in it a Fountain call'd the Serpent Fountain. The firft Antiquity that we obferv'd was a large Dike thirty Yards over at Top, cut into the firm Rock, whofe Sides went floping down with Stairs form'd out of the Rock; and this was on the North-fide of the Fountain; but on the other Side we found a Court of fifty five Yards fquare, cut in the natural Rock, and compafs'd about with Walls of the fame Rock on three Sides, but to the North it lay open. In the Center of this Area was a fquare Part of the Rock left ftanding, being three Yards high, and five Yards and half fquare, which ferv'd for a Pedeftal to a Throne made of four large Stones, two at the Sides, one at the back, and another hanging over the Top like a Canopy, which was five Yards and three Quarters fquare, carv'd round with a handfome Cornifh. The Court we imagin'd to be an IdolTemple, and the Pile in the Middle to be the Throne of the Idol, which feem'd the more probable, becaufe Hercules, i. e. the Sun, the great Abomination of the Pbenicians, was wont to be adored in an open Temple.
6. On the 8th: We got up early to take a nearer View of the two Towers we faw the Night before, whereof one was thirty three Foot high, on a Pedeftal ten Foot high, and fifteen fquare ; the other was thirty Foot high, on a Pedeftal fix Foot high, and fixteen Foot fix Inches fquare, fupported by four Lyons, the upper Part rear'd upon the Pedeftal; being all one fingle Stone. Under thefe Monuments were feveral Sepulchres, to which we defcended by Steps, having feveral Cells for Corps hewn out of the Rock, fome of which we found to be eight Foot and half long. Having parted from thefe Antiquities, we entred into a fpacious Plain between the Sea and the Mountains, reaching almoft as far as $\mathcal{T}$ ripoly, which the Natives call 7 unia. We were feven Hours in paffing it, and found it all along very fruitful, by reafon of the many Rivers that are in it ; of which the firlt being about fix Hours from Tripoly, has a Stone Bridge of three Arches, and is called the Great River.

About half an Hour further we came to another, called the Leper's River : In three Quarters of an Hour more we came to a third, called Nabor Accbar ; and two Hours more brings you to a fourth, called the Cold Waters. Which Rivers I do particularly mention, becaufe it is probable, according to the Defcription of the Ancients, that one of them is the River Eleutberus, though the Moderns do all agree, that it is the fame with a River between Tyre and Sidon, called by the Turks Cafimeer, contrary to the Account of Sirabo and Pliny, who place it near Ortbofia, or between that and Tripoly; and of Ptolomy, who places it yet more Northerly between Ortbofia and Balanea.
On the 9 th, our Muliteers were afradd left their Beafts fhould be prefs ${ }^{9}$ d for publick Service, as indeed they were, in Spight of all their Caution; and fo we left them in the Plain of Junia, and arrived at Tripoly about Sun-fet. It is feated about half an Hour from the Sea, and the major Part of the City lies between two Hills, one on the Eaft, on which ftands a Caftle that commands the Place, and the other on the Weft between the City and the Sea, which is faid to be firft rais'd, and ftill increas'd by Sand blown to it from the Shore; whence arifes a Prophecy, that the whole City fhall in Time be buried with this fandy Hill.
On the Ioth, we were treated by Mr. Filher in a narrow pleafant Valley by a River Side, about a Mile from the City: A-crofs the Valley there runs, from Hill to Hill, a lofy Aquæduct, carrying upon it fo great a Body of Water as fuffices the whole City. It was called the Princess Bridge, and is fuppofed to be built by Godfrey of Bulloign.
7. On the IIth we all dined at Conful Hafing's Holle, and after Dinner we went to wait upon Ofian,
the Batha of Tripoly, having firt fent our Prefent, after the Manner of the Turks, to procure us a favourable Reception; for it is accounted uncivil in this Country, to vifit without an Offering in Hand, which all great Men expect as a Tribute due to their Character. And even the inferior People feldom vifit without bringing a Flower or an Orange, or fome fuch Token of Refpect according to the ancient Oriental Cuftom, hinted in I Sam. ix. 7. If we go, fays Saul, what fall we bring the Man of God? there is not a Prefent, \&c.

On the 12 th we went to vifit Bell-mount, a Convent of Greeks, about two Hours to the South of Tripoly, and we came there juft as they were going to Evening Service. The Church is large but oblcure, and the Altar is enclos'd within Chancels, which none but the Prieft muft approach, after the Manner of the Greek Churches. They call the Congregation together by beating a Tune with two Mallets on a long Piece of Plank hanging at the Church Doors, Bells being an Abomination to the Turks. Their Service confifted in a hafty Chattering of certain Prayers and Hymns to our Bleffed Saviour and the Virgin, and in fome dark Ce remonies, for the Prieft that officiated fpent at leaft a third Part of his Time in compaffing the Altar, and perfuming it with a Pot of Incenfe, and then going round the Congregation, tendring its Smoke with three Vibrations to every one prefent. Towards the End of the Service, there was brought into the Body of the Church a fimall Table, covered with a Linnen Cloth, on which were placed five fmall Cakes of Bread crofs wife; and in a Hole made in each Cake was fixed a fmall lighted Wax Taper. And then the Prieft read the Gofpel concerning our Lord's feeding the Multitude with five Loaves; after which, the Bread was carried within the Cancelli, and being there broke in Bits, was again brought out in a Basket, and prefented to every one in the Affembly, that he might take a little.

After this Collation, the Prieft pronounc'd the Blef fing, and fo the Service ended. On both Sides of the Church there were Seats for the Monks, being about forty in all, and in each Seat there were Crutches (as there are in moft Churches of this Country) which are us'd by the Prieft to eafe him, by leaning on them, in Cafe the Service be long, becaufe by the Rubrick he is forbidden to fit down. We found the Monks goodnatur'd, but very ignorant, for the Chief of them told the Conful, that he was as glad to fee him, as if he had beheld the Meffiah in Perfon come to vifit him. Nor is this Ignorance much to be wondred at, fince they are forced to fpend all the Time, between their Hours of Devotion, in managing their Flocks, cultivating the Lands, and pruning their Vineyards, which they do with their own Hands; and this they are obliged to do, not only for their own Suftenance, but to fatisfy the unreafonable Exactions of the Turks. And to Shew what Kind of Men they are, I took particular Notice, that the fame Perfon whom we faw officiating at the Altar in his embroider'd Prieftly Robe, brought us the next Day on his own Back, a Kid, and a Goat's Skin of Wine, as a Prefent from the Convent.

On the 13 th: This Morning we went again to wait upon Oftan Bafha, by his own Appointment, and were receiv'd with great Civility after their Manner, which is this: When you would make a Vifit to a Perfon of Quality, you muft fend a Prefent by a Servanc, who is to learn what Time may be moft feafonable to wait upon him : When you come to the Houfe, fome Servants receive you at the outermoft Gate, and conduct you towards their Mafter's Apartment, and others in their feveral Stations meet you as you draw nearer to him Coming into the Room, you find him prepar'd to receive you, either ftanding at the Edge of the Duan, or lying down at one Corner of it, as he thinks proper. Thefe Duans are low Stages rais'd about fixteen or eigh teen Inches above the Floor, fpread with Carpets, and furnifh'd with Boliters to lean upon; on which the Turks eat, fleep, fmoke, fay their Prayers, receive Vifits, Esc. Their whole Delight is in lolling on them, and their Luxury confifts in furnifhing them richly.

Being come to the Side of the Duon, you nip off your Shoes, and take your Place firft at forme Diftance, and upon your Knees, laying your Hands formally before you; and there you muft remain till the Man of Quality invites you to draw nearer, and to lean upon a Bolfter. When you are thus fix'd, he difcourfes with you as Occafion offers, the Servants flanding round with profound Refpect and Silence. When you have talk'd over your Bufinefs or made your Compliments, he makes a Sign to have the Entertainment brought in, which is generally a little fweet Meat, a Difh of Shirbet, and another of Coffee, which is prefently brought in by the Servants, and tender'd to all the Guefts in Order with great Care; for if any of them fhould make the leaft Slip in giving or receiving his Difh, it might coft him 100 Drubs on his bare Fcet to attone for his Crime. At laft comes the finifhing Part of the Entertainment, which is perfurning the Beards of the Company ; and for this Purpofe, they have a fmall Silver Chafing-difh, with a Lid full of Holes, fix'd on a Plate, in which they put fome frefh Coals, and upon them a Piece of Lignum-Aloes, and then the Smoke afcends with a grateful Odour through the Holes of the Cover. This Smoke is held under every ones Cliin, and offer'd as a Sacrifice to his Beard, which greedily drinks in the gummy Steam, and retains the Savour of it a good while after. This Ceremony is intended to give a civil Difmiflion to the Vifitants, incimating that they may go away as foon as they pleafe, and the fooner after this the better.

Having ended our Vifit to Ostan Baffa, we rid out after Dinner to view the Marine, which is about half an Hour diftant from the City. The Port is an open Sea, rather than an enclos'd Harbour, but is partly defended by two fmall Ines, about two Leagues out from the Shore, one of which is called the Bird, and the other the Coney-Ifland, from the Creatures they feverally produce. And for its Security from Pirates, it has fix feveral Caftles on the Shore at convenient Diftances. In the Fields, near the Shore, there are many Heaps of Ruins and Pillars of Granite, which are Indications of fome great Buildings this Way ; which agrees with what Caufabon fays upon Strabo, that Tripoly was anciently a Clutter of three Cities, of which the firft was the Seat of the Aradii, the fecond of the Sidonians, and the third of the Tyrians, which may more probably be the Occafion of the Name, than the Joint-Intereft of three Cities in Building it, as is commonly faid.
8. On the $14^{\text {th }}$, we refted at Tripoly, and on the 15th our Muliteers having run away for Fear of the Baffa of Sidon's Servants, who prefs'd Mules every where for their Mafter's Service, we put ourfelves in a new Pofture of Travelling. We parted from Tripoly, and going clofe by the Sea-fide, we came in an Hour and half to Callemone, a Village juft under Bell-mount, and from hence putting forward, we met with a high Promontary that lay in our Way, and forc'd us to turn off to the Left-Hand into a narrow Valley, where we took up our Quarters under fome Olive-trees; which Promontory feems to be that which is call'd by Strabo the Face of God, and which he affigns for the End of Mount Libenus.

On the 16 ch , this Morning we crofs'd over the foremention'd Cape, which we did in an Hour, though it was very fteep and rugged, and we came into a narrow Valley, which laid the Sea open again; and near the Entrance is a fmall Fort that commands it, call'd Temfeida. And in half an Hour we came up with Patrone, which is thought to be Botrus, ficuate clofe by the Sea, in which we found fome Remains of a Church and Monaftery. In three Hours more we came to Gybile, called by the Greeks Byblus, a Place once famous for the Birth and Temple of Adonis. It is compafss d with a dry Ditch and a Wall, with fquare Towers at forty Yards Diftance, and on its South-fide it has an old Caftle.
There is nothing elfe remarkable in it but many Heaps of Ruins, and the fine Pillars in the Gardens near the Town. It is probably the Country of the Gi-

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blites, mention'd fool. xiii. 5. whom King Hiram made ufe of in preparing Materials for Solomon's Temple, as may be collected from I King. v. 18. where the Word rendred Stone-fquarers in the Hebrewo is Giblim, and in the Verfion of the feventy Byblii, i.e. the Men of Byblus, the former ufing the Hebrew, the latter the Greek Name of the Place; which Difference may be obferv ${ }^{\circ} \mathrm{d}$ likewife in Ezek. xxvii. 4. where our Tranflation has the Ancients of Gebel, and the Seventy the Elders of Byblus. Leaving Gybile, we came to a River call'd by the Turks Ibrabim Baffa, which is doubtlefs that ancient River fo famous for the Idolatrous Rites perform'd here in Lamentation of Adonis, and we lodg'd on the Banks of it that Night.
9. The izth, having had a very tempeftuous Night of Wind and Rain, we had an Opportunity of difcovering the Occafion of that Opinion which Lucian relates, that this River, at certain Seafons of the Year, efpecially about the Featts of Adonis, is of a bloody Colour, as he fays, from a Sympathy for the Death of Adonis, who was kill'd by a wild Boar in the Mountains out of which this Stream rifes; for we found the Water of a very red Colour, which doubtlefs was occafion'd by a Sort of Minium, or red Earth, wafh'd into the River by the Violence of the Rain. In an Hour and a Quarter we paffed over the Foot of Mount Climar, and entered into a large Bay call'd Innia, where we found an old Stone-Bridge, and at the Bottom the high Mountains of Caftravan, chiefly inhabited by Maronites, and famous for producing an excellent Sort of Wine.
The Maronite Bifhop of Aleppo dwells here in a Convent, and there are many other fmall Convents on the Top of thefe Mountains. Towards the further Side of the Bay we came to a fquare Tower or Caftle, at which we paid a fourth Caphar, which is receiv'd by the Maronites, who are more exacting Rogues than the Turks themfelves. In an Hour more we came to the River Lycus, call'd alfo fometimes Canis, whofe Name is deriv'd from an Idol in the Form of a Dog or Wolf, which was worthip'd and gave Oracles. The Body of it is fhewn to Strangers lying in the Sea, but the Head they fay is to be feen at Venice. This River, which is certainly different from Adonis, (though fome Moderns confound them) falls into the Sea from between two Mountains very high and rocky, where we found a good Bridge of four Arches, and near the Foot of it, a Piece of white Marble inlaid in the Side of a Rock, with an Arab Infription, that the Emir Faccardine was the Founder of it.
Having pafs ${ }^{\circ}$ d the River, we prefently afcend the Rock hanging over it on that Side, where we met with a Path above two Yards broad, cut along its Side at a great Height above the Water, being the Work of the Emperor Antoninus, as appears by an Infcription engraved on a Table, plain'd in the Side of the natural Rock. In paffing this Way we faw ftrange antick Figures of Men carved in the Rock, in Mezzo relievo, and in Bignefs equal to the Life; and clofe by each Figure there was a Table plain’d in the Side of the Rock, on which fomething had been infcrib'd, though the Characters are generally now defac'd, which may deferve the further Scrutiny of fome Traveller. The Antonine Way extends about a Quarter of an Hour's Travel; after which you come upon a fmooth fandy Shore, which brings you in an Hour and half to the River Beroot, which has over it a Stone-Bridge of fix Arches; and on the other Side is a Plain near the Sea, which is faid to be the Stage on which St. George duell'd and kill'd the Dragon. In Memory of which, there is a fmall Chappel built upon the Place, dedicated at firlt to that Chrittian Hero, but now perverted to a Mofque. From hence in an Hour we arrived at Beroot, and quarter'd at a good Kane by the Sea-fide.
10. On the 18th: This Day we fpent at Beroot, anciently called Berytus, (from which the Idol Baal-Berith is fuppos'd to have had its Name) which was honour'd with many Privileges, and the new Name of $\mathcal{F}$ ulia Felix by Augufus. Its greateft Happinefs at prefent confifts in its

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Situation,

Situation, being feated by the Sea-fide in a fertile Soil, which abounds with frefh Springs flowing down from the Hills. The Emir Faccardine had his chief Refidence here, in the Reign of Sultan Morat, the fourth Emir or Prince of the Drufes; who not contented to be penn'd up in the Mountains, enlarged his Dominions into the Plain, all along the Sea-Coaft, as far as from this Place to $A c r a$, but was driven back again to the Mountains by the Grand Signior. We went to his Palace, and found at the Entrance a Marble Fountain of greater Beauty than is ufually feen in Turkey.

The beft Sight that the Palace affords, which is much ruin'd, is the Orange-Garden, which contains a large quadrangular Plat of Ground, divided into fixteen leffer Squares, four in a Row, with Walks between them, which are fhaded with Orange-trees of a fine Growth, on which the Fruit hung thicker than ever I faw Apples in England. Every one of thefe fixteen Squares was bordered with Stone, and in the Stone-work were Troughs artificially contrived for conveying the Water all over the Garden, there being little Outlets cut at every Tree for the Stream, as it pafs'd by, to flow out and water it. But the Turks have fo little Senfe of fuch refin'd Delights, that they ufe it now as a Fold for Sheep and Goats. In another Garden we faw feveral Pedeftals for Statues, and at one Corner of it, a Tower about fixty Foot high, whofe Walls were twelve Foot thick, from whence we had a View of the whole City, and faw a large Chriftian Church, which was faid to have been confecrated to St. Fobn the Evangelift, but is now the chief Mofque of the Turks.

There is another Church, that being a very mean Fabrick, remains in the Hands of the Greeks, which is adorn'd with many old Pictures ; and among the reft, I faw one with this Infcription in Greek, Coartus the firt, Arcbbibop of Berytus, and juft by it the Figure of Neftorius, who commonly makes one in the Greek Church of his Sect, though they do not now profers, nor, I believe, know, his Herefy. But there was one very odd Figure of a Saint, at full Length, with a large Beard reaching down to his Feet, and the Curate told us, that this was St. Nicephorus, who wanting the Ornament of a Beard to fet off his other Endowments, fell into a deep Melancholy; whereupon the Devil tempted him to comply with his Suggeftions, by promifing to give him a Beard; but this beardlefs Saint rejected the Temptation, and at the fame Time taking the downy Tuft upon his Chin in his Hand, he found the Hair immediately ftretch with the Pluck he gave it, and he never left pulling his Beard till he had drawn it down to his Feet. At the Eaft-end of Beroot are to be feen feven or eight Pillars of Granite, and feveral Pieces of Marble, having Greek and Latin Infcriptions, Fragments of Statues, and other poor Relicks of its ancient Grandeur. On the Sea.fide is an old Caftle, and fome Remains of a Mole.

19th. Leaving Beroot, we came into a large Plain, and at the Entrance of it there is a Grove of Pine-trees of Faccardine's Plantation, and at a Diftance we faw a fmall Village called Suckfoat, which belongs to the Drufes, who poffers at this Day a long Tract of Mountains as far as from Caftravan to Carmel. Their prefent Prince is Acbmet, Grandfon to Faccardine, an old Man, and one who keeps up the Cuftom of his Anceftors. of turning Day into Night, from a traditional Perfuafion among them, that Princes can never fleep fecurely but by Day, when Mens Actions and Defigns are beft obferv'd by their Guards, and, if Need be, moft eafily prevented : but in the Night it concerns them to be always vigilant, left the Darknefs hould give Traytors an Oppurtunity to affault them with Dagger or Piftol.

Two Hours from Faccardine's Grove brought us to the fifth Caphar, and another Hour to the River Damer, anciently called Tanoras. Here were Country Fellows who had ftript themfelves naked to affift us in paffing over: and to make their Help more neceffary, they brought us to a Place where the Water was deepeft, which Cheat we faw chem impofe upon other Travellers; but we found a Place of the Stream which was broader and fhallower, where we paffed without their Affiftance, and jutt by we faw the Ruins of a Stone Bridge, which
might have been ftill entire, had not thefe Villains broke it down to make their Advantage of Paffengers, either in conducting them over for good Pay, or elie, if they have Opportunity, drowning them for their Spoils. On the other Side of the River the Mountains came clofer to the Sea, leaving only a narrow rocky Way between.

From Damer, in two Hours Time, we came to another confiderable River, not mentioned by any Geographer; but the Maronite Patriarch at Canobine told me it was called Arole, and had its Fountain near Barock in Mount Libanus. At this River we were met by feveral French Merchants from Sidon, who have there the moft confiderable Factory they have in the Levant; and being arrived at Sidon, they conducted us to a large Kane clofe by the Sea, where the Conful and all the Nation are quartered together. Before this Kane is an old Mole running into the Sex, which was filled up with Rubbina by Faccardine, to prevent the Turki/b Gallies from coming hither ; fo that all Ships that take in their Burthen here, are forc'd to ride at Anchor under a fmall Ridge of Rooks about a Mile from the Shore.

Sidon is well enough ftock'd with Inhabitants, but is very much fhrunk from its ancient Extent, and more from its Splendor, as appears from many beautiful Pillars that lie in the Gardens without the Walls. On the South-fide ftands an old Caftle, faid to be built by St. Lereis IX. of France; and not far from the Caftle is an old Palace of Faccardine's, which ferves the Bafha for his Seraglio. Near to Sidon begins the Precincts of the Holy Land, particularly of that Part which was allotted to A/bers the Borders of which Tribe extended from Carmel as far as Great Zidon, as appears from Foffua xix. 26, 28. But the People on the Sea-coafts were never actually matter'd by the Ifraelites, being left to be Thorns in their Sides for a Reafon given, fudges ii. 1, 2, 3, Ec. He who is the French Conful at Sidon, has alfo the Title of Conful of Ferufalem, and is obliged to vifit the holy City every Eafter; with whom we defired to join in this Year's Pilgrimage, but he fer out from Sidon the Day before our Arrival there.

1. The 20th. We fet out next Morning from Sidon, hoping to overtake the Conful, and travelling in a fruitful Plain, in half an Hour we met with a large Pillar of Granite lying crofs the Highway, on which was a Fragment of an Infcription ; and fome Engli/h Gentlemen, in 1699 , found another Pillar with the like Infcription, about Midway between Ferufalem and Sidon, by which we may obferve the Exactnefs of the Romans in meafuring out their Roads, and marking down on every Pillar the Number of Miles, as $1,2,3, \varepsilon \xi^{c}$.

A little beyond this Pillar we pafs'd in Sight of Korie, a large Village on the Side of the Mountains, and in twelve Hours and half more came to Sarpban, fuppofed to be the ancient Sarepbatb or Sarepta, fo famous for the Refidence and Miracles of Elijab. From hence, in feven Hours, we arrived at Cafimeer, a large River running down to the Sea, which had once a good Stone Bridge, of which there remains Nothing now but the Supporters, between which are laid Beams and Boards to fupply the Room of Arches. This River, by modern Geographers, is fally thought to be the old Eleutberus, as has been fhewn before; but it feems to be that River mentioned by Strabo, p. 52 I . falling into the Sea near Tyre, for within a Bow-fhot of this River Cafimeer, is a Kane of the fame Name, from which, keeping near the Sea-fide, you arrive in an Hour at Tyre.

This City ftanding in the Sea upon a Peninfula, promifes fomething magnificent ata Diftance, but when you come to it, you find Nothing like the Glory for which of old it was fo renown'd, as it is defcribed, Ezek, 26, 27, 28. On the North-fide it has an old Turkiblb Caftle, befides which there is Nothing here but a mere Babel of broken Walls, Pillars, Vaults, Ecc. there being not fo much as one entire Houfe left. Its prefent Inhabitants are only a few poor Wretches that harbour in Vaults, and fubfift upon Fifhing, whereby God appears to have fulfilled his Word concerning Tyre, viz. That it fould be as the Top of a Rock, a Place for Fibers to dry their Nets on, Ezek. xxvi, 14.

## Chap. I. <br> from ALEPPO to JERUSALEM.

In the Midt of the Ruins there ftands up one Pile higher than the reft, which is the Eaft-end of a great Church, probably of the Cathedral of Tyre, and may very well be the fame that was erected by its Bifhop Paulinus, and honour'd with that famous Confecration Sermon of Eufebius, recorded by himfelf in Eccl. Hift. l. Io. c.4. And 'tis, very oblervable, that in all the ruin'd Churches which we faw, being perhaps no fewer than 100 , though their other Parts were totally demolifh'd, yet the Eaft-end we always found ftanding, and tolerably entire. How this came to pafs I cannot determine, but certainly a Thing fo univerfally obferv'd by us in our Journey, could not proceed from blind Chance.

But to return; There being an old Stair-cafe in the Ruin above-mention'd, I got to the Top of it, from whence I had a Profpect of the Inand-part of Tyre, the Ifthmus, and the adjacent Shore; and from that Height I could difcern the Ifthmus to be a Soil of a different Nature from the other, it lying lower than either, and being cover'd all over with Sand, which the Sea cafts upon it. The Inand of Tyre, in its natural State, feems to have been of a circular Figure, about forty Acres in Compafs, and the Foundations of the Wall that encompafs'd it are ftill to be feen. It makes with the Ifthmus two large Bays, one on its North-fide, and the other on its South, which are in Part defended from the Ocean by a long Ridge, either of Walls or Rocks, refembling a Mole, ftretching out directly on both Sides from the Head of the Inland. Coming out of thefe Ruins, we faw the Foundation of a very ftrong Wall, running crofs the Neck of Land which ferved as a Barrier to fecure the City on this Side. And hence we paft the fandy Ifthmus, and came to the Place we thought the natural Shore, where we met with a fertile Plain, which extends to a vaft Compals before Tyre, whence we arrived in three Quarters of an Hour at Rojelayn.
12. March 2 Ift: Rofolayn is the Place where are the Cifterns call'd Solomon's, which according to the common Tradition are faid to have been made by that King, as part of his Recompence to King Hiram, for the Materials he fent toward building the Temple: But though they are very ancient, yet they are of a later Date than this Tradition makes them, becaufe the Aquæduct which conveys the Water, is carried over that Neck of Land by which Alewander join'd the City to the Continent at his Siege of this Place, and fo cannot be older than his Time. Of thefe Cifterns there are three entire at this Day, one about a Furlong and half diftant from the Sea, the other two, a little further up. The former is of an Octogonal Figure, being twenty two Yards in Diameter, and contains a vaft Body of excellent Water, which is fo well fupplied from its Fountain, that though there iffues from it a Stream like a Brook, driving four Mills between this Place and the Sea, yet it is always brim-full. On the Eaft-fide was the ancient Outler of Water by an Aquæduct, having a Channel one Yard wide, which is now flopt up by the Turks, who have broke an Outlet on the other Side, which makes a Stream for grinding Corn.

The Aquæduct, now dry, is carried Eaftward 120 Paces, and then approaches the two other Cifterns, of which one is twelve, the other twenty Yards fquare, and they had each a Channel, by which they rendred their Waters into the Aquæduct, and fo the united Streams of all the three Cifterns were carried together to Tyre. There ftill remains fome Fragments of the Aquaduct, and in its Sides, and under its Arches, we oblerv'd fome Heaps of Matter, produc'd by the Leakage of the Water which petrified as it diftill'd from above, and by continual Acceffion of new Matter were grown to a great Bulk. They were compos'd of innumerable Tubes of Stone of different Sizes, cleaving to one another like Ificles, each Tube having a Cavity in its Center, from which its Parts were projected in the Form of Rays to the Circumference, like the Stones call'd Thunder-ftones. The Fountain of there Waters is as unknown as the Contriver of them, though 'tis certain, from their Riing fo high, they come from
fome Part of the Mountains which are about a League diftant.

From this pleafant Place we came in an Hour and half to the white Promontory, over which you pafs by a Way about two Yards broad cut along its Side, from which the Profpect is dreadful, by Reafon of the Steepnefs of the Mountains, and the Raging of the Sea ai bottom. This Way, and the Cafte Scondalium, which is not far off, are faid to be buile by Alexander; from whence we come frilt to Nacbera, and then to the Plain of Acra, over a deep Mountain, fuppos ${ }^{\mathrm{d}} \mathrm{d}$ to be part of Mount Sbaron. This Plain extends from Mount Sbaron as far as Carmel, and is fix Hours long, and two Hours broad, between the Sea and the Mountains, and was a delicious Plain, but is now, for Want of Culture, over-run with rank Weeds, which were, when we pafs'd it, as high as our Horfes Backs.

Having travell'd about an Hour in the Plain of Acra, we pafs'd by an old Town call'd $Z i b$, which probably is the Old Acbzib, mention'd $\mathcal{F}$ of. xix. 29. and $\mathcal{F} u d$. i. 3 I and feems to be one of the Places out of which the Abberites could not expel the Canaanites. Two Hours further we came to the Fountain of the bleffed Virgin, as it is call'd by the French Merchants at Acra, at which Place we arriv'd in an Hour more.

Acra, anciently call'd Accbo, is another of the Places from which the Ifraelites could not. drive the Natives; but being in After-times enlarg'd by Ptolemy I. it was by him called Ptolemais. And fince it was poffeffed by the Turks, like other Cities, having loft its Greek Name, it is call'd by them Acca, or Acra. This City has often chang'd Mafters, and at laft, by a long Siege, was taken and ruin'd by the Turks, in fuch a Manner as if they had taken Revenge upon it for the Blood it coft them. On the North and Eaft it is compafs'd with a fpacious and fertile Plain, on the Weft it is wafh'd by the Mediterranean Sea, and on the South by a large Bay, extending from the City as far as Mount Carmel.

But notwithiftanding thefe Advantages; befides a large Kane in which are the French Factors, a Moque, and a few poor Cottages, there is nothing now to be feen but vaft Ruins, which fhow its former Strength, for it appears to have been compafs'd about with a double Wall defended with Towers, and without the Walls are Ditches, Ramparts, and a kind of Baftions. In the Fields we find feveral large Balls of Stone, thirteen or fourteen Inches in Diameter, which were part of the Ammunition ufed in battering the City, Guns being then unknown. Within the Walls are the Ruins of the Cathedral dedicated to St. Andreer, of the Church of St. Jobn, the titular Saint of this City, and of the Convent of the Knights-Hofpitallers, and near to it the Palace of the Grand Mafter of that Order; and laftly, fome Remains of a large Church, formerly belonging to a Nunnery, of which they tell this Story.

The Turks having prefs'd this City with a long Siege, at laft entred it by Storm, May 19, 1291. In which Extremity, the Abbefs fearing that herfelf and her Nuns fhould be fubjected to fuch Beftialities as is ufual in fuch Cafes, exhorted them all to cut and mangle their Fa ces, as the only Way to preferve their Virgin Purity ; and to encourage them, fhe made herfelf the firf Example of her own Counfel, which the Nuns inftantly follow'd, cutting of their Nofes, and disfiguring their Faces with fuch terrible Gafhes, as might excite Horror rather than lufful Defires. The Confequence of this was, that the Soldiers breaking into the Nunnery, and feeing inftead of beautiful Ladies fuch fad Spectacles, put them all to the Sword in Revenge for difappointing their Lufts.

There are many other Ruins here of Churches, Pa laces, Monafteries, Forts, $\xi^{3} c$. for more than half a Mile in Length. But that which pleas'd us moft was, to find the Fronch Conful l'Empereur here, who having ftaid for us two Days, refolv'd to fet forward next Morning. But we were doubtful which Way to take, becaúe of the Factions of the Arobs, which are kept up by the Turks, to prevent their uniting under one

Prince

Prince, whereby they might be frong enough to fhake off the Turkif Yoke; for in thefe Difcords Strangers are fure to fuffer, being a Prey to each Party.
13. The 22d, we fet out early from Acra, having fome Turkifh Soldiers for our Convoy: And firtt we pafs'd by a fmall River, which we took to be Belus, famous for its Sand, of which Glafs is made. Here we declin'd from the Sea-coaft to the Eaft, and crofling over the Plain, we arrived at its further Side, where it is bounded by Mount Carmel; and here we found a narrow Valley, which led us out of the Plain of Acra into that of Efdraelon. About this Place is the End of the Tribe of $A / b e r$, and the Beginning of that of $Z e_{-}$ bulon, as their Borders are defcribed, $70 / 5$. xix. 26.

Paffing through the faid narrow Valiey, we arrived in two Hours at the River Kilhon, which curs its Way down the Middle of the Plain of Efdraelon, and then continuing his Courfe by the Side of Mount Carmel, falls into the Sea at a Place called Caypbo. We faw it when it was low, but we difcern'd many Torrents falling into it froin the Mountains, which muft make it fwell, as it did at the Deftruction of Sijera's Hoft, Fudg. v. 2 I. In three Hours and half from Kifhon, we came to an old Village and good Kane called Legune, near to which we lodged that Night.

From this Place we viewed the Plain of Efdraelon, which is very large and fertile, and about fix Hours Diftance food within View Nazareth, and the two Mounts Tabor and Hermon; and here we felt the Dew of Hermon, as the Pfalmizt calls it, our Tents being as wet with it as if it had rained all Night. About a Mile's Diftance from us was encamped Cbibly, Emir of the Arabs, with his People and Cattle; and below, upon the Brook Kijhon, lay another Clan of the Arabs, being the adverfe Party to Cbibly; and it was litcle to our Satisfaction, that we were feated in the Midft between two fuch bad Neighbours.

The 23d. Leaving this Lodging, we went to the Emir's Tents, to whom we paid two Caphars, one of Lagune, and the other of 7 eneen, and whatever elfe he was pleafed to demand. He very civilly eas'd us of fome of our Coats, which begun now, by reafon of the Heat, to be troublefome. Getting quit of Cbibly, we return'd out of the Plain of Esdraelon, and entred into the Precincts of the half Tribe of Manafles. From hence our Road lay, for four Hours, through narrow Valleys, pleafantly wooded on both Sides, and we lodg'd at Capbar Arab.

On the 24 th, having paid our Caphar, we fet out very early the next Morning ; and leaving firt Arab, and then Rama, on their Right-hand, we came to Selee and Sibafta, where we leave the Borders of the Half Tribe of Manafles, and enter into thofe of the Tribe of Epbraim. Sebafta is the ancient Samaria, the Imperial City of the Ten Tribes after their Revolt from the Houfe of David, and being raifed by Herod the Great to a magnificent State, was by him; in Honour of Auguffus, call'd Sebafta.

It is fituate on a long Mount of an oval Figure, and is now wholly converted into Gardens, having no other Remains of fuch a Place, but on the North-fide a large〔quare Piazza, encompafs'd with Pillars, and on the Eaft fome Ruins of a great Church, faid to be built by Helena, over the Place where Fobn the Baptit was imprifon'd and beheaded. In the Body of the Church you go down a Stair-cafe into the Dungeon where that Blood was thed. The Turks hold that Prifon in great Veneration, and over it have erected a fmall Mofque ; but for a little Piece of Money they fuffer any one to go into it.

Leaving Sebasta we pals'd by Sberack and Barfeba, and then entring into a Valley, we arrived in an Hour at Naplofa, which is the ancient Sychem or Sycbar, as it is call'd in the Nero Testament. It flands in a narrow Valley between Mount Gerizim on the South, and Ebal on the North. From Mount Gerizim God commanded the Bleffings to be pronounced upon the Children of Ifrael, and from Mount Ebal the Curfes, Deut. xi. 29. Upon the former the Samaritans, whofe chief Refidence is at Sybbem, have a fmall Temple, to which they are
ftill wont to repair for Religious Worhip: But that their Religion confints in worhipping a Calf, as the Jeros fay, leems to have more of Spight than Truth in it.
Upon one of thefe Mountains alfo it was, that God commanded the Children of Ifrael to fet up greatStones, plaifter ${ }^{5} d$ over and infcribed with the Body of the Law, and to erect an Alcar, and offer Sacrifices, Fealting and Rejoycing, before the Lord, Deut. xxvii. 4. Bur whether Gerizim, or Ebal, was the Place appointed for this Solemnity, there is fome Caufe to doubt; for the Hebreve Pentateucb and ours, from it afign Mount Ebal for this Ufe; but the Samaritan afferts it was Gerizim. Our Company halting a little at Naplofa, I had an Opportunity to vifit the chief Prieft of the Samaritans, and to difcourfe with him about this and other Difficulties.
And firlt, as to the Difference between the Hebrece and Samaritan Copy, Deut. xxvii. 4. the Prieft pretended, that the Jeres had malicioully alter'd their Text out of Odium to the Samaritans, putting for Gerizim, Ebal, becaufe the Samaritans worfhipped in the former, which, for that Reafon, they would not have to be the true Place appointed by God for his Worlhip. To confirm this, he alledg'd, that Ebal was the Mountain of Curfing, Deut.xi. 29. and an unpleafant Place; whereas Gerizim was fertile and pleafant, and the Mountain of Bleffing ; and therefore it was more probable, that this was the Mountain appointed for Religious Worhhip, and not Ebal. But he could not fay that any of thofe great Stones, which God direcled Fofbua- to fet up, were now to be feen in Gerizim, which would have determin'd the Queftion clearly on this Side.
I enquired alfo, what thofe Selave were wherewith the Children of Ifrael were fo long fed in the Wildernefs, Numb. xi. he anfwer'd, They were a Sort of Fowls, which by his Defcription appear'd to be Quails. Then I ask'd him, what Sort of Plant or Fruit the Dudaim or Mandrakes were, which Leab gave to Racbel for the Purchafe of her Husband's Embraces? He anfwer'd, They were Plants of a large Leaf, bearing a Fruit like an Apple, ripe in Harveft, but of an ill Savour and unwholefome, and that the Virtue of them was to help Conception, being laid under the genial Bed; to which Purpofe they are often made Ule of by Women at this Day.
Of thefe Plants I faw feveral in the Way to ferufalem; and if they were as common in Mefopotamia as here, we muft conclude, that either thefe were not the true Mandrakes, or elfe it is hard to give a Reafon why Racbel fhould purchafe fuch common Things at fo beloved a Price. Naplofa is at prefent in a very mean Condition to what it has been anciently; it confits of two Streets lying parallel under Mount Gerizim, but is full of People. Having paid our Caphar here, we proceeded in the fame narrow Valley between Gerizim and Ebal ; and juft without the City we faw a fmall Mofque, faid to be built over the Sepulchre purchafed by facob of Emmor, Father of Sbecbem, Gen. xxxiii. I9. It goes by the Name of Yofepb's Sepulchre, his Bones being inter'd here, Foll. xxiv $3^{2}$. About a Quarter of an Hour from Naplofa we came to facob's Well, famous not only for its Author, but for the Conference it had there with the Woman of Samaria, Fob. iv. Over the Well there ftood formerly a large Church erected by Helena, of which remains nothing now but fome Foundations. The Well is cover'd at prefent with a Stone Vault, into which you are let down through a very ftraight Hole ; and then removing a broad Stone, you difcover the Mouth of the Well. It is dug in a firm Rock, and is about three Yards in Diameter, and thir-ty-five deep, five of which we found full of Water.
At this Well the narrow Valley of Sycbem ends, opening into a wide Field, very pleafant and fruitful, which is probably Part of that Parcel of Ground given by $f a-$ cob to his Son $\mathcal{F} 0$ feph, $\mathfrak{F o b}$. iv. 5. From 'facob's Well we went chrough a large Valley, and having pafs'd by two Villages on the Right-hand, called Howar and Sazvee, we came in four Hour's to Kane Leban, near a Village of the fame Name, one of which is fuppofed to

## Chap. I.

 from A LEP PO toto JERUSALEM.
have been the Lebonah, mentioned $\mathfrak{F u d . x i .}$ 19. and here we lodg'd that Night.
14. On the $25^{\text {th }}$, from Kone Leban our Road lay through a rocky Country'; but having pafs'd-by Cinga, we entred into a narrow Valley between two rocky Hills, at the further End of which we found the Ruins of a Village and a Monaftery. In this Place $\mathrm{F}_{\mathrm{a}} a \mathrm{ab}^{\text {h }} \mathrm{s}$ Betbel is fuppofed to have been, where he had his ftrong Couch made eafy by the Vifion of God, and of the Angels afcending and defcending on a Ladder between Earth and Heaven, Gen. xxviii. near which Place are the Limits that part between Ephrain and Benjamin, Fofh. xviii. 13. From hence we pals'd through large Olive-yards, and having left Geeb and Selwid on the Right-hand we arrived at Beer; which is the Place to which Fotbam fled from the Revenge of Abimelech, Fud. ix. 2 I . and is fuppofed to be the lame with Michmas, I Sam. xiv.

Beer is feated on the Side of a Hill, which at the Bottom has a Fountain of the fame Name, and at its upper Side are the Remains of an old Church built by Helena, in Memory of the bleffed Virgin, who being in Queft of the Child Jefus, Luke ii. 24. is faid to have fate down here penfive and weary, becaufe the could not find him ; but after her Return to 7 erufalem, The found him fitting in the Temple with the Doctors, both hearing them, and asking them Queftions. Thro' the whole of this Day's Juurney we had nothing in View in moft Places but Rocks, Mountains, and Precipices, which aftonifhes Pilgrims, as being contrary to thofe high Idea's they had form'd of the Pleafantnefs and Plenty of this Country, and almoft ftartles their Faith, as thinking it hardly poffible for a Land like this to feed fo prodigious a Number as are faid to have been poll'd at one Time, being no lefs than $1,300,000$ fighting Men , befides Women and Children.

But to remove thefe Scruples, any one may obferve that thefe Rocks and Hills muft have been anciently covered with Earth and cultivated, and fo they afforded a larger Space of Ground than if the Country were level, which they husbanded by gathering up the Stones, and placing them along the Sides of the Hill in Form of a Wall, which kept in the Mould, and form'd many Beds of excellent Soil, from the Bottom to the Top of the Mountains ; of which Form of Culture we-fee plain Footteps in all the Mountains of Paleftine. And there is Nothing upon Earth more fruitful, even at this Day, than the plain Country and Valleys, either for the Production of Corn or of Pafturage for Cattle.

The Hills, tho' improper for any Cattle but Goats, yet being difpofed into the Beds before-mention'd, ferv'd very well to bear Corn, Melons, Gourds, Cucumbers, and fuch-like Garden-ftuff, which are the chief Food of thefe Countries for feveral Months of the Year. The moft rocky Parts might ferve for Vines and Olivetrees, which delight in fuch dry and finty Places; and the great Plain joining to the Dead Sea, which by reafon of its Saltnefs could not ferve for Corn, Vines, or Olives, was yet very ufeful for the Nourifhment of Bees, and making of Honey, as Fosepbus teftifies, Bell. Fud. l. 5. c. 4. and I found by Experience, when I was there, finding in many Places a ftrong Smell of Honey and Wax. Thus the Country might very well maintain the vaft Numbers of its Inhabitants, being every where productive of Milk, Corn, Wine, Oil, or Honey, which are the principal Food of thefe Eaftern Nations.

Leaving Beer, in two Hours and a Quarter we came to the Top of a Hill, from whence we had the firft Profpect of Jerufalema; Rama, anciently called Gibeab of Saul, being within View on the Right-hand, and the Plain of Fericbo, and the Mountains of Gilead on the Left. In an Hour more we came to the Walls of Ferufalem, but durft not enter without Leave of the Governor ; which being obtain'd, we entred at the Betblebem Gate, mounted and arm'd, becaufe we were in Company with the French Conful, for otherwife all Franks that come not in with fome publick Minifter, are to difmount at the Gate, deliver their Arms, and enter on Foot. We took our Lodgings at the Frencb

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Conful's, and our Board at the Latio Convent, while we ftay'd at 7erufalem.
15. The 26 th, being Good Friday in the Latin Stile, we were obliged to go with the Conful into the Church of the Sepulchre, to keep the Feaft with him, though it was a Week before our own Easter. We found the Church Doors guarded by Fanizaries, who fuffer none to go in untal they have paid their Caphar, which for Franks is commonly fourceen Dollars per Head, unlefs they be Ecclefialticks, and then it is but half fo much. This being once paid, you may go in and out gratis as oft as you pleafe during the whole Feaft at the ordinary Times when the Door is open. All the Pilgrims being admitted, the Church Doors were lock'd, and opened. no more till Eafuer-day; and being confined for three Days, we vifited all the holy Places at Leifure; therefore I fhall relate what pafs'd during the Feftival, and fay of the Church, what is neceffary to make my Account intelligible.

The Church of the Holy Sepuichre is founded on Mount Calvary, a fmall Hill upon the greater Mount of Moriah; it was anciently appropriated to the Execution of Malefactors, and therefore fhut out of the City as a polluted Place; but fince it was made the Altar on which the precious Sacrifice for the Sins of the World was offer ${ }^{5} \mathrm{~d}$, it ftands in the Midft of $\bar{F}$ erufalem, a great Part of the Hill of Sion being thut out of the Walls to make Room for it.

Though a great Part of this Hill was cut away to make it a fit Foundation for a Church, yet Care was taken that none of thofe Parts concern'd in our Lord's Paffion flould be alter'd or diminifh'd; and fo that very Part of Calvary where Chrift was faftened to the Crofs, remains entire, being about ten or twelve Yards fquare, and ftanding fo high above the Floor of the Church, that you have twenty one Steps to go up to its Top; and the holy Sepulchre, which at firft was hewn into a Rock under Ground, is now a Grotto above Ground, the Rock being cut away from it all round The Church is lefs than an hundred Paces long, and not more than fixty wide, yet it contains twelve or thirteen Sanctuaries, confecrated by fome particular Actions relating to the Death or Refurrection of Chrift.
As, I. The Place where he was derided by the Soldiers. 2. Where the Soldiers divided his Garments. 3. Where he was fhut up, while all was made ready for his Crucifixion. 4. Where he was nail'd to the Crofs. 5. Where the Crofs was erected. 6. Where the Soldiers ftood that pierced his Side. 7. Where his Body was anointed in order to his Burial. 8. Where his Body was laid in the Sepulchre. 9. Where the Angels appeared to the Women after his Refurrection. 10. Where Chrift himfelf appeared to Mary Magdaten, \&xc. All which Places, and many others of the fame Nature, are contain'd within this Church, and adorn'd with fo many feveral Altars.

In Galleries about the Church, and little Buildings annex'd to it, every Chriftian Nation had anciently proper Quarters for a Society of Monks, but now, all except four, have forfaken thefe Quarters, becaufe of the fevere Rents impofed upon them by their Turkifb Landlords; and of thefe four, the Copbies have only one to reprefent their Nation ; and the Armenians are fo much in Debt, that they are likely to defert the Place quickly, and then the Greeks and Latins will only remain.

Befides their feveral Apartments, each Fraternity have their peculiar Altars and Sanctuary for their own Ufe. But the great Prize now difputed between the Greeks and Latins, is the Command of the Holy Sepulchre, in which Contention they have proceeded to Blows and Wounds, even at the Door of the Sepulchre; and as an Evidence of this Fury, the Father Guardian fhew'd me a great Scar in his Arm, being the Mark of a Wound given by a Greek Prieft; but at the Requeft of the French King, this holy Sepulchre was appropriated to the Latins in 1690, they alone having the Privilege to fay Mafs in it, though all other Chriftians may go into it for the Celebration of their private Devotions.

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The Latins, of whom there are always ten or twelve at Church, with a Prefident over them, make every Day a folemn Proceffion, with Tapers and Crucifixes, to the feveral Sanctuaries, and fing at every one a Hymn relating to the Subject of the Place. Their Ceremony begins on Good-Friday Night, which is called by them the Nox Tenebrofa; and as foon as it grew dusk, all the Friars and Pilgrims met in the Chapel of the Apparition, (which is on the North-fide of the Holy Grave) to go in Proceffion round the Church.

After a Sermon, at which all the Candles were put out to make a lively Image of the dark Night, every one had a lighted Taper put into his Hand; and amongit the other Crucifixes, there was one very large, which bore an Image of our Lord, as big as the Life, faftned to it with great Nails, crown'd with Thorns, befmear'd with Blood, and lively reprefented our Lord's Body as it hung upon the Crofs. 'This Figure was carried in the Head of the Proceffion, after which all the Company followed to all the feveral Sanctuaries of the Church, finging at every one a Hymn.

The firft Place was that of the Pillar of Flagellation, kept in a little Cell juft by the Chapel of Apparition; there they fung their Hymn, and a Friar preach'd in Spanifl about the Scourging of our Lord. From hence they proceeded to the Prifon of Chrift, where they had alfo a Hymn and a Sermon. From the Prifon they went to the Altar of the Divifion of Chrift's Garments, where they only fung a Hymn; and from thence to the Chapel of Derifion, where they had a Hymn and a fourth Sermon. From this Place they went up to Calvary, leaving their Shoes at the Foot of the Stairs. Here are two Altars, one where he was nail'd to the Crofs, at which they laid down the great Crucifix, and acted the Nailing of Chrift to the Crofs. The other where his Crofs was erected, bearing the Image of our Lord's Body. At this Altar there is a Fiole in the natural Rock, in which the Foot of our Lord's Crofs ftood; and here they fet up their Crofs, with the bloody crucified Image upon it, and then fung a Hymn , and preach'd a very affecting Paffion Sermon.

About a Yard and half from the Hole where the Foot of the Crofs was fixs d , is feen that Cleft in the Rock which was made by the Earthquake at Chrift's Death, when the Rocks were rent, Matt. xxvii. 5 I. It appears to be a natural Breach, for the Sides of it anfwer each other like two Tallies, and it runs in fuch intricate Windings as could not be counterfeited by Art. After the Ceremony of the Paffion is over, two Friars perfonating Fofeph of Arimatbea and Nicodemus, come with a grave and folemn Air, and take down the feigned Body from the Crofs. The Limbs of the Image were foft and flexible, and it was furprizing to fee the two Mourners bend down the Arms which were before extended, and lay them upon the Trunk, as is ufually done in Corpfes. The Body being taken down was receiv'd in a large Winding-fheet, and carried from Mount Calvary to the Stone of Unction, i.e. the Place where our Lord's Body was anointed, Fobn xix. 39. And here while they caft over it fweet Powders and Spices, they fung a proper Hymn, and a Friar preach'd a Funeral Sermon in Arabick. After this they carried the feigned Corpfe and laid it in the Sepulchre, fhutting up the Door till Eafer Morning.

On the 27th: This Morning the Pilgrims had Leifure to mark their Arms with the ufual Enfigns of $\mathcal{F}_{e-}$ rufalem; and in the Afternoon, the Congregation was affembled in the Area before the Holy Grave, where the Friars fung over the Lamentation of feremy, which with the ufual Proceffion to the holy Places was all the Bufinefs of this Day.
16. On the 28 th, being Eafter Morning, the Sepulchre was again fet open very early, and Mals was celebrated juft before it, being the highef Place in this Church, where the Eather Guardian in his Robes gave the Hoft to all that were dipos'd to receive it, not refufing Children of feven or eight Years old: Which Office being ended, we went out of the Sepulchre, return'd to the Conyents, and din'd with the Friars. Afer Dinner we
went to vifit fome of the remarkable Places without the Walls; we began with thofe on the North-fide. And firf, we were conducted to a large Gret, a little without Damafcus-gate, which is faid to have been the Refidence of Jeremiab: And here they fhew'd us the Prophet's Bed, being a Shelve on the Rock about eight Foot from the Ground, and near it is the Place where they fay he wrote his Lamentations. This Place is now a College of Dervifes, and is much honour'd by Turks and Feros.

The next Place we came to, was thofe famous Grots called the Sepulcbres of Kings, for what Reafon I know not, unlefs they were the Sepulchres of the Sons of $D_{g}$. vid, mentioned Cbron. xxxii. 33. but it appears by the Labour and Expence to have been the Work of Kings. At the Eaft-end you enter through a Rock into an open Court, about forty Paces fquare, cut down into the Rock. On the South-fide is a Portico nine Paces long, and four broad, cut out of the natural Rock, and at the End of it you defcend into the Sepulchres, within which is a fair Room about feven or eight Yards fquare, cut out of the natural Rock fo exactly fquare, that Nothing could be built more regular; and fo firm, that it may be called a Chamber hewn out of one Piece of Marble.

From this Room you pafs into fix more, one within another, all of the fame Fabrick with the firft. In every one of thefe Rooms, befides the firft, were Coffins of Stone placed in Niches on the Sides of the Chamber, and in each Room there was a fmall Channel cut in the Floor, to drain the Drops that conftantly fall into it. But the moft furprizing thing that belongs to thefe Rooms was their Doors, of which there is only one remains hanging to puzzle the Beholders. It confifted of a Plank of Stone about fix Inches thick, of the Size of an ordinary Door ; it was carved fo as to refemble a Piece of Wainfcot, but the Stone was vifibly of the fame Kind with the whole Rock, and turned upon two Hinges like Axels, which were of the fame Stone with the Door, and contained in two Holes of the Rock, one at the Top, the other at the Bottom.
It feem'd to be a Riddle to Pilgrims, whether thefe Doors were here cut out of the Rock, or brought hither ; for refolving of which, I obferved that the Door left hanging did not touch its Lintel by at leaft two Inches, and fo might eafily be lifted up and unhinged, which intimates how this Work was done. From thefe Sepulchres we return'd towards the City, and juft by Herod's Gate were fhown a Grotto full of Mire, which paffes for feremiab's Dungeon, out of which he was difmiffed by Ebed Melech, Jer. xxxviii.
17. The 29th. This Day, being Eafter Monday, the Mofolem, or Governor of the City, fet out with fome Bands of Soldiers to convey the Pilgrims to Fordan, and to fecure them from the Infolence of the Arabs in thofe Parts. The Fee to the Mofolem, upon this Occafion, is twelve Dollars for each Frank Pilgrim, and fix for Ecclefiafticks, which every one muft pay, whether they go the Journey or ftay in the City. We went out at St. Stephen's Gate, being in all, of every Nation and Sex, about 2000 Pilgrims; and having crofs'd the Valley of Febofepbat, and Part of Mount Olivet, we came in half an Hour to Betbany. At the Entrance into it there is an old Ruin called Lazarus's Caffle, fuppofed to be his Manfion-houfe, and not far from it is the Sepulchre out of which he was raifed by Chrift, which is held in great Veneration by the Turks, who ufe it for an Oratory, and demand of all Chriftians a Caphar for their Ad. miffion into it.
A little further you pafs by what they call Mary Magdalens Habitation, and then defcending a Hill, you come to the Fountain of the Apoftles, where they were wont to refrefh themfelves in their Travels between $\mathcal{F}$ erufalem and Fericbo. After fome Hours Travel in a barren Country, you come to the mountainous Defart into which our Saviour was led by the Spirit to be tempted of the Devil ; and from the Top of thefe Hills we had a Profpect of the Mountains of Arabia, the Dead Sea, and the Plain of Fericho, into which we defcended, and turning up on the Left-hand, we came to the Foor of the Quarantonia, which they fay is the Mountain into
which the Devil took our Saviour, when he tempted him with that vifionary Scene of all the Kingdoms in the World, and the Glories of them.

Turning down hence into the Plain, we came to the Fountain of Eli/ba, fo called, becaufe by him it was miraculouny purg'd of its Brackifhnefs, at the Requeft of the Men of $\neq$ ericbo, 2 Kings ii. 19. Its Waters now being receiv'd in a Bafon, divide themfelves into feveral fmall Streams, which refrefh the whole Field that lies between this and Fericho. A little from hence is fericho, at prefent only a poor nafly Villige of the $A$ rabs; and here we faw the Place where Zaccbeus's Houle is faid to have ftood, which is an old fquare Stone Building on the South fide of Fericho.

30th. We fet out early for Fordan, and arrived there in two Hours. We found the Plain very barren, producing Nothing but Marine Plants; and in many Places of the Road, where Puddles of Water had food, we obferved a Whitenefs on the Surface of the Ground, which we found to be a Cruft of Salt raifed by the Water out of the Earth. Abour a Furlong from the River Fordan, was an old Church and Convent dedicated to St. $\mathcal{F}$ obn, in Memory of his baptizing our Saviour. We were there in March, but could difcern no Sign of its overflowing, though it was the proper Time for thefe Inundations.
One Bank of the River is fo befet with Bufhes and Trees, that feveral Sorts of Wild Beafts are faid to harbour in them ; whofe being wafh'd out of their Covert by the Overflowings of the River, gave Occafion to that Allufion, Fer. xlix. 19. He Joall come up like a Lion, from the freelling of Jordan. When we came to the River, fome ftript and bath'd themfelves in it, others cut down Boughs from the Trees, and every one was fome Way employ'd to take a Memorial of this famous Stream. Its Breadth was, about twenty Yards over, and in Depth it far exceeded my Height. By the Mofolem's Leave we went towards the Dead Sea with a Guard to attend us. The Dead Sea is enclofed on the Eaft and Weft with very high Mountains; on the North it is bounded with the Plain of fericbo, on which Side alfo it receives the Waters of fordan. On the South it is open, and extends beyond the Reach of the Eye. It is faid to be twenty four Leagues long, and fix or feven broad. On the Shore of the Lake we found a black Sort of Pebbles, which being held in the Flame of a Candle, foon burns, and yields a Smoke of an intolerable Stench; but by burning it lofes only of its Weight, and not of its Bulk. It is a common Tradition, that Birds attempting to fly over this Sea, drop down dead into it ; and that no Fifh, nor other Sort of Animal, can live in thefe Waters. The former Report I faw actually confuted, by feveral Birds flying over this Sea without any vifible Harm. The latter I have fome Reafon to fufpect as falfe, having obferved on the Shore two or three Shells of Fifh like Oyfter-fhells. As for the Bitumen, for which the Sea is famous, there was none at the Place where we were, but it is gathered near the Mountains on both Sides in great Plenty. It is fo like Pitch, that it cannot be eafily diftinguifhed from it but by its fulphureous Smell and Tafte.

The Water of the Lake was clear, and not only falt to the higheft Degree, but extreme bitter. To try its Strength I went into it, and found it bore up my Body Swimming with an uncommon Force. Though I diligently fearched, I could rot find any Remains of thofe Cities here fituated, which were made fo dreadful an Example of Divine Vengeance; neither could I difcerin any Smoke afcending above the Water, nor any Ruins. But the Father-guardian, and Procurator of Ferufalem, both affured me, that they had feen one of thefe Ruins, and the Water being very fhallow, they went to it, and found there feveral Pillars, and other Fragments of Buildings. On the Weft-fide of this Sea is a inall Promontory, near which, as our Guides told us, is the Monument of Lol's Wife metamorphos'd.

As to the Apples of Sodom, I never faw nor heard of any fuch hereabouts, nor is there any Tree near the Lake from which one might expect fuch Fruit, In our Return, about an Hour's Diftance from the Sca, we
faw a ruin'd Greek Convent, and found a good Part of the Church remaining, with the Figures of feveral Saints, and a Greek Infcription over the Altar. Hereabouts, and in many other Places of the Plain, I perceived a ftrong Scent of Honey and Wax, the Sun being hot, and the Bees very induftrious about the Bloffoms of that Salt Weed the Plain produces. Among the Products of this Place, I faw a notable Fruit, called by the Arabs, Zacchone ; it grows on a thorny Bufh with fmall Leaves, and both in Shape and Colour refembles an unripe Wall-nut. The Kernels of this Fruit the Arabs bray in a Mortar, and then putting the Pulp into fcalding Water, they skim off the Oil which rifes to the Top; which Oil they ufe inwardly for Bruifes, and outwardly for green Wounds; and I have found it, upon fome Trials, a very healing Medicine.
18. On the 3 1ft: This Morning we went in Six Hours near the Walls of Ferufalem, and thence to Beiblebem in two Hours, through the Valley of Bepbaim, famous for being the Theatre of David's Victories, 2 Sam. v. 23. In this Road we met, I. With the Houre of Simeon, who having our Saviour in his Arms fung his Nunc dimittis. 2. The Turpentine-tree under which the Virgin is faid to have refted, when the carried Chrift in her Arms to prefent him to the Lord at Ferufalem. 3. A Convent dedicated to Elias, where the Greek Monks pretend to thew the Impreffion of his Body in a Stone that ferv'd for his Bed; near to which is the Well of the Star, that appear'd to the wife Men, which there re-apppear'd to them. 4. Racbel's Tomb, mention'd Gen. xxxv. 19. which is a modern Structure, but probably the true Place of her Interment.

Being arriv'd at Betblebem, we went to all the Holy Places belonging to it, viz. the Place where our Lord is faid to be born, the Manger wherein he is faid to be laid, the Chapel of Yofeph his fuppofed Father, that of the Innocents, thofe of St. Ferom, of St. Paula and Eufocbium, and of Eufebius of Cremona, and the School of St. Ferom; all which Places I only Name, being afore defrrib'd by Mr. Sandys.

From the Top of the Churel we had a View of $\tau_{\ell-}$ koab, about nine Miles diftant Sourhward, of Engedi about three Miles Eaftward, and of a high Hill called the Franks Hill, being defended by the Crufaders forty Years after the Lofs of Jerufalem.
April I. We went to fee the remarkable Places near Betblebem, and firt to the famous Fountains, Pools and Gardens, which are faid to be King Solomon's', to which he feems to allude, Eccl. ii. 5, 6. The Pools are three in Number, fo difpos'd, that the Waters of the uppermoft defcend into the fecond, and the fecond into the third. The Breadth in all is the fame, being about ninety Paces, but the Length is different, that of the firft being about an hundred and fixty Paces, that of the fecond two hundred, and the third two hundred and twenty.
About an hundred and forry Paces from them, is the Fountain from which they chielly derive their Waters, which the Friers will have to be that feal'd Fountain to which the Spoufe is compar'd, Cant. iv. I2. Here you find four Places where the Water rifes, from which it is convey'd into a Bafon, and from thence is carried 'by a fubterraneous Paffage into the Pools; and by the Way there is an Aquæduct of brick Pipes, which receives Part of the Stream, and carries it by many Turnings about the Mountains to Jerufalem. Thefe Pools may probably be the fame with Solomon's, becaufe there is not the like Store of good Spring-water to be met with any where elfe in Palefize. From thefe Memorials of Solomion we return'd to vifit fome Places nearer Betblebem, where we faw the Field in which they fay the Shepherds were watching their Flocks, when they receiv'd the glad Tidings of Chrift's Birth, and hard by the Village where they dwelt, and an old Nunnery built by St. Poula, in which the died ; all which Places lie Eaftward about half a Mile from the Convent.

But to the Weftward we faw David's Well, which he fo much thirfted after, 2 Sam. xxiii. 15. and a little beyond it fome Remains of an old Aquaduct, which convey'd the Waters from Solomon's Pools to Ferualem;
which is faid to have been the genuine Work of Solomon, but is now deftroy'd by the Turks. Returning from this Place, we went to fee the Greek and Armenian Convents, contiguous to that of the Latins, each of which has a feveral Door opening into the Chapel of the holy Manger: and then we went to the Grot of the bleffed Virgin, within forty Yards of the Convent, where fhe is faid to have hid herfelf, and her divine Babe, from the Fury of Herod, fometime before their Departure into Egypt. This Grot is hollow'd into a chalky Rock, whofe Whitenefs they fay proceeds from fome Drops of the Virgin's Milk, that fell from her Breaft while the was fucking the holy Infant; upon which Account, they believe that this Chalk has a miraculous Virtue of encreaffing Women's Milk, and for that End it is often taken by Women Turks, Arabs and Cbriftians, and they fay with very good Effect.
19. On the 2 d , having prefented the Guardian with two Chequeens for his Civilities to us, we went from Betblebems to go vift the Wildernefs, and Convent of St. 'Fobn Baptift, and in this Stage we firt crofs'd that famous Valley in whicn the Angel is faid in one Night to have deftroy'd many thoufands in the Army of Senccherib; and then we came to Boat /bellab, in which they fay no Turk can live above two Years, by which Report the Cbriftans have it to themfelves. A little further we came to a Fountain, where they told us, but fallfy, that Pbilip baptiz'd the Etbiopian Eunuch; and then to the Village of St: Pbilip; at which afcending a fteep Hill, we came to the Wildernefs of St. Fobn, which is very rocky, but is well cultivated, and produces great Plenty of Corn, Vines and Olive-trees. And here we faw the Cave and Fountain where the Baptist is faid to have led an auftere Life, Mot. iii. 4. Near this Cell are fome Locuft-trees, which the Friars fay yielded him Suftenance, though they appear to be planted much later than his Time. After this, as we went to the Convent of St. Fobn, we pafs'd along one Side of the Valley of Elab, where David flew the Giant, I Som. xvii. and had a View of Modon, on the Top of a Hill, the Burying-place of the Maccabees.

When we came near the Convent, we vifited a Place which they call the Houfe of Elizabeth, Mother of the Baptift and in the Ruins of the Convent that was formerly here, is a Grotto in which they fay the bleffed Virgin faluted Elizabeth, and pronounced her divine Magnifcat, Luke i. 46. The Convent of St. Fobn has been rebuilt from the Ground within thefe four Years, and is now a large fquare Building, and neat all over; and has in it a very beautiful Church, at the North-end of which you go down feven Marble Steps to a flately Altar, erected over the Place where they fay the Baptift was born. As we return'd from St. Fobn's to Ferualem, we faw a Convent of the Greeks, taking its Name from the Holy Crofs, becaufe they fay here is the Earth that nourifh'd the Root that bore the Tree that yielded the Timber that made the Crofs; and under the high Altar you are flhown the Hole in the Ground where the Stump of the Tree ftood. After this we return'd to Ferufalem, and had our Feet wafhed by the Guardian, and kifs'd by every Friar, who did all fing Lattn Hymns at the Time.
20. On the $3^{d}$, we went to fee the Office of the Holy Fire, a Ceremony kept up by the Greeks and Armenians, who believe that every Eafter-Eve a miraculous Flame defcends from Heaven into the Holy Sepulchre, and kindles all the Lamps and Candles there. When we came to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, we found it crouded with a numerous Mob, who began their Diforders by running round the Holy Sepulchre with all their Might, crying out Huia, i.e. This is be, or this is it; by which they exprefs the Truth of the Chriftian Religion. After this they began to aet many antick Tricks, like Mad-men; fometimes they drago ${ }^{\prime}$ d one another round the Sepulchre, fometimes they fet one Man upon another's Shoulders, and fo march'd round; and fometimes they tumbled round the Sepul. chre like Tumblers on a Stage, and acting the rudeft Things on this Occafion.

This frantick Humour continued from twelve to four: and then the Greeks firt fet out in a Proceffion round the Sepulchre, who were immediately follow'd by the Armenians, in which Order they thrice compafs ${ }^{\circ}$ d the Sepulchre, producing their Standards, Crucifixes, and embroider'd Habits, upon this Occafion. Towards the End of this Proceffion, a Pidgeon came fluttering into the Cupola over the Sepulchre, at whic:1 there was a great Shout ; and the Latins told us, this was let fly by the Greeks, to deceive the People into an Opinion that it was a vifible Defcent of the Holy Ghoft. The Proceffion being over, the Suffragan of the Greek Patriarch, and the principal Armenian Bifhop, approach'd the Door of the Sepulchre, and cutting the String with which it was faften'd, and feal'd entred in, fhutting the Door after him, all the Candles and Lamps within having been before extinguifh'd in the Prefence of the Turks. And then the Exclamations were double as the Miracle drew nearer, and the Pcople prefs'd with fuch Vehemence to the Door, that the Turks could not keep them off with the fevereft Drubs, which they did out of a great Defire to light their Candles at the holy Flame, as foon as it is brought out of the Sepulchre, for that is counted moft facred and pure, as coming immediately from Heaven.

The two Miracle-mongers had not been above a Minute in the Sepulchre, when the Glimmering of the holy Fire was feen through fome Chinks of the Door, which made the Mob as mad as any in Bedlam. Then prefently came out the two Priefts with blazing Torches in their Hands, which they held up at the Door of the Sepulchre, while the People thronged with mighty Zeal to obtain a Part of the firtt and pureft Flame, and could not be kept off by the hard Blows of the Turks Clubs, who laid on without Mercy. Thofe who got the Fire applied it to their Beards and Faces, pretending it would not burn like an earthly Flame; but I faw none that endured the Tryal long enough to make good the Pretenfion. However, fo many Taper's were prefently lighted, that the whole Church feem'd to be in a Flame; and with this lllumination the Ceremony ended. Thofe within the Church acted their Part with great Quicknefs and Dexterity, but the Behaviour of the Rabble without, which would better become a Baccbanale than a Cbriftian Feftival, very much difcredited the Miracle.
The Latins take a great deal of Pains to expofe this Ceremony as a fhameful Impofture, and a Scandal to the Chriftian Religion; but the Greeks and Armenians pin their Faith upon it, and make their Pilgrimages chiefly upon this Motive; and it is the Unhappinefs of their Priefts, that having acted the Cheat fo long, they are forced now to fland to it for Fear of endangering the A poaftcy of their People. After the Rout was over, when we went out of Church, we faw feveral People about the Stone of Unction, who, having Store of Candles lighted with the holy Fire, were daubing. Pieces of Linen with the Weiks of them, and the melting Wax, which were defigned for Winding-fheets; for they believe, that if they are buried in a Shroud fmutted with this Fire, it will fecure thenn from Hell-fire.
The 4th being our Eafter, we did not go abroad, the Time requiring Employment of another Nature.
${ }_{21}$. On the 5 th, we went to fee fome new Curiofities; and firft we came to that which is called St. Peter's Prifon, from which he was deliver'd by an Angel, $A E t s$ xii. Next we came to an old Church, in the Place where the Houfe of Zebedee ftood; then to the Place where ftood the Irongate which open'd to St. Peter of its own Accord; and a little farther is a fmall Church built over the Houfe of St. Mark, whither Peter went after his miraculous Goal-delivery. The Syrians, who keep it, pretend to fhow you the Window at which Rboda look'd out when Peter knock'd at the Door. In the Church they fhew a Syriack MS. of the New-Teftament, pretended to be eight hundred and fifty-two Years old, and a little Stone. Font ufed by the Apoftles in baptizing. Beyond this, in the fame Street, is that which is call'd the Houfe of Sc. Thomas, formerly a Church now a Mofque.

A little

## Chap. I.

A little further, in another Street, is the Place where us two noble Antiquities, the Sepulchre of Zacbariab, they fay our Lord appear'd after his Refurrection to the Maries, Matt. xxviii. 9. And here the Armenians have their Convent and Gardens, which take up all that Part of Mount Sion that is within the Walls of the City, Their Church is built over the Place where they fay St. Fames, the Brother of Fobn, was beheaded, REts xii. 2. and on the North-fide of it is Hown the Place of his Decollation. In this Church are two Altars fet out with extraordinary Splendor, deck ${ }^{3} \mathrm{~d}$ with rich Mitres, Copes, Croffes of Silver and Gold, $\mathcal{E}_{6}$. and in the Middle a Pulpit made of Tortoife-fhell, and Mother of Pearl, curiounly mingled and inlaid in one another
In the Anti-chapel are three large rough Stones, efteem'd very precious, one of them being the Stone upon which Mofes caft the iwo Tables when he broke them, the other two being brought, one from the Place of our Lord's Baptifm, and the other from that of his Transfiguration. After this we went to another Chapel of the Armenians, which is faid to be founded in the Place where Annas's Houfe ftood; and in it is hown a Fole, denoting the Place where one of the Officers of the High-Prieft fmote our Saviour, Fobn xviil. 22 whom the Friars will have to be the fame Malcbus, whofe Ear our Lord heal'd. In the Court before this Chapel is an Olive-tree, to which they fay Chrift was chain'd for fome Time by Order of Annas to fecure him from efcaping.

From the Houfe of Annas we went out of Sion-otate, which is near to that they call the Houle of Caiapbas, where is another fmall Chapel of the Armenians. Here, under the Altar, they fay is the Stone which was laid to the Door of our Saviour's Sepulchre, Màt. xxvii. 60. which the Armenians ftole from the Church of the Sepulchre and brought hither; it is two Yards and a half long, one Yard high, and as much broad. Here is likewife fhown a Cell, faid to have been our Lord's Pri fon till the Morning, when he was carried hence before Pilate; and alfo the Place where Peter was frighted into Denial of his Mafter. A little further without the Gate was the Church of the Canaculum, where they fay Chrift inftituted his laft Supper, which is now a Mofque. Near this is a Well, which is faid to be the Place where the Apoftles divided to go every one to his feveral Charge; and clofe by it is the Ruin of a Houfe, in which the Virgin is faid to have breathed her laft. And a little lower is the Grot in which St. Peter wept fo bitterly for denying his Mafter. After this we return'd to the Convent, and by the Way had a View of the beautiful Gate of the Temple.

On the 6th, we took a another Progrefs about the City; and going out at Betblebem-Gate, and turning on the Left-hand, we came to Betbßeba's Pool, where fhe is faid to be wafhing herfelf when David fpied her from his Palace. A little below this Pool begins the Valley of Hinnom, on the Weft-fide of which is the Place call'd the Field of Blood, now called Campo SanEEO, which is about thirty Yards long, and half as broad The Corpfes are let down into it through five Holes left open for that Purpofe, through which we could fee the Bodies under feveral Degrees of Decay. A little below the Campo Sancto is an intricate Cave, in which the Apofties are faid to have hid themfelves when they forfook their Mafter and fled. The Valley of $7 e-$ bofaplsat croffes the End of that of Hinnoms, in which is the Brook Cedron, which is always dry except in the Winter

In this Valley of Febofapbat we firft went to the Well of Nebemiah, fo called, becaufe it is reputed the Place where he recover'd the Fire of the Altar after the Babylonib Captivity, 2 Mac. i. 19. A little higher is the Place where Ifaiab is faid to be fawn afunder; and above that is the Pool of Siloam. A little farther is the Fountain of the Bleffed Virgin, and over-againft it the Village call'd Siloe, in which Solomon is faid to have kept his ftrange Wives; and above it is a Hill call'd the Mountain of Offence, where Solomon built the high Places, 1 Kings xi. 7. Not far from it they fhow another Field of Blood, where Fudas met with his compounded Death, Matt. xxvii. 5. Here alfo they How'd

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and the Pillar of Abfalom; and clofe by is the Sepul chre of Jebofapbat. From hence keeping in the Val ley, we faw the Sepulchres of the Bleffed Virgin, St Amna, and Fojeph. After this, going up the Hill, we faw a broad Stone on which they fay St. Stephen was martyr'd, and not far from it a Grot into which the Feros caft his Body; from whence we went to St. Ste pben's Gate of the City.
22. On the 7 th, we fet out again to fee the holy Places upon Mount Olivet, and as we afcended the Mount we faw certain Grotto's, call'd the Sepulchres of the Prophets. A little higher you come to the Place where they fay Chrift utter'd his Prophecy concerning the Deftruction of Ferufalem, Matt. xxiv. and on the Right-hand is the Place where they fay he dictated a fecond Time the Pater-nofter to his Dilciples, Luke xi. r, 2. At the Top of the Hill you come to the Place of our Lord's Afcenfion. Here was anciently a large Church buile in Honour of that Triumph, in which they fhew the Print of our Saviour's Foot; but it is now ufed for a Mofque, as many other holy Places about Ferufalem are, whether out of Devotion or Lucre I do not determine. Two Furlongs Northward is the higheft Place of Mount Olivet, on which ftood a high Tower call'd Viri Gallilei! in Memory of the Apparition of the two Angels to the Aponles after Chrift's Afcenfion, which about two Years fince was demolifh'd by a Turk, who bought the Field in which it ftood. From this Place we defcended the Mount by another Way, and about Midway they fhow the Place where Chrift beheld the City, and wept over it, Luke xix. 4I.

A little lower they fhow Gethfemane, about fifty feven Yards fquare, lying between the Foot of Mount Olivet and the Brook Cedron. It is well planted with Olive-trees, which are believed to be the fame that ftood here in our Saviour's Time; which Opinion made thefe Olives and Oil an excellent Commodity in Spain. At the upper Part of the Garden is a flat Ledige of Rocks, which is faid to be the Place on which Peter Fomes, and $7 o b n$, fell anleep during our Saviour's Agony; and juft by is a Grotto, which is faid to be the Place . in which our Saviour underwent that bitter Part of his Paffion. Not far off is a fmall Shred of Ground twelve Yards long and one broad, which is faid to be the Path on which ' Fudas walk'd up to Chrift, and faid, Hail, Mafter, and kifs'd him: Which narrow Path is feparated by a Wall out of the Midft of the Garden, as a Terra damnata; which is the more remarkable, becaufe it is done by the Turks, who, as well as Cbriftians, deteft the Ground on which that infamous Treachery was acted

On the 8 th, we went to fee the Palace of Pilate, which is not far from St. Stepben's Gate, from whence we had a Profpect of the Place where the Temple food, which is all that is allow'd us, for we cannot go within the Borders of it without forfeiting Life or Religion. It lies upon the Top of Mount Moriab, over-againft Mount Olivet, the Valley of Jehofaphat lying between. It was about five hundred and ninety of my Paces long, and three hundred and feventy broad ; in the Middle of the Area ftands now a Mofque, which is faid to be built on the Ground where formerly ftood the Sanctum Sanctorum.

In this pretended Houfe of Pilate is fhown the Room where Chrilt was mock'd with the Enfigns of Royalty, and buffetted by the Soldiers. As you come out is a Defcent, where was formerly the Scala Sancia. On the other Side of the Street is the Room where, they fay, our Saviour was fcourged, which is now a Weaver's Shop. Returning from Pilate's Palace, we pafs'd along the dolorous Way, in which we faw, I. The Place where Pilate brought our Lord forth to the People and faid, Bebold the Man! 2. Where Chrift fainted thrice under the Weight of the Crols. 3. Where the Bleffed Virgin fwoon'd at fo tragical a Spectacle. 4. Where Veronica prefented hims the Handkerchief to wipe his Bleeding Brows: And, 5. Where the Soldiers compel'd Simon to bear his Crofs. All which Places I need only to name, being defcribed by others.

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On the 9 th, we faw the Pool of Betbefda, which is one hundred and twenty Paces long, forty broad, and eight deep, but no Water in it; and there we faw fome Arches, which are faid to be the Porches in which the Lame, Halt, and Blind fate, Fobn v. From hence we went to the Convent of St. Anne, where there is a large Church, and under it a Grotto, where, they fay, the Bleffed Virgin was born. Near this Church they fhew the Pbarifees Houfe, where Mary Magdalen wafh'd Chrints. Feet with her Tears, and wiped them with her Hair, Luke vii. 38. In the Afternoon we faw the ftately Pool of Mount Gibon, which is one hundred and fix Paces long, and fixty-feven broad, lined with a Wall, and well fored with Water.

On the 1oth, we went to take our Leave of the holy Sepulchre, which being the laft Time, the Turks allow free Admittance to all People without any Fee, not only to the Poor, but to the Lewd, who prophaned it as much as when the Heathen celebrated here their Apbrodifa. On the inth began the Turks Byram, and we kept at home to avoid the Affronts ufual at fuch Feftivals. On the 12 th and 13 th, we prepared for our Departure, and how to avoid the Arabs, by going along with the Mofolem.
23. On the 14th, we went with a fmall Prefent to wait on the Mofolem, who fet out the next Morning; and before our Departure I took the Meafure of the City, going out at Betblebem-Gate, and walking round about to the fanie Gate' again, and found it in Circumference to be four thoufand fix hundred and thirty Paces, and ten of my Paces amounting to nine Yards ; this Number makes four thoufand one hundred and fixty-feven Yards, which is juft two Miles and an half.
On the 15 th in the Morning, having received our Diplomata, to certify that we had vifited the holy Places, and prefented the Convent with fifty Dollars a Man for their Trouble, we fet out with the Mofolem, and lodg'd at Kane Leban. The Country People being at Plough, in order to fow Cotton, us'd Goads of an extraordinary Size, being eight Foot long, having at one End a fharp Prickle to drive the Oxen, and at the other a Paddle to cleanfe the Plough, which is held by the fame Perfon that drives; and with fuch a Goad it feems to be, that Sbamgar made the great Slaughter Fudg. iii. 3 I.

The 16 th . Leaving Kane Leban, we paffed by Na plofa and Samaria, and came to the Fountain Selee, where we lodg'd. The 17th, we travelled in the fame Road we came to Capbar-Arab, and then we left that Road, refolving to crofs the Plain of Eddraelon, and vifit Nazareth, which we did, after paying our Caphar to Emir Cbibly.
24. April 18. Nazaretb is now a fmall Village, on a high Hill, where we were treated at a Convent of fome Latin Fathers, who live in perpetual Fear of the Arabs. The Church of Nazaretb ftands in a Cave, faid to be the Place where the bleffed Virgin received the Meflage from the Angel, Hail thou tbat art bighly favoured, \&c. Luke i. 28. It refembles the Figure of a Crofs, whereof the Tree is fourteen Paces long, and fix over, and the Traverfe is nine Paces long, and four broad; juft at the Sestion are two granite Pillars, whereof one ftands at the Place where the Angel, the other where the bleffed Virgin flood at the Time of the Annunciation.

After this we went to fee the Houfe of $\mathcal{F o f e p h}$, where they fay the Son of God liv'd for near thirty Years in Subjection to Man, Luke ii. 51 ; and near this they fhew the Synagogue, where our Lord preached that Sermon which fo much exafperated his Country-men, Luke iv. Here are the Ruins of two Churches built by Helena.

On the 1gth, about two Hours diftant from Nazaretb Eaftward, is Mount Tabor, a high Mountain, round and beautiful, ftanding in the Plain of Efdraelon, about three Furlongs within the Plain. This is thought to be the Mountain on which our Lord was transfigur'd, Mat. xvii. which has a plain Area at Top very fertile, on which in feveral Places are Cifterns of good Water,
and three Grotto's reprefenting three Tabernacles, which St. Peter propos'd to erect, when he faid, Let us make tbree Tabernacles, \&xc.
And here I cannot but obferve, that almoft all Paffages and Hiftories of the Gofpel, are faid by them who fhew the Places, to have been done in Grotto's, Thus the Places of the bleffed Virgin's Birth, of the Annunciation, of the Virgin's Salutation of Elizabetb, of the Baptifts and Cbrife's Nativity, of St. Peter's Repentance, and the Transfiguration; all chefe Places are faid to be Grotto's, though it is no Ways probable that fo many various Actions, with fuch Circumftances as feems fometimes to require Places of another Naturc, fhould be done in Grotto's.
From the Top of Tabor you have a moft delightful Profpect: Oa the North-weft you difcern the Mediterranean, and all round you have the beautiful Plains of Efdraelon and Galilee, where you have a View of many Places memorable for the Refort and Miracles of Chrift at the Bottom ftands Daberah, which is faid to take its Name ftom Deborah, and near it is the Fountain of KiBon. Eaftward you fee Mount Hermon, and at the Foot of it Nani, famous for our L.ord's raifing the Widow's Son there, Luke vii. 14. and Endor, where Saul confulted the Witch. Southward you fee the Mountains of Gilboa, fatal to Saul and his Sons.
Due Eaft you difcover the Sea of Tiberias, and clofe by it a fteep Hill, down which the Herd of Swine ran and perifhed in the Waters, Mat. viii. 32. Towards the North appears that which they call the Mountain of Beatitudes, where our Saviour delivered his Sermon, Mat. v. 6, 7. And not far from this little Hill is the City Saphet, that ftands upon a high Mountain, to which being then in View, our Saviour may be fuppofed to allude, when he fays, Mal. v. 4. A Cily fet on a Hill camnot be bid. From Mount Tabor, we had alfo a Sight of the Place call'd Dotbami, where they fay Fofeph was fold by his Brethren, and of the Field where our Saviour fed the Multitude with a few Loaves, and a few Fifhes. After Dinner we went to fee the Mountain of the Precipitation, i.e. the Brow of the Hill where they fay the. Nazarites would have thrown down our Saviour, Luke 4. had he not made a miraculons Efcape: 'And here the Friars fhow fome Holes, which they call the Prints of Chrift's Fingers, made in the hard Stone, when he refifted the Violence offer'd him.
20. On the 20th, we directed our Courfe to Acra, pafs'd in View of Cana of Galilee, and came to Sepharia, the reputed Habitation of Foachim and Anna, Parents of the bleffed Virgin ; over which ftands a good Part of a large Church. Here begins the Plain of ZQbulon, from whence we came to Acra.
On the 2 Ift : At Acra we were treated by the French Conful, and came the firt Night to our old Lodging at Solomon's Cifterns.
On the 22d: About three Hours from Sidon, we were carried to fee a Place we had not obferv'd before, which was a high rocky Mountain ; on the Side of which were hewn a Multitude of Grots, to the Number of 200, as they were counted, which have an Entrance two Foot fquare, and a Room within for the moit part four Yards fquare, which feem'd to be defign'd for the Ufe of the Living, and not of the Dead, becaufe fome of the Cells are no more than one Yard fquare, and in the Rock are Cifterns for ftoring up Water. On the ${ }_{2} 3^{3}$, we continued at Sidon, being generoully treated by the French.
26. On the 24 th, having gone through the OliveYards of Sidon, we afcended Libamus, till we came to a Fountain calld Ambus-lee. On the 25 ht, we arrived at the higheft Ridge of the Mountain, where the Snow lay clofe by the Road; and then we begun to defcend on the other Side, and came to a Village call'd Me/hgarah, where a Caphar was demanded by the Drufes, who poffefs thefe Mountains. From hence, in one Hour, we entred into a Valley call'd Bocat: This feems to be the fame with Bicatb-Aven, mentioned Amos i. 5 . together with Eden and Damafous, for there is very near it a Place call'd Eden to this Day; in this Valley there runs a large River call'd Setome, which falls at laf
into the River Cafimir, fally call'd Eleutherus. V crofs'd a Bridge, and pitch'd our Tents on its Bank.

On the 26 th , we paffed through the Valley Bocat, and came to the Foot of Antilibanus; and having pars'd by feveral Villages, we went through a narrow Clift between two rocky Mountains to Demus, a fmall Caphar. On the $27^{\text {th }}$ in the Morning, we came to the River Barrady, which fupplies all the Gardens and the City of Damafcus with Water; we crofs'd over it at a Bridge, and our Road afcending brought us to the Brink of a high Precipice, from whence the Turks fay their Prophet took a View of the City Damascus, which he found fo pleafant and beautiful that he would not enter into it, becaufe he faid there is but one Paradife defigned for Man, and he would not take his in this World.

It is, as near as I could guefs, about two Miles long, but compais'd with Gardens, extending to thirty Miles round ; in which are Fruit-trees of all kinds, and many Turrets, Steeples and Summer-houfes, peeping out from green Boughs. The River Barrady, near its Springhead, is divided into three Streams, whereof the Mid-dle-moft runs directly to Damafous, and is diftributed in the City; the other two are drawn round to the Borders of the Gardens, fo that there is not a Garden but has a fine quick Stream, which ferves not only for watering the Place, but for Fountains and other Wa-ter-works.

This River was call'd by the Greeks and Romans Cbryforrboas; but as for Arbana and Pbarpar, Rivers of Damafcus, mention'd 2 Kings v. 12. I could find no Memorial of them, but doubtlefs they were Branches of the River Barrady. We continued a good While upon the Precipice, as being loth to leave fuch a charming Profpect, though it allur'd us down to the City. Coming down the Hill into the Plains, we were conducted by a Fanizary into the City, where we obferv'd the Garden-walls to be made of great Pieces of Earth, fafhion'd like Bricks, and hardned in the Sun, being two Yards long and one Broad, and half of one thick. We alfo obferv'd their Method of fcouring the Channels : They put a great Bough of a Tree in the Water, and faften it to a Yoke of Oxen, upon the Bough there fits a good heavy Fellow to prefs it down and drive the Oxen; and thus the Bough is dragg'd all along the Channel, and ferves at once both to cleanfe the Bottom and alfo to fatten the Water, for the greater Benefit of the Gardens.

On the 28 th, we walk'd out to take a View of the City: And here we found all the Houfes on the Outfide built either with Sun-burnt Brick or Flemijh Wall, very coarfely daub'd over; and fo by the Wafhing of the Houfes upon a violent Rain, the whole City becomes as it were a Quagmire. But the Gates in thefe Mudwalls are adorn'd with Marble Portals, carv'd and inlaid with great Beauty; and on the Infide you find generally a fquare Court, beautified with Variety of fragrant Trees and Marble Fountains, and Duans floor'd with Marble, richly gilded, and furnifh'd with Carpets and Cufhions.

In the next Place we went to fee the Church of St. Jobn Baptif, now converted into a Mofque, which no Chritian may enter into. Its Gates are vaftly large, cover'd with Brafs, ftampt over with Ayab Characters; and within it is fpacious and lofty, built with three Ines, between which are Rows of polifh'd Marble of great Beauty. In this Church is kept the Head of St. Jobn, with other Reliques fo holy, that it is Death for a Turk to go into the Room where they are. From the Church we went to the Caftle, and being admitted within the Gate we faw Store of ancient Arms and Armour, and among the reft a Romar Balifta, and a Chain cut in Stone.
27. On the 29 th, we went to fee the Cavalcade of the Hadgees fetting out for Mecca, which has been defrrib'd before. After this we went to fee the Ager Damafcenus, a beautiful Meadow juft without the City, divided in the Middle by a Branch of the River Barrady; and it is a current Tradition here, that Adam was made of the Earth of this Field. Adjoining to this is a large

Hofpital, enclofed on the South-fide by a fiately Mofques and on the other Sides with Cloyfters and Lodgings. Returning hence Homeward we faw a beautiful Bagnio; and not far from it a Coffee-houfe capable of entertaining four or five hundred People.

It had two Quarters for Guefts, one for Summer, and the other for Winter. That for Summer was a finall Inand, wafh'd round with a large fwift Stream, Maded over Head with Trees, and with Mats when the Boughs fail. And here we found a Multitude of Turks in the Duans, regaling themfelves with Greens and Water ${ }_{3}$ which two, with a beautiful Face, according to their Proverb, are a perfect Antidote againft Melancholy. In the Afternoon we went to vifit what they call the Houfe of Ananias, who reftor'd Sight to St. Paul, Aits ix. I7. And the Place fhown for it is a fmall Grotto, containing a Cbrition Altar and a Turki/b Praying- place ${ }_{3}$ feated too near one another.

Our next Walk was out of the Eaft-gate, to fee the Place of St. Paul's Vifion, which is about half a Mile from the City, clofe by the Way-fide. A little nearer the City is a fmall Timber-ftructure with an Altar in it, where you are told St. Paul refted fome time in his Way to the City after the Vifion, AOts ix. 8. Being return'd to the City we were fhown the Gate at which St. Paul was fet down in a Bafket, AEts ix. 25. This Gate is at prefent wall'd up, by Reafon of its Vicinity to the EaftGate, which renders it of little Ufe: In the City we faw the Patriarch of it, who told me there were more than twelve Hundred of the Greek Communion in that City.

On the 3oth, we went to vifit the Gardens, and fpent a Day in one of them, where we found a pleafant Summer-houfe, with a plentiful Stream of Water running through it, and the Garden thick fet with Fruittrees. In vifiting thefe Gardens, the Franks are oblig'd either to walk on Foot, or ride on Affes, which ftand there ready to be hir?d) for the Turks will not allow them to ride a Horfe. May r. we fpent in another Garden, whofe Summer-houfe was more fplendid, and had greater Variety of Fountains.

On the 2d, Some of us went to Sidonaia, a Greek Corivent, about four Hours from Damafcus to the Northward, and by the Way we faw on the Right-hand a very high Hill, reputed the fame on which Cain and Abel offer'd Sacrifices, and where the latter was nain by the former. Sidonaia is fituated at the further Side of a large Vale, on the Top of a Rock, which would be* inacceffible but for the Steps that are cut in it all the Way up. It is fenc'd at Top with a Wall (which enclofes the Convent, which was at firl founded by $\mathcal{F} u f-$ tinian, and is at prefent poffefs ${ }^{3} \mathrm{~d}$ by twenty Greek Monks, and forty Nuns, who live promifcuoully together.

Upon this Rock, and in a little Compafs round about it, are no lefs than fixteen Churches or Oratories, dedicated to feveral Names, 1. To St. Fobr. 2. To St. Paul. 3. To St. Thomas. 4. To St. Babylas. 5. To St. Barbara. 6. To St. Cbriftopber. 7. To St. Fofeph. 8. To St. Lazarus. 9. To the bleffed Virgin. Io. To St. Demetrius. II. To St. Saba. 12. To St. Peter. 13. To St. George. 14. To All-Saints. I5. To the Afcenfion. 16. To the Transfiguration of our Lord; from all which we may conclude, that this Place was highly efteem'd for Holinefs.

In the Chapel here made Ufe of by the Convent for their daily Service, they pretend to a great Miracle ${ }_{y}$ of which they give this Account. In this Church they had once a little Picture of the bleffed Virgin, very famous for the many Cures and Bteffings granted to Supplicants. This Picture was fole away by a facrilegious Rogue, who had not kept it long but it turn'd into a Body of Elefh; which wonderful Event ftruck him with fuch Remorfe, that he carried back the Prize, and begg'd Pardon for his Crime. The Monks having recover'd fo great a Jewel, to fecure it for the future ${ }_{2}$ laid it in a Cheft of Stone, and placing it in a little Cavity behind the high Altar, fix ${ }^{3} \mathrm{~d}$ an Iron Grate before it.

Upon the Gratés hang Abundance of Toys, being the Offerings of many Votaries for the Succefs of their Prayer's made at this Shrine. Under the fame Chert, in which the Incarnate Picture was depofited, they always place a fmall Silver Bafon, to receive the holy Oil, which they pretend diftils from the enclofed Image, and does wonderful Cures in many Diftempers, efpecially thofe affeeting the Eyes. On the Eaft-fide of the Rock is an ancient Sepulchre hollow'd in the firm Stone, which is about eight Yards fquare, and contains twelve Chefts for Corpfes. At the Entrance are fix Statues in three Niches, two in each; at the Pedeftals are fome Greek Words very dark.

On the 3 d, we went to fee the Street call'd Straigbt, Alts ix. 11 . in which is fhown the Houfe of 7 udas, with whom St. Poul lodg'd; and in the fame Houfe is an old Tomb faid to be Ananias's, much reverenc'd by the Turks, who keep a Lamp always burning over it: On the $4^{\text {th }}$ : In an Hour and half we came to a fmall Village call'd Sinie, juft by which, on the Top of a Hill, is an old Structure, fuppos'd to be the Tomb of Abel, which is thirty Yards long, and thought to be but juift proportion'd to his Stature; from whence the adjacent Country, in old Times, was call'd Abylene.
28. On the $5^{\text {th }}$ we pafs'd by the Fountain of Borrady, and came to a village called Surgaroch, from whence we arrived a fecond Time. in the Valley of Bocat; and hence, going Northerly, we came in three Hours to Balbeck, which is fuppofed to be the ancient Heliopolis, or City of the Sun, and fo the Word imports; for Baal, though it comprehends all Idols of whatever Sex, is very often appropriated to the Sun, which is the Sovereign Idol of this Country. The City has a pleafant Situation on the Eaft-fide of the Valley of Bo: cots, of a \{quare Figure, compafs'd with a good Wall, though its Houfes are mean, as they are ufually in Tur$\mathrm{kj} / \mathrm{b}$ Villages.

There is in it a noble Ruin, which was anciently a Heathen Temple, in which we obferved, firft, a round Pile of Building, all of Marble, encircled with Columns of the Corintbian Order, very beautiful, which fupport a Cornifh that runs all round the Strueture, of no ordinary State and Beauty; and what remains of it at prefent is in a very tottering Condition, but yet the Greeks ufe it for a Church, which fhould excite them to a little more Fervour in their Prayers than they generaliy ufe, for they are feemingly the moft indevout at their Divine Service, of any People in the Chriftian World.
But befides this Temple, here is another Curiofity, which is fo ftrange, that a Man may be thought to ftrain the Privilege of Travellers in relating it, and that is a large Piece of the old Wall, which encompafs'd all the Stuctures in the City; a Wall made of fuch prodigious great Stones, that the Natives here afcribe the Building of it to the Devil. Three of the Stones we meafured, and found them to extend to fixty one Yards in Length, whereof one was twenty one, and the other two twenty Yards long; thefe three Stones lay in one Row, End to End. Here was alfo a fingle Column of the Tufcon Order about fourteen Yards high, and one Yard and half diameter, having a Channel cur from the Bottom to the Top.
On the 6 th we left Balbeck, and went a-crofs the Valley; and as we pafs'd by the Walls of the City, we faw many Stones infribed with Roman Letters, which fhow that the Walls are made of the Ruins of the old City. In two Hours we faw, near the Road, an old Pillar nineteen Yards high, and five Foot in Diameter. In an Hour more we came to the other Side of the Valley, at the Foot of Anti-libanus; and, afcending the Mountain, we faw an old Lake called Limone, and thence in an Hour more we arrived at the Snow. Here we lodged all Night on the Top of Libanus, which is free from Rocks, but very barren, and cover'd with a Sort of white Slates.
It is fo high, that it proves a Confervatory of Abundance of Snow; which thawing in the Summer, fupplies with Water the Rivers and the Fountains in the Valleys below; and in the Snow we faw the Print of the

Feet of Wild Beafts, the fole Proprietors of thefe uppes Parts of the Mountain.

On the $7^{\text {th }}$ we went almoft four Hours upon Snow, which being frozen, bore us and our Hories, and ther defcending about an Hour, we came to a Fountain and a milder Region. From hence we defign'd for Canobine, but our Guide being at a Lofs, we fteer'd to Tripolys where we were nobly treated.
29. On the 8 th, Mr. Conful Hafings carried us to fee the Cafle of Tripoly, which is fituate on a Hill that commands the City; bur being now unprovided with Arms, it ferves rather for a Prifon than a Garrifon. There was in it a poor Chriftian called Sbeck Eunice, a Maronite, one that had formerly renounced his Faith, and turn'd Mabometan; but in his declining Age retracted his Apoftacy, and died to attone it ; for he was impaled by Order of the Bafha two Days after we had left Iripoly; which Kind of Punifhment is certainly one of the greateft Barbarities that can be offer'd to hus. man Nature.
The Execution is done after this Manner: They take a Poft about the Bignefs of a Man's Leg, eight or nine Foot long, which they make Tharp at one End, and force the Criminal to carry to the Place of Execution ; and there they thruft in the Stake at his Fundament, and then taking him by the Legs, draw on his Body upon it till the Point of the Stake appears at his Shoulders: and then they erect the Stake, and faften it in a Hole dug in the Ground. The Criminal fitting in this Poflure, does fometimes drink, fmoke, and talk, for twenty-four Hours; but generally, after he has remain’d an Hour in this Pofture, one of the By-ftanders is permitted to give him a gracious Stab to the Heart, which puts an End to his inexpreffible Mifery.
On the gth, having crofs'd the Plain of Tripoly, we came to the Foot of Libomus; and thence afcending, in four Hours we pafs'd by a Village call'd Eden, and in two Hours and a Half more we came to the Cedars which grow amongft the Snow, near the higheft Part of Libanon, where we found fome very old, and of a prodigious Bulk, of which Sort I counted fixteen, and others younger, of a fmaller Size. I meafured one of the largeft, and found it twelve Yards fix Inches in Girt, and thirty-feven Yards in the Spread of its Boughs. It was ftill found, and about five Yards from the Ground, was divided into five Limbs, and each of which was equal to a great Tree.

Afer we had ftaid about half an Hour in this Place, the Clouds began to thicken and fly upon the Ground, which fo obfcured the Road, that with much ado we found the Way that goes down to Canobine; which is a Convent of the Maronites, and the Seat of a Patriarch, and is pleafantly fituated near a Rupture in Libanus, cloath'd with Greens, and refrefh'd with Fountains. It is feated on the North-fide of this Chafm, about the Midway in the Mountain, and was founded by Theodofrus the Great, at the Mouth of a great Cave, having a few Rooms fronting outward that have the Light of the Sun, the reft being all under Ground. The Valley of Canobine was anciently much reforted to for Religious Retirement, as appears from the many Hermitages, Cells, and Monafteries here to be feen.

On the 1oth, I took my Leave of the Patriarch, and return'd to Tripoly, through a Path cut in the Side of the aforefaid Rupture. On the 11 th, we took our Leaves of our worthy Friends at Tripoly, and travelling the fame Way we came, we arrived in eight Days at the Honey-Kane, and found many of our Aleppine Friends there. All that occurrd to us new in thefe Days Travel, was a particular Way ufed by the Country-people in gathering Corn, which they pluck up by Handfuls from the Roots, that they may loofe none of their Straw, which is generally very fhort, and neceffary for the Suftenance of their Cattle, no Hay being made here. This is their Practice in all Places of the Eaft I have feen, and feems to give Light to that Expreffion of the Pfalinift, Pfal. cxxix. 6. whbich withereth afore it be piucked up; and though there is Mention in the next Verfe of a Mower; yet being fuch as fills not his Hand, this rather confirms the former Senfe.

## Chap. 1. from Aleppo to Jerusalem.

130. We are next to take Notice of an Excurfion our Author made fome Years after this, in order to take a View of the famous River Eupbrates, and the Country near it on both Sides; which being fo famous both in ancient and modern Hiftory, might well excite his Curiofity, as the Plainnefs and Perfpicuity of his Account cannot but fatisfy ours. We fet out, fays he, from Aleppo, Aprit 17, 1699, and fteering Eaft Norch Fant fomewhat lefs, we came in three Hours and a half to Surbafs.

The 18 th, we came in three Hours and a half to Be zay, pafing by $B a b$, where is a good Aquæduct, Dyn it Daab, to which you defcend by about thirty Steps, and Lediff, a pleafant Village. Our Courle was thus far Eaft and by North. In the Afternoon we advanced three Hours farther, Courfe Norch Eaft, to an old ruined Place, formerly of fome Confideration, called Acamy : It is fituated in the Wildernefs on a Hill encompafied by a Valley: It was large, and had the Footteps of good Walls and Buildings.

The 1gth we went Eaft and by North, and in four Hours arrived at Bambych. This Place has no Remnants of its ancient Greatneís but its Walls, which may be traced all round, and cannot be lefs than three Miles in Compafs. Several Fragments of them remain on the Eait-fide, efpecially at the Ealt Gute, and another Piece of eighty Yards long; with Towers of large fquare Stone, extremely well built. On the North-fide I found a Stone, with the Bufts of a Man and Woman large as the Life, and under two Eagles caryed on it. Not far from it, on the Side of a large Well, was fixed a Stone with three Figures carved on ir in Baffo Relievo. They were two Syrens, which twining their finy Tails together, made a Seat on which was placed fitting a naked Woman, her Arms and the Syrens on each Side murually entwined.

On the Weft-fide is a deep Pit of about an hundred Yards Diameter: It was low and had now Water in it, and feemed to have had great Buildings all round it, with the Pillars and Ruins of which it is now in Part filled up, but not fo much but that there was ftill Water in it. Here are a Multitude of fubterraneous Aquæducts brought to this City, the People attefted no fewer than fifty. You can ride no where about the City without feeing them. We pitched by one about a Quarter of a Mile Eaft of the City, which yields a fine Stream, and emptying itfelf into a Valley, waters it, and makes it extremely fruiful. Here perhaps were the Paftures of the Beafts defigned for Sacrifice. Here are now only a few poor Inhabitants, though anciently all the North-fide was well inhabited by Saracens, as may be feen by the Remains of a noble Mofque and' Bagnio a little without the Walls. We were here vifired by a Company of Begdelies, who were incamped fome Hours further towards Eupbrates, having about a thoufand Horfe there.
20. For avoiding the Begdelies, we hired a Guide, who conducted us a By-way. We travelled North North Eaft over a $D=$ fert Ground, and came in three Hours to a fmall Rivulet called Sejour, which falls into the Eupbrates about three Hours below Ferabolus. In about two Hours more we came to a fine fruitful Plain, covered with extraordinary good Corn, lying between the Hills and the River Eupbrates. In about an Hour and half's Travelling through this Plain on the Banks of the River, we came to ferabolus. This Place is of a femicircular Figure, its flat Side lying on the Banks of Eupbrates ; on that Side it has a high long Mount clofe by the Water, very fteep. It was anciently built upon (and at one End of it I faw Fragments of) very large Pillars, a Yard and half Diameter, and Capitals and Cornifhes well carved. At the Foot of the Mount was carved on a large Stone, a Beaft refembling a Lion, with a Bridle in his Mouth, and I believe ancienily a Perfon fitting on it ; But the Stone is in that Part now broke away; the Tail of the Beaft was couped.

Round about this Place are high Banks caft up, and there is the Footteps of Wall on them. The Gates feem to have been well-built; the Whole was 2250 Paces, that is Yards, in Circumference. The River is

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here as large as the Thames at London; a long Bulletgun could not fhoot a Ball over it, but it dropt into the Water. Here is found a large Serpent, which has Legs and Claws, called Woralla. I was told by a Turk, that a little below this Place, when the River is low may be feen the Ruins of a Stone-bridge over the River; for my own Part, I faw it nor, nor do I much rely on the Turk's Veracity. The River feem'd to be lately fallen very fuddenly, for the Banks were frefh wet two Yards and more above the Water. It was here North and South.

On the 21 it we kept clofe on the Banks of Euphrates, and in two Hours and a Half croffed a fine Rivulet called Towzad, and in two Hours more arrived overagainit Beer, and pitched on a Flat, clofe by the Riverfide. Oblerving the Latitude of the Place by my Qua. drant, I found the Angle between the Sun and the Zenith, to be twenty-two Degrees, and the Declination this Duy being fifteen Degrees ten Minutes ; theWhole is thirty feven Degrees, and ten Minutes.

On the 22 d , we continued at our Station, not daring to crofs the River for Fear of falling into the Hands of the Cbiab of the Baha of Urfa, who was then at Beer, ordering many Boats of Corn down to Bagdal. We were fupplied at the fame Time with Provifions by Sbeck Afyne, to whom we made Returns.

On the a3d, the Cbiab being now departed, Sbeck Aflyme invited us over to Beer. We croffed in a Boat of the Councry, of which they have a great many, this being the great Pass into Mefopolamia. The Boats are of a miferable Fabrick, flat and open in the Fore-part for Hories to enter : They are large enough to carry about four Horfes each: Their Way to crofs is, by drawing up the Boat as high as they know to be neceffary, and then with wretched Oars ftriking over the Falls a good Way down by the Force of the Stream before they arrive at the further Side.

Having faluted AJjye, we were conducted to fee the Caftle, which is a large old Building on the Top of a great long Rock, feparated by a great Gulph or natural Bottom, from the Land. Ac firft coming within the Gates, which are of Iron, we faw feveral large Globes of Stone, about twenty Inches diameter, and great Axles of Iron, with Wheels which were entire Blocks of Wood two Foot thick in the Nave, and cut fomewhat to an Edge toward the Periphery and Screws, to bend Bows or Engines; as alfo feveral Brafs Field Pieces.

Afcending up the Sides of the Rock by a Way cut obliquely, you come to the Caftle. At firft Entrance you find a Way cut under Ground down to the River. In the Caftle the principal Things we faw were, firft, a large Room full of old Arms. I faw here Glafs Bottles to be fhot at the End of Arrows; one of them was fluck at the End of an Arrow, with four Pleces of Tin by its Sides, to keep it firm. Vaft large Crofsbows and Beams, feemingly defigned for Battering, Rams and Roman Saddles, and Headmpieces of a large Size, fome of which were painted, and fome large Thongs for Bow- Atrings, and Bags for llinging Stones. But the Jealoufy of the Turks would not permit us to ftay fo long as would have been requifite for a perfect Examination of thefe Antiquities. From the Caftle we return'd to AJJne, and were civilly treated. In the Evening we went up into the Country of Mefopotamia. The Hills are chalky and fteep, and come clofe to the Water-fide, without a Plain intervening, as it is upon the Side of Syria, fo that Beer ftands on the Side of a Hill. However, it has a Couple of fine Streams that run over the Top of the Hill; one of which drives two Mills, and fo runs down to the City, which is well walled. In the Side of the Hill there is a Kane under Ground, cut inco the Rock, with fifteen large Pillars left to fupport its Roof.
24. We left Beer, and travelling Weft, came in three Hours to Nizib, a Place well fituated at the Head of the Towzad. Here is an old fmall Church very ftrong and entire, only rhe Cupola in the Middle of the Crofs is broke down, and its Space covered with Leaves to fit the Place for a Mofque. I believe the Turks made the Places to which they turn in Prayers, empty

Niches,

Niches, to fhew that they worthipped one invifible God, not to be reprefented by Images. In two Hours we came from Nizib to a good Chriftian Village called Urour, and in an Hour and half more to a Well in the Defert.
25. We travelled Weft near two Hours, and came through a fine Country diverfify'd into fmall Hills and Valleys, to a Village called Adjia, having left Silam and two other Villages on the Right-hand. At Adjia rifes the River of Aleppo from a large Fountain at once, and juft above it runs the Sejour, which might be let into it by a fhort Cut of ten Yards. From Adjia our Courfe was Weft North Weft. The Banks of the Sejour are well planted with Trees and Villages. In two little Hours we came to Antab, having croffed the Sejour at a Bridge, about three Quarters of an Hour before. Leaving the City on the Right-hand we paffed under its Walls, and pitched about three Quarters of an Hour from it on a plain Field, on the Banks of the Sejour.

Antab ftands moftly on a Hill, having a Caftle, on a round Mount at its North-fide, and exactly refembling that of Aleppo, though much lefs: It has a very deep, Ditch round it, and at the Foot of the Mount within the Ditch, is a Gallery cut through the Rock all round the Caftle with Portals for Shot, and it is faced with Stone Walls, where the Rock was not ftrong enough. The Houfes have generally no upper Rooms, the Bazars are large. I faw here a fine Stone very much refembling Porphyry, being of a red Ground with yellow Specks, and Veins very gloffy. It is dug juft by Antab.

Antab is doubtlefs Antiocbia penes Taurum, in the Skirts of which it ftands, and is not far diftant from the higheft Ridge: It is about two Thirds as big as Aleppo.
26. We paffed through a fruifful mountainous Country, and came in feven Hours and a Quarter to Rowant Caftle: It ftands on the Top of a round fteep Hill, and has been ftrong for the Times it was built in. It is probably a Saracen Fabrick, and is now in Ruins. At the Foot of the Hill Weftward runs the River Ephreen, its Courfe is South-South-Weft; our Courfe from Antab to Rowant was North-Weft and by North.
27. We continued travelling through the Mountains, which were now fomewhat more uneven and precipititious, but watered every where with fine Springs and Rivulets. In about fix Hours we came to Corus; our Courfe was South-weft, having croffed the Epbreen about two thirds of an Hour before. Jult by Corus is the River Sabon, that is, Cbor or Cbar, which encompaffes moft part of the City.

Corus ftands on a Hill, confifting of the City and Caftle: The City ftands Northerly, and from its Northend afcending, you come at laft to a higher Hill to the Southward, on which ftands the Caftle. The whole is now in Ruins, which feem to have been very large, wall'd very ftrongly with huge fquare Stones. Within are obfervable the Ruins, Pillars, $\mathcal{E}^{2} c$. of many noble Buildings. On the Weft-Side there is a fquare Enclofure of great Capacity, compaffed with good Walls and five Gates, which admitted into it as one may difcern by the Ruins of them. I conjectur'd they might be the Cathedral.

Below the Caftle-Hill to the Southward ftands a noble old Monument. It is fix fquare and open at fix Windows above, and is covered with a Pyramidal Cupola. In each Angle within is a Pillar of the Corintbian Order of one Stone, and there is a fine Architrave all round juft under the Cupola, having had Heads of Oxen carved on it, and it ends a-top with a large Capital of the Corintbian; near this are feveral lepulchral Altars.
28. We left Corus, and without the Town about half a Mile South-Eaft, we defcended down through a Way cut obliquely on the Side of a Precipice, which leads to a Bridge of feven Arches, of a very old Structure, over the River Sabon. And about a Quarter of a Mile further we came to another Bridge of three very large Arches over the River Epbreen. Thefe Bridges
are very ancient, and well built of fquare Stone. Three Pillars have an acute Angle on the Side againft the Stream, and a round Buttrefs on the other Side, and on both Sides are Niches for Statues. They were well paved a-top with large Stones, and are doubtlefs as well as that of the other Side of the Town, the Work of the ex. cellent and magnificent Theodorit.

From this Bridge in about three Hours with a Courfe South-Eaft, or South Eaft and by South, we arrived at Fan Bolads. From Fan Bolads to Cbiblis is one Hour and two Thirds, Courfe North, NorthEaft. Cbiblis is a large populous Town, and has fifteen Mofques that may be counted without the Town, and it has large Bazars. Many Medals are found here, which feem to argue it to be ancient; but under what Name I know not.

Aleppo bears from $F a n$ Bolads South and by Eaft, Seck Berukel South South Weft. An Hour from Fan Bolads is $A z a / s$; and two Hours further we lodged in the Plain, which about Cbiblis and $A z a / s$ is very wide and no lefs fruitful. This Country is always given to the Valide, or Grand Signior's Mother. On Saturday, April 29, we arrived tafe at Aleppo, having travelled about five Hours that Day.

There is at the Diftance of about four Hour's Journey from this City, a very great natural Curiofity, much talked of in that Country, and which deferves to be particularly defcribed: It is called the Valley of Salt, and indeed is fo filed with great Propriety. This Val ley is of two or three Hours Extent ; we were three Quarters of an Hour in crofling one Corner of it. It is of an exact Level, and appears at a Diftance like a Lake of Water. There is a Kind of a dry Cruft of Salt all over the Top of it, which founds when the Horfes go upon it like frozen Snow There are three or four fmall Rivulets empty themfelves into this Place, and wafh it all over about Autumn, or when the Rains fall. In the Heat of the Summer the Water is dried off, and when the Sun has fcorched the Ground, there is found remaining the Cruft of Salt aforefaid, which they gather and feparate into feveral Heaps, according to the Degrees of Finenefs, fome being exquifitely white, others alloy'd with Dirt. It being fott in fome Places, our Horfes Hoofs ftruck in deep; and there I found in one Part a foft brown Clay, in another a very black one, which to the Tafte was very falt, though deep in the Earth. Along on one Side of the Valley, viz. that towards Gibul, there is a fmall Precipice, about two Men's Lengths, occafioned by the continual taking away the Salt, and in this you may fee how the Veins of it lie. I broke a Piece of it, of which, that Part that was expofed to the Rain, Sun, and Air, though it had the Sparks and Particles of Salt, yet it had perfectly loft its Savour, as in St. Matt. Chap. v. The inner Part, which was connected to the Rock, retain'd its Savour, as I found by Proof. In feveral Places of the Valley we found the thin Crult of Salt upon the Surface, bulged up as if fome Infect, working under it, had raifed it ; and taking off the Part, we found under it Efflorefcences of pure Salt, fhot out according to its proper Figure. At the neighbouring Village Gibul are kept the Magazines of Salt, where you find great Mountains (as I may fay) of that Mineral ready for Sale. The Valley is farmed of the Grand Signior at 1200 Dollars per Annum.
31. Our Author not only wrote this large and regular Account of his Travels, but was alfo ready on any Occafion to explain whatever Difficulties arofe in the Minds of his Friends, with refpect to the Eaftern Countries, in which he had lived fo long, or the Manners of the People that inhabit them. Thus upon the Reverend Mr . Osborn's writing him a Letter, to defire from him a general Character of the Turks, and a particular Account of the Manner in which the Englifh Merchants lived amongft them; he gave him the following clear and diftinct Anfwer. "As to the former it would fill " a Volume to write my whole Thoughts about them, I " fhall only tell you at prefent, that I think they are very "f far from agreeing with that Character, which is given ${ }^{66}$ of them in Cbriftendom, efpecially for their exact Juf-
"t tice, Veracity and other moral Virtues, upon Account "of which, I have fometimes heard them mentioned "s with very extravagant Commendations, as though " they far exceeded Chriftian Nations. But I mult pro"fefs myfelf of another Opinion: For the Chriftian "Religion, how much foever we live below the true Spirit " and Excellency of it, muft ftill be allowed to difcover fo st much Power upon the Minds of its Profeffors, as to "s raife them far above the Level of a Turkißh Virtue!
"It is a Maxim that I have often heard from our Mer-
"s chants, that a Turk will always cheat when he can
${ }^{6}$ find an Opportunity ; Friendfhip, Generofity true
"Wit (in the Englifh Notion) and delightful Converfe,

* and all the Qualities of a refined and ingenuous Spi"s rit, are perfect Strangers to their Minds, though in "Traffick and worldly Negociations they are acute "s enough, and are able to carry the Accounts of a large
" Commerce in their Heads, without the Help of
"Books, by natural Arithmetick, improved by Cuf-
" tom and Neceffity. Their Religion is framed to keep "up great outward' Gravity and Solemnity, without ss begetting the leaft good Tincture of Wifdom or
" Virtue in the Mind. You fhall have them at their
" Hours of Prayer (which are four a Day always) ad-
" dreffing themielves to their Devotions with the moft
"folemn and critical Wafhings, always in the moft "s publick Places, where People are paffing, with moft lowly and moft regular Proftrations, and a hollow ' Tone, which are, smongft them, the great Excellen"s cies of Prayer. I have feen them, in affected Charity, " give Money to Bird-catchers (who make a Trade of * it) to reftore the poor Captives to their natural Li"s berty, and at the fame Time hold their own Slaves "s in the heavieft Bondage. And at other Times they " will buy Flefh to relieve indigent Dogs and Cats, and "syet curfe you with Famine and Peftilence, and all the " molt hideous Execrations ; in which Way thefe Eaft-
" ern Nations have certainly the moft exquifite Rhe-
" torick of any People upon Earch. They know hardly
" any Pleafure but that of the fixth Senfe. And yet with " all this, they are incredibly conceited of their own Reli" gion, and contemptuous of that of others, which I take "to be the great Artifice of the Devil, in order to keep
" them his own. They are a perfect vifible Comment " upon our Bleffed Lord's Defcription of the Jewifh
"Pbarifees. In a Word, Luft, Arrogance, Covetouf-
" nefs, and the moft exquifite Hypocrify, compleat their
"Character. The only Thing that ever I could ob-
" ferve to commend in them is, the outward Decency
"s of their Carriage, the profound Refpect they pay to
" Religion, and to every Thing relating to it ; and
"their great Temperance and Frugality. The Dear" nefs of any Thing is no Motive in Turkey, though it " be in England, to bring it into Fafhion. As for our
" living amongft them, it is with all poffible Quiet and
"Safety, and that is all we defire, their Converfation
" being not in the leaft entertaining. Our Delights are " among ourfelves, and here being more than forty of " us, we never want a moft friendly and pleafant Con"verfation. Our Way of Life refembles in fome Mea-
" fure the Academical. We live in feparate Squares
" Thut up every Night, after the Manner of Colleges.
"We begin the Day conftantly as you do, with Pray-
"ers, and have our fet Times for Bufinefs, Meals, and
"Recreations. In the Winter we hunt in the moft
" delightful Campaign twice a Week ; and in the Sum-
" mer go as often to divert ourfelves under our Tents,
"w with Bowling, and other Exercifes ; fo that you fee *s we want not Divertifements, and thefe all innocent "s and manly. In fhort, it is my real Opinion, that
" there is not a Society out of England, that, for all
"good and defirable Qualities, may be compared to "this."

Thus we fee, that very fenfible Men differ very much in Reference to this Subject, and that as fome entertain very high, fo others again have very low and mean Opinions of Turks. This Difparity muft arife from that Inequality in Point of Underftanding and Morals, which is natural to them and to all Nations; and therefore we are to make proper Allowances in reference to all
fuch general Characters. One Thing deferves to be particularly remarked, which is this, that amongtt the Turks it is not ufual for the better Sort of People, by which I mean thofe beft bred and educated amongft them, to betake themfelves to. Trade; bur, on the contrary, they commonly apply either to the Sword or to the Robe; that is to fay, they endeavour to rife in the Army, which is the fpeedieft Way; of in the Law, which is the fafeft ; this may very well account for the Want of that Integrity and ftrict Honour, complained of amongft the Turks; and I apprehend, that it has appear'd amongt the Englifh in a very high Point of Light when our Author refided at Aleppo; where he lived and converfed with Gentlemen, who, in Point of Birth and Fortune, were fuperior to Temptations, and who were above leffening their Characters to increafe their Riches. I had the Honour to know more than one of thefe Gentlemen myfelf, and have fpent fome of the happief Moments of my Life in their Company: They were Perions, who, from their long Experience, had juft and excellent Notions of Trade; and never ditcourfed of it without obferving, that the true Bafis of Credic was an irreproachable Behaviour : They thought, that in Foreign Countries, and more particularly in the Levant, Factors were not only trufted with the Effects of their Correfpondents, but alfo, in fome Meafure, with the Honour of their Nation, and that to injure the latter was as much a Crime, as to be falle to the former. I hope and I believe, that the fame Meafures are flill purfued with the fame Punctuality, and as much to the Profit and Honour as ever of the Britifl Nation; but whoever reflects on the wide Difference between Turki/b Traders and Briti/b Merchants, will not at all wonder that the former were fo low in the Efteem of the latter. But for all this, we may lay it down as a Thing certain enough, that amongft the better Sort of Turks there are Men of great Probity and Honour, and who are very far from feeking to make an Advantage of the Ignom rance or Credulity of Strangers. When I fay this, I do not mean their great Minifters and Bafhaws, who have rofe either by Accident, or by the Caprice of their Mafters; fuch Men in Turkey, and in all other Nations, are frequently unworthy of the Pofts they hold, and exercife them with a Venality fuitable to their vicious Difpofitions. Ambition, Pride, and a Spirit of Voluptuoufnefs, are Paffions that infpire Men with as mean Thoughts as Avarice can do, though certainly that is the meaneft of all Vices, and moft unworthy of the Mind of Man. We muft likewife make fome Allowances for the Nature of their Government, which has already been fully defcribed; for in a Country where Money will do every Thing, it is natural for every Man to be defirous of getting Money.

It may not be amifs to confider how great and dangerous an Evil this is, and how far it is capable of fubverting the Conftitution of every Country where it prevails. We know that in former Times this Humour did not prevail among the Turks; and that on the contrary, they were proud of their Poverty, or rather, being content with the Neceffaries of Life, they defpifed thofe who could not live without enjoying Superfluities; in thofe Days the Turks were a great and a victorious People. The fame Thing may be faid of other Na tions with the fame Truth, but we will confine ourfelves at prefent to the Eaft. The Saracens or Arabs, in the Days of Mabomet and his immediate Succeffors, were a Race of hardy People, and their Princes valued themfelves upon their Power, without dreaming of Magnificence. As that Spirit declined, and as their Caliphs began to affect ftately Palaces, numerous Guards, and all the exterior Enfigns of unlimited Authority, they loft thore Qualities which rendred them truly venerable. This created Diffentions and civil Wars, frequent Infurrections, and a Series of Revolutions, which by Degrees broke the Power of particular Princes, and in Procefs of Time that of the whole Nation; fo that now there is not the leaft Footfteps of that Authority, which once appear'd fo terrible to all its Neighbours. The Mabometan Empires of the prefent Age, fuch as thofe eftablifhed
in India, Perfa, Barbory and Turky, have been raifed on the Ruins of the Saracen Empire, and are all of them now grown old and infirm, fo that they feem ready to crumble under their own Weight. No other Reafon can be afligned for this, but the Prevalence of Corruption in them all, for wherever moral Virtues grow into Contempt, it is fimply impoffible that national Power fhould long fubfint ; or that where Princes and great Men, inftead of devoting their Cares to the Adminiftration of Juftice, become infenble of all Things, but what contribute to their Eate and Pleafure, they fhould for any Length of Time continue to enjoy even thefe. Innocent Divertifements and manly Pleafures are not at all inconfiftent with good Government and publick Spirit ; but fenfual Delights, and a Propenfity to Indolence which always accompanies them, naturally begets Contempt in thofe whofe Reverence and Refpect can only keep them in real and conftant Subjection. Thefe Remarks may be confirm'd, from what has happen'd within our View in all thefe Countries. The Mogul Empire has been over-run in lefs time than would have fufficed in ancient Time for the Conqueft of one of its Provinces ; the Perfian Empire has been fubverted over and over; nothing has been more unfteady of late Years than the Throne of the Xeriffs in Africa, and the depoing of the Grand Signior is in fome Meafure become a Thing familiar. But let us now return to our Auchor for the laft Time.

Mr. Maundrell, though he had lived long in a Country where Supertition prevails to fuch a Degree, that the feveral Nations who inhabit it feem to vie with each other in Credulity, yet he preferved a jutt Regard for Evidence, and did not fuffer his Judgment to be hurried away by Tradition, however ancient; or Affertions, however bold. He examined every Thing carefully, and then exercifed his own Judyment freely, affited by all the Helps that could be derived from Converfation and Learning. Of this we have a remarkable Inftance in an Antwer he gave to a Gentleman who confulted him upon thefe two Points, viz. Whether Gebazi's Leprofy ftill fuck to and diftinguifhed his Pofterity as fome have reported; and what Ground there was to impute to the Greek Church, a Notion that Perfons who died excommunicated, did not confume in their Graves. "When "I was in the Holy Land, fays he, I faw feveral that © labour'd under Gebazi's Diftemper, but none that " could pretend to derive his Pedigree from that Perfon. "Some of them were poor enough to be his Relations, " particularly at Sicbem (now Noplofa) there were no "s lefs than ten, (the fame Number that were cleanfed by " our Saviour not far from the fame Place) that came " a begging to us at one Time. Their Manner is to s come with fmall Buckets in their Hands, to receive © the Alms of the Charitable, their Touch being ftill ${ }^{6}$ held infectious, or at leaft unclean. The Diftemper "s as I faw in them, was very different from what I have " feen it in England, for it not only defiles the whole "Surface of the Body with a foul Scurf, but alfo de"forms the Joints of the Body, particularly thofe of " the Wrifts and Ancles, making them fwell with a "goury, fcrofulous. Subfance, very loathfome to look "upon. I thought their Legs refembled thofe of old " battered Horfes, fuch as are often feen in Drays in Eng-
" land. The whole Diftemper indeed as it there appeared, " was fo noifome, that it might well pafs for the utmoft "Corruption of the human Body on this Side the Grave.
© And certainly the infpired Penmen could nor have 's found out a fitter Emblem, whereby to exprefs the "Uncleannefs and Odioufnefs of Vice. But to return " to Gebazi. It is no Wonder if the Defcent from him "s be by Time obfcured, feeing the beft of the Feres, " at this Time of Day, are at a Lofs to make out their "Genealogies. But befikes, I fee no Neceffity in "Scripture for his Lines being perpetuated. The "Term (for Ever) is, you know, often taken in a li" mited Senfe in holy Writ, of which the Defignation " of Pbineas's Family to the Priefthood, Numb. xxv. "15. may ferve for an Inftance. His Pofterity was, "s you know, cut entirely off from the Priefthood, and " that transferred to Eli, who was one of another Line, " about three hundred Years afcer. I have enquired of
a Greek Prieft, a Man not deftitute either of Senfe or "Probity, about your other Queftion. He pofitively " affirmed it, and produced an Inftance of his own "Knowled ge in Confirmation of it. He faid, that
" about fifteen Years ago, a certain Greek departed this
os Life without Abfolution, being under the Guilt of a " Crime which involved him in the Sentence of Ex${ }^{6}$ communication, but unknown to the Church. He
" had Chriftian Burial given him, and about ten Years " after a Son of his dying, they had Occafion to open ${ }^{66}$ the Ground near where the Body was laid, in order " to bury his Son by him; by which Means they dif${ }^{66}$ covered his Body as entire as when it was firft laid in " the Grave. The Shrowd was rotted away, and the "Body naked and black, but perfectiy found. Report " of this being brought to the Bifhop, he immediate6. ly fufpected the Caufe of it, and fent feveral Priefts, " of whom the Relator was one, to pray for the "Soul of the Departed, and to abfolve him at his " Grave. Which they had no fooner done, but " (as the Relator goes on) the Body inftantly dif "folved, and fell into Duft like flack'd Lime. And " fo well fatisfied with the Effect of their Abfolution, " they departed. This was deliver'd to me Verbo Sa"cerdotis. The Man had hard Fortune not to die in "the Roman Communion; for then, his Body being " found fo entire, would have entitled him to Saint
" fhip : For the Romanists, as I have both heard and " feen, are wont to find out and maintain the Relicks " of Saints by this Token. And the fame Sign, which " proves an Anathema Maranathe amongft the Greeks, " demonftrates a Saint amongtt the Papifts; perhaps "both equally in the Right". This fufficiently proves what has been before advanced, that Superftition prevails generally through the Eaft, and that the Cbrifitians are as far gone in it as the Turks; neither need it be at all wonder'd at among the Grecks, fince it is natura for all Nations under Oppreffion, to fink into Superftition; and there is certainly nothing that can be more evident; than that thefe unfortunate People are brought as low, and their Spirits as much broke, as it is por fible to conceive in the Courfe of fo many Ages as they have been under the Yoke: But however, it is certain, that even in Rufla, where their Religion is eftablifhed by Law, this Notion prevails, together with the Practice eftablifhed upon it, of abfolving the Dead, that their Bodies may rot in Peace, and not remain, as they apprehend they do, for a Covering or Receptacle to evil Spirits. Upon the fame ftrange Notion, collected from the fame Nation, arofe the wild and incredible Relations concerning Vampyres, or dead Bodies that fuck the Blood of living ones, that appear'd in our News Papers fome Years ago from Hungary. Yet I think it might be doubted, whether this flrange Opinion was not originally borrow'd from the Mabometans, who, as we have before obferved, are ftrongly perfuaded, that Men have a Kind of Senfation in their Graves, and that there is no fuch Thing as abfolute Reft even among the Dead.

We may learn from this Gentleman's Account of the Holy Land, the true State and Condition of it at this Day, independent of Fable and Prieitcraft; and from thence it appears, that there could not be a more fruitful or pleafant Region, better feated for all Purpofes whatever, or more in the Heart or Center of the Univerfe, while that was a Thing of Confequence to the Propagation of Religion, than this Land of Ifrael. It is no lefs evident from the Remains of a valt Variety of Antiquities, fome of which extend to the very Country itfelf, where not only Buildings but Mountains are feen in Ruins ; that this was truly what Canaan is reprefented to be in the holy Scriptures, a Land of Hills and of Valleys, abounding with Corn, productive of Wine, and flowing as it were with Milk and Honey. Yet now its State is fo much alter'd, that if we were to meafure the Wickednefs of its Inhabitants by the Mifery of the Places that once furnifhed them with Habitations, we fhould not in the leaft doubt of the Reprefentations made by infpired Writers of the Sinfulnefs and Obftinacy of thefe People. There is another natural and

## Chap. I. from Aleppo to Jerusalem.

plain Obfervation arifes from contemplating the paft and prefent State of this famous Country, and it is this ; that the unanimous Inclination of ferws, Cbriftians, and Mabometans, upon very different Principles, to pay it an high Veneration, and to efteem many Places therein as peculiarly facred, is à Kind of perpetual Teftimony in Favour of Revealed Religion. It is impoffible that Nations, differing fo widely in their Manners and Cuftoms, as well as in their Religious Notions, fhould for fo many A ges agree in obtruding Cheats upon each other. We may add to this, that the Samaritan Scripture is another ftrong Proof of the Sincerity and Authenticity of the Mofaick Writings; for nothing but Truth could have united the Samaritans and Feros, whofe Hatred to each other has now fubfifted for many Centuries, in concurring to vouch any Fact. To this, indeed, it may be objected, that they differ about the Mountains Gerizim and Ebal, in which they directly contradict each ohher : But when this Objection is maturely weigh'd, it will be found to fortify extremely the Credit of this Teftimony, becaufe it is the cleareft and moft unexceptionable Proof, that there is no Kind of Collufion between the two Nations, but that the refpective Perfuafions of each, with regard to the Copies of the Scriptures they have amongtt them, is founded upon Motives in which they cannot be deceived. It is very true, that there is a prodigious Mixture of fabulous Superfition in the Traditions of all thefe Nations; but as this is natural, and indeed unavoidable in Things of this Kind, it is fo far from derogating from the material and fubftantial Proofs, which are, if I may be allow'd the Expreffion, over-grown and cover'd with this Bark of Folly, that it rather fortifies the Evidence in the Sentiments of a fober and ingenuous Mind. For what Kind of Hiftory is there, which has come down to us pure and unmixed with Fable? The Eaftern Nations were always famous for it, the Egyptions had it
in a high Degree, it paffed from them to the Greeks and as to the Hiftory of the elder Ages of Rome, it was fo intermixed therewith, that in the Times of Cicero they were farce able to diftinguifh any beyond the capital Facts that were to be relied on. But does it follow, that becaufe Men have always loved to amplify and extend the Truth, therefore there was no fuch Thing? Shall we, becaufe it is very difficult to fettle the precife Situation of ancient Cities that make fo great a Figure in the beft Authors, doubt whether thofe Cities ever were in the World? Or, becaufe the Oriental Chronicles of all the ancient Empires differ widely from ours, fhall we peremptorily decide, that there never were any fuch, notwithftanding that manifeft Monuments of the flourifhing State of thofe ancient Empires remain even to our Times? Are the Antiquities at Tcbelminar in Perfia, of Tadmor or Palnira in the Wildernefs, of Balbeck, or Heliopolis feen by our Author, to be rejected as Fancies or Fables? And, if thefe are all Matters of Fact, do they not more clearly prove the Hiftories of paft Times, than all the Chronicles in the World? Men may write fabulous Hiftories, or may forge Records, but fuch Monuments of ancient Times are beyond the Reach of Fiction or Forgery, fo that Incredulity, with refpect to them, is not only irrational and abfurd, but downright Madnef.
We may upon the whole reft fatisfied, that what our Author has delivered to us in his Travels, and in his Remarks, deferve both Credit and Refpect, and are capable of furnifhing us with Materials for very folid and ufeful Meditations. But it is now Time to proceed and quitting the Limits of the Turkijb Empire, to purfue our Journey with frefh Guides, and frefh Views, into other Regions, which will afford us new Pleafures and additional Helps, to the Increafe of our Knowledge, and the Improvement of our Underftandings.


## CHAPTERII.

Containing Travels through the Empire of Perfia, and the Pro vinces depending thereon; with a large Account of their Climate, Soil, and Produce, the Conftitution of the Empire, and Nature of the Shah's Government, the Laws, Manners, Religion, Commerce, Diverfions, $\mathcal{O}^{\circ} c$. not only of the native Perfians, but of the feveral Nations living in their Country, and fubject to the Shah, with a brief Account of the late Revolutions in that Empire,

## SECTION I.

The Travels of Sir John Chardin, by the Way of the Black-Sea, through the Countries of Circafia, Mingrelia, the Country of the Abcas; Georgia, Armenia, and Media into Perfa Proper; with a very curious and accurate Account not only of the Countries through which he travelled, but of the Manners and Cuftoms, Religion and Government, Commerce and Inclinations of the feveral Nations that inhabit them ; Relations fo much the more curious, as thefe Countries, and the People dwelling in them, had not been tollerably defcribed before by any Author.
I. A fuccinct Introductory Account of the worthy Perfon by rwhom thefe Travels were written, of the Value of them, and of the peculiar Excellencies by wobich they are difitinguifbed. 2. An Account of the Thracian Bofphorus, of the delightful Profpects in Sailing through it, and the beautiful Countries upon the Coaft. 3. The Autbor's Arrival at Caffa, a Defcription of the Country of the Crim Tartars, and of the Condition, Cuyfoms, and Manners of that Nation. 4. The Cherks, Abcas, and otber barbarous Nations that boweverer file themfelves Chriftians, largely defcribed, weith fome very currious Remarks on the State and Strength of thofe Nations. 5. A more particular Relation of the Mingrelians, Cara Cherks, or Black Circaffians, and otber Inbabitants of that Country, knowen to the Ancients by the Name of Colchis. 6. The large and fruitfull Country of Mingrelia exaclly defcribed, woitt a View of the Government, Forces, Way of Living, and difolute Manners of all Ranks and Degrees of People wwbo inbabit it. 7. Of the terrible Corruption, in Point of Religion, wwhich reigns among/t them, and from wwbence it appears to be a weild and extravagant Mixture of Atbeijnand and Superflition, kept up by the Arts and Frauds of their Priefts, who are little better than Cheats and Yuglers. 8. The Principality of Guriel, and the King dom of Imeretta, anciently called Iberia, weith the Countries adjacent, defcribed, and the Manner in wobich they loft their Independency, and became Tributaries to the Turks. 9. The Author continues bis Journey tbrough Mingrelia, is prefent at the Ceremony of Baptizing two Cbildren, of which be gives a large and particular Account. 1o. The famous Mountain Caucafus defrribed, and a View of the Condition of its prefent Inbabitants. II. A large and circumpfantial Detail of the Country and Inbabitants of Georgia, with a Defoription of the capital City of Teffis, and the State of the Roman Catbolick Miffonaries in that Country. 12. The Author's Travels througb the Countries, at the Foot of Mount Taurus, forming a little Principality inbabited by the Coffacs. 13. An Account of the famous City of Erivan, and of the Country of Armenia, of which. it is the Capital, as well as of the People zwbo inhabit it. 14. A Digreffion concerning the Marriages of the Perfians, and the Reafons weby Divorces, thoughblarwful amonget them, are feldom praczijed. 15. The Autbor's Jubfequent Obfervations in bis Travels through Armenia, and of the Fortrefes ereited to prevent the Incurfions of the Turks. 16. Of the noble Province of Azerbeyan, anciently called Media, woith an Account of a fpurious Kind of Cocbineal prepared by the Inbabitants. 17. A Defoription of the large populous and magnifcent City of Tauris, the prodigious Fertility of the Country round about it, and a Comparifon between the different Climates of Media and Parthia, veitb many other currious Particulars. I8. A Defcription of the laft-mentioned Province, and of the Cities of Ebher and Casbin, in tbe Neigbbourbsod of rubich grow the fineft Grapes in the World. In. An Account of the famous City of Rey, formerly one of the larget in Afia, of wbich there are now jcarce any Ruins remaining. 20. The City of Com and the
glorious Tombs of the Perfian Saints therein, fully defrribed, woith an Account of the adjacent Country, 21. A Defcription of the City of Cafhan, with an Account of the feveral Manufactures carried on there, and of the fruitful Country about it. 22. The Autbor's Account of two other Roads leading from Warlaw to Ifpahan, and from IIpahan to Mofcow. 23. Remarks and Obfervations upon the foregos ing Section.

WE have very large and confiderable Col- Mark of his Favour, beftow'd upon him in the Month lections of Travels through the Empire pire of Perraa, and the Provinces depending upon it; and indeed there are very few Countries that better deferve to be vifited, or which afford either the Traveller himfelf, or whoever perufes his Accounts, more Entertainment than Perfia. Notwithftanding this, many Inconveniences would arife from inferting numerous Accounts of Travels through this Country, becaufe of Neceffity it muft produce many Repetitions, which would appear tedious and troublefome, as well as perplexing to the Reader. The Method therefore that we fhall take, is to give in this Section the Travels of Sir Fobn Cbardin, from Conftantinople into the Perfian Dominions ; and in the fubfequent Sections, we Chall give a Defcription, in as regular a Method as is poffible, of the whole Empire, diftinguifhed into its feveral Provinces, with whatever occurs remarkable of worthy of Notice in the Works of other celebrated Travellers, fo as to preferve the Marrow and Quintefcence of their Relations, without embarraffing ourfelves with Things of lefs Confequence and Particulars, that without the leaft Prejudice to the Defign of this Work may be as well omitted. By this Means we fhall bring into a reafonable Compafs al! that is requifite, and give a diftinet and clear Notion of the paft and prefent Condition of one of the moft powerful and famous Empires of the Earth.

The Reafon we made Choice of Sir Jobn Cbardin's Travels, by way of Introduction, was his taking a different Route from moft other Travellers, viz. by the Black Sea, and the Countries that border upon it, which are farce defcribed by any other Traveller, or at leaft are defcribed by none with equal Plainnefs and Perfpicuity. It rifes from hence, that, generally fpeaking, we have only confufed and imperfect Conceptions concerning thefe Countries and their Inhabitants, which however it is of fome Importance that we fhould know more diftinctly, becaufe as they made a great Figure in ancient Hiftory, fo it is not at all impoffible, that as low and defpicable as they now feem, they may hereafter come to change their Circumftances, and appear with new Luftre, if not in ours, yet in the Eyes of our Pofterity. It is very evident, that from their Situation they are very confiderable, and if their Inhabitants were well governed, and lived in tolerable Correfpondence with each other, they might be now, as they were heretofore, equally formidable to the Grand Signior, Succeffor to the Greek Monarchs of Confantinople, and to the Perfian Emperors. We have a late Inftance of this in the Cafe of Nadir Sbab, who received from thefe defpifed and barbarous People, that Check which proved firft fatal to his Authority, and in the End to his Perfon. The Author of thefe Travels was a Gentleman of a good Family in France, and of a liberal Education; he applied himfelf to Commerce very early, and profecuted with great Succefs the moft confiderable Branch of Foreign Trade, that of dealing as a Merchant in Jewels, which he underftood perfectly, and by which he acquired, with an unfpotted Character, a very large and affuent Fortune. He made feveral Excurfions into the Eaft, by different Roads, and refided feveral Years in Perfara, had very great and uncommon Opportunities of entring deeply into the Subjects of which he has treated and digefted his Accounts, with great Accuracy and Perficuity, fo that they have been efteemed not only here, but in France, and throughout Europe in general, as the moft perfect in their Kind that have hitherto a ppeared.

This Gentleman, when the Perfecution againft the Proteftants broke out in France, came over hither, and brought with him great Riches. He was received with much Refpect at Court, and King Cbarles the IId, as a
of March, 1693, the Honour of Knighthood. He publifhed the firlt. Edition of his Travels in our Language, in a large Folio Volume, but they have been fince feveral Times printed with many Corrections, great Improvements, and confiderable Augmentations in French. He continued to refide here, and purchafed a confiderabie Eftate, fo that in the Reign of Queen Anne, we find him frequently mentioned by fuch as took Occafion to fhow how much the Wealth of England was improved, and its Trade increafed, by encouraging Foreigners of the Proteftant Religion, to come and fettle amongft us, Sir Jobn died at a good old Age, on Cbriftmas Day, i712. He left behind two Sons, and feveral Daughters.

His eldeft Son was created a Baronet of this Kingdom by his late Majefly King George the Firft, and having purchafed from Grantbam Andreves, Efq; of Sunbury; the noble Seat of Kempton-Park; in the County of Middlefex; and not far from Hampton-Court; fix'd there, and is ftill living and unmarried. The old Gentleman employ'd a great Part of the latter Period of his Life, in compleating his Book of Travels, and intended, as himfelf informs us, to have written a diftinct Treatife, explaining a great Variety of Paffages in the Scripture, from the Cuftoms and Manners of the Eaftern Nations, with which no Man was better acquainted than he; but by many unlucky Accidents was hindered from fulfilling that Promife; to the no fmall Concern of the learned World, who expected with great Impatience fo ufeful and inftructive a Book, of writing which he was extremely capable; and of feeing any Thing of the fame kind, the Publick fince his Deceafe feem to defpair.
2. Sir Fobn Cbardin left Paris, Aug. 17, 1671, with an Intention to go to the East-Indies, and travelling by way of Milan, Venice, and Florence, arrived at Leghorn in the End of OEFober, and embarking in a Ship, under a Dutch Convoy, arrived at Smyrna, Marcb 2, 1672 and twelve Days after at Conflantinople. He remained in this City four Months; and in the mean Time there happening a Quarrel between the Grand Vizier and the French Ambaffador, which caufed a Report, that the Grand Vizier intended to arreft the Ambaffador, and all the French Nation, he was afraid that his Goods; which were very rich, and very confiderable in Quantity; would be feized; and fo fought all Means to get out of Confantinople, and to proceed on his Journey to Perfa.

The Caravans in thofe hot Months did not travel but the Port being about to fend a new Commander; with fome Soldiers and Money; as they do yearly, to the Fort of Azoph, which ftands upon the Lake Mrootis, he obtain'd Paffage in a Turkifb Saick belonging to that Fleet, and embark'd, Fuly 27, at a Port in the Thracian Bofphorus. This Chanel, which is about fifteen Miles in Length, and about two in Breadth; in moft Parts, but in others lefs, fo called, becaufe an Ox may fwim over it, is certainly one of the lovelieft Parts of the World; for the Shores are rifing, and cover ${ }^{i}$ d over with Houfes of Pleafure, Woods, Gardens; Parks, de lightful Profpects, and Wilderneffes, watered with Thoufands of Springs and Fountains: The Paffage through it, in fair Weather, is exceeding diverting, by reafon of the great Number of Barks which are continually failing to and fro; and the Profpect of Conftontinople from the Top of it, which is about two Miles diftant, is the moft charming that ever Eyes beheld. There are four Caftles ftanding by it, all well fortified with great Guns, two of them eight Miles from the BlackSea, and two at the Mouth of the Channel, which is the moft dangerous Place for Shipwrecks in all the Euxinesea.
3. On the 3 d of $A u g u f f_{\text {, }}$ in the Morning, he arrived at Caffa, a Port in the Tauric Cberfonefe, or Peninfulla,
fo called, becaufe it was firft inhabited by the Scytbians of Mount Taurus. It is chirty-five Leagues from North to South, and fifty-five from Eaft to Weft. The Ifthmus, that joins it to the Continent, is not above a League in Breadth. It is inhabited by the Crim Tartars, who dwell in Cities and Towns; whereas their Neighbours the Nogays and Calmuc's dwell in Tents, as the reft do on the Continent.

Caffa is a great Town built at the Bottom of a little Hill, upon the Sea-fhore, and encompaffed with ftrong Walls, that advance a little into the Sea. It hath two Caftles, the one, which ftands on a rifing Ground on the South-fide, is large, and commands all the Parts thereabouts, and is the Refidence of a Bafha; the other is not fo big, but is well furnifhed with Guns. 'They reckon about 4000 Houfes in it, of which about 3200 are Mabometons, Turks, and Tartars, and the reft Cbri'תions, Grecks, and Armenions. The Houfes are fmall, and built of Earth; as are alfo their Bazars, Mofques, and Baths. The Soil about it is dry and fandy, bearing little Fruit, and the Water is bad, but the Air is very pure and wholefome. All Provifions are very cheap and good, Mutton being not above a Farthing a Pound, and other Things proportionable. The Road of Caffa is Thelter'd from the Winds, except on the North and South-Eaft Sides, and the Ships lie clofe to the Shore fafely in ten or twelve Fathom Water. There is a great Trade driven here in Salt-fifh and Caveare, which being taken out of the Lake Mreotis, that is twenty-fix Miles diftant from it, in great Quantities, are tranfported into Europe, and as far as the Indies. They alfo export Corn, Butter, and Salt, with which they furnifh Constantinople, and feveral other Places, for the Caffa Butter is the beft in all Turkey.

From Caffa he went in a Ship bound for Colcbis, Aug. 30. and the next Day arrived at Donflow, or the Salt-pits, fifty Miles from Caffa, on the Shore. Here are great Marfhes of Salt, which is made by letting in the Sea-water, and fuffering it to congeal by the Sun. The People fay, that two hundred Veffels are laden here with Salt yearly, paying only 3 s. a Day to thofe that load it. About a Mile from the Shore is an Habitation of the Tartars, where there is not above ten or twelve Houfes with a little Mofque, and round about it a great Number of Tents, with feveral Wagons clofe cover'd, which ferve them inftead of Houfes. The Tents for themfelves are very handfome, being made with Poles, and cover'd with large light Furs wellftretched upon them; their Infide is commonly hung with Tapeftry, and the Floor is laid with the fame. Every Eamily hath two other Tents belonging to them, cover'd with a great Sarplar of Wool, one for their Servants, and Kitchen, in which is a Pit five Foot deep, to make a Fire in to drefs their Meat, and the other for their Horfes and Cattle.

They fore up their Corn and Forage in Magazines under Ground, which they cover fo exactly, that none can find them but themfelves. They can remove their Tents with a fmall Trouble, and in a very little Time, and carry them away in Carts drawn by Oxen and Horfes, of which they breed a great Number. They profefs the Mabometan Religion, but mix with it ftrange fuperititious and ridiculous Opinions of Fortune-telling and Divination. From Donflowe he fail'd all along in the Channel to Cape Cuodos, which Ptolemy calls Cirocondoma, where the Coants that bound the Lake Mrootis, which are very high Lands, are feen at about thirty Miles Diftance.
4. From the Channel of the Lake Maotis, to Mingrelia, is reckon'd 600 M iles along the Coafts, which confift of pleafant Woods, inhabited by a Sort of Tartars, called Circafians, and by the Turks, Cberks, but fo thinly, that the Country looks like a Defart. The Ancients called them Zageans, or Mountaineers; and Pomponius Mela, Sargacians. They are neither Subjects nor Tributary to the Port, becaufe their Country producing nothing valuable, the Turks think it not worth the Toil of conquering it. The Veffels that come from Confantinople co Mingrelia trade with this People, but with their Arms in their Hands, and by Hoflages, for they
are Infidelity and Perfidioufnefs itfelf, and will never fail to fteal where they find an Opportunity. The Trade with them is managed by Exchange, the Cberks bringing down Slaves of all Sexes and Ages, Honey, Wax, Leather, Jackals, Zandava, and other Beafts Skins, for fuch Commodities as they want.

Circaflia is a pleafant Country, and the Soil is very fruitful, bringing forth great Plenty of all Sorts of Fruit without Trouble, as Cherries, Apples, Pears, Walnuts; but their chief Wealth confifts in Cattle, as wellfhaped Horfes, which are fo fwifr and good, that they will tire the wild Beafts, and catch them in plain Courfe; Goats, Deer and Sheep, the Wool of which is as fine as that of Spain, which the Mufcorites fetch to make Felts. They fow no Grain but Millet for their own Bread, and Barley for their Horfes and their Women till and manure their Ground: Their Drink is Water and Boza, which is a Liquor made of Millet, as intoxicating as Wine : They live in wooden Huts, and go almoft naked. Every one is a fworn Enemy to thofe that live in the Provinces round about him. Their Beds are made of Sheep-Skins fowed together, and ftuffed with Millet-Leaves, beaten in the Threfhing as fmall as Oatchaff. They were formerly Chriftians, but now have no Religion; no not fo much as the Light of Nature among them, fave what they place in the Obferving certain fuperftitious Ceremonies, borrow'd both from the Cbriftians and Mabometans.

The Abca's Border upon the Cberks, poffeffing about an 100 Miles upon the Sea-Coafts, between Mingrelia and Circofia. They are not fo favage as the Cberks, but are as much inclined to Thieving and Robbery; fo that the Merchants trade with them with the like Caution, and after the fame Manner. September the roth, he arrived at I/gaour, a Port in Mingrelia, where all the Veffels that trade thither lie. It is a Defart Place, without any Habitations, only the Traders that come thither build themfelves Huts and Booths of Boughs for the Time of their Abode, which is ufually as long as they find themfelves fafe from the $A b c a$ 's.
5. Colchis or Mingrelia is fituated at the End of the Black-Sea: It is bounded on the Eaft by the little Kingdom of Imeretta, on the South by the Black-Sea, on the Weft by the $A b c a$ 's, and on the North by Mount Caucajus. The Corax and Pbafis, two famous Rivers in the ancient Hiftories, now called Codlours and Rione, part it, the firlt from the $A b c a^{\prime}$ s, and the other from Imeretta. The Length of it is about 110 Miles, and the Breadth fixty. It was once fortified againft the Abca's, by a Wall of fixty Miles in Length, which is long fince demolifhed, and become a thick Foreft.
The Inhabitants of Caucafus, that border upon Colcbis, are the Alanes, Suanes, Gigues, Caracioles, or CaraCberks, i. e. Black Circaffans, fo called by the Turks, not from their Complection, for they are the faireft People in the World, but from their Country, becaufe it is always darken'd with Fogs and Clouds. They were alfo anciently Chriftians, but now profefs no Religion, but live by Robbery and Rapine, having nothing that can entitle them to Humanity but Speech. They are very tall and portly, and their very Looks and Speech fhew their Savage Difrofitions, being the moft refolute Affaffins, and daring Robbers in the World.
The ancient Kingdom of Colcbis was much larger than Mingrelia now is, extending itfelf to the Lake Mrootis on the one Side, and Iberia on the other. The Country itfelf is uneven, full of Hills and Mountains, Valleys and Plains. It is almoft covered with Woods, except the manured Lands, which are but few, and thofe preferved by grubbing up the Roots, that are continually fpreading into them. The Air is temperate, as to Heat and Cold, but very unwholfome, by Reafon of the continual Wet, which being heated by the Sun, breeds Peftilences, and feveral other Diftempers. It abounds with Waters, which defcend from Mount Caucafus, and fall into the Black-Sea. The principal Rivers are the Coddours, of old called Corax; the Socon called by Arrian, Terflen, and by Ptolemy, Thaflaris; the Langus, of old Aftulpbus; the Cobi called by Arrian, Cobo; the Cimifcari, called anciently, Cioneus; the

Tacbers

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into
Persia.
Tecbeur called by Arrian, Sigemus, and the Scbenifcari, change for neceffary Conveniencies; yet when they have i. e. River-horfe, called therefore by the Greeks, Hippos: And the Abafcia, called by Arrian, Caries; and Polemy, Caritus; which wwo laft mix with the Pbofis about twenty Miles from the Place where it falls into the Sea.

The Soil is very bad, and produceth little Corn, or Pulfe, and the Fruits are almoft wild, without Tafte, and unwholfome, unlefs it be their Vines, which thrive well there, and produce moft excellent Wine. The Earth is fo moift in Seed-time, that when they fow their Wheat and Barley, they never plow it at all, but fprinkle it upon the Earth; for they fay, that fhould they plough it, the Land would be fo foft, that all their Corn would fall. They plough their Lands for their other Corn with Plough-fhares of Wood, which make as good Furrows as Iron, becaufe their Land is very moift and tender. Their common Grain is Gomm, which is as fmall as Coriander Seed, and refembles Millet. Of this they make a Pafte, which they ufe for Bread, and prefer it before Wheat; which is not to be wonder'd at, for it is very acceptable to the Palate, and conducive to Health, being cooling and laxative. They have alfo great Plenty of Millet, fome Rice, with Wheat and Barley, but very fcarce. The People of Quality eat wheaten Bread as a Rarity, but the meaner Sort very feldom or never tafte of it.

The ordinary Food of the Country is Beef and Pig, of which laft they have great Plenty, and the beft in the World. They have alfo Goats Flefh, but it is lean, and not well tafted. Their Wild-fowl is very good, but fcarce. Their Venifon is the Wild Boar, Hart, Stag, Fallow Deer, and Hare, all which are excellent Food. They have Partridges, Phearfants, and Quails in Abundance, with fome River Fowl and wild Pidgeons, which are good Meat, and as big as a cramm'd Chicken. Their Nobility fpend their whole Time in the Field, ufing Lanner-hawks, Gof hawks, Hobbies, and others, for their Sports, to catch Water-fowl and Pheafants; but their moft delightful Paftime is the Flight of the Falcon at the Heron, which they catch only for the Tuft upon his Crown, to put upon their Bonnets ; for they let him go again when they have cut it off, that it may grow up a-new.
6. Mount Caucafus produceth a great Number of wild Beafts, as Tygers, Leopards, Lions, Wolves, and Jacals, which laft make great Havock amongft their Cattle and Horfes, and often difturb their Houfes with their dreadful Howlings. They have large Numbers of Horfes, and thofe very good ones, which every Man almoft keeps in great Store, becaufe their Keeping ftands them in little or Nothing, for they neither hooe them, nor feed them with Corn. They have no Cities nor Towns, except two by the Sea-fide; but their Houfes are fo thick up and down the Country, that you can hardly travel a Mile, but you meet with three or four. There are nine or ten Caftles in the Country, of which the chiefeft is called Ruis, and it is the Court of the Prince. Their Houfes are all built with Timber, which is plentiful, and the poorer Sort never raife above one Story, nor the rich above two. The lower Rooms are always furnifhed with Beds and Couches to lie down on or to fit upon, becaufe of the Moifture of the Earth, but are inconvenient, becaufe they have no Windows nor Chimneys.

They have but one Room for their whole Family, and fo lie all together. The Men are well fhaped, and the Women fo handfome, that they feem born for commanding Love. They all paint their Eye-brows, and their Faces abominably. They drefs themfelves with all the Curiofity they can, their Habit being like the Perfians, and their Head Attire like the European Women, even to the Curling of their Hair. They are witty and civil, but to ballance that, haughty, deceitful, cruel, and impudent. The Men have alfo as many mifchievous Qualities, and there is no Wickednefs to which they are not addicted; but that which they moft practife and delight in is Theft. This they make their Employment and Glory. They juttify it as lawful to have many Wives, becaufe, they fay, they bring us many Children, which we can fell for ready Money, or ex-

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change for neceflaty Conveniencies yet when they have
not wherewithal to maintain them, they hold it a Piece of Charity to murder Infants new born, as alfo they do fuch as are fick and paft Recovery, becaufe, they fay, they free them from a deal of Mifery.
The Gentlemen of this Country have full Power ovet the Lives and Eftates of their Tenants, to fell and difpofe of their Wives and Children as they think fit, and every Country-man is bound to furnifh his Lord with as much Corn, Wine, Cattle, and other Provifions as he wants. The Lords decide the Quarels of their Vafials ; but if they themfelves are at Variance, they decide it by Arms, which makes them go all armed with a Lance, Bow and Sword. Their Habit is peculiar ; they wear very little Beard, and cover their Heads with a thin Felc Cap in Summer, and a furr'd Bonnet in Winter : Over their Bodies they wear little Shirts, which fall to their Knees, and tuck into a ftrait Pair of Breeches; but they never have above one Shirt, and one Pair of Breeches, which lafts them a Year, and in all that Time never wafh them above thrice, only once or twice a Week they fhake it (for a certain Purpofe) over the Fire.
The whole Fanily, withouc Diftinction, eat all together, both Males and Females. The King with all his Train, to his very Grooms, and the Queen with her Maids and Servants. They dine in the open Courts in fair Weather, and if it be cold, they make a roufing Fire, for Wood cofts them nothing. Upon WorkingDays the Servants have nothing but Gomm, and the Niatters Pulfe, dried Fifh, or Flefh; but on Holydays, or when they make Entertainments, they kill an Hog, Ox, or Cow, if they have no Venifon. They are very great Drinkers, both Men and Women, and at their Feafts provoke their Friends, as much as they can, to Drinking. They drink their Wine pure, and beginning with Pints, proceed to much greater Quantities. Their Difcourfe at their Merry-Meetings is, with the Men, about their Wars and Robberies, and among their Women obfcene Tales of their Amours.

Mingrelia is but thinly peopled, by reafon of their Wars, and the vaft Numbers fold to the Perfians and Turks by the Nobility. All Trade in it is driven by way of Barter, for they have no fet Price of Money among them; the Species current are Piaftres, Dutch Crowns, and Abaffi's, which are made in Georgia, and ftamp'd with the Perfian Stamp. The Revenues of the Prince of Mingrelia amount at molt to 20,000 Crowns, which arifes from the Cuftoms of Goods exported and imported, the Slaves he fells, Impofitions and Fines; and this he lays up, for his Slaves ferve him for nothing, and his Crown-Lands furnifh his Court with more Provifion than he can fpend. He is not able to raife above 4000 Men fit to bear Arms, and thofe are all Cavalry for the moft Part, for he has not above 300 Foot to join with them. His Court, upon folemn Feftivals, confits of 200 Gentlemen, but upon other Days of about 120 .
7. The Religion of the Colcbians was formerly the fame with the Greeks, being converted, as the Ecclefiaftical Hiftorians fay, in Confantine's Time, by a Slave: But the Mingrelians fay, St. Andrezo preach'd among them in the Place call'd Pigivitas, where now flands a Church, whither the Catbolicos, or chief Bifhop goes once in his Life-time to make the Oil call'd Myrone by the Greeks; but now the Mingrelians are fallen into a profound Abyls of Ignorance and Darknefs, and have not the leaft Idea of Fairh and Religion, but look upon Life Eternal, the Day of Judgment, and the Refurrection, as meer Fables deviled by Men. Nor do their Clergy perform any Ecclefiaftical Duties, for there is hardly one of them that can either write or read. They have utterly loft the true Knowledge of the Service of God; but the Priefts make a publick Profeffion of foretelling Things to come, and make the People believe, that their Books fhow them the Courfe of future Events.

The Catbolicos of Mingrelia is Head of all the Clergy of that Country, as alfo of Abca, Gureil, Mount Caucafus, and Imeretta; but the Prince appoints or depofeth him as he pleafth. His Revenue is very great,

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for he has 400 Vaffals under him, who furnifh his Houfe with all Things neceffary for human Life, and many Superfluities. He fells their Children to the Turks; and when he vifits the Diocefes under his Jurifdiction, it is not to reform the Clergy, nor inftruct the People, but to fpoil them of their Goods, and rake together great Sums. He will not confecrate a Bifhop for lefs than 600 Crowns, nor fay a Mafs for the Dead under 800 , nor any other Mafs under one hundred.
The Sanctity of this Prelate confifts in a continual Abftinence from Flefh and Wine in Lent, and in long Prayers Day and Night; but he is fo ignorant, that he can hardly read his Breviary and Miffal. He has fix Bifhops under him, who take no Care of the Souls of their People, nor ever vifit their Churches and Diocefes. They fuffer the Priefts to live in all Manner of Errors, and the People to contaminate with themfelves the groffeft Vices; they underftand not the Form of Baptifm, let Polygamy be practifed, and permit the Morhers to bury their new-born Children alive. All their Bufinefs is in Feafting and Banqueting, where they are drunk almoft every Day. They are rich, and go very fumptuoully apparel'd, oppreffing their Vaffals, and felling their Wives and Children to maintain their Luxury. They abftain from Flefh, as the Greek Bifhops do, and place the whole Chriftian Religion in the Practice of Fafting, and think not themfelves obliged to do any other Duty. Their Cathedral is pretty neatly kept, and well adorn'd with Images, which they deck with Gold and Jewels, believing, that in fo doing they fatisfy God's Juftice, and attone for their Sins. They are cloathed in Scarlet and Velvet, as the Seculars are, and differ from them only in this, that they wear their Beards long, and their Bonnets black, round, and high.
There are allo in Mingrelia certain Monks, of the Order of St. Bafil, who wear the fame Habit, and live after the Manner of the Greek Monks, wearing black Bonnets, eating no Flefh, and fuffering their Hair to grow; but they mind nothing of Religion, but to obferve their Fafts exactly. They have alfo Nuns of the fame Order, who obferve their Fafting Days, and wear a black Veil, but they have no Nunneries, nor are under any Vows or Subordination, but quit their Habit and Temperance when they pleafe.
The Priefts of Mingrelia are very numerous, but a Sort of miferable Creatures. They till their own Ground, and the Lands of their Lords, being no lefs Slaves than the Seculars; nor have they any Refpect fhewn them, but when they blefs their Food at Meals, or fay Mafs. Their Parifh-Churches have no Bells, but they call the People together by knocking with a great Stick upon a Board, and they are kept as nafty as Stables, the Images being foul and broken, and cover"d with Duft. The Wormip which they pay to their Images is idolatrous, for they adore them not with a relative Adoration, but pay their Devotion to the material Subftance. They worfhip fuch moft, as are fineft adorn'd, or fam'd for their Cruelty, and if they fwear by any of thefe, they will never break the Oath. St. Giobas is one of their mof formidable Images, and him they will not approach nearer than they can juft fee him, but pray to him, and leave their Prefent at that Diftance; for they report, that he kills all that approach him very near.
The Chriftian Saints they have no Value for, unlefs it be St. George, whom they account their chief Saint, as do alfo the Georgians, Mufcovites, and Greeks. Their Mals is after the Greek Manner, and the Priefts celebrate it without any other Sacerdotal Habit but their Surplices. Their Cup or Chalice is a Goblet of Wood, and the Cover is of the fame Matter ; and their Patten is a Wooden Difh. In Lent they never fay Mafs, but on Saturdays and Sundays, for they hold, that the Communion fpoils their Fafting. They confecrate unleavened or leavened Bread, without any Difference, and never mix Water with Wine, unlefs it be.very ftrong.
They laugh at Tranfubftantiation, and fay, How can Clirif ger into a Loaf? For what Reafon thould he leave Heaven to come down to the Earth? They anoint the Eoreheads of their Children with the Oil called My.
rone, as foon as they are born ; but baptize them not till a long Time after, and then they wafh them all over with Water : but none will baptife their Children till he is able to make a Feaft for the Prieft, God-fathers and Guefts, and that is the Reafon many of their Chil dren die unbaptized. They do not believe that Ordination imprints a Character not to be defaced, and therefore they ordain a-new fuch Priefts as have been degraded. Their Marriages are a Contract by Way of Bargain and Sale, for the Parents of the Maid agree upon the Price with the Perfon that defires her; the Price of a divorced Woman is the leaft, of a Widow fomething more, but of a Maid mont. When the Bargain is made, the young Man may company with the Damfel till the Money is paid, and it is no Scandal if the be with Child. If any one has married a barren Woman, or of an ill Difpofition, they hold it not only lawful, but requifie to divorce her, as a Match not made by God, who only does good. There is none that underftands the Bible, or reads it, but the Women will repeat feveral Stories of the Gofpel, which they have by Tradition. They obferve the fame Fafts almof as the Greeks, for they keep the four great Lents, viz. the firft before Eafter, which is forty eight Days; that before Cbrifmas, which is forty Days; St. Peter's Faft, which is near a Month; and the laft, which the Eattern Chriftians obferve in Honour of the Virgin Mary, which continues fifteen Days. They make the Sign of the Crofs when they drink Wine and eat Pork, but not as any Mark of Chriftianity. Their Prayers are all addrefs'd to their Idols for their temporal Benefits, viz. their own Profperity, or Ruin of their Enemies, They offer Sacrifices like the feres and Gentiles. They never make Holiday upon Sundays, or abftain from Works but at the Feftivals of Chrilmas and Eafler, which they celebrate only in Eating and Drinking to Excefs in their Houfes. Their greateft Feftivals are when an Idol is carried through their Country, when they put on their beft Cloaths, make a great Feaft, and get ready a Prefent for the Idol. Their Mourning for the Dead is altogether barbarous, and like that of People in Defpair, the Women rend their Cloaths, tear their Hair and Flefh, beat their Breafts, cry, yell, and gnafh with their Teeth, like People mad or poffeffed ; the Mer alfo tear their Cloaths, and thump their Breafts.
8. Their Neighbour Nations live and act after the fame Fafhion almoft in all Refpects, only they that live near Perfaa and $\mathcal{T} u r k e y$ are more civil in their Manners, and more honeft and juft in their Inclinations, whereas thofe that border upon the Tartars and Scytbians are more barbarous, having no Idea, or outward Form of Religion, and obferving no Laws.

On the Confines of Mingrelia lie the Principality of Guriel, and Kingdom of Imeretia. The Country of Guriel is very fmall, bordering upon Imeretta on the North, Mount Caucafus on the Eaft, Mingrelia on the Weft, and the Black-Sea on the South. It lies all along by the Sea-fhore from the River Pbafis to the Caftle Gonie, which is held by the Turks. The Inhabitants are of the fame Nature and Manners as the Mingrelians, and have the fame Inclinations to Lewdnefs, Robbery and Murther.
The Kingdom of Imeretia is fomething bigger than the Country of Guriel, and is the Iberia of the Ancients. It is encompaffed with Mount Caucafus, Colcbis, the Black-Sea, the Principality of Guriel, and Part of Georgia. It is twenty fix Miles in Length, and fixty Miles broad. The Country is full of Woods and Mountains, like Mingrelia, but the Valleys are more pleafant, and Plains more delicious, producing Corn, Pulfe, Cattle, and Herbs of all Sorts. There are fome Iron Mines. They have alfo fome Money current among them, which is coined in their Kingdom, and feveral Towns; but their Manners and Cuftoms differ little from the Mingrelians. The King has three good Caftles, one called Scander, feated on the Side of a Valley, and two on Mount Caucafus, call'd Regia and Scorgia, being both almoft inacceffible, as being built in Places that Nature itfelf has wonderfully fortified, the River Pbafis running between them, The Fortrefs

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of Cotatis was once in this Prince's Jurifdiction, but the Turks are now Mafters of it.

The King of Imeretta govern'd the Abca's, Mingrelians, and People of Guriel, after they had all four freed themfelves from the Power of the Emperors, firft of Conftantinople, and then of Trebijond: But in the laft Age, fetting up for themfelves, and revolting from one another, they were involved in continual Wars among themfelves, till calling in the Affiftance of the Turks, they were all made tributary to them. The King of Imeretta pays eighty Boys and Girls, from ten to twenty Years of Age. The Prince of Guriel pays forty-fix Children of both Sexes; and the Prince of Mingrelia fixty thoufand Ells of Linnen-Cloth made in that Country. The $A b c a$ 's feldom paid any Thing at firft, and now pay Nothing. The King of Imeretta, and Prince of Guriel, fend their Tribute to the Bafha of $A k a l z i k e$, but a Cbioux gathers it at Mingrelia.
9. Leaving IJagour, OEtober 4, he paffed by the Mouth of the River Alolphus, called Langur by the Mingrelians, one of the biggett Rivers in Mingrelia, and on the 5 th came to Anargbia, a Village two Miles from the Sea, confifting of two hundred Houfes, but fo far diftant the one from the other, that it is two Miles from the firft to the laft. Hither the Turks come to buy $^{2}$ Slaves, and have Barks ready to carry them away. It is thought, that the fair and large City, called Heraclea, ftood in the fame Place. At this Town there is Plenty of Provifions, and that very cheap, viz. Wild Pidgeons, Fowl, Porkers and Goats in Abundance, and Wine is plentiful. From Anargbia he fail'd up the River Astolpbus, and went to a Place called Sapias, which is the Name of two little Churches, of which the one is a Parifh Church of Mingrelia, and the other belongs to the Theatins, a Sort of Friers, who firt came into Mingrelia in 1627 , and were admitted there as Phyficians, and have built chemfelves feveral Apartments about it, after the Manner of the Country. They have fome Slaves, and two Families of Country People their Tenants. They have good Employment as Phyficians, but none will embrace their Religion, their very Slaves refufing to communicate in their Services; fo that they would have long fince left the Country, had it not been for the Honour of the Roman Church and their own Order.

After a Month's Stay with the Monks, it not being fafe to travel, becaufe of the Troubles in the Country, he' return'd again to Anargbia, and having hired a Turkj乃 Feluke, for Gonie, November the Itoh, ftaid till the 27th to take in Loading and Paffengers. While he ftaid here he was invited to two Chriftenings, and Cu riofity engaged him to be prefent at them. The Manner was this: The Prieft being fent for abour ten a Clock in the Morning, fat himfelf down in the Buttery, and fell to reading a Book half torn, about the Bignefs of a New Teftament, in Octavo. He read very faft, and with a low Voice, in fuch a carelefs Manner, as if he regarded not what he did, any more than the reft did what he faid, for the Father, Godfather and Child, who was about five Years old, went to and again all the Time.

When the Prieft had read an Hour, there was a Bucket of warm Water got ready, into which when the Prieft had poured about a Spoonful of Oil of Wallnuts, he bid the Godfather undrefs the Child; which done, he fet him upon his Feet in the Water, and wafhed his Body all over well, and then the Prieft gave him a fmall Quantity of Myrone, or Oil of Unction, with which he anointed the Top of his Head, Ears, Forehead, Nofe, Cheeks, Chin, Shoulders, Elbows, Back, Belly, Knees and Feet, the Prieft ftill reading, till the Godfather drefs'd the Child, and then the Father bringing in Wine, Bread and Pork, they all fat down to eat and drink, and were all extremely drunk before they parted. Their Mafs they perform with the fame Irreverence and Carelefsnefs.

Departing from Anargbia in fair and clear $W^{+}$eather, he difcover'd the high Lands of Trebifond on the one Side, and of the $A b c a$ 's on the other, and came to the River Kelnbel, which though not fo broad nor rapid as Langur, yet is deèper.
10. On the 3oth he came to the River Phafis, which taking its Rife in Mount Caucafus, runs at firft in a narrow Channel, though fwiffly, about Cotatis, and fometimes fo low, that it is eafily fordable; but where it difchargeth itfelf into the Sea, which is about ninety Miles from Cotatis, the Channel is a Mile and half broad, and fixty Fathom deep, being augmented in that Courfe by divers Streams. The Water is muddy and thick, but very good to drink. There are feveral Illands at the Mouth of it, which being covered with thick Woods, make a delightful Profpect. Arrian fays, That upon one of thele Ilands ftood the Temple of Rbea, but there are no Remains of it now, though there are fome Hiftorians who fay, it was ftanding in the time of the Grecian Empire, and was, in Zeno's Reign, dedicated to the Worfhip of Chrift. On this River, and the Black-Sea about it, are Plenty of Phea fants, or Pbafani, fo called from the River Pbafis. All the Coafts of this River are a low fandy Soil, cover'd with Woods fo thick, that one can hardly fee fix Paces up the Land.
On the 3oth, he arrived at Gonie, which is about thirty Miles from Pba/is, the Sea-Coafts being exceeding high Land and Rocks, fome being woody; and others naked. Gonie is a large Caftle, in the Territories of the Prince of Guriel, built four fquare, of hard and rough Stones of a very large Size. It hath no Trenches, but Walls 8nly, and two great Guns. In it are about thirty fmall poor Houfes, made of Boards, and without is a fmall Village of about as many more, all inhabited by Mariners, and other boorih People. There is a Cuftom-houfe here, the Officers whereof are extremely rude, and imperious, and fevere to the People of the Country, but extravagant to the Europeans, not regarding any Man's Perfon, nor any Recommendations from the Port, but fearching all Things itrietly, and exacting what they pleafe.

From Gonie he went to the Caftle of Akalzike. The Way lies over Mount Caucafus, which is one of the higheft Mountains, and one of the moft difficult to pafs over in the World. The Top is always cover'd with Snow, over which the Natives pals in a kind of Sandals, made flat like a Racket, to keep them from finking. It is ufual for the Guides here to make long Prayers to their Images to keep the Winds from rifing, for if the Wind be high, it buries all the Travellers in Snow.
This Mountain, though not inhabited for fome Leagues together in many Places, yet is fruifful to the very Top, yielding Honey, Wheat, Gom, Wine, and Fruits, and feeding Hogs, and large Cattle. The Vines are fo luxuriant, that they run up to the very Tops of their higheft Trees, fo that the People cannot gather them. The Country People dwell in wooden Huts, of which every Family has four or five. The Women grind their Corn as they want it, and bake their Bread on Stones, or upon their Hearth, and yet the Cruft is very white, and the Bread good. Thefe Inhabitants are for the moft part Chriftians, after the Georgian Ceremonies; they are frefh complection'd, and their Women are handfome. At the Bottom of the Hill is a very fair Valley, rich and fertile, being watered by the River Kur, which has many Villages, and in them the Ruins of feveral Caftles and Churches, which, the People fay, were deftroy'd by the Turks.

Akalzike is a Fortrefs built upon Mount Caucafus, fortified with double Walls, and flanqu'd with Towers built with Battlements, after the ancient Manner, and defended with a few grear Guns. Upon little Hillocks about it ftands a large Town of 400 Houfes, which have nothing of Antiquity, but two Armenian Churches It is inhabited by Turks, Armenians, Georgians, Greeks and 7 feres, who have their Churches and Synagogues. The Kiver Kur, anciently called Cyrus and Corus, which rifes in the Mount Coucafus, runs by it. A Bafhalodges in the Fortrefs, and his Soldiers are quarter'd in the ad. jacent Villages. It was built by the Georgians, from whom the Turks took it.

From Akalzike he went to Gory, and paffed by Usker, where the Iurks have a Cafte, built on a Rock, with' a

Garrifon

Garrifon and Cuftom-houfe, under the Command of a Sanziac, and two Leagues farther, you crofs over the Mountains which part Perfia and qurky, from whence you fee feveral Villages, in which are the Ruins of many Caftles, Fortreffes and Churches, the miferable Remains of the Grandure of the Georgians, before the Turkibs and PerfzanWars deftroyed them.

At the Foot of the Mountain lies a Town and Fortrefs, both called Surbam. It ftands on a very lovely Plain, full of Cenfes, Villages, Hillocks, Houfes of Pleafure and little Caftles belonging to the Georgian Lords, and has a Fortrefs containing a Garrifon of 100 Men. All the Country is very well tilled, and mighty pleafant and delightful, as far as Gory, except that on the Right-Hand lies a great City almoft in Ruins, as not containing above 500 Houtes inhabited, whereas formerly, by Report, it had 12000 .

Gory is a fmall City, feated on a Plain, between two Mountains, upon the Bank of the River Kur, and by it is a Caftle on an Hill, garrifon'd by native Perfians. The Houfes and Market-places are all built with Earth, but the People are all very rich and wealthy, and it is furnifhed with all Neceffaries for human Life at a cheap Rate.
11. From Gory he departed December the r6th, and travelling upon the Banks of the, River Kur, through pleafant Plains, with great Numbers of Villages on all Hands, he paffed through Calicala, a City almoft totally ruined, and came on the 17 th to Teflis, the Capital City of that Part of Georgia, lying in the Province of Cartbueli. The Country of Georgia, wnich is under the Jurifdiction of the Perfians, borders at this Day to the Eaft upon Circafia and Mujfory, to the Weft upon Armenia the Leffer, and to the North upon the BlackSea and the Kingdom of Imeretta. It is extended from Touris and Erzerom to Tanais, and was anciently call'd Albania. It is a Country very Woody and Mountainous, unlefs in the Middle, where it is more even and level. The River Kur runs through the Midft of it, and empties itfelf into the Cafpian Sea.

The Grecians are thought by fome to have called it Georgia, from Georgoi, Husbandmen; but others will have the Name deriv'd from St. George the Patron Saint of all the Chriftians of the Greek Church. The Temper of the Air is very kindly in Georgia, being very dry, cold in the Winter, and hot in the Summer. The fair Weather does not begin till May, but then it lafts till the End of Novernber. The Soil being well watered, produces all Sorts of Grain, Herbs and Fruits in Abundance, fo that a Man may live there deliciounly and cheap. Cattle are there very plentiful and good, as well the larger as leffer Sort; their Fowl is incomparable, ef. pecially their wild Fowl; their Boars Flefh is as plentiful and good as any in Colcbis; and, indeed, the common People live upon nothing elfe almoit but young Pigs, which are excellent Meat, and never offend the Stomach. The Cafpian Sea, which is next to Georgia, and the Kur, that runs quite through it, fupplies it with all Sorts of falt and frefh Fifh. There is no Country that drinks more and better Wine, and they tranfport great Quantities of it into Media, Armenia and to Ifpaban, for the King's Table. They have great Quantities of Sill, but know not how to weave it, and therefore they carry it into Turkey to Erzerom, and the Parts adjoining, and drive a great Trade with it. The Complection of the Georgians is moft beautiful, you can hardly fee an illfavour'd Perfon among them ; and the Women are fo exquifitely handfome, that it is hardly poffible to look upon them, and not be in Love with them. They are tall, clean limb'd, plump and full, but not over fat, and extreamly flender in the Wafte: But this Beauty they fpoil with painting and dreffing with fumptuous Habits and Jewels. The Georgians are naturally very witty, and would be as learned Men and great Artifts as any are in the World, if they had the Improvements of Arts and Sciences; but having a mean Education and bad Examples, they are drowned in Vice, are Cheats and Knaves, perfidious, treacherous, ungrateful and proud. They are irreconcileable in their Enmities,
for though they are not eafily provok'd, yet they preferve their Hacred inviolable.
Drunkennefs and Luxury are fuch common Vices The Church-men will they are not fcandalous in Georgia. The Church-men will be as drunk as others, and they keep male Slaves in their Houfes, which they ufe for their Concubines, at which No-body is offended, becaufe it is fo commonly practifed, that Cuftom makes it thought lawful; yea, and they fay, he that is not drunk at their great Feftivals of Eafler and Cbriftmas, cannot be a good Chriftian, and deferves to be excommunicated. The Georgians are very great Ufurers, and will lend no Money without a Pawn. The loweft Intereft they take is two per Cent. for a Month. The Women are as vicious and wicked as the Men, and contribute more than they to that general Debauchery, which overflows the Councry. In their common Converfation they are civil and courteous, grave and moderate. Their Habit is much like the Polonian, and their Bonnets like theirs, their Vefts are open before down the Breaft, and faftened with Buttons and Loops ; their Hofe and Shoes are like the Perfians, and their Womens Cloathing is wholly in the fame Tafte.

The Houfes of their Grandees, and all their publick Edifices, are built according to the Perfian Model, and they imitate the Perfans in their Sitting at Table, in their Beds, and Manner of Diet. The Nobility exercife an abfolute Tyranny over the People, who are their Vaffals, making them labour as long as they pleafe for them, without Food or Wages, challenging a Right over their Eftates, Liberty and Lives, and felling their Children, or making them their own Slaves. They were converted to Chriftianity by an Iberian Woman, in the fourth Age, but have nothing left of Chriftianity, but the Name; for they do not obferve che leaft Precept of Yefus Cbrift; they place all their Religion in Fafting, and making long Prayers.
There are feveral Bifhops in Georgia, with a Patriarch, whom they call Catbolicos, and an Archbifhop, whofe Sees, as often as they are vacant, are difpofed of by the Prince, though he be a Mabometan, and he generally gives them to his Relations, and the prefent Patriarch is his Brother. The Churches in Georgia, efpecially in their Cities, are kept fomething more cleanly than in Mingrelia, but in the Villages are full as nafty. The Georgians and their Neighbours build their Churches upon high Mountains, in remote and inaceffible Places, and bow unto them at great Diftances, but fcarce go into them once in ten Years, leaving them to the Injuries of the Weather, and for the Birds to build their Nefts in. They can give no other Reafon for all this, but that it is a Cuftom; though we may fuppofe, it is rather to avoid repairing and adorning them. Georgia was made tributary to the Perfians by Ihmael the Great, and though it has feveral Times revolted, yet ftill continues in Subjection to them.

The City of Tefis, the Capital City of Eaft Georgia, is one of the faireft Cities in all the King of Perfan's Dominions, though not fo big as fome. It is feated at che Bottom of a Mountain, and on the Eaftern-fide of it runs the River Kur, which rifing in the Mountains of Georgia, joins itfelf to the Araxes. The moft Part of the Houfes built by the River-fide, ftand upon a Rock, and the whole City is encompaffed with ftrong and beautiful Walls, except on the Side next the River, and is defended by a Fortrefs on the South-fide, wherein are none but native Perfans. This Fortrefs is a Sanctuary for all Manner of Criminals.

Teflis has in it fourteen Churches, which is very much in a Country where there is fo little Devotion. Six of them are appropriated to the Georgian Service, and maintained by them, and the other eight belong to the Armenians. The Cathedral called Sion, is built all of hewn Stone, and ftands on the Bank of the River. It is an ancient Building, in good Repair, compofed of four Bodies, and has a great Duomo in the Middle. The great Altar ftands in the Middle of the Church, and the Infide is full of Paintings, after the Greez Manner. The Armenians have alfo feveral Monafte-

## Chap. II.

ries here, in one of them, they fay, they have St. George"s Skull.

There is not any Mofque in Teflis, though it be under a Mabometan Prince, and though the Perfans have attempted to build one feveral Times, they could never accomplifh their Defign, for the People mutinied and beat down their Work; which Action, though very affronting to the Perfian Religion, yet the Emperor of Perfia is afraid to come to any Extremities with them, left they fhould revolt to their Neighbours the Turks, and fo Teflis and all Georgia enjoy their Liberty to retain almoft all the exterior Marks of their Religion; for, on the Top of all the Steeples of their Churches ftands a Crofs, and in them they have Bells, which they often ring. Every Day they fell Pork openly, as well as other Victuals, and Wine, at the Corners of the Streets, which vexes the Perfians to fee, but they cannot help it. Some few Years fince they built a Mofque in the Fortrefs, and the Georgians could not prevent it: But when the Prieft, after their Cuftom, came up to the Top, to make Profeffion of his Faith, and call the Mabometans to Prayers, the People fo ply'd him with Vollies of Stones, that he was forced to lly down in Hafte, and never dared to appear there any more.

The publick Buildings, viz. their Market-places, Inns and Magazines, are well built of Stone, and kept in good Repair. The Prince's Palace is a noble and beautiful Building, being adorn'd with Halls and Rooms of State, Gardens, Aviaries, and fpacious Courts, to which the Viceroy of Caket's Palace is not much inferior.

The Out-parts of the City are adorned with feveral Houfes of Pleafure, and many beautiful Gardens, of which the Prince's is the biggeft ; but the Trees are fuch only as ferve for Shade and Coolnefs.

The Capucbins, who were fent into Georgia about the Year 1657 , by the Pope, have an Habitation in this City, as alfo at Gory, where they are highly efteemed as Phyficians, which is the Title they give themfelves, but they make very little Progrefs in the Converfion, of the Georgions; for befides that thefe People are very ignorant, and take little Care to inftruct themfelves, it is fo rivetted into their Heads, that Fafting, as they obferve it, is the effential Part of the Chrittian Religion, that they do not believe the Capucbins to be Chrittians, though they faft as they do, becaufe they are informed, they do it not in Europe.

The City of Teflis is very well peopled, and there are as many Strangers refort thither as to any Place in the World, for there is a great Trade driven there, and the Court is very numerous and magnificent, becoming the Capital City of a Province. The Georgians do not call it Teflis, but Cala, i. e. The Fortrefs, which is a Name they give to all Habitations encompaffed with Walls, and fome Geographers call it, Tebele-Cala, or, The bot City, either by Reafon of the hot Baths, or becaufe the Air there is not fo cold and boifterous as in other Parts of Georgia.
12. On the 28th he departed from Teflis, and paffing thro' Sogan-lou, or the Place of Onions, ftanding upon the River Kur, came to Kupri-Kent, or the Village of the Bridge, becaufe there is a very fair Bridge over the River Tabadi, in the Arches of which are made little Chambers and Portico's, and in every one of them a Chimney, on Purpofe to lodge Strangers, and in the middle ones Balconies, to take the cool Air in the Summer; Melick-Kent, or, the Royal Village, and fo to Dely-Fan, a Village of 300 Houfes, feated upon the River Acalfapba, which runs at the Foot of an high and dreadful Mountain, part of Mount Taurus. Here is Plenty of Water, and the Ground is very fertile, and a great many Villages to be feen on every Side, fome of which ftood fo high upon the Points of the Rocks, that they were almoft indifcernable. They are inhabited by Georgian and Armenian Chrittians, but not intermix'd, becaufe they have fuch an inveterate Enmity one againft another, that they cannot live together in the fame Villages. The moft Part of the Houles of thefe Villages are no better than Caverns or hollow Places made in the Earth; the reft are built with Timber, and covered with Turf.

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Thefe Sort of Buildings are very convenient, being cool in Summer, and warm in Winter. The Borough of Dely-Fan, and all the Country round about for fix Leagues, is govern'd by its own natural Princes, from Father to Son, and holds of Perfia, as Georgia does It is called the Country of Cafac, the People being fout and fierce, defcended from the Cofaques, who inhabit the Mountains on the North-Eaft of the Cafpian Sea and is at prefent under a Prince called Kambi-Can. He lodg'd at Kara-Pbifbi/h, a large Borough, feated at the Bottom of the Mountains, which feparate Georgia from Armenia. It ftands on the Banks of the River Zenguis and pafling Bichni, where there is an Armenian Monaftery, our Author arrived at Erivan, Jan. 7, 1673.
13. Erivan is a great City, but dirty. The Vineyards and Gardens make the greatelt Part of it, there being no ornamental Buildings in it. It is fituated in a Plain, encompaffed with Mountains on every Side, between two Rivers, the Zengui, and Queurk-boulack. The Fortrefs itfelf may pals for a fmall Ciry, containing 800 Houfes, inhabited by Perfians only; for though the Armenians have Shops there to work and trade in in the Day-time, yet they return to their Houfes in the Evening. It is furrounded with three Walls of Earth, and Brick made of Clay, with Battlements, and flank'd with Towers, and ftrengthen'd with Ramparts, according to the Cuftom of the Ancients, and in it is conftantly maintain'd a Garrifon of 2000 Men, The Goo vernor of the Province's Palace is within this Caftle, and is a very fpacious and delightful Place in Summer.

The City ftands about a Cannon-fhot from the Fortrefs, but the Space between is filled up with Houfes and Market-places, which are fuch pitiful Structures, that they may be removed in one Day. There are feveral Churches in this City, of which the Epifcopal See called Ircou-ye-rize, and Catovike are the Chief; the reft are fmall, funk deep in the Earth. Near the Epifcopal Church is an old Tower, built of Free-ftone, of antique Work, with feveral Infcriptions, but none can read them; nor is it known when, by whom, or for what Ufe it was built. At a little Diftance from it is the Grand Meydan, or great Market-place, 400 Paces fquare, where they ufe all Exercifes, both for Horfe and Foot, as Caroufels, Racings, Wreftling, and Managing of Horfes for War. There are many Buths and fair Inns in it. The Air is good, but a little thick and cold, for their Winter lafts long, and they have Snow fometimes in April. The Country is very delightful and fertile, and produces Fruits in great Flenty, efpecially Wine, which is there good and cheap.

The Armenians have a Tradition, that Noab planted his Vineyard near Erivan, and fome pretend to thew the Place, about a fmall League from the City. The River and Lake, which is twenty-five Leagues in Compafs, furnifh the City with excellent Fifh of nine Sorts; of which the Trouts and Carps are famous all over the Eaft. In the Midft of the Lake is a fmall Inand, where ftands a Monaftery, whofe Prior is an Archbifhop, and takes upon him the Title of Patriarch, refufing to acknowledge the Grand Patriarch. The Armenians hold this City to be the moft anciently inhabited Place in the World ; for they affirm, that Noab and all his Family dwelt there, both before the Deluge, and after he came out of the Ark, and that the earthly Paradife was there : But all this is a Story without Foundation, reported by Perfons equally ignorant and vain-glorious.

Two Leagues from Erivan ftands the famous Monafo tery of the Tbree Cburches, the Sanctuary of the Armenien Chriftians. The Armenians call it Ecs-miazin, which Name alfo the principal Church bears. It is a fubftantial, but dark Structure, all built of large FreeAtone. The Monks fhew feveral Reliques preferved in it, as a Finger of St. Peter, and two of St. Fobn the Baptift, a Rib of St. Fames, Bifhop of Ferufalem, and an Arm of St. Gregory, \&xc. but they mult be very credu. lous and fuperftitious, that can believe them fuch. The two other Churches that food near this are, St. Caianco and Sc. Rep/ima, the Names of two Roman Virgins, who fled into Armenia, as they fay, in the gth Perfecution,

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and
and fuffer'd Martyrdom in the fame Places where thofe Churches ftand.

Within the Territory of Erivan, which reaches about twenty Leagues round it, there are twenty-three Convents for Men, and five for Women, which are fo poor', that being continually employ'd in getting a Livelihood, they never perform holy Duties, but upon Holidays. They hold the Opinions of the Monopbyytes, but in other Points are very ignorant. Two Leagues from Erivan Eaftward, is to be feen the famous Mountain where Noab's Ark is faid to have refted. The Armenians hold, that the Ark is ftill upon the Top of the Mount called Maus, but that no Man can afcend to it. The Governor of Erivan is a Beglerbeg, i. e. a Lord of Lords, and has alfo the Title of Serdar, or General of the Army. His Revenue is 32,000 Tomans, which is above 112,000 l. Sterling a Year, befides Fines, Prefents, and indirect Ways of enriching himfelf, which amount to 50,000 Pounds more.
14. While he faid at Erivan, he faw a Wedding of the Governor's Steward's Brother. Matrimony in Perfia is very expenfive, fo that only Men of Eftates will venture upon it, left it prove their Ruin. The meaner Sort content themfelves with a Concubine or Slave. The Mabometans that follow the Tenets of Haly, take their Wives after three Manners, viz. By Purchafe, Hire, or Marriage. All thefe Ways their Religion allows, and their Civil Law acknowledges the Children born in any of them legitimate. The Wives, who are Slaves, are called Canize. Of thefe the Law allows a Man as many as he can maintain, and takes no Cognizance how they are ufed. He is Mafter of their Chaftity, yea, of their Lives, and it is their Honour to ferve their Mafter as his Wives. The hired Wives are called Moutaa: Of thefe alfo a Man may take as many as he pleafeth, and as long as he pleateth for the Price agreed on, and at the End of the Term they may part with them, or renew the Bargain. A handfome young Maid at Ifpabon may be hired for 35 l. a Year, befides Cloaths, Diet, and Lodging. If amy break off before the End of the Term, he muft pay the whole Sum contracted for, and the Woman, after Difmiffion, muft tarry forty Days before fhe lets herfelf to another. There Days they call, The Days of Purification.

The efpoufed Wives are called Nekaa, and of there the Mabometan Religion allows a Man to marry four ; but they never marry above one, to avoid Expence and Diforder, for every one will command, and their mucual Jealoufy caufes a perpetual Confufion; wherefore, if they cannot content themfelves with one Woman, they ufe their Slaves. In Perra they ufually marry by Proxy, becaufe the Man never fees his Wife till after he has confummated the Marriage, which fometimes he does not till feveral Days after his Wife has been at home. One would think, that this Way of Marrying fhould produce unfortunate Matches; but it doth not, for Marriages are not more happy in any Country than this. If either of the Parties dinlike one another, and refolve to unmarry themfelves, the Mabometan Religion permits a Divorce, and they may feparate either before a Judge, or a Churchman, giving each other a Talaac, or Bill of Divorce, and then the Parties are at Liberty to marry again where they pleafe themfelves.

Upon this Diffolution of their Marriage, if the Man has fued the Divorce, he is obliged to return the Woman her Dowry ; yet if the Woman fought it, the lofeth her Portion ; but if the Perfons repent the Act they may renew the Marriage again three Times: Yet, the Perfions rarely make Ufe of this Licenfe to part with their Wives, only fome Citizens and Tradefmen make their Advantage of it. Perfons of Quality count it fo difhonourable, that they will rather die, than divorce their Wives, and the meaneft Sort cannot part with the Portion, and fo, if they defire a Divorce; which is rare, they effect it by ill-ufing their Wives, to force them to fue for a Divorce, and thereby facrifice all to their Liberty.
The Armenian Patriarch lives in this City, and has an Epifcopal Palace. He, with all the reft of his Clergy, is much addicted to Simony, as are alfo all the Eaftern

Sects. Their chief Gain lies in felling the Oil called Myrone, at a dear Rate, which, they teach the People to believe is a Remedy that phyfically cures all the Diftempers of the Soul, and confers the Grace of Regeneration and Remiffion of Sins, faying, that in Baptum it is the Oil, not the Water, which is the Matter preferibed. The Patriarch confecrates this Oil, and fells it to the Bifhops and Priefts, who get great Sums by it.
15. April the 8 th he parted from Erivan, and travelling through a Country fomewhat hilly, but full of Villages, came firt to Daivin, and then to Kainer, leaving the Mountain of Nool on the Right-hand. On the roth he went on the fame Road, which led him through a fertile and fair Country, and leaving sederec, a great Town, and the Capital of the Province of Armenia, called Cbarour, where the Sultan refides, came through Nouratcbin, and over the River Harpafony to Naccbivan, which is thought to be the ancient Artaxate, It is now little elfe but a Heap of Ruins, not containing above two thoufand Houles which are inhabited, and thofe in the Heart of the City, with Inns, Baths, and other publick Houfes, where they fell Tobacco and Coffee, whereas formerly the Perfian Hiftory affures us, that it contained forty thoufand.

Five Leagues to the North lies a great City called Abrener, i. e. the fertile Field, and feven others near to it, all whofe Inhabitants are Papifts, and their Bifhops and Curates Dominicans, who perform their Church Service in the Armenian Language. Thefe Towns were brought into Subjection to the Pope by an Italian Dominican of Bologna. Twenty Villages more acknowledg'd the fame Ecclefiaftical Jurifdiction, but are returned to their firft Religion, and their Obedience to the Armenian Patriarch ; and it is not likely that the reft can hold out long, for the Governors of the Province ufe them violently, and lay heavy Impofitions upon them, for withdrawing from their Jurifdiction.

From Naccbivan he paffed to old Fulpha, through a dry ftony Country, where there is Nothing to be feen but Hills of Stones. It is a ruined City, and thought by fome Authors to be the ancient Ariammene. It is faid to have contained four thoufand Houfes, though the Ruins do not fhew above half fo many. At prefent there is Nothing but Holes and Caverns in the Mountains, fitter for Beafts than Men to live in.

This City was ruined by Abas the Great, for the fame Reafon as Naccbivan, viz. to hinder the Invafions of the Turks for Want of Provifions, By Julpba runs the River Araxes, which Separates Armenia from Media. It rifes in the Mountain where Noab's Ark is faid to have refted, from which perhaps it takes its Name, and empties itfelf into the Cafpian Sea. It is very large, and of fo rapid a Courfe, efpecially when it is fwelled by the Thaws of the Snows that come down from the Mountains, that no Bridges can ftand upon it, nor Dams refift its Force, and the Noife of the Waters aftonifhes the Ears of the Beholders.
16. Media, which formerly ruled all Afia with an Imperial Dominion, at prefent makes but one Part of a Province, though the largeft in the Perfan Empire, called Azerbeyan, or Afapaican. It borders on the Eaft upon the Cafpian Sea and IIyrcania, on the South upon Partbia, on the Weft upon Araxes and the Upper Armenia, of which Alfyria is a Part, and on the North on Dageftan, which is that mountainous Country that borders upon the Mufcovite Coffacks, and Part of Mount Tourus. The Perfians affirm, that the Name of Azer beyan implies the Country of Fire, by reafon of the famous Temple of Fire which was there erected, where was kept that Fire which the Fire-worMippers hold to be a God: Nimrod is faid firft to have brought in this Worfhip, and there is a certain Sect, called Guebres, which ftill maintain it.

From 7 fulpha he travelled through a Country full of little Hills, leaving a fpacious Plain upon the Lefthand, where many bloody Battles between the Turks and Perfians were fought, and particularly that between Selim the Son of Solyman theGreat, and I/bmael the Great, to Alacou, and from thence, through a more even Country, to Marant, a very fair Town, confift-

## Chap. II.

into
PERSIA.
ing of about two thoufand five hundred Houfes, and which has io many Gardens as take up as much Ground as the Houfes. It is feated at the Bottom of a Mountain, at the End of a Plain, watered by the little River Zelou-lou, from which the People have drawn feveral Cuts into their Grounds and Gardens.

In the Places adjoining grow Plenty of Fruits, the beft in all Media; but that which is moft peculiar to thefe Parts, is this, that here they gather Cochineal, though in no great Quantities, nor for any longer Time than only eight Days in Summer, when the Sun is in Leo; for before that Time, the People fay, it doth not come to Maturity ; and after the Worm, from which they draw the Cochineal, makes an Hole in the Leaf in which it grows, it is loft. The Perfians call Cochineal Kermis, from Kerm, which fignifies a Worm, becaufe it is extracted out of Worms. The Armeniuns have a Tradition, that Noob lies buried here
17. From thence he travelled among the Mountains to Sopbian, a little Village full of Rivulets and Gardens, and fruitful to a Wonder, and fohe went to Taur is, which is fifty three Perfian Leagues from Erivan. This City is very large and potent, being the fecond in Perfa in Dignity, Grandeur, Riches, Trade, and Number of Inhabitants. It is neither walled nor fortified, and the little River Spingtcba runs a-crofs it, which fometimes carries away the Houfes on the Side of it, and makes dreadful Havock. On the North-fide runs the River Agi, or the Salt River, whofe Water is made falt by the little Rivulets, which paffing through the Salt Marthes, fall into it, and fo can nourifh no Fifh. It is divided into nine Wards, and has fifteen thoufand Houfes, and as many Shops in their Market-places, among which are three hundred Inns, and fome fo large, as to lodge three hundred People, and many Cabarets for Coffee Tobacco, and ftrong Liquorss. There are three hundred and fifty Mofques, three Hofpitals, which relieve the Poor with Victuals twice a Day ; and a fair Hermicalled Hali's Eye.
The Inhabitants have been formerly computed to be five hundred and fifty thoufand. This City is full of Strangers, who come hither to trade from all Parts of $A \int a$, becaufe it is full of all Sorts of Merchandizes, and abounds with Artifts in Cotton, Silk, and Gold. The faireft Turbans in Perfac are made here; and it is faid, there are fix thoufand Bales of Silk confumed in this Manufacture. The Air of Taur is is good, healthy, and dry, but the Cold continues long, becaufe it is expofed to the North, and the Snow lies nine Months in the Year upon the Mountains ; the Winds blow every Day, Morning and Evening, and Rains often fall.

It abounds with all Things neceflary for human Support, as Corn, Filh from the Cafpion Sea, Venifon, and other wild Beafts. Bread may be bought there for three Pound a Penny, and Flefh at three half Pence a Pound. There are faid to grow no lefs than 60 Sorts of Grapes in and about Tauris. Near it is a Quarry of white Marble, a Mine of Gold, and another of Salt. There are feveral Mineral Waters, all fulphureous, of which fome are cold, and others boiling hot. Moft of our Geographers of beft Note, as Ortelius, Ananias, Molets, \& \& are of Opinion, that this City is the ancient and celebrated Ecbatana, fo frequently mentioned in holy Writ, and in the ancient Hiitory of $A\{a$, but there are no Remains of the magnificent Palace of Ecbaton, where the Monarchs of Afia kept their Courts in Summer, nor of Daniel's, to juttify this Notion.

From Tauris he travelled firft to Vafpinge, a great Borough, furrounded with Gardens and Groves of Poplars and Tylets, and watered with feveral Brooks, which make it very pleafant; then to Agi-agach, by which are the Plains which afford the beft Paftures in all Media, and perhaps in the whole World, where the choiceft Hories in the whole Province are put to Grafs from April to $\mathcal{F u n e}$, to purge, refrefh, fatten and ftrengthen them. Thefe Plains are the Hippopothon of the Ancients, of which they write, that the Kings of Media kept here a Breed of fifty thoufand Horfes.

The Road from hence leads by feveral Circles of large hewn Stones, which the Perfians affirm to be the

Places where the Caous or Giants, when they made Wars in Media, held their Councils, it being a Cuftom among thefe People, that every Officer that came to the Council brought with him a Stone; to ferve him inftead of a Chait, and fo carries you over Wlills and Dales, all fruitful and delightful, to Admiration, through Turiman, fo called, becaufe that in the Fields about it there is a great Number of Shepherds with their Flocks, that are called by that Name, to Purvare, an handfome large Village at the Bottom of an Hill, and upon the Banks of a little River.

From thence lie proceeded in his Journey, and croffing the River Miana feveral Times, by Reafon of its Windings, paffed through the Town of the fame Name adjoining, both fo called becaufe they part Media from Partbia, and afcended a Ridge of Mountains, which are a Branch of Mount Taurus, at the Top of which ftands a Caftle, call'd the Virgin's Caftle, becaufe Aria xerxes is faid to have built it on Purpofe to imprifon a Princefs of the Blood.

As foon as you have paffed thefe Mountains, and the River Kefl-burefe, which is at the Foot of them, you perceive a Change of the Air; for whereas Media is moift and cloudy; fubject to high Winds and much Rain, the Partbian Air is dry to the higheft Degree, without Clouds or Rain for fix Months fometimes, and the Soil fandy, fo that nothing will thrive without good Hufbandry and Pains.
18. Paribia, which was fo long the Seat of the Em pire of Afa, is now a large Province of the Perfari Monarchy. It is the proper Demeans of the Shah, and therefore has no Governor, as the reft of the Provinces. It is extended 200 Leagues in Length, and 150 in Breadth, being bounded by the Province of Cboraffan on the Eaft; by Fars, which is properly Perfaa, on the South, by Azarbeyan or Media on the Weft, and Guilan or Mezanderan, which compofe the Province of Hyr: cania, on the North.

The Air is dry, and though the Mountains produce nothing but Thiftes and Briers, yet the Plains are fruitful and pleafant; where there is Water. This Province has above forty Cities, which is much in Perfia, becaufe it is not peopled according to its Extent. The Partbions took their Original from the Scytbians, who were the Tartars, who now inhabit the North of Perfia, called Uzbecs, and formerly Baitrians. The firft Village you come at is Zerigan, which is fam'd for its Antiquity, being founded, according to the Perfiant Records, in the Reign of Ardecbir-babezon, feveral Ages before Cbrift, and then paffing over delightful Plains, you come to Sultanyi

This City is feated at the Foot of a Mountain. It feems afar off a very neat well-built Place, but does not appear fo when you are within it; yet fome of the pub: lick Buildings are very remarkable, both for the Materials and Architecture. It contains about three thoufand Houfes, and befides, there are very vaft Ruins, which makes it probable, that it was once the largeft City of the Kingdom, as their Hittories relate. Provifions are very plentiful and cheap there, and the Air wholfome, though very changeable, the Mornings, Evenings, and Nights being very cold, and Days hot. It is faid to be the moft ancient City in Partbia. The Predeceffors of I/bmael Sopbi, and the laft Armenian Kingrs, refided there, and then it is faid that it contained four hundred Chriftian Churches; but being demolifhed by Tamerlane, and feveral other Turkib and Tartarian Princess the Chriftians have deferted it.

From hence he travelled through a lowely Country, and paffing through feveral Villages, furrounded with Meadows, and Groves of Willow and Poplar, he came to Ebber, a fmall City for the Buildings, as containing not abové 2500 Houfes, but taking up a large Extent of Ground, becaufe they have fo many large Gardens. A fmall River runs through the Midtt of it. It is thought to be anciently called Barontba. The Situation is delightful, the Air wholfome, and Soil plentiful. It is govern'd by a Darogue, or Mayor ; and the Mirt/be-ki-Bafbi has his Tabvil, or Salary, charged upon the Revenue of this City. The Perfing Geographers affert,
that this City was built by Kei-Cofrou, and that DarabReiboni, or Darius, began to build the Caftle; and that Skender-Roumi, i. e. Alexander the Great, finifhed it. At Ebber they begin to fpeak the Perrian Language, which is fpoken all the Way to the Indies, more or lefs pure, as the People are more or lefs diftant from Scbiras, where it is fpoken in the greateft Perfection.
19. From Ebber he travelled to Perfac, leaving Casbin five Leagues on the Left-hand. This great City ftands in a delightful 2 Plain, three Leagues from Mount Alou-vent, one of the higheft and moft famous Mountains in Perfia. It is fix Miles in Circumference, containing 12000 Houfes, and 100,000 Inhabitants, of which there are forty Families of Chriftians, and one hundred Jeres, but all very poor. It was formerly walled, but they are now all fallen down. The chiefeft Ornament and Grace of Casbin is the King's Palace, and the greac Number of the Seats of the Perfian Grandees, who attend upon the Court, which has its continual Refidence there There are but few Mofques in Casbin, but the Royal Mofque, called Met f bid-fba, is one of the largeft and faireft in all Perfia. This City has no great Plenty of Water, but it is fupplied, with all it has, by fubterraneous Channels called Kerijees.
The Air is thick, and not very healthful, and the Soil dry and fandy, yet it abounds with Meat, and all Manner of Provifions, which are brought thither from the Countries adjoining, which having many well water'd Plains, feed a World of Cattel, and produce prodigious Quantities of Corn. The faireft Grape in Perßa, called Sbaboni, or the Royal Grape, being of a Gold Colour, and tranfparent, of which the ftrongeft and moft lufcious Wine in the World is made, grows here. The Air is very hot in Summer all the Day long, but the Nights are fo cold, that if a Man expofe himfelf never fo little to the Air, after he is undreffed, he is fure to fall fick. Some of our European Geographers affirm it to have been the City, which the Greeks called Ragea, or Rages, afterwards Europa and Arfacia, and now Casbin, from a King of that Name. It is govern'd by a Darogue, or Mayor, chofen every Year, whofe Office is worth to him 600 Tomans, or 2000 Pounds.

Having paffed Casbin, he came to Kaiare, and having lodg'd there, travelled the next Night (for that's the general Way of travelling all over the Eaft, to avoid the Heat of the Sun, which would hurt both Man and Beaft in the Day-time) by Segs-abad, which fignifies, the Habitation of Dogs, to Sava, a great City, feated in a fandy and barren Plain. It is two Miles in Circuit, and walled round, but fo miferably built, that, unlefs it be in the Midft, it runs to Ruin for want of Inhabitants. The Hiftories of Perria unanimoully agree, that the whole Plain of Sava was formerly a Salt-Marfh, or Lake; but how it was dried is not certainly known : Some fabulounly report, that Haly, Mabomet's Son-in-Law, drain'd it by a Miracle; and to preferve the Memory of it, the People built this City in the Midft of it.
19. Juft over againft Sava, Eaftward, at four Leagues Diftance, ftands a Place of Pilgrimage, moft famous for the Devotion of the Perfans. They call it Ecb. mouil, that is to fay, Samuel; for they believe, that this Prophet was there interr'd, and over his Tomb is built a moft fumptuous Maufoleum, in the midft of a magnificent Mofque. Over-againft it is ftill to be feen fome Remnants of the City of Rey, which is reported to have been once the biggeft City of Afa, next to Babylon. The Perfian Hittories relate, that it was divided into ninety-fix Quarters, every one of which had forty-fix Streets, and every Street 400 Houfes, and ten Mofques; that there were in it 6400 Colleges, 16600 Baths, 15000 Towers of Mofques, 12000 Mills, 1700 Channels, and ${ }_{13} 3000$ Inns, and People almoft numberlefs.

The Chronicles of the Magi make Cbus, the Grandchild of Noab, to be Founder of it; and Ptolemy calls it Raquaia; but the vulgar Opinion is, that it was founded by Houfbeing Pi/bdadi, or the Chief Juftitiary, and enlarged by Marrouther, his Succeffor. It was deftroy'd by che Mabometans, who being divided into two Sects, viz. Of Sbia and Sunnis, made War one upon the
other for fixty Years together. The Sect of Sumnis cal led in the Affiftance of the Tartars, and, by their Help, bore down the Sect of Sbia. In thefe Wars the Tartars, by their frequent Incurfions, deftroy'd the potent City of Rey, and reduced it to nothing before the 60oth Year of their Hegyra. The Soil about it is fertile and pleafant, and produces great Plenty of Fruits ; but the Air is unhealthy, making the Skin fwarthy, and breeding Agues.
Departing from hence, he paffed by an Hill, called Coub-Telifin, which has this remarkable and peculiar to it; that as you approach nearer and nearer to it, it fhews a different Form, and varies both in its Bignefs and Figure ; that the Top or Point of it is always in Sight, and you would think, that it turned that Side, which Way foever you ftood to look upon it. It confifts of a black Earth, that crumbles like that of the burning Mountains; but it is not known to have vomited Fire. The People of the Country fay, that they that afcend that Mountain never come back again.
20. Having paffed it, he came to Com, a large City, feated in a Plain, by a River-fide. It contains 15000 Houfes, as the People fay, and is furrounded with a Moat and Wall, flank'd with Towers, but half ruined On the River-fide are two fair Keys, and at the Eaft of the City a fine Bridge. It contains many large and beautiful Market-places, both for Wholefale and Retale: Though it be a City of no great Trade, yet they export large Quantities of Fruit, dried and raw, and parcicucularly Pomegranates; Soap, Sword-blades, and Earthen Ware, both white and varnifh'd, which hath this peculiar Property, that it cools the Water in Summer both wonderfully and fuddenly, by Reafon of its continual Tranfifiation. It contains a great Number of fair Inns, Maufolæums and Mofques, wherein the Grand-Children and Defcendants of Ali, which are the Perfan Saints, called Yman-Zade, Sons of the Apoftes, lie interr'd One of thefe Mofques is the molt celebrated in the Eaft : It has four Courts, of which the firf is planted with Trees and Flowers, like a Garden, with Terraffes on each Side; the fecond is not fo beautiful as this, but the third is nothing inferior to it, being furrounded with Apartments two Stories high, and having a Terrafs, Portico and Canal. In the fourth are the Chamber and Lodgings for the Priefts, Governors and Students, that live upon the Revenues of the facred Place. Fronting thefe Courts ftands the Body of the Structure, confifting of three great Chapels upon a Line. To the Middlemoft belongs a Portal, eighteen Foot high, of white Marble. The Top is a large Half-Duomo, overlaid without with large fquare Cbina Tiles, painted with Morefco Work, and embellifh'd within with Gold and Azure. The Folding Doors are plated with Silver, gilr with Vermillion
In it ftands the Tomb of Fatima in the Midft, which is overlaid alfo with Cbina Tiles, painted $A$-la-morefro, and overfpread with Cloth of Gold, which hangs down on both Sides. It is enclofed with a Grate of mafly Silver, ten Foot high, diftant half a Foot from the Tomb, and at each Corner are Apples of fine Gold. In the two Chapels on each Side fland the Tombs of the two laft Kings of Perfia, viz. Abas and Sophi, boih very magnificent; but on that of Abas are written in large Characters of Gold, feven Elegies upon Mabomet and Haly, made by the Learned Hafan-Caza.
Thefe are rare Pieces of Eloquence, and in them may be feen not only the Genius of Perfian Poetry, but the Tranfports of the Mabometan Devotion. This City contains feveral other beautiful and fumptuous Edifices, and would be a very pleafant Place, were it not for the Heat, which is exceffive, there being no Place in all Perfia where the Sun fcorches more violently, yet is the Air wholfom, and Soil fruifful, efpecially in Pittachio's. The People are very courteous and civil. The River that paffeth by it is but a fmall Current in Summer, but being fwell'd with the Snow-waters that fall from the Mountains, is fometimes overllows great Part of the City.

Chap. II. into Persiá.

From Com he travelled four Leagues over very fertile Plains, abounding with fine Villages, to Caffem-abad, a Town confifting of about 300 Houfes, belonging to the Queen-Mother, as her Dowry, from whence he paffed over a dry fandy Plain, without Villages or Water, to Abibirin, or Sweet Water, becaufe there is a Fountain of fair Water, and went from thence to Ca/ban.
21. This City is feated in a large Plain, near an high Mountain, a League in Length, and a Quarter of a League in Breadth, running out from Eaft to Weft in Form of an Half-Moon. There is no River near the City, but it is fupplied with Water by Canals, deep Wells, and Cifterns. It is encompaffed with a double Wall, flank'd with round Towers, after the old Fafhion, and hath five Gates. The City and Suburbs, which are the moft beautiful, contain 6500 Houfes, as the People fay, forty Mofques, three Colleges, and about 200 Sepulchres of the Defcendants of Aii. The principal Mofque ftands right againft the Market-place, and has a Tower, like a Steeple, of Free-Stone. The Houles are built of Earth and Brick, but are none of them remarkable for their Beauty.

The Bazars and Baths are well built and kept, and the Royal Inn is the faireft in all Perfia. The Wealth and Trade of Cafban confiits in the Manufactory of all Sorts of Stuffs; and Tiffues of Gold and Silver, plain and Hower'd, Sattin and Velvet; and there is no City in Perfer that makes more. Cafban ftands in a good Air, yet fo violently hot, that it is ready to ftifle you in Summer, which is occafion'd by the Reflection of a Mountain, that ftands on the South of it ; but the greateft Inconvenience that attends this City, is the great Number of Scorpions which infeft it; and the Parts adjoining, when the Sun is in Scorpio, and therefore there is Nobody but has by him feveral experienced Remedies againft the Sting of this Creature.

Cattle and wild Fowl are not plentiful, but the Country abounds in Corn and Fruits. They furnifh Ifpaban with Fruits, efpecially Melons and Water-Melons, all the Seafon. Several European Authors think this City to be Ambrodux or Ctefipbon of the Ancients. It is faid to be founded by a Virgin, who therefore laid the firtt Stone of it when the Sun enter ${ }^{3} \mathrm{~d}$ Virgo; and nam'd it Caban from her Grandfather. It is govern'd by a $D a$ rogue, or Mayor, who holds his Place two Years.

From Cafban he paffed over a Mountain, and then defcended into a deep Valley, very narrow and about a League in Length, which is well fill'd with Houfes; Vineyards and Gardens, fo clofe one to another, that they all feem but one Village. Several delightful and clear Streams preferve the Summer fo wonderfully cool here, that the Rofes were not blown, nor Corn or Eruit ripe, when the Harveft was quite got in at Calban. Seve-ral modern Authors affert, that Darius was murthered by Beffus in this Valley, and that not improbably, becaule Hiftory fays, Beflus Hed to BaEtriana, and Nabarzanes, to Hyrcania, and here the Road begins to thefe two Provinces, and fo by Mouthacour, a large Village of 500 Houles, to I/paban, which is fo thick encompaffed with Villages, that you would think you are in the Suburbs two Hours before you come near them.
22. There are two other Roads, which it is neceffary that Travellers fhould be acquainted with, which I hall briefly defcribe, viz. From Warfaw to Ifpaban, and from Ifpaban to Mofcow.

Warfar, which is feated upon the Left Hand of the Viftula, is the ordinary Refidence of the King of $P \sigma_{-}$ land. Beginning your Travels here to Ifpaban, you muit go to Lublin, which is fix Days Journey, and in five more you may get to Iluove, where the Cuftomers open all the Bales of the Merchants Goods, and exact five in the Hundred. From Iluove you go to Fallovieer in twelve Days. This is the laft City of Poland next Moldavia. Here, if you fell any Goods, you muft pay five per Cent.

From thence you go to $\begin{aligned} \text { abbe in eight Days. This }\end{aligned}$ is the Capital City of Moldavia, and the Refidence of the Wayvod, which the Grand Signior fends to govern that Country. Here all Bales of Merchan-

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dizes are opened, and there is a Roll of all that, the Merchant is to pay, which amounts to five per Cent.

From Rabe the Way lies through Ourßaye, to which you come in three Days. This is the laft City in Moldavia. From hence to Akerman you go in four Days, and the Cuftoms amount to four per Cent. but they take the Merchant's Account. From Akerman you go to Ozou, where they take two per Cerit. and fo to Precop, where they pay two and an half per Cent. but they truft to the Merchant's Word at both Places.

From Pracop the Road lies to Kaffa, where alfo the Cuftom is three per Cent. And the Journey from Warfare to Kaffa is fifty one Days by the Waggon, which is the ufual Way of Carriage in that Country, and the Cuftoms in all come to eighteen and an half per Cent. to which you muft add the Carriage and Paffage by Sea to Trebifond, where you pay three Piafters for every Mules ${ }_{3}$ and four for every Camel's Load. To avoid fomething of this Charge, the Armenians fhip their Goods ufually at another Port, called Onnie, which is a very good. Port, and where they never pay above a Piafter and a half' for a Camel's Load.

There is another Road from Warfaw to Trebifond fhorter by three Days Journey, viz. From Warfare to Talbe; in the former Road, and from thence by Galas; a City of Moldavia, Megin and Mangalia, the beft Port in the Black-Sea to the Weft, to Trebisond, from whence to Erzerom five Days Journey, from which to Ifpaban you go the ufual Road.

The other Road from Ifpaban to Mofcow lies thuse You muft travel the ufual Road before-mention'd, to Sbamaki, and from thence to Derbent, which the Turks call Demir-Capi. This is the laft City in the Perfan Jurifdiction, by which the River Sbamourka runs. From Derbent you may travel to Tetarck in eight Days, where hiring Barks with twelve Oars, you may be at Aftracan, by the Help of a little Sail which they put up; if the Wind ferves, in four or five Hours, but if you row only it will take up nine. When you embark upon the Cajpian Sea, you muft provide yourfelf Water for the firft three Days, becaufe the Water on the Coaft is bitter for that Time, but afterwards it is very good. At Afracan the Merchants are all fearched by the Cuftomers, and they take five per Cent.

From Aftracan to Mofcow you take Shipping in great Barks, that make Ufe both of Oars and Sails, rowing againft the Tide, and weigh all you carry aboard, for which you muft pay fourteen Caya, and three Abaffi's and an half for every Pound. From Aftracan you fail to Corinya, and fo in Order by Sariza, Sarataf, Samarat, Senuriskat, Coulombe, Cafan, Sabouk-ßba, Godamijan, Tri-guina, Mouron and Cafin, to Mofcow, which they count 2950 Sbagarons, or 590 Italian Miles.

At Sarataf you may go a-fhore, and fo go by Land to Mofcore, in Waggons, when the Snow is gone, and on Sledges while it lies, and then the Way lies through $1 n$ Serat, Tynnek, Canquerma and Valodimer, a City bigger than Conftantinople; to Mofcow, which Journey may be finifh ${ }^{\text {s }}$ d in thirty five Day; but this Way is never ufed, but upon Neceffity, when the River is frozen, becaufe in the Paffage from Sarataf to Inferat, which is ten Days Journey, there is nothing to be had for Man or Horfe. At Mofcow the Cuftoms are the fame as at Afracan, viz. five per Cerit. and all the Afans, viz. Turks, Per: fians, Armenians, and others, lodge in a Sort of Inns: but the Europeanis lie in a Place by themfelves all together.
23. There are few Countries in the World that are fo little vifited by European Travellers as thofe about the Black Sea, and indeed there are feveral Reafons for it. In the firft Place; the Turks will fuffer no Trade to be carried on by Sea in any other than their own Veffels, and fo jealous they are on this Head; that when the Ruflans were Mafters of Afoph, and fhared by that Means in the Navigation of the Black Sea, they were never eafy. It is, in the next Place, a very rare Thing, even for fuch as travel for Pleafure through the Domis nions of the Grand Signior, to ftrike ous of the com-

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mont
mon Road purely to gratify their Curiofity, nor indeed in fuch a Country as this would that be always fafe. And laftly, The common Reports of moft of thefe Countries place both them and their Inhabitants in fo fo bad a Light, that few have any Curiofity to be better acquainted with them. Our Author's Journey was by mere Accident, he took this Route to Perfia as the moft convenient at that Time for his Purpofe ; and it was alfo by Accident M. de la Motraye took many Years after the fame Route, and their Accounts agree, generally fpeaking, very well; but fome Points in both feem to fand in Need of Explanation.

Our Author has given but a very fhort Account of the Crim Tartars, and therefore it is neceffary to fay fomething more of them. Authors differ very much as to the Condition of this Nation, that is to fay, whether they ought to be confidered as free and independent, as Allies, or as Subjects to the Turks. Inftead of endeavouring to difculs thefe Queftions, we fhall leave them to the Decifion of the Reader, after reporting a few Matters of Fact. There are not many Towns in this Tartary, and. in thofe that have any Fortreffes, the Turks have Garrifons. The Tartar Princes are rarely admitted into, and never allowed to lodge in them. Caffa, we have elfewhere fhewn, was once a very fine City, and is fitll a good Port, which is in the Power of the Turks; fo is Baluclarea, which is ftill a better 'Port, and, if we may depend upon the Turkith Writers, is not exceeded by any in the World, either for the Depth of Water, or Security from Winds. The Town of Cbirck, upon the Streights of Daman, has alfo a very fine Port, but it is an open Place, and belongs to the Tartars. The Capital of this Country, properly fpeaking, is Bafcia Sarai, which is the Refidence of the Khan, was taken by the Ruffrans in the late War, and totally deftroyed. The Khan of the Tartars though a Sovereign Prince, is appointed and depofed by the Grand Signior, but he is always fucceeded by a Prince of his own Fanily, and this prefumptive Succeffor, whether he be the Brother or the Son of the reigning Prince, is ftiled Sultan Galga. The fecond Prince of the Family is ftiled Hor Bey, the third Noradin Bey, and the reft of the young Princes have particular Titles. It is to he obferved of the Tortars in general, that even the meaneft and moft ftupid of then is fo much Mafter of his Genealogy, as to know exactly of what Eamily he is defcended, and to what Tribe his Family belongs. The Truth of the Matter is, that they refemble exactly Higbland and Iribl Clans, and like them, are commanded by. Chiefs.

Every diftinct Family or Clan of the Tartars is by them filed Horda, and the chief Murrfa, or as others write it, Mirza. Amongtt the Crim Tartars there are four great Tribes, to which all their Hords belong, and the Chiefs of thefe four Tribes are the Councellors of the Khan, without whofe Confent he can undertake Nothing of Importance. Hereditary Right is the fundamental Law of all the Tertars, and the Dignity of Mir$z a$, or Chicf, defcends from Father to Son. The Khan of Crim Tartary can bring eighty thoufand Men into the Field, buc his Contingent, when called to affitt the Grand Signior, confits of thirty thoufand Horfe. All the World knows, that thefe Tartars are very far from being handfome, but they are, generally fpeaking, brave, hardy, active, and enterprizing, and their Horfes refemble them, for worfe looking, or better Bealts for Service, the World does not produce. As for Riches, they confift in Horfes and in Slaves; and as for their Manner of Living, it is equally coarle and barbarous in the Opinion of all other Nations, and honourable and happy in their own. They are very hofpitable and kind to one another, fo that every Man is at honie in his Neighbour's Houfe. Neither are they lefs civil and refpectful to fuch Strangers as come anong them, who are very welcome to what they have, and would be as welcome if they had more. One Thing is remarkable, when any Stranger comes to their Tents, he is ferved by their Children, and not by their Slaves, let the Quality of the Matter be what it will. A Gendeman who was in the Service of Cbarles XII. paffing
through this Country in his Way to Bender, where that Monarch then was, lodged in the Tent of a principa Mirza, and when it was Time to go to Reft, his Son made up for the Stranger a Bed of Skins, by the Side of which he fet a little Stool, with a Pipe, a Box of To bacco, and a Bottle of excellent Sherbet. In the Morning he came and rolled up the Bed, prefented him Cakes, Butter, Coffee, and Milk, and brought him likewife his Boots. The Father, who was a Kind of Prince, when the Gentleman expreffed fome Aftonifhment at his putting his Son upon fuch Offices, made him this Anfwer; "Friend, this World is a Lottery, " in which there are many Blanks to a Prize; though I " have many Slaves, yet by the Fortune of War my Son " may become a Slave; it is fit therefore he fould "learn to behave in all Conditions; the Khan does "the fame Thing; and befides, let me tell thee, Stran" ger, that among the Tartars, we hold the meaneft "Office done to a Friend as the higheft.Honour, and "therefore never fhare it with our Slaves.

As the Tartars are chiefly known to the reft of the World, by their Excurfions, we cannot defcribe them better, than by flowing in what Manner they aft on fuch Occafions, wherein, without doubt, they difcover an extraordinary Genius for this Manner of making War, which however barbarous it may feem to us, anfwers all the Ends of War to them, by furnifhing Slaves and Booty in Abundance, which fupplies then with the Means of Happinefs in Time of Peace. It is very true that they run through great Hazards and Hardfhips in Time of War; but then thefe Hazards and Hardfhips are all that they fuftain, for when they return to their Tents, they are free and independent, have neither Care nor Solicitude, but are Princes in their own Family, and live in what Manner they like beft, without any Apprehenfions or Conftraint. To us, indeed, even their Repofe and Luxury appears a moft fhocking and hideous Courfe of Life ; but it appears otherwile to them ; and, after all, if there be any Thing certain in this World, it is this, that the true Standard of Happinefs is Opinion. But to come to the Point; every Tartar that goes into the Field, carries with him two Horfes, which are taught to follow without being led, and are confequently ufeful to, without embarrafing their Mafter. On thefe Horfes they lay a Sack of Rye Meal, and another with Bifket and Salt, which is all the Baggage and Provifions wherewith they are encumbred. It is only a few of the Commanders that are provided with Tents; the reft pafs the Night in the following Manner. They carry with them four fharp Stakes, which they drive into the Ground, and upon thele they fix their Mantle, which ferves for a Bed; their wooden Saddle fupplies the Place of a Pillow, and a coarfe, thick Cloth, which is thrown crofs the Horfes Back under the Saddle, becomes a Coverlid. The Horfes are tied to the Pickets with pretty long Cords; and while their Mafters fleep, the Beafts very handily remove the Snow with their Forefeet, and feed upon the Grafs that is under it, taking now and then a Mouthful of Snow to moiften it. When a-Horfe tires, his Mafter cuts his Throat upon the Spot, and diftributes his Flefh among his Friends, who make him the fame Compliment when Occafion offers. The beft Part of the Flefh they cut in Slices, of an Inch thick, and thefe they place very -neatly under the Saddle of the Horfe they ride upon. When they have travelled three or four Leagues, they difmount, turn all the Pieces of Flefh, and mix then very carefully with the Sweat, which they turn up with their Fingers, then to horfe again, and at Night they fup upon this dainty Difh, which they take ready drefs'd from under their Saddles.
In this Manner they will traverfe two or three hundred Leagues of Ground, without ever lighting a Fire, which they carefully avoid, to prevent being difcover'd; and they chale the Depth of Winter for their Expeditinos that the Bogs, Lakes, and Rivers being frozen, they may avoid all Interruptions, and profecute their March with greater Expedition. Thus the Tartars march one hundred in Front, that is three hundred Horfes; every one of them has two, whichferve for Re-
lays, as has been faid before ; their Front may extend eight hundred or one thourand Paces, and they are eight hundred or one thoufand in File, which reaches four long Leagues, or three when they keep clofe; for at orher Times they extend above ten Leagues. This is wonderful to thofe that have not feen it, for eighty Thourand Tarters make up above two hundred thoufand Horfes. Trees are not thicker in the Woods than Horfes are at that Time in the Field; and to fee them at a Diftance, they look like a Cloud rifing in the Horifon, which increafes as it rifes, and frikes a Terrot into the boldeft; I mean thofe who are not ufed to fiee fuch Multitudes together. Thus thefe mighry Armies march, halting every Hour about half a Quarter of an Hour to give their Horfes Time to flale; and they are fo well managed, that they do it as foon as they flop; then the Tartars, alight and pifs too. They remount immediately, and go on, all which is done only by the Signal of a Whirlte; and when they are come within three or four Leagues of the Borders, they lie fill two or three Days in fome Place chofern for that Purpofe, where they think they are conccaled; there they give out Orders, and refrefh their Arnyy, which they difpofe of in this Manner: They divide it into three Parts, two Thirds are to compofe one Body, the other Third is fubdivided into two Parts, each making a Wing, one on the Right, the other on the Left. In this Order they enter the Country.

The main Body moves nowly, which, in their Lan. guage, they call Cocbe, with the Wings, but continually without hajting Day or Night, allowing but an Hour to refrefh till they are got fixty or eighty Leagues into the Councry, without doing any Harm. But as foon as they begin to march back, the Body holds the fame Pace ; then the General difmiffes the two Wings, which have Liberty, each on its own Side, to ftray ten or twelve Leagues from the main Body; but that is to be underflood Half of the Way forward, and the other Half Sideways each Wing, which may confift of eight or ten thoufaind Men, is again fubdivided into ten or twelve Squadrons, of five or fix hundred Men each, who run up and down to the Villages, encompafs them, making four Corps de Garde about each Village, and great Fires all the Night for Fear any Peafant fhould efcape them : Then they fall to Pillaging and Burning, kill all that make any Refiftance, and take and carry away all that fubmit, not only Men, Women, and Sucking Babes, but the Cattle, Horfes, Cows, Oxen, Sheep, Goats, $\mho c$. As for the Swine, they drive and fhut them up in a Barn, or fuch-like Place, and fire the four Corners; fo great is the Loathing they have. for thofe Creatures. The Wings being allowed to fray but ten or twelve Leagues, (as has been faid) return with their Booty to their main Body, which is eafily done; for they leave a great Track, marching above fifty in Front; fo that they have nothing to do but to follow, and in four or five Hours they join their Body again, where, as foon as they are come, two other Wings, confifting of the like Number as the former, go out on the Right and Leff, to make much the fame Havock ; then they come in, and two others go out, and fo continue their Excurfions without ever diminifhing their Body, which, as has been mentioned, makes two Thirds of the Army, and move gently, to be always in Breath and ready to fight their Enemy, if they fhould meet them, tho their. Defign is not to meet, but to avoid them as much as poffible. They never return the fame Way they broke in, but take a Compars the better to efcape; for they always fight in their own Defence, nay, and they mult be forced to it, without they know themfelves to be ten to one ; and yet would they confider of it before they fell on; for thefe Tartars do not enter Poland to fight, but to pillage by way of Surprize. When the Polanders meet them, they make Work, forcing them to get home fafter than their ufual Pace. At other Times, after they have fufficiently plundered and robbed, they enter upon the defart Plains in the Frontiers, thirty or forty Leagues in Length, and being in that Place of Safety; make a great Halt, recovering Breath, and put-
ting themfelves into Order, if they were in any Confs fion, on Account of meeting the Polanders.

At their Return from fuch an Incurfion, the Khan receives his Tenth of the whole Boory, which is afterwards divided amongt the feveral Hords, and every Mirza receives the Tenth of the Shate that belongs to his Hord; after which, what remains is divided fairly and regularly amongft all that ferved in the Excurfion. It is, undoubtedly, one of the moft fhocking Spectacles that can be beheld, to fee the unhappy People of all Ages, Ranks and Sexes, that have been thus carried away, feparated from each other, and torn away by their relentlefs Miafters, who either keep and employ them in fervile Work, or fell them, if they think proper, to the Turks, Perfans, Circofians, or any of the adjacent Nations, or to the Merchants who come up into their Countries on Purpofe to buy Slaves. It is from their Fortune in thefe Kind of Excurfions, that the Tartar Princes become rich and potent; for what they receive from their Parents is very inconfiderable, and they make no Scruple of telling Strangers, when they admire the Number of their Tents, Horfes, Cattle and Slaves, that what they have, was acquired by their Sword and Bow ; and that if they had been lefs lucky in their Expeditions, they had been as poor and as miferable as any of their Subjects. By leading this Kind of Life they become very active and vigorous, capable of enduring prodigious Fatigue, fo as to go without Sleep for many Nights together, and with little or no Food for many Days; but when they come to have more Leifure, they will fetch this up by fleeping forty eight Hours upon the Stretch, and will crowd three or four Meals into one. Their good and bad Qualities are peculiar to themfelves; and feem to be derived entirely from the Kind of Life they lead; for though they will fight very bravely, yet they muft be forced to it, chufing much rather to fly, if it be practicable. They will drink very freely upon certain Occafions, but upon fuch Occafions only, for atother Times they are both abftemious and fober. The Crim Tarters are very far from being jealous, and are, generally fpeaking, content with one Wife, feldom making ufe of their Slaves as Concubines; but then they are mercilefs Mafters, treat their Slaves in the fame Manner as thelr Cattle, and fell them with as little Ceremony. Under Misfortunes they are patient, or rather fullen, but what little Education they have makes fome Difference amongtt them, as appears by fuch of their Khans as are banifhed to Rbodes, which is the common Place of their Exile when depofed, where they live very handfomely, and without any Dejection of Spirit. Indeed this Misfortune happens fo frequently, that they cannot be much furprized at it. In the Court of the Khan's Palace at Bafcia Saray, there are two Tombs of Princes that died in Poffeffion of that Dignity, and, it is fuppofed, were erected there as Curiofities in that Refpect. I have dwels the longer upon this Subject, becaufe I take it to be both inftructive and entertaining.

In order to apprehend clearly the Nature of our Author's Voyages and Travels, we muft confider the Countries that lie upon the Black Sea, which is every where fhit in by the Land, except at the narrow Streights of Confantinople. On the Weft-fide lies the European Coaft, viz. the maritime Parts of Moldavia, Bulgaria, and Romania, extending from South to North, that is, from Confantinople to Oczakow, in a ftreight Line, about three hundred and twenty Miles. On the North-fide lies the Little Tartary, the Peninfula of Crim, and the great Country of Circefia, that circumferibe the Palus Meotis, which communicates with the Black Sea by the Streights of Daman or Theman, which have the Peninfula of.Crim on one Side, and Circafia on the other. Thus it appears, that Circafic makes the North Eaft Boundary of the Block Sea, and ftretches itfelf quite to the Cafpian. The Countries lying on the Weft-fide of the Black Sea, and to the South of Circafha, are Mingrelia, Immoretita, and Guriel, of which our Author has given a large and very good Decription.

Thefe

Thére Countries are all mountainous and narrow, having behind them towards the Cajpian, the large Country of Georgia, which borders immediately on the Perfan Dominions, having Circafia on the North, the Countries of Mingrelia, Immoretta, Guriel and Armenia on the Weft, the Cafpian-Sea on the Eaft, and the Territories of Perfia to the South. The feveral Nations that inhabit thefe Countries are, properly fpeaking, Tartars, or very little better; and though there are fome Towns, and even Cities, yet moft of the Inhabitants live in Tents. The Princes of the Circafians, are hereditary Chiefs of Clans, like other Tartars, and it is certainly a Degree of Complaifance to efteem them Chriftians It muft be however allowed, that they are not quite fo barbarous, or to fpeak with greater Propriety, fo far removed in their Manners from ours, as other Tartars, notwithftanding their unnatural and deteftable Cuftom of felling their Children; for it is certain that they take a good deal of Pains in their Education, but with no other View than that of bringing them to a better Market. The Boys, befides Riding, Hunting, Shooting and martial Exercifes, are taught feveral Languages, and as they are, very active in their Perfons, have quick Wits, and are of bold and enterprizing Natures, they rife frequently to great Perferments, both in Turkey and in Perfia; as for the Girls they are likewife taught the Turkibs and Perfian Tongues, Mufic, Dancing, and to repeat amorous Novels and Romances. If it may be accounted wonderful to fee Parents part with their Children with fo much Eafe as they do, it is certainly not at all lefs ftrange, to fee the Children quit their Fathers and Mothers not only without Pain, but with the utmoft Alacrity, the Girls more efpecially. This arifes from the Stories they are told, of the vaft Fortunes that their Countrywomen have made in different Parts of the World, which fills them with afpiring Thoughts, and to fay the Truth, their Slavery is none of the hardeft, for the Merchants who buy them, take as much Care as is poffible to improve their Education,
and are fo far from making any Attempts upon their Chaftity, that they are the moft jealous Guardians of it in the World, becaufe all the Hopes they have of fe!ling them to Advantage, are founded in the extreme Fondnefs the Mabometans have for Virgins, and when they are fold, it is at fo high a Price, that thofe who buy them, muft be both able and difpofed to maintain them in Affluence.

There is no need to add any Remarks on the remaining Part of this Section, becaufe whatever requires farther Explanation, will be fet in a clear Light in the fubfequent Sections; only it may not be amifs to obferve, that fince the Declenfion of the Perfian Empire, the Ruffians have taken many of the Circafian and Georgian Princes under their Protection, and it is highly probable, that in Time the reft will follow their Example, which perhaps may render the Country more acceffible, and prove the Means of drawing the Inhabitants our of their prefent State of Barbarifin. If this could be done, and they once civilized, and brought under one Sovereign, or even two or three that lived in tolerable Harmony with each other, there is do doubt that they might be able to defend themfelves againft any that fhould attack them, and by the Happinefs of their Situation, between the Euxine and Cafpian Seas, and the many valuable Commodities their Country produces, they might very fpeedily eftablifh a much more profitable, as well as reputable Commerce than that which they have hitherto carried on. The late Scbab Nadir, who had great Views with refpect to Trade, was very defirous of forcing a Paffage to the Black-Sea, where he intended to have eftablifhed a Port from which he expected vaft Things, but very probably thefe great Defigns will fall with him, and as the prefent Generation is not like to fee his Equal, we muft leave to Pofterity the Hopes of beholding thefe Countries and their Inhabitants in a better Situation than they are at prefent, for which they feem to have been defigned by Nature; in a worfe, however, they cannot well be.

## SECTION II.

A copious and circumftantial Defcription of the great Empire of Perfia, its Situation, Extent, Diftribution of its Provinces, Climate, Rivers, Seas, Soil, Produce, and the chief Cities throughout the Country, fo as to afford a perfect Idea of its Condition, in paft and prefent Times.

Collected from the Writings of the moft famous Travellers, particularly from thofe of Herbert, Chardin, Tavernier, Thevenot, Le Brun, and others, their Several Remarks and Obfervations being all digefted into a regular and eafy Method.

1. The Situation and Extent of the Perfian Empire, with a fuccinct Account of the Reafons woby a clear and perfect Notion of the Territories robich compofe this Empire, is of fuch Importance towards a right Idea of general Hiftory and Geography. 2. A difinct and accurate Defcription of the feveral Provinces under the Dominion of the Perfian Emperor, their ancient and modern Names, Situation, Extent, cloief Cities and Ports. 3. The Air and Climate of Perfia in its different Parts; with an Account of the bot and fiffing Winds fo dangerous to Travellers on the Sea-Coafts. 4. The Rivers in this Country, and the various Metbods made Uje of to diffule the Water by Canals and Aqueducts; and an Account of the Seäs upon which it borders. 5. Of the Appearance of the Country in general, and of the Diverfity of Soils in Perfia. 6. Of the particular Husbandry ufed in tbis Country, the Produce of arable Lands and Gardens. 7. Of the Variety of Fruits, Trees, Flowers and Shrubs that grow therein. 8. Of medicinal Drugs that are brougbt from Perfia, particularly Opium, Affa Fœtida and Bezoar. 9. A large and curious Account of the Animals, tame and wild, in the feveral Provinces of Perfia. 10. Of the

- Forols, Birds and Fi/b in this Country, and the Reafon why the latter is fo. Scarce at Ilpahan. Ir. Of the Minerals in Perfia, and of precious Stones, particularly the Turquois, beld to be peculiar to this
Country. 12. Of the Manner of Building in Perfia, how well adapted to their. Climate, and of the

Metbods ufed to keep their Houfes cool and pleafant, even in the botteft Seafons. 13. A particular. DeJcription of the Capital City of Ifpahan or Spahawn, with its pectuliar Beauties and Blemifles.: I4. $A$ dijtinct Defoription of the Royal Palace and of the Imperial Molque. 15. Of the Bagnio's, Gardens and Bridges in the City of Ifpahan, and in its Neigbbourbood. 16. A large Defcription of the Borough ar Suburb of Julpha, with an Account of the Armenians who inhabit it.0 17. The noble City of Schiraz delcribed, reith an Account of the adjacent Country, and its Produce. 18. An Account of the noble Antiquities at Tchelminar, the Remams of the ancient Perfepolis, jufly efteemed the mof glorious Anc tiquity in the World. 19. Of otber Places of Note in Perfia, more efpecially upon its Sea-Coaft, and of the Defgin of Shach Nadir to bave removed the Capital of the Perfian Empire, wittb the Reajons upon wobich that Project was founded. 20. A. Comparifon between the paft and prefent State of Perfia, in Regard as well to the Fertility and Riches of the Country, as of the great Cities and Ports. 21. Remarks biforical, political and critical, upon the foregoing Secition.

1.7HERE is fcarce any Country in the World, which makes a greater Figure in Hiftories facred or prophane, ancient or modern, than this of which we are fpeaking. In the Scriptures the Deliverance of the Fewes by Cyrus, the Protection chey received from his Succeffors, the memorable Prefervation of the whole People from the dark and deep laid Plot of Haman, all refer to this potent Empire and its Monarchs. In Reference to the Greek Hiftory, the earlier Parts of it turn entirely on the Difputes between the free States of Greece and the great King, as the latter contain nothing more than the Hiftory of the Subverfion of the Perfan Empire by Alexander the Great, and the Divifion of its feveral Provinces after his Deceafe, among his Captains. In Regard to the Roman Hiftories again, we find the Partbians continually difputing the Progrefs of their Arms in the Eoff, and the moft confiderable Part of the Conftantino* politan Hiftory before the Irruption of the Saracens proved fatal to both Empires, comprehends the Difputes between the Succeffors of Conftantine the Great, and the Emperors of Perfia. From the Time the Saracens became Mafters of this Country, the Succeffion of their Caliphs forms a principal Branch of the Oriental Hiftory down to the Extinction of their Dominion. Since that Time the feveral Conquerors of this Empire have fufficiently diftinguifhed themfelves to deferve Notice, and even the Frequency of Revolutions in this Country, make the Hiltory of it more curious and more entertaining. We know very little of the Etymology of the Word Perfaa, fome fay it was fo called from the Hero Perfeus Son of Fupiter and Danae, but that feems to be a very ridiculous Fable; others derive it from PerSes, a Nobleman of that Country, in Times of great Antiquity, but with Refpect to this alfo, there wants both Probability and Proof; neither is the third Account of the Matter, which derives its Name from $P_{a-}$ ros, that fignifies a Horfe, very fatisfactory; and as for the modern Perrian Word Fars, it is vifibly derived from Perfa, and therefore cannot help us to explain it. As to the Oriental Writers, they know it not at all by this Name, but ftile it conftantly Iran. In order to apprehend the Meaning of this Name, which is ablolutely neceffary to the Underftanding their Hiftories, we are to know, that an ancient King of this Country, or rather of the Upper Afia, whofe Name was Ferri doun, had two Sons, Tour and Irag, who fucceeded him in his Dominions, the former had all the Country on the other Side the River Oxus, which by the Way, the Orientals ftile Gibon, and the other the Country on this Side. Hence arifes the Diftinction of all the Countries in the Upper Afra (Cbina and the Indies excepted) into Touran and Iran, the former comprehending great Tartary, and all the Countries bordering or depending upon it, and the latter Perfia, in like Manner, with all its Dependencies. As for the modern Writers in the Perfan Tongue, as they ftile their Sovereign Sbab, fo they give his Dominions the Title of Sbabifan, or the Territories of the Sbab.

We will proceed next to the Situation of this Country, and this is beft fhown, by marking the Dominions of thefe Princes that confine it; for as to the diftinct and precife Limitations of this Empire, it is impoffible to lay them down with Accuracy or Certainty, becaufe they depend upon the Power of its Monarchs, which

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fluctuates every Day. On the Eaft it has the Dominions of the Great Mogul, the Ocean and the Gulph of Perfia towards the South, the Territories of the Grand Signior on the Weft, and the Country of Circaflza, the Cajpian Sea, and the River Oxus, which divides it from the Usbeck Tartary, on the North. It may not be amifs to oblerve, that the Northern and Southern Boundaries feldom or never vary, as being fixed by Nature, but on the Eaft and Weft the Perfans fometimes encroach upon, but in later Times have been oftener encroached upon by their Neighbours, as will appear more clearly when we come to fpeak particularly of its Provinces.

As to its Extent, it reaches from South to North about twenty Degrees, that is, from twenty-five to forty-five Degrees of North Latitude. It contains pretty near the fame Number of Degrees of Longitude, the neareft of its Provinces lying in the Longitude of fortyfive, and the moft diftant about fixty-fix Degrees Ealt from the Meridian of London. According to the ordinary Computation, allowing for the Divifion made by the Cafpian Sea, it is a Square of between eleven and twelve hundred Miles, which fhews plainly, that it is one of the moft confiderable Countries of $A / \beta a$; and if it was as thoroughly inhabited as the Excellency of its Situation, Climate, and Soil deferve, its Monarchs would be, doubtlefs, as powerful as any fovereign Princes in the World; though at prefent, from a Multitude of concurring Accidents, it feems to be thinner in People, and weaker in Point of Government, than any of the othêr four Afatick Empires. As Perfia, properly fo called, is but a very fimall Country in Comparifon of what now goes under that Name, fo the different Times and Occafions by which the other Diftricts that now depend upon it were annexed thereto, render it extremely difficult to fix the Number, the Names, and the Situation of its Provinces, about which hardly any two Geographers or Travellers have been hitherto able to agree; therefore the Reader will not think it ftrange, if the Account we give of them differs from thofe he has met with before.
2. In order to deliver as plain an Account of this Matter as is poffible, we fhall obferve, that the moft accurate of the Perfian Writers themfelves divide their Country into thirteen Provinces, and therefore it appears moft reafonable to follow that Divifion; and it may likewife be convenient to purfue their Method of defrribing them, as this is a Thing altogether arbitrary, and there feems to be the fame Caufe to take it one Way as another, provided that when the Method is once chofen it is clofely purfued, that the Reader may be able to trace ic exactly, without Confufion, and even to form in his Head, as it were, a Scheme of the whole Country that is laid before him. We fhall begin then with the North Eaft, and fo paffing along Southward, defcribe all the Countries of Perfia that lie towards the Frontiers either of Tartary or India. We Shall then defcribe the Provinces on the Ocean and the Perfian Gulph, together with fuch as lie within Land ; thofe on the Frontiers of the Turkigh Empire will follow thefe, and we fhall end with the Provinces that lie North Weft and North on the Coaft of the Cafpian Sea.
I. Aftarabat, or Eftarabat, is fituated on the Coaft of the Cafpian Sea, to the South of the Opening of the River Amu or Oxus ; it hath Cborafan on the Eatt, and
on the South the Province of Mafanderan, on the Weft the Cafpian Sea, and Part of Tartary on the North. It is but fmall, having thirty five Leagues in Length from Weft to Eaft, and fifteen in Breadth from North to South; for which Reafon many of our Geographers include it within the great Province of Cborao fan. In regard to Fertility, as well as to its Climate, there is not a finer Country in $P_{\text {erfia }}$. A Ridge of Hills that run through it furnifh abundance of fmall Rivulets, and fome fine Rivers, that running through it into the Cajpian Sea, cloath, the Country for a great Part of the Year, with continual Verdure. The Capital of this Province has the fame Name with the Province itfelf, and is one of the beft built Cities in Perfia; and as it is a Frontier towards Tarta$r y$, it is tolerably fortified, and has commonly a good Garrifon. It ftands upon a Gulph of the fame Name, and has a very good Port for fmall Veffels that do not draw any great Depth of Water. There are in it both Silk and Woollen Manufactures, and the Inhabitants drive a great Trade in a Sort of Camblets, that are much efteemed both for Beauty and Strength The Country about is well cultivated, and as for the Weftern Part of the Province, it is a perfect Orchard, abounding with Fruits of all Kinds, as well as with fine Trees for Shade and for Timber ; but the fame Thing cannot be faid of the Eaftern Part of the Province, which being expofed to the Inroads of the Usbeck Tartars, is fo depopulated, that in Spite of the Kindnefs of Nature, it looks like a perfect Defart.
II. Cborafan is eiteemed the faireft, richeft, and moft fertile Province of the whole Empire, and is the Country known to the Ancients by the Name of Bactria ; it is divided by the Mountains of Balck from Great Bucbaria, has the Principality of Candabar on the Eaft, the Province of Segiftan on the South, the Provinces of Terack and Mafanderan to the Weft, and the Province of Eferabat and the River Amu on the North. It is thought to be about one hundred German Leagues in Compafs. The Climate is very temperate, the Soil extremely fruifful, abounding with rich Fruits, fine Pafturages, producing excellent Corn, Wine, and Silk, and affording befides rich Mines of Gold, Silver, and precious Stones. It was formerly the beft peopled, the beft planted, and the beft built Province in Perfia, but of late the Incurfions of the Usbeck Tartars have laid one half of it wafte; and though for a few Years they were kept in Awe by the Shah Nadir, who drove them out of this Country, for which he had a peculiar Affection, yet it is not to be fuppofed, while the Affairs of the Perfian Empire are in Confufion, that they can be long reftrained. The chief City of this Province is Mefchid, or Thous, of which we fhall have Occafion to fpeak more hereafter ; and befides this, there are many other confiderable Places, fuch as Nichabour, Herat, T'cbarkez, Amonove, \&c.
III. Sabiuftan, bounded on the North by the Provinces of Chorafan and Candabar, which latter is fometimes reckoned a Part of this Province, on the Eaft by the Dominions of the Great Mogul, and on the South and Weft by the Province of Segiftan. The Climate is tolerable, but the Soil is extremely mountainous and barren; the Inhabitants are, generally fpeaking, boorifh and rude, at leaft in Comparifon of the reft of the Perfrious, yee the Capital of the Province, which is the City of Boff, is large, well built, well inhabited, and the Country about it is exceedingly well cultivated ; all which arifes from its lying in the direct Road to the Indies. It is a Place of great Trade, abounds with Manufactures and Strangers from all Countries, and with the Diftrict about it, looks fo very unlike all the reft of the Province, that it feems to have dropt into it from the Clouds. Some other Towns there are, but of no great Importance, only it is fit to remark, that the People of this Country make the hardieft Soldiers, and are the beft Infantry in the Perkan Empire.
IV. Segiftan, which feems to have been the Drangiana of the Ancients, is bounded by Sabluftan on the North, the Territories of the Great Mogul on the Eaft, by the Provinces of Makeran on the South, and by Part of the Province of Kerman on the Weft. This Councry is to-
lerably fruitful, and is particularly remarkable for its Palm-trees and its excellent Dates, but it is greatly expofed to Winds, which fometimes drive the Sands in fuch a Manner, as to cover the Houfes, and even whole Villages. It was formerly famous for its Gold Mines, which, if we may cruft the Perfian. Authors, were the richeft in the World, the Veins fometimes pufhing to the very Surface, in which they are countenanced by fome very ancient Greek Authors. This Province has produced both Heroes and learned Men, who have from thence borrowed the Sirname of Segifanis, which by the Way is a Practice very common in Perfac. The Capital is the City of Zereng, more commonly ftiled Segitan, but a Place of no great Note. There are befides two other Places of fome Figure in this Country, Gobin and Mafich
V. Macran, or Macberan, fuppofed to be the ancient Gedrofia, is bounded by Segiftan on the North, by the Dominions of the Great Mogul on the Eaft, by the Ocean on the South, and by the Province of Kerman towards the Weft; it is looked upon as one of the worft Provinces in Perfa, the Air being very indifferent, and the Soil barren; it is but indifferently peopled, and the Inhabitants are efteemed barbarous and faithlefs. The chief Towns in it are Makeran, Palir, and Geft; the North-part of it is entirely a Defart of ten Day's Journey; it has indeed a Port at Guadel, but of no great Confequence, for it is capable of receiving only fmall Veffels, and is befides not very fecure.
VI. Kerman, which is without doubt the Caramania of the Ancients, a very large and noble Province, which may be well efteemed one of the moft beautiful in PerSia. It is bounded by Segitan and Makeran towards the Eaft, the Ocean towards the South, the Province of Fars towards the Weft, and by a Defart which feparates it from the Province of Yerac Agemi, towards the North. Some Part of it is mountainous and barren enough, bus the Valleys are wonderfully fertile, producing Fruits, Roots and Flowers in vaft Abundance; it is in this Province that fuch vaft Quantities of Rofes grow, as enable the Inhabitants to carrry on a confiderable Trade in Rofe-water, which is highly efteemed not only through out all the Eaft, but in Europe; they have alfo very rich Mines in this Country, particularly thofe of Turquoijes, of which we fhall fpeak hereafter; admirable Steel, out of which they fabricate all kind of Arms, and they have befides great Manufactures of Tapeftry. But after all, the principal Glory of this Country is its Sheep, the Wool of which is efteemed the fineft in the World, and they have a very fingular Way of coming at it, for at a certain Seafon of the Year they pull it from the Backs of the Animals with their Fingers, fo that the Sheep are entirely naked; this Wool is all wrought in its natural Colours, and without Dye, it is of three Sorts, the firf brown, the fecond of a fpeckled grey, and the third of a Milk-white ; this laft is the moft efteemed; but there is none of it that ever goes out of the Country, for it is intirely employed in making Garments for their Moulbas, or Men of the Law, and Priefts, who wear nothing elfe. There are in this Province more of the Gubers, Gours, or FireWorfhippers, who are the Remains of the ancient $P$ erfians, than in all the Empire befide; and thefe frugal and induftrious People manufacture from the other two Sorts of Wool, feveral Kinds of light Stuffs, which in Point of Beauty and Luftre are not at all inferior to Silk. The City of Kermen is the Capital of the Province, it is large and well peopled, Provifions are cheap there, and in the Neighbourhood they have a Manufacture of Earthern Ware, which comes very near Porcelain. The Fort of Gambroon, and the Inand of Ormus, are by fome Authors reckoned dependent upon this Province, which has produced feveral great Heroes, learned Phyficians, excellent Poets, and in a Word, famous Men of every kind; amongtt the reft; the celebrated Acbmet Kermani, who was Poet Laureat to Tamerlone, and compofed in Perfann Verfe the Acts of Alexander the Great, of Gingicchan, and of his Patron.
VII. Fars or Farjitan, as the Perfans call it, is the ancient Perfia Proper, the Orientals fay, that if derives

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of the Empire of PERsia.
its Name from Fars, the Son of Azaz, that is, Arphaxad, the Son of Shem, the Son of Noab; but what Authority they have for this, is more than I can determine; it is bounded on the Eaft by Kerman, by the Gulph of Perfia on the South, by the Province of Cbufiston towards the Weft, and by a great Defart called Naubendigbian upon the North, which reparates it from Yerac Agemi. This fandy Defart is of a vaft Extent, and reaches to the Frontiers of the Province of Cborafan; it is the fame we have mention'd before, in fpeaking of the Province of Kerman. This is a rich and noble Country, abounding will all the Neceffaries of Life, but more efpecially famous for producing in the Neighbourhood of Sbiraz, the richeft and fineft Wine in Perfa; but the Imperial Grape of Tauris is efteemed moft pleafant and lufcious for Eating. They have alfo an admirable Glafs Manufacture in this Province, where they blow Bottles of an enormous Size, fome that are faid to hold three Gallons of our Neafure; but they keep their Wine in earthen Veffels, as we fhall have Occafion to fhow hereafter. The chief Cities in this Country are Sbiraz, which will be defcribed elfewhere. Lar, formerly the Capital of a little independant Principality; Bander Congo, a Port upon the Perfian Gulph, to which we may add, though as I have faid fome comprehend it under the Province of Kerman, the famous Port of Gambroon, or Bander Abaff. On the oppofite Shore of Arabia, there is a fmall Territory, called from the principal Place therein, Elcatiff, which formerly belong'd to the Perfians, and was fometimesa annexed to the Government of Farfitan, which is one Reafon why I mention it here; another is, that in feveral Màps, and in many oriental Authors, the Perfian Gulph is from hence called the Sea of Elcatiff.
VIII. Cbuffitan, the Sufiana of the Ancients is bounded on the Eaft by the Provinces of Farfiftan, and $\mathcal{V e r a c}$ by the Gulph of Perfja on the South, by the Territory of Baffora on the Weft, and by the Province of Curdestan on the North; the Capital of this Country is Scbouster, believed with Reafon to be the City of SbuBan, mentioned in the Book of Elther, famous for a noble Palace built here by the Perfian Monarch Artazerxes, who is the Abafuerus of the Scripture, and for the Tomb of the Prophet Daniel, of neither of which there are now any Remains, though a Perfian Author of great Credit affures us, that the latter was ftanding in his Time, and that he had feen it.

1X. Curdestan, or Curdiftan, part of the ancient $A F$ Syria, bounded on the Weft by the Dominions of the Grand Signor, by the Province of Cbufiftan on the South, by Erac Agemi on the Eaft, and by Arderbeitzan or Media on the North; it is with very little Reafon that this Country finds a Place among the Provinces of Perfia, for the Curds are a Nation that fometimes own the Protection of the Porte, and fometimes profefs a Dependance upon the Shah, but are in Reality Subjects to neither; they are, to fay the Truth, a very extraordinary Race of Higblanders, governed by their own hereditary Chiefs, and the Reafon that Iftile them extraordinary is, becaufe their Force confifts in Horfe, of which fome Chiefs can bring Hundreds, others Thoufands, and it has been known, that a Chief has brought twenty thoufand into the Field, where they behave as well as any Troops in the World. As to their Religion they call themfelves Mabometans, but except Circumfion and Abftinence from Wine, in both which they are very ftrict, they obferve no other Precepts of the Alcoran, and have neither Moulabs nor Mofques, except in two or three of their great Towns. The Mountains of which this Country is full, are rude and barren, but the Valleys are fertile and pleafant, producing great Quantities of Tobacco and Vines; of the former they make a great Profit, but they make no Wine of the latter, which they convert into Raifins. The chief City in this Country is Betlis, and befides this, there are fome other Places of Note, indifferently built, but well inhabited. Tbamas Kouli Kan attacked thefe People often, but with very little Succefs, and they have more than once defeated both the Perfians and the Turks in pitched Battles, yet they act generally on the Defenfive, and feldom fight out of their own Country.
X. Erac Agemi, or as fome write, Azemi ; the Rea fon of this Addition is to diftinguifh it from a Province of the Turki/b Empire which is called Erac Arabi, and is precifely the ancient Province of Babylon; whereas Erac Agemi is the ancient Partbia. This noble Province is bounded on the North by Aderbeitzan and Gbilan, by the Province of Cborafan on the Eaft, by Cbufistan and Farfifan on the South, and by Curdeftan on the Weft. The chief City is the Capital of the Perfan Empire; viz. Ifpaban, or Spabaren, fituate in the Latitude of 32 Degrees, 40 Minutes North, and in the 50 th Degree of Longitude Eaft from the Meridian of London; there are alfo in this Province feveral other confiderable Places; fuch as Casbin, fuppofed to be the ancient $A r f a f i a, C o m$, defcribed in the laft Section; Sava mentioned chere likewife; Hamadan, a very fine City on the Frontiers of Curdeftan, the Country about it extremely fruitful in Rice, the Mountains in the Neighbourhood fupplying feveral fine Rivulets, which render its Territory wonderfully fruitful. The Tiurks became Mafters of it by Storm in 1623, and almoft totally deftroyed both it and its Inhabitants. Calbam, which lies about feventy Miles North of Ifpaban; $\mathcal{Y e z d}^{d}$, which is fituated one hundred and five Miles to the Eaftward of that Capital.
XI. Gilan, under which the modern Perfian Geo graphers comprehend not only the Country properly fo called, which comprehend precifely the Hyrcania of the Ancients, but alfo the Provinces of Mazenderan and Tabreftan; fo that, confidered in this Light, it is a very extenfive Country, bounded by the Cafpian Sea on the North, by the Province of Cborafan on the Eaft, by that of Erac Agemi on the South, and by the great Country of Aderbeitzan on the Weft. The whole of this Province is wonderfully fair and fruitful. It is diftinguifhed from almoft all the Provinces of this great Empire by fome very particular Advantages. In the firft Place, its Situation is very peculiar, for on the one Side it is covered by the Sea, and towards the Land it is furrounded with Mountains and Rocks thar rife like fo many natural Fortifications, with this fingular Circumftance, that while they are rude, inacceffible, and terrible on that Side, which is turned towards the reft of the Provinces of the Empire, they are on the Infide refpecting this Province, of gentle Afcent, covered with perpetual Verdure and covered with Groves of Citrons, Oranges, Olives, and Figs. The very Summits of the Mountains fhaded by Cyprefs-trees and other excellent Timber, which may be eafily tranfported to the Sea-fide; for through this Rampart of Rocks, Nature has formed feveral Paffages fo wide, and with fuch a Slope, as render them perfectly eafy; and yet fo well fenced on each Side, that a fmall Barricade will render them impregnable. - Another fingular Benefit which this Country enjoys, is its unbounded and amazing Fruitfulnefs, which with very little Cultivation pours out fuch prodigious Abundance of all Things neceffary and defireable, as is fcarce to be believed; for it is equally famous for its Silk, its Oil, its Wines, its Rice, its Tobacco, and a valt Variety of Fruits. In other Parts of Perfia their Houfes are but mean, and the Moveables of the common People very coarfe; but here on the contrary, every Peafant has a good Houfe, and moft of his Furniture is made of Box, of which they have the largeft and fineft Trees in the World, and a large Garden full of Citrons, Oranges, Figs, and Vines, fo large, that the Branches of them are frequently as big as a Man's Body. A third Commodity, in fome Meafure peculiar to this Province, is a vaft Abundance of Fifh in their Rivers, and in that Part of the Cafpian Sea which wafhes their Coafts; from whence, as the People draw an immenfe Profit; fo the Shah des rives from thence a great Revenue. The Capital of this Province is Refech, which ftands in the Latitude of 37 Degrees of North, a large and populous City; befides which, there are Kesker, Aftara, and other confiderable Places within its Bounds. Two Things more deferve our Notice ; one is, that the People of this Pro. vince are of the Turkih, and not of the Perfian Religion, that is, they are Followers of Omar, and not of Ali : The other, That by the Treaty between the Emperor Peter the Great and the Shah in 1723 , this Province
was yielded to the Rufions. Mazanderan and Tabrefian are alfo very confiderable Countries, but fo like to Gilan in their Produce, that it is not neceffary to defrribe them particularly.
XII. Aderbeitzan, which comprehends the greateft and beft Part of the ancient Media, is a very noble and beautiful Country, bounded by the Province of Sibirvan on the North, by Gilan and the Cafpian Sea on the Eaft, by Erac Agemi and Curdeftan on the South, and by the River Aras or Araxis on the Weft, which divides it from Georgia. The famous City of Tatris or Tabris, which is defcribed in the foregoing Section, is the Capital of this Country, and was one of the fineft Cities of Perfia, till deftroyed by the Turks in their laft War with the Perfons, when they are faid to have put one hundred thoufand Perfons of all Ranks Ages and Sexes to the Sword. Arderil is another great and fine City in this Country, fanding about thirty Miles from Mount Touris; and Sultonia, which was deftroyed by Tamerlane, was foarce inferior to any City in Perfia, as the Ruins that ftill remain fufficiently teftify at this Day. It is ftill a good Town, containing about fix thoufand Inhabitants, but is particularly remarkable for a moft noble Mofque, in' which is the Tomb of the Founder of this City, the famous Sultan Mabomet Cbodabende. This Mofque has three great Gates, all of polifhed Steel, and the Tomb is feen through a Grate of the fame Metal, finely wrought in Foliages and Branches of Trees; and though fome of thefe are of the Thicknefs of a Man's Arm, yet they are fo exquifitely finifhed, that there is not fo much as a Joint to be perceived in the whole; from whence the Inhabitants perfuade themfelves, and would willingly perfuade Strangers, that it is made of one entire Piece, and affirm that it was feven Years in making.
XIII. Sbirven, or according to the Perfian Orthography Scbirwan, contains the Northern Part of Media, and is by many Authors made only a Part of the foregoing Province ; but we comprehend within it, for the Sake of keeping within Bounds, the little Provnice of Dageftan, and fo much of Georgia and Armenia as belongs to the Perfans; and taking it in this Light, it is thus bounded; by Circolfia and the Ruffan Territories on the North, by the Cafpian Sea on the Eaft, by Aderbeitzan on the South, and by the Turkib Armenia and Georgia on the Weft. Scbamakie is the Capital of this Province, and ftands in the Latitude of 40 Degrees 50 Minutes North, between two Mountains well fortified, and is a Place of great Trade. Derbent, or Debircan, which fignifies an Iron Gate, is a famous Pals between the Mountains and the Cajpian Sea. Baku is the only tolerable Port on the Weft-fide of the Cajpian; it is large and fafe, but not deep; the Town is Emall, but well peopled, and commanded by a Citadel; it was given up to the Ruffans by the Peace of 1723 . The Province of Dageftan is at prefent, for the molt Part, in the Hands of the Tartars, and to curb this fierce Nation, who are able to bring twenty thoufand Men into the Field, the Ruffians built the Eortrefs of St. Andrero, not far from Tarkt, which is the Capital of this Country, as Tefis is of that Part of Georgia which belongs to PerIra. . That Part of Armenia which belongs to this Country is filed Aron, and the Capital of it is Erivan, which has been before defcribed. Within the Bounds of this Province ftands alfo the City of Nackfivan, which the Inhabitants are fully convinced is the oldeft in the World, having been built by Noab and his Children upon their coming out of the Ark, of which, if you will credit them, there are ftill fome Remains on the Mountains that are not far from hence. Thus we have compleated a regular and Geographical Defcription of all the Parts of this great Empire, which will enable the Reader to comprehend perfectly all that follows in the enfuing Section. And we dare alfo affure him, that he will find it of very great Ufe towards underftanding all the Hittories of, and Travels through this Country, already publifhed, as well as the Accounts we may hereafter receive from thence, which might otherwife appear very unintelligible.
. Perfia, extending from the 25 th Degree of Latitude to the $45^{\text {th }}$, the longeft Day in the South is
thirteen Hours and 2 Half, and in the North above fifteen Hours. In 10 great an Extent of Country it is natural to fuppofe that the Air and Seafons are very different, as in Fact we find them to be. In the Middle of the Empire, their Winter begins in November, and continues till March, with Severe Frofts and Snow, which falls in great Quantities on their Mountains, but not fo much in the champain Country; from the Month of Marcb till May, the Wind is ufually high, and from thence to September they have a calm ferene Heaven, without fo much as a Cloud; and though it be pretty hot in the Day-time, the refrehing Breezes which blow conftantly Morning and Evening, as well as in the Night, make the Summer very tolerable, efpecially fince the Nights are near ten Hours long. The Air is 10 pure, and the Stars hine with that Luftre, that one Man may know another very well by their Light, and People travel much more in the Night, than the Day. In this Part of Perfia, there are very feldom any Hurricanes or Tempetts, and very little Thunder and Lightning, nor is it fubject to Earthquakes, and the Air is fo extremely dry in the Summer Seafon, that you will not find the leaft Dew or Moifture on any thing that is laid abroad all Night, or even in the Grafs, and it viry feldom Rains in the Winter. No Country is more healthful than the interior Part of Perfia, as appears by the hale Complexion of the Natives; they are ftrong and robuft, and, generally fpeaking, enjoy conftant Health. As for Foreigners, who come thither, it is a common Obfervation, that thofe who are healthy ar their Arrival continue $\mathrm{fo}_{\mathrm{o}}$, and that thofe who are fick, feldom recover.

The Air in the Southern Part of Perfia, particularly about Gombroon, is very unhealthy in the Spring and Fall: Our European Factors never pafs a Year. without a dangerous Fic of Illnefs, which frequently, carries them off. It is an ordinary Thing for two of them to agree, that if one of them die, the Survivor fhall poffefs the other's Fortune. Nor is this any great Prejudice to their Relations, for if a Man leaves private Truftees, or makes the Company his Executors, the Heir of the deceafed will meet with great Difficulties in Recovering the Teftator's Effects. The Months of fune, $7 u l y$ and Auguf are healthy enough, but fo very hot, that both Natives and Foreigners get up into the Mountains at that Time. The hot Winds which blow from the Eaftward, over a long Tract of fandy Deferts, are ready to fuffocate them, and fometimes there happers a Peftilential Blaft, which ftrikes the Traveller dead in an inftant. It rains but very feldom here, any part of the Year, and the Water they fave then is very unwholfome.
The Provinces of Georgia, Sbirvan and Adirbeitzan, are very dry and warm in the Summer, but fubject to Storms and Tempetts in the Winter, and as fevere Frofts for fix Months as any Countries on the Continent, in the fame Latitude; but as this Part of Perfa, is very mountainous, there is frequently a vaft Difference between the Air on the North and the South-fide of the Mountains, and in a few Miles travelling People think themfelves in a different Climate; but however cold the Mountains in the North may be, they are extremely healchful. On the contrary, the flat Country of Gilan and Mezenderan, which lies upon the Cafpian Sea, and was the ancient Hyrcania, is very damp, full of ftinking Moraffes, and unhealthful, infomuch that the Inhabitants in the Summer retire into the Mountains, all the Water they have being foul and corrupted in the hot Seafon; and here, and in Chorafon, it is faic Earchquakes are very common.
4. It is obfervable, that there is no Country in the World of fo large an Extent as Perfia, where there are fo few navigable Rivers; there is not fo much as one River in the Heart of the Country that will carry a Boat of any Burthen, and you may travel feveral Days Journey, without meeting with any Water whatever, in fome Parts. The River Oxus indeed which divides Perfia from Usbeck-Tartary, is a large Stream, but as there are no Branches of it, that arife in the Perfion Dominions, it is of little UJe to them, The Rivers Kur and

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Aras, anciently called Cyrus and Araxes, which rife in or rather recovered this Fiihery, and are in Poffeffion of the Mountains of, Ararat, and run through Georgia, Sbirvan and Adirbeitzan, and having joined their Streams, fall into the Cafpian Sea, are much the moft confiderable Rivers in the Perfian Dominions. However, there are feveral fmall Rivulets which fall from the Mountains, and are conveyed by fubterrancous Channels or otherwife to their principal Cities.

Water being fo fcarce in Perfia, there is no Place, where they hufband it better, or have more ingenious Contrivances, to convey it to their Cities, and into their Corn-fields and Gardens. This is the Care of the Government, and there is a great Officer in every Province, who has the Charge of the Conveyance and Diftribution of the Waters. They turn all their little Rivulets and Springs to thofe Parts of the Country, where they are moft wanted; they dig Wells alfo of a prodigious Depth and Breadth, out of which they draw the Water with Oxen, in great leathern Buckers, which being emptied into Cifterns, is let out as there is Occation for the Service of the Country. They have'alfo valt fubterraneous Aqueducts, through which they convey Water twenty or thircy Leagues to the Places affigned. Thefe are two Fathom high, and arched with Brick, and at every twenty Paces Diftance, chere are large Holes like Wells, which were made for the Conveniency of carrying on the Arch without Working under Ground too far, and the more eafy repairing them. The Diftribution of the River and Spring-water, is made one Day to one Quarter of the Town, and another Day to another, as Occafion requires, when every one opens the Canal or Refervatory in his Gardens to receive it, for which every Garden pays a certain Sum yearly to the Government, particularly about I/paban; and as it is very eafy for one to divert his Neighbour's Water into his own Channel, this is a Fraud that is feverely punifhed. They give a greater Rate for River Water, than they do for Spring-water, which is not found fo proper for the Improvement of their Grounds.

Befides the Ocean, there are two Seas belonging to Perfia, one on the North, and the other on the Southweft, viz. The Cafpian Sea, and the Gulph of Boffora or Perfia, which have been already mentioned. The Cafpian Sea is about a hundred Leagues in Length, from North to South, and ninety Leagues in Breadth, and has near a hundred Rivers running into it, of which the Chief is the Wolga, at the Mouth whereof ftands Astracan but this Sea has no Communication with any other, and though fo many Rivers fall into it, there is no vifible Way by which it difcharges iffelf of its Waters, but they remain, always of the famic Height, and do not either ebb or flow. The Ruffans have in a great Meafure the fole Navigation of this Sea, which is very profitable to them, and might be made much more fo by the new Trade that has been fet on Foot, from Europe to Perfia, through Rufia.
The Sbab Nadir was very defirous of becoming a maritime Power on this Side alfo, and employed a Gentleman of a certain Country, to build him Ships of Force for this Purpofe, but confidering the Revolutions that will probably attend his Death, thefe Defigns are like to fall to the Ground. The Perfians were formerly entirely Maifters of the Gulph that feparates their Country from Arabia, for which they were in a great Meafure indebted to us, who affifted them in dilpoffefling the Portuguefe of the Illand of Ormus, upon which they had opened a very advantageous Port, allowing us half the Cuttoms arifing from the Goods imported and exported here. But Sbab Abbas the Great, thought that Confideration too large, and therefore when he tranferred the Commerce to his new Port of Gambroon, or Bander Abalfi, i. e. the Port of Abbas, he allowed the Eof-India Company no more than One thoufand Tomans, which makes three thoufand three hundred thirty three. Pound fix Shillings and eight Pence of our Money. It was in this Gulph, on the Coaft of the Ifland of Baberem, that they had the fineft Pearl Fifhery in the World, which produced annually above fifty thoufand Pounds, but in the late unfertled State of their Empire, the Arabians have feiz'd

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## it, at leaft for the prefent.

5. As we have now given a clear Account of the Rivers and Seas of this Country, we will next fpeak of the Soil and its Produce; and in the firt Place we muft obferve, that there is not a Country in the World, which has more Mountains, and fewer Rivers than Perfar, and fome of their Mountains are looked upon to be the higheft on the Face of the Earth. Mount Tourus, which receives different Names as it branches itfelf out into different Provinces, runs quite througha the Country, from Weft to Eaf. The loftieft of thete Mountains are thofe called Arrerat in Armenia, the Mountains which feparate Media from Hyrcania, and thofe between Hyyrania and Partbia or Erak. Thofe allo which divide Fars or Perfis from Carmania are exceedingly high, the moft famous of which is called Mount farron, but they are generally dry barren Rocks, without Trees or Herbage upon them except thofe of Gylan or Hyrcania, and the Mountains of Curdeftan, which are covered with Woods and very Fruifful, where they are manured. There are valt fandy Defarts, feveral Days Journey over in this Kingdom, where there is fcarce a Drop of Water to be found, and the Land in general upon the Frontiers lies uncultivated, to difcourage their Enemies from invading them ; and in Fact there is not the leaft Subfiftence to be met with for feveral Miles, whether you enter this Empire from Turkey or India. There are however fome fruitful Plains and Vallies, in which their principal Cities ftand, which yield Plenty of Grain, and Herbage, and no Country is more fruitful, than the Provinces which lie upon the Cafpian Sea, as has been already oblerved. But then Hyrcania is very unhealthful in Summer time, which fome apprehend proceeds from the Multitude of Snakes and Infects, which lie rotting upon the Ground, when the Waters are dried up, as well as from the Foulnefs of the Water itfelf, which is fo thick and muddy, that there is no drinking it at that Seafon of the Year.
As to Perfia in general, there is not a tenth Part of it cultivated, not but that there are many Valleys which bear neither Grafs nor Grain at prefent, which formerly when greater Care was taken to turn the Waters into them, were fruifful Countries. In fome Provinces, there are hundreds of fine Aquaducts, choaked up and buried in Ruins, fo that it is not fo much a Defeet in the Soil, as the Want of People, or at leaft of Hurbandmen, which renders Perfica barren. The Soil in fome Parts is a hard Gravel, and in others a ftiff whitifh Clay, almoft as hard as Stone, but either of them are fruifful enough, when well watered, and will bear offen two Crops, and fometimes three in the Compals of a Year ; and if we give any Credit to ancient Authors, there was not a more plentiful Country in the World than Perfia was formerly; the Reafon of this Alreration fome afcribe to the different Difpoficions of the People, who have inhabited it. The ancient Perfians, the Fire-worfhippers, it is faid, were obliged by the Precepts of their Religion, to cultivate the Soll, and it was by them accounted a meritorious act, to plant a Tree, tobring the Water into a Field, and make a barren Spot of Earth produce Grals or Grain, while the Mabome tans feem to have no Genius for Improvements, or even to keep up what their Anceftors have built or planted, but let every Thing run to ruin; however, one Reafon of this Neglect may be, that the Properties of the People are in no Security, and no Wonder they have but little Inclination to make Improvements, when they have no Certainty of reaping the Advantage of them.
6. Near great Towns they improve their Grounds with the Dirt and Dung of the Streets, but at a greater Diftance, they throw their Fields into little level Squares, which they bank about, and then turn the Water into them, letting it ftand in the Field all Night, which having foaked it , the Water is let out next Morning, and the Sun fhining with almoft perpendicular Rays upon the moint Earth, renders it fit for the Production of any Sort of Grain or Plants. Where the Ground is Light

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they plow with two or three Oxen or Buffalos; but in Gilan and other Countries, where they meet with a filf Clay, it is as much as eight or ten Oxen can do to draw their Ploughs which are very large! Rice, Wheat and Barley, are almoft the only Kinds of Grain growing in Persar; Oats they have none, and little or no Rye. Their Seafons are not the fame in the North as in the South, but when they are Sowing in one Part of the Country, they are reaping in another, and in fome Places, it is not more than three Months between Seedtime and Harveft.

Their Land never lies fallow, but it is fown once every Year, at leaft, it is fo meliorated and enriched by being flowed, and the Heat of the Sun afterwards working on the Mud, that it is never out of Heart. As to the Rice, it muft be conftantly fupplied with Water till the Harveft; but for other Grain, the Land is only flowed before the fowing, to render it prolifick. Their Kitchen Gardens are well furnifhed wish moft of the Roots and Salads we have in Europe; they have no lefs than twenty feveral Sorts of Melons during the Seafon they laft, which is about four Months, the common People make them their conftant Food, thore which come to Maturity firft in the Spring are round and fmall, thofe that ripen in the latter Part of fe Seafon are the bett and largeft, fome of them weigh eight or ten Pounds, and are as fweet as Sugar itfelf ; at the Tables of Perfons of Quality they have them all the Year round, there being a Way to preferve them under Ground till the Seafon returns again, and it is faid, fome Perfons will eat eight or ten Pound of Melons at a Meal, without being fick. The beft Melons grow in Cboraflan near Tartary, and they are carried as far as Ifpabon for the Shah's Ure, and as Prefents to their Friends. Cucumbers are another Fruit much eaten by the common People, one Sort of them has fcarce any Seeds in it, and is eaten without paring or drefling, and is not reckoned unwholfome.
7. Of Grapes they have feveral Kinds, and fome of them are fo large, that a fingle Grape is a Mouthful. They make their Wine at Ifpaban of the Kifmim's, a little round Grape, and without any Stone that can be perceived, but much the beft Wines are made at Sbiraz. They keep their Grapes all Winter, and let them hang a confiderable Time on the Vine, wrapped up in Linnen Bags; the Air is fo dry, that it preferves all kinds of Fruit as long as they can defire. Dates are reckon'd one of the moft delicious Fruits in this Country, they are no where fo good as in Perfin, the Pulp which enclofes the Stone is a clammy Subitance, as fweet as Honey; they are laid on Heaps when they are ripe, and melting, candy or preferve themfelves with out Sugrar. Foreigners are advifed to eat moderately of them, becaufe they Heat the Blood, and occafions Ul. cers in thofe who are not ufed to them, and fometimes weaken the Sight, but have no ill Effects upon the Na tives; the Tree which bears them is nender, but very tall, and like other Palms, has no Branches but on the Top, and the Fruit grows in Clufters of thirty or forty Pounds Weight ; the Tree does not bear till it is fifteen Years old, but continues bearing above a hundred Years. There are in Perfia moft of the Fruits which are to be had in Europe, and they would be in much greater Perfection, if they knew any Thing of Gardening, but they underftand neither grafting, inoculating, or the Art of managing $D$ warf-trees; all their Trees run up very high, and are loaded with Wood. They have excellent Apricots of feveral Kinds, which are in Seafon one after the other, and their Nectarines and Peaches weigh fixteen or eighteen Ounces a-piece; there is an Apricot red within, which is call'd, the Egg of the Sun; there are dried and exported in vaft Quantities; they are boiled in Water, which is thickened by the Juice of the Fruit, and makes a perfect Syrup without Sugar.
Apples and Pears grow chiefly in the North Part of Perfia, they have alfo Pomegranates of feveral Kinds, with Oranges, Quinces, and Prunes, and fuch Variety of Fruits, that Sir Fobn Cbardin fays, he has feen above fifty Sorts at an Entertainment, fome of which grew three hundred Leagues from the Place. The Piftachio Nutsare
almoft peculiar to Perfa, and are tranfported all the Worid over; here are alfo Small-nuts, Filberds and Almonds. Olives grow in Hyrcania, near the Cafpian Sea, but they neither know how to preferve them, nor draw Oil in the beft Manner from them. They have alfo Plantations of Sugar and Tobacco.
8. Among other Trees in their Gardens, they have the Cyprefs, the Palm, and the Mulberry, of the laft there are large Plantations for their Silk Worms, which they dont fuffer to grow up to be grear Trees, becauíe the Leaves are beft, when the Shoors are young. They root up the Trees therefore when they grow old, and plant their Grounds afrefh. But the Tree which is n as great Efteem as any in Perfla, is the Senna; the Body of this Tree is very large, and frequently forty or fify Foot high, and frait as the Matt of a Ship, having no Branches but on the Head of it ; the Bark is of bright Grey, and the Wood ferves them to make Doors, Rafters, and for other Ufes in Building. The Trees that are moft common in Perfia are the Plane-tree, the Willow, the Fir, and the Cornel-tree; the Plane-tree the Pcrfans imagine is a Prefervative againft the Plague, and orher contagious Diftempers, and obferve, that the Plague has never raged in Ifpaban fince this Tree was planted in their Streets and Gardens. The Trees alfo which bear the Gall Nut is very common in many Parts of Perfa, and there are Trees which yield Gunz Maftich, and Frankincenfe ; that which produces Frankincenfe very much refembles a Pear-tree, and abounds chiefly in Carmania.
There are likewife Trees which produce Manna of feveral Sorts: The beft Manna has a yellowifh Caft, a large coarfe Grain, and comes from Choraffan or Bactria; there is another Sort called Tamerisk, becaufe the Tree it drops from is fo named, and is found in large Quantities in the Province of Sufiana; and there is a third Sort gathered about Ifpaban, which falls from a Tree much like the Tamerisk, but larger; the Leaves of this Tree drop liquid Manna in Summer-time, which the Natives take to be the Sweat of the Tree congealed upon the Leaf in the Morning ; the Ground under it is perfectly fat and greafy with it, and this has as fweet a Tafte as other Manna.
The Cotton-Tree is common all over Perfa, and they have another little Tree, which yields a kind of filken Down, ufed for Quilting and Stuffing of Pillows: there is alfo a Plant, called Hannah, that bears a Seed which they beat to Powder, and colour their Hands and Feet, and fometimes rub over their Faces with it, apprehending it keeps their Skin fmooth, and preferves their Complexion ; they fometimes bruife the Leaves of it, which ferves them for the fame Purpofe.

There are found in the Defarts of Carmania, two little Shrubs of a poifonous Quality, the firft is called Galbad Samour, or the Flower that poifons the Wind fome People imagining that it is this occafions thofe killing Winds which blow in this Province in the hot Seafon; the other Shrub is called Herzebre, the Trunk whereof is about as big as a Man's L.eg, and grows about fix Foot high ; its Leaves are almoft round, and it bears a Flower like the Sweet-Briar. There are fearce any Trees to be found on the Mountains, or wild Fields in Perfia; thefe are for the moft Part deftitute of all Manner of Verdure, while in their Cities, and the Villages for three or four Leagues round them, the Streets as well as Gardens are fo well planted, that the Houfes are hardly to be difcerned at a Diftance; when you have travelled fome few Leagues, indeed you meet not either with Houfe, Tree, or Shrub, for many Miles, but all looks like a barren Defart, notwithftanding which, great Part of this Soil, were it watered, would be as fruitful as the other, and actually was fo fome Ages fince, when a more induftrious Generation, than the prefent, poffeffed the Country.

From their Trees, I pals on to their Flowers, and of thefe there is a great Variety to be found in fome Provinces. The South Part of Perja has much the feweft; exceffive Heat being as deftructive to them, as extreme Cold; but nothing can be more beautiful than the Fields of Hyrconia, where are whole Groves
of Orange-trees, Jeflamins, and all the Flowers we have in Europe. The Eaft Part of this Country, which is called Mazenderan, is one continued Parterre from September to April; the whole Country at that Time is covered with Flowers, and this, though it be their Winter Seafon, is alfo the belt Time for Fruits. In the other Months the Heat is fo exceffive, that the Natives find themfelves under a Neceflity of retiring to the Mountains.

In Media the Fields produce Tulips, Anemonies, and Ranunculus's; about Ipaban, and fome other Towns, Jonquils grow wild. They have alfo Daffodils, Lillies, Violets, and Pinks in their Seafon, and fome Flowers which laft ali the Year round; but they have the greateft Quantity of Lillies and Rofe; they export abundance of Role-water to other Countries; in the Spring, there is vaft Plenty of yellow and red Gillyfiowers, and another red Flower which refembles a Clove, of a beautiful Scarlet Colour, and every Sprig bears thirty of thefe Flowers, which form a fine Head as large as a Tennis Ball.
Their Rofes are white, yellow, and red, and others white on one Side and yellow on the other; buc notwithftanding all this great Variety of beautiful Flowers, their Gardens are not comparable to thofe of Europe. As Flowers are fo common they are very little regarded; you fee them intermix'd with Fruit-trees and Rofebufhes without any Order; but large Walks planted with Trees, Fountains, Canals, Cafcades, and Pleafure Houfes at proper Diftances, are all that muft be expecpected in their fineft Gardens; nor do the Perfans take any Manner of Pleafure in walking in them, any more than in the Fields; but fet themfelves down in fome Alcove or Summer houfe as foon as they come into them, totally negligent of that exquifite Variety that every Foreigner is charmed with.
8. Perfia alfo affords great Plenty of phyfical Drugs, as Caffa, Senna, Antimony, Nui Vomica, Gum Armoniac, Galbanum, Sal Armoniac, and a Kind of Rbubarb, with which they purge their Cattle; but the beft Rbubarb comes from Cbina, or rather from Eaftern Tariary, which lies to the Northward of Cbina. The Perfian Poppies are in great Efteem from the Quantity of Juice they yield, and the Strength of it ; they grow four Foot high in fome Places, and have white Leaves. They extract the Juice from them in Fune, when they are ripe; by making little Incifions in the Head of the Poppy, a thick Liquor diftills from them, which is gathered very early in the Morning before Sun-rife. It is faid to have fuch an Effect on the People, who are employed in this Work, that they look as if they had been buried and taken up again, and their Limbs tremble as if they had the Paliy. The Liquor which is thus drawn from the Poppies, in a latle Time grows thick, and is made up into Pills. The Porfions give it the Name of Afoum, and we, probably from thence, call it Opium. The Perfian Bakers ftrew Poppy-feed on their Bread, which incline thofe that eat it to Sleep, and the eating it is not reckoned unwholfome after their Meals ; the common People eat the the Seed at any Time almoft for Pleafure.

Saffron grows plentifully in Perfia, and Afa Fatida is to be had every where almoft, which is much admired by the Natives of Perfia as well as India, and frequently eaten with their Food; that which to us is moft offenfive of all Scents, by them is efteemed a Perfume. Affa fretida is a Liquor which diftills from the Plant called Hiltot ; it thickens after it is drawn, and grows as hard as Gum ; there is the white and black Kinds of it, of which the white is reckoned the beft to eat. The Smell of this Drug is fo very ftrong, that if any Goods be near it in a Ship, the Smell is communicated to them, let them be wrapped up ever fo clofe, and it is almoft impofible to clear them of it; nay, it affects the Colour, and therefore Sir Fobn Cbardin tells us, the Veffels ufed in tranfporting it are frequently broke up and burned, to prevent other Goods from being fpoiled by being carried in them, from which no Package can fave them.

The Perfan Bezoar is efteemed preferable to that of Indig, which having already defcribed, we thall not
dwell upon it here. It is fufficient to obferve, that the Reafons it is not fo much efteemed in Europe as it was formerly, are thefe; in the firt place, it is frequently fophiticated, notwithtanding that feveral Methods are in Ule for detecting thefe Frauds, of which I thall mention a few. The genuine Bezoar, at leaft that which comes from Perfa, has a very fine Smell refembling that of Ambergreafe, but not near fo ftrong; if thrown into hot Water, and left there for three or fout Hours; it lofes Nothing either of its Colour or Weight ; if prickt with a hot Iron, no Smoke arifes ; if rubbed upon a Leaf of Duich Vellum, it leaves a yellow Impreffion ; if broke or cut, it appears to be compofed of feveral Coats unequally difpofed, in the fame Manner as appears in cutting an Onion. Another Reafon why it has loft its Credit, is the Humour People have of embracing the contrary Extream to that of their Anceltors 3 heretofore Bezoar was fold very dear, and was held to have many and great Virtues, and now it is fafhionable to affirm that it has little or no Vircue at all ; which though it has driven it out of Ufe, has not much beat down its Price, becaufe in the Eaft, and even in ocher Parts of Europe, it is ftill in Efteem.

A third Reafon is, our giving it in two fmall Dofes; fo that its Virtues are not difcernable. A famous Per. ficn Phyfician had a great Secret for curing Lunacy which he fold to a French Gentleman for a large Sum of Money, and this Secret confifted in giving equal Quantities of Bezoar, Musk, and Camphire, as I found in a French Manufript of Receipts, in which it is faid, that very fingular Cures were performed by it; but the Quantities of thefe Drugs in a Dofe were not mention'd,
In the Province of Chorafan they. frequently find human Bodies preferved in the Sand, the Flefl of which they fell under the Name of Nummy, for medicinal Ufes; and there are alfo fuch Bodies found in a Cavern not for from the Borough of Abin, in the Province of Farfitan. It is however neceffary to inform the Reader, that in the Perfian and Turki/b Languages, the Word Moum, from whence we have formed Mummy, fignifies literally a foft clammy Subftance, of the Confiftency of Balfam, which explains fufficiently what is meant by mineral Mummy, which is a Kind of natural Balfam diftilling thro' the Rock of a large Cavern in the Province of Lar, efteemed fo precious, that the Shah keeps it entirely for his own Ufe, the Doors of this Cave being fealed by the Governor of Lar, who opens it only once a Year, to take out the Balm, the Quantity of which feldom exceeds ten Ounces. A Multitude of Virtues are afcribed to it, particularly in the Cure of Fractures, in which it is faid to perform Wonders ; but it may very well be doubted, whether any of this was ever brought into Eirope.
9. We will now proceed to fpeak of the Animals that are found in Perfia, and in Reference to thefe, the Camel, for a Beaft of Burthen, much excells all the reft, whether we confider the Weight he carries, the Difpatch he makes, or the little Charge of keeping him. Of thefe Camels there are feveral Kinds : fome have two Bunches upon their Backs, and others but one, and there is a third Sort, ingenders'd between a Dromedary or Camel, with two Bunches, and a Female with one, which are efteemed much the beft, and fold for twenty or thirty Pounds a-piece, for they are feldom tired, and will carry nine hundred or a thoufand Weight Thofe which travel between the Perfian Gulph and Ifpaban are of a much lefs Size, and do not carry above five or fix hundred Weight ; but thefe, notwithftand ing, are almoft as ferviceable as the other, for they are much fwifter, and will gallop like a Horfe, whereas the others feldom go fafter than a Foot Pace. Thefe fwift Camels are kept by the Shah and great Men, and ferve to tranfport their Women from Place to Place, and carry their Baggage; they are ufually adorned with embroidered Cloths, and filver Bells about their Necks; a String of fix or feven of them are tied together when they travel, and governed by one Man; they ufe neither Bridles nor Halter to hold them, or Whips to drive them, but they are directed by the Driver's Voice, who fings or plays to them as they travel; good

Ufage only moves them, for they are naturally fo obftinate, it is in vain to beat them if they tire.
When they are to take up their Burthen, the Driver touches their Knees, whereupon they lie down on their Bellies till they are loaded, groaning however, and giving Signs of Uneafinefs, under a Senfe of the Fatigue they are about to undergo; they let them graze by the Road-fide, with their Burthens on their Backs, on Weeds and Thiftles, and fometimes they feed them with Balls made up of Barley Meal and Chaff, into a Pafte, with which they often mix the Cotton-Seed; but the Camel is the leaft Feeder of any Beaft, confidering his Bulk. It is very happy alfo that they can live without Water swo or three Days together, there being fcarce any to be met with in thofe Deferts the Caravans are forced to crofs. They fhed all their Hair every Spring, and are perfectly naked. Of the Camels Hair, abundance of fine Stuffs are made, as we fhall fhew in Speaking of Manufactures; thefe Creatures are very tame and tracEable, except when the lufful Fit is upon them, which lafts thirty or forty Days, and then they are very unruly, which makes their Drivers increafe their Burthens at that Time, to keep them under. When once the Male has cover'd the Female, he grows fluggifh, and does not care for ftirring out of the Stable: They go with young eleven Months, and fome fay twelve.
Oxen, Buffaloes, Affes and Mules, are alfo ufed indifferently for carrying of Paffengers, or Burthens, and their Land being plowed by Buffaloes and Oxen, thefe Beafts are very feldom killed for Food, though fome Perfian Governors, in the South of Perfia, have extorted confiderable Sums out of the Indian Banians, who refide thereabouts, under Pretence they would order them to be butchered, if the Banians did not redeem their Lives by a confiderable Prefent. The Affes of Perfia, are much larger and fwifter than ours, and will perform a Journey very well.
But the fineft Beafts are their Horfes, thefe are beautiful Creatures, and no where better manag'd than in Perfia. They have fine Forehands, and are exactly well proportion'd, light and fprightly, but only fit for the Saddle, or or at leaft, not ufed for any other Purpofe; they are never gelt, and wear their Tails at their full Length; but though they are lovely Creatures to look on, they are neither fo iwift as the Arabian, nor fo hardy as the Tariar Horfes, and the Sbab cherefore has always a Stable of the Arabian Breed. Horfes are very dear in Perfa, fome of them being fold for two or three hundred Pounds, and feldom any that are good for lefs than Fifty. It is not fo much the Scarcity of them, as the Selling fuch Numbers to India and Turkey, which enhances the Price.
They have Mules alfo that carry very well, and are valued, fome of them at thirty or forty Pounds a-piece, and fome Affes at not much lefs, after they have been taught to pace. The ordinary Food for Horfes is Barley and chopt Straw; they have no Mangers in their Stables, but give their Horfes their Corn in Bags. In the Spring they cut green Grafs for their Horfes, but never make any into Hay to be eaten dry; fometimes they feed their Horfes with Balls made of Barley-Meal, as in India; inftead of Litter their own Dung is dried, and beaten to Powder, and laid a Foot deep for them to lie on; and if any of it be wetted, it is dried in the Sun the next Day. Their Horfes Hoofs are much founder and harder than ours, and they are fhod with thin Plates, as the Oxen are, on Account of their travelling over the flony Mountains. They daub their Horles Legs in Winter with a yellow Herb, called Hamnab, and fometimes anoint their Bodies with it as high as their Breaft, to keep out the Cold as it is faid; but it feems to be rather by Way of Ornament, for in fome Places it is done all the Year round.
The Sbab has large Stables of Horfes, difperfed throughout the Kingdom, almoft in every City, for the Publick Service. A Horfe is feldom denied to any Man that demands one, if he will keep him, but then fuch Perfons are accountable to the Government for them, when they fhall be called out into the Field; but they have the Liberty of riding them in the mean Time.

Thefe Troopers Horfes are fometimes quartered upon People, who would gladly be excufed from the Trouble and Charge of keeping them, and if any Horfe dies in their Hands, Oath muft be made, that it did not die for Want of Corn, or looking after. Their Horfes are fubject to many Diftempers, lometimes their Legs fwell, and a Humour rifes on the Breaft, which proceeds from cating too much Barley; and in this Cafe, they clap a hot Iron to the Swelling, or lance it, and keep the Sore open, by tunning a Willow Twig through it, but a hot Iron applied to the Part is the moft general Remedy for lame or diftemper'd Horfes.

Of Sheep and Goats there are great Plenty in Perfia: the Natives feldom eat any other Meat, their Sheep are large, and remarkable for their fat Tails, which weigh eight or ten Pound, and fome it is faid are above twenty Pounds in Weight; they are remarkable alfo in fome Parts of Perfia for having more Horns than ours. Some have fix or feven Horns ftanding ftrait out of their Forehead, fo that when their Rams engage, there is ufually a great deal of Blood fpilled in the Battle. The Perfian Goats are not only valuable for their Flefh, but the fine Wool they yield, of which great Quantities are annually exported, more efpecially from Carmania. Hogs there are farce to be met with, for as the $M a$ bometans, who are the governing Part of the Country, abhor this Animal, their Chriftian Subjects do not endeavour to encreare the Breed, unlefs towards Georgia and Armenia, where the Chriftians are numerous.

Wild Beafts there are not many, either in the Middle, or the Southern Part of Perfia. Deer they have fome, and Antelopes, which are much of the fame Nature, except that they are fpotted, and have finer Limbs. In Gilan and Curdifan, the woody Parts of the Country, wild Beafts abound, fuch as Lions, Tygers, Leopards, wild Hogs, Jackals, E'c. And in Media and Armenia, there are Abundance of Deers, wild Goats, Hares and Rabbits, and there are fome found on the Mountains almoft all over the Country, but not many.

Infects they are not much troubled with in the Heart of Perfia, which is very dry, unlefs it be with Swarms of Locufts, which vifit them fometimes in fuch Numbers, that they look like a Cloud, and perfectly obfcure the Sun, and wherever they light deftroy the Fruits of the Earth; but there are certain Birds which generally vifit the Country about the fame Time, and eat up the Locufts, and fo prevent the Ruin of the Hufbandmen. That Part of the Country which lies upon the Cafpian or Hyrcamian Sea, is full of Serpents, Toads, Scorpions, and other venemous Infects, which in Summer-time die, many of them for want of Water, and infect the Air, rendring that Part of the Country very unhealthy at that Seafon.

Scorpions particularly there are of an immoderate Size, and their Sting is mortal, if proper Remedies be not immediately applied, and at beft a Perfon fturg by one of them, is in fuch Torture, that he becomes raving mad for fome Time. Musketoes or Gnats are very troublefome in the flat Country, near the Cafpian Sea; and there is a white Fly no bigger than a Flea in Perfia, which makes no Noife, but its Scing is like the Prick of a Pin. Here is alfo the Millepedes, almoft like a Caterpillar, and whofe Bite is as pernicious as the Sting of a Scorpion, the Perfians call them Hezarpai, or a thoufand Feet.

1o. There are the fame Sorts of tame and wild Fowl in Perfia as in Europe; as Geefe, Hens, Ducks, Partridges, Snipes, $\mathcal{E}^{\circ}$. ; but more of them in the North than in the South Part of the Country. Turkeys have been carried to I/paban, but they do not thrive. The Breed of Pidgeons they take all imaginable Care to increafe and propagate, on Account of their Dung, with which they raife their Melons. Their Dove-houfes are five Times as large as ours, of a round Figure, and handfomely built of Brick; of thefe, it is faid, there are not lefs than three thoufand in the City of Ifpaban only. The Dung is always fold for four Pence the Bifty, or twelve Pounds Weight, and the Government, it feems,
lay a fmall Tax upon it. Their Partridges are reckoned the largeft and beft tafted that are to be met with.

The Pellican, which the Perfans call Tacob, or the Water-drawer, is as remarkable as any of their Fowls, for the Body of it is faid to be as large as a Sheep, its Head at the fame Time wondrous fmall, but a large Bill of fixteen or eighteen Inches long, as big as a Man's Arm, and under the Bill there is a large Bag, Travellers reil us, which will hold a Pail of Water; they build their Nefts in the Defarts, where there is no Water, and confequently no Inhabitants for their Security, and frequently go two Days Journey for Water for their young ones; but then they bring enough in the Receptacle above-mentioned to laft for fome Time, if we may give entire Credit to thefe Accounts.

There is another extraordinary Bird, mentioned by Travellers, in the Province of Cborafjan, which has fuch an Appetite towards the Water of a certain Spring in that Country, and fuch Sagaciry in difcovering it, that they will follow any Perfon that carries it in a Bottle, feveral Hundreds of Miles. As to Eagles, Hawks, Falcons, and other Birds of Prey, there is no Country where they have more, or where they are better inftructed than in Perkia. The Shah has eight hundred or a thoufand of them, and there is no Man of any Figure without his Hawks and his Falconers ; and their Hawks are taught not only to fly at Birds, but at Hares, Deer, and all Manner of wild Beafts, and by fixing themfelves on the Head of the Animal, and beating him with their Wings, he is fo terrified and diltracted, that the Dogs and Huntfmen which follow have very little Difficulty in taking him; and the Perfians, it is faid, breed up the very Crows to fly at Game.

There are the fame Kinds of Singing-birds in Perfaa as with us, fuch as the Liner, the Chaffinch, the Nightingale, the Lark, $E^{2} c$; and fome Birds there are which are taught to fpeak, but no Parrots or Parrokeets on this Side India. However, there are feveral partycolour'd Birds to be feen in Perfia, with a Plumage of blue, green, and yellow, bautitully mixed. Of Sparrows there are fuch Numbers, that they are very troublefome to the Husbandmen, who are forced to place their Servants in the Fields all Day long when the Harveft approaches, to keep thems from their Corn.

In the Heart of Perfia there are fcarce any Fifh to be met with, the few Rivulets they have hardly fupplying the Country with Water for neceffary Ufes, and in the Summer time they are almoft all dried up; even the River Zenderbood, to which the Government, at a prodigious Expence, have joined other Screams for the Supply of the City of IJpaben, is perfectly loft in the fandy Defarts about twenty Leagues from thence; and it may be doubted whether there be one Stream which rifes in the Middle of the Kingdom that ever reaches the Sea in the Summer; tho' in the Spring, when the Snow melts on the Mountains, they make a confiderable Figure. In the Cafpion Sea and the Perfian Gulph, there are great Plenty of Sea-fifh of all Kinds almoff, and the Rivers Kur and Arras; which fall into the Cajpian, have Plenty of River-fifh, but they lie at too great a Diftance from Ifpabain to fupply that City; fo that Fifh is very rarely eaten there.
11. We are to fpeak next of the Metals and Minerals in this Country; and to proceed methodically, we ought to begin with thofe of Gold and Silver, if any were now wrought in Perfia, but there are not; for, notwithftanding what old Writers relate of the rich Mines in Baefriona, and that almoft all the Perfian Authors agree that there are Mines of this Metal in Cborafan, yet from the Neighbourhood of the Tartars they have been long neglected; and it is che fame with refpect to the Si:ver Mines in other Places, tho' from the Accounts lately given by Tavernier, one would fufpect that the Perfans are but indifferently skilled in the Art of Mining, and that of refining of Metals; they have, however, good Mines of Iron, Steel, Copper, and Lead. The Iron and Steel Mines are in Hirconia, Media, and the Provinces of Erak and Cborafan; their Steel is fo full of Sulphur; that if the Filings are thrown into the Fire, they will give a Report like Gunpowder ; is has a fine Vol. II. N? CXXX.

Grain, but is as brittle as Glafs, and the Perfian Artificers, who do not undertand how to give ir a due Temper, cannot for that Reafon make Whecls or Springs, or any minute Pieces of Workmanfhip. Theit Copper Mines are moft of them near Seris, in the Mountains of Mazenderan; they mix it with Swedifh and Fopan Copper, and the Proportion is one Part foreign to twenty of their own Metal.

The Lead Mines are, moft of them, near the City of Cesd, and in thefe are found the greateft Quantity of Silver. Sulphur and Saltpetre are dug in the Mountain Damaverd, which divides Hircania from the Province of Erak. Antimony is found in Carmania, bur it is a baftard Sort. Emery is had near Niris; Vitrioland Mercury they have none, and their Tin is imported from abroad. There are two Kinds of Salt in Perfia, the one upon the Surface of the Ground, the other dug out of the Rock: There are Plains of ten or twelve Leagues over quite covered with Salr, as others are wich Sulphur and Alom. The Salt is fo hard in fome Parts of Carmania, that the poor People make ute of it inflead of Stone to build their Cottages.
Their Marble is either white, black, or red, and fome veined with white and red; it is dug near Hamadan, and in Cbufifon fome of it will break into large Flakes or Tables like Slate, but the beft comes from Tauris, which is almoft as tranfparent as Cryftal. This Kind is white mixed with green. In the Country about Touris alio is found the mineral Azure, but this is nor fo good as that which comes from Tartary, lofing its Colour by Degrees. In the Provinces of Fars and Sbirvon there is found abundance of Bole Armoniack, and fo rich and fat a Marl, that the Country People ufe it inftead of Soap. There are fome Mines of Ianglas in the fame Country. In feveral Parts of Perfa we meet with Naptba, both white and black; it is ufed in Painting and Varnifl, and fometimes in Phyfick, and there is an Oil extracted from it which is applied to feveral Ufes, The moft famous Springs of Naptba are in the Neighbourhood of the Town of Baku, which furnifh vaft Quantities ; and there are alfo upwards of 30 Springs about Sbamaschy, both in the Province of Scbirwoan, The Perfands ufe it as Oil for their Lamps, and in making Fireworks, of which they are extremely fond, and in which they are great Proficients.
But the molt valuable Product of the Perfian Mines is the Turquoife, concerning which there have been fo many Miftakes made, that notwithftanding we find ourfelves preffed for Room, we cannor avoid treating fomewhat largely upon this Subject. In the firt Place, it is afferted, that it derives its Name from Turkey, which is true enough when rightly undertlood, but abfolutely falfe according to the common Acceptation; for there neither is, or never was, any of thefe Stones found in the Dominions of the Turks, but in the Country of Turcomania, which was indeed the Seat of that Nation, tho' for any Thing I know, this has never been obferved by the Writers upon this Subject. Thefe Stones are diftinguifhed into Oriental and Occidental. The Oriental Turquoifes come from Perjia, and from Perfia only; and thefe are diftinguifhed into thofe of the old, and thofe of the new Rock; the former are taken out of the Mines of Nicbapour and Caraflon, and, as Sir Yobn Cbardin juftly oblerves, differ greatly from ocher Stones chat bear the fame Name. They are hard, firm, of a beautiful Blue, inclining a little to a Green, take a fine Polifh, and are never obferved to lofe their Colour. The Shah endeavours to preferve thefe entirely for himfelf; and though after chufing the largeft and the fineft, he permits the fmaller Turquoifes to be fold, yet foreign Merchants are not contented with that Manner of Dealing, but have ftruck out a better. The Officers belonging to the Mines, and their Servants, frequently deceive the Shah, and, inftead of fending him the finctit and largeft, vend thofe for their own Profit, but always to Europeans, that they may be lefs liable to Difcovery; and by this Means very fine Turquoifes find their Way into thefe Parts of the World. The new Rock is at five Miles diftant from the old, and the Stones are fofier, lefs firm, veiny, of a green,

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inclining to blue, and are apt in Procefs of Time, to lofe their Colour. The occidental Turquoifes are found in Bobemia, France, and other Countries, but they are not valued, and have generally the fame Faults with thofe taken from the new Rock.

Dr. Cromwell Mortimer, in the laft Tranfactions of the Royal Society, for the Months of Fanuary and February, 1747. has given us a much better Account of thefe Stones than 1 have ever met with before, and diftinguifhes them very juftly into true and falfe Turquoifes; the former he fays, is a true mineral Subftance, impregnated with Copper Ore, which is highly probable, for there is no Country in the World that has more Copper Mines than Perfia; the latter is an Ivory or bony Subftance, tinctured alfo with fome metallick Juice, and probably that of Copper, which is a Difcovery worthy of Notice, as it frees this Subject from Abundance of Difficulties, under which it has hitherto laboured.
12. After having taken a View of the Country, and of its Produce, we will fpeak next of the Habitations erected upon it, and this will naturally lead us to the principal Cities that yet remain to be defcribed; but without taking a previous View of what with thern paffes for magnificent Buildings, fuch Defcriptions would be in a Manner unintelligible. The Houfes of Perfons of Quality here, are generally built in the Middle of a fine Garden, and make little or no Appearance to the Street, for there you fee nothing but a dead Wall, with a great Gate in the middle of the Wall, and perhaps a Skreen or Wall within the Gate, to prevent Pcople looking in ; fo fond are they of Privacy and Retirement. Another Thing that the Perfians differ from us in, is, that they feldom have more than one Floor, which is laid out in this Manner; in the Front of the Houfe fands a little Piazza or Cloyfter open before, where they fit and tranfact their ordinary Affairs; beyond this is a large Hall, eighteen or twenty Foot high, which is ufed at great Entertainments, or on any folemn Occafions: On the farther Side of the Houfe is another Piazza with a Bafon or Fountain of Water before it, beyond which runs a Walk of fine Trees, as there does allo from the Street to the Houfe : At each Corner of the Hall, is a Parlour or Lodging-Room (for it ferves for both Purpofes;) between thofe Parlours on the Sides, there are Doors out of an Hall into an open fquare Space, as large as the Rooms at the Corners; there are alfo feveral Doors out of the Hall into the Piazza, before and behind the Houfe; fo that in the hot Sealon, they can fet open nine or ten Doors at once in the great Hall, and if there be any Air ftirring, they will have the Benefit of it.

In fome Palaces there is a handfome Bafon, and a Fountain playing in the Middle of the Hat!, which contributes ftill more to the Coolnefs of the Place. The Walls of their Houfes are built fometimes of burnt Bricks, but more commonly of Bricks dried in the Sun. The Walls are of confiderable Thicknefs, and the Roof of the great Hall is arched, and five or fix Foot higher than the other Rooms about it. The Roofs of the Buildings on every Side of the Hall are fat, and there is a Pair of Stairs up to the Top, where the Perfians walk in the Cool of the Day, and fometimes carry up a Mattrefs, and lie there all Night, there being Ballifters all round the Top of the Building. As for the Kitchens and other Offices, they are at a Diftance on the right or left, and it is obfervable, that all their Rooms, except the Hall, ftand feparate, and there is no Paffage out of one into another, but only from the Hall; Chimneys there are fome, but ufually, inftead of a Chimney, there is a round Hole, about four or five Foot broad, and a Foot and a half deep in the Middle of the Room, in which a Charcoal Fire is made, and the Place covered with a thick Board or Table, about a Foot high, fo clofe, that no Smoke can get out, and over that Table is thrown a large Carpet, under which they put their Legs in cold Weather, and fit round, there being a Paffage for the Smoke by Pipes laid under the Floor. The Doors of their Houfes are narrow, and feldom turn upon Hinges as ours do, but chere is a round Piece left at the Top and Bottom of the Door which are
let into the Frame above and beiow, on which they turn, and the very Locks and Bolts are frequently made of Wond.

As to their Furniture, it confifts only in Carpets fpread on the Floor, with Cuthions and Pillows to lean on, and at Night, there is a Mattrefs brought to fleep on, and a Quilt or two to cover them, but very feldom any Sheets are ufed. As to their Servants, they lie about in any Paflage upon Mats, and take up very little Room. The Eloors of the Rooms are either paved or made of a hard Cement, on which they lay a coarfe Cloth, and over that a Carpet: The Sides of fome of their Rooms are lined with fine Tiles about a Yard high, and the reft of them well painted, or hung with Piciures.
${ }^{1}$ S. Ifpatom, or as it is pronounced Spabawn, is fituated in thirty two Degrees, forty Minutes, North Latitude, and in the fiftieth Degree of Longitude, reckoning from the Meridian of London. It ftands in a fine Plain almoft furrounded with Mountains, which lie about two or three Leagues from it, and the Form is pretty near oval. The River Zenderbood runs by it at about a Mile Diftance, but there are feveral Channels and Pipes above the Town, which convey the Water from it into Canals and Bafons, for the Service of the Court and City. 'The Town is without Walls, and about ten or twelve Miles in Circumference. Thofe who extend it ten Leagues take in the Town of Fulpba, and feveral others. There were formerly twelve Gates to the Town, but four of them are now clofed up, the others are always open; as for the Walls which fome Travellers mention, it is probable there was a Mud-Wall formerly, but there is no Part of the Wall vifible at prefent. There is an old Caftle, it is true, without Artillery, which runs to Ruin, but is no more tenable than the Town.

The Streets of 1jpaban are for the moft Part narrow and crooked, and either exceeding Dirty or Dufty, for farce any of them are paved, and though there are no Coaches or Carts, yet all People of Fafhion riding through them with great Trains of Servants, renders the Paffage not very pleafant. There are however fome very fine Squares in the Town, particularly the royal Square or Meydan, into which there opens two of the Palace Gates. On the Sides of this Square, which is one third of a Mile in Length, and more than half as much in Breadth, are Buildings with Shops on both Sides, where every particular Trade has a Quarter affigned, and there is a fecond Story where the Mechanicks have their Working-Shops. There feems to be little Difference between thefe Exchanges and ours, but that thofe of Ifpaban have no Windows but great Openings at proper Diftances to let in the Light, and People ride through them as they do along the Streets.
In the Middle of the Square there is a Market for Horfes and Cattle, and all Manner of Goods and Provifions are expofed to Sale, though the great Sbab Abbas, who built the Square, defigned it for manly Exercifes, and particularly thofe of Horfemanfhip, and handling the Bow and Lance, at which no People are more dextrous than the Perfians. On that Side of the Square next the Palace, there is a fine Row of Trees planted, and a handfome Bafon of Water, and fome great Brafs Guns, which were taken from the Portuguefe at Ormus, ferve to make a Show.

There ftands a great Mofque at the South End of the Square, and another Mofque on the Eaft Side over againt the great Gate of the Palace; feveral Streets in Ifpaban are covered and arched over, which makes them pretty dark, and this feems to be peculiar to the Perfian Towns. Another Thing they feem to be particular in is, that their Houfes and Shops are never in the fame Places, and it is a common Thing for a Tradefman to go half a Mile in a Morning to the Bazar, or Market-place, where his Shop is, and in the Nighttime, they lock up their valuable Goods in Chetts and Counters, and the reft they leave packed up, fometimes in the open Square, and it is very rare any Thing is loft; fo careful are the Watch appointed to guard their Market-Places, or fo very little given to Thieving are the People in this Part of the World, and no Doubt the fpeedy and exemplary Punifhments inflicted upon Pilferers, is one great Means to deter them from it.

## Chap. II.

 of the Empire of Persia. 887As to Foreign Merchants, they lodge their Goods in the publick Caravanfera's about the City, which ferve them alfo inftead of Inns for Lodging and Diet; but there is this Difference between an Inn and Garavanfera, that every Perfon finds his own Bedding and Cookery in the Caravanjera, whereas in our Inns we have not that Trouble. There are two Things, however, that render a Caravanfera preferable to an Inn; one is, that a Perfon is not fubject to the Extortions of an Innkeeper, but buys his Provifions at the beft Hand; and the other, that let the Merchant take up ever fo many Rooms, he fhall not be difturbed in them, and pays but a Trifle for his Warehoufe or Lodgings; and upon the Road he pays Nothing. There are not, it feems, lefs than fifteen hundred of thefe publick Caravanjera's in Ifpaban, which have been ereted by charitable Ptople for the Ufe of Strangers; moft of them are built after one Model, and differ only in the Dimenfions. There is a handfome Portal at the Entrance, on each Side of which are Shops, from whence you enter into a Square, about which there is a Cloifter or Piazza, and within are Lodging-Rooms and Warehoufes for Goods: There is alfo Stabling and Conveniences for Horfes and other Beafts on the ourlide, or they may be brought into the. Square and faftened there, as is frequently done upon the Road more efpecially where there is Danger of Robbers.

As to Taverns, there are none at Itpaban, their Religion prohibiting Wine. However, fome of the Perfians will drink pretty plentifully in private. There are very handfome Coffee-houfes in the principal Parts of the Town, where People meet and talk Politicks, though they have no printed Papers in them, and there we meet with fome Amufements peculiar to the Country, as the Harangues of their Poets, Hiftorians, and Priefts, who hold forth and get a Crowd about them; and it feems they expect a fmall Prefent from their Audience for their Amufements and Inftructions.
14. The Buildings of the Palace, with the Gardens belonging to it, take up above a League in Compafs. The two Gates which come up to the Royal Meydan, or Square, are, one of them called Alicapi, and the other Doulet Cuna; over one of them is a Gallery, where the Shah ufed to fit and fee martial Exercifes performed on Horfeback. No Part of the Palace where the Court refides comes up to the Royal Square ; but having entred the principal Gate, there is a Hall or Court on the Left-hand, where the Vizier and other Judges adminitter Juftice on certain Days ; and on the Right are Rooms where Offenders are allowed to take Sanctuary. From hence to the Hall, where the Shah ufually gives Audience, is a handfome Walk: It is a long Room well painted and gilded, and fupported by forty Pillars; it is divided into three Parts, one a Step higher than the other, on which the great Officers fland according to their Rank. As to hereditary Nobility, there is no fuch Thing in Perfia: On the third Afcent is the Royal Throne, raifed about a Foot and a half above the Floor, and about eight Feet fquare, on which is fpread a rich Carpet; here the Shah fits on it crofs-legged up. on folemn Occafions, having a Brocade Cufhion under him, and another at his Back.
As to the reft of the Apartments of the Palace, and particularly the Haram, or Womens Apartment, neither Foreigners or Natives can give an exact Defcription of them, none being permitted to enter but the Eunuchs ; but in general we are told, that they confift in feparate Pleafure-houfes difpers'd about the Gardens, much of the fame Form with the Houfes firft defcribed, and that their great Beauty confifts in the fine Walks, Fountains and Cafcades about them. Beyond the Gardens the Shah has a large Park walled in, where the Ladies hunt and take their Pleafure with the Prince. In this City are above one hundred and fifty Mofques or Temples, covered with Domes or Cupola's, which appearing through the Trees that are planted almoft all over the Town, in the Streets and Gardens, afford a noble Profpect ; but the common Buildings are fo low, that they are hardly difcerned by one who takes a View of the Town on the Outfide.

All Chriftians being prohibited to enter their Mofques, or even to come within their Courts, under fevere $\mathrm{Pe}=$ nalties, it is not eafy to meet with a particular Defrription of them. There is a Gate which leads to the great Mofque covered with filver Plates. Through this Towr you proceed to a Court with a Piazza or Cloyfter on each Side, where the Priefts lodge who belong to the Mofque. Oppofite to the great G.te are three large Doors which open into it. The five Ines the Mofque is compofed of are beautified with Gold and Azure. In the Middle is the Cupola, fupported by four great fquare Pillars; the Ines on the Sides are lower than that in the Middle, and born upon thick Columns of Free-ftone ; two great Windows towards the Top of the Middle Ine give Light to the whole Mofque ; on the Left-hand towards the Middle ftands a Kind of Pulpi, with fone Steps to go up to it ; the Bricks and Tiles on the Ouffide of the Building are painted with various Colours, after the Manner of PerFa, and the Floor of the Mofque is covered with Carpets, all People putting off their Shoes as they enter it; there are no Seats or Pews as in the Chriftian Temples, or any Kind of Imagery or Pictures. The Outfie is Stone, and the Walls lined fifteen Foot high with white polifhed Marble; and in the Middle of the Square before the Mofque is a large Bafon, where they wafh themfelves before they enter the Temple, The Mofques have, moft of them, Cupola's, with Steeples or Towers, whither the Molla's go up to fummon the People to their Devotions, according to the Mabometara Mode, making no Üfe of Bells.
${ }^{1} 5$. The numerous Hummums or Bagnio's in this City are another Subject of Travellers Admiration; fome of thefe are fquare Buildings, bus mott of them globular. The Stone of which they are built is ufually white and well polifhed; the Tops are covered with Tiles painted blue; the Infides are divided into many Cells or Chambers, fome for Pleafiure, and others for Sweating, and the Floors are laid with black and white Marble. The Perfians bathe almoit every Day, looking upon it to be extremely conducive to Health, an effectual Remedy for Cold, or Aches, and many other Diftempers. But what is admired as much by Foreigno ers as any Thing about Ifpaban, is the Cbarbag, being a Walk above an hundred Yards wide, and extending a Mile in Length, from the City to the River Zenderbood; on each Side are planted double Rows of Trees, and in the Middle runs a Canal, not continued upon a Level, but at every Furlong's Diftance the Water falls into a large Bafon and forms a Cafcade, and the Sides both of the Canal, and Bafons are lined with hewn Stone, broad enough for feveral Men to walk a-breaft upon them. On each Side of this Walk are the Royal Gardens, and thofe of the great Men, with Pleafure Houfes. at fmali Diftances, and all together form as agreeable a Profpect as can be imagined.
At che End of this Walk is a Bridge over the River Zenderbood, which leads to the Town of $\mathcal{F} u l p b a$; there are alfo two other Bridges, one on the Right, and the other to the Left, by which the neighbouring Villages have a Communication with the City, and which moft of our Travellers are pleafed to call its Suburbs, though they are diftant a Mile from IJpaban, and on the other Side the River. Thefe Bridges are taken Notice of for the Oddnefs of the Architefure, for it feems on each Side, both above and below, are arched Paffages, thro ${ }^{\circ}$ which People ride and walk from one End of the Bridge to the other, as in the covered Streets of the City; and at little Diftances there are Openings to admit the Light. The Arches of thefe Bridges are not very high, there being no Veffels to pafs under them, for this River is not navigable any more than the reft of the Perfian Streams. It is true, in the Spring, on the melting of the Snows in the Mountains, it makes a pretty good Appearance, but at the latter End of the Summer the Channel is exceeding narrow and fhallow, infomuch that there is not Water enough for the Gardens which belong to the City ; to fupply the Want whereof they have abundance of Wells about $1 / \mathrm{p}$ aban, of very good Water for all Domeftick Ufes.
16. The
16. The Town, or rather the Borough of Juipba, Itands on the South-fide of the River Zenderbood; and though there are many who look upon it as a Suburb of Ijpaban, yer it certainly deferves to be confidered by itfelf, as being a very large and a very conilderable Town, the Buildings of which are more regular, and to the fall as thagnificent as thofe of Ifpaban. It is generally reckoned two Miles in Length, and about a Mile in Breadth, and is beyond Comparifon, taking all Circumftances together, the fineft Place in Perfia; for, with refpect to Houres, Trade, Manufactures, and Induftry, there is nothing comes near it ; and as to beauziful Walks of Trees, cooling Shades, delightful Fountains, pleafant Gardens, and magnificent Summer-houfes, they are every where to be mer with. The principal Xohabitants are the Armenions, and beffdes thefe, there are Georgians, Circaffians, Mingrelians, and other Chrifrians, bur no Mabometans, who dwell in it. The Foundation of this Place, and the Rife of the Armerians, who are now as confiderable Merchants as any in the World, are Events that deferve our Notice.

It was the famous Shah Abbas who firft took Notice of the Candour, Affability, Diligence, Penetration, and Integrity of the Armenians, in the Management of their little Concerns in their native Country, where they were liable to the Incurfions of the Perfians and the Turks. He was not only an ambitious and powerful, but a very wife and prudent Prince; he was defirrous of introducing Trade into his Dominions, where, till his Reign, it was hardly known; and no lefs defirous of infpiring his Subjects with the fame Views, who were fitte acquainted therewith. In order to accomplifh thefe great and laudable Defrgns, he thought it proper to eftablifh a Staple Commodity, by Way of Foundation, and for that Purpofe, fixed upon Sills. He then tranfported twenty or thirty Armenians into the Province of Gilan, where they acquitted themfelves fo well, that in a very fhort Space of Time vaft Quantities of Silk were made there. Encouraged by this happy Beginning, he demolifhed the Town of Old Fulpha in Armenia, as has been fhewn in the former Section, and tranfported the Inhabitants into the Neighbourhood of Ifpaban, where by his Royal Munificence, and under his powerful Protec tion, they built the Place of which we are now fpeak ing, and by his Direction undertook to diftribute all rhe Silk that was not wrought up by Perfian Manufacturers, through Afia and Europe, a reafonable Price being firft fixed, which at their Return they were obliged to pay, all the Profit being left to themfelves; when it was neceffary, the Shah advanced them Money for carrying on their Commerce, but by Degrees, and as they grew wealthy, the Government no longer took any Share in their Trade.
In this Manner, from the right Notions of one Man, and from his jutt Views for the Benefit of his Subjects, arofe all the Trade of the Armerians, who are now be come a Nation of Merchants, and carry on the moft extenfive Dealings of any People in the World; for befides their Eftablifmments here, and in all the great Cities of Perfia, they ipread over the whole Eaft, carry on a prodigious Trade in Ruflia, and have Factors of their own Nation in moft of the great Trading Cities in Europe. In fhort they are become as noted in this refpeet as the feres; but what redounds eternally to their Repusation, their Application to Trade, and their Dealings as Brokers, has not in the leaf leffened their Character, for Candour or Probity; they are diligent, affable and difcreet, but content with a moderate Profit, ferve thofe that employ them faithfully, are grateful to their Benefactors, love each other as Brechren, and are extreamly ufeful to all the Countries in which they are fetcled. This Digreffion in Favour of fuch a Sort of Men, and in order to ezplain the Prudence and publick Spisit of Sbab Abbas their Patron, and fuch of his Succeffors as chofe to tread in his Steps, we thought might be agreeable to the Reader, though it carried us a little out of our Road, to which we fhall now return, in order to concinue the Defcription, we have promifed of the principal Cities in Perfia, before thofe Confufions began that have produced fuch fatal Alterations.

The City of Scbiras or Sberaz, as we pronounce it, lies about two hundred Miles to the Southward of If. paban, in twenty nine Degrees, fifty Minutes of NortiLatitude, and is ufually reckoned the fecond. City of the Kingdom. It is the Capital of the Province of Fars, or the ancient Perfia; fome will have the Name derived from Cyrus the Great, there being a Tradition that he was buried there; others fay it is derived from Sherab, which in the Forfan Tongue, fignifies a Grape, becaufe that Fruit abounds in this Place; and others from the Word Sbeer, which fignifies Millk; but as it is not very material from whence the Name is derived, fo I believe it is impoffible to determine at this Day. The Town is feated in a pleafant fertile Valley, about twenty Miles in Length, and fix in Breadth, and has a Rivuler running through it, which in the Spring bas the Appearance of a large River, and fometimes encreafes to fuch a Torrent as to bear down the Houfes in its Way, but in the Summer is almoft dry. There are no Walls about the Place, nor does it contain above four thouFand Houfes at prefent: The Compafs of ir is reckon'd to be abour feven Miles, but then it is to be confider'd that much the greateft Part of this Space is Garden.
The publick Buildings taken Notice of, are the Viceroy's Palace, the Mofques, Bagnio's, the vaulted Streets and Caravanfera's, which being of the fame Model as thofe of Ifpaban, do not need a particular Defrription here; only it is obfervable, that they lee moft of their Buildings run to Ruin, as in orher Towns of Perfia; every Generation chufing to build new Houfes, rather than ufe thofe of their Anceftors. It is remarked alfo, that there is no Place where the Mabometan Superftition prevails more than here, there being a Mofque or Temple to every twenty Houfes almof, their Domes covered with blue varnifhed Tiles, make a pretty Appearance among the Trees; here is alfo a College where the liberal Arts are ftudied, of which the Fame is great for breeding many Perfons of renown'd Learning.
The Streets of Sberaz are, for the moft part, narrow and dufty, but there are fome broad ones with Canals and Bafons, faced with Stone : But what Sheraz is mofer remarkable for, is, the fine Gardens and Vineyards about it. The Cyprefs-Trees, of which their Walks are chiefly compofed, are the talleft and largeft that are any where to be found, and grow in a pyramidal Form; ; intermix'd with thefe are feveral broad fpreading Trees, and all Manner of Fruits, as, Pomegranates, Oranges, Lemons, Cherries, Pears, Apricots, Dates, $\xi^{\circ} c$. None of thefe are planted againft Walls as with us, but fland in the Allies, and fometimes irregularly, as in a Wildernefs. They have alfo Abundance of fweet Flowers of various Colours, but not planted in that regular Order as in the Gardens of Europe. Their Vineyards and Wines are preferable to any in Perfia, and the Canals, Cafcades, Fourtains, and Pleafure-Honfes in their Gardens, are not at all inferior to thofe of Ifpaban. The Shah's Garden here is no lefs than two thoufand Paces fquare, and furrounded with a Wall fourteen Foor high, but of late Years, the Gardens, as well as the Buildings of Sheraz, Gave been pretty much neglected.
38. Thirty Miles to the North Eaft of Sberaz are found the nobleft Ruins of an ancient Palace or Temple, that are now to be feen on the Face of the Earth; êven. Rome itfelf, as it is faid, has nothing comparable to thefe venerable Remains of Antiquity; the Place at this Day is called Cbilmaner, or forty Pillars. Mr. Herbert fays, it was built upon a Mountain of dark coloured Marble, and the Steps hew'd out of the folid Rock; but others who have viewed it more narrowly fince, obferve, that the Steps are compofed of large Stones, fifteen or fixteen Foot in Length, and of fuch a Thicknefs, that fix or feven Steps are cut out of one Stone, the whole being fo artificially joined, that they appear to be but one Piece, which might eafily occafion Mr. Herbert to miftake. It is feated at the North-eaft End of that fpacious Plain where Per $\int$ epolis once ftood, and generally held to be part of the Palace of Darius, who was conquered by Alexander the Great. The Front of this Palace ftood towards the Weft, and was about five hundred Paces in Length, the whole taking up near
threefcore
threefcore Acres of Ground. The Afcent to it is by ninety five Steps, thirty Feet in Length, and twenty Inches broad, but not more than three Inches deep, fo that a Horfe may eafily go up or down them. The Stair-Cafe divides as you afcend, one Branch winding to the right, and the other to the left ; each having a Wall on one Side, and a Marble Balluftrade on the other ; afterwards both Branches turn again, and end at a large fquare Landing place, from whence you go into a Portico of white Marble, twenty Foot wide. On it are carved in Bafs relievo, two Beafts as big as Elephants, but their Bodies are like Horfes, and their Feet and Tails like Oxen.

Ten Feet farther ftand two fluted Columns of whitifh Stone, about fixty Feet high, befides their Capitals and Bafes, and as thick as three Men can fathom; a little farther ftand two other Pilafters, carved like the firf, only that the Beafts on the latter have W.ings and Men's Heads. Beyond this Portal or Hall is fuch another double Stair-Cafe, leading to the upper Rooms, twenty five Feet broad, but incomparably more beautiful than the former, for on its Walls are carved in Bafs Relief, a kind of Triumph, confifting of a great Train of People, in diftinct Companies, carrying fome Banners, and others Offerings, and after all comes a Chariot drawn by feveral Horfes, with a little Altar upon it, from whence the Flames of Fire feem to afcend. On the other Side are carved wild Beafts fighting, and among others, a Lion and a Bull are cut with greàt Exactnefs, and fo hard is the Stone, that to this Day the moft curious Part of the Workmanflip is preferved. On the Top of the fecond Stair-cafe is a fquare Place, which has been furrounded with Columns, whereof feventeen only are now flanding, but there are a hundred Pedeftals; thofe that are left are of red and white Marble fluted, fome of them fixty, and others feventy Foot high, and twelve of them near three Fathom round. Thefe, fome Antiquaries imagine, fupported the Temple of the Sun.

On the fame Floor near thofe Columns is a Place fifty Foot fquare, enclofed with Walls fix or feven Foot thick, of a much finer Marble than any that hath been yet mentioned, and fo wonderfully carved, that it would take up feveral Days to view all the Figures; which Way foever a Man turns himfelf in this fecond Floor, there appear Figures cut in Bafs and half Relieve. Here you fee Men fighting with Lions, and in another Place, a Man holding a Unicorn by the Horn; in a third you fee the Figures of Giants, and in a fourth, a Prince giving Audience to his People or Ambaffadors, and numberlefs other Scenes. Here are alfo abundance of Infcriptions, in lafting Characters, which have been tranfrribed, and brought into Europe, but none of them underftood at this Day by the learned, any more than they are by the People of the Country: This glorious Palace o: Temple, with the whole City of Perfepolis, the nobleft and wealthieft then in the World, was burnt to the Ground by Alexander the Great, about the Year of the World, 3724 , at the Perfuafion of Lais the Atbenian Harlot, as is faid in Revenge for the Towns the Perfian Emperors had deftroyed in Greece.
19. In the former Section, and in this, almolt all the great Cities have been defcribed, as they flood in Time paft, and as they are reprefented to us by fuch as had feen them; yet thefe Accounts bear but very little Relation to thofe Places at this Day, for in the Courfe of the Civil Wars and Confufions, with which this Empire has been overwhelmed, there is hardly any one of thefe Cities that has efcaped. Tauris has been plundered over and over, Scbiras burnt to the Ground, and even Spabaren has fuffered not a little. The Porr of Gambron, or Bander Aboff, had been always confidered fince the Time of Sbab Abbas, as one of the richeft Jewels of the Perffian Diadem; and notwithftanding the Badnefs of the Air, and fome Inconveniences that attended the Port, it was always a Place of great Trade, and might have been a Place of much greater Trade, if the fucceeding Monarchs of Perfia had been Princes of the like Spirit, and had conceived as juft Notions of Commerce as he did.

VoL. II. No ${ }^{2}$ IzO.

By their Fault it was, that the greateft Part of the Perfian Trade came to be carried on by Land, through Turkey, which was neither agreeable to the Interefts of the Perfans, nor requifite for tranfporting their Commodities to Europe, for which other Means might have been employed. But when Sbab Nadir had affumed the Empire, and by his amazing Succeffes had acquired fo great a Power, that he thought himfelf in no kind of Danger from his Neighbours, he began to entertain Notions of Commerce, which, like all his other Notions, were of a Stamp peculiar to himfelf, and which do, not feem, from any of the Accounts that we have met with, to have been at all underftood in Europe. He faw plainly, that the $\tau_{u r k s}$ were prodigiounly enriched by the carrying on of the Perfian Trade for Silk through their Country, and this he was refolved to prevent at any Rate. It was with this View, that he formed a Project, which we have more than once mentioned, of forcing a Paffage to the Black-Sea, and thereby opening a direct Trade with Europe, which, with all his Power, he could never effect. He then turned his Thoughts towards the Cafpian, and having recovered the Province of Gilan from the Rufians, and provided effectually againft any Impreffions they could make upon his Territories by Land, he refolved to carry on the Trade of Perfio that Way, by the Affiftance of the Armenians, and to reftore the Credit of that Nation, which had been very much funk in Perfia, by the vaft Loffes that had been fuftained by their Eftablifhment at Fulpba, which, in the Courfe of the Civil Wars, has been almoft totally ruined.

But befides thefe Schemes, he had another, the Grounds of which it would take up too much Room to explain, and therefore I fhall content myfelf with barely faying, that from certain Motives, that appeared to him reafonable, he determin'd to remove the Capital of Perfia, and inftead of fixing, as his Predeceffors had done, the Imperial Refidence at $I$ Jpaban, he refolved to transfer it Northward, and fo place the Seat of his Empire in the Province of Cboraffan, to which perhaps he might in fome Meafure be determined by his Fondneff for his native Country. He fixed there upon the Town of Mef. cbed, which had been formerly the Capital of the Province. It is to be obferved, that the Word Metccbid, fignifies both in the Perfian and Turkib Languages, a Houfe or Temple confecrated to the Service of God, and it is from thence that we have framed our Word Mofque. The Name of this City therefore implies a great Mofque, and it was fo called from one of the fineft in that Part of the World, erected over the Tomb of the Iman Riza, a great Saint, which rendred it a Place frequented by Pilgrims, who out of Charity erected there feveral publick Structures of great Magnificence. It was befides famous for its Manufactures of all Sorts, fuch as Gold and Silver Brocades, Tapeftry, rich Silks; and woollen Stuff, as beautiful and as dear as Silks, there was befides a Manufacture of earthen Ware, which was looked upon as the beft in $A\{a$, on this Side China; fo that an Age ago this City for Mofques, publick Baths, Caravanfera's, Bazars, and other publick Structures, was not in the leaft inferior to any City in Perfia; but the Usbeck Tartars had fo totally deftroyed it, that it made but a very indifferent Figure when the Sbab Nadir made Choice of it for the Seat of his Empire.

The City of Mefched is fituated in the Latitude of thirty five Degrees twenty Minutes North, upon a fmall Stream that falls into the River Kurgan, which feparates the Province of Cborafan, from Aftarabat; and it may be very truly affirmed, that a happier Situation there is not in the World. The Air is extremely mild and temperate, the Soil about it wonderfully fruitful, and while it continues the Capital of the Empire, there is no doubt that the Tartars will be kept at a fufficient Diflance. While Sbab Nadir was employed in his Expedition againft the Mogul, his eldeft Son Riza Kuli Mirza refided there with the Title and Authority of Shab of Perfia; by his Care the City was rebuilt and reftored to its ancient Luftre, and fuch Privileges granted to the Inhabitants, as not orily came up to, but exceed-
ed thole that former Sbab's had granted to the People of Ifpaban. This young Prince was not contented with barely attending to the Civil Goverment of the Empire, he was defirous of difplaying alfo his Military Capacity, which induced him to attack the Khan of Balkh, the Sovereign of the Southern Part of Great Bucharia; which Country, together with its Capital, he reduced, and thereby gained not only an Acceffion of Territory, but one of the greateft and beft Cities in thofe Parts, Balkb having been, for feveral Ages, the Center of the Commerce carried on by Land to and from the Indies.
By this Eftablifhment, and thefe Conquefts, the Face of Affairs in Perfab is abfolutely changed, and this is a Thing that has not hitherto been fufficiently confidered. It is poffible, and indeed it is probable, that the Sous thern Provinces of the Perfian Empire will fuffer exextremely by this Alteration; and it is not alrogether unlikely, that if a civil War arifes from the Death of the late Shah, a new Principality may be erected in the Southern Parts, of which Spabaren, or fome other great City, may become the Capital; but itill Mefched will, in all Probability, remain the Seat of the Perfian Empire, and the Monarchs who govern there will extend their Conquefts Northwards, through Countries formerly indeed dependent upon the Perfians, but which have been for many Ages in the Hands of the Tartars; and if this fhould be the Cafe, we mult confider ourfelves extremely happy in having fet on Foot a Trade through Rufia into Perfia by the Cajpian Sea, by which the moft lucrative Part of the Commerce of that Empire will fall into our Hands, and may be juftly efteemed the Fruits of our great Naval Power, and the Effects of fending our Squadrons into the Baltick, which gave the Court of Petersbourg fuch an Impreffion of our Power to affift or diftrefs them, as it is our Intereft to take Care that Time fhall never efface.
20. We promifed to fay fomewhat of the ancient and prefent State of the Country and People of Perfia, confidered in a comparative Light, and we will endeavour to execute this as fuccinctly as poffible. The learned Dr. Hyde wrote an admirable Treatife in Latin, of the Religion of the ancient Perfians, a Work equally curious and ufeful, and which, notwithftanding, was fo ill received by the Publick, that the Doctor boiled his Tea-kettle with the greatent Part of the Impreffion, which has made it fo ficarce, that from its natural Price of Ten Shillings, or lefs, it is now fold for two Guineas, and even at that Price will not be efteemed dear by fuch as can judge of its real Value. It is from this learned Book that we are informed of what we fhould otherwife never have known, that the ancient Perfians, on whom the Greeks beftowed the Name of Barbarians, were in Reality the beft governed, the politeft, and the moft civilized Nation upon the Face of the Earth. Their Religion was far more incorrupt than thofe of $E$ gypt, Greece, or Rame, for they worfhipped only one God; and though they were over-run with Supertition, they never degenerated into Atheifm or Idolatry. The common People were, from Principle, extremely induftrious; they cultivated their Country with the utmoft Care, infomuch that thofe Diftricts that are now fandy Deferts, were then perfect Gardens; and many rich and populous Cities were feated in Places that at this Day are wafte and howling Wilderneffes. Yet there even flill remain clear and indifputable Proofs of the Truth of what this learned Gentleman has afferted, and thefe are of two Kinds, Firf, The Ruins and Remains of this ancient Magnificence, which even the Iron Teeth of Time have not been able to deftroy, as appears from what the Reader has been told of Perfepolis; and next from the Tomper and Difpofition of that Remnant of the ancient Perfees, Gubers, Gaurs, or Fire-worhippers, that are ftill left in this Country and in India, and who are, beyond all Controverfy, the moft quiet, induftrious, and moft inoffenfive Nation, if we may yet ftile them fo, on the Face of the Globe. The Seat of their prefent Habitations is the wildeft and worft Part of the Province of Kerman, and yet even there the fimall Diftricts they poffefs, appear a Kind of Rara-
dife in Comparifon of the Country round about ; and by them thofe Wollen Stuffs are wrought, which the modern Perfians, from a true Principle of Luxury, think too good for any Bodies Wear but their own, and therefore never fuffer them to be carried out of their Dominions.

As for thefe People, it is no Wonder that they have brought the fame Diferedit upon the large and fruiful Provinces they inhabit, that the Turks have done upon the Land of Canaan; and indeed it is the Genius of the Mabometan Religion to deface all Marks of former Improvements, as well as to receive no Benefit from fuch Examples. The Wars, by which this Empire has been continually wafted fince it fell into the Hands of its prefent Poffeffers, has contributed not a little to thin it of People; fo that now there are not above a twentieth Part of the People in Perfia that there were at the Time that Alexander invaded it. Befides this, there are feveral Nations featter'd up and down it, that are rather Vaffals than Subjects to the Shahs, and live after the Manner of the Tartars in their Tents. The Want of a fettled Nobility, and the little Security that the Pcople in general have for their Fortunes; is another great Obftacle to the cultivating their Lands, and the Improvement of their Cities. We may add to this, the Revolutions and Civil Wars which have been fo frequent in Perfia; as alfo the Incurfions of the Tartars and other barbarous Nations, from which they are hardly ever free. As to the Lazinefs and Luxury of the Perfians, though it is in one Senfe a Caufe of the wide Difference between the paft and prefent State of their Empire, yet confidered in another Light, it is the Source of what little Commerce they have; for as they are not willing to work themfelves, they are very ready to let other Nations dwell amongft them ; and provided they reap the Fruits of their Induftry, treat them fairly and civilly enough, without any Mixture of that haughty, infolent, and unbridled Temper, which is fo hateful and fo intolerable amongft the Turks. Befides, as they fpend without the leaft Confideration, all they get, this occafions a quick Circulation of Money, fo that the Ar menians, Indians, and other Foteigners that live amongft them, pick up a tolerable Livelihood, and are not impofed upon and oppreffed as in the Territories of the Grand Signior.

It is the Want of People that makes a great Part of Perjal lie wafte and barren; and the natural Fertility of the Country is another Caufe of this, for even the few Parts that are now cultivated, produce much more than is neceffary for the Subfiftance of its Inhabitants; and it is from thence that their Trade and their Riches arife; for fince there are no Mines now wrought in Perfia, what Gold and Silver they have comes into that Country by the Purchafe of their Silks, and other rich Commodities; whence the Reader will eafily difcern, how powerful and how happy the People might be under a fettled Government, that paid fome tolerable Refpect to the Welfare of its Subjects; but after all, this is hardly to be hoped for while in the Hands of the Mabometans, who, on the one Hand, are very litile inclined to any Kind of Induftry themfelves, and, on the other, are very apt to be jealous of their Chrittian Subjects thriving, tho' they are the better for it. While the Ruffans were Mafters of Gilan, which was but for a very fhort Space, the Inhabitants were fo fenfible of the Change, that there was Nothing they dreaded fo much as returning again under the Dominion of their old Mafters; and when this actually happened, great Numbers of them quitted their Habitations, and retired into the neighbouring Parts of Georgia, Dagefran, and Armenia, that they might avoid falling under the Yoke of Tbamas Kuli Kan, notwithftanding that was as light, at leaft in Time of Peace, as any of the former Shahs.

2I. It is to very little Purpofe that we increafe the Stock of our Knowledge; by reading, unlefs we enable ourfelves to make fome Ufe of it by Reflection; as a Trader does not thrive by having his Warehoufes ftocked with Goods, but by his knowing where and how and to carry them to Market. We fee plainly from

## Chap. II.

of the Empire of Persia.
the Defcription of the Perfan Empire, at the Beginning of this Section, that in Point of Territory, the Shah's of Perfa are very little inferior to any of the great Monarchs in the Univerfe; but we know experimentally, that for all this, the Princes of this Country, from the Time of Shah Abbas, have made but a very indifferent Figure, and are not like to make a better in Time to come. This fhews us the terrible Effects of arbitrary Power, a Thing altogether infupportable; but from the Wifdom of fome great Princes, who by diffembling and letting it down, preferve it. Shah Nadir had this in his Will, but never in his Power ; he had acquired his Authority by being at the Head of an Army, and he found it impoffible to futtain it any other Way than by remaining at the Head of it; for he neither durft disband his Troops, nor could he truft them any longer than they were employed; this was the true Reafon of his Indian Expedition, and this mult be the Cale, till fuch Time as the Army, by which he attained his Sovereinty, is in fome Meafure worn out, and then perhaps, the Feeblenefs of the State may draw upon it foreign Invafions.
If either the Extent, or the Quality of Countries, could make Princes eafy or happy, the Sovereigns of Perfa might be fo without making Slaves of their Subjects, or diturbing their Neighbours. We may from hence alfo difcover the Value of right Principles with Regard to Induftry and Commerce, which always include due Refpect to Liberty and Property, without which the former can never fubfift, and the latcer can never be attained. If we could, with any Probability, fuppofe that a well-conftituted Government could take Place and be thoroughly eftablifhed in Perfa, it is very evident, that in the Space of a Century, not only the Affairs, but the very Face of the Country would be changed; their great Cities would be repeopled, the Trade through Perfia to India and Tartary would be revived, their Silk-works and Manufactures would be reftored, and Multitudes of People would flock into all their Provinces for the Sake of that Plenty, which, in fuch a Situation of Things, they would be fure to enjoy. But as this Suppofition is, on the one Hand, improbable ; fo, on the other, it is very evident, that for this very Reafon the Perfian Monarchy muft, for a long Series of Years, continue broken and weak;
for it is by Commerce only that the People of that Country can beeome formidable; for while, on the one Side, they want a Naval Power to maintain the Sovereignty of the Cajpian Sea, to which they pretend ; and on the other Hand, to have no Fortreffes of great Strength to fecure their Frontiers againft the Usbeck Tartars on the North, and the Turks on the Weft, they will always be in Danger from both thofe Neighbours.
Thefe Things are fo plain, that they cannot be denied or doubted. The fingle Inference I would draw from this is, that fo far as human Forefight reaches, there feems to be a Difpofition in Providence to overturn the Mabometan Powers every where; for if we compare the prefent State of Things with the paft, we cannot help feeing, that they are much in the fame Situation that the Greeks were at the Time their Empire began to decline ; and though it may be fome Centuries before their total Deftruction comes on, yet we muft fhut our Eyes againft Evidence, if we are not convinced that it is coming. We muft indeed allow, that there were fome vifionary People here in Europe, who apprehended mighty Things from the Shah Nadir, and believed that he would overwhelm the Turki/b Empire ; but there was no Kind of Reafon for this, except the known. Weaknefs of that Empire; and if it were not for this, we might with more Reafon expect, that the Turks, at this Juncture, fhould make fome Impreffion upon Perfia, which however I am perfwaded will not happen. But if the Feuds of Chriftian Princes were once laid aneep, there is no Improbability in the Conjecture, that the Ruffians might make themfelves Maiters, at leaft, of fome of the Provinces of this Empire, which lie neareft to the Cafpian Sea; and whenever it fhall happen, it may prove a Beginning to much greater Revolutions, fince there are Multitudes of Chriftians in the adjacent Countries, who are either of the Greek Religion, or very little removed from it ; and if their Spirits fhould once revive, the Weaknefs of the Mabometans, Booth here and elfewhere, would be quick ly feen. I know very well how little Heed the prefent Generation will give to Remarks of this Nature; but I flatter myfelf, that how weak or how impertinent foever they may be now efteemed, Experience will juftify them to Pofterity.

## S E C T I O N III.

## Of the Difpofition and Temper of the Perfians, their Perfons, Habits, Manner of Living, their Artificers and Mechanicks, the Refpect paid to Merchants, the Method in which their Inland Trade is carried on, the paft and prefent State of the Englijh Commerce, and other Particulars; together with fome curious Obfervations on the Nature of the Silk Trade, and a Computation of the annual Balance in Favour of Perfia.

## Collected as weell from private Memoirs, as from Accounts that bave been publijhed.

1. An Introductory Account of the Subject of this Section, the Diffculty of draweing National Characters, the likelieft Way of coming at the Truth, the general Temper, Difpofition and Genius, of the modern Perfians. 2. Of their Perjons, Drefs, great Value of their Turbants, and of the Magnificence and Prow Jufion into wobich all Ranks of People are apt to run in that Country, in every Thing that regards Appearance and Equipage. 3. Of the Womens Habits, their Painting, their Head-dreffes ufually adorned with Feathers, frequently jet out with Fewels, and more efpecially weith Pearls, wwich were efteemed the beft in the World, So long as the Perfians were polfeffed of the Ifland of Baharen. 4. The Manner of Living in Perfia, the Metbod of eating and drinking, their CuAloms at their Meals, the Commonne/s of Cooks-Shops and Ordinaries among/t them, and of the open and general Hopitality in Perfia. 5. A Viero. of their Entertainments, the Ceremonies and Givilities that pals upon Juch Occafions, their laudable

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 Temperance and great Sobriety, ond of the Manner in wbich, by the UJe of Opium, they fupply tbeir TNant of Arong Liquors. 6. The Manner of Travelling in Perfia, the Nature of Caravans, bowe they supply the Want of Wheel Carriages, of their Foot-Poffs, and of the woonderful Swoiftnels of, their Shatirs or Rumning-Footmen. 7. Of their Artifucers and Mecbanicks of all Sorts, the Neatnes; of fome and the Inexpertness of otber Workmen, and of the Nature of their Companies, and the Rules by whbich they are governed. 8. Of the Silken, Woollen, and Mobair Manufaizures, that are carried on in this Empire, the Management of their Domeftick Trafick, the great U/e of Brokers; the Manner in which their foo reign Trade is carried on, and the Realons that binder Mahometans from becoming Merchants; weith fome political Remarks upon that Subject. 9. The Nature of the Englifh Trade in Perfia, the Meafures, Weigbts, Money, generally ufed in tbat Country, and the Alterations that bave bappened by tbe Removal of the Capital from Iipahan to Mefched. 10. A fuccinct View of the Jeveral Routes by whbich foreign Commodities are introduced into Perfia, weith a clear View of the Advantages arijing from the new Trade to that Empire, through Ruffia. 11. A fhort Reprefentation of the Value of Silk, confidered as the Staple Commodity of Perfia, and of the Advantages that would refullt to this Nation by the joint Endeavours of the Ruffian, Levant, and Eaft-India Companies, to import Perfian and China Silks, on the cheapeft Terms poofible.1. FTER taking a View of the Country of Perra, and its Product of all Kinds, it is very natural for us to come next to the Inhabitants, for whofe Sake the other Defcription was held neceffary, and made intirely with a View to render this more clear and intelligible. It mult indeed be owned, that there is fomething very difficult and bazardous in attempting to characterife a whole Nation, and nothing is more common than Inflances even of great Authors falling into Miftakes on this Head ; yet as the Thing is neceffary, fo it is alfo very feafible ; Nations certainly have their Characters as well as private Men, and thefe are frequently hit, though to be fure fometimes they are miftaken.

The Means of hitting them, is to obferve carefully the Points in which all Travellers agree, for thefe, without doubt, are founded in Truth and Nature; when a fufficient Number of thefe are fixed, they will ferve to guide you in the reft, for the Humours of Men, though of feveral Sorts, and vaftly different from each other, yet have a Connection among themfelves, that is to fay, one Humour aflorts with, and joins eafily with another, while there are fome Humours that never come together, or are found in the fame Breafts. That there really is fuch a Thing as national Characters, appears from hence, that the Inhabitants of the fame Country, through a great Diverfity of Ages, and defcribed by Authors of various Difpofitions, keep pretty nearly the fame Character; of this, the Defcription of the People of Paris, by the Emperor Fulian, is a remarkable Inftance, and others might be mentioned, if that before us were not as good a one as any of the reft; for whoever confiders attentively what is faid of the Temper, Genius and Cuftoms of the Perfans, independant of their Religion and Government, by the Greek and Latin Writers, and compares thefe with the Writings of modern Travellers, will be amaz'd to fee what a Conformity there is between them, and be from thence convinced, that national Characters are nothing lefs than imaginary. But to come to the Point, and to that Defcription which will juftify this Obfervation, at the fame Time that it carries on the Thread of our Difcourfe, and performs the proper Bufinefs of this Section.
The Perfans are Men of bright Parts, and Abundance of Vivacity, fond of Glory, and known to excel their Neighbours of India in Point of Courage, infomuch that the Mogul prefers them to the greateft Pofts, both in his Court and Army; and as they were obferved anciently to be of all Men the moft civil and obliging, they retain the fame Difpofition to this Day, efpecially towards Foreigners, who admire their Hofpitality and Benevolence; they are far from being guilty of that brutifh Behaviour towards Chriftians, as the Turks are; what they feem to be moft juftly and univerfally charged with, is Vanity and Profufion in their Cloaths, their Equipages and Number of Servants; as to Voluptuoufnefs in Eating and Drinking, this does not appear to be their Vice, at leaft we are much more guilty of it in Earope; for the greatef Part of their Food is Rice, Fruits, and Garden Stuff; they have not any great Variety of Flefh,
neither have they many Ways of dreffing it; Pilo feems to be the ftanding Difh, even among thofe of the beft Quality. And as for ftrong Liquors, though they drink them now and then by Stealch, Drunkennefs is very far from being common; Liquor is never forced, and every Man may retire from an Entertainment without Ceremony when he fees fit, without a Breach of good Manners.

No People have a greater Genius for Poetry, infomuch that there it not a Feftival or Entertainment made, but a Poet is introduced and defired to oblige the Company with his Compofitions ; and thefe Gentlemen are often found with a Crowd about them in Cof-fee-houfes, and other Places of publick Refort. The Perfanis are by fome looked upon to be very covetous, buc by this they mult mean covetous in getting, for as to hoarding up Money they are generally abfolved. They only get that they may fpend, and when they have furnifhed themfelves with an Equipage, Houfe and Gardens fuitable to their Mind; they rather lay out their Money in building Caravanfera's, Mofques, and on other publick Occafions, than let it lie by them, infomuch that fome Travellers oblerve, that there are no People in the World that take lefs Thought for Tomorrow. A Man who happens to have eight or ten thoufand Pounds fall to him, fhall in a few Weeks lay it out in purchafing Wives and Slaves, Cloathing, and Furniture, withour confidering where he fhall meet a Supply, and in two or three Months after, you will fee him difpofing of them again for Subfiftance. Thefe People, it is oblerved, have a great Command of their Paffions; they are not eafily moved, and when they are, it proceeds very feldom to Blows. The Quarrel generally ends in ill Language, and perhaps fome hearty Curfes; and to fum up all, they call one another feres of Cbristians. They are of a very infinuating Addrefs, and a moft obliging Behaviour; few European Nations are more polite.
2. The Perfians are generally of a good Stature, well Thaped, clean limb'd, and of agreeable Features, and in Georgia and the Northern Provinces, of an admirable Complexion ; towards the South they are a little upon the Olive. However, the great Men having had their Wives and Concubines chiefly from Georgia and Circaflia, for a hundred Years paft, their Complexions are very much mended even in the Southern Provinces. Their Eyes and their Hair are generally black, and they wear only one Lock on the Crown of their Heads, like other Mobometans, by which they expett Mabomet will lift them up to Paradife.

As to their Beards, the Shah and the Great Officers of State, and Soldiery, wear only long Whiskers on the upper Lip, which joined to a Tuft of Hair on the upper Part of their Cheeks, grow to a very enormous Size, infomuch that fome of them, it is faid, are near half a Foot long. Their Mollabs and religious People wear their Beards long, only clipping them into Form, and the common People clip their Beards pretty fhort, but none of the Perfians fuffer any Hair to grow upon their Bodies. They wear large Turbants on their

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Heads, fome white, and others flriped with red or other Colours, and the Great Men have Flowers of Gold and Silver woven or marked on the Cloth. They have alfo a Scull-cap under their Turbant, and all together does not weigh leis than feven or eight Pounds, fometimes a great deal more. Next to their Skins they wear a Shirt of colour'd Silk or Calico, generally blue, which they feldom or never wafh; this Shirt has an open Bofom, but neither Neck nor Wriftbands, and is made clore to the Arm; they have alio a Pair of Breeches, or rather Drawers, clofe before, they reach half down their Legs; their Stockings are made of woollen Cloth, but not at all fhaped to the Leg ; over the Shirt they wear a Waiftcoat, and upon thete a Coat with clofe Sleeves, and Buttons and Loops before, tied with a Sah; this is wide at Bottom, and hangs a litele below their Knees; befides this, they put on another Coat frequently, without Sleeves, the uppermoft Coat being the fhorteft, and in the Winter Time over all they have another loofe Coat lined with Furrs: Inftead of Shoes they have piqued Slippers, turned up at the Toes, and made of Turkey Leather, which are neither tied nor buckled, aud when they ride, they have Boots of yeliow Leather; their Bridles, Saddles and Houfing are immoderately fine, being almoft covered with Gold; the Houfing is fo large, that it almolt hides the hinder Part of the Horle, and whether on Foot or on Horfeback, they wear a broad Sword, and a Crice or Poniard. Therr Ladres have allo a Dagger at their Sides, efpecially thofe of high Rank.
3. The Garb of the Women is not very different from that of the Men, except it be, that the Women neither wear Turbants on their Heads, nor Safhes about their Waifts, and their Coats or Vefts reach almoft down to their Heels. If ever they go into the $S$ : reets, which Women of Quality feldom do, they have a white Veil which covers them from Head to Foot. The Girls wear a flifned Cap upon their Heads, turned up like a Hunting-Cap, with a Heron's Feather in it, their Hair being made up in Treffes, and falling down their Backs to a very great Length, and the Quality have Pearls and Jewels interwoven and mixed with their Hair. The married Women comb their Hair back, and having bound it about with a broad Ribbon, or rich Tiara, fet with Jewels, which looks like a Coroner, let the reft of their Hair fall gracefully down their Shoulders, than which there cannot be a more becoming Drefs. As for Gloves, neither Men nor Women ever wear them, but their Arms and Fingers are ufually full of Rings and Bracelets enriched with Jewels.

As black Hair is the moft common, $\mathrm{fo}_{\mathrm{o}}$ it is in moft Efteem, and the thickeft and broadeft Eye-brows are thought the fineft; the Women, if their Eye-brows be not black, will colour them, and commonly paint their Faces; they rub their Hands and Feet with an Orangecoloured Pomatwin. Some will have Feathers ftand upright in their Tiara, and others have a String of Pearls or precious Stones fafted to it, which hangs down between their Eye-brows; they wear alfo Jewels in their Ears, and Rows of Pearls fall down their Temples, as low as the Neck, and in fome Provinces bordering on India, they have Jewels in their Noftrils, which to the Europeans do not feem very becoming, for hanging down to the Mouth, it makes them look as if they had Hare-Lips, but the Ladies of Ipaban, never wear thefe Nofe-Jewels. Their Necklaces are either Gold or Pearl; they fall upon the Bofom, and there always hangs a little golden Box to them, filled with moft reviving Perfumes.

As their Clothes are of the richeft flower'd and brocaded Silks, it appears that their Drefs is no inconfiderable Article in Perfia, where People of mean Fortunes endeavour to vie with the Quality, and will have fine Clothes, though they want Food. An ordinary Turbant cannot be purchafed under Ten Pounds, and they frequently give twice as much, and they muft have Variety of them, left they fhould be known by their Clothes. Their Safhes alfo are brocaded, and coft from twenty to a hundred Crowns, and over this they have frequently another of Camel's Hair, of which the Workmanhip

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is fo curious, that it feldom cofts lefs. Thofe who wear Sables, which they will not be without if they can purchafe them, feldom pay lefs than a hundred Pounds for a clofe bodied Coat; all this, with the rich Furniture and Equipage they have, when they ride out, amounts to a vaft Sum ; and this, as it well may, keeps them exceeding poor. The common Mode of living is thus:
4. Early in the Morning they ufually drink a Difh of Coffee. 1 About Eleven they go to Dinner, when they eat Melons, Sweetmeats, Fruit, Cheefe, Curds, or Milk, but their principal Meal is in the Evening, when you may depend on a Difh of Pilo, which is boiled Rice well buttered, and feafon'd with a Fowl, a Piece of Mutton or Kid ferved up with it; they have an excellent Way of boiling their Rice all over the Eaft, the Water is perfectly dried away, by that Time the Rice is enough, after which they feafon it with Spices, and mix Saffron or Turmerisk, with it, giving it a yellow, or what other Colour they think fit; but there is very little Variety either in their Food, or Way of Dreffing it ; if they have a large Joint, it is baked, inftead of being roafted, but their ufual Way is to cut their Flefh into little Slices, and 'Spitting or Scuring them together, roaft them over a Charcoal Fire, and whether they boil or roaft, it is always done to Rags, or it would be impoffible to pull the Meat to Pieces with their Hands, as they do without Knives or Forks. Pork is never eaten here any more than Veal, nor do they eat Hares or other Animals prohibited to the feres, Beef but feldom ; they do not deal much in Venifon, Finh or wild Fowl, they drefs only plain Difhes, being Strangers to Hafhes, Ragouts and other Compounds, and feldom have any other Sauce than a Slice of Lemon, or fome Pickles. Bread they have baked in thin Cakes the Moment they ufe it, but eat much more Rice. They ufe no beaten Pepper, only whole, and not Abundance of Salt in their Sealoning, nor is there any brought to Table: Meat is never falted before it is drefled. They ufually kill their Meat and Fowls the fame Day they ufe them, and fet by nothing to be eaten cold.

They fit down crofs-lego.d at their Meals, and a Cloth is fpread upon the Carpet. Then one of the Perfons who has the Provifion before him, diftributes Rice and Flefh to the Company. They ufe no Spoons, except for Soup and Liquids, but take up their Rice by Handfuls. They feldom fit above half an Hour at Table. They wafh both before and after their Meals, making ufe of their Hankerchiefs inftead of a Towel. The common People of Ifpabanifeldom drefs their Victuals at Home, but when they have fhut up their Shops of an Evening, go ftrait to the Cooks, of which there are great Numbers in that City, and buy Pilo for their Families. The Cooks have Kettles or Coppers fixed in Brick-work, in their Shops, and Stoves, over which they drefs moft of their Mear, making fcarce any Ufe of Chimnies. It is remarkable of the Perffians, that they are fo far from fhuting their Doorsat their Meals, that they invite every one to eat with them, who happens to come to their Houfes.
5. When a Perfon makes an Entertainment, it is ufually a Supper, notwithftanding which the Guefts generally comie at nine or ten in the Morning, and fpend the whole Time at the Place to which they are invited. They difcourfe, they fmoke, eat Sweetmeats; and pafs away the Time with a thoufand Amufements; fometimes they hear Poems repeated in Honour of their Prince, fometimes the Singing Women are introduced, who fing, and dance, and play, and fhow antick Tricks, to divert the Company; and if any one of the Guefts are difpofed to withdraw with any of thefe Dancing-Girls, they are fhewn into a private Room, and when they return Nobody takes any Notice of it. When Supper is ferved up, the Son or fome Relation of the Mafter of the Houfe, takes the Honours of the Feaft upon him, and helps the Guefts to their Meat.

They generally provide Variety of Sherbets on thefe Occafions, their ufual Drink being nothing but fair Water, and even this, it feems, they drink with Ice ;

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it is the Employment therefore of Abundance of People about Ifpaban, in the Winter-Seafon, to heap up vaft Quantities of Ice together, and keep it in Repofitaries under Ground all the Summer, when they fell it to great Advantage. Wine is made in feveral Provinces of Perfia; but the Armenians and other Chriftians drink the greateft Share of it. The Officers will indeed fometimes indulge themfelves in this Liquor, and other People drink it as they pretend for their Health, but that is not common; much the greateft Part of it is either tranfported to the neighbouring Countries, or drank by the Chriftians, who are difperfed through the Perfian Dominions.

But thofe who abttain from Wine out of Confcience, becaufe it is prohibited by Law, raife their Spirits with Opium, Bang, Poppy-feed, and other intoxicating Ingredients. The Perfans like other Eaftern Nations, take Pills of Opium, which fome of them gradually increafe to fuch a Dofe, as would deftroy half a Dozen Europeans. Within an Hour after they have taken the Pill, it begins to operate, and a thoufand pleafant Scenes prefent themfelves to their Imagination; they laugh and fing, and fay Abundance of humorous Things like Men intoxicated with Wine, but after the Effect of it is gone off, they find their Spirits exhaufted and grow penfive and melancholy, till they repeat the Dofe again; and fome make it fo neceflary to them that they cannot tive without it. There is alfo a Decoction of the Seed of Poppies, fold in moft Cities of Perfia, and in thefelfloufes you will fee People looking and talking as Men do when they are drunk: As long as they keep to the Letter of the Law, and abftain from Wine, it is no Matter how much they diforder themfelves, they think they fhall never be accountable for that.
6. There are no Wheel-Carriages in this Country, but all People travel upon Camels, Horfes, Mules or Affes. The Women who are to be concealed as mach pofible, are put into a fquare wooder Machine, of which they hang one on each Side of a Ca mel; they are abour three Foot deep, and juft large enough for one to fit down in, and over-head are three or four Hoops like thofe which fupport the Tilt of a Waggon, with a Cloth thrown over them. Their Affes are much larger and nimbler than ours, and will trot ten Miles at a pretty good Rate, but they are very obftinate, and frequently throw their Riders. People ufually rravel in this Country with the Caravan, confifting of four or five hundred Camels, befides other Beafts, and there is no Place where they travel with greater Security and lefs Expence, there being Caravanfera's at proper Diftances, where they have their Lodging Gratis, and purchafe Provifion at the beft Hand; and though the Roads are frequently fteep and mountainous, yet fuch Care is taken in laying Bridges and Caufeways, and to level and enlarge the Ways, that a Traveller feldom meets with any Difficulties but what are eafily furmounted.

Here are no General Pofts, but if any Perfon has Letters to fend, he difpatches a Shatir or Footman with them on Purpofe, who will travel a thoufand Miles in eighteen or twenty Days, and not ask more than twenty Pence or two Shillings a Day for his Trouble : They carry with them a Bottle of Water, and a little Bag of Provifion, which ferves them thirty or forty Hours: They generally leave the high Road, and crols over the Country the neareft Way. There are a great many Families which make this their only Employment, and breed their Children up to it, obliging them to run from their Infancy.

The Shah, and all the great Men, have feveral of thefe Sbatirs or Footmen in their Retinue, but before a Man can be admitted one of the Imperial Footmen, he mult give a very extraordinary Proof that he does not want Heels or Breath; for he muft run from the great Gate of the Palace called Aly Capi, to a Place a League and half from the City, twelve Times in one Day, and every Time bring an Arrow along with him, which is delivered him by thofe who ftand at the End of the Race, to fhew that he has run the whole Courfe; and this he performs between Sun-rife and Sun-fet, in and this he performs between Sun-rile and Sun-let, in
a hundred and eight Miles. It is always fome Favourite Servant of the Shah's who is admitted to this Honour. On the Day of Trial the Elephants and Horfemen are drawn up in the Royal Square, with the Mufick, Drums and Trumpets founding, and as if it was a Feftival. All the Grear Men make Prefents to the Sbatir, and feveral of them ride the Courfe with him to ingratiate themfelves with the Shah ; and the Mob attend him every Time he returns with their Shouts and Acclamations. The Chams and Viceroys, who admit a Sbatir into their Service, make him run the fame Number of Miles, and they are careffed and prefented by ail their Dependents in the fame Manner the Royal Sbatirs are, though not fo largely; for it is a very common Thing to fee the Shah's Sbatir prefented with above a choufand Pounds on fuch an Occafion. This is a very ftrong Mark of the Spirit of this Nation, and of that Difpofition they have to difplay their Generofity, fometimes at the Expence of fiftice, but withour Regard to Prudence always.
7. With refpect to their Artificers, Manufacturers, and common Tradefmen, the Regulations that are made in this Country are extremely well contrived, for every Company has a Head or Mafter, who with a fmall Number of his Brethren, form a Kind of Council, and fettle fuch Rules and Orders for the general Benefit of fuch as are engaged in the particular Branch of Trade he fuperintends as to him and them feem requifite. Whoever intends, to fet up a Trade, goes to the Mafter, and regifters his Name and Abode, and no Enquiry is made who was his Mafter, or whether he underftands the Bufinefs or not ; nor is there any Reftraint Jaid upon them that they fhall not encroach upon any other Profeffion; for Inftance, the Braziers are ar Liberty to make Silver Veffels, as they frequently do, without being in Danger of any Difturbance from the Silverfmiths. Neither do they take Apprentices for a Number of Years, but hire their Servants, and allow them Wages from the firf Day they entertain them. Every Trade almoft is bound to work for the Shah when ever he requires it, and thofe who are not, pay an annual Tax to the Government for an Exemption.

Their Armourers make very good Broad Sword Blades, and damask them as well as any European. The Barrels of their Fire-arms are not amifs, they make them very ftrong, and as thick at the Muzzle as at the Breech. Their Stocks are but ill contrived, being thin and light at the Butt, and not fit for a Man's Shoulder ; and for Locks to their Guns, or any other Locks that have Springs, they do not pretend to make them any more than Watches or Clocks, which they either purchafe abroad, or employ European Workmen to make for them. Knives, Razors, Sciffars, and fome orher Cutlery Wares, they make very well, and little Steel Mirrors, which they ufe inftead of Looking-glaffes; they are almoft all convex, and the Air is fo perfectly dry, that they feldom ruft or grow dull. The Art of making Looking-glaffes they do not underftand, but have them from Europe. However, they have a Manufacture of Glafs, which ferves for Windows and Bottles. The Glafs of Sbiraz is the beft in the Country.

As the Ufe of the Bow is what the Perfians value themfelves much upon, there are no where better Bows made ; the chief Materials are Wood and Horn with Sinews bound about them ; they are painted and var nifhed, and made as fine as poffible. The Bow-ftring is of twifted Silk, of the Bignefs of a Goofe-quill ; their Quivers of Leather, embroidered or worked with Silk. This is a Trade they are as well. verfed in as any thing, efpecially the Gold or Silver Embroidery, either on Cloth, Silk, or Leather. They cover their Saddles and Houfings almoft with Embroidery, and their ftitching of the Leather is much beyond any Thing we do. Their Saddles are made after the Morocco Model, and the Stirrups mighty fhort ; they have a Kind of Breaftplate to them, and where we ufe Braffes about our Furniture, their Men of Quality have Gold. The Leather which we call Turkey Leather, from its coming to us through that Country, is all made in Perja. The Shagreen alfo comes from thence, which is made of the Skin of an Afs's Rump. The Tanners drefs their coarfe

## Chap. II. of the Inbabitants of the Empire of PERSiA.

Skins with Lime, and ufe no Bark, but Salt and Galls intead of it.

The making Earthen Ware is another Manufature the Perfians excel in; it is much beyond the Dutch, and fome fay almoft equal to Cbina Ware. The Places where it is chiefly made, are, Sberaz, Meffob, Tefd, and at Kerman: And mending of Glafs and Earthen Ware, is a particular Trade in Perjia; they will drill Moles through them, and faften the Pieces together, fo that a broken Bowl or Plate will hold Liquids, as well as it did at firf. Their Gold Wire-drawers, and Threadtwifters are Artifts alfo in their Way ; they will draw a piece weighing a Diachm, to the Length of three hundred Perjian Ells. Their Lapidaries underfand the Grinding of foft Stones, and cutting them pretty well. Their Dying is preferred to any Thing of that Kind in Europe, which is not afcribed fo much to the Artift, as to the Air, which being dry and clear, gives a Livelinefs to the Colours, and fixes them.
The Perfian Taylors work very neatly; and as the Men's Clothes are made of the richeft fower' ${ }^{9}$ and brocaded Silks, they are fitted exactly to their Bodies without the leaft Wrinkle, and cheir Sowing is incomparably beyond that of our Workmen, as the fine Materials they work on require it fhould. They work Flowers allo upon their Carpets, Cufhions and Window-Curtains, fo very nicely, that they look as if they were painted.

With Taylors, we mult not forget to mention their Barbers, who are no lefs excellent in their Way; for they will fhave the Head almoft at half a Dozen Strokes, and have to light a Hand, that you can farce feel them; they ufe only cold Water, and hold no Bafon under your Chin as with us, but have their Water in a Cup, about the Bignefs of a little China-Difh: After they have fhaved a Man, they cut the Nails of his Fret and Hands, with a little Iron Inftrument like a Bodkin, Tharp at the End; then they ftretch his Arms, and rub and chafe his Flefh, which is an Amufement, that the Europeans as well as the Narives are pleafed with, in thefe hot Countries. But notwithftanding this, thefe Artifts are nothing comparable in their Way to thofe of India, and thefe again fall as flort of the Cbinefe Barbers
8. We are now to proceed to the more material Parts of the Perfan Commerce, from whence their national Riches fiow, and by which they draw to themfelves the Wealth of other Countries; for as we before obferved, Gold and Silver are no longer the Produce of Perfa, but are brought thither in Payment for their Commodities. Sillss are the principal Manufacture of the Country, fuch as Taffaties, Tabbies, Sattins and Silk mixed with Cotton or Camel and Goats-hair, Brocades and Gold Tiffue, of the fingle Brocade there are a hundred Sorts, the double are cailed Duroy or Two-faces, becaufe both Sides are equally good; they are the richeft that are to be met with any where; and the Gold Velvet which is wrought in Perfa is admirable; all their rich Stuffs are very durable; the Gold or Silver does nor wear off or tarnifh while the Work lafts, but keeps irs Colour and Brightnefs. The fineft Looms for thefe Stuffs are at Ifpaban, Caban and Vefd. Thofe for Car- $^{\text {C }}$ pets are chiefly made in the Province of Kirman, what are commonly called Turkey Carpcts are indeed Perfan but obtained that Name from being brought to us by Way of Turkey.

The Camel Hair Stuffs are made in Cormania, it is mighty foft and fmooth, and almoft as fine as Beaver Wool, but the Stuffs they make with it are not very ftrong. Camblets and Silk, and worfted Druggets are made in the fame Province. Goats-hair Stuffs are made in Hyrcania, and near the Gulp of Baffora. There is fome Callico-Cloth made in Perfa, and they know how to paint and ftain it, but it is not comparable to the Indian Callicoes. A Merchant is a very honourable Profeflion in Perfia, and the more fo, becaufe there is no fuch Thing as hereditary Nobility, which defcends from Father to Son; as to thofe in great Pofts, their Honour and their Profits terminate with the Office; and their Lives and Fortunes are both in perpetual Hazards, efpecially under a weak and cruel Prince. The Trader feems more independant than any other

Subjef, and notwithftanding the Government be defpo tick, they are ufually encouraged, becaufe they bring in a confiderable Revenue to the Crown; and another Thing is, the greatef Minifters do not think the Bufo neis of a Merchant beneath them, even the Sbob himelf, within our Remembrance, has had his Fators and Agents in the neighbouring Kingdoms, and exported Silks, Brocades, Carpets, and other rich Goods, anc? his Agents at the Mogul's Court, and ellewhere, have frequently had the Character of Ambaffadors conferred upon them, when indeed their Bufnefs was chiefly Commerce

All Bufinefs of Confequence is carried on in Perfias by Brokers, who are very cunning; after they have agreed and talked over the Matter at the Sellers-houfe, they agree about the Price upon their Fingers, putting their Hands under a Cloth; the Finger's End it feems fland for one, the bent Finger for Five, and the flrait for ten, the Hind open for a hundred, and if fhut a thoufand; and they keep fo even a Countenance all the while they are tranfacting the Affair, that it is impoftible for a Stander-By to grather any Thing from the Circumftances. But notwithtanding the Mobometans are the governing Part of the Country, they are not the greateft foreign Traders. The Armenion Chriftians, and Banians of India, have much the largeft Share.

The Mabometan Perfians trade from one Province of their own Country to another, and to India pretty much, but the Armenians manage the whole European Trade: One Reafon whereof is, that the Mabometons do not Care to go into Chriftian Countries, becaufe they cannot there obferve the Cuftoms their Religion prefcribes, for their Law it feems forbid them to eat Flefl killed or dreffed by a Man of a different Religion, or drink out of the fame Cup with him, and even prohibits the touching of Perfons in fome Circumftances, whom they look upon to be polluted. Another Thing, which is a Difadvantage to their Trade is, that the taking up Money at Intereft is unlawful, though they are at Liberty to make what Advantage they can in buying and felling. It appears from hence, that from the very Nature of their Religion, all Mabometan Powers fand excluded from Commerce, and this is the true Secret of the Declenfion of their Governments; for as Trade produces Shipping, as Shipping in Procefs of Time begets Naval Power, and as it is a Maxim, juftified by Experience, as well as founded in Reafon, that naval Power will in the End get the better of all other Power; it follows that the Mabometons wanting this, can only prey upon each other by Land, from whence Revolutions in Power, but no Acceffion of Power can ever arife. Whereas if Chriftians fould turn their Arms upon the Mabometans, fo as to make Conquefts, and come into Poffeffion of their Countries, the Cale would be altered, their Commerce would follow them, and the new erected Principalities would in a fhore Space of Time acquire a Naval Power, and fo be in a Condition to extend their Conquefts at the Expence of their Mabometan Neighbours.
9. We are indebted to Mr. Lockyer for the beft, indeed for the only tolerable Account we have of the Method Trade is carried on in Perfia, and therefore from him we muft borrow what is neceffary for the Reader's Information upon that Subject. Their great Weights are Maunds only, and thele differ according to the Narure of the Commodities to be delivered by them. Sugar, Copper, Tutanague, all Sorts of Drugs, $E^{3} c$. are fold by the Maund Fabrees; which in the Factory and the Cuftom-houfe is neartt fix Pounds and three Quarters, Averdupois; but in the Bozar it is not above fix Pounds and a Quarter, which one ought to have Regard to in buying out of the Shops.

Eatables and all Sorts of Fruit, as Rice, Raifins, Prunelles, Almonds, Onions, Esc. are fold by the Maund Copara of feven Pounds and three Quarters in the Factory, and from feven Pounds and a Quarter to feven Pounds and a half in the Bazar. Fine Goods, as, Gold, Silver, Musk, Acheen, Camphir, Bezoar, Coral, Amber, Cloves and Cinnamon, Oils, driec China, Silk, E c. are fold by the Mifcal, fix of which

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are commonly counted an Averdupois Ounce ; its juft Weight is 2 dw. 23 gr. 24 d : ps. Troy. The Maund Shaw is two Maund Tabrees, ufed at Ifpaban. All Bargains in Gambron are made for Shahees, and the Company keep their Accounts in them, reckoning them worth four Pence each, though that Coin is rarely met with, but in its Stead Coz and Mamooda's are current every where. Horfes, Camels, Houfes, $\mathcal{F}^{\circ} c$ are generally fold by the Toman, which is two hundred Shahees, or fifty Abaffes, and they ufually reckon their Eftates that Way; fuch a one, they fay, is worth fo many Tomans, as we fay, Pounds in England. The Laree is ufed about Ifpaban, nor are Abaffes to be got without allowing feven or eight per Cent. for the Difference in Exchange, yet Returns to Fort St. George, and other Parts of India, are commonly made with them. Next to thefe, Chequeens are the moft profitable; there are feveral Sorts of them, but the Venetion is better than the reft by one and a half or two per Cent. at Surat, and feveral other Ports on the Malabar Coafts, whither vaft Quantities are fent every Year. When a Parcel of Venetion Ducats are mixed with others, the whole goes by the Name of Chequeens of Surat; but when they are feparated, one Sort is called Venetians, and all the others Gubbers indifferently.

The Englifh Eaft India Company, as has been oblerved, do not only receive the Sum of three thoufand three hundred and thirty three Pounds fix Shillings and eight Pence of the Government of Perfia, in Lieu of the Service the Company did them in taking the Inand of Ormus from the Portuguefe, but they have an Exemption alfo from Cutoms, and whatever Ships trade under their Protection have the like Exemption, only paying the following Port Charges, viz. Two per Cent. on the Sale of Goods to the Company, one per Cent. Confulage to the Agent, one per Cent. to the Broker. Boat or Franky Hire for landing Goods is thirty Mamooda's per 2000 Maund Tabrees. Hamalgae, or Cooly Hire at Weighing, one Coz of every twenty Maund Tabres. The Company do not meddle at all with the Trade between Perfia and India; this they leave altogether to their Factors and Servants, and to fuch Country Ships and private Traders as put themfelves under their Protection, and are content to pay the Port Duties above-mentioned.

It is to be obferved, that the Turkey Company having always had an Opportunity of fending great Quantities into Perfa from Aleppo, abated much of the Commerce which the Agents of the Eaft-India Company would otherwife have carried on in that Empire. Of late the Ruffia Company have alfo interfered in this Trade, by tranfporting great Quantities of Englifb Goods by the Cafpian Sea ; and it is generally believed, that fo long as we maintain an amicable Correfpondence with the Court of Petersbourg, this Trade will not only go on, but increafe, which muft be attended with great AdvanEages to the Nation. As this appears to be a Matter of far greater Confequence to us than any thing that has occurred in this Section, it is but reafonable that the Point Thould be fully explained, as well for the Advantage of the prefent Age, as for the Benefit of Poftericy.
10. In order to fet this Affair in as clear a Light as it is poffible, we thall obferve, that all foreign Commodities are brought into Perfia by four great Routs; and that by each of thefe, more or lefs of Briti/b Commodities have been, or may be introduced into this Country, where there always has been, and, if we are true to our Intereft, there always mutt be, a very high Demand for them. Of thefe Routs the firft is that of Balfora, or Bajora, a great. City at the Bottom of the Perfan Gulph, fubject to its own Prince, and a Kind of Emporium or Magazine of Turkif, Perfian, and Indian Commodities. The Goods that are brought hither for the Perfian Market, come by Land by the Caravan from Aleppo, in about thirty Days, and are tranfported from thence either to Bandar $A b a / \sqrt{2}$, or Ifpaban. It is by this Caravan that the Turkey Company tranfport Englifh Cloths into Perfia in Exchange for Silk, which they purchafe at Aleppo, and confequently this Trade is either greater or leis, according to the good. Correfpondence be-
tween the two Empires of Turkey and Perfac. By this Means alfo we were led into Errors about Carpets, Lea ther, and other Commodities which pafs for Turkifh, be caufe imported by the Turkey Company from Turkey, though really of Perfian Growth and Manufacture.

The next great Rout is that of Gambron, or Bander Abafis, with refpect to which we have already given a large Account from Mr. Lockyer. Goods are brought hither by Sea, but not directly, as many apprehend, from England; on the contrary, they come from fome Indian Port, and confequently are charged with a very high Freight, and with other incident Charges, which render them very dear ; notwithftanding which, in Times of Peace, and when Things were well fettled in Perfa, the Shah keeping his Court at Ifpaban, there was large Vent for them, and our Agent there lived with all the Pomp and Splendour of a Prince. The Reader will eafily difcern from hence, how great a Change muft have been wrought in the Traffick carried on by this Canal, by the Difturbances which lafted fo many Years in Perfa, and by the Change of the Capital of that Empire, which is now removed to a prodigious Diftance from Bender Abaffa; and if he defires any Proof of this Fact there calling the Englifh Agents from I/paban and Bandar Abaff, may pafs for inconteftable Evidence.

The third Rout is that through India to Boft, which, as we have fhewn in the Defcription of the Perfian Empire, is the Eaftern Magazine, as Bandar Abafl is the Southern, and Baffaro is the Weftern for all that enter into Perfia. By this Means it is very far from being im. poffible that the Eaft India Company fhould introduce Englifh Goods into this Empire; but whether they are actually carried thither by this Road, is more than I am able to fay; and if they are, I prefume it is done by Indian, Armenian, or Fervif Merchants.

The fourth or laft Rout is by the Cafpian Sea, and the Englifh Commodities that are fent this Way, muft of Neceffity pals through Ruffa. For the carrying on this Trade Magazines muft be erected at Astracan, and from thence the Goods are tranfported into the Provinces of Gilan or Aftarabat; from which laft Province the Caravans go in a Week to Mefcbed, which is the prefent Capital of Perfia.

It may be faid, that this is going a great Way about, and taking a vaft Compafs before our Goods arrive at Market. To this there are two Anfwers; the firft is, that let the Inconveniencies that attend this Commerce be what they will, they muft be born, for we have before fhewn, that little or nothing can now be expected from tranfporting of Goods to Bandar Abaffi, much lefs from Aleppo, which lies ftill at a much greater Diftance from Mefched; fo that we are under a Neceflity of taking this Compafs, if we will not entirely lofe the Perfian Commerce, and therefore it is to no Purpofe to complain, even fuppofing the Objection were well grounded. The fecond is, that there is not either Truth or Force in the Objection, for Goods may be tranfported from Petersbourg, from thence through Ruflia to Aftracan, crofs the Cafpian to Gilan, and fo to Mefched, and the Returns made the fame Way in half the Time that they could be made by the Way of Gambron.

We may add to this, that we now go to the Market and fell our Goods, or rather barter them for Perfian Silk upon the Spot, whereas formerly we went a great Way about; and notwithftanding this, the Perfan Factors went alfo a great Way to get at us, fince before we could fhip the Perfian Silk, it muft either be carried by Land to Aleppo, which was three Months Journey, or to Bandar Abaff, which was above two. Befides, it is highly probable, that when our Commerce at Mefched is as well fixed as it was at Ipaban, we fhall be able to tranfport Englifh Cloths into the remoteft Parts of Tartary, and thereby reap cuoft of thofe Advantages that were heretofore wifhed for and expected from the Difcovery of a North Weft Paffage.It was by this very Canal, and in fpite of all the Inconveniencies with which it has been fuppofed to be attended, that the Dutch difpofed of prodigious Quantities of their Cloths in Perfia, which for that Purpole were bought up by the Armenian Merchants ; and it was by this Way alfo,

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that the Frencb were in Hopes of eftablifhing a Trade to Perfia, as appears by a very curious Memoir prefented to the Frencb Miniftry upon that Head, the Subject of which is inferted in the Dictionary of Commerce, one of the beft and moft ufful Works that was ever publifhed. But there is fill fomewhat behind with which the Reader ought to be acquainted, in order to frame a true Notion of the Value and Importance of this Trade, about which fo many Difputes have been of late Years raifed in this Kingdom.
ir. We have already enumerated the Commodities of Perfia, and fhall not therefore pretend to meddle with them again; for in order to give the Reader a View of the Trade of this Empire, it will be fufficient for our prefent Purpofe, to infift barely upon the Silk, of which there are four Sorts; the firft is, that which in Perfia they call Sbirvan, but which we in Europe call Hardafs; the fecond, is what they call Karvary, but we ufually ftile it Legee or rather Legy, from the little Town of Legiam in Gilan, from whence the greatef Part of it is brought ; the third is in their Language called Ked-Coda-penfend, which is as much as to fay, Tradermens Silk; the laft is what they and we call Sberbaffle, or, as the common People ftile it, Turkey Silk, from the Mitake which has been fo often mentioned.
Of all thefe Kind of Silks, the Provinces of Georgia, Gilan, Mezanderan, Sbirwan, Cborafan and Kirman, produce annually, about Twenty two thoufand Bales, each of about two hundred and fouricore Pounds Weight. Of thefe it is computed, that not above two thoufand Bales are wrought up in all the Manufactures of Perfa, from the coarfeft Carpets, to the richeft Brocades. At this Rate, there are between five and fix Millions of Pounds of Silk yearly carried out of Perfa, and as it is worth about ten Shillings a Pound on the Spot, the Reader will eafily apprehend, that raw Silk is a kind of Gold Mine to the Perfans, fince it furnifhes them with between two and three Millions annually, above one half of which is receiv'd in ready Money.
In the next Place it is to be fhewn, how the bringing in vaft Quantities of Silk turns to the Advantage of this Nation. In refpect to our Silk Manufactures, what we bring of this Sort ferves only for the Shoote, for the Warp of all our raw Silks is, as we have elfewhere told the Reader, Organzine or Italian Silk, which is prodigiounly dear. If therefore we can abate the Price
of this, we may the better afford to pay for that ; or if we can obrain the Quantities we want, in Exchange for our Manufactures, this will prove a very great Saving ; and whatever can be faved in this Way, will enable us to work fo much the cheaper.
It has been fuggefled, that it might be attended with Inconveniencies for our Turkey and Ruffic Companies to interfere with each other in this Trade, which I confefs, furpaffes my Comprehenfion; and I am fo far from believing that any bad Confequences will refult from thence, that I think it may be demonftrated, this is the only, or at leaft the moft practicable and beft Method of making Companies ufeful, by engaging them to vie with each other in exporting Britifh Commodities and Manufactures; and provided this can be done, it is of no real Confequence to the Nation who does it. But there is another Thing that, joined to this, would be of ftill greater Confequence, and that is, the Eoft India Companies, exerting themfelves in procuring of Sillk from Cbina, which would fupply the Place of the Piedmontefe or Organzine Silk; and thus by the united Efforts of thefe three Companies, it is very poffible that twenty or thirty per Cent. might be faved in the prime Coft of Silk to this Nation ; and of what prodigious Benefit fuch a Saving would prove in our Manufactures, and how much it would contribute to enable us to work cheaper than our Neighbours, I leave every fenfible and ftudious Reader to judge.

I know very well, that in order to bring fuch a Project as this to bear, there muft be fome Application made to Parliament for an Alteration in the Duties and I am perfuaded that no great Difficulty would be found in obtaining this, if the Reafonablenefs of the Thing was fairly fhewn, and as it might be, fully made out. Our great Misfortune is, that Commerce is not fufficiently explained or underftood, the Reafon of which I take to be, that none concern themfelves about the Theory, but thofe who are engaged in the Practice; and as thefe muft be always interefted, it will very rarely happen that they can be impartial Judges. It is from this Motive that I have 'fo often turned my Pen to this Subject, with a View, if poffible, to excite a more general Attention to what is certainly in itfelf the moft confiderable and important Object of all political Confiderations.

## S E C TION IV.

Containing an Account of the Government and Conftitution of Perfia, the Nature of the Shah's Power, the Diftribution of Civil, Ecclefiaftical and Military Offices, the interior Policy of the Empire, the regular Forces kept up there, both Horfe and Foot, and the Nature and Amount of the publick Revenues.

## The whole digefted into Order from the beft Autborities.

1. An Introductory Account of the Reafon and Subject of tbis Section, in which the Confitution of arbitrary Monarchies is explained, and applied to the prefent Purpofe. 2. Of the Power of the Perfian Monarch, how far absolute and terrible; and bow, notwithffanding mild and equal enough, with Refpect to the Bulk of the People. 3. Of the Confitution of the Perfian Court, the principal Officers therein, their Ranks and Subordination, and the Duties of their refpective Offces. 4. Of the Ecclefiaftical Confitution in Perfia, and the Difference between the Head of the Mahometan Cburch there, and in Turkey. 5. Of the Government of the Provinces, the Jeveral Checks contrived for the Safety of the Prince, and the Prefervation of bis Subjects. 6. Of the regular Troops or old Aanding Army of the Perfian Empire, bow compofed, under what Dijcipline, and the Metbods by wobich it was Jubffted. 7. Of the niero panding Army introduced by the Shah's, intirely dependant upon them, bow model'd and provided for, and bow corrupted and rendred ufelefs. 8. Of the Art. Military among the Perfians, their Manner of making War, acting offenfively, defenfively, and particularly their Metbod for fecuring themjelves againgt Invafions. 9. Some further Obfervations on the military Affairs of this Empire, on the Ad-
vantages enjoyed by, and the Difadvantages under which the Perfians labour, from the Regulations eftablifbed amongft them in this Refpect. 10. Of the State of Property in this Empire, whence the Imperial Revenues arife, bowe levied, and their Amount. II. Obfervations and Remarks on feveral Particulars delivered in the Courre of this Section.
2. 

A$S$ at this Juncture the Perfian Empire, by the Murder of the Shah Nadir, is in fuch Confufion, that it may be in fome Meafure confidered as diffolved and no longer a Government at all; fo it might feem excufeable, if we had paffed by this Section altogether ; yet confidering that even in abfolute Monarchies, Revolutions are but convulfive Motions, and that as foon as they ceafe the Body Politick recovers its natural Conftitution, we could not but think it very requifite, for the Reader's Information, that a View fhould be given of the Form of the Perfian Government, and this for three Reafons Firft, Becaufe we are very apt to confound all abfolute Monarchies one with another, and to fuppofe that there neither is, nor well can be, any Difference between them ; whereas, in Truth, the Form of fuch Governments may, and actually do vary, as much as any other of the milder Forms, as the Reader will fee by this Inftance. Secondly, Of all the abfolute Monarchies in the Eaft, the Conftitution of the Perfions was very juftly held to be the beft; and therefore it deferves, o all others, to be reprefented to the View of the, Reader, who from hence will learn by what Modification the arbitrary Power of a Sovereign may be rendred in fome Meafure beneficial to his Subjects. Thirdly, Becaufe, in all human Probability, the Britifs Nation may hereafter have a clofer Communication with, and enter into a more extended Trade amongft the Inhabitants of Perfia than in Times paft ; fo that it is highly requifite we fhould enter, at leaft briefly, into a Subject that may, to us or our Pofterity, become of extraordinary Importance.

It is by $n o$ Means fit, the: fo large and fo regular a Collection as this fhould be governed by temporary Views, or that we fhould take the Liberty, becaufe this Country is at prefent unfettled, to nip over its Government, which we have a moral Certainty will be reeftablifhed, perhaps before this very Collection is compleated. Befides all this, there are a great Variety of Articles which naturally fall. within the Compafs of this Section, that tend to give us a fuller and more perfect Notion of the State of this Empire and its Inhabitants, than can be obtained by the Perufal of any fingle Book of Travels, in which the State of the Country is reprefented, as it ftood at the Time the Author vifited it. But notwithftanding that, the Force of thefe Confiderations have determined us to infert this Section ; we Thall not forget the Obligation we are under to keep Things within their due Bounds, and thall therefore labour to deliver, as fuccinctly as it is pofible, without Prejudice to their Perfpicuity, the feveral Articles that we think ourfelves obliged to handle for the Reader's Inftruction and Entertainment, and in order to render our Account of Perfia confiftent with the general Plan of this Work.
2. The Shah of Perfa is an abfolute Monarch, and has the Lives and Eftates of his Subjects entirely at his Difpofal. There is no Prince in the World more implicitly obeyed; let his Orders be ever fo unjurt, of given at a Time when he is fo little Mafter of his Reafon that he knows not what he fays, or does, nothing can fave the greateft Subject if he determines to deprive him of his Life or his Ettate; neither Zeal for his Perfon, Merit, or paft Services, will avail in the leaft. If he be in a Humour to ruin them, it is done by a Word of his Mouth, or by a Sign, and executed in an Inftant, without any Form of Law, or Evidence of Facts. The common People, who are at a Diftance from the Court, have much the better of the Quality in this Refpect; there are very feldom Inftances of any Oppreffion or fevere Judgments executed upon thefe, but they feem to enjoy as much Security as in any Country in the World; and perhaps the Magiftrates are the more inclined to govern equitably, in regard they know sothing can skreen them from the Refentment of theiv

Sovereign, if they are guilty of any finifter Practices The Perfians, out of Confcience, it is faid, obey all the Commands of their Prince without Referve, and believe that his Orders ought to be obeyed againft the very Laws of Nature, infomuch that if the Son be commanded to be his Father's Executioner, or the Father the Son's, it muft be complied with. But if he command any Thing in Prejudice of their Religion, they are not obliged to him, bui ought to fuffer any Thing rather than violate the Law of God.
Yet nothing makes the Perfan Government appear fo tyrannical, as the Cuftom of executing the Governors of Provinces, and great Officers of State, without giving them an Opportunity of making their Defence, or being informed of the Crime they are charged with; it is ufual for the Sbab two or three Times in a Year to fend every Governor the Calaat or Royal Veft, and thefe are fent by fuch Perfons as the Court intends a Favour to for the Cbam or Governor, to whom they are fent, al ways makes a confiderable Prefent to the Meffenger.

When he comes within two or three Miles of the Place where the Governor refides, the Meffenger fends him Word to come and receive the Calaat, but inftead of a fine Coar, the Governor is fometimes prefented with a Halter, and is difpatched without any farther Ceremony.

This makes the Governors very circumfpect in their Conduct, and they are always under difmal Apprehen fions, when they hear the Calat is arrived, knowing how common it is to have their beft Actions mifreprefented to their Prince. The Perfians fay in Defence of this Practice, that the Court feldom proceeds with that Severity, but in extraordinary Cafes, where the Fact is notorious, and there is Danger of Rebellion, if they fhould cite the Perfon accufed to anfwer ; that if it be otherwife, they always give him an Opportunity of anfwering his Charge.

As for thofe about the Court, whom the Sbab looks upon as Slaves he has purchafed, he does not think himfelf obliged to obferve thefe Formalities, but dooms them to be punifhed, or put to Death, as he fees fit. The Sbab of Perfia has no Council of State, as in the European Governments, but he afts as he is adviled by his Prime Minitter and great Officers ; that which moft perplexes the Miniftry, is the Cabals that are carried on by the Women in the Haram; the Refolutions that are taken here, frequently thwart their beft laid Schemes, and the Minifters do not only run the Rifque of having their Counfels rejected, but they very often turn to their own Deftruction, if they are not fuitable to the Inclinations of the Ladies moft in Favour. This is not an Evil peculiar to Perfia, but a kind of Curfe, throughout all Eaftern Courts; and perhaps fome in the Weft are not altogether free from it.
3. The Royal Family of Perfia are, generally fpeaking, more unhappy than the Princes of the Ottoman Blood, for though they are not put to Death fo frequently as the former, yet they ufually have their Eyes put out, and live in that miferable Condition many Years. They have the Tartar Title of Mirza added to their Names, which is equivalent to our Title of Highnefs, and is never given but to thofe of the Imperial Line. The firft Minifter in the Empire is the Atamadoulet, a Word which fignifies the Support of the Empire. In Petitions, or when they fpeak to him, they ftile him the Grand Vizir, or Vizir Azem. No Bufinefs of Confequence is tranfacted in the State but by the Direction of this Minifter, nor any Grant or Act of State of the Sbab's held to be valid, till counterfeal'd by him.

The Reafon whereof is faid to be, that their Sbab's being bred up in the Women's Apartment, and perfectly ignorant in Affairs of State, it is neceflary, for the Safety of the People, and the Prefervation of the Government, that their Orders fhould be confidered by fome

## Chap. II. of the Inbabitants of the Empire of Persia.

wife Minifter, before they are put in Fxecution. The Grand Vizirs in Turkey, it is oblerved, feldom die a natural Death ; on the other Hand, the Prime Minifter of Perfia, if it be thought fit to difcharge him, is ufually pernitted to retire, and end his Days in Peace with his Family. The fecond Poft in the Government is, that of the Divan Begbis or Bey. This great Magiftrate is the laft Refort in all Caufes, Civil and Criminal, unlefs where the Sbab in Perfon fits in Judgment. The Divan Bey can command any Caufe to be removed to his Tribunal, from any Court in the Kingdom ; and during the late Reigns it has not been known that their Sbabs have ever fat in a Court of Juftice, or concerned themfelves in examining the Decrees of the Divan Begbi.
In the third Rank come the Generals, and firtt the Generaliffimo when there is one. The next Place is the General of the Courtcbis, which are a Body of thirty thoufand Horfe, of Turk or Tartar Original. The thiird is the General of Mufqueteers, a Body which ferve on Horfeback, but fight on Foot like our Dragoons. The fourth is the General of the Coulars, or Royal Slaves as they are called; and the laft the Maf ter of the Ordnance. After the Generals, the Vacanavilb or Secretary of State, poffeffes the next Poft. This Officer regifters the publick Acts, and has the Care of the Records; he alfo appoints a Deputy in every Province of the Empire, who tranfmits all Affairs of Confequerice to him, to be laid before the Minittry. The laft great Officer is the Mirab, or Lord of the Water. Every Province has its particular Mirab, who takes Care to diftribute the Waters of the Rivers and Aqueducts in fuch Proportion, that every Part of the Country may have an equal Share.
Thefe are all the principal Officers of State. Thofe of the Houfhold are firft the Nazir, who is both Lord Treafurer and Steward, and it is with this Gentleman, that all Ambaffadors and Foreigners tranfact their Affairs, but there is a Comptroller and feveral other Officers which are a Check upon him, as he is on the Prime Minifter, and thofe two have a very great Influence in the Court of Perfia. But to prevent the Sbab's Treafury being mifapplied, no Sums are paid out of the Treafury, but the Order paffes under the Seals of the Prime Minifter, the Nazir, the Divan Bey, and two other Officers of the Revenue. The next is the Ichicagafi Bafa, who commands all that attend in the outward Palace, and the Guards.
When the Sbab goes out, this Lord marches before him with a great Staff, covered with Gold and precious Stones; he does not fit, as feveral Officers do of inferior Quality, but ftands always ready to obey his Imperial Majefty's Orders, and fee them executed. And after him is the great Huntfman, who has not lefs than a thoufand Huntfinen and Falconers under him. After this Officer the principal Phyfician and principal Aftrologer take Place, which are Pofts of great Honour and Profit.
4. As to Ecclefiaftical Officers in this Empire, the Grand Pontif is ufually ftiled the Sedre in Perkia; they alfo give him the Titles of Prince, Head of the true Church, Subftiture of Mabomet, and Lieutenant of the twelve Imans, or Caliphs, who fucceeded their Patriarch Haly. The Churchmen and bigotted Part of the Perfans hold, that the Dominion of the Laity is an Ufurpation, and that the Government belongs of Right to the High-Prieft; but that of the Majority is, that the Regal Power exercifed by their Princes is derived from God, and that the High-Prieft and his Brethren ought not to meddle with Politicks, yet the Sedre and his Subftitutes are the ordinary Judges in all civil as well as Ecclefiaftical Caufes; Lawyer and Divine are Terms of the fame Signification in Perfa, their ecclefiaftical and civil Laws being indeed the fame. The temporal Judges have no written Laws to go by, but their Decrees are founded upon ancient Cuftom, or the Equity of the Cafe, and the Judges in their temporal Courts are ufually Men of the Sword. The Sedre is the fupreme Judge in the Ecclefiaftical Courts, and takes Place in all publick Affemblies next to the Atamadoulet or Prime Minitter.

The fecond Ecclefiaftical Judge, is the Ancient of the Law; whom the Perfans ftyle Cbeik Ifam; his Jurifdiction is little inferior to the Sedre's, and the People feldom appeal from one of thefe Courts to the other but to the Divan Begbi, who is the fupreme Judge in all Caufes, ecclefiaftical as well as temporal; The Cad is the third Ecclefiaftical Judge in Perfia; he takes Cognizance of the fame Caufes with the two former, but his Authority is confined to fome particular Town or Diftrict. The Mufti is the fourth, who has not that Authority here as in Turkey, for he cannot controul or Reverfe the Proceedings of inferior Courts; but is reverenced however as a Perfon well skilled in the Ecclefiaftical Laws, and his Opinion frequently demanded by the other Judicatures, who norwithftanding act as they think fit. Thefe Judges do not fit all in one Court, but have each their refpective Tribunal, and the People apply indifferently to the one or other, as they are inclined.
5. There is in every Province of this Empire; a Chan and a Vizier ; the Vizier has the Government of all thofe Towns and Villages which are the King's Demefne Lands, or which belong to the Crown in Propriety, and the Chan of the Province in general. This Word Cban, or Caun, as we pronounce it; and Cbam, fignify the fame Thing, namely, viz. a puiffant or mighty Prince; and this is the Title of all the Tartar Princes in Afaa; and the Perfian Provinces being of the Extent of Kingdoms, and formerly dittinct Sovereignties, the Perfan Court have thought fit to give their Governors the Titles of fovereign Princes; and the Shah of Perfia is frequently ftiled now, as his Predeceffors of old, King of Kings. Indeed the Chans in their refpective Provinces, live almoft in as much State as their Sovereigns, having exactly the fame Kind of Officers as are in the Shah's Court with the fame Titles, there being farce any Difference but in Numbers and Penfions. The Chan commands the Militia of the Province, and affigns Lands for their Maintenance ; he reviews them at certain Times, and fees that they are fit for Service, their Arms and Horfes in good Order, and that they all perform their Exercifes well ; but every Soldier is permitted to live in his own Houfe in Time of Peace.

The Chans or Governors of Provinces have their Pofts for Life, and if they behave well, their Children after them. There are two Degrees of thefe Chans, the greateft is called Beglerbeg, or L.ord of Lords; the other is filed Coulembeg, or Lord of Slaves. The Governors of the Frontier Provinces are for the moft Part Beglerbegs, as the Chan of Armenia, from whom the Chans of Cburs, Marega, and other Diftricts, in Time of War, receive their Orders, and are obliged to march under his Standard. Sometimes thefe inferior Governments are made independent of the Chan of the Province. In every Province there are three Officers put in by the Government, who are independent of the Chan, namely, the fanitelim his Lieutenant, the Vizier or Receiver General of the Shah's Revenues, who hath alfo the Management of the Lands belonging to the Crown, and the Government of all Places where the Crown Lands lie; and the Vacanavif, or Secretary whofe Bufinefs it is to take an Account of all Tranfactions of Moment in the Province, and tranfmit them to Court.

One principal Defign of placing thefe Officers about the Chan,' is to obferve his Conduct, and oppofe him is he fhould undertake any thing againft the State. Befides thefe, the Governors of Cities and Cafles, who are called Darogas, are put in directly by the Shah, and have their Lieutenants and Vacanavifs alfo independent of them ; and the fame Perfon who is Governor of the City is never made Governor of the Fortrefs which belongs to it. The Minifters of State, and Generals of Armies, have alfo their Lieutenants and Comptrollers to fuperintend their Conduct, with fecret Orders how to adt on certain Emergencies; but it is obferved, that unlefs in Matters where the Safety of the State is concerned, thofe Officers have a very good Undertanding, and and agree fo well together, that the Shah is no lefs
cheated
cheated and deceived than if the Management, was in one Hand. Befides, the Daroga or Governor, the Vizier and Vacanavifh, there are alfo in every Town the Cadi, or Civil Judge, before whom all ordinary Caufes are heard; the Head Officer among the Trading People, the Provoft or Sheriff; and every particular Trade has a Warden or Mafter. There is an Officer alfo who has a Watch, and is principally concerned in keeping the Peace in every great Town in the Night-time.

The Governor of every Town is the Judge in the laft Refort in criminal and civil Cafes too, if he pleafes to interpofe, and may inflict any Pains on Offenders Ahort of Death. Capital Punifhments are very rare in Perfia, and the Sentence is, in moft Cafes, paffed by the Shah himfelf. The ufual Punifhment is a Fine, which always goes to the Shah, or rather to the Governor of the Province, who generally brings the Crown indebred to him in his Accounts. When a Governor or Vizier is fent into any Province, he has his Inftructions in Writing; wherein are contained the Extent of his Government, of the Revenues, and the Manner in which he is to treat the People; and Inftructions, in like Manner, are given to every Officer of State when he enters on his Poft. On the other Hand, when a Governor or other Officer returns from his Command, which he never does but by exprefs Order of the Court, he waits without at the Gate of the Palace, and gives Notice by fome of his Friends of his Arrival, and that he begs to throw himfelf at his Imperial Majefty's Feet ; whereupon Orders are ufually given for his Admittance ; but fometimes, if the Perfon has misbehaved in his Poft, inftead of an Anfwer in the ordinary Stile, Orders are iffued to take off his Head.
6. The Perfians are naturally a brave People, but the Sloth and Inactivity of their Princes had of late renders ${ }^{5}$ them not fo formidable as they ufed to be. In the laft Century, under Abbas the Great, they made confiderable Conquefts on the Side of Turkey, as well as India, though their Troops were always much inferior in Number to the Armies either of the Grand Signior or Great Mogul ; but they funk in our Time fo much below what they were in that Reign, that every little Tartar and Arabian Prince infulted their Frontiers, and robbed them of fome Part of their Territories, before the late Shah Nadir affumed the Government.

The Forces of Perfia are divided into the Troops of the State and the Shah's. The Troops of the State are entertained by the Governors of the refpertive Provinces, and paid out of certain Lands appropriated for that Purpofe, and are divided into Militia and regular Troops. The regular Troops are called Courtcbis ; they were originally of Tartary, a ftout hardy Race of People who lived in Tents. Thefe are the Soldiers which are properly called Coofelbafbes, or Red-heads, fo ftiled when they came to the Affiftance of Cbeic Seff, the Founder of the late Imperial Family, for which Service he allowed them the Honour of wearing red Caps or Turbants, of a particular Form, like that he wore himfelf. Thefe Coofelbalbes remained in their Tents, as well in Time of Peace as War, and employed themfelves in feeding, buying and felling of Cattle, from whence they were called Courtchis, or Shepherds.

The Service they did to Cbeic Seff, and their Zeal for the Religion of the Imans, procured them great Refpect, and they poifeffed the chief Pofts both in the Court and Army ; and from thefe the Perfian Soldiery, and afterwards all the Perfians in general, obtained the Appellation of Coofelbafbes, a Name formidable to the $I_{n}$ dians, Turks and Tartars in the laft Age; and it was by this Generation that the $\mathcal{T} u r k i 万 万$ Language was introduced into the Court of Perfia, and the Northern Parts of that Kingdom, where they fpeak it much more than the Perjaan. The Coofelbafbes held the firt Rank in the Kingdom till the Reign of $A$ Abbas the Great, who endeavoured to fupprefs them upon account of the unreafonable Influence he obferved they had in all Affairs of State, depofing and fetting up what Princes they thought fit, like the Turki/h Fanizaries. He was fo jealous of his own Son, on account of the Refpect he had obferved they paid him, that he caufed him to be put to

Death, and difperfed the Coofelbafles in fmall Detachments through all the Provinces of the Empire. Thefe Troops ferve on Horfeback, carrying a Bow and Arrows, a Sword, Poinard, and Lance, with a Hatchet at the Saddle-skirts; and for Defenfive Arms have a Shield and Helmet; they are commanded always by their own Oficers, and their General is called Courchibatbi, or Commander of the Courctbis.
Both the Courtcbis and Militia have their Pay out of the Lands of the State of the refpective Provinces, and enjoy it as their Inheritance, from Father to Son, if they do not refufe to bear Arms : They are obliged to march to the Place of Rendezvous on twelve Hours Notice, and every Year pals in Review before a Commiffary fent from Court, or before the Governor of the. Province.
7. The Troops of the Sbab are two Bodies, which Abbas the Geat inftituted. One confifts of twelve thoufand Men, and are called the Musketeers, becaufe inftead of Bows and Arrows they carry Muskets, and though they march on Horfeback, yet like our Dragoons they fight on Foot. Sbab Abbas ufed to oppofe them to the Turki/b Fanizaries, of whom he had obferved the Enemy made great Advantage in their Engagements with him. Before this Time neither Foot-Soldier or Fire-Arms were ever heard of in Pery $2 a$, and their Neighbours the Tartars have no Foot among them to this Day. The other Body confifted of Ten choufand Horle; thefe were called Coulars, and carried FireArms alfo inftead of Bows. They were called Coulars or Slaves, to fignify their Devotion to their Sovereign, or as fome fay, becaufe they come from thofe Countries from whence the Perfians had their Slaves, as Georgia, Circafia, \&cc. Part of them are fent as Prefents to the Sbab when they are young; and the reft are defcended from the People of thofe Countries, who are fettled in Perfia. They almoft all profefs the Mehometan Religion, though defcended from Chrittian Parents. Abbas the Great had a particular Affection for this Body, and ufed to call them his Horfe Fanizaries. They are tall well-made Fellows, in whofe Courage and Fidelity the Shah has a particular Confidence; for as they fcarce know the Country or Relations from whence they fprang, and can have no other Views, than to recommend themfelves to their Mafter by their Services, they are entirely devoted to the Crown, and obey every Order without Hefitation; and from among thefe, the Court ufually prefers Men to the higheft Pofts; fo that confidering the Number of Georgian Women which are married into Perfia, and the Potts the Men who derive themfelves from thence poffers, the Perfian Court may, one half of them, probably be of Georgian Extraction.

It is obferved, that in Perfia, as well as India, the Word Slave is an honourable Title, and preferable to that of Subject; nay, a certain French Author tells us, that the Word Koulam Sbab, or King's Slave, is equal to that of Marquis in France, becaufe all that have that Denomination are fure to be preferred to fome Poft if they behave well. Befides thefe, there are two other fmall Bodies, the one called Sopph's or Sepbi's, inflitured for a Guard to the King's Perfon by Cbeik Seff; thefe are not above two hundred Men, and wear the Sophi's Cap on their Heads, and for their Arms have a Sabre, a Poinard, and an Ax, which they carry on their Shoulders. The fecond, called the Ziezari, or the Six hundred, who are all of the Size of Grenadiers, ftout young Fellows, inftituted by Abbas the Second for a Guard to his Perfon, Anno 1654. The Monarchs of Perfia, before that Time, had no Guards in the Palace, or when they went abroad, for the Sephies only ferved to make a Show at Feftivals, and on publick Occafions; they wear long red Caps of the Form of a Sugar-loaf, and their Arms are a Musket, Sabre, and Poinard, which are adorned with Silver, and exceeding fine; they are under the Command of the General of the Mufqueteers, and a fmall Party of them do Duty as the Palace Gates.
All the Troops of Perfia are comprehended under thefe two Names, of Courtchis and Coulers, that is,

Shepherds

## Chap. II.

of the Empire of PERSIA.

Shepherds or Slaves, by which they underttand the Soldiers of the old or new Eftablifhment. The Shah finds all the Trocps with Horfes, Arms, and Accoutrements, but every Man provides himfelf with Cloaths according to his Fancy, the Soldiers having no particular Livery, any more than the Servants of the King's Houfhold, or of any great Man. There was in the Reign of Abbas the Great, a Body of twelve thoufand Men, that belonged to the Artillery, but they were difcharged in the Reign of Abbas the Second, and the Perfians had no Artillery, unlefs fome ufelefs Guns in the Front of the Palace at Ifpaban, and in fome other great Towns, which are more for Show than Service; till they were new difciplin'd of late Years by Sbab Nadir.
8. Their Armies were never large, confidering the Extent of the Empire : Abbas the Great, who made fuch confiderable Conquefts, had never more than a hundred and twenty thoufand Men in his Service in all the Provinces; and the Soldiers have been fo ill paid in the late Reigns, that they have deferted, and gone into foreign Service, or applied themfelves to other Employments, which the Courtiers winked at, putting their Pay in their Pockets, and never filling up their Places. The Perfion Troops not being troubled with Artillery or Baggage, make prodigious fwift Marches, and fall upon an Enemy frequently in his Camp or Quarters, with incredible Fury, when he leaft fufpects fuch a Vifit. At other Times they cut off his Provifions, and turn the Waters from their ufual Courfe, and having fufficiently harraffed him in a long March through a defert Country, when he is fatigued and difpirited, fall upon him. When an Enemy makes Head againft them they will fly till they have drawn him into fome difadvantageous Ground, and then return to the Charge again.

In their Retreat, as has been obferved, they fhoot more Arrows than when they advance, as Hiftory acquaints us was the Practice of the ancient Partbians. The Perions never throw up any Intrenchments about their Camp?, their Fortification is fome Mountain or difficult Pals; but in Sieges they intrench, and ufually take a Place by undermining it; and it is thought that no People underfand Mining and fubterraneous Works better than the Perfians. It was thus they took Erivan, the Capital of Armenia, from the Turks the latt Time. This City, in a very fhort Space, found almoft every Part of it undermined ; but as the Perfians do not trouble themfelves with Artillery, fo neither have they any Breadwaggons or Sutlers amongft them, and yet their Camp is generally as well fupplied as a Camp need to be, the Country People continually following them with Provifions. Indeed, as Rice and Fruit is almoft all they want, it can be no difficult Matter to fupply fuch finall Bodies as take the Field in Perfia, efpecially as they are perpetually in Motion, and feldom ftay long in a Camp.

When they are apprehenfive of an Invafion, their conftant Method is to withdraw all the People on the Frontiers, and deftroy the Country in fuch a Manner as the Enemy may find Nothing to fubfift on, nor leav.ing fo much as a Spire of Grafs, or a Tree upon the Ground; but they give the Husbandmen Time to fecure their Grain, Fruits, and Forage, by burying them, with moft Part of their Utenfils, in deep Pits, which they will do in fuch a Manner that it is almoft impoffible to difcover. them ; and as the Earth is very dry, they receive no Manner of Damage. The Army having thus deftroyed the Country for eight Days Journey together, they encamp near it in feparate Bodies, and as they fee Occafion, fall upon the Enemy and diftrefs him in his March ; fometimes they fall upon one Quarter of his Camp, and fometimes on another, in the Nighttime; and if they cannot by this Means put a Stop to his March, they retire farther into the Country, driving the People fill before them, and deitroying every Thing as before; and by thefe Means they have defeated the greateft Turkib Armies.

When the Enemy are retired, every Man returns to his Lands again. As for the Houfes, thole of the common People are no great Lofs, they are foon run up with Clay or fuch Materials as they find upon the Place.

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The Perfions are faid to found their Conduct upon this Dilemma, either the Enemy will invade us with great Numbers, or but few; if he brings great Numbers, confidering the Extent of defart Ground he muft march over, it is impoffible he fhould fubfift; if their Numbers are but fmall, we fhall harrais them in their March till they come to Nothing, without running the Hazard of a Battle.
9. The Perfians are excellent Markfmen, as well with their Fire-Arms, as their Bows and Arrows. Their Colours are made of rich Silks, in much the fame Manner as our Horfe Standards; for a Device; they write fome Paffage of the Alcoron, or part of their Confeffion of Faith, and fometimes have a Lion, with the Sun rifing over his Back, wrought in them. The great Standard-Bearer, whom they call Alemdar Baffa, is one of their principal Military Officers. The Management of the Soldiers Pay is much commended, becaufe they do not fuffer it to pafs through their Officers Hands; but every Man receives it of the Farmers of fuch Lands as are appropriated for that Purpofe; the Officers Pay is very good; the General of the Musketeers, and the General of the Coulars, have each of them above three thoufand Pounds a Year; and as the Lands affigned for the Payment of it are valued mighty low, it is thought to amount to four Times as much.
In time of Peace, they ufually keep a Body of fix or feven thoufand Men in Cbaldea towards Babylon, to prevent the Incurfions of the roving Arabs. The Governor of Armenia has about five thoufand Men under his Command, and the Governor of Georgia a like Number. In Cboraffan they have ufually eight thoufand Men to bridle the Usbeck Tartars, and fuch another Body in the Province of Candabar, towards India, and thefe Troops being the Outguards of the Empire, and almoft in conftant Action, were efteemed pretty good; but as for the reft, who are cantoned in the Inland Country, they enjoyed fo long a Peace, that even Travellers obferve, they had not the Air of Soldiers:

In thofe Parts of the Country, where they have Sea for a Boundary, they keep fcarce any Troops, infomuch, that in Gilan, and Mazenderan, which lie on the Cafpian Sea, the Coffacks have landed fmall Parties; and plundered the Country for feveral Days together; and here the Mufcovites very lately fixed themfelves with very little Oppofition, though it be one of the richeft and moft fertile Countries in the Empire. The Perfian Generals are perplex'd with nothing fo much as the ftupid Conduct of the Court, in attending to the Predictions of their Aftrologers. Thefe Men are ever averfe to War, becaufe they are obliged to take the Field with the Prince, and therefore feldom fail to pronounce it unlucky to enter into one on any Confideration whatever; and if ever they are brought to approve of a War, they muft prognofticate the jucky Minute, when to encamp, and when to march, $\mathcal{E}^{2} c$. So that the Generals lofe the great Advantages which might be made fometimes, by waiting till they confult the Stars. The favourite Women, and the Eunuchis are no lefs averfe to War than the Aftrologers; for in lofing their Prince, they lofe their all, and therefore they conftantly fall in with the Aftrologers, to divert their Lord from every Enterprife which carries a Face of Danger.

All this mult be underftood of the old Line of which Tbamas the Son of Huflein depofed by Mer-Weys, and afterwards reftor'd, depos'd again, and at laft put to Death, by Thamas Kuli Kan, or with his Privity, who thereupon affumed the Title of Sbab Nadir was the laft. It is a Thing furprizing, that confidering the great Extent of Coaft which they have upon the Perfian Gulph, and the Ocean on the South, and the Number of their Provinces bordering upon the Cafpian Sea, they fhould never think in Earneft, or to fpeak with the greater Pro priety, thould never think at all of raifing a Naval Force, which if they had done, would have rendered them fecure at Home and refpected Abroad.

The only Reafon that can be affigned for this is, their Neglect of Trade, which Defect in their Conftitution, if the ingenious Reader will attentively confider ${ }_{3}$ he wil! without Difficulty difcover, that it is the fole
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Source

Source of the frequent Troubles, Rebellions, and Revolutions, which have fo often brought the Perfian Government to the Brink of Ruin. This will be the more obvious to the Reader, when we come to ftate the Nature of Property among the Perfians, from whence it will appear, that the landed Intereft in that Country is colerably fecured; but as the like Provifion is not made for the Moncy'd Intereft, People do not turn themfelves fufficiently to thofe Methods of Subfiftance that would make the Government eafy, and themfelves happy.
10. The Lands of Perfar are either fuch as are cultivated, or fuch as are uncultivated, and uninhabited, of which the latter are ten to one more than the former. The Lands in Occupation are of four kinds; the Lands of the State, the Sbah's demefne Lands, the lands of the Church, and laftly, thofe belonging to private Men. The Lands of the State contain much the greater Part of what is cultivated, and are in the Poffeffion of the Governors of the refpective Provinces, who out of them take their own Revenue, and affign the reft for the Payment of their Officers, and the Troops they are obliged to maintain; for every Soldier has his Pay affigned him upon fome Village or Farm, in the fame Manner as in Sweden. The Demefne Lands are the Sbab's particular Eftate, out of which are paid the Officers of the Houthold, and the Troops he maintains over and above thofe which are maintained at the Charge of the refpective Provinces, and the Refidue are given among the Courtiers and Favourites; or managed by the Viziers and Intendants, who remit the Produce of them into the Treafury.

The Lands which belong to the Church, are the Donation of Princes, or private Men, and are accounted facred, fo that they are never taxed or confifated for any Crime whatever, and after one Yeat's Poffeflion, the Title of them cannot be called in Quettion, on any Account whatever. The Lands of privateMen are held of the Crown for the Term of ninety nine Years, paying an inconfiderable Quit-rent ; and at the Expiration of the Term of ninety nine Years, they are allowed to renew their Leafe for the fame Number of Years on advancing one Year's Income. As to the cultivated Lands, if any Perfon defires to build upon them, or to convert any Part of them into plowed Fields or Gardens, the King's Officers procure him a Grant for ninety nine Years, under a frall Rent, which Terms are renewed as other private Eftates; fo that all Ranks of Men derive their Eitates immediately from the Crown, and by this Merhod have a Perpetuity, on Payment of their Fines and accuftomed Rents.

The Officers of the Shah, as well as private Owners, let out their Lands to Husbandmen, upon Condition of receiving a third Part of the Produce ufually, but the Rent is more or lefs, according to the particular Agreements of the Parties; and the Grain in Perfa being fubject to be deftroyed by Hail, Drought, Locufts, and other Infects, the Tenants never fail to infift on an Abatement in thefe Cafes. When the Deftrution is very great, the Husbandmen take the withered Branches of Trees, and the damaged Ears of Corn, and refort to the Shah's Officers, complaining of the Seafon, and their Inability to pay their ufual Rent, if they have received never fo little Hurt; their Complaints are very loud, and they frequently make an Advantage of the Misfortune.

Private Landlords are lefs fubject to be impofed upon in thefe Cafes, having the Lands under their Infpection, but then their Tenants are not fo much oppreffed, and fubject to fuch Hardfips as the Tenants of the Crown. The Shah's Officers frequently pretend they have no Authority to make Abatements, and thereupon whole Villages go up to Court, and deliver their Petitions to the Stah in Perion, infomuch that there is feldom lefs than feven or eight thouland People attending at Ifpaban on there Occafions. The Cotirt ufually fends Orders hereupon to the Provinces to make fuch Allowance as the Nature of the Cafe requires, or depute Commiffaries to enquire into the Truch of the Complaint, but in either Cale the Crown is ufually defrauded; for the Countrymen fo well undertand the Force of Bribes,
that they commonly make a Purfe, and procure a favourable Reprefentation of the Cafe from the Officers fent to check them.

The Shah and private Owners have the like Profits of the Hubbandmen's Cattle, as they have of their Corn, as the third Fleece, and the third Part of the Breed; and of Fruit, the Crown has ftill a greater Share, there being not that Charge of manuring and cultivating Fruito trees, as there is of the Grounds which produce Grain.

The Governors of Provinces receive the fame Profits out of the Lands of the State, towards the Payment of the Officers, and Troops of the Province, as the Sbab does out of his own Lands, and every Province befides makes large Prefents, from Time to Time to the Court, of the beft the Country affords, whether ' Silk, Grain, Fruits, Cattle, or whatever is in Efteem among them; and thefe are fent up in fuch Quantitiess as are fufficient to fupply the Sbab's Houfhold, and therefore may be accounted a confiderable Part of the Revenue. The Shab has alfo the feventh Fleece, and the feventh of the Breed of the Cattle, in thofe Lands which are not appropriated to his Ufe, and this is a great Addition to his Revenue, for the Shepherds of Perfal, like the ancient Patriarchs, pofiefs vatt Flocks and Herds, on which they continually attend, living in Tents, and removing from one Place to another, as they can meet with Pafture for them; for thofe Lands which are not the Property of particular Perfons, are at Liberty for all Men to graze upon, though the Sbab's; and this Payment of the feventh Beaft leems to be an Acknowledyment of his Property in them. Thefe wealiny Shepherds the Perple of the Eaft call, Saranetchin, from whence we have the Word, Jaracen, that is ro lay, an Inhaditant of the Eiuds, for they live in Tenis, far from Fowns, two or three hundred together, aid :onerimes gou fie a choufand or two encamped in one Place ; un, peffetly cover the Plains with their Fiocks and Huds, that fometimes you may be two or three Hours in pafing chrough them; and the Sbals has an Officer called Ickomben Beffi, or chief of the Shepherds, refiding in every Province, who takes the feventh of the Catile for the Sbab's Ufe, viz. of Sheep, Affes, Mules, Camels and Goats; as to Horfes, it feems the Sboth is entitled to every third Colt; of Silk and Cotton allo, it is faid the Sbab has a third Part over the whole Kingdon.

Minerals and precious Stones belong to the Shah only, and he has Two per Cent. of all Money. The Money that is raifed by the Waters is another confiderable Part of the Rcvenue, for every Perfon pays for their being let into his Fields or Gardens; nothing will grow in that parched Country without it. A Tribute is alfo paid to the Crown by all People who are not of the Religion of the Country, whether Natives or Foreigners, and this amounts to a Ducat a Head ; and there is a Tax of ten Pence on every Shop of the handycraft Trades, and twenty Pence on the reft. The Cuftoms and Port Duties are another Branch of the Revenue, but thefe do not amount to much here, for they have no confiderable Port except Gambron. As for the Merchandize carried into Perfia, or out of it, by Land, they only pay a fmall Sum for a Camel's Load, and proportionably for every Mule or Ox , without examining what the Packs contain. But that Part of the Revenue which is merely cafual, exceeds all the reft, viz. what arifes by the confifcated Eftates, and the Prefents which are made by the great Lords, Governors of Provinces, $\mathcal{E}^{3} c$. and particularly thofe which are made on New Year's Day. They prefent the Shah with wrought Silks, Horfes, Affes, beautiful Boys and Girls, Gold, Silver, precious Stones, Perfumes, and every thing which is rich and curious, and may ferve for Ure, Ornament, or the Pleafures of Life; and as there are feveral handicraft Trades which pay no Duties to the Crown, as Carpenters, Mafons, and fome others, thefe are obliged to work for the Shah when he requires it, without Pay, whatever Buildings or Palaces the Shah erects. or repairs, he has only the Materials to find, the Warden or Chief of the Trade is obliged to fend a certain

Number:

Number of Workmen, which faves the Treafury a great deal of Money, and therefore the Labour of thofe People may well be efteemed Part of the Revenue. The Maintenance of Ambaffadors, and the providing them with Carriages, is done alfo at the Charge of the Country, and cofts the Shah Nothing. When he has a Mind to reward any Perfon for any fignal Piece of Service, this is done alfo at the Expence of another; he fends him perhaps to one of the Chans or great Courtiers, with che Calagi or Royal Veft, for which the Chan makes the Meffenger a Prefent ufually of ten times the Value or more, according to the Poft he is in. The Shah fomerimes expreffes the very Sum he expects fhould be paid, which is commonly exceeded out of Refpeet, and as a Proof the Perfon values the Prince's Favour. But notwithftanding the Impofitions above-mentioned, the People do not feem to be oppreffed or impoverifh'd; even the Tradefmen and Husbandmen appear to be in eafy Circumftances, and few of them but have Rings on their Fingers and Arms. One great Advantage to the Subject is, that fcarce any of the Duties are farmed, and in Times of Scarcity the Court is very indulgent and ready to make Abatements of their Rents and Taxes in Proportion to the Occafion. As to Poll or perfonal Taxes there are none in Perja, unlefs that which is levied upon thofe of a different Religion; nor are neceffary Provifions of any Kind taxed.

What the Revenue of the Crown may amount to in the whole, is very uncertain, depending fo much as it does upon Cafualices; thofe who have attempted to compute it, fay, that one Year with another the Revenue amounts to four Millions of our Money; which, confidering their Troops are moit of them paid out of the Lands of the State, that are not reckoned into this Account, is very confiderable ; but as the Splendor and Magnificence of the Perfzan Court is much beyond any thing we have in Europe, pofibly very little of it may remain in the Treafury at the Year's End. The Court, whether it remains at I/paban, Mefched, or any other Capital, or removes from one Province to another, as it ufed to do during the Summer, if we confider the Women, the Eunuchs, and other Officers and Servants, feldom confirts of lefs than ten thoufand Perfons which belong to the Houfhold, nor including the Troops, or the great Men and their Dependants, which it muft require an immenfe Sum to mainiain. The Officers of the Revenue fend every Year up to Court the State of their Province, and what every Town and Village produces, examined and attefted by the principal Inhabitants of the refpective Places, which are looked upon as fo many Debentures; and thefe given in Payment to thofe who are entitled to Penfions or Salaries from the Crown. In like Manner every Governor pays all the Officers and Soldiers of his Province, with Affignations on the Lands belonging to the Province; there is very lietle Money disburied on thofe Occafions, and where the Pay is fmall, as that of the common Soldiers, and inferior Servants, one Man is deputed from the Troop or Company to receive the Wages of the reft, and the Refidue, after ali Demands are fatisfied, is remitted into the Imperial Treafury.
It may not be amifs to add a few Words concerning the Seals under which. Acts of State are paffed in Perfia; they have five Seals which are ufed in five feveral Branches of Bufinefs, one in all fuch Affairs as concern the demefne Lands. A fecond for Commifions, Lerters Patents, $\mathcal{E}^{\circ} c$. The third only in Military Affairs. The fourth about the Revenue; and the fifth in Things relating to the Houfhold. There are no Arms engrayen upon them, but on one there are the Names of the twelve Imans or Patriarchs, on the others, a Scrap of the Alcoran, or fome pious Exprefions, fhewing their Dependance on God, and his Prophet Mabomet. The Form of one of the Seals is round, two others are fquare, and the other two are of an irregular Form. The largeft are about the Bignefs of a Crown-piece, and the others about half that Bignefs. They are made of Turquoifes, Rubies, Emeralds, or fome other precious Stones. The principal Seal the Shab always wears about his Neck, and on every Friday all Inftru-
ments which require thefe Seals, are carried to the Paw lace, and fealed in the Sbah's Prefence. The Impreffion is made on the Paper, with a kind of thick $I_{n k}$ and not on Wax as with us; the fame Ufage prevails in moft of the Eastern Courts.
II. The Generality of the World will agree from this View of the Perfian Policy, that there it no Realon, fo long as their Government continues in a fettled Condition, to look upon the whole Nation as Slaves and Beafts of Burthen. It is very certain, that, there are great Errors in this, as well as in all the Conftitutions founded in the Kboran, and it muft be fo, for that Book: itfelf is a mere Syftem of Tyranny; and which is worft. of all, it is pretended that this Syitem came from God. It is upon this Principle, that the abfolute Power of their. Princes is built; for as to all the Qualifications befides, they are brought in from the Remains of the old Perfian Goverment, which by their apparent Wifdom, and, natural Rectitude, have continued in Ufe through all Invafions, and in Spite of all Changes of Government. Thus the Governors, Treafurers, and Secretaries of Provinces, are precifely mentioned, both by facred Writers, and by the Greek Hiftorians, as well as modern Travellers. The profound Refpect born to the Skah, is the Remains of that Reverence paid to their Emperors of old, of which the Heathen Writers are full, which Alexander would have transferred to himfelf, and for which chiefly the Ronzans looked upon the Partbians as a barbarous Nation.

But above all, the new-Years Gifts are the ftrongeft Tcfimonies of the Difficulty there is in extirpating an. cient Cuftoms amongft any Ser of People. This was the Practice in the moft early Times, and the Perfan Emperors with all their Pride were then very humble to and familiar with their People. They eat and drank. with them in Publick; they gave Audience to all who defired it, and as they received Prefents even from the meancf, fo they received every • Man's Petition, and granted almoft every Man his Requeft.

There are many other Things, in which the modern Perfians refemble very much their remoteft Anceftors, but in nothing more than in their natural Inclination to and wondertul Genius for Poetry. This is fo univerfal, that every Chan, and indeed every rich and powerful Man, keeps a Poet in his Houfe, to whom occafionally they give Themes, and it is wonderful how well and how fiddenly they execute them. Thefe Sort of People allo frequent Coffee-houfes, and other publick Places, where, for the Amufement of idle People, they repeat their Performances with infinite Spirit, and with inimitable Grace. It is certain, that the Perfians are very nice in their Rhime, but fomewhat loofe in their Numbers, that is to fay, they regard Cadence more than Quantity. Yet no Nation in the World has more of that Enthufiafm, which is the Effence of Poetry, the very found of their Verfes fufficiently diftinguifhes the Subject, even to the Ears of thofe who are little acquainted with their Languge; fo that Foreigners are never at a Lofs to know, whether their Poems are merry or melancholy, humourous or grave, intended to inftruct, or calculated only to divert.

In fhort, almoft all their Learning confifts in Poetry, for their Proverbs are in Rhime, fo are their Fables, and they have Hiftories in Verfe of a great Length, which though fufficiently crouded with Fable, are feldum or never without a Ground of Truth. It is true that their modern Writers, many of them, make Uie of Profe, but even this is incermixt with Verfe, and they are alfo very apt to quote Verfes in Converlation, which they are oblerved to do with great Propriety. But it is worth our Notice, that no kind of Writing is here fo much in Fafhion, as Satyr, which is moftly national, and falls, generally fpeaking, upon their Neighbours. As for Example, they reprefent the Turks as Brutes and Barbarians; and whenever they have a Mind to reprefent a Blockhead, they are fure to paint him in a TurkjJo Drefs. The great Indolence, Effeminacy, and Luxury of the Indians, are likewife common Topicks of Raillery, and fo are the Faults and Follies of the Tarters; the Pride and Self-fufficiency of the Georgians; the Cinn-
ning and Self-intereftednefs of the Rufians, and the Covetoufnets of the Europeans are frequently expofed by their Wits.
They are far from being ignorant of Mufick as a Science; they learn by Rule, and they play by Note, though in a Manner fo different from ours, that it is a long Time before it becomes pleafant to a Stranger's Ear. There is no fuch Thing as Singing in Parts, but they fing one after another, and they generally fing to fome ftringed Inftruments, like the Lute or Viol: Their Men fing better than the Women, but there are not many of them that practife it, Singing being look'd upon as a fcandalous Employment in Perfia, as well as Dancing. People of Condition will not fuffer Children to learn either the one or the other, but it is left almoft entirely to the common Wenches and Proflitutes, as it is indeed all over the Eaft. It is reckoned an Indecency in People of any Reputation to fing, and it would render a Man contemptible who fhould attempt it in Company. The Perfans call their Singing-women Caine, intimating that they derive their Skill from the Daughters of Cain, who they pretend were the firft Inventors of Singing and Muffick in the Eaft.

They have a great Number of Inftruments both of String and Wind Mufick, fome in Shape like our Hautboys and Flutes, others like the Viol, Harp, Virginals, Kettle-drums, and Trumpets; but furcly their Trumpet is the moft monftrous Inftrument for Size and Sound that can be met with; it is commonly feven or eight Foot long, and proportionably wide at the great End, and as much as a Man can hold up ; thefe and their Drums, in a Manner, drown all other Sounds, though the leffer Inftruments, as has been obferved, have no great Harmony in them : And indeed their Mulick, as ir is called, ferve chiefly inftead of Clocks, to let People know the Time of Day or Night, founding conttantly at certain Hours, for Bells they have none; and when the Shah or any great Man goes out of his Palace, you have always Notice of it by thefe Drums and Trumpets, who fand over the Palace Gate, or in fome Balcony or Gallery and play upon fuch Occafions, being heard at a vaft Diffance. In fome Places the Mufick and Dancing Girls make Part of a great Man's Equipage, and run before him when he goes abroad.
It is obfervable, that the Strings of their Inftruments are never made of Gut, the touching of any thing belonging to a dead Animal, efpecially the Entrails, being held a Pollution; they make them therefore of twifted Silk, or Brafs Wire, and it is not only indecent, as has been obferved, for People of Condition to play upon a mulical Inftrument, but it feems alfo to be prohibited by their Religion, and therefore their Ecclefiafticks and Devotees will not fo much as be prefent at fuch Entertainments.

Aftronomy is ftudied in Perfia purely for the Sake of Aftrology, which laft they term the Revelation of the Stars. The People of the Eaft look upon Aftrology as the Key to Futurity, and they have an infatiable Curiofity for prying into Things to come. This feems to be the principal End of their Studies, and they look upon a Perfon to be ftupid and ignorant to the laft Degree, who fpeaks nightly of this Science. The Aftrologers of Perfia, at leaft the moft celebrated, are all Natives of the Province of Cbarafan or Bactria, and the moot noted among them of the Town of Genabed. The Shah never entertains an Aftrologer who is not of that Town. The Reafon that the Aftronomers here have more Skill in their Art than elfewhere, it is faid, is becaufe the Air is drier and purer, by which Means they have a better Opportunity to oblerve the Motions of the Sars. If we confider the Number of Aitrologers that are found in Perfiz, the Rank they hold, and the large Penfions they receive from the Crown, we may eafily guefs at the Confidence that People put in them ; they are paid by the Government no lefs than four hundred thoutand Pounds per Annum.

To the Poft of chief Aftrologer to his Imperial Majefty there is annexed a Penfion of ten thoufand Pounds *iper Ammum, and to the fecond Aftrologer five thoufand Pounds per Annum, and to the reft according to their

Skill. They have alfo in Prefents annually two hundred thoufand Pounds, and yet they are fometimes arbitrarily punifhed, and pur to Death for the moft trivial Offences, and even for Actions the moft innocent in themfelves, according to the Caprice of their Prince. Sir Fobn Cbardin relates, that in the Reign of Sef, when the Shah and all the great Men were affembled to fee fome Criminals of State cut in Pieces, and the Chief of the Attrologers was there among the reft ; the Shah viewing attentively the Countenances of his Courtiers, obferved that the principal Aftrologer fhut his Eyes at every Stroke of the Sabre, as not able to behold fo horrid a Slaughter; he thereupon called to the Governor of a Province who fat near him, and bid him put out the Eyes of that Dog who fat at his Left Hand, fince he did not ufe them ; which was executed in an Inftant on the unhappy Aftrologer, which Part of his Deftiny the Stars never revealed to him.

There are conftantly a certain Number of Aftrologers in Waiting at the Royal Palace, and always fome of the chief of them about the Shah's Perfon, except when he is in the Haram with his Women, who advertife him of the lucky or unlucky Moments. Every one of them carries an Aftrolabe hanging at his Girdle, in a neat little Cafe not bigger than the Hollow of one's Hand; they are confulted not only in Affairs of Importance, but frequently upon the leaft Trifies; for Inflance, if his Imperial Majefty fhall go abroad ; if it be an aufpicious Hour to enter the Haram; if it be a proper Time to eat, or to give Audience, $\mathcal{E}^{\circ} \%$ When thefeQueftions are asked, the Aftrologer immediately take out his Aftrolabe, obferves the Situation of the Scars, and by the Affiftance of his Tables makes his Aftrological Conclufions, to which they give entire Faith as to an Oracle, offending againft which would be dangerous.
Their Aftronomers obferve pretty jufly the Eclipfes of the Sur and Moon, and often foretel the very Moment wherein thofe Luminaries will be obfcured; but there are Inftances of their being miftaken half an Hour, and efpecially in Eclipfes of the Sun; but they differ from us in Nothing more than in the Calculation of the Vernal Equinox, there being fometimes an Houris Difference between them and the Europeans. Comets, they apprehend, always portend fome great Calamity, but generally fuppofe their malign Influences are directed againft fome other Empire than their own. They had neither Celential Globes, or Charts, or Telefcopes, to obferve the Conftellations, till the Europeans imported them, they have fince indeed endeavoured to imitate their celeftial Globes, and had only fome Reprefentations of the Conftellations before in a Book called, The Schemes of Abdal Rbamen. It is obfervable however, that the Figures were much the fame as on our Globes; the Longitudes and Latitudes of the Stars are alfo marked, but a little different from ours. The Perfians generally make forty eight Conftellations, and the Names of them, for the molt Part, are the fame we give them ; but fome of them are different. The only Inftruments they ufe in any of their Operations, are the Aftrolabe and $7 a c o b$ 's Staff; and as it is with there alone they take the Elevation of the Pole, it cannot be fuppofed that their Latitudes are very exact ; their Aftrolabes, it is true, are very curioufly made, and commonly by thofe who ufe them.
The Perfian Almanack is called Takumi; it is properly a Mixture of Aftronomy and judicial Aftrology, containing an Account of the Conjunctions, Oppofitions, Aipects, Longitudes, Latitudes, and, in fhort, the whole Difpofition of the Heavens. It contains alfo Prognofticks of the moft notable Events, as War, Famine, Plenty, Difeafes, and other Accidents of human Life, with the Jucky or unlucky Times for tranfacting all Manner of Affairs, directing the People to regulate their Conduct accordingly. The Feftivals alro are marked, as in our Almanacks, but whereas we divide the Year into four Parts, they make only two, Winter and Summer. What is moft oblervable is, that though there are great Numbers of thefe Alma-nack-makers, and though they frequently difagree even in their Aftronomical Calculatlons, as well as sheir Pre-
diEtions,
dictions, they are neverthelefs looked upon as infallible; a Thing fcare to be credited, if we had not fome Examples of the fame Kind nearer Home.

Their Prognoftications are generally taken from the Moon, their Artifts believing that this fublunary World, as it is called, is much more influenced by this Planet; than by the Sun. And thefe Aftrologers, like other Oracles, endeavour conftantly to deliver themfelves in dubious and equivocal Expreffions, which may bear various Meanings; fo that if their Predictions prove true in any Senfe, or but in Part, they are fure to meet with Applaufe tho' they fhould fail in fome Circumitances. They teem to regard the Earth more than the Heavens, and to be govern'd by the Confideration of probable Cir cumftances, rather than the Conftellations, and their Predictions on that Account are frequently found true. For Inftance, their Almanacks are always publifhed in the Spring, when the Winter is paffed, and according to the Weather they then had, it is no difficult Matter to foretel, whether they fhall have good or bad Crops in the Summer, efpecially in a Climate where it does not vary as in Europe ; and from the fame Premifes they will be able to pafs a tolerable Judgment on the Health or Sicknefs of the enfuing Seaions. But above all, as the Aftrologers are always about the Court, and have fo great a Share in the Adminiftration of Affairs, and fuch Credit with all the World, they may be fuppofed to make very fhrewd Gueffes in Relation to Politicks. They cannot but obferve the Humours and Dif politions of the Prince and his Favourites, the Likelihood there is that one will be reftored, and another difgraced. Nay they know very well what an Influence themfelves have in thefe Cafes, infomuch that there very rarely happens a confiderable Alteration in the State, but it is brought about, and is indeed the Effect of fome of their own Predictions.

But Aftrology is not the only Foible of this kind, for they have various other Sorts of Divination, which have grown into Ufe by Degrees, under the feveral Changes of their Government. It is true, that for the mott Part their Aftrologers practife chefe, but not exclufively, for there are others who practife them likewife, more efpecially Geomancy, which is the favourite Method of Divining throughout all the Eaft. Charms and Amulets againlt Difeafes and Enchantments, are another Part of their Superttition; you will not find a Perfana without his Amulet, and fome of them almoft loaded with them, they put them allo about the Necks of their domentick Animals; thefe Amulets have certain Infcriptions on Pa per, and fometimes on precious Stones, and thefe Infcriptions they wear in little Bags about them; they contain fome Paffages of the Alcoran, or Sentences of their Saints or Prophets, applicable to the Difeafe or Enchantment they would avert: The Perfians alfo are extravagantly fupertitious in Relation to Days. and Times. They depend in thefe Cafes, as much on the Diviners and Aftrologers, as a Child upon its Nurfe ; for Inftance, when the Sbab is upon a Journey, the Aftrologers will make him rife at Midnight, and begin his March in the worft Weather that can happen, and perhaps out of the high Road, to avoid the unfortunate Hour, or his evil Stars, as from Ignorance or Knavery they molt impudently call them.

We muft not however imagine, notwithftanding thefe Follies are very general, that there is not fome kind of real and ufeful Learning amongft this great Nation. Moral Philofophy is in high Credit with them, and is not only taught but practifed; they have many excellent and judicious Books upon this Subject, in which the Viciffitudes of human Life, and the Folly of placing Happinefs in fenfual Enjoyments, are very fully and very finely ftated. As for the ordinary Parts of Education, and fuch as may fit Youth for common Bufinefs, they have as many Conveniences as other People. There are abundance of Schools in every Town, where, befides the Perfian, is taught the Arabick, which is their learn ed Language; the Alcoran, and their other facred Writings, are all in this Language, and the Alcoran is looked upon as the Standard of good Language both for Grammar and Rhetorick. People of Condition

VoI. II. No $\mathrm{N}^{\circ} 3 \mathrm{I}$.
chufe to have private Tutors for their Childien, rathet than fend them to thefe publick Schools; and no Nation it is faid, is more intent on the Education of Children; and breeding them up to manly Exercifes than the Perfians. Their Schools are called Mekteb, which fig: nifies an Entrance ; this being; fay they, the Gate by which Lads enter into the Sciences.

There are, as has been faid, many in every Town; and the Expence of Scholing is very fmall. They learn the Perfian and Arabian Languages; with Writing and Accounts, which when they are arrived at fome Perfection; in, they are removed to fome College, or Medres, as they call them, which fignifies a Place where their Doctrine or Principles of their Religion are taught. Their Colleges are all endowed, and fome of them very richly; the largeft have fifty or fixty Apartments, and to each of them belong two Chambers. In thole Colleges that are beft endowed, every Scholar has about two Shillings a Day allowed him, which he lays out as he thinks fit, for they do not common together.

There are fome Colleges where the Students have no more than a Penny a Day, and yet Intereft is made to get into one of thefe, on account of having a Lodging gratis, and fome other cafual Advantages. Many here are, who get in without any Defign to ftudy, and live and grow old in thofe Houfes, and are allowed to have their Wives and Children with them, whofe principal Defign feems to be in Eafe and Idlenefs. There are abundance of Colleges in the great Towns of Perfia, and fome in the Villages. The Perfians lay out the greateft Part of their Charities in publick Foundations. In the firf Place, they ufually build a Caravanfera for the lodging of Travellers gratis; afterwards a Bagnio, a Coffee-houfe, a Bazar or Market-place, and they purchafe alfo a Garden, and thefe they let out, and. apply the Revenues arifing from them towards the building and endowing of a College. The Founder and his Heirs have the Appointment of the Head and Governors of the Society, and if the Founder's Eftate happens to be forfeited to the Crown, the Shah has the Nomination. In Ifpaban there are fifty feven Colleges, moft of them of Royal Foundation, or which have devolved to the Crown ; there are Profeffors who teach the Sciences in every College, to whom the Scholars make an annual Allowance for their Trouble; but as there are feveral who read Lectures gratis, the Scholars frequently refort to thefe, and forfake their proper Tutors.

Thofe Students who are Men of Parts and Learning; may have a handfome Salary in any great Man's Houfe for inftructing his Children; for thefe never fend their Children either to Schools or Colleges, but have them educated in their own Houfes. The Head of the Houfe admits or excludes whom he fees fit, and pays the Students their Penfions monthly, fo that they fhew him abundance of Refpect. Befides their Colleges, there are in every Town thole who teach the Liberal Arts gratis, and thefe are frequently great Officers who have been difcarded, or have voluntarily retired from Court. Thefe frequently allow their Difciples Books and Paper, and entertain them at their own Expence certain Days in the Week, and fometimes cloath their Pupils and give them Money, and by this Means they endeavour to recover their Reputation with the People, for nothing gives a Gentleman fuch a Reputation in Perfia, as the inftructing great Numbers of Scholars at their own Expence, and the being Patrons of Learning and Learned Men. Thefe are Circumftances that muft effectually prove, that the Europeans have no Right to treat the Perfians as a rude and barbarous People.

As the Cuftoms and Manners, fo the Reading and Learning of all Nations mult differ, and the wider and more remote thefe Differences are, the readier the Vulgar on both Sides feem to be in deriding and contemning each other; but as this Humour proceeds from the fame Principle in both Cafes, viz. that of prefuming themfelver to be the Standard by which the Wifdom and Civility, the Learning and Politenefs of all other Nations are to be determined; and as this is a Point not to be defended, it ought to be given up as

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no better than a popular Error in both. It has been already obferv'd, that a great Part of the modern Conftitution of Perria is derived from the ancient Form of Government that prevailed under their old Emperors, chat is, the Series of Princes, who governed that which is fo well known to the learned World, by the Title of the fecond general Empire, allowing the Afyrian to be the firft. It is therefore well worthy our Notice, that Conflitutions judiciounly fettled, are of fo permanent a Nature, and have fuch an interior Strength and Solidity, as not only to refift the Power of Time, but even of repeated Invafions, to which it is certain, that no Country in the World has been more fubject than this of which we are fpeaking. We may from hence difcern, that though Nations wafte away, and are loft, as well as all the Monuments of their Power and Greatnefs, yet the Effects of their Wifdom remain, and the Conquerors themfelves are content to receive and fubmit, for their own Sakes, and from a Convition of their Excellence, to the Laws of the Conquer'd.
We know that this has been heretofore obferved of the Egyptions, we know that in much later Times it has been confeffed in Reference to the Cbinefe, but I do not remember to have feen this Remark made before as to the Perfians. Yet I arrogate nothing to myfelf upon this Head, for whoever reads Dr Hyde's learned Book, and compares it with the modern Accounts of Perfia, muft difcover it at firft Sight. At this Day the whole Plan of the Perfian Conftitution, except the Ecclefiaftical Part of it, which is changed by the Introduction of Mabometanifm, is very near the fame that it was three thoufand Year ago; and yet the Perfees, who are the Remains of the ancient People of Perfac, to whom that Conftitution belonged, are now reduced to fo inconfiderable a Remnant, that it is doubted whether there may be ten thoufand Souls left in Perfia of this Race. Thofe that are left indeed preferve their primitive Cuftoms, and are authentick. Witneffes of the Truths reported of them by the moft learned Writers. It is indeed true, that there is another fmall Colony of thefe People in the Indies, and it may not be amifs to put the Reader in Mind of a Conjecture, mentioned in Commodere Roggervin's Voyage, that fome Inands, difcovered by him in the South-Seas, are actually peopled by the Relicts of thefe ancient Perfans.

I had myfelf an Opportunity of converfing for feveral Xears with a very fenfible Phyfician, who went that Voyage, to whom I was indebted for many of the Parficulars publifhed therein, and who is dead fince they were publifhed. Of this Gentleman I very carefully enquired what the Reafons were which induced him and his Companions to advance that Notion, which at firft Sight is none of the moft probable. He told me the Caufes were chiefly three, Firf, that their Complexions, in the Sentiments of thofe who had feen fome of the Gubers in Perfia, very much refembled them, and were very unlike either the Inhabitants of Africk, or of India; for whereas the former are of a black, and the latter of a reddifh or Iron Colour; thefe were of a light Olive, and yet their Afpeets differed abfolutely from the Cbinefe and Tartars. The fecond Caufe he affigned, was their worfhipping the Sun and Fire, turning towards the Eaft when they prayed, and ufing a low or whifpering Voice, all of which are fuitable enough to the Gubers, or Gours as the Turks call them. The third was the Innocency of their Manners, the quiet and peaceable Life they lead, the Pains they took in cultivating their Lands, and their great Induftry in feveral ingenious Manufactures. I fhall not talke upon me to determine what Credit is due to thefe

Conjectures, but thall content myfelf with obferving, that they are worth remembring; and confidering perhaps, our Pofterity may have an Opportunity by converfing with thefe People, to enter into them more minutely.

One thing more I recollect that paffed upon this Subject, and it was this, that ingenious Genteman obferved to me, that though we had various. Travels through and Accounts of Perja, yet we had no general or correet Hiftory of it, by which a curious Perfon might fee in a litcle Time, what Changes had happened therein, from the earlieft Ages down to the prefent, which he thought might be of very great Ufe, even though it were digened into a very narrow Compafs. Upon mature Deliberation, I faw the Truth and Expediency of this in the ftrongeft Light, and that nothing difabled us fo much in this Part of the World, from forming a right Judgment of Affairs in thofe Parts, as the not laving diftinct and correct Views of the Succeffions of their Princes.

The famous Prefident Brifon, fo barbarounly murdered by the Leaguers, in the Reign of Henry III. of France, was long ago fatisfied of this; and to remedy an Evil, the Confequences of which he judged of very truly, he compofed a large Hiftory of Perfia, which he publinhed in Latnn, and digefted therein an Account of the Affairs of that Nation from the earlieft Ages to his own. This without doubt was a very curious and a very ufeful Work, with refpect to Men who ocupy the higher Forms in Learning, but to the Bulk of the People, I mean of that Sort of People, who believe themfelves to make a Part of that learned World, it was in Reality of no Service at all. In the firt Place, the Book itfelf is very large, written in a learned Language, and in a hairh and perplexed Stile even in that Language; for it is obfervable of him and of de Thou his Cotempurary and Countryman, that they brought the Stile of the Bar into the Narration of Hiftory, and generally ftated Cafes, or as the French Lawyers term it, wrote Factums, inftead of giving us a natural and eafy Detail of Facts. Befides, Prefident Brifon's Book was chiefly grounded on the Greek and Latin Hiftorians; what he derived from the Perfian Writers, he had thro' the Canal of fome German Pedants, which inftead of the beft, rendred it the wort Part of his Book, in which there are large Chafms ; fo that notwithftanding what the Title promiles, it is nothing lefs than a compleat Hiftory; though I believe at the Time it was wrote, it would have been impoffible for any to have given us a better; and it is plain, that before him, none had thought it worth his Time and Pains to give us one fo good.

After making thefe Reflections, I became more fenfible of the extreme Difficulty of reprefencing the Scheme of the Perfian Hiftory within fo narrow Bounds as I am tied to in this Work; and yet I was fenfible, that without this, all I had done was imperfect, and that the Reader mult neceffarily have Recourfe to ocher Books in order to underfand mine; which Inconveniency perhaps I had fubmitced to, if I could have told him where to have fought for better Information; but that being alfo out of my Power, I found myfelf under an abfolute Neceffity of trying what might be done for his Relief; this produced what follows, fo that all I have faid is not calculated to inhance the Value ; but to excufe the Imperfection of the enfuing Section, which being the firft Attempt of its kind, may be allowed fome Degree of Merit, though it falls, as I am very fenfible, extremely fhort of Perfection.

SECTIONV.


#### Abstract

A Succinct View of the Perfian Hiftory, from the earlieft Accounts down to the prefent Time; in which is contained a concife Reprefentation of the feveral remarkable Revolutions in that Empire, ancient and modern, the Conquefts thereof by feveral Nations, and the Succeffion of their refpective Monarchs, fo far as is ruceeffary to illuftrate what has been delivered in the foregoing Sections.


## Collected as well from the Orienial Writers, as from the Greek and Latin Hiftorians.

1. An Introductory Account of the Nature and Defgnt of tbe following Vierw of the Perfian FFifory, and of the State of that Nation in tbe earlief Times, according to their own Hiflorians. 2. Of the Perfian Empire, confidered as the fecond of the four great Monarchies, from the Origin thereof under Cyrus, to its Deffruction by the Greeks. 3. Of the Invafion and Conquef of Perfia by the Macedonians, and of the Situation of Affirs after the Death of Alexander the Great. 4. Of the Revival of the Perfian or Parthian Empire by Schapour or Sapores, to the intire Defruction of the ancient Perfians, under the Reign of Jefdegerde Shehriar, the laft of their Monarcbs. 5. The Conqueft of Perfia by the Arabs or Saracens, under their Caliph Moavia; and of the Time they poffefed tbis great Country, down to the laff Kbalif of Bagdad. 6. The Conquel/ of Perfia by the Mogul Tartars, and the Succefion of their Princes, fo long as they poleffed or claimed this Country. 7. The great Irruption of that Tribe of Turcomans, dif Finguifted by the Title Kara Kuyonlu, i.e. of the Black-Sheep, and of the Time they remained in Poffefion of Perfia. 8. Of anotber Tribe of Turcomans, Ailed Aku Kuyonlu, i.e. of the White-Sheep, and of their Dominion in this Country. 9. Of Shab Inmael Seff, the Founder of the late Imperial Family, and the Succeffion of bis Defcendants down to Shab Abbas III. wwho was crowned in bis Cradle by Thamas Kouli Kan. Io. A brief Account of the Hifory of Sbab Nadir, from bis firf Appearance in the World to the Time of his being murdered. iI. An Account of Ali Kuli Kan, now ftiled Adi Shah, the prefent Poffefor of the Perfian Monarchy, with Jome Remarks on the principal Events that fall weitbin the Compals of this Section.

1.HE ancient Hiftories of all Nations are, generally fpeaking, intermix'd with Fables, notwithltanding which the Knowledge of them is of great Ufe, becaufe the Antiquities of every Country are grounded upon thefe traditional Hiftories, and withour being competently verfed in them, even modern Relations are full of Doubts and Difficulties; and this we know experimently, not only by the Perufal of Greek and Roman Authors, but from our own Hiftory, which, how obfcure foever in its Original, has notwithftanding been efteemed worth knowing, and even worth the Pains of being fifted thoroughly by the moft learned and intelligent Perfons. It is very true, that the modern Perfian Hiftorians are of a very late Date, in Comparifon of thofe Times to which their Hiftories refer ; but then it is to be confidered, that they tranfribe from their Neighbours the Tartars, who though it may found harfh in our Ears, have always had amongft them very ancient and authentick Records, and from the Books of the Perfees, or primitive Inhabitants of Perfia, whofe Writings deferve as much Credit as thofe of any Eaftern Nation whatever. According to them the moft ancient Monarchy of this Country began in the Province of Aderbeijan, or Media, where the People, weary of enduring thofe Evils that are infeparable from Anarchy, made choice of Kayomars for their Sovereign. This Kayomars, if we may depend upon their Accounts, was the Son of Aram, the Son of Sbem, the Son of Noab, and confequently his Monarchy began at no great Diftance of Time from the Flood. If there was nothing in their Hiftory more extravagant than this, it might perhaps be well enough defended; but all that they relate afrerwards, of the Succeffion of his Defcendants, whom they reckon Eleven in Number, is fo ficitious, that little or no Credit can be given to it ; they file this their firft Dynafy, the Piccbdadians from Houfcbenk, the fecond Monarch, Grandfon of Kayomar, who from his ftrict Regard to Juftice, had the Sirname of Pifdad, which is to fay, the Juft, or rather the great

Diftributer of Juftice. The latt Monarch of this Line was Guftasb, which is the fame Name that the Greeks call Hyftafpes; it is not eafy to give any Account of thefe ancient Monarchs, fo as to reconcile them with other Hiftories, but in general it may be affirmed without Prejudice to the Truth, that under this firt Race of their Monarchs, the ancient Perfans comprehended all the Princes that ruled in their Country, before the Age in which Cyrus was born; fo that this may be properly niled, the fabulous or obfcure Age in the Perfian Hiftory, taking in all the Time, from the Flood to the Empire of the Medes, who as other Hiftories better known to us record, had once the Sovereignty over Afa.
2. The fecond Race of the Perfian Monarchs is, by by their Hiftorians called, the Dynasty of the Kanites; and this is, Atrictly fpeaking, that Race of the Perforn Kings, recorded by the Greek Hiltorians, who reckon up twelve, and allow them to have reigned all together two hundred and fix Years, that is, from Cyrus, who began his Reign five hundred thirty fix Years befor Chrift, to Darius Codomanus, who ended his three hundred and thirty Years before Chrift. It muft be allowed, that there is a very wide and almoft irreconcileable Difference between the Greek and Perfan Hiftorians, with Regard to this Period of Time, and the Actions of thefe Princes, as the inquifitive Reader may difcover, by perufing their Accounts diftincly fated in the Univerfal Hiftory, the nobleft and moft comprehenfive Work of its kind, that has appeared in our own, or in any other Language.
The only Fact in which thefe two Hiftories feem tolerably to accord, is in the Appearance of the great Perfian Legillator, whom in their Language, they call Zerdufth, and whom the Greeks ftile Zoroafer: He flourihed, according to both Hittories, under the Reign of Gulfasb or Darius Hyyafpes, who began his Reign in the Year before Chrift Five hundred and twenty two. It was this great Man Zerdufbt, who modelled
and reduced into Order the Religion of the Magi, the fundamental Maxim of which was the Worfhipping only one God under the Symbol of Light, and becaufe they in a particular Manner reverenced the Sun, and paid their Devotions before a Fire, which was kept continually burning upon an Altar, the Greeks meafuring the Religion of others by their own, took it for granted that they worfhipped the Sun and the Fire ; and according to that remarkable Facility they had of fupplying by Fiction the Want of better Authority, they have given us very large Accounts of the Perfian Religion, which have only ferved to millead and deceive fuch as trufted to their Relations ; for beyond all Queftion, what they have fet down of human and other Sacrifices offered by the Perfians to feveral of their Divinities, is one continued Chain of Fables, utterly repugnant to the fundamental Principles of their philofophical and theological Syftems.

The Perfian Hiftories relate the laft War between their Monarchs and the Greeks, in a Manner very differently from what is contained in the Writings of the laft-mentioned Nation; the former file the laft Monarch of their Second Dynafty Darab al Aggar, which is as much as to fay, Darius the Leffer, or Darius the Second; whereas the Greeks reckon him the Third of that Name. The Perfans alfo fay, that he was a cruel and tyrannical Prince, and that by his Male-Adminiftration he fo eftranged the Hearts, and loft the Affections of his Subjects, that fome of the great Men about him privately called in Alexander of Nsacedon, with a Promife to betray their Mafter into his Hands. To us this appears wild and incredible, but that Nadir Shah was actually fo called in by the Minifters of the Mogul, paffes for true Hiftory; which very poffibly may appear flrange in the next Age, and ridiculous to Pofterity. The Perfan Hiftorians fay, that Alexander found Darius yet alive, when he fell into his Hands; that he bequeathed to him his Daughter Roufchenk, which Name the Greeks have changed into Roxana, for. a Wife, and advifed him to leave the Government of the Provinces of his new Empire to the Perfian Grandees, which Alexander promifed and performed. They add farther, that repenting of this fome Time after, he refolved to remove them to make way for Greeks; but that he was diffuaded from this Meafure by Aristotle, who fuggefted to him, that the latter would not be able to maintain themfelves againft the general Confederacy of the Perfion Princes; and that the only Way to prevent fuch a Confederacy was to allow feveral of thofe Princes a greater Meafure of Power under his Government, than they could hope for under a Monarch of their own Nation.
3. The Perfians nile Alexander the Great, Eskender al Roumi, that is, Alexander the Greek; Eskender ben Pbilicous, that is, Alexander the Son of Pbilip; and Efkender Dbulcarnein, that is, Alexander with two Horns, and give a very different Account of his Expedition into and Conqueft of Perfia, from what we meet with in either in the Greek or the Latin Hiftorians; wherein as in many Things they err, fo in fome perhaps they are in the right, and probably it might furnifh a learned Man, perfectly well acquainted with the Greek and Oriental Tongues, with an Opportunity of writing a very ufeful and entertaining Differtation, by way of Comparifon between thefe Hittories, as it would afford him an Op. portunity of clearing up a Multitude of Paffages in both, that feem at prefent either very dark or abfolutely unintelligible. Something of this Kind, with refpeft to the laft mentioned of his oriental Titles, has been attempted with Succefs by the very learned Dean Prideaux, out of whofe excellent Performance Mr. Rollin, in his ancient Hiftory; has borrowed whole Sheets at a Time, and his Authorities from the Ancients into the Bargain, which is a new Way of writing Univerfal Hiftory, in which I am afraid he will have but too many Followers.

The Perfian Writers tell us, and I believe very truly, that not long after the Death of this great Conqueror, many of their Princes fet up for Petty Sovereigns in the Provinces which were committed to their Government, and that the Perfan Empire was vuled in this

Manner for feventy two Years. Thefe Princes they ftile in general Moluk Thaovaif, that is, the Princes of the Provinces, and make a diftinct Dynaky of them, which is their Manner of diftributing their Hiftories, and a very perfpicuous Method it is, as the learned Reader will eafily difcern, by confulting Abul Ferrajuis, who has digefted his Work in this Manner, and from thence has given it the, Title of the Hiftory of $D_{y}$ nasties; nor do I know' any univerfal Hiftory extant, in any Language, that confidering its Concifenefs ought to be compared to his. We need not wonder that there is a good deal of Confufion in that Part of the Perfian Hiftory which relates to the Time immediately after the Death of Alexander the Great, and we are the lefs able to rectify it, becaufe neither the Greek nor the Latin Hiftorians treat of it clearly, but mention it oirly incidentally, contenting themfelves to mention it from Time to Time as it falls in their Way ; and from Hiftory thus wrote by Starts, it is a very dificult Thing to collect fuch a Number of Facts, as may. enable one to reduce it under any certain Method, and yet this is abfolutely neceffary, in order to preferve the Thread of our Difcourfe.
4. The Greeks fay, that under the Reign of Ptolemy Pbiladelpbus, an Armenian Prince, revolted and formed a new Empire in the Eaft. This Armenion Prince was Arfaces, the Founder of the Partbian Empire; the Oriental Writers call him $A f c b e k$, and make him the firit Prince of their Dynafy of Afkanicns, and they likewife reckon him amongft the Moluk Thaovaif, or the Princes that ruled after Alexander; fo that he feems to have acquired a Dominion over feveral perty Princes, who were once his Equals, and his affuming this Dominion feems to be by the Concurrence both of the Perfiana and Greek Writers, well enough fixed to the Year $25^{\circ}$ before Chrift. It may not be amifs to obferve, that Mirkond, and fome other Perfan Writers, appear to be very much at a Lofs in regulating the Succeffion of thefe Princes, for which the true Reafon feems to be this, that they found no regular Memoirs concerning them in the old Perfian Writers, who did not confider them in the Light of their natural Princes. It was however under this Race, that the Partbians became known to, and capable of makingHead againft the Romans; and therefore in their Hiftories we find the Names and principal Circumftances of the Reigns of moft of thefe Princes. The laft of this Race was Ardevan, who was Cotemporary with the Roman Emperor Commodus, and with him the Partbian Empire fell, or rather the Sovereignty of the Eaft was reftored to the Perfians in the Perfon of Artaxerxes, after it had lafted upwards of four hundred and thirty Years.
This great Prince the Perfian Chronicles file Ardccbir Babegan, and make him the Founder of their fourth Dynafy, called the Saffanians; he was not only the Revivor of the Perfian Empire, but the Legillator of ir alfo, and left behind him a famous Book, intitled, Adab alaijch, i.e. The Rule of Life, which is ftill preferved, admired, and reverenced throughout the Eaft, as the moft compleat Syftem of Government and Morals that was ever publifhed. It would not in all Probability be much efteemed in this Part of the World, even if we had it ; being penned entirely in the Eafern Manner; as for Inftance, one of the Capital Maxims, which he lays down for a Prince to follow, is this, never employ a Sword, wobere a Cane will do as well; by which he meant, that a Monarch fhould never refort to Capital Punifhments for light Offences.
I mention this particularly, to fhow, that there was a great Difference between the Genius of the Partbian and Perfian Governments, and that the latter were naturally mild, even though their Monarchs carried their Claim to abfolute Power, as high as the former. The Laws of the Medes and Perfians were indeed no other than the Will of the Prince, but they were irrevocable and immutable even by their Princes; and therefore Ardefbir Babegan having reftored the Empire, thought himfelf at Liberty to lay down Rules for his Government, which were no lefs binding on his Succeffors than his Subjects. He it was that fixed the Tenure of
the Lands, the Modus betwixt the Farmer and Tenant, the Rights and Revenue of the Crown, and diftinguifhed all the Artificers and Tradefmen in his Empire into different Companies, over whom he appointed Mafters and Wardens ; with many other Regulations, moft of which fubfirt to this Day.
The Defcendants and Succeffors of this Prince, were thofe famous and powerful Emperors of Perfia, who contefted the Dominion of the Eaft with Confantine the Great, and the following Greek Emperors, till by Degrees, and chiefly by the long and bloody Wars they carried on againft each other, both Empires were much weakened, and at laft brought fo low, as to be overrun and ruined by a Race of Barbarians, that had been taught the Art of War by ferving as Mercenaries in both their Armies. The Perfian Writers reckon twenty chree Monarchs of this Dynafty down to Fefdegerde Sbebriar, who was the laft, and in whom not only his Family, bur his Nation ended. Long before his Time the Empire began to decline, Princes became Tyrants, their Subjects, and even their Sons, confpired againft them, their Religion grew corrupt, and the People dif folute ; this encouraged their Neighbours to invade them on all Sides, and a prodigious Multitude of Turks breaking in on the North Eaft, Fefdegerde marched againft them into the Province of Cborafan, but before he came to a Battle, he had Intelligence that the Arabs had invaded Perfia on the other Side; upon which he determined to march againit them ; but whilft Things were in this Situation, and before he could affemble Forces fufficient to act againft fo formidable a Power, Grief and Diftraction of Mind brought him to his End when he had reigned about nineteen Years. His Death is, by the beft Authors, referred to the thirty firf Iear of the Hegira, and confequently to Anno Domini 650. It may not be amifs to obferve, that the famous Æra, which is denominated from this Prince, does not commence, as one would imagine, with his Death, but from the Beginning of his Reign, and therefore anfwers to the eleventh Year of the Hegira, and to Anno Domini 632.
5. As we have already marked the precife Time when the Arabs became Mafters of this Country, we fhall only obferve, that the firft of their Khalifs was Mowavia, the Fourth lawful Succeffor of Mabomet, who reigned twenty Years; it would lead us into a vaft Field, if we fhould pretend to give even a fhort Account of the Succeffion of thefe Priefts and Princes; for under Pretence of being Succeffors to the Prophet, or, as the Word Kbalif litterally fignifies Lieulenant, they affumed the fupreme Power in fpiritual as well as temporal Affairs, and executed it for the moft Part with great Severity. It was this that led them to treat with unrelenting Cruelty, the unhappy Race of the ancient Perfion Nation, whom they were bent upon excirpating, from a ridiculous Notion of their being Infidels and Idolaters; whereas it is very difficult to fay, whether their Religion is not as near the Truth as that of Mabomet; but without entring into this Dilpute, it is fufficient for our Purpofe to tay that they fucceeded fo far therein, as to reduce that numerous People to a very handful, and even thefe were forced to take Shelter in Woods, in Mountains, and in Defarts, to fecure themfelves from the Effects of their religious Fury.

At length, after a Succeffion of fifty four Princes who bore this Title, though in that Space there happened many Revolutions, the Power of the Arabs or Saracens funk and grew weak, in the fame Manner as all other Nations do, that is to fay, their Monarchs grew drunk with Power, and the People were debauched by Luxury. In this melancholly Situation they were continually difturbed, either by Invafions from Abroad, or by Confpiracies at Home; till at laft the Strengh of the Empire, unable to fupport fuch continual Fatigues, funk under them. Moftadbem, or Mofazem Billab Ben Mostanfer Billah, the thirty feventh Khalif of Bagdat, or Babylon, faw the End of that Einpire; he fucceeded to the Government in the Year of the Hegira 640, and from the very Beginning of his Adminiftration was un-
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fortunate in all his Undertakings. Holokou was at that Time Kan of the Tartars, a Prince fo powerful, and whofe Dominions were fo extenfive, that he for fome Time deliberated whether he fhould pufl his Conquiefts through Poland into Germany, or turn them againtt this Khalif, and he was determined to the latter by the Advice of Naffreddin, a famous Aftrologer, who being difobliged at the Khalif's Court, went to the Tariar, and advifed him to fall upon his old Mafter. It fell out that this unfortunate Prince had ftill a Traytor about him greater and more dangerous than this Aftrologer.
The Name of this perfidious Monfter was Morevded din, who was Vizier to the Khalif, but was of the oppofite Sect in Point of Religion; he perceived the D-fign of the Tartars, and adviled his Mafter to disband his Forces, under Pretence that he was fo much reverenced by his Neighbours, that there was no Fear of his being difturbed, if he did not open a Pretence for it by appearing armed. The Khalif, who naturally loved Money and Pleature, fwallowed the Biit, applied himfelf folely to the heaping up Wealth, and taking his Diverfion, till of a fudden the News came, that the' Tartars had invaded a diftant Part of his Dominions; upon which, by the Advice of this trufty Miniter, he ordered all the Forces in his Service to march againft them. By this Means his Capital, the glorious City of Bagdat, the faireft and richeft of the Eatt, and perhaps of the whole World, was left in a Manner unguarded. The Tariar Khan, who forefaw and expected this, marched immediately with a choice and powerful Army to inveft it ; and as foon as that was done, the Vizier, under Pretence of propofing Terms of Peace, went to the Camp of the Enemy, from whence he never returned. The City was foon after taken by Storm ; the Khalif, who was then forty fix Years of. Age, was made Prifoner, together with hisConfort and an only Son, his eldeft being killed in the Attack. The Tartar Prince behaved towards him with great Inhumanity; he caufed him to be dragged through the Streets till he died, and put his Son alfo to Death ; this happened in the Year of the Hegira, ${ }^{56}$, Anno Domini 1258. At the fame Time the City was deftroyed, and almoft all its Inhabitants, withour refpect to Sex, Age, or Rank, put to the Sword.
6. In this Manner the Saracens or Arabs loft Pof fefion of Perja, after they had kept it fix hundred Years; and as for this Tortar Prince Holokou or Olaku Kban, he was the Grandfon of that mighty Conqueror Jengiz Kban, and raifed in a very fhort Space one of the molt powerful and extenfive Empires the World ever had, though moft of the Tartar Hiftorians affirm, that when he conquered Perfia, he acted only as Lieutenant to his Brother Mancbu Kan, whom he afterwards fucceeded. He had the Reputation of being a juft and good Prince, and though he returned into Tartary to quiet fome Difturbances that broke out there, yet he was fo plealed with the Country of Media, that he quickly came back thither, and fpent the Remainder of his Days. He left his Dominions to his Son Abkay Kban, who was fucceeded by his Brother Hamed Kban, the firt of this Race, who became a Mabometan; after whom there followed a Succeffion of fix Princes of this Family, the laft of whom was Abu Said Babudar Kban, who deceafed in the Year of Hegira 736, Anzo Domini 1335, in whom this Race ending, the Government fell into great Confufion, which continued till Perfia fell under the Power of the Succeffors of the great Timur, whom we call Tamerlane. This celebrated Prince having, in the Courfe of his glorious Reign, added the greateft Part of Perfia to his other Dominions, left them to his Family, among whom continual Wars and Ditfentions reigned; fo that in the Space of about forty Years, there were no lefs than twelve of his Race who ftiled themfelves. Monarchs of Per $/ i a$, and actually pof feffed Chorajan, and fome other Provinces of that Em pire. In the mean time, another Hord of Turcomans grew very powerful in Diarbeck, and made Bagdat the Capital of their Dominions, from whence they made Incurlions into Perfia for many Years with various Succefs, till at laft they defeated Mirza Abukeker, the
$10 Y$
Grandfon

Grandfon of Timut, and the laft of his Race that reioned in Perfia, whom they flew in the Year of the Hegira 811, Anno Domini is 408.
7. By thisVietory Kara 1fuph, that is, Fofepth the Black, who was Chief of the Tribe of Kara Koyunli, or the Black Sbeep, fo called from their bearing this Figure in their Standards, became Sovereign of Perfa, which he governed fourteen Years $3_{3}$ and died in the Year of the Hegira 823 , Anno Domini 142 1. He was fucceeded by Amir Scander, who reigned in Touris, and was all his Life long engaged in various Wars with great Diverfity of Fortune, till he was killed by his own Son in the fixteenth Year of his Adminiftration. He was fucceeded by his Brother foon Sbab, who, though one of the lewdeft and wickedeft Princes that ever fat upon a Throne, extended his Dominions by his Succefs in War, and ruled Perfaa thirty two Years, till furprized in a March againft his Enemies, when drunk and afleep, he was cut to Pieces: His Succeffor was his Son Haffan Ali, the laft of his Family, who being defeated by Ozun Acen : Beck, who had killed his Father, loft his Dominions, which fell under the Power of the Conqueror in the Year of the Hegira 872, Anno Domini 1467.
8. This Ozun Acenbek is the fame that in moft of our Hiftories is called UJun Cbafan, and was the firt of the Family of Ak Kuyonli, or the White Sheep, another Tribe of Turcomans, who reigned in Perfia; he engaged in a long War with Sultan Mabomet the Ottoman Emperor, with very bad Succefs; however, he held the Government for eleven Years, and then left it to his Son Sultan Kalil, who, after a fhort Reign of fix Months, was killed by one of his Brothers. He was fucceeded by Yacub Beg, another Brother, who was a Prince of grear Learning and Moderation, and governed his Dominions for twelve Years with much L.enity and Wifdom, till at length he was taken off by Poifon; and then followed a Scene of Blood-fhed and Confufion under a Succeffion of five Princes, either Defcendants of or allied to this Family, till Sultan Morad, whom fome Eaftern Authors make the Son of the laft mentioned Prince was entirely defeated, and driven out of Perfia by IJbmael Seff in the Year of the Hegira 9 14, Ammo Domini ${ }^{1} 508$, and in him ended the Line of the White Sbeep, which gave Place to that Imperial Family, which continued to govern Perfia to our Times.
9. It would take up too much Room for us to enter into the Hiftory of this Prince's Family, which is befides fo well known, that it would be needlefs; we therefore think it fufficient to obferve, that he gave himfelf out to be a direct Defcendant from Mortis Ali the Son-in-Law of the Prophet Mabomet, and made his Way from a private Station to the Empire of Perfia, by very high Pretences to Sanctity, and fetting up for a Kind of Prophet himfelf. He it was that introduced the new Sect into Perjoa, and changed that Sort of Men to whom his Father had given Red Caps, as a Mark of their being his Difciples, into a regular Militia, from thence called Kuzzlebafbes, that is, Red Heads, who under his Succeffors became the Janizaries of Perfia. He was certainly a Man of great Parts and extenfive Genius, as appears plainly from the Manner in which he profecuted his Wars, fharing every Thing with his Soldiers till he had made himfelf Mafter of the whole Empire of Perfa, and then under Pretence of Care for their Intereft, introducing thofe Sorts of Military Tenures, which have been before defribed. He preferved, as loing as he lived, the Confidence and Efteem of his Subjects, who looked upon him as one fuperior to the ordinary Race of Men, in Point both of Piety and of Wifdom; to which his great Victories againft the Tartars on one Side, and the Turks on the other, contributed not a little; fo that the Perfians always confidered him as one, through the Favour of God, invincible. He died at the Age of Fortyfive, Amo Domini 1525 , in full Poffeffion of one of the greatef Empires, and of the Character of one of the ableft Princes in the Eaft.
He was fucceeded by the eldeft of his four Sons, Shah

Thamas, who was then about eighteen Years of Age We have very different Characters of this Prince from different Authors, and yet it is not at all impoffible that they may be true. In Time of Peace he led a quiet, lazy, inactive Life, and left Things pretty much to his Minifters, which gave an ill Impreffion of his Capacity; but when he came to be engaged in a Wa againft the Turki/b Emperor Solyman, he convinced thofe, who had taken up this Opinion, that they were ablolutely miftaken, for he managed that War with great Addrefs, and forced the Turk to quir his Country, notwithftanding that he attacked him with very unequa Forces, and harraffed him fo much in his Retreat, that of five hundred thoufand Men that Solyman brought into the Field, he fcarce carried fourfcore Thoufand back to Conftantinople. This War enabled Shali Thomas to rid himfelf of two of his Brothers ; for one revolting to the Turk, he attacked, defeated, and cut him to Pieces ; and, fufpecting the other had the like Defign, he caufed him to be taken off by Poifon. As to the Third, he died a natural Death; fo that all the Countries, which had been affigned them by their Father, were again united to the Empire. This Shah Thoma removed the Capital of his Dominions, and inftead of the City of Tauris, refided at Casbin. The worft Action of his Life was the putting to Death Sultan Bajazet, the Son of the Ottoman Emperor Solyman, who had fled to him for Protection ; which, however, procured him an advantageous Peace with the Turks, that lafted all the reft of his Reign. He died in 1556, in the Sixty-eighth Year of his Age, and the Fortieth of his Reign, and bequeathed the Empire to his third Son.
The great Officers of State having more Regard to their Conflitution than to the Will of their deceafed Monarch, fent to his eldeft Son Mabomet Codabende, who was Governor of Kborafan, and defired him to take the Title of Shah; but he fignified to them, that the Empire was a Weight too great for his Shoulders to bear, and advifed them to fet his Brother I/fmael upon the Throne. This Prince was about Forty-three Years of Age, twenty of which he had fpent in Prifon, where his Father had confined him out of Jealoufy. I/bmael II. was one of the braveft Men, as well as one of the greateft Captains of his Age, but fufpicious and cruel. His Father caufed him to be treated very gently in his Confinement, and fent him feveral fine Women; but he would never touch them, alledging, that it was enough to be miferable himfelf, without begetting a Race of Wretches. His Severity was fo great, and his Views to the Prejudice of his Family fo apparent, that it is faid his Sifter, at the Requeft of the Nobility, poifoned him, when he had reigned only two Years.
His elder Brother Mabomei Codabende was forced to take the Title of Sbab upon his Deceafe, againft his Will. He loved Privacy and Retirement, from a particular Turn in his Temper, and not from any Want of Parts or of Vigour. He ufed his three Brothers very well upon his firt Coming to the Crown ; but finding that they were inclined to revolt to the Turks who invaded his Dominions, he put them to Death without Mercy. In the firt Year of his Reign, he gained' a fignal Victory over the Turkjb Forces on the Frontiers of $A r$ menia, and in 1578 , he beat them again near Babyon, in which Battle they loft fourfcore thoufand Men upon the Spot: The Year following he gave them another Blow, for having fent twenty-five thouland Horfe, and five thoufand Camels to forage in the Spring, under an Efcort of thirty thoufand Foot, the Perfian Monarch by long Marches came upon them in the Night, and took his Meafures fo effectually, that neither Man nor Beaft efcaped. This Perfan Prince, who notwithftanding all thefe Victories, is faid fill to have regretted his ever leaving his Station in Khorafan for a Crown, and who treated all the Pomp and Grandeur of it with the utmoft Contempt, died in $15^{8} 5$, leaving behind him three Sons, the eldeft of which, Emir Hemfe, fucceeded him ; bur was foon after killed by the Intrigues of his Brother Ilbmael, who had not been long feated upon the Throne, before he had his Throat cut by his Barber, which made Way for the third Brother.

## Chap. 11.

 of the Empire of PERSIA.This was the fanous Sbab Abbas, who by the many glorious Actions of his Life, juftly acquired the Title of Great: He was Governor of Kborafan during the Life of his Father, and at the Time he was called to the Imperial Dignity, was about eighteen. He began his Reign with fome Acts of Severity, which he thought neceffary to fix his Government on a ftable Foundation. When this was done, he took a Refolution of recovering all that had formerly belonged to the Perfion Monarchs, and with this View marched into the Province of Kborafan, the greateft Part of which had been conquered by the Usbeck Tartars. This War lafted three Years, and was terminated at laft by the total Defeat of Abdallab Kban, the Sovereign of thofe Tartars, who with his Brother, and three Sons, was taken Prifoner. Sbab Abbas caufed their Heads to be ftruck off, that he might have the more Leifure to turn his Arms againft the Turks. They were much more powerful and troublefome Enemies, for at that Time they were in Poffef fion of a Track of Country of 150 Leagues, from South to North, to which Sibab Abbas had a juft Claim from his Predeceffors. All this he not only recovered, but pufhed his Conquefts as far as the Black-Sea, made himfelf Mafter of the City of Balfora, a great Part of Arabia, and by the Help of the Englif, recovered Orinus from the Portuguefe. He was beyond all Queftion one of the ableft Princes that ever reigned in Perfia, but withal, ambitious beyond Meafure, and cruel to the laft Degree. He found the Nobility very powerful, and the Kuzzlebafbes not a little infolent, he humbled the former, and weakned the latter, by introducing, as has been fhown elfewhere, a new Militia of his own Forming, and entirely depending upon the Crown. He conceived an unreafonable Jealouly of his only Son Sefi Mirza, on Account of the great Qualities with which he was endowed, and the high Refpects paid him by his Subjects in general, and the Soldiers in particular. To free himfelf from thefe groundlefs Apprehenfions, he caufed his Son to be put to Death, and repenting the Crime, as foon as it was committed, paffed the reft of his Days in Sorrow and Regret. He built the City of Ferabat, on the Coaft of the CaJpian-Sea, where he died in the Year $\mathbf{3} 629$, at the Age of Sixty three, after he had governed the Empire forty five Years.
He was fucceeded by his Grandfon Sefi Mirza, who was but a Child; as he grew up he difcovered all the bad Qualities of his Grandfather, and none of the good ones, for which his Father had been fo much beloved. He put out the Eyes of his only Brother, and murdered almoft all the old Servants of his Grandfather. His Severities were fo great, and the Murders he committed fo frequent, that the Women in his Haram confired againft his Life, and gave him a Dofe of Poifon, under which he ftrugled for two Months, and at laft recovered. The Pains he took to reach the Bottom of this Confpiracy were fo great, that at Length he difcovered all who had any Concern therein, and in one Night caufed forty four Ladies to be buried alive in his Garden, amongft whom, it was faid, were his Mother and his Aunt. He was brave in his Perfon to a Degree of Rafhnefs, but never fortunate in War, and the two ftrongeft Fortreffes in the Empire were loft in his Reign, viz. Kbandabar and Bagdat, chiefly through his own Fault. Amongtt many Vices, he had hardly any Virtues to compenfate them, but in Excufe of this, it is faid, that his Grandfather being afraid he might prove as great a Man as his Father, had caufed fo much Opium to be mingled with his Food, while a very Child, that it affected his Brain. To abate that Coldnefs which this occafioned, he was advifed by his Phyficians to drink Wine, to which he took fuch a Liking, that in the latter Part of his Life, he was almoft always drunk, and in one of thefe Debauches, he ended his Days, in 1642 , after a Reign of twelve Years. His exceffive Cruelty caufed a Sufpicion that he was poifoned.

He was fucceeded by his Son Abbas II. who was his only Child, and yet it was by the Virtue of an Eunuch, that this young Prince was in a Condition to fucceed him. In one of his drunken Fits, he ordered that Eunuch to pafs an Iron before his Son's Eyes, by which he
meant a Plate of Iron red hot in order to blind him, but making Ufe only of the Word Iron, the Eunuch very charitably fulfilled his Mafter's Command literally, but at the fame Time, directed the Child to counterfeit Blindnefs; which he did fo effectually, that his! Father had not the Jeaft Sufpicion of his Seeing, even when he lay upon his Death-bed. It was then that he deplored the Cruelty that he had been guilty off, in fuch moving Terms, that the Eunuch, who was by his Bed-fide, told him, he had a Secret for reftoring the young Prince's Sight, which rejoiced him fo much, that it kept him alive till the next Day. As Sbab Abbas II. was barely thirteen wherk he fucceeded his Father, and had been till then confidered as blind, and confequently incapable of the 1 m . perial Dignity, we may eafily conceive, that he could not take very early any Share in the Government, the the Care of which devolved upon his Mother and the Prime Minifter, who was a Creature of her ${ }^{\text {b }}$ s.

Things continued in this Situation during the three firft Years of his Reign, when the Minitter shaving unluckily, from the Peevifhnefs incident to old Age, let fall an Expreffion fomewhat difrefpectful towards his Mafter, Febean Kban, one of the noft powerful Lords of the Court, followed him to his Houfe and put him to Death as if it had been by the Order of the Shah. This exceedingly alarmed the Princefs his Protector, who demanded Juftice of her Son with all the Impetuofity natural to her Sex and to her Character ; but $A b^{0}$ bas, inftead of difavowing what had been really done without his Confent, gave to Zebean Kban the Poft of Prime Minifter, the vaft Eflate of the Deceafed, and foon after made him Generaliffimo of all his Forces. The wifeft of Monarchs has faid, That the Hearts of Kings are deep. One would have imagined, that in fo young a Prince, thefe high Favours had been either the Marks of Confidence, or the Effects of Timidity, but they were neither; Shah Abbas had a Mind to fee whether this Lord had acted out of a true Zeal for his Service, or from other Motives; he had allo a Mind to difcover how far his Intereft reached, and to what his Views tended. It was not long before he difcovered all. Jfebean Kban knowing how much he was hated by the Shah's Mother, formed a Defign' of killing her in the Haram, which being made known to the Shah, he in a great Council gave him the firft Stroke with his own Poinard, and with the Affiftance of his Guards cut off him and all Friends at once. This neceffary Severicy difcovered his true Character, and made him feared by his Minifters, and reverenced by his Subjects.

He was very far from being free from Vices, being much given both to Wine and Women; but was, for all that, a very great Prince. He retook Kbandabar, which had been loft by his Father, and recovered feveral Places from the Turks, and was preparing to have attacked them with all the Forces of his Empire, when he was taken off by Death. There is one Point of his Conduct which ought not to be paffed in Silence: He was a conftant Protector of the Chriftians, and when the Sedre, or Chief of the Ecclefiaiticks in Perfia, remonftrated againft it, he made him this remarkable Anfwer, The Dominion of the Mind belongs to that Supreme Being who bas given me Power over the Perfons of my Subjects, yet be allows them Freedom of Sentiment, and bas thereby taught me, that it is not my Duty to force it. While they are good Subjects, whatever their Religion be, I Ball confider them as good' Men. I' will not fay, as others have done, that this Maxim fhould be written in Letters of Gold, but I will fay more, that it ought to be writ in nobler Characters, I mean, in the Hearts of Princes. Shah Abbas II. died in the thirty eighth Year of his Age, on the 25 th of September, 1666 , in the 23d Year of his Reign.

He left behind him two Sons, Sefi Mirza, and Hamzeß Mirzia. In a great Council held by his chief Officers after his Deceafe, it was refolved to raife the youngeft to the Throne, becaufe he was the moft likely to be governed; but to give this a colourable Pretence, thofe who gave into this Opinion, fuggefted that Shah Abbas, when he fet out for Tabreftan, had returned fuddenly to Ifpaban, when he was a Day's Journey from it, and that he
came back melancholy; from whence they prefumed he had put out his eldeft Son's Eyes; the rather, becaufe he had brought the younger Prince along with him. . The Governor of the young Prince, who was thus preferred from an unparallel'd Virtue and Integrity, was the only Man that oppofed this Refolution; he raid it was injurious to the Contlitution, and to the Memory of the late Shah; he undertook, on the Peril of his Life, that the Fact was falfe, and as there is often an irrefiftible Force in Truth, he brought over all the reft to his Sentiments, and was deputed by them, who hitherto concealed the Death of Shah Abbas, to go to Ifpaban and prefent their Duty to his Succeffor. The Mother of that young Prince was alarmed at his Arrival, and at his demanding to fee her Son ; it was an Hour before he could be torn from her Embraces; but her Sorrow was foon turned into Joy, when the was informed, that by the Death of his Father he was become the Sovereign of Perfa.

He became [o, as his Subjects believed, in an ill Hour, for after he had reigned two Years with little Capacity and lefs Succefs, he was folemnly crowned a fecond Time, in Hopes of removing the malignant Influence of the Stars at his firft Coronation; and then it was that he changed his Name from Sefi to Solyman, as we are informed by Sir Gobn Cbardin, who was an Eye Witnefs of this fecond Coronation. If it ferved for any Thing, it was to fhew the Folly and Abfurdity of thefe Aftrological Precaucions; for notwithftanding all the Pains they took to fix upon a lucky Hour for this important Ceremony, his Adminiftration was not a Grain more fortunate than before: In fhort, under him the Perfian Empire began to decline, which funk and crumbled to Pieces under his Son. Shah Soly man had Vices, which, no doubt, were prejudicial to him, but his Follies were more 10 ; he loved Wine and Women to Excefs, Faults in themielves very great ; but another, which might feem more excufable was more fatal. He was indolent to the laft Degree ; he confided not only the Care of his Perfon, but of his State to his Eunuchs, and out of thefe half Men formed a Council for governing a great Empire.
The Confequences that attended this fcandalous Ma nagement, were fuch as might well be expected from it, that is to fay, his Councils were ill taken and worfe executed, few able Men were raifed either to Pofts in the Government or in the Army, and as foon as thefe few were difcovered, they were conftantly removed. When weak and bad Men are at the Helm, Calms are more dreadful than Storms, for thefe naturally fright them from their Polts, and call thofe to Power who know how to employ it. Shah Solyman reigned twenty eight Years, dying on the laft of fuly, 1694, at the Age of forty eight Years, leaving behind him the Character of one of the weakeft, meaneft, and bloodieft Princes that ever difgraced the Perfian Diadem.

His converfing fo much with Women and Eunuchs made him fufpicious; his being often 'drunk, and always half drunk, rendred him cruel, as the Want of Underftanding caufed him of Neceffity to be capricious. His Character was admirably drawn by one of his Courtiers; Inever leave the Shah's Prefence, fays he, with out feeling my Neck, that I may be Jure my Head is fill upon my Sboulders.

He left behind him two Sons, Mirza Abbas and Mirza Huflein, The Council of Eunuchs were to be the Judges which was the fitteft to wear the Crown; the late Shah made them fo by his Management; but what is ftill ftranger, he made them fo by his Will. The Approach of Death commonly gives unufual Force of Mind ; it did fo to Shah Solyman; but it was a left-handed Senfe, for after reigning like a Fool, he died a Knave. You bave it in your Power, faid he to his Eunuchs, to live under what Government you like beft. wben I am gone; your Cboice, if you would bave a martial Prince, muft fall upon Abbas; if you would ratber bave a pacifick Reign, you mift raife Huffein to the Thbrone. One need not, even at this Diftance from Perfa, be at a Lofs about the Refolution formed in this wife Council; weak Men know well enough, that they can never hold their Places but
under a weaker King; and therefore the fagacious Dif pofers of a Crown moft unanimoufly fixed upon the Prince that was unworthy of it. The Character of Mirza Abbas was truly given by his Father; he had all the great Qualities, and wanted none of the good ones neceffary to a Monarch; he was brave, but not fierce, and affable without Fallhood. As to the Character of Huffein, it may be very truly defcribed in a very few Words; there never lived a better Man, or a worfe Prince.

He had been bred in the fevere Study of the Alchoran, and at the fame Time that he was very knowing in the Mabometan Religion, he was very fincere in the Belief of it

He gave a ftrong Teftimony of the Uprightnefs of his Difpofition in refufing to put out the Eyes of his Brother Mirza Abbes; he was content at firt to fay it was inhuman, but finding himfelf continually excited thereto, by fuch as directed him in all other Things, he told them fairly, that when his Brother and he firlt read the Law together, they had fworn upon that holy Book, never to put out the Eyes of each other, which ever came to the Throne; and he would not incur the Guilt of Perjury. Indeed his Nature was fo tender, that firing a Piftol among his Ducks, which by Accident had Shot in it, he cryed out when he faw them wounded, that he was defiled with Blood, and gave a large Sum, in Alms to the Poor, to wipe out the Stain. His Minifters faw his Indolence with Pleafure, and his Weaknefs with Delight ; but his Integrity and Rectitude of Mind gave them infinite Concern. It was therefore for fome Time, their fole Bufinefs to ftudy how they might corrupt him; they thought at laft of a proper Method, and they made Choice of his Mother to carry it into Execution. That Princefs pretended to be at the Point of Death, and that the Phyficians had declared nothing could fave her Life but drinking Wine. The Sbah, out of Piety, had forbid the making it in any Part of his Dominions, and out of Refpect to the Law of Mabomet had never tafted it himfelf. He caufed it to be got however to fave his Mother's Life, and becaufe the would not drink unlefs he drank to her, he took off a large Glafs, which left fuch a Relifh on his Palate, as gave him an Inclination to it ever after.

By Arts like thefe Shah Huffein was drawn to become the great Inftrument of his own Ruin, and that of his Subjects. The Eunuchs, firft admitted into Council by his Father, contrived under him to fhut out all others. The Prime Minifter himfelf was excluded ; and thus Perfia, for the firft Time, was blefs'd : But why fhould I not fpeak plain? was curfed then, let me fay, with a Cabinet-Council. It is true, the ancient Form was kept up, the great Officers of State met, the Affembly was as regular as numerous, and to the Populace ap peared for fome Time as auguft as ever: But it was a mere empty Show, for only the White and Black Eunuchs had the Power, and which fure never happened in any Country but this, dictated their Orders through the Mouth of their Sovereign. We cannot dwell upon this extraordinary Subject; we cannot enter into the Detail of the Steps by which this Monarchy fell to Ruin; we leave thofe to the Imagination of the Reader and efteem ourfelves happy, that by fo reafonable an Excufe, we can difcharge ourfelves of fo difagreeable a Task.

Let it fuffice then to fay, once for all, that through this loofe and fcandalous Adminiftration the Conftitution was diffolved, and the whole Frame of Government fell to Pieces. The Ecclefiafticks were noted for irreligious Notions and Depravity of Manners; the Governors of Provinces had as little Power as Will to protect, but were allowed to plunder, that others might fqueeze them; the Viziers fleeced the People for fome Years, and were then fleeced themfelves; the Soldiers were robbed of their Pay, which forced them to work for a Subfintence ; and as this furnifhed them with Mo ney, Part of it was given to their Officers to wink at their Neglect of Difcipline ; which was the more readily complied with by Men trufted with Commands, tho' they knew little or nothing of martial Difcipline themfelves. In fuch a State of Things one would think

## Chap. II.

there muft be Complaints, more efpecially in a Country where the Law not only tolerates, but encourages fuch Complaints. But what then? The Shah fhut himfelf up in his Palace, and would not hear them. Memorials and Petitions might be drawn, and Means might be found to get them prefented. All this was done, but the Shah would never trouble any Body but his Eunuchs to read them ; and when Felons are Judges, Virtue is the only Thing that is thought a Crime.
Affairs being thus in a State of Depravity, and the Empire in a Manner ripe for Deftruction, we are next to fee how this was brought on ; and indeed it happened in a Manner, which, for any Thing that has occurred to me, there is nothing in Hiftory can parallel. At the Time Georgia fubmitted to Shah Abbas, it was agreed, that the Princes of that Country fhould be dependant only upon the Perfian Emperors, in the fame Manner that Crim Tartary does upon the Turks; and this Capitulation was frictly obferved till this wife Miniftry thought fit to violate it more than once, which induced the reigning Prince, to take fuch Meafures as he thought requifite to fet him beyond the Reach of their Power. The Council of Eunuchs were too cunning for him; they were informed, that his Army confifted of feveral fmall Bodies of Troops commanded by their refpective Chiefs; to thefe they offered large Sums of Money, and by Degrees drew the greateft Part of them to quit the Service of the Prince; upon which he retired with his Familiy and his Riches into the Mountains. Upon a little Reflection, he conceived an Opinion, that thofe who bribed with Money, might be bought with Money; and therefore fending an Agent to I/paban, he cancelled his Crime with Gold, and got himfelf reftored. Some Time after, the Mogul fent an Embaffy, in which he demanded the City and Principality of Kbandabar, in Terms that aftonifhed the Cabinet-Council of Shah Huffein. If, they were attacked by the Mogul, it was requifite to have a General and an Army ; and therefore like great Politicians, becaufe they knew this Prince of Georgia would fight, they fent him to command in Kbandabar, and allowed him to name a Lieutenant to command in his own Principality. This reftoring a Man after a Rebellion, and giving him a fecond Principality for the Courage he had fhown in his Rebellion, was a Policy fo refined, that none but thefe great Men could ever have found it out.
The Prince of Georgia was fent to Kbandabar, in the Year 1704, and he had not been long there, before he difcovered a Perfon as capable of making that Principality revolt, as he was of raifing an Infurrection in his own Country. The Name of this exttaordinary Perfon, was Mir Vaez, whom our Gazettes call Mirizeeis, and whom they reprefent as fprung from the Dregs of the People; this however is an Untruth : He was a Man of great Quality in that Country, and a kind of ReceiverGeneral of the Sbab's Revenue, in which Poft he behaved with fuch Honour towards the Court, and fo much Tendernefs towards the People, as gained him Credit with the one, and procured him the Affection of the other. The new Khan was by no Means pleafed with him, and reprefented therefore to his Friends at IJpaban, that this Man muft be fent for. If either he or they had ftruck off his Head, for prefuming to be wife and honeft under fuch an Adminiftration, there had been an End of the Matter, but they brought him to IJpaban, and there he foon faw that his Wifdom was much fuperior to that of the Cabinet Council; but that as for Honefty, it was become a ufelefs and dangerous Thing; to he parted with it immediately, and became as arrant a Courtier as the beft of them.

In 1709, he made a Journey to Mecca, with much Show of Religion, one of the beft Cloaks in the World for a bad Defign. His Countrymen were not of the eftablifhed Church, but of the Sect of Sunnis, which is the fame Religion with the Turks of Mecca; therefore he got a Fefta or folemn Decifion of the Head of the Law, importing, that his Countrymen might very lawfully take up Arms againft their Sovereign, as a Here-

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tick, and break all their Oaths to him without Perjufy. Upon his Return to Ifpaban, he contrived a Story of art Attack that was to be made upon the Perfian Empire by the Mufcovites and by the Mogul, fuggefting, that it was highly probable, that the Prince of Georgia's Lieutenant would revolt to the former, and himfelf go over to the latter. Upon this the Eunuchs fent Mitr Vaez to watch over the Prince's Conduet at Kbandabar, and it is certain, that he took Care the Prince of Georgic fhould do them no Hurt, for under Colour of a Reconciliation, he affafinated him in his own Palace; and by the Affiftance of his Countrymen, maffacred moft of his Troops; fending up a very formal Excule to IJpaban, that the Prince was an Oppreffor, and his Soldiers obferved no Difcipline, and therefore they had been tempted only to take the Liberty to knock their Brains out, but hoped they would believe, that notwithttanding this, they were as good Subjects as ever,
At this very Moment Mîr Vaez had declared himfelf Prince of Kbandabar, and upon producing the Fefta beforementioned, all his Countrymen adhered to him; it was however two Years before they were thoroughly perfuaded at Ifpaban, that the Thing was really fo, and that they had no more to do with Kbandabar as Sovereigns, than with any Province in Cbina. This forced them to raife an Army under the Command of the new Prince of Georgia, to which they added a Body of Perfians, and fent them againft Mir Vaez; but partly through the Difpute between the two Nations, and partly through the Treachery of fome of the Council at IJpaban, who held a Correfpondence with Mir Vaez, this Army was routed, and their Commander killed. Some other Attempts were made, but made in a more feeble Manner, and at laft the Thing was no more thought of, fo that Mir Vaez lived and died an independent Prince at his Capital of Kbandabar, in 1717 , afs ter a Reign of about feven Years.
His Countrymen made Choice of his Brother to fucceed him, and that Brother was inclined to Peace, but Mir Mabmud, the Son of Mir Vaez then about feventeen, conceiving that this would be prejudicial to his Intereft, flipt into his Uncle's Room one Night when he was anleep, and cut off his Head. He then fummoned the People, charged his Uncle with being a Traytor to them, and produced Papers under his Hand, to prove his Defign of fubmitting to the Perfians. This had the defired Effect, the People approved his Conduct, and declared him their Prince. But it is neceffary to inform the Reader, who there People' were, becaufe till about this Time, their Names were never heard of in Europe. The Afgbans are a Nation who inhabit Kbandabar, and moft of the mountainous Countries on the Frontier; we meet with large Defcriptions of them in the Perfian Authors, but they may be all reduced to a fingle Word, which will convey the Idea of them diftinctly; they are Highlanders; their Drefs, their Manners, their Clans, their Difcipline, and their Hardinefs are precifely the fame; they only differ in Religion, for the Afghans are Mabometans, moftly of the Turkibl Sect, and zealous to the laft Degree.

Mabmud was firft for drawing in the reft of the Afgbans in the adjacent Countries to be his Confederates: but their Chiefs thought themfelves as good Men as he; upon which he refolved to bring that to a Tryal, and by beating them, made them ready to do what he would have them. When this was brought about, he refolved to invade Perfa, though all the Men in his Country were not capable of furnifhing an Army any Way equal to fuch an Undertaking. He executed it howes ver with the Forces he could get rogether, advanced into the Province of Kirman, and furpriz'd the Capital. Thus far Things went well, but the Sbab having caft his Eyes upon the Brother of his firt Minitter, Luft Ali Kan, and made him General of his Forces, he advanced with a numerous Army againft the Afgbans, defeated them totally, and drove them back to Kobandabar. The Cabinet Council apprehenfive that fo great a Service might free the Prime Minifter from his De-
pendance
pendance upon them, alarmed the Sbab in the Night, pretended that Minifter was coming to murder him, and obtained an Order to feize and put out his Eyes, and another Order for fecuring his Brother. Both thefe were executed ; and as foon as Mir Mabmud was informed of it, he refumed his Defign, and entered Perfia a fecond Time with a much greater Army.

This fecond Invafion was in the Month of Fanuary 1722, and was not at firft attended with Succefs. He was bafled in the Siege of Kirman, his Forces being no Way fit for Sieges; but borrowing Courage from Defpair, though many of his People returned home, he marched on towards Ipaban. In his Paffage he met and fought the Perfan Army, and by the Difagreement between the Generals, defeated them, and afterwards laid Siege to the Capital ; which, however, he had never taken but for the Mifunderftandings in the Place, and the Intrigues he entered into with fome about the Shah, who at laft betrayed him into his Hands, in Confequence of a fcandalous Treaty, by which he agreed to refign the Empire to $M a b m u d^{2}$, and to give him his Daughter, which he performed, and by this Means that Captain of Banditti came to have the Title of Suiltan Mabomet, OEF. 22. 1722.

His Conduct, after this unaccountable Succefs, appeared very unequal ; fometimes he behaved with fuch Moderation and Prudence, that he feemed to deferve all that he had acquired ; at others, he acted with fuch Fiercenefs and Barbarity, as difgraced the very Nation from whence he came; but the Murders he committed, and more efpecially his inviting three hundred of the Perfian Nobility and Gentry to a Feaft, and then cutsing their Throats, was fuch an Act of Bafeners and Cruelty, as ought for ever to ftigmatize his Character, as the Reflection of it afterwards turned his Head. The Efcape of Mirza Seff, the eldeft Son of Shah Huf Sein, increafed his Fury; and on the 27 th of Fanuary 1725, he caufed moft of the Princes of the Royal Blood to be maffacred in his Prefence, except two Infants the Sons of Shah Huffein, whom that unfortunate Prince covered with his own Body, and had his Hand run through by parrying a Thruft made at them, before he could place them behind him ; which fo mollified the Heart of the Ufurper, that he fuffered them to live. Nor long after this he was feized with a Leprofy, and his lucid Intervals grew fhorter and lefs perfect; upon which the Afgbons fent for his Coufin Albruff, whom he kept in Prifon at IJpaban for Confpiracy, and made him their Prince.
He was the Son of that Uncle by cutting off whofe Head Mir Mabmud made himfelf Prince of Kbandabar, and in Return he ordered his Coufins to be cut off in the fame Manner, which put an End to a turbulent Reign of about two Years and a half. A/bruff, who was now Mafter of Ifpaban, is faid to have put to Death a Son that Mabmud had by Shah Hufein's Daughter; but it is certain that he married another Daughter of his himfelf, and treated the old Shah with much Lenity for fome Time, though afterwards he caufed him to be put to Death; but when or where, the Accounts we have hitherto had from this Country, does not enable us to mention with Certainty.

About the Time that the Afgbans befieged Ifpaban, it was refolved to fet up one of the young Princes as his Father's Lieutenant-General. Mirza Sefi, the eldeft of them, had been tried before, and after having been at the Head of a fmall Body of Troops for about a Month, he declared himfelf incapable of publick Affairs, and retired again, of his own Accord, into the Haram. The fecond Prince had difobliged the Eunuchs, and they perfuaded the old Shah to confine him; fo that it was now refolved, that his third Son Mirza Thbamas hhould be fent out to make an Experiment of his Fortune. He marched accordingly at the Head of five hundred Men, and had the good Luck to make his Efcape. He fhowed fome Bravery, but very little Judgment; for when he had got a few Troops about him, he differed with and even attacked the Prince of

Georgia, the only Perron from whom he could have expected any Affiftance.

We have no very diftinct Account of his Actions while Mir Mabmud held the fupreme Power ; but it is certain that his Succeffor Sultan Afbruff drove him into Mazenderan, from whence, with fome Difficulty, he got into Kborafan, and there he took the Title of Shah on Account of his Father's abdicating the Government. His Affairs wore a very indifferent Afpect, till fuch Time as he placed Fatteb allab Kban Kajar at the Head of his Army, who brought his Concerns into fome Order. In 1726, he took Nadir. Kuli, afterwards known to the World by the Name of Thamas Kouli Kan, into his Service, who infinuated himfelf fo into his good Graces, that in the Spring of the Year 1728, he prevailed upon him to put his old General to Death, and to give him the fole Command.

His Affairs were then in a very indifferent Situation, the Iurks were Mafters of all the Weftern Provinces, Afbruff and his Afgbans were in Poffeffion of the Middle of the Empire, and the Abdollee Afgbons had actually invaded Kborafan. His whole Army confifted only of twenty thoufand Men, with which Nedir Kuli engaged and defeated the Abdollees totally. This awakened the Attention of A/bruff, who in Seplember 1729, marched from Ifpaban in order to attack him. Nadir Kuli pofted himfelf with fixteen thoufand Men in a very advantageous Camp, and there waited for the Afgbans, who attacked him with great Fury ; but, after an obftinate Difpute, were entirely routed. This raifed his Reputation highly, and as the greateft Reward the Shah could then give him, he beftowed his Name upon his Genera!, who thence forward was ftiled Thamas Kouli Kan.

The Fame of this Victory enabled him to increafe his Army foon after to forty thoufand Men, with which he defeated Afbruff a fecond Time; and this fo much difpirited the Afgbans, that they refolved to plunder, burn and abandon Ifpaban; but the Shah did not give them Time to put this barbarous Defign in Execution, but marched with fuch Vivacity towards the Capital, that they were obliged to leave it with great Precipitation, in the Month of November 1730. This great Stroke, that in all outward Appearance feemed to fee him above the Reach of Fortune, was very foon followed by a Step that made Way for his Ruin. He thought that his General was flow in purfuing the $A f$ ghans, he therefore prefled him to ufe more Expedition. Upon this Kouli Kan told him roundly, that he was well informed of the Manner in which his Father's Generals had been treated, that when they were in the Field, they were ill fupplied; and that he was refolved to lay down his Command, unlefs he would give him the Power of raifing Money in what Manner he thought fit: To this, though with much Reluctance, the Shah confented; and, in Hopes of uniting his General more clofely to him, gave him his Aunt in Marriage.

Kouli Kan then followed the Afghans to Sbiras, tho it was in the Depth of Winter, defeated them totaliy, took all their Baggage and Treafure, and A/bruff endeavouring to make his Retreat towards Kbandabar, was furprized by a Body of the Balluches, who cut him and the few Troops he had about him to Pieces. Sbab Tbamas then turn'd his Arms againft the Turks, but was unluckily defeated by Acbmet Bafbaw, who foon after his Victory, offering reafonable Terms of Peace, the Sbab accepted them. In the Month of Auguf, 1732, Tbamas Kouli Kan having fettled all the Eaftern Provinces of the Empire, returned to Ifpaban with an Army of fixty thoufand Men, and infifted upon breaking the Peace with the. Turks; to which the Sbab howing fome Unwillingnefs, Kouli Kan foon after feized his Perfon, and fent him Prifoner to Mazenderan. He next took his Son, though a Child in his Cradle, and declared him Sbab by the Title of Abbas the IIId.

By this Means having fecured the Tranquillity of Perfia for the prefent, he turned his Arms againft the Turks, whom in the Spaice of two Years, he defeated in various Battles, and at laft difpirited them to fuch a

Degree,

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Degree, that they no longer kept the Field ; upon which he determined to lay Siege to Bagdat.

While he was before this Place, he received Advice, that Mabommed Kan Balluche had revolted, and declared for Sbab Tbamas, and made himfelf Mafter of Sbiras. Upon this he raifed the Siege immediately, marched directly againft this General, whom he treated as a Rebel, had the good Luck to defeat him; after which he plundered the City of Sbiras, and put Numbers of People to Death. He then returned to JJpaban, from whence he foon after marched into Georgia, reduced the City of Teffis, which is its Capital; over-run Armenia, and by the very Terror of his Name, frighted the Rufflans out of Gilan, which Province they had feized during the Troubles in Perria.

After all thefe Victories he fummoned the Chief of the Perfian Nobility to his Army, which then confifted of 150,000 Men, and there partly by Fear, and partly by Promifes, made them confent to the total Subverfion of their Conftitution, both in Church and State, by agreeing to make the Crown hereditary in his Family, to renounce for ever the ancient Line of their Princes, and to admit an Union between the two Sects of the Sunni's and the Scbia's, which being oppofed by the Mullab Bafbi, in a fet Speech, he anfwered his Arguments, by frangling him upon the Spor, and on the 2 Ift of Murch, 1736, he caufed himfelf to be proclaimed Sovereign of Perfia, by the Title of Nadir Sbab. The firft publick Act of his Adminiftration was to feize, or as he was pleafed to call it, refume all the Church Lands in Perfa; but finding that the Clergy were irreconcileable to him, he thought the Difpute would be lefs dangerous, if they were ftript of their Property, which was very confiderable, their Revenues amounting to a Million of Tomans, which is upwards of three Millions Sterling.
In fune following he was crowned at Casbin, and from thence he marched to Ifpaban, where he ftaid about fix Months, during which Time he was acknowledged by the Grand Signor, and the Great Mogul. He Ipent his Time in preparing for his Expedition againtt Kandabar, and marching thither in the Beginning of 1737 , he appointed his eldeft Son Reza Kuli Mirza, to govern Perfia in his Ablence, who fixed his Refidence at Mefched, whither Sbab Tbamas was afterwards conducted, and as it is faid, by order of the young Prince, who no doubt acted therein by his Father's Direction, was there put to Death, to prevent, as far as poffible, any future Revolts in his Favour, or in Support of any of his Family. Nadir Sbab was as fortunate in his Expedition againft Kbandabar, as in any of his former Undertakings, reducing it much fooner than could have been expected, confidering the great Strength of the Place. And it was while he lay before this Place, that he received an Invitation from fome of the Mogul's Minifters, to invade that Empire. As we have given a very large and full Account of this Tranfaction in our former Volume, in fpeaking of the Succeffion of the Defcendants of Timur Bek, in the Empire of Indoftan, we fhall not infift farther upon it here, but content ourfelves with firft giving the Reader a fhort View of the Life of this extraordinary Perfon, and then refuming the Hiftory of his Reign, at his Return from the Indian Expedition.
10. We have had various Reports in England concerning the Birth of this famous Conqueror and though they are now grown ridiculous, there was a Time when they were better received. It muft be allowed, that on one Hand, it is extremely difficult for us to obtain any true Accounts from Places at fo great a Diftance, and it is no lefs true on the other Hand, that we are extremely carelefs in our Endeavours to procure them. The Dutch at Batavia require their Factors at different Forts throughout India, to fend them Intelligence, and it is from thefe Letters, that they judge of the Abilities of the Perfons they employ fo that by this Method they are able to give their Mafters in Hollond, a tolerable View of the whole State of Affairs in the Eaft, once in the Year. It is but very lately, that we have had any
diftinct and true Account of this Hero, who was the Son of the Chief of one of the Clans of the Afsbars, a Turcoman Tribe divided into three Families, of which his was the fecond, and inhabited a Diftrict of the Province of Chorafan. He was born in the Year 1688 , and as he was the eldeft Son of his Father, was confidered acording to the Laws of that Nation, as his apparent Succeffor. In order to form a right Notion of this, the Reader is to be told, that there are feveral Tribes of the Turcomans, who inhabit this and other Provinces of Perfuz, where they live after their own Manner, in Confideration of certain Services that from Time to Time they are called upon to render to the Government of Perfia; and the particular Service of his Family was to defend a Fortrefs commanding the Valley which they inhabit againft the Usbeck Tartars. As to his Father"s Name, we know it not; but that which he beftowed upon his Son at the Time of his Circumcifion, was Nodir Kuli, which fignifies literally the Slave of the Wonderful, but the true Senfe of it is, the Servant of God.

His Eather dying in his Minority, his Brother, the Uncle of Nadir, became, according to the Cuftom of the Turcomans, the Tutor of his Son, and the Chief pro tempore of the Clan. He took Care of the Education of the young Man, whom he bred up a zealous Mabometan, according to the Sect of the Sumi's, who are looked upon by the Perfians as Hereticks, and who, on their Side, confider that whole Nation in the fame Light; he caufed him likewife to be taught his Exercifes, and fhowed him for feveral Years a great deal of Kindnefs and Refpect. But when he came of Age, and would have taken upon him the Command of the Fortrefs and of his Clan, his Uncle did not care to refign; and being a Man of great Art, he had brought the People into fuch a Dependance upon himfelf, that his Nephew found they were little inclined to do him what he called Juftice; and the Spirit of the young Man was fuch, that fcorning to live in Subjection, in a Place where he conceived it his Right to rule, he refolved to put himfelf into the Perfan Service. It was for this Reafon he went to Mefcheds which has been confidered as the Capital of Cborafan ever fince Shah Abbas the Great inftituted Pilgrimages thither, on Purpofe to hinder his Subjects from vifting the Tomb of their Prophet at Mecca, before which time the City of Herat had that Title. Nadir Kuli was well received by the Governor, who gave him a fmall Polt in his Family, and another fmall Poft in the Army. His Behaviour here was very regular, and very infinuating; he fhowed all poffible Refpect for his Superiors, was very kind and condefcending to his Inferiors, and very exact in the Difcharge of every Branch of his Duty.
By Degrees he gained the Confidence of the Governor to fuch a Degree, that he was raifed to the Ranle of a Nim-Bafbi, a Command equivalent to that of a Colonel of Horfe in our Service; and then it was that he began to difplay the extraordinary Qualities he received from Nature. He affected a very different Conduct from that of his Brother Officers, for he was as attentive to Difcipline as they were negligent in it; he defpifed Perquifites, kept his Corps contantly full, and by doing frict Juftice to Merit, made his Soldiers not only content with their Lot, but pleafed with their Profeffion. He was often employed in Service, and was always fucceffful, which was chiefly owing to two Things, the ftrict Difcipline of his Troops, and his keeping them Complete, which gave him a vaft Advantage of the Tartars, and diftinguifhed him from all other Officers, who for that Reafon hated him heartily. The Confufion in the latter Part of the Reign of Sbab HufSein, as it encouraged the Usbecks to make frequent Incurfions into Cborafan, fo it gave him many Opportunities of raifing his Reputation, by reprefing their Infolence, and obliging them often to retire, notwithftanding their Superiority of Numbers. But in 1720, the Usbecks invaded the Province with a numerous Army, to which the Forces of the Governor were fo unequal, that in a great Council of War, the Officers were una-
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simounly of Opinion, that it was impofible for them to look the Enemy in the Face; and therefore they advifed the Governor to retire into the Heart of the Province, and act wholly upon the defenfive. Nadir Kuli oppofed this, he magnified the Spirit and Courage of the Perfian Cavalry, and infifted, that notwithftanding their Superiority of Numbers, if they marched and attacked the Tartars, inftead of waiting for them, there was the greateft Probability of their giving a Check to their Expedition in its Beginning; which might fop their Progrefs, and fave the Country from Ruin ; the Governor, who was a Man of Spirit, clofed with his Sentiments, gave him the Command, and he very fortunately executed, even more than he had promifed; for he totally defeated the Tarters, and purfued them with fuch Vigour in their Recreat, that not one half of them efcaped into their own Country.
The Governor promifed to ufe all his Intereft at Court to procure Nadir Kuli a Recompence from the Sbab equal to his Service; but the reft of the general Officers reprefenting to the Miniftry, that this new Hero was no Friend of theirs, an Order was procured to the Governor for difpoffefing him of his Command, and giving it to that Nobleman's Nephew, who had never feen Soldiers in his Life but at a Review. Nadir Kuli was at this Time thirty two Years of Age, and yet his Refentment was fo much ftronger than his Reafon, that taking Things according to their firft Appearance, and without ftaying to enquire how far the Governor had been juft to him, he went and expoftulated with that great Man, in fuch rough Terms, that he ordered him to be baftinadoed on the Soles of his Feet, and turned him out of his Service. He was now totally undone, without Fortune, without Friends, and without Hopes. In thefe difmal Circumftances he picked up a Couple of Fellows as defperate as himfelf, and with them robbed a fmall Caravan, which put them in Poffeffion of a confiderable Sum of Money, with this they bought Horfes, Arms and Ammunition, and in a fhort Time, they affociated twenty daring and undone Fellows, with whom they committed many Robberies, and in the Space of a few Months, encreafed their Number to five hundred Men. At the Head of thefe, he not only committed Depredations through the greateft Part of the Province, but laying hold of the Confufion of the Times, encreafed his Forces to fuch a Degree, that the Government, inftead of being in a Condition to punifh him, really ftood in Awe of him.

Things were in this Situation, when a Commander of Shah Thames's Army being traduced to his Mafter, and in Danger of his Lilie, fled to Nadir Kuli with fifteen hundred Horfe. His Uncle having Intelligence of this, thought it was high Time to talse fome Method to reconcile himfelf to his Nephew; in order to which, he made Ufe of his Intereft with the Shah to procure his Pardon; which was no fooner intimated to Nadir Kuli, than he promifed his Uncle to repair to him, in order to make fuch Submiffions as were neceffary to cancel the Memory of his former Offences. This, however, was all Artifice; for being of an implacable Na ture, he furprized his Uncle's Caftle the firft Night he lay in it, and put him to Death, notwithftanding which barbarous Action, he was now become fo formidable, that the Shah, to fave himfelf the Trouble of reducing him, confirmed his Pardon, and took him into his Service.

We have already fhewn, how grateful and loyal a Return he made for this undeferved Favour, and in what Manner he affumed the Title of $S b a b$ in 1736 ; as alfo the principal Tranfactions that followed till fuch Time as he invaded the Mogul's Territories. He returned from hence in the Year 1739, contenting himfelf with the Ceffion of all the Countries to the Weft of the River Attock. He knew very well, that it was impoffible for him to have preferved his Conquefts in india, if he had intended it; and he knew as well, that if he did not keep them, it was impofible for him to provide better for his own Security, than by leaving them in the Hands of their own Poffefor Sultan Mo-
bammed, a weak, inactive Prince, and confequently leaft likely and leaft able to incommode him. Shah Nadir, on his Return to Perfa, meditated feveral great Defigns, but executed none of them effectually, except that of transferring the Capital to Meccoed; for though he carried on the War againft the Turks fuccefffully, defeated them in feveral Battles, and wintered with his Army in their Dominions; yer he found himfelf fo often difturbed with Infurrections, that he was never in a Condition to profecute or improve his Viétories.
He turned his Arms fometimes againft the Lefgis, the Curds, and the Gcorgians, but without any Succees, and thefe Difappointments increafing, the natural Haftinefs and Severity of his Temper, he began to make himfelf odious by a continual Series of Cruelties, fome of which he exercifed upon his own Family, caufing his eldeft Son Riza Mirza to be put to Death, at the Age of thirty two ; and fome Accounts fay, that his fecond Son met with the fane, or a worfe Fate, that of having his Eyes put out. He grew infatiable alfo in Refpect to Money, opprefing his Subjects to the laft Degree.
He was always partial to his own Country, and to his own Nation. His little paternal Caftle of Calot he endeavoured to render impregnable, and there he laid up all his Treafures; the Guard about his Perfon was entirely compofed of Affars, as fuppofing nothing could corrupt their Fidelity to their Chief. In this however he was miftaken, for his Nephew, who revolted againft him, who is the Son of that Uncle he fo bafely murdered, had fuch an Intereft amongft, them, that he engaged them to make Sbab Nadir Prifoner, and this occalioning a Difturbance; thofe who had feized hin, to put an End to it, and to fecure themfelves, cut his Throat when he was in the twelfth Year of his Reign, and the fifty ninth of his Life. He had the two Sons that have been already mentioned, by Wives whom he married while he ferved as a Mim Bafhi, under the Beglerbeg of Kborajen; by the Sitter of Sbab Hufjein, whom he married at the Time that Sbab Thamas declared him Generalifimo ; he had only one Daughter; but by other Ladies in his Haram he Jeft three Sons that were very young at the Time of his Deceafe, and of whom we flall have Occafion hereafter to make Mention.
11. When his Oppreffions and Cruelties had rendred the very Name of Sbab Nadir odious in all Perfal, and when it was vifible, that even his Soldiers rather feared him than loved him, many of the great Men began to confider whether it might not be poffible, under Colour of Attention to the publick Good, to pluck the Crown from his Head. Thefe Intrigues could not be fo fecretly carrried, but that he difcovered fome, and was informed of others; which produced fuch bloody Executions, that at Length, the Difaffection to him became fo general, as to induce Ali Kuli Kan his Nephew, to think of fetting up for himfelf; to which he was chiefly moved by three Confiderations; the firtt, that the Difcontent was become general amongft the Army, as well as the People; the fecond, that he was himfelf at the Head of a confiderable Corps of Troops, on whofe Fidelity he knew he might depend; the third, that his Uncle was grown furpicious of him, fo that Submiffion was to the full as dangerous as Rebellion; excited by thefe Confiderations, about the latter End of laft Year he began to recruit and increafe his Army, to pay no Regard to the Orders that came from Sbab Nadir, and to carry on a clofe Correfpondence with fome of the Officers that were near the Sbab's Perfon.

Amongt thefe was Mabomet Kouli Kan, Kourt fcbibacbi, to whom, when he was in Readinefs to march towards Mefched, he fent Orders to make himfelf Matter of the Perfon of the Sbab, which he performed; but finding that there was no keeping him with Safety, and that there began to be great Cabals amongft the Officers who commanded under him, he took a Refolution of putting him to Death, which he executed without Delay, and immediately difpatched an Exprefs to ali Kould Kim, intreating him to haften his March to Mefcbed.

## Chap. II.

On his Arrival there, that Pritce was immediately fa- of a Tyrant, he remits to the People all Arrears of the luted Sbab by all the great Officers of the Crown, and the chief Commanders of the Army: He took Care to make himfelf Mafter of the Fortrefs of Calot, where he found all the immenfe Treafure of his deceafed Uncle, by raifing of which he had made himfelf fo many Enemies, and by a wife Diftribution of which, his Succeffor has made a Multitude of Friends.

The new Monarch, at the Time of his Inauguration, took the Name of Adil Sbab, which fignifies the juft Prince, and one of the firlt Acts of his Reign was to publifh a Manifefto, from whence we have taken moft of thefe Particulars, and in which, after inveighing bitterly againft the Mal-Adminiftration of his Predeceffor, who he fays received the juft Reward
extraordinary Taxes impofed upon them, exempts them from every Impofition for two Years, and promifes ample Reftitution to fuch as have had their Eftates conficated under the former tyrannic Goverment. He is faid howa ever to have thought it neceffary to his own Security, firft, to put out the Eyes, and then to poifon his three Nephews. Time will fhew whether this was an Att of Neceffity, or whether it flowed from a Blood-thirty Difpofition: In the mean Time he has given the ftrongeft Affurances to the Grand Signior, and to the Czarina, of his Intention to maintain the Peace and Friendhip, fubfifting between their Empires and his own, and is at prefent exercifed in fettling his new acquired Sovereignty upon the only folid Bafis, thas of the Zeal and Affection of all his Subjects.


## CHAPTER III.

A Defrription of the North-Eaf Parts of Afia, and the extenfive Empire of Cbina, with the Countries dependent thereon, and the Manners and Cuftoms of the feveral Nations that inhabit them.
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## SECTION I.

The Travels of his Excellency E. Ysbrants Ides, Ambaffador from Peter the Great to the Emperor of Cbina, through Great Ufiga, Siriana, Permia, Siberia, Daour, \&c. to the Frontiers of Cbina; containing an exact Defcription of the Extent and Limits of thofe Countries, the Nations by which they are inhabited; with a curious and copious Account of their Religion, Government, Marriages, Dwellings, Diet,' daily Occupations, ${ }^{\circ} c$.

Faithfully tranflated from the Autbor's Original Gournal, printed under the Direction of the Burgo-mafter Witzen, the greateft Critick of bis Time in Holland, and dedicated to the late $C \approx a r$ Peter the Great.

1. An Introductory Account of the Author, and of the Character and Credit of bis Work; with the Reafons for inferting it in this Collection. 2. The Manner of bis Jetting out from Morcow; bis Voyage down the River Dwina, weith a currious Account of the Inhabitants of the Province of Sirene. 3. His Paflage from thence to Solikamskoi, with a large Account of the Salt-works in the Neigbbourbood of that City. 4. The Autbor enters Afia, and vijits the Country of the Wogulski Tartars, whofo Manners and Cuftoms be defcribes. 5. That Subject continued and concluded. 6. He continues bis Gourney tbrough the Country of Tumeen, the Woods of which abound woith a Kind of Animal that furrijs the richeft Furs in Ruffia. 7. A Defcription of the City of Tobolesk, the Extent of the Country of Siberia, and the Manner in which it wass reduced under the Power of the Ruffians. 8. The River Irtis def/ribed ; the Manner of training Dogs to drawo Sledges, and a Defrription of that Kind of Carriage over the Shoove. 9. The Autbor's Arrival at the City of Surgut; an Account of the adjacent Country and of the Foxes, Beavers, and otber roild Beafs. 10. The Courre of the River Oby defcribed; an Account of the Oftiacks wwho inbabit its Banks, their Cufooms and Manner of Living. II. The Autbor vifits one of their Princes, and gives a large Detail of the miferable State of bim and bis Family. 12. The difficult and dangerous Paflage of the River Keta, and the cxtraordinary Risk the Autbor ran of perifbing thereon. J3. A very copious and curious Relation of the Manner of funding Mammut's Teetb, weitb Conjectures concerning the Nature of that. Beaft, wbich is invijfble during its Life-time. 14. An Account of the Skammanskoy or Negromantick Water-Fall, and of the Manner in whicb Shipspafs down and are towed up it. 15. Our Autbor makes a Vift to the Schaman or Necromancer ; a large Account of him, and of the Metbods be makes ufe of in deceiving the Tunguifians, weith a Detail of the Manners and Cuffoms of thefe. People. 16. The Autbor's Arrival at Buratskoy; the Burattians, a Pagan People defrribed, and a particular Account of their Arange Ways of Living. 17. A very large and difinct Account of the Yehiam or Musk-goat, weith the different Manners ufed in preparing that rich Perfume. 18. An Account of the Lake of Baikol, and a fingular Infance of the Autbor's good Senfe and Courage. 19. He continues bis Yourney to the City of Telimba; bis Adventures in that Fourney, weith an Account of the Country be travelled tbrough, and the People be met with. 20. His fourney to, and a Defcription of the City of Nerzinskoy, the adjacent Territories defcribed, as alfo the twoo Nations of Tungufians, their brutal Manners and barbarous Cuffoms. 2I. Our. Autbor proceeds to the utmof Limits of the Ruffian Dominions in Afra; of the Frontiers of wbich Empire be gives a very curious and copious Defrription.

AFTER giving an Acconut of the Perfian Empire, it was requifite, that as we had defcribed that of the Mogul in the former Volume, and given the Succeffion of Princes down to our Times, to proceed to the fourch great Sovereignty of $A f a_{3}$ the moft extenfive and moft cele-
brated Empire of Cbina. But at the fame Time we had this in View, it feemed alfo no lefs requifite to give fome Account of the Countries that lie between Ruflid and Perfia, and the Frontiers of that vaft Empire, the Omiffion of which would have left a great Pare of $A / 10$ unfurvey'd. In order to attain this End, there feemed



## Chap. III.

from Mufcovy to China

Perfon who had paffed through thefe Countries with a publick Character, who furvey'd them at Leifure, had very 'extraordinary Opportunities of examining every Thing that was curious and worthy of Notice, and who afterwards compofed his Work for the Information and Satisfaction of the Czar Peter the Great, of glorious Memory, to whom it was dedicated, and who was fo well pleafed therewith, that he teftified his Refpect for the Author, by honouring him with the Office of a Privy Councellor. It is however requifite to obferve, that in 1699, there was printed at Amffterdam an Account of this Embalfy, and the Travels of the Ambaffador, by one Mr. Adam Brand, who accompanied him in his Journey as one of his Domefticks; but whether it hap pened through Want of Care in keeping an exact Joural, from a natural Incapacity in the Author, or from his entring into too great Liberties, grounded upon the Licence that Travellers take, more efpecially fuch as pafs through unknown Countries, or from whatever Caufe it fell out, fo it was, that this Relation contained a Multitude of Things equally inconfittent with Probability and Truth; notwithftanding which, it gained Credit for a Time, and paffed current for a true Relation of this celebrated Embafly. But when our Author's own Work appeared, the Folly and Weaknefs of this furreptitious Account became manifett to the whole World, and Brand's Romance has been ever fince as much decried as the following Performance has been univerfally efteemed. There is no Need of faying any Thing more, either by way of Introduction or Recommendation of a Piece that has been long in Poffeffion of the higheft Character from the propereft Judges. All therefore that we fhall add is, that the Reader has it here entire in the Author's own Words, compared with the laft and beft Edition of the Original.
2. The moft illuftrious Czars, Fobn and Peter Alexowitz, having refolved to fend a fplendid Embaffy to the Great Bogdaichan, or Sovereign of the famous Kingdom of Kitai, by Europeans commonly called Cbina; this obliged me with a favourable Opportunity of travelling through Part of the famous, but hitherto unknown Siberian and Kitaian Countries, and informing myfelf by credible Witneffes of the Remainder of thote Lands, as well as obtaining certain Knowledge of feveral Things with which the World hath not been hitherto truly acquainted. For by God's paternal Provi dence, and the particular Favour of their Czarifh Majefties, I obtained the great Honour of being difpatched their Envoy to the Cbinefe or Kitaian Court, furnifhed with fufficient Credentials and other Neceffaries.

The Preparation of my Retinue and Equipage took me up fo much Time, that I did not fet out betore the 14th of March, 1692, when I went from Mofcow in a Slead. The Beginning of my Journey proved very uneafy, by the violent Rain which accompanied us from Mofcow to Vollogda, and occafioned fuch an Inundation, that our Sleads almoft fwam over the remaining Ice of the Rivulets and Brooks, and deep Roads, However, by the Divine Affiftance, though not without Difficulty, we reached the City of Vollogda, where I refted three Days in Expectation of better Weather, which happened according to my Wifhes; for within two Days it froze fo hard, and fnowed fo violently, that all the Water was froze up in four and twenty Hours ; fo that we could eafily pais all the Rivulets and Ditches in our Sleads, without any Apprehenfion of Danger. The 22d of the fame Month, I fet forwards from. Vollogda to Sucbina, where I arrived on the ${ }_{23} \mathrm{~d}$, and without ftopping advanced to the City of Great Uftiga, where the Rivers Suchina and Irga unite, and thereby compofe the famous River Drwina; the Name of which imports a double River.

The Courfe of the Sucbina is almoft full North, thro' a fertile Country, and its Banks on each Side are adorned with well inhabited Villages, befides Totma, an indifferent City, fituated on its left Shoar ; and feveral Travellers annually pafs this River, going from Vollogdo to Archangel, in fmall Ships well laden, as long as the River is open: But the Stream running in a ftony

Channel, thofe Ships which pais it muft be provided with good Plank at both Ends, by reafon of the hidden Rocks, and the Rapidity of the Stream, which would otherwife fink them to the Bottom. At the Mouth of this River is fituated the City of Great Uftigas where I was obliged to ftay about twenty four Hours. Leaving that Hace, I came the 2 gth of Marcb to Solowitzjogda, a very large City, inhabited by many confiderable Merchants and curious Artificers, efpecially in Silver, Copper, and Bone. Itere are alfo a great many Salt-pits that yield vaft Quantities of Salc, which are tranfported to Vollogda, and all over the adjacent Countries

I fet out from this Place on the firt of April; and the fame Day reached, the Province of Sirene or Wollof $U_{s g y}$; the Inhabitants of which fpeak a Language that has not the leaft Affinity with the Mufcovite, but is fomewhat like the barbarous Germon Livonian Language ; for fome of my Retinue who underftood thar, could underftand a great Part of the Speech of thefe People. They are of the Greek Church and fubject to his Czarifh Majefty, to whon they pay their Tribute: though they are not under the Jurifdiction of any Viceroy or Waywode, but chufe their own Judges amongft themfelves, and important Caufes which cannot be decided before them, are removed to the Foreign Pofolfche or Minifters Court at Mofores to be determined. The Stature and Habit of both the Men and Women are not very different from thofe of the Ru/fan Peafants; all which confidered, I cannot but think that thefe People might anciently tranfplant themfelves hither from the Borders of Livonia or Coral. I asked fome of them out of Curiofity, concerning their Original; but they were not able to give me any Account, whether their Anceftors came thither out of foreign Countries, or not; nor could they give any Reafon why their Language has no Affinity with the Ruffan. They generally live by Agriculture, except that Part of them which are employed in the Manufacture of Grey Furs, near the River Zizol. They inhabit a confiderable Tract of Land, which extends to the City of Kaigorod, and is about feventy Sumka's long, each Sumka being a large German Mile. Thefe People do not live in Cities or Towns, but for the moft Part in fmall Villages built in the large Woods, and their Houfes are like thofe of the Ruffians.

This Country terminating in a great Foreft, we were again infefted with a violent Rain, and fuch a Thaw, as in the Space of one Night fwelled the Waters to that Degree, that I could not pafs them without great Difficulty. In this uneafy Condition 1 remained four Days, during which Time I was obliged to ftruggle with all the incident Inconveniencies; our Sleads fwam continually, and the Rivulets and Brooks on each Side of the Woods poured in upon us, fo that, as though'we had been in a Sea, we could neither proceed forwards, nor return backwards: Nor would the Ice of the great Rivers bear any, longer; notwithftanding which, by the Help of Bridges and other proper Means, at laft, on the 6th of April I reached Kaigorod, an indifferent large but very ftrong City on the River Kama.
3. From thence I defigned to have fet forwards immediately to Solikamskoi, the chief City of Great Permia, in order to profecute my Journey to Siberia over the Mountains of Werchaturia; but the Thaw at the End of Winter continuing, forced me to alter my Refolution, and ftay there feveral Weeks, till the opening of the River Kama favoured my Departure by Water; during which Time I made all neceflary Preparations for my Journey. Another Thing which occafioned my Stay, was the great Damage that the City of Kaigorod had fuffered lately by Robbers.

This Misfortune, which fell upon the Commandant of the Place who had that Poft when I was there, happened in the following Manner : On a Sunday about Noon, feveral well mann'd Barks, with flying Colours, Drums and Hautboys, came failing on the River Kama to the City ; the Men leaped on Shore, whilt the innocent Inhabitants fufpected no Harm in Time of Peace, and in a quiet Country, but
took
took them for Eriends and Acquaintance from the neighbouring Villages, met together to divert themfelves; but the Robbers fet the South Part of the City on Fire, and falling upon the Inhabitants of the North Quarter, cut all of them to pieces that came in their Way, and at laft went to the Wairood's Apartment, which they plundered, and committed all Manner of Infolencies and Outrages on his Servants ; after which carrying off whatever they pleafed, they returned to their Boats and failed down the Kama. But diligent Search being made after thefe Birds of Prey, they were found to be a Rabble of runaway Servants got together, fome of which were at laft taken, tortured, and punifhed according to their Crimes. I caufed Wood for Firing to be brought to warm me, and kept ftill upon my Guard, appointing ftrong Watch by Water and by Land.

After my Veffel was, equipped, and the Kama free of Ice, on the 23 d of April we fet forwards, and fafely arrived on the 27 th in the City of Solikamskoi, from whence I fhould have gone over the Mountains of Wercbaturia, which is only practicable in Winter; the Multitude of the Moraffes, and Deepnefs of the Roads, rendring that Way utterly impaffable in Summer; for which Reafon all Officers, as well as Merchants, are obliged to lie ftill the whole Summer in Solikamskoi, till rhey meet with hard Winter Roads. It is true indeed, that it is poffible to fail round thefe Hills; but for cercain Reafons that Paffage is abfolutely forbidden, neither Commanders nor Merchants being allowed to go that Way. Notwithftanding which, the Governor of Solikamskoi knowing that my Embaffy would admit of no Delay, ordered me to be fupplied with as many fmall Barks as were requifite to pafs the River Suzarvaia.

Solikamskoi is a very fine large and rich City, where feveral very confiderable Merchants refide. Here are alfo many Salt-works or Pits, and very near fifty Saline Springs, from twenty-five to thirty-five Ells deep, out of which great Quantities of Salt are taken and boiled, and thence fhipped off in great Tide-fhips built for that Purpofe ; each of which will eafily ftow from One hundred to one hundred and twenty, thoufand Poeds, that is, from one thoufand fix hundred to two thoufand Tun; mann'd with about feven or eight hundred Sailors and Labourers, and furnifhed with Kitchins, Bagnio's, and all Sorts of Conveniencies. Thefe Veffels are from thirty-five to forty Ells long, and carry a Maft ; to which is fixed a Sail of thirty Fathom broad, which they make ufe of to fail up the River when the Wind is good; but when they go down, they only row, and that chiefly to keep the Ship's Head right, which the Rudder alone is not ftrong enough to do. They are flat bottomed, and have no Nails, or other Iron-work in them, but are made entirely of Wood. They foat along the Kama with the Tide, till it falls into the famous River Wolga, where they are forced to be towed up againft the Tide, or fail up if the Wind be favourable; but the Salt is unladen from Kafan to Nifna on the Wolga, and at feveral convenient Places.

The 14 th of May I fet forwards from Solikamskoi by Water, and paffed on the Ufolkat, a fmall River about Half a Mile from the City, again into the Kama: On which River we drove entirely out of Europe into Afra. So on Whitfunday I went on Shoar, and upon a high and beautiful green Hill eat my laft Dinner in that Part of the World on the Grals. And after I had drank a Glafs of Wine, as a Farewell to dear Europe, I immediately returned on Board, in order to proceed on our Voyage along the River.
4. Having thus entered the Afiatick River Suzawaia, we found it far lefs agreeable than the beautiful Kama; which is a fine River, abounding with all Sopts of Fifh, and from Solikamskoi to this Place adorned with very fine large Villages and Towns, feveral very expenfive Saltworks, fertile Corn Grounds, fruitful Lands, fpacious Fields beautified with all Sorts of Flowers, Woods, $\varepsilon^{3} c$. all wonderfully pleafant. But though the Banks of the Zareaja, which falls Wettward into the Kama, are not lefs beautiful and fruitful; yet we found our paffing this River very tedious; for by the high Water we made but a very fmall Progrefs in \{everal Days, being
obliged to be towed along with a Line; however, at laft, after twelve Days, and tirefome tugging againft the Stream, we came to, and touched at a pleafant Shoar on the 25 th of May, amongtt the firft Siberian Tartars, called Wogulski. I muft acknowledge, that the well peopled Countries on the Sides of this River, deferve to be reckoned amongtt the moft charming in the World. And when in the Mornings or Evenings I ftepped on Shoar to divert myfelf, and went within Land towards the Hills, I every where found the molt beautiful Flowers and Plants, which emitted a moft agreeable fragrant Scent, and all Sorts of Wild Bealts running about in great Multitudes. But the Wogulskian Tartars, to which this River led us, are ftupid Heathens, which induced me to pry more narrowly into their Religion, Manner of Living, and other Circumftances ; and for this End I went on Shoar, and lodged a Night amongtt them.

They are naturally robutt, and have remarkably large Heads. Their whole Worfhip confifts in making an Offering once a Year; when they go in Crouds into the Woods, and kill one of each Species of Beafts, of all which they prefer the Horfe and Tyger as beft ; they flea off the Skins, hang up the Carcaifs on a Tree, and fall proftrate to the Earth, and in their Way pray to it ; after which they eat the Flefh together, and return Home; which done, they are free from the Trouble of praying for that Year. What need of Praying any oftner than once a Year, fay they ? They are not able to give the leaft Account of the Original or Import of their Faith, but only that their Forefathers did fo, and they think good to follow their Example.

I asked them concerning their Knowledge of God; Whether they did not believe that there was a God and Lord in Heaven above, that had created, preferved and governed all Things, and gave Rain and fair Weather? To which they replied; We may very well believe that, for we fee, that the Sun and Moon, thofe two bright Lights which we worMip, and the Stars alfo, are in Heaven, and there is one which rules them. They would not in the leaft hear of the Devil, becaufe he never appeared, or revealed himfelf to them. They acknowledge a Refurrection of the Dead, but are ignorant what Sort of Rewards to expect, whether corporal or not. When any of them die, they bury the Carcafs without any Grave-ftone ; and be it Man or Woman, all his or her beft Apparel and Ornaments, befides fome Money, according to the Ability of the Deceafed, are buried with the Corps; to the End that he may have fome Cloaths on, and fomething to fpend at the Time of the Refurrection. They cry over the dead Corps in a difmal Manner, and the Husband is obliged to continue a Widower a Year after the Death of his Wife. If a Dog dies, that in Hunting or any other Way has been ferviceable to them, they erect in Honour of him, a fmall wooden Hut, on four Props of Earch ; in which they lay the dead Dog, and fuffer him to continue there as long as the Hut lafts. They take as many Wives as they can keep, and when any of thefe is pregnant, and near her Delivery, the is obliged to retire into a Hut in a Wood, erected for that Purpofe, where the is delivered ; and the Husband and the are not permitted to come near each orther for the Space of two Months after.
5. When a Man defires to marry, he is obliged to buy the Bride of her Father. They have very few Marriage Ceremonies befides treating the neareft Relations; after which the Bridegroom goes to Bed to the Bride. They have no Priefts, nor marry any nearer than the fourth Degree of Confanguinity. Amongtt other Dif courfe I admonifhed them, that it was Time to acknowledge Chrift the Saviour of the whole World, and turn to him ; which would fecure their temporal and eternal Welfare. To this they anfwered; As for what concerns Temporals, we daily fee vaft Numbers of Poor Ruffans, that can hardly get a Piece of dry Bread, and neverthelefs fome of them believe in Chrift; and as for the eternal Things they left them to themfelves; and at the fame Time declared, that they would live and die in the Opinion of their Forefathers, whether





The fireat rocky Whatorfall cillid e Shamanskoy -
right or wrong. The Habits of Men and Women, as well as theirs and their Childrens Shape, are expreffed by the annexed Cut, which fhews they are neither extravagant nor ridiculous.

Their Dwellings are quadrangular wooden Rooms, like thofe of the Ruffion Peafants; only inftead of Ovens they ufe Hearths', on which they burn Wood, and drefs their Victuals. The Smoak-hole which is in the Roof, is covered with Ice; as foon as the Wood is burnt to a Coal, which keeps the Warmth in the Room, and the Light ftrikes through the clear Ice. They have no Chairs, but inftead of them a broad Bench round the Room, about an Ell high, and two Ells broad, on which they fit like the Perfians, with their Legs acrofs under them, and neep on them at Night. They live upon what their Bow and Arrows furnifhes them. Their chiefeft Game are Elks, whole Herds of which are found here; thefe they cut in Pieces, and hang in the Air round their Houfes to dry; if it happens to rain upon them, and they begin to flink abominably, they dry them again, and eat them as a Delicacy. They do not eat either Cocks, Hens, or Hogs. They have a pleafant Way of catching wild Beafts, for they place a Sort of great Bows in the Woods, faftning a String to them, to which they fix fome Corn, or other Bait, leaving only a Place for the Game to enter, to that the Elk, or any other Beaft that comes in there, cannot pars by without touching this Snare; and when the Bow lets Aly, the Arrows enter the fore-part of the Body, and he prefently falls down. They alfo dig great Pits in the Woods, which they cover with Reeds and Grafs, fo that if any Beart comes thither, he falls in and is taken. Thefe Tartars live in their Villages all along the River Iuzarioaia to the Caftle of Utka, and are under the Protection of his Czarifa Majefty, to whom they pay Tribute, and live in Security and Peace. The Extent of Land, which they inhabir, reaches about 800 German Miles in the North part of Siberia, and even to the North Samojedes.
6. After leaving thefe Heathens, we arrived at the Caftle of Utka on the firft of fune. This Place is a Frontier Fortification againft the Baskirian and Uffmif sbian Tartars. When I was there, an Uffimijcbian Tartarian Gentleman, an Inhabitant in his Czaris Majefty's Dominions, came thither in Search of his Wife, to whom he had been long married, and who had eloped without any Provocation. But when he could not find her amongft the Peafants, he comforted himfelf, faying, that he was the feventh Husband fhe had left, who were all alive; by which it feems that the Lady was Lucky enough to meet often with new Lovers.

On the 20 th of the fame Month, fetting forwards from Utka in Waggons drawn by Horles, we paffed the Caftle of Ajada, and croffed the River Neuia, which runs round it. After which we proceeded by the River Reefcb to the Caftle of Arfamas, and from thence to the Caftle of Neuianskoi, on the abovementioned River Neuia. This Journey by Land to Neuianskoi, proved one of the pleafanteft in the World, fince I met therein with molt charming Fields, Woods, Brooks, and ftanding Waters, as alfo extraordinary fertile and well tilled Grounds, perfectly well inhabited every where by Ruffans, and furnifhed with all Neceffaries at a very cheap Rate. At Neurianskoi I again took Water, and we drove with the Tide, betwixt two populous Shores, adorned with well built Villages and Caftes, inhabited by Rufian Chriftians, down to the Kiver Tura, which terminates Weftward in the River Tobol.

On the 25 th of the fame Month we reached the City of Tumeen, which confidering its Situation is ftrong and populous, moftly inhabited by Ruffians; and the Remainder being about one fourth Part, with Mabometan Tartars, who drive a confiderable Trade to the Kalmick Countries, Bucbaria, $\mathcal{E}^{c}$. Great Numbers of thefe live difperft all round in the Country, fubfifting on Agriculture' and Filhing. This and the neigbouring Places do not afford any Quantity of other Skins, than thofe of red Foxes, Wolves and Bears ; but a few Miles diftant is a Wood called Heetkoy-Wollok, which abounds with the very fineft Grey Squirrels, that keep their Co-

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lour both Summer and Winter; they are as large as the common Squirrels; befides which the Leather prepared from them is very ftrong, and they are not to be found any where in the whole Maufoovite Empire befides, It is forbidden under a great Fine, to fell them to Mer chants; for they are ordered to be preferved for the Ufe of the Czar. Thefe Beafts are faid to have the ftrange Quality of killing and eating all other Species of Grey Squirrels, that come into their Wood.

Whilf I was in this City, its Inhabitants and ah their Neighbours were in great Fear of the Kalmakian and Kofack-Orda Tartars, who had joined and made an Ir ruption into Siberia, laid feveral Villages wafte, cut the Inhabitants in Pieces, and alfo threatned this City, from which they were not above fifteen Miles diftant. But the Governor very expeditioufy raifed a confiderable Force out of Tobolska and other Cities, and fent them againf thefe roving Tartars, whom they foon drove back with great Lofs.
For this Reafon, I was not willing to ftay any longer here, but as foon as I had obtained fref Rowers, and Soldiers for Convoy, I left that Place on the 26th of the fame Month, and went farther down the River Tobol, the Shoars of which on each Side are low and moitt Ground, which in the Spring is under Water, fo that it is fcarce, if at all inhabited; though for feveral Miles farther in Land on each Side it is abundantly peopled, partly by Mabometan Tartars, and partly by Rufians; and the River produces all Sorts of excellent Fifh.
7. On the firft of $\mathcal{F} u l y$, I arrived fafe at Tobolesk: Which City is furrounded with a large Stone Cloyfter with high Watch-Towers, which may pafs for a Fortification. This Place is fituated on a high Hill of a vait Circuit about, the Bottom of which, along by the River Rbitijch, is inhabited by the Mabometan Tartars and Bucbars, who drive a great Trade up the Rbiificb or Irtis, into the Kalmakian Territories, and carry their Goods to Cbina; fo that if it were fafe to travel the Kalmakian Country, the moft expeditious Way to Cbina would be to pafs the famufcoorea Ofera, or famucciain Lake.
Tobolefk, Tobolka, or Tobolfroi, is the chief City of Siberia, whofe Jurifdiction extends Southward beyond Baraba, from Wercbaturia to the River Oby; Eaftward to Samojedia, Northward to Oftiafki, and Weftward to Uffa and the River Zuzaroaja. This Province is every where very well peopled, as well by Ruffians who depend on Husbandry, as by all Sorts of Nations, particularly Tartars and Heathens, which pay Tribute to his Czarif Majefty. Corn is fo very cheap there, that 100 German Pounds of Rye Flower may be bought for fixteen Cops; and as for Flefh, the Price of an $O_{x}$ is commonly from two Rixdollars, to two and a half, abous eleven Shillings Englifb Money; and that of an indifferent large Hog is from thirty to thirty five Styvers. Befides, the River Irtis produces fuch a prodigious Quantity of Fifh, that a Sturgeon, weighing forty Pounds, may be there bought for five or fix Styvers; and thefe Fifh are fo far from being lean, that when they are boiled, their Fat appears of the Thicknefs of a Finger Here are great Plenty of all Sorts of wild Beafts, as, Elcks, Stags, Deer, Hares, छ$c$. and of wild Fowl, viz. Pheafants, Partridges, Swans, wild Geefe, Ducks, and Storks; all which are cheaper than Beef. This City is defended by a ftrong Garrifon, which upon Order from the Czars, can bring 9000 Men into the Field; befides which are feveral Thoufands of Tartars, who ferve all on Horfeback on Occafion.
Incurfions into the Weft Frontiers, are very frequently made by the Kalmucks, the Kofack Orda, and the Subjects of the Teficbam or Governor of the Bucbiarian Tartars: Befides which the Ufimur and Bakirian Tartars commit fuch like Infolencies fometimes; but thefe are immediately oppofed and repulfed by the $\overrightarrow{T O}$ boleskians. This City is alfo the Place of Refidence of the Metropolitan or chief Ecclefiaftick, who is fent from Mofcore hither, and exercifes fpiritual Juridiction over all Siberia and Dauria.

About an hundred Years ago, this City and the whole Province of Siberia became fubject to the Czar, by the following Accident. Feremak Timeffeiewitz, a very famous Robber in the Reign of Czar Mlam Waflerwitz, having plundered thefe and all the adjacent Countries, had greatly injured the Subjects of his Czarif Majefty; when he was purfued, he and his Companions fled up the River Kama, and from thence into the River Iuzaroaja, which falls into the Kama, where lie the Lands of Stroginoff, farnous for his vaft Eftate and Iron Works, which take up the greateft Part of the Shoar, and ftretch to the Length of leventy German Miles. It was this rich Man's Grandfather that he applied himfelf to for Protection, and begged his Intereft in obaaining his Czaribs Majefty's Pardon; offering at the fame Time by Way of Actonement, to reduce the whole Province of Siberia to be fubject to the Czar. Purfuant to which he alfo obtained from the abovementioned:Stroginoff, A fiffance of Barks, Arms, and neceffary Workmen; and thus provided and accompanied with his Fellow Robbers in light Barks, he paffed up the River Serebrenfkoy, which runs by the North-eaft Part of the Wercbalurian Hills, and falls into the Iuzaroaja; thence he conveyed his Equipage by Land to the River Tagin, on which he failed into the Tura, took the Fort of Tumeen fituate thereon, razed it to the Ground, and advanced up the River Tobol to Tobolska, where then refided a Tartarian Prince, aged about twelve Years, whofe Name was Al tanai Kutzjumoweitz, whofe Defcendant is ftill honoured with the Title of the Siberian Czarervitz. This City he likewife attacked and took with fmall Lofs, after which he carried the Prince Prifoner to Mofcore, and put the conquered City into a better Pofture of Defence.
After this Succefs he proceeded down the River $\mathcal{F}_{e}$ tijch; but was fet upon in the Night by a Party of Tartars, not far from Tobolski, who cut off a great many of his Men, and he himfelf endeavouring to ftep from one Bark into another, leaped fhort, and by Reafon of his heavy Armour, funk to the Bottom; his Body was carried away by the Force of the Stream and never found. In the mean while Stroginoff had obtained the Czar's' Pardon for 'Feremak, and feveral hundred Mufcovite Officers and Soldiers came and garrifoned the Places which he had taken; and from this Juncture the Czar’s Sovereignty over Siberia is to be dated.
The Tartars chat live round Tobolka, for feveral Miles, are all Mabometans. I being fomewhat curious to fee their religious Worfhip, the Wairvode went with me, and by Virtue of his Authority, gave me an Opportunity which they will not ailow another Perfon. Their Mecfchets, called by other Authors Mofques, or Churches, had large Windows round them, all which were fet open: The Floor was covered with Tapiftry, befides which there was no other Ornament. All Perfons at their Entrance leave their Shoes or Slippers at the Door, and fet themfelves down in Rows, with their Legs under them : The Chief-prieft fat there in a white Callico Habir, and a white $\tau u r k i j b$ Turbant on his Head. Then I obferved one behind the People cry with a hoarfe loud Voice, and after he had faid fomething to them, they all fell on their Knees; then the Prieft uttered fome Words, and atterwards cried out, Alla, Alla, Mabomet, which the whole Aftembly roared out after him three Times fuccefively, proftrating themfeives on theGround: This done, the Prieft looked into both his Hands, as though he defigned to read fomething there, and repeated Alla, Alla, Mabonet: Then he looked firtt over his right Shoulder, then over his left, which all the People did after him, and fo their fhorc Devocion was ended.

The Mufti or Cbief Priest is an Arabion, whom they highly reverence; and they very much efteem any Perfon that can either read or write the Arabick Language. This Prief invited us to his Houfe, which was near the Metfobet, and treated us with a Dinh of Tea. There are alfo in this Calmackian Country great Numbers of Tartars that are ufed for Slaves; as alfo fome long imprifoned Calmackian Princes; all which are the Confequences of Wars, which one Tribe of thefe barbarous Nations have carried on againt another, and this in
a defert Country, more than wide enough for thems all.
8. After I had provided myfelf with Barks, Soldiers for Convoy, and other Neceffaries, I fet forwards in the Name of God, on the 22 d of Fuly from the City of Tobolski, falling down the River Irtis; paffing Tartarian and Ofteckian Villages, and the Townis Demionskoy, Famin, $\mathcal{G}_{6}$. all on the South-fide, where Pennonka, a fmall River, falls into the Irtis. On the 28 th of the fame Month we arrived fafe at Samarosky-Fam, where I took in frefh Rowers, and ordered the Mants to be erected in our largeft Veffels, in order to fail up the River Oby, if the Wind proved favourable; for the Irtis difcharges icfelf into the Oby, not far from this Town of Samar oskoy- Fam.

The River Irtis appears to be a white light Water : it rifes from the Hills in the Kalmackian Country; its Courfe is from the South to the North.Eaft; and it paffeth down through the two Lakes of Kobako and Saifan. Its whole South-Eaft Shore, from Beginning to End, is all high Hills, on which grow fome Cedars dif perfed here and there. The North-Weft Shoar is low Pafture Ground, and on this Side are a prodigious Number of great Black Bears, Wolves, and Red and Grey Foxes. Not far from Samaroskoy-fam is a Rivulet, called Kafunka, which runs into the Oby, and upon its Banks affords the beft Grey Squirrils in all Siberia, (except only the Wood of Heetkoy Wollock) which are called from the River, Kafumka:

Here I am to relate what the Inhabitants told me as a Truth : That laft Year, in Harveft-time, early in the Morning, an extraordinary large Bear broke into one of the Cow-Houfes in this Town, feized a Cow, held her faft by the Shoulder with his two fore Feet, and carried her off, going on his hinder Feet only. Upon the Lowing of the Cow, the Owner and feveral of the Neighbours came out, faw it, and all run at the Bear with Fire-Arms and Clubs ; notwithftanding which, be would not part with his Prey till they fired and killed the Cow.

Moft of the Inhabitants here are Ruffian Femskicks, who are in the Pay of his Czaribs Majetty, for which they fupply the Waywodes that are ordered this Way', and all other Perfons who travel on the Czar's Affairs in Siberia, with free Carriages and Men to work; and are obliged to carry them by Water in Summer, and over the Ice in Winter, as far as surgut, fituate on the Oby, at a very reafonable Price. Thefe People keep great Numbers of Dogs, which they make ufe of to travel with in Winter, for it is utterly impoffible to pafs this Country with Horfe-Sleads, by Reafon that fometimes the Snow on the Oby is above a large fathom deep, fo that no Horfe could travel.
Thefe Dogs are yoaked two to each Narta or Slead, which is for that Purpofe made very light and thin; and carry from two to three hundred German Weight. The Slead nor the Dogs are not hurt by the Snow, but both run very. fwiftly over, leaving a Trace only of the Depth of a Finger's Breadth. Some of thefe Dogs know beforehand, whether there is like to be any Work for them, as we were vainly told; and if they are likely to be employed, they herd together in Crouds, and howl in a difmal Manner, whence their Mafters draw their Prefages. If when they are on the Way, they are inclined to hunt, the Mafter takes his Gun on his Shoulder, and puts on his long fliding Shoes, with which he goes over the Ice, takes his Dogs with him, and fteps a little Way into the Wood, turns up all Manner of wild Game, perhaps a fine black Fox ; and then they divide what is taken fairly, for the Skins of the Game are the Mafters, and the Flefh belongs to his Dogs. Thus they make a very profitable Ufe of thefe draught Dogs; which are middle fized, fharp Nofed, with long ereeted Ears, and carry their Tails crooked; fome of which are very like Wolves or Foxes, infomuch that as they lie afteep in the Woods, they are fometimes by Miftake flot for one of thore two Species: Te countenance which, it is alfo affirmed, as a Thing certain, chat thefe Dogs mix their Strain, by a promifcuous Copulation. with that of Wolves and

1ol.2. Page 922.


- Purattians Slunting?
pa. 933.

- Tunquzian taking a -Solemn Dath?


Chap. III.

Foxes; whence, as our Informers afferted, whenever a Courfing Match happens among the Inhabitants, they find a great Number of both Species near the Villages, as has been frequently obferved.

Having all Things prepared by the Samaroficbian Femskicks in order to advancing on my Journey, I departed thence on the 2 gth of $7 u l y$, and with my two large Dofchenicks or Tide Ships, I drove down the moft convenient Arm of the Irtis, to the celebrated River Oby, which I reached early the next Day. I found her Eaftern Shoars abounding with Hills; but the Weft intirely flat Land, as far as was vifible to us. The Oby was half a Mile over at this Place.
9. On the 6 th of Auguft we reached the City of Surgut, fituate on the Eaftern Shoar of the Oby: The inland Country for fome Diftance Eaftwards of Surgut, as alfo farther up the Oby, about or near the City of Narun, produces Sables, fome of which are pale, and others as black as Pitch, the fineft and largeft Ermines in all Siberia and Rufia, and above all black Fox-Skins, which are the very fineft and richeft any where: Among the beft of thefe Fox-Skins, which are referved for his Czarifh Majefty, there are fome which are valued from two to three hundred Rubels a Skin, that are fo very black, that the blackeft Daurion Sable is not comparable to them. Thefe Foxes are caught by Dogs; of which the Inhabitants related the following very remarkable Accident, in ftrong Terms, but lec the Reader believe as he pleafes.

Laft Year, near a Village adjacent to Surgut, by Day-light, an extraordinary fine Fox difcovered himfelf, upon Sight of which a Boor let loofe his Dogs: The Fox was within Sight of the Peafant, and the Dogs foon got up to him; but when this fubtle Animal faw that it was impoffible to efcape the Hounds by Flight, he fawning run to meet them, tumbled on his Back before them, and licked their Mouths, run backwards and forwards and played with them; the unexperienced Dogs foftned by his fawning Treatment, did the fly Fox no Manner of Hurt, but fuffered him to efcape into the Wood; fo that the poor Peafant having no Fire-Arms at Hand, notwithttanding all his Vigilance, did for that Time lofe Sight of this rich Booty.
But two Days afterwards the fame Fox returned to the fame Place; which the Peafant was no fooner aware of, but he took another, and his beft Dog with him, which was white haired; and full freight with frefh Hopes of this rich Game, he runs this Dog at the Fox, but the black Dogs fiew towards him, and while he was fawning on chem, the white Hound was fo cunning as to fawn at firft, but being come within Reach, he took a good Leap at him, and had certainly feized him, if he had not, by leaving a Piece of his Side behind him, fprung nimbly from him, and efcaped into a thick Wood, where it was in vain to look for him.
The Boor was at laft however too hard for this fubtle Fox, for he coloured his white Dog all over black, that the Fox who was become fhy of him, might not know him; which done he went the third Time on this Courfe with his dy'd Dog, and was fo fortunate that his Hound fmelt him out; upon which the Fox feeing the difguifed Dog, fawn'd on him without the leaft Fear, taking him for one of the firft black Hounds, with whom he defigned to play again; and in this Pofture they approached each other, when the Dog watching his Opportunity, grafped the carelefs Fox, and fo caught this fly Beaft with his fine Skin, which proved very well worth the Peafant's Trouble, he felling it for an hundred Rubels.
Here are great Numbers of thofe which are called Crofs-Foxes, whofe Skins are of a mixt black and grey, but very few perfect black. Red Foxes and Hyana's, as alfo Beavers are very plentiful in this Country; but she Hyena's are very mifchievous and live on Prey.
They, like the Linx's, place themfelves in the Trees, lie very ftill and clofe, till a Hart, an Elk, a Doe or an Hare runs under the Tree; from which they leap upon him, ear a Hole in his Body, and continue gnawing, cill the Beaft by Force of Pain falls down, and confequently comes to their Share. One of the Waizeods
kept a Hyæna alive for his Diverfion, which he put ${ }^{\text {t }}$ into the Water, and let two Water Dogs loofe at him st but he immediately leaped upon the Head of one of them, and held him fo long under Water till he drowned him ; after which he fwam to the other, whom he had treated in the fame Manner, if he had not been interrupted by throwing Wood at him, till the Dog, taking his Opportunity, fwam out.

But with Regard to the Beavers, which herd bere in great Numbers, fome very ftrange Particulars afe related as Truchs, though they feem ridiculous; wherefore 1 take it to be worth my Pains to touch a little on cheir Properties, of which the following are all ferioully averred to me. The greateft Part of their Food being Fifh, they harbour on the Shores of thofe Rivers which abound moft with Fifh, and which are not much troubled with Paffengers. In the Spring they not only herd together, but affemble themfelves into a Society, and pick out fome, and feize others as Prifoners, whom they carry to their Holes, and oblige them to ferve as Slaves. They fell Trees with their Teeth, carry them to their Dwellings, and there hack out their Wood to a certain Lengch, which they artificially fix together like Joyners-work, and Chefts, and there they lay up fee parately all their Summer-ftore of Provifions. And about the Seafon of this Preparation, the Time of the Female Beavers Bringing-forth approaches ; upon which the Inhabitants told me improbable Things of their Practices. They fay, that againft that Juncture the whole Neighbourhood go together, and frequently gnaw a Tree of above an Ell Circumference, for the Length of above two Fathom, even to the inner Pith, till it falls down; that they are expert enough to bring it to their Holes by Water, and that they can rear it upright before the Entrance of their Holes, fo artificially, that the Tree flands perpendicularly in the Water above an Ell deep, and yet touches no Ground; and that fo firm and immoveable in its Line or Centre, that though the Wind blow ever fo hard, the Tree remains firm in its Place. All. which feems unnatural; and yet all the Siberians that I ever difcourfed unanimounly affirmed it; and added feveral other Things concerning thefe Beafts, which feem rather the Effects of human Reafon, than within the Compafs of that Inftinct which guides irrational Brutes; all which I hall not trouble myfelf to defcribe at large.

At the fame Time, fome afcribe this Erection of the Tree before the Beaver-holes, to the Conjuration of the Oftiacks, and other Heathens, who live in all Parts thereabouts. Whether it is fo or not, God knows ; but it is certain, that thefe Beafts have Slaves amongft them, which in all Parts here are known to the Peaants, by reafon they are lean, and their Furr worn off by Labour.

The Ruffians, as well as the Oftiacks, which go out a Beaver Hunting, always avoid the Deftruction of a whole Neft or Kennel; for if they kill or fhoor all the reft, they leave a Couple, Male and Female remaining, in order to furnifh them with frefh Game in the fame Place the next Year.
10. Having paffed feveral Miles up the Oby, Part of which we failed, and towed the reft with a Line, on the 13 th of Auguft we paffed by the Mouth of the Wagga which rifech out of the Truganian Mountains. This is a large River, its Water is brown, and its Courfe North Norch-Weft into the Oby, on this Side of Narun, at which City we arrived on the 24 th of the fame Month. It is fituated on the Side of the River in a fine Country, and is provided with a Fortrefs or Caftle, and an indifferent Garrifon of Coffacks. All the Country around this City abounds with Crofs and Red Foxes, Beavers, Ermines, Sables, $\mathcal{E}^{\circ} c$. which afford fine Furs.

The Banks of the Oby to this Place are inhabited by a People called Ostiacks; who worfhip Terreftrial Gods, but acknowledge, that according to Nature there mutt be a Lord in Heaven, that governs all ; neverthelefs, they do not pay any Worfhip at all to him, but have their own Gods made of Wood and Earch, in feveral human Shapes. Some of the richeft amongft thema drefs thefe Deities in filken Cloaths, made after the Fafhion of thofe of the Ruffian Women. All of them
have
have thefe Idols placed in their Huts, which are made of Barks of Trees, fewed together with Harts Guts. On one Side of the God hangs a Bunch of human and horfe Hair, and next that a wooden Veffel with Milis Pap, with which they daily fupply their Idols, and thruft it into their Mouths with a Spoon made for that Purpofe; but in as much as thefe Idols cannot fwallow this their Milk Diet, it runs out again at both Sides of their Mouth, down their whole Bodies, in fuch a filthy Manner as is fufficient to difguft one from eating of that Food. When this nice God is to be worfhipped or prayed to, his Adorers ftand bolt upright, and tols their Head up and down, without bending their Backs in the leaft; befides which, they chirrup or whiftle thro' the Lips, as we do when we call a Dog; and in thefe Fooleries confift their Devotion.

They call their Gods Saitan, and might indeed very well fay Satan. Once feveral Oftiacks came on. board the Ship in which I was, to fell us Fifh, and one of my Servants had a Nurenburg Bear in Clock-work, which, when wound up, drummed and turned his Head backward and forward, continually moving his Eyes till the Work was down. Our People fet the Bear at Play a litcle; and as foon as ever the Ofiacks faw it, all of them performed to it their cuftomary Religious Worfhip, and danced exceffively to the Honour of the Bear, nodding their Heads, and whiftling at a great Rate. They confidered our Bear as a right Saitan, crying out, What are our Saitans which we make? If we had fach a Saitan, we would hang him all over with Sables and Black Fox Skins. They alfo asked, whether this Clock-work was to be fold; but'I ordered it out of their Sight, to avoid adminiftring any Occafion to Idolatry.

As for what farther concerns thefe Heathens, they have as many Wives as they can maintain, and marry their near Relations without any Scruple: If a Relation dies, they cry inceffantly for feveral Days, covering their Heads, and fitting on their Knees in their Huts, and will not fuffer themfelves to be feen; but they carry the Corps on Poles to the Ground to be buried. They are a poor People, and live very miferable in forry Huts. They might, indeed, live very happily and well, fince all Parts near the Oby abound with great Quantities of rich Furrs; befides that, there is extraordinary good Fihhing in that River, in which are very fine Sturgeons, Jacks, $\varepsilon^{\circ} c$. infomuch that twenty great Sturgeons may be bought of them for three Penny-worth of Tobacco; bur they are fo horrid lazy, that they do not defire to get any more than will barely fuffice them annually for the Winter : For when they travel, they eat moftly Fifh, efpecially when they are on the Water fifhing, for then they live on nothing elfe. They are all of a middle Stature, moft of them yellowifh or red hair'd, and their Faces and Nofes difagreeably broad; they are weak and unable to labour hard, not at all inclined to Wars, and unfit for Military Exercifes. Bows and Arrows are their Weapons, with which they fhoot wild Beafts, tho' they are not much addicted to thits neither. Their Cloaths confift of Sturgeon and other Fifh Skins; they ufe neither Linnen nor Woollen; their Shoes and Stockens are faftened together, and they wear a fhort Coat with a Cape and Hood, which in Cafe of Rain they pull over their Heads. Their Shoes are alfo made of Fifh-ikins, and are fowed faft to their Stockens, but not clofely; fo that their Feet muft neceffarily be always wet. When they are upon the Water, notwithftanding the Thinnefs of their Cloathing, they. will bear extraordinary great Cold ; for if it be but a common Winter, they are no better clad than has been mentioned; but if the Winter prove hard, thofe who are thus clad are compelled to put another Coat of the fame Sort of Fifh-fkins over that; and they exprefs this fevere Weather amongft one another, by faying, Do you like the Winter that forces one to wear two Coats of Skins? They fometimes go a Hunting in the Winter with a fingle Coat only, and their Breafts bare, depending upon warming themfelves quickly with niding and running over the Ice in their Schaits or niding Shoes; but if,
as it feveral Times happens, they are overtaken by an extraordinary fevere Froft, and it feems utterly improbable to efcape it, or fave their Lives, they with the utmoft Hafte throw off their Fifh-1kin Coat, fling themfelves' into the deep Snow, and voluntarily freeze to Death; the Reafon why they pull off their Coat is, only that they may die the fooner, and with lefs Pain.

The Womens Cloaths are almof like the Mens; the Mens greateft Diverfion is Bear-hunting, to which Sport they gather together in Crouds, armed with no other Weapon than a fharp Iron like a large Knife, fixed to a Stick about a Fathom long. As foon as they have put up a Bear, they run at hum with thefe Mort Spears, and having killed him, they cut off his Head, ftick it upon a Tree, run round it, and pay the profoundeft Refpect to it: After which, they run to the deat Body with repeated Cries, asking the Bear, Wh bo killed you? The Rufians, they anfwer, themfelves. Who cut off your Head? $A$ Ruffian $A x$. Who cut up your Belly? A Knife which a Ruflian made. And more fuch-like Follies. In a Word, the Ruffians bear all the Blame, and they are entirely innocent of the Murther of the Bear.
II. They have a Sort of Petty Princes amongft them, one of which is called Kneska, or Prince Kurza Muganak, whofe Authority extends over fome Hundreds of Huts; and he lays on and collects the Tribute which they are obliged to pay to the Wairoodes of his Czarifh Majefty. This Potentate came with all his Princely Family and Servants on board me, paid his Compliment, and brought me a Parcel of frefh Fifh as a Prefent ; which I requited by prefenting him with fome Brandy and Tobacco, with which he went on Shoar very well contented; but returned immediately, and invited me to his Princely Palace. I being very curious to fee this great Lord in his fumptuous Place of Refidence, went thither, though I had no great Appetite to his Entertainment. Coming on Shoar, the introductory Ceremonies were not very particular. He acted the Mafter of the Ceremonies himfelf, and without much Solemnity brought me to his magnificent Apartment, which, like the other Huts of the Oftiacks, was compofed only of Barks of Trees nightly fewed together. I found here four of his Wives, two old and two young; one of the young ones had a red Cloth Coat on, and was fet off with all Sorts of Glafs Corals about her Neck and her Middle, and in the Curls of her Hair, which hung down on both Sides of her Head in two Rows; the had alfo in her Ears great Thread-wrought Rings, with long Strings of Coral hanging at them. Each of thefe Princeffes prefented me with a Barrel made of Birch-Bark fewed together, and full of dry Fifh; but the youngeft gave me a Barrel of Sturgeon Fat, which was as yellow as Gold. After I had received thefe Prefents, I caufed them to be treated with Brandy and Tobacco, which is a great Delicacy amongtt them. In this whole Princely Building, I faw no other Furniture than fome Cradles and Chefts made of Barks of Trees fewed together, in which the Bed-Cloaths lay, being of planed WoodShavings, which yet were almoft as foft as Feathers. Thefe Cradles ftand at one End of the Hut, to avoid the Fire which is kindled in the Middle, and the Children lie naked in them. I alfo faw a Copper Kettle there, and fome other Kettles compofed of Barks of Trees fewed together, in which they boil their Victuals on the live Coals or Embers, for in the Flame they cannot do it.

To fmoke Tobacco, (to which all, both Men and Women, are very much addicted) inftead of Pipes they ure a Stone Kettle, in which they ftick a Pipe made for that Purpofe, and at two or three Drawings, after they have taken fome Water in their Mouths, can fuck out a whole Pipe; and they fwallow the Smoak, after which they fall down and lie infenfible, like dead Men, with diftorted Eyes, both Hands and Feet trembling for about Half an Hour. They foam at the Mouth, fo that they fall into a Sort of Epileply; and we could not obferve where the Smoak vented itfelf, and in this Manner feveral of them are loft. For as
they are upon the Water travelling, or fitting by the Fire, fome of thefe violent Smoakers fall into the Water and are drowned, or into the Fire and are burned; but fome, after they have fucked in the Smoak, let it out at their Throats again, and thefe are in a better Condition than the other, tho fome weaker Conftitutions are fometimes fuffocated even thus with the Smoak which they let down into their Bodies.
It is furcher obfervable, that they are very angry, if any of their Relations, though long dead, are named or mentioned. They are utterly unacquainted with all Things before their own Life-time, and do not pretend to give any Relation of them; nor can they either write or read; and though they are very fond of Bread when they meet with it, they never trouble themfelves with the Tillage of Land, or Culture of Gardens.
They have neither Temples nor Priefts. Their Shipping or Boats, on the Outfide, are Barks of Trees fewed together, and the Infide Ribs of very thin Wood; thefe are two or three Fathom long, and but an Ell broad; and yet they can fecure chemfelves in them in great Storms till they get on Shore. In Winter-time theif Offiacks live entirely under Ground, there being no other Entrance to their Caves, but a Hole left open on the Surface of the Earth to let out the Smoke: If, as is frequent, a great Snow falls, it happens that, as according to their Cuftom, they lie anleep naked, round the Fire, Part of their Body which lies a little diftant from the Fire, is two or three Fingers thick covered with Snow; when they perceive themfelves cold they turn about to the Fire, and beftow the beft Place on the cold Part of their Body a little while, and fo take no more Notice of it, being a very hardy People in refpect to the Variation of Weather.
When an Offiack is jealous of one of his Wives with another Man, he cuts fome Hair from the under Part of a Bear's Skin, which he carries to the Man whom he fufpects: If he be innocnnt he then accepts it, but if he be guilty, they believe he dare not venture to touch it, but muft acknowledge the Truth, and then amicably makes up the Bufinefs with the Husband, and the Wife is fold; for if any fhould prefume to be fo rafh as to take the Hair though he was guilty, they tell us they are affured, that the Bear's Skin from whence that Hair was cut off, will again become a living Bear, which after the Expiration of three Days will appear in the Wood, and tear the perjured Wretch to Pieces. On this Occafion they invoke Bows, Arrows, Axes, and Knives, and firmly believe that if the guilty Perfon takes any of there, he fhall certainly be killed by thofe individual Inftruments which he accepts, within the Space of a few Days; which is nor only averred by themfelves, but unanimoully vouched alfo by the Ruflans who live in the Neighbourhood of thefe Parts. But enough of there Oftiacks. The Shore of the River Oby, on which they live, is all untilled Land from the Sea to the River Tom, by reafon of the extreme Cold ; fo that no Corn, Fruit, or Honey, is here produced; there being only a few Nats which grow on the Cedar-crees.
12. After having paffed fome Weeks on the River Oby amongft the barbarous Offiacks, we went by the City of Keetskoy, firuate on the River Keta, which falls North-weft into the Oby. On the 28 th following I paffed by the Cloifter of St. George, and the 3d of $O_{C-}$ tober I went by the Village of Worozeikin ; and on the fame Day died Jobn George Weltfel, a Painter, one of my Retinue, who was born at Slefwick, after he had kept his Bed fourteen Days on Account of a Swelling juft above his Heart, which was aggravated by a Fever.
On the 7 th of October, I fafely arrived at the Village Makofskoi, and there caufed Weltfel's Corps to be buried on a Fill near the River, in the Middle of the Village. I muft own that this Voyage upon the River Keta was the more irk forme and melancholy than all the whole Way before; we were obliged to labour for five Weeks againft the Stream, without feeing fo much as any Man, befides now and then an Oftiack that appeared, and immediately hid himfelf in the Woods. This Sort of Officks fpeak a different Language from thofe on the Oby; but their Idolatry is the fame.
YOL. II. $\mathrm{N}^{\circ}$ CXXXII.

In this tedious uneafy Paffiage, I was expofed to much Care and Anxiety; for our Provifions, and efpecially the Meal, grew very low, by reafon. I had not recruited otherwife than with Fin fince my Departare from Tobolska, and had been too charitable to the Ofiecks on board our Ship, who when we found it requifite, were obliged to tow us along with a Line; by which continual Fatigue they were become fo weak, that we were obliged to keep a perpetual Watch over them to prevent their Defertion.

Notwithftanding all this Care, no Day pafed in which fome did not run away. And at laft the Coldnefs of the Seafon, and their perpetual Labour, render ${ }^{\text {d }}$ d them perfectly unferviceable; and if I had not before-hand written to the Governor of Fenizeskoy for Men to affift me, which he difpatched away to meet me with the firft Opportunity, I and my Retinue had been probably loff; for not being within thirty Miles of the Village when the Anfiftance came, we had been certainly frozen up in the River, and had perifhed by Famine, and the deep Snows, which fall there; for this River is utterly unnavigable in Winter.

I was fcarce got from Makofskoi before the River froze up. The Courfe of this River is, for the moft Parr, through an even Country, abounding with Woods and fmall Shrubs; the Water in fome Places runs in fuch a crooked Channel, that where we dined at Noon, we were obliged to fup at Night, or at leaft not far from thence. Here are great Quantities of Woodcocks, Pheafants, Partridges, and other Wild-fowl ; and is was a very diverting Sight to fee great Flocks of Woodcocks and Pheafants come to the Brink of the River to drink, which gave us an Opportunity of fhooting as many as we pleafed in our Paffage, and when our Provifions grew fcarce, afforded us no fmall Affiftance. Here grow alfo Strawberries, black and red Currants and Black-berries ; but the River doth not yield great Quantities of Fifh.
13. Amongt the Hills which are fituate North-eart of, and not far from hence, the Mammuts Tongues and Legs are found, as they are alfo particularly on the Shores of the Rivers Fenize, Trugan, Mongamfea, Lena, and near $\operatorname{Fakutskoi}$, even as far as the Frozen Sea. In the Spring, when the Ice of this River brcaks, it is driven in fuch valt Quantities, and with fuch Force by the high fwollen Waters, that it frequently carries very high Banks before it, and breaks off the Tops of Hills, which falling down, difcover thefe Animals whole, or their Teeth only, almoft frozen to the Earth, which thaw by Degrees. I had a Perfon with me, who had annually gone out in Search of thefe Bones; he told it to me as a real Truth, that he and his Companions found the Head of one of there Animals, which was difcovered by the Fall of fuch a frozen Piece of Earth. As foon as he opened it, he found the greateft Part of the Flefh rotten, but it was not without Difficulty that they broke out his Teeth, which were placed in the Fore-part of his Mouth, as thofe of the Elephants are; they alfo took fome Bones out of his Head, and afterwards came to his Fore-foot, which they cut off, and carried Part of it to the City of Trugan, the Circumference of it being as large as that of the Waift of an ordinary Man. The Bones of the Head appeard fomewhat red, as though they were tinctured with Blood.
Concerning this Animal there are very different Reports. The Heathens of Fakuti, Tunguf, and Osticcki, fay that they continually, or at leaft by Reafon of the very hard Frofts, moftly live under Ground, where they go backwards and forwards; to confirm which they tell us, that they have often feen the Earth heaved up when one of thefe Beafts was upon the March, and after he was paffed, the Place fink in, and thereby make a deep Pit. They furcher believe, that if this Animal comes fo near to the Surface of the frozen Earth as to fmell the Air, he immediately' dies, which they fay is the Reafon that feveral of them are found dead on the high Banks of the River, where they unawares came out of the Ground.

This is the Opinion of the Infidels concerning thefe Beatts, which are never feen.

But the old Siberian Ruffans affirm, that the Mammutb is very like the Elephant, with this Difference only, that the Teeth of the former are firmer, and not fo ftreight as thofe of the latter. They allo are of Opinion, that there were Elephants in this Country before the Deluge, when this Climate was warmer, and that their drowned Bodies floating on the Surface of the Water of that Flood, were at laft wafhed and forced into fubterraneous Cavities'; but that after this univerfal Deluge, the Air which before was warm, was changed to cold, and that thefe Bones have lain frozen in the Earth ever fince, and fo are preferved from Putrefaction till they thaw, and come to Light; which is no very unreafonable Conjecture. Though it is not abfolutely neceflary that this Climate fhould have been warmer before the Flood, fince the Carcaffes of the drowned Elephants were very likely to float from other Places feveral hundred Miles diftant, to this Country, in the great Deluge which covered the Surface of the whole Earth. Some of thefe Teeth, which doubtlefs have lain the whole Summer on the Shoar, are entirely black and broken, and can never be reftored to their former Condition: But thofe, which are found in good Cafe , are as good as Ivory, and are accordingly tranfported to all Parts of Mufcory, where they are ufed to make Combs, and all other fuch like Things, initead of Ivory.

The abovemention'd Perfon alfo told me, that he once found two Teeth in one Head that weighed above twelve Ruffian Pounds, which amcunt to 400 German Pounds; fo that thefe Animals mult of Neceflity be very large, though a great many leffer Teeth are found. By all that I could gather from the Heathens, no Perfon ever faw one of thefe Beafts alive, or can give any Account of its Shape; fo that all we hear faid on this Subject arifes from bare Conjecture only.

But to return to my Travels, in which I durtt not venture to proceed any farther by Water, but was obliged to go by Land from the abovementioned Village ot Makofskoy. After I had advanced fixteen Miles, on the Izth of Oitober I fafely arrived at the City of FFenizeskoy, where I refted for fome Time, being obliged to wait till the Roads were fufficiently frozen to be paffable with Sleads. Though in the Interim, I prepared to proceed on my Journey as foon as I fhould be informed that the Rivers Tungufka and Fenizea were intirely frozen up. This Delay furnifhed me with an Opportunity of thoroughly obferving the City of Jenizeskoy.

Which is fo called from the River, and in Order to make the adjacent Country the more diftinctly known. The River which runneth by and below the City, is called Jeniza, arifeth out of the Calmackian Mountains, and takes its Courfe Northwards, almoft in a direct Line, to the Tartarian or Frozen Sea; very different from the Oby, which difcharges her Water out of her Bofom, which is afterwards conveyed to the Sea by indirect Branches. Below the City the River is a full third part of a Mile over; its Water is white and light, but doth not much abound with Fifh. Somewhat above feven Years paft the Citizens of Fenizeskoy fitted out a Ship, and fent her on the Whale Fifhery; but the Enterprife did not fucceed, and they never yet heard where their Ship was loft. Wherefore they imagine that it was fwallowed up in a violent Inundation of Ice. But from the City of Fruganai, fituated lower down this River, feveral Perfons go out yearly on the Whale-Eifhery; but they carefully watch their Opportunity, when the Wind blows from the Land, and the Ice drives towards the Sea, at which Seafon they purfue their fiming very fuccefsfully, and without Danger. The City of Fenizeskoy is large and populous, and the Fortrefs indifferently ftrong, Several Villages and Cloifters extend themfelves for the Space of fome Miles round the City: And the Land is very proper for Agriculture. Corn, Flefh, Cattle, and wild horned Beafts, and Eowl are very plentiful here. Subject to the Juriddiction of this City are feveral Tunguzians Heathens, who moftly live on the $7 e$ nizen, Tungulkay and the Inland Neighbouring Country. Theie pay a Tribute of Furs to the Czar for every

Bow, taking that to be a Man and Woman reckoned together. No large Fruit-Trees grow here, by Reafon of the extream Cold, and the only Fruits are black and red Currants, Strawberries, Goofeberries, and fuch like.
14. After a long Stay at this Place for the Sake of Refrefhment, I fet forwards in a Slead, and on the 20 oth of January reached the Inland Ribnoy, which fignifies Fibh-Ifland. This Ine is fituate in the Midft of the River Tangujka, which is plentifully ftored with Fifh: Here are Sturgeon, Jacks, and Roach of an extraordinary Size. The Inand is chiefly inhabited by Ruffans. On the 25 th of the fame Month we came to the City of Ilinfkoy, fituate on the River Ilni, which runneth from the South Souch-Weft to the North North-Weft, and falls into the Tungufac. Thus far the River Tung koy is a little inhabited by Tunguzians as well as Ruflians.

Some-Days Journey from hence is the great rocky Waterfall, called Schaman Scbamanfkoy, or the Negromantick Fall, becaufe of a famous Scbiassan or Tungufcbian Corijurer who lives there. This Waterfall is a Defcent of half a Mile long. Its Shoar is covered with high Rocks, fo that the whole Ground of this Water is pure Stone, which indeed affords a hideous Profpect, and makes fuch a difmal loud Noife, that its rapid Courfe over both vifible and invifible Rocks, may in ftill Weather be heard at the Diftance of above three German Miles. The Dofcbanicks or Ships which are obliged to come up it againft the Stream, require five, fix or feven Days, though empty, to tow up this dangerous Water, by cafting of Anchors and the Help of feveral Men; nay farther in fome fhallow Places where the Water is very low, and the Rocks lie high, they are obliged to tow a whole Day before they can get forwards fo much as a Ship's Length, and the Ship frequently ftands an End on the Stem; a Thing incredible almoft except to Eye Witneffes.

The Ships which pafs up and down, are always unladen, and their Cargoes carried by Land till they get paft this dangerous Place, when they are again loaded. I have myfelf feen the Ships which failed down this Torrent, perform it in twelve Minutes; fo prodigious rapid is this Defcent: And there are very few either Ruffans or Tunguzians that know how to bring down the Ships, which muft be provided with a Rudder fore and aft, and Rowers on both Sides; the Pilors give their Orders very dexteroufly to the Rowers by a Handkerchief; for no Voice can be heard, by Reafon of the Noife of the Water. The Ships are alfo clofe thut every where, that the Waves which frequently fly over them, may not find Entrance into, and confequently fink them. Several Ships, notwithftanding thefe Precautions, are caft away here every Year, efpecially when unexperienced Pilots undertake the bringing them down, being very often fhattered to Pieces againft the hidden Rocks. And the Men are in fuch Cafes inevitably loft, and immediately ftiffed by the rapid Stream, or dathed to Pieces by the Rocks; wherefore their Bodies are very rarely found; and the Shoars are full of Croffes, erected in Remembrance of thofe drowned there. In the Winter Seafon, the Water of this River is fo high that it ftands almoft level with the Flood, and it hath been fo overflowed from the Icy-Sea, that feveral have paffed over it with Ice-Sleads: But in the Summer the Water is very low as we have already hinted.

Some Miles from hence live feveral Tunguzians, amongft others, their famed Scbaman or Diabolical Artift. The Reports which paffed concerning this Cheat made me very defirous to fee him. Wherefore in order to gratify my Curiofity, I went to thofe Parts, to vifit him and his Habitation. I found him a tall old Man, that had twelve Wives, and one who was not at all a fhamed of the Art he pretended to: He fhewed me his Conjuring Habit, and the other Tools which he ufed. Firft I faw his Coat, made of joined Iron-work, confifting of all Manner of Reprefentations of Birds, Fifhes, Ravens, Owls, E'c. befides feveral Beafts and Birds Claws, and Bills, Saws, Hammers, Knives, Sabirs, and the Images of feveral Beafts, $\mathcal{E}^{2} c$. fo that all the Parts of this Diabolical Robe being fix'd together by Joints
might,

might at Pleafure be taken to Pieces. He had alfo Iron Stockings for his Feet and Legs fuitable to his Robe, and two great Bears Claws over his Hands. His Head was likewife adorned, with fuch like Images, and fixed to his Forehead were two Iron Bucks-Horns. When he defigns to conjure, he takes a Drum made after their Fafhion in his Left-Hand, and a flat Staff covered with the Skins of Mountain-Mice in his right Hand; thus equipped he jumps crofs Legg'd, which Motion fhakes all thefe Iron Plates, and makes a great Clangor; befides which, he at the fame Time beats his Drum, and with Eyes diftorted upwards, and a ftrong bearifh Voice makes a difmal Noife. Thefe were the Prologues: But his Conjurations were performed in the following Manner.

If the Tunguzians have any Thing at any Time ftole from them, or defire to be informed of any Thing, in the firft Place, he muft be paid before Hand: After which he plays fuch Tricks as are already related, jumps and roars till a Blackbird comes and fits on the Top of his Hutt, which is open above to let out the Smoak: As foon as he gets Sight of the Bird, he falls into a Swoon, and the Bird vanifhes immediately: After he hath remained bereft of his Senfes for about a Quarter of an Hour, he comes to himfelf, and tells the Querift who hath robb'd him, or anfwers his Queftion of what Sort foever ; and they tell us, that all that he rays prove true. His Robe was fo heavy, that I could fcarce lift it with one Hand. This Conjurer had a great Quantity of Cattle, which Crouds of People that flock to him from very diftant Places had prefented him, they always giving him his full Demands.

Thefe Heathens are called Niforian Iungufans: They are tall and ftrong Men, and have long black Hair, which being bound up. in the Shape of a Horfe's Tail, hangs upon their Backs: They are broad faced, but their Nofes are not fo flat, nor their Eyes fo fmall as the Calmackians. Both Men and Women go naked in the Summer, except only a leather Girdle of three Hands Breadth, that they moftly cut in the Shape of Ribbands, which they wear about their Waift, and cover their Privities. But the Women adorn their Hair with Coral and Iron Figures. Both Men and Women carry a Pot on their left Arms, continually furnifhed with old fmoaking Wood; which preferves them from the Biting of the Mofcbitoes, or Gnatts, with which the Country along the River $\mathcal{T} u n g u / k y$ and the Woods are fo abundantly peftered, that if not only the Face, but the Hands and Legs are uncovered, their biting becomes infupportable; which however the Natives do not feel fo much as Strangers, becaule their Skin being all over bitten by them becomes thereby hardened. Thefe People are Admirers of Beauty, according to their Notion of it. To improve which, they adorn their Foreheads, Cheeks and Chins in the following Manner: They with a Needle run Threads greafed with black Greafe through the Skin, in Reprefentation of feveral Figures, and leave the faid Threads therein for feveral Days; after which they draw out, and leave their Traces behind them, and very few of them are without this Embellifhment.

Their Winter-Habit is a Coat made of Doe-fkins, which is bordered at the Extremities with Dog-fkins, befides which they have alfo a Breaft-piece hung with Tails of Horfe-hair. They are wholly unacquainted with either Linnen or Wollen Cloaths ; but to fupply their Neceffities, they make Nets and fowing Thread of Fifh-fkins. Inftead of Caps on their Heads, they wear a Roebucks Skin, with the Horns fticking up on the Crown of their Heads, efpecially when they go a Buckhunting; by which Means they eafily deceive their Game, which they creep clofe to in the Grafs, and the unwary Animals miftaking them for their own Species, void of Fear, never remove their Station, whilit they having their Bow and Arrow ready, and being gotten fo near, are fure to fhoot him down. When they are inclined to divert themfelves together, they form themfelves into a Ring; and one of them ftands in the Middle, having a long Staff in his Hand, with which, in turning round, he Itrikes at the Legs of one of the Company;
who fo nimbly lifts them up, and fo dextrouly avoids the Blow, that it is very feldom that any of them are hit; but if any one is touched, the is duck ${ }^{3}{ }^{\text {d }}$ till he is all over wet.

They lay their Dead upon the Trees, and after they are rotten, their Bones are buried in the Earth.

They have no other Priefts but their Conjurers. They have in their Huts carved wooden Idols, about half an Ell; long, with the Reprefentation of human Faces, which they feed as the Oftiacks do, with their beft Sprt of Food, which runs out of their Mouths over their Bodies. Their Huts are hung rocind with Horfes Mains, Tails, and other Baubles, and are made of Birch-Bark: Before which they hang their Bows and Quivers, and very few of them are found without feveral dead young Dogs hanging near them. Their Boats or Canoa's are made of Birch-Bark fewed together, which notwithftanding will carry feven or eight Perfons; they are long, flender, and without any Benches; they fit in them upon their Knees, and make ufe of a Sort of Oars broad at both Ends; which they hold in the Middle, and row or paddle, firlt with the one, then with the other End; and when they row all together, the Boat goes at a great Rate. With thefe flight Canoa's they can bear up againft violent Storms without any Danger. They generally fubfift themfelves in Summer by Fifhing, and in Winter by hunting all Sort of furred Game, Bucks, Does, $\mathcal{E}^{\circ} c$.
16. I left thefe People without any other Occurrence remarkable, and arrived on the ift of February at the Fort Buratz; which Place, and all along to the Lake Baikal, is watered by the River Angara, and inhabited by the Burattians, a Pagan People.

On the IIth of the fame Month we reached the Fortrefs of Bulagan/ki in this Country, fituate between the Hills and the Vallies, in a Champion Ground, on which live feveral Burattians, who are ftocked with Cows, and a hairy Sort of Bulls. They all live in low Dwellings made of Wood joined together, and covered with Earth; on the Tops of which a Hole is left to let out the Smoak. Their Fires are made in the Midft of thefe Apartments. They are utterly ignorant of all Sort of Agriculture, or the Management of Gardens: Their Houfes, as in Villages, ftand next each other, and are commonly fituated near the River: but they do not change their Habitations like the Tunguzian, and other Heatbens. Clofe by their Doors feveral Poles are ftuck into the Ground, on fome of which are ftuck Bucks, on others Sheep, and fome faften Horle-hides on them. In Spring and Autumn they go out by Hundreds in a Troop on Horfeback, to hunt Stags, wild Sheep, and Roebucks; which they call Ablavo. When they have found a Place whiere there is Game, they range themfelves in a circular Order, fo that they can eafily come near one another, by which in fuch a Ring they will hunt together and encompais fome hundreds of Beafts; and having once got them within the Reach of their Bows, every one lets fly, fo that very few efcape, each Hunter being fo well provided as to make thirty Shot fucceffively.

After the Hunting, each Sportfman eafily finds his own Arrows by their peculiar Mark; but there is a very great Misfortune which attends this Way of Hunting, which is, that in fuch a confufed Mixture, they unawares frequently fhoot one another, and feveral Horfes are wounded. They flea their Game, cut the Flefh from the Bones, and dry it in the Sun; on which Provifion they live as long as it lafts, and when it is done, go out a Hunting again. Here are vaft Quantities of wild Beafts, and I have for the Diftance of a Quarter of a Mile been able to fee nothing elfe but wild Sheep, which like Snow covered all the Hills; but in the Country for five or fix Miles round hereabouts very few furred Beafts are found, except only a few Bears and Wolves, which fometimes appear, but very rarely.

Thofe who want Oxen or Camels of an extraordinary Largenefs for their travelling to Cbina, are obliged to buy them of thefe People, who will not deal for Money, but receive in Exchange of the Buyers, pale Sa.
bles, Pewter, Copper Barons, red Hamburg Cloths, Ot-ters-Skins, Perfian fhaggy Silk of all Colours, and Gold and Silver Bullion: In which Commodities the Price of an Ox that weighs from 800 to 1000 German Pound Weight, is not above four or five Rubels, and a Camel is not valued at more than ten or twelve Rubles. Both the Men and Women of this Country are robutt, large, and according as Beauty goes here, have handfome Faces, being a little like the Chinefe Tartars. In the Winter both Sexes wear long Coats made of Sheeps-Rkins, with a broad Girdle tipped with Iron. They have a Sort of Caps that they call Malachaves, which they can draw over their Ears in cold Weather. In Summer feveral of them wear Coats of llight red Cloth. Comparatively fpeaking, their Faces and their Bodies look like young Devils, by Reafon that they know, or at leaft practife Nothing of Wafhing at any other Time than when they are born; nor ever cut the Nails of either their Hands or their Feet.

The Virgins whole Head of Hair fticking faft together in Plaits, ftands on End, and makes them look juft as Envy is reprefented by the Painter's. The Women have only two Plaits which hang down on each Side of their Heads, adorned with all Sorts of Tin Figures. When any of them die they are buried with their beft adorned Cloaths, Bows and Arrows. Their Religion confifts in the worfhipping dead Bucks and Sheep, which are fpitted upon the Poles before their Doors, at feveral Times in the Year, as long as they continue unputrified. Their Adoration of them is performed by bowing the Head, whillt they fit on their Knees with clafped Hands, without either Prayers or fo much as fpeaking one Word. This is the only divine Service that they are acquainted with, nor will they ever hear of any other: They have indeed feveral Priefts, which when they think fit, they kill firf, and afterwards bury them, together with Cloaths and Money, alledging, that it is neceffary to fend them before to pray for them, and that left they fhould be driven to. Neceffity, they ought to have Money to fpend, and Cloaths to wear.

If they are obliged to the taking of any Oath amongft themfelves, they go to the Lake Baikol, near which is a Hill that they efteem Sacred, to which they can ride in two Days. Upon this high Mountain they take their Cath, and firmly believe the falfe Swearer thall never come down alive. To this Hill they frequently offer up all Sorts of naughtered Cattle, and have paid a Veneration to it for many Years. But upon what Tradition this Reverence is built is not known.
17. In this Neighbourhood Mufk-Cats are alfo found, which are Chaped more like a Goat. This Animal is almoft like a young Buck, without Horns, with this Difference, that its Hair is a little black, and the Head inclines more towards that of a Wolf. The Musk is contained in a certain Swelling at the Navel, like a little Purfe, which is compofed of a thin Skin, covered with a very fine Hair. The Cbinefe call this Animal Tebiom, which is Mufk-Hart, by Reafon of its Likenefs to a Stag ; but befides the Diffimilitude of the Head, it hath alfo two Tunks like thofe of a wild Boar, which ftick out of its Mouth.

Pbilip Martinus, in his Cbinese Allas, reports, that this Animal is chiefly found near the City of Leao, in the Province of Xanxi ; as alfo in that of Xenxi, and more efpecially in that of Hanchungfu; and that there are allo fome in the Province of Sucbuen, the fecond Divifion of Paoningfu, about the City of Kiating, near the fixth fortified City Tienciven; in feveral Parts of the Province Junnan, and feveral othet Places Weftward. He further gives us the following Defcription, which may contribute to the Satisfaction of the curious Reader. "The Musk Cat, faith he, is almoft like a young ${ }^{6}$ Hart or Doe, only that he is fomewhat browner, ©s and fo flow and unactive, that the Hunter's greateft ${ }^{s 6}$ Difficulty is to put him up; for that once done, he os is immediately fhot, for he fuffereth himfelf tamely to 6s be killed, without either defending himfelf or ftirring. ${ }^{6}$ The Musk of which there are various Sorts of diffeis rent Value, is prepared from this Beaft in the fol6 lowing Manner:
"s After he is taken, all his Blood is drawn off and st referved; and from under his Navel is taken off " a Bladder, that is filled with Blood, or fome other "s odoriferous Liquor there concreted; after which the
"Animal is flea'd-and cut to Pieces.
"When the Cbinefe defign to make the beft Sort, " they take the hinder Part of the Animal, beginning " from the Kidneys, which they ftamp and bruife to a " Jelly, which they. dry, and therewith fill the fmall " Bags, which they make of the Skin of the Beaft.
"But if they defire a nlighter Sort of Musk, which 66 fhould yet be very good, and not at all fophifticated, ${ }^{6} 6$ they then beat all the Parts of the Animal together, "6 without any Diftinction, to a Jelly, with a little of "6. his Blood, in a Mortar, with which, as before, they " fill up the Bags made of the Hide.
" Befides thefe two, there is another Sort of Musk, sc which is alfo highly valued, though not fo good as "s the precedent. This is prepared from the Fore-part " of the Animal to the Kidneys, which they particu" larly lay by the reft of his Body in order to make the "common Musk ; fo that none of this Creature is "6 thrown away, but all Parts of it are good; whence " it is faid to be better dead than alive." Thus far Martinius ; but whether thefe Barbarians make the fame Ufe of the Musk-Cat as the Cbinefe, is not certainly known.
After travelling fome Days amongft this Nation, I arrived at $\bar{J} e k t u$ koi, a City fituate on the River Angara, the Courfe of which is from the North to the South, but its original Source is the Baikol-Meer, about eighe Miles diftant from this Place. This City not long fince was rebuilt and ftrengthned with very ftrong Fortifications. The Suburbs are very large : All Sorrs of Grain, Salt, Flefh, and Fifh are very cheap here, a hundred Pound (German Weight) of: Rye not yielding above feven Kopties or Styvers; for round about this City, and to Wergolen $/ k 0$, fome Miles diftant from thence, the Land is very fruitful, and Corn grows in great Abundance ; befides great Numbers of Ruffians have fettled here, and taken up fome hundreds of Villages, all which with great Induftry and Succefs promote Agriculture.

Oppofite to the City on the Eaft-fide is a BurningCave, which for feveral Years burnt very violently, but now feems extinct, very little or no Smoak iffuing out at prefent. It is a large Cleft in the Earth, whence the Flame formerly afcended vehemently, which now ceafes; but if a long Pole be put into it, it feels very warm.

Over againft this City, where the River Fekut falls into the Angara and fo runs to the Meer, is a very fine Cloyfter. Earthquakes are here frequent in Autumn, which yet don't prove very prejudicial. Here refided a Taiffcba or Mongalian Baron, who had put himfelf under the Protection of their Czarifh Majefties, and embraced the Greek Chriftian Religion.

He had a Sifter, which according to the Mongalian Cuftom, lived in the devoted fpiritual State, and was almoft enclined to receive the Chriftian Faith. When fhe was difcourfed on that Subject, fhe replied, "I am "fatisfied that the Chriftians God muft neceffarily be a "flrong God, fince he hath beaten our God out of "Heaven: But he will return thither, though he fhall "the fecond Time be beaten down." When the enters the Chamber, fhe falutes no Perfon, as the Mongalians are yet accuftom'd to do, but her Order doth not admit of it. She had a Rofary or String of Beads in her Hand, which fhe continually paffed round through her Fingers. I found a Lama or Prieft with her, who had alfo fuch a Sering of Beads in his Hand, according to the Mongalian and Calmokkian Fafhion, which he very fwiftly and inceffantly turned over through his Fingers, continually moving his Lips, as though he were at his private Devotions ; and with this perpetual telling of his Beads, his Thumb was worn through the Flefh and Nail up to the Knuckle; which rubbing off by now Degrees did not at all pain him.

After a fhort Stay to reft myfelf in Yekutskoi, on the firt of March I fet forward by Land in Sleads, to
the Lake or Meer of Baikol, which I reached on the roth of the fame Month, and found it frozen up very hard.

I paffed over this Lake and fafely arrived at Kabania. This Meer is about fix German Miles broad, and forty long: The Ice in it was full two Ells thick, and is very dangerous when the Paffengers are overtaken by a great Snow, or a high Wind; and the Horfes which draw the Sleads mult be very fharp fhod, by Reafon the Ice is all over very flippery, and even on Land here is no Snow found to lie, but it is immediately driven away by the Wind. Here are feveral broken Places or Wind-holes, that are not frozen up, which prove very dangerous to Travellers when furprifed with tempeftuous Winds; for the Horfes, if not fharp Shod, by the Fury of the Winds are driven on fo violently that they cannot tread fure, but fliding and falling on the glib Ice, are hurried on by the Wind, till they and the Slead too are fwallowed up in one of thefe open Places; by which feveral Men and Horfes are loft: Befides, to augment the Danger, the Ice of this Lake is fometimes torn open feveral Fathoms by fudden Winds, which make a Noife as loud and terrible as Thunder-Claps, but after the Expiration of a few Hours, the Ice joins again, and becomes quickly as clofe as before.

The Camels and Oxen, which Travellers take with them for their Journey to Cbina, are alfo obliged to go this Way from Fekutskoi, in order to which the Camels have a kind of Boot tied about their Legs, which is very fharp at Bottom: The Oxen alfo are provided with fharp Irons ftruck through their Hoofs, without which it would be impoffible for them to go forwards. The Water of this Lake taftes very frefh, is clear, and yet of a deep Green, like that of the Ocean. Where the Ice was open we often obferv'd a great many SeaDogs, all blackifh, and not variegated, like thofe in the white Sea. Here are alfo great Multitudes of Fifh, as large Sturgeons and Jacks, of which I have feen fome that weighed two hundred German Pounds. The only River that iffues from this Lake is the Angara, whofe Defcent is to the North-North-weft: But amongtt the Rivers which fall into it, is the Silinga, the principal River, the Source of which is in Mongalia; the Remainder are feveral Rivulets, which fall from the Hills: There are alfo fome Iflands in this Water. Its Shoar and adjacent Country is inhabited by Burattians, Mongalinns, and Outkotians. In all Parts hereabouts there are very fine black Sables, and Caberdines are alfo frequently caught here.

I obferved, that when I entred upon this Sea, and left the Cloyfter of St. Nicbolas, fituated at the Entrance of the Angara, on the Sea-fhore, I was very zealounly entreated by feveral Perfons, that when I came upon this dangerous Water, I fhould not call it a fill Water or Lake, but a Sea; alledging, that formerly feveral confiderable Perfons, who had been on this Sea, and ventured to call it an Ofer or ftanding Water, were immediately overtaken by violent ftormy Winds, and were in Danger of their Lives: But I could not help Laughing ar this wild Notion, that the Waters fhould refent Affronts, and ftand up for their Honour. However I went forward in the Name of God, and being got to the Middle, I called for a large Glafs of Sherry, and drank a Health to all fincere honeft good Chriftians, and my Friends in Europe, adding, robich I take you Orera, or fill Water to witne/s; and the Wine proved very refrefhing, and I obferved, that the farther I went, the Wind, which before was fomewhat rougher than ordinary, began to decreafe; fo that I landed with Sun-Thine and clear Weather, at the Cartle of Kabania, the firft Daurian Fortification beyond the Meer, without having the leaft Satisfaction taken of me. I heartily laughed at the Folly of thofe, who gave Credit to fuch ridiculous Superftitions, and truft not in God, who created, and governs all Things; to whom the Sea and all the Winds are obedient, either to ferve or deftroy them for their Sins, or perhaps to chaftife and terrify them to Righteoufnefs; fince otherwife the Sea is deaf and ftupid, and utterly incapable of refenting or revenging.

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I9. Leaving the Caftle of Kabinia the following Day, on the 12 th of March we arrived at Ilinskoy or Boljoy Saimka, a very large Town, moft of whofe Inhabitants are Ruflens, which in the Winter go a Sable-hunting, not tilling any more Ground than Neceffity requires; wherefore the Land is every where deformed with great barren Hills, which, by an induftrious People, might be rendred pleafant and fruitful.
Departing thence, on the ruth of the fame Month we reached the Cantle of Tanzienkoy, which was provided with a ftrong Garrifon of Colfacks, to cover this Country from the Incurfions of the Mongalians which border on it. Without any Delay I went forwards with the firft Slead that went off, and on the igth Inftant came to Udinfkoy, which City or Fortrefs is fituated on a high Hill ; but moft of its Inhabitants live below the Fortrefs, at the Foot of the Hill, on the River Uda, which falls into the Silingc, about a Quarter of a Mile Weftward below the City, which bordering on the Mongalians, is conitantly fupplied with a ftrong Garrifon of Ruffan Coffacks.

The City of Udinfkoy is accounted the Entrance of the Province of Daur, and in Summer-time the Mongalians frequently come hither, and carry off the Horfes of the Inhabitants, which are grafing in Sight of the City; and befides a little Pafture, this Land, which is every where mountainous, is very improper for Tillage ; tho' it plentifully abounds with Cabbages, Turneps, Carrots, and fuch-like Vegetables, which belong to the Culinary Garden: But here is not a Tree to be feen.

After having refted here fome Days, one Night at Nine of the Clock happened a violent Earthquake, which terribly fhook the Houfes of this City, thrice within the Space of an Hour, bur went off without any Damage.

The River Uda yields very little Fifh, befides a few Facks and Roach. But annually in Fune, from the Lake Baikol, great Shoals of a certain Fifh fwim hither againft the Tide: The Inhabitants call them Omuli; they are as big as Herrings, and proceed no higher up this River than the End of this City, by a fallen Mountain, where they ftay fome Days, and then return back. During which Time they fwim fo incredibly thick and clofe, that the Commandant told me, he threw feveral Lime-ftones into the Water, which did not fink, but continued lying on the Shoals of Fifh. When the Inhabitants are defirous to catch them, they ufe no other Net than a Bag, a Shirt, or a Pair of Linnen Stockins; with which they go to the Shoar, and draw greater Quantities than they want of thefe Fin on Land. I was obliged to a tedious melancholy Stay here, before my Camels and Horfes were ready, and was indeed very glad, that at laft I got from hence on the 6 th of April.

On the 26th of the fame Month we travelled by Land to the River Ona, which flows from the North-North-Weft, and falls into the Uda.

On the 27 th I reached the River Kurba, which allo proceeds from the North-North-Wet, and falls into the Uda. We travelled hither upwards on the River Uda, at about half Flood, but were frequently obliged to go off from it, and fometimes to fuch a Diftance, that we loft Sight of it.

On the 29 th of the fame, I had the good Fortune to put an End to my Travels in this uncouth, uninhabited Road, and to reach the Fortrefs of Jarauna. I was not a little glad that I once more came within Sight of Towns, for from Udinfkoy to this Place is wholly uninhabited, and we were obliged to travel over high and difmal Rocks. The Caftle of Farauna is garrifoned by Coffacks, and alfo inhabited by feveral Ruffians, who depend upon Sable-hunting. The Heathens, which poffers this Country, are called Konni Tunguzi, being a Sort of Tunguzians, which live along the Banks of the River Angara; though their Language is entirely different from all others. If any one of them die, he is buried with his Cloaths and Bows under Ground; upon his Grave, Stones are laid, and a Pole erected, to which is faftened his beft Horfe, being firft fhot to Death. They live entirely on Sable-hunting, and the

Furrs of thefe Animals are extraordinary black in this Place: Here are alfo very fine Linxes, and a Sort of Squirrels; the Furrs of which were formerly taken off by the Cbinefe. On the North-fide of this Caftle are three large Lakes near one another, each of which is full two Miles in Circumference, and are plentifully Atored with Fifh, more efpecially with Jacks, Carps, Pearch, and fuch-like. From hence there are two Roads which lead to Zitinfkoy or Platbifcba. I ordered Part of my Retinue to go one of thefe Roads ; but the Caravan and Convoy went directly Southwards, along the Lake Scbackze-Ofer, which plentifully abounds with Fifh; and the other proceeded forwards over the $\mathcal{F a}$ blufnoy or Apple-Mountains, on which, though they bear that Name, there grow no Apples, but only a Sort of red Fruit on the Trees, which indeed tafte very like them. But I myfelf, accompanied with a Retinue of Forty Men, took the other Road, which proved very Moraffy, and lay betwixt high Rocks, which continue all the Way from Farauna to the City of Telimba. In this laft Fortification live feveral Ruffons, "who in Winter go out a Sable-hunting; and indeed this Country yields fuch rich black Sables, that better are not to be found in the whole Province of Siberia.
Lodging here one Night, a Tunguzian Knezets or Prince, whofe Name was Liliulka, came to vigit me; he had prodigious long Hair, which for that Reafon he bound up in-a Leathern Band, and wound three Times about his Shoulders. I was very curious to fatisfy myfelf, whether his Hair was really fo long as I was told; to which Purpofe I caufed him to be intoxicated with Brandy ; by which Civility I obtained the Favour of having his Hair loofened, and I found it to be all his natural Hair only, for I examined it very narrowly, and meafuring it with an Ell, to my great Surprife, was convinced that it was four Duich Ells long. He had a Son of fix İears of Age, whofe Hair growing in Imitation of his Father's, hung down over his Back the Length of an Ell wanting an eighth Part. This Sort of Tunguzian Heathens live on the Hills in great Multitudes. Part of them grow rich by catching the moft fine and beautiful Sables, for which they receive great Sums of Money.

We were obliged to travel two Days from hence over high rocky Hills, running North-Weft and South-Eaft. Very far Northward there rifes a Spring, from whence the River Konela, afterwards called the Wittim, proceeds, which runs North Eatt, and falls into the River Lena, that empties itfelf into the North Frozen-Sea; and about half a Mile beyond the high Hills, the River Zita arifes, which falls into the River Ingoda or Amur, and purfues its Courfe on to the Amurifcbian or Eaftern Sea, into which it flows.

Arriving fafely on the 15 th of May at Platbijcha, which Place the Caravan alfo reached the next Day, having run through feveral Dangers, by reafon that the withered dry Grafs was burned off the Fields every where, the Fire of which was very prejudicial to the Caravan, and often catched the Horfes Tails ; befides which, the Beafts wanted Forage, and were frequently obliged to go a Mile out of the Way in Search of fome Grafs, which was not yet burned on the Side of the Hills, to relieve the poor Cattle.

We were obliged to ftay feveral Days in the Village Platbifcha, fituate on the River Zita, partly to refrefh our Beants, and partly to make Floats, to drive down the Rivers Ingoda and Sbilka, to Nerzinfkoy, this being a very fhallow Water, on which no other Sort of Shipping can be made ufe of. And even thefe Floats can farce pafs over the rocky Places without Danger, two of ours being broken to Pieces in our Paffage, fo that we had Trouble enough to fave our Goods.
20. All Things being ready, I caufed the Camels, Horfes, and Oxen to go firft over the Mountains for Nerzingoy; but I went from thence on the 18 th of the fame Month, and on the 19th reached the River Onon, which runs Northward, taking Rife in the South out of the Mongalian Pool, and, after it is united with the Ingoda, takes the Name of Scbilka. The Water of this River is very white, and its Shoar is inhabited by
great Numbers of Mongalians, who make frequent Incurfons over the Scbilka to Nerzinfkoy, though not always with Succefs; for fometimes they are not only driven from their Prey, but catched themfelves, and punifhed as Robbers; and the Ruflian Coffacks themfelves, by way of Reprifal, make Sallies up the Onon, deftroying whatever comes in their Way.

But throngh Divine Mercy we arrived, without being once attacked, on the 20 th Inftant at Nerzinfoy, which lies on the River Nerza, that runs from North-North-Eaft, and about a Quarter of a Mile from the City falls Southward into the Schilka. This City is tolerably ftrong, provided with feveral Brafs Guns, and a great Garrifon of Daurion Coffacks both Horfe and Foot. It is fituate between high Mountains, notwithftanding which it has Champion Ground enough for the Inhabitants to graze their Camels, Horfes and Cows; and fome Parts of the Hills afford Spors of Ground a Mile or two over, that are very proper for
Tillage, and afford Room to plant and fow enough to Tillage, and afford Room to plant and fow enough to fupply their Neceffities.

From four or five'Miles upwards to ten, below on the River Schilka, live feveral Rufian Gentlemen and Coffacks, who fubfift on Tillage, Grazing of Bealts, and Fifhing: Amongt thefe Hills, and round the City, are likewite feveral very fine Garden-Trees and Plants, as alfo Rbaponticum or Bafard Rbubarb, of an extraordinary Thicknefs and Length, and very fine white and yellow Lillies. Here are vaft Quantities of red, and allo of Snow white Pconies, which diffufe an extraordinary fragrant Scent, and feveral other Flowers, with which I was unacquainted. Here are Rofemary, Thyme, Marjoram, Lavender, and feveral other odoriferous Plants unknown to me, which grow fpontaneounly in great Abundance: The Fruits here are only red and black Currants, $\varepsilon^{2} c$. agreeable to the Climate.
Here are two Sorts of Heathens which have for a long Series of Years lived in Subjection to the Czar ; the Konni-Tunguzians and Olenni-Tunguzians: The former of which are obliged to be ready on Horfeback, at the Command of the Wayrood of Nerzinkoy, or whenever any Incurfions are made on the Frontiers by the Roving Tartars. And the Olenni-Tunguzians are obliged on all Occafions to be ready on Foot, and appear armed on any Exigence in the City. The chief of the Konni-Tunguzians is the Knees Paul Petrovitz Gantimur, whofe Tunguzian Name is Catana Gantimur, born in the Country of Nieubeu; he is an old Man, that was formerly a Taifcha or Baron there, fubordinate to the Emperor of Cbina; but falling into Difgrace, and being difplaced, he, attended with his entire Horde or Clan, retired to Dauria, put himfelf under the Protection of their Czarifh Majefties, and embraced the Grecian Religion. This Knees Paul Catana can on any grand Occafion in one Day raife three thoufand Horfemen, well equipped and provided with good Bows, all which are valiant and fearlefs Soldiers, of whom it is frequently obferved, that fify of them attack four hundred Mongalians, and very frequently beat them. All of thefe Heathens which live near the City fubfift themfelves by grazing, but thofe on the River Scbilka and Amur depend on Sable-hunting, becaufe the Beafts in the Forrefts are there very black, and their Furrs valuable.

They all live in Huts, called in their Language furten, the Infide of which is compofed of wooden Poles jointed together, that whenever they are willing to remove their Dwellings, as they frequently do, they may conveniently pack them up and carry them altogether.

This wooden Work when fet up is thatched all over with Hair and Rubbifh, except only the Smoak-hole left open at the Top. They place their Fire in the Midft of their Huts, and fit round it upon Turves, Their Religion is the fame with that of the Daorn or Daurians, from whence they pretend to be defcended: So that indeed throughout all Great-Tartary, to the Beginning of the Mongalian Tartars, there is a very great Similitude in Religion, as I fhall hereafter evince. Both Men and Women in this Country are very ftrong, broad faced, and both Sexes, not excepting the young Girls,

2. unnquzian Prince whofe. ACair was Four Dutch Ells longand his Son's near an Ell long.

The Tinez. Paul Petrmits Gantimur Shief of y Ronni. Tunguzians Sulject to the Ozar.


A The Wooden Caftle Inhabied by the Governor. B. The Ghurch. The Sruatitanes of this Cilly are all Soldiers who orrade to Chima f have groac Immunnicies.


ride on Horfeback, and are equally armed with Bow are, plainly prove thefe People apprehend the Necef and Arrows, in the Ufe of which they are very expert. The Female Drefs is the fame with the Male; of both which our Print drawn from the Life is an accurate Reprefentation. Their common Drink is Water; but the better Sort drink Kara't Za, or Black Tea, which is a particular Species of that Plant, the Infufion of which, inftead of greenifh, tinctures the Water blackifh. They boil it in Mares-Milk and Water, to which they alio add a little Lard or Butter. They alfo draw off a Sort of Brandy from Mares-Milk, which they call Kunnen, or Arak, and is diftilled in the following Manner. The new Milk is firft boiled, then put into a Fat, to which is added fome ftale Milk, and this Mixture is firred every Hour: After which this foured Milk is put into a Pot, and clofely covered with another Pot which fhuts tight upon it, into which a Reed is ftuck, and the Pot firmly luted, and fet over the Fire to diftill as in Europe: But the Spirit muft be twice drawn off; then it is fit to drink, being as clear, and ftrong, as Malt Spirits, and very foon intoxicates. It is really very furprifing that none of the Cows in Siberia and Dauria, as long as their Calves fuck them, will ever permit themfelves to be milked, nor will they after the Calf is removed from them give any more Milk: Which is the Reafon why Mares-Milk is fo much ufed by thefe People, which is alfo richer and more agreeable than CowsMilk.
In Spring and Autumn thefe Heathens go a Hunting, like the Burattians, in order to provide themfelves againft Summer and Winter with fufficient Store of Flefh, which they alfo as well as that Nation dry in the Sun. Inftead of Bread they gather the Pods of yellow Lillies, which they call Sarana, and having dried and beaten them to Meal, they drefs them: feveral Ways to eat. They are very expert at Shooting Fifh in the Water with a Sort of Arrows, which are round, folid, and about three Fingers thick at the Head; at the End of which under the Iron Point is a Ball of Bone bored through, which occafions a loud whiftling Noife in its Flight. Thefe Arrows are fo heavy that they do not fhoot them farther at moft than fifteen or twenty Fathom, and chiefly at large Fifh, as Jacks and Trouts, which harbour in clear Water on the rocky Ground near the Shores. And when thefe Arrows hit, they make a furprizing large Orifice, which looks as if it were a Cut given by a Hatchet.

Thefe Heathens have a very odd Cuftom of taking folemn or teftimonial Oaths: An Inftance of which appears in the following Story of two noble Tunguzian Hoftages at Nerzin/koy. To illuftrate which Relation, the Reader ought to be informed that it is ufual on thefe frontier Places (by Reafon a great many Sorts of People put themfelves under his Czarih Majelty's Protection, which live difperfed in Siberia) to keep fome Children of the principal Men, and if they are very great, themfelves in the Amandivor-atkkoy or Hoftage-Court for fome time, all the while providing them amply with Eatables and other Neceffaries; which is done by Way of Security that they hall not defert, and that when they have ftaid fometime, others fhall come in their Places. It happening that two of thefe Tunguzian Hoftages falling out, one accufed the other before the Waywode, of having conjured his deceafed Brother to Death. The Wayroode asked the Accufer if he would, according to the Tunguzian Cuftom, put the Accufed to his Oath? To this he anfwered in the Affirmative ; after which the Accufed took a live Dog, laid him on the Ground, and with a Knife ftuck him into the Body, juft under his left Leg, and immediately clapped his Mouth to the Wound, and fucked out the Dog's Blood as long as he could come at it ; after which he lifted him up, laid him on his Shoulders and clapped his Mouth again to the Wound, in order to fuck out the remaining Blood, as the Print expreffes it. An excellent Drink indeed! And this is the greateft Oath and moft folemn Confirmation of the Truth amongft them ; fo that on Credit of this the Accufed was fet free, and the Accufer punifhed for his falfe Accufation. Thus far concerning the Cuftoms of shefe Heathens, which, barbarous and ridiculous as they
fity of Oaths to determine Differences, and that Provi. dence will interpofe to preferve Innocence, and punifi Perjury, Thus we clearly difcern, that the Brutality of this Nation does not arife from their Want of intellectual Faculties, but from their Supinenefs, Negligence and Nonufage of thofe Faculties.

2r. I was obliged to fay fome Weeks at Nerzinfkoys and furnifh myfelf with Camels, Horfes, Oxen, Provifion and all other Neceffaries for the Profecution of my Travels. All which being carefully performed, I fet forwards from thence in God's Name, on the 18th of Fuly, paffed the following Day by the River Borfchofka over the Schilka, and after ten Days travelling, on the third of Auguft fafely arrived at the Caftle of Argunfkoy; which is the laft Fort and utmoft Frontier of the Czar's Dominions, towards the Eaft Country. This Fortrefs is wathed by the River Argun, which flows from Southweft to North-Eaft, and falls into the River Amur, and divides his Czarifh Majefty's Territories from thole of the Emperor of Cbina: And on the other, or Eaftern Side of the River, the great uninhabited Tartarian Wildernefs hath its Beginning. I was obliged to flay here fome Days, to ger a good Number of Carts with two Wheels, for the farther Purfuit of my Journey; and this was the firf Time that this Way from Argun through Tartary was ever travelled with Waggons.

The Way from Nerzinfloy hither was moftly over high, fony, and mountainous Land, though in fome fcattered Places interfected by fine large Valleys, and little Rivulets, which Intervals are richly overfpread with all Sorts of fine Herbs, Flowers, Grafs, lofty Cedars, and Woods of Birch-trees. This Country is alfo very populous, by Reafon the Tunguzians (which, though Heathens, are all fubject to his Czarifh Majefty) live in great Multitudes throughout all Parts of this Country where there are Rivers, and pay a voluntary Tribute to that potent Emperor.

In feveral fcattered Places in the Valleys, I obferved Hundreds of old, and, in Part, fallen Caftles, built with Rock-Atones, which, as the Tunguzians told me, were built by feveral Warriors long fince, when the Mungalion and Western Tartars made joint Incurfions into this Kingdom of Nieucbeu. Which Monarchy, according to their Computation, comprehended the whole Land from Nerzinfkoy to Nieucheu, as the Cbinese call it, and from the River Amur down to the Albanian Mountains and Leaoting. And it is not long fince that Waggon Wheels bound with Irons $_{5}$ and large Milfones, were found in this Country; from whence I conjecture, that the Nieucbeuers, which border on the faid Province of Leaoting, formerly followed their Trade and manual Employments in this Ruffan Dauria, fince they make ufe of thefe Waggon-wheels bound with Iron, which are no where elle to be found amonglt the Mongan lians, \&xc.

I alfo faw feveral Tunguzian Tombs covered with many Stones, by which great Stakes were placed, and feveral dead and putrified Horfes upon them. Befides which, I obferved that the River Argun feparates two very different Sorts of Lands. On our Way to this River, the Hills abounded with Woods, but on the other Side of it Nature varies, and very few or fearce any Woods are to be feen, buc only inconfiderable Numbers of fcattered dry Trees.

About eight Miles from Argunkoy, from which I departed the 5th of Auguft, the River Zerebrenkoy, or the Silver River, called in the Mongalian Dialect Mongagol, falls into the River Argun. This Silver River is fo called, becaufe that formerly, about two Miles up that Water, there were Silver Mines, out of which the Nieucbeuers and Mongalians dug immenfe Quantities of that Mettal, and great Numbers of Pits, in which the Mertal was melted, are at at prefent to be feen; but thefe Mines, by the Courfe of Time, and lying unwrought for many Years, are now fallen in, and covered with the Hills which have tumbled upon them. Notwithftanding all which, I brought a Proof of their Mettal into Mufcory, and, doubt not but to reftore them, if his Czarifh Majefty would inmediately order
a. Begins
a Beginning to be made, it being very well worth the Pains, and they are very conveniently fituated in a Place where there is no Want of Wood.
In the Year 1693, on the 8th of Auguf, we were obliged to crofs the River Argun, and pals two whole Days on our Way with the Merchants which were with us ; and on the gth atNight, we again travelled South Eaftward, upwards in the great Tartarian Wildernefs, all the Way betwixt Hills and Vales, and next Day reached the River Calabu; which being but a fmall one, we eafily forded it with our Horfes, Camels, and Waggons. This River arifes out of the Hills, and falls Weftward into the Argun. It was obfervable, that it was fo cold this Night, that the Ice froze the Thicknels of a Crown-piece.

On the I2th of this Month we reached the River Terbu, which is alfo but fmall and fhallow, and likewife falls Weftward into Argun. On the next Day we came to the River Gan, which occafioned us a very troublefome Paffage, it being fo deep by reafon of the fwollen Waters, that no Camel could reach the Bottom; fo that we were forced to fearch for Trees, (in this defolate uninhabited Wildernefs, where no other Hope was left) which having felled, we bound in Couples, to carry over our Goods and travelling Provifions: And for our own Paffage we alfo made a Sort of Boats of fmall Twigs, which we covered with Ox-hides fewed together, which proved tolerable Barks, and would carry about a thouland Pounds Weight. The Horfes, Oxen and Camels were fwom over, which indeed the laft did very eafily; for as foon as they loofe Footing on the Ground, they turn themfelves on one Side, without ftirring their Feet, like a floting Leathern Bag; no more Care being neceffary, than to bind five or fix of them faft together by the Bridles and Tails, and let fome body fwim a Horfe before them, which is faftened to the Bridle of the firft, and confequently towes him along, without which Precaution they would drive feveral Miles down the Stream before they got over ; and even notwithftanding this, they drove confiderably downwards. This tedious, uneafy Paffage coft us fome Days Time, the River being broad, and the Tide rapid and ftrong. This River comes out of the Eaft, and falls Weftward into the Argun.

Breaking up from thence on the igth of the fame Month, on the 2 Ift we reached the River Mergeen, which admitted us without the leaft Uneafinefs or Interruption to ford it, being but fmall and fhallow. It alfo comes from the Eaft, and falls Weftward into the Argun ; and thus we travelled to this Place off and on, berwixt Eaft and South. On the 23d we came to another River called Kailar, the Water of which being low, we paffed it without any Trouble. This River falls alfo from South-South-Eait, Weftward into the Argun. On the $25^{\text {th }}$ we as eafly paffed the River Zadun, which rifeth in the South-Eaft, and falls North-Weft into the Kailar.

Before this Book of our Author's was publifhed, we had no diftinct or clear Account at all of thefe Countries, the very Names of which was farce mention'd in
our Hiftories, and the Countries themfelves appeared only as a vaft Defert in our Maps. Yet here we find, that thefe Parts are very far from being either uninhabitable or uninhabited, and that though their Cities are not very thick, yet fome of them are pretty confiderable Places; as for Inftance, Nerzinfkoy, of which we have lately feen his Defcription, and which, though the very Name of it may be new and ftrange to us, is fo well known notwithftanding in thofe Parts of the World, that there are few Places more famous. In this City was held a Congrefs for determining the Difputes between the Cbinefe and Ruffan Empires, the laft of which was in 1689, when Father Gerbillon figned a Treaty of Peace there, by which the Limits of both Empires were plainly fettled, and the River Amur made the common Boundary on that Side.

As this River falls into the Eaftern Ocean or Sea of Japan, the Ruffans were always very defirous of being entirely Mafters of it, and for that Reafon they attempted, notwithftanding the Treaty, to fettle on the other Side of the River, fuppofing that the Cbinefe would be fometime before they had perfect Intelligence of this Infraction of the Treaty, and that they would not in cline to commence a War immediately, but rather fet: on Foot a new Negociation, for amicably terminating their Differences. In this it feems the Ruffan Minifters were, however, fomewhat miftaken, for the Cbinefe quickly made Complaints of the Progrefs of the Ruflan Troops; and finding thefe Complaints made no Impreffion, they ordered their Subjects the Nongals to take Poffeffion of the Country lying on the South of the River Amur; and as this intirely overturned the Schemes of the Court of Petersbourg, they found the Tafk of Negotiating turned upon themfelves, which was one of the principal Motives to their fending our Author on this Embafly.

The Reader, perbaps, may not be difpleafed at meeting with thefe Remarks at the Clofe of the Section, which' we chofe to place here, rather than interrupt the Thread of our Author's Narration, who, in this Part of his Travels which we have already given, has defcribed the Ruffan Dominions lying in Afia, with much more Accuracy than any other Writer whatever: The making ourfelves acquainted, at leaft in fome Meafure, with thefe hitherto fo little regarded Countries, will be very foon found to be both of great Ufe and confiderable Importance, fince it is on this Side that the Ruffians are profecuting thofe Difcoveries, upon which the Eyes of all Europe are turned at prefent. In thefe Countries likewife they have, within thefe few Years, difcovered very rich Silver Mines, of which we have a Hint in our Author; and if thefe can be wrought, it will quickly change the Face of Things on this Side, and, in the Space of forty or fifty Years, our Pofterity will find fome of thefe Countries reprefented in a Man= ner very different from that in which they have been heretofore fet forth. But let us now return to our Author's Travels, and attend him in his Progrefs through the Cbinefe Dominions.

Travels through the Countries of the Mongal Tartars, lying between the Ruffian and Cbinese Empires, the Paffage through the famousWall, and from thence through feveral confiderable Places to the City of $P e=$ king, the Capital of all China; with Obfervations Hiftorical, Phy= fical, Topographical, Critical, and Political, on the feveral Nations converfed with by our Author, and the Countries by them inhabited; with fome Conjectures alfo as to their former Inhabitants.

## Taken from the Original Yournal of bis Excellency Everard Ysbrants Ides.

1. The Autbor's Reception at the frrt Chinefe Guard, an Account of the Targafinian Tartars, their Cuftoms and Manner of Living, with a brief Viewo of the beautiful and pleafant Country they inbabit. 2. He is met by a Chinefe Mandaryn, at the Village of Xixigar ; the great Civility and Politene/s of bis Reception, and of the mutual Courtefes that pajed between the two Minijers. 3. A Defcription of the Country of the Mongals, and of the Inbabitants, their Hoppitality, refpectfful Bebaviour, and the Manner in which they live under the Chinefe Emperors. 4. The Author, in Company with the Chinefe Mandaryn, pafes tbrough a Country in wwbicb there are feveral decayed and abandoned Cities, of which be gives a very curious and copious Account. 5. They arrive at a Chinefe Village inbabited entirely by Lama's or Tartarian Priefts; a Defcription of it, and of the Country round it. 6. The Manner in webich the Emperor of China bunts annually in this Neigbbourbood for fome Weeks, with an Account of the Game, and other Particulars. 7. The Author's Arrival at the famous Chinefe Wall, a very curious and circumfantial Defcription of it, and of the Materials of rubich it is compofed. 8. The Autbor's Arrival at Galkan, his magnificent Entertainment there by a Chinefe Mandaryn, the Cufoms of the Chinefe People of 2uality on fuch Occafons, and an Account of a Play be faw acted. 9. The City of Xantunnung defcribed, the Idol Temple of Jugangu, and a City which is inhabited entirely by the Emperor's Concubines. 10. He proceeds to the Cities of Kixu and Tunxo; a Defcription of the latter, and of the famous Market for Porcelain or China Ware tbat is beld there. 11. A Digrefion in reference to the Excellency, Origin, and Hifory of that Manufacture ; interfperfed woith Jeveral newo and curious Obfervations, by wacy of Supplement to the Autbor.

"THE Plainnefs and Simplicity of our Author's Relation gives us the greateft Reafon to believe, that he pays a ftrict Regard to Truth; for it is worth obferving, that he never magnifies his own Courage or Conduct, or talks loudly of the Dangers he has run through; but very modefly fets down what occurred to him in his Journey, and very carefully diftinguifhes between what fell immediately under his own Infpection, and what he received from the Report of others. What is contained in this Section, relating to that vaft Tract of Country bordering upon Cbina, appears to me extremely curious, becaufe out of this Country originally proceeded that famous Race of Mongal Tarlars, which affumed the Empire of $A f a$, and, after conquering India, Perfia, $A f$ fyria, and a confiderable Part of Europe, threaten'd an Irruption into Germany; and had very probably conquered all Mufcovy and Poland, if they had not been diverted partly by their Civil Wars, and partly by the Invafion of Cbina. One cannot help therefore being pleafed with our Author's Defcription of the original Seat of thefe mighty Conquerors, at the fame Time that it very much confirms what we meet with in the Writings of Marco Polo and other ancient Travellers, whofe Relations we have inferted in our former Volume. We may from hence be taught not to be too rafh in cenfuring what we cannot immediately reconcile either to our Reafon or our Experience: One of the beft Leffons that the former teaches us is, its ownWeaknefs; and there is nothing that we learn with fo much Certainty from the latter, as that without due Care we may be eafily deceived. All that has a plaufible Appearance is not therefore to be accounted Reafon; nor is every Thing that we hear or read to be looked upon as Experience. If there is nothing abfurd or impoffible in what a Man of a fair Character relates as an Eye-Witnefs, his Teftimony ought not to be flight-
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ed ; and when we fit down to learn what paffes, or what has paffed in Countries with which we have been hitherto unacquainted, it is irrational to expect, that ali we meet with fhould be fmooth, clear, and intelligible. When we are Children, we read with Aftonifhment of the great Actions of the Greeks and Romans, and thefe are impreffed upon our Minds fo, that as we grow up; they pafs for inconteftable Proofs s yet read thefe Hiftories to illiterate People, and they will make more Difficulty of believing them, than we do at receiving what is delivered concerning the Natives of thefe Eaftern Countries, where Empires have rifen without our Notice and, after flourifhing for many Ages, have funk again before they came to our Cognizance. But let us dwell no longer on Reflections, it will be better to attend our Author on his Journey, who, in fpeaking of the Pros fecution of it towards Cbina, proceeds thus.
On the ift of Sept. I came to the Falijcbian Mouns tains, lodged there, and found my Poft-Meffenger, who was a Ruffian Gentleman that I had difpatched to Xixigar was returned, and arrived here before me, and had als ready waited fome Days for me. He was accompanied with a Cbinefe Captain and ten Men, which were fent tơ meet me. When I ordered him to be brought to me he complimented me from his Lords, who had ex. prefly fent him to meet mes and in their Name pres fented me with fome neceflary Refrefhments, as fifteen Sheep, fome Tea, Loaf-Sugar, and twenty Horfes for my Ufe, which I thankfully accepted, and in Returry made the Captain feveral Prefents.

Thefe Hills are called the falifcbian Mountains, fromz the River ${ }^{\circ}{ }^{3}{ }^{3}{ }^{3}$ s rifing amongft them its Source being: united to feveral Rivulets which fall from the Hills and the Head of this River being not above two Faw thom broad. As we climbed up thefe high Mouns tains, on the North Side we found them not one third Part fo fteep as at our Defcent on the South. Befides

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which, we obferved a very remarkable Alteration of the whole Country on the South-fide of the Hills.

From the River Kailar to thefe Mountains, we travelled thro' fteep Rocks and high Hills, with which the Valleys, which we paffed thro', were encompaffed on both Sides. There are alfo a few fmall Thickets fcattered up and down, befides which the whole Way is void of all Trees or Wood; which fometimes gave us the Trouble of carrying the Wood which we wanted for our Kitchen, from one Lodging-place to another.

There Valleys are wholly covered with fine Grafs, as the Mountains are ftocked with all Sorts of Herbs and Flowers; befides which, this Country plentifully abounds with large Harts, Roebucks and wild Sheep, which frequently appear in great Herds of many Hundreds together. Here are alfo large Flocks of wild Geefe, Ducks, wild Turkies, and Partridges; but none of the Rivers, which I paffed from the Argun to this Place, abound with Fifh, excepting only Roach and Jacks. The Air is temperate, or rather cool. But on the 2 d of September, quitting the Hills and travelling along the Side of the River Falo, we were entertained with the Sight of very fine Oak and Lime-trees, as well as a great many Hazel Bufhes, which did not grow above an Ell above Ground, and yet bore vaft Quantities of Nuts. We proceeded two Days in fuch an agreeable Road, and on the 4 th Inftant, to our mighty Satisfaction, reached the firft Cbiucfe Guard, which was placed upon a high Mountain, that afforded them a very large View, and commanded the whole adjacent Plain. As foon as this Watch efpy any Perfons, they fummon them, and conduct them to their main Guard, under their Commanders on the Mergeen, as they alfo did by us.

Without any farther Interruption, we proceeded on our Journey, and on the 5 th Inftant got Sight of the firft Targazinian Huts; and the next Day we paffed by the laft of them. The Targazinians are a feparate independent Hord or Clan, which are obliged to pay Tribute to the Emperor of Cbina: They are governed by their own Chief, but obey thofe who are moft potent in Tartary. They are an Infidel Heathen Nation, and are faid to worfhip the Devil: They are of a middle Stature, and broad-faced like the Mongalians. Their Summer-drefs is compofed of Blue Cbina Callicoe and Tanned Leather; but it being cold betwixt the Mountains here in the Winter, they wear Coats made of Sheep fkins. Their Language is very little different from the Tunguzians; and they live in Huts made of thin Bamboes or Reeds. They depend chiefly on the Tillage of Land for the Production of Barley, Oats, and Millet ; the Remainder of what they do not confume themfelves, they tranfport and fell amongft the Xixigarian Villages. Their Cattle are chiefly Horfes, Camels, Bulls, Cows and Sheep ; the laft of which are very fine and large, the Tail being a large Span thick, and two Spans long, all of which is fat, and they are fo very heavy, that they cannot go faft, much lefs run. Thefe People ride very commonly upon Oxen; and are very expert Archers; they make great Quantities of Bows, which are efteemed the very beft in all Tartary, and are therefore fold very dear. We paffed by thefe People on our Journey on the charming Banks of the River $\mathcal{F}$ alo with the utmoft Pleafure; but now turned our Eyes from thence downwards towards the South. I cannot help owning, that the Side of this River is perfectly a Paradife, as confifting of beautiful PaftureGrounds, Silver Streams, and the pleafanteft Woods in the World ; and the moft delicious Entertainment of the Eye is not a little improved by the Profpect of the rifing Ground, and beautiful towring Hills, which offer themfelves to our View, at about a Mile and half Diftance on each Side, and are a perfect Warren or Park of Wild Game; Great Numbers of Wild Swine, Harts, and valt Herds of Tygers and Panthers harbouring under thefe hady Mountains. Here are Multitudes of Wild-Ducks; a fmall Sort of Geefe called Turpani, adorned with all Sorts of variegated Feathers, like thofe in India; and a particular Sort of extraordinary beautiful Partridges, the Feathers of which are
of feveral Colours, their Tails about an Ell long, which prove very delicate, being in Tafte, as well as Size and Shape, like Pheafants: They harbour in plain Fields, in the long Grafs, and in low Nut-bufhes; and being fprung, in their Flight clap their Wings with a Noife as loud as a Stork.

On the above-mention'd Day being obliged to leave this charming River, I turn'd off on the Left, from it to the South-Eaft, and fpent the 8 th, 9 th and 10 th Days in Travelling betwixt Mountains and Rocks on each Side, where we were afflicted with the Want of Wood and Water, being obliged to content ourfelvers with what the Pits yielded of the latter, which was of a deep brown Colour and almoft ftunk. But on the IIth we got out of the Hills, and came to a Plain, but fo barm ren a Field, that nothing at all grew upon it; the beft was that we had but one Day's Journey to Xixigar, to pals in this defert Field, fo that we held our Night En* campment this Evening not above half a Mile from that Place.
2. Having under the Protection of Heaven reached the Borders of Cbina, I immediately difpatched away a Meffenger Poft to the Adaganda or Mandaryn who had been fent from Pegu to receive me, and on the 12 th, early in the Morning, I fet forwards, having ranged my Retinue in good Order ; and was quickly informed by the Return of my Meffenger, that the Mandaryn accompanied with eighty Men , would ride from the Town of Xixigar to meet me, and was already advanced on his Way.

We approached each other but flowly, and met about a Quarter of a Mile fhort of the Town, where I was very civilly welcomed by the Mandaryn; and after mutual Compliments were paffed, we rode forwards together in Order, (making a very good Appearance) till we reached the Town, where a very good Houfe was provided for me, and thofe of my Retinue were well lodged fuitable to their Characters, as well as the Coffacks which I had with me, in the beft Houfes in the Town.

This Province is fituated in a very variable, and withal unwholfome Climate. About Noon generally rifes a high Wind, that continues about two Hours; but otherwife the Sky is very feldom overcaft, fo that the Sun continues to fhine very hot almoft always, by Means of which and the conftant Wind the Earth is fo dried, and driven upwards, that the fubtile white Duft is fcarce fupportable. I was very particular in my Obfervation of the Alteration of the Air, when I came from betwixt the Hills. About five Miles from Xixigar I perceived the Air to be cloudy as far as the Mountains extended, but no farther; and particularly, where the Hills ended, the Air was clearly and vifibly feparated by a windy Arch, from the Weft to the Eaft, towards the Albanian Mountains; a very extraordinary Phænomenon, which I affert as an Eye-witnefs.
As for what happened to myfelf, the Mandaryn; who was an agreeable well bred Man, very civilly envited me to take a Meal with him on the I 4th Inftant, at which I was received with particular Expreffions of Kindnefs, and fplendidly treated: The Entertainment was compofed of good Soops, favoury Herbs, roaft and baked Meats, all which were followed with a Banquet of Sweet-Meats and Cbinefe Fruit. His Men and Soldiers were all difpofed in the beft Order, each as perfectly and refpectfully knowing and taking his Station as is poffible in Europe. What alone was very uneafy to me, was, that I was obliged to fit with him on the Tapiftry, with my Legs acrofs and under me, which is to Strangers a very troublefome Cuitom.
On the $15^{\text {th }}$ I treated the Mandaryn in Return, having caufed him to be invited the Day before. I entertained him in the European Manner, and put a Glafs of good Sack brifkly about, caufing the Trumpets and other Mufick to play; all which wonderfully pleafed this Gentleman, fo that he and his Company returned Home pretty mellow, and mightily fatisfied with European Civility.

On the 25 th, the fame Mandaryn again entertained

us, and the following Day dined with me. During which Interval of Time, I caufed all neceffary Preparations to be made for me and my Retinue, in order to our Proceeding on our Journey to Peking. I informed the Mandaryn that I was ready, who immediately anfwered very civilly, that purfuant to the Order of his Amologda Cban or King, as many Coachmen or Waggoners as were neceffary were prepared to wait on me, if I pleafed to accept of his Company, and fet forwards on the 28 th Inftant. Before I invite the Reader to accompany me in this Journey, I think myfelf obliged in few Words to defcribe what appeared to me remarkable amongtt the Inhabitants of this Province of Xixigar.
3. About a Quarter of a Mile from this Frontier Town, runs the River Noun, on which is fituate the City of Naunkoton, lately built, and encompaffed with earthen Walls, well lined, and covered on the Outfide with maffy Timber. The Inhabitants of this City, and the fix large Southern Villages fubordinate to it, are call'd Daori or Old Dauri; and at prefent this Country is called Dori, by the Tartars which inhabit all along the River Nauna and Fallo to Albazin. Thefe People have very rich manured Lands, and all Sorts of GardenFruits, and feveral Tobacco Plantations; but their Religion is impious and Diabolical; for according to their own Report they are all Scbammans or Conjurers, which invoke the Devil. Several Neighbours of both Sexes frequently affemble together about Midnight; one of them lies with his Body extended on the Earth, and the By-ftanders with exalted Voices make a difmal Howl : Others beat on a Sort of Drums; which ceafing for a fmall Interval, the Howl is renewed, and fometimes lafts for two Hours, until he that lies on the Earth, feems returned to his Senfes, and after a tedious Howling, rifes up and relates where he hath been, and what he hath feen and heard; after which, whatever any of the Company are defirous to be informed of concerning future Events, or other Particulars, is propofed to him ; and while I ftaid there, no Night parfed without this hideous Howling of thefe Diabolical Minifters.
They keep their Dead three Days in their Houfes, then bury the Corps in a high-rais'd Grave in the Gar-, dens or Fields; after which it is daily vifited by the Relations of the Deceafed, a Hole being left open at the Head, to which Place they bring the Dead all Sorts of Vietuals and Drink, conveying thefe Edibles by a Spoon made for that Purpofe to the very Mouth of the deceafed; but leave the Drink ftanding in fmall Tin Cups round the Grave: This Practice latts for feveral Weeks, which ended, they bury the ftinking Carkafs, a good Way deeper in the Earth.
They live in Houfes of Clay or Earth, covered with Reeds or fmall Bamboes, fomewhat like the Peafants thatched Houfes in Europe. The Walls on the Infide are partly white, being plaiftered with Lime. The Middle of the Houfe is furnifhed with an erected Pillar, about which are wound the Entrails of Beafts, by which hang a little Bow and Arrows, Pikes and other Arms; to all this they fometimes, by bowing and Proftrations, pay an idolatrous Sort of Worfhip. Their Houfes are not partitioned into Chambers, nor have they any Garrets; but almoft one half of the Houfe clofe to the Walls is taken up all round, with a large Bench of an Ell high, and about two Ells broad, covered with red Matts; under thefe Benches pafs a Chimney, through which the Fire is kindled by the Door of the Houle, and the Smoak goes out at the other Side of it. And this Chimney in Winter ferves inftead of a Stove, though the Habitation is, not much warmed by it; but the Inhabitants which fit on this Bench in the Day Time, and lie on it at Night, are indeed fomewhat the better for it. There are conftantly in thefe Dwellings two fixed Iron Kettles, in one of which is warm Water to make Tea, and the other is referved for Boiling of Victuals. The Houfe is all round provided with fquare Windows, which are letticed with Paper inftead of Glais, and in warm Weather they are fer open with a

Stick to make Way for the cool Breezes to paif through the Apartment.
There People are generally well-hap'd, but more efpecially the Women. The Men, Women and young Girls, wear the fame Habit as the Manfourion Tartar's in Cbina. The Secretaries of the Mandaryns, which are in the Service of the Cban, and are fent hither or to any ocher Place in Tartary, whenever they are inclined to Venereal Pleafures, feize for their own Ufe as many Wives as well as young Virgins as they like, at Pleafure; and I have frequently feen them carry off the moft beautiful Creatures on Waggons, as to the Slaughter. Some Men being obliged to fend their Wives after thefe Courtiers, boaft of it as a very particular Favour, that they have the Honour to have fuch a Lord for their Brother-in-Law; but others, though perhaps not very well fatisfied with this Cuftom, for Fear of falling. into Difgrace and being punifhed, are obliged to bear it patiently, though a barbarous Pracice, efpecially amongtt a polite People.
Leaving this frontier Nation on the 28 th Infant, and fetting forward with the Mandaryn from Xixigar, by the Evening we reached a Village where we paffed that Night. On the 2gth we paffed through feveral Villages, and arrived on the other Side of the Falo, where it falls into the Naunda. We forded the falo without any Difficulty, it being but fhallow, bur the Nounda is very broad, ftrengthened with a high Sand and Earth Bank on each Side. The Stream is not very rapid, by reafon it is deep; its Water looks brown ; it abounds with Sturgeon, Jacks, and feveral Sorts of fmall Fifh; and feveral Morher of Pearl Shells are found on its Shoars.
On the 30th we turned off from the River Nounda, and left it on the Left; its Courfe is farther extended downwards, Eaft-South-Eaft, between large Mountains; but we travelled over Mountains of Sand and Earth till the Evening, when we firt reached the Mongalian Rivers. Thefe Mongalians are fubject to the Emperor of Clina. Here we were obliged to content ourfelves with the Water we took out of Wells or Pits," which did not indeed look very well ; and about twenty Huts were erected in the open Field, and covered with Felts, for me and my Retinue; in each of which Cottages an Iron Kettle was fet on the Fire, and a Mongalian appointed for our Service.

Near this Place we found three Ooferes or fmall Lakes of ftanding Water, which were utterly ufelefs, by reafon the Water was brackih in Tafte, and in Colour as white as Milk. Here the Land began to appear high and mountainous towards the Weft, whilit Eaft and Southward the Low-downs prefented themfelves to our View ; and we were forced to make fhift with Well or Pit-water, which was very bad, there being no Rivers near.
4. After four Days travelling without the Sight of fo much as one Houfe, we came to an old ruired City, encompaffed with a Quadrangular Mud-Wall, about a German Mile in its Circumference. The Land appear'd hitherto both Eaft and Weft as before; and after fix Days more travelling over a Hilly Country utterly deftitute of Houles, we reached another old defolate City, called Tainingzingb, fortified with a fquare Wall, and Bulwarks: There are in it cwo Towers or Turrets, one very high and the other lefs: The largeft was an Octagon, the Front of which was built with Brick, and about ten Fathom from the Ground, there was, on each of the eight Sides, Stones placed, on which were carved feveral Hiftories. Upon fome of them are expreffed fome great Perfonages or Kings, as big as the Life, fitting with their Feet under them, and Attendants on each Side of them: Others thew us feveral Figures which feemed to reprefent Queens folding their Hands together, with their Servants on each Side; the Queens having Crowns on their Heads, and the other being adorned with Rays or Luftres, as Saints are commonly painted, and allo folding their Hands; all which feems to hint that this Tower muft be built by Chriftians.

Other Parts of it reprefented Warriors with Pikes, after the Cbimefe Manner, and the King bare-headed,
in the middle with a Scepter in his Hand, and all the By-ftanders appearing with hideous Diabolical Vifages, and the Proportion of all thefe Images fo exactly obferved, that they looked like the Works of European Mafters.

This Turret was perfectly clofe on all Sides, with no Kind of Afcent without, or Entrance into it. Several large Heaps of Bricks lay in the City, befides a great many Stone Statues as big as the Life, in the Figures of Men and Idols, Grave-Stones, great Stone Lions, and Tortoifes of an uncommon Largenefs; by all which this feemed to have been a Place where fome Cbon or King had formerly refided.

One Part of the City was divided from the other by an earthen Wall; the Bulwarks were extraordinary large and high, and this great City had but four Ports or Entrances, into which ran Multitudes of Hares, as far as the Grafs grew, there being fcarce any Men in the Town, or rather Village erected within the Town of late by the Tartars.

The Cbinefe relate, that many hundred Years palt, Utaichan, or Un-Cban, a Tartarian King, governed here, but was conquered and driven out of his Country by a Gbinefe King. The City, as near as I could guefs, was above a German Mile in Circuit.

In feveral Places amongtt the Mountains we obferved Brick Turrets ftanding, which feemed to be ancient Burying-places of the Tartars. In thefe Hills I obferved an infinite Variety of known and unknown Plants, extending for the Space of feveral Miles as thick with Thyme and Marioram as Grafs.

After having travelled four Days farther, we came to Burgan Koton, or Idol City as it is called, which is likewife utterly laid watte: It takes its Name from being a Place where formerly only the principal Heathen Priefts lived. It had a Mud-Wall, moft of which is at prefent fallen down. In the middle of the City is a high octangular Stone Turret, built in the Cbinefe Manner, and hung with feveral hundreds of fmall Iron Bells, which whenever the Wind rifes a little, chime with a Silver Sound, which is very agreeable. There was an Entrance into this Steeple, by which I fent fome of our People up, to fee what was to be found in it: They informed me, that in feveral dark Holes, they faw many thoufands of Cbinefe or Heathen Idols of feveral Shapes, and that they were very glad they were got back again. On one Side of this Turret were leveral Holes, out of which the Stones had fallen by the Decay of Time; and thefe Holes were filled with Infcriptions by the Mangols, in the Eaft Tartorian Language, which were placed there by the Travellers that paffed by that Way, particularly by their Lama's or Priefts; for others who cannot write fatisfy themfelves with fetting up Figures moulded in Clay.
5. Halt a Mile from hence is a Cbinefe Village, moftly inhabited by Lama's, (for where the Corps is thither the Eagles flock) they entertaining all Tartars travelling this Way, and inftructing them in the dark Errors of their ancient Idols. We paffed on over fandy and downy Land, on which was a low Hill, with fome old Birch-Trees fanding on it: This Hillock is according to their Manner eftéemed facred by the Mongalians and the neighbouring Tartars. And thofe who travel by it, as a religious Offering in Honour of this Place, in order to obtain a good Journey, hang fomething which they have about their Body here, either Caps, Cloaths, Purfes, Boots, Breeches, Shirts, Switches, $\mathcal{F}^{\circ} c_{0}$ upon the Trees, which from the Top to the Bottom are fo full charged with this Trumpery, that they feem to be Shops; and it is chought very fcandalous to remove any of them, for they muft hang and rot upon the Principle of their Religion.

At laft we came to the River, which is called Schara Murin or Yellow Horfe; which proceeds from the Weft, and falls Eaftward into the River Karga: It is about thirty Fathom broad, and fordable with Camels and Horfes. Advancing farther we came to the River Logaa, which rifes in the South, and falls into the mentioned Schara Murin. The Land here on each Side is rocky, but in the Valleys are fome fine Villages, and well cultivated Grounds, Profecuting our

Journey we came to a large Village, in which was an old fallen Cbinefe Idol-Temple, without any Idols in it; as alfo another in which a great Lord lived, who was married to one of the reigning Emperor of Cbina's Daughters. After this we reached a fmall City called Kara-Katon or Black City: Which is Quadrangular, and encompaffed with Oaken Pallifadoes driven into the Ground; which ferve rather to defend it from Tygers and Leopards than the Enemy: The Land all about being covered with high Rocks, on which grow Thickets of Oaks, and great Quantities of Grafs, where Multitudes of thofe Beafts harbour, as well as wild Swine and Harts; for which Reafon, from hence to the great Wall, is thought fo dangerous, that no Perfons venture to travel it by Night : And all the Horfes, Affes, Ca mels, and Cows have Iron Bells faftned about their Necks, which fomewhat frightens the Tygers. The Inhabitants told us alfo, that frequently, Men that have only gone amongft the Hills in Day time, have been torn to Pieces: Wherefore the Mandaryn cautioned me to give Order that none of my Attendants fhould venture to turn out of the Road, or go amongft the Hills, that they might not be devoured by there wild Beafts, who by Day harbour on the Mountains Tops, and by Night go in Search of their Prey, and are then exceffively bold and ravenous.
6. The Emperor of Cbina annually in Auguft comes a Tyger-Hunting to this Place, accompanied with two or three thoufand of the beft Archers in Tartary, and a Party of Lancers. When the Tygers are to be put up, the Emperor himfelf goes to the Foot of the Hill along with the Men that attend him armed with Lances, Bows, and Arrows, who inveft the Hill, and befet it very well up to the Top; and when they find the Tygers there, they feeing themfelves befet, endeavour by Leaping to break through the Croud, but are hunted with Drums and Bells till they come to the Place where the Emperor himfelf is, who fhoots down the Game with Bow and Arrow, without any Hazard of his Perfon; for if there happen but the leaft Danger, he is encompaffed with fo many Men, that they eafily defend him from the wild Beaft with their Lances. The Emperor paffes fome Weeks in this Sport ; by Intervals putting up alfo fome edible wild Game, as Swine, Harts, Roebucks, Hares, befides Wolves and Foxes. And this I have heard not only from the Inhabitants, but from the Jefuits, two or three of which were obliged to go this Progrefs with him.

We obferved hereabouts, in the Fields and Trees, a Sort of Birds, in Size and Shape very like a Heron, the Feathers of which are very beautiful, their Neck and Breaft being white, their Wings and Tail of a bright Scarlet, their Flefh firm and very good Meat; we faw alfo another Bird which was as big as a Parrot, his Bill crooked, his Tail a full Ell long, and chequered with all Sorts of fine Colours, but he is fo very wild that he will not fuffer any to come near enough to take him: Here are likewife Partridges with long Tails and beautiful variegated Feathers.

Not far from hence we came to a fteep Rock, the Afcent of which was very crooked and winding, and was for above two hundred Fathom hewn through by Men, and a Way cut which was feven Fathom broad, probably for the Covenience of Travellers, the other Side of this Rock, by Reafon of the deep Morafs, being impaffable. We paffed hereabouts continually by fteep Rocks, furnifhed with Oaks and Limes, and in the Vales Cheitnut and large Nut-trees as well as Vines grew wild. From hence we went forwards and came to a very high Rock, fharp-pointed at the Top, and, by reafon of its Steepnefs, impoffible to be climbed : On one Side of which, about half Way up, is an Idol Temple hewn out of the Rock: It hath four Windows, and inftead of Idols, we faw four Stone Statues in a fitting Pofture. It is not a little to be wondered how it was poffible for Men to come there, and perform fuch a great Piece of Work; the Rock on that Side being fo extraordinary fteep, that a Moufe cannot get up it. This Temple, according to the Report of the Inhabitants, hath been built feveral hundred Years.
7. On

7. On the 27th of OEtober we reached fome WatchTowers on the Pinacles of the Rocks, from whence we got Sight of the Zagan Crim, that is, the great Wall, which we came to on the fame Day. This really feems to be one of the Wonders of the World. About five hundred Fathom from this famous Wall is a Valley, each Side of which was provided with a Battery of hewn Stone, from one of which to the other a Wall about three Fathom high is erected, with an open Entrance. Paffing through this Fore-wall, we came to the Entry of the great Wall, through a Watch-Tower, about eight Fathom high, arched over with hewn Stone, and provided with mafly Doors ftrengthened with Iron: The Wall runs from Eaft to Weft, acrofs the Valley and up extraordinary high Rocks, and about five hundred Fa thom diftant from the other hath on the Rocks on each Side of it a Tower built on it. The Foot of this Wall was of large hewn Quarry-ftone for about a Foot high, and the remaining upper Part was compofed of Brick and Lime, but, as far as we can fee, the Whole was formerly built with the fame Stone. Within this firf Port we came into a Plain full one hundred Fathom broad; after which we came to another GuardPort, which had a Wall on each Side, and like the firft Wall, was carried quite acrofs the Vale ; and this, as well as the firft Port, was guarded by a Watch of Fifty Men. On the firft or great Wall ftands an Idol-Temple, with the Enfigns of the Idol and the Emperor flying on the Top of it. The Wall is full fix Fathom high, and four thick, fo that fix Horfemen may eafily ride a-breaft on it, and was in as good Repair as if it had not been erected above twenty or thirty Years fince; no Part of it being fallen, nor annoyed by the leaft Weed or Filch, as other old Walls are obferved to be.
8. After this laft Watch-Tower, we came into a Vale about three hundred Fathom over, on which grew fome large Willows, and on the Weft-fide, at the Foot of the Rock, was a magnificent Temple ; a Mufquetthot from whence we came to the City of Galcban, which is encompaffed with a high quadrangular Wall, but is not very populous. Here I was welcomed by the Difcharge of three Iron Guns, and continued all Night in the Suburbs. The Streets were fo befet with the Concourfe of People, that it was difficult to pafs them, being drawn together by the Sound of our Trumpets and Bagpipes, which feemed very ftrange to them, they never having heard any fuch Mufick before. In the Evening the Mandaryn fent to compliment me, and invited me to fup with him at the Royal Palace, where the Fmperor refides when he paffes this Way. Upon my coming thither, befides the Mandaryn, I found there the Governor and the greateft Officers of the City; and after we had drank fome Difhes of Tea, I was entertained with a noble Supper, all the Action of a Play, and a Specimen of Mufick, after their Fafhion, confifting of all Sorts of Kettle-Drums and ftringed Inftruments, which made a hideous, confufed Noife; fo that I could have rather wifhed myfelf at a Diftance, than near it. They fate on Stools by Couples, no more than two at each Table. Thefe Tables were finely japanned, and covered with exquifite Needle-work Silk Carpets. They ufe no Table-cloths, Napkins, Knives, Forks or Plates; but only two fmall round Sticks of Ivory or Ebony were laid upon the Table, which was its whole Furniture; but indeed they are fo wonderfully expert in the Ufe of thefe Sticks, that they can with them take up any Thing, though of the Size of a Pin's Head. They hold them in the Right-Hand betwixt the Thumb and the two Fore-Fingers. All their Victuals, whether Soops, Rice, ftewed or roafted Meats, are brought to Table in Cbina Veffels, and not in Difhes : Each Sort of Roaft is ferved up alone, cut into fmall Pieces; but the Banquet of Sweet-meats and Fruit was difhed up in little Cbina Bafins. Their Soops and Pottages are extraordinary grateful to the Tafte, as being enriched with very delicious Herbs and Spices, as Mace, Cinnamon, $\mathcal{E} c$. The Herb they boil in their Soops grows on Rocks in the Sea, and, being boiled, appears flimy, and when dried is green, as it alfo looks in the Vol. II. $\mathrm{N}^{\circ}$ CXXXIV.

Soopṣ. This Plant hath no Leaves, but grows with interwoven Branches, and is of a very agreeable Tafte, and efteemed very wholefome; fome think it to be abortive Satyrion or Birds-Neft. They alfo drefs ftrips ped Shrimps, and Pigeons Eggs with the Whites tinged red and yellow; they have befides fine Salleting, efpecially Endive cut in fmall long Slips, being very agreeable both to Tafte and Smell; this they lay uppermoft in their former Difh. Their Soops are not to be mended by our German Cooks, or perhaps any other.

Inftead of Saltfellers, they have fmall Saucers of Pickle or Brine, into which the Meat is dipped. By reafon they ufe no Spoons, each Peafon takes the Cup of Soop fet before him, and fups it up; but that Part, which is too grofs, he guides to his Mouth with the round Sticks, that nothing may run befides or foul their Cloaths, ufing no Napkins, though indeed their Hand kerchiefs hang by their Sides, with which they only wipe their Mouths.

In the publick Eating-houfes or Ordinaries the Carver ftands at the Table with the Roaft-Meat before him, which, in Prefence of the Guefts, he cuts into fmall Bits, puts them into little Cups, and fets them on the Table. This Carver makes Ufe of no Cloth to wipe his Hands, but cuts off what is beft dreffed round the Bone as long as he can, and tears off the Remainder with his Hands, which are greafed up to the Elbows fo plentifully, that the Sight of them alone is enough to give the Spectators a Meal, more efpecially fuch as have fqueamifh Stomachs.
Their Drinks are Brandy, which they call Arakka, and a Sort of Wine they drink warm, called Tarafu, which is a Decoction of green or half-ripe Rice; and after it hath been kept a Year or two, in Colour, Tafte, and Strength, is very like the befh Rbenijb Wine.

Whilt we were at Table, the Mafter of the Band of Players upon his Knees prefented the Mandaryn with a Book of red Paper, containing a Lift of Plays written in black Letters; which the Mandaryn perufing, told him which Play he chofe; after this, bowing his Head to the Earth, he arole and began the Performance immediately.

Firft entred a very beautiful Lady, magnificently dreffed in Cloth of Gold, adorned with Jewels, and a Crown on her Head, finging her Speech, with a charming Voice, and agreeable Motion of the Body, playing with her Hands, in one of which the had a Fan. The Prologue thus performed, the Play followed, the Story of which turned upon a Cbinefe Emperor long fince dead, who had behaved himfelf well towards his Country, and in Honour of whofe Memory the Play was written. Sometimes he appeared in Royal Robes, with a flat Ivory Sceptre in his Hand, and fometimes his Officers thewed themfelves with Enfigns, Arms, and Drums, E' ${ }^{\circ}$ c and by Intervals a Sort of Farce was acted by their Lacqueys; whofe antick Drefs, and painted Faces, were as well as any I have feen in Europe; and, as far as was interpreted to me, their Farce was very diverting, efpecially Part of it, which reprefented a Perfon who had in his Marriage been cheated by a debauched Wife, and fancying her conftant to him, had the Mortification to fee another make Love to her before his Face. They alfo, according to their Manner, danced to the Lute; and after three feveral Plays were acted, and it grew towards Midnight, I took my Leave, rid Home, fet forwards on my Journey the following Day, and over a floating wooden Bridge paffed the River Lunga, which comes from the Weft, and flows South-Eaftward into the Sea of Corea.
9. Upon my Arrival at the City of Xantunnung, near thar of Lania, we were welcomed by the Difcharge of feveral Guns, and lodged in the Suburbs. The Mando. ryn fent to compliment and invite me to Supper, in Compliance to which, in Company with the Governor and principal Officers of the City, I went accordingly, where I was fplendidly entertained at the Empeo ror's Country Palace, and again diverted with Farces. On the fame Day we paffed the Xungo, which alfo rifes II 5
in the Weft and flows Eaftward near the City of Lania, and happily reached the City of Xonturnung Time enough to lodge there, where, as in the other Cities, I was entertained by the Mandaryn at the Imperial Apartment with a Supper and Play till Midnight. Next Day I went on, and paffed a Morafs, over which lay a very fine Stone Bridge, with numerous Arches, all of 'fquare Stone, and adorned with all Sorts of Imagery, but efpecially Figures of Lyons. We paffed through feveral confiderable Towns and large Villages, all of which were very populous, and very conveniently provided with Horfes and all Manner of Neceffaries for Travellers; here we obferved more efpecially great Numbers of Inns, Cooks-Shops, and Tea-Houfes. In the Evening we came to the City of Xungunua, where the Mandaryn, as before, invited me to Supper; but being indifpofed, and very much tired with a tedious Day's Journey, I civilly refufed him, and ftaying at Home, refrehed my felf with the charming Fruits of that Country, fuch as Grapes, Limons, Oranges, Apples, Pears, Cheftnuts, large and fmall Nuts, $\xi^{\circ} c$. all exquifite in their refpective Kinds.
The following Day we travelled up a high Rock, paffing by the Temple called Fugangu, the Front of which appeared very beautiful, being all of fquare Stone, and feemed to be a flrong Fort or Caftle. Next Day we paffed on the left Hand or Eaft Side over a high Mountain, by a beautiful Cloyfter, and feveral Towns and Villages. This Temple is in the Province of Peking, and very famous, by Reafon the Image of an ancient Cbinefe King, or falfe God, is kept there, which induces feveral Husbandmen, not only from the neighbouring Villages, but even as far as the great Wall, to come hither in Pilgrimage in the Spring to implore a fruifful Summer, and after Harveft to thank their Deity for a good Crop; to perform which Office whole Villages and Families refort hither with their Priefts. The Women being dreffed in their beft Apparel ride on Affes in the Middle of the Proceffion. The Priefts carry painted and metallick Reprefentations or Images of feveral Idols; and fome of the Men carry a Sort of long Trumpets, others Flutes, Drums and Kettle Drums, with which they make a horrid Noife. They are all followed by a Lama or Idolatrous Prieft, with a Basket fattened to his Body, in which he carries triangular folded Papers, fome gilded and other filvered over; thefe he fcatters on the Way about roo Fathom from the Cloyfter, in Honour of this Wonder-worker or Idol. Another carries burning perfum'd Tapers, which laft till they come to their defigned Place. Thefe Pilgrims ftay feveral Days there, pafing their Time in all Manner of Diverfions as well as Devotions.

Profecuting our Journey we paffed by a City inhabited only by the Emperor's Concubines, and their Retinue, where that Monarch fays feveral Days when he goes a Hunting. The City is not large, but hath a great many fine Stone Palaces covered with red Tiles; is full of Idol Temples, and encompaffed with a high Stone Wall. About chree Cannon Shot Weft of this Place is a Spring of boiling hot Water, of which a hot Bath is made.
10. After having paffed many Towns and Villages, we came the next Day to Kixa. Here the Hills on both the Eaft and Weft Sides of us began to difappear; though on the Mountains, on the South-Eaft and Weftern Sides, we could yet fee the great Wall. Going from hence we pafled over a Stone-Bridge on the River Xangu, and repofed that-Night at Xangole.
Oni the 2d of November we paffed through feveral Towns and Villages, and over a Stone Bridge over the River, Tungo, which brought us to the City of Tunxo, which is fortified by a great Wall, and is fituate clofe to the River Tumgo. About as far as the mentioned Bridge, the Governor of the City and principal Officers, with a great Train of Horfemen, came to welcome me. The Mandaryns told me that this Governor was a very great Nobleman, by Birth a Mongalian, or Eaf-Tartar, and a very affable, well bred Man . He invited me and the Mandaryns to Dinner, and gave us a noble Entertainment, fuitable to his Quality and Character.

The City of Tunxo is very large, populous, and a Place of great Trade, by Reafon of the Water-Carriage from thence to fapan and the Provinces of Nanquing and Corea. On this River, and haled on Shoar by its Sides, lie a great many Jonks ; befides feveral which belong to the Emperor, and are richly adorned with carved Work, Galleries, and Windows. In thefe Barges the Governors of Places are carried to their appointed Cities, landed, and afterwards brought Home again. Thofe Jonks which are haled on Shoar are inhabited in Winter like Houfes, though there is indeed but very little Winter here, nor doth the River ever freeze up, though fometimes Ice appears on the Shoar. Thefe Jonks or Barks are indifferent large, and built very ftrong. When they lie on the Wharfs the Joints, inftead of Picch and Tarr, are ftopped and fmeared over with a Sort of Clay mixed with fome other Ingredients, which once dried keeps fafter and firmer than any Pitch, The Mafts are a Sort of Bamboes, hollow within, but yet very ftrong; and fome of them are as thick as an ordinary Man's Wafte. The Sails are a certain Sort of Rufhes woven together, that when furled, fold up as pliable as Flags, which is fomewhat furprizing. The Forepart of thefe Ships is very flat, being built Archwife from Top to Bottom, and very conveniently fitted for the Sea. Infomuch that, according to the Report of the Inhabitants, with a good Wind, in one of thefe they can' reach the Koreaccibian Sea in three or four Days; and fuppofing the Wind favourable, can in four or five Days Sail, gain from thence to the Kingdom or Empire of Fapan, fo litcte are they Novices in Sailing.
Paffing thro' this City, I rode thro" the Cbina Earthen Ware Marker, where I faw vaft Quantities of the fineft Porcelain in the World. I alfo obferved Abundance of Pagods or Idol Temples and Cloyfters; and after I had lodged a Night in the Suburbs, and got every Thing in good Order, departed next Day, and proceeded forward till I entred Peking, this being the laft Lodging-Place in my Way, to that celebrated Capital of this extenfive Empire.
As our Author contents himfelf with fpeaking only of thofe Things that he has feen, and fays no more of them, than what he has feen, I thought it would not be difagreeable to the Reader, if, upon his mentioning fo great a Market for Cbina Ware, I took the Opportunity of inferting a fhort Memorial, that has lain fome time by me, upon this Subject, as it may otherwife run the Hazard of being loft ; and as I am perfuaded, that, upon Perufal, it will be thought worthy of a better Fate, the rather, becaufe at prefent we have nothing very diftinct or very methodical upon this Subject, except in Du Halde's Hiftory of Cbina, where it is fpun to fuch an exceffive Length, that very few People will be at the Pains to read it, and I know fome that have repented of their Perfeverance. Without farther Introduction then take this Memorial, which runs thus.
"There are very few Subjects that deferve more At" tention or Care to be beftowed upon them, than " the Efforts of the human Underftanding, in producing " and perfecting ufeful Arts. Amongft thefe there are " but few that deferve the Preference of Porcelain or "China Ware, fo univerfally admired upon its firf Ap" pearance, which has kept its Credit now for the Space " of two Centuries, and which is generally efleemed, not" withftanding the vaft Quantities of it that are con" tinually imported, as much as when it was firft known. "It is indeed true, that a great Part of its Value is " derived from the Opinion of the Ladies; neither can "I think that this is any Objection to it, for on the " one Hand, they are the moft converfant with it, and "' on the other they are the beft Judges.
"Their Sentiments therefore ought to fix it in our "Efteem ; but while they confider it in the Light of " a beautiful Curiofity, it may deferve our Pains to " encuire into the principal Points that regard it, which " cannet be done without a tolerable Share of diffe's rent Kinds of Learning. I dare not therefore prefume "to hope I fhall be able to fet the Subject in the ful"left and mooft perfect Light, but if I lead the Way, "s and trace out a proper Method of Handling it, "I conceive that I hall not lofe my own Time, and

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## Chap. III.

os that poffibly I may excire fome Mafter of a better
"s Pen to do that Juftice which ir deferves to fo enter*s taining and fo uleful a Subject.
" In the firt Place, we will confider the Excellency "s of Cbina Ware, a Thing that has ftruck fome of the " learned fo much, that according to their ufual Cuftom,
os they would needs entitle the Ancients to it, jutt as they
" have beftowed upon them, the Ufe of the Compafs and
"s of Telefcopes, without confidering that there leaving " no clearer Teftimonies of their Titles to fuch admi"s rable Inventions, does them infinitely more Difcredit
"s than the Notion of their Want of them. According
ss to the Sentiments, or rather to the Whim of thofe who ss doat upon Antiquity, the Vafa Myrrbina ought to be
" trannated Veffels of fine Porcelain. Thefe were firft
os feen at Rome in the Triumph of Pompey, and were "s afterwards efteemed valuable, I might lay invaluable © Curiofities.
c This gives us indeed a very high Notion of the os Excellency of Cbina Ware, but I am very much afraid
cs no very juft one; for if Pliny, who with Refpect to
c Things he had feen, was certainlya very juft and a very "s exact Author, has given us a right Defcription of thefe
c Veffels, they were of a Kind of precious Stone, which
" had a white Ground, interfected with Veins of different
"Colours, which Stone was found, as the fame Author
"s tells us, in fome Parts of Perfia; fo that, except their
" being very fine, of a vaft Price, and coming from
s the Eaft, there are no Arguments to prove that they
sc were Porcelain. But however that Matter may be,
sc moft certainly if the Ancients had any Knowledge
"s of this kind of Ware, they thought it inimitable,
cs for as yet I have not met with any Antiquary that
es has ventured to affert the Romans themfelves made
"s any Thing of this Kind, and yet they were not Noss vices either in the Art of Earthen Ware.
« It is true, that in Perfia they carried fuch a Manu" facture to a great Height, neither is it yet loft among
" the Inhabitants of that Country, who make a very

* fine Sort of Earthen or Stone Veffels, which would
s be imported, and highly valued in Europe, if, notwith-
" ftanding their Beauty, they did not fall very far fhort
"6 of Cbina. In America alfo, and efpecially in the
"s very Heart of Mexico, they make extraordinary hand-
s6 fome Veffels, of a kind of red Earth, little if at all
" inferior to that of the fame Kind, which we receive
"from the Indies; but ftill this is nothing to the Pur-
s pofe, for with Refpect to the Finenefs of the Grain,
s the perfect Tranfparency, the fnowy Colour of the
" White, the wonderful Beauty of the other Colours,
"s Blue efpecially, the Dexterity with which they are
sc laid on, or rather wrought in, and the Strength and
" Soundnefs even of the thinneft Pieces, no Manufac-
"s ture that has been hitherto feen, can be truly faid to
ss vie in Excellency, if I may be permitted that Ex-
s preflion, with the Ware of Cbina.
"s The French indeed have boatted, for what is there " which they will not boaft? that they have come up to "s it, but it is in their Eyes only. At prefent great Part " of the World is perfuaded to prefer the Drefden Ma": nufacture, for which, the beft Reafon that can be " given is, that it is more coftly. But with regard to "the Properties before-mentioned, for as to other "Properties I conteft not, Cbantilli and Drefden muft " both yield. Yet if we confider what a Spirit of Imi" tation the bringing over this Ware has excited, what " wonderful Advances our Potters have made, and
" what a new Field of Induftry this has opened in Eu-
"rope, I prefume there are few Politicians who will not "s agree with me, that we have no great Reafon to re" gret the Silver it has coft us. In this Light, when "we confider Luxury, we perceive that the Wifdom "s of Providence continually extracts Good from Evil, "s and that Nicety, Elegance, and even Profufion, are " made the Parents of Labour, Diligence, and a com" fortable Subfiftence to the Poor, who at firft Sight "feem to be injured by thofe Vices, which, in Reality, " and without the Intention of the Vicious, turn to os their Benefit and that of the Publick.
" But not to dwell too long upon moral Refections; " which however have their Ufe, and ferve to convince " very well-meaning People, that the Notions they re"receive, under an Appearance of Truth, are at the "Botiom frequently groundlefs. I fay, to leave thefe "Reflections, let us confider next the Antiquity of "Cbina. It was firft imported by the Portuguefe, and "came from Lifoon, in very fmall Quantities, to the "feveral Courts of Europe. Cavendifh, the famons "Traveller in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, is held " to be the firft that prefented his Royal Miftrefs with "Veffels of that Ware, which came directly to England. " Thus far our Journey is eafy, but at the fame Time " it is very fhort: We have traced its Naturalization, but "the Difficulty is to fix its Origin in its native Coun"try, which is a Point of Difficulty indeed. Thofe " who pretend to be beft acquainted with the Cbimefe "Story, cut the Knot, which they cannot untie, and "s tells us very bluntly, that there are no Records of this " Invention extant. Men of more Modefty perhaps "s would have faid, that hitherto no fuch Record had "s reached their Hands, for fome other Accounts that
" they give us, leave us not altogether without Hopes, s that this Tale may be one Day contradicted.
" A Perfon, well verfed in Cbinefe Learning affures " us, that there is not a Province, a Diftrict, nor even " a City of Cbina, where they have not a natural, a " civil, and a political Hiftory of the Place; in the "former they fet down all that Nature produces, and " all the Improvements made upon her Productions by "Art. In the fecond, they give Place to all the re-
" markable Perfons, Male and Female, that, in the " Courfe of Ages, have dwelt therein, and the Acts for " which they became famous. 'In the third, they " preferve the Succeffion of their Governors, the moft
"s remarkable Events that happen, the Privileges they
" obtain, and the Misfortunes they fuffer. Now and then "' it is faid, that a Purfe of Gold diftates to the Scribe, " but a fpecial Mandaryn, who is a Native of the Place, " is fent once in forty Years by the Emperor, who, in "Conjunction with the Perfon then intrufted with the " Adminittration, reviews thefe Memoirs, and ftrikes " out all the Paffages that there is any Reafon to fuf" pect ought to have been writ in Gold Letters.

In Records fo curious, and written with fo much Cir"، cumfpection, we might expect that a Line at leaft fhould " have been fpared to fo efteemed and fo important an "Invention. It may be, there is fuch a Memorandum as " this, though hitherto it has efcaped the Curiofity of "s the Jefuits, yet one of thefe Fathers, more happy " than his Fellows, has come pretty near it, and af"fures us, that fince Anno Domini 442, the Cbinefe "Emperors have taken this valuable Manufacture more " immediately under their Care, and have appointed two cs Mandaryns, to infpect all that is furnifhed for the "Imperial Ufe. With this then we muft reft fatisfied, " till we receive fome better Information.
" But here I muft have Leave, to obferve that though "Porcelain and Cbina, Ware; are with us fynonimous " Terms, yet they are not fo in that Empire, in all the "Provinces of which they make Earthen Ware, but not " in above two or three they make Porcelain, or what "s we call Cbina. The Place where it is made in the " greateft Perfection, in the Cbinefe Manner of Wri"cing, is called Kim te tcbim; the laft of thefe marks s only-the Nature of the Place, and fignifies, that " though it is much beyond a Village, yet it is not a -6 City. It would lead us too much out of the Road to " explain this largely, and therefore it may be fufficics ent to fay, that it is a great Town, and, like Manchef"ter in our own Country, owes the Figure that it " makes to the Ingenuity and Induftry of its Inhabi"t tants. It feems there is fomething peculiar to this c Place, which renders it fitter for the Manufacture of " the fineft Cbina than any other; for when many of ${ }^{6}$ the Inhabitants, for the Sake of Gain, removed to $A$ "moy, then the only Port open to Strangers, in Hopes " of carrying on their Trade to greater Advantage, "s they were able to make nothing of it; and when by
${ }^{6}$ " the Emperor's Command, they were removed to $P e$ " king, and all imaginable Care taken to furnifh them "6 wich proper Utenfils and Materials, to intitle the
${ }^{6}$ Capital to fo valuable a Branch of Trade, the fame

- Misfortune happened to them, and the Emperor very
"6 wifely determined thereupon, to leave the Porcelain
" Manufacture where Chance or Nature placed it.
"Thus much may fuffice in Regard to the Origin
"' and Antiquity of this elegant Manufacture ; for tho'
"' more may be expected, yet I know not where it is
${ }^{6}$ to be found: Perhaps in Time, when the Cbinefe
"Learning comes to be regularly ftudied in Europe,
" we may come to have a clearer Infight into this Af-
" fair, fince though the beft China be made at Kim te
" icbim; yet as Perfection is not attained at once, it is
"s very highly probable, that the Art was invented elfe-
"s where, and that the particular Hiftory of the Place
" of its Invention may hitherto have efcaped the Inqui-
" ries of the Europeans. We will now fay a Word or
"two as to the Name of this Manufacture. Some
" have imayined that Porcelain was either a Derivation
" or Corruption of the Cbinefe Appellation; but this is
"s fo far from being true, that the Cbinefe have no fuch
s Sounds in their Language, and confequently no Cha-
"s racters to exprefs them. The Word is abfolutely
" Portuguefe, and in their Orthography is writ Porcel-
" lana. It fignifies literally and ftrictly fpeaking a Cup,
"s a Bafon, or a Saucer, and was firft applied to thofe
" Kind of Shells which we call Cowries, and which
"s paft for Money on the Coaft of Africa. The Infide "of thefe Shells having a gloffy, beautiful white Colour;
"6 when the Poriuguefe firt faw this admirable Earthen
" Ware, they beftowed upon it the fame Name, either
"s becaufe they thought it would give their Countrymen
sc an Idea of its Beauty, or poffibly from a Perfuafion
"s that it might be made of fuch Shells, or of fome
© Compofition that refembled them. As for the Cbi-
${ }^{66}$ nefe themfelves, the Word they commonly ufe to
"s exprefs what we call Cbina, is TJeki, or rather, accord-
s ing to their Manner of Writing and pronouncing it,
"TSe ki.
"6 We will now come to the Ingredients of which it
" is compofed. We had heretofore very ftrange Noti-
ss ons in Europe upon this Head; fome People were
"s perfuaded that Egg-Shells were the principal, if not
is the only Matter of Cbina, and that the Cbinefe were
sc extreamly careful and fecret as to the Method of pre-
"s paring it. After this another Fable was invented, of
" a kind of Clay that was fuffered to rot for one
"s hundred Years, after which Time, and not before, it
"s was fit to make Porcelain. This Story it is thought,
" took Rife from the fuppofed Difference, between new
"s and old Cbina, which was to be accounted for thus;
"s the former, for the Sake of Expedition, and to fup-
"s ply the increafed Demand for this kind' of Ware, was
" made, if we may be allowed the Expreffion, of half
"ripe Clay, and therefore fell fhort in Beauty of the
"s latter, compofed of Clay that had rotted its full Time.
"Some other Notions I have met with in German
" Writers, which are not worth repeating, as being
"f founded like the former purely in Fancy and Con-
${ }^{6}$ jecture.
"What I have to offer as more fatisfactory, has ne" ver yet appeared in our own Language, and is ta-
"ken from a fhort Treatife written upon this Subject,
"6 by Dennis Kao, a Cbinefe, converted to the Chriftian
"R Religion, and is the more likely to be true, becaufe
" it is very fimple and intelligible. There are, exclu-
" five of the Colours, three principal Ingredients in
" Cbina; and not to trouble the Reader or myfelf with
"Cbinese Terms, which neither of us would underftand,
"I fhall tell him in plain Englijh, that thefe Ingredi-
${ }^{66}$ ents are a dry Earth, a moift Clay, and a ftony Oil.
"It is very remarkable, that not one of thefe Ingredients
" is to be found in the Neighbourhood of Kim te Tcbim,
"s where the beft Cbina is made, but are brought thither
"f from feveral Places; and it is thought that the Situa-
"s tion of that Place, furrounded, though at a moderate
" Diftance, with Hills of confiderable Height, has fome-
"thing fo peculiar in the Temper of the Air, and in
"6 the Quality of its Waters, that thefe Ingredients, " wrought with ever fo much Diligence and Circum"f fection in another Place, never fucceed fo well. Be 's this as it will, we will keep clofe to our Subject, and '6 fpeak diftinctly of each Ingredient.
cs That which is ftiled a dry Earth is in Reality a kind
"s of Fire-Stone cut out of Quarries, and fent by Water
" to the Place where the Manufacture is carried on.
"s There it is beat to Pieces, and reduced into a grofs
" Powder; then with an Iron Peftle it is beat in a Brafs
" Mortar till it becomes as fine as poffible but they do
" 6 not give themfelves the Trouble of Sifting, from an
" Apprehenfion that the fineft Parts would fly off in
" the Operation. On the contrary, they throw it, thus
" " beaten into Water, and giving it Time to fettle, fkim
"s off, with great Nicenefs and Dexterity, the Crean,
"s and this, in their figurative Way of fpeaking, they
"ftile the Flefh of the Cbina. As for the moift Clay,
" it is undoubredly a kind of Fuller's Earth, for they de-
"frribe it to be of a greyifh white, very even, clammy,
"s and, in fhort, a Sort of natural Soap. This is like-
" wife brought by Water, and is, generally fpeaking,
" made up in the Form of Bricks; but as the Cbinefe
"6 are for the moft part ftrongly tinctured with the Spi-
"s rit of Fraud, they very often adulterate this precious
"Clay, though it is not of a very great Price, with
"s other Things that are however of lefs Price; and this
" obliges the Manufacturers to be at a great Deal of
"6 Trouble in refining it, which is done by the Help
"s of Water; for it is a fettled Rule, with Refpect to
"s thefe two Ingredients, never to make Ufe of Fire
" This moift Clay is intermixed naturally with a
"S Sort of fparry Subftance, which to the Eye looks like
" the Infide of Oyfter-Shells, and with which the whole
"s Mafs is fo thoroughly impregnated, that when it is
"s purified and cleanfed from all other Mixtures, the
s fmalleft Particle of it, if broken, will difcover Spects "s of this fparry Matter. This fecond Subftance, when "perfeetly pure, they diffolve in Water till it has ac"s quir'd the Confiftency of the former, and this they "call the Bones of the Cbina. For the fineft Sort thefe
" Materials are equally mixt and incorporated; for
"s the middle Sort, there are three Parts of dry Earth
's to two of moift Clay; for the coarfeft Cbina,
"s they mix three Parts of the former with one of the
" latter.
" The third. Ingredient is the Oil which is drawn
"s from the dry Earth or Stone, by a very curious Procefs,
"6 and this, they mingle with another Oil extracted from
"6 Lime feven times burnt. There is a very great Art in
" making this Mixture, for in certain Proportions thefe
" Oils will incorporate, but thofe Proportions vary con-
"s tinually, according to the Nature of the refpective
"s Liquors. The great Point therefore is to hit this exactly
" 6 and when this is done, there refults from thefe two
"Oyls a third, which is the laft Ingredient, and ferves
's for a Varnifh to the Cbina.
" In the Manufacture the feveral Pieces go through dif"6 ferent Hands, but the moft troublefome Part is pre"s paring the Pafte, compofed of the two firf Ingredi" ents, which are kneeded together upon Tiles, or ra"s ther upon Floors made of Tiles, till they become fo "s clofe and even, 'that, upon breaking, there does not "s appear the leaft Vacuity; for a Hair, a Grain of Sand, "s the fmalleft Fragment of any Metal, if taken up in " the Pafte, will infallibly fpoil the Piece into which it s happens to light.
"When all this is performed, it comes into the " Hands of the Potters, who firlt adjuft the Weight of " what they are to make, and then raifing it in a rough
"Way, paif it from Hand to Hand, every Man taking "6 that Share of the Work, in which his particular Ta"6 lent lies; fo that one applies it to the Mold, another "s pares it with the Chiffel to a proper Thinnefs, a third "f fmooths its Edges, and, in this Manner, a Cup and
"Saucer thall fometimes pafs through feventy Hands.
${ }^{6} 6$ When it is clear of the Potters, it comes to thofe "s who give it the Oil or Varnifh, and with them it "s paffes from Hand to Hand, according to their vari"6 ous Capacities, and their Addrefs in finifhing different * Sorts of Work.
" The

Chap. III. from Musciovy to China.
"The Body of Painters receive it next, and as night " as we make of them, for indeed they have no other sc Inftructor than Nature, yet it is very wonderful how * much Care and Pains they take. One traces the
" Border, another gilds it, he who draws the Outlines *s of a Flower never colours it, one Hand paints Clouds,
"s another Water, a third Animals, a fourth Infects, a
sc fifth human Figures, and fo on. Latt of all it ar" 6 rives at the Furnace, and is committed to the Care sc of the Bakers; neither are their Tafks lefs difficult
" than thofe of the other Workmen, for an exact
"Knowledge of the Degrees of Fire, how to raife, how
" to diftinguifh, how to heighten, how to reduce them,
"s are requifite in thefe People, who poffels wonderful
" Talents in their Way.
" Befides the five feparate Corps, which make up ss what may be fliled, the regular Workmen in this * Manufacture, there are a Variety of Branches be-
© longing to it, that occupy as great a Number of Peo-
es ple, fuch as thofe who prepare the feveral Ingredi-
" ents, thofe that make the feveral Inftruments and
s Tools that are required in the Progrefs of the Work;
" thofe that diftil an Oil from traniparent Flints for
" the fuperfine Cbina, of which none comes to Europe;
s thofe that extrace and prepare the Colours, who are
" alfo exceeding skilful in their Way, are in-
"comparable in their Preparations of Blues and Reds,
" and underftand perfectly the Art of compounding,
" $f 0$ as by a judicious Intermixture of the primary
"Colours, to produce all the reft with Truth and
" Beauty. After what has been faid, the Reader per-
s haps will not think it alcogether incredible, when he
« is told, that in Kim te tchim, there are not fewer than
" one thoufand Furnaces or Laboratories; to each of
ss which belong diftinct Companies, of Workmen ;
s that the fettled' Inhabitants amount to eighteen thou-
cs fand Families; and that the Number of Souls main-
" tained by, and depending upon this Manufacture in
s this Place, is computed to fall very little fhort of a
" Million.
" If this had been laid down fimply, and as a direct " Matter of Fact, without premifing any Circumftan" ces, or bringing the Reader to reflect on the Me" thod in which thefe kind of Works are carried on, " it muft neceffarily appear a very improbable, if not " a very incredible Affertion; whereas now, when the " Thing is better underftood, and we have fome kind " of Grounds for our own Computations, it will wear sc quite another Appearance, and the clofer we look " into it, the more we fhall incline to believe that thofe, "s wo have affirmed this Fact, were neither impofed " upon themfelves, nor had any Inclination to impofe «s upon others.
cs It is allowed, that vaft Quantities of this Ware " are exported annually to Europe, which, like moft " other Branches of their Commerce, muft be extreamly
" beneficial to the Cbinefe, who in Point of Oeconomy,
"s mult be acknowledged the wifeft Nation upon the
"Face of the Globe: For though they love Magnifi-
"cence, are no Enemies to Pleafure, and indulge Soft-
" nefs and Luxury to a very great Degree, yet what
" the French call their Police, is fo extreamly well re-
" gulated, that thefe feldom or never create any Diffi" culties to the State. They encourage and work by
"European Patterns, from a very wife and judicious
"Notion of pleafing their Cuftomers; but befides the
" European Market they vend vaft Quantities of Por" celain elfewhere; as for Inftance, they fupply the " whole Empire of Fapan, they fend vaft Quantities by
" the Caravans into different Parts of Tartary, they
" fupply all India and Perfia; and the Dutch and Por-
${ }^{6}$ tuguefe take off very large Affortments for the $E_{u-}$ -
" ropean Settlements in the Eaft-Indies, and for the other
" Countries with which they trade.
"But notwithftanding this, the fineft, richeft and moft «s valuable Cbina remains in that Empire, and is not
" exported at all, or at leaft very rarely; there is par-
"ticularly a yellow Cbina, which is deftined to the Im-
"t perial Ule, and is prohibited to all others, tho' we ${ }^{66}$ are told, that the Grand Signior always eats out of Vos. II. $N^{\circ} 134$.
"s this kind of Porcelain; but how he comes by it, is a "Secret I have not been able to penetrate. They " have a kind of Crimfon China, which is very fine 66 and very dear, becaufe great Quantities of it are fooi" led in the Baking. They have another Sort of a " fhining White, purfled with red, which is done by a " dextrous blowing the Colour through a Gawfe, fo "6 that both the Infide and the Out is equally beautified "s with Crimfon Spots, no bigger than Hins Points, and " this muft be exceffively dear, fince for one Piece that " fucceeds, a hundred are fpoiled. They have Cbina " purfled in the fame. Manner with Gold, which is " highly valuable for the fame Reafon. They have-a " kind of Cbina, which by drawing Lines with a Hair "Pencil, dipped in Oil of Flint, before it is varnifh" ed, looks like Mofaic Work, or as if the Cbina " had been cracked thorough in a thoufand Places, and "s was fet together again without Cement. They have "s a kind of Violet colour'd Cbina, with Figures com"s pofed entirely of green Specks, which is done by " blowing the Colour at once through a Figure pierced "s full of Holes, and this fucceeds fo rarely, that a very "6 fmall Bafon is worth two or three hundred Pounds. "They have a kind of white Cbina, exceffively thin, "6 with blue Finhes painted on the Metal between the " Varnifh, fo that they are invifible but when the Cup " is full of Liquor.
" It is reported that the Secret of making this Cbino " 6 is loft, and that vaft Sums have been fpent in endea"s vouring to recover it. I muft confef' I doubt much "s of this, as well as of another Circumftance univerfally " believed, which is, that the old thick, and as the "Cbinefe very properly call it, filent Cbinc, becaufe " though perfectly found it will never ring, is a Curio"fity not to be attained in our Days. Father Antbony "Solis, a Portuguefe Miffionary, who refided forty "Years in Cbina, and died at Macao, wrote a Treatife " which was never printed, though it very well deferved ' it of the Erauds of the Cbinefe, and amongtt thefe " he reckons old Cbina. He tells us, that no Country " " in the World abounds fo much with Virtuofs as this, " and that thefe People, by giving high Prices for an"s tique Cbina, have brought it into great Credit, but "s that by the Help of a yellow Clay, Oils of feveral " Kinds, fome of which are Metallick, and laying the "Cbina for fome Months in Mud as foon as it comes "from the Furnace, they produce the very fame Sort " that is fo highly valued by the Vulgar, for being five "6 or fix hundred Years old. But after all, it is a moft "6 high Perfection in this Ware, that it is capable of en" during fo long, not only without Lofs, but with an - Acceffion of Beauty; for though the Luftre of the Co" lours decay, yet this is more than compenfated by ' that Softnefs and Mellownefs, which refults from that ' kind of Fading; and the Art of procuring this Degree of Elegance in a fhort Space, is a wonderful "Proof of the Application, as well as Ingenuity of ${ }^{6}$ this Nation.

There is but one Thing more that I fhall add to ' this Difcourle, and that from the fame Author; it is a " Defcription of an ancient Painting making one Side " of a Summer-Houfe, thirty three Foot in Length, and "f feventeen in Height, which feems to be a fingle and "s perfect Plate of Cbina, though it is certain, that they "can bake nothing of any Thing like that Size in a "s fingle Piece. But upon a ftrict Infpection, it appear'd. ' to be a Wall made of Cbinc Bricks, the Face paint. 6 ed, varnifhed, and thoroughly baked by a Fire " raifed before it, and kept up a proper Time. It ap" peared by the Hiftory of the Town, that the Mandaryn, at whofe Expence it was done, failed twelve " Times in the Attempt, and that this was the thirteenth c Wall of this kind that had been erected.
" Every Trade in Cbina has its peculiar Deity or ra"ther Idol, and therefore it cannot be fuppofed, that "i fo noble, fo gainful a Manufacture fhould want one, " and yet this was the Cafe for fome hundreds of " Years; at laft a bold Potter formed the glorious " Defign of deifying himfelf, and giving his Profeffion " a Protector, as other Trades had. The Fact happen-

II G
${ }^{6}$ ed thus; A certain Emperor ordered a Number of 8، Veffels to be made of a Size fuperior to any in Ufe
" before his Time, and many Trials were made to no
" Purpofe; For notwithftanding they increafed the
" Thicknefs of the Plates to feveral Inches, yet when
"t the full Heat was given, they melted and funk down
" into a Thapelefs Mafs. At this the Cbinese Workman
s، was at Length fo much provoled, that growing fran-
" tick with Defpair, he threw himfelf into the Furnace,
" and was there confumed to Afhes in a Moment;
" and what was furprizing, the Attempt that was next
"s made facceeded happily; and the Cbinefe Emperor
" had, according to his Wifh, fuch Porcelain as never
" adorned the Tables of his Predeceffors. To reward
"the Courage of fo great a Hero, of which by the
"Way there are but few in this Country, and to per-
" petuate the Memory of fo extraordinary an Action,
" it was agreed, that he fhould be honoured as the tute-
". lary God of Cbina-Ware, and his Idol is to this Day
"، worfhipped by all the Fraternity of Porcelain-makers,
" under the Name of Pou $f$ a, to which they offer Pray-
" ers, cut Paper, and Incenfe, as to the other Idols.
" We fhall however be much miftaken, if we con-
" fider Pou $\int a$ as the only Martyr of this T'rade, for in
"Fact there have been many thoufands, or rather Mil-
*، lions; for the Fatigues which they endure in every
"Branch of the Manufacture, but more efpecially fuch
" as attend the Furnace, is fo great, that a quick Suc-
"ceffion in their Labours is occafioned thereby. The
"Hills which furround the famous Town of Kim te
"t tebim, are crouded with the Graves of thefe poor
"Laboupers; but though fuch Numbers are buried there,
" yet there are far greater Numbers that die fo poor as
" not to leave wherewith to bury them at all. For
"s the Reception of thefe unhappy Wretches, there are
" vaft Pits dug at the Bottom of the Hills, "into which
"their Bodies are hurled without either Ceremony or " Covering, except it be quick Lime, of which half " its own Weight is beftowed on every Corpfe. By "s this Means the Flefh is quickly confumed; and once " a Year, the Bonzes, from a Principle of Charity, as " they pretend, come and collect the Bones which are "burnt, and the Pit being purified by vaft Fires, be"comes again a Repofitory for thefe Relicks of Mor" tality.
"Thus we have purfued the Hiftory of this Manu"facture, and the Manufacturers thereof, as far as we "can well go ; we have feen how long it has been in "U Ufe, what Miftakes have been made upon it, how " remote thefe Miftakes are from the Matters of Fact " they were invented to explain, what real Excellenicies " belonged to this Trade, what a prodigious Inftance " of Induftry the State of it exhibits in Cbina, from " how many various Quarters Wealth is derived, from " the Sale of this admirable Ware; while yet the fineft " and the beft remains behind, which fhows the "Wealth of this Country to be by far fuperior to " that of all other Countries with which it engages in ' Commerce. Thefe and many incidental Circum" ftances may ferve to exercife the Thoughts, and ex' cite the Curiofity of the Reader to a clofer Enquiry into all the Branches of this comprehenfive Subject, the Heads of which, if we have fo touched as to merit Attention and Pardon, it is all that we expect; for as to Approbation and Applaufe, they are the fu" preme Rewards of Learning, and ought to be beftowed upon Works of greater Labour, and greater Extent, and which muft be confequently the Product of a fuperior Genius.

## S E C TION III.

The Author's Reception at the Court of China, the great Civilities paid him there ; the wonderful State and Magnificence of the Imperial Palace; the Ceremonies of a Publick Audience ; the Perfon and Manners of the Emperor defrribed. An Account of the Curiofities of the City of Peking ; the grand Eftablifhment of the Jefuits there ; Civilities paid by them to the Rufian Minifter; remarkable Things obferved by him during the Time of his Stay in the Imperial Refidence ; the pompous Ceremonies of his Audience of Leave; his Return from Cbina by Land; the Accidents attending his Journey; the many and great Hardhips he fuftained therein, notwithftanding his Intereft in both Empires, and his fafe Arrival, after fo many Hazards, and enduring fo great Fatigues, at Mofcow.

## From the Original Gournal of bis Excellency Everard Ysbrants Ides, Plenipotentiary from their Czarifh Majefties John and Peter, to the Emperor of China.

1. The Autbor's Entrance into the Imperial City of Peking, with an Account of bis Reception and Entertainment there, and the many Civilities paid bim till the Emperor was ready to give bim Audience. 2. He receives bisfirft Audience, is there fumptuouly entertained, and eats in the Prefence of the Emperor of China, November 16, 1693. 3: The Civilities ufed by bis Imperial Majefty at bis Departure. A Defcription of bis Apartment, Retinue, Perfon, and the Bebaviour of thofe about bim. 4. He vifits the City of Peking, and is hown every Thing remarkable therein by the Emperor's exprefs Order. 5. An Account of the annual Feftival rebich lafts for three Weeks, as allo of the Autbor's Audience of Leave, from wobich be returns to bis owo Apartment in a Carriage drawen by an Elepbant. 6. He is invited, by the Emperor's Permifion, to vifit the Jefuits, who entertain bim in a moft fplendid Manner. He vifits the Emperor's Stables, and fees there Abundance of Curiofities. 7. The Author leaves Peking on the 19th of February, 1694. An Account of bis Journey tbrough the Chinefe Territories, and the Accidents that

> attended.
attended it, 8. His Arrival at the River Sadun, where be is joined by a Chinele Envoy, and the great Hazard they run of being burned in their Tents. 9. The Difficulties and Inconveniencies to wbich they were expofed in theis Fourney, from the great Scarcity of Provifions and other Accidents, togetber with the Metliods they ufed to alleriate them as much as poffile. Io. They relieve themjelves in fome Meafure by Hunting and Filbing. His Intervierv with a Tungufan Conjurer, and the Succe/s of an Exprefs Sent to Argun for a Supply of Provifons. 11. The long-expected. Provifons arrive, by wobich theyllare delivered from all their Difficulties. The Ambaffador continues bis fourney through the Territories of the Czar, and at length arrives fafely at Mofcow on the Firflof January, 1695, after baving ppent two Years and ten Montbs in bis Travels.
1.

AB OUT Ten in the Morning we approached within half a Mile of Peking, and .went by feveral magnificent Country Seats, belonging to the Inhabitants as well as Man daryns; both Sides of the Way were adorned with thefe noble Buildings; before which were wide Channels, which ferved to carry off the falling Water, with fmall Stone Bridges over them oppofite to the Houfes, The Gardens were moft of them fenced with StoneWalls, and adorned with carved Gates, and very fine Garden-Houfes; the largeft Paths were planted on each Side with Cypreffes and Cedars, which afforded a charming Profpeet and Paffage through them. The Gates of the fineft Gardens were fet open, I fuppofe on my Account. Thefe plearant Seats continued on each Side the Way to the Entrance of the City. It is alfo obfervable, that from the great Wall to Peking, at the Diftance of about every half Mile, are Watch Towers, in each of which are five or fix Soldiers, who Night and Day difplay the Emperor's Flags and Enfigns, which are yellow: Thefe Turrets, like Beacons, ferve on Occafion of any Enemy appearing from the Eaft, to light Fires on, to convey Notice of it to the Emperor, which is done fo expeditiounly, that in a very few Hours it reaches Peking.
The Land from the City of Lanio hither is plain, and good arable Ground, on which grows Rice, Barley, Miller, Wheat, Oats, Peafe and. Beans, But no Rye. The Roads here are very broad, perfectly ftrait, and very well kept; for if but one Stone be found on them, it is immediately thrown to the Side by Perfons exprenly appointed for that Purpofe. In all the Villages we faw Pails filled with Water ftanding ready for the Camels and Affes to drink: And to my no fmall Wonder, I obferved that the great Roads through the Country, were as noify by the Multitudes of Travellers and Waggons, as if they were the crouded Streets of a populous City. So wonderfully ftocked is this vaft Empire with Inhabitants.
After I had caufed our Caravan with all the travel ling Baggage to be difpached into the City an Hour before, I rode on in order with my Convoy, and thofe who were ordered to ride before me, making in all ninety Perfons, befides feveral Coffacks. The Croud at the Gates, and the Concourfe of People with which the Streets were lined, gave us fome Interruption at our Entry into the City. Notwichftanding there were feveral of the Emperor's Borchy, or Harbingers, appointed to make Way for our Paffage; yet they had enough to to do to make us bare paffing Room ; the Cbinefe be. ing very curious to fee Novelties. Being come near to the Ambaffador's Court, feveral Mandaryns came to meet and compliment me on my Arrival. Both Sides of the Streets were lined with Soldiers as well as the Court. Riding through which, they brought me to my Apartment, where not myfelf only, but all my Retinue were inftantly ftocked with all Manner of Provifions and Refrefhments. And we every Morning returned Thanks to the great God, who after a long and difficult Journey of one Year and eight Months, had at laft conducted us fafe and well to our defired Place, without the Lofs of any more than one, Man, whofe Death for that Reafon has been particularly mentioned.
2. After a Repofe of three Days, I expected to be informed when it would pleafe the Emperor to admit me to Audience : And, according to the Cuftom of this Country, that Day the Einperor's Orders came for me to appear, and receive a Welcoming or Meal. Upon which I prepared myfelf, and feveral great Mandaryns
were appointed to conduct me up into the Caftle, where the Viceroy, Sungut Doriamba, Uncle to the Emperor, and four of the greateft Lords of the Empire, received and welcomed me. Here the Floor was overfpread with Carpets, upon which having feated myfelf with them, the Viceroy, in the Name of the Emperor, acquainted me that the Emperor his Mafter prefented me with this Table or Entertainment; and though he could not himfelf be prefent, yet defired I would accept this Meal, as a Welconre after fuch a long Journey. After which the Table was covered with cold Meats, as roalt Geefe, Chickens, Pork and Mutton, befides all Sorts of Fruit, and Confections; the Table appointed for me alone was about an Ell Square, upon which the Difhes, that were all of Silver, and pilled one upon another, amounted as I told them, to the Number of Seventy.

They were entertained with Tea, and I with Tarafoen and Rhenifh Wines. The Viceroy and ocher Lords diverted themfelves by Smoaking Tobacco, and he made his Compliment to me in the following Words; He defired, that I would accept of this Entertainment, as a Teftimony of the Emperor's Favoür, and expeč his Orders in a few Days, to bring their Czariß乃 Majef sies Credentials, and receive my publick Audience; upon which rifing up and thanking him for the Emperor's Favours, I return'd to the Ambaffadors Court.

On the í2th of November the Viceroy fent fome Mandaryns to give me Notice to appear with their Czari及 Majefties Credencials next Morning in the Caftle; for which I accordingly prepared myfelf. At Eight in the Morning three principal Mandaryns came to advife me that it was then a proper Time to wait on the Emperor: Befides their common Habit, they were alfo dreffed in Robes, which were embroidered, fome with Dragons, others with Lyons, and a third Sort with Tygers and Cranes on the Breaft and Back, work'd with Gold Thread: They brought with them fifty Horfes for my Retinue. According to the European Mode, I advanced with their Czarifh Majefties Credentials, and was attencied by my Retinue in good Order towards the Court.

Coming to the outer Gate of the Caftle, there is a Pillar, with fome Characters engraven on it, where I was told I mult alight, according to their Cuftom ; $\mathrm{f}_{\mathrm{f}}$ o that I went on Foot through five outer Courts to the Caftle itfelf. I found a great Number of Mandaryns at the Court, all cloathed in their richeft Embroidered Robes, fuch as they wear in the Emperor's Prefence, who waited for me.

After we had mutually exchanged Compliments, the Emperor appeared on his Throne; upon which I delivered his Czarifh Majefty's Credentials, and after the ufual Ceremonies, and a fhort Speech, was conducted back.

On the 16th of the fame Month, I was informed that I was invited to eat before the Emperor: Wherefore in the Morning, accompanied with the Nandaryns thereto appointed, and the chief Gentlemen of my Retinue, I rode to Court. And in the fixth Court, a great many Lords and Mandaryns were ftanding in Rows in their beft Robes; and fhordy after an Order came for us to appear above in the Palace. As foon as I entred, the Emperor afcended his exalted Throne, having near him fome Perfons who played very finely on the Fife, and a Life-Guard of twelve Men with gilt Halbards without any Point to them, but adorned with Leopards and Tygers Tails. As foon as the King was
feated,
feated, the Mufick ceafed, and the $\mathrm{H}_{\text {al }}$ badiers feated themfelves crofs-legg'd on each Side below the Throne. The Emperor's Table was furnifhed with cold Meats, Fruits and Sweetmeats, ferved up in Silver Difhes, and the whole covered with yellow Damask. The Viceroy, the Emperor's Uncle, and two other of the principal Nobles ftood on each Side of his Imperial Majefty, and I was placed on the Right-Hand of the Throne, about four Fathom diftant from the Emperor; who looking very earneflly at me, ordered the Viceroy (who received his Commands on his Knees) to bring me nearer. Upon which he took me by the Hand, and placed me about two Fathom diftant from the Emperor, and my Retinue were placed about fix behind me. The Emperor a fecond time fent the Viceroy to me with the utmott Refpect, to afk after the Healch of their Czarifh Majefties; to which I returned the proper Anfwer. Then he caufed his Table to be uncovered by taking off the Damask Covering, and defired me to eat, a Table being fpread for me only: The other Lords and Man. daryns, about two hundred in Number, took their Places according to their Quality, fitting two at each Table, in the Perfian Manner, upon Carpets, with their Legs under them; which Cuftom I was obliged to comply with, as it is not to be difpenfed with here
The Emperor fent me from his Table, a roaft Goofe, a Pig, a Loin of very good Mutton, and foon after feveral Dimes of Fruit, and a Sort of Drink compofed of boiled Tea, fried Meal and Butter, which looked not unlike Bean or Coffee Decoction: Having received all which, with due Refpect, his Majefly ordered the Viceroy to ask me, what European Languages I underftood ? To which I anfwered, I could fpeak the Mujcovite, German, Low-Dutch, and a little Italian.
Upon which he immediately difpatched fome Servants to the hinder Part of the Palace; which done, there inftantly appeared three Jefuits, who approached the Throne. And after Kneeling, and performing their Reverence to the Emperor, he commanded them to rife. Ont of thefe was Father Fobn Francis Gerbillon a Frencbman; and the two others were Portuguese, one of them called Father Antbony Thbomas. The Emperor ordered Father Gerbillonto converfe with me; who coming towards me, fpeakirg Italian, asked me in the Emperor's Name how long I had been travelling from Mofcows to Peking, and which Way I came, by Waggon, on Herfeback, or by Water? To which I returr'd fatisfactory Anfwers: On which returning to his Majelly, he informed him; who immediately anfwered, Gowa, Gowa, which is very well. The Emperor then ordered the Viceroy to acquaint me, that it was his mof gracious Pleafure, that I Thould approach nearer the Prefence, by coming up to the Throne; upon which I arifing, the Viceroy taking me by the Hand, after having led me up fix Steps, fet me at the Table oppofite to the Emperor. After I had paid my moft humble Refpects to his Majefty, he talked with Father Gerbillon, who again asked me, How long I had been on the Way hither? In what Manner I rravelled? and, in what Latitude Mofore was fituate, and how far diftant from Poland, Fronce, Italy, Portugal, or Holland? To all which I obierved my Anfwer proved very fatisfactory. Upon which he gave the Viceroy a Gold Cup of Tarlerian Liquor called Kumis, in order to hand it to me; which with due Refpect I accepted, and having tafted, return'd it. This Kumis, according to the Report of the Attendants, is a Sort of Brandy diftilled from Mares Milk. After this, the Emperor ordered my Recinue to advance within three Fathom of his Throne, and entertained them with the fame Liquor; which being done, I paid my Compliment in the European Manner, and the Viceroy took me by the Hant, conducting me to my former Place, where after fitting for a Quarter of an Hour, I was defired to rife.
3. After this the Emperor arofe, and having faluted me, defcender from his Throne, and went our of the Audience Hall by a Door on the Left-hand, in order to go to his Royal Apartment.' As he was leaving the Hill, he fent the Viceroy to ask me, whether I had heard any News out of Europe concerning Father Gri-
maldi, who had been difpatched thither on the Emperor's Affairs: To which I anfwered, that when I left Moforw, I was informed that he, with a Retinue of twenty-five Perfons, arrived at Smyrna, and relolved to profecute his Travels through Perfia and India. He replied, I am informed he is fafely arrived at Goa, and is upon his Departure thence in order to his Return hither, and it is feven Years fince he left Cbina. Hereupon I took my Leave, and retired to my. Apartment.

Defigning to take another Opportunity to give an Account of what I could obferve concerning the Court, I fhall at prefent only defribe the Outfide of the Pa lace, and the Throne on which the Emperor fate. The Palace is an oblong quadrangular Brick Building, which is twice as long as broad, and the Roof covered wich yellow glazed Tiles, on which were fixed Lyons, Dragons, and all Sorts of Imagery; the Height of this Building to the Roof was about eight Fathom; the Afcent to the Hall was up feveral Steps, and the farther Part or Entrance of it was provided with certain open Places or Windows, which were not glazed but peaked with Paper. At the Ends of this Hall were two Doors, the Tops of which were adorned with a Sorc of carved Work, fomewhat like a Crown, which was extraordinary well gilt. This Building hath neither any Room over it, or arched Roof, but the Height of the Room is to the very Top of the Roof, which was compofed of curious Pannels, beautifully colour'd; japann'd, and finely gilded. This Hall is about thirty Fathom long and ten broad. The Floor, according to the Tartarian Mode, was covered with Carpecs, adorned with Landskips and Figures.
The Throne is placed oppofite to the Eiftern Entrance, againt the back Wall, and is about three Fathom broad, and as many long; before it are two Afcents with fiz Steps each, adorned with Rails and Reprefentations of Leaves very well gilt : On the right and lefc Sides were allo Rails of caft Imagery, which fome report to be Gold, and others Silver, which are alfo extraordinary well gill. Exactly in che Middle of this raifed Place is a Throne, fomewhat like an Altar, which opens with two Doors, and in it the Emperor's Seat, about an Ell high, covered with black Sables, on which he fate with his Legs acrofs under him. This Monarch was then aged about fifty Years, his Mein was very agreeable, he had large black Eyes, and his Nofe fomewhat rifing; he wore fmall black Muftachoes, but had very little or no Beard on the lower Part of his Face ; he was very much pitted with the Small-pox, and of a middling Siature. His Drefs confifted of a common dark-colour'd Damask Waitcoat, a Coat of deep blue Sattin, adorn'd with Ermines; befides which, he had a String of Coral hanging about his Neck, and down on his Breaft. He had a warm Cap on turned up with Sable, to which was added a red Silk Knor, and fome Peacocks Feathers hanging down behind. His Hair, plaited into one Lock, hung behind him. He had no Gold nor Jewels about him. He had Boots on, which were made of black Velvet.
Whilf he was at Dinner, fuch a reverential and profound Silence was obferved amongft the Mandaryns, that not only no Noife was heard, bur they forbore fo much as fpeaking to one another, all fitting very ftill with modeft down caft Eyes, amongft them the higheft Mark of Refpect.
4. On the rext Day the Emperor fent two Mandaryns with fifty Horfes for my Retinue, and a Meffage, importing, It was his Majefty's Pleafure, that if I defired to fee the City, all that was worth my View fhould be fhewed me. Purfuant to which, I caufed my Horfe to be fadled, and rode out with thefe Mandaryns, who, by the King's Command brought me to a Sort of Play-houfe, or Court of Diverfion, which was a very lofty and capacious Building. In it was a great Stage adorn'd with carv'd Imagery, finely painted, which the Players had the Uie of tor an annual Rent. In the Middle of this Palace was an open Place encompaffed with Galleries, in which the Mandaryns defired us to fit down on Chairs ; and having entertained
me with Tea and Tharafin Wine, I and my all Retinue were treated with a Comedy, and the Diverfion of feeing a great many different Sorts of exquifite Juglers, who, by a dextrous Slight of Hand, feem to produce not only all Sorts of Fruits, as Oranges, Limons, Grapes, Ecr. but live Birds and Crabs, and perform all the Dexterities of that Kind practifed in Europe. Others fo nicely play'd with round glafs Balls, as big as a Man³ Head, at the Point of a fharp Stick, toffing them feveral Ways, without breaking or letting them fall, that it was really furprizing. After this a Bamboc Cane, about feven Foot high, was held upright by fix Men, and a Boy about ten Years old crept up to the Top of it as nimbly as a Monkey, and laid himfelf on his Belly upon the End of it, turning himfelf feveral times round;' after which rifing up, he fet one Foot on the Bamboe, holding faft to it with one Hand, and then loofing his Hold, clapped his Hands together, and run very fwiffly down, and fhewed feveral other Feats of Agility, which were very wonderful as well as highly entertaining.
The Comedies had alfo a very good Effect, by reafon they were atted in the beft Manner by the Emperor's Players. They frequently appeared in Changes of very rich Dreffes, embroidered in Gold and Silver; and the Plot turned on the Story of a Triumphant Hero, in which was brought in their Idols, and a late Emperor, whofe Face was painted of a Blood Colour ; which was intermix'd with a Farce, or diverting Entertainment, of two young Women richly drefs ${ }^{3}$ d, who ftood each on a Man's Shoulder, and nicely play'd with their Fans, bowing to one another, and keeping Time to the Mufick as exactly as if they had danced on the Ground. Two little Boys play'd Hofficki or Harlequins, in very fantaftick Habits, and recited their Parts very well. After the End of the whole, I thanked the Mandaryns and return'd home. On the fame Day the Emperor went out a Ty-ger-hunting, without the great Wall, purfaant to his annual Cuftom, and returned in a few Days to Peking.
On the fame Day I was invited to a Repaft by the Viceroy, or Sungut Doriamba, with which Invitation I complied, and after fome Difcourfe paffing betwixt us, he led me by the Hand out of his Bed-chamber into his beft Hall, or Parlour, where feveral Tables and Stoo!s Atood ready ; the Tables were adorn'd with rich Tapeftry Carpets of Silk and Gold, which were full wrought with Figures. I was feated on one, and the Mandaryns on the other Side of the Viceroy. The Tables were allo fet off with very fine Flower-pots, full of Flowers of all Sorts of Colours, work'd in Silk, which not only looked very beautiful, but very natural ; Crimfon Velvets, and the moft charming colour'd Silks being chofen to make them, it being Winter, when no natural Flowers were to be gathered: On the fore-part of thefe Tables were alfo placed Silver Cups, in which was laid lighted Pieces of the fragrant Wood Kalamba, which afforded a very good Perfume; next which flood fine Wooden Images, and Variety of fmall Figures or Puppets, finely painted and gilt. The Chairs or Stools on which the Viceroy and I fat, were, according to the Tartarian Fafhion, hing at the Back with Leopard and Tyger Skins, which appeared very magnificent; and a larger Difh of Tea than ordinary, in which was put peel'd Walnurs and Hazle-nuts, with a little Iron Spoon to take them out on Occafion, was placed before each Perfon. After the Tea was drank off, which tafted very agreeably, feveral little Agate Cups, filled with Brandy mix'd with diftill'd Waters, were ferv'd about ; and after that, feveral Difhes, or rather Cups, of fry'd or broil'd Fifh, cut into fmall Pieces, were fet in Heaps one upon another, garnifhed with fine Herbs and Flowers, and as an Ornament fet on the Fore-part of the Table in a Row; by them were placed fix Cups of very agreeable Soops, difh'd up with very fine ftew'd Flefh and Fifh; and when we had eaten of thefe, we were regaled with fevieral Courfes of the richeft Edibles, which were followed by all Sorts of fine bak'd 'Meats ; and after this laft Courfe all Kinds of delicious Confects, as candy'd Grapes, Limons, Oranges, Cheftruts, and Shell'd Nuts.
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During our fitting at Table in the Room where we eat, was acted a Play, interlarded with Songs and Dances, by little Boys drefs'd in Girls Cloths; who very skilfully meafured their Steps in Proportion to the Time of the Song, and play'd on the Flute, withal diflorting their Bodies into antick Poffures, and playing with a Fan in their Hands. His Lady and Daughter alfo appeared at the farther Part of the Hall, ftanding at a Door, which was but half open: They were very richly drefss'd according to the Mode of the Mongalian Tartars. After I had very agreeably fpent chree Hours there, accompanied by my Retinue, I rode to my Apartment.

Some Time after I was invited to the Houfe of the Treafurer of the Empire, who is called Scbiloy, where I was fplendidly entertain ${ }^{5}$ d. His Hall was very well furnifhed according to the Cbinefe Fafhion: The Floor of it was laid with a Sort of fine Stone, at three Corners of which, on Ebony Feet, were three extraordinary white Marble Tables naturally fhaded with black Veins, which reprefented beautiful Woods, Mountains, and Rivers: On thefe Tables were placed high Silver Flower-pots, very naturally adorns $\mathrm{d}^{\mathrm{d}}$ with all Sorts of fine Flowers. The Pillars, clear up to the Roof, were painted with very fine Colours. While we fat at the Table we were entertained with a Ball, and after this very agreeable Entertainment, I arofe and took Leave, extremely fatisfied with all the Civilities that were paid me.

When this Lord accompanied and conducted me through the principal Markets, where Silk, Cloath, Gold and Silver, Jewels, and all Sorts of fine Manufactures, were fold, I was defired to alight, and conducted to the Emperor's Difpenfary, which I was willing to make fome Scrutiny into, it being richly ftock ${ }^{3} \mathrm{~d}$ with all Sorts of Roots, Herbs, and Medicines. I was here treared with a Difh of Tea, and obferv'd while I ftaid there, that according to the European Cuftom, feveral Prefrriptions of Phyficians were brought in, which were methodically prepar'd. Next to this was a Toyfhop, which I enter'd, and bought what I liked. The Mafter of it had a very fine Garden-Houfe, in which were all Sorts of Flowers, young Stocks, and LimonTrees, in Pots : And amongtt other Things, he fhew'd me a large Glafs full of Water, in which were feveral living Fifh about a Finger's L.ength, which naturally looked as if they had been gilt with the fineft Gold; and the Scales of fome of them being fallen off, difcover'd; to my great Surprize, the Colour of their Bodies to be the moft beautiful Crimfon in the World.

After we departed from thence, we went through all the Markets; each Shop had a great Board fet before it, on which is very orderly written the Shopkeeper's Name, and the Commodities which he deals in. We alfo went through the Fifh-Market, in which are all Sorts of living Fifh, but more efpecially Carps, Caroeffes, and Water-Snakes, (which they eat here) Crabs, Shrimps, Ecc. all which ftand in Tubs to be fold, in great Abundance. Paffing through another Market, I faw great Numbers of Harts, Roebucks, Hares, Pheafants, Partiridges, $\mathcal{E}^{\circ}$ c. and feveral other wild Game, to be fold.
5. On the 7 th of fanuary the cuftomary annual Faftival happened, which they obferve for three Weeks. It began late at Night with the Appearance of the new Moon, and firlt the great Bell at the Emperor's Court was rung, and their large Drums, exprefly kept for, and ufed, in their idolatrous Worfhip, were beaten, and feveral Cannon difcharged ; upon which all the People in the City, of what Degree foever, according to their Ability, exprefs'd their Joy by Rockets, Serpents, and -all Sors of Fire-works, to which they alfo added the Beating of an infinite Quantity of Drums, and, according to their Cuftom, the Sounding of Trumpers by the Lamas ${ }^{3}$, or idolatrous Priefts, in their-moft innumerable Temples and Cloyfters; infomuch, that from Ten at Night till next Day Noon, there was as great a Noife, as if two Armies of one hundred thoufand Men were in the Heat of Battle one againft another. In the Day-

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time
time the Streets were crouded with all Sorts of Proceffions, with their Idols, which were carried in various Shapes, and the Lama's marched by them with IncenfePots, and Strings of Beads; the Drums and KettleDrums beating, Trumpets founding, and other Mufick playing, was endlefs. The carrying of thefe Diabolical Images, follow'd by a great Train of People, as well as a vaft Number of Lama's or Monks, which preceeded them, lafted three Days, during which Time all the Shops were fhut, and all Merchandizing forbidden, on Penalty of fevere Punifhmenrs. During this Time allo the Streets were crouded with People of both Sexes, but more efpecially Women, who rode on Affes, or Chaifes with two Wheels; covet'd all round, only before left open. The Servant Maids which fate behind, fung, fome of them; whilf others blew on a Sort of Horn-Pipe; and fome Ladies fate publickly taking a Pipe of Tobacco. The Women never appear in Publick thro' all Cbina, except in the Province of Peking only, and more efpecially the City, which is inhabited by Tartars; the Cbinefe being obliged to live all about the City Wall, and the Suburbs, where all the chief Markets, and publick Places of Sale are.

Some Days'after this, the Emperor fent two Mandaryns to defire me to be ready to receive my Audience of Leave the next Morning two Hours before Day: And accordingly three Hours before Day, three Mandaryns came to me on Horfeback, and we rode to the ufual alighting-place; whence being conducted to the third Court, and defired to fit down, I was entertained with a Sort of Bean Decoction or Coffee, ufually drank here in the Mornings. In the fourth Court appear'd all the principal Officers in their richeft Robes, dreffed after the Eaft Tartarian, or Mongalian Mode. At break of Day I was introduced into the jourth Court, and feated amongft the Mondaryns, who, according to the particular Rank of each of them, were placed on the Eaft and South Sides of the Court. After waiting half an Hour, we heard the Emperor approaching, accompany'd with an agreeable Confort of Fifes, and a Sort of Lutes. This was not the Hall in which I had my former Audience, but here was a Throne erected, and hung with yellow Damask, on this Occafion. On each Side of it were two great Drums, curiouny gilt and painted, each of which being two Fathom and, a half long, they lay upon a Stool made on Purpofe for them. After the Emperor was feated, by his Command, the Herald which ftood before the Throne, went to the Prefence-Chamber Door, directed himfelf to the Lords which fare without in the Court, and uttering fome Words with a fhrill Voice, he thrice fucceffively cry'd, Bow dorm, bowe to the Earth. Whilft this was three Times done one after another, the Bells were rung, the Drums were beaten, the Lute was touched, and three Pipes, made for that Purpofe, were very loudly founded. Then two principal Lords were, by the Emperor, fent to acquaint me, that it was his Majefty's Pleafure, that I fhould approach nearer the Prefence; accordingly they led me by the Hand, from the Place where I was, being about eight Fathom diftant from the Throne, where my Retinue were left fitting: And I fate down on one Side, about three Fathom from the Royal Throne, betwixt two great Lords, which were Wannes or Princes, and by Birth Tartarians; and after baving paid a refpectful Compliment to the Emperor, his great Bell was rung, and the large Drums on each Side were beaten, which made as great a Noife as a Volley of Guns; the Flutes were alfo played on, and the beforementioned Pipes nine times founded: Upon which I was defired to fit down; which having done, a Difh of Coffee or Bean Decoction, was preFented to me, which I accepted, and drank up. And after I had difpatched the Affairs of their Czarifh Majefties, with the Emperor, I rofe up, and having paid my Compliment to him, he alfo arofe from his Throne, and went out at the Weft-Door to his Apartment.

The Emperor's Life-Guard ftood in this fourth Court; they were cloathed in red Callicoe, printed with red Figures as big as a Rixdollar; they wore fmall Hats adorn'd wirh yellow Feathers, that being the Imperial Li-
very Colour. They were arm'd with Scimiters by their Sides, and fine Lances, with Colours fixt to them, and ftood ranked at a Diftance from the Throne, on each Side of the Court, where alfo, ftood eight white Sad-dle-Horfes for Shew. In the third Court of State, were alfo placed. four extraordinary large Elephants, one of which was white. They were all covered with rich Gold embroider'd Cloarhs; and all their Trappings, as Bridles, Cruppers, $E c$. were covered with Silver, and gilt ; and on their Backs was placed a very fine carv'd wooden Caftle, or Gallery, fpacious enough for eight Perfons to fit in. In this Court alfo ftood the Emperor's Waggons with two Wheels, and his Chaifes, all hung with yellow Damank Curtains: Befidies all which, there were there placed feveral Stands, or Stools, for Drums, Kettle-Drums, Idolatrous Inftuments, $\mathcal{E}^{\circ} c$.

Being got out of the Caftie, I mounted one of the Emperor's Waggons and was drawn to my Apartment by an Elephant ; on each Side of which ran ten Perfons, with a thick Rope in theirHands, faftned to each Side of the Elephant's Mouth, by the Help of which they lead and govern him: On his Neck alfo fate a Man with an Iron Hook in his Hand, which alfo contributes to hold him in and guide him. He went but at his ondinary Rate, which put his Leaders to run as fwift as polfibly they conld in order to keep Pace with him.
6. A few Days after I was invited by the Jefuits, with the Emperor's Leave, to vifit their Cloyfter; purfuant to which, two Mandaryns, according to order, artended on, and conducted me thither. I was then introduced into the Cloyfter, which was encompaffed with a high Stone Wall, and provided with two exquifite regular Stone-Gates after the Italian Manner. On the left Side of the Entrance, under Shelter of a Roof, made for that Purpofe in the Court, ftand the coeleftial and terreftrial Globes, of an extraordinary Size, each being about a Fathom Diameter. From hence we proceeded on to the Church, which is a very beautiful Italian Building, furnifh'd with a large Organ, made by Father Thomas Pereyra: And the Church itfelf, fuitable to the Roman Catholick Ufage, was richly adorn'd with fine Images and Altars; and was withal large enough to contain two or three thoufand People. On the Top was a Clock and Chimes. Having feen the Church, the Fathers brought me into the Mufoum, which was compleatly furnifhed with all Sorts of European Rarities. After which they conducted me to an Apartment on one Side of it, where being asked to fit down, I was treated with all Sorts of Confections and Preferves: Nor did we forget, according to their Cuftom, to drink the Healths of all the Chrittian Princes of Europe, in rich Wines: And after a confiderable Stay, I rode to my Apartment, very well fatisfy'd with the Entertainment of thefe Fathers.

About this time, two Mandaryns came from the Cbam to invite me to take the Diverfion of feeing the City: Accordingly I mounted with my Retinue, and there Mandaryns conducted me to the Emperor's Elephant-Stable, where ftood 14 of thofe Beafts, one of which was white: Having thus feen them, that was not enough, but they muft fhew feveral Tricks, and at the Command of the Mafter of the Stable, they roared like a Tiger, fo difmally lond, that their very Stable feemed to tremble: Others lowed like an Ox, neighed like a Horfe, and even fung like Canary-birds; but which was moft furprifing of all, fome of them imitated a Trumpet. After this they were obliged to pay their Refpects to me on their four Knees ; to lie down firft on one Side, then on the other, then to rife up. When they lie down, they firft ftrike out their Fore-legs forward, and then throw out their hind Legs backward, and by this Means lie with their Bellies flat upon the Ground. One of thefe was not broken, and, by Reafon he was very unruly, he was loaden with heavy Chains on two Feet, and, for the whole time he had ftood there, had nor been removed from his Place; and a great Pit was dug before his Stall, that in cafe he broke loofe, he fhould fall into it, and be prevented from coming into the Court to do any Mifchief. All thele Elephants were
extraordinary large, and the Teeth of fome of them , reft, which were a very confiderable Number, being kilwere a full Fathom long. The, Mandaryns told me, led by the ill Forage and unwholfome Grals. that they came from the King of Siam, who annually On the 2d of February, being ready to fet forwards fends feveral, by Way of Tribute, to the Emperor of Cbina. Their Food was only Rice Straw bound up in fmall Truffes, which they take up' one after another with their Trunk, and convey to their Mouths.
After a fatisfactory Sight of what I defired, I rode with the Mandaryns to my Apartment ; and as we were on our Way, I obferved at the Door of a confiderable Mandaryn, and a great Officer, tome Perfons fleaing of a fat Dog ; upon which I ask'd the Mandaryn, wherefore that was done? Who anfwered, That it was a healchful Sort of Food, efpecially in Summer, it being very cooling. After I had handfomely treated thete Mandaryns, they went away.
Next Day the Viceroy fent a Tyger, or Panther, in a Cage, to the Ambaffador's Court, to be fhewn to me ; as alfo feveral Juglers with Monkeys and Mice, which had been taught feveral Tricks. Thefe Apes, at their Maiter's Command, did really fome very ftrange Things; they fill'd a Basket with Stuff Coats of all Colours, each of which an Ape took out fingly at his Mafter's Command, never miffing the Colour which he was ordered to take out and put on, always varying his Grimace with his Habit ; after which, he not only danced upon the Ground, but on a tight Rope, in a very diverting Manner. There were alfo two Mice faftened to their Chains, who, at their Mafter's Command fo entangled themfelves in them, and immediately got loofe, that it deferved Admiration: Bur what was moft ftrange to me, was the odd Motions of thefe Vermine.
The Jefuits once told me, that about three Years paft were fent to the Emperor as a Prefent, from an Ifland in the Eaftern Sea, four Animals as big as ordinary Horfes, each of which had two tharp Horns prominent before; and that thefe Fathers were fent by the Emperor's Order to his Park, about ten Miles from Peking, to fee thefe Beafts, in order to inform his Majefty, whether they had ever feen any of them in Europe ; but returning, they affirmed, that they had never before feen any of that Species. I was indeed very defirous to have feen them, yet it being too far out of Town, and the Time of my Departure approaching, it was impracticable.
After I had fent my Compliment to the Viceroy, I defired that I might be advertiz'd of my Departure eight or ten Days before the Time when it fhould pleafe the Emperor that I fhould leave the Court and Royal City, which, purfuant to my Requeft, was accordingly done fome Days after.
7. Upon which, having made all neceffary Preparations for fuch a long Journey, and latterly, according to former Cultom, having one Morning in a Week eat át the Emperor's Table, I left Peking, accompany'd out of the City Gate with a numerous Train of Great Officers of State, and Mandaryns, on the 19th of February, 1694, and on the 25 th reached the City of Galgan, clofe to the Daaurian Wall. From thence we went on to Noun, and paffed through feveral Xixigarfchean Villages, to the Tartarian Frontiers, and the great Deferts, where we encamped and lay ftill feveral Days, and provided Saddles for our Camels, and all other travelling Neceffaries, by reafon that to Argum, on the Frontiers of their Czarifh Majefty's Dominions, I was obliged to provide me with all Neceffaries on my proper Coft, which I confider'd when in Peking; and Camels and Mules being very cheap there, I carried a good Number of the laft loofe along with me, they, as well as the whole Caravan, travelling free, at the Expence of the Cbinefe, hitherto, as well as my felf and whole Retinue, who eat at the Emperor's Charge thus far.
If I had not made this Provifion before-hand, but had depended on the Camels and Horfes which I left at Nuna, we fhould have fared but indifferently, for of all that I left there, fearce eight hundred remained, all the
on my Journey, I treated the Mandarym and his Retio nue, who, by the Emperor's Command, had accompanied me thus far; after which, taking very civilly Leave of each other, we parted.

On the 26 ch Inftant, in. God's Name, we entred the great Defers, about the River Sadun and Kallar, being obliged to be on our Guard, by Reafon that four Murigeffian Talifchi, or Lords, with about three thoufand Men, who waited for me, were ready and willing to try their Fortunes with us: Upon which I gave all necef fary Orders, and in the Night caufed a ftrong Watch of fixty well armed Horfermen to be kept; but nor encountring any thing from that Quarter, we next Day fet forwards on our Journey. Reaching the Jalifobian Mountains, we found our Forage grew worfe the farther we went, and our Saddle as well as Carriage Beafts began to look thin. Having travelled a whole Day over thefe Mountains, the Night proved very cold and fnowy, and the Grals grew yet worfe, being that of laft Year, which was dried up in the Field; fo that the Camels, but more efpecially the Horfes, though they eat their Fill, were not much ftrengthened by it. I here deliberated whether I fhould take the old Way, or a By-way, which was the fafeft Method that conld be taken to efcape the Tartars who lay in Wait for us, and again proceed on Eatwards ; preferring Certainty to an Uncertaincy, I pitch'd upon the laft, which proved very incommodious, efpecially for the Cattle.

We travelled but flowly through thele fteep, mountainous and deep morafly Ways, and that Day twelve Camels and fifteen Horles funk under Foot, and for fixteen Days after we were obliged to wrefte with thefe difficult Ways, which daily occafioned feveral Camels and Horfes to fink under their Loads and die; which happened from the heavy Burdens they were obliged to carry, as well as from the faplefs and dry Grafs, which afforded them no Nourifhment. But our Difficulties increared with refpect to Forage, for our Cattle had Grafs hitherto, which, though dry and not fufficient to fatisfy, yet ferved to keep them alive; but now we came to Fields that were intirely burnt up by the Tartars, which forced us, how feeble and uncapable foever our Beafts were to perform it, to difpatch two Days Journey this Day, in order to come to a Place where there was fome Grafs left.

Several of our Merchants, who loft their SaddleHorfes, their others being fufficiently laden with Merchandizes, were obliged to go on Foor; and if many of them had not been provided with fpare Horfes and Camels, we fhould have been obliged to have left a great Quantity of their Goods behind in the Wildernefs.
8, After various Fatigues and Miferies, with the greateft Difficulty in the World, we at laft reached the River Sadun, where our Quarters began to mend, in fome Meafure, and the tender Grafs to fprout up a little. We lay ftill two Days by this River, in order to refrefh our Camels and Horfes, which were unable to have held out any longer. During this Repofe, a Cbinefe Envoy with an hundred arneed Men, came up to me, who, by the Command of the Enperor of Cbina, was, by the Viceroy of Tartary, difpached from the City of Mergeen, with Orders to accompany me to Nerzinfioy, there to treat, concerning fome Affairs, with the Governor. The Arrival of this Company was very welcome to us, for now we could make out full fix hundred Men, and confequently had no Reafon to fear any ftrolling Parties of Robbers. On the 15th of March we arrived at the River Kailaan, which we forded, the Water being low ; and paffing about a Mile farther in a Dale, we pitched our Tents there, though therevwas but little Forage to be found: Yet we paffed the Night here, and in the Morning difcovered a terrible Smoak to arife out of the North-weft, which gave me fome Apprehenfions, that the Tartars having burne
up the old Grafs, lurked under thefe Pillars of Smoak, in order to obtain an Opportunity to fer upon us with great Numbers. To provide againft this, I caufed the Camels and Horfes which were left us in this horrible Defert, betimes, to be drove to a Place where there was fome Grafs, and which being behind a high Mountain, was fecurely fhelter'd from the Fire. After which I caufed an hundred Men to provide themfelves with the Felts with which the Camels were covered, and be in Readiners, if the Smoak approached us, to difperfe and drive it from our Camp as much as poffible. Within the Space of half an Hour, the Air was wholly darkned with the Smoak, and the Fire driven on by a ftormy Wind, flew fwifter than a Horfe could run, into the Vale, where the dry Grals was about half an Ell high; fo that it was farce poffible either to efcape or quench fuch a rapid Flame: The Fireflew, or racher flafhed by our Camp, as fwift as Lightning, fo that whilft I turn'd myfelf round, it was got to the fhort Grats, and behind the Brow of a Hill: Notwithitanding its fpeedy Flight, we did not clearly efcape it, for the Flame laying hold of our foremoft Row of Tents, immediately fent ten or twelve of them burning into the Air: Great Quantities of our Merchants Goods were confumed, and fourteen Men ftruck down by it which were miferably burnt, and fome of them taken up for dead; but after neceffary Care was taken for their Recovery, only one Perfian died. I was mylelf in great Danger, and if I had not in time run to a Hill where there was farce any Grafs, and been affifted by two Servants, which covered me with a Felt, to keep off the Heat, I fhould not have efcaped better than thole abovementioned.

The Flame was no fooner paft us than it vifited the Cbinefe Ambaffador, who was encamped at fome Diftance from us, amongft the Hills, where to his good Fortune, there happened to be very little Grafs, fo that the Fire pafled about and over the Hill, but was not violent enough to catch hold of any thing, fo that their Horfes Tails only were a little burnt, or rather finged.

Before it was poffible to have told two hundred, this Fire had reached the River Kailaan, (which was a Mile from our Encampment, where it was quench'd by the Interruption of the Water. After this Burning, the Land, as far as we could fee from the Hills, was quite bare of Grafs, and every where Coal-black. Upon this Difafter, I fent out my Guide, to try whether he could difcover any Place for us to encamp for that Night ; he return'd the nexr Day, with Information, that for two Days Journey all round, there was no Forage, the Fire having confum'd it all; for though there were fome few fcatter'd Places which had efcap'd the Flame, yet there was not hali Grafs enough to fatisfy fuch a Number of Camels and Horfes as ours; which was but melancholy News for me and the whole Camp.

Wherefore I confulted, whether it was not moft advifeable to repafs the River Kailaan, where the Grafs had efcaped untouched; but in Oppofition to this, the Danger of being fallen on by the Tartars which were on that Side of the River, offered itfelf; fo that I rather inclined to chufe the travelling two Days in Want of Neceffaries, than once more run the Rifque of expofing ourlelves to the Inhumanity of thefe Barbarians.
9. In the Morning then we broke up our Camp, which we pitched late that Night near a great Morafs, after having endured a great deal of Mifery and Fatigue that Day, by paffirg through Moraffes and over fteep Hills; which Hardfhip fell heavieft on the Cattle, infomuch that in this Day's Journey only eighteen Camels and twenty two Horfes funk into, and remained in the Moranes, not being able to ftir a Step further, which fell very hard upon us, and the farther we went, rendered us the more uneafy, fince we were as unwilling to leave our travelling Neceffaries and Provifions behind us, as the Merchants, were to throw away their Goods; wherefore the Remainder of the Beafts mult neceffarily be the heavier laden.
The next Day we alfo paffed through Moraffes, Vales, and over fteep Hills, and came to the River Mergeen,
where the Grais was not burnt off. Having forded this River, and proceeded on our Journey, though in a miferable Condition, as well by Reafon of the ill State of our Cattle, which daily finking under their Lioads, obliged us to leave them behind, as on Account of the Scarcity of Provifions for fo many Men, our Stock being at prefent very low, and confifting barely in a few lean live Oxen, which Travellers generally take with them in thefe Sort of Journeys, but not either Bread, Peas, Barley, or other Provifions, becaufe the Mer. chants and Coffacks wanted Beafts for the Carriage of their Goods, and it would have been too chargeable to lade Camels with Provifions.
There being but a fmall Number of Oxen in our Camp, the Pcople began to be very anxious, confider ing it was not poffible to reach Argum on the Frontiers in lefs than ten or twelve Days; fo that each Perfon, according to the Company he was engaged in, began to compute how long what they had would laft, and contrive how to manage his Share beft.

On the 18 th of this Monch, with great Difficulty and Fatigue, we at laft reached the Rivet Gan, which at low Water we forded, and on the other Side found frefh Grafs for the Beafts, with which we were very well pleafed, and mightily encouraged. Here I refolved to lie ftill three Diys, and would have refted longer, if the Merchants, Coffacks, and Workmen, had not complained that they were pinched by Hunger, and that there was but a very fmall Number of Oxen remaining, confidering how many hundred Men were to be fubfifted by them ; and they, by Example, Thewed me the beft provifional Methods which could be taken to prevent an entire Famine; for as foon as an Ox was killed, they faved his Blood, and boiled it to the Confiftence of Liver; this they eat inftead of Bread. Others cut the Hides into Slips, fhaved the Hair off, and toafted them at the Fire, and this paffed at that Time for good Food. Nor were any Part of the Entrails thrown away, fo that if the Scarcity had endured longer, poffibly their Nature had been changed into that of Caffers or Hottentots, who eat not only raw Flefh, ..but even the Excrements alfo.
10. In this Streight, being informed that the Country all about this River abounded with wild Game, as Harts, Roebucks, $E^{2} c$. I ordered fome expert Archers to go a Hunting; which proved fo fuccefsful, that they fhot about fifty Roebucks, which were afterwards diftributed to our famifh'd Company, who greedily devoured them half dreffed and half raw, and gave convincing Proof that Hunger, as "tis commonly reported to be, is really a flarp Sword; but belides it muft be owned that the affuaging it when it hath continued long and is grown outrageous, is one of the greatef Pleafures of Life; though indeed a tedious Thirft is more intolerable and painful to human Nature.

In this Streight I fent a Gentleman, accompanied with eight Coffacks to Argum the frontier Place, chargd with a Letter to the Governor, requefting that he would immediately fend us a Parcel of Oxen, Sheep, Bread, Meal and other Provifions, under Convoy, by Reafon we were driven to the laft Extremity; and this Meffage did not prove unfuccefsful, chough the expected Relief did not arrive fo fpeedily as we wifhed ; each Day on thefe melancholy Occafions commonly appearing an infupportable Year.

Having difpatched this Meffenger with his Orders, I thought it neceffary to break up from the River Gan, and inthe Interim to advance as far on our Way, and ftruggle as much as poffible with our Uneafinefs. And after we had travelled three Days, the hungry Complaints of our Company became inceffant; the Rocbucks were but a Morfel amongft fuch a Number of People, and no Edibles were to be bought for Money in this Wildernefs. During which Affliction we were obliged to make a Virtue of Neceffity, and bear as well as we could what we were not able to remedy. In this Condition difpirited and faint we arrived at a Brook, which flowed from the Hills, and was richly ftored with large Jacks, Trouts, and other Fifh, of which we fhot many with Bow and Arrow: for in clear Water the Coffacks and

Tunguzian

## Chap. III.

 from Muscovy to CHiNA. $95^{1}$Iunguzians, of both which I had feveral, are fuch experr Archers, that with their double pointed Arrows they very feldom miffed the Fifh they aim at, and but once touching, generally pierce through them, which inftantly caufes them to float on the Surface of the Water. This Fifhery afforded a very confiderable Refrefhment to our Camp, which was alfo increafed by fome Bucks being fhot that Evening and dreffed as before.

Our Hunters difcovered a Hutt amongft the Hills, where lived a Scbaman or Conjurer and his Companion. This Magician was Uncle to our Guide, and a Tunguzion, which Nation abounds with fuch Pretenders, as we have already hinted. About Midnight I was waked by a horrible Noife, upon which running out of my Tent, and asking the Centry that ftood there, what it was? He told me our Guide was making merry with his Uncle; which excited my Curiofity to that Degree, that led by one of the Centries, I fole thither foftly to fee what they were doing; approaching the Entrance of the Hutt, I found that they were Conjuring after their Manner ; and though the greateft. Pare of it was over, I yet obferved, him fitting with an Arrow in his Hand, the Head of which was inclined towards the Earth, and the Point he held under his Nofe; after which he rofe up, making a louder Outcry, and after leaping all round, laid himfelf to fleep. In the Morning the Coffacks, whom I had fent a Hunting, and whom he had accompanied, told me that this Conjurer came to meet his Nephew, whom he in their Prefence conjured out of their Sight, or carried away; which might eafily be done without any Diabolical or other Affitance than the Darknefs of the Night, and the uneven hilly Ground. My Meffenger returned with the agreeable News, that within three Days we fhould be furnimed with all Sorts of Provifions from Argum; the Approach of which appointed Time was not a little longed for amongft us.
11. On the 3d Day Heaven favoured us with our promifed Affitance, which confifted of twenty five Oxen and Cows, Millet and Bread ; but the Sutlers that brought this Convoy of Provifions, made the Merchants pay fo very dear for it, that their Relief looked more like Extortion than Charity; they taking a Rixdollar for one Loaf, and for all the reft in Proportion ; however coft what it would, this Supply was very welcome to us at that Juncture.

Thus invigorated, and alfo encouraged to find that the farther we advanced on our Journey the Grafs grew better, on we went, till through the Mercy of God we got to the End of this barren Defart, in which we had fuffered fo many Miferies, and ftrugled with the greateft Difficulties in the World.

On the 27 th Inftant we joyfully reached the River Argum, which with the whole Caravan we pafled: And on the 3 Ift arrived very fafe at the City of Nerzinfkoy; returning our Thanks to Heaven, that through fo many Dangers we were thus far advanced on our Way, and had got out of the Reach of pinching Neceffity.

After having refrefhed the Camels and Horfes with good Grafs, and refted ourfelves for a convenient Time, we departed from Nerzinfloy on the 5 th of Auguf, and proceeding forwards by Land along the River-fide, came on the 8 th Inftant to the City of Udin/koy; where we furnifhed ourfelves with Barks, and affifted by an ebbing Tide, and a good Wind, in one Night reached the Frontiers of Siberia, and on the 12 th arrived fafe at Fekutskoy.

On the 1 yth we left that Place, and after running a great Rifque by wading through the great Quantities of Water which were fallen, arrived fafe at $\mathcal{F}_{e}$ nizet/koy.

On the 26 th we went by Land from this City, and travelled through a Wood twenty Miles long, in which were harboured feveral wild and ravenous Beafts, that at our Approach took their Flight.

After which we arrived at the Village Makofkoy, where finding as large a Store of Shipping as I defired, we all embarked, and driving down the River Keta, on the 28 th of September we reached the Caftle of Ketskoy on the Oby; on which we drove down without meeting any Thing remarkable, and on the I6th of October came to the Town Samorofskoy $7 a m$, at the Mouth of the River Galis, on which Stream I fpent fourteen Days in waiting for Sleads to purfue our Journey by Land, I took the very firft Opportunity, fo that on the 29th I fafely reached Tobolkoy, where we refted three Weeks to refrefh ourfelves, and to provide ourfelves with new Cloaths.

After which we fet forwards with all poffible Expedition, being very defirous to put an. End to fuch a tedious Journey, and once more fee the imperial Metropolis.

On the 24th of November we travelled through the City of Wergaturia, without encountring any Thing obfervable, and through the Mercy of God, arrived in Sleads fafe at Mofcow on the firlt of Fanuary, after having fpent two Years and ten Months in thefe Travels, and endured feveral fatiguing Miferies, partly occafioned by Scarcity of Provifions as already hinted. We returned Thanks to Almighty God for graciounly preferving us in fuch imminent Dangers, and at laft conducting us to the Place from which we, were fent by their Czarifh Majetties.

## S ECTION IV.

A very copious and no lefs curious Account of the North-Eàt Part of Afia; comprehending a diftinct, particular and authentick Defrription of all that has hitherto paffed under the general Name of Siberia, fhewing the Extent and Situation of the feveral Diftricts thereof, their Climate, Soil and Produce, the Rife and Courfe of the principal Rivers, Defcriptions of all the great Cities upon their Banks; of the feveral barbarous Nations that inhabit near thefe Rivers; of the Value of their Furrs and Fifheries, with the Manner of their Commerce, and a clear and full Explanation of a Multitude of leffer Circum ftances, as well as material Points of Fact, which contribute to the perfect underfanding the Condition of this hitherto unknown Country, and all its Inhabitants. To which is added, a fuccinct Recapitulation of the State of the Chineje Empire towards the Clofe of the laft

Century; with fome very impartial as well as judicious Remarks on the Temper, Genius, and boafted Oeconomy of that famous Na tion ; with a free Cenfure of thofe Hyperbolical Panegyrics, that have been beftowed on the Progrefs of Science amongft them.

## Being the Conclufion of bis Excellency Everard Ysbrants Ides's, Travels by Land from Mufcovy to China, and of his Return from thence.

1. The Autbor's Account of Siberia, the Extent and Situation of that Country, the Motives that led bim to think of making a Map of it, the Metbods ufed by bim for that Purpofe, and the Refult of bis Pains upon this Subject. 2. The Country of the Samojedes defcribed, with an Account of this Nation, ibeir Food, Garriages, Government, Arms, Religion, Marriages, Poetry and frong Difpofition to Magick. 3. An exait and excellent. Defcription of the Streights of Weygats, bow far they are navigable, the Ruffan Fifhery in them, Privileges that Nation formerly enjoged, which are now taken away. 4. An ample and curious Defcription of the Mountain of Pojas, or Back of the World: Of the Soutb Boundaries of Siberia, and of its principal Rivers, viz. the Jaka, the Tobol, the Oby, the Jenizea, and the Selinga. 5. The Source of the River Kugur, Defcription of the Uffinian Tartars, and their Neigbbours, the Nature and Produce of their Countries, the Stature, and Complection, Habits, Language, and Religion of theje People. 6. Of the Kalmucks or Kalmacks, who inhabit between the Tobol and the Oby. The Lake of Jamufchowa, famous for the excellent Salt it produces. The Country of Barabinfy, its Nature and Produce, the People that inbabit it, their Manners, Cuftoms, Arms, Government, Religion, and Trade. 7. Of the famous Toren of Tomfkoy, its Inhabitants and Commerce, of the Joort Route from thence to China, and a concife Account of the Country between this City and that of Jenizefkoi 8. Of the Country of the Kirgifes, the Hiflory of that People, and of their Neigbbours: Of the frontier Places belonging to the Mongals, with an Account of the three Princes by whom they are governed. 9 . Of the Country about the Cafle of Argum, of the People who inbabit thele Parts, and of the River Gorbifa, which Jeparates the Dominions of the Czar from thoje of the Emperor of China. 10. Of the Rivers Tugur and Uda, and of the Inbabitants of certain IRands that come thither to trade, extremely curious, and wobich occur in no otber Autbor. 11. The City of Kamfatka defcribed, with an Account of its Inbabitants, the Climate about the lcy-Cape, the Fifb taken there; the Manner in which the People live under Ground, and of the vaft Mountains of Ice in the Sea. 12. Of the River Lena, and the City of Jekutikoi, Capital of the Northern Parts of Siberia, the Fikery there, the Nations that inbabit on the Side of this River, their Cuftoms, Religions, Habits and Language. Of a certain Idolatrous Nation in thele Parts. A Dejcription of other Rivers that arife in tbis Country, and of the Lands they water. I3. A De/cription of the City of Wergolenfkoi, the fruitful and pleafant Country about it: An Account of the River Jenizea from its Source to its Mouth, with a Defcription of the People that inbabit the Banks of that and other Rivers. 14. A juccinct but curious and exact Defcription of China, with Remarks on the Genius, Temper and Dijpofition of the People. 15. Of the 'Author's Converfations with them, in Reference to religious and pbilofopbical Subjects; with otber curious Particulars. 16. The Autber's Sentiments with Re/pect to the bigh Notions that bave been entertained in Europe, of the Wijdom, Learning, Policy, Arts and Manufactures of this Nation. 17. Objervations Hifforical, Political, and Critical upon the foregoing Section.

'THE great Value of thefe Travels arifes from their Plainnefs, Perfpicuity, and apparent Veracity ; for it is eafy to fee that our Author had a true German Sincerity, and was far from allowing his Imagination to co-operate with his Judgment in the Compofition of this Work ; what he faw with his Eyes, he has faithfully fet down with his Pen, without Increment, without Diminution. But upon his Return to Mufoovy, and communicating his Journal of his Travels, many Queftions were asked him, and many Inquiries made, from which he was convinced, that a moft ufeful and entertaining Supplement might be added to his Work; and this it was that put him upon writing what compofes this Section. It had been a very eafy Thing for him, by digefting his Travels afrefh, to have brought all his Oblervations and Remarks into their proper Places ; and this, without Doubr, would have render'd his Performance more elegant, at leaft if not more ufeful. His Love for Truth, however, was fo great, that he refolved Things fhould appear as they really were, and inftead of taking that Step, has given us his additional Remarks in that Order to which he was directed by the above-mentioned Enquiries; by this Means he was obliged to retrace his whole Journey, which however he has done in fuch a Manner, as to mention little or nothing that he had given us before, and has caken fuch a Method, as will enable every attentive Reader to become abfolutely acquainted with this great Country never defcribed before,
and of which all Defcriptions that have been made fince fall very far fhort of his. Thus much I thought neceffary to premife, without taking away any Part of his own Introduction, becaufe I thought it but juft to acquaint the Publick with this Author's real Merit, which in Point of Accuracy and Regard to Truth, I look upon as fuperior to moft, and not inferior to any; and I perfwade my felf, when he has perufed it, that the Reader will be entirely of my Opinion, and will only regret, that in Collections of this Nature, fo few Pieces of this Kind can be inferted.
In the paft Relation of our Travels, folely aiming at Truch, we have reprefented her naked, without any hyperbolical or ornamental Illuftrations to render her the more agreeable and furprifing, according to the common Practice of Writers of Travels, who magnify Trifles, and croud in various Particulars on the uncertain Reports of others, in order to furbifh up the Book. This is indeed what I have all along carefully avoided in the Defcription of my Journey ; but finding I have not been fo methodical as I could have wifhed; that I have omitted fome Particulars worth the Reader's Cognizance, or at leaft not related them as they ought; for the firlt I beg Pardon, and fhall endeavour to make fome fimall Amends for the latter by a fhort Review.

My Travels then were through the whole Provinces of Siberia and Dauur; the Towns, Countries, and Rivers of which that I have paffed through, or over, are already exactly defcrib'd. The Courfe of our Journey was from
the North to the Eaft, that is, from Weygats to Amur ; and from the Weft from Uffa Baskiria to the Mongalian Country, and from thence from the Weft to the South.
As for what relates to the Frontiers of Siberia in general, they are every where garrifoned wich well armed Forces by his Czarifh Majefty, who are not indeed very folicitous to fubdue the Southern Tartars inhabiting the Gelifeefcbian Plains to his Majefty's Obedience, by rea fon it would not turn to any great Advantage. The Circuit of this Kingdom of Siberia, and the circumjacent Country is very large, as appears by our accurate Map, with regard to which I muft acquaint the curious Perufer, that he ought to guide himfelf only by the Degrees ; but as for the Diftances betwixt Countries, Cities and Rivers, they are not to be expected exactly placed to a Mile : For this Country having never been travelled by Geographers, much lefs meafured by Miles, I have only, as carefully as I poffibly could, taken the Alcitudes with a Mathematical Inftrument, and from thence marked the Places, leaving to my Succeffors in thefe Attempts, the more thorough Search and Difcovery of thefe untravelled, Countries. I have -indeed broke the Ice for them, being the firft German that ever went through this vaft Country to, and returned from Cbina.

I muft acknowledge that I am obliged for the firft Light of a good Sketch of a general Map of thefe Lands, to the highly honourable and worthy Nicbolas Witfen, Prefident Burgher-mafter of the City of Amferdam, whofe Memory will be perpetually reverenced by all the learned World; he having firf difcovered to the Europeans all Siberia, the Calmuckcan, Mugalian, and other Provincs, to the Cbinefe Wall ; and deferibed them by a Map. This Map I made ufe of as a Guide throughout my Journey, and as a Foundation, on which to build that annexed to my own Book. A fhort Sketch of my Journey is as followeth:
2. Firft we began our Traveis in the North, in the Samojedian, which he before called Sirenim and Waguliffan Countries, which are alfo under the Siberian Government, being fubject to the Waizodes of Pelun, as far as the Sea. It is obfervable that there are various Sorts of Samojedes, very different from each other in their Language or Exprefion, as are the Berefofkians and $P_{u}$ foferfians, which believe themfelves alfo to be the fame Nation: After thefe are thofe who live on the SeaCoaft beyond the Eaft Side of the Oby to Truchamfloy, or Mangazeifkoy; as alfo thofe which for the greateft Part of the Year refide about Arcbangel, near the River Drwina, though indeed in Summer they fet up Hutts by the Water-fide, and in the Winter far in the Woods: This laft Sort are the Scum of thofe People who formerly lived together by the Sea-fide, which now are come to this Country.
Befides thefe, are the Samojedes that inhabit all along the Ice-Coast of the Province of Siberia, which are a People that have not much more to pretend to than a humane Face and Figure; they have but a very fmall Share of Underftanding, and in all other Particulars are very like Wolves and Dogs, for they eat all Manner of dead Carkaffes, whether of Horfes, Affes, Dogs or Cats, which die a natural Death; as well as Whales, Sea-Cows, Sea-Calves or Horfes, छ'c. which are thrown upon the Shoar by the Ice; nor do they take the Trouble of Dreffing thefe Meats, but devour them raw; and if they. had but Wings they would certainly take their Flight to Greentand, and diet with the white Bears and Malmucks (a Sort of Birds of Prey) which feed on the flea'd Whales Carkaffes: And notwithtandall this, they inhabit a Country that richly abounds with wild Game, Fifh and Flefh ; but moft of them are too idle to provide themfelves with it.
They have a Sort of Governors amongft them, to whom they bring their Tribute, and thefe are obliged to carry the fame to the Cities or Winter Places of his Czarifh Majefty. A Gentleman who ftaid fome time at Posfoi Ofer, told me, that their Hart-Sleads were very convenient, and that with them they went prodigiouly frift over the Mountains covered with Snow. (The Fa-
thion of thefe Sleads, their Manner of Travelling, and their Buckskin Habit with the hairy Part outwards, together with their Bow and Arrows, are expreffed in the annexed Print.) He added that he had feen the abovementioned Governors in fuch Sleads as thefe, to which were fometimes harneffed fix or eight Bucks; the Governors are commonly cloathed in Scarlet-Coats, but their Retinue in the Habit already defribed. Their Arrows, inftead of being pointed with Steel or Iron, are only headed with the Bone of a Sea-Calf, or fome othes Animal.
They make a very difagreeable Figure all over, infomuch that I may venture to affirm, that fuch a fhocking ill looked People are nor to be found on the Surface of the whole Earth. Their Stature is flort and flat, they have broad Shoulders and Faces, flat and broad Nofes, great blubber hanging Lips, and frightful Eyes like thole of the Linx. They are very brown all over, their Hair is difhevelled, fome of it being red or pale, but moft of it is as black as Pitch; they have very litcle Beards; their Skin is brown and hard, and they are very fwift Runners. The Roebucks, which they ufe to draw their Sleads in Winter, are horned and fhaped like Harts, but have crooked hanging Necks, like thofe of Dromedaries '; befides which, what is obferved of them is very particular, that they are as white as Snow in Winter, and greyifl in Summer: They are fed with Mois which grows on the Ground in the Woods.
Thefe Samojedes are grofs Idolaters, who have no Notion of any Religion otherwife than that, like the Perfans; they workhip the Sun and Moon, by bowing their Bodies Night and Morning ; befides which, rhey keep near and in their Tents Idols that hang on Trees; fome of them are wooden Images reprefenting human Figures; orhers made of Iron, to which they fhew fome Refpect : Their Tents are cover'd with Birch barks few'd together, and when they remove them, as they frequently do in Winter as well as Summer, they fet up the Stakes round with the Points together, and upon thefe they lay the Covering of the fore-mentioned Bark over them, leaving a Hole at the Top for the Paffage of the Smoke. Their Fire is made in the Middle of their Tents, round which they lie at Nights naked both Men and Women. They lay their Children in Boxes or Cradles made of Birch bark fewed together, filled with Shavings of Trees which are as foft as Wooll, and covered with Buck-skins.
They marry within the Degrees of Confanguinity without the leaft Scruple, and buy one another's Daughters for Wives, giving for them Bucks and Hides, and according to the Cultom of feveral Eaftern Nations, they take as many Wives as they can keep. When they defign a Merry-making, they ftand in Couples oppofite to each orher, throw up one of their Legs, and mutually clap the Soles of their Ftet fo hard with their Hands that it may be heard at a Diftance. Inftead of Singing, they make a howling Noife like that of Bears, they neigh like Horfes, or chirrup like young Birds. They have a Sort of Conjurers that fhew all forts of diabolical Tricks moft, if not all of which are fraudulent Delufions. But here taking our Leave of thefe monftrous Samojedes, we thall turn our Difcourfe to another and more pleafant Subject.

Near this Coaft, as far as Weygats and Mefeem, are all Sorts of Quadrupeds, particularly Wolves, Bears, Foxes, and Harts, $\mathcal{E}^{\circ}$ c. The Fowls are Ducks, Partridges, $\mathcal{E}^{2}$. being Snow-whire in Winter, which is fo very fevere, that about Samojeda I have my felf feen Rooks and Magpies fall down dead in their Flight, being killed by the piercing Froft.
3. A great deal hath been faid concerning the Weygais, by Englijh, Danes, and Hollanders, who with Ships have endeavoured to bore through this icy. Channel' which hath been done indeed once or twice, bur then thofe who did it were repulfed, and forced to return to their own Country by the , vehement Current of Ice in the South or Icy Sea; of which Mr. Nicbolás Witfen, Bur-ger-maffer. of Amferdam, treats at large, that Gentleman having obtained an exact Account of whatever is remarkable, from feveral Perfons who have been there: all which Obfervations he hath incomparably well dia gefted in his Chart of Weygats and the Sea-coalts, to
the River Oby ; by which it plainly appears, that from Weygats to the Icy or Holy Cape, the Sea is utterly unnavigable with Ships, and thould a fecond Cbrifopber Columbus appear, and point out the Courfe of the Heavens, he could not yet drive away thefe Mountains, of Ice : For God and Nature have fo invincibly fenced the Sea-fide of Siberia with Ice, that no Ship can come to the River Fenifea, much lefs can they come farther Northwards into the Sea. Not to mention the Voyage from the Icy or Holy Cape, round Japan and Fedzo, I thall only infert what I have collected from the Informations of the Ruffians, who feveral Times have failed through the Streights of Weygats to the Oby.

We go, fay they, with our Koiskt, (a Sort of Barks fitted for the Sea) to the Streights of Weygats, to fifh for Sea-calves, and if they do not meet with great Quantities of Fifh, we fail directly into the Weygats; but if the Wind blows from the Sea, ihe whole Coaft is covered with Ice, and we are obliged to put into fome of the Creeks or little Rivulets which run inland, and withal not to venture too far, but ftay there till the Wind turns about and blows from the Shore towards the Sea; upon which thefe Streights are fo perfectly cleared of all their Ice, that it foon drives feveral Miles out of Sight at Sea; and making ufe of that Opportunity, we fail along the Coan till the Wind turns contrary, when we are again forced in, in Search of a Creek to fhelter us ; which if we fail of, the Bark is fhatter'd to Pieces by the Clots of Ice

About fifty Years paft, the Siberian Ruffrans had free Liberty to fetch their Provifion, as Corn, Meal, $\xi^{2} c$. from the Sea-ports, and to carry their Siberian Commodities thither through the Weygats, fuppofing that they paid the proper Toll to his Czarifh Majefty: But thefe Siberians abufed their Sovereign's Favour to a very great Degree, and made ufe of it to bring in great Quantities of Goods, by other Ways and Rivers into Rulfia by Stealth, whereby his Majefty fuffered very much in his Revenue ; for which Reafon, ever fince, the Importation of any Goods through the Streights of Weygats have been abfolutely prohibited; but all are obliged to be brought over Berefova, the Kamenskoy, or the rocky Pojas; which Paflages are not attended with fmall Difficultie's, for when they leave Berefora, the Carriers are obliged to cut their Boats (which are cut out of a Tree) acrofs in two, and in thofe half Boats draw themfelves and their Goods over the high Mountains, and having fpent fome Days in this irkfome Way of Travelling, till they are come to the North-fide, they again faften their Boats together, ftopping the Joints clofe with Mofs, and therewith purfue their Voyage to Arcbongel, or the other Places in Ruffa fituated on the River Oby.
4. I fhall now turn my Difcourfe to the Pojas, or Ridge of the World: which is a valt Quantity of Rocky Hills, that in their parting, according to the exacteft Obfervation, make a Sort of Ridge or Pojas. This Ridge begins from Petzerkay Ofer, or Pezerfe Lanis, and extends, without any Divifion, through the Province of Wergaturia, under which is comprifed the Wergatoer fcbian Wolok; and this Mafs of Hills is no otherwife to be travelled than by drawing over it: From thence it runs Southward by the Caftle of Utka, to the Ufinian Tartars Country, out of which Mountains the River UJfy, and Eaftward the River Nitra, Tuna, \&xc, originally rife, and the laft falls North-Weftward. into the Kama. From hence this mountainous Ridge takes its Courfe Southwards, to the Kalmockian Borders, out of which Pojas, the large River Faica, fo rich in Fifh, rifes Weftwards, and difembogues itfelf into the Cafpian Sea, and the River Tobol rifes out of the North Side of it. Its Courfe Eaftwards is along the Kabmuckian Country, and the Borders of Siberia, paffing by Afero. Saifan, and Ofer Kalculan, two Lakes; from the firft of which the vaft River Oby fprings, and from the fecond Irtis. From this great Lake Ofer Kalculan, this Ridge of Mountains turns off again Southward, where the River Fenifea rifes, which difcharges itfelf into the Tartarian Icy Sea.
Farther Southwards this Pojas or Ridge of Hills inclines in the Shape of an Elbow to the North-Eaft and

South. It runs along by the River Fenizea Northwards, and Southwards by the Ofer or Lake Kofogol, out of which rifes the Kiver Selenge, which falls into the Lake Baikal. From hence the Pojas extends to the Sandy Defert, in the Mongalian Country, and being interrupt. ed by fome Days Journey through the mentioned Defart, proceeds onwards to the South, as far as the Cbinefe great Wall, and then turns off Eaftwards to the Ca. reefcbion Sea, as is delineated in cur Map.
5. But to come to the Defcription of the People of thefe Provinces, and to inform the Reader to whom they are Tributaries. The Country from Pelim to Wergaturia, all along by the River Zufawaja, to the Province of Uffinia, is moftly inhabited by the Wogulifcbian Heathens, whofe Tenets and Manner of Living are already above defcribed. The River Kugur where the Uffinion Habitations begin, rifes out of the Uflimfcbian Jurifdiction, betwixt the Rivers Zufarwaja and Uffa, and falls into the Kama. On this laft River is fituate the City called Kungun, in which his Czarifh Majefty hath a Garrifon. Thefe Ufinfcbian Tartars, as alfo another Sort called Baskinzians, inhabit near the City of Oeffa, and live difperfed in Villages and Towns, all which are well built after the Ruffian Fafhion, along the Weftern Shoar of the River Kama, and by the Wolga Side, almoft as far as the Cities Sarat and Sarapul, both which are fituate on the River Wolga, and garrifoned by his Czarifh Majefty, in order to the collecting of his Tribute; and to keep the Tartars in Awe. This Tribute they pay in Furrs and Honey; and are a Sort of People that will not bear being too roughly handled by their Governors, but if fo treated by them are fure to rebel, of which there have been feveral Inftances formerly; but for a long Time they have not been guilty of any Dilloyalty.
South-Weftwards, in the Diftrict of Afracan, there are alfo other fmall Clans or Hords of that Nation, who being an independant People, in Conjunction with the Kaimockians bordering on Aftracan, rob and pillage in the Province of Siberia. Befides which, by Way of fupe plimental Maintenance, they apply themfelves to the Tillage of the Ground, chiefly for the Production of Barley, Oats, and Buck-wheat : And as foon as the Corn is reaped, they prepare a Threfhing-Floor in the Field, threfh it out, and ftow it in the Barn. This Country as plentifully flows with Honey as any Part of the World. Moft of the Men's wearing Cloaths are made of Ruflan white Cloths, the Coat being about the fame Fafhion with thofe of the Mufcovite Peafants, with long Flaps hanging down on their Backs. The Women, when the Seafon is not too cold, cover the upper Part of their Body with a Shift only, which is curiounly ftitched with Silk of all Colours by Way of Stripe, from the Top to the Bottom; and about the lower Part of their Body they wear Petcicoats, and a Sort of Shoes which not only cover their Feet, but reach above their Ancles. Their Head-drefs confifts in a Sort of Fillet about a Hand-breadth, which they wear on their Foreheads, and faften it behind. This Fillet is ftitched with Silk of feveral Colours, and adorned with a Sort of variegated Glafs, in Imitation of Coral, which is ftrung, and hangs dangling near the Eyes. Some have thefe broader than others, as being full two Spans long, and of one Hand Breadth, and ftitched through with Silk; thefe look like a thin Plank, and are adorned with Corals of all Sorts of Colours, which cover their Forehead. When they go abroad, they cover their Head-drefs with a fquare Linnen Handkerchief, ftitched with Silk, and edged with Silk Fringe.

Thefe Uffinfchian, as well as the Kafkierfcbian Tartars, are a valiant, warlike People; they fit their Horfes well, and carry no other Arms than Bows and Arrows, in the Ufe of which they are extraordinary dextrous. They are vigorous and large $\mathrm{Men}_{2}$ their Shoulders are broad . and they fuffer their Beards to grow to a good Length. The Hair of their Eye-brows is fo very thick and long, that it hangs over their Eyelids, and generally runs fo far crofs the Forehead as to unite the two Eye-brows.. They have a Language peculiar to themfelves, yet can partly underfand the Afracan Gartars. Their Re-
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ligion is Pagan, though indeed they partly incline to the Mabometan, which they have borrowed from the Crim Tartars; with whom they formerly converfed very much.
6. The Country betwixt the Rivers Tobol and Oby , to the Famufchore Ofer, is inhabited by Kalnockians. This Ofer or Lake plentifully abounds with hard Salt, and lies under the Kalmockian Jurifdiction; notwithftanding which about twenty or twenty five Docloenicks, or Rufian Veffels, guarded by a Convoy of 2500 well armed Men, come annually from Tobolesk, up the River Irtis, from whence they travel by Land to this Ofer or Lake, where they dig up the Salt like Ice from the Shore, and load their Ships with it. Indeed they generally have fome Skirmifhes with the Kalmockians, who will not allow of this Practice: But yet, whether they will or not, they are forced to fuffer it.

Inclining lower down from this Fomufawaian Lake, near the River Irtis, Jies the City of Torre, adjoining to the River Tara: This is the laft Frontier Place which belongs to his Czarifh Majefty, bordering on the Territories of the Kalmockian Prince Buftucban. The Inhabitants of which are called Barabinfy, and ftretch themfelves Eaftwards from the City of Torre, to the River Oby, oppofite to the River Ton, and the City of Tomskoy. This Country of Barnabu is paffable in Summer as well as Winter ; but chiefly in the latter: For the Oby at Surgut and Narin being unpaffable in the Winter, Travellers generally go this Way to Siberia, by Tomskoy and Jemufeefcbs. This Nation, which is called Barabinfy, confifts of a Sort of Kalmocks which pay Tribute equally to the Czar, and the Buftucban. They have amongft them three Governors or Taifcbi; the fint of which is called Karfagaz, the fecond Baikifcb; and the third Baiduk: Thefe three Lords receive the Tribute of the Barabinzes, and bring the Czar his Portion. The Karjagaz, the firft of them, brings his Part to the City of Tora; Baikijch, his Portion to the Ruffron Cafte of Telurve; and Baiduk, the Remainder to the Caftle of Kulenba: All of. thefe Tributes being paid in Furrs. Thefe are an infolent villanous Sort of People; they live in low built wooden Houfes, like thofe of the Siberian Tartars; they are not at all acquainted with the Ufe of Stoves or Ovens, but make Ule of a Sort of Chimnies or rather Smoak-holes. When their Wood is burnt, they ftop the Smoak-hole, and warm themfelves by the Coals as long as any Heat remains in them.

Their Houfes are ranged into Villages; they fet up high Hutts in the Summer, but in Winter retire into their warm wooden Dwellings. They are tolerably skilful in Agriculture, and fow Oats, Barley, Miller, and Buck-wheat, but are not fond of either Rye or Rye-bread: And though they like the Tafte of it well enough, yet they chew it fo awkwardly, and roll it upon their Tongues as if they had Dirt in their Mouths, and fpitting it out, fcrape the Remainder off their Tongue as after a Thing which they cannot fwallow. They fteep their Barley in Water, dry it a little, and then threfh off the Husk; after which they dry, or rather fry it in a very hot Iron Pan or Kettle ; by which Management it becomes as hard as Bone; and this is their Bread which they daily eat, and is fo hard and dry, that it crafhes betwixt their Teeth. They alfo eat the Saranna or Bulb of yellow Lillies, dried, famped, and boiled with Milk, as a Sort of Milk-pap. They drink Kumis, a Sort of Brandy extracted from MaresMilk; and Karaza, i. e. Karatcba, or black Tea, which is brought thither by the Bucbarians.

Their Arms are thofe common to the greateft Part of the Tartars, viz. Bows and Arrows. They keep great Numbers of Cattle, particularly Horfes, Camels, Cows and Sheep: But neither keep or will cat Hogs. Their Country abounds with fine Sables, Martins, Squirrels, Ermins, Foxes, Hyena's, Beavers, Minks, Otters, $E_{5}{ }^{\circ} c$. in which they pay their Tribute. This Country extends from Tora to the Rivers Oby and Tom; is not mountainous but plain even Land, abounding with Woods of beautiful Cedars, Larch-Trees, Birch and Pitch-Trees, which are interfected by feveral Chryftel-

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line running Streams. In the Habits of both Nien and Women, they follow the Numgolfobian and Kalmockiand Fafhion; and marry as many Wives as they can maintain. When they go into the Woods in order to hunt furred Animals, they carry their Saitans along with them ; which is a rough Image, as well carved in Wood as they can do it with a Knife: This they cloath in a Stuff Drefs of all Sorts of Colours, in Imitation of the Habits of the Ruffian Women, and place him upright in a fmall Cafe, and carry him upon a particular Slead, both made for that Yurpofe; and to him they offer up their firft Capture of what Sort of Beaft foever it prove.

When they have killed great Numbers of their Game, they return Home very merrily, mount their Idol in his Cafe, to the higheft Place in the Houfe, and hang him behind and before, above and below, with Sables, Martins and all Sorts of Furrs, in order to exprefs their Acknowledgments to him for rendring their Hunting: fo fuccefful; and all thefe rich Furrs muft hang there to be fpoiled and putrified, they believing it a moft unpardonable Crime to take off or fell any of thefe dedicated Hides; whence it is that we daily fee fo many fine Skins placed by thefe Images, that are eaten up by the Worms, which it is indeed a great Pity are not better employed.
7. Croffing the River Oby from hence, we come tó Tomskoy, which is alfo a Frontier Place belonging to the Czar, fituate on the Buzuk, and is a very fine and vaft large City, ftrongly garrifoned by Ruflan and Coffackian Soldiers, to prevent the Incurfons of the Tartars into Siberia; and in the Suburbs over the River live great Numbers of Bucbarfian Tartars, who pay Tribute to his Czarifh Majelty. This City lies on the River Tom, which rifes in the Kalmockian Territories, and from hence the Subjects of the Bufucbtu Cban, and the Bucbarfanns, drive a very confiderable Trade to Cbina, feveral Ruffron Merchants being concerned and fharing with them. This Way to Cbina is very expeditious, it being practicable to go thither in twelve Weeks, and return back in as fhort a Time; but it is withal expofed to the greateft Inconveniencies and Difficulties in the World; for the Travellers are obliged to carry all Neceffaries along with them upon Camels, nay even Water and Wood to drefs their Victuals. They go directly throngh Kalmockia, and through Cokoton, a Cbinefe City without the Wall. Eut it is utterly impolible for Ruffians or other Nations to travel this Road, by Reafon that it is infefted with feveral Gangs of Robbers, which fet on the Paffengers, and very often deprive them of all that they have gained by fo tedious and fatiguing a Journey.
From Tomskoy down to the City of Janifeefch is utterly defolare and uninhabited Land; the Country is an even Plain, on which appear fome fcattered Thickets: Alfo all about the two Rivers Kia and Zuwin, to as far as the Cities Kufnezkoy and Krafnajar, is very little or not at all inhabited, any where befides the Frontiers. The firt peopled Country we find here is that of the Kirgizens, which are the Subjects of the Bufucbtu Cban. The City of Krafnajar is very large, and defended by a ftrong Garrifon of Coffocks placed in it by his Czarifh Majefty, and they are always obliged to keep a very ftrict Guard to prevent the Incurfions of the Kirgizens, for which Reafon twenty Horfes both Day and Nighe ftand conftantly Sadled and Bridled, in the Marketplace, before the Governor's Houfe: For the Kirgizens, though at Peace with the Siberians, are a People who are never to be trufted. For frequently when they are not expected, they come in Parties, and fteal both Men and Horles under the very Walls of the City, and out of the neareft of the Siberion Villages: Bur the Coffacks generally make, fevere Reprizals on them, by often killing and carrying off, feveral hundreds of Men and Horfes from their Hords or Clans.
8. Thefe Kirgizens extend their Habitations SouthEaftwards as far as the Mongalion Diftriets. They are a warlike Nation, being genérally vigorous, tall, and broad-faced Men, fomewhat like the Kalmockions. Their Arms are Bows and Arrows, but they never go out in

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queft of Booty without very good Coats of Mail and Lances, which they draw along by the Horfe Side, with their Points on the Ground. They generally live in the Mountains, which naturally ferve to defend them from Surprize. The greateft Part of their Language is Kalmockian, but they alfo fpeak a great deal of the Crins Tartarian Idiom, which the Turks partly underftand.
From Krafnoy along the River fenifea, as far down as Fenifeefch, is inhabited by fome Tungezians; but chiefly by Burattions. This laft-mentioned Cafte juft touches on Mongalia, and borders on the Ridge of Rocks between Tunkinskoi and the City of Selinga. The Frontier Fort butting, on Monsalia is not large, but provided with a very ttrong Garrifon, chiefly of Horfe, in order to defend the Weftern-fide againft the Mongalians, and their fubordinate Tartars the Mirottions, Milyans, and Burattians. Near this City grows a Sort of Santclunn or Sanders, which is prodigious hard. The Burattians, which are under the Protection of his Czarifh Majefty, formerly inhabited the Country all about Seling a; but by Reafon fome of them, at the Inftigation of the Cbinefe, began to fly over to the Mongalians, the Remainder were, for greater Security, tranfplanted to the Baicaffain Lake, round which they now live in the Mountains, and pay their Tribute to his Czarifh Majefty in Sables and other rich Furs.

From this City to the Lake Baikal runs a continued Ridge of Hills, where are found very fine Sables and Cabardins. From the Lake Kofogel Eaftward to the Sandy Defert, and from thence to Dway, or the Mongalian Lake, and fo on to the Province of Argun, and thence again North-weft as far as the Rivers Onon and Sikoy, is the Circumference and Boundary of the whole Mongalian Territories, or, as hath been formerly faid, of the Jurisdition of the Race of Gog and Magog, which is governed by three Regents, the Chief of which is the Kuttucbt, who is alfo the High-prieft of the Nation. The fecond Brother is the Aziroi Sain Cban, and the third is Elict, whofe Boundaries border on the Weft Tartars. The firft two Brothers infeparably hold together, but the third robs and plunders wherever any Booty is to be come at ; and is fo bold as to venture fometimes even to the Cbinefe Wall with his Troops, carrying off all that comes in his Way, not faring even the Emperor of Cbina's Money which he fends as a charitable Prefent to the neighbouring Tartars, to engage them to a firm Continuance in their Allegiance. Kuttucbt, otherwife call'd Koetoegt, and Aziroi Sain Cban his Brother, though their Country is of vaft Extent, have yet put both themfelves and that under the Protection of the Emperor of Cbina, out of their great Fear of the Ba fuicbtu Cban, Prince of the Kalmockians, from whom they fuffered very much in the Years 1688, and 1689.
9. But to ftay no longer on the Frontiers of his Czarifh Majefy's Territories, and to take a Turn Eattwards of Ardum Cafte, which Fortrefs is built on the Weft-fide of the. River Argum, and garrifoned with Ruffan Forces; the People inhabiting all round are Tungaf Konni, who pay their Tribute to his Czarifh Majefty in Sables, Linx, and grey Ferrets Skins, which there prove very fine. The Tungufians are a fierce, warlike People, and can; on Occafion, from thefe Borders only, bring into the Field four thoufand Horfemen armed with Bows and Arrows; infomuch that no roving Mongalians dare ride or appear hereabouts, otherwife than by Night, when they fometimes drive away a few Horfes and Cattle out of the Field. Their Winter Cloaths are Sheep-skins, and their Boots like thofe of the Cbinefe. Their Caps are turned up with broad Borders of Furr, which they can turn up or pull down as rainy or fair Weather gives Occafion. They wear about their Waftes a Girdle of about a Hand's Breadth, faften'd with thin iron Plates, and an Arrow, upon which they make a Sort of piping Mufick. In. Summer-time they generally ride with bare Heads. fhaven all round, leaving only one Lock hanging behind like the Cbinefe. Their Summer drefs is made of blue Cbinese Callico quilted with Cotton; but as for Shirts they wear none. They naturally have very finall, or indeed fcarce any Beards,
are broad-faced like the Kalmockians, and very flrong Men.

When they labour under Want of Provifions, they go in whole Hords or Clans out a Buck-hunting, where they encompafs and fhoot vaft Quantities of them, and whatever they take, they focially divide, and rarely Thoot but they hit their Game. The Wives are cloathed much in the fame-Manner as the Husbands, being chiety diftinguihned by two plaited Locks which they wear on each Side of the Head, and hang down on their Breafts, and are tied with Silver or Tin Rings. They marry as many Wives as they can keep, and buy them of one another, not being very nicely concerned at their having lived with another Man. They believe and acknowledge a God in Heaven, but they neither pay any Worfhip, nor addrefs any Prayers to him. In the Night they apply chemfelves to the Sutkur or Saitan, by beating of Drums and performing of Exorcifms, efpecially when they are going a Hunting, or upon any Robbing Defign, to enquire whether they are to expect good or ill Succefs. Their Liquor with which they make merry is Arak, a Sort of Brandy diftilled from Mares Milk, which they fuffer to turn acid. Inftead of a Cauldron they draw off this Liquor in two Pots, one fet upon the other, and well luted together, there being a wooden Pipe in one of them. This they draw off twice or thrice, and this Operation produces good Brandy; which even Girls, as well as Men and Women, fip to that Excefs, that they become infenfible and motionlefs for a long Space of Time. Their Wives and Daughters ride on Horfeback, arm'd with Bows and Arrows, as weli as the Men. Their Bread is a refined and dried Sort of Flour of yellow Lilly Bulbs, of which they make a Sort of Pap; befides which, they have no other Bread : But they alfo eat the mentioned Bulbs dry out of Hand, and are utterly unpractifed in and ignorant of Agriculture. The Trade or Barter which fome of this Nation drive with the Targafinians and Xixigarfans, which live under the Cbinefe Jurifdiction, is chiefly trucking Furrs againft blue Callicoes, Linnens, and Tobacco, and proves very advantageous to them, as it generally doth to all who follow it. They believe themfelves to be the Defcendants of the Targafinians of Daorzi, with feveral of whom they keep up an amicable Correipondence.
Near the before-mentioned Caftle of Argum, about half a Day's Journey from it, amongtt the Hills, is a Silver Mine, and it plainly appears, that formerly the People of Nieucbieu, or Daourzen, had feveral Foundaries and Works there, which are at prefent run to Ruin. From hence to Nerzinskoy, the chief City of Daour, it is ten Days Journey by Land with Camels, and is alfo a fine Country, very conveniently watered with feveral running Brooks. Upon and betwixt the Hills grow the moft charming Herbs and Flowers which Imagination can fuggeft: And the Vallies are covered with long Grafs about half a Man's Height. Tillage is not very much practifed here, by reafon the Inhabitants are chiefly his Czarifh Majefty's Tartars.
10. But leaving the River Argum again, and croffing over the vaft River Amur, I come to the River Gorbiza, which feparates the Dominions of his Czarifh Majefty from thofe of the Emperor of Cbina; from the Haven of the Gorbiza Eaftwards to the Sea being fubject to the Cbinefe, and the Weftern as well as the Northern Side of the faid River belonging to his Czarifh Majefty: If we fteer Eaftwards from the Gorbiza to the Rivers Tugur and Uda, which rife Northwards of the Amur, and fall Eaftwards into the Cbinefe Ocean or Amoerff cbian Sea, we find the Country betwixt thofe Rivers yields great Quantities of black Sables, and the Shores of thefe mentioned Streams are inhabited by Tunguzians, Alemurians, and Koreizions; which laft Nation feems originally to come from Coela, that Country lying not far diftant from thence, it being eafy to reach it in a fhort Day; with a favourable Wind. They are reported to have fettledialong the Banks of the River Amur, and afterwards fpread themfelves farther. Thofe who live on the Sea-coaft depend chiefly on Fifhing; but there are many of the Inland People very rich, great Num-
bers of the beft Sabies and ficheft Furrs being found hiere. This Country is fubject to the Governor of Fakutskey, and the Woods in this Neighbourlood are all ftrongly guarded in order to prevent the Cbinefe Tartars from hunting any Sables here.
To the Shores of thefe two Rivers, there come annually a Sort of People out of the Inands which lie in the Sea, but fo near the Shore, that from thence they may be eafily feen. Thefe People appear very well dreffed in very fine Furr Surtouts, under which they wear filken Coats almoft as rich as thofe of the Perfians. They are tall, have large Beards, and make a noble manly Figure. They come in fmall Barks to the Siberian Tartars, and buy Girls and Women of them, of which they are very fond, giving for them rich Sables and black Fox-skins; which they report they have in great Quantities on their IIands, and earnetly folicit the Siberian Tungufians to come and trade with them. They pretend that the Province of fakutskey was formeriy fubject to them ; and their Language bears a little Similitude to the 7 akut $J$ bbian.
11. Northwards of thefe two Rivers rifes the River Ogota, betwixt which and the Udd, near the Shore, and all along in the Sea, as far as the 1cy Cape, abounds with Whales, Sea-hores, and Sea-Dogs.. Kanfolka, and the Country farther along by the Sea-fide, is inhabited by a People called $X u x x i$ and Koelkik, each of which have a Language peculiar to themfelves. Thofe who live near the Sea are cloathed in Seal-skins, and dwell in fubterraneous Caverns ; but thofe who inhabit the inland Country are generally rich, and very much accuftomed to Hart- hunting ; they eat all their Flefh and Filh raw, and wafh themfelves with nothing elfe befides their own Urine ; and are a very lly, treacherous People, that never keep their Words. Their chicf Arms are Slings, in the Ufe of which they are very dextrous, and can throw a great Way. All hereabouts, near the Icy Cape, the Winter Snow lies on the Ground, though it is not very deep, and chieffy falls in the Beginning of the Winter, all the remaining Part of that Sealon being free from Snow. There is a Gulf which comes up to Kamjatke, that affords prodigious Quantities of SeaHories, and other Sea Finh, which are alfo caught in great Numbers.
If we put to Sea at the $I_{c y}$ Cape, we find, that the farther out we fail, the Courfe of the Sea is fill the more interrupted by the Multiplicity of Inands; and not far above Kamfatka is a Paffige which the SealFilhers and others make very good Ue of. All Anadieskey and Sabaliska are inhabited by the already defrribed Nations called Xuxi and Koeliki. The River Salazia abounds with fine Herrings, Sturgeoñ, Sterbech, and Nebna. |And in the Inland Country fomewhat diftant from hence, all along by the Simoniko, are feveral Win-ter-houfes, which are inhabited by his Czarifh Majefty's Coffacks, who colleet his Taxes and Tolls. But notwithflanding that feveral Sables and Linxes are caught in this Province along by the feveral Rivers, yet the Simonikoe of 'Muskey yields the moft confiderable Revenue, the greateft Quantity of Sables being caught there. The Climate of this Icy Cape, called in Muycovite Dialect, swettoinos, ocherwife the Holy Cape, is extraordinary cold, it freezing fo hard, that the Sea is covered with thick Ice in feveral Places, which driven into mountainous Heaps by the Wind from Year to Year, increafes and fticks fo fatt together that it feems but one Clot : From which, according as the Wind fits, are fometimes broke of great Pieces, which difperfe themfelves, and in Procefs of Time, in a boifterous Sea, become new Mountains of Ice : It fometimes happens that this Sea is frozen up for two or three Years fuccefively, and it was obferved that it continued fo from 1694 to 1697.
12. From hence let is proceed farther onf to the great River Lena, which rifes out of the South-weft near the Lake Bakeil, where the Provinces of Siberia and Daour are divided from each other. Upon this River lies fokutskoy, the Capital Ciry of this Northern Province: From which Town in Summer-time, it is cuttomary for fmall Barks to coaft it along by the Shoar

Side, and go through the Cape to Sabazia, Onodieftoy, and Kampatke, in Search of Sea-Calves Teeth and Train Oyl, \&ic. The Neighbyuring Heathens, or Tartars, make Ure of little Leathern-Boats on this River, which are very fwift. The Country about the City of Yakiulskoy, and the River Amga, is inhabited by a Sort of People called fakutifanns, whofe Habit is very particulat, their upper Coats being made of various colour'd Furrs fewed together, and the Edges bordered all round, with a Border about a Hand's Breadth of Buck's Hair, but in every Thing elfe made fomewhat like the Germait Fafhion, and open at the Sides and behind. They have long Hair, wear no Shirts, and believe that there is a great Being above in Heaven, who gave them Life, and lends them Food, Wives, and Children. And they celebrate a great Feftival in the Spring, in which they make Offerings of Kumis, or Arak, difitill'd from Milk, to this Being: And during the Continuance of this Feaft, they do not drink themfelves, but make great Fires, and continually frinkle this Kumis, or $A$ rak; towards the Ealt ; which is their Manner of Offering. When any one of them dies, his nearef Relation is buried alive with him ; from the fame Principles that, in feveral Places in India, the Women accompany the dead Bodies of their Husband on the flaming FuneralPile, in order to enjoy their Company in the other World.
About one half of their Language agres very well with that of the Mabometan Tartarss near Tobolskon, which is derived from the Bulgorion. They take as many Wives as they can maintain. Their chief Beafts of Burden are their Stags, upon which they alfo ride, and thereby in a little Time go a vaft Way: They are a valiant and a quick-witted People, and feem to be great Lovers of Truth. When the Governor of Yokutstkoy proves to be a Perfon who governs remiifly, they do one another all poffible Miichiefs, by robbing, pillaging, and all other Exorbitancies: But when they have one that holds the Reins very tight, they are quiet and obe dient, and no Outrages are heard of amongtt them; but they praife his great Wifdom, and wifh he may continue long in that Poft. They venture to tell us, that their Anceftors originally came from Kalmockia, from whence they were driven by the Ruffians, and forced to take up their Quartars in the cold Parts of this. Diffrict. They are very much afficted with the Scurry, which they foon drive away, by eating raw Fifh, and taking of Deugti, which is a Sort of Tar.
13. The yugogayers, a Sort of Heathens alfo which inhabit Part of this Country, ufually, when any of their Relations die, cut off all the Fiefh of his Cor'ps to the Bones, dry the Skeleton, and hang it with Glafs-Corals of all Colours, carry it round their Hutts, or Dwellings, and thus pay Idolatrous Worfhip to the deceared. Along by this River Lena are annually found feveral Mammuts Teeth and Skeletons, which fall off from the Mountains, and out of the frozen Earth near this River ; thefe Hills, by the Current of Ice from the highfwoln Waters in the Spring loofing great Pieces, which are tumbled down into the River. The feveral fine Rivers which defcend from the South and fall into the Lena, are the Witim, Olekina, and Maja, along which are great Muttitudes of fine black Sables, and other Furrs: In Winter 1000 Ermins being to be bought of the Tertars for three or four Roubels. All about the River Maja, as allo at the Source of the Lena, at Wergolenkoljo and Kirenga, grows all Sorts of Corn, the Land being very fertule, and ferving to fupply the Province of Yakutskoy, and that at 10 cheap a Rate, that añ hundred Weight of Rye-Méal is commonly fold for ten or twelve Penice, and all Sorts of Cattle are proportionably cheap; fo that living here doth not coft much, but Money is very fcarce.
To take our Progrefs further along this Sea-Coaft, from the Lena to the River Yenijea, which Extent hath not yet been travelled further by any, either by Water or by Land, than to the River Tarfida, by Reafon the Sea is too full of Ice, and is utterly unnavigable : Moft of the Inhabitants between Tarfida and Yenijea are found to be Samojedes, and a Party of Tuingaedchian Tartars
and Heathens: What their Opinion is, has been hinted above. But the River fenifea is, all along its Shoars, moftly inhabited by Rufians, and rifes in the South-part of Tartary, in the Kalmockian and Kirgizenian Territories, and very plentifully abounds with Fith : Three very fine Rivers fall into it, which are the Wergnaja Tunguka, Podkamenna Tungufka, and the Nifnaja Tungufa; on the Sides of all which dwell great Numbers of a barbarous, wild fort of Tunguzians, which may very well be ranked with the Samojedes, the latter being only larger and ftronger than the former. The Tartars, whenever they have wounded an Elk with their Bow and Arrows, (all their Arms) follow him by the Tract of his Feet, accompanied with their Wives and Children, fometimes for eight or ten Days, in the Woods, and taking no Provifions with them, but relying folely upon their Capture, they have a Sort of Stomacher, or Breaft-Cap, which, by Reafon of Hunger, they lace one or two Fingers Breadth clofer ; and having at laft caught their Game, they kill it, pitch a flight 'lent, and flay upon the Spot till no Part of the Beaft but the bare Bones are left : But in the Interim if they get any Furrs, they immediately repair to the Rufian Villages and Towns in order to fell them. Here are great Numbers of white and brown Foxes, Multitudes of Squirrels, but very few or no Sables. On this River are fituate the two Cities of Taugvikoy and Mungafeia, both which drive a very great Inland Trade in Furrs, Sea-Horfe and Mammuts Teeth; and in Summer-time feveral Boats go from there Places to the Sea-fide at the Mouth of the River, in order to catch Sea-Horfes or Sea-Calves and Seals.
Believing we have in fome Meafure attained our End, and performed what we propofed in the Defcription of our Travels, we fhall now fubjoin a fhort, but very accurate, Defcription of the mighty Empire of Cbina, written by a Native of that Country, whom I brought hither with me: This Defcription, which was never before printed, I have caufed to be illuffrated with feveral pertinent Annotations, extracted out of the beft Defrcip. tions of that Empire, in order to clear up fome Difficulties, and fatisfy the Reader; and this was not done by an illiterate Pen.
Notwithftanding which, before I take Leave, I am in fome Sort obliged to fay fomething in general, which is the Refult of my own Obfervation, concerning that vaft Empire, and was omitted in the Relation of my Travels.
14. The Empire of Cbina, fo far as I faw of it, to, and in Peking its Metropolis, I muft indeed acknowledge feems to be a Land peculiarly bleffed by Heaven; and I believe, that as this City is the Capital, fo it lies under the beft and moft healthful Climate of all Cbina. The Men there are vigorous, healchy, and tall: Corn, all Sorts of Fruits, Herbs, Roots, and indeed whatever is either neceffary or convenient to human Life, very plentifully abounds there, except only that no Tea grows in that Province, nor are any filk Manufactures or Porcelain made there. In Winter it freezes fo hard here, that the Ice will bear the People going overit; and the Summer Weather is but moderately hot ; whereas on the contrary, in the other Provinces, whole Summer Days are ufelefs, by Reafon of the intollerable Heat. The prefent Defcendants of the ancient Cbinefe are more fincere than the Manfures or Man scbeou Iartars. They live temperately and frugally; are very neat and clean in their Cloaths ; are very greedy of Prefents, and fhamelefs in their Trade, and have Addrefs enough to fuit themfelves to all Humours. They religiounly obferve their ancient Laws, in which appear fome Traces of Barbarity. They never alter the Fafhion of their Drefs, nor fuffer the Introduction of any new Laws; and fome of their principal Lords told me, that no Chan or King, for the Space of twelve thoufand Years, hath been empowered to make even the leaft Alteration in their Religion, Laws, or Habits.
So that it feems that the prefent Emperor Ammologgan Kambi, is the firft who hath difcovered a night Opinion of the old barbarous Cuftoms, and accordingly began a good Reformation of their Religion and Law, when in the Year 1692, he caufed publick Proclamation
to be made in all his Empire, That whoever was defirous to become a Chriftian, had thereby free Liberty to apply himfelf to the Romith Clergy, and be bapciz'd. This was a grievous Thorn in the Eyes of the Bonzies, or Idolatrous Priefts, but they were yet forced to bear it patiently, and be Eye-Witnefles to the Converfion of Thoufands yearly to Chriftianity ; and which is more, the Emperor himfeff is, in his Heart, a good Chrifian, but cannot poffibly quit any of his 1236 W ives. He is a more abfolute Legillator than we hear any of his Predeceffors were ; for, by Virtue of his defpotick Authority, he is fo formidable to his Subjects, that he governs them, without the leaft Reftrition, according to his arbitrary Will and Pleafure.
15. The Cbinefe obflinately perfit in denying, in their Map of the World, that there is any larger Country on the Surface of the terreftrial Globe, than their own; to confirm which prepofterous Affertion, their Maps never mention any more than their own, and one great Sea, in the Middle of which they affign a imal! Point of Land, which faintly appears to the Eye, like one of the fmalleft Stars, for the reft of the Earth.

They honour their Prince like a Deity, calling him a Son of Heaven, and a Terreftrial God. Their Religion is perfect Pagan Idolatry, as appears by their hideous diabolical Images, expofed to View in their Pagods or Temples. They have frequently replied to Queftions which I put to them concerning the Immortality of the Soul and eternal Life, That they were utterly ignorane of any fuch Thing; and that fince their Forefathers did not believe it, fo they could not. Their chiefeft Pleafure confifts in keeping feveral Wives, to which they are extreamly addicted. They have no Notion of Sin, but whenever they have been guilty of any villanous Crime, for which they happen to be feized and brought to Juiftice, they take the Punifment infiicted' by the Judge, for only a very. fmall Scandal, without fhewing any Remorie for the Wickednels and Difhonenty of the Fact.
Their Adminiftration of Juffice, and Judiciary Decifions, and whatever of that Nature which they take to be civiliz'd and reafonable, are indeed but rude and barbarous. Their Manufactures are principally thofe of Silk Stuffs, Porcelain, and varnifhed painted Works, which confidering their great Diflance from Europe, are fomewhat furprizing. Their Wars are carried on by the fole Dint of Numbers, they very feldom taking the Field before they are two or three hundred thoufand ftrong, as they did when they were engaged againft $B u$ fucktucban the Weft Tartar, from the Years 1686 to 1693; in which Wars, when their General Alliganibo happened to be killed in a Battle, they all fied, and each Man endeavoured to fecure his Life by making all poffible Hafte to his own Home. They carry with them good Field-pieces, and are indifferent expert in the Ure of them; but their Hand-arms are very wretched, the beft of them being their Bows and Arrows. Their Horfes are provided with very good Saddles, but when they ride, they cover them with Pillows, and Mattraffes above them; fo that they fit very high and loofe from the Horfe's Back. In a Word, as their military Affairs are managed in a confufed and diforderly Manner, fo their Battles being utterly void of all Conduct, they act like wild Men; for they run headlong together with their whole Force upon the Enemy, by which Means they frequently are entirely routed.
16. In fhort, from my own Obfervation I conclude, that the great Share of Wiifdom, Arts and Sciences, for which they are fo highly extolled by many Writers, comes far fhort of the Europeans; though indeed fome few Cbinefe, by the affiduous Diligence of the Jefuits, are inftructed in the Mathematicks, Aftronomy, and other Sciences ; and therefore publifh their Mafter's Fame to the World. The prefent Ammolog Cban Kumfti, or King of Cbina and Tartary, is an Eaft Tartar, or Mongalian, born at Nieucbes, near the River Sagalien Oula, or Amoer; he governs his Subjects very well, though he doth not heartily love the Cbinefe, but on, all Occafions prefers his own Nation before them: And whenever a Cbinefo folicits to obtain any impor-

## Chap. III.

from Muscovy to CHINA。
tant Poft from the Chan, he is obliged to naturalize himfelf a Manfur or Tartar. Moft of the Inhabitants within the Walls of Pcking are Tartars, and the principal Cbinefe Markets and Goods are kept without in the Suburbs. All rich People keep a certain Number of Slaves for the Emperor's Service, for which they receive an annual Scipend from him; and thefe Men, in Time of War, are obliged to be kept ready armed, cloathed, and mounted on Horfeback. The Jefuits who were at Peking when I was there were but eight; of which two were Spaniards, three Portuguefe, two Frencbmen, and the laft a Roman.

The Cbinefe, but efpecially the Courtiers, retain a very great Refpect for thefe Fathers, and the other Ecclefiarticks; but the Bonzies look upon them fomewhat obliquely. It muft indeed be own'd, that the Romifs Clergy difcover a very great $Z_{\text {eal }}$ for the Propagation of their Religion. The Rufian Nation hath alfo built a Church at Peking, and have converted and baptized reveral confiderable Perfons to the Greek Chriftian Religion. I do not think it at all neceffary to touch on the Races of the Monarchs which have hitherto reigned in Cbina, fince the curions Part of the World may find an entire and exact Lift of them in the Cbinefe Chronology publifhed by Cbriftian Menzelius, Councellor and Phyfician of the Body to the King of Prufla, printed at Berlin in, 1696.
As for what relates to the Great Well, which encompaffes Part of the Empire of Cbina, I fhall only add in fhort to what I have already faid of it, that it is a prodigious Work, but not fo much to be valued on account of any extraordinary Art fhewn in the building of it, as the furprizing Labour and Expence employed in the erecting of it by the Emperor who raifed it; for which the Cbinefe curfe him to this Day, by reafon he thereby thoroughly ruined the Empire. The Jefuit Father Alexander informed me, that by the Emperor's Order he travelled all along by this Wall, from the Weit where it begins, to the South-eaft, as far as the Corffkken Sea, and found it to be three hundred German Miles long, and had it food all on a Level, it would certainly have ftretch'd to four hundred Miles; but it is carried over feveral high Mountains, and hath four Entrances, viz. the Leatongian, Daourian, Lelinger, and Tibetcbian Gates ; befides which, it is fo broad, that eight Horfemen may eafily ride a-breaft upon it.
I do not think it proper to offer any more Particulars concerning Cbina, fince my Refidence there was not long, but defire the Reader favourably to accept this little, and give me Leave to refer him to the fuccinct Defcription annexed, in which he will find feveral Things very well worth his Attention.
17. It is very remarkable, that even in thefe Obfervations our Author very modeftly excufes himfelf from the fhort Stay he made in Cbina, and from his Manner of living there, as to giving any diftinct, methodical and regular Account of that valt Enpire and its Inhabitants. We very often meet with Writers, who, without having any of thefe Advantages, prefume to enter into particular Defrriptions of Countries and Nations, as if it were credible that in the Space of a few Months, a Man fhould either fee, or hear, or read fufficient for that Purpofe. There is another Thing no lefs extraordinary, our Author, though he is to circumftantial in every Thing that he fays relating to both his Journeys, and to what paffed at his feveral Audiences of the Cbinefe Emperor, yet he does not fo much as drop a Syllable of the Bufinefs upon which he went. He fays nothing of the Commiffion given him by their Czarifh Majefties, of the Succefs of his Negociation, or of the Advantages he procured thereby to the Court of Rufia; and yet if he had been a vain $\cdot \mathrm{Man}$, he might have done all this without any great Injury to Truth. A third Singularity there is which alfo deferves to be remembred. He acknowledges the Country to be one of the fineft in the World; he admits that no body could be treatēd more politely, or with greater Refpect than he was; but for all this he does not fuffer himfelf to be led away with thofe fond and enthufiaftical Notions with which many Travellers are poffefs'd, and to which the World owes
all thofe romantick and extravagant Stories they have been told of this Country and People.
The Charater he gives of both is very fimple, nad tural, and intilligible, and he gives it not with any Air of Sufficiencyor Confidence, but barely as his own Sentia ment, the Reception of which he leaves entirely to his Reader, after he Thall have examined it with che like Care and Candour with which it was delivered. It muft feem not a litcle ftrange to fuch as have read other Defcriptions of this Country, to find our Author advancing two Things that feem to be directly oppofite to all we have ever heard of this Empire and its Inhas bitants. The firft is, that the Tartars are wifer and more polite ; the fecond, that the Cbinefe have naturally more Probity than the Tartars. But notwithitanding this, many Reafons may be alledged in Support of our Author's Opinions, and perhaps it will not fatigue the Reader much if we mention two or three. In the firft Place let it be confidered, that the Cbinefe were fo much attached to their old Laws and Cuftoms, that without regarding either the original Motives upon which they were eftablifhed, or how far they were agreeable to that Situation of Affairs which the Changes and Revolutions that all Things, great and fmall, are liable to in this World, bring about, they perfifted with inflexible Firmnefs, or rather incorrigible Obftinacy, in fupporting them, without the fmalleft Alteration, from a Notion that any Thing of this Kind was the higheft Inflance of Impiery.
The Tartars, though they very wifely adopted the Cbinefe Conftitution as the fitteft for that Country, and by which alone it could be governed, yet they would never fubmit to this Notion of unalterable Laws ; bur on the contrary, made no Scruple of changing what either Reafon inclined them to think wrong, or Expea rience had taught them to be fo ; and to this their $I_{n-}$ tercourfe with other Nations, their opening their Ports to all Strangers withour Diftinction, and their fending and receiving Minifters, are fo many inconteftable Inftances. Whoever confiders thefe Points wish any Degree of Attention, will very plainly pèrceive that our Author had Reafon to prefer the Policy and civil Pruo dence of the Tartars to that of the Cbinefe.

Another, and yet a ftronger Argument of the Juftice of this Preference, may be taken from the Hiftory of the two Minorities which happened in this Empire immediately after the laft Conqueft of it by the Tartars. TJong té, who fubdued Cbina, died in the Year 1644, almoft as foon as he was feated on the Throne, and leff the Empire to his Son Cbun tcbi, who was but fix Years old, and confided the Care of the young Prince to his Brother $A$ ma van. One would have imagined that this muft have been fatal to a new and half eftablifhed Government ; and not only our Hiftories, but even thofe of the Cbinefe, by which I mean the natural and native Inhabitants of that Country, feem to confirm this. But it proved quite otherwife, the Protector finifhed the Conqueft of Cbina in the Space of about eight Years, without the leaft Prejudice to the Authority of his Nephew, and upon his Death the Adminiftration was put into the Hands of his younger Brother, with the Affitance of a Council, in which it did not continue long
They perceived very clearly that this kind of Rule was by no Means fuited either to the Tartar or to the Cbinefe Conftitution, and therefore wich a Wifdom and Honefly of which there is fearce any Parallel to be mes with in Hiftory, they laid down the Enfigns of their Power, and defired the young Emperor, who was then about fourteen, to take the Reins of Government into his own Hands. This was another Crifis that would have been fatal in almoft any other Country, but it was favourable here, and the Emparor governed for ten Years with great Wifdom and Capacity.
Upon his Death fucceeded Cang Hi his Son, who was no more than eight Years old, and according to the Direction of the deceafed Emperor, the Regency was put into the Hands of four of the principal Minifters, and one would naturally apprehend, that this muft have proved the Source of private Cabals, of various have proved the Source of private Cabals, of various
Factions, and in a fhort Space of Time of Diford and
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Confufion.

Confufion. Yet nothing like this happened, the Council of Regency acted not only with Prudence and Unanimity, but what was more extraordinary fill, with the utmoft Vigour; they found that there were fome Diforders in the State that needed Redrefs, that the Power of the Eunuchs was become too great, and that there was juit Ground to fear, that the Emperor being a Child, thefe Evils might increafe, or which was worfe, might grow irremediable. To prevent which, they without Hefitation, cut off the Guilty, removed all fufpicious Perfons, and by maintaining a wife and virtuous Conduct at Court, gave a good Example to the Tartars and Cbinefe in general. But as this kind of Government is never fubmitted to in that Country, from any other Motive than Neceffity, fo this Emperor, like his Father, was very early called to the fole Management of the Affairs of his Empire, to which he fhowed himfelf always equal, as well in the tender Years of his Youth, as in his declining Age.
It was to him that our Author was fent, and he governed no lefs than threefcore Years, in which Time he gave all the Marks of a truly great Genius. At the Entrance of his Reign, the Cbinefe rebelled, and it coft a long and bloody War to reduce them. The Emperor appeared in thofe Days rigoroully fevere, or rather cruel; he punifhed the fmalleft Faults with Death, gave a conftant Preference to the Tartars, and exprefled a ftrong Diffidence and Dinike to the Cbinefe. Under fuch a Prince, it might have been apprehended, that the Empire would have been very unhappy; it fell out quite otherwife, his Severity made every Body attentive and circumfpect, the Cbinefe were glad to abandon their own and affect the Tartar Cuftoms, that they might become agreeable to the Emperor, who in the Midft of his Severity had a ftrict Regard to Juftice. When he faw that the Empire was thoroughly fettled, the two Nations perfectly incorporated, and the rifing Generation for the moft part Tartars in Habit; and Manners he let fall his Severity by Degrees, and for the laft thirty Years of his Life wạs acknowledged to be the mildett and juftert Prince that ever fat upon that Throne. His Son and Succeffor proves as extraordinary a Monarch in every Refpect, and this by the Confeffion of the Miffionaries, notwithftanding that he has driven them not only from the Court, but in fome Meafure out of his Dominions. He has taken Pains to reform all the Abufes in the feveral Provinces of his Empire, applies himfelf wholly to the Cares of Government, receives every Memorial that is offered to him, reads and gives Anfwers to them all; fuch a Succeffion of Princes does Honour to a Nation. It is almoft without Example in the Cbinefe Annals, and therefore it is a convincing Argument of our Author's Penetration, with Refpect to the Superiority in Point of political Talents, of the Tartars over the Cbinefe.
A third Proof of this may be taken from their Conduct towards Foreigners. Before the Time of their becoming Mafters of Cbina, it was very difficult indeed, almoft impoffible for Strangers to find Admittance at the Imperial Court ; that is now quite altered, and as thefe Travels plainly fhew us, a Minifter from a European Court is not only received and treated with Refpect at Peking, but allowed to negociate whatever Bufinelis he comes about as at any other Court. It is very true, that this is not only contrary to the old Cuftoms of the Cbinefe, but is fo very difagreeable to their Humour, that they never ceafe to oppofe it, as much as in them lies; fo that nothing but the Emperor's abfolute Authority could get the better of their Obftinacy in this Refpect, which very ftrongly confirms the Truth of his Obfervation.
It is remarkable that our Author gives the Title of Bogdoy Kban to the Emperor of Cbina, but he does not explain the Reafon of this, and therefore it is fit we thould. The Ruflans called thofe Tartars who are now Mafters of Cbina, Bogdoyes, and therefore it is natural
for them to pieferve that Way of fpeaking, with Ref. pect to the qartar Emperor, chough he now refides in and governs Cbina. Many of our modern Writers call thefe Tartars, Manfeurs, which is only a barbarous Corruption of that Appellation, which they have beftowed upon themfelves, and which in their own Language is written Man tcbeou; and this is no more than the proper Name of the Father of that great Conqueror by whole Valour and Prudence they were eftabiifhed in Cbina, and is a Mark of the Reverence and Refpect which tinis whole Nation bear to his Memory. We may obierve, that this Cuftom of calling themelves by the Name of lome particular Perfon, from a Principle of Gratitude has been common in moft of the Nations of the Eaft, but has been particularly fo amongtt the the Tartars, and like many other of their Cultoms, prevails through all their Tribes, how remote foever in Point of Relation or of Refidence.
We have an Inftance of this among the Crim Tartars, which as it is fingular and curious, I will relate for the Amulement of the Reader. The reigning Famuly in that Country was, about a Century ago, by civil Wars, reduced into very diftreffed Circumitances, fo that at Length there remained only one Heir Male, and he was concealed and bred up privately in the Houle of a very mean Perfon. The Mirza's or Tartar Lhiefs, that had thus got rid of their Kbans or fupreme Lords, fell our amongft themfelves, and by their Feuds, the whole Country came to be filled with Blood and Confufion. To remedy this, a general Council was called, in waich both Princes and People lamented the Lois of the Royal Family, and confeffed that they were juftly punifhed by thefe dreadful Effects of their own Dilobedience. The old Man, who had bred up the only furviving Prince in his Houfe, took this Occafion to produce him, and he was immediately acknowledged Kban, and his Succeffors have governed Crim-Tartary to this Day: So great a Service demanded an extraordinary Reward, and the Kban offered his kind Protector to do for him whatever he pleafed. The old Nian whofe Name was Guirey, only delired that his might become the Sirname of the Royal Family, which was readily complied with, and all the Princes of the Blood Royal of Tartary bear it accordingly.

But to return to the Tartars that are in Poffeffion of Cbina; they are properly ftiled Moungals or Nieucbeu Moungals, to diftinguifh them from the Calcba Moung als. By thefe Words there is nothing more underftood than Eaftern and Weftern Moungals, and ethis in Refpect to the Situation of their Countries with Regard to Cbina., The former of thefe Nations, viz. the Nieucbers Moungals were, as we have fhewn in another Place, once before Mafters of that Empire, out of which they were driven by the native Cbinefe, Anno Dom. 1368. At prefent they have not only recovered the Dominion of this extenfive Empire, but have alfo brought the Weftern Moungals to be dependant upon them, which the old Cbinefe Emperors could never bring to pafs.

Our Author, that he might to the utmoft oblige his Readers, and make his Work as perfect as they could defire it, thought proper to add to it a Defrription and Hiftory of Cbina, written by a Chriftian Native, one Dennis Kao, who was a Surgeon by Profeffion in his own Country, and had alfo practifed his Profeffion in feveral Parts of the Eaf-Indies. The Reafon that induced Mr. Everard $Y_{\text {sbrant }}$ Ides to do this, was the Succinctnefs and Accuracy of that Performance, which, that he might render the more ufeful, he procured Remarks and Obfervations upon it, to be collected from. the moft efteemed Works that were extant, and by this Means, made it, without extending it too much, a very compleat Thing, as we hope the Reader will allow upon perufing it, as it ftands in the next Sections, with fome additional Remarks, diftinguifhed by inverted Commas.




## S E C TIONV.

A Geographical Defcription of the extenfive Empire of Cibina, and of the Sixteen Provinces into which it is divided. In which is contained a fuccinct View of the Situation, Bounds, Produce, remarkable Curiofities, and whatever elfe is worthy of Notice in each Province, taken entirely from the Writings of the Cbinefe themfelves, and more efpecially from their authentick Records and natural Hiftories penned by Direction of the State ; with fuch incidental Accounts of their Antiquities and of the perfonal Hiftory of the moft famous Emperors, Heroes, Statefmen, and Philofophers, as have been born or flourifhed in any of thofe Provinces through the Courfe of many Ages.

By Dionysius Kao, a Native of China. Illuffrated with many curious ObServations and Remarks drawn from the beft Autbors whoo bave treated of the Affairs of this Empire, both encient and modern.
I. An Introductory Account of the Author of this Work, and of the Nature, Accuracy, and Uefulne/s of the Work itfelf. 2. A general Defcription of the valt Empire of China, and of the Sixteen Provinces into which it is divided. 3. The Province of Peking, and the Imperial City of the fame Name, particularly defcribed. 4: A large Account of the Great Wall, with Remarks thereupon from feveral Authors. 5. A Defcription of the Province of Xantung, and of the famous Pbilofopher. Confucius, wwo was a Native of tbis Province. 6. The Province of Xanzi, with an Account of the great River Huango, and other Curiofities in that Difrict. 7. Of the Kingdom of Xienxi, weith fome Account of the Progrefs made botb by the Chriftian and Mahometan Religions in that Empire. 8. The Province of Honan defcribed, with an Account of the Manner in wobich the cbief City, and mof otber Places of Note, were deflroyed, and remain fill in a ruined Condition. 9. Of the Province of Leatung, and of the original Inbabitants before it made a Part of the Chinefe Dominions. 10. An Account of the Conquef of China by the Tartars for the laft Time. I 1. A copious Defcription of the Province of Nanking, and of the famous City of that Name, formerly the Capital of the Empire. 12. The Province of Chekiang, and the Cities therein defcribed. 13. Of the Province of Kiangfi, including the Hitory of Porcelain or China-ware, as formerly given by the Mifionaries. 14. A copious Defcription of the Province of Huquang, including feveral otber remarkable Particulars. 15. An Account of the Province of Suchuen, rebich is the fmalle/t in the Empire. 16. Of the Province of Queicheu, and of the Number of Cities therein, and the Commodities for which the Country about them is famous. 17. The Kingdom of Junan defcribed, with Remarks upon the Accidents that bave befallen it. 18. An Account of the Province of Quoangfi, the Manner in which it became annexed to the Empire. 19. A copious Defcription of the Province of Quoangtung, or Canton, with fome very curious Particulars relating both to Civil and Natural Hiftory. 20. The noble Kingdom of Fokien defcribed, and the Manner in which it was redused under the Poweer of the Chinefe. 2 I. A Digreffion, containing' the Hifory of the Ifland of Formofa, the Conquef of it by the Chinefe Fugitives from the Dutch. 22. The prefent State and Condition of the Province of Fokien. 23. Of the Boundaries and Ditances of the feveral King doms and Provinces of China; the Divifon of thems into Inland and Maritime, larger and lefs; the webole intended as a Supplement to the Autbor's Defcription. 24. The political Anatomy of the Chinefe Empire, from an Italian Manufcript. 25. Remarks and Obfervations Hiforical, Pbypacal, and Pbilofophical, upon the principal Events in the foregoing Section.

THERE is fcarce a Country in the World, that laying all Things together, deferves to be fo perfectly known, as this which our Author has defrribed; and for this Reafnn, without all Doubt, fo many Pens have been exercifed in making Defcriptions; there are, however, three Particulars that feem to recommend this of our Author in an extraordinary Degree; the firft is, that being a native Cbinefe, and bred up to Letters, he muft have had greater Opportunities both with refpect to Books and Converfation, of knowing his own Country than any Stranger, much lefs any Traveller could pretend to, and at the fame Time mutt be lefs liable to commit Miftakes, even fuppofing he fet Things down as they occurred to him, than they could be with all the Circunfpection and Care in the World. In the next Place, as he had ftudied Phyfick, prastifed as a Sar-
geon, and had travelld from Province to Provincefor many Years amongft the Chriftians, he mult have had great Opportunities of feeing Things; that is, muft have improved his Knowledge and Judgment very much. Laftly, his Defrription, after being often reviewed by his Excellency Mr. Ysbrants Ides, was judged to be the beft he had feen, and feems to have appeared fuch in the Eyes of others, fince it was tranlated into Latin and Higb Dutch, before it was printed in Lore Ducch, with theRemarks that are now added to it, by the Care, and under the Direction of the famous Mr. Witzen. It may not be amifs to inform the Reader, that it was penned, about the Year 1694, and that the Author, who alfo wrote feveral other Pieces, was efteemed a very worthy, honeft, and pious Man, and appears to have written. very impartially without any overweaning Fondnefs for his Countrymen, or flavin Dependance upon the Jefuits,

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What Additions were neceffary have been very carefully added by the Dutch Editor himfelf, and we have alfo taken Pains to improve thefe as far as we were enabled to do it from fubfequent Accounts, only as to the Cbinefe Orthography we mult own ourfelves not a little at a Lofs, there being as yet no Rules fixed that can enable us to reduce the different Ways of Spelling, to any rational Standard; only this we know, that as the Cbinefe ufe none Monofyllables, later Writers generally follow that Method, though our Author feems to have neglected it for the Sake of keeping near the Portuguefe Pronunciation.
2. This extenfive potent Empire comprehends fifteen Provinces, which may more properly be called Kingdoms: For before they were united under one Head, above three thoufand Years paft, each of them had its peculiar King: As at prefent every Province hath its Viceroy, all which are fubordinate to one fupreme Sovereign the Emperor. The Province of Leaotung, though fituate without the great Wall, is alfo reckoned amongtt the reft, and pafferh for the Sixteenth.

Nieuboff places this Province within the Wall, in
" his Map affixed to the Relation of his Travels, and
" is herein followed by Martinus Martini ; but are both
"clearly refuted by the convincing Teftimony of
" our Author. The Jefuits Le Comte, Bouvet, and Go-
"bien, unanimounty confirm our Author's Affertion,
"they all affirming that the Province of Leauton is
"s only feparated from part of Corea by an Arm of the
"Sea, and is on that Side of the Great Wall, viz. the
"Side on which Corea is: Though Father Maritinus
" the Jefuit, in his Cbinefe Atlas hath not placed it on " that Side, but within the Wall, and thereby mified al-
is moft all the Geographers fince, they having very in-
"duftrioufly continued his Blunder.
"Formerly all Authors reckoned but fifteen Cbinefe
" Provinces; but after the Leaotungers affitted the Tar-
"tars in the Conqueft of Cbina, that became one of
" the Provinces of that Empire, and doth accordingly
" enjoy all the Privileges of that Nation.
"Le Comte fpeaks yet plainer on this Head. The
" Geographers (faith he) are grofly mittaken in their
"Accounts of Cbina. Firft they place the whole Pro-
" vince of Leouton on this Side of the Great Wall ;
ic though it is certain that it lies not within, but without
" 6 it; notwithftanding which it always belonged to
"Cbina. This is an undoubted Truth, to be latisfied
" in which no more is requifite than to have been on
"6 the Spot as well as we.
"And yer farther he goes on, I do not take in as
"belonging to it (he is fpeaking of Cbina) the Inands
" of Formofa, Honan, and feveral others, which united
"would make a great Monarchy, any more than
" Leauton, which lies without the Great Wall."
Thefe Provinces are divided into North and South.
The North (under which is alfo Leaotung) are Peking, Xantung, Xanf, Xienf, and Honan, in all fix. And the South Kingdoms or Provinces are the following ten : viz. Nanking, Cbekiang, Kianf, Huquang, Sucbuen, Queicbeu, funan, 2uoang i, 2uoantung or Canton, and Fokien.
Befides there, feveral Kings and Kingdoms are obliged to pay their annual Tribute to the Emperor of Cbina: Of which Number are $\mathcal{T} u n k i n$, Cocbincbina, Laos, Liukin, and Cbaofien. The two laft of thefe, are llands, fituate very near $\mathcal{F}$ apan. Corea, fapan, Siam, and Pegu, were alfo formerly fubject to this Empire, though not at prefent. I defign to defcribe all thefe Provinces and neighbouring tributary Kingdoms feparately, and geographically, as they butt and bound Eaft and Weft, North and South, as briefly as poffible.
Peking lies Eaft of Xenft, as Xanfi does Weft of Peking, and the Great Wall ferves as a Northern Boundary common to them both.
Xantung is Southwards of Peking, and Northwards of Nanking; it borders Eaftwards on the Sea, and Weftwards on Honan.
Xonff, as is above hinted, lies Weftwards of Peking, Eaftwards of Xienf, Southwards of Honan, and bounds Northwards on the Great Wall.

Xienfi the largeft of all the fixteen Provinces, is fituate Weft of Xanf, Eatwards of Weft Tartary, whence the Lama's come; Southwards of Sucbuen; and Northwards of the Tartars at the End of the Great Wall. And the Source of the yellow River Hoango is alfo in the Weit part of this Province.

Honan is in the Middle of Cbinas buttung towards the South on Huquang and Kiangfí ; North wards on Peking and Xanfi; Eaftwards on Xantung and Nanking; and Weftwards on Sucbuen and Xienf:
Leaotung borders Northwards on Xentung, which dẹclines Southward from it; Eaftwards it is oppofite to Corea; it extends alfo Southwards to the Great-Wall, and Northwards to Tartary.
Nonking is bounded by Chekiang on the South, and Xantung on the North; it ftretches Weftwards to Honan and Huquang, and Eaftwards to the Ocean.

Cbekieng touches on Nanking, from which it lies Northwards, as it doth to the South of Fokien; the Sea wafhes it Eaftwards; and Weftwards of it lies Kiangfi.

Kiang $\sqrt{2}$ borders Eaftwards on Cbekiang and Fokien; Weftwards on Queicbeu and Honem; Southwards on Quantung, and Northwards on Nanking.

Huquang is bounded Northwards by Honen; Southwards by Quantung; Wefwards by Zucbuen and 2ueicbeu; and Eaftwards by Kiangh.

Zucbuen butts Eaftwards on Huquang; Weftwards on Tibet; Northwards on Xienfi ; and Sourhwards on $2 u e i-$ cheu, and Funan.
'Queicbeu lies Northwards almoft on 2unni; Southwards on Zucbuen; Eaftwards on Huquang, and Weftwards on funan,
Funan looks Eaftwards and Southwards to Quoang fi; Southwards to Gannan; Weftwards to Laos, and Norchwards to Zucbuen and Queicbeu.
2 2uoangh or 2uams hath 2uoantung on the Eaft; Cocbinctina on the South; Funan on the Weft, and Queicheu on the North.
Quoantung or Canton is bounded on the Eaft and North by Fokien, on the Weft by the Yellow Sea, farther Northwards by 2 woang fi, and Southwards by the Ocean.
Fokien looks on the Eaft and South-Eaft to the Sea, and the Inand of Formofa; Weftwards of it lies Kianfi; Soiithwards Canton, and Northwards Cbekiang.
3. Peking is a Royal Province, fubordinate to which are nine leffer Provinces, or great Cities, with their dependant Diftricts, all which are dittinguifhed by the additional Name of Fu. And there nine large have fixteen leffer Cities fubjected to their Jurifdiction, which are alfo diftinguihed from them by the Appellative of Cbeu; and the lefs confiderable Places which are under the Government of the laft Sort are denominated Hien.

The firt Imperial City of this Province is Xuntien Fu, otherwife called Peking; it hath twenty fix other Cities fubjected to its Juriddiction.
"Xuntien Fu is the ancient and true Name of this "City; but fince the Seat of the Empire was tranfplant" ed from Nanking to this Place, it hath affumed the "Name of Peking; which imports the Nortb Court, as "Nanking fignifies the Soutb. We fhall fpeak of the "Courts prefiding at Nanking in our Defcription of "that Province and City. This Metropolis however "c very juftly lays claim to two Names, it being at pre"fent grown into two Cities, a new one being built " near the old one: For when the Tartar eftablifhed " himfelf on the Throne, he fo crouded this Place " with fuch Numbers of his own Nation, that the "Cbinefe were neceffitated to build a new City with" out the Walls of the old one. This new buile "Town is full as large as the ancient one, which laft " is a perfect Square, of about four Miles Compafs, " and being inhabited by Tartars alone, is called the "Tartar City: The new Town is as big as the other,
"but more populous, and is called the Cbinefe City:
"A And both of them take up the Compafs of fix large
"Miles about, each Mile being reckoned at 3600
" Paces, as appeared when it was meafured by the Em-

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s peror's exprefs Command: It is indeed a large City, " but not to be compared to Nanking.
The Second, Junging Fu, hath fix Cities under her Command
The Third, Cbinding Fu, hath twenty fix Cities.
The Fourth, Quoamping Fu, prefides over fix Cities.
The Fifth, Thiemming Fu, is chief of eleven Cities.
The Sixth, Funming Fu, governs fix.
The Seventh, Hokien Fu, governs feven,
The Eighth, Paoding Fu, ten Cities.
The Ninth, Xunte Fu, hath nine inferior Cities.
From this Rule, Superiority, and Power, which the great Cities as well in this, as in all the following Provinces, have over the leffer, though large and populous Cities, plainly difcover the Ability of each Province, and talken together difplay the vaft extended Power of this moft glorious Monarchy.
The Soil of this Province is not very fertile in any Thing but Corn, yet even of this it doth not yield fufficient to fupply its own Neceffities; but is obliged to be furnifhed with what falls fhort in their own Growth, from other Countries.
Formerly Nanking was the Metropolis and Imperial Seat : But the Incurfions and Outrages of the neighbouring Tartars, occafioned the Removal of the Imperial Court to Peking, in order to be nearer the Great Wall and the Enemy.
"The Emperors of the laft Race before the Tarta"rian Mancbeou (the Family or Nation which now "r reigns in Cbina, and of which the prefent Emperor "Cangby is the third) tranllated the Seat of the Em" pire to Peking, for the Reafon hinted by our Author, " that the Troops of the Houfhold being feveral thou" fand ftrong, might be immediately ready and near
" the Enemy: But neither this Precaution, nor the
" Great Wall, of which we fhall fpeak prefently,
"could prevent their being forced, or rather hinder
"Prince $\bar{T}$ Jon tè (who was invited into Cbina to op-
" pofe a Tyrant and Ufurper) from eftablifhing him-
" felf on one of the moft auguft Thrones in the "World.
4. This Wall, which is of a prodigious Length and Thicknefs, was built above 260 Years paft, by the Cbinefe Emperor Cbien Cbuvoang, by Way of Provifion againft the Incurfions of the neighbouring Tartars; and accordingly it covers the three Provinces of Peking, Xanfi and Xienfi. This Wall, exactly meafured with a Line, in Length is above fix hundred and fifty French Miles, or Hours travelling; (and by the Way the Reader is defired to take all Miles mentioned in this Tract for French Miles of an Hour's March each.) But if all its crooked Windings were meafured it would appear to be above one thoufand Miles long; it being carried over very fteep Mountains and Rocks. Upon the higheft of thefe it is provided with Fortreffes and Towers, four of which are placed within the Space of every Mile throughout the whole. Befides all which it is full broad enough for eight Horees to gallop abreaft without any Danger.
"This Wall is reported to be built by the Emperor "Cbius, about 250 Years before the Birth of Chrilt ;
"to the Performance of which fuctia vaft Number of
" Men were alotted, that the whole was finifhed within
"the Space of five Years, and was fo extraordinary
"f firm, that no Nail could be driven into it. To raife
" Men for this great Work, that Monarch abfolutely
"commanded throughout his Dominions, that three
" out of every ten Men fhould work at $i t$, and after-
" wards two out of every five were compelled to la-
" bour at this Undertaking: It is alfo faid, that though
"t the Inhabitants of each Province wrought as near
" their own Abode as they could, yet either by the
"Length of their Journey, or the Difference of the
"Climates, almot all thofe employed in this Building
" died fuddenly; which raifed a Tumult in the Em" pire, that procceded fo far as to murther the Em" peror and hos Son Aguizi, in the Fortieth Year of " has R.ign.
"Tar J fuits, who enjoy the Ear and Favour of the "Erup:r:r.r. are very expert in the Art of Menfuration,
" as their printed Books difcover; amongtt thefe are "the above-mentioned Le, Comte, Bobet, and Gobien, " and they tells us that the mof formidable Enemies the
"Cbinefe ever feared were the Weftern Tartars; where-
"f fore an ancient Cbinefe Emperor built this Great Wall
" to keep them off,
"I have (faith Le Comle) four times traced and ob-
"ferved it very near Hand, and without any Hyper-
" bole dare aver, that the feven Wonders of the World
"a are not to be compared to it, and that Fame repre-
"fents it lefs in Europe than I found it to be.
"Two Particulars, continues he; furprized me very " much.
" I. That this Wall, in its long Extent from Eatt to "Weft, is in feveral Places carried not only directly thro"
"vaft and defolate Plains, but alfo over very high
" Mountains; over which it feems to advance by now
" Degrees, the intermediate Vacancies betwixt being
"ftrengthened with great Towers, which ftand abour
"two Bow Shot diftant from each other. I meafured
" the Height of one of thefe, and found it one thou-
" fand feven and thirty Geometrical Feet above the Ho-
" rizontal Line; and it is not eafy to conccive how
" fuch a prodigious Bulwark could be raifed to fuch a
"Height, in dry mountainous Places, to which Water,
"Stone, Lime, and all other Materials, muft of Ne-
" ceffity be brought from Places far diftant.
" II. That this Wall is not carried on in a direet
" Line, but in feveral Places winds and turns, ac-
" cording as the Shape, of the Hills required, fo that
" one would be apt to fay, that three Walls inttead of one, cover a great Part of Cbina.
He farther faith, "That the Cbinefe have exceeded " the Antients in Fortification; that they call this Wall
"Vauli Tcham Tcbin, that is, of ten thoufand Furlongs:
" That its Extent is from the Oriental Sea to the Pro-
"vince of Xanfi or Cbanfi: That though it is certain
"that it is not fo long as Report makes it, yet all the "Turnings and Windings confidered, it cannot be " much lefs than five hundred Miles long: That where"s ever it feemed moft eafy to be forced, two or three
". Ramparts are clapped up one behind the other, fo that
"the hindmoft can eafily contribute to the Detence of " the foremolt: That it is carried over the higheft "Hills, or raifed or funk in Proportion to the uneven "Ground it ftands on; for (faith he) it is not to be " imagined that it is every where level, but that when" ever it takes its Courfe over lofty Mountains, it is extraordinary high, but otherwife it doth not exceed "the Height of common City Walls ; and notwith"ftanding Writers fo widely difagree about its Breadth, " it is not above five or fix Foot.

He adds, "That it is built with Brick, but the Work "fo good, that though it hath flood fo many Ages, "it is yet found and almoft intire. That as this Un" dertaking was the greateft in the World, it was allo " the moft ridiculous Attempt that ever was made, for " admitting, that Prudence obliged the moft feafible "Inlets to be fhut up, and fortified, it is neverthelefs " abfurd, to raife a Wall to thofe Mountain Tops which " are fo high, that a Bird can farce lly over them, much lefs could the Tartarian Troops climb them, " and to leave fome Places fo low and defencelefs as " they are. It is indeed to be wondered at, how they "t found fuch excellent Artifts and proper Inftruments, " to convey the Materials fo high; and more Work" mens Lives were facrificed in this Building, than " the utmoft Outrages of the Tartarian Armies would " ever have killed them
5. The Kingdom or Province of Xantung lies Southwards of Peking, and extends Eaftward towards the Sea; and through this Province, or that of Leaotung, the Inhabitants of Corea bring their anrual Tribute to Cbina. The Soil is fertile, producing all Sorts of Corn and Fruits in fuch Plenty, that one Year's Crop is fufficient to provide the Inhabitants of this Country for ten Years. All Sorts of Edibles, tending to the Support of Luxury, as well as tupplying Neceffity, bear but a very low Price here ; and this Province abounding with Rivers, Canals, and Lakes, this is the Rea-
fon that Fifh is here prodigious plenty; as alfo the Flefh of all Sorts of tame and wild Beafts. Nor are the Silk-worms backward in yielding great Quantities of Silk. But withal, this Country is more infefted with Robbers and Thieves than the other Provinces of Cbina, and they herd together in fuch Numbers, that they can raife a fmall Army. Subordinate to this are fix great Cities, diftinguifhed by the additional Appellative of $F u$, the Signification of which is explained above.

And fubject to thefe fix are fifteen leffer Towns, diftinguifhed under the Tiile of Cbeu, under which are eighty nine yet leffer, called Hien.

The principal City is Zinan Fu, which hath under its Jurifdiction four Cbeu, and fixteen Hien, which have again twenty under their Command.

The fecond large City is called 7 uncbu $F u$; it hath twenty four Cbeu, and three and twenty Hien
Tungcbang Fu, the third large City, prefides over three Cbeu, and fifteen Hien.
Cbinceus Fu, the fourth, hath fubordinate to it fourteen Cbeu, and as many Hien.
Tengcheu Fu, the fifth great City, commands one Cbeu, and feven Hien.
Laicbeu Fu, the fixth, governs two Cbeu, and five Hien: and thefe are the fix great Cities of Xantung.
The moft excellent Cbinefe Philofopher Ciungfufus, drew his firt Breath in this Kingdom or Province.
This Ciungfyfus or Confutius, left feveral Philofophical Tracts behind him, for which not only the Cbinefe, but alfo the neighbouring polite and knowing People, exprefs the greateft Veneration, and carefully preferve them, as the moft facred and valuable Writings in the World; he is faid to have flourifhed about five hundred Years before Chrift. The Cbinefe fo highly reverence him, that they bow down to the Ground at the very Sight of any Table or Plank, Eic. dedicated to his Memory, and on which his Name is infcribed. Though indeed this Practice doth not always obtain, but at certain Solemnities, at certain Times and Places, that the Memory of fuch a learned Man and great Benefactor to Mankind may not die; to preferve which they make an Idol of him.
There are fome fmall Inands which are alfo dependent on this Province, among which are the following three, Feuxil, Xamuen, and Tenneng, are the moft confiderable; and the laft very remarkable for having five hundred Cbinefe Philofophers murthered there, though it is not fo much rever'd on this Account as Xantung is for having given Birth to the great Confutius. The Story of that fingular Maffacre is this:
The Emperor Xius or Cbi Hompti, who built the great Wall (mentioned in the Defcription of Peking) being very much addicted to War, and an accomplifhed Soldier, but an utter Enemy to all Philofophers, whom he had peremptorily refolved to put to Death; commanded them all to repair from all Parts of his Kingdom to a particular Place, on the fpecious Pretext of difcuffing fome very important Point; and they all being affembled together, he fhipped them off to the mentioned Inand, and caufed them all to be murdered in a very inhuman Manner, though others fay they drowned themfelves. He was fuch an inveterate Enemy to all Literature, that he ftrictly commanded all his Subjects, on Pain of Death, to burn all the Books in the whole Empire, except only thofe which treated of Agriculture, Phyfick, and Necromancy or Magick.
Through this Province runs the River Luen, of which the Inhabitants relate very ftrange Things, many of which are found to be crue.
"Nieubof, amongtt other furprizing Things reports, "T That if nine Sticks are thrown into it, fix of them "c will infallibly drive Southwards, and three to the "N North; and that himfelf tried the Experiment and ${ }^{\text {or }}$ found it fucceed. Sed credat qui vult.
In this and other Provinces, is obferved a Sort of Fihing Bird called Lourea, which is fomewhat lefs than a Goofe, and not unlike a Raven; having alfo a very crooked Bill towards the End. The Manner of Fifh ing with them is as follows: The Fifhers having rowed themfelves in their Boats to a proper Place, throw thefe Birds over-board, who immediately dive, and the very

Inflant they have caught their Game, dart up to the Surface of the Water, when their Mafters immediately feize them, and very expedicioully pull the Fithe out of their Crops, it not being poffible for it to defcend lower, bccaufe it is fopped there by a Ring fix ${ }^{\prime} d$ about the Bird's Neck, which is removed when the Sport is over, and the Birds let loofe; after which they go a Filhftealing with open Throats, and having fatiated themfelves, return to their Boats.
"Fobn Gonfales de Mendofa fays, they are faftened "under their Wings to a long Rope before they are "thrown into the Water, and that they finh every third ' Day in the proper Seafon, after the Fifh have fpawn'd. Near the City of Cbincbeu, or Juncbu Fu, a Stone called Nieuboang, is obferved to grow in the Stomach of the Cows, which fome take for a Sort of Bezoar, and is very highly efteemed by the Cbinefe Phylicians, being an efficacious Remedy againft Catarrhs, and other phlegmatick Diforders.
6. Xan/ぇ lies Weftwards' of Peking, extending Northwards to the Great Wall, and is divided into two Parts by a large rapid River which runs through it, though it rifes in the Weftern Part of Xienf, from whence it turns Southwards, floortly after it winds to the North, and laftly inclining again Southwards, difembogues itfelf into the Sea.
"Writers differ very frangely concerning she Names "s of this Province, City, River, $\xi^{\circ}$. Our Author calls "the Province Xanf, another calls it Cbanfs; the chief "City he names Honang Fu, others Caifung; he calls " the River Huango, another makes it Hoamfo; and "s there is alfo a Difference, though not a very wide " one, concerning its Source, Le Comte tells us, that "the Hoamfo rifes at the farther End of thofe Moun"، tains which cover the Weft Part of the Province of "Sucbouen; from whence it throws iffelf into Tartary, " where having run its Courfe without the Great Wall, "s it repaffes through it into Cbina, betwixt the Pro"vinces of Cbanfi and Cbenfi (or Xienf, after which " it waters the Province of Honang, and running through " the Province of Nenking, having compleated its
" Courfe of above 600 Miles, laftly empties itfelf, not
" far diftant from the large River Kiam, into the Ori" ental Sea.

It runs through four Provinces, beginning with Weft Xienfi where it rifes, and paffes through that Side of that Province ; after which it runs through Xanf, Honan and Nanking, where it falls into the Sea. The Breadth of this River in fome Places is a Frencb Mile, or a Mile and half, and in others, two Miles over ; and by the Violence of its Tide, and Force of this great Mafs of Waters, it very much damages the adjoining Lands, by fometimes overflowing not only particular Houfes, but whole Villages and Cities, twenty or thirty Miles diftant, fweeping before it Men, Catcle or whatever it finds. In the Cbinefe Language it is called Huango, which fignifies the yellow River, by Reafon the Water looks yellow or reddifh, which is occafioned by its Paffage over, and carrying along with it a Sort of yellow Earth on the Tartarian Mountains, that imparts its Tincture to it: For this River runs through Part of Tartary without the great Wall, and after taking a winding Courfe there, re-enters the Wall. It is in many Places very deep, but yet in moft Parts of it unnavigable.
"This River hath formerly made vaft Devaftations,
" and obliged the Cbinefe to keep off its Water, by
"cafting up high and ftrong Dikes or Banks; which
" after all proved infufficient to the fecuring of the Ci -
" ties from the ill Effects of its overflowing. Befides
"which, the Cities in Honang, are all fenced round
" about a Quarter of a Mile from the Town, to pre-
"sent an Inundation, in Cafe of this rapid River's
" breaking through all its Banks, as it did above fifty
"Years fince. For the Emperor, in order to raife the
"clofe Siege laid to Caifung, the chief City of Honang,
"" by the Rebel Libuang (who had perfectly block'd it up
" from all Relief,) and to confound his Army, caufed "" the Banks to be cut through. But their Delivery " proved more fatal to them, and did them more Mif-
"chief than the utmoft Rage of the Enemy could:
"For by that Means not only the City itfelf but al-

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the Empire of CHINA.
" moft the whole Province, and feveral other Towns '" and Villages were laid under Water: So that above "s three hundred thoufand Men, amongtt which were " feveral Miffionaries, who had then a numerous Chri${ }^{66}$ ftian Congregation in the faid City, were all drowned sc and deftroyed, lofing at once both their Church and ${ }^{6}$ their Lives.
" Le Comite faith, I have failed on feveral Parts of ${ }^{6}$ this River, and found it every where broad and rapid, "bur fhallow, and fcarce Navigable."

This Country is very mountainous, and though lefs than other Provinces, yet it is very populous and fertile; its Jurifdiction extends over fix Fu, eleven Cbeu, and ninery five Hien.
The metropolitan City of the firf large Diffrict is caled Tbayenfu; the fecond Poutefu; the third Pingiangfu; the fourth Zuganfu; the fifth Funcbeufu, and the fixth Tatingfu.

All thefe have feveral fmall fubordinate Cities, which not affording any thing very remarkable, to avoid Prolixity I fhall not enlarge on. But it is very obfervable, that in all Parts of this Province are found fiery Wells, which very conveniently ferve for the Boiling of their Vietuals in the following Manner: They cover them clofe with a Lid in which is left a Hole, to fer the Kertle or Pot on, by which Means whatever is contained in it is boiled, without any other Affiftance.

The valiant Warriour and great General 2 uaniucbang, was born in this Province. This Hero had three bofom Friends all of them greatLords, who had fworn a mutual and inviolable Friendflip, and to whom he proved very fincere and faithful. They were all three highly efteemed by the Emperor, but one of them was his peculiar Favourite: And it happening that the Death of the Emperor occafioned a Civil War, this Hero and the others endeavoured to fet their Friend on the Throne; in Purfuit of this End he feveral Times proved viftorious, and won feveral Battles; but it happening once that the Enemy had carried off his Friends Wives and their Attendants; the News no fooner reached his Ears, than with utmoft Hafte and equal Bravery, he reduced his Men to Order, beat the Enemy, and delivered the Captive Ladies, and retired before and in Sight of a vaft approaching Army, which purfued him clofe at the Heels for two Days and two Nights; notwithftanding all which, he defended and preferved them from all Danger, and delivered them inviolate and untouched to his Friends. And for this glorious and gallant Action he is highly revered by his Countrymen ; in Remembrance of fuch fublime Virtue they adore him as a God, and fet up Images in their Idol Temples in Honour to him. It is but feldom that they will fhew this Image, the Face of which is of a very deep Blood-Colour, like a Hero not debauch'd by Baccbus. And the military Men highly efteem that Sort of Countenance; nay, the whole Cbinefe Nation imagine him very propitious to them, and fancy that fuch a fiery flaming Face will infpire them wich Valour, and enable them to acquit themfelves well.
7. Xienfi or Xenfs, is the largeft of all the Cbinefe Provinces, and had formerly three Viceroys, though at prefent it hath but two. Its Breadth from Eaft to Weft is three hundred and fifty, and its Length four hundred Miles. Its Plains as well as Hills are very fertile, and here are vaft Herds of Kine, and large Flocks of Sheep.
"This Province breeds as many Cattle of all Sorts as ${ }^{6}$ any Country in the World ; the Sheep and Goats "come on fo kindly, and thrive fo well, that they are " Ihorn thrice every Year, and their Wooll is wrought " into very fine Cloths and Stuffs, fit for Cloathing or "other Ufes. This Country alfo produces great Quan"t tities of Musk, which is extraordinary good, and © grows at the Navel of an Animal like a Hart without "Horns; their Navels fwell moft in their Rutting" time, when they are taken and killed, the Navel, " and what is contained in it is cut, and that proves
${ }^{6}$ the beft unadulterated Musk; a more particular Ac-
" count of which, illuftrated with a Print, is inferted
"6 in Mr 2 sbrants Ides's Travels to Cbina.

This Province hies Weftward of $\bar{X} a n x i$, the Great Wall terminates in it; it alfo borders on Weft Tartary, from whence the Lama's come, which are Tartarian Priefts that wear yellow or red Habits.
"The great or chief Lama, in their Language Dolsi "Lama, is the Head of their Religion, and him they " honour as a Deity. When the firft Embaffy, fent by "s the Dutch Eaft India Company to Cbina, was at Pe" king, there was alfo an Envoy from him; and by "Reafon, faith Nieuboff, they had formerly lived in "Cbina; but before the Tartar had conquered that "Empire, had been by the laft Cbinefe Emperor driven " out of it: Their Eirand was then to requeft ia Per" miffion for the Return of their banifh'd Ecclefiatticks " on the old Foot, and a free Exercife of their Re" Jigion.

This Province alfo borders on the upper Principality of Tibet, which extends iffelf to the Territories of the Great Mogul, from whofe Dominions great Numbers of Merchants come to the vaft trading City of Zurning, in the Kingtom of Xienf: And the Door of Commerce being for fome Time opened here, and Liberty granted to them, as well as Muscovites and Tartars, to trade there, they have with their Wares and Trade introduced the Mabometon Religion, which, as Weeds grow apace, is fpread over all Cbina to that Degree, that there appears more of that accurfed Seed than of the true Doctrine of Jefus Chrift, which from Experience I fpeak with Sorrow.
In this Province are eight large Cities, which have an hundred and fixteen under their Jurifdiction. The principal City is Sigan Fu, which is not only large in Size, but alfo very fine; the reft are Hancbang Fu, Fungiang Fu, Pingliang Fu, Linxiu Fu, Vacbang Fu, Hingang Fu, and Singang Fu; thefe are the eight, fubordinate to which, as I above hinted, are all the others.
Not far from Sigan Fu, fomewhat above feventy Years ago, a monumental Table was found, upon which a Crofs and feveral Letters were cut, whence the Eccleflafticks prove, that the Cbrijtian Religion was anciently known in Cbina, and that St. Tbomas the Apoftle, or fome of his Difciples, were there.
"The Jefuits Kircber, Le Comte, Gobien, and others, "fpeak largely of this Crofs and Table; but I hall " only make a fhort Extract of the principal Things " which they treat of at full. They fay then, that it is " a long Marble Table, on the Top of which is engra" ven a Crofs; that in the Year 1625 , fome Brick. "" layers digging the Ground near Signanfou, in the Pro"s vince of Cbien $f$, found a long Piece of Marble, which " had formerly been fet up as a Monument, but Time " had funk it under the Earth. This Stone was ten "Feet long and five broad, and was the more narrowly " examined, by Reafon a well engraven large Crofs ap" peared at the Top of it; and lomewhat below it a " long Infeription in Cbinefe Characters, with fome " ftrange unknown Letters, which were found to be "s Syriac. The Emperor being informed of it, caufed " a Copy of it to be given out, and afterwards com"" manded the Monument to be kept in a Pagode, " where it is at prefent about a quarter of a Mile from "Signanfou. The Infcription, which is too long to be "tranfcribed here, mentions the Meffias, and imports " that an Angel brought the Tidings of his coming, " and that Olopouen departed from fudea in the Year " 636 , and came to Cbina; that he being examined, " his Teftimony was found good, and that the Empe"ror publifhed a Proclamation and Command in his "Favour, in order to the building of a Church, $\mathcal{E}^{2} c$. " 8: Honan is fituated in the Middle of Cbina, borders Southwards on the Provinces Huquang and Kianfi; Northwards on Peking and Xanxi, Eattwards on Zantung and Nanking, and Weftwards on Sucbuen and Xienfi. Anciently, before all Cbina was fubjected to one Monarch, and each Province or Kingdom was governed by its own Prince, this was accounted the middle Kingdom, and diftinguifhed by that Name, which is at prefent given to Cbina, by reafon it is fituated in the Middle of feveral Kingdoms: And accordingly the Cbinefe frequently fay,

Southwards lie the Kingdoms of Tunking and Siam; Eaftwards Fapan, and fome other Illands; Weftwards Pegu; and the Country as far as Bengal and Tartary; Northwards are the Barbarian Tartars, which formerly paid Toll and Tribute as Subjects. Whilft Cbina lying in the Middle of all thefe, is juttly called in Cbinefe, Cbung lvoi, that is, the Middle Kingdom.

This Province confifts of flat Land, without Hills, which is very fruitful, yielding a vaft Plenty of Rice and other Corn, all which are to be bought here very cheap; a hundred Pound of Rice being frequently fold for no more than twelve Pence. In this Country was born the famous Tcbcon Tfong, who, according to the Cbinefe Annals, invented the $M$ ariners Compafs a thoufand Years before the coming of Chrif.

It contains eight large Cities, which have fubordinate to them an hundred and eight Towns or leffer Cities. The principal City is called Scbaifung Fu.

This formerly was the Royal Court, but was overflowed and covered with Sand by a great Inundation; and at prefent a City is built oppofite to it. Quinte Fu, Hincte Fu, Vecfe Fu, Vaking Fu, Honan Fu, Nining Fu, and Hojang Fu, are the Names of the remaining Cities, making all together eight, having Jurifdiction over the above-mentioned hundred and eight.
"By this Inundation is to be underftood the cutting " of the Banks already mentioned in the Defcription of "Xanxi, of the River Hoanga, which was done by the
"Emperor to deliver the City from the Siege which the
"Rebel Libuang had laid to it, and to drown him and
" his Army: But alas! it proved the Drowning and
"Deftruction of this chief City, and fo many hundred
" thoufand Men. I fhall only add, that the Cham-
" pion Ground of this Province hath continued ever
" fince like a Pond or Morafs: Projects have indeed
" been thought on to drain it, and reduce it to its " priftine State; but the Undertaking is almoft above
" human Ability, the Expence is unmeafurably great,
" nor is it poffible to accomplifh it; wherefore the
" Court hath given over all Thonghts of it ; yet Time
" has done much towards it, and Things are now much
" altered for the better."
9. Leaotung lies Northward of Xantung, Eaft wards of Corea; but Southwards of Tartary. Through this Province the prefent Tartar Conqueror came into Cbina. In the Reign of the Emperor Vanli, about the Year of Chrift 1590, the Tartars alfo broke into Leaotung, but were repulfed by that Monarch. This was about the Time that Father Mattbero Ricci the Jefuit came into Cbina. This Emperor Vanli governed, and peaceably poffeffed Leaotung for forty nine Years: But after his Death the Tartars, by the Affiftance of fome exil${ }^{2} \mathrm{~d}$ traiterous Cbinefe, that Jived in this Province, the utmoft Boundary which divided Cbina from Tartary; the Tartar, I fay, affifted by thefe Traitors who had before behaved chemfelves ill at Home, again entred this Country. This happened when the Emperor was but young, and all the publick Affairs were directed by his Viceroys and Eunuchs. So they grew more Potent in this Province. And about the Year 1630, one Licbuang, a perfidious Rebel, rofe up againft him in the Province of Xienfi, of which he not only made himfelf Mafter, but alfo over feveral others before the Emperor fo much as knew of it; his Eunuch Commanders induftriounly concealing it, fo that the ill News never reached his Ears till it was too late to remedy it, that is, till this Rebel was advanced with his Forces fo near Peking, that he entred it the next Morning.
'He was the laft of the Race of Taininga, whore " Name was Zungcbi: Of which Family Cbu was the "Founder. He drove out the Tartars who then lorded "it over the Cbinefe; and his Defcendants enjoyed the or Empire for feveral hundred Years.

Upon the News of which the Emperor clapt his Hand to his Sword, not out of manly Refolution, but hurried thereto by Defpair only, in order to kill his Imperial Confort, Concubines and Daughter, who expreffed their Grief in Tears and Lamentations fufficiently pathetick to have moved the moft obdurate Heart: Having thus prevented their future Mifery by prefent

Death, himfelf climbed to the Top of a Mountain, within the Walls of the Imperial Palace, and to provide againft falling into the Hands of this bafe Rebel chofe rather to die by his own, and accordingly hanged himfelf on a Tree.

After which Licbuano afcended the Throne, and eftablifhed himfelf in the Poffeffion of the Monarchy, as Sovereign Ruler of the People, but deported himfelf like a Tyrant and Ufurper: For he began his Reign with Cruelty: He commanded the Father to the Prince and General at the great Wall, and feveral other Noblemen, to be put to an ignominious and painful Death, for no other Reafon than becaufe he could not bring over his Son to the Rebels Side: Who afterwards not only attempted the Revenge of his Father's Death, but alfo to deliver the Empire from this Ufurper.

For he then went to Leaotung, and invited the Tartarss to his Affiftance: But they very much diftrufted him at firft, to remove which he promifed them on the Word of a General to be faithful to them, confirming his Promifes with an Oath on the naked Sabre. After which he led them as their General, and they boldily followed him. The prevailing Ufurper was come without the Wall, and alfo requefted Aid of the Leaotungers but in vain.
" From this and what follows, as that Lichuang went "s without the great Wall to requeft the Affiftance of of the Leaotungers, it clearly appears that Leaotung lies "s without the mentioned great Wall, fince this Princely "s General, by fome called UJangeii, and by our Author "Vii Sangquei, who then commanded, went from the "g great Wall and applied himfelf to the Leaotungers as "well as the Ufurper, and on the fame Account. But " in the Beginning of this Tract, to which we refer the " Reader, this is fo clearly proved, that no farther Evi"s dence is in the leaft neceffary.

This Heroick General bravely faced his Enemy, and in the firft Place revenging the Murther of his Father, after an obftinate Refiftance, he routed, put him to flight, and purfued him and his flying Army as far as Peking, where his Enemy made no Stop, but after he had taken out his hundred and ninety Concubines, and the richent Furniture and Jewels, fet Fire to the Imperiai Palace. The General purfu'd him accompanied with his own Forces, and fome Tartars, leaving the reft at Peking.
10. The Tartarian Chan or Prince, though but invited, in order to affift the Cbinefe, having with him about feven or eight thoufand Tartars, befides the Leaotungers, made Ufe of this fair Opportunity to mount the Throne of this mighty Empire. This happened about ten Years before the worthy Father Fobn Adam Scbalt fettled in Cbina.

The General returning from the Purfurt of his Enemy, found the Tartar, whofe Affiftance he had implored, feated on the Throne, and himfelf obliged to obey him : And complying with Neceffity, he confented to become his Relation by Inter-marriage. And the new Emperor created this Prince King of Funan.

The Bond of Affinity was yet too feeble, and the Crown of Junan too mean, to fatisfy and reftrain within Bounds this afpiring Prince, who aimed at the Empire itfelf. And accordingly after the Expiration of a few Years, he rofe againft the Chan; and ftiled himfelf Emperor, by the Name of Vii Sangqueii; reduced feveral Southern Provinces to acknowledge his Sovereignity : And after having carried on a vigorous War againft the Chan, and conquered near half the Empire, he at laft died, being arrived to a very great Age.

His youngeft Son who fucceeded him in his Pretenfions, was, at the Time of his Death, a Minor, and as it generally happens in Revolutions, an irreconcileable Diffention arofe amongft the Princes, which prevented his maintaining his Claim to the Empire: The eldeft Son kept his Court at Peking, was by Marriage allied to the Emperor, and had three Sons; but though he was thirty five Years of Age, yet he and his three Sons were put to Death. And ever fince the whole Empire of Cbina hath been fubject to one Sovereign, who is the Char of the Mantcheou Tartars.
"There is a Law in Force in Cbina which extends ${ }^{6}$ s the Punihment of Rebels to the ninth Generation. ©s The prefent Emperor Congbi, who is a mild Prince, "6 and difcovers a very great Averion to Cruelty, "s found himfelf oblig'd, in Compliance with the Laws ss of the Land, to put to Death the Children and fome
"s other Relations of Oufangeii, by Reafon he was con-
"s victed of Rebellion: But to teftify his Averfion to "s any fuch Practice, he caufed Proclamation to be made ss before-hand, that it was not he that had condemned " them, but that he was conttrained by the rigid Laws " of the Empire, the general Affembly of the Princes ss of the Blood, and the fupreme Courts of Juttice of s6 the Land, not to delay the Punifhment of any Per"6 fon who was convicted of Rebellion."

It is indeed true, that not long before fome Lords rofe up againft the Emperor, and carried on a War againft him, which did not prove fuccefsful, by Reafon of their mutual Divifions: Yet incredible Numbers of Men were killed; fome talk of forty Millions, others fay four Millions: Infomuch that human Blood (in an unheard of Manner) ftreamed from Mountain Tops; that the deep Channels were filled with dead Bodies, and the deeper Vales piled up and levelled with the Hills. This happened during the Minoricy of the prefent Emperor Cangbi, he being then not much above fourteen Years old.

As his Father's Acceffion to the Throne was not accompanied with any Fatigues or Uneafinefs, fo hiṣ Reign was very peaceable; leaving the greateft Difficulties for his Son to ftruggle with, who by his great Wifdom, heroick Courage, Royal Virtues, and exalted Endowments, hath overcome them all.

We fhall now turn towards the Southern Provinces, and take Leave of thefe Northern Countries', with faying that Leootung is a very fine though fmail Province, containing not above twelve as well large as friall $\mathrm{Ci}-$ ties: And adding that in this Province grows the famous Medicinal Root Ginfeng, acknowledged by the Phyficians to be an excellent Cordial Reftorative. The Cbiriefe Doctors ufe it in Hectick Peftilential Fevers, and feveral other dangerous Difeafes : It is prepared by Mixture with feveral other Drugs. Thofe of thefe Roots which are large, bright and weighty, are chofen as the beft; they wrap them up in Paper, and keep them in dry Earth, and alfo in Pepper: They commonly boil two or three Grains of it minced fmall, in Chicken Broth, or in fair Water : But particular Care mut be taken that the Pot be clofe covered, by Reafon that in an open Kettle a great Part of its Virtue evaporates.
"The Reader will naturally expect to have fome is Account of this famous Plant, beyond what our "Author, to whom it was common and familiar, has "thought proper to let down here. The Ginfeng is a "perconial Root that produces an annual Stalk of the
"Size of a large Quill, which rifes not very high, and " opens with five Leaves. Some fay, that this Plant " bears white and beautiful Flowers; orhers, that it "produces no Flower at all. The Root, which is the "Part moft valued, is of the Size of a fmall Parfnip, " not very unlike it, and generally divides itfelf into "s two. It is held to be the greateft Reftorative in the " World, and the Cbinefe Phyficians have written whole " Volumes about it, in which they tell us many Things "t that feem to furpafs all Credit. It is however to be " obferved, that the fgurative Stile, and the very con"cife Defcriptions in thefe Sort of Books, very often "s hinder Europeans from comprehending their true "Senfe; fo that we are apt to reject, as a ridiculous Ro" mance, what with them paffes for a well-wrought Al" legory, or a ufeful Fable. The Miffionaries, gene"r rally Speaking agree that it is both an ufeful and an " efficacious Medicine; that it removes Vapours, raifes " the Spirits, fupplies Strength, and promotes Secre"tions in a wonderful Manner. The Leaves are ufed " as Tea, and have a very great Effect that Way, but ss the Root is far preferable, and the true Way of ufing " it is thus. Divide an Ounce of Ginfeng into ten Parts, Voi. II. $\mathrm{N}^{\circ}$ I35.
"6 by breaking it; for it is affirmed, that Experience " fhows it lofes much of irs Virtue by being cur with " a Knife: One of thefe Portions is fufficient for a "Dofe, and is to be put into an earthen Pot, with a "Pint of Water, and being clofly covered, muft be "fet upon a flow Fire, till by ftewing, it is reduced to " about a Quarter of a Pint. This Liquor is to be fweet" ned with white Sugar Candy, and fo drank moderately " hot. Then half that Quantity of Water may be "put upon the fame Root and being half confumed; "the Liquor is to be taken in the like Manner. The " former fhould be taken in the Morning, fafting, the " latter in the Evening, and nothing eat after it. There " are various Reafons why this Drug does not anfwer ' in Europe; one is, that bearing a high Value, we are s often cheated, and fome other Root fent us, inftead of "Ginfeng; another and a better Reafon is this, that the " Root itflf is very apt to corrupt and fpoil, fo as to " lofe all its Virtue. I knew a Phyfician that made "Ufe of a Tincture of it, brought by the Cbinefe to "Batavia, with great Succers, but this Tincture was " extravagantly dear, fince at the firt Hand it coft "three Pounds an Ounce. The Ginfeng commonly "s grows in woody Places, under the Shade of "6 large Trees. It has been plentifully found in Canada, " where it was difcovered by a French Jefuit one Father "Lafitau. It is alfo found in Maryland, and under the "Title of the Maryland Plant is very well defcribed by "Mr. Ray. There is arother Plant more common in " Phyfick, the Latin Name of which is Hepatica No."6 bilis Tragi, that is held to be very little inferior in its "s Virtues to the Ginjeng, and ought therefore to be ${ }^{66}$ more in Ufe. It were to be wifhed that fome of the "Jefuits fettled in that Empire were well verfed in " Chemiftry, and then there is no Doubt they would " be able to prepare Extracts from this famous Root, "s that would reftore and eftablih its Credit in Europe, " and prevent our Phyficians from believing, that the "Cbinese Doctors, either through Ignorance or Prepof"f feffion-in Favour of their Country, have extolled this "Diug far above its Deferts. But till this be done, it " would not certainly be amifs to make fome Experiments "6 on the American Ginfeng, of which we might have con" fiderable Quantities from Maryiand; and as to the " Liverwort before-mentioned, one can hardly believe " that fo good a Judge as Scbroder fhould commend " it to fuch a Degree, if it had not really fome very "confiderable Qualities ; but, we are too apt to neg" lect Simples, and leavie them entirely to the Vulgar "s and to Quacks, who very ofren perform fuch extra"ordinary Cures by them, as not only raifes their Cre" dit, but is prejudicial to that of regular Phyficians, " who are more enamoured of Botany as a Science, "s than attentive to its Confequences, as it is a Branchz "6 of the Art of Medicine."
11. Having defcrib'd the Northern, we come to fpeaking of the Southern Provinces or Kingdoms of Cbina.

Nanking, which we named firf, is very large, and is governed by two Viceroys: The chief City is called Nanking, or rather at prefent Kiamning, the Tartars having changed its Name. This was formerly the Metropolis; and the Imperial Court, now kept at Peking, antiently refided here. This is the largef City in Cbina; and at prefent is fixteen or leventeen French Miles in Compafs'; but formerly contain'd three Circuits. The firft or outermoft and largeft Circuit was thirty Miles; but fince the Tranflation of the Seat of the Empire, it is run to Decay, and become fo far de. folate, that its fecond Circuit contains but fixteen or feventeen Miles, in which Compafs are above thirty Hills.
" The Footfeps of thefe Walls yet remain vifible; and " feem rather (faith Le Comte, to have been the Bounds "s of a Province than a City: And though Peking is " large and very populous, and Nanking very much de" clined from its former Grandure, it is ftill more popis" lous than the other. The Reafon of the Removal of " the Court is hinted in the fecond Chapter."

11 N
st We
"We fhould alfo here add, that this City was within "o one Night of falling into the Hands of Coxinga or "Couefius; but our Author having mentioned it in the "Chapter, where he is treating of Fokien and the Illand "Formofa, I refer the Reader thither. And as for the "third Circuit, (which our Author barely mentions " without any Defcription) we gather from other Wri" ters, that it was the ancient Imperial Palace, where "the Cbinefe Emperors formerly refided in as great "Splendor, as at prefent at Peking; it was on the South" fide of the City, and encompaffed by a Wall, which "at prefent enclofes the principal Part of the City. "Each of its four Sides were an Italian Mile long, "and confequently required above an Hour's time to " go round it, being by Nieuboff compared to Haarlemz " in Holland."

This moft charming City far furpaffes all the reft; befides which it is adorned with a lofty Tower of the fineft Porcelain of various Colours, and fet off on the Outfide with very fine Imagery: It is nine Stories high, and within is full of Stone Figures, richly guilt.
". The Difference amongtt all Authors in the Ortho" graphy, in Writing concerning Cbina, is very furpri" fing, they not agreeing in Names, the Senfe of them, " nor even in Things; one writes Cbina, another Sina; "t this $\operatorname{Xanf}$, Xienf, that Cbanf, Cbienff, and alfo Cbenff: "One calls the Emperor Cangbi, another Kambi; one " writes Oufangouet, whilft others have it UJangejus, or "Viifonguei; and all mean the fame Thing or Perfon. "So we find the like Difference concerning the Porce" lain Tower, in, or more properly without, Nanking.
"Our Author faith, the Porcelain on it is of the very
" fineft and beft Sort; others fay, that this Tower is " but plaiftered with Porcecain; and though the Rain " and Duft hath decayed the Beauty of it, the Remains " are yet fufficient to determine that it was Porcelain, " and not the fineft, but a coarfe Sort. Nor do Wri-
" ters vary lefs about the making of Porcelain, which " will be treated of in theCourfe of thisWork. But before
"I take Leave of this Tower, I fhall add what Nieuboff
"f faith, viz. That Seven hundred Years paft this Tower " was built, to the great Grief of the Cbinefe, and as a " pompous Monument of the Tartars being then Lords " of Cbina, of which they left this Memorial. Le " Comte on the other Side faith, it is about three hundred
"Years fince this Tower and the Temple of Memory
" were built by the Emperor Yonlo: And farther, fpeak"ing of Towers, faith, That the Spire, which is one " of its fineft Ornaments, hath fixed on the Top of it
" a giit Ball, or Pine-Apple, of an extraordinary "Largenels; and Nieuboff tells us, that the Cbinefe "report this to be all maffy Gold. Thus (Le Conzte "goes on) you have a Deffription of the Porcelain "Tower, which fome Europeans would call a Brick
"Turret: But indeed the Cbinefe are wonderfully ex-
" pert in beautifying their Stones with all Manner of
"Ornaments: And as it is, it is undoubtedly the neateft,
" moft compact, and beft Piece of Work at prefent
" remaining in the Eaft.
The Streets of Nanking are very fpacious and wide, as well as clean and neat, and there all Sorts of Rarities and fine Wares are expofed to Sale; but what is moft amazing is the almoft incredible Number of Men which are obferved to be there. The Inhabitants are computed to be eight Millions, Houfekeepers or Mafters of Families, fo that the Croud of People there feems juftly enough faid to be incredible to thofe who have not feen it.

Clofe by, or about the City, runs a River of two French Miles over, which in the Cbinefe Language is called Tangsku Kiam, that is, the Son of the Sea, and is navigable through all China. This River runs by and cuts through feveral Lakes and Rivulets, which all by its Affiftance are conveyed to, and by that Means difcharge themfelves into the Sea: Wherefore this River is very richly laden with innumerable Ships, and leffer Craft, which are very fine within, and richly gilt without; befides this, they are adorned with extraordinary fine painted Flags, and above Deck provided
with all Manner of convenient Seats, Tables, and Couches, for the Convenience of Travellers, and they are withal well victualled.
"It is reported to be fo deep that no Bottom is to " be found; whence proceeds that Cbine, e Proverb, "That the Sea is without Bounds, and the Kiam woithous "Bottom. And fome who have been there, affirm " upon their own Experience, that no Ground was to " be difcoveved by Sounding. But they alfo add, that "their Line was but fifty or fixty Fathom, and that if " they had made ufe of one of two or three hundred "Fathom, they fhould have given anocher Account " of it.

The Jefuits, who have feen the vaft Numbers there are of there Ships, fay that there are enough of them, (proverbially fpeaking) to make a Bridge from Chinu to Europe.

The Jurifdiction of this Province extends to fourteen: very large and magnificent Cities, all which are vaftly rich, and have feveral fmall, and they again feveral leffer fubordinate to them, as in the other Provinces.
The fecond large City of this Province is Suicben, which is the moft illuftrious, largeft, and moft famous of all the reft, being a Place of the greateft Trade of any in the whole Empire; and Ships, as wel! as Men, appear there as numerous as Sand on the Sea-fhore.

The Emperor receives from hence five Millions of Laens, each of the Value of two Rixdollars, befides the Corn, Rice, and Fruit, which is tranfported from hence annually to Peking, in nine thoufand nine hundred and ninety nine Jonks or large Ships; each of which is capable of carrying three or four hundred Weight : Not to mention all Sorts of Silks and other Commodities yearly carried to the Emperor.

The Ships are fix Months on the Way; and as foon as they are come to the End of the great Water, they come into navigable Rivers, cut by human Labour, with a Sluice at the Diftance of every French Mile, to preferve the Water on Occafion.
"Travellers, in the Defcriptions of their Voyages, " call them Sluices, but reprefent them widely different " from ours; for they are a Sort of Waterfalls, over " which the Ships are forced by the Affiftance of "a great many Hands and Windleffes. It is indeed "ftrange, that the fubtle Cbinefe have not yet invented " fuch as ours are, which if they once faw, they would " be forced to acknowledge, that we are not fuch "clumfy dull Wretches as they and other Nations re" prefent us there; and that they themfelves feem ra"ther like unthinking People, when they are forced to " make ufe of fo many Hands, and are fo fatigued to "force over their Ships, which we do with the greateft "Eafe in the World."

The Names of the other Cities are, Nincbueu $F u$, Tbaiping Fu, Ganking Fu, Sun Kiang Fu, Cbin Kiang Fu, Geancbeu Fu, fungjan Fu, Cbingan Fu, Lucbeu Fu, Quongte Fu, Cbancbeu Fu, and Kingcbeu Fu. Thefe fourteen, the two former being included, exercife Jurifdiction over a hundred and thirteen other confiderable Cities.
12. The Kingdom or Province of Cbekiang borders on Nanking ; and the Cbinefe fay, that next to that, it is the Indian Paradife of Arts, and the Paradife of the Gods; by reafon it plentifully flows with all good Things. Throughout this whole Country are deep.cut Channels, by Help of which all Parts of this Province may be eafily travelled over as well by Water as by Land. The Bridges have all of them very fine Stone Archies; and the Number of Barks or Boats there is as vaft as that of Men in the great Streets of Peking, that is, innumerable; which is the lefs to be wondred at, fince this Place is frequented by Merchants from all Parts of the World.

It contains eleven large Cities, the chief of which is Hancheu, and is the finett of them all, being provided both within and without with deep and navigable Channels, and almoft all the Corners of the Streets are adorned with lofyy triumphal Arches. Not far diftant Weftward from the City Wall, there is a very fine Lake, the Circumference of which takes in feveral Miles; its Wa-
ter falling into it from the Hills is very bright and clear, and is conveyed into the City by the above-mentioned Channels.
Eaftwards allo, near the City Wall, there runs a great River called Zbien Tangkiang, which at that Place is two Miles over, or as broad as the River Kiam, but not fo deep, nor doth it extend fo far, as paffing through but one Province.

The other large Cities of this Province are. Kiaking Fu, Xanking Fu, Nimpo Fu, Kiuncbeu Fu, Veniteu Fu, Niencbu Fu, Cbincberm Fu, Kingkoa Fu, Taicbeu Fu, and Nincbi Fu; the whole Number being eleven. They prefide over feventy fix leffer Cities; to which is added Vicbeu Fu, a City not lefs confiderable than any of the reft, and from it are brought very great Quantities of Silk.
13. Kiongf is a large Province, which plentifully abounds with all Neceffaries to human Life: It borders on Nanking. A Lake or fmall Sea of three hundred French Miles in Bignefs, called Pbojang Fu, takes up the greateft Part of it, and is as navigable for great Ships as the main Sea, and is furrounded by a Multitude of fine Towns and Cities. All the Rivers of this Province flow into this Meer, which difcharges itfelf into the Nankinfian River, and by Means of that is conveyed to the Ocean.

This Province contains thirteen large Cities, the chief of which is Nañcbang Fu, which, though a great City, is now ruined and reduced to a defolate Condition by the Wars, Vieicbeu Fu, a City where the Porcelain or Cbina Earthen-ware is made, is alfo in this Province.
"That this Porcelain is a common Manufacture in
"c Cbina, is acknowledged by all; and that the oldeft is
6s efteemed the beft, few are ignorant, partly on account
s6 of its beautiful Whirenefs, partly for its Antiquity,
" and by Reafon none fo good is at prefent made; be-
"c caufe that the Emperor appoints a Mandaryn at the
" Places where it is wrought, in order to choofe for his
" Ufe the fineft Pieces, for which he notwithftanding
" pays but a very mean Price; wherefore the Manufac-
© turers, not being able to fet their own. Rate, or per-
"s haps being but very ill paid, are difcouraged from
"s making it better than ordinary, and will neither take
os Pains, nor endeavour to fhew any great Art in the
"، manufacturing this Ware, without being richly re-
"s warded. Our Author here relates the Manner of its
" Compofition in his ufual plain Manner. But others
" ( 7 . G. de Mendofa) tells us, that it is made of Chalk,
"s which being beaten is thrown into a Pond clofely
", walled in, in which it diffolves and boils up, a thin
"S Skum arifing, of which the fineft Porcelain is made,
ss and the coarfer of the Remainder ; for the nearer the
" Bottom it grows, it becomes ftill coarfer. They
"s work this into what Shapes they pleafe, in the fame
«s Manner as we do, and gild or paint them according to
" their Fancies, which Colouring, or Gilding never fades.
«This, faith he, is what we know of our own Obfervation,
" 6 and is more probable than that it fhould be com-
"s pofed of Sea Shells which have lain a hundred Years
« under Ground to putiify, and are taken up, beaten,
os and then baked. Nieuboff faith that it is made of a
*Sort of Earth which is brought from a certain Hill
« in the Province of Nanking; that this Earth is not
s moift like Clay or Chalk, but dry like fine Sand;
" that they diffolve it with Water, but not that of
"Hoeicbeu in Nanking or the neighbouring Parts, it
s" being impoffible to work it in that Water; the Truth
"s of which they have frequently been convinced of by
os unfortunate Experience; but it is fuccefsfully temper-
ss ed with the Water of Vieicbeu Fu, and the adjacent
"Places. That having wrought it into Veffels of all
os Shapes and Sizes at Pleafure, they firft dry them in
"s the Sun, before they venture them in the Oven, after
"w which they put them into the Furnace, and let them
" bake for fifteen Days, and ftand fifteen Days after that
"s to cool, before they take it out, $\mathcal{E}^{3} c$. Le Comte faith,
"That it is made of a more folid Earth than ordina-
${ }^{6}$ ry, which is found in the Stone Quarries of this Pro-
ss vince: That this being cleanfed and beaten to a fine
6s Powder, is moiftened and made into a Mafs, which
s: is long and throughly mixed and beaten, in order to

- clear and renne it: That it is probable this Eartin " is moulded into feveral Formss at Pleafure by fuch a "Wheel as is ufed for that Purpofe in Europe: That ${ }^{6}$ after this it is carefully dried in the Sun, when the "Ground and Paint is laid on, and then is put into " the Furnace, which is kept to a moderate even 1 teat ${ }_{3}$ " and, that being baked enough, after a long Time " ftaying there, and becoming perfectly cold, it is taken "out."

This Porcelain is compofed by the Mixture of certain Sorts of moint and dry Earths : The dry comes from the Province of Nanking : From thefe two Ingredients this Cbina Earthen Ware is prepared, moulded into feveral Shapes, dried and baked; and when it is become cold, or rather almoft cold, the Colours are laid on, and it is glafed, once more put into the Oven, and baked in the Shape the Artift defires it fhould remain

The other large Cities are Kincheu Fu, Suicbou Fu, Nanbang Fu, Quoang/in Fu, Quiencbang Fu, Linkiang Fu, Cbungkue Fu, Tungcbeu Fiu, and Nangan Fu.

Thefe large preffde over feventy eight leffer Cities.
14. Huquang, and Xienf, already defribed, are the two largeft Provinces of Cbina. This contains in its Jurifdiction fifteen Cities, and more plentifully abounds with Rice, Corn and Fifh than all the reft; being alone very well able to furnifh the whole Empire with fufficient Quantities of Corn. For the Space of ten Years, this Province was miferably infefted with civil Wars and Difcord, which have cut off incredible Numbers of Men.
The factious Licbuang, already mentioned in the Defcription of Leaotung, was the Caufe of all this Bloodfhed when he poffeffed himfelf of this Province.

And after an Interval of only a few Years Prince $V_{i z}$ Sanguei (who invited in the Tartars to his Affiftance) made himfelf Mafter of a great Part of it, and for the Space of feveral Years carried on a vigorous War againft the Emperor.

There is a Lake in this Province, the Circumference of which is above four hundred French Miles, into which feveral Streams and Rivulets fall: And at the Mouth of it are feveral Mountains and fmall Inands, from whence and from its boifterous Waves, it is not unlike the main Sea. It is frequented by an incredible Quantity of Ships, and from it defcends a very large River which falls into the famous Nanquingian River.

On the four Corners of this Province are fituate four Cities: The firt of which is called Fockeu, and lies at the Mouth of the River, and is very ftrong, and the Key of all the reft. Vii Sanguei, King of Funan, took it. The Emperor's Brother, whom he had created King of this Province, affifted by the Imperial Forces, far down before it with a very great Army, and very clofely befieged it, lefing a great many Men before it. It happened one Night either in this Streight, to rid themfelves of ufelef People, and unprofitable Mouths, or elfe in order to convey a great Number fafe over the Meer, they embarked on board three hundred Ships; but fuch a fatal Storm arofe, that all the three hundred Ships and fifty thoufand Souls were funk to the Bottom.

But after the Death of Vii Sangui, this City, as well as the whole Empire, fell entirely into the Emperor"s Hands. There are in this Province fifteen large $F u$, fubordinate to which are an hundred twenty-five leffer.

Vii Chang Fu, the Principal, is a very large City, which is interfected by a River, frequented by Multitudes of Ships that drive a very confiderable Trade here.
Cotton grows here in fuch vaft Abundance, that it is tranfported from hence to all other Places almoft throughout the whole Empire.

The other large Cities are Hanjang Fu, Huangchere Fu, Gangling Fu, Sangiang Fu, Funiang Fu, Tegan $F u$, Fangiang Fu, Focbeu Fu, Cbangxa Fu, Paoking Fu, Xincheu Fu, Cbangte Fu, Hangcbeu Fu, and Jungchers Fu ; the whole Number being fifteen, whote Jurifdiction extends over one huridred and twenty-five other Towns.
15. The Province of Sucbuen, which hath been ruined and laid Wafte by feveral Wars, is the leaft of all the Cbinefe Provinces, and is mountainous. It produces Quickfilver, Tin, Wine, and a confiderable Quantity of Rhubarb, all which are exported to other Countries. But the Rhubarb is not efteemed the beft, nor are great Quantities of it either ufed or fent Abroad.

There are in this Country nine large Cities, the chief of which is Cbingtu Fu; which is a very great and confiderable City, but reduced to a very low Efate by numerous Wars.
The other are Langan Fu, Xunking Fu, Hungbing Fu, Paoning Fu, Cbungcbing Fu, Lingcbou Fu, Hiengcbeu Fu, Mabu Fu, and Taoy Fu; the Whole making up the Complement of Nine, which prefide over one hundred and three leffer Cities.
16. The Province of Queicber is a mountainous Country, which produces great Quantities of Quickfilver, Copper and Tin; and contains fourteen large Ci ties, fubordinate to which are twenty-four leffer.

Though this Province hath but a very few Cities, its Circumference is very extenfive; but it is alfo depopulated and ruined by deftructive Wars.

The chief City is Queijang $^{F} u$, and the reft are Gangxun Fu, Turven Fu, Cinquen Fu, Laiping Fu, Sucbuen Fu, Sunan Fu, Xecang Fu, Tung in Fu, Pinjung Fu, Pingiuen Fu, Thaiding Fu, Veineng Fu, and Mef Fu; amounting together as above to fourteen large Cities, which prefide over twenty-four leffer.
17. 7 unan, the farthermoft Province of Cbina, borders Weftward on the Kingdom of Lao; Southwards on the Kingdom of Tunkin, and was formerly accounted amongtt the Cbinefe Provinces ; but now is only tributary to that Empire.

Cocbincbina and Tonquin alfo formerly made one Kingdom ; but were afterwards divided into two, and diftributed to two Brothers, who carried on very bloody and obftinate Wars againft each other.

This Province produces Gold, Silver, Copper, and Tin, in great Abundance, and its Mountains, Rivulets and Streams afford feveral precious Stones, efpecially Rubies.

This Kingdom is very large, and was formerly, together with the Title of King, and the abfolute Power of governing it at his Pleafure, beftowed on Prince Vii Sanguei. He alfo kept his Royal Court, and built a very magnificent Palace there ; but after his Death the whole Kingdom as well as the Court fell to Ruin and Defolation. The Country is partly mountainous, and partly even Ground ; the Air heathful and temperate, being neither too hot nor too cold; and in this Province is a Lake which is ftored with Finh of different Kinds.

This Kingdom comprehends twenty large, fubordinate to which are fixty-eight fmaller Cities. The chief City is $\begin{aligned} & \text { unan Fu, a charming pleafant City, where }\end{aligned}$ Apples, Pears, Peaches, Plumbs, and all Sorts of Fruits, are incredibly plentiful.
The other great Cities are Quong $\mathcal{S}_{\mathrm{F}} \mathrm{Fu}$, Kaiboa $F u$, Cinjung Fu, Cbingkian Fu, 2uagnan Fu, Ivenking Fu, Chokium Fu, Wiiting Fu, Tali Fu, Mangboroa Fu, Juncbang Fu, Li Gikang Fu, Hoking Fu, Kintung Fu, Funing Fiu, Xumning Fu, Xingan Fu, Tungoba Fu, and Sinkoa Fu: Thefe are the twenty above-mentioned Cities which prefide over fixty eight.
18. The greateft Part of 2uoamg $/$ is mountainous, but the Remainder very fertile; one Point of it borders on the Kingdom of Cocbinchina. Abundance of Cinnamon grows here, as doth alfo a certain very ufful Wood to dye Red; which the Portuguefe call Sapao; and which grows alfo very plentifully in Siam. Here are likewife feveral excellent Sorts of Wood fit for the making of all Sorts of Cabinet, Joyners or Carpenters Work; befides which, great Quantities of Rice are tranfported from hence to Kanton.

There are thirteen large, and eighty leffer Cities in this Province.

2ueiling Fu, the chief City, is very agreeably fituated in a pleafant Plain. This Province was formerly
governed by a King, who was a Prince of the ancient Imperial Blood; but he dying without any Heir, his Dowager governed it for fome Time; but after her Death, the Royal Court was ruined and demolifhed ; in which State it is at prefent.
The remaining great Cities are, Pingeo Fu, Viichora Fu, Zincbeu Fu, Nanning Fu, Taiping Fu, Sumun Fu, Teucbeu Fu, Zbincbeu Fu, Singuen Fu, Cbincbeut Fu, (near which grows a certain Plant, of which is made a Sort of Suff that is worth more than Silk) Sucbin Fu, and Cbingan Fu: They altogether commanding eighty leffer Cities.

Very good Porcelain is alfo made in this Province; but the Earth from which it is prepared (as we have already fhewn) comes from one Place, and the Water from another: Poffibly by reaion that it is more efficacious, and breaks the Earch finer, or incorporates better with it, or for other hidden, though natural Reafons: Thus one Place borrows from another what it fometimes doubly reftores.
As the greateft Part of Cbino, fo this Province is very populous, being alone capable of raifing a Million of Men able to bear Arms, and containing near two hundred thoufand Families.
19. 2uoantung, called by the Europeans Canion, is the moft Southern Province in Cbina; is bounded by the Ocean, and is provided with a very good Haven at the End of a River, which is navigable by great Ships up to the City of Canton. The whole is a fertile Councry, plentifully abounding with all Neceffaries, which draws a very confiderable Trade hither, as well with the $I_{n-}$ dians as Europeans, from which latter above one hundred Englijh, Dutch and Portuguefe Ships annually come to and go from hence.
The Jaft mentioned Nation having made themfelves Mafters of Macao, a neighbouring Peninfula, have there a very fine Haven, from whence they drive a great Trade to Conton, but are obliged on that Account to pay annually 50000 , fome fay 500000 Laens to the Emperor, each Laen amounting to two Rixdollars.
"Macao, faith Le Comte, is famous for the vaft Com" merce of the Portuguefe formerly carried on there, " before the Hollanders jufled them out of aimoft all "India: And at prefent they are not able to keep " many Forces there. Here is a very good Road for "Ships to ride; the Haven indeed is very fmall, but "fafe and very commodious. All Cuftoms on import"ed Goods are the Emperor's: And though the Porti"guefe have ftill a Sort of Government there, yet they "are fubject to the Mandaryns in all Cafes which con" cern the Emperor."
They have poffeffed this Inand above an hundred and ten Years. (Our Author wrote about the Year 1694.) and they have ftrongly fortified and built feveral Churches and Monafteries upon it. The Commodities for which they chiefly trade with the Cbinefe are Pepper, Cinnamon, Cloves, Sanders, (very ufeful in dying) Callicoes : The Medicinal Wood, Pucbo; Ebony, Red Dying Wood ; Wine and a Sort of Birds Nefts found in the above-mentioned Inand. Thefe Birds Nefts are efteemed a very good Reftorative Medicine: They are commonly boiled for a Quarter of an Hour, and not longer in Chicken Broth; for if it be fuffered to boil longer, the whole would diffolve: Each Pound of this coft three, and fometimes four Laens; and the white is efteemed beft. Arecca, being the Fruit of a certain Palm, which is hard, bitter and aftringent, is alfo brought hither to be fold: The Indians commonly chew it with the Leaves which they call Betel, which wafhed in a little Lime-water become red: And the Spittle of thofe who chew it is of a Blood-Colour : And any Perfon not accuflomed to this Ufage upon trying of it becomes very red in the Face, and as it were inebriated, or half fuddled.

This Plant is very much ufed in India; both Sexes biting and chawing it the whole Day, as fome fmoak Tobacco in other Places: Ir is hot and dry, warms the Stomach, and heips Digeftion. It is alfo boiled in Water, and being aftringent, is ured in Cafe of Fluxes. There
are alfo brought hither Rhinocero's Horns, Ivory, Furrs, and red Lacca, from whence the fineft Scicks of Sealing Wax are prepared: This Drug is the Excrement of a Sort of Worms or Ants, which fticks to the Leaf and Wood of the Plants. We fhall hereafter treat of the Fruits.

This Province abounds with white and brown Sugar ; and great Quantities of Silk are wrought here, of which all Sorts of Goods are made, and tranfported hence to India and other Places. The Indians alfo buy here great Quantities of Porcelain, Tin, Iron, and Copperwork, Paper, and feveral other Merchandifes and Rarities, moft of which are paid for in Silver; but on the other Side a great deal of Gold is tranfported from Cbina to India.

The chief City of this Kingdom is called Quangcbeu $F u$, an extraordinary fine City: Which is ftocked with and trades in all Sorts of European and Indian Commodities. About four French Miles diftant from this City is a Village called Fuxan, where the greateft Trade in all Cbina is drove: For the Inhabitancs keep conftantly valt Magazines of all Sorts of Manufactures: And it is reported that fixty thoufand Families live in this Village.
This Province hath fuffered very much by War. In the Beginning of the Revolution of the Empire, the chief City was befieged by two petty Kings, Princes of the Imperial Blood, with a very great Army, and for above the Space of one whole Year, furioully affaulted and bombarded with Cannon and great Pieces of Artillery, by which Part of the Wall was demolifhed; notwithftanding which it was not taken by that Means, but delivered by the Treachery of a Perfon, to whom the chief Command of one of the City Gates was entrufted, who, tempted by a great Sum of Money, and larger Promifes, let in the Enemy; after which he receiv ed the juft Reward of his Treafon; for inftead of the promifed Riches, he was ftifled in Sand, after the Enemy had cut all to Pieces that came in their Way, and plundered the whole City: And after this they overrun the whole Province.
" Thefe Princes were afterwards, one of them King " of 2uantong, and the other of Fokien: But thole " Monarchies were but of fhort Duration; nor did " they devolve on their Heirs; for all thefe, one after " the other were accuftd of fome Crime or other; but " indeed the true Reafon of their Fall was, that Rea-
" fons of State would not permit the jealous Tartar to
" fuffer any Princes of the ancient Race, of which
"the Cbinefe were not a little fond. This was alfo
" the chief Reafon why-Ofangouev's Pofterity were kil-
" led, whatever fpecious Pretences were made Ufe of " to colour the Barbarity; fuch were thofe drawn from
"s the rigorous Cbinefe Laws, which directed the Punifh-
" ment of Trcafon to the ninth Generation, and that
" they were thereby forced to it."
This City was computed to contain eight hundred thoufand, or near a Million of Families: And without the Fort or Caftle is two Miles in Compals.
One of thefe Princes was made King of this Country, and built a magnificent and Royal Palace in the City; but being afterwards accufed of foul Practices againft the Emperor, he was deprived of his Life. And the other Prince, in Reward of his heroick Actions, was created King of Fokien by the Emperor then reigning.

The firft Prince or King being killed, his Family, hourhold Goods, and royal Treafure, by the Emperor's Order were carried to Peking. His Treafure indeed very juftly deferved the Name of Royal; for that alone amounted to above one hundred Millions, befides other valuable Effects, and the moft fplendid Furniture of the Court.

This Province comprehends ten large Cities, which exercife a fuperior Jurifdiction over feventy four, that are fubordinate to them. The fuperior Cities are Quangcbeu Fu, already defcribed; Nonkiang Fu, Xancbeu Fu, Hoycbeu Fu, Xanking Fu, Kiaocbeu Fu, Luicbeu Fu, Liencbeu Fu, Cbaucbeu Fu, and Kincbeu Fu, fituate on the Inand Ainan, which is very confiderable on Account of the greas

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Trade driven there with the Kingdoms of Tomzin and Cocbinctina. The Compafs of this Ine is three hundred Miles, and on it are thirteen leffer Cities. Here is alio a very fine Pearl Fithery; and Aloes are very common. That Plant grows like a Sort of Reed or Flag, about a Finger thick, but forty or fifty Yards in Height, and is a very good Medicine on feveral Occafions.
"Le Comte, whom we have fo often quoted, reiates ${ }_{5}$ "that there is upon this Ifland of Ainang or Hainang, "a ftanding Water, in which Fifh petrefy. I have " my felf (faith he) thrown Crabs into it, and obrerved " the Claws to be confolidated and fo far changed, that "they differed very little from Flints. But thefe Mi"racles of Nature are not fo peculiar to Cbina, for we " meet with them elfewhere (adds he) and withal a " great many more Prodigies, and occult Qualities of " Nature are obfervable there, but yet all the Cbinefe " fay muft not be believed; for though there may be " fome Truch in what they relate, yet in the difhing up "c they are too apt to intetlard it with fo much fabulous "Stuff, as frequently inclines us to queftion the Truth " of the whole Story. However, the Reader ought " not to doubs of the Truth of the Petrification of "Crabs and other Things, by reafon that he may at "Pleafure fee that, and orher fuch-like Metamorpholes, " in Mr. S. Schynvoel's MuSeum at Amsierdam.
20. The Province or Kingdom of Fokien hath fuffered very much by feveral Wars; and before the prefent Viceroy governed it as a Viceroyalty, was ruled by a potent Prince, who when the Tartar feized the Empire, would neither furrender his Realm, nor acknowledge any Subjection to him: But being treacherounly invited to Court, on the Pretence of treating concerning fome important State Affairs there, though he was forewarned and fmelt the Defign, he refolved to venture thither, leaving the Regency in his Son's Hands; being the lefs fufpicious', as he thought, that having left the Government in the Hands of fo brave a Prince as his Son was known to be, the Court therefore would not dare to injure him ; and accordingly he went to the Emperor's Refidence, but was kept there. The more prudent Son, though daily invited, perfited to refufe that Favour, being at the fame Time convinced his Father was become an involuntary Prifoner at Court: At which being highly incenfed, he began, and for feveral Years bravely carried on a vigorous War againt the Emperor; who on the other Side being impatient to reunite this Province to the Empire, was not wanting in the Ufe of all Means tending to compars that End; purfuant to which he raifed a vaft Army in order to fubdue the young Prince : Who feeing this numerous Force approach him, and finding himfelf unable to refift fuch a potent Emperor, repulfe his difproportionate Force, and gain his Point, though at feveral Times he gave them very fevere Biows, at laft refolved to quit his Country and fhip himfelf off. He accordingly prepared a Fleet, embarked with his Forces, and fteered with them to $\tau_{a}$ joan or the Inand of Formofa; where he landed, drove out the Dutch, and made himfelf Mafter of that charming Ine. This Prince is by the Natives called 2 woefing, but by orhers Coxinga.

The Dutch Eafi-India Company had poffeffed this Illand, and had very ftrongly fortified it.
Act the Time of the Chimefe Commotions, and the great Revolution of that Empire, it was utterly neglected and abandoned to the next who pleafed to give himfelf the Trouble to reduce it, The Spaniards of the Manilbas or Lufong, being but fifteen or twenty Miles diftant, and being informed hereof, feized, built and fortified a City on it; which was afterwards conquered by the Dutch, who becoming Matters of the whole Inand, built feveral ocher Forts upon it ; and defigned, on Account of its very commodious Situation, to have made it one of the molt confiderable Places in all India, and the Centre of their Commerce with the adjacent Countries.
21. Formofa is indeed a very beautiful Inand, which is naturally fruiful, and the Air healchful as well as temperate, very commodiouny fituated in the Neighbourhood of Japan, Clina, and the Manilhas, fit for managing Trade both Eaftwards and Weftwards: is being pot-
fible for Ships to come thither, and go from thence, the whole Year round.
When the above-mentioned Cbinese Prince 2uoefing or Coxinga landed, there were feveral large as well as fmall Ships in the Haven; and upon the Inand there were fettled nine or ten thoufand Hollanders, who were as rich, and lived as well as any where befides. But notwithtanding the Dutch Eaft-India Company was fo ftrong there, the Cbinefe left their native Country, and blocked up the Haven with their Fleet ; they bravely attacked the Netberlanders, and their Fortreffes, and conquered, burnt or deftroy'd them : So that at laft they took the City, Forts, and the whole Illand: They allo exercifed feveral Cruelties on their conquered Enemies, of whom they killed feveral, and cut off the Hands and Feet of fome, and the Ears and Nofes of others; after which, they fent thefe miferable Wretches on board three Ships to Batavia. This we mult underftand as taken from the Cbinefe Accounts.
After this Succefs, they difpatched away an Envoy to the Spaniards at the Manilbas, in order to demand a Recognition and Tribute of them; threatening withal, if they refufed, to treat them as they had done the Dutch. But the Spaniards nighting their Menaces, peremptorily refufed to comply with their Demands. Before we take our Leave of this Subject, we fhall relate another Circumftance that happened to this Prince. He had difpatched three Ships freighted with Silver, under the Conduct of fome of his Officers, with Orders to unlade it at Tcioan. Thefe Officers, inftead of carrying it where it was bound, bring it to the Emperor of Cbina, who appoints them fafe Conduct, and praifes the Enterprize. But this Prince being very much enraged at the Treachery, raifes an Army of above an hundred thoufand Men, and equips an innumerable Fleet, on board of which, with the utmoft Difpatch, he flipped his Forces, and unexpectedly failed up the great Nanking fian River, beat both Army and Fleet, , by Water and by:Land, reducing the Flaces round about the City of Nanking. To which he alfo laid fuch clofe Siege, that he plainly faw that it was feafible, and therefore he abfolutely intended to mafter it in a very few Days: Which he had certainly done, had he not declared to his Army, that it was his Pleafure, that a certain Day fhould be celebrated with all Manner of Mirth and Jollity, in Remembrance of his Birth-Day, which accordingly began with all imaginable Expreffions of excefive Joy, but ended with a bitter Farewel; for the Nonkingers having Notice of it, and being informed of the Negligence of their Guards, (thofe upon Duty, as well as thofe who were not, being all drunk) took that Opportunity'to make feveral vigorous Sallies on the Befiegers from all Parts, fell upon them in the Midft of their Debauch, beat them out of their Trenches, and killed the greateft Part of the Army, a few only efcaping; who ferved to carry the News.

The Prince with his fmall Remainder returns to his Illand, and is reported to be fo much affected with this fcandalous. Lofs, that running diftracted he bit off a Piece of his Tongue, which Wound occafioned fuch a Flux of Blood, as could nut timely be flaunched, fo that he died of it.
His Son, who fucceeded him, being young, and very little experienced in Military Affairs, his Father's Lofs remained unrevenged; and thus the faireft Opportunity imaginable of taking Nanking was irretrievably loft by an unfeafonable Rejoicing, and a fcandalous Debauch. [Our Author fpeaks here in the true Language of a native Cbinefe.]
On the other Side, the Emperor could not reft, till, in order to revenge the atrocious Affront offered to him and the late Imperial Metropolis, by this unexpected Incurfion, and to prevent any fuch Attempt for the Future, had mann'd out a Fleet of four hundred and fifty Sail, and embark'd on board them Forces enough to take Taioan, which was entirely encompaffed and blocked up by the Fleet. But contrary to all Expectation, the young Prince taking the Advantage of a favourable Wind, though he had but forty Ships in
he heroically attacked, beat, utterly ruined moft and deItroyed the Emperor's great Fleet. That Mionarch, who thus by dire Experience was inftructed not to have too mean Thoughts of his Enemy, foon refolved to take jufter Meafures: Accordingly he renews his Attempt the next Year, and not only fends more Ships and Forces, but took Care that they fhould more cautiouly encompafs and clofely thut up all the Avenues to the whole Illand, and kept it in this blocked Condition. Mean while the Prince fipping no Opportunity to gall his Enemy, imagining the Coaft clear, though provided with a very fmall Number of Ships, boldly flew at his too powerful Enemy; but was beaten out of the Sea, and forced to fly back to his Inand, where he bravely defended himfelf the Remainder of that Year: But the Coafts being encompaffed, and confequently a Stop put to all Commerce ; befides which, it was allo afllicted with a very great Draught, there having been no Rain for five Years ; and no Relief appearing, he at length being driven to the laft Extremity by War and Famine, found himfelf forced to furrender his Country, and fubmit himfelf to the Emperor's Mercy, who ordered him to be brought to Peking. At Sight of him the Emperor (touched by the tender Years, and the heroick Deportment of the Princely Youth) not only fpared his Life, but afterwards made him a Prefent of the before-mentioned Inand, and the Title of King of Formofa, which he accordingly at prefent governs.
Thus the whole Empire of Cbina, in the Year 1682, was again fubjected to one Sovereign, and the Illand Taioan or Formofa fubmitted to the Jurifdiction of the Province of Fckien, with the additional Appellative Fu, and is accordingly number'd amongtt the great Cities of that Province.
Its Compafs takes in a Circuit of five hundred Miles: Sugar and Buck-skins are the prime Commodities there, and this Ifland is reckoned about forty Miles diftant from the firm Land, or Continent of Cbina.
22. Focken $F u$, that beautiful and large City, is the chief of this Province, and is very famous for its Commerce with the Faponefe, Indians, and Europeans, tho' this of late has declined.
This Province contains nine large Cities, amongt which, as is already hinted, the above-mentioned Inand of Formafa is reckoned as one. Three of thefe nine are very confiderable and large, to which is added another Inand, viz. Haimui, which is about eleven or twelve Miles in Circuit, is bleffed with the fineft Haven in the whole Province, and formerly was poffeffed by the above-mentioned Prince of Formofa, and for a long Time bravely held out againft the Emperor ; but fometime afterwards it was conquered by one of the two Kings, which, as is before related, governed, the one Conton, the other Fokien. Both of them were rewarded for their great Actions with Donatives; but the King of Fokien rebelled againft the Emperor.
This King of Fokien at the fame Time profecuted a vigorous War againft the Prince of Haimai by Sea, and the Emperor by Land; who being too feeble to refift them both, fubmitted himfelf to the Emperor, on whofe Command being come to Peking, he and his Son were put to Death.
In thefe Civil Diffentions in this Empire, there fell, by the above-mentioned Wars, above Forty Millions of Men. The Names of the remaining large Cities are, Zbivencbeu Fu, Hingboa Fu, Cbaboen Fu, Jenping Fu, Quien Fu, Tingcbeu Fu, Cbengefu, and Taioon Fu, or Formofa. Thefe nine Capital Cities prefide over fixty others.
The Number of Cities in the whole Empire amounts to feventeen hundred ; to particularize the Names of all which would take up too much Time, and tire the Reader, wherefore we have only mentioned the Chief of them. I have barely touched on fome Events, the Story of which is very well known, happening moftly within the Compafs of our Remembrance, and during the Reigns of the laft Cbinefe and the prefent Tartarian Families; for it would have taken up too much of the Reader's Patience, to have defcended to Particulars :

Wherefore

Wherefore I chofe rather to fupply this fhort Defcription moftly from my own Knowledge and Obfervation, having in the mean Time, in the acquiring of one, and making the other, fuffered great Scandals and Afflections for Chrift's Sake, as well as frequently put up my Supplications to him, and implored his Aid in Time of Need, as alfo that he would pleafe to make his Grace known to the World, which I hereby do, through his great Mercy; defiring the Reader to give as much Credit to thefe few Pages, as he would to a Perfon that chiefly writes the bare Refult of his own Knowledge and Obfervation, by which Rule his Pen hath been guided, as it will be in the future Part of this Tract.

I proceed now to treat of the Diftances of Provinces, and at the fame Time to defcribe the People of the Country, the Progrefs of the Chriftian Religion; the Rivers, Lakes, Shipping, Bridges, and Walls; the Cbinefe moral Precepts, Education of their Children, Complements, good Manners, and Learning ; their Trees, Fruits, and Vegetables; neighbouring Ilands, Provinces, Kingdoms, and People ; concluding with the Nations that have been fubdued or were annexed to Cbina by the prefent Emperor Cangbi.
23. The Metropolis of the Empire, Xuntien Fu, otherwife. called Peking, is fituated two hundred Miles diftant from Leaotung and Xantung ; about one hundred and fixty Miles from Peking. Xanf is one hundred and fixty, Xienfi two hundred and fifty, Nanking two hundred and fixty, Honan one hundred and thirty, Kiang fr, four hundred and thirty, Chekiang three hundred and fifty, Sucbuen fix hundred and fifty, Huquang three hundred and fifty, Queicbeu eight hundred, 'Funan one thoufand, Quoang $f$ eight hundred and fifty, Quantung eight hundred, and Fokien feven hundred and fifty Miles or Hours from Peking. This is the Diftance of all the Provinces from the Court, computing from the Metropolis of the whole Empire to each Capital City of the refpective Provinces.

From Nanking to Xantung is reckoned two hundred Miles, to Honan one hundred and eighty, to Huquang two hundred, to Cbekiang one hundred, to Kiang $\sqrt{2}$ one hundred and fixty. This is the Diftance betwixt Nonking and the mentioned capital Cities.

Xienf is diftant from Honan two hundred Miles, from Xens $\sqrt{2}$ one hundred and fifty, and from Sucbuen two hundred.

Huquang is diftant from Cbiangf2 one hundred and thirty, from Honan one hundred and fixty, from Sucbuen two hundred, from Quoang $\sqrt{2}$ three hundred and fixty, and from Conton four huudred Miles.

Chekiang lies two hundred Miles diftant from Kiang $\sqrt{f}$, and above three hundred from Peking.

Conton is three hundred and fifty Miles from Fokien, four hundred from 2 uoang $\sqrt{2}$, and three hundred and eighty from Kiang $f$.

Funan is diftant from Quoangf three hundred Miles, from Quiecheu three hundred and thirty, and from the Kingdom of Laos three hundred. Thefe are the reciprocal Diftances of the capital Cities, computed according to the common Land Meafure.

The Maritime Provinces are, Zantung, Nanking, Cbekiong, Fokien, and Quantung or Canton.
Nanking, Cbekiang, Hucvang, Kiang fr, Junan, Canton, and Fokien, are efteemed the fineft Provinces.
Xantung, Xanfz, Xienfr, Peking, Honan and Leaotung, are of the middle Sort.

But Queicbeu, Sucbuen, and Quong $\sqrt{2}$ are accounted the worft of all, by reafon they are very mountainous, and very much impoverifh'd by the Wars.

The largeft Provinces are Xiengfr, Huquang, Nanking, Junan, Kiangft, and Cbekiang ; each of thefe larger Provinces is above three hundred Miles wide, and much longer. Compared with thefe, the middle-fiz'd Provinces are Peking, Xantung, Quoang $/$ I, Queicheu, Honan, and Fokien, and fo accounted, becaufe they are not above two hundred Miles broad; and alfo Quantung, which is but one hundred and fifty Miles long, but full three hundred Miles broad ; by which Rule, Xanfi, Leaotung, and Sucbuen, are likewife reckoned but finall

Provinces, fince they are but about one hundred and fifty Miles broad, and one hundred and fixty in Leength.

The principal Maritime Trading Cities, Towns, and Places, which are frequented by the Indians, Faponefes and Europeans, are the following ten, viz. Canton, the Ines of Macao, Hainan and Cbaochexis all which belong to, and are dependant on the Province of Quoantung; and belonging to Fokien, are Fochen Fu, and the Ilands Haemut and Tajouan, or Formofa; thefe drive on a vaft Trade with the Europeans and Indians: Befides which, there are alfo two Cities in Nanking and Xangbai, and the City Nimpo in the Province of Cbekiang; all which have a very confiderable Trade with the Faponefe. In the Province of Xinf or Xiend is the great City of Zinning, which is a moft noble Emporium, being the Centre of a vaft inland Commerce with the Weitern Tartars, Moungalls; Tibetts, and Ruflans.
"The Inand of Macao, which is mentioned aboves
"belongs to the Portuguefe; and they have upon it a Fore
"and City, if that Name may be given to a few Houfes,
" which are not enclofed by any Wall: This Place is fa-
" mous for the Trade which the Portuguefe drove there "before the Dutch Eaf-India Company chafed them out "of India. What they at prefent poffefs is by Favour " of the Cbinefe, to whom they are obliged to pay fer" vile Obedience, if they intend quietly to enjoy what they " hold: All Cuftoms for Goods imported here are paid " to the Emperor ; and though the Portuyuefe preferve a "Sort of Government here, their Power extends no far" ther than to Cafes which do not concern the Cbinefe; " for they are otherwife fubordinate to the Jurifdiction "s of the Mandaryns of Quoantung or Canton.
24. It may poffibly contribute to the Information, as well as Entertainment of the Reader, to perufe the following very fuccinct and comprehenfive Account of this Empire, written within thefe few Years, by an Italian that has refided upwards of thirty feven Years in the Empire, for the Satisfaction of an illuftrious young Prince, whofe Inclinations leading him to procure the moft certain Intelligence, as to the prefent State of all Nations, had found Means to requeft this Favour of one, who of all others, had the greatett Opportunity of fatisfying his Curiofity. There is nothing taken from the Piece, except the introductory and concluding Compliments, which having nothing to do with the Maters of Fact, it was thought neceffary, for the Sake of faving Room, to ftrike them out.

As to the Extent of this Empire, it is not eafy to " fpeak of it with Certainty, for with Regard to the "Europeans, they have no Opportunity of examining "the Frontiers on every Side, in fuch a Manner as " might enable them to decide on this Head, with any Degree of Exactnefs; and as for the Cbinefe, they
" have fewer Occafions, and much lefs Abilities for a
" Work of this Sort. To fay the Truth, the Thing it-
"s felf is fcarce practicable, there being nothing more dif.
"ficult, than to fix the Extent of the Territorities of the
"Tartar Princes, dependant upon this Empire, and " yet without this, there is no doing any Thing. It is " true, the old Cbinese Writers tell us, that their Em" pire was formerly much greater than it is at prefent; "s that Japan was once fubject to them, as allo the "Kingdoms of Tunkin, Siam, $E^{3} c$. and part of the Do. "s minions of the Great Mogul; but for all this, I " am apt to believe, that fince the Tartars became "c laft Mafters of Cbina, which is now a compleat hun"dred Years, the Empire is to the full as large is " ever it was. Its Bounds at prefent are the Domini" ons of the Ruffans on the North, the Ocean on the "Eatt; and on the South, for I look upon the Penin"fula of Corea as dependant upon this Empire; on "s the Weft, they have great Deferts, and the Countries "s under the Contaibs Koan, which ftretch as far as the
"Ruflan Territories; and this is all I am able to fay, "6 as to the Extent of this Empire, except that accord"6 ing to a Perambulation that I have feen, the Line of "t their Boundaries is computed at about feven thou"fand Miles, which, as far as I am able to judge, ${ }^{66}$ does not exceed the Truth.
"I can fpeak more particularly, as to the Climate; ${ }^{65}$ it extends from 18 Degrees of Latitude to 55 , and con" fequently takes in all the Climates from the third to " the tenth, fo that the longeft Day in the mof South-
" ern Parts is thirteen Hours and a half long, and in " the moft Northern about feventeen Hours. The " Heat is great in the Southern Provinces, and the Cold
"very fevere in the North. As to the former, I have
"s been upon the Coafts of Bengal, and I think it not " at all warmer than in Cbina, I have been alfo in
"Poland, and did not find it fo cold there as in the
" Northern Parts of Cbina, or rather of Tartary about
"6 the River Amur. By this Means they have at Peking
" all Sorts of Fruits, by which I do not mean every
"Kind of Fruit, bat of thofe different Sorts that are
" peculiar to the warmeft and coldeft Climates; as for
" Intance, the moft high flavoured Oranges and" well-
" tafted Apples; but there is this Difference between
"them, that Nature brings the Southern Fruits to the
" higheft Perfection with litcle or no Culture, whereas
" thofe of the North require a great deal, which however
"the Cbinefe never beftow upon them; hence therefore
" three or four Sorts of Apples, and five or fix of Pears,
" is all they can boaft; and as for Cherries, they have
"s them boch red and black, but they are neither of
"t them good, though they might have them, if they
" were at Pains, in the utmoft Perfection.
"It is eafy to difcern from hence, that there are no
s Kind of Commodities or Manufactures wanting in
"this Country, and a very few Specimens will convince
" you of the Truth of this; they have the very belt
"Silks of all Kinds in the World, and in a vaft Abun-
"dance; they have very rich Furs, which I take to be the
" oppofite of Silk ; they have alfo prodigious Quantities
" of Cotton, and are not deficient in Wooll. They
" have Metals of all Sorts in great Plenty, except Lead;
"they have likewife all Kinds of Wood, Sugar in the ut-
" moft Abundance, and Spices fufficient for their
"their own Ufe, and yet they ufe a vaft deal. It was
" from a true Senfe of their own Abundance, that the
" ancient Cbinefe were averfe to Foreign Trade; and if
"the Tartars permit it, it is upon this Principle, that
" their Subjects are valt Gainers by it ; for except Toys
" and Lead, there is Nothing comes to a good Market
" in Cbina.
"At prefent the Empire of Cbina, exclufive of its
" Dependencies, is divided into fifteen Provinces.
"Thofe of Cbenf, Cbanf, and Petcheli, in which laft
"\% is the Imperial City of Peking, are bounded by the
"famous Wall which divides Cbina from Tariary;
"thofe of Cban tong, Kiang nan, in which is Nanking
"s the old Capitai, Tcbe kiang and Fokien lie on the "Eaftern Occan; thofe of 2uang tong, 2uang $/ 2$, Yun nan
© Se tcbuen, lie on the South, and on the Weft; Honan.
"Hou quang, Koei tcbeou, Kiang $\mathcal{f}$, are Midland Pro-
" vinces. They divide their Towns into four Ranks,
" which it is impofible to defcribe; the three firlt have
"Names, the laft are fuch as are under the Jurifdietion
"s of the reft, and confequently have no particular De-
"s nomination. The great Cities they ftile Fou, and
" of thefe they reckon one hunded feventy three. The
" larger Towns they call Tcbeou, and of thefe they
"reckon two hunared thirty five. They give their
6. biggeft Boroughs the Name of Hien, and of thefe
6. they reckon eleven hundred and reventy three;
" as for the fubordinate Places, I dare not call them
8. Villages, for many of them are walled, and fome of
"s them contain fifty thoufand Souls; thefe, I fay, are
" without Names, and without Number.
"They pretend to be very exact in their Computati-
"ons of the Number of their People, and from the
© beft Enquiry I have been able to make, though the
". Thing muft appear romantick and ridiculous in $E u$ -
"rope, I am convinced that they are not much beyond
"t the Truth, in affirming that their Emperor has fixty
" Millions of Souls in his Dominions.
"One would imagine, chat vaft Difficulties muft :s arife to the Government, from fuch a Multitude of
"Subje:ts, but it is quite ocherwife, for Government is
©s widh them a fyttimatical Thing, reduced under cer-
tain Rules, with which, fo far as he is concerned, every Man in the Empire is acquainted, and moft of them no farther. The Emperor himfelf has his Circle of Bufinefs, which he is obliged to go through, and which cannot be done for him, and therein confifts the great Secret of their Policy. He has always the State of fome Province or other under his Infpection, and when one is finifhed, Nobody knows which will be the next; but all thefe Infpections are made with great Strictnefs and Severity. It is true, that in forne Yrovince or other, Corruption prevails perhaps for twenty or thirty Years, but it is as true, that fome Time or cther all this is redreffed, and Things are " brought back again to their original Inftitution; the firt Maxim in the Cbinefe Syftem is, that the Em-- peror acts as the Father of his People, he may indeed - be a bad Father, but he would be foon told of that; " by his abfolute Power he might difpatch .this Moni' tor, but that would quickly produce more; there are ' always many Patriots in China, who for the Sake of "that Glory, which refults from doing good to the So" ciety, are ready to lay down their Lives; yet after " all, Things are feldom pufhed to this Exuremity, and " it is more common to fee the Emperor confeffing his "' Faults and Weakneffes in his publick Edicts, which "، are generally calculated to repair them, and are ufually " concluded with many fair Promifes for the Future.
" It is certain, that the People are very corrupt, and " that this Corruption runs through all Ranks; but " their Scheme of Government is fo wife, that fooner " or later thefe Corruptions are met with; fo that Vice " ebbs and flows, and is driven out of one Province, " when it gains Ground in another; but fill there is " fuch a.Stock of Virtue, as ferves to preferve the whole, and to keep the Machine moving. Capital " Punifhments are very rarely inflicted, for there are " more Executions in a Year in Naples, than in all "Cbina ; one Year with ano:her, there are not three " in Peking, but there is a kind of Punifhment more "exemplary, and more ufeful than Death, that is very "common, their Mandarines, even of the higheft Order, " may be degraded, and he who had Yefterday a Train " of twelve hundred Men, fhall be To-day upon a Level with the meanelt of them, but never without " Caufe; for though there is Injuftice enough in all their "Tribunals, yet the lant Refort is pure, and the Tartar " Emperors have been hitherto the Fathers of their Peo" ple, in almoft all; but in that Refpect more efpecially. "Their Armies are very numerous, and according " to their Mode very well difciplin'd, yet their Fire" Arms are but indifferent; it is their Numbers that fe" cure them from any Danger from their Neighbours; " in one Thing they are fingular, their Motions create " no Diforder, a Body of fifty thoufand Men will " traverfe the whole Empire without taking an Egg or " an Apple by Force. Their Traders are all Cheats, and " their being fo is no great Inconvenience or Detriment " to Commerce, for it makes them all very expert and " attentive ; fince their Maxim is, that it is not the Per" fon who does the Wrong, who impofes upon ano"ther, but he that is outwitted that does wrong himfelf.
" As great as their Country is, the Number of People " that are in it would foon be reduced to Starving, if " every Spot was not cultivated that will admit of it, " and every Hand employed that can work.
"This is a fhort but a true Reprefentation of this "Empire, and of thofe that compofe it. It is not " like to extend iffelf, but it will certainly laft for " many Ages. The Cbinefe will never make Conquefts " or pufh their Foreign Commerce beyond its prefent "Bounds. Ningpo will be the Center of the Faponere "Trade, Amoy of the Indian, and Canton of the Eu" ropean, as long as they continue a Nation. They " have been long free from inteftine Commotions, but " in furceeding Times they may be expofed to them; " and yet thofe Revolutions, though deftructive to In. "dividuals, can hardly be dangerous to the Empire. "The Profperity of their own Government is the fole "Object of their Confideration; their Statefmen, and " more efpecially their Emperors, are far from being
"fo ignorant of Foreign Affairs as is imagined; they
" know enough of them for their Purpofe, and they
" have neither Leifure, Occafion or Inclination to know
" more; they are naturally civil to Foreigners, but at
" the fame Time they are naturally jealous of them.
"To fum up all, they look upon themfelves to be the
"Wifett, the Greateft, the Richeft, the Happieft, and
" the moft Powerful of all Nations; and, exclufive of
"their Spiritual Concerns, thofe who are beft ac-
" quainted with them, will think them the leaft mif-
" taken.
25. After this concife Detail of the Cbinefe Affairs, it is Time to haften to the End of this Subject, by giving our Readers the remaining Part of Dionyfus Kao's Deicription and Account of his own Country, which is written in fo plain, fo diftinct, and fo juft a Manner, that it will be eafily perceived it differs as much from the Accounts given us by the Jefuits, as it is poffible for Pieces to do that are written upon the fame Subject, and neither of which can be faid to be abfolutely void of Truth : For moft of the Defcriptions given us by the Miffionaries, are penned in a high-flown rhetorical Stile ; and every Thing in them is reprefented fo much beyond the Life, that either we do not conceive it at all, or the Notions we form are quite befide the Truth. But what our Cbinefe writes is in an eafy, fimple, and familiar Way, and in fuch a Way as leaves us no Doubt that he tells us the Truth, and nothing more or lefs than the Truch. In his Account, the Reader will obferve a Clearnefs and Candour that is fcarce to be found in any ocher Thing of the like Nature, as well as a Strain of fincere Piety, that has very little in it of Supertition, and nothing at all of that Hypocrify and Cant with which moft of the Defcriptions of Cbina are burthened. The Contents of it will very fully fupport and confirm what is delivered in the foregoing Memorial, and afford a Picture at whole Length, of what is there reprefented only in Miniature.

Before we put an End to this Section however, I crave Leave to make one Obfervation of my own, which I flatter myfelf will enable the Reader to deliver himfelf from a Difficulty that has hitherto been thought almoft inextricable. It is this : Some Writers, very well acquainted with Cbina, reprefent its Inhabitants as the molt ingenious, the moft penetrating, and the mof happy in their Inventions, of any People in the World ; while others again, who pretend to know them full as well, poficively affert, that their Notions are narrow, their Inventions mean, their Execution very incorreet, and that, in fhort, they fall full as much below the Europeans, as their Admirers would place them above them. Now common Senfe feems to teach us, that one of thefe Opinions muft be abfolutely falle, and yet it is not very eafy to diftinguifh which, fince the Authorities on both Sides are pretty nearly equal.

On the ftricteft Enquiry I begin to think, that boti thefe Notions, properly undertood, are reconcileable enough to Truth, and even to one another. If we compare the Arts and Sciences of Cbina with thofe of Europe, there is no Doubt that in moff Things they fall very far fhort; and yet compared with the reft of the Eaftern Countries, their Knowledge and their Performances are very extraordinary.
But on the other Hand it is to be confidered, that the Europeans have had much greater Experierice, and much better Mafters: For as to the former, it is notorious that we have all the Lights which various Countries and various Ages can beftow, what the Greeks left unfinifhed to the Romans, what the Romans farther perfected, and what, upon the Revival of Arts and Sciences in Itdy, was cultivated with that Zeal and Diligence, which is natural when Arts are emerging out of Barbarifm, at once excites and directs our Endeavours in thefe later Times. But befides all chis, there is and has been a valt Spirit of Emulation in the different Parts of Europe, and what has been firf ftruck out in one Country, has been altered, improved and carried to the higheft Perfection in another. By this Means we are become, in moft Things, infinitely fuperior to the Cbinefe; but if we confider Things in another Light, we muft allow them to be fuperior in their Turns.
They have been always a diftinct and detached $N a-$ tion, having nothing to do with the reft of the World, or at leaft nothing to do to with in this Refpect ; all that they have acquired, with regard to Science, all that they perform, in reference to Arts, is folely of their own Invention, Profecution, and Improvement; and therefore they deferve in this Senfe the higheft Praifes: If Printing, Artillery, the Ufe of the Compafs, and many other Things, feem very rude amongt them, in Comparifon of that Neatnefs and Perfection to which they are arrived with us; yet we cannot deny, that they had them long before us; and after all, there may be many Things faid in Excufe of that State in which they are found here; for their Manner of expreffing their Language in Characters, the Method they ufe in Printing is better than ours; their Artillery are fufficiently ferviceable for any the Purpofes to which they employ them; and as to their Navigation, confidering the Maxims upon which their Commerce is carried on, it may be very doubtful whether they wilh, and confequently we need not wonder, that they are not folicitous to arrive at any farther Perfection.

Thus I apprehend this Knot is fairly untied, and the Dirpute fettled, as to the Proficiency of the Europeans, and the Ingenuity of the Cbinefe; if the former excel in the one, fo do the latter in the other; and if we know Things better, we have this Knowledge from others; whereas they have all from their own Stock, and had all they have much earlier than we.

## S E C TIONVI.

A copious, accurate, and authentick Account of whatever is moft remarkable in Regard to Perfons or Things throughout the whole Empire of China; more efpecially the Number of the Inhabitants in general, and of the Chriftians in particular ; the Rivers, Shipping, Lakes, Bridges, $\wp^{9} c$. The different Religions that prevail, and have prevailed, amongt the People ; their Manners, Ceremonies, and extraordinary Politenefs. Of the remarkable Trees, rich Fruits, and valuable Drugs in this Country; together with a fucVol. II. N ${ }^{\circ}$ i 36.
$11 P$
cinct merly depended upon it.

## By Dionysius Kao, a Native of China.

1. An Account of the vaft Numbers of People in tbis Empire, togetber woith Proofs of, and Reafons for, its being fo populous. 2. An Account of the Progre/s of Cbriftianity, and of the Niumber of the Cbriftians in China towards the Clofe of the laft Century. 3. Tbe Situation and Extent of the famous Chinefe Wall; the famous Rivers, and prodigious 2uantity of Shipping in this Empire.: 4. Of the moof famous Lakes, the mot remarkable Bridges, and the moft celebrated Ports in China. 5. The Religious and Pbilofophical Opinions of the Chinefe, more efpecially thofe of Confucius and bis Followers. 6. Of the breaking out of a deteftable Herefy that Rill prevails in this Empire, and of the Entrance and Progre/s of Iddatry amongst tbe Chinefe. 7. Of the Prevalence of Atbeifn in this Country, the Nature of it, ind the pernicious Effects of their fuperfitious Regard for Antiouity. 8. Of Deijm, or Natural Religion, as profefed and pratijed by the rujeff and beft Sort of People in China. 9. Of the Efabliffed Religion among the Tartars, their Lama's or Priefs, and of the Dalai Lama, or Living God; weith the jurprizing Progrefs of this abfurd Superfition. 10. Of the Ceremonious Civilities and Compliments eflablijbed by Lawo in China; and of the Rules prefrribed to all Ranks of People in Reference to Tbings of this Nature. II. Of the Marriages amongtt the Chinefe; of their Manner of Living in their Families, and otber Things of tbat Nature. 12. Of their Funeral Solemnities, their long Mourring, and the juper fitious Honourrs paid to Pervons deceafed. i3. Of the Lantborn Feaff, and of otber publick and private Fefivals oblerved by this Nation. 14: Of the Trees, Fruits, Flowers, Herbss, Drugs, \&cc. in China. 15. Of the Animals, Mines, Metals and Minerals in this Empire. 16. The Autbor's Account of Japan, Corea, Formora, Tunkin, and Laos. 17. Of otber Countries formerly dependent on, or that bave been lately fubjected to the Emperor of China.

IN the Villages and Towns, as well as Cities in Cbina, the People are reckoned not by ten or hundred thoufands, but by Millions: Their Numbers are fo vaft, and Cbina fo prodigious populous, that it really feems incredible; and thofe who have taken a View of this Country from an exalted Place, have always compared the Number of Men to that of Ants creeping in Crouds amongft one another. They are indeed fo numerous, that common and very indifferent Houfes are charged with five or fix Families: And the Roads, Streets and Lanes, are fo crouded, that it is fcarce poffible to pais without juftling one another. All this will appear yet more furprizing, if it be confider'd, that no Woman appears in Publick in any Part of Cbina, except at Peking; they never going on Foot, but are carried in covered Seats or Chairs, wherever they pleafe.
The moft populous Cities are Nanking, Hangcbeu, Sucbeu, Peking, 'ुungcbeu, Canion, Focben, Viicbang Fu, Cbengcbeu, and Zuencheu, befides feveral others. Not to mention the fabulous Relations concerning the firft planting and peopling of Countries, I am of Opinion that the firft Inhabitants of this Empire were the Defcendants of Sbem, Noab's eldeft Son; for in the Divifion of the World they feem to be all diftributed in Aha, of which China is Part: And at the Confufion of Babel, traverfing that Quarter of the World, probably fetteled here, becaufe they found no Part of it better than this, which is bleffed with a healdhful Air, temperate with Regard both to Heat and Cold: The Fertility of the Pafture Grounds, which richly feed all Sorts of Cattle, invited their Choice, and in a Manner forced them to take up their Abode here. After which, Experience confirm'd the Happinefs of their Choice, by their being amply provided not only with all Necelfaries to human Life, but even with whatever Luxury could wifh. Induftry, Art, and Prudence, improv'd the natural Liberality of the Soil, and engaged the Neighbours to think Cbina the Garden of the Univerfe, and its Inhabitants the wifent and moft polite People in the World; and that thofe of their Neighbours, who fucceeded beft in the Imitation of them, were next them efteemed the moft intelligent People of Afia. Buoyed up by this vaft Reputation, they extended the Limits of their Empire far beyond the Bounds of Cbina: And not only Tunkin, Cocbin-Cbina, and Laos, befides feveral neighbouring Inands; but the Kingdoms of Siam, Pegu, Part of Tartary, Camboja, and Fopan, have been
fubordinate to them, as may be fufficiently proved by their complying with and continuing to make Ufe of the fame common Cuftoms; which is alio confirm'd by the Cbinefe Empire, being known to be above one thoufand Years old, and to have always retained the fame Language, Doctrine, Government, and Habit, down to this Time. Though indeed one Exception lies to that General Rule, which happen'd about fifty Years paft; and that was the changing their Fafhion of wearing their Hair, when the Tartars overpower'd their Monarchy; but that Alteration was a coercive Acknowledgment of their wretched Slavery.

The Cbinefe formerly wore long Hair, of which they were not a litcle proud, adorning it with Gold Wire, and firmly believing that they fhould be drawn up to Heaven by it; which doubled the Severity of the Command that obliged them to part with it, and comply with the Tartarian Fafhion; and engaged them rather to fuftain the Fatigues of a cruel War, at the Expence of a great many Lives, than fuffer their Hair to be cut off: But the Tartar had proceeded too far to be oppofed. However, the Prudence of the Emperor, and the Mildnefs of his Government, permitting the Cbinefe Men of Quality, called Mandaryns, quiedly to enjoy their important Pofts, fomewhat alleviated the melancholy Reflections, occafioned by this Lofs, and their Slavery; for the Tartars having fubjected Cbina, did not thew themfelves folicitous to make any Alteration in its ancient Form of Government; and, as I juft now hinted, the Cbinese Mandaryns remained in the fame Sate and Character as before, only having an equal Number of Tartars added to them: And by thefe lubtle Meafures the foreign Power, which they were always jealous of, tole in upon them. And this Maxim was fo well obferv'd, that all the Courts of Juftice, from the higheft to the loweft, were equally fupply'd with a Tartarian and Cbinefe Judge; and indeed the whole Government is jointly entrufted in the Hands of Tartarians and Cbinefe, and to this prefent Time, peaceably adminiftred in Subordination to the Commands of the Emperor of Cbina and Tartary.

In the Reign of the prefent Emperor, the Chriftian Religion is more freely indulged than ever; fo that we ought not to defpair, but that the whole Empire of Cbina may in Time embrace that Faith which only leads to Salvation. And from the firft Entrance of the Miffionaries into that Empire, they have concinually ufed their umoft Induftry, to engage this fubtle Nation to

## Chap. III.

the Empire of CHINA.
embrace Chriftianity, and plant that faving Doctrine, which is at this Time very widely fpread in Cbina.
Kangbi, the prefent reigning Emperor, in the Year 1692 , granted to the Miffionaries and Jefuits, Freedom for all the World to worfhip God in their Churches, which is the fame as to become Chriftians; and this Edict, purfuant to the Emperor's Pleafure, was ratified by the Supreme Court of Juftice of the Empire; and empowered thofe, who thought fic to caufe themfelves to be baptized, afterwards freely to exercife the Chriftian Religious Worthip, without the leaft Interruption, which before that Time was prohibited; a Favour that had long been earnefly defired, and before which the Chriftians had run through many fevere Perfecutions: But now by the Divine Goodnefs, we are delivered from fore Afflictions and Oppofitions, for which we continually return our Thanks to Almighty God.

About the Middle of the fixteenth Century, Francis Xavier, defigning to plant the Gofpel here, died in Sight of Land; as he was coming from Japan: After him feveral Miffionaries and Priefts came into this Country with the-fame Intent, viz. Martinus Xerrada, Geronimo Marino, Micbael Rugieri, Piedro Alfaro, and Matibias Ricci, befides feveral others, who a little before the Year 1600, laid the firt Foundation of this good Work in the Reign of the Emperor Vanlie. Facher Ricci, whom we named laft, diftinguifhed himfelf above all the reft ; he converted feveral of the Nubility, and acquired a very great Reputation; he perfectly underflood, and fluently fpoke the Cbinefe Language; and being a fedulous and faithful Labourer in the fpiritual Vineyard, made the moft fucceisful Beginning, on which Account he hath always been thought the firft of the Miffionaries.

Whilft this Father Ricci was in Cbina, and in the Reign of the Emperor Vaile, the Tartars made an Irrupiton into Cbina, took feveral Cities, and conquer'd feveral Countries; but were thortly repulfed by that illuftrious Prince ; after which he ruled in perfect Peace, and in the Year 1620, the eight and fiftieth of his Age, and fory eighth of his Reign, he died. Not long before, about the Year 1615 , arofe a furious Perfecution, which threatened the utter Extirpation of the Faith that was fo lately planted. Thefe exorbitant Cruelties were principally puthed on by Cbinkio, one of the chief Magiftrates of Nanking; and by a malicious Cunning the Shepherds were the moft vigoroully attacked, in order the more fuccefsfully to deftroy the Flock; but after they had fuffered great Affictions for the Space of fix Years, their Perfecutor was punifhed by Death, and the Church recovering her former Liberty, began to increafe daily, efpecially after the Arrival of Father Gobn Adam, Schaal or Scaliger, whofe Learning, Mathematical Knowledge, and prudent Conduct, acquired for him one of the chief Places in the Emperor's Favour, and the good Opinion of the whole Court ; which furnifhed him with an Opportunity of farther propagating and confirming Chriftianity. And though in the Interim the great Revolution happened, which transferred the Crown to the Tartarian from the Cbinefe Family, by the Death of Zuncbi, the laft of the Race of Taiminga, which had fwayed the Imperial Sceptre for the Space of two hundred and eighty Years, and produced in that Time fixteen Emperors; yet the fagacious Father Adam Schaal render'd himfelf fo agreeable to the new Tartarion Court, that he became Prefident of the Tribunal of Mathematicians, and continued, though not without Envy, the Emperor's Favourite ; and after having enjoyed that Poft for feveral Years, died in 1665.
2. Yamquamfien, the wicked Inftrument of the moft cruel Perfecution that ever was in Cbina, fucceeded Father Adom Schaal in his Prefident's Charge: But his Reign did not continue long, being oppofed by Father Ferdinand Verbief, who clearly demonftrated his Abililities for that Poft to be far fuperior to thofe of his Perfecutor; wherefore he was promoted in his Place, and Camquamfien fell into fuch a Difgrace, that he narrowly efcaped a Sentence of Death, as the Reward of his Perfe-
cution againft Father Adam; a Sop being put to that Perfecution by the efpecial Mercy of the Emperor.'

After the Death of Father FerdinondVerbiest,' in the Year 1688, which was lamented by the Emperor hintfelf in a Funeral Elegy, he was fucceeded in the before mentioned Charge of Prefident of the Mathematica Tribunal by Father Pbilip Grimaldi, who filled that Poft as honourably as his Predeceffor, and advanced himfelf ro fuch a high Place in the Imperial Favour, that in the Year 1689 , he was fent Ambaffador from the Emperor into Europe, to adjuft fome important Affairs in Muf covy with the Czar ; his Prefident's Poft in the Tribunal being worthily fupplied till his Return by the Fathers Tbomas Pereira and Antbony Thomas.
" This is the fame Father Pereira, who, in Con" junction with Father Gerbillon, was twice fent, they " being dignified with the Title of Mandaryns of the "s third Rank, as Interpreters in the great Embaffy and "Treaty of Peace at Nepchou, by the Mufcovites called "Nerzinkoy, and of whom it is reported, to their greak " Honour, that they fuggeited the Meafures which ren" der'd the Treaty of Peace betwixt the Mufcowites and "Cbinefe fucceffful. To which Purpofe, Gerbillont went "feveral Times alone to the Mufcovite Camp, and fo " far convinced that Nation of their true Intereft, that " the Treaty of Peace betwixt the two Empire was "ratified and fworn on the 3 d of September, $1689 . "$." The Number of Chriftians daily increafed, from the Refpect paid to the Jefuits by the Court, and the Emperor's zealous Inclination for the European Arts and Sciences, infomuch that the leaft Number of Chriftians computed to be in Peking was fixteen thoufand; in Nanking an hundred thoufand. In the abovefaid large trading Village or Town Xangbui, there were but ten thoufand; in the Province of Cbekiang are reckoned feven or eight thoufand; in Koang $\sqrt{2}$ they amount to about ten thouland; in Huquang there are fix or feven thoufand ; in Canton about ten thoufand; in Fokien about five thoufand; and in Xien $f$ about three thoufand. The whole Number of Chrittians throughout the whole Empire being computed to amount to two hundred thoufand. But the Number of Shepherds which carefully watch this Flock, and fedulounly endeavour the Converfion of others, is not above fixty.
3. The prodigious Wall which covers this Empire, is called by the Cbinefe in their own Language, Vauli Tcham Tcbim, and was built fome Centuries before Chrift's time by the Cbinefe Emperor, Cbien Cbu Voang, in order to prevent the Incurfions of the Weftern Tartars: For which End it is extended from the Leaotungion, or oriental Sea, far beyond the Middle of Xienfo, and includes the Provinces of Peking, Xanjf, and almoft all the Country of Xienfi: Its Length is computed directly as a right Line at above 650 French Miles, but reckoned as a Curve Line amounts to one thoufand: Whence its Cbinefe Name was derived, which imports a thoufand Miles: It is full eight Ells thick, and fix high. It is not a little furprizing to fee this bulky Wall in a Manner skip over the moft terrible and fteep Hills, and to obferve three or four lofty Towers or Forts within the Compafs of every Mile, as well as its having run through fo many Ages, and its being in fuch good Cafe at prefent, which is owing to conftant Surveys, and timely Repairs. The two principal Rivers in this Empire are, the Yellow River, in Cbinefe called Hoang Jo, and Yangzu Kiang, that is the Son of the Sea, fo called on Account of its vaft Depth and grear Breadth, it being full two Miles wide: It is alfo called the Nankingfan River, becaufe it runs through the Province, and clofe by the City of that Name. This laft River is navigable throughout the whole Empire; feveral fmall Lakes as well as feveral Rivulets fall into it, which rife in the Provinces Kiang $h$, Huquang, 2uangr, Quoantung; Cbekiong, Sucbuen and Honan; and there are befides, Paffages cut and rendred navigable from this to the other principal River. The Courfe of the Yellow. River is extended to a very great Length, and runs through feveral Countries, it is alfo very deep, broad in fome Places and narrow in others: It rifes out of the Lake
in the Weftern Quarter of Tartary, and runs through the Provinces of Xanfi, Xienf, Honan and Nenking, where at laft it falls into the Sea. This River is fcarce navigable by Reafon of its prodigious Rapidity, and the vaft Floods which frequently defcend into it from Tartary and the Northern Parts, (through which it runs; ) and fometimes prove very mifchievous to both Men and Cattle, by carrying away Houres, Hutts, Fields and whatever is upon them, and at other Times fweeping away whole Villages and Cities.
Befides thefe two Principal there are other Rivers, as Zbientangkiang which is very broad, but not comparable to the two former in Length or Depth; running only through the Province of Cbekiang, and then falling into the Sea. The remaining Rivers, though fome of them are large, are much lefs confiderable than thefe which have been defcribed.
Befides the natural Streams or Rivers, here are feveral artificial large navigable Channels; moft of the Provinces are provided with one of thefe broad Channels of long Extent, for a Conveyance from one Province or River to another : They are commonly cut in a direct Line, paved with flat Stones, and adorned with beautiful lofty Stone Bridges, the Arches of which afford a very fine and regular Profpect. Some are of Opinion that the Yellow River was cut by human Induftry, above three thoufand Years paft, by Order of the Emperor Fuvoang: And to ftrengthen their, Affertion, they add, that the Land whereabouts it rifes was overflowed by a vait Inundation of Water, and that the Emperor, in order to draw it off, caufed a very wide and very long Channel to be dug, which making Way for this Deluge, it broke through, and difcharged ittilf with fuch Force into thefe arrificial Channels, that it compofed the Yellow River. But this meets with a very cool or rather no Credit; it not being poffible for the Flux of Waters occafioned by fuch an Inundation perpetually to fupply a River, whofe Length is above fix hundred Miles, and the Current of which is fo ftrong, befides its vaft Depth and Breadth.
There are navigable large and convenient Canals to all Places of the Empire, except only in the Provinces of Sucbuen, Queicbue, Xanfi and Xienf.
In Cbina the Quantity of Ships is innumerable as the Sand of the Sea: Thole which carry Corn only to $P e=$ king amounting to 9999 large Ships, fufficient to carry above thirty or forty thoufand Weight : And their Paffage from Nanking to Peking, being feven or eight hundred Italian Miles, moftly through artificial Channels, take up full fix Months time. Befides thefe, there is an equal Number of Ships made ufe of to carry Silk, Stuffs and other Goods thither ; fo that they are prodigiounly numerous, befides the Ships which belong to parcicular Merchants: So that it is not only feafible to ftep from Ship to Ship as on a Water-Key, from Nanking to Pering, but as the Jefuits expreffing their incredible Number fay, if it were but practicable in orher Refpects, here are Ships enough to make a Bridge from Cbina to Europe.
" The fame Number of Nine thoufand nine hundred "s ninety nine being before-mentioned, we will explain
" both Paffages here: Le Comte faith that the Barges
" from eighty to an hundred Tuns burthen, make this
"Voyage once in a Year ; but in another Place he tells
"us, That 9999 are always kept in •a Readinefs; to
"which he adds, fo runs the common Report of the
"People, by Reafon that fuch a Sort of Expreffion in
"their Language imports a much larger and indefinite
"\% Number, which may fairly be conftrued ten thou-
" fand.
"The fame Le Comte calls it a watry Road, deftined
"f for the Tranfportation of Grain and Stuffs from the
"Southern Provinces to Peking. The Number of Ships
" (faith he) is fo large, that whenever one fees that nu-
" merous Fleet pafs by, one would be apt to fay, they
"were laden with all the Tribute and Treafures of
" the Eaft, and of all their Monarchs, and that one of
"their Returns would furnifh fufficient Stores of Pro"活ion to fupply all Tartary for many Years." Befides thefe fmaller Veffels, there are at Nanking, and
alfo feveral other Havens of the Empire, Ships which are twice as large as thefe, being of feventy or eighty thoufand Weight Burthen; and thefe ferve to carry Sale to every Port in the whole Country. There are alfo Abundance of magnificent Barks or Ships which belong to the Mandaryns, Governors, and others of the Nobility, which are provided with f pacious Halls and Apariments, very richly furnifhed, as alfo with Galleries, Rails, Windows and Doors, for Convenience and Pleafure; they are befides finely gilt, lacquered, and beautifully painted with the fineft Colours. There are likewife feveral Pleafure-Boats, made Ufe of by the Cbinefe only for Diverfion and Merry making; thefe are alfo provided with Chambers and Apartments which are finely painted, lacquered and gilt both within and without ; fo that indeed they deferve rather to be efteemed Floating. Houfes than Ships: Befides all which, all Parts are abundantly provided with all Sorts of neceffary Barks or Boats for Travellers : For there is fcarce a City whether large or fmall, to which there is not a Paffage by Water. And what is yet more, here are a Sori of driving Floats, on which whole Familes live, by keeping Ducks, or following fome other Trade : So that indeed, when one fees fluch various Sorts of Craft in one Vehicle, they feem ftrongly to refemble a foating
City, in which the Veffels run together like Ants.
4. There are in Cbina feven or eight famous Lakes or fmall ftanding Seas; three of which are the largeft and moft celebrated.
The firft called Tungtingbu is in the Province of $H_{u-}$ quang, and is four hundred Miles in Circuit.

The fecond is in the Province of Nanking, not far from Sucbeu, and is alfo about four hundred Miles in Circuit : This Sea is befides very deep, and hath in the Middle of it an Inand called Tbaibu, which is about feven or eight Miles in Compafs and very mountainous.
The third is in the Province of Kiang $/$ /, its Circumference is about three, hundred Miles. Thefe Lakes, by Reafon of their towering hollow Waves and Roughnefs, appear to the Sight like the boifterous Ocean. The other Meers are in Nanking, and are abous two or three hundred Miles in Circuit. We are told prodigious Stories concerning fome Lakes in Cbina, viz. That the Waters of that in the Province of Canton, annually exchange their Colour; that there is a Lake of green Water in Fokien, which tranfmutes Iron to Copper ; that there is alfo a Palace on the Shore of another and not very diftant Lake, where a Ringing of Bells is always heard againft ill Weather; and feveral other like Reports are fpread, the Truth of which we entirely leave to the experimental Examination of others, having had none ourfelves.
There are great Numbers of fine built Stone Bridges in Cbina, which are fupported by Stone Arches: Two of thefe Bridges are the moft confiderable and extraordinary, being built over an Arm of the Sea : One of them is called Loiang, and the other Fungiang; and each of them is above an Hour's Journey, or a French Mile long. The firft contains nineteen Arches, of fuch an extraordinary Height, that large Ships may fail under them with their Mafts up. Each of thefe Arches is fhut by two Stones, each twenty Ells long, above two broad, and three thick. The Jefuits, and other Europeans, who have feen and been upon them, are aftonifhed at the Sight of them ; nor can they comprehend what Inftruments could be ufed to raife fuch great, heavy and long Pieces, all which are of folid white Marble, to fuch an extraordinary Height. The fecond Bridge, though not fo high, is as broad and as long.
There is alfo a third extraordinary Bridge in the Province of Quanton, not far from the City of Cbaocen; but this is carried over Land from one Mountain to another, and is ás long as the former. And throughout the whole Empire there are feveral of thefe Stone Bridges, which though not fo furprizing as thofe already mentioned, are yet very elegantly and artificially built ; and are every where carried a-crofs the Channels for the Travellers Convenience, that he may come to all Villages and Towns by a ftreight Road and without going a great Way about.

In watry or moraffy Places there are alfo high Banks or Caufeways raifed, to ferve inftead of Roads, and when any Hills or Mountains obftruet there Roads, no Coft or Labour is fpared to level, cut through, or render them paffable. The Road from Siquan Fu to Hamtcheou is cut through a Mountain, which was very rocky and fteep, and propped up with large Pieces of Timber, fo that betwixt the Air and the Mountain, it looks like a pendant Gallery of Clouds, and appears very difmal to thofe who are not ufed to travel it: But they have bred and fo accuftomed their Mules to fuch Sort of Roads, that they will climb up the moft rough, fatiguing and almoft inacceffible Ways, as eafily as if they were in ever fo ealy and good Roads.

On the high Ways, at the Diftance of every balf Hour's Journey, are a Sort of arched Gates about ten Ells high, on which, for the Direction of Travellers, are written in large Letters, the Diftance of one Place from another, and an Account to what City, Town or Village that Way tends. In all Parts of Cbina there are great Numbers of Marble Triumphal Arches, commonly containing three arched Doors, the largeft of which is in the Middle, and the Sides are adorned with great Lions and other Sorts of Imagery ; the Gates are every where beautified with very fine carved Images, Trees, and Foliages; and their Number in fome Cities mounts fo high, that the Streets are rather incumber'd than adorned with them.

Cbina hath alfo very good Havens. That of Nanking, into which the Nankingion River falls, is much celebrated on Account of its Dipth, Breadth, and the prodigious Quantities of Goods which pafs from thence to the City of that Name, and higher up to Peking, and all over Cbina, but do not pals fo clofe by the City, fince the famous Robber before-mentioned befieged, and had taken that City, if he had not been hindred by his own Negligence and Luxury.

The Haven of Quantung or Canton, on the Ocean, which wafheth this Province Southwards. Before the Entrance of the City of Canton are a great . many fmall Inands, the moft confiderable of which is Macao, which hath a very grood Haven, and is very famous for the great Commerce of the Portuguefe formerly there, by reaion of its Neighbourhood to Canton, to which great Ships could eafily come, and where all Sorts of Merchandize and Provifions are very plentiful.

Fokien is alfo provided with a very fine Haven, in which any Ships may faftly ride, and come almof clofe to the Shore, the Sea being very deep, and the Harbour bounded on the orher Side by the Mand Emoni; and a very great Trade is driven here with Foreigners.

The Haven of Nimpo or Ningno, in the Province of Cbekiany, is famed for the great Trade which is there driven with the japonefe, becaufe from thence it is but a Thort Voyage to Japan ; but no very large Ship can well come in there by reafon of Shallows and fmall Rocks, which render the Paffage very difficult.
In the Province of Zantung, joining to Cbekiang, where it runs out Eaftward on the great Ocean, there is alfo an indifferent good Haven and Trade with the Inhabitants of Corea and Yapan; but neither the one nor the other are fo large and confiderable as the Harbour and Commerce at Nimpo, though that Province is very well watered; there being there, as well as in almoft all Parts of Cbina, very convenient navigable Channels, provided with Sluices aud Locks; without which, the Ground not being every where level, and the Water rending downwards, and all thefe Channels dug, they would foon be dry; which Neceffity put them upon inventing thofe Sort of Waterfalls to let the Water through intermitting Pieces of Land, and keep it at an equal Height, and to wind or pull over them the Boats, Barges; $\xi^{\circ} c$. by the Help of Ropes and Windleffes.
5. The Cbinefe are perfectly well inftructed and trained up in the Principles of their Religion from their Youth. The Parents fend their Children to School at the Age of feven or eight Years, to learn Reading, Writing, and good Manners, that is, Rules which teach them to pay the fubordinate Refpect and Obedience due to their

Parents and Superiors. They begin their Studies and Exercifes with the Inftructions and Rudiments of their famous Inftructor in Wifdom, Policy, and good Manners, King or Confucius, called in Cbinefe, King fu, and highly reverenced amongt them. Thefe firlt Principles, as we have already hinted, confift chiefly in directing them to obey and love their Parents, to refpect and honour thofe older than themfelves, to live honeftly and virtuoully, to do no Perfon any Wrong, or what they would not have done to themfelves, to give every Perfon his Due, and fuffer him to keep it. All there Leffons are comprized in Five Books, which in their tender Years they are obliged to learn by Heart. After which they diligently learn the Arts of Writing, Arithmetick, and. Oratory; in which having made proper Advances, they are queftioned and ftrictly examined in what they pretend to have ftudied; and then being adjudged capable, they by Degrees become Bachellors, Mafters, and Doctors of their higheft Knowledge, and are alfo raifed not only to that of Mandaryns, but the more elevated Dignities of the Empire, in Proportion to their Worth, Learning, and Capacity to ferve the Publick, either in the Government of Provinces and People, on the Bench as Judges, or in the Exercife of feveral Political and Civil Offices entrufted to them:
This learned and venerable Confucius lived feveral hundred Years before the Birth of Cbrift, was born in the Province of Xantung, as is hinted before in the Defcription of it, and died, according to fome, in the Seventy-third, or according to others, in the Sixtythird Year of his Age. His Memory is very highly honoured by all intelligent and- learned Men. In all Cities and Villages honorary Temples are erected in Remembrance of him ; though his Image is not placed in the interior Part of them. His Virtue and honeft Principles are very famous, his Precepts are reverenced like the Word of God, though he. is acknowledged to have been but a Man, a Lawgiver and Preceptor ; in Honour of whofe Memory, the Cbinefe have erected a Pyramid, not of Stone, but in their Hearts, and they annually difcover Signs of Gratitude and Acknowledgement. Some of his Defcendants are at prefent living in Cbina, who are by Donative endowed with the perpetual Inheritance of a City, with all its Incomes, Rights, and Lordfhips; and for the more auguft Prefervation of his Memory, their Right of Exemption from all Tolls and Taxes hath been, and is, inviolably obferved to this Day. He had feventy (others fay five hundred) Pupils, which enforced his Doetrine with the Teftimony which they bore in all Parts, that his Zeal was perfect, and nothing was to be added to the Pu rity of his moral Leffons: Befides which, they fometimes rather efteemed him as an Inftructor of the new Law, than a Man educated in the Corruption of Nature.
6. For above two thoufand Years paft, or, to full five hundred Years before Chrift's Birth, the Cbinefe have acknowledged the Lord of Heaven and Earth, abitract. ed from all Idols; which appears from their Hiftories, and the Books of the above-mentioned illuftrious Confucius, in which we read, Kiso xe cbi li foy fu xang tie: which imports, that our Duty obliges us to make Of: ferings to the Lord of Heaven and Earth ; almoft and only like the 7 eroibs Sacrifices of a Calf or Lamb to the Lord, in the Holy Scripture. Notwithfanding which, their Knowledge and Idea of God was not fo clear, but on the contrary much more obfcure and confufed than that of the Feres. Bur the primitive Knowledge of God declined rather than encreafed, and that more efpecially after $L i$ Laokim, a certain Philofopher, and one of Confucius's Difciples, appeared in the World: He indeed wrote fome good Books, but withal taught, that the Supreme Deity was corporeal, and gom verned the other Deities as a King doth his Subjects, and that Man might be immortal: It was then that Idolatry, crept in under the Shew of good Manners, and corrupted the Minds of Men, and Conjuring, and other Diabolical Arts, came into Requeft, in order to prevent Death. Temples were built to the Honour of II $Q$

Li Laokim, and as much was confecrated to his Memory as to that of a Deity, though he died; and every Man, by Covenants with Satan and other devilifh Practices, was earneftly bent in Queft of that Immortality which their great Mafter could not find. Time ftrengthened the falfe Doctrine, and increafed the Number of its Teachers, who by their feducing Practices, drawing of Lots, and other Frauds, have even to this Day wonderfully poffeffed the Hearts of the Yopulace; who being mifled to, and ftrengthened in that Opinion, continually fearched for that on Earth, which is not there to be found.

The Cbinefe alfo relate, that long after that Time, an Emperor named Fanvang, dreamed, or was informed by Revelation, that there was a Saint in the Weft, whofe Religion we ought to embrace ; and this without wrefting may be underfood to be fpoke of CHRIST and his Doctrine. They alfo relate, that this Emperor difpatched a Perfon thither, in order to bring this Doctrine to Cbina; but the Envoy miftaking his Way, fell into the South Country, where he met with the Bramins, (a Sort of Idolatrous Prietts, which worfhip the Image of one of their Kings) and having declared the Reafon of his Coming, he was fo well entertained by thefe diabolical Engines, that they at once prefented him with an Image, and with the Syftem of their hellifh Doctrine, both which he brought to Cbina, and to which they at prefent cleave, that Idolatry being firmly retained, and numerous Temples every where erected to that Idol, infomuch that the Number of thefe wicked Priefts is infinite. They are called Bonzi's, and pretend to abftain from Flefh and Marrying ; but Experience convinces us of the contrary, and that they facrifice to their Lufts in private; fo that now they are not very much reverenced even by the Cbineje themfelves, though they have ever fince that Time worfhipped that Deity, and the Images reprefenting him.
" $L e$ Comte calls this Emperor Minti, and tells this "Story thus: That Confucius frequently faid, That the ${ }^{\text {s }}$ true holy One was to be found in the Weft; that * this his Affertion was continually in the Mouths of " the Learned; and that the Emperor Minti being ss difturbed at thefe Reports, and excited by the Image st of a Man coming out of the Weft, and appearing "s to him in his Sleep, difpatched Ambaffadors to the «6 Weit, with Orders to travel that Way till they found "t this Saint, which Heaven had revealed to him about " fixty-five Years after the Birth of our Lord: That "i thefe Ambaffadors were forced, by the Danger of © the Sea, to remain on a certain Ifland; and that " they found there the Idol Fo or Foe, which had per" verted India feveral Years before with his diabolical * Doctrine: That thefe Minifters caufed themfelves to si be perfectly inftructed in the Superftitions of that " Country, and carried them back with them to the st Emperor and his Subjects; and that through thofe "Means, and from that Time, this impious Doctrine "i was fpread throughout the Kingdom."

Anciently they worfhipped the Images of feveral illuftrious Men, as in treating of the Province of $\operatorname{Xanf}$, Mention is made of a valiant and potent Hero, which fprung out of that Country, whom they honour and pray to as a Demy-God, which revives their Courage and excites their Magnanimity; and the Tartar themfelves, at prefent Mafters of Cbina, likewife offer up their devout Oraifons to it; though indeed this is no Point of their Religion, Faith or Doetrine: But the Idolatrous Worfhip and Religion of the Bonzi's is fpread over all Eaft-India, through the Kingdoms of Pegu, Laos, Siam, Cocbincbina, Fapan, and al! over Tartary.
7. Several of the moft learned Perfons amongtt the Cbinefe are Atheints, who believe neither God nor Devil, deny a future State, and in Raillery ask, who hath ever feen or been either in Heaven or Hell? Or once came out of either of them? And boldly tell us they are meer idle and brainlefs Imaginations. But the Inage-wormippers believe a Heaven and a Hell; that the ancient, virtuous, and happy Dead are great Spirits or Souls in Heaven; that placed there as fuperlu-
nary Princes, they tender and do good Offices to Mankind: whilft themfelves abound in Riches and Profperity, and perpetually divert and entertain themfelves with the fineft Wines, and all Manner of Delicacies. That on the contrary, the Souls of wicked and impious Men either go to Hell, or tranfmigrate into other Animals, which are either better or worle, in Proportion to their Merit. So that at prefent the Pagan, Mabomes tan and Chriftian Religions prevail in Cibina.

I ought not to omit that in Paganifm, the firf of thefe, the Reafon of State or Policy is the fupream and prevalent Deity in Cbina, to which all Principles and Practices are adapted : And whatever does not fall in with the political Intereft is condemned as downright Sin, and confequently not to be tolerated. The Cbinefe are utter Enemies to Novelty, and are ftrangely fond of all ancient Cuftoms, folely on Account of their Antiquity; and abfolutely reject, or ar leaft are hardly prevailed with to allow any modern Ufage : This Fondnefs for Antiquity prevails not only in Temporals, in which they dare not prefume to alter any Cuftom without the Emperor's fpecial Command: But more particularly in Spirituals, though it really fhould be, and they themfelves were convinced it was for the better. Hence it is that they reject the Cbriftion Religion, becaufe in Proportion to the Antiquity of their Empire it is too recent, and hath too lately appeared in the World, as though Antiquity alone were fufficient to triumph over Truth, and it were a Crime to hinder the perpetuating of thofe flupid Errors which could only pretend to have prevailed for numerous Ages.
"It is a fundamental Axiom in the Cbinefe Policy, "faith Gobien, That the Prince is primarily obliged to " preferve Peace, Repofe, Plenty and Eafe; for which " the Subjects thould acknowledge their Obligations to " him, and he caufe them to be inftructed that they are s indebted for all this to him. For all Attempts to " keep the Subjects within the Bounds of their Duty "s would be vain, without the effectual Performance of "s the primary Condition of Obedience: Since the Laws "s themfelves would be but a weak Bulwark, if oppofed " to the Force of Arms: And all Inftructions would "s make but fimall Impreffions on the Minds of a Peo" " ple, that are hurried on to difprove them by Want " and Mifery. And be tells us elferobere, That the true " Foundation of the Authority of the OEconomical and "s State Government confifts, with Regard to Families, in " the due Obedience and Refpect to Parents and to " Mafters ; with Refpeft to Government, that the Sub" jects be faithful to the Prince, and that he be tender " of his People: A prudent Conduct, the Love of our " Neighbours, Virtue and Juflice are its Effentials; an " exact Obfervation of mutual Civilities helps to fill up " the Meafure: But the favoury Laws of a good Go" vernment afford Means for compleating the whole."
8. There are befides feveral other Sects of Religion in Cbina; for fome of them believe that there is a fupreme, eternal and omnipotent Spirit, which governs and directs all Things: This Being they acknowledge for the Lord of Heaven and Earth: And before Idolatry prevail'd, they worfhipped him under the Name of Cbamti or the Lord of Heaven : But fince the Sowing of that profligate Seed, this Opinion obtains only amongft a a few, but thofe indeed are moft of them great Men: The Emperor himfelf is faid to efpoufe this old Sentiment; and it is not improbable, that it is owing to this, this he is not averfe, but rather inclined to the Cbrifian Religion and Doctrine, and probably would not reject, but eafily be induced to embrace it, if not reftrained by political Reafons, and a Fear of creating thereby Tumults and Infurrections in his Empire.

There are others alfo who acknowledge Nature to be the fole Deity; underftanding thereby the Force or Power and natural Operation, which being the efficient Caufe of Motion and Reft, produces, maintains and preferves all Things: They look on Dame Nature as the Fountain of all and every particular Being: And that fhe is able to appoint and to alter the Order of all Things: They take her to be the one Soul which univerfally informs Matter, by Virtue of which the pro-

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the Empire of CHINA.
duces all Things; thus attributing to Nature, almoft all that the Ancients afcribed to Heaven, or we acknowledge in the Deity: They call her a Principle independent of all others ; feparating her from the Imperfections and Deficiencies of all corporeal and fenfible Matter. Thofe who encline to this Sect believe, that the World had a Beginning, and fhall have an End: But fhall afterwards begin and end again as before, and fo perpetually and interchangeably renew and perifh. And according to their Opinion numerous Woilds have already exitted, and thofe after this to an infinite Number fhall fucceffively make Room for one another.

Though thefe Hypothefes and Opinions concerning Nature are but groundlefs Imaginations, yet the moft learned Cbinefe are very fond of them, as affording Matter for feveral Speculations no. Way difagreeeble, which may tend to the Improvement of their Intellectuals.
9. We have already mentioned the Bramins and Bonzi's in this Chapter; they are not very different from the Lama's, (which are Tartarian Priefts) in any Particulars befides the external yellow Cloathing, and fome peculiar fupertitious Ceremonies: Both worthip the fame God Fo; their religious Worfhip, Opinions and Faich is very near the fame: However the Lama's in Cbina are only Tartarion Priefts, but in Tartary they act the Part of the Lama, God or Gods of the People : It is there that $F 0$ has his Throne, it is there he appears in the Shape of an immortal rational Animal, whofe Place at leaft is perpetually fupplied by a living Creature; for as foon as one Man dies, another like him is fubfituted in the divine Throne in the Temple, in order to keep up and promote the ridiculous Opinion of the Immortality of this God. To this Purpofe he is honoured with religious Worfhip by great Crouds of Lama's, whofe Number is fo large, and the Efteem of this Doctrine (though not for the Priefts of it) is fo imprinted on the Minds of the People of all Tartary and Cbina, that it is thought to withhold the Emperor himfelf from difcovering any farther Inclinations to favour the Chriftian Religion for Fear of a Revolt.

We have already fpoken concerning the Chriftians, the Time of their firft beginning to fettle here, their planting of the Faith, the bitter Afflictions they have fuffered, and in what State Chriftianity ftands at prefent. It now only remains that we fay fomething of the Mabometans ; of whofe Principles and Practiles I fhall only obferve, That their Number is not very great in Cbina, though they are more numerous than the Cbriftians, as having inhabited that Country much longer, that is, above feven hundred Years longer in feveral Provinces of this Empire, where they were indulged with Liberty, which they neither did, nor do mifufe, by prefling others to embrace their Religion, or zealoufly aiming at the making of Converts; for they quiecly live together, and are moftly allied by Marriage, Intereft, or Converfation ; and, in fhort, live in a Sort of Covenant, like the fews in other Countries. But their Religion is very much fpread here fince their Original, and hath taken very deep Root, more ef pecially fince the free Trade with the Mufoovites, Tartars, Mogols, and other Nations. And as Weeds foon fprout up and grow apace, this pernicious Seed of impious Doctrine hath fo increafed, that the Sprouts of it are, as I have faid, much more numerous in Cbina than the Chriftians.
10. The Cbinefe in general are very well bred, and they are obferved to be very civil in Words and Actions; when they entertain any Perfon, though below then, they always give the Gueft the upper Hand, which in the Southern Provinces is efteemed the Right, but in the Northern is taken to be the Left. They alfo utterly differ from the Tartars in their Manner of Sitting; for the former fit down on the Earth, but the Cbinefe make ufe of Chairs and Stools. In Vifits, the Mafter of the Houfe, feeing his Gueft approach, goes out well drefs ${ }^{\circ} \mathrm{d}$ to meet him, and with his Head covered (uncovering the Head being a Salutation never ufed in Cbina) advances half Way of the outer Court before his Houfe, where he and the Vifitant meet, and exchange Compliments in the following Manner: The Guelt takes the Right

Hand of his Entertainer for left actording to the abovementioned Difference in the Northern or Southern Provinces) who confequently ftands on the ocher Hand; then they both very refpectfully bow very low three ot four Times, lifting up their Hands and Arms, (which whilit they are going they fold in their wide Sleeves) in Sort of fately Manner, and afterwards as decently letring them fall; after which they fpeak to one another in a very civil and engaging Cisinefe Tone: This dones fometimes they change Places, he that was on the Righe taking the Left Hand, in order to repay the received Civilities. After which they enter the Houfe, where the vifited Perfon always takes the lower, and gives his Gueft the upper Hand. Being entred and fat down, a Difh of Tea, with a Piece of Sweatmeat in it is fet before each Perfon; he that fits at the upper Hand being firft ferved, and the reft fucceflively in Order. Before they fit down, even betwixt Perfons of equal Condition, feveral ceremoneous and engaging Contefts arife about the Refufal of the fuperior Place; the moft worthy and higheft efteemed Perfon is placed uppermoft, and he among thofe of equal Character is the oldeft ; but Strangers, and thofe who come from diftant Countries, are fet above all the reft.
The Ceremonies at Departure are almoft the fame with thofe at the Entrance. The Mafter of the Houfe, with feveral Bowings of Head and Budy, and moving the Hands, accompanies his Guefts, firft to the inner Door, then to the Middle of the outer Court, and laftly to the outermoft Gate, out of which he alfo goes; during all which Time the Vifitants are complimenting and thanking their Entertainer with the fame Refpect; after which, they either mount their Horfes, or get into their Chariots as they came ; then a Servant is fent after them. by the Mafter of the Houfe, to compli-ment and wifh them a good Journey in his Mafter's Name ; upon which they fend their Servants back to the Entertainer, to thank him for his laf Civility. The Ceremonies in paying and receiving of Vifits among fit great Officers or Perfons of Quality, mult not be done in their common Cloaths, but in Robes of State; and in Cafe the Vifitant fhould fail in this Parcicular, the Vifited would be apt to be difgufted at it, and not give him Entrance, at leaft before he had changed his own Drefs : And in like Manner, if the Mafter of the Houfe fhould attempt to receive his Gueft in a meaner Robe than he hath on, the other would not enter the Houfe. For which Reafon, Perfons of Condition always take Care to be provided with thefe vifiting Robes, and caufe them to be carried after them, in order to make ufe of them in Cafe of any fudden Accident; for even in chance Meetings, the Compliments are delayed if one of them have his Robe of State on, till the ocher can put on his. The Cbinefe abound in thefe and fuch like Grimaces and Gettures, which they reckon an Honour to their Nation, and fay that they are Signs of good Breeding, in which they excel orher Nations, as much as Men do Beats.

In Cafe of a Salutation or Vifit betwixt Perfons who have not for a long Time feen each other, they both fall on their Knees, and thrice bow fo low as that their Heads touch the Ground. And it is in the very fame Manner that even the meaner Sort welcome one another. This is likewife the Pofture of Servants fpeaking to their Mafters, and the Populace to the Mandaryns or high Officers: The like Bowings of the Head thrice fo low, as to touch the Ground, are alfo ufed in the worfhipping of their Idols.

I forgot to mention, that the Vifitant, always before he makes any Vifit, difpatches a Servant to the Perfon to be vifited, with a Piece of red Paper in his Hand, in which is written the Name of the Perfon his Mafter intends to vifit : With this he goes to the Houfe and delivers his Meffage; but if the Mafter of the Houfe be abroad, or engaged, he fill leaves that Paper in Difcharge of his Order, and returns with the Anfwer to his Mafter.
The Ceremonies obferved in Feafts and Entertainments are very great ; after the cuftomary Compliments of Salutation, each Perfon is placed according to
his Condition at a feparate Table, without either Napkin, Knife or Spoon, but is prefented with a Couple of long Ivory or Wooden Scures tipt with Gold or Silver, to affift him in the Conveyance of the Edibles, which are all. cut in Pieces, to his Mouth; and they are fo dextrous in the Ufe of thefe; that they can very fpeedily clear the Difh even to a fingle Corn of Rice. As I have already hinted, they make ufe of fine Chairs, Stools, or Benches, quite different from the Tartars, who, equally void of Civility and Manners, clap down on the Earch, without any other Gefticulations than what they now obferve in the Cbinefe, and begin io learn from the very Alphabet to the Book of Manners. The Cbinefe have alfo very fine Beds and Couches; but the Tartars, on the other Side, having neither the one to lie, nor the other to reft themfelves on, make ufe of a Board or Plank laid flat on the Earth, The firf Difh is commonly fome Sort of Hafh, and a Glafs or Cup of Wine, which yet is not fo much as tatted before the Mafter of the Houfe leads the Way; which is followed by the Servants crowding in Difhes and Wine, none of which are taken away, but piled up pyramidically, to the Number of twenty or twenty four, or more. Each Perfon drinks out of his own Cup, and is fure to follow his Leader; and though the Wine may be very briskly and continually put about, there is no Danger of intoxicating very foon, fo fmall a Quantity being filled into the Cups, and the Wine ittelf not being very ftrong. A ferious Gravity is always obferved at Meals, the Cbinefe difliking all immoderate Laughter. After, and fometimes allo during their Meals, feveral Tumblers, and fuch like, fhew their Agility of Body, feveral Farces are acted, and other Diverfions added: Befides which, they alfo play amongft themfelves, and he that lofes is obliged to drink, and is but within the Compars of good Manners rallied by the Company.
11. Marriages in Cbina are very fplendidly celebrated, and accompanied with Plays and Diverfions during feveral Days. As for the Preliminaries to Marriage, the young Perfons who intend to enter into that Eftate, have not the Opportunity by converfing together to found one another's Inclinations; for they are never permitted to come together, but the whole is managed by their Parents, who frequently promife their Children long before they come to be married, regarding Nothing fo much as that their Years agree, or at leaft be not very difproportionate : And though their Sons and Daughters happen to be advanced in Years, yet they make the Matches without fo much as the Confent of the Perfons to be married. But there is yet a great Difference on this Head, betwixt the Conduct of People of Quality, Midling Perfons, and thofe of the loweft Condition. Amonglt Perfons of the firft Quality, no Marriages are concluded without the Emperor's Confent, great Care being taken that young People are always matched to Perions of equal Defcent. Thofe alfo of a lower Degree are defirous of allying with and marrying into as good Families as their own ; but their Concubines they either take or buy from their mean Parents, and this to an unlimited Number. The lawful Wife is only honour'd as Mother or Miftrefs of the Family, and refpected and attended by all the reft as Chambermaids; and on her Death the Concubines Children are obliged to a three Years Mourning, which they are not obliged to for their own Mothers. The Children of the loweft Rank of People are in like Manner married by their Parents, and the Girls are in a Manner fold; for it is the Husband which gives the Portion, and the Bride hath only a few Trifles, though when the is led to the Bridegroom's Houfe, fhe feems to bring a large Share of Houfhold Furniture along with her; but all of it is bought before by the Bridegroom; befides which, he gives the Parents a Sum of Money in Proportion to their Character, for their Daughter, whence he is or may be faid to buy his Wife. If a Nobleman or Perfon of Quality dies, the Widow muft not marry again; but this perpetual Widowhood is not fo much regarded by Perfons of meaner Condition, though even amongtt them, the Widows, which yield to a fecond Marriage, thereby lofe, or at leaft leffen, their

Reputations. Though ceremonious good Manners and the Authority of the Parents run fo high amongft the Cbinefe, the Children will not yet endure a Father-inLaw, or pay him any other than fuperficial Obedience; wherefore almoft all the Widows end their Days in that State. The mature Years for Marriage are twenty, or two and twenty for the young Men, and eighteen or twenty for the young Women.
The Cbinefe Wives utterly feclude themfelves from the Sight of all Men befides their Husbands, not allowing themfelves to be feen even by their Father-in-law, their Husband's Brother, or any of the Male Sex, their Husband's youngeft Brother only excepted, and that in the Time of his Childhood only: But all her own Male Relations are abfolutely excluded from all Sight of or Accefs to her. Nor do the Cbinefe Women ever appear in the Streets throughout the whole Empire, except in Peking, the Metropolis, where they are carried whither they pleafe in cover'd Coaches or Sedans, as we have before obferved.
12. The Piety which the Cbinefe exprefs towards their Parents is incredible; which yet on no Occafioll fhines brighter than at or after their Deceafe. The Mourning and Funeral Solemnities are very numerous; which confift in the lamenting, keeping the Corps above Ground, burying, and what is afterwards done in Remembrance of them. When they put themfelves into Mourning, they differ from other Nations who make Ure of black, and wear all white Cloaths ; in which Drefs they keep a long Time for any of their Relations; and for a Father or Mother they mourn thus three Years. A Wife alfo continues in Mourning as long for her Husband. But the Husband does not hold it above a Year on Account of his Wife's Death; which is the Term commonly obferved by a Brother or Nephew for their refpective Brothers or Uncles. Children for at lealt one hundred Days after the Death of their Father or Mother, are obliged to avoid lying on any Bed, but repofe themfelves on the Earch, and daily celebrate their Remembrance in Tears; befides all which, they are obliged for three Years to avoid all matrimonial Converfation with their Wives; and if any of them fhould happen to be pregnant in that Time, they are liable to be punifhed. They fequefter themfelves from Treats, Nuptials, and other Entertainments; they confine themfelves to their Houfes, without ever firring abroad, and lay down their Offices for above a Year, and fome for three Years. Whenever they are abfolutely obliged to go Abroad, they caufe themfelves to be carried in Coaches or Chariots covered all over with clofe Mourning to the intended Place.

Their Obfequies are not much different from their Converfations, with Refpect to Ceremonies: What firf appears in the Funeral Parade, is the Reprefentation or Figures of Men, Women, Lyons, and other Animals painted on Paper; which are carried in State; the Bearers of thefe are followed by feveral Incenfe-Carriers, next which comes the Bier and Coffin born by feveral Men, and is followed by the Sons, and all other Relations and invited Guefts: The Sons are dreft all in white, and carry Wands in their Hands; next which come the Women in cover'd Chariots or Chairs, hung with Mourning fo clofe, that no Perfon can fee them. The Graves or Tombs are all without the City, fome of them are magnificently adorned with Marble, like a Palace, enclofed on the Outfide, and planted with feveral Trees in the Way to the particular Burying-place: To which being come, the Corps, enclofed in a Coffin of contly Wood, after the Paper Figures and Images are burned, is laid in the Tomb, and upon it are placed fome Stone Figures, and an Infcription in Praife of the Deceafed. And at certain Set-times of the Year the Cbinefe vifit thefe Tombs, offering there Meat and Drink, Tears and Lamentations, in Remembrance of the Dead.
"There are, fay the Jefuits, three Seafons when the "Dead are honoured in different Manners in Cbina : "Firit, before the Interment, when the Corps are ex"pofed to View, or laid in State, together with a "- wooden Image with the Name of the Deceafed, which
${ }^{66}$ is placed upon a Table, with burning Candles and ss Perfumes about it: They falute and honour the Corps
"6 by Kneeling and Proftrations, according to the Cuf${ }^{6}$ tom of the Country. The fecond Seafon is obferved
sc from fix to fix Months, in a particular Chamber of
${ }^{6}$ s the Houfe called their Anceftors Apartment, in which ${ }^{6} 6$ every Spring and Autumn all the richeft Delicacies "c that could be prepared for a Prince, are ferved up
s in Remembrance of the Dead. The third folemn
"Time happens but once each Year, and is obferved
s6 at the Tombs; all of which being without the City,
*6 they vifit them about May, when they pluck up Grafs
"t and green Herbs out of the Earth, exprefs by Several
si Tokens of Lamentations their Eiteem for the Dead, "s and then having fet their Victuals and Wine on the " Grave, renew their Mourning Feaft."

The Cbinefe obferve feveral Feltivals, but none more ceremoniounly than that of the New-Year. This Day or Days, for it lafts three Days, are by Perfons of all Ranks, pafs'd in very fplendid Mirth and Jollity; they then drefs themfelves as fine as poffible, vifit, and make Prefents to each other : There is no End of Plays, Entertainments, and other Diverfions, and all are then equally rich and happy. Bufinefs is at a Stand, the Pofts and Meffengers ceafe, all civil and criminal Courts are fhut up, and according to their common Phrafe, the Seal fhut, as indeed it is enclofed in a Cheit: And this Seal is of fuch Force, and the Judge fo far obliged to regard it, that though his Prince fully, fatisfied of his Sufficiency fhould fign his Commiffion, yet he would not dare to act till he had found the Seal, if once loft.
13. The Lantern Feaft obferved on the following full Moon (for the new Moon begins with the Year) is not lefs famous; nor is there one Houfe in all Cbina which is not illuminated at that Time; the Lanterns (fome of which are fo very large as to admit of Theatrical Reprefentations within them, acted by living Perfons inftead of Fuppets) are fo filled with Lights, and fo numerous and clole to each other, that the Cities and Towns feem to be in a perfect Flame; nor are Fireworks and Gunpowder fpared to add Flame to Flame: The Clangor and thundering Noife of fmall and great Shot, mixed with the loud Acclamations, Singing, Roaring and Hollowing of the raving Populace, look as if the whole World rejoiced at that Time.

There are alfo Feftivals obferved in Spring and Alltumn, in Commemoration of the fo much celebrated Confucius: The Ceremonies of which confift in Kneeling before a Board erected on a Table, with this Philolopher's Namie, encompaffed with beautiful Leaf-work, written on it. Kneeling before this Infcription, they. nine Times proftrate themfelves fo low till their Heads touch the Earth, and ferve up Wine, Victuals, Fruit, E'c. much in the fame Manner as is above related, that the genteeler Sort and rich People commemorate their Parents and deceafed Friends with Mourning Feafts. Anciently this Philoopher's Image was honoured in this Manner : But the Emperors' finding the People fall off to Idolatry, and that they either actually did, or probably would, pray to and adore him as a God, they, ordered thefe Sort of Boards, with the bare Infcription of his Name, to be placed in all the Schools and Colleges, inftead of his Image : And the fhewing of this commemọrating Refpect hath occafioned feveral warm Conrefts betwixt the Fefuits and Dominicans ; the latter charging this Practice with downright Idolatry, whillt the other urge in their Defence, that it is barely the Cuftom of the Country, and a civil' Ceremony paid to the Memory of every dead Perfon; and not only that, but the fame is given to the living Mandaryns of the Empire in common Vifits and Ceremonies.

The Cbinefe always obferve and pals their Birth day in Diverfions; and als happy Wifhes of numerous Years added to that, Panegyricks, or whatever elfe can contribute to Pleafure, are not fared on the one Side, to grateful Acknowledgements due to fuch Compliments on this happy Day are not wanting on the other. In thort, this Day is wholly fequeftred to civil Entertainments, "Ec and ends" with good Wifhes.
14. The Northern Provinces of Cbina do not produce the Fruits which grow in India, but the Southern yield them in the greatelt Abundance. The common ars boriferous or Orchard Fruits are, Apples, Pears, Peaches, Plumbs of all Sorts, Grapes, Olives, and feveral Sorts of Figs, viz. the Cbinefe, Indian, and European; the Cbinefe are as large as Apples ; the Skin is foft and fmooth; they are varioully fhaped, fimall or large, round or oval. If they are dried in the Sun, they may be kept a long Time good; their Stem is rough and ftrong. The Indian Fig being perfectly ripe, when the Skin is taken off is longifh, foft, and of a fiveet Tafte, though there are indeed varions Species of them, and what they grow on cannot be properly called a Tree, but rather a Sort of overgrown Shrub or Plant, not unlike Box, the Sprouts of which are covered with a thin Film, not much different from the Skin of an Onion; the Leaves are extraordinary long and broad; the Trunk bears its Fruit, which hangs by a fingle Tendril ; its Bloffom is a Liver-colour${ }^{2} \mathrm{~d}$ Flower, of which it is oblervable, that whenever it appears, like the $\mathrm{In}_{\mathrm{n}}$ faint from the Womb, it burfts and forces its Way from its proper Root; whenever the Fruit is pluck'd, this Plant dies, but is fucceeded by frefh Sprouts which fhoot from its Root: It is found to grow in the South Parts of Cbina only, but in all Parts of India it abounds. Thefe Southern Provinces alfo produce great Quantities of Oranges, fufficiently known in Europe, and diftinguifhed by the Name of Cbina-Oranges.
"The Portuguefe brought this delicious Fruit into "Europe. And the very firtt Orange-Tree from whence
" all the reft Sprung, we are told, is yet in Being in " the Earl of St. Laurence's Garden at Lisbon.

The Licia, a charming Fruit, alfo grows there; it is red and contained in or fenced with a Marp or prickly Shell; the Kernel is of a bright white Colour, very fweet, warm, and fo perfectly agreeable, that it furpaffes all other Fruit, not only in Tafte, but Colour: The Tree on which it grows is alfo very fine, large, and full of Branches and Leaves, which render it very agreeable to the Sight: The Fruit, which grows in Bunches, though not crouded together, but on long Stalks, is about the Size of an ordinary Plumb or Nut, and there are alfo various Species of it. If eaten to Excefs it inflames the Body, and raifes Ulcers; for which Rearon it is generally dried in the Shells, and like preferved Fruit, is ferved up in a Difh of Tea, and by Reafon of its agreeable Acidity preferred before Sugar; the interior Part of the Kernel diffolving like Sugar in the Mouth; for which and other Reafons it is ftiled the King of Fruits.

The Fruit called Lungon or Onjeu, is almof like the Licia, but not fo large, and of a very different Tafte; their Kernel is of a fhining White, and their Shell of the fame Colour; their Taite is agreeable and refrefhing, but not fo hot as the Licia, and not prejudicial to Health even if eaten to Excefs: They are allo very good dried, though not to compare to the freff. The Tree which bears them is like that on which the Licia grows; and a well cafted Wine is preffed out of this Fruit whilft frefh.

The facca is a Fruit which grows to the Bulk of forty and fometimes fifty Pounds; but there are alfo fmall ones, of an oval Shape, with a fharp prickly Sort of a Shell: The Kernel or Pulp is not firm but fibrous, tattes very fweet, and is of a Gold Colour ; and the Shell Green : This Fruit, of the great Sort, grows to the Foot, of the Stem or Root, otherwife the Branches (though ftiff and ftrong, the Tree being very large) would be too feeble to bear their Weight. The Shell of this Fruit is fo very hard, that it cain no otherwi'e be opened than by a Hatchet: The Infide is full (f) fmall Cavivies," in which are contained a yeilow Juice, and the Nut, which when ripe, eats better than a roaft d Cheftnut: The Leaves are rough and broad; and at the Branches grows alfo a Sort of Fruit, more agreeable to the Tafte, and more healthful than the Facca: The Afhes of the Shells burned are ured by the Cbinefe as a Ley to cleanfe Linnen or Woollen.

Anona's are a well-tafted Fruit when ripe; they are yellow or red, and emit a very agreeable Scent : The Plant fhoots its Leaves (fomewhat like Aloes) to the Heighth of fix or feven Feet; the Leaves are three Fingers broad, alfo hairy or woolly; and of them whilit tough a Sort of Clothes or Stuffs are made, which in Finenefs equals Silks: The Fruit fprouts out in the Middle amongft the Leaves, and when come to Maturity is very near as large as a Man's Head ; it is fweet and acid on the Tongue, though very delicious; at a Diftance it looks like an Artichoak: On its middle Stem grow feveral young ones, which are clapped into the the Earth, by thofe who gather the Fruit, and in a Year's Time produce ripe Fruit. The fharp and corrofive Nature of this Fruit is fo violent as to work even on Iron and Copper, and it alfo renders the Throat by fwallowing it very rough.
The Petcbi likewife grows here at the Side of or in the Water; and the uppermoft Paring being taken off its Root, there appears a Sort of Whitenefs which taftes almof like a Hazle-nur, and is endowed with the Virtue of foftening Copper in the Mouth.
Le Comte faith, "That he had an Account of " an Experiment made to that Purpofe by one of their "Society, by rubbing a Copper Coin with this Root; " one of us, fairh he, which had good Teeth, bit " it into feveral Pieces, but the Fragments ftill remain" ed hard, which made us apt to think that this Root " was naturally more eifficacious to the fortifying of the " the Teeth, than foftning of Copper.

The Coccao-nut is the Fruit of a Tree which fhoots upright: They grow in the Province of Funan, on the Inand of Hainan, and in other Places in Cbina, but in India they are incredibly plentiful ; the Nuts are as big as a Man's Head, the external Part of the Shell is hairy, and the Subitance of it ligneous, being in the whole about three or four Inches thick, and in the Core or innermoft Part of it full of Juice, which the ligneous Cruft being pierced through, runs out to the Quantity of a Cup-full: The Kernel is white and firm, and being fhaved or fcraped, and mixed with fair Water, it turns it to a lacteous Colour, not unlike Milk from a Woman's Breaft, only a littfe thicker, as if it had been turned with Rennet; it is alfo very good Food; it corroborates thofe who are weary and faint, refrefhes Seafaring Men, fatigu'd with the Scurvy and other Difeafes after long Voyages; for which Realon they are very fond of it, being well acquainted with its Ufes. It is boiled with Rice, or in Flehh-foops: Befides which a very fine Oll is drawn from it, not inferior to that of Almonds, and is not only ufed in Medicinal Preparations, but eaten as Sauce like Oil of Olives. The exterior Shell is fo hard, that the Kernel being taken out, is is ufed as a Cup or Bottle. The Trunk on which the Eruit grows, fhoots directly upright to the Height of fifty Feet, like the Maft of a Ship; the Wood is hard, and through it runs oleaginous Veins in the inner Part of it which is fpongy: Iss Root doth not pierce deep, nor is it large, to that it is very furprizing that fuch lofty Trees, laden with the heavy Weight of Fruit and Leaves, fhould not be blown up by the Roots by the Winds. The Eranches and Leaves are very beautiful and long, the former being full charged with the latter both without and within; and borh regale the Eye with a very agreeable Profpect. No Part of this excellent Tree is ufelefs; the very hairy Covering which encompaffes the Nuthell, ferves inftead of Tow to caulk and ftop Ships: Cups and other Veffels are made of the Nuthells; the Leaves are made into Paper and Cloth; the Wood is worked into Mafts, Planks, and Rudders, the Bark furnifhes Sails and Ropes, and its Fruit lade our Ships, and is ufeful allo in Phyfick.

Arceka, of which I fpoke in treating of the Province of Canton, is an Indian Fruit, tranfplanted thence to Cbina: The Tree bears fome Sort of Similitude to the Coco, but is neither fo thick, nor loaded with fo many Leaves; both Fruit and Tree are called Arecka: The Fruit is hard, bitter and acrimonious ; it is chewed with Becel, and a little foftened with Lime, and the Spittle tinctures the Mouth and Lips red. The Indians chew
it inceffantly, and are moitly followed herein by the Inhabitants of 2 uantung, Funan, and 2 uoanf, which is indeed to be wondred at, confidering how lictle the Cbinefe are addicted to Travelling, and confequently the few Opportunities they have of catching Foreign Cuftoms; but finding by Experience that it is good for their Gums, keeps their Mouths clean as weil as moilt in hot Countries, and befides caufes a fweet Breath, hath drawn them into this Cuftom, as well as feyeral others which they borrowed from the Europeans, being now convinced, that they are full as clear fighted, if not more, than themfelves.
The Fruit Fambua is a Sort of Lemon and Orange blended, as big as a Man's Head; the Peel or Rind is all round a Finger thick; the Fruit is white and red, fpongy, and of a bitter Tafte; its Infide is almoft like that of Oranges, with this Difference only, that the Kernels or Seeds are larger: The Juice of fome of them is fweet, and of others fower: The Trees are much larger than Lemon-trees, and their Leaves are broader and rough; they are prickly or thorny like the above-mentioned Lemon-tree, which they alfo refemble in their Bloffom; they afford a very grateful Smell, as hath alfo the Water extracted from them by Decoction.
The Indians call this Fruit Pampelimans.
The Pepper tree is but a Shrub, which, like Beans or Hops, climbs up Poles or Stakes, and, when got to the Top, like them, inclines downwards. There is a fecond Sort of Pepper, which is round and long; both of them, whilft green, grow in long Bunches clofe to the Stalk, but when ripe the Fruit turn black, is ftript off and dried in the Sun; and if the black Skin falls off, as it is eafily made to do, it is white, and taftes much hotter. The Long Pepper, which is more ufed in Pharmacy than Cookery, grows much in the fame Manner, but creeps more on the Earth, and climbs about lower Stakes, wherefore it becomes more moift, and if that Humidity be not dried up, becomes worm eaten ; the long Sort is dearer and harder than the round; and the Leaf of the former differs fomewhat, but not much from the latter, which is fofter, and of a deeper Green than the other, fomewhat like Ivy. The Leaves, Branches and Roots are all hot and dry, enflaming both Tongue and Throat, though not to fo great a Degree as the fmall Corns.
Here grows likewife a Plant or Berry called Maluei (in the Indian Language Carambole:) This Fruit fprouts from large Plants or Shrubs, about three Ells in Height-: The Berries are like thofe of Palma Cbrift; they are a very frong Purge, four or five Grains being a Dofe large enough for the moft roburt Man; they operate on tough Phlegm, and pituitous Humours, and are good againft a foul Stomach, cleanfing the Entrails: The Leaves, as well as the Berries, are inflammatory to a high Degree; wherefore thofe who pluck them are obliged carefully to avoid putring their Hands (when gathering them) to their Face or Eyes, which would immediately inflame them. This Plant, mixed with Rice or Dough, and thrown into the Water kills the Fifh. It grows in India as well as in feveral Provinces of Cbina: It is alfo preferved in Pots with Sugar, and fo tranfported; and by Reafon of its cordial Virtue made ufe of againft a cold Stomach or ftinking Breath. There are alfo Nut-meg-Trees, in fome Parts of Cbina, but they are not near fo Plenty there as in ocher hotter Places in India, from whence they are brought thither. This Tree is almoft like a Pear or Apple-tree: It fprouts free enough and grows wild. The Nut which follows the Bloffom joined to the End of the Branch, is at firft green and rough, but when ripe changes its Colour, and becomes pointed all over, and chop'd on the Outfide, being very ornamentally encompaffed by the Mace, which perfectly ripe, is three or four times annually gathered, and is of feveral Sorts, and of different Natures with Refpect to irs Virtue and Worth.

Grinoffel, or Clove-Trees are by no Means fo plentiful here as in other Places in India, from whence they are imported hither in vaft Quantities. The Tree on which they grow is, when young, about as large as the former, and fo encreares to a greas Thicknefs; thé

Leaf is longinh like that of the Pear-tree, and full of Fibres; at the End of which the Cloves grow in Bunches, and out of their Heads fprout the Bloffoms, which, as well as the Cloves, afford a very ftrong Scent ; the Bloffoms are of various Colours, and like the Fruit change in Ripening; for the Cloves are not black or brown at firt, but green; and accordingly the Flower is firlt white and then red. The Cloves are plucked or beaten off, and then gathered; and if any happen to remain on the Tree, they fall on the Ground without any farther Trouble, and from thence fhoot up young Sprouts, which are nourifhed by the Soil, and thrive without Culcure. I fhall not fay any Thing more of this Tree, becaufe it is very well known all over the World, and fhall only lightly touch on the Cinnamon Tree.
I have already hinted, that Cimnamon grows in vaft Plenty in the Province of Quoang $/$ I, and not only fneells very well, but is alfo very fharp upon the Tongue. The Tree on which it grows is like that which bears Lemmons, but its Leaves are fomewhat like thofe of Lawrel. This Plant hath a very fragrant Bloffom, which afterwards affords us a Fruit like a Plumb ; but neither the Fruit, Bloffom, nor Leaf, agree in any one Particular with the Bark ; which is the Cimnamon, and is alone endowed with the fpicy and odoriferous Virtue, for befides that, the Tree is a perfect infipid Wood, whofe Fruit is of no other Ufe than to be eaten by the Apes. This Bark, which clings clofe to the Tree, when the outmoft Rind is fcaled off, appears green, is dried in the Sun, and after it is cleanfed and thoroughly dried, it turns to the known Colour. The Tree being ftripped of its Bark, does not die, but, after the Expiration of fome Years, obtains a new Bark, and flourifhes again.
" The Indian Writers tell us, that thefe Trees grow «c in fuch prodigious Abundance in Ceylon, that if vaft " Woods of them were not burned, the whole World "could not confume the Cinnomon which grows there. ". And Nieuboff adds, that though this Inland is fo very " fruitful in Cinnomon, yet neither Clove nor Nutmeg"Trees will take there."
There is yet another Tree in Cbina, which indeed grows more luxuriantly in Goa, and is by fome called the Indian Fig-tree, and it accordingly produces little Figs, full of fmall Seeds like other Figs, but not very much efteemed, by reafon of their dilagreeable Tafte. This Tree or Trunk fhoots up very high, and the Branches afterwards turn down towards the Earth, and take Root again; after which, like the main Trunk, they fhoot up, and then down again; fo that a fingle Tree becomes a great Wood, and the firft Stem is hardly to be difcovered.
The Fat or Tallow-tree is the mof furprizing Plant of all that grows in Cbina; it yields a very fine Leaf and Flower; it is of a moderate Height, and its Stem is but low, its Branches thick and covered with long Leaves fhaped like a Heart, and its Bloffoms white, which are followed by the Fruit ; and this, when ripe, refembles a Cheftnut or Wallnut, with one Cleft. Round about the Stone, which is very like that of a Cherry, is the Greafe, or that which in Colour, Smell, and all its Characterifticks exactly agrees with Greafe, except only that it doth not fowl the Hands like it; round the Stones (of which each hath three feparated by Films) is the Pulp, which melted makes a Candle as white as the whiteft Capon, and is fupplied with a. Weik of Wood run through it inftead of Cotton. From the Stone or Kernel, which is full of Moifture, is drawn an Oil, which, by reafon of its ftrong unfavory Smell and Tafte, is not eaten, but ferves for Lamps. The red Leaves and white Bloffoms of this Tree render it very agreeable to the Eye.
Cotton grows here in great Abundance, notwithftanding which, as is hinted a little higher, they do not ufe it for Candle-Weiks, but make feveral Stuffs of it. It grows on a very thick, lofty, and crooked Tree, which is not over-loaded with Branches, and its Bloffom is a yellowifh Flower, from whence proceeds the Fruit not unlike a common Apple, that when ripe opens and difcovers the Wool, which when prepared is
tranfported to all Parts of the Wofld. There are alfo Shrubs and Sprouts which produce this Wool, and are not very different from this Tree; but their B'offoms' are of a deeper Yellow, and their Leaf more rugged; befides which, the Cotton which thefe laft yield is better and finer, and of that are made the white Callicoes. The Stems of thefe fecond Sort of Plants, which are like Reeds, run up to a good Height, when come to Maturity, they are cut down, thrown into the Water to rot, and afterwards peeled. The Province of Fokien yields prodigious Quantities of this Shrub, of which the beft and fineft Callicoes are made. Here are alfo whole Thickets of Canes or tough Ofiers, whicha the Portuguefe call Kota; they grow fpontaneoully, fpread very kindly, and are very tough ; of them are made all Sorts of Ropes or Cords, Hurdles, Baskets, Chairs, Stools and Couches, which in Summer are very cool, and for that Reafon are very much in Ufe amongtt the Cbinefe.
Sugar-Canes grow in great Abundatice in the Pro-, vince of Sucbuen, and produce the beft Sort of Sugar; befides which, other Provinces yield very good; and this proves a very valuable Commodity.
Bambooes grow here wild, on watte and untilled Lands; and though they are but a Sort of Canes or rather Reeds, fome of them grow to fuch a vaft Thicknefs, that fmall Boats are made of them, which both the Cbinefe and Indians make Ufe of, and row very dextrounly: But the chief Ufe which is made of the Bambooes is, that of ferving for Stakes or Poles for the Pepper to grow up and cling round. When they are young, the ordinary People draw from them a Juice of an agreeable Tafte; from whence they prepare their Acbar, which is a very delicious Sauce.
Though Mulberries are a Fruit univerfally known, yet the Mulberry-trees in Cbina are managed in a Manner abfolutely different from all other Countries, for they are kept low, and lopped annually, as the Vineyards are in Europe, and the Reafon is, becaufe the young Sprouts contribute to the Production of the beft Silk; and indeed the Difference betwixt the Silk produced by thofe Worms, which feed on the firft Leaves, and that of the Worms feeding on the latter Growth, when they are much harder, is very confidetable.

Though Ginger grows in feveral Parts of India, yet is there no Country produces greater Plenty of it than Cbina; nay farther, it yields that Spice in a greater D:gree of Perfection than any ocher Part of India. There are two Sorts of it, a larger and a fmaller Species; the Leaves and Root of the latter are lefs than the former, and therefore termed Male, whilf the other is called Female-Ginger. The flender Stalk, to which it grows, is like a fmall Reed when it firt flhoots out of the Ground. And the Roots are not all of one Sort, but the heavieft are the beft: Whenever they are dug, one or two of thefe Roots are left in the Earth, which moderately cultivated, watered, and dunged, fpread luxuriantly, and next Year are dug out of the Earth with great Advantage. This Plant is alfo produced in another Manner, by cutting off the Ginger or Root from the Trunk, and refetting it in the Earth, which by the next Year fpreads and fends forth young Shoots. The frefh or green Ginger is not fo hot as the dried. It is medicinally ufed againft flatulent Diftempers, Fluxes, and other Difeafes of that Clafs.
Tea, the Infufion of which is the common Drink, as well as the entertaining Liquor of Cbina, grows there in great Abundance; but fince this Plant is univerfally known, I fhall fay no more concerning it, nor intermeddle with the Difputes of its Virtue, farther than to inform my Reader of a Matter of Fact, which is, that Rheumatifms and Gouts, the Stone and Gravel, are Diftempers which none of the Cbinefe are ever afflicted with. Whether this is owing to Tea, warm Water, or the Nature of the Climate, or Temperament of the People, I fhall leave to be difcuffed by others, and proceed to the Defrriprion of feveral wholfome Roots.

The Root Cbina, though it grows plentifully in all Parts of the Empire, yet is not of equal Virtue; for the Province of Sucbuen produces the beft, and the
wild Sort thrives every where, The firf Sort grows our of a Sap or Gum, which adheres to the Root of a Pine-tree, which renders it fuch an excellent and efficacious Remedy, and fo famous on that Account in all Parts of the World. There Roots increafe to an extraordinary Size, fome of them being as big as a Man's Head. The wild Root, though far hort of the Virtue of this, is nut lefs efteemed. We have already defcribed the Root Ginfeng, and its cardiacal Virtues, in our Account of the Province of Leaotung, where it grows; and therefore we refer the Reader thither

Cbina abounds with great Quantities of Rhubarb, but no Place produces better than the Province of Sucbuen, as I have already hinted in the Defcription of that Country.
"There are two Sorts of Rbabarbarum or Rhubarb
"fold, an Oriental imported from Cbina; and this is
" ponderous, diftinguifhed by gold coloured and red
"V Veins, bitterifh and aftringent, fweet fcented, rather
" of a yellow Colour, and being moiften'd ftains the
"Hand with a Colour like that of Saffron, and is
"6 much efteemed for its Virtues. The other Sort comes
" from Rufia, and is ponderous, and of a darker Yel-
${ }^{66}$ low, and lefs valued than the other.
"Rhubarb is a mild and gentle Purger of yellow
$\because$ Bile and vifcous and tartarous Phlegm from the Sto-
" mach and firft Region. It is a Specifick for the Li-
" ver, cures a Jaundice, and for its aftringent Quality
" is commended beyond other Medicines; for all Dif-
"\% orders proceeding from Relaxation, as a Diarrhea,
"Dyfentery, and the like.
"This Root was unknown to Diofcorides and Galen; " and therefore fome are very crroneous in confound-
" ing the Rha or Rheum of the Ancients with our
"Rhubarb, for the Rheum of Diofcorides has lefs of a
"cathartick Quality, and wants the Characters of the
${ }_{6}$ true Rhubarb, which is a Compact Subftance, pon\% derous and dry, of a bitter Tafte, and acrid Smell,
"\% of a reddifh Colour on the Outfide, and of a light
© Red inclining to Yellow within, with fome Veins of
"deeper Colour, and, being macerated or chew'd, dyes "s of a Saffron Colour. Rapontic, on the contrary, is " not of a clofe but thin Subitance, and not pon" derous, but light, and wants the fweet Scent of " Rhubarb.
"s The Virtue of the Root confifts in the Mixture " of a fubtle and acrimonious Salt, with mucilaginous "s and earthy Particles; thofe faline and acrimonious
"Particles, in Proportion as they are more or lefs dif-
${ }^{6}$ engaged from the Mixture of mucilaginous and " earthy Particles, in which they fuck and were en-
"tangled, the more or lefs they exert of their ftimu-
" lating Force. Sometimes they excite fo great a
"Commotion, as to prefs upon the Liver icfelf, and
"s efpecially the Gall Bladder, whence may follow a "double Excretion of Bile, which proves the Root of " extraordinary Efficacy in the Jaundice, as was before s obferved. Its Cathartic Virtue confifts in its Salt, ${ }^{6}$ and not at all in its Refin or oleous Particles, as " appears from its Tincture, which is extracted with ic Water.
"Now it is clearly demonftrated from Chymiftry, ", that Water can never refolve refinous nor oleous "' Subflances ; and befides, the Tincture extracted by "Spirit of Wine is not fo potent a Cathartick as what " is extracted with Water; nay, the Water iffelf, after
" Mixture, does not become milky, as it happens in
"s all other Tinctures which are extracted from oily
" and refinous Subftances; and it is further to be ob-
"f ferved, that the faline Principles may be fo dif-
"fipated or diffolved by the Quantity of Liquids, as
"to be incapable of exerting, their Force. The Root, "s when it is dried up with Age, lofes its Acrimony, "s and all its Cathartic Virtue, as it does alfo in Boiling. ${ }^{5 s}$. The Smell of it, in forme, provokes to Stool. Is is of Service in a Gonorrbaa, by allaying the Heat of "Srine, expelling the Malignity, and fopping the "Flux. It is ufually prefcribed in Subitance, from half a Dram to two Drams ; the Dofe of the Extract is ${ }^{6}$ two Drams, of the Tincture one Dram. The Roos
"r roafted or dried is aftringent, as and effectual in a Dy . " fentery as Terra figilleta, and being mixed with Nur " meg and Laridonum, proves an excellent Rernedy for "an immoderate Flux of the Belly, its aftringent Wir. "tue diffufing itfelf into all Parts. Pecblius employed is " for Hzmorrhages of the Nofe, and fuch like Cafes, "The Root is fometimes hurful in a Vertigo; it de" Atroys Worms, and is an Ingredient in many officinal Compofitions.
"Alexander Trallianus, in the Opinion of Dr. Freind, "was the firf Phyfician that mentioned Rhubard, who recommends it in a Weaknefs of the Liver, and a Dyfentery, though Monf. le Clerc tells us, that the Arabians indeed, in tranflating Diofiorides and the Greek Phyficians, confound this Roor with the Rba"ponticum, and afcribe the Virtues which the Ancient have obferved in this latter to what is pro"perly the Rbabarbarum as may be evident to any ' who will' look into the Defcription which Rbazes gives of it. And I believe Alexander himfelf, "though it is plain Rbubarb was known in his Tirie, ' was in the fame Miftake, for he mentions it only as an Altringent, as the elder Greeks defcribe the Rbeponticum without the leaf Hint of its purging Virtue. ". Paulus feems to be the firt who takes any Notice of the Purging Faculty in the Rheum (he calls it fimply (fo) and tells us how we may make fome laxative Me. " dicines ftronger by the Addition of this. And P. Al " pinus fays, that fome have obferved, that even the "Rbaponticum would fometimes purge, though in a ". Jefs Degree than Rbubarb.
"The modern Greeks gave this Root the Name of "Berbaricum, not from the Place of its Growth, but " from the Place it was imported to, for the Country "، in the Upper Atbiopia, was called Barbaria, as Sal" maffus well oblefrves from its lying upon the Sinus Bar" baricus, in which were many great Emporiums, par" ricularly Rapta the Metropolis of this Region. "This Gulph upon the Eaft, joins with the Indian "Ocean, and therefore Actuarius, and aftér him My"repfus, calls this Plant Reon Indicon. No doubt in "thofe Times it was imported this Way to Alexandria, " and fo might be known to thefe latter Greek Phyfici"ans. However I muft obferve, that Salrnafius does " not take Notice of Alexander's.mentioning Rbubarb, " but quotes Paulus for it, who does not mention it, " but only in general fpeaks of and defrribes the Rba. "Garcias ab Horto, Phyfician to the Spani/b Viceroy, " tells us, he had learnt in India, that all the Rbubarb " which was imported thither, and into Perka, grew in "Cbina, that was brought thither by Sea and Land, " but that the latter Way of bringing it over Tartary " to Ormuz, was much the beft, for by Sea Carriage " it was more fubject to rot.
15. In Reference to the Animals in Cbina, though the Natives relate ftrange Things of them, yet there are indeed very few io extraordinary in their Kind, as to deferve mentioning. In fome of the moft mountainous and worfe cultivated Provinces of the Empire; there are Troops of very large Apes that live to a great Age, notwithftanding they are ofren attacked by the Na tives, thefe by obferving frequently the Actions of Men, and imitating them affiduoufy, perform many Things, which to Strangers would appear very furprizing. The Cbinefe call this Animal Sin Fin, and from their Defcription one would imagine, that thefe were a Race of wild dumb Men, and that perhaps Pains would not be thrown away in endeavouring to reclaim them. After all, the Truch of the Matter is, that the Cbinefe love to magnify every Thing they defcribe, and above. all, every Thing that relates to their own Country, for at the Bottom, the Cbinefe Baboons are as much Brutes, and fenfelefs Brutes, as any other Baboons upon the Earch.
There are alfo in fome of the Woods, on the Sides of high Mountains, a particilar Species of Bears, of a moft enormous Size, and capable of doing a great deal of, Mifchief. Thefe, without any View to Raillery or Wit, the Cbinefe call Men-Bears, to exprefs their Superiority and Strength, which however it feemis to do but obfcurely. As for the Horfe hart, there is nothing in
it wonderful, or even fingular, except that it is of the Size of a little Horle ; but they have a Kind of Deer that never grow any bigger than an ordinary Dog, which from the Beauty of their Shape, and Clofenefs of their Hair, are real Curiofities. As to the Horfe Tyger, that lives in the Water, and is covered with Scales as chick and as hard as Tortoife-Thell, it is a mere Invention, contrived to impofe upon weak People, and to make wifer Men laugh. But all thefe Kind of Tales begin to be exploded, for the Tartars are a Sort of People that do not at all affect them, but defpife the Cbinefe for believing and telling gravely known Fallehoods and palpable Abfurdities.

There are fome wild Elephants in Cbina, but not many; the Emperor has a Stable of fifteen or twenty of them, which are Prefents from Foreign Princes. Their Horfes are of middle Size, the ftrongeft and moft ferviceable come from Tartary; there are alfo Mules and Camels, Oxen, Cows and Buffaloes, alfo Wolves, Bears, Tygers, and other Beafts of Prey in the mountainous Parts of the Country. Their Sheep are like thofe of Turkey with great Tails that weigh feveral Pounds. Deers and Hares they have in great Numbers. Their Hogs are black, and have Bellies that reach the Ground, they are efteemed very good Food; notwithftanding the Heat of the Country, for indeed this is made no Objection to of Hog's Flefh in the Eait.
Geefe, Hens and Ducks, and all Sorts of Poultry, are mighty cheap, their Eggs are hatched in Ovens or Dunghills in moft Places: As to the Birds of Cbina, they have Paroketes extreamly beautiful in their Colours, and that are as eafily taught to fpeak as thofe that come from America. They have alfo a Kind of Hawks, which they call Hai thing, larger than our Falcons and ftronger, but thefe are very farce, and are feldom feen but in the Emperor's Court. It is very true, that in Cbinefe Writers there are very curious and copious Defcriptions of Birds that refemble the Phœnix of the Ancients, but then it is chiefly in this Particular, that though often defcribed, they were never yet feen; fo that there is no Need of fwelling this Chapter by inrerting fuch Defcriptions. The firft Miffionaries however were very excufable in giving Place to them in their Writings, becaule it was impoffible for them to perceive, but in Length of Time, how little Credit was due to thofe Authorities. Geefe, Hens, and Ducks, as we obferved, and indeed all Sort of Poulsry, are exceffively plentiful, and prodigionfly cheap, throughout the whole Empire, and yet there are numberlefs Families that live by Feeding and Sclling them. As for the Ducks, thofe that deal in them, become almoft as much Aquaticks as the Commodity they deal in, for their Houles are fixed upon Barges, and as the Ducks live in, fo they and their Families pals their Lives upon the Water, and their Children are often three or four Years old before they fet their Feet upon the Land. Wild Fowl are alfo plenty, and they may very well be fo, for with refpect to thofe, as well as to Animals, the Cbinefe eat without Ceremony, eat all that come to Hand, let them breed or feed how they will.

There are Butterflies in Cbina of an extraordinary Beauty, and of a very extravagant Size, but they are found only on a fingle Mountain in the Province of Quangtoung; and thefe too are generally fent to the Emperor. They ftick upon Trees and Flowers in the Day, immoveable with their Wings clofe; but if once difcovered, are eafly taken : Towards Evening they nly about like Bats, and the Extent of their Wings is very little if at all inferior to thofe of Bats in Europe. The Colours in their Wings are beautiful almof beyond Defcription, finely and regularly variegated with White, Green, Blue and Crimfon; the Body, which is almoft as thick as a Man's little Finger, is cover'd with a yellow Down as bright and as refplendent as burnifh'd Gold. There are a fmaller Sart of Butterfies taken in the Mountains of Sicbang, not far from Pekin, which have very vivid Colours, but are far inferior to thofe

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normous Butterflies beforementioned, and which make Part of the Furniture of the Imperial Cabinets.

Grafhoppers are exceeding troublefome in Cbina, and frequently devour the Fruits of the Earth in fome Provinces; there are alfo feveral Kinds of Serpents, particularly the Cobra Capella, or hairy headed Serpenrs, which have been defcrib²d in our Accounts of Intia. Fifh abound in their Rivers and Canals, and befides Nets and orher Engines; which are ufed in Europe to catch them, they breedup large Fowls like Herons, which are as much under the Fimerm man's Command as our Dogs, and Hawks are under the Huntfman's; they keep them perched on the Sides of their Boats, and when they give a Sign, every Bird takes its Flight to look for the Prey, and will divide themfelves the whole Breadth of a River or Lake; when they have feized a Fifh they bring it to their Mafter, and if it be too big for one, they will help one another; it is faid when they have brought it to the Boat they immediately take their Flight again in Search for more; but they have a Suring about their Necks, which prevents their Swallowing the Fifh, till the Mafter thinks fit to leave off his Sport, and then they are fuffered to prey for themfelves.

There are alfo all thofe Kinds of Fifh in their Waters, which are met with in Europe, and many mores, particularly one, which is called the Gold and Silver Fifh, which is wonderful beautiful, and kept by the Qua. lity in large Bafons in their Gardens. They are about the Length and Bignefs of one's Finger, the Male of a fine red, from the Head to the Middle of his Body, the reft with the Tail is of fuch a bright and glittering Gold Colour, that no real Gildings can come near it. The Female is of a pure Silver White, the Tail of either of them is not flat, but gathered thick like a Nofegay, which is an Addition to their Beauty. They are a very render Animal, and foon fenfible of the Alteration of the Weather ; therefore Contrivances are made to thelter them from the Heat, and their Water often changed. And if they are to be removed from one Bafon to another, great Care is taken not to touch them, for the leaft Touch, it is faid, will kill them, as will fometimes the Noife of great Guns, loud Thunder, or an offenfive Smell, fuch as Pitch or Tar. But it is needlefs to infitt longer on this Subject, fince Numbers of thefe Finh have been of late Years brought over into Europe, and even into Engtand, which has afforded the Curious an Opportunity of feeing that, though the Cbinefe often exaggerate, yet fometimes they keep at leaft pretty near the Truth.

The Mountains of Cbina are held to be the richeft in the World ; fome fay, on Account of their Mines of Gold and Silver; but perhaps their Character may be maintained, even fuppofe their Title to thefe rich Metals could not be made out. Yet this is very far from being the Cafe; for it is certain there are two Silver Mines open, one in the Province of Se tchun, and the other in that of $\mathscr{Y}$ u nan, which itill produce confiderably, and were formerly exceffively rich. The Emperor Can gbi caufed another Silver Mine to be opened and wrought for fome Time, but it was afterwards difcono tinued. It is believed alfo that they have very rich Gold Mines; at leaft it is very certain, that in the Mountains on both Sides of Cbina there are very rich Lavadores, as the Spaniards call them, that is, Places where Gold Sand is wafhed out of the Rocks. The Cbinefe, who are equally referved in their Politicks, and in their Books and who in their Converfation fpeak Truth or Falfehood, juft as it fuits their Purpofes beft, affect to fay, that though they have rich Mines of thefe Metals, yet they lie in Places inacceffible, and where it would coft more. to come at them, than ever Gold and Silver are worth.

This, however, is but a Pretence, fince the very Mine they laft wrought was difcontinued for being too rich; and the Secres of this Policy lies here: The Emperors of Cbina have fixty Millions of Subjects, and at prefent the Country being perfectly well cultivated, they are plentifully fupplied with Neceffaries, Conveniencies

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and
and Elegancies; fo that Induftry is rewarded by Abundance. But as there is no eating either Gold or Silver; as wearing it is of very little Confequence; and, as there is already enough for all Sorts of Plate and Manufactures; to open Mines therefore would be a Means of diverting the People from their more neceffary Labours, would raife the Price of all Commodities, and inttead of being a Source of real Riches, would actually become the Caufe of Want and of Diftrefs. Befides, in no Country upon the Face of the Earth the true Value, or rather the true Ufe, of Gold and Silver is better underfood than in China; and therefore they hold it to be, as it certainly is, much better Policy to draw thefe Metals into the Empire by Commerce, than to dig them out of Mines; and from thefe Principles they aim chiefly at two Things, one is to export their Commodities and Manufactures into other Countries, by which they obtain a Balance of Gold and Silver; and the other is, to keep it when they have got it : In both which Schemes, as indeed in almoft every Scheme they form, they have been very fucceffful.
Add to all this, that as Indigence creates Induftry, fo Indigence and Induftry, taken together, are the ftrongeft Motives to Obedience. A rich and idle People may be and generally are prone to rebel; but a poor and active People are commonly dutiful and fubmiffive. This is the Cafe of the Bulk of the Cbinefe Nation, who get wherewithal to live, and live pretty well; yet with all their Sharpnefs and Dexterity, this is as much as they can get; and to fay the Truth, this is what makes them fo fharp. But if War, Famine, Inundations, or any other publick Calamity happens, they are prefently fet a Starving; and in this Situation the Wifdom and Equity of their Government appears, for to the Emperor they apply as to their common Parent, and they never apply in vain. He takes all they feel upon himfelf; he afcribes their Diftreffes to his Errors, their Misfortunes to the Judgments of Heaven upon his Sins ; and therefore, befides imploring the Mercy of the Supreme Being, and giving large Alms to the Poor and Needy in his Capital; he relieves thofe who are thus diftreffed in the Provinces, not only by a temporary Supply of Food and Raiment, but by remitting their Taxes for a certain Number of Years, and creating a Demand for their particular Manufactures by Dint of that abfolute Power, fo terrible in other Countries, and ufeful and beneficial in this alone. But to proceed.
The Mountains of Cbina furnifh prodigious Quantities of Coals, infomuch, that no Country in the World is better ferved with them, and the Inand of Great-Britain excepted, perhaps none fo well. They have allo Iron and Tin in Abundance, and ftill greater Plenty of another Metal, called, Tutenague, which is highly valuable, and of which one Mine produces them Hundreds of Quintals in a Day. They have alfo great Quantities of Copper, of the ordinary Sort, and befides this they have two very fingular Kinds of Copper, which are fcarce found, more efpecially the firft of them, in any other Part of the Univerfe. The Cbinefe call this wonderful Metal Pe tong, which is as much as to fay, white Copper, and it is very properly fo called, for it is as white as Silver, and they make all kind of Veffels of it ; the only Fault it has, is its Brittlenefs, fo that in the Hands of carelefs People, it is apt to break. To renedy this Defect, they employ one fixth Part of Tutenague, which makes it tougher, but if they were to ufe twice that Quantity of Tutenague, the Metal would be much better, and the Reafon that they do not ufe it, is becaufe it fpoils its Luftre, and nor its Colour, as the Jefuits commonly write; for it remains as white as ever, bur it is a dead, lifelefs, tinny white. Four Parts of this Metal, and one of Silver, makes a Metal equal in Luftre to Silver itfelf, and is fit for any thing but Money; for upon the Application of a Stamp it cracks. The other Kind of Copper, the Cbinese very properly call Te se lai tong, that is Self-made Copper, becaufe it is found like Goid in Grains, or in large Pieces, wathed out of the Mines by Torrents; properly fpeaking it is red Copper and very rich. The Cbinefe have Chemifts amongt
them, or rather Alchemifts, but their Skill in Metals does not reach ours; for it is certain, that their red and white Copper, mixed with Lapis Calaminaris, in a proper Quantity, will produce a Metal as high coloured as Brars, and almoft as malleable as Silver.

Their Mountains alio afford them moft excellent Quarries of various Sorts of Stone, and amongft others a Kind of yellow Stone, fo foft, that they worls it into any Kind of Veffels, paint it wich Vermillion, and fell it very dear. They have alfo Lapis Lazuhi, bus not in any great Quanticies, and Rubies, but they are very fmall, though very fine, and feveral Kinds of Agate and Jafper. Rock Chryftal they have in vilf Abundance, and they make various Kinds of Utenfils of it, which are extremely beautiful, as well as all Sorts of Toys. Marble of feveral Kinds is common, bur they know not how to polifh it, at leaft to fuch a Degree as is common in Europe. As for Stones proper for Building, and Earth fit for Bricks, they have as much as they want, and indeed every thing in this Empire is at a low Price, which is owing to the Wifdom of the Government, and to the Facility of Water Carriage, by which the Commodities and Manufactures of all the Provinces are to be found in every Province, and at reafonable Rates.

So that it may very truly be faid, that Cbina plentifully yields not only whatever is requifite to the Reftauration of Healch, fupplying the Neceffities and fuftaining of Mankind ; but likewife all Things which can contribute to gratify the luxurious Wifhes even of an Epicure: Nor do any of the European or Afian Countries produce any one Commodity, which is not here to be found ; or at leaft the Deficiency is doubly fupplied with equal or much better Subiticutes: But to particularize and defcribe all the Roots, Herbs, Fruits, Shrubs, Trees, Plants, or whatever elfe of the Botanical Kind, which is cither neceffary or agreeable to the Tongue or Eye, would be to tranfgrefs the Limits of our fhort Account of this Country; wherefore we have contented ourfelves with barely pointing them our, and fhall proceed to difcourfe of what we next promifed.
16. Fapan is juftly preferred to all the Eaftern Iflands: and (though its Natives unwillingly' hear it) was formerly fubject to Cbina : Their Manner of Living is like the Cbinefe, they learn and read their Books; and alfo eat with two Ivory Sticks or Scures; but fit upon the Ground, wear a different Habit, Leathern Boots, and long Hair.
" F.D. de Mendoza, alfo affures us, that the Cbinefe "were formerly poffeffed of the whole Continent from "Cbina to the moft remote Part of India: That of this "there are yet feveral confiderable Remembrances on " the Coaft of Cormandel, particularly a Caftle called "the Cbinese Cafle, by Reafon it is fuppofed to be " built by them : That at prefent in the Kingdom of "Calicut, there are feveral Fruit-trees which the Inha"bitants own to be planted by the Cbinefe when they " governed there, and were alfo Mafters of Melacca, "S Siam, \&cc. He adds, that at the fame Time they were "Mafters of $\begin{aligned} & \text { fapan, as appears by feveral Monuments, }\end{aligned}$ " as well as the common Uniformity betwixt the Man" ners and fome of the Laws of both Nations."
This Inand is an independant Sovereignty, governed by a Prince who affumes the Title of Emperor. It is a hundred and fifty or fixty Miles broad, and three hundred or three hundred and fifty in Length. It very plentifully produces Gold, Silver and Copper, as well as whatever can be wifhed to fupply both Neceffity and Luxury; it lies amongft and is parted from feveral leffer Inands, in 34 or 35 Degrees of Latitude. The Natives are very fubtle and fraudulent in their Dealing, and thoroughly verfed in the Art of Politicks: They are very jealous of their Liberty, and treat all other Nations with the utmoft Sufpicion; purfuant to which, they are fo very cautious of any Thing that barely feems to contribute to their Strength, that they unrig and take away the Rudders of all foreign Ships in their Havens. They are very neat in all Particulars, and rally the Cbinefe on that Head, believing themfelves
very much to exceed them. Before the cruel and outrageous Perfecution which fell upon the Faithful, almoft half the Natives were converted to Chriftianity, but at prefent no one Perfon who is but furpected to be a Chriftian, is fuffered to enter any Part of that Empire, before he hath trampled upon a Crucifix, as a Teftimony that he is not of that Religion. Notwithftanding which, we are told that there are fome who privately retain that Belief in their Hearts, and confefs it to God alone. But the very Name of Chriftian is here fo deteftable, that, even thofe of that Religion which do but trade here are obliged to conceal it; and the Hollanders, which drive a great Trade here, being afked by them whether they are Chriftians, never fail to reply that they are Hollanders, by which indirect Anfwer they thun the dangerous Rock, that would fhipwreck their Hopes of Gain.
The fecond Inand or Peninfula, (for it is doubted whether it be feparated from the firm Land) is called Corea, but the Cbinefe Name it Caoli; it annually pays a Tribute to the Emperor ; and lies Eaftwards of Peking and Xantung. When the Coreans carry the abovementioned Tribute to the Imperial City, they moft comimonly go by Way of Leaotung, but very rarely through Xantung. In their Habit, Writing, ECc. the Natives follow the old Cuftoms of the Cbinefe; but they differ from them in their common Converfation with Refpect to Women, who are here allowed to come freely into the Company of Men; on which Account the Cbinefe ridicule them as a barbarous and unpolite People: And this Difference alfo occafions another in their Marriages, which are heree the Effects of Choice. This Country is larger, but not fo rich as 7 apan: It plentifully produces all Sorts of Corn, and according to the Report of the Cbinefe, is four hundred and fixty Miles long, and one hundred and fixty broad. Though this Country is very commodioufly fituated, and richly provided with all Things, yet its Inhabitants at prefent drive no confiderable Trade with any other Nations than the Cbinefe and faponefe. Here are very rich Gold Mines, and the Root Ginfeng, of the Virtue of which I have already fooken, grows here; as alfo the red Colour which the Cbinefe call Cil, or Sandaracba, the beft Sort of which is prepared here by Expreffion out of the Bark of a certain Tree, and is of a Confirtence like Pitch or Glue ; whatever it is laid on with a Brufh is tinctured red, and thines as bright as a Looking-glafs; fine Pencils and Paper are likewife made of it.

Befides this there are two Illands fituate near fapan, one of which is called Cbaofien, and the other Linkin: The Princes of both which Kingdoms pay Tribute to the Empire of Cbina, though in Habit and Manners they approach much nearer to the faponefe than Cbinefe: Thefe Inands are large, but not to be compared with Japan.

The Illand Taion, otherwife called Formofa, is alfo fubject as has been faid to Cbina, and is accounted one of the nine great Cities of the Province or Kingdom of Fokien. The Ifland Hainan lies South of the Province of Conton, and as is already faid, is numbered amongt the Cities of that Province: It is two hundred and fifty Miles in Circuit.

There are alfo feveral other Inlands, which are Dependants on or Members of the Province of Canton, as that of Sanciam, where Francis Xavier died and was buried: Macao, where the Portuguefe have a Fortification and Port; together with the three Inands under Xantung, one of which was famous or rather infamous for the lamented Deftruction of the Cbinefe Philofophers, as has been mentioned. Thefe, befides feveral others, are fubject to this vaft Empire, all which united under one Dominion, would by themfelves amount to a very potent Monarchy, and furnifh Matter for a particular Defcription. But we fhall content ourfelves with barely naming them as they lie in our Way, and conclude this Chapter with an Account of fome fubordinate and adjacent Kingdoms.

The Kingdom of Tunking lies Weftward of Cbina; and formerly was fubject to and a Province of that Empire: But is at prefent only tributary to it; and is divided into the two Kingdoms of $\mathcal{T} u n k i n g$ and Cocbino
cbina; fubject to cheir refpective Kings; who are two Brothers, that continually make War againft each other. And though this Kingdom; or more properly thefe King: doms, are very diftant from Fapan; they yet follow the Fafhions and Manners of the faponefe: They are inftructed by and read Cbinefe Books, which they, like the $\mathcal{F}$ aponefe and Coreans, are very well verfed in. Several Chriftians live amongtt them ; and the Eingli/b, French, Dutcb and others, trade very confiderably with the Inhabitants of boch Kingdoms.

The Kingdom of Laos borders on the Province of Funan; and is alfo tributary to Cbina: Its Metropolis is Lancbang: It borders Southwards on Siam, and Weftwards on Pegu: But is a Country of no Manner of Commerce.

Siam is a very large Kingdom; which has been frequently infefted with Foreign Wars and Domeftick Confufions: It was formerly fubject and tributary to this Empire, but taking Advantage of its diftant Situation, and the various Revolutions of the Cbinefe Monarchy, that Kingdom hath, like Pegu, fhook off the Yoke. This is a Kingdom of very wide Extent, but the Land is wafte, untilled aud uninhabited; and its People living moftly in Woods and Wilderneffes, behave themfelves rather like wild Beafts than reafonable Creatures. They build or erect Huts made of Hides, and the whole Country abounds with Woods, which harbour Elephants, Rhinoceros's, Buffioes; wild Oxen; Tygers, Bears, and feveral other wild Beafts. Here are great Herds of Apes as big as Children. The Woods are very clofely crouded with lofty Trees; of the Height of forty or fitty Ells; fome of which are alfo fo thick; that feven or eight Men holding Handscan hardly begirt them, and one Trunk is large enough to hew out a Boat, Here are innumerable Crocodiles, which devour Men alive, and are four or five Ells long; which renders Travelling, either by Water or Land, very dangerous in all Parts of this Country; as it is alfo in Pegu, Laos, Camboja, छ̌c. The Inhabitants of all which Countries wear the fame Sort of Habits, and very nearly agree in their Cuftoms and Manner of Living ; but differ in their Language and Way of Writing. They are all Heathens, and extravagantly reverence or rather idolize their Priefts. Their Pagods or Temples are all of Brick, but very numerous and ornamental ; their idolatrous Images are large, beautiful, and finely gilt, fome of them being about ten Ells high. The Streets and feveral fpacious Places are adorned with large Turrets about fifty or fixty Ells high, gilded all over on the Outide. Thefe Idols were brought by the Bramins (fo their Priefts are called) out of India:
The King keeps his Court at '̛utia, which is alfo called Siam; this is a large, and upon an exterior View; feems a very fine City, but is very far from being fo within. The Dutcb have a Houfe or Factory at the City of Ligor, and the Englifh, Portuguefe, Mogols, Perfans, and Cbinefe, trade very confiderably here; nay, feveral Portuguefe live in the City. Formerly the Europeans enjoyed great Immunities here, but are now abridged of fome of them, and this on the following Occafion.
One Conftance, a Greek, that had long refided amongft the Englijh, came to Siam, and became fuch a Favourite of the King's, that, in a fhort Time; he got into the beft and moft honourable Pofts, and climbsd to the higheft Step in the Adminiftration; the King left the whole Government of his Realm to him, and he confequently became the Spring of Action. During this Time the News happen'd to reach the King's Ear, that France, then at War with the Dutch, had obtain'd a great Victory over the States; upon which that Prince, who look'd on the Hollanders with jealous Eyes, as a People that might one Day do him an Injury, refolved to fend an Ambaffador to the King of France. And he accordingly difpatched one of his Mandaryns on that Errand in 167\%; on board a French Ship ; but it is to this Day unknown what became of either the Ambaffador or the Ship, nor was the leaft News of them ever heard. The King, however, purfuing his firft Defign, fent other Ambaffadors, in a French Ship, to the Court of France, where they fafely arrived, and were very
well received. They, by Order of their Prince, entreated the French King's Friendfhip, as well as made Proteftations of their Mafter's tender Regard for his Moft Cbrifitian Majefty ; and withal requefted, that he would pleafe to fend him fome Forces to remain in his Country for the Defence of it. And after the Expiration of feveral Years, the King of France fent Ambaffadors, and three Ships to Siam, where they fafely arrived, and were very well received and fplendidly entertained; , befides which, large Privileges were granted to the Cbritians on their Account; for befides the Ambaffadors, in the three Ships, there came over with them a French Bifhop with feveral Monks, which, together with three or four hundred Men defigned for the Defence of the King and Kingdom, were by the Ambaffadors left behind.

This very much difgufted the Populace, but more the Priefts; and feveral of the Chief of the Nobility look'd awry at it ; as did the Mabometans, who gave the King Poifon, of which he ficken'd and died.

After which, the General and others rofe up, in Arms againft the Regent or Adminiftrator, maftered the City, and cut the above-mentioned Greek to Pieces; and the King dying without Heirs, leaving only one Daughter, and this General having forcibly got into the Thtone, defigned the immediate Deftruction of the French; but they perceiving his Intention, retired to a ftrong wellfortified Place, which they fo bravely defended, that he was obliged to permit them to depart freely, and furnifh them with three Ships for their Voyage.
17. Tartary borders North and North-weft on Cbina, from which it is divided by the Great Wall: Thefe Nations are divided into Eaft and Weft Tartars; the latter conquered Cbina at the latter End of the Twelfth Century; but about eighty Years afterwards were driven out of that Empire; and the Eastern Tartars are at prefent poffers'd of it, having leated themfelves on the Throne in the Year 1643. They are called Eaftern Tartars, not with Regard to Cbina, of which they lie Northwards, but with refpect to the other Tartars, which lie Weft of them, and are called Wefern Tartars.

The Eafern Tartars were feparated from Cbina not only by the Wall, but by the Province of Leaotung, which was not a Cbinefe Province before the Tartars came through it into that Empire; but being fituated without the Wall, it lay as a Barrier againft the Incurfions of the Tartars; and before it became a Pro vince of Cbina, was a Place of Exile, whither all banifhed Perfons were either ordered or fled of their own Accord for Refuge. Thefe and other Exiles affifted Prince Oufangouei, who, with the Help. of the Tartars, drove the Ufurper Li or Licoung from the Throne, which the Tartars then afcended. After which, the Province of Leaotung, in grateful Acknowledgment of its introducing the faid Iartars into Cbina, was incorporated to the Empire, and declared the fixteenth Cbinefe Province, enjoying the fame Rights, Privileges and Immunities with the fifteen ancient Provinces ; all whofe Tribunals and fuperior Courts of Juftice are fupplied by an equal Number of Tartars and Cbinefe, as are alfo all, the Prefidenthips.
Since the Tartar conquered Cbina, he hath extended the Frontiers of his Dominions in Tartary, for being formerly but one of the petty Kings of the Eaf Tartars, he hath not only obliged the other Eafern Princes, but even the Weftern Tartars, to fubmit to, obey, and for the moft Part, acknowledge him their Sovereign Prince. And the Union of thefe two mighty Kingdoms and Nations, has fwelled this Enipire to an extraordinary Bulk, and rendred it one of the nobleft Sovereignties 'in the Worid. By Means of this wide Extenfion of this Momarchy, Cbina, or more properly Tartary, ftretches its Borders to Mujcory, by which it is bounded Northwards. And by the Peace betwixt the Czar and the Emperor of Cbina, concluded in the Year 1689 at Nipchou, by the Ambafiadors of both Emperors, it appears that the Borders on both Sides are fixed by Agreement in the Latitude of 55 Degrees; which appeared very furprizing even to Geographers themfelves, they farce believing
that Cbina and Mufcovy were become Empires confining on each other by the Addition of Tartary, And the Ambaffadors could not reach the before-mentioned Frontier City, fituated on the utmoft Borders of Mufcovy from Peking, in lefs than fix Weeks Time, the Diftance being three hundred Leagues.

The Empire of the Great Mogul, and feveral other Monarchies, were in like Manner formerly Provinces obedient to the Cbinefe Empire, as is amply evinced by the prefent remaining Monuments in feveral Parts of India: But either their diftant Situation, political Intereft, or the Cbinefe Seditions, have long fince torn them from that Monarchy. The Empire of the Great Mogul extends over all the Kingdoms and Countries betwixt the Rivers Ganges and Indus, to the Gulph of Bengal. The Inhabitants of Cambay, Bengal, and other fubordinate Countries, drive a very great Trade with the Cbinefe, and have alfo with their Merchandize introduced thir own, that is, the Mabometan Religion. The Metropolis, where the Great Mogul keeps his Court, as alfo the Province in which it is fituated, is called Delli ; the Countries fubject to him are very fertile, and what by reafon of the Gulph or Arm of the Sea, and the Rivers which on both Sides run by it, very commodiounty fituate for the Tranfportation of the Produce of that Country. Befides vaft Plenty of Corn and Fruit-trees which that Land yields, it affords alfo great Quantities of Wax, Frankincenfe, Spices, and Drugs, as well as Diamonds and other precicus Stones. The Number of Elephants is here fo great, that they are not computed by Hundreds, but Thoufands; and according to the Cuftom of this Country, the Horfe and Foot capable of taking Arms, and which upon a fhort Warning may be raifed, are reckoned by Hundreds of Thoufands. The Commodities with which they chiefly trade in Cbina, are rough and other Diamonds, Jewels, Elephants Teeth, Wax, $\mathcal{F}^{2}$. The Emporium to which they and other Indians coming out of the Weft refort, as is already hinted, is Zunning, a very great and commodious trading City, frequented by all Nations; for though anciently no Foreigners were permitted to come to or trade in Cbina, yet the wifer Tartars regarding their own Intereft much more than obfolete Cuftoms, have allowed almoft all Nations to trade amongtt them. All the Indians are fwarthy, and go naked, except only a Cloth, which both Men and Women wear about their Waftes.

It was thought beft to infert the Whole of our Author's Account of the Kingdoms, anciently and at prefent depending upon Cbina, juft as it ftands in his Book, and without any Remarks, that the Reader might perceive at once what the Situation of Things was at the latter End of the laft Century. We may very eafily difcern from his Manner of Writing, that he was a very warm Friend to the Glory of his Country, and very defirous of reprefenting it as infinitely more glorious in former Times than it is now. It is not ealy to fay, what his Sentiments would have been, of an Opinion that prevails amongft fome very learned Men, if he had been acquainted with them, viz. that the Cbinefe themfelves are but a Colony from Egypt: On one Hand indeed, this Notion derogates much from their Glory, as it makes them appear fo far below what they efteen themfelves, and of which they continually boaft, that they are an original Nation ; that many Nations have defcended from them, and that before the Conqueft of their Country by the Tartars, their Race was in a good Meafure unmixed; yet confidered in another Light, this Notion feems to do them Honour, for if we reheet on the Accounts given us by Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, and other antient Writers, concerning the Government, Cuftoms and Manner of Living amongt the original Natives of Egypt, they muft be owned for one of the wifeft and moft polite People of whom there is any Record in Hiftory.

In Matters of this Nature, however, it is not enough to affert, there ought likewife to be fome kind of Proof, and thofe who give into this Sentiment, endeavour to furtain it by three Arguments. The firft is, that the ancient Egyptians pofitively afert it, their
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having fent, in the moft early Times, vaft Armies into the higher $A \mathcal{F}$ a, who left behind them confiderable Colonies, of which, however, the Greeks tell us rather Fables than any Thing that can be called Hiftory, as to the Remnants they met with in India. So that fuppofing the Travels of the Egyptian Baccbus to have fome Thing of Truth, though buried under a Load of Fiction, we may likewife fuppofe that he penetrated into Cbina, and in that Country, rather than in India, left his Colonies. The fecond Argument is deduced from the great. Conformity between the two Countries, for if Egypt has its Nile, Cbina has its great River of Nanking; if the former abounds with Canals and Cutts of Water, from Town to Town, for the Sake of an eafy and commodious Communication, fo does thelatter; and if in Egypt there are many Monuments of great Antiquity, the like are alfo to be found in Cbina. The third Argument is taken from the Refemblance of their Governments, and the Maxims upon which they are founded; the Likenefs between the ancient Hieroglyphicks, or rather facred Character of the Egyptians, and that of the Cbinefe; the Averfion and Contempt which both Nations have for 'Foreigners, flowing from an arrogant Opinion of their own Superiority in Science, and in every Thing elfe; the Notions the Egyptians had of the Excellence of their Country, which is exactly copied by the Cbinefe, and in fine, the pacific Difpofitions of borh Nations, fpringing from the Principles of their Policy, immutable through the Courfe of many Ages. How far thefe Arguments reach towards eftablifhing the Probability of this Sentiment being true, we pretend not to determine, it being our Aim only to give the Reader as fhort and clear Account of the Sentiment itfelf that was in our Power; and having done this, we leave it entirely to his Decifion.
But it may not be amifs to add, that the Gaponefe, the Simoefe, and other Nations, mentioned by our Author, have actually fuch a Tradition amongft them as he contends for, and are fo far from denying that they were formerly under the fame Dominion with the Cbiriefe, that on the contrary, they boaft of being defcended from them as a very high Honour, and appeal to their Cuftoms and Manners for the Proof of it, fuppofing that their Learning and Knowledge of what Nature foever it may be, could be derived to them only from that People, who they efteem the wifert and moft polite Nation in the Eaft. We are not therefore to regard what our Author fays, as the pure Effects of Vanity, but as an Opinion that is current amongft the feveral Nations of which he fpeaks.
It ${ }^{\prime}$ muft look very ftrange after what has been faid, that thefe Countries are no longer under the Dominion of the Cbinefe Emperor ; for it fhould appear extremely eafy to preferve Territories, the Inhabitants of which have a Pride in being Subjects ; but the Riddle is not hard to be difclofed, and as the Solution is neither unprofitable nor unpleafant, it may not be amifs to infert it. The Cbinefe Monarchs of the laft Race, before the Country was fubdued by the Tartars, were defirous rather of keeping than of extending their Dominions; and for this Reafon they chofe the natural Bounds of Seas and Mountains, together with the artificial Fortification of the Great Wall, which had been raifed by their Anceftors, and raifed from that very Maxim which they now purfued.
By this Means the fifteen Provinces of Cbina, though of fuch a valt Extent, were perfectly well covered from foreign Invafion. On the Eaft or South they could be attacked only by a maritime Power, and a Power capable of attacking them, they yery well knew fubfifted not in that Part of the Earth; fo that their Coafts were perfectly faved, even fuppofing they had not been fo defenfible as they really are. To the South-weft they have a long Chain of impracticable Mountains, on the, other Side of which lie the Kingdoms of Laos, Tonkin, Cocbincbina, and Siam; from the People of which they knew by Experience they had nothing to fear; and they were wife enough alfo to know, that it would be much eafier for them to affift thefe Nations in Cafe they were attacked, than to defend their refpective Countries as Pro-

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vinces. On the Weff they are likewife covered by Mountains, and on the North by the famous Wall, beyond which they have the Country of Leontong, which they kept as an Outwork againft the Mantcbeou Tartars:
This Policy of theirs was found and good, and muft for ever have fecured ${ }^{\circ}$ Cbina, if their own civil Diffentions had not opened a Way to that Revolution which the Tartars compaffed by fuperior Skill rather than Force. As Things now ftand there is Reafon to believe ${ }_{5}$ that on the one Hand the Tartars will be eafily difpoffefs'd, becaufe their Force daily increafes in Com* parifon of the native Chinefe; and as to any Attempts of other Nations, they are lefs to be feared thàn ever, becaufe the Tartars heretofore, their moft formidable Enemies, are now become a kind of Out-guards, as willing and more capable to defend them than the proper Subjects of the Empire.

As this Obfervation is obvious, and as the Cbinefe have Penetration enough in this Refpect, we have Reafon to wonder that our Author has taken no Notice of it, but a little Reflexion will difcover the Caufe. He was not of Tartar, but of Cbinefe Extraction, and therefore if this Notion occurred to him, he would certainly fupprefs it as defrructive to the Honour and Reputation of his Councry, which it is vifible enough from his Manner of Writing he meant to raife as high as he could. At the Time he wrote, the Tartars had not been Mafters of Cbina above fifty Years; and it is very natural to believe, that the Cbinefe ftill retained Hopes of being fome Time or other able to throw off the Yoke; and in fuch Cafes, thofe who are well verfed in the Difpofitions of Men, which are pretty much the fame in all Couns tries, will eafily conceive, that all Things muft appear to them in falfe Lights, becaufe on one Side, the flate. tering Expectation of becoming once more free and independent, heightened the Opinion of their own Strength ; and on the other, their Averfion to Foreigners hindred them from perceiving that the Tartar Power was continually increafing, and at the fame Time, their Ability of refifting declining apace.

But to defpair, and to defpair in fo capital a Point as this at that Time, mult have been thought by every Cbinefe, was what he muft wifh to avoid, and whatever Men wifh with Regard to fpeculative Points being always in their Power, they feldom fail of bending their Belief to their Wihhes. We have various Inftances of this in other Countries than Cbina, and Inftances that in Point of Time reach very far beyond that wherein they have even now been Subjects to a foreign Power; a Circumftance every where alike hateful, and which therefore amongt all Nations will ever have the like Effect, till fuch Time as the Caufe imperceptibly wears out, that is, till thofe who were confidered as Strangers become Natives, and fo the Will to expel them is gradually loft. In all human Probability this Time is already come in the Country of which we are fpeaking, and if we had, a Hiftory of it written by a Cbinefe at this Day, we fhould find him place the Subject that we have been difcuffing, in the very fame Light that we have done.

We muft not however diffemble that there are various Paffages in his Accounts which might be corretted, and fome which without Prejudice to his Performance might have been omitted, but it is to be confidered, that thefe Miftakes are not very confiderable; either in their Nature or in their Number, that he wrote at a Diftance of Time, when Slips of the like kind would have been very pardonable, even in an Author on this Side of the World; that there is fomething ufeful in feeing what miftaken Opinions gain Ground in thofe Parts, and laftly, that there is not the leaft Danger that a Perfon, who has perufed the former Volume of this Work, fhould be minfed by what he fays. Add to all this, that as we have hardly feen any Cbinefe Writer before, fo it would not become us to play the fevere Criticks now. The Knowledge our Author had, like that of his Countryman, was all of his own acquiring, and what he has communicated, is written with that Freedom and Ingenuity, that it is highly reafonable we thould afford it a favourable Reception, and make many Allowances for

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the many Difadvantages he muft neceffarily labour under.

The fame Excufes, though perhaps in a more extenfive Degree, muft be likewife offered for what ftill remains of his Account, which it is very poffible may not be altogether fo exact as the modern Accounts of the Jefuits, but at the fame time, they are very well worth preferving for many Reafons. He had a Mind to give the People of Europe, a very fhort Account of the two great Revolutions that had happened in Cbina, fince they became acquainted with that Country, and alfo an impartial View of the State that Empire was in at the Time he left it ; this very Defign has fince employed the Pen of a very celebrated French Jefuit, and yet upon comparing their Works we may fafely affirm, that though our Author is not a tenth Part fo long, it contains as much Matter, many Circumftances that are not to be met with in his, explains the Caufes and Confequences of thefe Revolutions as clearly to the full, and affords a better Picture of the reigning Emperor, than that drawn by the French Father.

It was for thefe Reafons, that after mature Deliberation, we gave it a Place here, fo that the Reader has now the intire Work of Dionysus Kao, and in a better Drefs than it has hitherto appeared. Some of our Readers indeed might poffibly expect a larger Hiftory of Cbina, but befides that, this would have run us into much too great a Lengch, it would have been alfo foreign to, and quite befide our Defign; for all we aim at, is to give our Readers a juft Idea of Countries as they fland at prefent, and if we fometimes ftep back into more remote Times, it is only with a View that from the Accounts we give of thefe, the prefent may be the better undertood.

Taking Things therefore upon this Footing, what our Author has delivered is precifely what we wanted it is a Sketch of the Cbinefe Hiftory, within that Period of Time which falls immediately under our Notice, and accounts for the principal Events which have happened fince it was vifited by Marco Polo, the firt European that ever wrote about it, and whofe Travels are inferted intire in our former Volume. One Thing more is to be obferved upon this Subject, before we leave it, and it is this, that whatever Dinike our Author might have for the Tartars, he found himfelf obliged to fpeak of the Emperor reigning at the Time he wrote, in as high Terms as it was in his Power to invent; from whence we difcover two Things of fome Importance, with an equal Degree of Certainty; the firt, that the Monarch of whom he fpeaks, really defferved the high Character he gave him, for otherwife it is impofible that fo many Writers of different Nations and Interefts, fhould agree in it. The fecond, that it plainly appears from hence, that our Author had a juft Regard for his Proteftations, and did not fuffer either his Fondnefs for his own Country, or his Averfion to the Tartars, to mifguide him from the Paths of Truth. From this extraordinary Inftance therefore of his Veracity, of which we have the fulleft Proof, we learn what Credit is due to the reft of his Performance, and that it is not without Reafon we have commended his Writings fo much, to which it is now high Time to return.
:Tho' the Cbinese Empire is by all the learned of that Nation, without the leaft Scruple, pofitively afferted to have continued for above the Space of four thoufand Years, under the Government of two and twenty Imperial Families; and others believe it poffible to trace its Origin five hundred Years higher; yet to this Day, or rather to the Middle of the fixteenth Century, the Cbinefe have not made any Alteration in their Humour, Morals, Learning, Habits, Manner of Government, or Language. It is indeed true, that Seditions, Civil Wars, Infurrections and Revolutions have happen'd, which have made a temporary Alteration of the exterior Form, but they foon difappear'd, and all Things returned to their former State : For one while the Empire was divided into one hundred, nay three hundred Parts, then reduced to feven, afterwards to three; and at laft re-
turned to the primitive State of an encire Empife, fub. ject folely to one Sovereign.
According to the Cbinefe Chronology, the aboven mentioned two and twenty Royal Families have produced two hundred and thirty fix Emperors, computed to extend to the prefent Monarch, and beginning with the firlt Emperor Fobi: Which Priuce, agreeably to this Chronology, and the unanimous Atteftation of all learned Men, is acknowledged for the undoubted Founder of the Cbinefe Sovereignty. This is particularly confirmed by thofe appointed to examine into it by the Emperor himfelf, and his chief or moft able Minifters: We are told that this Emperor was a Prince of an exalted Genius, great Courage and Experience ; that he projected their Laws, declared good Education and good Manners to be the beft Foundation of the Publick Good; and beftowed his utmoft Praifes on thofe who by virtuous Means preffed forward to the higheft Degree of Wifdom; whilft on the other Side, he banifhed all Sloth, and fer a very high Value on thofe, who by their Parts and Induftry diftinguifhed themfelves from the reft of Mankind. His illuftrious Reign, crown'd with venerable Age and Experience, tranfmitted to his Defcendants fuch a ftrong Impreffion of his real Excellencies, that his Maxims, Inftructions, and Laws, are regarded as divine Precepts, and thofe who have ftudied them, have found them fo fuperlatively excellent, that they have juftly deferved as well as retained their exalted Fame amonglt the Afatick Nations.
Fobi was lucceeded by Cbumming, and he by Hoangti, who was fucceeded by Xao, and feveral others in order, which according to the fame Chronology were elective Kings; and being as long liv'd as the Noacbian Patriarchs, each of thefe is faid to have reigned above one hundred Years ; though like the Antidiluvians mentioned in holy Writ, they declined in Proportion to the Time of their Flourifhing. The fame Chronologies affign Yous as the firf Monarch which followed thefe elective Kings, and whofe Son and Race fucceeded to the Crown; fince which Time it has remained hereditary to this Day.

The prefent reigning Monarch of the Houfe of Taicin or Taicou, (as we have already hinted) is the third Tartarian Emperor, whofe Grandfather, after the Death of Zuncbi, the fixteenth and laft Emperor of the Race of Taiminga, which had fwayed the Scepter for the Space of two hundred and feventy fix Years, feized or rather rufhed inso the imperial Throne, after the Defeat and Expulfion of the traiterous Ufurper by Prince OuJangouei, affifted by the Tartarian Forces.
The fame Writers inform us, that in the Reign of the Emperor Xunus, the Tartars made their firft Incurlions into Cbina, but that Prince bravely repulfed them, and fettled the Empire in a quiet State: So that this Event, which happened long before Chritt's Time, was rather an Incurfion, than a War of any Duration. But in the twelfth Century, the Tartars conquered this Empire in the Reign of the laft Emperor of the Houfe of sung, which Family had then reigned four hundred Years: They then entered and feized the Empire, by the traiterous Affiftance of Zingbay, one of the Nobility: For this Traytor, watching his Opportunity, introduced the Tartars during the Emperor's Minority; and they quietly enjoyed the Empire about eighty Years: But in Procefs of Time, the Peace, Eafe, and Plenty in which they wallowed, debauched that warlike Nation to the luxurious, foft, and lazy Way of Jiving of the Cbinefe: Valour and Order were difplac'd, and Reputation vanifhed : The Soldier became leud, and tranfgreffed his Orders with Impunity: And the great Remifsnefs of the Commanders occafioned the greater Mifchief, of Robberies on the Highways, and in the Streets, and Murthers; which Currrent of Crimes running high, Fear of Punifhment produced Confpiracies, extending to whole Battalions, which at firft fculking and difperfing themfelves throughout the whole Empire, rendred all Cbina very dangerous either to live or travel in: Efpecially when they grew ftrong enough to appear in the Field in Troops, and at laft in fmall Armies.

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The Cbinefe tired with this foreign Power, which grew to infupportable Tyranny, as appears by what followed, murmured at it, and raifed Commotions throughout the whole Empire, but none of the Nobility firred in it, notwithftanding which they were delivered from the Tartarian Yoak in the following Manner.
A certain Boy, born in the City of Fajangfu, in the Province of Nanking, that had loft his Parents by the Plague, to efcape that raging Diftemper, as well as through Want of Bread; and in Hopes of bettering his Fortune, left his native Place, and retired to a Pagod, or idolatrous Temple, and put himfelf into the Service of the Bonzi's, which are their Idolatrous Priefts: But they treating him fomewhat feverely, he ran away from them, and became a Herdfman; and in Procefs of Time, being advanced to maturer Years, he lifted himfelf a Soldier amongft the Robbers before-mentioned, which were now grown to a formidable Body: And what contributed to his continual and gradual Advancement amongft them was, that one of their principal Commanders was his Uncle, who finding him acquit himfelf well, took Care to raife him: And becoming himfelf a General, he died fometime after, and was fucceeded by this Nephew: Who had nor been long General before (having encreafed his Forces to his defired fufficient Number, and being affifted by the Cbinefe) he fo expeditioully, vigoroully, and fuccefsfully made War againft the Tartars, that in the Space of feven or eight Years, he obliged them to evacuate the whole Empire of Cbina. He fixed himfelf on the Throne, was proclaimed Emperor, kept his Court at Nanking, and died after having reigned thirty three Years, affuming the Name of Hunguil, i. e. the Excellency of Arms. He was the firt of the Houfe of Mincbao, (or Tamincba) which governed that Empire about two hundred and eighty Years. His Son fucceeded him in the Empire, and removed the Imperial Seat from Nanking to Peking, in order to be nearer the Tartars, upon whom he fell with all his Force, and pierced through all Tartary, deftroying all to which Side foever he turned his victorious Arms, and fparing Nobody, purfuant to the Refolution he had made if poflible to extirpate all the Tartars; but finding none able to oppofe him, he returned to Cbina, where after a long and peaceable Reign he died; and his Defcendants continued in the Throne till in or about the Year 1644 , at which time the Reign of that Family ended in the Emperor Zuncbi, who by his miferable End made Way for the Tartar to afcend the Throne. It is indeed remarkable, that the very, Family which about three hundred Years before had drove out the Weftern, was driven out by the Eaftern Tartars.

Before we enter upon the prefent Government and Revolution of the Empire, we fhall by the Way only hint, that the Tartars in the Reign of the Emperor Vanli, one of the laft of the Taimincbian Race, who died in 1620 , aged 58 , after a Reign of forty eight Years, made an Irruption into Cbina, and were repulfed by him : And that about the Year 1580, in the fame Emperor's Reign, the Chriftian Religion began to be received in Cbina. Francis Xavier attempted firt to travel thither from $\dot{f} a p a n$, in Hopes of promoting the Kingdom of Chrift; but died on his Way in the Ille of Sancbam, a Place dependant on the Province of Canton. Then the Fathers Herrada, Marino Alfaro, and fome Francifans, viz. Martin Egnatio, Rogero, Pafio, Ricci, and other Fathers, undertook this Work with the fame ardent Zeal; but Father Ricci proved the moft fuccefsful of any of them, for having long refided at Macao, having ftudied the Religion, Laws and Cuftoms of that Empire, and being very well verfed in their Language, thefe A complifhments gained him the Efteem of the Emperor and the whole Court, and rendred his Miffion fuccefsful ; he obtained a Grant of buying a Houfe and a Burying-place, as alfo Leave to fertle there, which was the firft Foundation of the fpreading of the Gofpel here. But the Lord's Vineyard at Macao, was once very near an utter Extirpation by a cruel Perfecution, if the Hand of God had not ftopped it by punifhing che Perfecutors.

After the Death of the Emperor Vonil, reigned his Son Taicbon, a valiant Prince, who by raifing a great Army againft the Tartars, that began to be in Motion, difcovered his earneit Defire of heroically attacking them, but his Defign was fruftrated by his fudden Death, afré a Reign only of four Months. He was fucceded by his Son Tbienki, who not in the leaft degenerating from the Valour of his Anceftors, as foon as he was on the Throne, affited by his Allies, beat the Tartars out of Leaotung, in which Province they had made an Irruption and maftered feveral Cities, and after a Reign of about feven Years Duration died in Peace, and was fucceeded by his Brother Zungcbi, a mild negligent Prince, who, fond of Eafe, repofed too great Truft in his Officers, who inftead of a faithful Service repaid his Credulity with Treachery, and after an unfortunate Reign brought their M after to a miferable End, whicls was followed by the Empire's falling into the Hands of a foreign Family.
"The Caufes of the Revolution in Cbina, and the " utter Extinction of the lait Race of Cbirefe Emperors, " befides thofe alledged by our Author, are by feveral "Writers obferved to be : That the Court (or the "Emperor) was plunged in luxurious lazy Eafe; his " only Care being employed how to pals his Days with "the greateft Pleafure, with the beautiful Virgins " which were felected for his Ufe all over the whole " Empire: For the Prince being abfolute, ic was for" bidden to marry any young Women before they were " proffer'd to him. This Courfe has ruined more Courts " than one, it naturally adminiftring Occafions for In"furrections within, and Foreign Invafions, whilft the "Emperors, drowned in ridiculous Pleafures and Di" verfions, never trouble themfelves with the Govern" ment, but entrult it in the Hands of worthlefs "Eunuchs. Others add, that this Prince was allo " very covetous."

The Tartar was driven out of Leaotung and Cbinc by the above-mentioned Emperor Tbienski, and befides made a Tributary to him; but the Sparks of civil Diffention were not fo extinguifhed as to prevent their breaking out into a more raging Flame, which was kindled by the Cbinefe. Governors exorbitantly treating and plundering the Tartars and Tartarian Merchants, and not in the leaft frupling the Practice of any Manner of Injuftice againft them, in order to exafperate that Nation, and oblige themfelves with the Opportunity of fifhing in troubled Water. The Mer chants and others that were abufed by the Governors, petitioned againft them ; but the Emperor and the Court turned a deaf Ear to all their Complaints. The Tartarian King, in Refentment armed himfelf, and at the Head of his Army difpatched a Letter to the Erimperor, before he had Recourfe to coercive Means, or backed his Words with his Sword. He laid before him the unjuft and partial Practices of his Governors and Officers; and fet forth, that all the Remonftrances of his Merchants were flighed at Court ; defiring the Emperor would be pleafed to punifh his Governors and exorbitant Robbers, and provide againft fuch pernicious and corrupt Practices for the Future, and excufe him his annual Tribute, in order to reimburfe him the Military Expences he had been at; upon Refufal of which he declared, that he fhould be obliged to take fuch Meafures as the continual Complaints of the Violence and Injuftice daily exercifed upon his Subjects fhould oblige him to. The Emperor, inftead of examining into this Affair, utterly difcharges himfelf of it, and leaves it to his Council; who, keeping him blind, play'd their Game according to their own Pleafure, and without any great Oppofition fuffer'd the Tartar to feize Part of Leaotung. After the Conqueft of which, he endeavour'd to fubdue the whole Province, but was interrupted in his Career by a too vigorous Refiftance; and the War betwixt the two Nations lafted a long Time, Victory fometimes inclining to one, and at other Times to the other Side: But at laft the Strife ended in a Peace, in Favour of the Tartar, the Em. peror being obliged to leave him in the quiet Enjoy-
ment of his Conquefts; by reafon that the Robbers and feveral of the Nobility had made fuch a formidable Infurrection, that the Emperor feemed to apprehend more Dinger from them than from the Tartars themfelves: Which was indeed afterwards confirmed by the Event; for the Robber Licoung, after taking feveral Cities and whole Provinces, grew fo infolent as to prefume to attack even the Emperor himfelf in Peking his Metropolis, which he knew to be empty of Forces, or at leaft, that thofe there were commanded by thofe who would betray their Prince. The Emperor finding himfelf betray'd on one Hand, and deferted on the other, being unwilling to fall into the Robber's Hands alive, after he had killed his Daughter with his Sword, ended his one miferable Life with a Rope.

The Conqueror attempted to fix himfelf on the Throne; but Prince Oufangouei, who commanded the Army at the Great Wall, and kept a Watchful Eye on the Tartar, defigning either to fall on him with his great Force, or engage him on his Side, gained over to his Party the Leaotungers, and all thofe who were either banifhed, or had fled to that Province; but though they were added to his Army, he did not think himfelf ftrong enough to deal with the almoft infinite Numbers, and confequently fuperior. Force of the Ufurper: Wherefore he, by a Treaty with TJonte or Zunte the Tartarian King, obliged him to join his Forces againft the Ufurper, in order to revenge the Death of his Father, whom the Robber had cruelly murthered: He fucceeded in his Defign, and after a bloody Fight purfued him ; and it is at prefent utterly unknown where Licoung perifhed. During this Purfuit of the Robber, TTonte enters the Empire, in order to fupport Prince Oufangouei on Occafion, to clear the Empire of Licoung's Followers, and difperfe the Confpirators. He advanced to Peking, where finding the Coaft clear, and the Throne empty, he afcends it, and, affitted by his Tartarian Forces, caufed the Cbinefe (whofe Hearts he had already won by his engaging Deportment) to proclaim him their Emperor, without making any orher Alterations in the Government, than putting it in the Hands of an equal Number of Tartars and Cbinefe, and introducing the Tartarian Habit and Hair, to which he had in a Sort inured and engaged the Cbinefe by dreffing them in that Manner, by a martial Stratagem, in order to deceive the Enemy, and the eafier to beat Licoung.
"What Nieuboff relates of this Prince is very re" markable, and conduces to the Illuftration of this "Story. This Prince (faith he) feemed naturally en"dowed with all Manner of Perfections, and if he " had any vicious Inclinations, he very artuully cor"rected them by Practice. Before he afcended the "Throne, he gave plain Indications of his Excel" lencies. In his tender Age his Father fent him in "Cbinefo Habit into Cbina, under the Direction and "Care of fome of his Counfellors. He there learned " not only their Language, which his apt Capacity " foon maftered, but became fo tinctured with their " politer Manners and Morals, that he feemed utterly " to have forgotten the Tartarian Roughnefs and Bar"barity. As foon as he was got into full Poffeffion of "the Throne, he changed the rigid Manner of go"verning into a milder, knowing very well that the "former would prevent his gaining his Ends on the "Cbinefe. He fo eftablifhed himfelf on his new "Throne, rather by his Tendernefs and good Man" ners than by Arms, which endeared the Hearts of " his Subjects to him: He careffed the Cbinefe that
"came over to him, as much as his own Countrymen; "thofe he took Prifoners, if they pleafed, he enter"tained in his Service, and fuffer'd thofe who were "unwilling, to depart, difmifing them with obliging "Expreffions and a fafe Conduct; thus he won their "Hearts, and tender'd a kind Refuge and Protection
"to the Exiles, or thofe who had before fled out of
"their Country; and they indeed were very affiltant
"to him in gaining the Empire. There were alfo
or fome amongtt them, which had diftinguifhed them-
"Felves in his Service; thefe he rewarded with Places "or Prefents that far exceeded their Expectations."
After this, Oufangouei returning from the Purfuit of his Enemies, finds the Tartar upon the Throne, and, purfuant to the Treaty concluded betwixt them, the Empire being now in Peace, and the Rebel totally defeated, defired him to return to Tartary, tendering him the Prefents promifed for his Affiftance at the Beginning of the War. To this the Emperor putting on an obliging Air, anfwer'd, that it was yet too foon, fince the Rebel was not fo enfeebled, but that hearing of his Departure to Tartary, he might pofibly attempt a frefh Influrrection, and carry all before him ; which he fhould not be able to prevent, as not being at Hand to help them; wherefore it was much better firft to deftroy utterly the Rebel and all his Adherents, and revenge on him all the Evils which he had drawn on his Kingdom as well as the Cbinefe Empire; and withal, to reduce them to fo low a Condition, that it fhould be impoffible for them to make any new Attempts. The Prince either was or pretended to be fatisfied with this Anfwer, and applied himfelf to the Deftruction of the Rebels, which he fo warmly purfued, that he did not leave the fmalleft Body of them together, but reflored the Peace of Cbina.

The Emperor TYonte was fcarce well fettled on his Throne before he died, in the Year 1644. He was the firft of the Race of Taicim, who annexed the Imperial Crown of Cbina to his Royal one; and govern'd both his own Nation called Mantcheouns and the Cbinefe, thereby tracing out a Way for the greater Glory of his Defcendants.
He left a Son named Cbunchi, who was but fix Years of Age, to fucceed to his Crown, and committed the Care of his Perfon and Education, as well as the Government of the Empire, to his Brother Amavang ; who was as careful in the farther Subjection of the refractory Provinces on one Side, as Oufangouei was in the Purfuit of Licoung, in order to take his juft Revenge of him on the other: And we are accordingly told by fome, that in an Engagement Oufangouei himfelf cut Licoung to-pieces, in Sacrifice to the Manes of his Father.

Amarang, to whom was entrufted the fupreme Direction and Adminiftration of the War and Empire, acquitted himfelf with fo much Honour in all his Undertakings, that the Reduction and Maintainance of the Empire is to be alcribed to him as much as his Brother: He gave continual Proofs of his Wirdom and Prudence in the Direction of the State, and Forbearance of his Enemies: As he did alfo of his Valour and amazing Vigilance, in Beating of Thoufands of his Enemies; but he gave yet greater Evidences of the true Senfe of the moft exalted Honour which animated his tlevated Soul, utterly untainted with any. finifter Ends, or private Intereft, in furrendring as willingly and freely the Empire to the young Prince as foon as ever he came of Age, as he had reduced, governed and preferved it to that time. This Action alone is fufficiently famous, becaufe there are very few parallel Examples can be produced.

Cbuncbi's Reign was but fhort, for he died in 1662, and after his Entry upon the Goverment, met with very few other Difficulties than thofe common to the Exercife of Sovereign Jurifdiction, and the Care of the State. In his Intervals of Relaxation he difcovered a Atrong Propenfity to Arts and Sciences, particularly to thole whicli were Mathematical : It was this that engaged him to promote Father Adam Schaal to be Prefident of that Tribunal, and graced him with his Favour, notwithftanding that he was a Stranger, and a Chriftian; this gave Encouragement to hope that the Chriftian Religion would encreafe; for when Princes begin to beftow their Favours on its Teachers, it opens a Door to their ingratiating themfelves not only with the Commonalty, but with the Nobility themfelves.
" Le Comte faith, that the Emperor Cbuncbi came in "Perfon to vifit Father Adam above twenty times within "the Space of two Years, that he granted him Leave
${ }^{\text {a }}$ to build two Churches in Peking, and confented to ${ }^{56}$ every Thing that might contribute either to the Eftasi blifhment or Propagation of the Faith; infomuch ${ }^{6 s}$ that prodigious Advances would have been made, if ss a too violent Paffion had not made an Alteration, by ${ }^{6}$ d depriving us of this Prince, at a Juncture when we ${ }^{56}$ moft wanted his Protection. He died, faith he, of ${ }^{66}$ Grief for the Death of one of his Concubines, who ${ }^{66}$ fo ftrongly enclined him to the Service of the falle ${ }^{66}$ Gods, that he would not hear of any other ; upon \&s which followed a fevere Perfecution, the Ground of is which was laid by this Miftrefs. Nor did fhe ftrike "s at the Cbriftians alone, but her Refentment was alfo so fatal to the Bonzi's, who narrowly efcaped utter De${ }^{* 6}$ Itruction by her Means.

His Son Cambi, or Cancbi, which fignifies Peaceable, fucceeded him, being but eight Years of Age when his Father died. This is the prefent Emperor, whole Reign is crowned with fuch univerfal Elogies. He is a Lover of Arts and Sciences, and hath indulged to the Chriftians fuch great Immunities all over China, that it is to be hoped this mighty Empire, may in Time, through the divine Grace, be wrought upon entirely to quit their erroneous Pagan Doctrine, and embrace the faving Faith of Jefus Chrift; which the good God grant.

His Father faw in his Infancy his excellent Endowments, and therefore paffing by all his elder Brothers, declared him his Succeffor in the Imperial Throne. During his Minority, the Chriftian Church was in a fuffering Condition, the four Regents being bitterly incenfed and prejudic'd againft that holy Religion ; and then the Chriftians were obliged to try their Patience. Father Adam Schaal was thrown into Chains, and condemned to Death ; but mercifully delivered by the won. derful Hand of God; and he died not long after, full of Years and Honour; whillt his Enemies fell into Difgrace, and fome of them being caught in their own Traps, died Chameful Deaths. After his Deceafe Father Verbieft came into the Favour of this prefent Emperor, and held the fame Place in his Grace to his laft Hour, as well as that of Prefident in the Mathematicks. And after his Death Father Grimaldi fucceeded in his Stead, and to the Favour of this Prince, whofe Praifes are below his real Merit.

For if thofe Perfons may be believed, which fpeak their own Experience, and nothing but what they are Eye and Ear-witneffes of, he is a Monarch of whom it is much better to be filent, than to fay but little. His Virtues are too great to be comprehended in a narrow Compals, and my Pen too mean to do him or them Juftice. Wherefore I fhall by my Silence excufe myjelf from this too difficult Task, and only repeat and fum up the Lives of the Princes of his Race, that have ruled the Empire. His Grandfather T fonte fcarce enjoyed his new Acquifition fo long as was requifite for him to travel through it, and died in 1644 , leaving to fucceed him Cbuncbi, a Prince of fix Years of Age, but great Endowments, who died in 1662 , after that he had declared the prefent Emperor his Heir, the greatelt Action that he ever did, or could do. He was eight Years of Age at the time of his Father's Deceafe. Cancbi, or Peaceable, is his Name, who now quietly enjoys and rules his Empire, and is equally honoured, feared, and loved by his Subjects. In the Beginning of his Reign he ftruggled with feveral dangerous and rough Seas, which moft young Princes are obliged to break through before they reach a fafe Harbour. Shortly after, and when he had fcarce reached the Age of ewenty, Prince Oufangouei rofe up in Arms and carried on a vigorous War againft him ; and Cancbi being by Defcent a Tartar, and on the other Side Oufangouei a Cbinefe, and confequently more agreeable to the Populace, they the more blindly followed him, and fuch Numbers crouded to join him, that it was not a little furprizing, that having already one half of the Empire, he did not carry the Remainder. But the young Emperor, by his extraordinary Qualifications, fo engaged the Hearts of his Subjects, that he at laft concluded an honourable Peace with this Prince, which held feveral

Vo i. II. $\mathrm{N}^{\circ}{ }^{1} 7_{2}$.

Years; and after his Death the Emperor was wife enough to allure his Sons to Court, and make a pro per Ufe of their Weaknefs to his own Advantage; and thus by one Means or other he again fubjected all Parts of this Empire under one Head, and is now their fole Emperor. The Kings of Ganton and Fokien alfo took Advantage of Oufangouei's Infurrection, and began to make War againft him ; but he knew how to draw off their Forces, and to raife Difcord amongtt thefe three Princes, (to which Coxinga may be added as à fourth) to divide them, and make them help to pull down each other; whereas poffibly if they had all drawn one Way, how brave a Soldier, and how ac. complifhed a Statefman foever he is, he had been de feated, dethroned and expelled. Thus by his wife Conduct, and great good Fortune, gaining of Time, and ourliving his Enemies, he hath poffeffed himfelf of their Kingdoms. After the Death of their Fathers, alluring the young Princes to him, or fubduing them as ill Neighbours, he clear'd his Field of all the Seed that might infeft it, and thereby reaped a full Harveft of Obedience

Having reduced his Empire to a peaceable State, he applied himfelf to the perfect Regulation of it; to which End he choie the beft Men for his Minifters and Officers, honouring thofe that did well, and punifhing thofe who misbehaved. He fhewed them, by his own Example, how great his Averfion was to Idleners, and how well-difpofed he was to Induftry and Action. After the difpatching of State-affairs, he employs himfelf either in Hunting, Fifhing, or the Study of the Sciences; for being a learned Prince, he protects and favours thofe who excel in the learned Arts, whether his Subjects or Strangers, preferring them to the higheft Dignities, and not difdaining to make ufe of the Europeans in the moft important Services, and to beftow on them the greateft Pofts; nor is he afhamed to learn from them Aftronomy, and other Mathematical Arts; Anatomy, Medicine, and Natural Philofophy; in all which the Jefuits are his Inftructors, from whom he daily condefcends to receive Leffons; Grimaldi, Gerbillon, and Pereira, are three of that Society whom he has made ufe of in Embaffies. The firf of them we was fent alone to $M u \int$ covy in 1686, and the two latter were added to the great Embafly which proved fo fuccefsful by their Negociations in 1689, for the adjufting all Differences betwixt the Great Czar and this Emperor at Nogovium or Nipcbou. 'The Fathers Scbaal, Verbieft, and fome of the above-mentioned, he hath diftinguifhed by the honourable Charge of Prefidents of Tribunals, and the Dignity of Mandaryns, and himfelf as well as the Prince his Son, always heard them difcourfing of Arts and Sciences with the utmoft Pleafure.

This mighty Emperor is not content perfonally to excel in Arts and Sciences, but endeavours to implant them in his Children, efpecially Hoangtaife the Prince his Heir apparent, whom he himfelf particularly inftructs. And the Education of Children, and reveren. cing their Parents, being one of the fundamental poli tical Maxims of the Cbinefe, this great Prince pleafeth himfelf with it; and the Son difcovers fuch pregnant Signs of a good Genius, that far from dege nerating from his illuftrious Father, he gives juft Reafon to hope that he will make as great Advances in Wir dom as his fo great Predeceffor.

Whence it is, that if it fhould pleafe God, that the Cbriftian Religion fhould ever take Root in the Hearts of this great Father and Son, it might reafonably be hoped that Cbina would foon fubmit to the Obedience of the Crofs. The Learning of the Jefuits furnimes them with an Opportunity to endear themfelves not only to thefe two Princes, but likewife feveral others, who by the Refpect paid to thefe Learned Men, grow into a favourable Opinion not only of their Perfons, but of their Doetrines, which is heightened by their Abilities manifefted in both the former Mufcovite Embafies, which was the Foundation of the favourable Edict promulgated in 1691 , (about three Years before the writing of this) relating to the Cbriftian Religion; by which a Door is opened without Diftinction to alt Perfons of all

Degrees,

Degrees, to embrace that holy Faith. And what enhances the Value of this Favour is, that if Cbino could be converted, with the Bleffing of God, we may unqueftionably expect the Converfion of all India, and all the more remote and diftant Nations; of which Cbina being the Head, the leffer Members, as Politicians obferve, would of Courfe follow; to which the L.ord give his Bleffing.

In this Manner our Author concludes his Work, written in the true Patriot Spirit of a Cbinefe, and with all the Piety of a Chriftian, fhowing himfelf equally concerned for the Profperity of his Country, and for the Propagation of the Gofpel in his Country, which is a new Argument in Favour of his Writings, fince publick Spirit, and religious Zeal, without Views of Intereft, which clofely confidered, will be found to be very near the fame Thing, are the true Springs of the moft noble and heroic Conduct, as well as the moft candid and ingenuous Writings; and though thefe may be fometimes diffembled, yet to do this, fo as to deceive, requires a much greater Meafure of Arr, than our Author feems, from his Book, to have been endowed with by Nacure, or to have acquired by Practice. It remains to compleat our Author's View, and the Defign of this Section, to continue this Hiftory as low as we can, that the Reader may be acquainted, as near as poffible, with the Cbinefe Hiftory down to the prefent Times.

This great Emperor Cangbi reigned about twenty feven Years after the Conclufion of our Author's Hiftory, and in that Space of Time, had feveral Difputes which were terminated by as many Negotiations with the late Czar, Peter the Great. The Deffgns of thefe two mighty Monarchs were in a Manner oppofite; the Cbinefe Emperor was defirous of preventing the Encroachments of the Ruflans upon his Territories, and on the other Hand the Czar propofed to himfelf the eftablifhing a regular Commerce in Cbina. It was in order to accomplifh this, that by a new Treaty he regulated the Confines of the two Empires, upon-Condition of a free Paffage for the Caravans from Rufla to Peking, which fubfifted, tho' not without fome Interruptions, during the Reign of Canghi, who, directly contrary to the Cbinefe Maxims, admitted a Ruflan Refident to remain conttantly at Peking. The Sieur de Lange who had that Character, has publifhed his Memoirs, but they contain nothing that is very material ; on the contrary, they confift chiefly of his Difputes with the Emperor's Minifters, who on the one Hand diniked the Trade by Caravans upon the old Principle of defpifing all foreign Trade, which produced a Balance in Favour of Fo. reigners, and on the other were in a Manner diftracted at having a Ruflan Minifter in their Capital, who fometimes had Audiences of the Emperor, whofe Notions with Refpect to thefe Matters were not at all agreeable to his Minifters, that Monarch forefeeing, that without fome Conceffions in Favour of the Ruffan Trade, he fhould fometime or other be expofed to a War with a Prince, capable of giving him infinitely more Trouble than the reft of his Neighbours; of which however the Cbinefe Mandaryns, wedded to their old Maxims, and prefuming on the irrefiftable Power of their Armies, had not the leaft Conception.

All this Time the Emperor of Cbina, was engaged in an obitinate and bloody War with the Weftern Tartars, which was ended by a compleat Victory gained in the Year 1720. in Confequence of which the far extended Country of Thibet, and all its Inhabitants fubmitted to and acknowledged him for their Sovereign, by which Peace was eftablifhed on that Side. This was a Thing of prodigious Confequence to the Empire, as well as an Event remarkably glorious for the reigning Monarch. In the fucceeding Year, the Cbinefe Inhabitants of the Illand of Formofa, refolved to make a brifk Effort, in order to fhake off the Yoke of Tartars, in Hopes that lying at a Dittance, they might be able to preferve their Independency, and by the Acceffion of their Countrymen from different Provinces, become powerful enough to eftablifh themfelves in the Dominion of that and the adjacent Ines. In Confequence of this wild and ill concerted Scheme, they made a fudden Infurrection, murdered all the Mandaryns, and drove the Imperial

Troops out of moft of the Cities in that Inand. When the News of this Revolt was brought to Peking, the Miniftry would have perfuaded the Emperor; that the People had been excited to it by the Dutch, and this with a View to irritate him againtt Foreigners, but he was too wife to entertain any fuch Notions, and immediately ordered Part of the Forces in the Provinces oppofite to Formofa to be tranfported chither, which in a very fhort Space of Time extinguifhed the Rebellion, by extirpating the greatelt Part of thofe who had any Concern in it, and forcing the reft to fly for Shelter in the Mountains, where they lived by Rapine and Plunder, till by Degrees they were rooted out as Robbers and Thieves ; infomuch that this, ilike all Rebellions, that are fupprefled, ferved only to fix the Government, they intended to throw off, more ftrongly. The Year after the Suppref fion of this Rebellion, the Emperor being at his Country Palace, mentioned by his Excellency Mr. Ysorant Ides, and going according to his ufual Cuftom to hunt early in the Morning in a very rigorous Winter, he tound himfelf fuddenly ftruck with a Chilnefs, which difabled him from continuing on Horfeback, fo that returning to his Palace, he took his Bed immediately; and his Phyficians declaring that his Blood was coagulated, and that there was no Hopes of his Life, he ordered his principal Minifters to attend him, and appointed his fourth Son to be his Succeffor in the Government, foon after which he expired. This happened on the gth of September 1722. according to our Stile, about eight in the Morning, in the feventieth Year of his Age, and the next Day his Corps was tranfporred to Peking.

The new Emperor, who was about forty five Years of Age, took the Name of Yong Tcbing, which fignifies, fettled Peace, and from the Day of his Acceffion, dif covered not only great Abilities, but a very fteady and refolute Temper ; he found the Imperial Fanily very numerous, and many of his Brethren were poffefled of the firt Employments in the Government, in which relying on the paternal Tendernefs of the late Emperor, they had not behaved with fo much Circumfpection as they ought, more efpecially the ninth Brother, who had the Direction of Part of the Publick Revenues, him the Emperor called to a fevere Account, and not fatisfied with his reftoring Part of what he had embezzled, he caufed him to be banifhed into Tartary, where he died not long after. Another of his Brothers, who was at the Head of the Army, had likewife the Misfortune to incur his Difpleafure, was deprived of his Poft, and otherwife punifhed. Thefe Acts of Juftice, his conftant Application to Bufinefs, and his great Tendernefs to his Subjects in general, gained him univerfal Reputation, and procured him the ftricteft Obedience. In his Father's Life-time he had never fhewn any Liking to, or Confidence in the Miffionaries, but on the contrary, behaved towards them with great Coldnefs and Referve, and yet the Jefuirs themfelves confefs, he was as great a Lover of Learning as his Father, and as much inclined to protect and promote the Sciences as any of his Predeceffors.
There is a great Probability, that the Reafon of his Diflike to the Chriftian Fathers was owing to their Influence over the deceafed Monarch, and of his obferving that they made Ufe of that Influence, not only in regard to publick, but even to Family Affairs, and a Jealoufy perhaps they were averfe to, and had empl ,yed their Intrigues for preventing his Succeffion. We find this afferted by one who was in the Train of a Rufian Minifter at his Court, and it is the more probable, becaufe an Italian Monk, of great Simplicity of Manners, of exemplary Piety, and who amufed himfelf with Painting, continued ftill in his good Graces, and was not removed out of the Palace. Nay, Father Kegler, who was Prefident of the Tribunal of Mathematicks, enjoyed alfo his good Graces, and was treated not only with all the Refpect due to his Character, but even promoted to a fuperior Rank; which fhews that he diftinguifhed between Religion and Manners, and knew how to fet a juft Value upon worthy Men, notwithflanding they were of a different Religion.

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Whatever the Caufe might be of his Diftafte to the Jefuits, it was not long betore it became fatal to the Chriftians in general ; and yet this did not immediately fpring from his own Will and Pleafure, but from a Memorial prefented to him by one of his chief Minitters, fetting forth abundance of Enormities of which thefe Men had been guilty, more efpecially in the ill Ufe they made of their Favour with the late Emperor, and of the Influence they had over their Converts, which they reprefented as highly prejudicial to the State, and dangerous too, if not deftructive of their ancient Conftitution. This Memorial was followed by feveral others of the fame Nature, and not long after by a much warmer Paper, tranfmitted by the Viceroy of Fokien, containing his Reafons for expelling the Miffionaries out of that Province; and concluding with a Requeft, that the Emperor would iffue his Orders for exiling them out of all the reft of the Provinces, and fend them either to Court or to Macao.

This laft Memorial was referred to the Tribunal of Rites, and by their Advice the Prayer of the Petition was complied with, notwithftanding all the Endeavours the Jefuits could ufe, and the Interceffion of their Friends and Patrons, who in this unlucky Situation could do them no farther Service than to procure a fmall Alteration in this Meafure, which was to fubftitute Canton inftead of Macao ; and accordingly all the Miffionaries throughout the Provinces were obliged to abandon their refpective Places of Refidence, and were either fent to the laft mentioned City, or to Peking. Not long after this a Profecution was commenced againft a Prince of the Blood and all his Family, purely on the Score of their being Chriftians, which notwithftanding it was very numerous, and defcended from an elder Brother of the Founder of the Empire, was carried fo high, that by the fupreme Tribunal of the Empire they were condemned to fuffer Death; which however the Emperor was pleafed to commute, and fent them inco perpetual Exile, as fome fay, or as others affert, directed them to be kept Prifoners during Life.

One would imagine from thefe Accounts, that the Emperor Kong Tcbing was of a very fevere Difpofition, and had either conceived fome frightful Idea of the Chriftian Religion, or thought he had good Grounds to fecure himfelf againft any Attempts that might be made to the Prejudice of his Authority by fome of his own Family. Yet nothing of this Kind ever appeared, for with refpect to the Chriftians that made ufe of Cbinefe Priefts, and performed their divine Worfhip without Oftentation, he allowed them much the fame Kind of Indulgence they had under his Predeceffors; fo that it feems it was not the Precepts of the Jefuits, at leaft in a Religious Senfe, that he feared, but their Dominion over Confciences, their fecret Intrigues and hidden Practices. As to the Imperial Family, he behaved towards fuch as were in a private Condition, with all the Refpect and Tendernefs due to his Relations; but in regard to fuch as were in publick Stations, he expected from them as clear and as candid Accounts as from others in the like Employments, and if thefe were wanting, he punifhed them without any Refpect to their being of his Blood, which he confidered only as an Obligation on them to be more circumfpect in the Difcharge of their Duty. An Inftance there was which put the Rectitude of his Behaviour entirely out of Difpute. The next Brother to him had been thought of tor the Succeffion, being a Prince of great Wifdom and Prudence, and he was fet afide only from his affecting a fedentary Life. Yet the Emperor his Father admitted him into his Cabinet Council, took his Opinion upon all Matters of Importance, and very feldom or never acted contrary to his Advice. This Brother, when Yong Tcbing came to the Throne, he made the Partner of his Cares and of his Power; he did nothing but according to his Counfels, and was fo conftant in this Refpect, that he feemed rather his Brother's Minifter than his Prince.

When he died, which was in the Month of June, 1730, Tong Tibing, according to the Cuftom of the Country, thewed his Reverence and Efteem for the Deceafed, by the Solemnity of his Funeral, and the Length
of the Mourning, both of which rather fuited the Coms panion of his Throne than the Prince of his Blood. After the Death of this Prince, the whole Weight of Affairs devolved upon the Emperor, and he attended to them with Patience beyond Example, and behaved, whenever he gave Audience, with an Affability beyond the Reach of Defcription. The Jefuits at Peking, who would have been glad to have difcovered any Miftake in his Conduet, or Error in his Policy, very freely acknowledge this, and that inttead of indulging his Eafe, or purfuing his Pleafures, he was temperate in the higheft Degree, and dedicated more Hours to Bufinefs than almoft any Man in his Dominions. He made ufe of his Revenues purely for the publick Service, and in Cafe of Dearths, or any other publick Calamity, he was fure to prevent any Applications for Relief by an early and adequate Affiftance. He gave an extraordinary Inftance of this paternal Affection for his Subjects on the happening of an Earchquake, November 19, 1731, by whioh a great Part of the Imperial City of Peking was demolifhed, and upwards of a thoufand People buried in the Ruins. He was at the Time it happened at one of his Palaces in the Country, not far from that City, and was taking the Air in a Boat upon one of the Canals, from whence he had the Mortification to fee the greateft Part of the Buildings, which had coft his Predeceffors immenfe Sums, fubverted in an Inftant. Upon this he immediately went a-fhore, proftrated himfelf upon the Ground, implored the Mercy of the Great God of Heaven and Earth for his Fellow Creatures, and befought him, if that Punifhment was due to any Crimes of his, that he might rather be removed, and become the Object of the Divine Vengeance, than that it fhould fall upon an innocent People, criminal only from their being his Subjects.

As foon as the Danger was over, forgetting the Ruin of his Palace, he appointed Commiffioners to enquire into the Loffes which the People of Peking had fuftained, relieved the Families of thofe who were killed, and iffued a prodigious Sum of Money for repairing the Houfes, and rebuilding the publick Edifices that had been thrown down, and which is a very ftrong Proof of his having no Pique or Prejudice to the Chriftian Religion; being informed that the great Church of the Jefuits was in a Manner totally ruined, he fent for the Miffionaries, treated them with great Humanity and Tendernefs ar their Audience, recommended to them the Repair of their Church as foon as poffible, and made them a Prefent of one thoufand Taels in Gold, which amounts to 666 \%. of our Money, for that Purpofe.

We need not wonder that a Monarch, who reigned fo worthily, fhould be beloved anid revered, as well as obeyed with the utmoft Submiffion by all his People; and it is univerfally allowed, that the Cbinefe fhewed their Duty to this Prince in a Manner fuitable to the Obligations which he daily conferred upon them, and teftified upon all Occafions as fincere and tender Affection for him, as if he had been their natural Parent. We have no certain Accounts fince thefe, except only the Miffortune that befel the Chriftians in 1732, when the Miffionaries that had been hitherio allowed to remain at Canion were of a fudden ordered to retire to Macao. They had this Notice given them on the 6th of Auguf, and on the 9 th they were embarked, to the Number of thirty Perfons, and thofe who accompanied the Mif fonaries, were treated with the utmoft Indignity; the only Reafon affigned was, becaufe, contrary to the Emperor's Orders, they had endeavoured to propagate the Chriftian Doetrine. But various Difputes having arifen between the Dominicans and the $\mathcal{F}$ efuits refiding in Cbina, and feveral Books having been lately printed in Popith Countries relating to thefe Difputes, we may from thence in fome Meafure gather what have been the Motives to this new Perfecution.
In order to fet a Matter fo obfcure, in a Light as diftinct as may be, it will be, in the firft Place, right to obferve, that it is nor abfolutely certain, whether is can be, with greater Propriety afferted, that the Fefuits have taught the Cbinefe a new Religion, than that the Cbinefe have taught them one ; it is very reafonable to believe,
that the firf Miffionaries, even of this Order, fludied the Cbinefe Literature very innocently, and only with a View to enable themifelves to preach the Faith of Chrift more effectually. But by Degrees, it feems, they have taken fuch a Liking to the Cbinefe Philofophy, and the Cbinefe Manners, that they indulged their Difciples in Practices, which they file idle Ceremonies, but which the Dominicans, who feem to have no farther View than barely doing their Duty, confider as rank Idolatry. This has occafioned a long and warm Controverfy at Rome, which has been at laft decided againft the $\mathcal{F} e-$ fuits, who notwithftanding proceed ftill in their own Way, without paying that Refpect to the Roman See, of which they boaft fo much in Europe.

In a Word, the Fejuits finding that the Study of the Cbinefe Learning was the high Road to Preferment in that Country, and that thefe Ceremonies were neceffary to the acquiring it, could not find in their Hearts to block up either their own or their Difciples Way to Power, to Credit, and Court Intereft. Their Politicks, to be fure, were right ; but the Quefton is, Whether they were confiftent with their Religious Interefts; or whether it would not have been full as well for Chriftianity, if they had been more folicitous about teaching the People the Path to Heaven, and lefs careful about their Succefs at Court? Certain it is, that the great Influence this Order always have over the temporal Concerns of thofe to whom they become fpiritual Guides, is fufficient to awake Attention, and even to alarm any Government, and more efpecially a Government fo watchful and fufpicious as that of the Cbinefe. Their particular Applications to Women alfo, and that Itch which they too frequently difcover of gaining Wealth to the Church, cannot but be prejudicial to them in the Opinion of all fenfible People, more efpecially when they find it fo apparently repugnant to the Principles of that Doctrine they pretend to teach.

We may be allow'd alfo to obferve, that the Propenfity of thefe Fathers to a Relaxation in Morals in Favour of thofe who are intirely at their Difpofal, is another unlucky Circumftance in Regard to the Propagation of the Gofpel, which has always prevailed moft, where Men's Lives have been ftrictly agreeable to its Precepts, and where the Converts to the Faith have fhewn themfelves rather folicitous of obtaining the Bleflings of another Life, than the Conveniencies of this. At leaft two Things are very certain; one, that, by purfuing their particular Plan of promoting a temporal as well as fpiritual Intereft, that Perfecution was brought on in Fapan, which extinguifhed Chriftianity, and therefore a like Confequence may be juftly feared in Cbina. The other is, that in Paraguay the Jefuits have actually eftablifhed, under Colour of promoting the fpiritual Intereft of the Natives, a temporal Dominion fo abfolutely independent of the Crown of Spain, that it is very doubtful whether the People have the leaft Notion of their being his Catholick Majefty's Subjects. Now whatever Motives that Monarch may have to wink at this Behaviour of the Jefuits, and to fuffer them to maintain fuch a diftinct Kind of Government in America, it cannot be conceived, that the Cbinese Emperors will ever enter into any fuch Notions of falfe Policy, or permit the Obedience of their Subjects to be withdrawn in this World, under Colour of confulting their Happinefs in the next.

Thefe Hints will very probably lead the Reader to the Knowledge of the true Caules of the fudden Change that has happened in the Condition of the Cbinefe Chriftians, and will account for a Perfecution, by a Monarch, who even thofe whom he thus perfecutes, acknowledge to be a Prince of great Equity and Moderation, and neither an Enthufiaft nor a Bigot.

To feak impartially, the Jefuits themfelves do not much diffemble thefe Things in their Memoirs. We fee throughout, that they are charmed with their Court Life at Peking, the Refpect fhewn them by, and their Influence over the Emperor, the Titles with which they are honoured, the great Employments to which they are advanced, their living within the Walls of the Palace, and being admitted to the Imperial Prefence, at the

Seafons, when fo great a Monatch is moft difengaged, the Preceptors of his Studies, the Companions of his literary Amufements, the Perfons (who as Foreigners) are chiefly called upon to fill up the Vacancies in his leifure Converfations. All thefe Particulars they relate at large, with a long Train of Circumftances, and in Terms which moft evidently fhew their Senfibility with Regard to the Things which they relate. So that on the whole, we cannot help feeing that all the loud Boafts of the Popinh Writers, as to this Miffion of the Jefuits, are built upon a very fandy Foundation, and that the Converfions they make are very precarious Things, refembling rather the Gaining Men over to a Faction, than reconciling them to a new Religion, and confequently tending to awaken the Sufpicioris and Jealoufies of the moft dark, fubtle, and defigning Pcople on the whole Earth, except it may be-the Jefuits themfelves,

As it is impoffible the Gofpel Doctrines fhould be effectually fpread by thefe Miffionaries, who are fo much taken with the Kingdom of this World, fo it is not at all likely, that the Cbinefe Trade will ever become beneficial to this Part of the World, till it falls under fome new Regulation. In Reality, Nobody trades there upon a free or equal Footing, but in a fubmiffive flavifh Manner, by the Grace and Favour, as it were, of the Emperor, and upon fuch Terms precifely as he is pleafed to prefcribe; by which fuch Advantages are fecured to his Subjects, that the Profits of a Cbina Voyage refult entirely from the Sale of the Goods returned, and confequently are gained, by Europeans from Europeans; a very confiderable Balance on each Caryo being in the firft Place left behind in Cbina. Thefe are plain and unqueftionable Facts, and therefore deferve to be maturely weighed, and thoroughly confidered, by fuch as look upon Commerce as a Thing of the utmoft Importance. If the Dutch had remained Mafters of Formofa, or it we had continued our Factory at Cbufan, Things might have changed their Face, and the Trade to thefe Countries been carried on in a more advantageous Manner.

As it ftands at prefent, I will venture to hazard a Thought of my own, which I defire may not be defpifed, till the Arguments I offer in Support of it are clearly refuted. It is this, I am apprehenfive that while we are contending about the Balance of Power, and facrificing each others Trade to a Spirit of mutual Jealoufy, Trade itfelf will remove to the North; and when it is too late we fhall perceive, that not only the French and Spaniards, but the Englifb and Dutch, have been doing the Bufinefs of the Nations bordering upon the Baltick, and putting it in their Power to become rich and potent at our Expence. For to me, it is a Thing paft all Doubt, that if the Sreedes had not an actual and immediate Benefit accruing to them annually from the Trade with Cbina, they would not carry it on, fince Sroeden is a Country that cannot afford to export great Quantities of Bullion, as all the other Nations engaged in this Trade actually do ; and if by the bare vending their own Manufactures, they can make this Trade turn to Account, it muft be vifible to all who have a true Infight into Commerce, that fooner or later they will become entire Mafters of this Branch of Traffick, or at leaft, whatever Share we have in it, muft be a dead Weight upon us, as furnifhing the Inftruments of Luxury only in Exchange for our Coin; and when once this comes to be the Cafe, we may pleafe ourfelves with the Thoughts of the Cbina Trade, but confidered in a national Light, it would be better for us that we had none.
There is nothing more common, than for fuch as are actually concerned in Commerce, to fmile at and defpife Speculations upon that Subject; but I believe it would on due Search be found, that though Companies of Merchants and private Traders may be enriched by purfuing their own Schemes, and contriving to make the Management of them an impenetrable Myttery; yet with Refpect to National Advantage, the Notions of fpeculative Men have been, generally fpeaking, right. It is agreed on all Hands, that Trade is a Thing of a nice and delicate Nature, that from fecret and imperceptrble Caufes

Chap. III.
the Empire of China.
it ebbs and flows, is poffented now by one Nation, and then by another; and that when it is once loft, it is very hard to be regained. If therefore we obttinately perfift in the old Road till the Northern Nations actually become poffeffed of this and other Branches of Traffick; and in Confequence thereof, of a great Naval Force, it will be to no Purpofe to look back, or to confider by what Means this might have been prevented. There is a natural Vigour that attends an increafing and growing Trade; and there is alfo a natural Supinenefs and Negligence which accompanies the Declenfion of Trade; fo that when Nations in there different Circumftances come to contend with each other, it is no difficult Thing to perceive which muft go to the Wall.

We well know, that there was a Time when we had very little Trade, that it was with great Difficulty we firt raifed and then extended it, and that our doing this, made Way for the Declenfion of the SpaniJs and Portuguese Trade, which have never recovered fince. We alfo know, nay we even remember, when the Swedes and Danes had little or no Trade, and when themfelves confidered it as impracticable for them to interfere with us, or the Dutch in the Trade of the Eaff-Indies; but we now learn from Experience, that they are able to do it, and we cannot but be fenfible, that the greateft Obftacles to fuch Endeavours are felt at the Beginning; and that when thefe are once got over, as in Refpect to them, they are already got over, Things go on a-pace, that is to Cay, Exportation increares, Navigation is excended, Wealth rowls in, Shipping multiplies, and a naval Power is fuddenty raifed. The Bufinefs therefore is to reflect in Time, and to make Enquiries into the propereft Means for preferving what we have got, while it is yet in our Hands. Opportunities once flipt, are never to be retrieved; we are fill a naval Power, and a great naval Power; but if we imagine that this depends upon the Nature of our Government, upon the Supplies granted for the Navy, and the Orders iffued from the Admiralty, we fhall very foon become fenfible of our Miftake. Pbilip II. of Spain fell into this Miftake, he fancied that naval Power might be maintained, as well as employed, by Policy ; but what followed? In 1588, the Efforts of Spain were terrible to Europe in general, and to us in particular; in lefs than twenty Years the Returns from the Indies became abfolutely precarious, the Spani/b Fleets were the Contempt of their Enemies, and in half that Time both we and the Dutcb infulted the Coafts of Spain. The Source and Support of a naval Power is Commerce, and if we cannot keep this, we mult lofe that, let the Adminiftration in this Country be ever fo honeft, or fo wife; from whence my Conclufion is, that though there may be other very important Concerns, yet the moft important of all is our Trade; and may Providence incline us to fee this in Time!
But that we may not feem to be always complaining, and never thinking of any Means of removing the Evils of which we complain, let us confider a little with ourfelves, if fomewhat may not be thought of, which may afford us rational Hopes of preferving the Commerce we have left, and even of extending it. Such an Attempt as this would be ferviceable many Ways; it is peculiarly adapted to our prefent Situation; we have a rich and powerful Company, who are intrufted with the Commerce in thefe Parts, and who might be excited by the Defire of expreffing their Gratitude to the Publick for what they have received, to try what might be atchieved on this Side.
We have in the former Volume mentioned fomewhat of the Poffibility of venturing once more into the Inand of Fapan. But if that fhould be thought too hazardous, what can hinder fome of our Ships from vifiting Formofa? a fruitful, pleafant, and well fituated Inand: Are there not a thoufand Pretences that may be fuggefted for putting in there? and if the Veffel that makes this Attempt be a Ship of Force, and well manned, is there any Reafon todo ubt, hat fhe would be able to procure that Refpect
which would make way for Trade? It may be replied, that the Cbinefe Laws are fo ftrict, that there is no Trading in Formofa without the Emperor's Leave. To which I reply, that it is very well known the Cbinefe infift upon their Laws in the moft peremptory Manner, where they are fure they have Force enough to fuppors and carry them into Execution. On the other Hand, where this is not to be done, they are very flow in coming to Extremities, and had rather bate fome of their Punctilio's, than run the Hazard of a Difpute that might be attended with bad Confequences.
In Times paft, the Dutch made the Conqueft of this Illand, or rather the Duich Eaj-India Company made it, and kept Poffeflion of it in Spite of the whole Force of the Cbince Empire. I am very far from faying, that this fhould become a Precedent to our Eaf-India Company, or that they ought to attempt either a Conqueft or a Settlemient by Force ; all I contend for is, that if the Dutch Eaf-India Company conquered it, the Englifb Eaf-India Company might find a Way to trade there. They would find their Account in it, and the Nation would, find their Account in it; and though it might coft fome Time and Trouble to bring it about, yet this very Time and Trouble would for fo long a Space, exclude other Nations, and we might perhaps find a Means of putting the Trade there on fuch a Foot as to keep it wholly and for ever to ourfelves.
If we never try, it is certain we fhall never fucceed; and if the Swedes or Danes had been difcouraged by fuch Obftacles, there is no Doubt that they had never brought that Trade to bear which they now enjoy. Befides, when our Drake's and Cavendifb's undertook thofe perilous Voyages in the Dawn of our Navigation, they had much greater Difficulties to ftruggle with, and much lefs Affiltance to hope for, yet they overcame them all ; and to their Boldnefs and Intrepidity we owe that Figure we have fince made as a Maritime Power. If therefore a Spirit of this Kind could be raifed, or rather revived, why fhould not we expect fome fuchlike Effects? or why fhould we reft fatisfied with the prefent State of Things, and lay afide all Thoughts of improving or extending our Commerce, when we fee other Nations, far lefs able and powerful than our own, and under much greater Difficulties than we have any good Grounds to fear, making fuch Attempts, and making them with Succefs?
But to put this Matter out of all Doubt, and to fet the Thing in fo clear a Light that every Reader of tolerable Undertanding may be able to judge of it, I have added another Section, which relates to a Country that hitherto we have little or no Knowledge of, with which we never attempted any Trade, and to which, notwithftanding there is the higheft Probability that an advantageous Commerce might be carried on, Whether this be practicable or not; whether it will be ever attempted by this Nation; or whether the Hints here given may prove ufful to fome more confldetate and enterprizing Nation, muft remain in the Womb of Time.
Yet till this fhall be difclofed, I fhall have the Satisfaction of knowing that I have done my Duty; and that with infinite Pains and Trouble I have collected and. reduced into their proper Order, all the fcattered Hints and Paffages relative to a very large and fruitful Peninfula, not lefs wealthy, not lefs populous in Proportion to its Bignefs, than Cbina itfelf, and of which there is not hitherto extant any regular or tolerable Defrription in any Language; fo that if I fhould mifs in my great Aim, and which ought to be every Man's Aim, that of doing good to and improving the Trade of my Country, I fhall at leait fucceed as an Author, by enriching with a new and curious Section this great Work, which I commit to the Perufal and Confideration of Pofterity, and more efpecially of thofe heroick and enterprizing Spirits deftined to ftrike out of the common Path, and to acquire immortal Glory by bringing new Advantages to Mankind.

## SECTION VII.

A curious and concife Defcription of the Country, Hiftory of the Inhabitants, and Account of the prefent State of the Kingdom of Corea, together with fome Hints of the Eafe with which Commerce might be eftablifhed in its Ports, the Benefits that might be expected from thence, the great Likelihood of Gaining an Entrance from thence into Fapan, or at leaft an Intercourle with the Faponefe; and many other entertaining and inftructive Particulars relative to this Subject, and the Trade that is or might be carried on in the Dominions and Dependencies of the Emperor of Cbina:

Collected chiefly from Memoirs bitherto unpublibed, and compared with all the printed Hifories and Travels, in which any Mention is made of this Country, its Commerce or Inbabitants.

1. Of the Situation, Extent, Climate, and Boundaries of the Kingdom of Corea, with Remarks and Obfervations. 2. Of the Hifory of this Country, as delivered in the Chinefe and Japonefe Autbors, wobich, for any Thing that is bitherto knowen, are the only Writers upon that Subject. 3. Of the Soil, Produce, Commodities, Manufactures, and Ricbes of this noble Peninfula. 4. Of the Provinces, Cities, Ports, Fortreffes, \&c. in Corea, and of the Iflands that lie upon its Coafts. 5. Of the Inbabitants, their Stature, Complexion, Habit, Cufoms, Manners, Temper, Learning, Diverfions, \&c. 6. Of the Commerce of the Coreans with the Chinefe, the Commodities they import and export, and the Reafon why the laft mentioned Nation are fo excelfively jealous of them. 7. Of the Commerce of the Coreans with the Japonefe, the Commodities and Manufactures they export and import, and of the natural Averfion between the two Nations. 8. An Enquiry into the Probability of the Coreanstrading by Stealth into other Countries, and fome Conjectures of the Countries to wobich they trade, and the Commodities for which tbey deal. 9. Reafons why it is not at all impoffible to enter into a Trade with the Coreans, as alfo why this Commerce might anfiwer, notwithfanding any Umbrage it might give to the Chinefe. 10. Some Arguments tending to prove, that a Trade reith Corea is the moft probable. Metbod of recovering fome Degree of Intercourfe with Japan; with a few Hints of the Means by which this might be effected. II. A fuccinct Reprefentation of the Advantages that might refult from fuch a Commerce as this, with Reference to the Dijcovery of unknown Countries, that are probably richer than any to which we trade at prefent. 12. A Hint tbat we may receive Satisfaction this Way, as to the Poffibility or Impofibility of finding a North Eaft Paffage. 13. Mifcellaneous Remarks and Obfervations on the principal Points mentioned in this Section.

'THERE are two different Methods by which Commerce may be promoted, the one derived from the Improvement of the Lights afforded by Experience, which is indeed certain and fure, but generaily fpeaking flow, and producing only a moderate Profit; the other ariling from Science, and the endeavouring to ftrike out a new Road to frefh Markets, by a comprehenfive Knowledge of Cofmography, Navigation, and the Manner of conducting foreign Trade. In Reference to the firf, the Spaniards refolved to attempt a diftant Navigation, after the Example of the Portuguefe; the Dutcb when oppreffed by the Spaniards, and denied a Share of the India Trade in Europe, refolved to attempt a Paffage thither themfelves ; and in like Manner, when we perceived the Advantages refulting to Spain, from her Colonies in the Wef-Indies, determined to try what might be done in the fame Way. In Regard to the Jatter, Columbus was the firft, who had the Courage to propofe going in Queft of all thofe Illands and Continents, that his own Sagacity had difcovered on the other Side the Globe, and we very well know, what mighty Things followed from the Queen of Spain's accepting his Propofal. In like Manner, Fobn Cabot firft formed a Notion of a North-weft-Paffage, which hitherto has not, but I perfwade myfelf will, fometime or other, be difcovered. Ferdinand Magellan was happier in his Project of going to the Indies by a South Paffage, which he accomplifined; all thefe were with

Refpect to the human Species in general, and with Regard to the Inhabitants of Europe in particular, very great and important Difcoveries, and thofe chiefly that in the Eye of important Reafon fet this Part of the World in a much fairer and better Light than any of the reft.
But notwithftanding the manifeft Advantages refulting from this high Prerogative of vifiting and commanding in all the other Quarters of the Globe, it feems in this laft Century to have been lefs regarded. Far from profecuting that noble Plan, which in the Midft of fuch Obfcurity our Anceftors had the Wifdom to draw, and the Courage to carry into Execution, we are difpofed rather to make the moft of what they have left us, and even to quarrel with each other about our Shares; fo that $A f a$ and America, inftead of wondering, as they were wont to do, at the Boldnefs of our Voyages, and the Expertnefs of the Europeans in whatever relates to Traffick, are juftly aftonifhed at our Feuds, and fee with Amazement, that we labour to deftroy Setclements already planted, inftead of making new; that we employ our Pains in decrying and difcrediting each other, in publifhing our Imbecilities and Misfortunes, and in exciting the Indians to Thake off that Fear, which the Exploits of the Europeans, in the two laft Ages impreffed, and to exert that Power, which themfelves always poffeffed, but hitherto have been afraid to employ, in thrufting out thofe, who, not contented with trading, have ventured to play the Mafters fo far from Home.

If inftead of fo weak, fo rafh, and fo impolitick a Behavour, we had forborn every kind of Difpute, fupported each others Settlements, and gone on in making Difcoveries, we had been in a much better Condition by this Time than we are. Thefe diftant Countries would have furnifhed us with Places enough to have difcharged thofe ufelefs Hands that we have employed, not to terminate, but to continue our Difputes with each other. By their Labour, our Power, our Wealth, our Fame might have been extended, and thofe Councries that are now poor and defolate, might have been then rich, populous and happy; it is fome Excufe for Barbarians, that they live in continual Enmity againft, and in perpetual Wars with each other ; but in us who pretend to have Policy that teacheth us better, and profefs a Religion that requires a Conduct oppofite from this at our Hands, it is as impious and iniquitous as it is ridiculous and abfurd. We difclaim by this Behaviour, all Title to Wifdom, Moral or Divine, and put ourfelves upon a Level with the Savages; we defcend to, or rather fink ourfelves beneath them, by doing precifely thofe.Things, for which we efteem them Savages and defpire them.
The orly Apology we ever hear made for fo irrational a Practice, is a very ill grounded Pretence of Neceffity; our Anceftors, it is faid, have done fo much, that there is nothing left for us to do; they difcovered, they conquered all, and thereby made Way for our Difputes with each other about Titles; in fhort, they were fortunate and glorious, and we unhappy, and precluded from acquiring Fame.

But thefe are all the fimple Pretences of Indolence, or the falfe Colours of Avarice, which when we come to examine with impartial Strictnefs by the Light of Truth, will totally difappear. Amongft other Difcoveries of our Anceftors, we may reckon this as none of the leaft important, that they diccovered, that after all they had done, much more remained to be difcovered. What a Scandal is it then to us, that having not only their Example to encourage us, but their Conjectures to inftruet us, we have neither followed the one, nor made ufe of the other. They left us an exact Survey of the beft Part of America, and we have left the reft totally unfurvey'd. They faw Reafon to believe that a Southweft Paffage might be found to the Eaft Indies; they attempted and difcovered it; they left us better Reafons to prove that there is a North Weft Paffage, and though by Fits and Starts we have made Trials, yet ftill it remains undifcovered. If we fet down and confider with Attention, in how fhort a Tract of Time, from the finding a Paffage by the Cape of Good Hope to the Eaft Indies, all the fubfequent Difcoveries were made, how fuddenly they flopt, and how long it is fince any thing has been done of this Kind; it muft induce us to believe that we either fall very far fhort in Point of Courage and publick Spirit of our Forefathers, or that there is fome fecret Reafon why we are fo backward in fpite of the Encouragement we have received. This fecret Reafon is no other than our managing our Trade into thefe diftant Parts by exclufive Companies, fuch as the Eaft India, the African, the Soutb Sea, and the Hudjon's Bay Companies, the Difcoveries under the Aufpices of all which, rnay I prefume be contained in a Volume of no exorbitant Size. It may be asked, Do our Companies reftrain the reft of the World ? To which I anfwer, No: But their own Companies do, and that Difcoveries are attempted in no Kingdom in Europe by an old Company, but either where there are no Companies, or by a Company exprefly erected for that Purpofe.
Now to fhew that fomething may be done without any mighty Hazard towards extending our Trade and our Knowledge at the fame Time towards the North Eaft, I have, by the Affittance of Lights and Memoirs communicated to me from Abroad, compofed the following Defcription and Hiftory of the Peninfula of Corea ; from whence it will appear, that it is a fine and fertile Country; that it is exceedingly populous, and inhabited by a civil, humane, and courteous People ; that they are much given to Commerce, and would in all Probability sejoyce. at and encourage any Attempt
made by us to commence a Trade with them 3 that this Trade might be made highly beneficial to the Nation; that it is far from being improbable it might procure us both Cbinefe and fapan Goods at a more reafonable Rate than we have then1 at perent; and lat: of all, that it muft open a Paffage to Difcoveries of much greater Confequence thain any chat have been yet made.
2. The Peninfula of Corea, fo little known to, and therefore fo litcle confidered by the Europeans, is one of the largeft, and in all Refpects one of the fineft, nobleft, and beft fituated Peninfulda's upon the Globe. The Tartars, who are at prefent poffeffed of Cbina, and who, before they conquered that Empire, were Maiters of the Country of which we are fpeaking, call it in their Language Solbo Kouron, which is as much as to fay, the Kingdom of Solbo. There is no Doubt that they have fome fufficient Reafon for this Appellation, though for Want of being acquainted with the Tartar Hiftorians, we are able to fay no more, than that they are reported to call it fo by the Cbinefe Geographers, As for this laft mentioned Nation, they have been pleafed to beftow upon this Country the Name of Kao lij koue, which we fhall endeavour to explain as well as we can. This Peninfula was originally inhabited by various Na tions, each governed by its particuiar Chief, untill they were all reduced under the Subjection of one Monarch, whofe Name was Kao. As for the Word li, it has many different Significations in the Cbinefe Tongue, and amongt the reft, it implies obeying, being fubject to, or under the Obedience of. The Word Koue is properly tranflated by that of Kingdom; fo that taking this Title as it ftands in the Cbinefe Maps Kao li koue altogether, it may be very faithfully rendred thus, the Kingdom ruled by Kao, or, in our Manner of fpeaking, Kao's Kingdom. It is true, that in the modern Records of the Cbinefe it is called Tcbao Sfien, from another Prince, or rather from another Race of Princes; but however this Name has never grown into common Ufe; but the Cbinefe, when-ever they mention it in Converfation, or in Writing, call this Peninfula Kaoli, which they pronounce in fuch a Manner, that from thence by Corruption the Word Corea has been formed, by which it is univerfally known in Europe.

Afrer adjufting as well as we can the Namre, let us proceed to fay fomewhat of the Nature of this Country, which has been varioufly reprefented to us by different Authors, fome treating it as a Kingdom diftinct from, others, as a Part of Cbina; many affirming it to be an Inand, but the beft modern Writers afferting it to be what it really is at this Day, a Peninjula. At firft Sight thefe Differences feem to be the Effect of Ignorance, but at the Bottom there is fome Colour of Truth for every one of the fe Reprefentations. According to the moft ancient Cbinefe Hittories, though the Thing is not affirmed in direct Terms, yet it may be fairly inferred, that Corea was once joined to China on the Weft-fide, though it is now divided from it by a large Gulph. For thofe Hiftories fay, that the Ocean broke in with great Violence on that Side, and overwhelmed a vait Tract of Country, and when this happened, it is not at all improbable, that Corea became an abfolute Inand. For the fame Hiftories fay, that a very ancient Emperor, whom they call $Y_{u}$ the Great, formed a Defign of recovering at leaft a Part of thefe Countries, by drawing Canals to a vaft Channel, and by piercing a Mountain, opened a Paffage for the great River Hoang bo, which finding by this Means a Vent into the Sea, carried off a great Part of the Inland' Waters, and thereby left the Northern Country dry, which now connects Corea with the Continent; and in this Manner we are told it became a Peninfula.
This Country in the State it now is, is bounded on the North by the Country of Nieucbeu, or the ancient hereditary Dominions of that Tartar Monarch, who is now Emperor of Cbina; on the Weft it has the Gulph of Leao tong, which feparates it from the Provinces of Pe tcheli and Cban tong, which are Part of Cbina; on the Eif lies the Sea of fapan, and on the South it is wafhed by the Ocean, It extends from thirty four Degrees
thirty Minutes, to forty two Degrees thirty Minutes, of a North Latitude, and from one hundred and forty two, to one hundred forty feven Degrees of Longitude; it is in Length from North to South, four hundred and fifty of our Miles ; in Breadth from Eaft to Weft, about three hundred; the Form of it is that of a Parallelogram, the upper Part towards the North being fomewhat narrower than the Southern Part of it. It is from hence apparent, that it lies in the fifth and fixth temperate Climates, the moft Southern Part of it being in the fame Parallel with Perfia, Cyprus and Barbary, and thé moft Northern in that of Portugal, Sicily, and the Madera's; the longeft Day in the South is fourteen Hours and a Quarter, and in the North about fourteen Hours three Quarters.

The prefent Capital of it Han cbing, is in the Latitude of thirty fix Degrees North, and in the Longitude of ten Degrees Eaft, from the City of Pekin, the Capital of Cbina. It is reprefented by all the Cbinefe Geographers, as a Country full of Mountains, more efpecially towards the North, or rather towards the North-weft, where there is a Ridge of high Hills that feparates it from that Part of Tartary which depends on Cbina, and thefe Hills are rocky and barren, but the other Mountains, more efpecially thofe towards the South, are of ealy Afcent, covered with a fine Turf, fhaded by beautiful Groves, and refrefhed by a Multitude of pleafant Brooks. It is alfo furnifhed with feveral large and navigable Rivers, of which we thall take particular Notice only of four; the firtt is the Yalou on the Northweft Side of Corea, which falls into the Yellow Sea, or that which divides this Country from Cbina; the Mouth of this River is in the Latitude of forty Degrees North, and is there about thirty Miles over. The River $L i$ falls alfo into the Yellow Sea, and is a large, beautiful and navigable Stream; the Tatong falls into the Eaftern Sea, or the Sea of $7 a p a n$, and at the Mouth of it there is a noble Port; the River Han is in the South Part of Corea, and falls into the Ocean, and is alfo large and navigable; in a Word, when we confider that this Country is walhed by two great Seas, and by the Ocean, and that its Coafts are fifteen hundred Miles in Extent, we cannor Doubt of the Excellency of its Situation.
3. It is very certain, that the People of Corea are much inclined to Letters, and that they have very ancient and very authentic Hiftories, and fome Books ftill more ancient, but thefe are full of Romances and Fables. They are very fenfible of this, and fay that they contain fome inftructive Truths difguifed, of which having loft the Key, they are no longer able to decypher them. Thofe which they regard as true Hiftories, go between two and three thoufand Years higher than the Birth of Cbritt, and yet are faid to contain nothing in them that carries the leaft Air of Fiction or Falihood. They affert that their Country was at firt inhabited by three or four different Nations, which however they admit to have been of Tartar Original; that thefe in a long Courfe of Years, and after various Wars with different Succefs one againft another, were at laft reduced under the Power of one Monarch. That his Pofterity degenerating from the Virtues of their Anceftors, behaved themfelves fo ill as to occafion civil Wars, which weakened the Country to fuch a Degree, that it fell under the Dominion of the Cbinefe Enperors, who fometimes governed it as a Province, and at others, appointed Kings, from whom they received only an annual Tribute.
It is remarkable that thefe ancient Hiftories fpeak of the Capital of this Kingdom, a thoufand Years before Chrift, as fituated in Cbina; from whence it feems highly probable, that this muft have been before the Inundation, that has been mentioned, for otherwife it is not eafy to conceive, why this Prince, even fuppofing him Mafter of that Part of Cbina, fhould chufe to refide in a narrow Slip of Country, divided by a wide Sea from the reft of his Dominions. The fame Hiftories fpeak of a Country lying to the North-Eaft, but fill on the fame Continent, from whence one would imagine, that fome Alteration has happened on that Side,

Corea from the Earthquake or Inundation feparated Corea from the Land of Yedfo, which is no other than the Southern Part of that great Peninfula, known to the Ruffans by the Name of Kamkatka. The greateft Part of their Hiftory is taken up in accounting for their Difputes with the Cbinefe, from whom they often revolted, and were as often reduced; and in them likewife they give a large Account of their having attacked and fubdued the Nieucbieu Tartars, or at leatt a Nation that formerly inhabited their Country.
Towards the latter End of the fifteenth Century, the Faponefe invaded Corea, and were at firlt very fuccefsful, driving the King from his Capital, and becoming Mafters of the greateft Part of his Dominions ; but he having Recourfe to the Cbinefe, they, after a long and bloody War, drove out the foponeje from all except two Provinces. Soon after this, another great Army landing from Jopan, the War was carried on with greater Vigour than ever, but at laft the Coreans and their Confederates had fo much the better of thefe $\mathrm{I}_{\mathrm{n}}$ vaders, that they concluded a Peace, and agreed to quit the Country, which they did. Before this Time, the Coreans and faponefe had always lived, not only in Peace, but in perfect Harmony with each other, infomuch, that many of both Nations were refpectively fettled in the others Country ; but thefe Wars occafioned fuch an implacable Spirit of Refentment, which fometime after the Conclufion of the laft, the faponefe took an Opportunity of maflacreing all the Coreans that were fettled in their Dominions. All there Events, and many more are found in the faponefe Chronicles, and are briefly fet down in the Hiftories of that Country, written by the Chriftian Miffionaries, which is a very ftrong Confirmation of the Veracity of the Corean Hiftories.

About the Beginning of the laft Century, the Man tchou Tartars, after they became Mafters of Leontong, attacked and reduced the Kingdom of Corea, that is, obliged the 'King to acknowledge their Khan for his Sovereign, and to pay him Tribute; which the Coreans refented as the mott grievous Indignity, having as we obferved before, been once Matters of this Country themfelves; but fince thefe Tartars have reduced Cbina, the Coreans no longer confider their Subjection as a Difgrace, but remain well fatisfied with their Condition, as indeed they have good Reafon, fince it has preferved them for the Space of one hundred and fifty Years, in a State of conftant and fettled Peace. All the Marks of Submiffion required from them, is, to fend annually an Embaffador, or rather an Embaffy, for fometimes there are three or four Perfons charged with equal Powers to Pekin. Thefe have alfo a Commifion in Reference to Trade, are intrufted with all the Commodities and Manufactures which the Coreans are allowed to tranfport into Cbina, and are impowered to fettle and receive the Price or Equivalent for them.

The only fenfible or uneafy Mark of Dependance which this Nation feels, arifes from the Ufage this Embaffador and his Retinue meets with, for they are affigned a Dwelling-Place in Pekin, which the Cbinefe are pleafed to call a Palace, but from its Outfide Appearance, and the Care with which it is guarded, it might better pafs for a Goal; there they remain from the Time they come, to the Time they leave this Capital of the Cbinefe Empire, without fo much as ftirring, except to Audience, and without feeing any but fuch as are firft examined by their Guards. The Reafon of all this Jealoufy, which of late Years has increafed rather than abated, is the Dread the Cbinefe are under of the Coreans coming to have any Intercourfe with the Rufians, who are their very near Neighbours, and might find an eafy Accefs into their Country, in Cafe they had Notice of it, and of the Advantages that might accrue from their fettling a Trade with thefe People.
The Cbinefe are the more uneafy about this for two Reafons; firft, becaufe they know that the Coreans are naturally hofpitable, defirous of feeing Strangers, and very willing to entertain and trade with them; and fecondly, becaufe this would place the Ruflans on both Sides their Empire, and in fome Meafure between them

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and $\mathcal{F a p a n}$, which is what they could not bear, and muft be attended with a long and dangerous War, to remove an Evil of which they are fo apprehenfive. It was for this, and no other Caufe, that they infited fo peremptorily on making the River Amur the Northern Boundary of their Dominions, becaufe they judged that this would effectually cut off all Communication between the Ruffians and the Coreans, or rather all Poffibility of a Communication, as by Land it really does. But they made ufe of a very plaufible Pretence, which was, that the Ruffans difturbed them in their Pearl Fifhery in that River, a Thing in itfelf of no great Confequence to either Nation, and which therefore the Rufians readily gave up in Hopes of a fettled and quiet Trade with Cbina. This was alfo the Secret and true Reafor, why the Cbinefe Minifters would not long endure the Prefence of a Ruflian Refident at Pekin, notwithftanding that they kept him in full as great Reftraint, as they do the Corean Embaffadors, and at laft led them to infift upon the fending away the Sieur du Lange, who had that Character from the Czar of Mufcovy. But after all, thefe Precautions need be no Bar to the Ruffans, whilft the Paffage is open and eafy by Sea, and as will be fhewn hereafter ; the Coreans themfelves making Ufe of it to carry on a fmall and inconfiderable Trade with the Subjects of $R u f f a$, without knowing from what Country they come, or of what Nation they are.
4. The Reader has been already told, that there is Reafon to believe, this Country made formerly quite a different Appearance from what it does at prefent; and that the whole Gulph, which feparates Corea from the oppofite Coaft of Cbina, and which extends to full feven Degrees of Longitude, was formerly dry Land The Reader has been alfo told, that in the moft ancient and authentick Hiftories, this Country is faid to have been inhabited by various Nations; and in the Accounts we have of the Provinces into which Corea is now divided, we are told to which of thefe ancient Nations they belonged; but at the fame Time we find the Names of other Nations whofe Dwellings are not to be found, and who from the Actions recorded of them appear to have been all fettled on the Weft Side of the Peninfula, which affords another Argument to prove, that a vaft Trast of Country was anciently either fubverted by an Earthquake, or overflow'd by the Sea.

Our prefent Bufinefs is with what remains, and with the Kingdom of Corea as it ftands at this Day, when it is divided into eight Provinces ; the firtt of thefe is Hien king, which is as much as to fay, the profperous Court; it is the North-eaft Quarter of Corea ftretching all along the Sea of Gapan, which by the Way is almoft as clofe fhut up as the Black Sea; and this is the Reafon that when there are any Kind of Winds, the Navigation is extremely dangerous, the Waves running exceffively high, and beating with prodigious Fury upon the Coafts, which is but bleak and inhofpitable, except at its very Extremity where it is divided from the Country of the Man tcheou Tartars by a very large River, on the Banks of which are feveral good Towns, and the Diftricts round them are very well cultivated. This Province was the native Seat of the Kaskizli, a Nation that in Procefs of Time overcame all the reft, and ftretched their Sway over the whole Country. It is from this Province, that the Inhabitants in their fmall Veffels glide along the Coaft under a Notion of Pearl Fifhing, but in Reality that they may trade with their Northern Neighbours, and fometumes with the Rufians, who take them for Faponefe.

The next Province to this is that of Ping ncan, which makes the North weft Side of Corea, or, ftriEtly fpeaking, of the Continent of Corea, for this with the Province before-mentioned, lie to the North of the Peninfula, and make a Part of the great Continent of Afia. This Province, the Name of which fignifies the peaceable Land, or the Country of Quiet, is bounded on the Weft by the Province of Leaotong, and on the South by the Xellow Sea or Corean Gulph. It is through this Province that the River Calou rolls its Courfe, till it falls

Vo 1. II. $\mathrm{N}^{\circ}$ I38.
into the $\Upsilon_{e}$ llowe Sea, and it may not be amifs to obferve, that according to the Cbinefe Cuttom of diftinguifhing their Rivers by its Colour, this has received the Name of Yalou Kiang, that is as much as to fay, the Greers River, from the Tincture of its Waters, which are fuppofed to be mineral, and are therefore feldom drank till they have been boiled, and have food fo long as to precipitate a Kind of yellow Sediment. This is a very large, populous, and well-built Province ${ }_{5}$ which is chiefly owing to the River, that is navigable above ninety Miles, and has \{everal large trading Towns upon its Banks. It was the ancient Habitation of the Tcbao dren, which, as we have heretotore obferved, is the Name now beftowed in the Records of Cbina upon the whole Country of Corca.

The Province of Kitang yuen lies on the North-eaft Side of the Peninfula, and the Name fignifies the River's Source; it Atretces along the Sea of Japan, and has under its Juriddiction a great Number of fimall Inands, inhabited chiefly by Fifhermen. The Climate of this Country is remarkably pleafant, being neither exceffively cold in the Winter, nor forching hot in the Summer. It is finely diverfify'd with Hills and Plains; and the beft Timber in Corea forHoufe and Ship-building grows here. It is very populous, but the People live moftly in Villages and fmall Towns, as being addicted chiefly to Pafturage, Tillage, and Fifhing. In the Time of the Wars between the Faponefe and Coreans this Country was the principal Scene of Action; and confequently fuffered extremely; and therefore to this Caufe we may reafonably refer there being no Cities, and buc very few great Towns within its Limits; and perhaps to this likewife is owing the Activity, Hardinels and martial Genius of its Inhabitants, who are all well difciplin'd, and remarkably skilful in military Exercifes. This Province is likewife famous for a good Breed of fmall but ferviceable Horfes.

The oppofite Province, or the North-weft Side of the Peninfula, is ftiled Hoang bai, which is as much as to fay, the Yellow Sea, from its ftretching along the Coafts of it. It extends Northwards as far as the Mouth of the River Yalou, and ftretches from thence Southwards for the Space of two hundred Miles. It is for the moft Part a flat and fruitful Country, abounding with People who live in Cities and large Towns, and are much addicted to Trade and Manufactures ; on the Coaft there are feveral very large Inands, particularly, Thiao tong and Thang boa, the latter deriving its Name from a great City, the Inhabitants of which are chiefly empl yed in making a Kind of Stuffs that are very thin and light, but withal very clofe and warm. This was anciently the Seat of a Nation called Mabans, tha* they ought rather to be regarded as a Tribe, for the true Name of the Nation was Han, the largeft of al! thofe feparate People that originally inhabited this Country, and therefore divided into three Tribes, inhabiting as many different Diftricts.
The middle Province is called King ki, the former fignifying, as we have often before oblerved, a Court, the latter a Region, Province, or Difriit ; and it is fo called, becaufe the City of Kingki tao, which was the ancient Capital of this Country, ftands therein. This is the only Inland Province in Corea, and lies precifely in the Heart of the Country, being about two hundred Miles from North to South, and near an hundred from Weft to Eaft. There can be hardly imagined a Coun try more pleafant, more fruitful, or better peopled than this is, full of large Towns and almoft innumerable Villages, and containing befides feveral great and well built Cities. The Inhabitants are remarkable for Lear ning and Politenefs, and the Buildings in this Country are little, if at all inferior, to thofe of Cbina, even in its beft Provinces. The King has in this Country many noble Palaces, adorned with fine Gardens, and fpacious Parks well ftocked with Game. The People of this Province are a Mixture of all the Nations that formerly inhabited Corea, and it appears from their Hiftories, that this is a new Province taken out of the reft, and peculiarly fubject to the Tribunals of the Royal Cities, from whence Mandaryns are fent to govern the feveral

Diftricts

Diftricts into which it is divided; but the chief Cities. are under the Direction of particular Mandaryns, and the Troops both here and in the reft of the Provinces, are commanded by the Nobility or Perfons of Eftates, who raife them amongft their Vaffals, holding moft of their Lands from the King by a Sort of military Tenure. The Corn and Fruits that grow in this Country are the beft in Corea, which perhaps is chiefly owing to the great Cale taken in their Cultivation.

The South-eaft Province of Corea is called Kin cban, which is bounded on the Eaft and on the South by che Sea of $7 a p a n$, abounds with Cities and great Towns, and there are five large and commodious Ports in this Diftrict ; the Southern Extremity, which is directly over-againft the two great Inands that form what we call $\mathfrak{F}$ apan, is diftanced from thence about one hundred Miles, and there are Veffels that pafs regularly from one Country to another thrice in a Week. It is neceffary to obferve, that in thefe Streights which feparate Corea from Fapan, there lie two fmall Iflands, Key and Dor, which are as it were in the Middle; from the Mountains, in both of them, the Coafts of each Country are very eafily difcovered. Thefe Illands are fmall but very fruitful, and it would be no difficult Matter to erect on either a Fortrefs capable of refifting any Force that thefe People could employ againft it; fo that if any European Nation fhould fetcle themfelves here under the Direction of a wife and prudent Governor, and with a competent Body of feafoned Troops, he might maintain himfelf, and provided he attempted Nothing upon the oppofite Continents, might very foon compafs a free Trade with one, if not both Nations.
The Province of Tcbu fin occupies the South-weft Side of the Peninfula, lying over-againft the Province of Cban tong in Cbina, from whence the North-eaft Extremity of it is diftant about forty Leagues, whereas the South-weft Point of it is full two hundred Leagues diftant. The Name of this Province fignifies Ever Faitbful, and alfo witbout Blemi/b; and it was fo called, becaufe in the Wars with the faponefe it was never conquered. The Air here is foft and temperate, for the moft Part, and though their Summers are pretty hot, the Soil is very fruifful ; it is watered by feveral fine Rivers, and befides a Multitude of Villages, and a great Number of good Towns, there are in it four great Ci ties. The People are very induftrious, not only in the Cultivation of their Land, but alfo in Manufactures, in Navigation and Fifhing, which makes them very fout and hardy, fo that the beft Infantry in Corea are thofe raifed from thence. There are feveral confiderable Inands along the Coaft, and at the Diftance of about ten Leagues from the South weft Corner is the great Inand of Fong or Fong ma, which is near feventy Miles in Circumference, and upon which, if the Europeans could make a Settlement, it would lie conveniently enough for the Trade of Cbina and Fapan, as well as Corea, fince it is not above eighty Leagues from the former, and not quite fixty from the latter.

The eighth and laft Province in this Country is TJuen lo, which lies between the two Provinces laft mentioned, and takes up the Middle of the Southern Extremity of the Peninfula, the Ocean wafhing its Coafts, which extend about one hundred and fifty Leagues. It was anciently the Country of the Pien ban, which was the third Tribe of that Nation, and is at prefent inhabited by a very robult and induftrious People, who are naturally civil and courteous to Scrangers, and much addicted to Commerce. The whole Courfe of this Country is, as it were, covered with Inands, fome of which are rocky and uninhabited, others equally fruitful and populous. There are many great Towns, and two large Cities, in this Province, and it is generally believed that there is more Shipping belonging to it than to any of the reft. The Inand of Kelpaert lies about twenty four Leagues due South from its Coafts, and is much larger than any of the Inands hitherto mentioned, but notwithtanding this great Diftance, it is in a Manner united to Corea by an Arcbipelago of Inands that lie to the North-weft of it, and reach to the very Shore. We fhall have Occafion to mention this Inand here-
after, and fhall not therefore dwell any longer upon
it here.
Thus the Reader has as clear and diftinct a Geographical Defcription of the whole of this Country as we have been able to give him, after comparing together a Multitude of different Accounts, fome of which were written above an hundred Years ago, when it feems that Corea was better known to the Europeans than it is at prefent. Within the Compafs of thefe eight Provinces they reckon forty Ciries, to whom Mandaryns are fent directly from the Court, and of which there are generally three in each. Befides thefe, there are thirty three great Towns of the firft Order, like thofe which in Cbina are called Fou, upon which are depending fixty of the fecond Order, equivalent to thofe which the Cbinefe call $T^{c}$ chou, and no lefs than feventy Hien, or Towns of the third Order, every one of which has at leaft fix or feven, fome of them upwards of twenty Villages in their Diftricts. The Northern Provinces are mountainous, and the Air fharp and cold, notwithftanding which they produce all the Neceflaries of Life, have Woods of moft exceilent Timber, in which are Abun dance of wild Beafts that produce Furs, little if at all inferior to thofe of Siberia; and on the Frontiers of thofe Provinces towards Tartary, the greateft Plenty of Gin feng is found, of which they make a great Profic by felling it to the Chinefe. There are alfo Mines of all Sorts, and even of Gold, of which a confiderable Quantity is annually fent to Cbina. The Southern Provinces, that is to fay, the three laft mentioned, are as rich and fruitful in Gaiain and Corn as any in the World.

The Reader is to obferve, that when we fpeak of Corn, it is to be undertood, in the Northern Parts, of Barley, and in the Southern Parts of Rice; and though they want not other Grain of various. Sorts, they have alfo excellent Roots, fome of which in Tafte refemble the Potatoe, but are of a much larger Size. As for Fruits, they have thofe of Europe, fuch as Apples and Pears in the Northern Provinces, and the richeft Fruits of Cbina in the Southern. As for their Timber, it confifts of Oak, Chefnut, Pine, Fir, and of feveral Sorts that are not known in Europe. Silver and Lead they have in great Plenty, but the latter is not fo good as that of Europe, which in all Probability is owing to their Want of Skill in managing the Oar, for its Defects confift in being hard and brittle. Horfes and Cows are in valt Abundance, and they make ufe of Oxen to plough their Land, and to draw their Carriages ; in the Woods they have Bears and Foxes, Zibbelins and Caftors, wild Boars in great Numbers, a good Breed of tame Swine, chiefly black. Their Rivers are well fored with Fifh, and would be much better flocked if they were not infefted with Crocodiles, and thofe too of a moft enormous Size, fome of thirty Foot long. They have alfo great Plenty of all Sorts of Fowl, fuch as Swans, Grefe, Ducks, Storks, Herons, Pidgeons, Woodcocks, Pheafants, and tame Fowl, that are excellent. They have likewife Eagles, Falcons, Kites, and other Birds of Prey, and many Kinds of very beautiful Birds, which are not known in Europe, fome of great Value, with party-colour'd Feathers in their Tails which are three Foot long, and thefe are commonly either exported to Cbina or fapan, and make alfo Part of the annual Prefent fent to Pekin for the Emperor.
5. The Inhabitants of the Northern Provinces are generally tall, active, well fhaped, healthy, robult People, with very little about them of the Tartar, but thofe of the South are of a more fickly Complexion, weaker Bodies, and in their Perfons and Temper very much refembling the Cbinefe. In the Northern Provinces, Moft People wear a Kind of Furr Caps, filk Vefts, which in the Winter are lined with Lamb-skin; and the Women wear their Jackets and Petticoats flounced and fringed with Gold Lace. Moft Perfons of Quality affect to have their Robes of Violet-colour'd Silk; in the other Provinces both Men and Women are dreft in painted Linnen or Chinces, but are, generally fpeaking, adorned with Silver and Gold Ornaments notwithftanding. As they have Hemp and Flax in the Nor-
thern Parts in Plenty, they make vaft Quantities of Cloth, but none of the Memoirs that I have feen make any Mention of Cotton. They are very neat in their Drefs, and the better Sort affect Magnificence, yet they are far from being vain, and can be hardly faid to have any Farhions amongtt them. Their Cities are wal$l^{\prime} \mathrm{d}$ and fortified, but neither fo ftrongly nor fo neatly as in Cbina; their Houfes are commonly no more than one Story, with a Kind of Cock-loft over them, in which their Merchants keep their Goods; and in private Families they ferve for their Fruit. In their Villages they build with Earth, but in all their great Towns and Cities with Brick ; but they thatch every where either with Straw or Reeds, which is the only Kind of Covering they have. The People are courteous, modeft, and well behaved, yet their Morals are not quite fo regular as in Times paft, when Robbery, Murder, and Adultery, were Crimes unknown amongft them. They have common Women amongft them as in Cbina, and none of their young Men are afhamed of converfing witt, or being feen in their Company. They allow their Wives much greater Liberties than in Cbina; and for this Reafon the Cbinefe efteem them Barbarians, though in all other Refpects they fpeak of them not fairly only, but with Reverence.
In point of Learning they fall little, if at all, fhort of the Cbinefe; and here, as well as in Cbina, none but Scholars are preferred to Employments. They beftow Degrees once in three Years, and all who are Candidates for them undergo a very rigorous Examination ; fo that it is very difficult to obtain any Promotion but by Merit. With Rerpect to Religion, People of Diftinction are generally bred up in the Sentiments of Confucius, and are a Sort of moral Deifts, who make an uncorrupted Probity their Point of Honour. The common People are Idolaters of the Indian Sect, and have amongft them a valt Number of Bonzes; they have alfo Monafteries of both Sexes, where People lead fingle Lives, but are reftrained only by their own Choice, for they may marry if they think fit, and fometimes they do.
As to their Eftates, the King has the fole Property in the Land, which is granted out to every Man in Proportion to his Family, but perfonal Eftates defcend from Father to Son. The Mandaryns have allo Lands affigned them for the Support of their Dignity, which they let out in Farms, but receive their Rent in Kind and not in Money. The Monarchs of Corea are abSolute, except the Homage they pay to the Emperor of Cbina, from whom they receive the Inveftiture of their Dominions by their Ambaffadors; and though the Heir apparent enter immediately on the Adminittration from the Deceafe of his Predeceffor, yet neither he nor his Confort affume Regal Titles till they have the Emperor's Confent, which is always given; and as the whole Ceremony upon this Occafion is very exactly regulated, as well as the Tribute paid, which amounts to eight hundred Taels; fo there never happens any Difputes.
Each Province maintains a certain Number of Horfe and Foot, except that in which the Capital City ftands, and which is exempted on the Score of maincaining the Court The Troops of each Province ferve annually about the King's. Perfon, fo that he fees the whole Force of Corea once in feven Years; but proportionable Detachments are fent from every Province to guard that whofe Forces are about the King. They are remarkably mild in their Punifhments for common Crimes; they are bamboo'd or baftinado'd, but with more Modefty and lefs Severity than in Cbina. Adultery, Murder, and Treafon, are punifhed by Beheading; and for other Offences capital in their Nature, the Criminals are banifhed into the adjacent Inands.

Poetry and Mufick are their principal Amufements, more efpecially publick Spectacles, fuch as Comedies, Tragedies, and Operas, in the Performance of which they fpare no Expence. It has been furmifed that they were very ignorant, becaufe they, fetched their Kalendars annually from Pekin, but in Reality this is a Point of Submiffion to the Cbinefe Court, which is alfo paid by the Inhabitants of every Province of that Empire
from political Confiderations, and they go in the tenth Month of every Year to receive their Kalendars for the next. The People of Corea are the moft dutiful in the World to their Parents; it is faid that Difobedience is capital by the Laws, but that there has been no Inftance of any Punifhment of that Sort, the very Law preventing any fuch Offence. They mourn for their Fathers and Mothers three Years, during all which Time the Corpfe is kept embalmed in their Houfe; at the End of that Space the Body is interr'd, and the Wearing Apparel, Horfes, Dogs, and whatever elfe belonged to the Perfon of the Deceafed are diftributed among the Relations at the Funeral. The Mourning for a Brother lafts in the fame Manner for three Months.
The common People are plainly clad, and fo are their Soldiers, who carry a Pole-axe, a Firelock, and have a Sabre at their Sides; they live, generally fpeaking, foberly, though they have great Plenty of every thingo and make very good Ale, or if you pleafe to call it Wine of Rice, from whence alfo they diftill Arrack, which is preferable to that of the Eoff Indies, being ${ }^{3}$ clearer and ftronger, as well as a better flavoured Spirit. Tea is much dranks in the Northen Provinces, but lefs ufed in the South, where theirRivers are bright and clear, fo that they have every where good Water, which is wanting in Cbina, and of which there is alfo a Scarcity in fapan.
6. We have obferved, that the Subjection of the Coreans to the Cbinefe, is very far from being burthenfome to them, but this muft be underftood of their Condition in their own Country ; for in Reference to the Deputies that are fent once a Year into Cbina, and who are generally accompanied by about threefcoreMerchants, they are certainly treated with as much Severity and Indignity as People well can be. The Months in which they travel are March and Auguft; in the former they fometimes crofs the Gulph of Corea upon the Ice with their Carriages; but in Auguft they come in pretty large Veffels, and having debarked their Cargoes, convey them by Land to Peckin. The Commodities they bring are principally thefe that follow :
A coarfe Kind of Paper made of raw Silk, very thick, fmooth, even, and ftrong, which is made Ufe of in Cbina inftead of Glafs to cover their Windows. A very fine, thin, white, and fmooth Paper for Writing. A third Sort of Paper thick like the firt, and fmooih and fine like the laft, with large Figures emboffed in Gold and Silver, made ufe of tor Hangings. It may not be amifs to obferve here, that eight hundred Years ago the Cbinefe had that black fhining Stick Ink, which they now make themfelves, from the Coreans, and they acknowledge that they were three hundred Years before they arrived at the Art of making it in the fame Perfection. Umbrelloes of all Sorts, very ftrong and very neat. Fine Matts, beautifully wrought and of many Colours. Tobacco of a fmall Cut for fmoaking; this they had from the $\mathfrak{f a p o n e f e}$, to whom it was brought by the Portuguefe; it is of the Brazil Kind, and the Cbinefe efteem it much more than their own. Striped Cottons of feveral. Kinds, Furrs of various Sorts, dried Fiih, which are taken out of large Shells in the Sea of Japan.
They bring with them likewife vaft Quantities of Silver and Gold, Part in Ingots, and Part in Spanib Piftoles. They are clofé fhut up, as in a Prifon, all the while they remain at Pekin; and the Mandaryn who has the Guard of them, fells the Liberty of trading with the Coreans to the Merchants who give moft; and yet thefe have not the Liberty of conferring with them but in the. Prefence of a Soldier and two Interpreters. Whenever they. ftir abroad they have a Guard about them with Whips in their Hands, who lah any that come near, or offer to fpeak to them.

The Goods they purchafe are fine Silks in prodigious Quantities, but raw : a Kind of Darnask, which they take off alfo in great Quantities; a Sort of very thin Silk for Linings, which the Cbinefe call Fanfa; Tea and China-ware, white Copper Veffels of all Sorts, valt Quantities of Cotton, Part of which they manufacture in fuch a Manner, that they bring it back and fell is in China at a high Price.

The Coreans likewife bring as Curiofities, fine Pencils made of the Hairof their Wolves Tails; a Sort of yellow Varnifh that fhines like Gold, made of the Gum of a Kind of Palm-tree, as alfo feveral Iron and Steel Wares. Once in three or four Years, when the Seafon affords them a fafe Paffage over the Mountains, they bring their Caravans by Land, and in them great Quantities of Silver, that they may buy up the more raw Silk, which they manufacture for their Trade, though the Cbinefe prohibit them dealing with any foreign Nation whatever, and have a Mandaryn at the King of Corea's Court to fee that this Prohibition is obferved; and he is very careful in this Particular in all Cafes but-where he is largely paid for not being fo.
It is not eafy to enter into the Reafons why the Cbinefe are fo exceffively jealous of the Coreans having any Commerce with Strangers, except the Dread they have of Foreigners eftablifhing themfelves in that Country, from whence they might fo eafily pafs over into Cbina itfelf. But of all Nations they moft dread the Ruffians, and it is not fo much through Ignorance as Cunning, that all their Maps of the Frontiers of Corea are fo incorrect. But this Kind of Precaution can only be of Ufe in deceiving the Europeans, for as to the Natives of Corea, they have fo much of the Cbinefe in them, that they have falfify'd their Maps and Charts likewife, and reprefent the North-eaft Coaft of their Country as utterly innavigable, on Account of Shallows, Rocks, and Banks of Sand, which is only with a View to cover their Trade on that Side, in which they employ a great Number of Veffels under the Pretence of the Fimery. For in the Faponefe Sea there are Shell fifh of a moft enormous Size, which being broke fo as to get out the Fifh, they hang up and dry it, fprinkling it from Time to Time with Salt Water ; this dried Fifh, which in Tafte refemble Codfouns, are held a great Delicacy in Cbina, and are fold at a pretty good Price; but the Coreans will tell you that they get Millions by them, which alludes to their clandeftine Trade, that is chiefly covered by Prefents of thefe Finh made to the Cbinefe Mandaryn refident in Corea.
7. In ancient Times, as has been already obferved, the Intercourfe between the People of Corea and of $\mathcal{F a}$ pan was very great, and highly beneficial to both Countries; and we have likewife fhewn how this Intercourfe was interrupted, and the Means by which it was followed with Hatred as implacable on both Sides, as their former Friendfhip was cordial and fincere. In Procefs' of Time however, and by a Sufpenfion of Injuries on all Sides, this Enmity is again in a great Meafure wore out, at leaft among the People of borh Nations, for the Governments ftill keep at their old Diftance, the Faponefe from political Jealoufy of all Strangers, and the Coreans, becaufe the Court of Cbina has ftrictly forbid all Traffick between them and the faponefe.
: But for all this, the Commerce is conftant, regular, and even publick enough between the two Nations, and the Manner in which it is managed is chis: There is a pretty large Inand between Corea and Fapan, but nearer to the Coafts of Fapan, which in our European Map is called Sufima, but by the Coreans Tui la tao; and this by the $\begin{aligned} & \text { Faponefe } \\ & \text { Government } \\ & \text { has been yielded to the }\end{aligned}$ King of Corea, with an evident Intention to facilitate the Trade between their Subjects, notwithftanding the Prohibitions on both Sides. In this Inand, the Property of which, as we have obferved, belongs now to the Coreans, the Faponefe Merchants have vaft Magazines, fo that all Ships that come hither are very fpeedily laden; and on the other Hand, the Coreans have their Magazines at Tfin tchfion, in the Province of TJuen 10 , from whence they are brought by two navigable Rivers, one of which falls into the other, and the Mouth of the latter is directly over-againft the Ifland of Tui la tao, at the Diftance only of eighteen Leagues.
It remains now to give an Account of the Merchandize in which the Traders of both Countries deal ; and firft with Regard to the Faponefe; their Magazines are conftancly full of Pepper of Sapan, and other fweetfeented and fine Woods, Bouffers Horns, which the Coreanis burn, and ufe the Powder in making their Ink ; of

Deer and Goat-skins, and of various European Commodities, which they purchafe partly from the Dutch in their own Country, and partly from the Cbinefe. The roreans, on the other Hand, barter with the faponefe, Tyger Skins, Furrs, Lead, Ginfeng, feveral Sorts of Varnifh, and the Balance of this Trade, generally in Favour of the Faponefe, is paid in Ingots of Silver. They likewife change their Ingors for spanifs Ducats, upon which they receive a Premium of Six or Seven per Cent. and the Defign of this is to carry thefe Ducats to Cbina, to conceal the better that Plenty of Silver which they have of their own; but the Ducats produced by this Trade are believed not to amount to a tenth Part of what the Coreans carry to Cbina; and how they come by the reft will be explained hereafter.

Befides this Trade with the faponefe, they carry on a Sort of fmugling Commerce at the Inand of Kelpraet or Quelpraet, where there are alfo Magazines of both Nations, but not near fo great as thofe of Tui ta lao; for, as we Thall hereafter inform the Reader, this Inand is chiefly remarkable for a Kind of Smugling or contraband Trade, for which there never was a Place better fituated or difpofed by Nature, as having convenient Ports on all Sides. Some modern Writers fay, that the Coreans exchanged this Inand with the Faponefe for that of Tui ta lao, which is a Point that hitherto is not fupported by fufficient Evidence. TheDutcb Seamen that were fhipwreck'd here in 1662, and whofe Account of Corea is almoft the only one publifhed, make this a Place of much too great Confequence to be exchanged; and as other Accounts we have from the Pbilippines admit there are great Numbers of faponefe fettiled here, perhaps this may bs thought Foundation enough for fuch a Report.

It is indeed very certain, that the printed Relations of all thefe Countries are very fuperficial, and are to be read with great Caution; the Miffionaries in Japan were able to give no Account of Corea, but as they met with it in $\begin{aligned} & \text { faponefe } \\ & \text { Books }\end{aligned}$ fince they fairly acknowledge, that none of their Fathers ever went there, and if they had, perhaps they would not have learned much more than thofe who went to Yedzo, and yet were not able to fay whether it was a Continent or an Inand. The laft of the Miffionaries Account of Cbina admit, that what is contained in the Cbinefe Maps and Books concerning Corea, cannot well be depended upon. His Excellency Mr. Ysbrants Ides, who with vaft Pains and Difficulty made a large Map of his Travels, which he fent-to Burgomafter Witzen, and who fettled his Geographical Faith upon it, though he is very accurate in defcribing the Countries through which he paffed, is miferably miftaken in all thofe that he has ventured to lay down from Information. As for Corea, he makes it a fmall Inand, with a Strait to the North between it and Cbina almoft as broad as the Gulph, by which it is really divided from that Country on the Weft; and as to the Norch-eaft Continent of Afa, it is laid down within the fame Longitude with Corea, whereas the Councry of Kamskatska ftretches feveral Degrees to the Eaft, and if produced, would lie in a Manner parallel to Corea, as the Peninjula of Corea lies parallel to the Continent of Cbina. The Dutch, while they were poffeffed of Formofa, had great Opportunities of becoming acquainted with the Coaft of Corea, and accordingly by the Favour of a very worthy Perfon, I have feen feveral remarkable Paffages in the Journals of a Perfon in a diftinguifhed Station at Formofa, which are vaftly clearer than any Thing publifhed of late Years, tho' written above a Century ago.

As far as I know, there is Nothing of this Sort printed; and as for the Shipwreck of the Dutch Seamen on Quelpraet, it will be a ufeful Thing to thofe who have read this Section, becaufe they will then fee the Reafon of the Treatment thofe Seamen met with from the Coreans, and of the great Dread thefe People had of the Tartars, by whom they had not then been fubdued full thirty Years. We might expect fome tolerable Account of thefe North-eaft Parts of Afa in the Spanilb Hiftories of the Pbilippines, if there were any fuch, of modern Date, but we know only of one, and that printed at Madrid in 1733, and fuppreffed for

Reafons

Reafons of State. The Truth of the Matter is, that the Spaniards are as fufpicious and jealous of that Colony as the Cbinefe are of Corea, and with fome Reafon, for Manila is incredibly rich, and the Trade driven there is not of a Nature to be difclofed, as appears from fome Memoirs lately tranfmitted from Batavia, in which we are told, that if this Country was in the Hands of any but the Spaniards, it would produce as much Benefit to Europe, as all the other trading Settlements in the Eaft Indies put together
8. After what has been already faid of the many Difficulties that occur in obtaining Accounts that may be depended upon of the Commerce of the Coreans, the Reader will, no Doubt, be pleafed with whatever can be rationably given him upon this Subject, though it is not quite fo full, fo clear, or fo certain as either he could defire, or we could wifh; but upon this he may depend, that we thall fet Things before him in a juft Light, and leave that to his Decifion, which perhaps fome Writers would have delivered with a greater Degree of Confidence, and confequently lefs Refpect to Truth. In the firft Place, we lay it down as a Thing abfolutely certain, that notwithftanding all the Precautions of the Cbinefe, the Coreans carry on a very large Trade ; which appears thus :

They purchafe vaft Quantities' of raw Silk in Cbina, beyond the Degree of Confumption in their Country, which they muft manufacture and difpofe of fomewhere, otherwife their Trade with Cbina would have declined, whereas it increafes. They take off large Quantities of manufactured Silks in Cbina, more elpecially of that Sort of Damask, which from its being chiefly in Demand from them, the Cbinefe call Kao li Toanza, i. e. Corean Damask, very little of which however is worn by them. They pay for mof of their Goods in Spani/b Silver, which Spanijb Silver mult be acquired by Trade. They purchafe no European Commodities at Pekin, and yet they are common enough all over Corea; they mult therefore have them fome other Way. They purchafe fome fmall Quantities of Rufran Furrs, when they are to be hiad, in Cbina, and yet the fineft Ruflum Furrs are commonly worn by Perfons of Ditinction in Corea, which therefore they muft obtain by fome other Channel. They have Spices and other Indian Commodities amongtt them, though none of thefe are bought from the Cbinese ; and they have alfo Amethifts and Emeralds, which is a Proof of their having Correfpondence with fome Nations that trade to Anerica. We will endeavour to give a probable Account of the Manner in which they come by all, or at leat moft of thefe Commodities and Manufactures, and in feveral Inftances we fhall confirm our Conjectures by indifputable Teftimonies, which in a Matter of this Nature is all that we pretend to do, and is much more than has hitherto been done.

The Country of Corea, or to fpeak with Strictnefs and Propriety, the Peninfula of Corea, excluding the two Provinces that belong to it upon the Continent, is very carefully laid down in the modern Maps of Cbina; but the fame thing cannot be faid of the adjacent Countries to the Eaft and North-eaft, as will appear to any competent Judge who will compare the feveral Maps of thofe Countries that are extant, hardly any two of which are alike, and confequently, tho' it is very poffible they may be all falfe, yet it is impoffible they thould be all true, and more than probable the greateft Part have no Refemblance to Truth.
In the Sieur Bellin's Map, of the laft Difcoveries made by the Rufians, there is a large Gulph which he calls the Gulph of Kamfchatska, which feparates that Country from the Continent to which Corea is joined, and from this Map it appears to be very eafy for the Coreans to fail along the Coalt as high as the River Amur, the Mouth of which is there laid down in the Latitude of 46 Degrees, and pafling up this River they trade with the Subjects of the Ruffians, and fometimes with the Ruflans themfelves, as appears from what Mr. $Y$ sbrant Ides tells us of People who come thither dreft in Robes of blue Silk, with long Beards, who pretend that they dwell in an Inand lying North-eaft of that Coaft. Woz. II. $\mathrm{N}^{\circ}$ CXXXIX.

Now, in the firft Place, we know that the Corears ac tually drefs in this Manner, and on the other Hand it is very certain, that the Inhabitants of any Inand lying to the North-eaft of the River Amur, could not well have Silk of their own Growth, or purchafe it in Cbincs without our hearing of them.

The Reafon why the Coreaits make ufe of this Method to deceive the Rufrans, is to prevent their Commerce coming to be made known to the Cibinefe, which they are very ftudious to avoid, as the Cbinefe appear to be much more jealous of the Ruffians than of any other Nation. It may be enquired, how it is ponible for them to avoid a Difcovery, fince the Climefe Dominions are now extended to the River Amur? To which the plain Anfwer is, That thefe Countries do not belong to the Emperor of Cbina in that Quality, but as he is the Sovereign of the Man tchou Tartars, and thefe People are not of fo jealous and fuipicious a Nature as the Cbinefe, and therefore content themfelves very probably with fuch Accounts, as for their own Conveniency the Coreans are pleafed to give. It is alfo not at all unlikely that they may trade with the Inhabitants of the oppofite Coaft of Kamfobatska, but what Commodities they obtain from them we cannot pretend to fay.

After having thus fhewn how they obtain rich Furrs, and other Northern Commodities, we will endeavour to defcribe their Trade to the South, in reference to which the Reader is to obferve, that under Colour of failing to the Iland of Quelpraet, they take in from the $\mathrm{Ma}_{\mathrm{a}}$ gazines there full of Cbinefe Commodities, a proper Cargo for the Philippines, and paffing behind the Inand of Formofa by the Help of the proper Trade Wind, they come, fafely to the Port of Manila, where they trade under the Name of Cbinefe, and by this Means it is that they obtain fuch Quantities of Spanith Silver, without which they would find it very difficult, if not impracticable, to carry on their Cbinefe Trade. Here likewife they purchafe Spices and other Indian Commodities; nor is it at all improbable that they trade in their Paffage home with the Inhabitants of thofe Inands that lie between Manila and Formofa.

It may be asked, What Certainty we have of this? To which I anfwer, That fince we are certain they have Spanib Silver, and fince we are as certain that no European Nation trades with them in their own Ports, we may be fure that they have it this Way, becaufe they can have it no other Way. Befides, I am fure they did carry on this Trade above an hundred Years ago, and this from theLights given me by fomePapers relating to the melancholy Maffacre at Amboyna, feveral of thofe who were ftiled j aponefe, and who fuffered with the Englib for their pretended Confpiracy againft the Dutch, were in Reality Coreans. If therefore they were expert enough to enter into this Navigation then, what Reafon is there to doubt that they carry on the fame Commerce now; more efpecially fince we know, that fo late as the Year 1702, their Merchants brought a large Quantity of Spanib Silver to Pekin.

It may alfo be enquired, how the Coreans efcape being difcovered by the Cbinefe at Manila? And the Anfwer to this is very fhort and eafy. The Trade to Manila is as much a contraband Trade to the Cbinefe as to the Coreans, and therefore it would be impoffible for them to difcover fuch an Offence to their Government, without confeffing themfelves guilty of the fame Crime; and every body knows that the Cbinefe are much too cunning to do that. I forefee alfo that it may be demanded, why, if they trade to Manila, they may not alfo trade to Batavia? To which I can only fay, that there are no Proofs of it, nor any great Probability, whereas with Refpect to their other Commerce we have both Evidence and Probability.

I have already obferved, that we are far from have ing diftinct Accounts of the Commerce at Manila, we only know in general Terms, that Veffels from almoft all the Countries in the Eaft refort thither, not only for the Sake of trading with the Spaniards, but with each other. It may indeed be faid, that Mc cao lies more conveniently for the Coreons, and that they might be furnimed there with European, and per-
haps alfo with Indian Commodities. But when it is confidered that this Place is under the Power of the Cbinefe, who have a Mandaryn conftantly refiding there, it will appear no proper Port for Corean Veffels; and therefore their not making ufe of it, cannot be efteemed an Objection of any Weight to the Truth of what I have delivered; neither am I confcious to my felf of having concealed any thing that might make againft the Account which I have given, and which therefore I hope will be thought to deferve Credit, at leaft till we can obtain a better.
9. The Pains taken to defcribe this Country, to digeft the fcattered Remains of the Hiftory of its Inhabitants, to explore their Manners and Cuftoms, and to inveftigate the Nature and Circumftances of their Commerce, might pals for a very rational Amurement, even fuppofing no higher End to be propofed, than that of fupplying the Deficiency of other Writers, and placing in a tolerable Point of Light a Subject that had remained in the Dark before. But I muft confefs this was not my Motive, or at leaft it was not my only Motive ; and when I fay this, I perfuade my felf that the Reader will be not at all at a Lofs to difcover what was my Motive. At the Time when an Application to Parliament was defigned for altering the Method of collecting the Duties upon Tea, which fince that has in fome Meafure taken Place, I remember, among other Suggeftions, this was one, that for many Years paft our Trade to Cbina was declining ; and this firft put me upon enquiring whether there might not 'pofibly be fome Method found of fupplying this Deficiency in our India Trade; and this Hint produced the Thoughts of carrying on a Commerce on the Coafts of Corea; for which I fought and procured Materials, with an Intent to have publifhed them by themfelves; but after engaging in this Work, I thought they might be better preferved here.
The Reafons which induced me to think a Scheme of this Sort practicable, were chiefly thefe: The Situation of the Country, which being a Peninfula with a vaft Extent of Coaft, made it probable that fome convenient Port might be met with to which Britij/s Ships might refort: If upon Trial this fhould be found either impracticable or difficult, it appeared to me, that as the whole of this Coaft was furrounded by Inands, fome of them might afford fuch a Port, without the Hazard of navigating a Coaft which I know fome of the Dutch Charts reprefent as very dangerous, though I am not altogether certain that thefe Charts are to be abfolutely depended upon. Something of this Kind might undoubtedly be undertaken, for as thefe Inands are very numerous, it is not to be conceived that in none of them a good Port, a tolerable Bay, or a fafe Road fhould be found; becaufe Experience fhews us, that there is no fuch Thing to be met with in the reft of the habitable World. When I found, upon Enquiry, that the Coreans were much addicted to Trade, and very defirous of corsefponding with Foreigners, which obliged the Chinefe to take fo many Precautions to prewent their Deputies from indulging this Propenfity during their Stay at Pekin; I concluded, that if an Attempt of this Sort was made with proper Care and Diligence, it could not well fail of fuccceding ; and that though very poffibly the firf Trials might not be attended with any great or any extraordinary Profit, yet they nouft of Neceffity afford us great Lights, and enable us by Degrees to open a new Branch of Trade, which in the End muft tend greatly to our Benefit.

I was confirmed in thefe Notions, by confidering, that the Inhabitants of the Northern Part of this Peninfula live in a very cold Climate; for all the Writers of Credit, in relation to the Affairs of Cbina, agree, that the upper Part of the Corean Gulph is entirely froze over almoft every Year; that therefore the People might very probably be pleafed with fome Kind or orher of our Woollen Maniufactures; and I was the rather induced to entertain this Opinion, when I found that. we formerly fent confiderable Quantities of Cloth to fepon. It occurred to me farther, that as the Co reans had a great many valuable Commodities and Manufactures much efteemed in Europe, the Returns could
not but be valuable in Cafe fuch a Trade could be brought about; ; or if we found ourfelves difappointed in that Refpect, as it is certain that thefe People have amongtt them Plenty both of Gold and Silver, we could not fail of being very well paid, in Cafe our Commodities and Manufactures could be introduced. I was indeed aware of the Umbrage this might give to the Cbinefe, and that very poffibly it might put them upon taking every Meafure in their Power to diftrefs, and even to deftroy this Trade; but on the other Hand, when I reflected, that in Spite of the Endeavours of the Cbinefe, the Coreans were in actual Poffeffion of a confiderable domeftick, and no very defpicable foreign Trade, this did not appear any formidable Objection, there being no Reafon why the Cbinefe fhould exert themfelves with greater Vivacity to hinder the Coreons from trading with us than with the $\mathcal{F}$ aponefe, which they tacitly permit, though they openly prohibit; and as they are a very fubtle Nation, I could not help thinking they might be rather induced to connive at our Trade, in Hopes of its deftroying, in a great Meafure, the Inclinations which the Coreans are known to have for carrying on a Correfpondence with the Ruffans.
It is very eafy to penetrate the Caufes that alarm the Government of Cbina upon this Head; and as they have been before fet forth, there is no Occafion for repeating them here ; but whoever confiders them, muft at the fame Time difcern, that our Trading upon the Coafts of Corea would be attended with none of thofe Inconveniencies. It could not be feared that we flould aim at difcovering in order to conquer the Country; it could not be apprehended that we fhould excite the Coreens to revolt; it could not be fo much as fufpected, that under Pretence of Commerce we fhould attemps any thing to the Prejudice of thore Rights which for a long Courfe of Years the Cbinese Emperors firtt, and the Tartar Monarchs fince, have eftablifhed over this Kingdom and its Inhabitants. I am well enough acquainted with the Cbinefe Government, to be very feno fible that Nothing of this Kind can be fuggefted by any Ambaffador in our Favour ; but I know very well, that whatever we may imagine in Europe, there are no Refolutions taken in the Cabinets of the Cbinefe Monarch till the Confequences are thoroughly confidered; and therefore we have good Reafon to believe, that amongft other Circumftances attending a new Trade, thefe might fall under their Cognizance; and as the Inference I make is drawn from their own Maxims, there is Nothing abfurd in fuppofing that they may fee it as well as we; but I muft defire the Reader to oblerve, that what I contend for is not a Permiffion, or a Toleration to trade to Corea in the fame Manner as we do to Canton in Cbina, but a bare Connivance only, founded upon prudential Motives, which to be fure the Cbinefe will not think proper to declare, and into which it will be as little neceffary for us to enquire. But befides all this, let us but remember a little what paffed in former Times. The Dutch actually poffeffed themfelves of Formofa, when it was more ftrongly connected with Cbina than Corea is at this Day; nor does it appear from any thing recorded in Hiftory, though I muft confefs that we are pretty much in the dark as to what paffed in this Inand, that the Cbinefe Government ever made any confiderable Attempt to recover it out of the Hands of the Dutcb; but it was taken from them at laft by a Multitude of defperate Perfons, who when they were themfelves driven out of Cbina, were to feek for a Habitation, and refolved to fix themfelves here, which however not with great Difficulty they did.
It is indeed true, that we have fome imperfect Accounts of an Attempt made by the Dutch to fix themfelves at Amoy, on the Continent of Cbiza, in which they were repulfed with confiderable Lofs; but as the Point I am labouring is not at all of this Nature, and as I do not apprehend there is or will be any Occafion for proceeding to Force in order to fix a Trade, or even an Eftablifhment in one of the Ports, or on fome of the Inands about Corea, there will be no Danger of a Quarrel with the Cbinefe, though if there were, I prefume that their naval Force, which never appeared
terrible

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terrible to any other European Nation, would not very much alarm us; and yet nothing but a naval Force, and that too, acting at fome Diftance from their Ports, could be employed to difpoffefs us of this Trade, in Cafe we were once poffeffed of it.
Taking therefore the whole of this Matter together, there is nothing vifionary, romantick or abfurd, in fuppofing that it might be worth the while of our EaftIndia Company, to make an Experiment of this kind, in which if they fucceeded they could have no Caule to repent; and if they did not fucceed, we fhall hereafter Shew, that the Difcoveries with which fuch an Attempt muft be attended, would very well compenlate the Expences which fuch a Tryal would require. I likewife beg leave to add, that it would be no bad Policy for a great trading Company to make now and then fuch an Attempt, for the Sake of National Advantage; becaule it would be a juft and rational Recommendation of their Interefts to this, as to a trading Nation, and take off in a great Meafure that Load of Envy, which has long fat hard, and muft otherwife continue always to fit hard upon every exclufive Company.
10. Whenever a Defign of this Sort fhall come to be maturely weighed, in order to its bểng put in Execution, it will be natural to endeavour at deriving from it all the Advantages that are poffible, and amongft there I apprehend, there is none more obvious, than the reviving thereby in fome Meafure our Commerce with Japan, which has been now interrupted for a long Series of Years, and 1 believe was never fo much as thought of, at leaft as a Thing any way practicable fince the Reign of King Cbarles II. We have already fhown how the Trade is carried on between Corea and Fapan, and from thence, I think there naturally arifes a Profpect of no lefs than three different Methods of making an Attempt of this Sort, favourable to fo important a Scheme. In the firft Place, we might hope for fomething by eftablifhing a Factory upon the Inand of Quelpraet. It is very true, that the Dutch loft a Ship there, in the Year 1653 . but according to the Defcription given us by thofe that efcaped that Shipwreck, there is a tolerable Harbour on the South-fide of that Inand, and more than one good Road on the Eaft-fide towards Japan.

If therefore we could introduce a Trade there, we might in all Probability either enter into a direct Commerce with the Faponefe who frequent that Inand, or at leaft purchafe many of their Commodities from the $\mathrm{CO}-$ reans, out of their Magazines. This I fay is the firft Method, and we are pretty fure that no great Difficulties could attend it, for by the Help of the Dutch Charts, and we might poffibly have the Help of Dutch Seamen too, this Navigation either is or might be very foon tolerably well known, and therefore I fhould imagine, that this might be firft tryed. The fecond Method is attempting the Ifland of Tui la tao, which as I have fhewn, is the direct and capital Seat of Commerce between the Coreans and the Faponefe, and if upon this Inand we could make a tolerable Eftablifhment, there can no Doubt arife, that we fhould be from thence able to carry on both the Corean and Japan Trade with equal Advantage, and this without giving any Umbrage either to the Cbinefe or to the Faponefe. For with Refpect to the former, they have never hitherto pretended to confider this Inand as dependant upon them, and therefore could not take any juft Colour of Offence at any Nation's trading thither, and as for the Faponefe they feem to confider this Inland in the fame Light, and as a Place that affords their Subjects an Opportunity of gratifying their Defire for foreign Commodities, without Danger to the State; one might therefore hope, that from the fame Views we might eftablifh a Factory there, without being at all expofed to thofe uneafy and mortifying Circumstances that attend the Commerce of the Duich in Fapan, and which perhaps have been the chief Caufes, that for folong a Tract of Time, no other European Nation has ever judged it expedient fo much as to attempt interfering with them.
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The third Method by which we might pofibly come to a good Conclufion in this Affair, might be by fetling upon one or other of thofe two little Inlands, that lie to the Eaftward of Tui la tao, and which in the Cbinefe Maps are ftiled, Doro fima and Key fima. Thefe are indeed very fmall Inands but withal they are very conveniently fituated, are within a Day's Sail of one of the beft Ports in Coreo, in lefs than a Day's Sail of the Faponefe Coafts, and fo near. China; that it would be very eas fy to detach an annual Ship from thofe that are conftantly fent to Canton, and for that Ship to join the Companies Veffels from that Port at Macao, in order to return in Confort to Europe. With Refpect to this third Method, I do not think it difficult, though at the fame time, I muft confefs, I hould not advife it to make a Defcent upon, and a Conqueft of which ever Inand fhould be held moft convenient. We have already mentioned more than once, the Dutch Conqueft of Formofa, which in Comparifon of either of thefe Inands, is much the fame as Famaica and St. Cbrifopbers, or of Ireland, and the Ife of Man; fo that methinks, if the Dutch Company could undertake and maintain fuch a Conqueft as the former, there is nothing unreafonable in fuppoling we might be able to atchieve the latter. Befides the fmaller our Acquifition was, the lefs Umbrage it would give, and the eafier it would be to keep.

It may indeed be objected, that if any Thing of this Kind was practicable, it is highly probable the Dutcb would have long ago undertaken it. At firt Sight, there is fomething in this plaufible enough but; when thoroughly examined, this Objection will be found to have very little in it. For the Dutch have no Temptation to a Thing of this kind, as they are already poffeffed of a fettled and profitable Trade with Fapan; and we are too well acquainted with the wife Maxims of that People, to fuppofe that they would rink a Certainty for an Uncertainty, or quit the Monopoly, which they now enjoy, for a kind of Trade in which they might be rivalled by fome other Nation, But this is not at all our Cafe, we had formerly a Share, in this Trade as well as they, from which we are now excluded, and are like to remain forever excluded, unlefs we fhould make fome fuch Attempt as this to recover it; and though perhaps at firft, the foponefe might be a little intractable, and forbid their Subjects holding any Correfpondence with us, yet by Degrees, and in Procefs of Time, we might very well hope to overcome their Jea louly and Averfion; for when they found that we aimed at nothing farther than a Settlement for the Sake of Trade, and did not propofe any Encroachment upon their Dominions, they might be brought to confider us in the fame Light they do the Dutch, and admit, for their own Sakes, a regulated Commerce, under certain Reftrictions; at leaft there are two Things morally certain, firft, that if we were fo eftablifhed, we might be able to fubfift by our Correfpondence with the Coreans, who have a natural Propenfity to Trade, whether we had any Intercourfe with the Inhabitants of Fapan or not; and fecondly, that lying thus at a Diftance from their Coaft, we fhould be in very little Danger from the whole Force of the Faponese Empire ; which was not the Cafe, when we were actually fettled on the Continent by their Permiffion, and under their Protection.

We may likewife add, that the Cafe of the Portuguefe at Macao, is a kind of Parallel to fuch an Eftablifhment; and though it is very true, that in its prefent Situation, that muft be allowed to be both a very mean and a very precarious Sertlement, yet it was not always fuch, nor is the Force of the Portuguefe in the Eaft-Indies at this time any way comparable to ours; fo that if they, even with the little Power they have, are ftill in a Capacity of maintaining themfelves on the Coaft of Cbina, we who have a much greater Power, might very well hope to compals and fupport a better Settlement upon the Coafts of Fapan. At leaft, there is no Harm in thinking of it, in ftating the Arguments in Favour of fuch a Thing, or in looking into and enquiring after the Advantages with which it might be attended.

If the Europeans had never entertained much bolder and more romantick Schemes than thefe, we had never known more of fapan; than what was handed to us in Marco Polo's Travels; and why our Anceftors in CockBoats, in Comparifon of our Ships, and with few or none of the Advantages which we poffefs, fhould attempt Difcoveries, eftablifh Colonies, and make Conquefts that we ought not fo much as to entertain any Thoughts of, is paying fo high a Compliment to them, and throwing fo depreciating a Character upon ourfelves, as with all our Faults I think we can hardly deferve. But fuppofe we did take it for granted, that we were fuch mean fpirited daftardly Creatures as this Comparifon would make us, let us not expect that our Pofterity muft follow our Examples, or that we are to decline and grow downwards to the End of Time. If foftened by Luxury, if enervated by Corruption, if hampered by private Interefts, and the Chains of exclufive Companies, the prefent Generation dare act nothing that is great and noble, let us at leaft preferve our Thoughts free, and difcover, fettle, and conquer in Imagination; nor need we debar ourfelves the poor Pleafure of hoping that thofe who come after us may be better than we, as well as thofe that went before us.
II. When fuch a Race of Men fhall arife, the Advantages that we have already propofed will in all Probability appear fufficient to engage them either to chufe one of thefe Methods which we have offered, or to think of fome other which may be preferable to any of them, and which at the fame Time may do Honour to their own Invention. They will alfo in all Probability pufh Things ftill farther, and entertain Hopes of new Difcoveries, when they once find themfelves fettled on the Frontiers, as it were, of the known World. I beg my Readers will now reflect, that I fpeak of thofe who fhall live when we are no more, and that I do not pretend to expect any modern Supercargoes, who can make great Fortunes in two or at moft three Voyages, Factors at Buenos Ayres, Panama or famaica, who in the Space of a few Years can rife from Indigence to Opulence, though now and then their Practices may plunge the Nation in a feven Years War or fo; or thofe active and bufy Spirits, who know how to fifh golden Treafures out of the troubled Waters of ${ }^{\text {CCbange-Alley }}$; I fay, I do not expect that there fhould fo much as relifh my Propofals, much lefs concern themfelves in their Execution; indeed I fhould be forry if they did, for I fhould then have the Mortification to fee the Trade to Corea made a Bubble; or, the Revival of our Commerce to $7 a p a n$, a Jobb. No, I pleafe mypfelf with the Profpect of a new Race of Men, who when our Confufions are over, and our Animofities buried in Oblivion; when Parties, Factions, Intrigues, Corruption and Stockjobbing fhall' be no more, may inhabit under a new Heaven as it were on a new Earth.
-It is from thefe Men, full of the good old Englifh Spirit, that fent Drake and Cavendif/ round the World, that infpired the great Sir Walter Raleigh with the View of peopling Virginia, and even in our degenerate Times, excited another Gentleman I need not name, to an Attempt which will be the wonder of future Ages, as the Neglect of it will be the Reproach of ours; from thefe Men, I fay, I expect that when they have fixed fuch an Eftablifhment as I have been fpeaking of, that they would confider what it is makes the Fapan Trade fo dear to the Dutch, in Spite of the Dangers, the Difficulties, and the difagreeable Circumftances with which it is attended. They will find, that it is the rich Copper they receive from thence, by which they always make fourfore, and fometimes Cent. per Cent. that it is the Silver of which they likewife make a Profit, and that a great Part of the former, and almoft all the latter, come to the Faponefe, from Countries to the Northeait of their own, and of thefe Countries wherever they lie, I make no Doubs but fuch Englifmen, upon thefe Informations, will go in Queft.
Thefe Countries mult be inhabited, otherwife their Mines could riot be wrought, and from the Climates in which they lie, the People muft fland in Need of warm

Cloathing, fo that without Queftion, our woollen Manufactures would be very acceptable to them; when thefe Countries are found, they will lead to the Difcovery of new, for Countries without doubt there are, from Fapan to California; and as the wife Columbus rightly forefaw, that a Weft Courfe, muft of Neceffity carry Men from Europe to the East-Indies; fo with equal Security we may pronounce, that this North-eaft Navigation will fooner or later bring them to that Northweft Paffage, which whenever it is difcovered, will fet the Name of Dobbs on a Level with that of 'Magellan. I do not wifh that thefe Difcoveries fhould lead to Conqueft, or that the Eng $\overline{i j h}$, like the Spaniards, fhould employ their Force in fubduing the Natives, and bury Millions in digging to fupport their Luxury. No, from fuch Men I expeet better Things, and that they will place their Glory in what all-wife Providence has made their Intereft, in civilizing the Savages they may find, in teaching them Humanity, and the Truths of the Gofpel, and in Exchange for the Bleffings their own fruitful Countries enjoy, bring back the Tribute of thofe new difcovered Lands.
Thefe are high and noble Sentiments, which however flighted and defpis'd by fuch as have no Principle but Gain, and no God but Gold, are thofe that tend to make a People truly great, and to eftablifh that Greatnefs upon a Foundation riever to be fhaken. If the modern, narrow and felfinh Notions had prevailed in former Ages, the Eaf-Indies and the Weft had ftill remained unknown; and if they had not been propagated in fucceeding Times, there would not remain at this Day a full third Part of the habitable Globe to be difcovered. At the fame Time that we know this with as much Certainty as it is poffible, that a Thing of this Nature fhould be known, we cannot but be fenfible that it is ridiculous to complain of Want of Trade, while fo many Branches remain unopened; we likewife know, that within a fhort Time after their being firft difcovered, Trades are the moft profitable, and are at the fame Time eafieft kept, as appear'd by our preferving for a long Time our Commerce with Ruffia, in Confequence of our finding the Route thither by Arcbangel, and our quiet Enjoyment of the Hudfon's Bay Trade, in Virtue alfo of our being the firf Difcoverers.
To fuch Men as I have defcribed, to thofe who hava found Heads and honeft Hearts, thefe will be perfuafive Arguments; and far from confidering the Revival of the Trade to $\mathcal{F}$ apan, as the utmoft Limits of their Hopes and the Britifo Commerce, they will embrace every Opportunity to carry their own Knowledge, and the Commodities of their Councry farther, and try every Method that can Art dictate, or Genius can devife, for gaining frefh Information. Nor will they have any Apprehenfions that their Labours may prove fruitlefs, or their Difcoveries ineffectual, fince this will be fufpecting Providence, and fuppofing that God would create Countries, and place Men in them beneath the Notice, and unworthy the Converfation of their FellowCreatures; which, impious as it is, may be agreeable enough to the Pride of corrupted Minds, but mult feem equally abfurd and fhocking to every well feafoned Underftanding. Befides, Experience tells us, that never any Difcovery was yet made, which proved utterly ufelefs, ineffectual, or when properly purfued.

The Coaft of Guinea, when firtt vifited by the Portugueje, did not promile any mighty Things, and yet it proved the Way to the Indies. The Country about the Cape of Good Hope was deferted by more Nations than one, as abfolutely worthlefs and incorrigible, and yet in the Hands of the Dutch it it a kind of terreftrial Paradife. We may fay the fame of the Shores of the Magellanic Straits, which are inhofpitable to the laft Degree ; but they open into the Soutb-Seas, and are, if I may be allowed the Expreffion, the Gates to a new World. As thefe are Wonders difclofed by paft Difcoveries; they may well provoke Men of high Spirits and true Courage to profecute the fame Road, and endeavour, by frefh Expeditions of the fame kind, to ri-
val the Reputation of old Difcoveries, by the more furprizing Scenes they unfold, in making new.
12. It is a very juft Obfervation of the wife Lord Chancellor Bacon, that there are many People, who chufe to put the moft material Part of their Letters in their Pofffripts; I mult confefs, I do not enter into the Reafon of the Thing, though without adverting thereto, I have fallen into the Practice, of which fhall give the Reader very fincerely and without Referve my Motives. When I undertook to give this Hiftory of Corea, and to recommend an Eftablifhment upon the Coafts of it, I propofed to fpare no Pains in order to recommend it to my Countrymen, as a Thing highly advantageous, and that could not poffibly fail of amply rewarding their Endeavours; but at the fame Time it was my Intention to have concealed the capital and ftrongeft Reafon, which had induced me to prefs this Matter fo warmly, not out of the leaft ill Will or Jealoufy of my Countrymen, not from any private View to my own Advantage, but becaufe I was apprehenfive, that the difclofing this Matter might give other Nations an Opporcunity to profit, by an Invention which I could wifh to fee in the Poffeffion of the Britif/ Nation alone. This I the rather apprehended, becaufe of that fupine Indolence, which for many Years has locked up our Faculties, with Refpect to Difcoveries, while other Nations that we feem to defpife have crept fo fart into Naval Power, as already to tread upon our Heels; for the Swedes this very Year have deftined thirty five thoufand able Seamen for the Service of their Navy, and at the fame Time have renewed the Charter of their Eaf-India Company for twenty Years, and difpatched two large new Ships to China.
But being well informed, that thofe worthy and publick firited Men, who were at the Expence of the laft Expedition, for the Difcovery of a North-weft Paf fage, continue in their Refolution to profecute that Defign, which fooner or later I am convinced will be attended with Succefs; I was from thence determined to alter my Plan, and to acquaint the World, fairly and truly with the Secret of this Bufinefs; and the principal Reafon of my contending fo much, not only for the Expediency, but even for the Neceffity of making an Attempt on this Side, and fecuring a folid Eftablifhment on fome or other of the Inlands between Corea and Fapan. The fetting this Affair in a clear and $^{2}$ proper Light will take up fome Room, and require a little Attention; but every ingenious Reader, I am confident, will allow me the one without complaining, and gratify me in the other with Pleafure, fince what I have to offer, carries along with it the prevailing Charm of Novelty, at the fame Time that it is equally curious and important.

The Hopes of difcovering a North-eaft Paffage have been long laid afide, from a great Variety of Reafons, but chiefly on Account of thofe advanced by the laft Adventurer for that Difcovery our Countryman Captain Wood, who like many other great Navigators, having failed in his Expectations, confoled himfelf tor that Difappointment, by labouring to take away Expectation itfelf. I muft confefs, that this Method, however common, is very far from being fatisfactory to me, infomuch that I could. wifh it was difured, and that fuch as are for the future employed in any Expeditions of this Kind, would content themfelves with the Vindication of their own Conduct, in giving a fair Detail of their Mifcarriages, without laying it down as a Thing certain, or even probable, that no Man fhould ever fucceed where they failed. But notwithftanding all the Difappointments, and, I muft confefs there have been many of them in attempting this North-eaf Paffage, the Reafons for believing it remain yet unanfwered, and particularly a Matter of Fact which belongs properly to the Subject of this Section, and therefore I will res port it in the Author's own W.ords.

The Perfon, whoever he was, that wrote an Account of the Shipwreck of the Dutch Sailors on the Inand of Quelpraet, has added a fhort Defcription of the Kingdom of Corea, in which he has the follow-

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ing very remarkable Paffage. "On the North-eaft it " is bounded by the valt Ocean where there is every "Year a great Number of Whales taken, fome of "them found with the French and Duitch Harping"Irons', thofe People ufing to follow that Fiihery'. "There are Abundance of Herrings alfo catch'd there " in December, Fanuary, February and March. Thofe " taken the two firft of thefe Months, are as large as "ours in Holland, but what they catch afterwards are "fmaller, and like thofe in Hollond, called Frying " Herrings, which are eaten in March and April. Hencé "we infer, that there is a Paffage above Corea, Jopan " and Tarlary, which anfwers to the Streights of Wei" gats. For this Reafon we often asked of the Core"Jian Seamen, who ufe the North-eaift Sea, what Lands "were beyond them, and they all told us they be" lieved there was nothing that Way but a boundlefs "Ocean."
This very Paffage is alledged by Captain Wood, as one of the feven Reafons which induced him to attempt finding this Paffage, but as at the Time of Writing his Book, he had two very different Objects in View, viz. the Showing that he did not venture upon the Expedition without good Grounds; and the Proving that, notwithftanding their fair Appearance, thefe were in Effect no Grounds at all; he is fo far from citing the Paffage as I have done, that he gives a very inaccurate, I might fay, falfe Accouit of it; for he fays, that the Dutch Writer reports, that in a cettain Bay of the Kingdom of Corea, dead Whales drive in with Englifa and Dutch. Harping-Irons in them, which if true, he owns had been a great Argument of a Paffage.
The Reader may fee, that the Dutch Writer fays no fuch Thing, and if he liad faid it, the Abfurdnefs of thefe dead Whales floating fo far, would have rendered the Paffage ridiculous; and this, very poffibly, Captain Wood intended by making the Change. Of the Herrings he fays not a Word; and therefore giving him up the dead Whales for his'own Ufe; I prefume the living ones, and the Herrings, may fill pais for tivo very frong Arguments of fuch a Paffage, and in its proper Place; I have produced thefe and many more. If therefore there be any fuch Paffage, it is very manifett from hence, that making fuch a Settlement as I contend for, is the likelieft Mechod to find it. For fup: pofing that we had a good Colony, or at leaft a ftrong Fort and Factory, upon the Inland of Tui la tao, we might from thence annually endeavour to difcover along the Coafts of Kamjcibatjca, at the moft favourable Seafon of the Year, and thereby obtain a fairer Opportunity than has yet offered, of getting round into the $E u$ ropean Seas; for as Dampier very rightly faid of the Northweft Paffage, that it was more likely it fhould be found by thofe who attempted it from California, than by fuch as fought it from Hudjon's-Bay; fo I may fay, with Regard to this Difcovery, that they have infinitely a better Chance, who feek this Paffage from Japan, than thofe who profecute it from the North of Scotland : and for the very fame Reafon, becaufe this is proceeding from the Unknown to the Known, and making the latter Part of the Voyage, fafe and eafy, which in the other Way is always dangerous and incertain ; to which we may with much Probability, attribute moft of the Difappointments that have been met with.

But if contrary to all Appearances, if in Spite of all the Reafons, Phyfical, Phyiofophical and Cofmographi: cal, that countenance this Opinion, and which hitherto remain altogether unrefuted, there fhould, after all, be none fuch, we fhould make this negative Difcovery earlier, and with greater Certainty than other People, and even from hence there might very great Advantages arife, that have not hitherto been confidered; for thought it would be impofible to tranfport Goods, yet Letters and Intelligence might be carried over Land; a Sloop. in the Space of three Weeks; with a fair Wind, in much lefs Time, might proceed from 2 uelpraet, up the River Amur, and fo the Packets might be conveyed to Nipchou, from whence there are frequent Opportunities of fending to Mofow, and by this Means, in the 12 A $\quad$ Spacea

Space of fix Months, Letters would reach Hamburgh, from a Factory upon the Coaft of fapan; in this there is nothing dark or unintelligible, nothing that refts upon Suppofition or Conjecture, the whole is juft as certain, as that the Dominions of the Czarina border upon thofe of the Emperor of Cbina.

Thus then, whecher a North-eaft Paffage, or no Paffage, fuch a Settlement would be highly ufeful, highly advantageous, and highly convenient. But I have fomething farcher to fay, fuch a Settlement as this might be of Ufe, if not to the Difcovery, yet to the Prefervation and Improvement, even of a North-weft Paffage; for though I am not fo fanguine, as to imagine, that thofe who fhall be fo lucky as to make that Paffage, would afterwards have the Courage to make fuch an enormous Stretch, as from California to Fapan; yet I prefume, that in Procefs of Time, fuch a Difcovery being once made, Endeavours might be ufed on both Sides, by difcovering to the Eaft one Way, and to the Weft the other, to facilitate a Junction in fome middle Port; for to me it appears a Thing certain, that chere are Countries, at leaft Inands all the Way. This double Difcovery would lay open the Whole, in half the Time that would be otherwife neceffary, perhaps in lefs than half the Time, for in both Cafes our Seamen having reafonable Hopes of reaching an Englijh Port, would make infinitely greater Efforts than could be expected from them in a State of Uncertainty, and proceeding conftancly through unknown Seas, without any View of being fafe at laft.

It is to be obferved, that all I have advanced under this laft Head, is abfolutely independant of what was faid before: fo that if the Advantages firtt propofed are fuch as may encourage the attempting fuch a Setclement, by proving the great Probability there is of its being advantageous to the Britifo Nation, then thefe additional Confiderations ought very much to ftrengthen and confirm the Refolution of doing fomething of this Sort in Time, and before any other Nation lays hold of what we neglect. To fome poffibly this may appear highly improbable, but to remove that, as I would willingly do every other Objection, I beg Leave to take Notice of three Things, which, in my Apprehenfion, are fufficient to fhew, that a Sulpicion of this kind is not altogether groundlefs, much lefs chimerical. In the firlt Place then, I prefume Nobody will doubr, that if we are fo happy as to find the North-weft Paffage, is will excite a great Spirit of Emulation, in all the trading Nations of Europe, more efpecially, if we fhould, as there is great Probability we nutt; reap very great Advantages from that Difcovery. Now to balance this, the moft natural Expedient they could recur too, would be attempting the Difcovering of the North-eaft Paffage, towards which, the finding the other would be the frongett Encouragement.

But, fuppofing this to be utterly impracticable, yes without any greater Knowledge than they have aiready, the Ruffians might be tempted to make Ufe of the Advantages they already poffers, in order to be beforehand with us, in opening a Commerce with fapan, and thereby precluding us from thofe Benefits, which from a listle Induftry and Pains we might now fecure to ourfelves againft all other Nations, at leaft for a confiderable Space of Time, during which we might eftablifh ourfelves fo effectually, as to preferve thofe Advantages for ever, in Spite of any Attempts to difpoffefs us.
My fecond Obfervation is, that the Ruflians have this very Point already in View, that it is what they aim at by all the Difcoveries they have been for many Years making; that this is confeffed in all the Accounts, that they have hitherto publifhed of their Progrefs; that it is the true and only Reafon of their not making their laft Difcoveries as publick as they did thofe of Captain Bebring; and thongh I am very far from faying, that we have any Right to take this ill, or to be offended with the Conduct of the Ruflans in this Particular, yet I cannot help thinking, that it is worth our Obfervation, and that there is full as good Reafon we fhould make Ufe of the Experience and Advantage, derived to us from our Eaj-India Trade, as the Rufians of the Situa-
tion of their Territories, and the Difcoveries which they have made by that Means.

In the third Place, I muft remark, that ever fince the Sroedes fuccceded in their Attempt of opening a Communication with the Eaff- Indies, they have had fomething of this Kind in their Head, I mean making a Setclement upon fome Inand near the Coaft of Cbuna, or to the Ealt of it; nor are weat all certain, that the Ships which have failed from Gottenburgb, while this very Section was princing, may not have Infructions to make, or at leaft attempt making fuch a Settement. Why then we fhould fit ftill with our Arms before us, while other Nations, more efpecially the Northern Nations, who are avowedly and earneftly endeavouring to render themfelves maritime Powers, ufe fo much Vigilance and Activity to compafs their Ends; or why, according to the old, but true and fenfible Proverb, We are to take no Care of the Stable-Door, wobilft the Steed is unfolen, I am at a Lofs to comprehend? Sure I am, that whatever Reception thefe Remarks may meet with at prefent, it will not be many Years before the World will fee, that I am not altogether miftaken in my Eftimate, and that the rich Goods of Fapan will find their Way to Europe in fome other Bottoms than thofe belonging to the Dutch Eaff-Trdia Company; and I am fatisfied, that-the Dutch themfelves will not blame me, for wifhing, that in fuch a Cafe they might be freighted in Briti/b Veffels.

There is a natural Connection between the Interefts of the maritime Powers in the Indies. as well as in Europe, and though it is certainly true, that as Trade is our common Miftrefs, we mult in many Cafes be confidered as Rivals; yet it is no lefs true, that if our Interefts be well undertood, we ought to avoid Quarrelling even upon that Account; for though it may be in our Power to deftroy each other, yet we have this Comfort, that if it is never in our Will, we may preferve our Commerce and our Naval Force in Spite of all our Enemies ; and this is a Topick that can never be too much preached upon, either in England, or in Holland; and as a Proof of this we need only confider, that fuch as are Enemies to both, never fail to infinuate the contrary. Whoever looks into the Pamphlets, publifhed here in the Reign of King Cbarles the IId, and whoever has read, and remembers the celebrated Letiers of Van Hoey, cannot bue acknowledge the Truch of this Obfervation, which I the rather make, becaufe in fome Parts of this Work, I have expreffed myfelf very freely, in Regard to the Practices of the Dutch in the Eaft-Indies; but I defire that it may be underftood, that I diftinguifh between the Servants of the Eaf-India Company, and the Subjects of the States-General; for though they are the fame Men, they are under different Directions, and this Diflinction is none of my coining, but one I learned from my old Mafter Gobn de Witt, whofe Maxims firf gave me a true Notion of Trade, and taught me to look upon it, not in the narrow Light of a Scheme to acquire Wealth, but as a generous Syftem, of diftributing through all Climates the Blefings beftowed by Nature, and chereby promoting the common Happinefs of Mankind.
13. After having thus finithed the Bufinefs of the Section, with the Readers good Leave, we will take the Liberty of making a few Remarks and Obfervations upon it. It confifts in a Defcription of Corea, which is entirely new, and confequently cannot be thought either ufeiefs or unentertaining. It fhews from the Defription laid down of this Country and its Inhabitants, that there is nothing improbable, in fuppofing that we may become better acquainted with them; it is true, we lie a great Way from them, but we vifit the Cbinefe very often, and thefe fame Coreans live but at next Door : It exhibits alfo fome Reafons that may induce us to think of calling upon them, and amongft others, that of opening by their Afiftance the Way to renew our Acquaintance with the faponefe, with whom we had Dealings in Times paft. It farther lays open fome additional Advantages that may refult from our entering upon this Commerce ; and finally it brings to Light fome very curious, and if they were well weighed, fome very cogent Reafons for our not Reeping over

## Chap. III.

the Kingdom of Corea.
an Affair, which, if well managed, may be attended with fo many good Confequences.

The Plan, it is true, is very extenfive, and I will readily grant is much fooner conceived and thrown out upon Paper (though that too has coft a good deal of Time) than carried into Execution. But it may be a very good Plan for all that, and I have the better Opinion of it, becaufe it may be executed Siep by Step, and be made to bear its own Charges into the Bargain. If the Trade to Corea fhould be found practicable and profitable, I thould certainly incur no Blame for pointing it out ; but fay, that Experience fhould juftify the former only, and not the latter: In that Cafe I fhould think we might eke out Matters from fapen, not in two or three Years perhaps, but in half a Score much might be done; and in the mean Time fome Trials might be made towards other Difcoveries. The old Proverb fays, that Rome was not built in a Day, and this Proverb was never better verified than when applied to Trade, to Settlements, and to Colonies. They are, to be fure, neither adjufted, fixed, or rendred beneficial in a Moment; but in Matters of this Nature, Time and Patience will do all. Let us look at Virginia and NeroEngland, thofe Sifter Plantations, that have grown up to be fine comely Perfonages, though they were fomewhat dificult in the Rearing; and let us remember how often chis Nation was told, while they were at her Breafts, that it was all Labour in vain, and that they would never live to go alone. But Thanks be to God, we were not terrified by thefe old Womens Prophecies, we continued our Care of them notwithftanding thefe untoward Prognoftications, and we have had no Caure to repent of it; the young Women, as they grew up, throve apace; they have been long fince able to get their own Living, and have made us very grateful Returns for the Pains we took in nurfing them.

The Danger is not fo great in undertaking extenfive Projects, as that which arifes from the Folly of abandoning them too foon. We ought moft certainly to examine Things maturely before we refolve upon them; as I faid once before, I am not vain enough to imagine, that I have pointed out all the Methods, or even the beft Methods for accomplifhing this Defign, but if upon Trial it thould be found that I have been ever fo much miftaken, and that the Thing muft be gone about in quite another Way, it will not affict me much provided the Thing can be done. That, and that alone, is my View, let the Project be decried, let the Projector be thought a Fool, if his Folly proves an Inftrument to his Country's Good, and his Countryman's Glofy, that Fool will be happier than all the Indies could make him. The Vanity of knowing much, the Ambition of making a Figure in the learned World, the afpiring Hopes of ftriking out new Paths, are Weakneffes without Doubt, but they are Weaknefles that are often beneficial to Mankind, and in that Light are excufable. I defire this may be confidered in no other, though in Truth I am not much concerned in what Light it is confidered, if it is but productive of any Good.

Extenfive as the Plan is, yet we fee plainly that it confilts of Parts ; though it is propofed at once, yet it may be effetted by Degrees. We are told that Milo, a famous Lubber of Anciquity, began with carrying of a Calf, and was able to jog about with it upon his Shoulders when it grew up to be an Ox, which he afterwards knocked on the Head with a Blow of his Fift; and then I think the Story fays, he eat it, not at a Meal, I prefume, but in Joints. This fhews us, that Time and Application will atchieve Wonders, and provided we make an Eflay to take up the Calf all in good Time, we may come to have many a good Dinner out of the Ox. But we muft fet our Shoulders to it, that was Milo's Beginning, and it mult be ours. If we can but carry the Calf, and do not fling it down in a Paffion, there is no doubt of its becoming an Ox , or that our Strength and his will keep. Pace, and that we fhall be able to carry him when he is an Ox. The Comparifon is familiar and coarfe, but it is very apt, and if I was fure that the Criticks, would not be angry, I
would fay that Homer himfeif has made ufe of fome that are not a bit more clumfy or lefs cleanly.
It may be farther objected, and indeed I cannot deny, that though I file it a fingle Propofition, yet there is a great Variety of Objects pointed out ; but if from this Conceffion it fhould be faid that any Diftraction arifes, againft that I fhall enter my Proteft. It is very certain that one Machine may anfwer a Variety of Purpofes, and therefore becaufe a Man affirms, that if a certain Thing be done, it may prove the Means of doing many other Things, it does not at all follow that what he propofes is the more difficult, much lefs that it is impracticable. To judge of this, we muft confider the Relation between the Means he propofes, and the Ends which he affirms may be anfiwered by them; for if there be a proper Connection between them, he may be fill in the right, tho' at the firft Appearance he may feem to promife large. To apply this general DoCrine. When 1 fay that Corea is happily fituated for Trade, the Reader need only turn to a Map to know whether I fueak Truth. When I affirm that the Inhabitants are addicted to Commerce, he may have Recourfe to the Authorities I have cited, and upon due Examination the Witneffes will be found to fpeak my Senfe. When I lay it down that there are Inands very conveniently fituated between Corea and $\mathcal{F}$ apan, I mention alfo their Names, fo that it may very eafily be feen, whether I imitate that Painter, who to gratify his Wife that did not love to fee fo much white in one part of the Globe, fprinkled a few Inands through it, which are called the Painter's Wife's Inands to this Day. When I hold forth about Countries beyond fapan, I mult confefs I ans a little a fhamed to appeal to Father Cbarlevoix and his Brethren the Fefuits; but however, if their Teftimony fhould be rejected, I believe I could produce fome Proteftant Witneffes to the fame Facts. And laftly, when I talk about a North-eaft Paffage, there is Captain Wood will bear me out in' all that 1 have advanced. Thus I reconcile my Means to all thefe feveral Ends, or at leaft I put it into the Reader's Power to fee whether I reconcile them or nor.
In the next Place it is to be obferved, that I do not pretend to fay, that the Moment a Settlement is fixed, it will fulfill all that I have promifed in its Behalf, or that it is requifite we fhould attempt to fulfill them the very Inftant that we have made fuch a Serclement. This I am fo far from affirming that the principal Reafon of my introducing this Remark, is to fhew that it ought not to be expected. I maintain that there is a Connection between this Settlement and all the Ends I have alledged it may anfwer; but we muft touch but one String at a Time, ocherwife we fhall produce Difcord intead of Harmony. We mult take each in its Order, and if we do not immediately fucceed, we muft drop that Defign for a Time, and drive only the Nails that will go, and thus by Degrees there is no Room to fear we fhall come to drive them all at latt.
When the Canaries were firtt difcovered, and toffed about from Hand to Hand, whoever thought that from thence a new World might be difcovered? Why truly Columbus. And what then ? He propofed it to the Portuguefe, who were thought to be the beft Judges of fuch Projects, and they rejected it as an idle Dream. But as good Judges as they were, they miftook the Point, and as much as they thought him miftaken, he hit the Mark. Not at once indeed, but gradually; he firt reached the Babama Iflands, then the Continent of America, and as foon as he heard of a South Sea, he pronounced that the Indies he fought lay beyond that. By Degrees every End was anfwered, and the Spices brought home in Magellan's Ships, though many Years after Columbus's Death, proved that his firft Conceptions were right; and give me Leave to fay they would have been juft as right if Magellan had not fucceeded in his Voyage. All the Ends of a Propofition may not be anfwered in a very long Tract of Time, and yet they may be all truly laid down. We have not yet fquared the Circle, but the Dutch Mathematician that had a Line and half of Decimals inferibed upon his Tomb went very near it,

Without doubt many a one will fay, that the Scene is laid at a prodigious Diftance, that there are a Multitude of Obftacles lie in the Way, and that it would be a wild Wafte of Wealth to undertake any of thefe enormous Schemes, which are out of the Reach of any but whimfical People's Obfervations. As to the Diftance, I proteff I cant tell what to fay. It is moft certain, that I can't bring Corea nearer, but where it is there Providence placed it ; and if it had been placed any where elfe, it would have been fo much the worfe, for all the Ends that I have propofed, and I muft even have had Recourfe to any other Country that ftood in its Room. But then if a North-eart Paffage fhould be difcovered, though it would not bring Corea nearer, or fhorten the Diftance a Yard, yet we fhould get fooner there by very near two thirds of the Time. Well then, there is fomething in Alleviation of the Diftance, and as to the Difficulty why that is not much greater than mult be got over to get at a Pound of Hyfon Tea, and not fo great as is actually got over, before Europeanśs can make themfelves Mafters of a Fapan Teaboard. Whence I infer, that any Body who ever drank Tea upon fuch a Tea-board mult allow that the Thing may be done.

King Pbilip the IId, who was a very wife Man, framed far more extenfive Projects, and durft think of encountring Difficulties, to which all that I have mentioned are but Mole-hills, He conceived an Idea at leaft of univerfal Monarchy in Europe, and a Monarchy as univerfal on the Ocean. He knew all the poffible Paffages to the Indies, and refolved to be Mafter of them all; with a View to this he actually attempted to fix a Settlement, and build a City on the miferable Coaft of the Streights of Magellan, where one of our Men of War's Boats, Crew could not fubfift during their Paffage; and it fell out with Refpect to his Colony, as might be expected, that is, fuch as did not drown or hang themfelves were fairly farved. He had it likewife in his Head to put it out of every Body's Power to look either for North-eaft, or North-weft Paffages, by reducing the Englifh and Duich, the only Nations that had thought of fuch a Thing. Nay to fuch a Degree did he carry this kind of Imperial Madnefs, that he was even for locking up the Baltick, and with that View actually took Meafures for making himfelf Matter of the Sound.

Thefe were prodigious and impracticable Projects, and yet they enter'd into a very wife Man's Pate ; they were purfued with the utmoft Vigour, and with the Affiftance of as much Power as Europe ever faw, and yet they mifcarried. But all this happened by affigning to their Accomplifhment the Life of a fingle Man. Had Pbilip contented himfelf with framing his Plan, executing any one Fart of it, and by culcivating the Arts of Peace, raifed the Power of his Subjects to a Degree proportionate to the next Branch of his Scheme, what he left unaccomplifhed, might have been performed by his Pofterity, fuppofing them to have made no more Hafte than good Speed in compleating this fuupendious Fabrick, which like the Tower of Babel, being confecrated to the Ufe of Slavery, the divine Juftice of Providence tumbled to the Ground. Thus the Reader fees, that there are great Projects practicable, and greater Projects impracticable ; that wife and powerful Kings may be miftaken and defeated, and that an Adventurer, like Columbus, without a Freehold as big as his Hat, or Half a Crown in his Pocket, may bring his Defire to bear, even when that Defire was fo feemingly improbable, as to look for a new World. But afier all, the Difficulty in this Cafe is not fo great as to exceed the Power even of the Eaft-India Company; they can do much more than I have propofed, that they will do it, though I am bold enough in prophecying, I fhall not venture to foretel.
There is another Thing that I apprehend may be called in Queftion, and that is the Strefs I lay upon the Expeditions made by the Northen Nations to the EaflIndies. What does this Fool mean, will fome great Politician fay, by being in fuch a Panick about the the Szaedes and Danes fending now and then a Ship to

Cbina? Will erecting an Eaf-India Company eftablifh a Maricime Power ? Truly I can't lay that, but this I will fay, and can prove, that no Nation ever carried on a Trade to the Eafl-Indies, but became a maritime Power. I have written half a Folio Volume to evince this, and Idefy all the Men in the World to fhew the contrary. Within the Compafs of thefe lait five hundred Years, did not the Venetians and Genoefe become maritime Powers by the Eaff-India Commerce, though they carried it on at fecond Hand. What made Portugal a maritime Power, but the Eaf-India Trade? What made Spain a maritime Power, but the Defire of the EafL-India Trade, which threw the WeftIndies in her Way? it is true, fhe flood ftill to pick them up, but then fhe went on, as the Pbilippines will bear me Witnefs? What made us? What made the Dutch maritime Powers? This very Trade. And when have all maritime Powers declined? When they loft their Trade to the Eaf-Indies. Judge then Reader for yourfelf, whether my Conjectures be rah or vain, or whether I have not too good Grounds to fufpect, that thofe who have overcome greater Difficulties, than in Refpect to Navigation was oppofed to other Nations, will in a fhort Time become maritime Powers alfo.

I may be miftaken, and flould be glad to be miftaken; I fay no more, and I wifh I had never had Occafion to fay fo much. Yet even this affords a Juftification of my Scheme; for if I point out the Difeafe, I have likewife prefcribed a Remedy. If there be any Maxim in Polisicks, certain it is this, that if a maritime Power does not increafe, it muft quickly decline. We are every Day complaining that our old Branches of Trade fail, that one turns to no Account, that in another we are fupplanted, that a third is quite wore out. What Medicine then fo natural, and at the fame Time fo eafy as to frike out new Branches? We have Strength and Power enough to do that, but whether we have Force fufficient to abet fuch an Attempt as that of King Pbilip's, I mean to reftrain all the reft of the World from Trading, I fuppofe, I need not fay; but if we really had, that very Force would fink and crumble to Pieces in the Attempt. This Remedy then or none muft cure us; it is the Tar-Water of the State, and if it will not help us, we may die according to the regular Practice, as other maritime Powers have done before us.
Thefe are melancholy Confiderations, but however they may lead to a merry Purpofe. There is a Time for every Thing, and we mutt be fometimes grave as well as gay; and if heretofore we had no Rival but the Dutch, we mult not now flater ourfelves that we have no other Rival, when every Dutch Mail that bring us Papers and Letters from the North, fhow the contrary. I might fay fomewhat of the Prufian Pretences, but I don't care to talk of Lovers in Leading Strings, or pretend to think of ftrangling a hopeful Babe in its Cradle, for fear when he grows up he fhould prove our Rival too. Yet it may not be amifs to obferve, that there is a ftrange Spirit gone Abroad, and that while every Body is looking after Trade, it becomes us who fublift by it, to look about it too. This indeed is a very obvious Remark, but the more obvious it is, the more neceflary; if none but a blind Man could mifs feeing it, what mult he be who miffes the right Ufe of it? The Queftion is eafily anfwered, and it is the Anfwer that I will recommend to the ferious Confideration of our Superiors.
One Obfervation more and I have done; fome Objection may be made as to the Seafon in which I made this Propofal ; we are engaged in a dangerous, doubtful and deftructive War, this therefore cannot be thought fit Time for thinking of new Schemes, or for aiming at Difcoveries. But alas, I am forry this is fo eafily anfwered ; we have already loft a great deal of Time, and it is our own Fault that we did not think of thefe Things fooner, that we ihould not chufe fuch a Time as this I will readily agree; but it is not left to our Choice, the Situation of Things has made it neceffary, and as Neceffity, in Fact, has no Law, fo Neceflity in Argument will admit of no Aniwer.

## Chap. III.

the Kingdom
It is indeed true, that in a Time of War the Thoughts of our Statefmen are much occupied, and Money is not eafily found for Expeditions of this Sort, where neither immediate N.ceffity, nor inftant Gain feem to require or excite them. But Men who fee further will perceive, that notwithftanding thefe and fome orher Inconveniencies that might be pointed out, yet upon the whole a Time of War may be efteemed the moft proper, becaufe Ships of Force may be difpatched into thofe Parts, firft without Sufpicion, and next without any Lofs; for the Situation of Things is Reaion fufficient to account for our fending Ships of Strength to the Indies, without leaving it in the Power of any to difcover what our true Intentions in fending them may be; and next they may actually render fuch Service to our Commerce in thofe Parts as may effectually indemnify us for our Expences in fitting them out, even if we fhould be fo unlucky as in the firt Trial not to fucceed. Befides, whatever Acquifitions we make in Time of War, may be fortified and fecured by a fubfequent Treaty of Peace, fince none of our Neighbours are fo much interefted in thofe diftant Parts as to refufe to accomodate us, if in Return we gratify them in Matters in which they have a nearer Concern, and which it is very poffible, may not affect us, or at leaft not fo much.
For though, without Doubt, we have a very high Intereft in the Balance of Power, and therefore ought to be careful in fecuring it, yet there is no Means fo fure for compaffing this as enlarging our Trade, and thereby extending the Foundation of our Naval Force. Whatever therefore tends to this Point is our higheft Concern; and if there be any thing that merits more than ordinary Expences, even at a Juncture when we have fo many good Reafons to be frugal, moft certainly Projects of this Sort ought to be regarded in that Light. We fhould be the more fenfible of this, if we would but confider ferioully, and reflect frequently upon what firlt gave us that wide Power, that high Credit, that great Influence amongft our Neighbours, of which, we have been fo long poffeffed. It was not moft certainly the deep Schemes of our Minifters, for thefe have been feldom laid, and when-ever they were laid, have been commonly difappointed; for though no Nation has a greater Pronenefs to talk Politicks than the Inhabitants of Great Britain, yet fince the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, we have had no great Reafon to boait of very refined Statefmen; nor at the Bottom, perhaps, has this been any Misfortune to us, any more than to our Neighbours. It was not our military Exploits that raifed us to this envied Station, for though the Bravery of Englijf Troops was never contefted, yet we have feldom feen it employed fo much in our own Service as in that of our Allies. But the Foundation both of our Grandeur and of our Glory has been, on the one Hand, out great maritime Force, which, generally fpeaking, whether well or ill employed, has maintained its Superiority; and on the other, our immenfe Wealth, accruing from an extenfive Commerce, of which indeed we have feen many, and fome very large Computations made, and yet I am convinced, that none of them exceeded the Truth, from this plain Reafon, that as yet we are not undone, after wafting in other Folks Quar-
of Corea.
rels fuch a Proportion of Wealth, as Nothing but fo reign Trade, fuperior even in Profit to what it was ever thought, could poffibly have fupplied.
This then fhould be our great Concern, for if we ever hope to difcharge our Debts, to leffen our Taxes, and thereby recover thofe Branches of Commerce that have been loft in Europe, it muft be by opening new Channels, through which, norwithftanding the Burthens they have upon them, our Manufactures may be carricd to Markets where we may fet upon them what Value we pleafe. This Point is of all others that of which we ought to be moft jealous; for if our Neighbours fhould get the Start of us in this, we fhould find our Misfortunes grow upon us, and our Profperity decline apace. It is neceffary therefore that we fhould be very ftritt in examining what others may do, and what it is in our Power to do, while we have yet a fuperior Naval Force; for to provide early, and to prevent Mifchiefs, is the Part of a wife and of a prudent People; but to ftay till they come upon us, is the very Reverfe. It is very evident, that notwithftanding the vaft Profits of our Commerce, we have been compelled to run in Debt; and it is as plain, that other Nations, fully poffers'd of Naval Stores and valuable Commodities, are now fetting up Manufactures, and launching into a Commerce more diftant from them than fopan is from us. Does it not then become us to weigh the Confequences of fuch a Conduct, both with Regard to them and to ourfelves? Would it not be right to prevent the Effects of their Induftry by refuming our own? Is there any Thing that can better employ the Thoughts of fuch as are at the Helm? Can they anfwer it to their Country, if they neglect Matters of fuch high Confequence, for the Sake of Things that are nearer, but at the fame Time inconfiderable when compared to thefe? Or can we have any Right to blame, them, if from a fenfelefs Spirit of Faction, a groundlefs and unreafonable Oppofition, we keep them continually upon the Watch for their own Safety, and leave them not either Time to contrive, Power to provide, or Means to execute what is required for the publick Good? How many Nations have been undone by fome or other of thefe Miftakes? And if we purfue their Errors, what Reafon is there to expect, or even to hope, that we fhould efcape their Fate? .

I muft indeed acknowledge, that in Point of Compofition I have offended greatly, by recurring fo often to Remarks of this Kind; I am fenfible that in this I have acted weakly, ridiculoufly, abfurdly, as an Author; but alas! what is my Character in that Refpect to the Duty I owe my Country? Perim all private Advantages, all Views of Intereft, all Hopes of Fame, when it comes in Competition with a Nation's Good. Let every Man who has the happy Fprtune to gain the publick Ear, in any Meafure, in any Manner, or upon any Terms, ftrive to curn that Attention to the publick Benefit. Let his Endeavoirs at leaft fpeak him a Patriot, whatever, his Succefs may do; and let me have Leave to remember by Way of Excufe, for what may be accounted my Failing, the Anfwer of the Aibenian Philofopher who was charged with che fame Fault, 1 repeat, faid he, over and over again my Admonitions, to a People, qobo commit over and over again, the fame Fauliss

## SECTION VIII.


#### Abstract

A diftinct Account ofPart of the North-eaftFrontier of the Rufhan Empire, commonly called the Country of Kamfchatka or KamJchatska, including the Voyages of Captain Behring for difcovering towards the Eaft; with many curious and entertaining Circumftances relating to thofe diftant Countries and their Inhabitants; and alfo an Enquiry into the Probability of the Country which he difcovered, being connected with North America; with a Variety of other Points of great Confequence in Relation to the Defigns now on Foot in various Parts of Europe for making a thorough Difcovery of the fuperior Parts of the Northern Hemifphere, which would be of the utmoft Confequence to Trade and Navigation in general, and to thofe of Great Britain in particular.


Collected from the beft Autborities both Printed and Manufcript.

1. A general Introduction, in which is Serwn the woonderful Cbange made in the Affairs of Ruffia by the Czar Peter the Great, and bis baving firft conceived a Notion of opening a Trade between bis Country and North America. 2. A Defcription of the Country of Kamfcharska, as defcribed by the Ruffians in the Time of Peter I. Berving its Juppofed Situation, Boundaries, and Extent. 3. The Motives of Captain Behring's Expedition, bis Departure from Petersbourg, Feb. 5, 1725, and Fourney tbrough Siberia. 4. An Account of the Preparations and Expeditions made for furtbering bis Diccoveries in the Sear 1726, with various other Circumftances relating to the Produce and Inbabitants of the Countries through which be paffed. 5. A Detail of the many Miferies and Hardjbips fuffained by this Gentleman, and the Inferior Officers and Soldiers under bis Command, to the Time of bis Arrival at Kamfchatska. 6. A large Account of the Country, the Ruffian Settlements, Fortrefles and Garrifons there at the Time of Captain Behring's Arrival. 7. His Preparations in order to profecute bis Difcoveries to the Eaft; and an Account of bis Difcoveries and Return to Petersbourgh. 8. Some Account of this Gentleman's fubléquent Expedition, and of the Difcoveries that have been fince made on that Side by Direction of the Ruffian Court. 9. A Reprefentation of the newo Hypotbefis faid to be built upon thefe Difcoveries, collected from the Memoirs of the Royal Society. 10. The Improbability of that Hypothefis fully ferw, from a great Variety of Circumfances, which amount to a Proof, that nothing advanced on this Subject ought to prejudice our Hopes of finding a Nortb-wef Paffage. I. Hiforical, Pbyjical, and Critical Remarks upon the principal Points in this Section.

䁲HERE could not be a more proper Subject chofen for the fhutting up a Collection of this Kind, than the Hiftory of the Difcoveries made by the Ruflans in the Northern. Parts of their Dominions. In Point of Matter they are far more important than any which have been attempted within our Memory, the finding out a North-weft Pafrage only excepted. In Point of Time alfo they are later, for the laft Account of their Difcovery is, if I may be allowed fo familiar an Expreffion, dated but the other Day, and thefe Difcoveries are ftill profecuted, perhaps with greater Skill and Conftancy, and wirh more Vigour and Induftry than has been commonly imagined.
It is generally looked upon as the Foible of inquifitive Minds, that they are apt to make fuch Excurfions into the Realms of Fancy, as fometimes to fall under she Power of Superftition, and to be enflaved by Enthufiafm at others. I am very much afraid I fhali run the Rifque of one, if not both Imputations, from what I am going to fay; but that gives me little Concern, for I had rather be laughed at for fpeaking what I take to. be Truth, than applauded for diffembling it.

There feems then to me to have been a very fingular Kind of Providence difcernable in all the Difcoveries that have been hitherto made, by which I mean, that from their Confequences they appear to have been conducted by another Spirit than that of human Wifdom;
for in Proportion as the Nations who made Difcoveries have abufed the Advantages they derived from them, thofe Advantages have gradually funk, and that Spirit of Difcovery has been loft, of which I could give various Inftances, if it was not wholly unneceffary, fince upon the bare Mention of the Fact the judiciousReader will inftantly recolleet them.

It is from the confidering Things in this Light, that I am led to apprehend the late Czar Peter the Great, of glorious and immortal Memory, was one of thofe fignal Inftruments, raifed up by the immediate Power of the Divine Ruler of all Things, to fulfil the great Purpofes of his unfearchable Providence. Before his Reign, the People who inhabit the vaft Country of Ruflia, were very little or fcarce at all known to the reff of the World by their Actions or Performances. It was ow-, ing to that Spirit of Difcovery which reigned here in the Time of Queen Elizabetb, that the Importance of their Situation came to be at all confidered. The Dutch indeed quickly followed the Lights we gave them, and converted to their own Advantage that Route which with infinite Pains and Hazard: we firt defcribed.

But this great Monarch was born to be not only the Governor, but the Legiflator of his People; his Genius was the Gift of Nature, or to fpeak with greater Piety, and at the fame Time with more Propriery, the Gift of the great Author and Lord of Nature, and


## Chap. III.

 the Russian Diforeries. 1017appeared with all the Luftre worthy of its Auchor. That knowing, that well-meaning, that Patriot-Monarch of the North, drew, or rather forced his Subjects out of that Obfcurity in which for many Ages they had remained. He enlightened them by his Exhortations, he animated them by his Example, he compelled' them by his abfolute Power to thake of the Chains of Barbarity, to come forth out of a State of infenfible Ignorance, and to appear upon the bright Theatre of the Univerfe, not only as a great and powertul Nation, but as one of the greateff and moft powerful Nations that have been the Object of Hitory.
He it was that made the World know the Importance of the Country he poffeffed, and this in Spite of Obftacles that would have amazed and terrified an Inferior, that would have tired and overcome a lefs vigorous Ge nius. It was this wile, this active, this heroick Prince, that raired his People from being the loweft to the higheft of the Northern Powers. It was he that taught them to criumph by Land, and opened them a Paffage to the Sea; In fhort, it was he that conceived and executed the amazing Project of making them a Maritime Power, and this too in a furprizing Extent.
From a People unacquainted with a Veffel bigger than a Bark, and who knew no Navigation but that of their own Rivers, he not only taught them the Ufe of Ships, but put it into their Power to buld and to equip them; nay, he did more than all this, he was not content with opening Ports on one Side only, he opened them on all; his Frigates, fecured him the Poffeffion of the Ca/pian Saa, his Men of War furpyized with their Appearance the Nations inlaburting the Coafts of the Black Sea, and even the fupine Pleatures of an Eattern Prince were difturbed by the Thunder of his Cannon, that alarmed the Inhabiants of Conssantinople; after trying thefe Experiments, he arpired to fthll greater Things, and not only built the City of Petersbourg, but opencid various Ports upon the Baltick, which he covercd with his Flects, and came in Perion as their Admiral to Coperabagen, where not fome Ages only, but fome few Years before, they would have as foon cxpected a Vifit from the Eniperor of Yapan.
His Prediceffiors hardily comprehended the Extent of their Dommionis, but the Czar Peter not only difcover'd that his Dominions were the moft extenfive in the World, but that he had a Mind more extenfive than thete. He faw the Advantages that might be made of every Province, every Port, and every River in his Empire, and in the Courfe of a hhort Reign, a very fhort Reign indeed, compared with the great Events to which it gave Birth, he convinced his Subjects, his Neighbours, and all the confiderate Men in every Part of the World of the Truth of this; and that he perfeetly knew how to have pufhed his Greatnefs on all Sides, if the pufhing it had not exceeded the Strength and Limits of a fingle Life.
But within the Compafs of that fingle Life what did he, or rather, what did he not ! He exhauffed the Power of Sweden, the only Means of taming the lionlike Spirit of his Enemy Cbarles XII. he put it out of his Power to conquer, for to conquer him was not even in Peter's Power. He protected Poland, to which before his Time his Empire was inferior. The Tartars, to whom his Predeceffors were Tribuaries, he frighted into Quiet. He encountred alone, and when they had no other Enemy to deal with, the Forces of the Turks. He extended his Dominions on the Side of Perfia. He fomerimes encroached upon their Territories, he fometimes fought to conciliate by Conceffions, the Friendhip of the Cbinefe.
He did more than all this, for after making himfelf firft known, and then admired in all Parts of the civilized Earth, he began to look beyond the Eounds of the habitable World itfelf, and to propofe after fhowing his Subjects fo many new Seas and new Countries, to point them out the Way to the Eof Indies and to the Wef. Such were the Cares that occupied the Thoughts of this great Prince, while other Monarchs were complimented with high Titles for difturbing the Peace of Mankind about Trifles, for flealing little Provinces, and buying now and then a Town.

It is very true, that he did not live to perfect his laft great Defign, but that he framed it was fufficient for his own Glory, and to amaze all who are capable of forming a competent Judgment of the Circumftances that mutt attend the perfecting this Defign when-ever it fhall be brought about. To thew that this is no Chimera, but a very wife and well laid Scheme, and which fooner or later will be certainly carried into Execution; is the Bufinefs of this Section, in which we are to fipeak of the North-eart Limits of the Ruffian Empire, and of the Country of Kamt ccatko or Ramitchalska, for it is written both Ways, of which, though we have but lately heard, it imports us as much to be well acquained with as any Country upon the Face of the Globe; for though we cannot boalt much of the Figure it makes at pres fent, yet as it is the Poffeffion of this Country that put it more in the Power of this Nation than any ocher to make Difcoveries, and as the moft important Difcoveries that eyer were made, may very probably be made from hence, we mult be content to take a liticle Pains in the Explanation of this Point, and in becoming Mafters of a Subject, as curious and entertaining as it is ufeful and important ; fo that however great they may be, we fhall have no Caufe to regret the Labour they coft, to think our Time ill beflowed, or our Trouble not well laid out.
2. It is not eafy to difcover at what Time the Rufians became acquainted with that Part of their own Dominions which boriers North-eaft upon the Icy Sea ; bur if feems very evident, that though the Name of Kamfchatska was given to lome very remote Parts of their $A \mathcal{j}$ atick Dominions, then commonly included under the general Name of Siberia, yet were they very indifferents Iy and very indiftinetly known at the Clole of the laft Century, as appears by the Map of Mr. Ysbrant Ides, which is very far from agreeing with later Dilcoveries. But after the Czar Peter had travelled, and had acquired a competent Knowledge of Colmography and Geography, he began to be extremely defirous of having thete Parts more thoroughly examined, as having now fome Notion of their Imporance. He took great Pains to make himicif well, acquainted with the Route to China, and alio caufed a very accurate Map to be drawn of the Countries lying about the River Amur, as far as the Peniniulua of Corea on the South, and as high as he had any cerrain Accounts of his own People to the North.
He l:kewite directed the frictent Enquiries to be made into the State of Nova Zembla, and the Country about the Streighis of $W_{J \text { ygaiza }}$, and fo along the $I_{\text {ty }}$ Sea as far as pofiible to the Eait ; and of thefe allo he had Maps, in which the Mountains and Rivers that had been carefully examined, were laid down; but the whole was not compleated at the Time of his Death ; fo that he erjoyed not the Satisfaction of beholding a diftinct Reprefentation of his Dominions on that Side. He had the Pleafure however of dilcourfing frequently of the Difcoveries that might be made, and of the Trade that probably might be carried on from thefe Countries bounded by the Sea of Fapan; and as he would fometimes difcourle of thefe Matters a lietle hyperbolically, which was however no more than neceffary to awaken the Curiofity and Attention of his Countrymen and Subjects ; fo by Degreesit had Effet, and many of his Minitters, efpecially Prince Menzikeoff and Admiral Apraxin, entered pretty well into his Sentiments, and endeavoured all they could to pulh their Colonies as far as Kamj cbas ska.
It was however with infinite Difficulty that they prevailed, and the Relations that were trantmitted from thence feemed to deffroy all Hopes of doing any thing there to the Purpofe; for the Soil was reprefented the moft fterile that could be pofiibly imagined, the Climate fevere beyond Exprefion, binding not only the Brooks and Rivulets, but even the Earth irfelf in fuch Icy Chains, that it was as practicable to dig a Rock, as to make a Spade enter it. It was faid that Wild-fowl were frequently kilied by Coid, and that fometimes even the wild Beafts perifihed by the exceffive Scverity of the Weather; neither do the very lateft Accounts
that we have received contradict this, though they lay the Scene of thefe tragical Effers of Cold on Countries to the North-eaft of Kamfibaiska.
The firt Accounts of Kamycbatska that had any Appearance of Clearnefs or Certainty, reached this Part of the World about the Year $17^{2} 3$, and were brought by an Englibman, whom the Czar Peler had employed in erecting a Glafs-work ; and they amounted to no more than this, that it was 2 vaft Tract of Country, extending from the Polar Circle down to fixty Degrees of North Latitude, I make ufe of the Perfon's Words from whom I had it ; that it contained thirty Degrees of Longitude ; and that the North-eaft Extremity was either a Promontory fhooting into the Icy Sea, or the Beginning of a long Ridge of Mountains that were fuppoled to sun out Eaftward, and join the Continent of North America.
Wild and extravagant as this Account may feem, I am very certain it was the beft that at this Time could be given by the moft experienced Perfons in Rufia; and that from this Account, and the Conjectures founded upon it, a Refolution was taken for pufhing their Difcoveries on that Side in Hopes of fome bencficial Confequences. It was allowed, that no Country could be more wretched than this, that it produced only a few Roots, that no Kind of Grain would grow there, and that a fmall infignificant Colony of Rulfans, that had been forced thither in Obedience to the Czar's Orders, fubfifted entirely upon Fiht, and fuch fnall Supplies of coarfe Rye Bread as could from Time to Time be fent them ; that it was certain they had not any Black Cattle, Horfe, or Deer, but that however fome Animals hey had, of the Skins of which they made their Cloathing. This was the Sum total of what was known of this Country before the Expedition of Captain Bebring ; upon which we are next to enter, and of which I fhall give as clear and plain an Account as it is ponible.
3. It was in the laft Year of the Life of Peter the Great, that Captain Bebring received Orders from Count Apraxin, Admiral of Rufia, to traverfe the valf Councry of Siberia, to penetrate its utmoft Extremities to the Eaft or North-eaft, in order to obtain a diftinet Notion of iss Bounds, and of the Diftance between them and the Continemt of North America. The better to enable him to fulal thefe Initructions, which were given him in the Month of Februsry $\equiv 725$, a Lieutenant was difpatched with twenty-Livé Men, and fuch Baggage and Tools as could be carried upon twenty-five Horles before him ; and as foon as he could make the neceffary Preparations, the Captain followed with a Retinue of about thirty three Perfons. He came up with his Lieutenant at Wologda, and continued his Journey to Tobolsty, which is looked upon as the Capital of Siberia, where he arrived on the 16 th of $M a r c h$.
The Seaton being too far advanced for him to make an immediate Progrefs, he continued there for two Months, and then having received a conffderable Reinforcement, he proceeded on his Expedition on the River Irtilb till it falls into the River Oby or Obb, and then remounted that River as far as the Town of Narin. All the Country through which he paffed was inhabited by the Ofiacks, formerly Pagens, bur a little before converted to the Chriftian Faith by the Care of the Metropolitan of Tobolsky. He proceeded from thence to the Monaftery of Makofsk, and from thence went by Land to the City of $\mathcal{F}$ enifciski. He embarked there with thirty Perfons on buard of four fmall Barks, in order to continue his Voyage on the. River Yenifa, and afterwards on that of Tumpuska; from whence with much Dificulty he reached Îlimski.
There he determined to winter, and to fend his Lieutenant to make the neceffary Preparations for continuing their Voyage upon the Lena, directing him to employ his Time in conftructing a fmall Squadron of Barks for that Purpofe. The Capiain himfelf, during the Winter, took all the Care he could to inform himfelf of the Countries that he had fill to pafs through, before he reached that which was the proper Object of sheir Enquiries. And the Accounts that he received, were fuch as gave him to undertand that a more dificult

Task could fcarce be impofed on any Man than that which had been lain upon his Shoulders. The Country where he now was belonged to the Tungufees, a Nation of Pagans, who lived very miferably along the Sides of the great Rivers, which they navigated in fmall Boats, or rather Canoes made of the Barks of Trees. When the Severity of the Seafon was a little over, he refolved to profecute this tedious and dangerous Expedition with all the Diligence and Caution in his Power.
4. In the Beginning of the Spring he began to defcend the Lena with his fmall Squadron of fifteen flatbottom'd Boats, and arrived fafely at Gakutsky. Both Banks of the Lena below the River Witem, are inhabited by the fakuts and fome few Tunngufees. As for the former, they are well provided with Horfes, and have great Herds of Black Cattle, that is to fay, fuch as are in a tolerable Situation in the World; and as for the poorer Sort, they maintain themfelves as well as they can by Fifhing. As for their Religion, they are Pagans and grofs Idolaters, worfhipping the Sun and Moon, and fome Kind of Rirds, fuch as the Swan, the Eagle, and the Crow. They are famous for having many Conjurers among them, and for praying to a Sort of diminutive ugly Idols, called in their Language Saitans. In other Refpects they reckon themfelves, and are efteemed by ochers, a Tribe of Tartars. Upon his Arrival at $\mathcal{F} a k u t s k y$ the Captain demanded a Reinforcement, and having obtained it, he gave Inftructions to a Lieutenant to proceed with the beft Part of his Troops and all the heavy Baggage upon the Lena, to its Confuence with the River Aldan, in order by remounting that, and the Rivers Maya and $\mathcal{F u d o m a}$, to reach $\mathcal{F} u$ domske Krefta, that is, the little Fort of Judomska, and by this Route he was in Hopes of leflening the Fatigue of fo long and troublefome a Paffage.

As for himfelf, he fet out on Horfeback, attended by the few People that were left about him, and fome Horfes laden with Provifion, to go by Land to Ochotski, though the Road was very far from being tolerable. The Captain alfo left a Lieutenant at fokutski, with Orders to pals the Winter there, and to follow him at the Beginning of the Spring over Land to Ochotski. Upon his arriving in Perfon at that Fortrefs, he found it in a very poor Condition, and no more than ten Rufian Families refiding there or in its Neighbourhood. About the End of the Month of December he received Advice from his firft Lieutenant, importing that he had been furprized by the Ise at his Entrance into the River of Gorbea, diftant above one hundred Leagues from $\mp u$ domska; and that this obliged him immediately to confiruct fome long and narrow Sledges for the Carriage of his Provifions and Baggage ; but as for himeelf and his Men, they continued their Route on Foot. Upon receiving this News, the Captain thought proper to advance from Otchotski to recieve his Lieutenant, carrying with him a Convoy of Provifions laden upon large Dogṣ. By this wife Precaution he brought his Lieutenant and the Remainder of his Detachment fafe to Ochotski, upon Nerv. Year's-Day 1727.
5. The Account which this Officer gave him of the Miferies they fuftained in their March was equally melancholy and fincere. They quitted the River of Gorbee on the 4th of November, and not being able to carry with thern a fufficient Quantity of Provifions, were very quickly conftrained to feed upon the Flefh of their dead Horfes. They afterwards burnt off the Hair from their Skins with Lime, and then converted them into Coats and Shoes. They were forced to abandon their Easgage in three different Places, and had certainly perifhed at Fudomska Krefta, if it had not been for a fmall Quantity of Meal which the Captain had been obliged to leave there by Reafon that fome of his Horles died. The Nation of fakuts, who inhabit the Banks of the Lena, dwell allo on thofe of the Rivers Aldan and Maya, buit on the Sides of the River fudoma, and in the Neighbourhood of the Fortrefs of Ochota, refide the Nation Lamutki. Thefe People have tame Rain-Deer, which they employ in drawing their Carriages, as well as to furnifh them with Cloaths and Subfittance. In the Neighbourhood of the Lakes and of

Chap. III. the Russian Difcoveries.
the Sea, dwell the Tungufes, for the Conveniency of nate Victims under it, paft all Poffibility of extricating Fifhing. Thefe People are as barbarous and as much Idolaters as the fakuts.
In the Beginning of the Month of February, the Captain difpatched a Lieutenant and 90 Men , with fome Dogs, to fetch off the Baggage that had been abandoned in the Manner before-mentioned; he returned with a part of it in April; and another Detachment being order'd on the fame Service, they brought the reft back in May. In this Country the Snow falls in fuch prodigious Quantities, that it commonly lies about two Yards thick, and fometimes more, upon the Ground, which obliges People, for three or four Months, to travel on Foot, and to drag their Baggage on little Sledges, which will carry 6 or 700 Weight. In this Manner the Lieutenant marched that came to Ocbotski, and during his whole Paffage, the poor People had no other Relief in the Night-time, or when the cutting icy Winds blew, than to cover themfelves as deep as they could in the Snow. This is practifed on the Coafts of Hudfon'sBay, and in other cold Countries as well as here ; and if Credit may be given to feveral 'Narrations written by thofe who have vifited thefe frozen Climates, it is a very convenient and effectual Screen from the extreme Fury of the Weather, which will be the lefs wonder'd at, if we confider, that both Gardiners and Husbandmen acknowledge very difcernable Heat in Snow, by which Corn, Fruit and Flowers, are defended from the Rage of Winter, in the Earth, and are enabled by this kindly Covering to pufh out and difcover that they are alive in the Spring.
On the zoth of fune the Captain ordered Lieutenant Spanberg to crofs the Gulph to the Mouth of the Balcbaia rerca, or Great River; he was to perform this Voyage in a new ftout Veffel built by their own Workmen, and had Orders to carry over with him the fecond Architect, and a fufficient Number of Men to cut down Timber, and to build a new Veffel there, which when they had performed, they were infrutted to give the Captain Notice of it at Ocbotski. While they were thus employed, the other Lieutenant Creziboff returned, bringing with him 2300 Poud of Meal, that is about 800 Weight, which was immediately embarked on board the new Veffel that was recturnd from Kamjchatska. The Captain then ordered all the heavy Baggage and Provifions to be embarked without Delay, and on the 2 Ift of Auguft he went on board himfelf for the Port before-mentioned. He left behind him a Pilot, and a fimall Number of Perfons, with Inftructions as to the recovering and fecuring the Provifions that had been left behind, which they were to bring with them if they could, but if not, they were to deliver them to the Government of Gakusky, and to take a Diicharge for them ; after which, the Pilot, and thofe under his Command, were to join the Captain, and bring with them a fmall Supply of Provifions, Iron, and Tar. However, he faw nothing of them till the Year 1728.
The Captain being come to the Mouth of Bolcbaya rerka, tranfported his Provifions and other Neceffaries to Bolcbay reeski oltrog, or the Habitation of the great River. The heavy Baggage was from hence conveyed in fmall Boats, that were drawn againft the Stream for 120 Werfts, to the higher Settlement in Kom/cbat ska. This Journey they performed themfelves by Land, making ufe of the little Sleds before-mentioned, that were drawn by Dogs, for the Carriage of what was neceflary for them during the Journey. On this Occafion, they had thorough Experience of the extreme Rigour of the Climate, being obliged to have Recourfe to the Method before-mentioned, that is to fay, towards Night, or when-ever they had a Mind to reft, they ran a very deep Trench or Ditch through the Snow ; at the Entrance of this Trench they hung up Deer Skins, and then lay down under the Snow, either to fleep or to take Repofe. The Intent of hanging up the Skins, is to prevent thofe fudden Siorms which are common in thefe Parts, and to which they give the Name of Purgi, from being fatal to them, as they often are to lefs cautious Paffengers, by bringing with them fuch prodigious ©uantities of Snow as bury thefe unfortu-

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## themfelves or efcaping. <br> As we have now conducted the Reader into that

 Country which is the proper:Subject of this Section, and which, for any thing that is yet known, feems to be the very Extremity of the Continent, on this Side, tho ${ }^{\circ}$ there is a very wide Country behind it, extending directly North for above $15^{\circ}$ of Latitude. I fay, as'we have followed him hither, the next thing is to fee what Account he gives us of this ftrange Place, which lies fo far out of the Reach of the reft of Mankind, and which could never have been vifited, much lefs planted and poffefled by any but the Rufians, and even thefe had not been long fixed there at this Time.The Rufluns have three Settlements, or to fpeak with greater Propriety, have occupied three Pofts in this Country. In the Fortrefs which is in the upper KamScbatska, there are feventeen, in the lower Forrefs there are about fifty Rufian Houfes, exclufive of thofe that are about the Church, which may be about fifteen in Number. At the Mouth of the River before-mentioned, there were at this Time fourteen Houles. In there three Pofts there were about 150 Soldiers in Garrifon, and the principal Point aimed at by fixing them here, was to collect the Tribute from the neighbouring Nations. The Captain, to reward thofe that had affited him in tranfporting his heavy Baggage, his Stores and Ammunition, and who had likewife furnifhed him with Carriages, gave them about an hundred Weight of Train Oil, which he extracted from a Whale the Sea left upon the Coaft at the warm Seafon of the Year; and with this and a little Cbinese Tobacco, they were better contented than if he had given them Money. To the South of this Country inhabit the Nation of the Kuriles, and to the Northward dwell the Kamef cbadales, the Languages fpoke by thefe Nations are fo different, that they hardly underftand each other; fome of them are addicted to Idolatry; amonft others there are no apparent Signs of any Religion; and to fay the Truth, hardly any convincing Tokens of Humanity.

The Ruflians that are fettled in Kamt $f_{\text {cbatska, }}$ as well as the Natives or original Inhabitants, are deftitute both of Cattle and Corn; inftead of the former they make ufe of Dogs, which are very large and ftrong; and by the way, this is likewife the Cuftom in Groenland, and in the Countries bordering upon Hudfon'sBay. As to Provifions, they live chiefly upon Fifh, Roots, and Pears; they have likewife Carrots and Beans, and in fome Seafons of the Year tolerable plenty of Wild-fowl. As to their Cloaths, they are made of Dogs-skin; it is however worth obferving, that in the Country about the Convent of Pakufiska, which is not far from the Church, they have a little Barley, as alfo fome Hemp and Radifhes, and in the Plantations about the Ruffan Houfes, they have Turnips of a prodigious Size, that is to fay, of five or fix Pounds Weight apiece. The Captain, while he was there, caufed fome Rye and Oats to be fowed, but he did not ftay long enough to fee whether they came up. The Froft fets in here very early, and the People, who are tributary to the Ruflians, pay their Taxes in feveral Sorts of Furs.

The Cuftoms of there People are barbarous in the higheft Degree, of which a very few Inftances may be fufficient to convince the Reader. If a Woman hap. pens to have two Children at a Birth, one of them is deftroyed as foon as it is born, and it would be efteemed a Crime to preferve it. Nor are they cruel only to Children, for if the Father and Mother of a Family happens to fall fick, tho' the Difeafe does not appear to be mortal, yet they drag them away prefently to a Wood, let the Weather be what it will, and there they leave them, not indeed without Provifions, for they commonly carry them as much as will.ferve them for a few Days, but they very feldom hear any more of them. When People die fo fuddenly that they cannot be thus removed, they drag the Body into the Woods, and leave it thire to be devoured by the Dogs. There feems to be a good deal of Superfition in this, for fome of them will quit the Place of their Refidence, if a Man happens to breathe his laft in it. The Nation 12 C
of the Koratkes butn their Dead, and though they have been often admonifhed to leave off this Practice, yet hicherto there has been no breaking them of it.

Since the Time our Author wrote, it appears from Several Books that have been publifhed at Petersbourg, that this Country, at leaft the Ruffan Settlements in it, have been greatly improv'd; fo that in the Latitude of 56 , and even higher, they have Barley, Oats, and Rye, in tolerable Plenty. The Number of Houfes alfo ate greatly increafed, and the Fortreffes are in much better Order, which is owing to the Hopes chat are ftill entertained of opening on this Side, fome Time or other, a very advantageous Commerce. We have been promifed, and were in Hopes of receiving a large and accurate Defcription of this Country in its prefent Condition, but as yet it has not been publifhed; many People may pofibly think, that confidering the Rigour of the Climate, the Barrennefs of the Soil, and the Thinnefs of its Inhabitants, that it is no great Matter whether it be ever publined. Yet notwithftanding all this, it is not impoffible, or even improbable, that in Procefs of Time Things may change their Face here, for the Country now called Kamifchatska, is not that vatt Northern Continent that extends from 60 to 73 Degrees of North Latitude, which was formerly included under that Name, but the Peninfula only which extends from the Latitude of 51 to 60 , and lies between 80 and 95 Degrees Longitude Eaft from Tobolski; fo that if a fufficient. Number of People were fent thither to cur down the valt Forefts with which it is incumber'd, and enabled to till, manure, and cultivate the Earth, it might be render'd a Place far enough from being defpicable; and then the great Importance of its Situation would very quickly appear. But to return to our Narrative.
7. Upon the Captain's Arrival at the lower Fortrefs, he found Wood enough cut for the building a Veffel, which was put upon the Stocks April 4, 1728, and was entirely finifhed the roth of fuly following. It is certain that a properer Perfon could not well have been employed, fince he thought nothing a Difficulty, nor was afraid of any kind of Hardfhip or Danger that ftood in the Way of the Execution of his Orders, but with infinite Addrefs, and almoft incredible Patience, got over thofe Difficulties, that to another Man would have appeared unfurmountable. All the Timber that was ufed in Building, was conveyed to the Place where his new Veffel was conftructed, upon Sledges drawn by Dogs, and confequently with infinite Pains and Trouble. The Supply of Tar he expected not being arrived, was another great Inconveniency, but the Captain, who had a Brain very fercile in Expedients, obferved a Tree there, called by the Natives Lijnijcbink, which he fancied would fupply them either with Tar, or fomething like it ; accordingly he caufed great Quantities of it to be cut and burned, and, as he expected, the refinous Matter that run from it anfwered the Ends of Tar, if not perfectly, at leatt tolerably.
The Veffel being built, the next Thing was to viftual her, and that for a Voyage, the Length of which was altogether uncertain; and to do this in a Country in a Manner deftitute of Provifions, was none of the eafieft Undertakings. The Captain however went about it, and, in the firf Place, having collected a vaft Quantity of Plants and Herbs, he diftilled from them a pretty ftrong, Spirit, upon which he was pleafed to beftow the Name of Brandy, and of this he laid in a plentiful Stock. Infead of Meal or Corn, he furnifhed himfelf with Carrots or other Roots. By boiling the Seawater, he procured as much Salt as he wanted. Fifh Oyl ferved inftead of Butter, and dry and wer Salt-fifh took the Place of Beef and Pork. Thele Provifions, fuch as they were, he embarked in fuch Quantities as would ferve his Crew, confifting of forty Men, for a whole Year.

Thus equipped, he undertook the Execution of the Infructions given him by his Sovereign Peter the Great, under his own Hand, and of which the following is a Copy taken literally from his Journal.

Account of
Book III.
I. You fhall caufe one or two convenient Veffels to be builc at Kametcosatska, or elfewhere.
II. You fhall endeavour to difcover, by Coafting with thefe Veffels, whether the Country towards the North, of which at prefent we have no diftinct Knowledge, is a Part of America, or not.
III. If it joins to the Continent of America, you fhall endeavour, if poffible, to reach fome Colony belonging to fome European Power; or in cafe you meet with any European Ship, you fhall diligently enquire the Name of the Coafts, and fuch other Circumfances as it is in your Power to learn; and thefe you fhall commit to Writing, fo that we may have fome certain Memoirs by which a Chart may be conftructed.

On the inth of fuly, having recommended himfelf to the Protection of Almighty God, he failed out of the River of Kamtfchatska: On the 8th of Augufi he found himfelf in the Latitude of 64 Degrees, 30 Mi nutes, and being perceived by the Inhabitants on Shore, eight Men put off in a Boat made of Skins, and came to the Veffel, that is to fay, to the Side of it, where they enquired whence he came, and to what Purpofe: After he had anfwered them, they acquainted him in their Turn that they were $\mathcal{T}$ zuk $f$ chi, which is the Name of a Nation with whom the Rufians have been for fome Years acquainted. It was with fome Difficulty that he got one of them to come, to him, but he was foon tollowed by the reft. They informed him that the Coaft, for a confiderable Extent, was inhabited by their Nation, and that the Land tended to the Weft. They likewife gave him Information of an Inand that was not far off, which he accordingly found on the zoth of $A u$ guft ; and as that is the Feaft of St. Lazorence in the Rufjian Kalendar, he thought fit to beftow that Name upon the Illand. He fent an Officer on board a Shallop of four Oars thither twice to examine it, but he could not find any Inhabitants, though there were fome Houfes upon it; which fufficiently flewed that it was inhabited, though the People, out of Fear, or from fome other Motive, thought proper to conceal themfelves.
He continued his Courfe to the 15 th of the fame Month, when he found himfelf in the Latitude of 67 Degrees 18 Minutes, and conceiving that he had now fully executed the Emperor's Orders, as he faw no Land, either to the North or to the Eaft, he refolved to return, as thinking it to no Purpofe to continue his Voyage towards the Weft, or to run the Hazard of being driven by a contrary Wind beyond the Poffibility of getting back during the Summer to Kamjchatska, and to winter in a Country where he was fure of meeting with little or no Wood, and which might very poffibly be inhabited by fome Nation, Enemies to the Ruffians, was, in his Opinion, running a very great, and, at the fame Time, unneceffary Hazard.
From the Mouth of the River Kamjchatska, to the utmoft Point of their Voyage, they faw nothing upon the Coaft but great Ridges of Rocks, the Tops of which were covered with Snow, though it was Summer. They traverfed, according to their Computation, about ten Leagues of Latitude, and thirty of Longitude, that is to fay, the fartheft they failed Eatt, was 372 German Leagues. On the 20th of Auguft, in their Return, they faw forty Perfons on board four fmall Boats rowing towards them from Shore wich all their Force ; they lay by for them, and upon their coming near them, they concluded them, from their Appearance, to be of the Nation called $\mathcal{T}$ zukt $f$ chi. They had with them a good Quantity of dry'd Flefh, Fifh, and Water contain'd in Whales Bladders, 15 Fox Skins, and four Narval's Teeth, which they fold, or rather exchanged for Pins and Needles with the Seamen. Thefe People told them, that their Nation itravelled with Rain Deer as far as the River Koblima, which runs into the North Sea, but that they never had attempted any Paffage by Sea. That their Nation inhabited a very long Tract of Country upon that Coaft, and had been poffeffed of it for many Years; one of them particularly faid, he had been at the Fortrefs of Anadirski, where chey had traded with, and been very well treated

Chap. III. the Russian Difcrueries.
by the Ruflans. They had very great Hopes of obtaining confiderable Intelligence from this Man, but notwithftanding all the Queftions they propofed, they could gain from him no more than a Confirmation of what they had formerly learned from the $\tau_{z u k t c h i .}$

On the 2gth of Augult they met with a great Storm, attended with a thick Fog, by which they were driven upon the Coaft of fome Country Eaft of Kamjchatska, and where they were oblig'd to come to an Anchor. Upon their endeavouring to weigh it the next Day, their Cable broke; however, they were fo lucky as to efcape with no other Lofs than that of thèir-Anchor. On the 2d of September they arrived fafely in the Mouth of the River of Kamfcbatska, where they landed, and having fecured their Veffel in a Creek, went to the lower Fortrefs, where they paffed the Winter. There they met with the reft of their Companions, who brought them a confiderable Supply of Provifions, which, after the Fatigues they had futtained, were very acceptable. In this Place they fpent the Winter, without meeting with any thing worthy of our Notice. On the 5 th of Fune 1729 , they repaired their Veffel and put to Sea, fteering due Eaft from the Mouth of the River Kamf cbitska, in Hopes of difcovering that Land, which the Inhabitants affirm'd might be feen in a clear Day ; which, however, they were not fo happy as to meet with, though they continued that Route for 30 Leagues, and then meeting with a Storm at Eaft-North-Eaft, they were obliged to return to the Mouth of the Bolycbay reefcbi, after having paffed round the South Point of Kamjcbatska, which was a Voyage that was never performed before. They went from thence by Sea to the Fortrefs of Ocbotsky, where they delivered up their Stores of Provifion, confifting of Flour, dry'd Flefh, and Salt, to the proper Officers. On the 2och of $\bar{y} u l y$ they arrived at the Mouth of the River Ocbota, where they delivered up the Veffel, with the Materials and Tools on board her, to the Governor. The Captain then hired Horfes for himfelf and Company, to go by Land to fudomska krefta; thence they proceeded by Water in fmall Boats and Rafts, along the River Aldan to the Paffage of Beloya, and thence they went on Horfeback to $\mathcal{F}$ akutski; all this they performed exactly in a Month, arriving there on the 29th of Auguft.
On the 2oth of September they left that Place, and went in two Veffels up the River Lena, as far as the Village of Peledun, where they arrived on the 10 th of October, and there they were obliged to flay for about ten Days, becaufe the Rivers began now to be covered
with Ice. The Snow falling in great Quancities, and the River being thoroughly froze, they fet out on the 29th of Oztober for Ilimski, and from thence by the Rivers Tungus and $\mathcal{F}$ enefci, which where now covered with Ice, they came to the Town of Yenifcbiski, frowi that Town, paffing through feveral Villages of Ruflians and Tartars newly converted; they reached Tomski, and paffing over the great Deferts of Bambinski, they reached Tara, and froni thence mounting the River Irtijco, they came to Tobolski, Fanuary 10, 1730. In this City they remained till the 2 sth of the fame Month, and then fet out by the Road before deferibed, for Petersbourg, where the Captain fafely arrived on the firt of March following.
This Detail which we have given our Reader, is not barely copied from the Accounts that have been publifhed in German, Low-Dutch, French, and other Languages, but hath been compared with a Copy of Captain Bebring's original Journal, which has been of very great Service; we have alfo examined his Map very carefully, and confidered; at the fame Time, how far it was confiftent with prior and with pofterior Difcoveries, of which more thall be faid hereafer. At prefent I will crave Leave to add here, from a Manufcript Copy of the Journal, a very curious Table of the Places men. tioned therein, with their Latitudes and Longitudes from Tobolski, the rather, becaufe it has never been p pib. lifhed, at leaft fo far as I know, and becaufe it will ferve as Kind of Teft, by which all fubfequent Accounts may be tried with refpeet to their Veracity; for I make no Doubt at all, that this Table was framed with the utmoft Care and Circumfpection, becaufe I find it was tranfmitted by the Author to the Ruffians Court in 1728 , immediately after his Return from his Voyage for Difcovery, and while he remained at the Lower Fortrefs of Kamfcbat ska.
It is alfo neceffary to take Notice of the Meaning of the Rufian Words made ufe of in this Table, which, as they are but very few, cannot burthen the Reader's Memory. IKrepolf fignifies a Fortrefs, Ofrog a little Fort, Slaboda a Borough or Place bigger than a Village, Monalteria, a Convent or Monaftery. It is true, we might have avoided thefe, and have given the Places in plain Englifh, but as the Defign of this whole Section is ta facilitate the underftanding fuch Accounts as may be hereafter received of the Ruffan Difcoveries, I thought proper to preferve the Names for that Reafon, as well as becaufe we find them frequently occur in the Maps. Thefe Points being premiled, the following Tables will be very plain and perfpicuous.

Names of the Remarkable Places.
Latiudde. Lorgituide from
Tobolsky.

| The Town of Tobolsk, which is the Capital of Siberia, $5^{8}$ | 5 | Tob |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Samarofky fam, upon the River Obb, | 17 |  | 30 |
| The Town of Surgut upon the River Obb, | 5 | 5 | 18 |
| The Town of Narim upon the fame River, | 48 | 14 | 35 |
| Keetsky Offrog, , $5^{88}$ | 19 | 16 | 60 |
| Lofinojarski Monafir, _- 58 | 17 | 22 | - |
| Makowski Ofrog, | 3 | 23 | 13 |
| The Town of Tenriski upon the River Tenisci, |  | 5 | 12 |
| Caschin Monafir, ${ }^{\text {a }}$ | 37 | 2 |  |
| The Town of Timakin, near the Mouth of the River Iim, -_ 57 |  | 35 | 16 |
| The Town of Ilimski, _ | 40 | 36 | 44 |
| Utkutsky Oftrog, -_ 56 |  | 38 | 28 |
| Kirinski Oftrog, | 8 | 41 |  |
| The Town of $\mathfrak{F} a k u t s k i$ upon the River Lena, | 13 | ${ }_{7} 57$ | 5 |
| The Mouth of the Boljchoyan Retfibka in Kamjchatska, - $5^{2}$ | 4.8 | 89 | 5I |
| Werebnoi Kamcchatska Ostrog, | 48 | 98 |  |
| Nijcburi Kamjcbatska Oftrog, - 5 | 11 | 98 | 30 |
| The Mouth of the River of the Apofle Tbadeus and the Cape, 56 | 3 | 96 | 10 |
| The Elbow of the River Swuetoi Krest, | 20 | 11 | 32 |
| Eaftern Point, - 65 | 35 | 115 | 15 |
| The Elbow of the Swetoi Preobrazensky, | I | 120 | 30 |
| The Eaftern Point of Sucbotski, 64 | 25 | 122 |  |
| The Inand of St. Larerence, | - | 122 | 55 |
| The Inand of St, Demetrius; . 6 | - | 125 |  |
| The Place from which the Captain returned, | 18 | 126 89 |  |
| The Southern Point of Kamjcbaitka or Oskoi, | 10 | 89 |  |

It may perhaps contribute to make this Matter fomewhat eafier to the Reader, if we obferve that Tobolski is 86 Degrees of Longitude Ealt from the Inand of Fero, and about 68 Degrees Eaft from London; fo that to find the exact Longitude of any of the Places mentioned in the Table, there is nothing more neceffary than to add the refpective Numbers before-mentioned to hofe which he has fet down. As for Inftance, the Place from whence he returned, is, in his Table, 126 Degrees 7 Minutes Eaft from Tobolski; if therefore we add to this 86 Degrees, we find the Longitude from Fero, which is 212 Degrees 7 Minutes, and in the fame Manner by adding 68 Degrees, we find that Place to be 194 Degrees Eaft from the Meridian of London.

It will not appear to one who barely perufes this Account, without weighing and confidering it attentively, that there is any thing in it very extraordinary; and yet to fpeak impartially, there is hardly any thing more fo in the Compaifs of this Collection; for, in the firft place, this Gentleman was charged with a moft arduous Employment, that of conducting a Number of Men over the greateft Tract of Land that is perhaps in the World ; in doing which he was to undergo the greateft Hardfhips, as he actually did, and arriving at his Journeys End, found himfelf in one of the moft inhofpitable Spots upon the Globe, there he was to build a fout Veffel, where hardly any but himfelf could have found Materials, and victual it in'a Country where there was not a Duft of Meal, or any other Animal but Dogs ; and in this Veffel, when finifhed, he was to make Difcoveries on an unknown Coaft through an unknown Sea. It is very evident that he did all this with the utmoft Spirit and Vigour, and without the leaft Lofs of Time, and yet it was fomewhat more than five Years before he reached Petersbourg again; which, exclufive of the Difficulties he met with in Travelling, will appear lefs ftrange, if we reflect, that going and coming his Journey was very little fhort of eighteen thoufand Miles.
He has likewife given us a Table of the Nations inhabiting the Countries through which he travelled, that is very curious, and which is a Circumftance of ftill greater Value, feems to be very accurate and authentick, and therefore I fhall give it the Reader in the beft Manner I am able, and as a Thing that may be of Uie towards explaining any future Difcoveries that may be made on this Side, the Credibility of which, as I hinted before, ought to be regulated by their Confiftency with his Accounts.

Table of the feveral Nations inbabiting the Countries between Tobolski and Kamfchatska.

Ofiaks, living in Villages from Tobolski to the Slaboda Domianska.
Different Tribes of the fame People on the Banks of the River lrtijch.
Different Tribes of the fame People in the fix Villages on the Banks of the River Oby, from Surgut to Narim.
Different Tribes of this Nation intermixed with others as far as Yenicibiski.
Tungufes in one large Town, and twenty little Villages as far as the River Tongus.
The fame Nation, amongf whom there are two Fortreffes, one Monaftery, and thirty Villages of feveral Sizes to the Mouth of the River Ilim.
The fame Nation, inhabiting one large Town and twenty-feven Villages, as far as the Town of Tlimski.

The fame Nation, inhabiting forty-three Towns and Villages, of different Sizes, as far as Kermya.
The fame Nation and the fokuts, amongft whom there are two large Towns, two Fortreffes, two Convents, and thirty Villages of different Sizes, along the River Liena to Jakutski.
Tongufes, Fakuts, and Lamutski, from thence to the Ocbotski Ofrog.
Kamychales and Kutiles, amongft whom are two For. trefies on the River Kamfibatska:

From the Mouth of the River Kamscbatska, fteering North-eaff, the Coafts are inhabited by the feveral Nations of Kamjchatdales, Kurackes, and $q$ zuktchys.
The North-eaft Cape is diftant from Tobolski ten thoufand five hundred and twenty-nine Werts, twelve thoufand nine hundred and feventy eight from Mofore, and thirteen thouland one hundred and eighty-eight from Petersbourg.

We fee from hence the true State of there vaft Countries, and may from hence form to ourfelves, at leaft, tolerable Ideas, as well of what they produce at prefent to the Ruffian Government, as of the. Improvements of which they are capable, in Cafe Kamjcbatska Chould be more fully fettled, and the Difcoveries made from thence render'd fome way or other ufeful in refpect to Trade. It is very poffible, that within a few Years we may have very extenfive Hiftories, or at leaft very copious Geographical Defcriptions of all thefe Countries made publick with the Stamp of Authority, and then by comparing them wich thefe Tables, we may be very well able to decide whether they have alfo the Sanction of Truth, fince at the Time Captain Bebring wrote his Journal, the Scheme of concealing Difcoveries was not adopted.
8. We need not at all wonder, that after the Return of this Gentleman, and the Relation of his Difooveries was made publick, it occafioned much Speculation and a great Variety of Enquiries at Petersbourg, in Confequence of which, it is faid, that they obtained certain and diftinct Accounts of coafting Voyages made by Sea from the Mouth of the River Lena by Cape Suetonios, or, as I find it Jaid down in Caprain Bebring's Map, Cape Sbelleginski, which he places in the Latitude of 72 Degrees 30 Minutes, and in the Longitude of 112 Degrees from Tobolski, and fo down to the Coafts which he had vifited. Upon fome Memoirs of this Kind, I mean of thefe Voyages from the Mouth of the River Lena, the Sieur Bellin publifhed at Paris in 1735, a Chart of thefe Difcoveries, which the Reader may find in Father Cbarlevoix's Hiftory of Эapan; but upon a frict Examination, I think a proper Judge of there Matters will agree, that there cannot be ary thing more romantick or incorrect. Inftead of that vaft Continent that Captain Bebring lays down to the North-eaft of Kamscbatska, we have this Peninfula enlarged vaftly beyond its due Bounds, and hardly any thing of that Continent appears ; and whereas Captain Bebring pofitively lays down the moft Southern Point of that Peninfula round' which himfelf failed, in the Latitude of $51^{\ominus}$. Io Minutes, in this Map it is brought as low as 4 r , and by that Means appears to be the fame Country heretofore called the Continent of $\mathcal{F} e \int f 0$, divided only by a narrow Channel from Niphon, the largeft of the Fapan Inands. As this Peninfula is produced ten Degres farther South than it ought to be, fo the Continent is removed 12 or 14 Degrees Weftward farther than it ought; and, in fhort, the whole of this extraordinary Piece, notwithftanding the Accuracy that is pretended to, is equally abfurd and chimerical. It mult however be allowed, that it was not poffible to difcover this without the Anfiftacce of Captain Bebring's Voyage, and of fome later Difcoveries; and therefore the Author of that Chart is the more excufable, and all the Conclufion I mean to draw from what I have advanced, is, that we ought not to be too hafty in giving Credit to fuch kind of Performances, for there is a very wide Difference between Charts drawn from Conjectures, and thofe laid down by Men like Captain Bebring, from their own Experience. But if the Reader will be directed to a better View of thefe Countries, I would recommend him to the Northern Hemifphere publifhed by Mr. William Deflile, in which thefe Countries are very accurately laid down.
Before I fpeak of the fecond Expedition of Captain Bebring, it may not be amifs to obferve, that if there be any Truth in the Accounts of Veffels failing from the Mouth of the River Lena in the Manner beforementioned, it amounts to a direct Demonftration, that
the Dutch Ships employed to difcover a North-eaft Paffage in 1670 , advanced far enough to have made that Paffage ; nor is it poffible to admit one Fact and deny the other, which may deferve Confideration, fince I think at this Day the North-eaft Paffage feems, without any juft Reafon, to be treated as a Thing known to be impracticable; and as from the Difcoveries made by Land, we may in a great Meafure perceive, that this is a Judgment made at Random; fo there is the higheft Probability, that if Difcoveries by Land were properly pufhed, the very fame Thing would appear with refpect to the North-wef Paffage. The fudden Alterations of Government that have happen'd in Ruf fia, may be look'd upon as the principal Caufe why thefe important Difcoveries have not been profecuted to the utmoft; and yet it muft be allowed that they have not been altogether neglected, as appears from the fending Captain Bebring back into thofe Parts better fupported than before.
It is not in my Power to fay at what Time this was done, or to give any diftinct Account, either of his Inftructions or his Expedition. All we know of the Mat ter amounts to no more than this, That in the Month of Fanuary 1740; an Account arrived at Petersbourg from Captain Spanberg, who ferved. as a Lieutenant under Bebring in his former Attempt, and who commanded a Veffel now, importing, that at the Clofe of the Summer of 1739, he had difcovered, aiter failing fifteen Days, thirty-four Inands, fome large, and others fmall; that upon his approaching them, the Inhabi tants fent fix of their Veffels to obferve them; that however he came to an Anchor, and they fuffered him to land without any Refiftance; that in other Refpects he met with a tolerable Reception; but as he knew nothing of their Language, fo he was able to learn very little from them by Signs, only they fhewed him confiderable Quantities as well of Gold as of Copper Coin and fome Pieces of the latter he obtained from them and fent by the Courier who brought his Difpatches to Petersbourt
Mr. Swartz, who wâs then and is now Minifter from their High Mightineffes the States General at that Court, gave at that time the following Account, in a Letter dated from Petersbourg, Fan. 13, 1740, O. S. "On "Saturday laft arrived here an Exprefs from Kamf ${ }^{\text {sc }}$ cbatska, with the News, that Captain Spanberg having "failed from thence with four Ships, after being fix"teen Days at Sea, difcovered thirty-four Inands of "different Sizes, the Inhahitants of which fent fix Gal" lies to reconnoitre him, notwithfanding which they " fuffered him to land, and received him with great "Affability; but as he underftood not cheir Language, " he could not converfe with them ; however, they "flewed him a confiderable Quansity of Gold Coin. "This was all that Officer would communicate to Coni" modore Bebring, defiring to come hither himfelf, in " order to difcover to her Imperial Majefty Things of the
" laft Importance, which may be highly advantageous " to her Interefts, and which he was refolved to difcover " to no other Perfon. Upon which the Commodore "fuffered him to return, and he is expected here in the
"Spring. It is believed that thefe are Inands belong" ing to fapan. The Courier has brought hither with " him fome of the Money of this Country, of which I " have feen a Piece; it is of red Copper, round, and about "the Size of a Holland Doit, but a little thicker, fur"s rounded by a fmall flat Border, and in the Middle "there is a little fquare Hole, on each Side of which, " upon the Face of the Coin, there is imprinted a "Cbinese or fapon Character ; but on the Reverfe it is " quite fmooth.

Captain Spanberg at the fame time wrote to one of his Friends, and the Reader will, no doubt, be glad to fee an Extract of that Letter, which however is without a Date, and conceived in the following Terms. "I ". employed all the Month of Auguft in the laft Year " in cruizing upon the Sea of Great Tartary. Amongtt " the 1 lands I difcovcred, there were many that were "only full of wild Beafts. I anchored however near "one that feemed more confiderable than the reft. Vob. II. No CXLI
"There we thought fit to go on Shore, and foon after " met with Inhabitants, who from their Figure and Drefs " appeared to be Savages, As foon as they faw us "they made their Elcape into a Wood. Wie did all "that was in our Power to furprize fome of them, but " found it impoffible to fucceed in that Defign. When "s they faw themfelves purfued, they fled into the " thickeft Part of the Wood and fet up the moft dread"ful Cries. The Inhabitants of fome of the neigh" bouring Inands were more communicative, as I have " fhewn in former Relations. I found the Country "every where extremely fertile; and embarked on " board my Ship large Quantities of the Fruits and " other Productions of thofe Illands. The Journal "w which I fhall publifh of my Difcovery, will contain ". Matters very fatisfactory to the Curious; at the fame " time that it will render it evident, that the Com " merce of the Ruffins with the Inhabitants of Cbina " and fapan, will receive great Benefit thereby."
It is probable, that after chis Captain returned to Kamfcbatska, Commodore Bebring continued his Voyage, of which all that we know is chis, that he failed Southward to the Ines of $\mathcal{F}$ apan, and from thence Eaftward about eighty Leagues. At that Diftance from Fapan he difcovered Land, which he coafted North weft, fill approaching towards the North-ealt Cape, without going ahore until he came to the Entrance of a great River, where fending his Boats and Men alnore, they never returned, being either loft, killed, or detained by the Natives, which made his Difcovery incompleat, his Ship being ftranded; and he afterwards died in an uninhabited Inand. Without doubt, the Ruffans are endeavouring to improve and extend thefe Difcoveries, and we very well know that Members of the Academy, Perfons of great Knowledge, and ani mated by the Defire of Glory, and fupported by whatever Affitance they can defire from the Government have been employed in this far diftant Country; and as I have befare obferved, Defcriptions of it thus ob tained have been actually compofed, and may very probably be publifhed at Petersbourg before this Time There is no Queftion that this is a very right, as well as a very regular Method; for without knowing exactly the Situation and Bounds, the Climate and Soil, the Mountains and Rivers, in any Country, it is fimply impofible that any juft Notion fhould be formed of the Means by which it may be render'd ufeful ; but that notwithftanding all this Care and Caution, and notwithtanding all the Lights they may Have received from thence, and from any Actounts they may have had of ubfequent Attempts, they are not yet very far advanced in refpect to real Difcoveries; may be eafily fhewn from he Notions that they fill entertain about them (fuppofing them in earneft in what they fay) which may be clearly demionftrated to be altogether vain and chimerical; even from the very Lights that they themfelves have afforded, and from the Facts which they infift upon as Proofs in Support of thofe Notions

We know from a Multitude of Inftances, that there is no Weaknefs to which the human Mind is more fubject, than to run into new Errors by running away from the old, notwithflanding that both Reafon and Experience teach us, that Truth feidom lies in the Extremes, but generally fpeaking, in the Middle, When firlt the Ruffans began to enquire carefully into the Extent of that Part of their Empire which lies in Afra, they found it went much farther to the Eaft than they had ever imagined; and the further and the more carefully they fearched, the greater Certainty they obtained of this Fact, and were ftill carried farther and farther. In order to underftand this clearly, it may not be amifs to obferve that according to the beft Maps of Ruffia made thirty Years ago, the Town of Yakutski upon the River Lena was placed in the Latitude of $6_{4}$ Degrees 50 Mi nutes; and in the Longitude of 120 Degrees, the firt Meridian being placed in Fero; but according to the lateft Obfervations, this Place actually ftands in the Latio tude of 62 Degrees 8 Minutes, and in the Longitude of 143 Degrees, 53 Minutes. It was at that Time believed, that Cape $N$ ofs, or the Icy Cape, laid down in

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the Map by the Name of Cape Suitenos, extended very far to the North-eaft, and, as has been before hinted, night poffibly be joined to America. In Procefs of Time however, this was difcovered to be a Promontory only, and was placed in the Latitude of 66 Degrees, and in the Longitude of 160 ; but in the Chart of Captain Bebring's Voyages and Travels, where it is called Cape Scbeleginski, it is laid down in the Latitude of 72 Degrees $3^{8}$ Minutes, and in the Longitude of 198 Degrees 30 Minutes; fo that it appears to be almoft fix Degrees farther North, and 37 Degrees and a half farther Eaft than it was imagined.
But after all, this is not the fartheft Stretch of the Afian Continent; for the North-eaft Cape, difovered by Captain Bebring, runs almoft 14 Degrees farther, lying, as he found by a very exact Obfervation of a Lunar Eclipfe, in the Latitude of 67 Degrees 18 Minutes, and in the Longitude of 212 Degrees 7 Minutes. This altered the Notions of the Mathematicians at Petersbourg extremely, fince it appeared from hence plainly and certainly, that their Empire extended 48 Degrees farther Eaft than it was held to do thirty Years ago, that is, upwards of 384 Leagues, and more than a thouland Miles, which greatly ftrengthened the Opinion which they had before entertained, that the Extremity of their North-eaft Frontier was at no vaft Diflance from the Continent of North Amerrica. They were indeed thus far right, that from thefe Difcoveries it was put out of Difpute, that the North-eaft Cape was much nearer to the Coaft of California than had been formerly imagined; but fill the Diftance was very great, and not the leaft probable Ground to believe that there was only a Paffage of inconfiderableBreadth between them. Yet as this was the original Suggeftion of the Czar Peter the Great, who very probably had no other Reafon for giving it out, than to excite the Defire of his Subjects to co-operate with his Views of difcovering on this Side, by making them imagine they might by this Means become Mafters both of the Eaft Indies and of the West; they remained fixed in their Belief of it, feeing, as they thought, fuch ftrong Reafon brought from thefe Difcoveries to fupport it. They flattered themfelves, perhaps, that as fuch an enormous Miftake had been made in fettling the Geography of their own Country, it was not impofible but that a like Mittake might be made as to the North-weft Continent of America; and this indeed might have leffened the Ditance very confiderably. Yet if they had refiected, that the neareft Coaft of California had been vifited and examined by Strangers, whereas their own Northeaft Coant was totally unknown to every other Nation but themfelves, and but a little while before unknown to them too, they would have feen juft Reafon to reject fuch a Suppofition.
But fo natural it is to fee clearly what makes for our own Hypothefis, and to fee whatever makes againft it, either doubtfully, or not at all, that we need not be much furprized at this Turn of Mind in the Ruffan Wirtuof. That this is really, fo, and that from hence there is a great Probability of their concealing moft Part of their Difcoveries for the future, will fufficiently appear to any attentive Reader, from the following very curious Extract printed in the Pbilofophical Tranf. actions, NP 482. Page 42 I. being. Part of a Letter from Mr. Leonard Euler, Mathematical Profeffor, and Member of the Imperial Society at Petersbourg, to the Reverend Mr. Cbarles Wetfein, Chaplain and Secretary to his Royal Highnefs the Prince of Wales, dated from Berlin, Dec. 10, 1746, which I fhall take the Liberty of entirely tranferibing.
"As you are defirous to hear fomething more parti6. cular concerning the Rufloin Expeditions to the North, " and North-eaft of Affa, I will here give you an Acof count of all that has come to my Knowledge relating "s to the famie. But as I hould, on the one Eland, be of very glad that thefe Obfervations might give any "L Light concerning the Paflage now fought through 8: Hudfon's-Bay; I Mhould, on the other, be very forry, © if Mr. Bebring's Opinion, whe believed that the new 65 Land he had dilcovered was joined to California,
" fhould rather lead us to doubt of the Succefs of that glorious Undertaking. I wifh however, that a happy Experiment may fon inform us certainly of the Truth. In the mean Time, you will not be forry to " be acquainted with the Reafons upon which Mr. Bebring's Sufpicions were founded, notwithtanding the - Objections you have been pleafed to make, and to "communicate to me upon that Head.
"Firft, This new Land which he fell in with at the "Diftance of 50 German Miles from Kamfibatske to" wards the Eaft, was followed by him and coafted for " a great Way, though I cannot fay how far: Fron " whence alone it will appear, that an Abatement muft " be made in the Diftance of 30 Degrees, or there" abouts, which you fuppofe to be between the laft " known Headland of California towards the Weft, and " the fartheft Extremity of this new difcovered Land ' towards the Eaft. Secondly, Captain Bebring hav"ing had the Opportunity of obferving an Eclipfe ' of the Moon at Kamichaiska, concluded from the " fame, that that Place lay much farther off to the Eaft "than is expreffed in any Map; and that to reprefent " it truly, it ought to be tranisferred into the other He" mifphere, as its Longitude is more than 180 Degrees "Eaft from the Ine of Fcro, for this Reafon, Captain "Bebring's new Land will be confiderably approached " to the laft known Part of California, and will not in"deed appear to be many Degrees from it.
"What we have therefore flill to hope, is only that " in this unknown Diftrict there may be found fome "Streight, by which the Pacifick Sea may freely com" municate with Hudfon's Bay; but if it fhall appear " that there is no fuch Paffage, it muft then be conclu" ded, that whatever furcher Progrefs may happen to " be made through Hudjon's-Bay, the Opening at laft " muft only be into the Frozen Sea, from whence there "could be no paffing into the Pacifuc Octan, but by " the Neighbourhood of Kam (chatska; and this Way " would, without doubt, be too long and too dange"rous to be maftered in the Courfe of one Summer.
"I very much doubt, whether the Ruffians will ever " publifh the Particulars of their Difcoveries, either " fuch as have been made from Kamfchatska towards "America, or fuch as have been made upon the Nor" thern Coafts of Afa. And indeed it is but very much " in general that I know the Succefs of this laft "Expedition. What I do, was communicated to me " by Order of the Court from the College of Admiral" ty, for me to make ufe of it in the Geography of " Ruffa, with which I was at that Time charged.
"They paffed along in fmall Veffels, coafting be" tween Nova Zembla and the Continent at divers times " in the Middle of Summer, when thofe Waters are open. The firft Expedition was from the River Oby, " and at the Approach of Winter the Veffels fhelter'd " themfelves by going up the Yeniska, from whence the " next Summer they returned to Sea in order to advance " further Eaftward, which they did to the Mouth of " the Lena, into which they again retired for the Win" ter Seafon.
"The third Expedition was from this River to the " fartheft North-eaft Cape of Afio. But here they loft " feveral of their Boats, and a great Part of their Crew; " fo as to be difabled from proceeding, and from ma" king the whole Tour fo as to arrive at Kamfchat ska. " It was however thought, that a further Attempt "s was then unneceffary, becaufe Captain Bebring had c. already gone round that Cape, failing Northward " from Kamjcbatska.

## "The Ruflians have not attempted the Paffage round

"Nova Zembla, but as they have paffed between that
" Land and the Coaft of Afa, and as the Dutcb did
" formerly difcover the Northern Coafts of Nova. Zem "bla, we may be now well affured that that Country " is really an Inand,"

There are feveral Points in this Letter that are, very well worth our Obfervation. In the firlt Place, it is very evident, that from Captain Bebring's' Difcoveries the Rufiams look upon it as a Thing certain; that a fhore Paflage may be opened from their Dominions to Nortb

## Chap. III.

 the Russian Difcourries.America; and that the Senfe they have of the great Advantages that may be derived from thence, is the Reafon that induces them to think of concealing what may be difcovered for the future, efteeming fuch Lights as they may receive thereby as Secrets of State, to which no Strangers have a Right to be admitted. In the next Place we may obferve, though the Profeffor fpeaks very modeftly, that he looks upon Captain Bebring's Syftem as abfolutely deftructive of our Scheme for difcovering a North-weft Paffage through Hudfon's Bay; which indeed is fo far well founded, as that granting his Premifes, and that the new difcover'd Country of Behring's lies contiguous to California, cannot be denied Lafly, It may be obferved, that though he fpeaks very cautiounly, and therefore indeterminately of the Pofition of the North-eaft Cape, which he fays ought to be carried into the other Hemifphere, as indeed it ought, ye he plainly enough infinuates, that if this be duly confidered, it will overturn the Arguments formerly of fered in Favour of the North-weft Paffage. So that on the whole, if we attend to the Spirit rather than the Letter of this fhort Difcourfe, we muft plainly difcern, that the Rufians look upon themfelves as in full Pofleffion of that great Secret, fo long and fo ineffectually fought by the Northern Maritime Powers, of a fhort Paffage to the Eaf Indies and the South-Seas, and that ton exclufively of other Nations, from a Perfuafion, that by difcovering this Paffage, they have difcovered alfo that the North-weft Paffage, by which only we could interfere with them, is impracticable.
10. But in the next Number of the Pbilofophical Tranfaftions, viz. 483. Page 47 I , there is a very curious Letter from the ingenious Artbur Dobbs, Efq; to the be fore-mentioned Mr. Wetzein, in which all this Reafoning is very fully and fairly refuted; and it is chiefly from the Arguments advanced therein, that I fhall be enabled to make good my Promife to the Reader, by Thewing, that in the firft Place, there is no Reafon to apprehend that Captain Bebring has made any Dícovery at all, at leaft with regard to the Point we are examining ; by which I mean, that he has given no new Light whatever as to a new Continent, which may be reafonably prefumed contiguous to California. Secondly, That the Argument drawn from the advanced Situation of the North-eaft Point of $A f a$, is abfolutely inconclufive, and does not at all prove fo much as the Probability of there being any fuch Continent as the Ruffians feem to be fatisfied they have found. Thirdly and Lafty, That taking every Thing they have advanced, as through this whole Section, I have taken them for indirputable Truths, yet the North-weft Palfage by Hudfon's-Bay remains not only as probable as ever, but is in reality rendered more probable than ever from thefe very Difcoveries. All this I hope to make out to the entire Satisfaction of the ingenious, inquifitive, and impartial Reader, fo as to leave not the leaft Scruple upon his Mind in reference to this Rufian Syftem.
As to the firlt Point ; as there are no Longitudes or Latitudes mentioned in reference to Captain Bebring ${ }^{3}$ s fecond Voyage; all we can pofibly know of it amounts to this, that he failed South from Kamfcbatska, as low, or perhaps lower than 50 Degrees, and there found Land 80 Leagues North-eaft from $\mathcal{F} a p a n$, for otherwife by coafting it North-weft, as it is exprefly faid he did, hie could not poffibly have approached the North-eaft Cape; to do which, had it lain due Eaft from fapan, he mult have failed North-eaft. Now there is the higheft Probability, not to fay an abfolute Certainty, that this is the very fame Land that was difcovered by Goma fo long ago, and is likewife that very Land to which Martin Herit/zoon of Uriez gave the Name of the Company's Land in the Year 1643, making the Weft-fide of the Straits of Uriez, which lie feven or eight hundred Leagues Weft of any known Land in America, and above a thoufand Leagues Weft of any Land in the Latitude of Jopan; and confequently, whether Continent or Illand, there is Room enough for a very large Paffage between this Country and Amierica; neither did Captain Bebring coaft it fo far as to come at any Kind of Certainty whether it was Conti-
nent or Ifand; all therefore that can poffibly be col lected from this Account, is no more than a Confirmation of the two former Difcoveries, and perhaps of a third; for, as Dr. Cromwell Mortimer has very judicioufly obferved, the Gaponefe, in their Maps, have Jaid down two Iflands, each as large as Ireland in this very Tract, as appears from the Map Dr. Kempfer brought from thence in 1666, and which is now in Sir Hais Sloan's Mufeuna.
Taking therefore the whole of this together, what we learn from Captain Bebring's fecond unfortunate Voyage, is fo far from fhewing that he difcovered a Continent continuous to America, or that probably might be fo, that, on the contrary, he only touched upon a Country which feveral Europeans had vifired before, and which there are very fltong Reafons to believe is not a Continent, but an IMand. Neither is this faid with any View of difparaging the Induftry or Abifities of that adventurous, brave, and indefatigable Perfon, whofe Memory ought always to be revered, and to which I have raifed the beft Monument I was able; but in Things of this Nature, Truch is to be regarded before any other Confideration ; and there can be nothing plainer than this Truth, that his Difcovery does not warrant any fuch Suppofition, as that the Country he touched was a great Continent making Parr of Nort 5 America; and if in any Accounts he left behind him, he furmifed any thing like this, he muft have been miftaken:
As to the fecond Point, the Argument drawn from the Proximity of the North-eaft Cape, and the mott weftern difcovered Coaft of America, is eafily difcuffed; forithough, as has been already obferved, the Ditcoveries and accurate Obfervations made by Captain Bebring in his firt Voyage, have really altered the Face of Afrairs extremely, and fhewn us Things in quite a new Light, by proving that the North-eaft Part of Afia is a Countr of much larger Extent, than, till it was thus examined, was ever fufpected, or would ever have been fuppofed true, if it had been ever fo frongly afferted without Proof; yet for all this, the North eaft Continent of Afia has fome Bounds, and Captain Bebring has very accurately fixed thofe Bounds, by afforing us, that the moft North-eaft Cape of the Afatick Coant is in the Latitide of 194 Degrees Eaft from the Meridian of London. There might indeed have been fome Difpute about this, as Captain Bebring did not examine the Coaft any higher than to the Latitude of 67.18 Mi nutes, if the Account which Profeffor Euler has publifhed had not plainly proved him in the right, by affuring us that his Obfervation was confirmed by chofe who failed round Cape Suitonos to the North-eaft Cape of Captain Eebring, by which it is render?d perfectily certain, that he has fixed the Longitude of the Exiremity of the Afatick Continent.
If therefore we add to its Longitude from London the Longitude of Cburcbill River in Hudforis's-Bay, which the ingenious Captain Cbristopber Middleton, by a very accurate Obfervation fixed at 95 Degrees Weft; I fay, if we add thefe two Longitudes together, they will amount to 289 Degrees; and if we tubtract this Sum from 360 , there will remain 7 I Degrees of Longitude, which is the Diftance between the North-eaft Cape and that Part of Hudfon's-Bay, In order to reduce this into Leagues, we may compute a Degree of Longitude in the Parallel of 65 Degrees at the Rate of eight of thofe Leagues, of which 20 make a Degree of Latitude ; and from thence it will appear, that there are 568 fuch Leagues, or upwards of 1700 of our Miles between the Extremity of the North-eaf Continent of Afia and Hudjon's-Bay'; and this furely is Space fufficient for many larger Illands, and a confiderable Paffage between the neareft Coaft of Anerica, and the moft Eaftern of thofe Inands, fuppofing all thefe Lands to lie in that Parallel, which however is a Suppofition we are not obliged to make, there being not the leaft Shadow of Proof of any Countries or Inands hitherto difcovered fo far to the North.

But farther ftill from the fettled Longitude of the North Cape of $\begin{aligned} & \text { Fapan } \\ & \text { in } \\ & 40\end{aligned}$ Degrees Latitude, which is pretty exactly known from the Obfervations made by the Jefuits at Peking, and is about 150 D grees Eaft from London, and from the beft compured Longitude of California in 40 Degrees North Latitude, it lies in 130 Degrees Longitude Weft from London, making together 280 Degrees, leaves 80 Degrees for the Diftance of California from Fapan, allowing 17 Leagues to a Degree of Longitude, in 40 Degrees North Latitude, the Diffance would be about 1360 Leagues: By the fame Calculation, California mult be at leaft 7 or 800 fuch Leagues from the North-eaft Cape of Afa; fo that in to great a Space there may be very great Countries or Inands, without fuppofing the new dilcover'd Country continuous to California, and might well allow of an open Channel or Sea from 50 to 100 Leagues wide between the difcovered Coaft and California.

The two Infinuations, of which we have undertaken the Difproof, have a vifible Connection with each other ; and if either of them had been well founded, it might have been urged as an Evidence in Support of the other. But examining them feparately, we have fhewn, that the Country difcovered by Captain Bebring in his fecond Expedition, whether Continent or Inand, does not render it at all probable, that the Land of which it makes Part, is continued to the North-weft of America, and joined there either to California, or to the Continent lying farther to the North-weft of that Country, now known not to be an Inland, but Part of the main Land. What we have urged upon this Subject, is farther fupported and rendered more credible by the Difproof of the fecond Suggeftion, viz. That the Diftance is but very fmall between the North-eaft Cape of Afia, and the North-weft Part of America; for with refpect to this we have proved, and that from Captain Bebring's own Obfervations the direct contrary, and have not only made it evident that the Space between them is very great, but have likewife fhewn what that Space is; fo that the Reader can decide for himfelf as to the Probability of this Pofition, that there is only a Paffage by Sea between Afia and America, near the Confines of the Rufian Dominions, and that the reft of the Space is taken up by the North-weft Continent of America, Part of which was coafted by Captain Bebring in his fecond Voyage.
But we have undertaken to do fill more than this, and to make it appear that the Rufian Difcoveries are to far from yielding any Colour of Proof as to the Probability of that Suppofition that has been advanced from them, that in reality they rather prove the contrary, and add Weight to the oppofite Opinion, which is a Point of very great Confequence, becaufe it removes that Bar which has been thrown in the Way of our difcovering a North-weft Paffage, which is a Thing of the higheft Importance to us as a trading Nation. Of which, if we ftood in need of Arguments to prove it, this alone is no inconfiderable Reafon ; that almoft all foreign Nations are inclined to reprefent it as a Chimera, which is a Notion dictated to them by their Interefts, and therefore ought to contribute to make us fenfible of our own. When I fay this, I have not the leaft Intention to reprefent fuch an Infinuation as the Sentiment of the Profeffor Euler, who fpeaks as an indifferent Perfon, and in the Language of a Gentleman, and a Man of Learning; for I am only labouring to refute thofe after whom he fpeaks, whofe Objections he has heard and repeats, and to which he fhews himfelf very willing to hear what can be faid in Anfwer. To come to the laft Point, and to fhew that the fe Difcoveries of the Rufians, inftead of juftifying their Notions of a North-eaft Paffage only, of which they look upon themfelves in Poffeffion, rather favour the oppofite Sentiment, and afford probable Grounds to believe, that the Space between the North-eaft Cape of $A f i a$ and the oppofitee Continent of America, is filled up by broken Lands, and confequently that there is alfo a North-weft Paffage, I fhall make ufe of feveral diffetent Methods.

In the firft Place then, I muft obferve, that the concluding Paragraph of the Profeffor's Letter evidently proves that he is of the fame Opinion with me, in refpect to a North-eaft Paffage, that is to fay, that from the Expedition of the Dutch Ships in 1670, the coafting Voyages of the Ruffians from the Mouths of the Rivers Obi, Fenifa, and Lena, and from the late Difcoveries made by Captain Bebring in his firf Voyage, there is an inconteftable Proof of fuch a Paffage. Now from hence I make two Inferences; the firf is, that if the Norch-eaft Paffage, fo long ago given up, and that too, if Captain Wood's Arguments had fignified any thing upon what might be called direct Evidence, as chimerical and impracticable; be at this Day known to be real and practicable, fince every Lieague of it has been failed over, I fhould be glad to know, why even without the leaft Degree of Evidence, it is to be thought reafonable to conclude in the like hafty Manner, againf a Poffibility of finding a North-weft Paffage? It is an ufual and a very juf Method of Argument, that after detecting one great Miftake, one ought from thence to be doubly cautious of committing another of the fame Kind ; but it is a new and ftrange Reafoning to conclude, from the Detection of a Mitake, into which Men were drawn by fome kind of Evidence, that they may, withour Danger of miftaking, conclude the fame Thing with Regard to another like Point, and this without any Evidence at all. My fecond Inference is, that as the fame kind of Reafoning is applied, I mean with refpect to Cofmographical Topicks, to the Norch-weft as to the North-eaft Paffage, and it is now found by Experience, that thofe Arguments were we!1 and rightly applied with refpect to the Oeconomy of Providence in reference to one Paffage; this fhould therefore be taken, not as Evidence indeed, but as a very probable Indication that the fame Arguments have not been wrong applied in regard to the other Paffage. It is indeed true, that Nature effects the fame End, when aimed at under different Circumftances, by feveral Means; and this fhews at once the Wifdom and the Power of Providence, but in like Cafes the generally takes the fame Means; and therefore this being confidered, our having a Certainty of a North-eaft Paffage, which Certainty is derived from thefe Difcoveries, becomes a flrong analogical Argument for there being a Northweft Paffage.

I fiall now beg Leave to offer quite another Method of Argument, and that fhall be taken from the Nature of the Whale-filhing, or to fpeak with greater Propriety, from the Nature of the Whale. Thofe Fifh refort at a certain Seafon of the Year from warmer to colder Climates, and the Reader is very well acquainted that it was urged as a ftrong Reafon why there fhould be a North-eaft Paffage, that Whales were thrown upon the Coaft of Corea with Dutch Harpoons in them. We now fee that this was a juft and a right Argument; for Captain Bebring tells us, that he met with Whales caft afhore on the Coaft of Kamjcbetska, and I fuppofe no body can doubt that thefe Whales went thro' the Northeealt Paffage, now that fuch a Paffage there is known to be. But Whales are found, even in the latter End of the Summer, in the Welcome in Hudfon's Bay. Inftinct being an unerring Principle, I fhould be glad to hear where thefe Whales muft be going at that Time of the Year, if not into the Soutb-Seas, and if into the Soutb-Seas, whether there muft not be a Paffage between the North-weft Continent of America, and the Countries, whether Continents or Illands, between that and the North-eaft Cape of $A$ ha, For to fuppofe that thefe Whales fhould go round fuch a vaft Continent as that muft be, if the new-difcovered Land was continuous to $A$ merica, and were to enter by that Paffage in which Captain Bebring was, is a palpable Abfurdity, becaufe in the advanced Seaton of the Year, and in fo high a Latitude, thofe Seas would be frozen. This Argument I muft infift upon to be in a Manner decifive we know there are Whales upon the Coafts of Spitzbergen and Nova Zembla; we now know that thefe Whales go through the North-eaft Paffage, and fo dedçend into the warm Seas of Japan ; we know that

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Whales are found in the North Part of Hudfon's-Bay, and not in the South, why then fhould we not think, or rather, how can we avoid thinking that they alfo find a Paffage round into the warmer Seas?

Another ftrong Motive there is to believe that this Country, upon which Captain Bebring touched in his fecond Expedition, mult be an Illand, and not any fuch Continent as he is faid to have imagined, is this, that being fo near Fapan as himfelf places it, it is impoffible the Subjects of that Empire fhould not have been long ago acquainted with it, and with its Inhabitants; yet we are well enough verfed in the Faponefe Hiftory, to be thoroughly fatisfied they know of no fuch Continent ; but on the contrary, have laid down two pretty large Illands in this Tract, one of which, in all Probability, Captain Bebring coafted. If all the Space beween the North-eaft Continent of AFia, and the oppofite Continent of America, is partly Sea; and partly flands of feveral Sizes, we may very eafily account for their remaining fo long unknown to the Spaniards in America, and in the East Indies, as well as moft of them are to the Faponees; whereas if the Continent of America extended in fuch a Manner as the Rufians feem to imagine it does, it muft appear almoft an Impoffibility that it fhould not have been long ago difco vered, confidering how oftel, in a long Series of Years, the annual Ships from Manila to Aquapulco, muft have been driven out of their ordinary Route (which it muft be confeffed is not calculated for Difcoveries) either outward or homeward bound. Yet nothing of this Kind has been ever heard of ; but all the flying Stories we have of Difcoveries made in thefe Tranfits, relate only to Inands, and thofe too none of the largent, as appears, from the Difficulty of meeting with them again.
One might add to all this, that the Confideration of the vaft and enormous Extent of this new Continent, which upon this Suppofition would contain 140 Degrees of Longitude, renders it highly improbable; and this more efpecially, if we confider the Difpofition of other Parts of the Globe, and particularly that Part of America, the Coafts on both Sides of which are perfectly well known. It was this uniform and wife Diftribution of Sea and Land, that firft induced Men of penetrating Parts and great Experience to expect, that fo many different Paffages might be found from one Part of the Globe to the other; and as we fee that thefe Expectations have been perfectly anfwered in refpect to the Paf. fage into the South Seas by Cape Horn, and are now convinced that there is a Paffage by the North-eaft ; fo sill they are abfolutely certain of the contrary, it cannot be fuppofed that the ableft Cofmographers will be difpoffeffed of the Notions they bave entertained of finding a Paffage by the North-weft, to which I hope I have fully fhewn, that thefe new Difcoveries are fo far from raifing an infuperable Bar, that on the contrary, they have made it more probable than $\mathrm{it}_{5}$ was before. For it muft be obferved, that the Advocates for a Northweft Paffage are very far from difputing any of the Points that are actually fettled by thefe Difcoveries, and are only engaged in a Controverfy about the Probability or Improbability of this imaginary Continent, which is no Part of thofe Difcoveries, but a Suppofition raifed in Confequence of them, without any juft Grounds,
If it fhould be enquired, why, confidering the In duftry and perfect Underftanding of Captain Bebring, with refpect to Matters of this Nature, he fhould be fo defirous of ferting up a Fiction, like this, without any juft Eoundation or Authority, the Anfwer is not very difficult. He was inftructed to find fuch a Continent as we have already feen; fo that he fet out upon his firft Expedition, with a Prepoffeffion that perhaps he could never get over. We have already feen in the Beginneng of this Section, that before the North-eaf Coafts of the Ruffan Dominions were thoroughly known, a Notion prevailed, that poffibly they might be continued in fuch a Manner as to join and make the fame Continent with America; and when this was found to be filfe, notwithtanding their extending fo far into the other Hemifphere, then his other Opinion was taken up:

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and becaufe Captain Bekring had fully difcoverd that here was an open Paflage round the North-eaft Continent of Afa, by his firt Expedition, and the Confequences that attended it; and becaufe in his lecond Ex pedition he difcovered new Land fill farther to the Eaftward, it was from thence prefumed, that this muft be Part of that Continent he was fent to look for, becauie had it been fo, he would have fully executed his Inftrict tions, and have found what the Court of Petersbourgh were defirous he fhould find. This is a very clear and candid Account of the Matter, and what I am inclined to flater myfelf, will fatisfy every fenfible and impartial Reader.
But to make it fill plainer and more fatisfactory, if poffible, I will beg Leave to cite a parallel Cafe , which has been frequently mentioned in the Courfe of this Collection. The great Cbrifopher Columbus, as wife a Man, and as experienced a Cofmographer as he was, when he firlt framed his Scheme of Difcovery, propofed nothing more than to find out a new Route to the Eaft Indies by failing Weft, and when he met with the Babama and Lucaya Inands, he flattered himfelf that he had obtained what he fought, that he hadiperformed what he promifed, and that he had put the Crown of Sain in Poffeffion of a Part of the Indies; and from this Perfuafon, when the Error was difcovered, the Name of the Weft-Indies arofe, to diftinguifh thefe new-found Countries from the old, of which they now appear to be no Part. Thus we fee how Columbus was deceived in imagining, that by failing directly Weft he could not fail of meeting that Eaftern Continent, which was then the Object of the Wifhes and Searches of all Difcoveries, by which incleed he made a great and glorious Difcovery, that will and ought to perpetuate his Name ; but at the fame Time that he did this, he difcovered his Miftake, and that he was very far from having reached thofe Countries for which he originally fought. Yet he ftill retained his firf Purpofe, and in fome Meafure his firf Notion; for when he heard of a great Continent lying ftill Weft from thofe Inands, his Hopes revived, but it was not long before he perceived that he was again miftaken, and then finding there was a narrow Ifbmus which connected the Northern and Southern Parts of this Continent, he flattered himfelf there might beftill a Paffage, and under this Perfuafion he died.

Now, as the Criticks fay, there is fomething divine even in the Dreams of Homer ; fo in relpedt to the Senments of Columbus, of whofe Menory I never fpeak but with the utmof Reverence, there was always fomething great and noble; and if I might be indulged fo bold an Expreffion, I would venture to fay that there was fomewhat of Truth in his Errors, and of Wirdom in his Miftakes; for notwithftanding he was wrong with refpect to Circumftances; he was right in the main; for had there been no fuch Continent as America, he might undoubtedly have failed, as he propofed, from Spain to the Indies, though hardly with fuch Veffels as thafe in which he made his firf Difcovery. However, it was upon his Thought that fucceeding Difcoverers built; it was from his Difcourfes they colleeted thofe Lights that led them to all they afterwards performed and it was from the Scheme of Cbrifopber Columbus that Sir Fobn Cabot, (for he was the Knight, and not his Son Sebaftian) took the Hint of a North-weft Paffage, which is yet undifcovered ; that Sebaftian Cabot framed his Defign of finding a North-eat Paffage, which has been but of late known to be poffible; and that Ferdinand Magellan sathered thofe Obfervations from whence he has fo confidently undertook, and fo happily accomplifhed, the finding a Paffage to the Spice Iflonds through the Soutb Seas.

In Matters of this Nature, as it is very eafy to miftake, as well as very hard not to miftake; fo there is nothing thameful or injurious to a Man's Reputation, who from real Difcoveries falls into erroneous Suppofitions; the only Danger is, that the Fame and Credit of the Difcovery Jhould give Weight and Authority to fuch Suppofitions'; and this makes it both neceffary and laudable to examine them with the ftricten Atten-

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tion, which muft be my Apology to the Reader for the Pains I have made him take upon this Occafion, in order, through all this Mift of Obfcurity, to bring him out again into the Light, and to enable him to make the proper Ufe of Captain Bebring's moft admirable and moft important Difcoveries, without being led away by that vain and idle Delufion to which they have moft unaccountably given Rife. We may from this Examination of the Matter, very eafily, and with fome tolerable Degree of Certainty, perceive, what will be the Iffue of this Defign, in Cafe the Ruffans fhould continue, as in all Probability they will, to profecute thefe Difcoveries. What I mean by this, is, that in the Courfe of a few Years, they will very probably find out all that is yet to be, found on that Side, and pafs from one Illand to another, till they have obtain'd an abfolute Certainty as to the Situation, Size, and Nature, of the Countries that Providence has placed between Aha and Americulang which, I will not prefume to alledge there may not be one more confiderable than the reft, and extending much farther to the North, which in that Refpect may deferve to be ftiled a Continent; neither will I difpute, than when this fhall be done, it may be both poffible and practicable for the Ruffians to obtain a Share in the Commerce of America, though for many Reafons, fome of which I fhall hereaffer mention; this feems to be a Thing far enough from being probable.

We may likewife difcern from what has been faid, how very little the reft of the World have to apprehend, from any Pains this Nation may employ to conceal their Diicoveries ; for, in the firt Place, if they fhould prove confiderable in themfelves, and advantageous in their Confequences, that will be a Thing abfolutely impoffible ; for whether they derive thofe Advantages from Conquefts, or from Commerce, they cannot be hid; and if we once learn that thefe Advantages are derived to them, the Manner in which they are derived cannot long remain a Secret. On the other Hand, if they proceed flowly in thefe Difcoveries, and reap no great Profits from them, they need not take much Pains about the-Matter, fince no Secret is fo eafily kept as that which is hardly worth the knowing. But as we have already explained the true Caufe of that erroneous Notion of the Continent of America being at ro great Diftance from the Northeaft Coafts of the Ruffian Dominions, fo it will be no hard Task to find out whence this other Sentiment of the Poffibility of concealing Difcoveries has its Original; the Ruffians have, for the two laft Ages, employed themfelves in making Difcoveries and Conquefts to the North-eaft, and thefe they have taken great Care, and not without confiderable Succefs, to conceal, which they might very eafily do, fince it was not poffible for any other Nation but themfelves to reach them. Yet while they were thus concealed, they proved of no mighty Confequence to them; and the only Fruits of their Induftry, in that Refpect, at leaif fo far as we can learn, were Want of real Improvements, or fo much as acquiring a juft Notion of their Importance. When the Czar Peter came to have right Ideas, in refpect to Government, Power, and Commerce, this little narrow unprincely Scheme of concealing was immediately banifhed, and he not only took all the Methods poffible to make himfelf and his Minifters thoroughly acquainted with the remoteft Parts of his Dominions, but with equal Care and Indultry publifhed the Refults of his Enquiries to all the World ; and from thence it was that he not only raifed a juft and never-fading Reputation, but likewife reaped many Advantages, in a very fhort Space of Time, that otherwife muft have coft whole Ages in the Form of flow and filent Methods to attain. By this Means principally he reached the great Point at which he aimed, and came to have right, diftinct, and thorough Notions of the Value of the Diicoveries made in the Reigns of his Predeceffors, which were not known to them from their being addicted to that barbarous Policy of hiding andmaking a Myttery of what muft be ufelefs in the very fame Proportion that it is concealed.

This fhews the Folly and Abfurdity of fuch a Principle, while confined to Difcoveries upon the Continent, in which it was very poffible it might be purfued with Succefs; but there is nothing eafier than to fhew, that it is not barely ridiculous, but abfolutely impracticable, with refpect to fuch Dilcoveries as are made by Sea. We already know enough of their Difcoveries not to be much, if at all in the dark, as to the Sources of any Advantages they may reap from them hereafter ; and, as I obferved at the Clofe of the former Section, fo long as we preferve our Naval Force, it will be always not only practicable, but a very eafy Thing for us to acquire a Share of thefe Advantages, let them be what they will, in fpite of any Pains, or any Means they can polfibly ufe to prevent it. For it will be always poffible for us, while we have fuch large Poffeffions in the Eaft-Indies, to fit out Ships ; or if it was neceffary, Squadrons of Ships, and that with as great or greater Advantage than can be done by the Rufians, and with thefe we may at any Time retrace all their Difcoveries, and make them our own, in Cafe there fhall appear any good Caufe to expect that Expeditions of this Kind may turn to our Profit.
Neither is it Reafon alone that teaches us this; for the fame Leffon may be learned in the School of Experience. The Spaniards and the Portuguefe were the original Difcoverers of America and the Eaff Indies, but how long did they remain the fole Proprietors of thofe valuable Poffeffions? And yet they were poffefled of an Advantage which the Ruffans have not, and which it is in a great Meafure out of their Power to attain ; that of being the greateft Maritime Powers in Enrope, indeed almoft the only Maritime Powers in Europe, at the Time they made them. Therefore if with this fingular Advantage, and when making Difcoveries was a Thing new, thofe Nations found it impoffible to conceal their Difcoveries, or to exclude Strangers from fharing with them, how fhould the Ruffans, who on this Side of their Dominions neither have, nor in any reafonable Space of Time, can raife any formidable NavalForce?
Yet after all that has been faid, I muft confefs, that if the Ruffans continue to proceed in thefe Difcoveries, with that Vigour which their great Importance deferves, and which the Succeis they have lately met with may well encourage them to do, they may poffibly make a Difcovery of the higheft Confequence, and perhaps conceal it too, and that to the great Advantage of themfelves, and the great Detriment of the reft of the World, and of the Britijb Nation in particular ; and to this I attribute all that Air of Darknefs and Myftery that has been of late thrown over moft of their Relations. In fhort, I apprehend, and am very fure, that I have good Reafon for my Apprehenfions, they are already pretty well fatisfied ; or rather, the few judicious Heads amongft them, are convinced, not of the Poffibility or Probability, but of the Reality of a Northweft Paffage ; and this it is that makes them fo very defirous of promoting a Belief of the running out of the two great Continents, till they almoft meet each other, and hath alfo put them upon the Scheme of ftifing their future Difcoveries, that they may make the moft of what they have already difcovered, and not lead others to the Knowledge of a Route, which would make them Mafters of thefe Difcoveries, and of many more.
XI. After having examined as thoroughly as poffible thefe Ruffian Difcoveries, which have made fo much Noife in the prefent Age, and which it is not impoffible may make ftill more Noife in the next, let us. proceed to a few Obfervations on what has been faid in order to render it more ufeful and more intelligible to the Readers. It is now about two hundred Years ago, fince our finding out the Navigation to Ruffa, was confidered, as a more furprifing Difcovery, than any of which the Ruffans are now in Purfuit; but then it muft be confidered that they had no Dominions upon the Baltick, nor hardly any Intercourfe with their Neighbours, except the Poles and the Srwedes. It was prefently forefeen, that from Arclangel, which was the Port
frequented:

Chap. III.
the Russian Dijcoveries.
frequented by us, a Paffage might be conveniently fought round Norva Zembla to the Eaft Indies, and accordingly various Attempts were made that Way, as in its proper Place has been fhewn. It could however hardly be forefeen, that fo long a Series of Years fhould elapfe, before the Englijh Nation received any Certainty as to the North-eaft Frontiers of this fpacious Empire, and yet it is purely owing to the great Wifdom and fuperior Genius of the Czar Peter the Firft that we are acquainted with them now, fo late have we been inftructed as to the real Boundaries of that Part of the Globe, with which, during fo long a Space, we have had almoft a conftant Correfpondence.

But now we are acquainted with them, let the Queftion be put, What are we the wifer or the better for this Piece of Knowledge ? For that is the Touch-ftone of all Acquiftions of this Sort; fince if our Knowledge ferves only to amufe the Learned, and to furprize the Ignorant, it is of very little Confequence, and indeed hardly deferves the Name. If, on the other Hand, it gives us a jufter Notion of Things than we had before, delivers us from the Mifts of ancient Errors, affords us a Profpect of new Truths, and enables us, by thefe Helps to decide judiciounly of our own Interefts, and thofe of other Nations; then, without doubt, our Enquiries are to fome Purpofe, and the Iffue of them may be well filed ufeful and folid Knowledge.

In the firf Place then, we are now able to reCtify our Miftakes, which to be fure were great enough concerning the Country of the Ruffians. We confidered them heretofore as a rude and barbarous Nation, thruft up into a Corner of the Globe, of litrle Confequence to their immediate Neighbours, and who were almoft in a State of Inability of making themfelves fo much as known, much lefs refpected and feared by the relt of the World. We fee them now in quite another Light; we fee, that in Point of Extent and of Compactnels, no Empire, either ancient or modern, can enter into Comparifon with that of Rufia, which is at once equal to any European Power, and fuperior to that of any Potentate in Afar. We fee, that inftead of being unknown or difregarded, even by her Neighbours, fhe has made herfelf courted as well as refpected by the greateft Powers in both Europe and Afa, as being equally formidable to the Turks, the Tartars, the Perfians, the Cbinefe, and, it may be, the Faponefe, on one Side, and to all the Powers in the North, on the other.

We may from hence learn how ealy fuch Miftakes are, and how much Time and Pains it cofts to rectity them, which ought to render us more careful in other Refpects, how we fuffer ourfelves to be impofed upon by crude and indigefted Opinions, or how we give into that common Source of great and dangerous Errors, the hafty rejecting as weak, abfurd, and chimeral, fuch Propofitions, of which, from their Novelty and the Want of prefent Lights, we cannot immediately fee the clear and diftinct Grounds. Of this I fhall prefently give a very ftrong, and hitherto unnoticed Inftance with refpect to this very Nation, and the Confequences of our Correfpondence with them. It is very well known, that but a few Years ago, an Act of Parliament was obtained in Favour of the Rufia Company, to enable them to carry on, through that Empire, a Trade with Perfia; and that this was not obtained without Oppofition, though the Advantages of fuch a Trade were then fet in a very clear Light, and have been fince Felt by Experience, notwithftanding the unforefeen and inevitable Difficulties to which this new Trade has been fubjected by the great Troubles and frequent Revolutions in the Country laft mentioned. It would be no difficult Thing to fhew, that Projects of the fame Kind had been many Years ago fet on Foot in Italy and in France, but I believe it will be News to moft of my Readers, that it was with a View to an Eftablifhment of this Sort, that King fames the Firft propofed to fend Sir Thomas Overbury into Mufcovy; and that fome who looked upon themfelves as very penetrating People, and above the ordinary Rank of Politicians, valued their own Sagacities in feeing through this Project, as they imagined, and treating it as a Thing altogether im-
practicable, and fit only to amule the Minds of Specus latifts; by which, very probably, the Nation was defrauded of a Branch of Commerce that might have pros ved highly beneficial.
I am too well acquainted with the Temper of the prefent Age to advance fo ftrange, and, to moft People; fo unheard-of a Thing as this, without Proof; and therefore I fhall cite a Letter from Mr. Fobn Cbamberlain to Sir Ralph Winveood, preferved among that Gentleman's State Papers, who was afterwards Secretary. It is dated May 6,1618 , and the Writer having firft obferved, that it was the urging Sir Thomas Overbury to go to $M u f$ covy, that drove him to that peremptory and unmannerly Anfwer for which he was committed to the Tower, he proceeds thus: "Indeed we have great " Doings in Hand, and ftrange Projects for that Place, "which I doubs will all prove Difcourfes in the Air, " for they be grounded upon certain Speeches of fome " of the Nobility to an Engl/b Merchant about two "Years fince; but tempora mutantur, and the Cafe is " much altered there fince that Time. Yet the King " apprehends the Bufinefs very earneftly, and hath "caufed Sir Henry Nevile to confer with fome of the "Council about it divers Times, wherein, they fay, he " hath fhewed great Sufficiency, and difcourfed at iarge " what Commodity might arife by bringing the whoie "Trade of Perfia, and the Inland Part of the Eajt "Indies up the River Hydafpes, and fo with a fhort Cut "down the River Oxus into the Cafpian Sea, and then up " the River Volga to a Straight of Land that will carry " all into the River Dreina, that runs down to St. Nico" las and the Town of Arcbangel, the ordinary Port and "Station of our Shipping in thofe Parts. Thefe are " goodly fpecious Ditcourfes of Things not fo eafily " done as fpoken." If we have found a nearer, fhorter, and more expeditious Method of carrying on and improving this Trade, it is becaufe, as our Author fays, Tempora mutantur; and that with regard to us and the Ruffians alfo, we are no longer under the Neceffity of making the long Voyage to Arcbangel, nor are they obliged to take the Courfe before laid down for bringing Perfian Commodities into the Heart of their Empire. Yet for all this, it is no hard Matter to difcern this Project was both very pofirible and very practicable at that Time, and might have been attended with very great Advantages to both Nations.

We may learn from the Contents of this Section, more efpecially if we compare them with thofe of the foregoing Sections, what are the true Reafons why, with all the feeming Advantages of which the Rufzans ate now poffeffed, they make, notwithftanding, but a very fmall Figure in Commercial Affairs. It is very true, that from the advantageous Situation of their Empire, they have a Variety of different Profpects of extending and promoting their Trade; but perhaps this Variety has been, and ftill is rather detrimental than benefícial. We find them fometimes intent upon eftablifhing their Navigation on the Black Sea, and in a few Years this is dropped, and their Efforts are made upon the Cafpian; then the Trade by Land with Cbina, and the fuppofed Advantages that may be derived from regular Caravans ingrofles their Thoughts, till on a fudden they are turned to more diftant Difcoveries and a Naval Correfpondence with $\mathfrak{F} a p a n$, which is again dropped for the Sake of purfuing, a ftill more diftant, and more uncertain Scheme of opening a new Route to the Coafts of America.
Thus by running from one Thing to another, and by a prepofterous grafping at many Things, Nothing is attained, if we except this, that from thefe Attempts it has been made very apparent, that all, fave the laft, might have been attained. For while Peter the Great was poffeffed of $A$ opp, he not only opened to his Subjeets the Commerce, but, as we hinted before, eftablifhed a Naval Force in the Black Sea, and thereby terrified the Grand Signior in his Seraglio, but this however infpired the Turks with a Refolution of depriving him of that Fortrefs, and of the Power of making him uneafy on that Side; which they had the good Luck to accomplifh; yet there may come a Time, when, if
the Rufians fhould be content to profecute one Point at once, they may again become Mafters of AJoph, and of that advantageous Commerce that might be carried on from thence. Nay, it is not at all impoffible that they may conquer Crim Tartary, which, with refpect to Trade and Naval Power, would be the moft important Acquifition they could make; but it would require much Time and no fmall Application to render fuch a Conqueft as advantageous as it might be made to their Empire, and indeed to the Chriftian World in general.

On the Cafpion alfo Peter the Firft built Veffels of various Sizes, and conquered fome of the moft valuable Countries in Perfia; he likewife formed Projects of Difcovery in the moft diftant Part of that Sea; where, for the Encouragement of his People, he gave out there were Gold Mines; but all thefe Projects, partly by other Accidents, but chiefly by his Death, came to nothing. The fame great Emperor actually opened a Trade by Land to Cbina, of which we have given a large Account, and of the Reafons of its Declenfion. Reafons that ftill fubfift, and will always fubfint, while the Cbinefe Government is carried on in Conformity to the Maxims that having prevailed there for many Ages, are not likely to be laid afide in hafte. It remains that we fhould examine the Caufes that have hindered the Accomplifhment of the two laft Defigns.

With refpect to thefe, there is nothing clearer than that the valt Diftance of Kamfchatska, the prefent Condition of that Country, and the great Difficulty of eftablifhing any certain and eafy Communication between it and the weftern Provinces of the Empire, are Obftacles of fuch a Nature as muft render it very hard to furmount. On the other Hand, we are very well apprized of the fettled Averfion which the faponiefe have to any Correfpondence with the Europeans, which there are good Grounds to believe may rife higher with regard to the Ruffians, whom, notwithftanding their vaft Dominions in Afia, they will always confider in that Light. I fay, that we have good Grounds to believe, that their Averfion will rife higher againft them than any other Nation, becaufe their Apprehenfions, in refpect to their Power, will be greater and better founded. Thus we fee that there is no great Caufe to be furprized, that the Court of Petersbourg has not been able to make any great Progrefs hitherto in that Commerce, of which Captain Spanberg gave them fuch mighty Expectations.

Yet great as thefe Obftacles are, they feem to be ftill inferior to thofe that lie in the Way of this fo much wifh'd for Commerce with the Northern Continent of America; for which, as we have fhewn, they are utterly unqualified, until fuch Time as Kamjchatska is much better improved than we have any Reafons to believe it is at prefent ; becaufe, as we have already fhewn, the Space is much larger between the two Continents than they apprehend; and if it were much lefs, it is not very eafy to conceive either with what Commodities they would trade from Kamfchatska, or where they would find Men to undertake any thing in the Way of Conqueft. The Reader will obferve, that I fate thefe only as very great Difficulties, which it will be hard, but not impoffible to overcome. The Method they are now in of furveying thefe Countries, diligently inquiring into their Produce, and framing from thence natural Hiftories, tracing the feveral Rivers from their Sources to their Mouths, bringing the barbarous Inhabitants under Obedience, and ufing every other Means poffible to come at an exact Knowledge of their vaft Dominions, though very how, is out of Comparifon the fureft to artain Succefs.
It is not at all improbable, that in Procefs of Time they may find either Mines or Drugs, or fome other Commodities of Value, that may make the Plantation and Improvement of there Places, at leaft bear the Expences, and fo by Degrees extend their Sentlements and Fortreffes in a regular Manner from Tobolski to Ochotski; and then, no doubt, the peopling and improving Kamfcaiska will be found far eafier than is generally imagin'd; for, as I hinted before, there feems to be good Reafon to bellieve, that there is nothing, either in the Climate
or the Soil, fo incorrigible, as to take away all Hopes of making it a tolerable Habitation. It is indeed true, that fome Hints have been given of taking a fhorter Way, by fettling a Port at the Mouth of the River Le na, and opening the Navigation to Kamschatska by Veffels of confiderable Burthen. I might object to this, what Ysbrant Ides tell us of the Northern Seas being choaked with Ice for feveral Years together, fo as to render fuch a Paffage abfolutely impracticable; but as I am ftrongly inclined to doubt the Truth of this; I cannot think it fair to alledge any fuch Thing. But fuppofing the Paffage to be always practicable in the Summer, which is the utmoft that can be contended for, yet the thorough fettling of Kam/cbatka will remain a Thing abfolutely requifite before any Difcoveries of Importance can be undertaken with any tolerable Advantage on that Side, fince after fo long a Voyage as that round the North-eaft Cape, it cannot well be imagined that Veffels fhould be in a Condition to proceed, without putting into fome Port for Refrefhment.

If therefore this could be done at Kamjchatska, and proper Magazines of Provifions and Naval Stores were erected there, no Doubt need be made, that in the Courfe of a few Years, Things in this Part of the World would change their Face, and a Commerce of very great Confequence might be foon fettled. Whenever this fhall be effected, and fuch a Navigation from Practice and a perfect Knowledge of the proper Seafons made common, if not convenient, I cannot help hazarding a Conjecture, that the Court will call to Mind a Project formerly fet on Foot for reviving and reftoring the Trade of Archangel. It may be faid, that to fuppofe the Poffibility of an eafy Paffage to the North-weft of Nova Zembla, which mult be the Courfe from any Port eftablinhed at the Mouth of the River Leno, is abfurd aud romantick, but this is eafier faid than proved; the Dutch Ships thatwvere fent in 1670 for the Difcovery of the Nurth-eaft Paffage, actually paffed round Nova Zembla the other Way, and therefore it is very plain the Thing is not at all impoffible; and to People who inhabit the Country that borders upon the Sea, have an Opportunity of making Choice of the fitteft Seafon, and may have fuch Affiltances from the Nature of their Government, as cannot be expected in Places, where not only the Climate, but the Laws are milder; this may, in Procef's of Time, and that no very long Time either ; be render'd very practicable, and Archangel become once more the Centre of the Ruffian Trade, as in former Times. The Reafon thas the Czar Peter the Great, who delighted fo much in Improvements, made it in fome Meafure a Point to ruin Archangel, by withdrawing the Trade from it, may be very eafily learned. In the firf Place, it had been infulted by the Swedes, which made him apprehend, that the richer this Port grew, the more likely it would be to tempt his Neighbours to make it fuch Vifits. Befides this, he was very intent upon whatever might contribute to the eftablifning, enlarging, or enriching of the new City of St. Petersbourg, which he was building, and which he was equally defirous of rendering the Centre of Commerce, and the Capital of his Empire.

Both thefe Reafons are, in a great Meafure, taken away; for with Regard to the Power of the Sroedes, and the Safety of Archangel, there are no longer any Apprehenfions, or indeed the leait Grounds for them and with refpect to Petersbourg, it will always remain the Center of the Baltick Trade, as well as the Weftern Capital of the Ruffan Empire; fo that inftead of fuffering, it would in reality receive great Advantages by the Revival of the Commerce at Archangel; and ttill greater, if fuch a Communication could be opened, as that which I have defcribed. We were heretofore very well acquainted with that Port, as having a regular as well as conftant Navigation thither ; but of late we fpeak lefs of it, and confequently are fo much the worfe Judges of its Confequences, which is in reality very great, fince there is no Place in the whole Dominions of Ruffa that lie's fo conveniently for uniting the Commerce of the moft diftant Countries in the Eaft with
that of Europe. Of this a remarkable Specimen has been given from our own Hiftory, and that too in a mott extraordinary Period, as I could very eafily fhew, if it was proper at this Time; another I have exhibited from my own Conjecture, in Cafe thete Difcoveries to the North-eaft fhould be profecuted with Effect ; and a third fhall be taken Notice of hereafter, but in the mean Time, I believe it may contribute to the Amufement and Relief of the Reader, and at the fame Time prove no great Interruption to the Courfe of our Reafoning, if we infert a very ingenious and lively Defcription of this Port, when in its moft flourihing Condition, written upon the Spot by Sir Dudley North, a Man of remarkable Abilities, and no lefs diftinguifhed for his Accuracy in obferving, and his Veracity in relating whatever he met with worthy of Notice, in the many Years that he fpent Abroad.
This Gentleman after a very pleafant and humorous Defcription of this Voyage, which not being to our Purpofe I pafs by, proceeds thus in fetting forth the State in which he found the Port that is now under our Confideration. "We went afhore to live in "Houfes built with Trees laid along one upon ano"ther, and let in at the Ends, the Streets are pa" ved with Trees, and the Houfes covered with Birch
"Bark. The Ground where the Englifh are appoint-
" ed to dwell, is paled round with great Trees fer up" right ; the like there is for the Dutch and Hamburgbers.
"The Emperor of Rufia fends down every Year a
"Governor, and a Gort or Judge to keep the Peace,
" and decide all Differences. Their Law is in their
"Heads, and what comes out of their Mouth is with-
" out Controul or Appeal. So that whatever Diffe-
" rence arifeth between one Man and another, it is fure
" too'be fully decided in lefs than an Hour. After the
"Parties have once fpoke, he gives the decifive Stroke, " and there's an End.
" Now this is a fine Place to live in, Victuals of all "Sorts plenty, and brave Sunfhine Weather: As we " failed along the Coaft of Norivay, I fancied the "Clouds, though loft in the Horizon, were buta fmall
"Diftance from us, which this place confirms, elfe " one place could not be fo very ferene, and another " fo cloudy, and that almoft conftantly. For at the
" North Cape it is rare to fee the Sun, and here at
"Arcbangel, about two hundred L.eagues diftant, not a
"Cloud to be feen for feveral Months together ;
" when we were two Leagues diftant from the huge
" Mountains on the Coaft of Norway, we could
" plainly difcern the Clouds to pafs between the
" Mountains and us.
" One of the Inconveniencies that lie on thofe who "d dwell in this Country, is, that the People are fo " given to Naftinefs, that nothing can be eaten out of "their Hands; you fhall have perhaps four Brothers " and as many Sifters, with their Father, Mother, "Hurbands, and Wives, all dwell in one hot Houfe,
" (Wijbe) they call it. They have nothing but a little
"Straw flrewed on the Ground to lie upon. They "wear loofe Garments above, with Linnen Drawers, " which go down to their Heels, and a fhort Shirt un" derneath like a Coat. To this in the Winter, they " add a Cafftan as they call it, which is an Under"Coat, the Upper they call a Shube. And for their " Boots, and huge thick Stockings, and double Mit" tens for their Hands, they never alter but continu" ally wear them. The Women I think are the " moft deformed Creatures that ever were feen, ge" nerally fhort, and by Reafon of their lying in "Wifbies and Baftoes, very fwarthy. Their Wear is "for the labouring Women, Boots, but fór them "that keep Houfe, neither Shoes nor Stockings; they " wear a Linnen loofe Garment next their Skin for the " moft part, without any Thing elfe, but fometimes " they have another of blue Callico over the former, " bue that is all.
" The Men account it a Sin to have either long Hair " or a fhort Beard. They are extremely fuperftitious, " every Man has his Object of Worfhip, but fome "twenty or more. They are Commodities fold in the Vol. II. $\mathrm{N}^{\circ}$ CXLII.
"Market, and they will not fell any to a Stranger, or "fuffer him fo much as to touch them. Thefe are "Pictures of the Saints, and that of our Saviour:
" The great Men burn Lamps before them Day and
"Night, and adorn them richly with Gold and Pearl;
" but when thefe are worn out, and they cannot fee
" any Thing of them, they hold it not lawful to burn " them, but in a folemn Manner carry them to the "Sea, and there fet them a-drift to fhift for them"felves.
"Thefe People are generally Thieves from the firft " to the laft, and fteal not only from Strangers, bue " Neighbours; and Poffeffion is all the Law they have " among themfelves. Drinking is their only Paftime, " and he that is not drunk on a Holiday, or Sabbath"day, is not either a Friend to their God, or Emperor.
" They are all left to get their Livings the beft Way
"they can. He that is a Carpenter To-day, is a La-
" bourer To-morrow. Every Man breeds up his own
"Sons, and it is a Shame to be wifer than their "Forefathers.
"This Town of Archangel fands on a Bog, and if " you offer to walk out of Town, (except one Way, " which is by the Water-Side, leading to a finall "Grove of Trees, that are of a competent Height, " and moftly Pine, Fir, and Birch) if the Way be nor paved with Planks, as ordinarily is done, to make a Paffage from the Town to fome Windmill, you " are prefently over Shoes and Boots. Among the "reft of the Inands, fome are very good Grounds, " and bear Corn of all Sorts, which after it is turned "Colour, as it will in five Weeks after it is put in the "Ground, they cut down and lay in the Sun to ripen " or harden, and thus they often have two Crops in " a Year.
"You fhall not fee in all this Country, one hundred
"Acres of good Ground without a Monaftery or two " or three in Sight of it; who will may fhave him-
"felf a Fryar, but it is feldom done unlefs in Sicknefs,
" for they think, whoever dies without the laf Unction "cannot be faved, and he that recovers, and lives af" ter he hath received that Sacrament is a Friar all the " ref of his Life.
"In this Country the Hufband is the fole Com" mander of the Wife, who differs very little from " his Servant. Many will marry their Sons very "Young to lufty Baggages, on Purpofe to gain able "Servants.
"I fhall add (though not very material), the Pro"" cefs of making Tar, the Product of this Place. They " dig a Hole in the Ground of a competent Size, fome two or three Fathom deep, and a little lower "than the middle they make a Platform of Wood, " and thereon heap Earth about a Foot deep, except " in the Middle, where an Hole is left in the Form of " a Tunnel. Then they fill the Pit with Fir Billets, " piled up from the Platform, and rifing about a "Fathom or more above Ground, which part they " wall about with Turf and Clay to keep in the Fire. " They command the Fire by quenching, for which "Ufe they make a Lixiviunn of the Afhes of Fir. "When all is ready they fet Fire a-top, and keep " the Wood burning, but very leifurely, till it comes " within a Foot or two of the Partition, and then they " heave out the Fire as faft as it is poffible, for if it " once lay hold of the Tar, which is fettled down in"to the lower Pit it blows all up forthwith. Thefe "Tar-Pits occafion a great deal of Trouble, and require " many Men to tend them during the Time of their "Burning, that the Fire may defcend even and lei" furely, whereby the Tar may have Time to foak out " of the Wood, and fettle down into the Pit. As it "comes from the Wood it is pure Tar, but in the "Pit it mixeth wich Water, which iffues from the "Wood alfo, therefore it muft be clarified from it " once or twice.
"The Manner of their Baftoes or Baths is worth "Notice. They are made as a fquare Room, in "one Corner of which is built a Sort of Oven, the " Top of which is covered with great round Pebble-
$\because$ Stones $_{2}$
© Stones laid very thick one upon another, without any

* Mortar. In this Oven they burn an Arm-full or two
r6 of Billets, and, during the Fire, leave the Door open
"for the Smoke to go out, which elfe could not pafs
"s for the Clofenefs of the Room. When the Fire is
" out, and the Stones thoroughly hot, you go into it
" flark naked, and the Heat is fo extraordinary, that
- in lefs than a Quarter of an Hour the Sweat fhall
ss run from you like Water, and the Heat almont ftifle "you. There are feveral Benches, which arè the De" grees of Heat ; on the Ground it is tolerable, but * very few are able to hold up their Heads to the Top "s of the Room, or ftand upright. They heat the s Room to what Degree you pleafe, by dathing cold
"Water upon the Stones, which doth wonderfully
" augment it. Thefe Baftoes are fuch common Things,
"that there is fcarce an Houfe, however poor, that
"wants one. They feldom or never lie with their
" Wives but in the Bafto; the Women are always
"6 brought to Bed in it. It is common to fee Men "fland at the Church Door, not daring to enter, be-
"caufe they have not wafhed fince they lay with their
"Wives, fo nice is their Devotion.
"All the Tools they work with about Wood is an
"Hatchet, and all of a Bigness, fo that the largeft
«Trees, and fmalleft Pieces of Wood are wrought
"s upon with the fame Tool. I believe they are the beft
" Hatchet-men in the World, for except a Shave, they
" have no other Tool to do all Manner of Work.
" Moft Houfes in the Country are of Wood, and have
" no Sort of Materials elfe about them: And fome
"again, as at the City of Mofoow, for Prevention of
"Fire, have not a Stick of Woor about them, the
"s very Doors and Windows are of Iron. Moft of our
"Warehoufes here have Fire-houfes under them ; it is
" a perfect Houfe under Ground, built as others are,
" and covered with great Trees, with a Fathom of
"Earth laid over it. The Door is deep and laid
s round with Brick. When a Fire happens, the
"Goods are flung down at that Door, and there al.
"ways ftand ready about a Dozen Barrels of Sand,
" which ferve to dam up the Door. Then the Houfe
" may be burnt to the Ground, and. all the Goods re-
" main fafe."
This thort and entertaining Account demonftrates to us fufficiently the Poffibility of rendring Archangel a very commodious Place, a good Port, and a well fortified Town; fo that in all thefe Refpects it might very well ferve as a middle Place for the Reception of the Commerce of Europe and Afia; and if the Ruflans can tell how to bring is thither, of all the Inands between Aha and America, and even of America itfelf. It has been before hinted, that another Propofition has been made for fettling the Trade of the Eaft here of late Years, that is, in the Reign of the Czar Peter, of a different Nature from either of thofe which the Reader has yet met with ; the iormer, he muft remember, went upon this Suppofition, that the Commodities and Manufactures of the Indies might be brought through Perfia to the Cajpian Sea, and fo by various Rivers to Arcbangel. The other fuggefts a Pofibilicy of carrying on a Trade from Kamfibatske to the Ilands near Fapan, to Corea, Cbina, $E^{\circ} c$. and carrying the Produce of this Trade round by Sea to Arcbaigel.

This other Propofal goes upon the old Suppofition, that a North-eaft Paffage was impracticable; and therefore two Merchants laid a Scheme before the Senate, to make a Communication between feveral navigable Rivers and Lakes, by the Means of which, the Ruffian Merchants might carry their Goods from Archangel to the Eaftern Ocean, and fo by an eafy and fhort Way trade to Fapan and the Eaft Indies, to the incredible Advantage of the Ruffan Dominions. The Connection was to be by the Rivers Dwina, Fafta, Irtis, Oby, Keta, Tenifra, Angur, the Lake Baikal, the Rivers Schutka, and Amur, the latier of which runs through Dauria into the Eaftern Ocean. It would perhaps be no difficule Thing to hews that though this Scheme is not imporfible or impracticable, yet it would be much harder to accomplifh, than that of opening a Communication by

Sea ; and the only Reafon I mentioned it was to hew how many different Methods have been contrived to transfer the Eaft India Trade, at leaft in a great Meafure to the Rufians; according to all which, Archangel has been the Port preferred; fo that fome Time or other, perhaps, it may obtain what has been fo long fought, in different Times, by different Heads, and from fuch different Ways.

To conclude this Subject, and to thew how great a Sacrifice was made in the eftablifhing of Petersbourg, I Chall prefent the Reader with a Memorial, fhewing the Inconveniencies that would arife by transferring thither the Trade from Arcbangel. It was drawn up by a Committee of Merchants, who were the beft acquainted with the Interefts of Ruffia, and of the reft of the Nations in Europe trading thither, and though it had no Effect, yet the Facts contained therein are very curious; they were briefly thefe :
r. That at $W$ ologda only, a Town ficuate between Mofcow and Arcbangel, there are three German Merchants, who at their own Charge maintain 25000 Perfons and upwards in dreffing and preparing Hemp to be fent to Arcbangel, and from thence into foreign Countries: But fhould they be obliged to keep fuch a Number of People at Petersbourg, where every Thing is five Times as dear as at Wologda, that Trade not only would turn to no Account at all, but they would even be Lofers by it. 2. That the greater Pare of the Exportation of Arcbangel is of the Growth of the neighbouring Country of $W$ ologda, from whence thofe Commodities are with a great deal of Eafe carried by Water to Arcbangel; whereas were they to be tranfported to Petersbourg, it muft be done a great Way over Land, and with far greater Expences to the Merchants. 3. That the Soil at Petersbourg is fuch, that the Hemp cannot be kept there a few Months without growing damp.

It is hoped, that from thefe Remarks and Reflexions, the Reader will be led to a perfect Acquaintance with the Confquences of the Ruffian Difcoveries, the Nature of the feveral Projects that have been formed for improving and extending the Commerce of that Empire, and the Effects that thefe muft neceffarily pruduce upon the Trade of Europe in general, in cafe they fhouid ever be brought to any tolerable Degree of Perfection, than which it would be hard to find a Subject more ufeful of more entertaining to fuch as are defirous of acquanting themfelves with the real and fubftantial Knowledge that is, the Refult of Enquiries into the paft and pretent state of diftant Countries, and of learning from the Comparifon of the Situation and Products of the feveral Parts of the Globe, how they may be beft connected and made ufeful to each other.

But it may poffibly be objected, that all there Things are at a very great Diftance, in as much as hitherto the Ruffions have fcarce entered into any Kind of Commerce with other Nations, or at leaft with other Nations who inhabit Countries lying at a Diftance from them; fo that to confider them in the Light of a naval and come mercial Power, feems a little premature ; and confidering alfo the Viciffitude of human Affairs fomewhat chimerical. But to this it is very eafy to give a full and fatisfactory Anfwer. It is fcarce half a Century fince this Nation became thoroughly known to the reft of Europe, that is to fay, known as an independent and great Power, capable not only of holding the Balance of the North, or rather of prefcribing to the Powers there, but alfo of having a confiderable Infuence upon the general Syftem. Yet within this fhort Space, and notwithftanding feveral Revolutions in their Gevernment, they have acquired, and that very juftly, a very high Degree of Reputation, as well by a fucceffful War againft the Turks, as by their important Conquefts from the Crown of Sreden; and exclufive of this, have twice within the laft twenty Years, given Check to the Power of the Houfe of Bourbon, and Peace to Europe, by marching their Troops into Germany, exactly in the fame Manner, as when the over-grown Power of the Houfe of Auftria engaged the Swedes in an Enterprize of the like Nature, and with the like Succels. If there-

## Chap. III.

fore it cannot be denied, that in fo fhort a Time, and notwichftanding the many Obftacles they had to furmount, this Nation has carried its Power to fo unexpected a Height, and render'd its Authority and lnAluence fo very extenfive, why fhould we doubt, that upon turning their Thoughts to the promoting of Induftry, encouraging Manufactures, and improving their Trade, all which, it is very certain, are Points that have for fome Years occupied their Thoughts. I fay, why fhould we doubt, that in Procefs of Time they fhould become as fuccefsful in this, as in the aggrandizing themfelves by their military Expeditions, and their political Negociations, for both. which they were hought infinitely more incapable, but forty or fifty Years ago, than they can be now, with refpect to Im provements in Trade and Navigation?
I know very well, that it has been efteemed the Foible of this Nation, that they efteem themfelves abfolutely Mafters of any Science, by that Time they have acquired the firf Principles of it, and are apt to boaft of Things as accomplifhed almoft as foon as they have formed a Defign of undertaking them; but as this is natural to all Nations, upon their firt emerging out of a State of Barbarity, it may be probably concluded, that this is in fome Meafure worn off, and that in Confequence of their being more familiar with the Sciences, and having a greater Intercourfe with other Nations, they are become both more knowing and more polite; which if it was at all neceffary, might alfo be made good with refpect to Facts, and that from the moft authentick Evidence. But fuppofing they have ftill fome Remains of this Humour fticking upon them, as has been before admitted in the Cafe of Difcoveries, where without queftion, their Conclufions have been a little too hafty, and their Expectations not a little too fanguine, yet this is no kind of Proof that they fhall not fucceed by Degrees, or that they may not acquire a very profitable and extenfive Commerce, though not quite fo profitable and exienfive -perhaps, as they have flattered themfelves.

For if we reflect, that notwithftanding the Rigour of the Climate, and the Sterility of the Soil in fome parts of their Territories, yet there is within the Dominions of Ruffa, not only as rich and fertile Countries as any in Europe, but a much larger Quantity of rich and fertile Ground than in the Poffeflion of any European Power whatever, we fhall furely fee fome Caufe to alter our Opinion. Another ftrong Argument to this Purpore, may be drawn from the Staple Commodities of Ruffa, which, are very numerous, of general Ufe, and of great Value ; they have Hemp, Flax, and Timber ; Tar, Wax, Hides, Tallow, $\mathcal{E}^{2} c$. in vaft Quantities ; and if their Lands were improved, they might have as great Abundance of Corn as any Nation in the World neither are the worft part of their Dominions unproductive of very rich Commodities, fuch as vaft Quantities of the fineft and moft valuable. Furs, Iron in the greateft Plenty, Salt, and many more Things than we have not either Leifure or Necefficy to enumerate, fince enough have been already mentioned to prove that they are in a Capacity of exporting as many and as valuable Commodities as their Neighbours, from the immediate Produce of the feveral Provinces of their vaft Empire.

But farther ftill, a third and no lefs weighty Argument may be advanced from their Inland Commerce, which is very confiderable, as will appear from the Places in which their great Cuftom-houfes are erected, and which are become fo many Staples for different Branches of Trade. As for Inftance, there is a Cuftom-houfe at Kioze in the Ukrain, to which City there is a prodigious Refort of Turkih, Tartarian, Poli/h, Armenian, and Rafcian Merchants. At Tomski in Siberia, there are likewife great Magazines of rich and valuable Commodities, brought thither by all the various Nations inhabiting the Heart of $A f i a$, and with whom no other European Nation have any Intercourfe or Trade. Thither alfo and to Tobolski are brought the Commodities and Manufactures of Cbina, Corea, and of all the Nations which inhabit to the North and North-eaft of the River Amur. The City of Afracon is the Center of the Per.
fian Trade, and of what is derived from other Nations that inhabit either on or near the Shores of the Caspian Sea ; and from all thefe Places there is a conftant and prodigious Refort to the great City of Mofcow, where a very large Traffick is driven by Merchants of all Nations. I fay nothing of the Lapland Trade, which centers at Arcbangel, or of what is ftlll carried on at Novogorod from Courland, Poland, Litbuania, and other Places; from all which it manifeftly appears, that exclufive of their own, the Ruffans may be able to export very large Quantities of foreign Commodities and Manufactures, which they procure in the Way of Exchange, and may confequently enlarge their Trade that Way.
It may be indeed objected againit what has been ad. vanced, that as Luxury increafes as faft or faiter in $M u f$ covy than in almoft any other Country, the Balance of Trade is not like to be much in their Favour; but to this it may be anfwered, That the general Notions about Luxury are very falfe, both with refpect to the Thing it felf, and in regard to its Confequences. In common Speech, we take Luxury for the Defire of enjoying many Things that are not abfolutely neceffary; whereas in Truth; Luxury only confints in the Abufe of Things, whether neceffary or not neceflary ; and tho' it be true; that Luxury taken in either, or in both thefe Senfes, impoverifhes and brings to Deftruetion particular and private Families, yet it may be juftly queftioned, whether Luxury is highly deftructive to a Nation; for if we confider it ferioully, it will be found, that fuch as affert this Talk in a Circle, and having firt confounded their own Notions, labour next to difturb thofe of others. For what is it that encourages and promotes Induftry amongt the lower Sort of People, but the Luxury of cheir Betters? What has been the Source of all fine Manufactures at Home, of importing rich Goods unmanufactured or manufactured from Abroad, but Luxury? Or what Juftice is there in reproaching a Nation as barbarous, that in their Entertainments, Cloaths and Buildings, fall infinitely below their Neighbours, and then charging them wich Luxury for endeavouring to live like their Neighbours?

The Truth of the Matter is this, that if the Ruffans confine themfelves to the bare Search of Neceffaries, they may find them with very little Trouble, and remain as poor, as idle, and as barbarous as before the Reign of Peter the Great ; or fuppofe they would confine themfelves to the bare Purfuit of Conveniencies, thefe alfo may be had without any great Dealing with their Neighbours. But if in Confequence of travelling abroad, of receiving Foreigners holpitably at home, and of imitating fuch as pafs for the wifelt and moft polite Nations, they come to enlarge their Circle of Conveniences, and thereby create innumerable Wants that they never knew before, what will the Confequences of this be? Not living in Huts, leaving their Lands untilled, and fpending their Lives in eating dry'd Fifh, and drinking Malo Spirits, or Mead, as they were wont to do ; but in fetting themfelves to improve their Country, to increafe its Produce, to bring their Commodities to Light, to vend them to Strangers, and thereby acquire thofe Goods that they want, or which is exactly the fame Thing, thofe Goods they think they want, from Strangers. That Spirit of Luxury therefore that is faid to prevail in Rufla, is fo far from being an Impediment to their becoming a trading Nation, that in Reality the Prevalence of this Spirit will make them fo.

Another Argument which plainly proves that this Nation begins to have a Turn, and that a very ferious one too towards Commerce, is the feveral Treaties they have concluded both with European and Afatick Na: tions, for the encouraging, fecuring, and promoting it ; of which Treaties many Inftances might be given. It is true, that by their laft Treaty with the Turks, they are reftrained from Trading in the Black Sea, except in Turkilb Bottoms; but this is only an accidental Reftriction arifing from the Circumftances of theirAffairs at the Time the original Treaty in which this Claufe is in ferted, was concluded. Before that Time, the Czar Peter had no lefs than 200 Sail of Men of War, Gallies and Brigantines of his own upon that Sea, and we need
not doubt, that the Ruffians preferve the Memory of this, and will take the firft Opportunity that offers, of recovering a Trade which they once profecuted with great Diligence and Spirit.
I will add to thefe Arguments but one more, and that is, the prodigious Pains taken, and the immenfe Expence the Czar Peter and his Succeffors have been at in the Improvement of Roads, cutting Canals, rendring Rivers and Lakes navigable, purely tor the Sake of facilitating the Communication of the different Provinces of their Empire with Petersbourg, and each other. Thefe are manifeft Inftances both of the Rectitude of their Conceptions on this Head, and of the Sincerity of their Intentions, which have been alfo attended with furprizing Confequences; fo that at prefent there is hardly a Country in the World where Carriage is either cheaper or more expeditious than in Rufia; and this in Winter more efpecially, when by the Help of the Snow, cheir Sledges make an eafy Paffage from Petersbourg to Mofcow in four Days, tho' the Diftance between thefe two Cities is between four and five hundred Englijh Miles, a Thing that would be fcarce credible, if it was not fupported by as authentick and indubitable Proofs as any Fact whatever; to that as the Summer is favourable to their Navigation and foreign Commerce, the oppofite Seafon of the Year is no letis fo to their Inland Traffick, which is a very great Advantage; and tho it is already much improved, is ftill capable of being rendered more commodious.

But there may be another Objection ftarted, which will at firt Sight feem fubverfive of all that I have been faying, and that is taken from the Nature of their Conftitution, by which their Nobility, and indeed all Perfons of Property, are abfolute Lords over their Peafants, who for that Reafon abhor Induftry, confidering it as an Obligation to Labour, not for their own Profit, but that of their Mafters. In Support of this Objection, it may be likewife urged, that thefe Lords, who have fuch a boundlefs Power over the miferable People that live upon their Eftates, are in their Turns expofed, upon very trivial Offences, to feel the bitter Effects of the Refentment of their Government; fo that from this double Confideration it cannot be reafonably expected, that either the Peafants fhould alter their Courfe of Life without any Encouragement, or that the great Lords, from a meer Principle of Beneficence, fhould put their Dependants upon a better Foot than themfelves.

But tho' it mult be confefs'd, that there is much more in this than in any other Objection that can be made upon this Subject, yet it is very far from being unanfwerable. For by Degrees, as a new Spirit prevails in the Rufian Government, and among the Rufian Nobility, new Maxims muft alfo of Neceffity take place; and as, on the one Hand, the great Men will find it requifite, from no higher Principle chan that of Intereft, to deal more kindly, or at leaft more humanely with their Vaffals; fo on the other Hand, the Government alfo will relax in its Severity; for in Proportion as the great Lords come to employ themfelves in attending to their own Affairs, managing their Ettates, and taking Meafures to live decently at home, and magnificently at Court, they will contract new Habits and new Notions, that will hinder them from running into Confpiracies or defperate Defigns, and will conlequently contribute to fix their Government upon a firmer Foundation; and this by Degrees will beget a milder Adminiftration, and in Procefs of Time produce a better Conftitution.
Thofe who are acquainted with the prefent Situation of Things in Ruffia, are very fenfible that confiderable Alterations have been made already, and that the Clemency of the prefent Reign has had very fingular Effects, more efpecially if we confider, that as yet it has been of no long Duration. One Thing is particularly worth obferving, that the Government is now altogether in the Hands of the Natives, from whence feveral Inferences may be drawn. Firft of all, that evil Spirit which reigned among the People, and made them fo averfe to all Kinds of Improvement, from a Notion that. it ferved only to fubject them to Strapgers, is in a
great Meafure worn out, and their natural Readinefs to pay an implicit Obedience to their Superiors, provided they are of their own Nation, makes them chearfully undertake thofe Things to which they were formerly dragged with great Violence. In the next place it is evident, that the Ruffian Nobility alfo have got pretty well rid of their Prejudices, begin to embrace other Notions, and to act upon Principles very different from thofe by which they were governed in former Times. Tbirdly and Laftly, The happy Confequences that thefe Alterations have produced, as well by eftablifhing great Regularity and a new Face of Things at Home, as by rendering them efteemed and refpected abroad, may be very well fuppofed to have raited fo ftrong a Barrier againft their ever relapfing into their former Eftate of Barbarifm, that we may rather expect to fee them animated by a warm Ambition of carrying to the utmoft Degree of Perfection that new Stile of Life; if I may be allowed fo Metaphorical an Expreffion, from whence they have already received fo many and fo confiderable Advantages.
It may perhaps be alledged, and that with fome Foundation of Truth, that there are ftill many great Obftacles to be got over in their Manners, Policy, and Views, both in private and publick Life; but when one confiders how much greater Difficulties have been already overcome, and now much eafier a thorough Reformation is effected when once well begun ; then the fighteft Alterations made, while a People are univerfally barbarous, we cannot fuffer ourfelves to be much moved by any fuch Reprefentations. Befides, it is very well known, that the Impreffions given us of the Ruffians, by fome who have remained feveral Years in that Country, in reference to thefe Points, have been falified by Facts; for it is not a long Time ago that fuch People infifted very pofitively on the abfolute Incapacity of the Government to march any confiderable Body of Troops out of their own Territories, and this, notwithftanding an Inftance to the contrary frefh iis every body's Memory, which has however proved an abfolute Untruth, that large Body of Auxiliaries having marched with greater Eafe and Expedition, with more Chearfulnefs and Alacrity, and with better Difcipline than the like Body of Men of almoft any other Nation could have done, the Seafon of the Year and other Circumftances confidered.
It is therefore better to found our Opinions upon Facts, than upon Conjectures; and we fhall be lefs liable to be mined, if we form our Sentiments of what this Nation may hereafter do from what they have al. ready done, than from what Statefmen or Travellers may believe, or pretend to believe, they can or will do.
But now it is high Time to collect from all that has been faid, fome few Conclufions that may be applied to certain ufeful Purpofes. It has been thewn, that notwithftanding that Spirit of Difcovery which has of late appeared in Rufia, and which in many Inftances has been profecuted with Zeal, Induftry, and Vigour, yet there is little Reafon to fuppofe that any great Progrefs can be made in fuch Difcoveries during our Times, and that for a Variety of ftrong Reafons which have been already given. That tho' from the Situation of this vaft Country there refult many, and thofe too very confiderable Advantages with refpect to Commerce, yet there are many Difficulties that lie in the Way, and muft render the turning thefe Advantages to any great Account, a Work of Skill, Time, and Labour. That notwithftanding all this, there is a very high Probability there Difficulties will be got over, and that the beft Ule may be made of many; and in Length of Years, of all thefe natural Advantages, fo as to render the Rufians by degrees a trading People, and that from thefe gradual Improvements, as well of the interior State of the Empire, as of its Intercourfe with Foreigners, the Face of Affairs will be continually altering for the better.
It is indeed no way impoffible, that either from foreign Wars, or domeftick Commotions, thefe Improvements may fuffer fhort Interruptions; but it feems to be a Thing abfolutely improbable, that the Rufians fhould ever fall back into their former State of Obfcu-
rity, or relinquifi that high Rank to which they have railed themfelves amongtt the Powers of Europe. Now if this fhall be the Cafe, the prefent Syftem of the Commercial World will be entirely altered. The bringing Eaft India Commodities through Rufia into Europe, would as effectually ruin the Commerce now carried on by the Way of the Cape of Good Hope, as the Difoovery of this demolifhed the Venetion Trade by the Way of Alexandria, after it had fubfifted in the Hands of different Nations for the Space of feveral Ages, and for the very fame Reafons. When this is reflected upon a little, it will appear at once both evident and certain.

For firf, with refpect to the Evidence of it, whatever Method is taken, and I have fhewn-there may be three feveral Ways employed, two of which are not in the leaft incompatible with each other; I fay, which ever of thefe Courfes are taken, the Confequence will be, that the Commodities and Manufactures of India will come at a more moderate. Price at any Mart the Rufions thall eftablifh, than in the Way they are now brought into Europe, except, it may be, Spices, and a very few other Things hardly worth mentuoning; and therefore, as the Portuguese firft, and the Englis and Dutch fince, have fupplanted the Venetians and the Genoefe in this mot valuable Commerce, thofe who firf fall into a Way of dealing with the Ruflans for the Produce of Cbina and the Indies, will in all Probability get the 'Start of other Nations, and thereby procure great Advantages, to themfelves, notwithflanding that the Ruflans mult allo find their Account in this Manner of Dealing.

It may be indeed furmifed, that all the Methods I have mentioned being attended with many and great Difficulties, and requiring a confiderable Space of Time to be fpent in Carriage, this will go near to render the Time of the Paffage as long as that which is now in Ufe. But when we come to examine this Objection clofely, it will not be found near fo ftrong as at firft Sight it feems; for if this Trade can be carried on entarely by Sea, it would be no difficult Thing to prove, that Commodities might be tranfported from Kamfchatska to Arcbangel in one Summer; and in Procefs of Time, by railing proper Magazines in that Country, Supplies might be annually brought to Arcbangel, from whence the Paffage is far from being long to certain Countries that 1 fhall have Occafion hereafter to mention. But if initead of taking this Method, they fhould be brought, by embarking them on different Rivers to Mojow, and from thence to Arcbangel, there will appear no Kind of Abfurdity in fuppofing this may be done in thirteen or in fifteen Months at the molt; and after this Commerce thall be effectually fettled, much fooner. We muft likewile confider the Cheapnefs of Carriage through this Empire, and that Eafe and Expedition with which the Court can bring any thing to pals that is practicable, and may be attended with Profit.

I might upon this Occafion take Notice of the Poffibility there is, that the Rufians may one Day become Matters again of $A f o f f$, or perhaps may conquer Crim Tartary, or at leaft fecure a Fortreis and Yort there, which would open to them a new Channel for this Trade, as was hewn in the former Volume, in fpeaking of the different Methods by which the Trade to the Indies is now, and has been formerly carried on. I prefume the Reader will eafily grant, that if any one of thefe Attempts met with Succefs it would be an Encouragement to make more, and not only fo, but would likewife furnifh the Means of making them, as well as raife the Spirits of the Ruffan Court, and induce it to beftow greater Attention upon Projects of this Kind, and make ftronger Efforts for carrying them into Execution than it has hitherto done.
But it may be faid, To what Purpofe is all this? Why fhould we trouble our felves with foretelling or forefeeing thefe Things, in regard to which, in the firft place, there is great Uncertainty; and in the next, it is Time enough to concern ourfelves about them, when they fhall actually come to pafs. To this I anfwer, That whoever has well weighed what has been advanced

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from the beft Authorities, in this Sestion, will very plainly fee, that the pretended Incertainty refers only to Time; for that the Ruffans have turned their Thoughts this Way already, and that they have actually Variety of Means in their Hands to bring almoft any Schemes of this Sort they can form to bear, are Points out of Difpute. All that is in Doubt amounts to no more, than whether they fhall fall into a Share of the India Trade within thefe ten Years, or whether another ten Years fhall elapre before they obtain it. This, I fay, is the fingle Queftion upon that Head, and I refer it to the Confideration of thofe who make it fo much a Queftion, whether the Improbability of their attempting and fucceeding in this Way, is near fo great as that the Swedes fhould attempt and fucceed in the other Way, which we fee they have actually done, and that their Trade to Cbina is every Year increaling.

Befides all this, let it be remembersd, that two new East India Companies are on the very Point of being fet up, one at Embden in Eaft Frielland, under the Aufpice of his Prufian Majefty, now become Sovereign of that Country; and the other at Legborn, under the Protection of the Emperor in Quality of Grand Duke: and that it is no Secret there are Adventurers enough ready and willing to advance large Sums of Money for the Support of thefe Undertakings. Shall we imagine then, that fo many Examples will not rouze the Ruflans to look about them, and to put in their Claim, where they have at leaft as good a Title as any ; or fhall we imagine, that thofe who have the greateft Advantages, fhall be the only Parties in fuch a Struggle that will meet with Difappointments? $\mathrm{No}_{\text {, certainly, whenever }}$ a Defign of this Sort is heartily undertaken and vigoroufly purfued, it will not only fucceed, but fucceed fooner, and in a higher Degree than can be eafly imagined.

Now to the moft material Point, which is to fhew how far this touches us, and why we ought to intereft ourfelves therein, fo far as the early Confideration of thefe Points may be called interefting ourfelves rather than our Neighbours, tho' in Fact perhaps that may not be our Cafe, fince we have not been of late over-ready in feizing Commercial Advantages that lay more immediately in our Way, than I muft confefs this does at prefent. I fay then, it behoves us to be very attentive to what paffes of this Kind in Ruffa, for this plain and ftrong Reafon, viz. that we have better Grounds to hope we'might avail ourfelves of fuch a Change in the Commercial Syftem than any other Country in Europe.
In the firft Place, the Situation of our Inand renders it very ealy for us to carry on a large Trade with that Empire with mutual Advantage to both Nations; and in cafe it became very confiderable in Comparifon of what it now is, we might very eafily provide for the carrying it on fuccefffully, by enlarging and improving the Ports we have in the North-eaft Part of this Inand, by opening new ones, and by eftablifhing Magazines in proper Places, which by extending Navigation, promoting Induftry, employing Thoufands of our Countrymen and Fellow-Subjects in feveral Ways beneficial to the Publick, who are now. either idle and ufelefs, or if at all employed, are in the Service of our Enemies, would turn to the great Profit of this Inland, and to the inconceivable Advantage of its Credit and Influence. For there is Nothing we want fo much as a due Diftribution of Trade and Manufactures, that Wealth may circulate freely through every Part of the Inand, and thereby diffufe a kindly Warmth and lively Spirit, for Want of which, fome diftant Parts feem cold and ufelefs, like decayed Limbs, which has tempted fome Quack Politicians to talk of cutting them off, without confidering that fuch Amputations in the Body Politick are as abfurd and ridiculous as they are impracticable and unfafe.

Another Reafon we have to expect that we might be preferred to moft other Nations in fuch a Cafe as this by the Rufians, is the many Years that not only a fair Correfpondence, but a clofe Friendfhip has fubfifted between the two Nations; for from the Reign of Queen Mary to thefe Times, that is, from our firft opening .a $12 G$

Paffage

Paffage to Rufia till now, we have dealt with its Inhabitants on the Foot of perfect Amity, except during the Ufurpation'that followed after the 'Murder of King Cbarles I. when out of their Abhorrence of that Fact, all Intercourfe with this Empire; was fufpended. But after the Reftoration, our Commerce with that Country again revived, and has continued ever fince with little or no Interruption. It was here that the great Czar Peter acquired the Rudiments of Ship-building, and from hence he drew moft of thole Artificers which he employed in that and other Arts; not to mention the high Refpect paid him by King William, and the many good Offices done to himfelf and his Family, by the Pofleffors of this Throne ever fince.

We may indeed, with great Juftice, mention our Naval Power as a third Argument in Favour of what has been afferted; for, without all Queftion, this mult ever intitle us to be very highly confider'd by fuch as adminifter the Affairs of that Empire, in as much as Experience has fhewn what great Effects the Appearance of Britifl Fleets have had in the Baltick, and how fure that Caufe is to triumph which they efpoufe. As there is nothing clearer, than that the moft certain Method of obtaining the conftant Affiftance of Great Britain, is to favour her Commerce, which Sweden heretofore, and Portugal has lately felt, fo we may reafonably prefume, that a Thing of fuch Notoriety muft be well known to the Politicians of Ruflia, and cannot but have a proper Influence on their Councils, more efpecially if we remember, that as Ruflia has all things to hope from our Friendfhip, fo fhe has nothing to fear from the aggrandizing our Power.

This will be another Motive to increafe her Readinefs to fhare her prefent and future Advantages with us, becaufe it is impoffible, from any Alteration of Crrcumftances, or as far as can be forefeen from any Viciffitude to which all fublunary Things are liable, that ever our Interefl fhould come to clafh with theirs; which is more than can be faid for almoft any other Power in Europe. For this is one of the many Benefits that we draw from our being an Ifland, viz. that our Interefts, as a great Power, muft always be the fame with our Interefts as a trading Nation. It is indeed very poffible, that ambitious enterprifing Statefimen may fometimes pretend to divide thefe, and may perhaps find their Account in it; but as it is impoffible the Nation fhould, fo it is at leaft highly improbable that fuch unnatural Notions fhould long prevail. The Ruffians, who have Senfe enough to know, and who have hitherto fhewn Spirit enough to adhere to their true Interefts, cannot fail of being fenfible of this, and of affording due Weight to a Circumftance of fo great Importance which concerns them fo nearly, and is of fo permanent a Nature.

As Reafon teaches this, to it has been hitherto juftified by Experience, fince in the feveral Revolutions that have happened there in our Times, every Government and every Adminiftration have made it their firlt Care to renew their Engagements with Great Britain; and as they have always hitherto found their Account in fo doing, we may from hence infer, that it will become a fettledand unvariable Maxim in their Syftem of Politicks.

Lastly, in Conjunction with thefe there is another, and that no inconfiderable Argument, to induce the Rufiains to grant uś, rather than any other trading People; a Participation in whatever Advantages may accrue to them from the future Advancement of their Trade, or Improvement of their Dominions; and it is this, that we are moft likely to take all their Commodities off their Hands, at the dame time that we are able to fupply them with whatever they can want or wifh in Recurn. This is the natural Confequence of that extenfive Commerce which we already poffers, and which puts it fully in our Power to accommodate them with all thofe Things which either Neceffity requires, Convenience renders valuable, or Luxury defireable; and all thefe too, fuppofing them enriched by a Correfpondence with the Eaft Indies, in Exchange for other Commodities and Manufactures, without draining them of their Specie, and confequently to the reciprocal Benefit of each Nation. Any one of thefe Arguments taken fingly, might
afford us very rational Hopes of attaining all that is propofed ; but if we take them all together, I think is will be very difficult for any one who is well acquainted with the true State of Commerce in general, and of thefe two Nations in particular, to avoid yielding to the Force of this Reafoning, or not to confels that we have much to expect, and very little to apprehend from any Progrefs that the Ruflizns may make in the enlarging and Improvement of what Intercourfe they have at prefent with the Eaftern Nations.

Yet I do not deny that fome plaufible Objections may be made to this Syitem; and to thew that I have thoroughly confidered, it, and to prevent the Reader's being much moved when-ever he fhall hear them mentioned, I will briefly ftase and remove them; yet I do not apprehend that any Syltem, well fupported by affirmative Arguments, ought to be rejected and treated as chimerical, even if there fhould be fome Difficulties incapable of a conclufive Anfwer; which however, in the prefent Cafe, I will be bold to fay there are nor. For it muft be granted me, that all the Objections that can be made to this will either arife on their Side or on ours. I will begin therefore with fuch as may be taken, or rather fuch as may be fufpected, from the Syftem of Power in Rufia, or from the natural Difpofition of the Nation.
In the firt Place it may be faid, that if ever this comes to pafs, it will be a vain Thing to expect that the Ruffans will take the Pains, which from what is laid down in this Section, it is apparent they mult take, in order to obtain the Commerce of the Indies; and then from a Notion of Friendmip and Alliances, transfer the Benefit of this hardly acquired Traffick to another Nation, which by exporting they might keep to themfelves. Now in Anfwer to thus it may very well be obferved, that as it muft be a Work of Time, Application and Labour, for the Rufians to obtain this Trade, fo the obtaining it will very fully employ their Endeavours, and leave them without either Leifure or Abilities to attempt another and yet a harder Scheme to accomplifh, of opening a Trade to the other Countries of Europe at the lame Time. Befides, the one is very natural and agreeable to the People, who without ftrring beyond the Limits of their own Territories, may convey all that is brought to them by their Subjects or their Neighbours to Mofcow, Arcbangel, Petersbourg, or fome other Mart ; where, no doubt, they will be glad to receive from another Nation fuch Commodities and Manufactures as they really want or very much efteem, in Exchange for the Superfluities of the Eaftern Commerce, which would otherwife lie heavy upon their Hands. We ought likewife to reflect, that tho' the Multitudes of barbarous Subjects they have, may be eafily led, or if that fhould be requifite, without much Difficulty, be compelled to affift in promoting fuch an inland Traffick, yet it will be a Thing morally impoffible to make Seamen of thefe Savages, or to think of dragging them out of their Deferts, which however horrible to ochers, are moft defireable to themfelves, in which, as a Matter of Fact, all Travellers agree.
In the next Place it may be fuggefted, that there is no Quality for which the Ruffians are more remarkable, than their Jealoufy and Sufpicion of Strangers; and that therefore it is highly improbable they frould make it their Choice to deal exclufively with any one Nation which I mult confefs feems to have much greater Weight than the former Difficulty. However, when it is maturely confidered, it will be found to open a fair Anfwer to it felf. For, let the Jealoufy and Sufpicion of the Ruffians be ever fo great, it can only determine them not to deal with Nations that may be capable of turning what they acquire by their Trade to the Prejudice of their Interefts, and to encourage the Commerce of any Nation that is in a Capacity to affift, and never can be under a Temptation to diftrefs them, which we have already fhewn to be precifely the Cate of the Britifs Nation. This therefore, whatever it may be in Appearance, is in Reality and at the Bottom fo far from being a conclufive Objection againft my Syftem, that in Fact it is a good Argument in its Favour ; fo that the better founded it is, the more Reafon we have
to believe, that their Succefs, in regard to the Indian Trade, may become very beneficial to us, unlefs we are wanting to our felves.

The laft Objection that I can forefee, mult be taken from the Nature of their Government, and in Reference to this it may be furmifed, that there is no guarding againft the fhort Turns that may be made by a very felfifh and a very arbitrary Power, and in fupport of this, I know that feveral Matters of Fact may be urged, fuch as, that Peter the Great, when he made his laft Journey to Holland, ordered all the Ruffa Leather to be delivered to his Factors at a certain Rate, and then fold by them at a fet Price to fuch as would pay for it in Bills drawn upon Amsterdam. But this was in the firft Place à very fingular Thing, and if we ftay till a $R u f$ fian Sovereign makes fuch another Journey, it is not very likely to happen again. In the next Place it is very certain, that the Czar himfelf foon found the Inconveniency of that Proceeding, and revoked his Order, fo that allowing it to be a Precedelit, it appears at the fame Time, a Precedent not like to be followed. Some certain Commodities there are which belong to, and are entirely appropriated to the Sovereign, who fells them to the higheit Bidder. This will hardly be the Cafe of Indian Commodities, for that would cramp the Trade, and turn to the Prejudice of the Sovereign. The new Trade to Perfia has been already once fufpended, which looks like a Cafe in Point.' But when we remember, that this laft Sufpenfion was occafioned by an Englifbman's entering into the Service of Sbab Nadir, and undertaking to build Ships of Force for him upon the Cafpian Sea, we thall not be much furprized at fuch an Event, or fall into any Fear of our Countrymens traverfing Siberia, and the Countries beyond it, or tranfporting themfelves from Kamfchat/ka, into Fapan, and creating Difturbances there. Without doubt Difficulties may happen in this and in all other Trades; but for all this, Treaties of Commerce wifely made, and punctually executed on our Part, will fecure us from any real Danger, in cafe we are once poffeffed of this Traffick, from ever having it taken out of our Hands.

Thus far we have infifted only upon the Reafonablenefs of Things, but there would be no Difficulty in fhewing, that Experience is alfo in our Favour. In Reference to the firit Objection we ought to reflect, that the Sroedes and Danes actually difpofe of all their Indian Commodities to Strangers, and confequently fo muft the Ruffans. If we do not buy from them, it is becaufe it is not our Intereft, and if we fhould deal with the Ruffans, it has been Shewn, that it mult be our Intereft to buy, and theirs to fell. As to the fecond Objection, Treaties of Commerce have been fet on Foot between Rufia and France, and between Rullia and Spain, but the Jealoufy of the Minifters at Petersburg, and the Inconveniencies that were forefeen, and in fome Meafure felt from thofe Treaties, have rendred them ineffectual, whereas nothing of that Kind has happen'd to us. With Refpect to the laft, we are towards the Clofe of the fecond Century of our Correfpondence with this Empire, and in that long Space, have not experienced any confiderable Inconveniencies, from the fhort Turns made by their arbitrary Government, and confequently there is the lefs Room to fear for the Time to come ; more efpecially as the Ruffans are fo much altered, as their Cuftoms are fo much changed for the better, as the Interefts of the two Nations are fo thoroughly conciliated by repeated Alliances, and as we have all the Reafon in the World to apprehend, that their Minifters will confult the Interefts of their own Country, which while they do, they mutt be always Friends to ours.

We will now take a View of thofe Objections that it may be fuppofed may arife on our Side, and as I have ftated the former in their full Force, fo I fhall do the fame Juftice to the latter, as I have no other Thing in View, than to find Truth, and to point it out to others. It is not at all impoflible, that, notwithftanding all that has been or can be offered upon this Subject, the old Objection will ftart up, and we fhall be told, that fuch a Trade as this, would be altoge-
ther unneceffary, that the Nation has no Need of it, that little Profit could be drawn from it, and that therefore it is wild and chimerical to talk about it. As this is abfolutely begging the Queftion, I might very fairly difpenfe with giving any Anfwer to it at all.

But as I defire to leave nothing unanfwered, I thall not make Ufe even of this allowable Advantage, but fhall confider it, as far as it is poffible, fuch a Suggeftion can be confidered. We have already explained the Caufes from whence it is probable, thar, if ever a Trade is eftablifhed from Ruffa to Cbina, or the Indies, the Produce of that Trade will come cheaper than in the prefent Courfe of Things, and I prefume; it will be no difficult. Matter, for an intelligent Reader to perceive, that it will behove us to think of finding out the cheapeft Marker, when fo many new Companies are fet up, by which it will be put out of our Power to vend the Commodities we bring directly from the Indies at a high Rate. An Opinion is propagated with great Warmth, that however is altogether erroneous, which is this, that the Swedifh, Danifh, and other new Companies are under very great Difficulties for the Want of Settlements, that this renders their Trade very precarious, and has alfo a great Effect in diminifhing its Profits. All this is very plaufible, and ferves to give us hope, that thefe new Companies cannot long, fublift; but in Realicy the Cafe is far otherwife. The Want of Settlements is fo far from being a Difadvantage in Refpect to National Commerce, that it is quite otherwife. We know very well, that the Oftend Company, fo long as it fubfifted, made large Dividends; we know that the Swedifb Company have fometimes divided near Forty per Cent. and if this is thought at all incredible, or if credible, that there is fomething of Art in it, let the inquifitive, impartial, and judicious Reader, confule the Table of Dividends of the Dutcb East-India Company, inferted in the firf Volume of this Collection, and he will find, that in the fame Proportion the Dutch Company became potent in the Indies, their Dividends to their Proprietors have leffen'd. My Inference from this, is, that when there comes to be a real Competition in Trade, the new Companies will be able to underfell the old Ones, and then I fuppofe the Neceffity will pretty plainly appear, of having Recourfe to the cheapeft Market, if we intend to preferve this Trade at all. Now it has been hewn, that whenever the Ruffans can bring their Defigns to bear, they will have very great Advantages over their Neighbours; for either they will not be obliged to make any Settlements at all, or if they are obliged to make them; they will be made in their own Dominions, that is, either at the Mouth of the River Amur, or upon the River of Kamfchatjka. In either of thefe Cafes, the Expence will not be very large, and whatever it may be, as it will be entirely laid out amongt themfelves, it will in Effect be no Expence at all, as to the Nation. Thefe Circumftances therefore maturely confidered, will I prefume, go a great Way towards fatisfying the candid Reader, that there is nothing chimerical, in fuppofing that before the End of the prefent Century, the Ruffians may divert to chemfelves, a very large Proportion of the Eaf-India Trade, and when this comes to be the Cafe in Fact, which is now fo only in View, what I have advanced upon this Subject, will be thought very well worth the Reading.
The fecond Objection that may be raifed in refpect to ourfelves, will be taken from what is ftiled a Fundamental Law in refpect to our Commerce, by which I mean the Act of Navigation, which I very readily admit, is directly in the Teeth of what I propofe, fince the Britiß Subjects are reftrained by this $A \varepsilon t$, from importing Goods from other Countries, than thofe in which they grow. Now in Anfwer to this, I do not pretend to fay, that the Act of Navigation ought to be repealed, or that the Principle upon which it was made was wrong in it felf, or miftaken by thofe who made it ; but this I fay, that all Laws made upon a general Principle, are ever liable to fome neceffary Exceptions, as this Act has often been, and for that very Reafon has been difo penfed with. As for Intance, in she firt Dutcb War,
under the Reign of King Charles II. that King by Proclamation gave Leave for all Foreigners to iraport Artillery, Ammunition, Timber, Hemp, and Flax, and in fhort, all Sorts of Military and Naval Stores, in their own Bottoms ; which if he had not done, that War could not have been carried on; and therefore this is among the Number of the few Actions in that Reign, which we find approved and commended by Mr. Roger Coke, who certainly was no Flatterer, either of that Monarch, or any of his Family. I might add to this feveral other Inftances, but that I look upon them as unneceffary, fince there is an unwritten Law in regard to Commerce, as truly fundamental as the Act of Navigation, viz. That whatever will promote it, either is lawful, or ought to be made fo. It is an abfurd Notion to fuppofe, that while Trade remains a fluctuating Thing, which it ever was, and ever will be, there can be any Laws made about it that it ought to remain invariable.

It is indeed true, that with refpect to the Act of Navigation, as with regard to every other Act made upon right Motives, and with due Deliberation, we ought to be very cautious in making Alterations; but provided they are made with Caution, no doubt fuch Alcerations thould be made when they appear neceffary, or which is the fame Thing, advantageous. This has been always thought allowable in Time of War, when done by the Royal Authority only, notwithftanding the juft Apprehenfions that have been entertained of allowing too great Latitude to the Prerogative; but with fenfible People the Laws and the Prerogative both will fland upon the fame Foot with regard to the publick Good ; that is to fay, it will be expected, that either, or both of them fhould give Way upon fuch an Occafion, and the proper Judges of this Occafion, are, without doubt, the 'Leginature. The Humour therefore of giving a peculiar, and, as it were, facred Authority to particular Acts, and treating them as fuperior in their Nature to the reft of our Laws, is, to fay the beft of it, no better than political Enthufiafm, which may be attended with very bad, and can be very feldom productive of any good Confequences. There is no Doubt, that while Things remain in their prefent Channel, or any thing near it, and while there is no Danger that any of our Neighbours may fupplant us, by drawing to themfelves the Diftribution of Indian Commodities and Manufactures brought into Rufia, it would be very abfurd and chimerical to make any Change in the Act of Navigation relative to this Point by Way of Precaution. But on the other Hand, if ever fuch a Trade through Rufia fhould become practicable, it would be to the full as abfurd and ridiculous to pretend that no Alteration ought to be made in this Law, but that we muft ftill remain tied down to the old Method of carrying on this Commerce, though ever fo much to our Difadivantage.

I dare fay, that no body will difpute this with me at prefent, but will as readily grant the latter as I do the former; neither is it impofible that fome may think it is to no Purpofe to dwell upon this Head, which of itfelf is fufficiently clear. So for any thing I know it may be, but when the Paffions of Mankind are moved, when their Prejudices are thwarted, and both thefe happen when-ever their particular Interefts are ever fo lightly touched, all Things change their Faces, and what before was thought as clear as the Sun at Noonday, begins to be obicured, and in a very little time is not fo much as difcernable. So many Inttances of this Sort have happened within the Compafs of my own Obfervation, that I cannot help providing againft them; and I muft defire my Readers to obferve, that whatever Conceffions are made me now, will remain juft as reafonable, when fome Peopie, for Caules that will be then vifible enough, may take it in their Heads to retract them, and fet up once more this Notion, that the Act of Navigation is a fundamental and conititutional Law, no Part of which is to be repealed or altered on any Pretence, or for any Reafon whatever.

The third Objection on this Side, will in all Appearance arife from the Privileges of the Eaff India Com-
pany; and indeed, this I think by much the moft formidable Objection of all, becaufe it is the moft reafonable. It will be faid that this Company hath great Merit ; that it has rendered great Services to the Nation ; that its Proprietors are a very confiderable Body; that they have received high Immunities from the Favour of the Crown; and that thefe have been confirmed to them by the Legiflature. To all this it might be anfwered in general, That all Privileges, thofe of exclufive Trade not excepted, are granted in Truft for the publick Benefit, and that tho' this may not be exprefs'd, yet it is always to be prefumed and underftood; for a Law made for private Advantage to the Detriment of the publick, is void in itfelf; neither is this any Impeachment of the Power of the Leginature, becaufe it muft be fuppofed that it was obtairied by Deception, that is, by giving falfe Colours to Things, to which the higheft Tribunals may be fubject, becaure the higheft human Affembly cannot be infallible. Upon thefe Topicks, I fay I might infift, in order to furnifh a general Anfwer; but I declare I do not rely upon them, tho ${ }^{3}$ at the fame Time, I am very far from admitting that they are not juft and reafonable, for the Good of the whole ought certainly always to take place, and no Body of Men, however confiderable, can have a Right to any Thing that is either dangerous or deftructive to the Nation.
Yet the Anfwer I depend upon is this, That in fuch a Cafe, Expedients are to be fought for that may reconcile the Interefts of the Company to thofe of the Na tion; neither will it be difficult to find fuch Expedients, for when fuch a Trade fhall be found beneficial, Care may be then taken, firt to fix it by a Treaty of Commerce, and then the Benefit of that Treaty may be made over to the Company, provided always due Care be taken that this Privilege fhall not be abufed, or fo managed, as to turn to the Emolument of that Company, and the Prejudice of the Publick.
Thus I have taken the Liberty of difcuffing this Matter thoroughly, not from any prefumptuous Opinion of my own Judgment, or from a Defire of dictating in a Matter of fo high Importance, but merely becaufe I think any Man may fpeak and write freely as to a Cafe that he thinks may happen, and which others, who are perhaps wifer than he, will conclude may never happen. One of the moft judicious Hiftorians of Antiquity thought his Time not thrown away in examining a Matter ftill more chimerical than this, which was, Whether Alexander the Great would have fucceeded, if he had attempted to fubdue the Romans? Some great Criticks have imagined, that all he meant was to pay a Compliment to his Countrymen. I fhould be glad to have the fame mild Cenfure fall for the prefent upon this Difcourfe, in which I think it is moft evident that I can have no private Views, and therefore hope it will be no inexcufable Piece of Vanity, if I flatter my felf upon this Occafion, with, having thought for the Publick.
If after all I have faid, it fhould fall out that nothing of this Kind ever happens, why then it is plain, that whatever I have advanced can do no Hurt. But if, on the other Hand, my Conjectures fhould happen to hit the Mark, or even to come near it, no body will deny, that the previous Confideration of the Subject may be of Ufe; for thefe Arguments, how little Authority foever they may derive from their Author, mult neceffarily carry with them this Weight, that they proceeded purely from a Spirit of Reafoning, and were not dictated from any particular, private, or felfinh Confideration. I muft alfo defire it may be remember'd, that I have already confider'd the Point of fecuring, improving and promoting our Eaft India Trade in many other Lights, which evidently fhews my fincere Defire that we may avail ourfelves of our own Skill, our own Lights, our own Naval Power, and our prefent Gircumftances, rather than wait, till by our Indolence and Neglect we come to fall under the Neceffity of being fome way beholden to others. Until fuch Time as this fhall become the Cafe, there is no Need of recurring to this Sytter ; but if ever it fhould become the Cale, there will be no Harm in having this Syttem to

## Chap. III.

the Russian Difcoveries.
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recur to, and in all Probability it will not then-be thought a Crime that fuch Notions as thefe, once upon a Time, enter'd into a fpeculative Head, for the Benefit of thofe who confine their Thoughts intirely to Things prefent, and care not to look forward into Futurity, or to trouble themfelves with contriving Schemes for the Service of Pofterity.

However I fhall conclude this Section, with a full Proof, that I am far enough from being bigotted to any Syftem of my own. For after all that has been advanced from Matters of Fact, from the Confideration of Bebring's Difcoveries, from the. Hints that we have received of fubfequent Difcoveries, and from the Confequences that we might rationally conclude may attend them, it muft be acknowledged, that if we continue to profecute that Defign, which is the Glory of the prefent Times; I mean, the endeavouring to difcover a North-weft Paffage, we fhall infallibly deliver ourfelves from all Apprehenfions of feeing either the Eaf or the Weft-India Trade ingroffed by any other Nation, but on the contrary, may have well grounded Hopes of extending our Commerce, and preferving our naval Power to the lateft Times, and as long as we Shall continue a Nation.

That there have been probable Motives to eftablifh the Belief, and confequently to encourage our Endeavours for finding out a North-weft Paffage, I have Shewn at large in its proper Place, have occafionally infifted upon them elfewhere, and particularly in this very Section; that all the Difappointments we have hitherto met with, ought not to deftroy this Belief, or deter us from carrying our Enquiries as far as they will go, has I think been very clearly made out by others; but whether all that has been done and written upon this Subject, will be fufficient to keep up that Spirit, which in the End mutt bring this long-hid Secret to light, is in the Womb of Time. However, as no Man wifhes more to fee it difclofed, or has done more within the narrow Sphere of his Capacity towards the promoting of it, without any Motive of Intereft than myfelf; I cannot but think it my Duty, though it may feem a little out of the ordinary Manner of Writing, to finifh this Section, by giving the Reader notice of fome new Arguments, perfuading the Poffibility, Probability, and Reality of this North-weft Paffage.

For who can tell into what Hands this Book may fall? Part of it has already travelled to the laft difcovered Parts of Hudfon's Bay, and ferved for an agreeable and not ufelefs Companion to the Gentleman who carried it.' It may be, that what I have farther to fay, will be no lefs fortunate, perhaps more fo, for what is there impoffible, in fuppofing it may amufe the leifure Hours of him, who is fo lucky as to make the Difcocovery? At leaft this I will hope, and in the Warmth of that Hope, fet down thofe Reafons, that, to the beft of my Knowledge, have, in the long Courfe of this Difpute been wholly omitted.

To begin then with an Argument of the Poffibility of fuch a Paffage, that learned Naturalift, and moft candid Enquirer after whatever had any Relation to rational Cofmography, Mr. Ray, in his excellent Difcourfe upon the Deluge, affures us, that Eaft-India Fruits have been found wafhed on Shore, on the North-weft Inands of Scotland. Now if this be a Fact, as I believe indifputable Evidence might be brought to prove it fuch, then I prefume, it may be ftil'd an Argument for the Poffibility at leaft of fuch a Paffage. Whoever confiders how reafonable and how natural it is to fuppofe, that thefe Fruits, of whatever Kind they be, are wafhed from the neareft Indian Coafts, to that upon which they are found, will readily confefs, that a North-weft Paffage is the moft likely Way for them to come. If we hould fuppofe that many llands, Igreat and fmall, are fcattered in the Space between America and Afa, then it might be more probable, becaufe fuch Fruits might be prefumed to grow in thofe Inlands, and being driven to the Coalts of California, be forced by the high Tides that are now known to flow there into the Paffage, and fo round to the North-weft Inands before-mentioned.

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I treat this as an Argument of the Poffibility only of fuch a Paffage, becaufe there are other Ways, by which thefe Fruits may be fuppofed to come; but then there are infinitely greater Difficulties that lie in the Way of fuppofing other Paffages than can be poffibly objected to this. I will name only one. There can be no Reafon in the World affigned, if they come by any? other Paffage than this, of the North-weft why they fhould not be found in other Places, and that in the fame Plenty, or rather more fo, than in thefe Ilands of Scotland, which is however a Fact, that I never heard fo much as pretended. But be that as it will, and allowing that there are other Paflages by which they may come, it is at moft but poflible they fhould come by thefe Paffages, and I think no Man that is a Judge of the Subject, will deny, that till we have full Evidence of there being no fuch Thing as a North-weft Paffage, it is likewife poflible they may come that Way. Now though in itfelf, this is no very weighty Argument, yet in Conjunction with others it may become fo ; for in all Enquiries of this Nature, the firft Step in the moft regular and certain Method, is to prove that the Thing fought for is poffible, and the next, that it is probable.
In Reference to this alro, I think, I can offer another Argument, that is in a good Meafure new, and it is this. The moft judicious Cofmographers are unanimounly of Opinion, from the wife Diftribution of Land and Water, in the Structure of this Globe, that not only the Centre of Motion, and the Center of Gravity, but the Center of Magnitude alfo is very nearly the fame, and confequently that the Center of the Convex Superficies of the Sea is the true Center of the whole terreftrial Sphere. It was from this Argument, that before any Difcovery was made of a Southern Continent, of which a large Account has been given in the former Volume, it was judged highly probable, that fuch a Continent there might be, and as we now very well know, that fuch a Continent there is, it certainly adds both Weight and Strength to this Way of Reafoning.

Before it was known that the Continent of Afacextended fo very far to the North-eaft, we might with equal Probability have conjectured, that either it really was fo, or that the Continent of America projected very far to the Weft, in order to form a due Proportion between Land and Sea. But now that the Thing is put out of Difpute, on one Side, and we have all the Certainty that can be defired, that the North-Eaf Continent of Afia, extends above thirty Degrees of Longitude into the other Hemifphere, there is the higheft Probability, that the Balance of Sea is preferved on the American Side, and that there is no fuch projecting of that Continent, as till this Difcovery was made, might with equal Reafon have been prefumed. From this Confideration therefore, one hath as good Caufe, as the Nature of the Thing will allow, to affert, that the Space between America and Afa is chiefly Sea, as we actually know it to be, between America and Eirope, on the other Side.

This will appear ftill the more probable, if we confider the vaft Breadth of America from the Coalts of Canada, or of Hudfon's Bay, to California, and how itrangely difproportionate this would be, if the Continent fhould be ftill extended farther on that Side to wards Afia. I cannot tell what Degree of Evidence this may carry to other People, but I confefs, it weighs very much with me, and I flatter myfelf, that whoever will feriounly confider the Figure of the Globe, with the new Difcoveries of the Ruflians properly laid down thereon, will incline to think as I do, and fee plainly, that the Suppofition of fuch an extended Continent would in a great Meafure deftroy that Proportion between Land and Sea, which, for the Caufes before af figned, we have the greateft Reafon to believe fhould be always preferved. If therefore this be fo, it cannot be thought, that I carry Things too far, in alledging that this is a probable Argument in Favour of a North-weft Paffage.

To this I beg Leave to add another Confideration, which will carry the Thing much farther. The greateft Philofophers have differed, at leaft heretofore, about the Origin of Rivers; but in this I think they all agree, that as Rivers fall at length into the Sea, fo from thence they are in a great Meafure derived, whether by fecret or fubterraneous Paffages, and the Percolation of Waters through the Earth, by the condenfing of Vapours, or the falling of Rain. I fay, which ever of thefe Ways we fuppofe Springs, Fountains, and Rivers, to arife, or by a Conjunction of them all, ftill the Vicinity of the Sea is neceffary; and it is obferved, that the Size of Rivers depends, in a great Meafure upon the Extent of the Country thro' which they run, and of the Difpofition of the Seas in refpect to that Country of which America is a very pregnant Inftance, for that Continent having a vaft Ocean on each Side the American Rivers, are the largeft in the World.
If therefore the Continent of America fhould be fo extended as to join to that Land which was lately feen by Captain Bebring, and before him by others, it would not be eafy to conceive how fuch a Continent as this Thould be furnifhed, in any Proportion, with Rivers, in as much as there would be but a narrow Sea between that and $A f a$, and its Diftance from thofe that we ftile the North-Seas, would be prodigiounly great. But if the Cafe, as I fuppofe is to be, is quite otherwife, and the Space between the two Continents is a great Ocean, interfpers"d with Inlands of different Sizes, then the Difpofition of this Part of the Globe will correfpond perfectly well with the Difpofition of other Parts, and thefe Countries may be at once as rich, as beautiful, and as pleafant, as any that are hitherto known, either in the Old World, or in the New.
Thus I have affigned two probable Reafons in Favour of this Paffage, or rather, I have fupported one good Argument by another; for in Reality, this fecond Reafon is no more than affigning the Reafon of the firft. When we fay that the Globe is fo difpofed as to form a Ballance between Land and Sea, becaufe this feems to be neceffary, or at leaft expedient to preferve the Equability of the Earth's diurnal Motion, we give a Reafon that refpects the World in general ; but when we fay that Continents mult be of a moderate Size, in order to render them convenient Habitations for Men, we give a Reafon that accords to, and agrees with every known Portion of the Globe, and confequently is more capable of being thoroughly examined and perfectly underftood. I might add to this, as perfectiy confiftent and agreeable to my Notions, the Obfervations made by thofe who were laft fent to difcover in Hudfon's-Bay ; who finding the Rivers there fhort in their Courfe, and of no great Breadth, very judicioully concluded that the Country could not be very broad, or the Rivers of a greater Length that fell into the Soutb-Sea. I fay, I might infift upon this, but as I have promifed to dwell only upon new Arguments, I fhall content my felf with the bare Mention of it.
From poffible and probable Arguments, we will proceed, with the Reader's Permifion, to fuch as actually prove a Paffage, for fuch there are, and thofe likewife new, and hitherto not infifted upon. It was long ago obferved, that the Tides in the Northern Parts of Hudjon's-Bay were fo high, as put it out of Doubt that they could not be propagated from the Atantlick Ocean; it was then pretended by thofe who oppofed the Sentiment of there being a North-weft Paffage; that thefe extraordinary Tides were raifed from a Como munication with Bafin's Bay and Davis's Streights; in Anfwer to which, it has been fhewn, that the Tide in the Welcome rofe 17 Feet, and not above o Feet in Davis's Streights; from whence it is juftly concluded, that fuppofing fuch a Communication, it would by no Means prove what it is brought to prove, becaufe the Effect would be then fuperior to what is fuppofed to produce it.

Thus, I fay, the Cafe has hitherto flood in reference to the feveral Opinions that have been advanced upon this Subject. For my Part, upon mature Deliberation, Iam iiplined to a Sentiment different from all thefe;
for I think that there is a Communication between Hud-Son's-Bay and Davis's Streights, and that the Height of the Tides in the latter is not otherwife to be accounted for, than by allowing a free Paffage into the Soutb. Seas near the Welcome. I fhall endeavour to prove this to fuch as are Judges of the Thing, and well acquainted with the Facts, in very few Words. Captain Baffn, in his Letter to Sir Fobn Wolfenboime, obferves, that the Tides in Davis's Streights keep an equal Courfe, and rife to about eight or nine Feet. Now this being the Fact, I fay it is imponible that this Tide flould come from the Atlantick Ocean; for at Cary Swan'sNeff it rifes but fix Feet, and therefore in Davis's Streights ought not to rife above three or four. Neither is it at all likely that it fhould come from any Northern Ocean; for upon the Coaft of Nova Zembla the Tide rifes but one Fathom, or fix Feet, and not above half fo high at Spitzbergen.
This equal and regular Tide therefore up Davis's Streights, declining gradually till it rifes only a fingle Foot in Baffin's Bay, is as much out of the ordinary Courfe of Things, as the high Tides in the Welcome. As therefore fuch extraordinary Effects mutt have a proportionable Caure, and as we have hitherto looked on every Side for fuch a Caufe in vain, it remains that Paffage by the North-weft into the Soutb-Sea, is that Caure, for that will fully and perfectly account for both thefe Appearances. It ought, according to the known Law of Tides, to make them in the Welcome at the Time in which they are found to rife, and if they are propagated from Hudjon's-Bay by any Communication into Davis's Streights, they may very well enter from the Southward, that is, through fome Paffage on the Weft-fide of Davis's Streights, and ought to rife and to decreafe in the very Manner which they are found to do ; and if this will not pafs for an actual Proof of a North-weft Paffage, I am at leaft intitled to expect from him who denies it, to give a more fatisfactory Account than I have done, of the Tides both in the Welcome and in Davis's Streights, for till this is done, I fhall continue to look upon this Argument as unanfwerable.

As to the common Affectation of treating this Matter as a Chimera, and behaving towards thofe who think it otherwife, as if they were either very credulous or vifionary People, ready to rely upon any Authority, or apt to be led away by whatever has fo much as the Appearance of an Argument. I mult fay, that it is either an infolent, or difingenuous Way of treating them. Infolent, if it comes from thofe who have not ever looked into the Merits of the Caufe, or are not competent Judges if they have; or difingenuous, if being competent Judges, they haughtily reject an Opinion fupported by ftrong Reafons, without deigning to refute thofe Reafons, which they ought to do if they are able, and if they are not able, they ought to confefs it.

But I now haften to a Conclufion, and fo to leave the Reader in Poffeffion of all the Arguments that I can offer him in Support of this, which I am not afhamed to own, is a favourite Opinion, becaufe I look upon it as equally tending to promote the Honour of Science, the Welfare of Mankind, the Extenfion of Commerce in general, as well as the Glory and Good of this Country in particular. How far foever this latter Confideration may move us, who have, or ought to have, an extraordinary Zeal for whatever may turn to the Benefit of the Place of our Birth, yet I prefume it cannot be fuppofed that foreign Writers can lie under any Influence or Biafs of this Kind, and therefore I fhall crave Leave to mention a very fingular Matter of Fact, incerted by the very curious, and no lefs learned Father Cbarlevoix, in his Chronological Series of Difcoveries, prefixed to the firft Volume of his Hitory and Defcription of $\mathcal{F}$ apan; in which he tells us, that in the Year 1609 , he has read in fome Memoirs, that a certain Ship failing from the Port of Acapulco, in the Kingdom of Nere spain, in order to proceed in the ufual Caurfe to the Mlanilas, being an annual Ship, was furprized almoft as foon as the was out of Port by a Tempelt,
that lafted long, and with fuch Violence, that her Crew were forced to give her up to the Mercy of the Winds, which in two Months Time brought her upon the Coaft of Ireland, and into the Harbour of Dublin; from whence fhe fafely returned to Lisbon, where, by Order of the King of Spain, all the Pilots Journals were taken from them and burnt, in order to prevent Strane gers from becoming acquainted with fo hort a Cut into the South-Seas. I have not added or altered, magnified or $\operatorname{dim}_{1}$ nifhed this Relation in the leaft, but liave reported it ${ }^{1}$ exactly as I find it in my Author.

It is indeed to be wifh'd, that we had a better Account of the Memoirs from which this Fact was taken, becaufe in them, perhaps, there might be other Circumftances worth knowing, and which might be of Ufe to fix the Matter of Fact beyond Difpute. In the mean time I mult obferve, that this has no Correfpondence whatever with the Relations heretofore publifhed of Perfons who have made that Paffage. The Portuguefe Pilot Martin Cbacke, who publifhed in 1573, an Account of his Return from the Eaft Indies, through the fame Paffage to Ireland, from whence he went to Lisbon, places his Voyage in the Year 1567, and therefore it is abfolutely impoffible that thete two Voyages Should be confounded, as at firf Sight might be imagined, from the Circumfance of their both putting into Ireiand, and returning from. thence to Lisbon; on which, for the Reader's Satisfaction, it may not be amifs to infift a little farther.

In the firft Place, There is a very wide Difference in the Place from which the Ships failed, the former from the Eaft Indies, the latter from the $W e f t$; the Size of the Ships alfo are very different ; the Portuguele Veffel was of the Burthen only of 80 Tons; the Acapulco Ship near ten times as big; the Portuguefe Pilor failed in Company with four Ships of very large Burthen for Europe ; the Spanifl Ship failed alone for the Eaft-Indies; the Portuguefedid not put into Dublin, but into a Port on the North-weft of lreland, from whence he returned to Lisbon a Month or five Weeks before the other Ships in Company with which he failed from the Ealt Indies: And befides the great Difference in Point of Time, which is no lefs than two and forty Years, it is very remarkable, that the Portuguefe Pilot returned home, and publifhed his Book under the Reign of Don Sebaftian, King of Yortugal ; whereas at the Time the Spanijb Ship arrived at Lisbon, the Kingdom of Portugal was under the Power of the Crown of Spain; of all which Circumftances the Reader may be convinced, by comparing this Relation with the Certificate relating to the Portuguefe Voyage, inferted in this Volume, Page 40 I .

I muft further obferve, that if there be a North-weft Paffage, there is nothing incredible in the Voyage being performed in fo fmall a Time; for from the Welcome in Hudjon's-Bay to Ireland, is a Voyage only of three Weeks; and if there be a Paffage, the like Time might have fufficed for their coming through it from Acapulco. İ might take Occafion to add to this, what is mentioned by that great Mathematician Mr. Henry Briggs, of a Spanifb Captain reported to have failed this Way to the Molucias, in the Service of the Emperor Cbarles V.; but, as I am perfuaded, that he only made fuch an Offer, and did not really attempt to perform it, I fhall fay no more of it. Upon the whole, having fhewn the Poffibility, Probability, and Reality of fuch a Paffage, by Arguments as conclufive as the Nature of the Thing either require or will admit, I have Nothing more to add but my good Wifhes, that the Spirit lately raifed for Difcovery may not be allowed to fink, or the Light we have already obtained be left to extinguifh, before this Matter be profecuted to the utmoft Extent, and all the Places thoroughly fearched, where, with any Degree of Probability, fuch a Paffage may be look'd for. The Succefs of fuch an Undertaking would indeed contribute effectually to raife our Hopes, and efface our Apprehenfions, by opening not only a new, fhort and eafy, but a commodious, plealant, and wholfome Paffage to the Eaft Indies, which would at once contribute to encourage and promote our Induftry at Home, and
extend our Commerce abroad, as well as increafe our Shipping, and improve our Navigation.

Befides all this, we have great Reafon to hope, that fo fortunate an Enterprize would recover us out of that State of Supinefs and Luxury into which we are fallen, and infpire us with a noble Defire of tranfmitting Wealth and Repucation to our Pofterity, rather than live as we do at prefent upon the Riches derived to us from our Anceftors, and the Credit that their known Succefs in Trade has given us with all our Neighbours. Thefe are Confiderations truly important, luch as ought to make Impreffion on the Minds of all who have the Interelt of their Country at Heart, who with to fee her thrive beyond, and yet not at the Expence of other Europears Nations. Thefe are Confiderations that relate alike to all Ranks and Degrees of People, becaufe all Ranks and Degrees will receive Benefit from it, if properly weighed, carefully attended to, and pufh'd with Spirit and Succefs, thefe Confiderations would lead to the only effectual Methods of repairing patt Miftakes, and opening a wide Profpect to future Advantages, the Confequences of them would fpeedily enable us to difcharge our Debts, and thereby afford the Means of taking off our Taxes; they would alfo extinguith Party Animofities, diffipate Faction, and by opening fuitable Employment to every dif-. ferent Genius, afford a proper Scene of Action to all, without giving Difturbance to any.
It may be therefore juitly prefimed, that thofe whofe peculiar Intereft it is that their Countrymen may be made rich and happy by their Wifdom and Care, and tranfmit the Memory of their glorious Adminiftration to lateft Times, will have a jut Regard' to whatever hath a Ten* dency to promote fuch a Difpofition as this, which is always neceffary, and which, however, may be faid to be more efpecially neceffary at this Juncture, when we receive repeated Accounts of the Pains, every where taken, to point out the Penefits of Ditcovery, to magnify the Advantages of Commerce, and to kindle a Spirit of Induttry amongt thofe who have been remark. able for the Want of it through a long Series of Ages. How poffible it is to enlighten even the cloudieft Huads, how practicable to warm even the coldef Mind; and how foon fuch an heroick Flame gathers Force and Strength enough to carry all before it, the former Part of chis Section has fully demonftrated. Neither would it be near fo hard a Task to fhew how eafly Commerce may decline, how certainly Virtue may wear out, and how fpeedily Frugality and Induftry may decay, if not warm'd and cherifh'd by proper Attention and due Encouragement, which are full as requifite to preferve them as Food to Animals, Fuel to Fire, or Exercife to Health.
Thus after a long but not unpleafant Excurfion, I return again to my Subject, and having largely fhewn when and how the firf Notions of Difcovery rofe, and how they have been conducted in Mufcovy, by what Hopes they have been promoted, how far they have been carried, what they have really brought to Light, what lies within, and what without their Reach, why they have been fo much retarded, whence, at other times they have been advanced, what Improvements are practicable, and what Schemes of Extention are at Bottom but Chimeras where the Affiftance of their Government may be applied with Effect, and where all the Force that could be exeried would fail, what other Nations have to apprehend from this new Turn of their Temper, how probable it is that we are not amongft the Number ; and that on the contrary, we might fhare in whatever Profits they obtain; I have, laft of all, fet before the Reader, the only Means of anticipating their Views, by bringing the Riches of both the Indies, by a fhorter Route to all the Markets in Europe, than they can pretend to do, even if all their Efforts, fhould be crowned with all the Succefs they can wifh; yet be it far from me to mingle with thefe Reflections any Spirit of Peevifhnefs, Prejudice or Partiality; they have a Right, no doubr, to all the Acquifitions they can make, but then we have the fame. I repine not at their Power, their Projects, or their Progrefs; all I aim at, is to make a right Ufe of their Example, in order to hinder my Countrymen from changing Place with the Ruflans,

CON.

## C O N C L U S I O N.

## A retrofpective View of this whole Collection, in which its particular Advantages are explained, and an Account given of the Ufes to which the Contents may be applied.

1. A general View of the whole Work, its End and Intention, and a Metbod propofed for difcovering bore far this bas been anfwered, not only in the Grofs, but in every Part Separately, througbout the Performance, as a Key to the Ujes of the Book. II. The Plan of the Hifory of the Circumnavigators, intirely new, and abfolutely comprebenfive; Advantages derived from that Hifory thus cbronologically digefted; and the Reafons for rejecting twe Works, that feem at frrt Sight to come within the Plan. III. The Scheme of the Hiftory of the Eaft-Indies, briefly and fully reprefented; the Probability of a late Suggeftion, that the Arabians firf opened this Commerce, Jbewn, and a Short Reviere of the Principal Points regarding the Commerce of the Ancients in the Eaft. IV. The UJes that may be drawn from this regular Series, bow they contribute to fix the Excellencies and Deficiences of the Ancients compared with the Moderns; togetber with a curious Remark as to the Riches of Spain in ancient Times. V. The Care taken to relieve the Reader's Attention, by interfperjing the Defcription, Natural Hiftory, and moft remarkable Curiofities of thofe famous Countries; the Benefits refulting from that Method, and the great Help it affords of bringing much ufeful Knowledge within a little Room. VI. The Manner in which the Hiftory of Commerce is purfued after tbe Declenfon of the Roman Empire, and the finking of that of Conftantinople; Digreffion as to the Rife, Progrefs, and Decay, of the Republicks of Venice and Genoa; and Remarks on their prefent State. VII. How the modern Hiftory of the Eaft-Indies is conducted; the Rules by which the Cboice of Materials bas been made; Difficulties and Deficiencies consmon amongt our latef Writers; what might be reafonably expected from them, and an Example given of the right Metbod of reporting Facts. VIII. A fuccinct View of the UJes arifing from the Matters treated of in the fir $A$ Volume, to Perfons in different Ranks and Stations, and a political Difquiftion as to their Importance to the Nation in general, more elpecially at this critical Conjuncture, when fo many Attempts are making in all Parts of Europe for erecting new Companies to trade to tbe Eaf-Indies. IX. A Reviere of the fecond Volume of this Collection, in which is firft Jerwn wobat was propofed in treating fo particularly the Dijcovery, Conquefts, and Settlements made by the Spaniards in America. X. A hoort Reprefentation of the Uje of our Hifory of the fubduing the Empire of Peru, the Jurpring Boldness and amazing Succefs of that Attempt, with the famous Sir William Temple's admirable Survey of the Laws and Government of the Ynca's, the old Sovereigns of Peru. XI. The Manner in wobich the other European Settlements in America are treated, more efpecially thofe of the Englifh and French, with an Acknoweledgment of Communications receiv'd, and Approbation heerw of this Part of the Work, and an Apology for fome Freedoms taken therein. XII. The Contents of the fecond Book explained, the Rules eftablijhed in felecting the Voyages and Travels neceffary to give a competent Idea of the Northern Parts of the Globe in general, and of the particular Countries in Europe, and the Reajons of thofe Rules fet in a clear Ligbt. XIII. The Scope of the third Book, and a difinct Detail of the jeveral Pieces that regard the Defoription, Hiftory, and Commercial Concerns of the Afiatick Empires; the Autborities on which they are founded, the Motives on whbich they were admitted, and the Means of applying them go as to anfwer the great End of this Collection.

WE are now arrived at the Clofe of a very large Work, undertaken upon a Plan more regular, and of far larger Extent than was ever propofed, either in our ownt, or any other Language; and of the Execurion of which many have defpared in the Progrefs of its Publication ; but by the Bleffing of God it is now finifhed, and finifhed with the very fame Spirit with which it was begun; for 1 am perfuaded, the moft critical Reader will allow there has been as much Pains taken with the laft Section, as with any in the whole Collection. What now remains, is to caft our Eye back a litede, in order to difcover what all this Enquiry, Labour, and Expectation, has produced.

A large Work of this Kind may be very well compared to a publick Structure erected for the Service of Society, as well as at the common Expence, and of the Value of which we may, with tolerable Certainty judge, by confidering the Scheme or Ground-plot, that is to fay, the Plan upon which it was erected, the End propofed by it, and the particular Advantage that every Perufer may expect from it. With regard to the original Scheme, there were never many Objections made to it, except that the Bounds were too large, the Materials hard to be acquired, and the Labour of putting them together a Thing icarce to be effected; fo that fpeaking with Propriety, thefe could not be faid to re-
late to the Work, but to the conducting of it; and our Bufinefs here is not to fay only, but to prove, that if the Outlines were drawn as they ought to be, the Edifice has been finifhed according to the Draught.

The great End propofed, was reducing within a tolerable Compals the Subitance of a Multitude of Books, well written upon ufeful Subjects, in order to render them thereby more eafily purchafed and read. Now it is hoped that this has been alfo done in as great a Degree as the Size of this Collection, and it is no fmall one, would permit ; and that due Care has been taken to make fuch a Choice of our Materials, as that by the Perufal of this fingle Book, the Reader may acquire the practical Knowledge of Cofmography, obtain a perfect Notion of the Situation of different Countries in all Parts of the Globe, together with their Relation to, and Diftance from all other Countries, the Manner of their Correfpondence, the Commodities furnifhed, and thofe wanted by them.

In reference to the more particular and immediate Bufinefs of the Englijh Reader, which we may fuppofe to refpeet the Intereft and Commerce of his own Country, it may with great Truth be affirmed, that fo much upon that Subjeet, and that too in fo many different Lights, is not to be met with elfewhere, fince within the Compars of this Coliection lies all that has occurred within the Space of twenty Years, to one who has had
his Head ever turned that Way, and has likewife had it no lefs at Heart, which will appear particularly from his never efpoufing the Caule of any Party, but regarding the Independency, commercial Concerns, and Naval Power of Great-Britain, as her moft effential Interefts, which, if well minded, all other incidental Matters will fall in happily of Courfe. Thus much as to the Work in general; we will next confider the Parts of which it is compofed, from whence its Correfpondence with the Plan propofed will manifeftly appear.
II. The firft Thing defigned and executed, was the Hiftory of the Circumnavigators, which the beft Judges of Works of this Kind had always reprefented as equally important and neceffary; fo that it had been greatly defired, often attempted, but never in its full Extent performed, in any Collection extant in any Language, which was owing to certain Difficulties that are occafionally taken Notice of in the Progrefs of that Part of the Book, and therefore not neceffary to be repeated here. It is fufficient to obferve, that this Hiftory is abfolutely compleat, and that all the Circumnarigations in the Space of 225 Years, are particularly, circumftantially, and impartially written.

The Merit of fiff forming this Defign of failing round the Globe, is juftly attributed to the great Columbus, and it is fully thewn, that to hi m of right it belongs, tho' he was not fo fortunate, tho' very fortunate in other Refpects, as to execute it. The Reafons that induced him to think it practicable, and the Motives that lead him to attempt it, are fully explained from the moft authentick Memoirs, and the Obligations which Mankind owe him in that Refpect, are fet in a true Light. The particular Advantages arifing from the Difcoveries made by each of the Circumnavigators are conftantly attended to, and from thence the gradual Extenfion of Commerce, and with it our moft perfect Acquaintance with the Situation of the different Parts of the Globe, are manifeftly fhewn. But as it fell out that various of thefe Difcoveries, which were only touched upon in thefe general Voyages, afforded afterwards Occafion to clofer Enquiries, and more diftinct Defcription of Countries very far diftant, by particular Expeditions undertaken with that View, the moft accurate and confiderable of thofe Expeditions are thrown in as Appendices in their propar Places, to render the great Point in View as clear and as perfpicuous as it was poffible, fo as that the Reader may be perfectly informed of what has been found, what there is good Reafon to believe may be found, and what ftill remains abfolutely unfurveyed and unknown.

In fome Cafes, the Memoirs of Circumnavigators were fo involved and confufed, that their Names were ever hardly heard of as fuch; as for Inftance, the Officers in the Naflou Fleet, that failed from Holland in the Year 1623 , and Captain 70 bn Clipperton, who failed from Plymouth in the Year 1719, thefe we have drawn out of the dark, affembled all the Circumftances relating to them, the beft we could, and have given them as entire as it was poffible, under fuch Difficulties, to collect them. As for the Voyage of Commodore Roggervein, which, take it altogether, is one of the moft entertaining, curious and inftructive Pieces that was ever publifhed, it never appeared in our Language till now, and never in any Language fo fully as in this Collection, as we had an Opportunity of confulting a very candid and knowing Perfon, who made that Voyage upon every Part of it, and who was very defirous that the Publick fhould receive as ample an Account of it as poflible.
We have likewife given, fo far as was neceffary, and fo far as we could come at, with any Degree of Certainty, the principal Points of the perfonal Hiftories of all the Circumnavigators, which cannot but be very fatisfactory to the inquifitive and judicious Reader, fince there is nothing fo natural as to defire to know, what became of a Man who fo remarkably diftinguifhed himfelf as by conducting an Expedition of this Sort, of which there have not been more than fifteen in the whole, from that of Ferdinand Magellan, who failed from Seville in Spain, August 10, 1519. to that of the
Vo L. II. $\mathrm{N}^{\circ} 143$.
prefent Lord Anjon, who failed from St. Hellems, Sep," tember 18, 1740.

The Difpofition of all thefe Voyages, in theif regular and natural Order, renders them infinitely more ufeful, than when read feparately, as they reflect reciprocal Lights upon each other, and at the fame Time afford an Opportunity of throwing out many needlefs and ufelefs Repetitions. It was upon thefe Principles that two Pieces, which from their Titles might feem to claim a Right of being confidered in that Part of our Work, were, after mature Deliberation, rejected.

The firt of thefe is the Voyages and Travels of Dro Gemelli Correri, a very large Work, already tranllated into our Language; fo that the judicious Reader will eafily judge of the Solidity of thofe Arguments upon which it was $l e f t$ out. In the firt Place, what-ever the Title Page may fay, this cannot, ftrictly fpeaking, be confidered as a Circumnavigation, fince the Author went from Place to Place by Land, and embarked as his Occafions required, or his Inclinations led him, aboard feveral Veffels which carried him from Port to Port, and the Sum total of thefe Travels and Voyages? is what he is pleafed to call a Tour round the World. All our Circumavigators were other Sort of Men, and made their refpective Voyages on board the Veffels they commanded, or of which they had the Direction, fo that each Account is the Hiftory of a diftinct Expedition, and not a Detail of Adventures by Land and Sea. In the next place, the Doctor is a very voluminous Writer, and takes in fuch a Variety of Matter, beyond what it was poffible fhould fall under his own immediate Knowledge and Infpection, as render'd his Performance very improper to be ranged with thofe in which there is little or nothing related but from the Authority of Eye Witneffes. Laftly it has been afferted by Authors worthy of Credit, who inquired upon the Spor in Cbina, more efpecially, as to the Opportunity the Doctor had of feeing thofe Things which he relates, as very particularly examined by himfelf, that they were thoroughly informed that he took them upon Truft. Befides, there is Nothing to be met with in all his large Work, which is not to be found in this Collection, digefted in its proper Place, from the Memoirs of Authors of indifputed Credit.

The other Piece is in French, written by Mr. de la Barbinais le Gentil, and printed at Paris in 1728 . The Author embarked at a French Port, and in a Friench Veffel, Augult 20, 1714, but for fome Reafons which he does not difclofe, he conceals both the Name of the Port, and of the Veffel. He proceeded to Cbili, and after making fome Stay in South America, embarked on board another Veffel, in which he went to the Port of Amsoy in Cbina, from whence he returned into Europe in the Year I718, touching by the Way at the Brazils. The whole of this Relation is digefted into fifteen Letters, written in a very pleafant and entertaining Stile, agreeable to the Defign of the Author, who travelled only out of Curiofity, and of which we have made the beft Ufe we were able, by extracting every Thing that is curious, and inferting it in the Accounts we have given of Cbili, Peru, Cbina, and the Brazils, which appeared to be more fuitable to the Nature of our Defign, than making a profeffed Tranlation of a Piece, which the Author himfelf acknowledges to be made up of occafional Remarks and curfory Obfervations; which he thinks is a fufficient Reafon for its being defective in other Points, that had however been abfolutely neceffary to intitle him to the Honour of being a Circumnarigator, in the ftrict and proper Senfe of the Word.
There is no Doubt, that after all much is wanting to render this Kind of Hiftory compleat ; but to make it abfolutely perfect, future Difcoveries mult contribute; and there is no Doubt that Circumnavigations by new Routes, that is, by the North-eaft and North-weft Paffages, will afford a noble Supplement to what has been already done. Yet the moft important, the moft curious, and the moft entertaining Circumnavigation would be through both thofe Paflages, for we fhould 12 I
then have a diftinet Account of the Countries that lie between Afra and America, with which the Inhabitants of Europe are moft defirous of being acquainted, and sowards obtaining of which we have done all that lies in our Power, by labouring to fhew, that fuch a Circumnavigation is not either impoffible or impracticable, notwithftanding what has been alledged by fome very underftanding Perfons to the contrary.
III. The Plan upon which the History of the Commerce of the Indies is written, the Publick muit be fatisfied is entirely new; and as it is very extenfive, taking in the Accounts of the remoteft Antiquity; fo, upon reviewing it, there appears to be fome Room for Emendation. There is not the leaft Doubt to be made, that the firft Mention we have of Indian Commodities, is the Traffick carried on in Spices by the Idumeans; and we have faid in general Terms, that they carried on a Trade with Arabia, Perfia, and India, from which we have no Reafon to depart; but perhaps tibat Matter is not quite fo clearly explained as it might be, and as the beft Lights that can be obsained from Hiffory confirm it, fo there is much Probability in the Conjectures offered upon this Subject, fince the Publication of this Work, that the firft Traders by Sea in the World were the Arabians. We will therefore lay hold of this Opportunity of inferting a very curious Paffage from a late Treatife on Trade and Commerce, which will very much illuftrate, though it does not in the leat contradiet what is advanced in the third Section of the fecond Chapter of our firft Book; that Paffage runs thus:
" It is a Point as yet undecided by the Learned, "to what Nation the Invention and firf Ufe of Coniis merce belonged; fome attribute it to one People, " fome to another, for Reafons that are too long to be " difcuffed here. But after mature Reflection, I muft * confets it feems moft probable to me, that the Inha" bitants of Arabia were thofe that firt made long "Voyages. It muft be allow'd, that no Country was fo " happily feated for this Purpofe as that which they in" habired, being a Peninfula wafhed on three Sides by "three famous Seas, the Arabian, Indian and Perfann. "It is alfo certain, that it was very early inhabited, "a and the firt Notice we have of any confiderable " Trade, refers it to the IJbmaelites, who were fettled
"s in the higher Part of Arauia. To them $\begin{aligned} & \text { Fofepb was }\end{aligned}$
" fold by his Brethren when they were going down "، with their Camels to Egypt with Spicery, Balm and " Myrrh.
" It may feem ftrange to infer from hence, that "Commerce was already practifed by this Nation,
"f fince Mention is here made of Camels, or a Caravan,
" which certainly implies an Inland Trade; and it muft
" be likewife allowed, that Balm and Myrrh were the
"Commodities of their Country. But whence had
"they the Spicery? Or how came Arabia to be fo fa-
${ }^{6}$ mous in ancient Times for Spices? Or whence pro-
" ceeded that Miftake of many great Authors of An-
${ }^{6 s}$ tiquity, that Spices actually grew there? Moft cer-
"t tainly becaufe thefe People dealt in them, and that
${ }^{66}$ they dealt in them the firft of any Nation that we
" know of, appears from this very Inftance: Strabo,
" and many ocher good Authors, affure us, that in fuc-
"ceeding Times they were very great Traders; they
"t tell us particularly what Ports they had, what prodi-
" gious Magazines they kept of the richeft Kinds of
"Goods; what wonderful Wealth they obtained; in
"what prodigious Magnificence they lived; and into
"6 what Exceffes they fell, in refpect to their Expences,
${ }^{66}$ for Carving, Building, and Statues. All this fhews
"that they were very great Traders; and it alfo hhews
"s that they traded to the East-Indies, for from thence
${ }^{66}$ only they could have their Spices, their rich Gums,
"s their fweet-fcented Woods, and their Ivory, all
"s which it is exprefly faid that they had in the greateft
${ }^{*}$ Abundance. This therefore proves they had an ex-
${ }^{66}$ tenfive and flourifhing Commerce, and that they had
"it earlier than any other Nation, feems to me evident
${ }^{66}$ from their dealing at that Time in Spices.
"Befides, there is much lefs Difficulty in fuppofing ". that they firft difcovered the Route to the Indies, than
" if we afcribe that Difcovery to any other Nation; for, " in the firt place, they lay neareft, and in the next, they lay moft conveniently; to which we may add Tbirdyy, That as the Situation of their Country na"turally inclined them to Navigation; fo by the Help of the Monfoons, they might make regular Voyages " to and from the Indies, with great Facility ; nor is it at all unlikely that this Difcovery might be at firf owing to Chance, and fo fome of their Veffels being blown by a ftrong Gale to the oppofite Coaft, from whence they might take the Courage to return, by obferving the Regularity of the Winds at certain Seafons. All thefe Reafons taken together, feem to favour this Opinion, that Commerce flourifhed firf among them; and as to its Confequences in making them rich and happy, there is no Difpute about them.
The fame Author having mentioned the Pbanicians in Terms perfectly agreeable to what we have faid of them, proceeds to fhew what Ufes were made of their great maritime Skill by Solomon, and takes Occafion from thence to confirm what he had before advanced in reference to the Arabians; the Paffage is not long, and withal equally curious and inftructive, it runs thus: "It " is very certain, that Solomon made ufe of their Affift" ance in equipping his Fleets at Elatb and Ezion Ge"ber, and it is very probable that they put him upon " acquiring thofe Ports, and gave him the firlt Hints "of the amazing Advantages that might be derived "f from the Poffefion of them, and from the Com" merce he might from thence be able to carry on, "Thefe Ports were moft commodioufly fituated on the "Arabian Gulph, and from thence his Veffels, manned «chiefly by Pbonicians, failed to Opbir and Tbarfis, "where-ever thofe Places were. Some Writers will " needs have them to be Mexico and Peru, which is "certainly a wild and extravagant Suppofition; others "believe, that we are to look for Opbir on the Coaft of "Africa, and Thar/ts in Spain; but the molt probable "Opinion is, that they were both feated in the East c. Indies.
"By this adventurous Navigation he brought into "his Country, Curiofities not only unfeen, but unheard "of before, and Richies in fuch Abundance, that as " the Scripture finely expreffes it, He made Silver in "Ferufalem as Stones, and Cedar Trees as Sycamores " that grow in the Plains. The Metaphor is very bold " and emphatical ; but when we cơnfider that it is "recorded in this Hiftory, that the Return of one Voy"age only to Opbir produced 450 Talents of Gold, "which make $51328 \%$. of our Troy Weight, we cannot "doubt of the immenfe Profit that accrued from this "Commerce. It is alfo obfervable, that the Queen of "Sbeba or Saba, which lies in that part of Arabia be" fore-mentioned, furprized at the Reports that were " fpread of the Magnificence of this Prince, made a "Journey to his Court, on purpofe to fatisfy herfelf, " whether Fame had not exaggerated the Fact, and " from the Prefents fhe made him of 120 Talents of "Gold, of Spices in great Abundance, and precious "Stones, we may difcern the true Reafon of her Cu" riofity, which proceeded from an Opinion, that no "Country could be fo rich as her own. And there is " another Circúmftance very remarkable, and which " feems ftrongly to fortify what we have advanced in "the Beginning of this Difcourfe, it is added, neitber "was there any fuch Spices as the Queen of Sheba gave "to King Solomon; which feems to intimate, that "the Arabians had penetrated farther into the Indies "than even the Fleets of this famous Prince, and " brought from thence other Spices (perhaps Nutmegs " and Cloves) than had ever been feen betore. " It was by his Wifdom, and by his feady Appli"cation to the Arts of Peace, all of which mutually " fupport each other, as they are all driven on by the "Wheel of Commerce, which fupplies every Want, " and converts every Superfluity into Merchandize, "that this Monarch raifed his SubjeEts to a Condition - much fuperior to that of any of their Neighbours, and "r rendered the Land of Ifrael, while he governed it, the
s6 Glory and Wonder of the Eaft. He made great Ac" quifitions without making Wars; and his Succeffors, " by making Wars, loft thofe Acquifitions. It was his "Policy to keep all his People ensployed, and byem"s ploying them, he provided equally for the Extention " of their Happinefs and his own Power; but the fol" lowing Kings purfued other Meafures, and other Con©. fequences attended them. The Trade of $7 u$ dea funk " almoft as fuddenly as it rofe, and in Procefs of Time " they loft thofe Ports on the Red Sea, upon which "t their Indian Commerce depended."

After this, there is nothing dark or intricate in that Part of the Hiftory of the Commerce of the Ancients, of which we have undertaken to treat. It appears very clearly, that from the earlieft Times, even the remoteft Countries of the Eaft have been the Sources of all the Advantages derived from Trade, and the Poffefion of this particular Branch of Traffick has conftantly given the Afcendant to the Nation in whofe Hands it was. In tracing this Hiftory we have made it apparent, that the moft confiderable Points in the Syftem of Commerce, confidered as a Kind oi Science, were both very well known, and very fteadily pracifed in ancient Times, and produced exactly the fame Confequences then that they do now; or, in other Words, enabled People to heap up immenfe Riches, induced them to encourage Arts and Sciences, by rewarding plentifully fuch as excelled in them, propagating Magnificence and Luxury, from whence, in Procefs of Time, arofe Indolence, Effeminacy, and a total Depravation of Manners, which made Way either for foreign Conquefts, or fuch a Declenfion of Morals at home as produced Ruin and Poverty, and from which hardly any of the ancient States ever recovered.

We have fhewn the true Source of that incredible Wealth, for which, in the earlieft Times of which, Hiftory affords any Record, the Egyptians were renowned ; and we have fhewn allo how all this was transferred to the Perfians, in Confequence of their becoming Mafters of Egygt, and of the Means by which iss Inhabitants amaffed fuch prodigious Wealth. This leads us to confider the Conquelts and the Views of Alexander the Great, in a Light very different from that in which they have been hitherto feen, and from which it is unquefionably evident, that he was a much greater and wifer Prince than he has been reprefented, not by Hiftorians only, but by Panegyrift, that his Views were of quite another Nature than are commonly imagined; and that his Notions were incomparably more juft and more extenfive than that of any other Conqueror, either ancient or modern, fince he did not barely aim at eftablifhing an univerfal Monarchy, but was allo defirous of making this turn to the univerfal Benefit of Mankind, by fettling a conftant and regular Intercourfe amongtt all the Nations he fubdued, and rendring them thereby ufeful to each other; to facilitate which, he formed Projects impracticable indeed with Regard to their ulrimate Intention, but which, notwithftanding, were defigned with wonderful Sagacity, and from their Confequences in fuch Parts as could be executed, fully anfwered all that he expected from them.

It was by making ufe of the Lights afforded him by this great Monarch and his indulgent Mafter, that Ptolemy erected a Greek Empire in Egypt, which in point of Serength and Duration, as well as Magnificence, fo much exceeded all the reft that were formed out of his Conquefts. We have had many large and well-written Hiftories of that Empire, confidered in a political Light, but there was ftil! wanting a Commercial Hiftory of Egypt, which we have endeavoured to fupply, and from the attentive Perufal of which the Reader will fee, that nothing can contribute fo much to the Power and Splendor of Sovereigns, and at the fame Time to the Welfare, Happinefs and Tranquility of a People, as commercial Maxims well applied. All the other Succeffors of Alexander lived as it were upon the main Stock, and only wafted in fruitlefs Projects, and wild and extravagant Expeditions, the Riches which they extorted from their Subjects, and which they continued to extort, till by totally exhaufting them, they were no longer able to maintain that Power which was
requifite to fupport their Tyranny. Whereas Ptolemy and his immediate Succeffors, by following in their Dominions the judicious Maxims of Alexander's Policy, kept their Countries full of People, and by providing for the Happinefs of thofe Prople, were able to keep up larger Armies, to maintain greater Fleets, and to live with infinitely more Magnificence than thofe Monarchs, whofe Dominions were much larger, and who, till they ruined them by their Exceffes, might have been more powerful and confiderable, and might have made their Empire as permanent as his.

It is true, that at length the Government of Egypt funk and fell into Confufion from its falling under the Dominion of weak Princes, and from the prevailing Corruption of Manners, againft which Accidents human Policy affords no Defence. Yet it appeared great even in Decay, and its Magnificence was apparent in its Ruin. The Romans, when they became poffeffed of it, were very foon made fenfible of its Importance, and of the Wifdom of thofe Maxims by which its Monarchs ruled in better Times. They therefore adopted thofe Maxims, and not only purfued but improved the Methods formerly employed to make this Country the Center of Commerce, and the great Magazine of the civilized part of the World. All thefe Points we have at large explained, by which it appears, that the Splendor and Glory of the Roman Empire was chiefly built upon this important Conqueft, and the Confequences that attended it. That in Proportion as the Roman Affairs were wifely and prudently, or weakly and indifcreetly managed, the Concerns of Egypt were attended to or neglected ; and that the great Blow given to the real Power and internal Force of the Roman Empire, was transferring this Province to the Princes that reigned in the Eaftern parts of that Empire, and fixed their. Seat at Cointantinople.

We have defcribed, tho' very concifely, what were the Effects of this Change, and how the Imperial Refidence laft mentioned became fo large, fo beautiful, and fo immenfely rich as it was, by drawing thither, in a great Meafure, the Trade of the whole World. The graduat Ruin of the Eaftern Empire, and the Growth of the Arab or Saracen Power, did not make a greater or more univerfal Change in the political Affairs of Europe, than in the commercial; for Egypt falling early under the Power of thofe Barbarians, fince however learned they became afterwards, they certainly deferv'd that Title, when they fubdued Egypt, all Thoughts of Commerce were laid afide. At that Time War was their Trade, and they knew no other Way of making Acquifitions than by the Sword. The Countries of which they became Mafter, were exceedingly rich and populous, and they had no Views beyond feizing the former by Force, and impofing Slavery upon thofe whom they had deprived of their Property. But by Degrees, Experience, which is the proper Miftrefs of fuch Sort of People, taught them, that Force and Violence were not the fureft Means of maintaining Empire, and therefore they had Recourfe to Learning and Arts; and though they did not apply themfelves to Trade, yet they encouraged and promoted that of their Subjects, and allowed Strangers to deal with them, but upon fuch Terms as were highly advantageous to thefe Conquerors, who were never at a Lofs how to fqueeze the Money out of the Purfes of their Subjects, provided they had any to be fqueezed out.
IV. This regular Series of Hiftory is extreamly ufeful in a great Variety of Cafes, and is at the fame Time exceedingly entertaining; it at once raifes and fatisfies our Curiofity, it informs us of what is to be found in the moft diftant Countries, and the Ufes that have been in all Ages made of this Propenfity to vifit other Countries, and to bring back their Produce to our own. But above all, it ferves to deftroy thofe weak and vulgar Prejudices, by which Men are inclined to fancy, that in former Ages Mankind were abfolutely deficient in Learning, Politenefs, and above all, in underfanding the Nature, and confequently acquiring the Advantages deducible from Commerce. But upon examining this Hiftory, we fee precifely in what the Ancients excelled,
in what they came up to, and in what they were defective, when compared with the Moderns. From hence alfo we difcover; to what all this was owing, what were the natural, what the accidental Advantages they had over us; and, on the other Hand, what we really and certainly poffefs, which were inacceffible to them. To give a few Inftances of both.

The Ancients feem to have carried the Art of cultivating and improving Countries to a Height of which we have hardly any Comprehenfion. In the earlieft Times Egypt was wonderfully cultivated, admirably improved, and exquifitely adorned. We cannot form a Notion of an Agriculture more perfect than what was practiced by the ancient Egyptians; their Temples, Palaces, and other publick Structures, were magnificent in the higheft Degree; and if we incline to doubt the Veracity of the Records that relate to them, the very Ruins that ftill remain afford us Teftimonies that are abfolutely inconteftible. The Contrivances made ufe of for fupplying Water, and the Conveniency of Water Carriage, not only to all the great Cities, but to every Town and Village, furpals any thing that is to be feen at this Day in the moft civilized Part of the World, unlefs perhaps we except Cbina. This fhews that the Ancients excelled alfo in Policy, or the Art of eftablifhing right Rules for the Government of Mankind, which are beft difcovered from their Effects, the true Criterion of Government being the Exercife of human Induftry about ufeful Things, for without Queftion that Nation is beft governed where Individuals are beft employed, that is, where, on the one Hand, the Laws provided fuitable Encouragements for the active, and by a right Direftion and Diftribution of Authority, prevent any from being idle. The Ancients excelled alfo in all the Sciences that depend either on the Quicknefs of Parts, or the Solidity of Judgment, and in all the Arts that furnifh the Neceffities, procure the Conveniencies, or exhibit the Elegancies of Life; the Proofs of all which are to be found in their Writings, in the Hiftory of their Manners, and in the Remains of their Buildings, Utenfils, Coins, Curiofities, $\mathcal{E}^{2} c$.

On the other Hand, they were certainly defective in thofe Sciences that depend upon Experience, as well as Sagacity and Genius. Their Cofmography was equally narrow and erroneous; the fame may be faid of their Aftronomy, which was not either accurate or well applied. Hence it came to pafs, that their Navigation was uncertain, flow, dangerous, and confined. Neither had they any Notions of managing Commerce by Factories or Settlements. In thefe and many other Things we certainly furpais them, but then it mult be alfo allowed, that they could, and we cannot do without them, which perhaps is the real Caule of their Defects, as well as of our Proficiency.

But there is one Advantage they had, which is very little attended to, and yet it was the principal Source of that Wealth, the very Relation of which appears to us almoft incredible, I mean that amazing Fertility in valuable Commodities which feveral Countries enjoyed, and of which there are fcarce any Traces to be met with now. Several Inftances of this, with regard to the Regions of the Eaft, occur in our Hiftory of them; but becaule we had no Opportunity of mentioning it elfewhere, it may not be amifs to fet down a Teftimony here that is very well worth Confideration. The Pboenicions confidered Spain, and with very good Reafon, in the very fame Light that Spain now confiders Mexico and Peru, that is to fay, they drew from thence in Return for Merchandize of fmall and inconfiderable Value, immenfe Quantities of the richeft Metals, and of Silver more efpecially.

If we may credit Arifotle, they not only found wherewith to load their Ships, but when that was done, they forged Anchors, Bolts and Bars of Silver, to fupply the Place of Iron, that fthey might carry away the more of it. Diodorus. Siculus affures us that it was chiefly owing to the prodigious Riches they drew from Spain, that the Cartbaginians were able to fet on Foot fuch nuinerons Armies, to equip fuch potent Fleets, and to raife fuch ftupendous Fortifications, as made them at once the Wonder and the Terror of their Neighbours.

In a Word, one might produce good Authorities to prove, that there was hardly a maritime Province in Spain, from Algarve and Andalufia, to Galicio, Afturias, and the Pyrenean Mountains, but what abounded in Gold, Silver, Copper, Tin, or fome other valuable Metal. Yet except a Siver Mine in Portugal, of which the Reader has had a very particular and authentick Account in this Volume, there is not the leaft Sign or Token of thefe vaft Treafures, exclufive of the Appearances that yet remain of the Works that were carried on for maintaining them.
V. But though we have attended clofely to the Commercial Hiftory of the Indies, yet we have not negleeted or omitted what might be thought as ufeful or more entertaining. We have drawn together, from the beft and moft authentick Writers, whatever would contribute to the true Reprefentation of the Religion, Government, Hiftory, Laws and Cuftoms of the feveral Nations of India, and have been more efpecially folicitous in fetting forth the Learning, Difcipline, Offices, Way of Living, and peculiar Privileges of the Brachmans, now called Bramins, and have taken the Pains to fet forth the principal Doctrines of their Theology and Philofophy. We have been as folicitous about the natural Hiftory of the Indies, and have compared what ancient Authors have recorded, with the Remarks made by modern Travellers upon that Subjcet.

By this Means we have given the Reader, in a very narrow Compafs, and in fuch a Manner, as that Things of a like Nature are all placed together, what would have coft very great Labour to affemble out of the different Books in which they are difperfed, and yet to preferve, as far as poffible, all the Advantages that arife from a Variety of Reading, we have, generally fpeaking, made ufe of the Author's own Words, and have cited the Places where they are to be found in the Notes. We have very frequently taken Occafion, from this Manner of handling the Subject, to diftinguifh Fables from true Hiftory, and to fhew fometimes, that there is a great deal of true Hiftory in what many hafty Criticks have rejected as Fables. For if, on the one Side, it be true, that Ignorance is the Mother of Credulity, one may very much doubt, wherher Incredulity be not her Daughter alfo. This will be the more eafily apprehended, if we confider that there is a Kind of Similarity between Extreams, and that different Deviations from Truth may very well arife from the fame Caufe. For, afterall, what is Credulity, but believing without Evidence ? And what Incredulity, other than believing againft Evidence? And whence can either of thefe afife more naturally than from Ignorance. If this mean and deteftable Vice occupies the Breaft of one of a mild and placid Spirit, he believes without examining whatever he hears ; and again, if Ignorance be coupled with Obftinacy, there is hardly fuch a Thing as driving Belief into a Mortal, whofe Mind is over-run with fuch Maladies.
It is very poffible, that notwithftanding all the Care we have taken, fome Miftakes may be difcovered in this Part, by thofe who have been fo happy as to obtain better Lights; but a diligent Enquiry, and a ftrict Ex. amination, were the only proper Methods to be employed to prevent fuch Miftakes, and they were employed to the utmoft of our Power. We may add to this, another and a very juft Apology, that in this Tract we were without any Guide, all who had gone before us chufing rather to fave their own Pains than that of the Reader, and to heap up Relation upon Relation, Extract upon Extract, by which they multiplied their Volumes, and neither reprefented Things diftinctly themfelves, nor left it in the Power of a Reader, who had not uncommon Leifure, to form any diftinct Notion of what was really worth knowing, in that vaft Load of Materials that they exhibited to his View. In fhort, we faw very plainly, what was amifs in the Compilations that went before us, and we were very willing to take Warning by their Mifcarriages, which put us upon purfuing another Method, and if we have miffed of Perfection in that, we have at leaft this to plead, that we meant well, and have done our beft.
VI. After
VI. After fhewing how Commerce was in a Manner totally overwhelmed in the Eaft, we proceed next to point out the Methods by which it was in fome Meafure revived by the Subjects of the two trading Republicks of Venice and Genoa; and we have taken great Pains to difcover the different Ways, by which, at feveral Times, and under various Circumftances, the Commodities and Manufactures of the Eaft were brought into Europe. But as the Manner of our treating that Subject would not allow us to digrefs there, fo far as to give any Account of the Rife of thofe two celebrated States, it cannot be amifs, in this Review of our Performance, to fupply that Defect in as concife a Manner as it is poffible.

When the Weftern Part of the Roman Empire was over-run by Barbarians, and Arts and Sciences funk with that Power which had cultivated and protected them ; Commerce alfo vifibly declined, or to ipeak with greater Propriety, was overwhelmed and loft ; for in Times of Confufion and publick Defolation, when the Giant War ftalks abroad, overturns great Cities, tramples down the nobleft Improvements, and lays whole Countries wafte, it is impoffible that Trade fhould continue; or rather, it is highly probable, that on the very Approach of thefe Dangers the muft have already fled. It is a common Saying, that Riches are the Nerves of War, rather, I think, the Food of it; and therefore where War devours, there Commerce cannot fubfift, which is a perpetual Reafon why all Trading Nations fhould avoid offenfive Wars ; for by thofe that are abfolutely defenfive they can never be hurt. But to keep to the Point ; when that Irruption of various Nations had driven the Romon Policy out of the greateft Part of Europe, fome ftraggling People, either forced by Necefficy, or led by Inclination, took Shelter in a few ftraggling Inands that lay near the Coaft of Italy, and which would never have been thought worth inhabiting in a Time of Peace.

This was in the Sixth Century, and at their firt fixing there, they had certainly nothing more in View, than living in a tolerable State of Freedom, and acquiring a Subfiftance as well as they could. Thefe Inands being divided from each other by narrow Channels, and thofe Channels fo incumber'd by Shallows, that it was impoffible for Strangers to navigate them, thefe Refugees found themfelves tolerably fafe, and uniting among themfelves for the Sake of improving their Condition, and augmenting their Security, chey became in the Eighth Century a well fettled Government, and affumed the Form of a Republick.

Simple and mean as this Relation may appear, yet it is a plain and true Account of the Rife, Progrefs, and Eftablinmment of the famous and potent Republick of Venice. Her Beoinnings were indeed weak and flow, but when the Foundation was once well laid, her Growth was quick, and the Increafe of her Power amazing. She extended her Commerce on all Sides, and taking Advantage of the barbarous Maxims of the Mobamedan Monarchies, fhe drew to herfelf the Profits of the Indian Trade, and might in fome Senfe be faid to make Egypt a Province, and the Saracens her Subjects.

By this Means her Traffick fwelled beyond Conception, fhe became the common Mart of all Nations, her Naval Power arrived at a prodigious Height, and making ufe of every favourable Conjuncture, fhe ftretched her Conquefts not only over the adjacent Terra Firma of Italy, but through the IMands of the Arcbipelago, fo as to be at once Miftrefs of the Sea, of many fair and fruitful Countries, and of Part of the great City of Cone Atantinople it felf. But Ambition, and the Defire of Lording it over her Neighbours, Paffions equally, fatal in publick and private Life; to States and Empires, as well as to great Men, and to great Families, brought upon her thofe Evils which firft produced a Decay of Trade, and then a Declenfion of Power. General Hiftories indeed afcribe this to the League of Cambray, when all the great Powers in Europe combined againft this Republick; and in Truth, from that Period the Gnking of her Power is truly dated; but the Venetian Writers very juftly obferve, that though this Effect folm
lowed the League, yet there was another, a more latent, but, at the fame Time, a more effectual Caufes which was the falling off of their Commerce.

Her Subjects were become lefs frugal, and lefs wealthy, and, at the fame time, more ambitious and more profufe. It was impoffible, in fuch a Situation, that the State fhould maintain it felf when fo warmly ato tacked; a Man in a Confumption cannot ftruggle with the fame Force as in Health; and though By-ftanders may attribute the Fall he receives to the Strengh of his Adverfary, he cannot help knowing, that it proceeds folely from the failing of his own Strength. This was the Cafe of the Venetians, and they have ever fince been more indebted to their Wifdom, than their Power, to the prudent concealing of their own Weaknefs, and taking Advantage of the Errors of their Enemies, than to any other Cafe; for their keeping up that Port which they fill bear, and which had been loft long ago by any other Nation but themfelves.

At the fame Time that Venice rofe, as it were, out of the Sea, another Republick was erefted on the Coafts of ltaly, there could not well be a worfe Situation than the narrow, marfhy, unprofitable and unwholfome Inands in the Adriatick, except the rocky, barren, and inhofpitable Shores of Liguria; and yet as Commerce raifed Venice the Rich, on the one; fo the erected Genor the Proud on the other. In Spite of ambitious and warlike Neighbours, in Spite of a confined and unproducing Country, and which were ftill greater Impediments, in Spite of perpetual Factions and fucceffive Rem volutions, the Trade of Genoa made her rich and great. Her Merchants traded to all Councries, and throve by carrying the Commodities of the one to the other. Her Fleets became formidable, and befides the adjacent Inland of Corfica, the made larger and more important Conquefts. She fixed a Colony at Caffa, and was for fome Time in Poffeffion of the Coafts on both Sides of the Black Sea.

That Emulation which is natural to neighbouring Nations, and that Jealoufy which rifes from the Purfuit of the fame Miftret, Commerce, begat continual Wars between thefe Rival Republicks, which after many obflinate and bloody Battles, was at laft terminated in Favour of Venice, by that famous Victory of Cbiozzi, gained by her Doge Andrew Contarini, from which Time Genoa never pretended to be Miftrefs of the Sea. Thefe Quarrels were fatal to both; but what proved more immediately deftructive to the Genoefe, was their Avarice; which induced them to abandon the fair Profits of Trade, for the Sake, by that vile Method of acquiring Wealth by Ufury.

This leads us to mention another Subject that has a clole Connection with Commerce, and that is, the Bufinefs of Exchanges. This, tho' in many Cafes ufeful to Commerce, concerns alfo many other Things, fuch as Tranfactions of State, and of War, the Removal of Families, or the Defcent of Succeffions upon Strangers ; all of which create the Neceffity of removing Money from one Country to another, which fometimes cannot be done at all, and in moft Cafes muft be attended with Inconveniency, if practifed in the plain Way of Tranfportation. The Lombards, one of the many Nations that eftablifhed themfelves in Italy after the Ruin of the Roman Empire, and who have beftowed their Name on one of the fineft Countries in it, devifed a Method for removing, in a great Meafure, this Inconvenience; for they obferved that Money was very often wanting reciprocally in feveral Countries, and therefore they imagined, that if a Way could be found to eftablifh a Correfpondence capable of fupplying their mutual Wants, it might prove very advantageous to the middle Perfons, and this produced that Kind of Practice now known by the Name of Exchange; which, as it was invented by, fo it continued long in the Hands of the Lombards. For this Purpofe, they lettled themfelves in moft of the great Cities in Europe, and having a ftrict Correfpondence one with another, they managed this new Branch of Bufinefs, of drawing and remitting Money with valt Advantage to themfelves ; and to do this the more effectually, they enter'd into Partnerfhip, kept

But if upon this Occafion it thould be demanded what Remedy there is for thefe Things, we can only anfwer, that all the Remedy in the Power of private Perfons, is to forefee and point out the Caufes of fuch Evils; and by acquainting their Countrymen with the real Importance of this Commerce, to awaken and excite their Diligence, to preferve what is yet left, and if poffible, to open new Channels, which may balance the Deficiencies that muft naturally arife from the lofing thofe Branches of Trade, which, by thefe new Attempts, are likely to be cut off. All this the Reader will find regularly digefted to the utmoft Extent of our Power, and throughout the feveral Sections which relate to them, interfperfed with a great Variety of probable Expedients, by which thefe great and important Ends may be attained.

It is not at all in ours, or indeed within the Compafs of private Peoples Abilities, to carry Things of this Nature any farther; but the Rectitude of carrying them thus far, and of publifhing and making manifeft the mighty Advantages that would refult from directing our Councils to the Improvement of our Commercial Concerns, rather than the fetiling the Interefts of other Nations upon the Continent, which perhaps the betber they are fettled, the lefs it may tend to our Benefit, fince we fee that the firft Confequence of their Independency and Security is to profecute Projects for the Benefit of their own Trade, and to the Prejudice of ours, is put out of all Difpute.
Thofe who affect to treat thefe Things either as Chimera's or Trifles, Points of inconfiderable Moment, or remote and incertain in their Confequences, are either really or affectedly lgnorant; and which ever they are, fo far as they can carry their Opinions and Influence, the moft dangerous and moft deftructive Enemies to their Country; for to propagate Notions of Security, and to rock us as it were in the Sleep of Indolence, while other Nations are awake and full of Attention to the Means of improving Traffick, and laying the Foundations of Maritime Power, is to enervate and deftroy us, -more elpecially, if at the fame Time we are exhaufted by Taxes, which neceffarily render our Manufactures dear, and give thereby great Advantage to our Rivals, and oppreffed with Debts, a very large Proportion of which being due to Foreigners, mutt fpeedily and infallibly draw the laft Shilling out of thefe Kingdoms, if frefh Supplies of Wealth are not regularly and conftantly brought in by foreign Trade.

Thefe are the Subjects chiefly infifted upon in the firft Volume of this Collection, diverffified by a great Variety of pleafant and entertaining Reading, fo difpofed as to heighten Inftruction, and not to diftract the Mind, by aiming at no ufeful or perceptible End. We come next to fpeak of the Contents of the fecond Volume, and to fhew how far they are likewife calculated to anfwer the fame ufeful, important and national Purpofes.
IX. As an Intercourfe and Commerce with the Eaft Indies was the great Concern both of the Ancients and Moderns, to the Time that America was found out, fo that Discovery, and the great Confequences that have attended it, have been the juft Subjects of the principal Attention of the trading Nations in Europe ever fince; and hence the examining every Thing relating thereto in its proper Order, became naturally the next Object of our Care. We begin with a copious and circumftantial Relation of the feveral Expeditions of the great Cbriftopher Columbus, in which we have fully explained the Motives upon which they were grounded, the many Difcouragements he met with, and the various Difficulties he encountered before he was able to bring Things to bear. In treating thefe Subjects, we have taken the Liberty to intermix fome Reflections on the Detriments that Spain received from the early Interpofition of Statefmen in the Management of the new Colonies, from whence many Mifchiefs arofe, and the Profits of thofe early Eftablifhments were very much leffened, and their future Progrefs greatly checked.

We then proceed to the intermediate Expeditions beaween thofe of Columbus, and the Conqueft of Mexico.
by Ferdinand Cortes, which affords the Reader an ample Profpect of the mighty Difficulties that Men will go through from the Hopes of Gain, more efpecially, when it is to come immediately to themfelves, and they are not circumfcribed either by the unreafonable Power or particular Views of Companies, to which alone is to be afcribed the rapid Progrefs of the Spaniards, in thofe Countries where their Conquefts in our Times, when nothing is done but at an immenfe Expence of Time, Men and Money, appears incredible. The Paffage being now open, we go on to the Conqueft of Mexico, and to fhew from the beft Authorities, how a very great and powerful Empire, governed by a wife and brave Monarch, and fupported by numerous Armies of faithful Subjects, was neverthelefs fuccefsfully attacked, and in the End totally over-turned by a very handful of Men, and thofe too all the Time caballing, confpiring, and quarrelling amongtt themfeives, fo that the profperous Event of that marvellous Expedition, is entirely due to the incomparable. Abilities, indefarigable Labours, and fingular Virtues of the Commander in Chief; to whom however there was but very little Gratitude fhewed by his Countrymen, who reaped all the Benefits of that moft important Conqueft.
After recording his Actions, the Reader will find a fuccinct Account of the Manner in which the I/Rbmus of America, and the Country adjoining, were fubdued, and of the Difputes that arofe amongtt the Spanib Officers, or rather Adventurers that undertook and effected thofe Conquefts, which, how fatal fo ever they might be to themfelves, turned notwithftanding, as much, or more, to the Benefit of the Spanif Crown and Nation, as if they had proceeded with all the Harmony and good Underftanding poffible; fo valuable a Principle is Activity, and fo advantageous to the Publick a bufy and enterprizing Spirit, when employed at a Diftance, whether well or ill conducted, by which very often prodigious Conqueits are made abroad by thofe of reftlefs and turbulent Minds, that very probably had ftirred up Rebellion and Confufion, if they had ftaid at home. We may enter farther into the Truth of this Obfervation, if we confider how little has been done in thefe Parts in fo long a Courfe of Years, in Comparifon with what was then done in fo few; from whence it is vifible, that as Example excites and encourages vigorous Meafures, fo it likewife countenances Indolence, and by degrees fixes and eftablifhes it by Habit.
X. The Conqueft of Peru was not at all the Effect of any deep laid Scheme of Policy, or of Meafures taken in Confequence of Orders from Spain; on the contrary, it arofe from a Kind of Agreement or Compromife between two or three enterprizing Adventurers, and thofe too in defperate Circumftances. All the Force they could mutter up was fo infignificant, as fcarce to exceed a Modern Independent Company; the Veffels on which they embarked, were fill meaner than the Forces they carried; and as for the Funds which were to defray the Expences of this Expedition, they were equally infignificant in Money and in Credit. What is fill more extraordinary than all this, thefe Undertakers had. little or no Intelligence; they knew that the Country they were to attack was very large, and well peopled, but they knew very little of its Government, and ftill lefs of the Cuftoms and Manners of thofe People. We are not to imagine from hence, that the Inhabitants of Peru were wild and barbarous Savages, or that they were defeated and fubdued for Want of a Conftitution, Laws and Policy; for this was fo far from being the Cafe, that Sir William Temple, than whom there hardly ever was a better Judge of Things of this Nature, has given us, within a very narrow Compafs, a moft excellent Syftem of the Peruvian Empire, which having had no Opportunity to infert elfewhere, it cannot be difpleafing to our Readers, upon this Review of the whole Work, to find it here, more efpecially, as it is juftly efteemed the Mafter-piece of that polite Writer, who has therein given us both Facts and Obfervations that might very well furnih Matter for a confiderable Volume. "T The Empire of Peru deduced its Original "s from their great Heroes Mango Copac, and his Wife
" and his Sifter Coya Mama, who are faid to have firtt
" appeared in that Country, near a mighty Lake,
" which is ftill facred with them upon this Occafion.
"Before this Time, the People of there Countries are
" reported to have lived like the Beafts among them,
" without any Traces of Order, Laws; or Religion,
"without other Food than from the Trees, or the
"Herbs, or what Game they could catch; without
"further Provifion than for prefent Hunger, withoút
" any Cloathing or Houfes but dwelt in Rocks or
"Caves, or Trees, to be fecure from wild Beafts; or
" on Tops of Hills, if they were in Fear of fierce
"Neighbours. When Mango Copac and his Sifter firft
"came into thefe naked Lands, as they were Perfons
" of excellent Shape and Beauty, fo they were adorned
"s with fuch Cloaths as continued afterwards the ufual
"Habit of the Ynca's, by which Name they called
" themfelves.
"They told the People who came firf about them,
"that they were the Son and Daughter of the Sun,
" and that their Father taking Pity of the miferable
" Condition of Mankind; had fent them down to
"reclaim them from thofe beftial Lives, and to in-
" ftruct them how to live happily and fafely; by
"obferving fuch Laws, Cuftoms and Orders as
"their Father the Sun had commanded there his
" Children to teach them. The great Rule they firt
" taught, was that every Man fhould live according to
«Reafon, and confequently not either fay nor do any
"Thing to others, that they were not willing
"others fhould fay or do to them, becaufe it was
"againft all common, Reafon to make one Law for
© our felves, and another for other People ; and this
" was the great Principle of all their Morality. In the
" next Place, that they fhould worthip the SUN, who
" took care of the whole World, gave Life to all
"Creatures, and made the Plants grow, and the Herbs
" fit for Food to maintain them; and was fo careful
" and fo good as to fpare no Pains of his own, but to
" go round the World every Day to infpect and provide
"s for all that was upon it, and had fent thefe his two
" Children down on purpofe for the Good and Happi-
" nefs of Mankind, and to rule them with the fame
"Care and Goodnefs that he did the World.
"After this, they taught them the Arts moft necef-
"fary for Life, as Mango Copac to fow Mayz, or the
"common Indian Grain, at certain Seafons, to pre-
${ }^{6}$ ferve it againft others; to build Houfes againft In*clemencies of Air, and Danger of wild Beafts ; to di-
«ftinguifh themfelves by Wedlock into feveral Families ;
"t to cloathe themfelves fo as to cover at leaft the Shame
" of Nakednefs; to tame and nourifh fuch Creatures
" as might be of common Ufe and Suttenance: Coya
"Mama taught the Women to fpin and weave both
"Cotton, and certain coarfe Woolls of fome Beafts
" amongft them. With thefe Inftructions and Inven-
"t tions they were fo much believed in all they faid, and "adored for what they did and taught of common " Utility, that they were followed by great Numbers " of People, obferved and obeyed like Children of the
"Sun fent down from Heaven to inftruct and govern " them.
"Mango Copac had in his Hand a Rod of Gold, " about two Foot long and five Inches round. He
"faid that his Father the Sun had given it him, and " bid him, when he travelled Northward from the "Lake, he fhould, every Time he refted, ftrike this
"Wand down into the Ground, and where at the firft
"Stroke it fhould go down to the very Top, he fhould
" there build a Temple to the Sun, and fix the Seat of
" his Government. This fell out to be in the Vale of
"Cufco, where he founded that City which was Head " of this great Kingdom of Peru. Here he divided
" his Company into two Colonies or Plantations, and
"called one the Higb Cufco, and the other the Low,
" and began here to be a Law-giver to there People.
" In each of thefe were at firft a thoufand Families,
" which he caufed all to be regifter'd, with the Num-
"bers in each. This he did by Strings of feveral Co-
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lours, and Knots of feveral Kinds and Colours upon
"them, by which both Accounts were kept of Things
" and Times, and as much expreffed of their Minds as
" was neceffary in a Government, where neithér Letters"
"告or Money, or confequently Difpures or Avarice,
"s with their Confequences, ever entered.
"He inftituted Decurions through both thefe Colo-
"" nies' that is, one over every ten Families, another " over fifty, a third over a hundred, a fourch over five " hundred, and a fifth over a thoufand; and to "t this laft they gave the Name of Curaca, or Go"s vernor. Every Decurion was a Cenfor, a Patron, $"$ and a Judge or Arbiter in fmall Controverfies among "t thofe under his Charge. They took care that every " one cloathed themfelves, laboured and lived accor"ding to the Orders given them by the Ynca's from "their Father the Sun, among which one was, Thas " none who could work fhould be idle, more than to " reft after Labour ; and that none who could not "i work by Age, Sicknefs, or Invalidity, fhould want, " but be maintained by the others Pains. Thefe were "fo much obferved, that in the whole Empire of Periu, " and during the long Race of the Ynca Kings, no "Beggar was ever known; and no Woman ever fo " much as went to fee her Neighbours but with their "Work in their Hands, which they followed all the "Time the Vifit, lafted. Upon this I remember a "Strain of refin"d Civility among them, which was, "that when any Woman went to fee another of equal " or ordinary Birth, fhe worked at her own Work in the " other's Houfe ; but if the made a Vifit to any of the
's Palla's, which was the Name by which they called all
" the Women of the true Royal Blood, as Ynce's was " that of the Men, then they immediately defired the "Palla to give them a Piece of her own Work, and " the Vifit paffed in working for her.
"I Idlenefs fentenced by the Decurions', was punifhed " by fo many Stripes in publick, and the Difgrace was " more fenfible than the Pain. Every Colony had one "f fupreme Judge, to whom the lower Decurions remit-
"t ted great and difficult Cafes, or to whom, in fuch
"Cafes, the Criminals appealed. But every Decurion " that concealed any Crime of thofe under his Charge " above a Night and a Day, became guilty of it, and liable " to the fame Punifhment. There were Laws or Oiders " likewife againft Theft, Mutilations, Murders, Dif"obedience to Officers, and Adulteries, for every " Man was to have one lawful Wife', but had the Lí"berty of keeping other Women as he could. The " Punifhment of all Crimes was either corporal Pains " or Death, but commonly the laft, upon thefe two " Reafons which they gave; firtt, That all Crimes, "whether great or fmall, were of the fame Nature, anid "d deferved the fame Punifhment, if they were commit"t ted againft the Divine Commands, which were fent " them down from the Sun:- Next that, to punifh any "Man in his Poffeffions or Charges, and leave him "a alive, and in Strength and Liberty, was to leave an " ill Man more incenfed or neceffitated to commit new 6 Crimes.
"On the other Side, they never forfeited the Charge " or Poffeffions of a Son for his Father's Offences, but "the Judges only remonftrated to him the Guilt and "Punifhment of them for his Warning or Example. "Thefe Orders had fo great Force and Effect, that " many Times a whole Year paffed without the Execu"t tion of one Criminal. There is no Doubt, but that " which contributed much to this great Order in the "State, was the Difure of other Profeffions than what " were necefflary to Life, and the eminent Virtue of " their firtt great Hero or Legilator, which feemed to " have been intailed upon their whole Race in the " Courfe of their Reign : So as in the whole Length of " it, it is reported among them, that no true Inca was "ever found guilty or punifhed for any Crime. Thus "particular Qualities have been obferved in old Rome ' to be conftant in the fame Families for feveral hun"dred Years, as Goodnefs, Clemency, Love of the "People, in that of the Valerii; Haughtinefs, Pride,

12 L
Cruelty
"Cruelty, and Hatred of the People in that of the " Appii; which may come from the Force of Blood, "t of Education, or Example.
" It is certain, no Government was ever eftablifhed ci and continued by greater Examples of Virtue and
"Severity, nor gave ever any greater Teftimonies, than is the 1 nca's, of an excellent Intitution, by the Pro-
"greffes and Succeffes, both in the Propagation and
" Extent of Empire, in Force and Plenty, in Great" nefs and Magnificence of all publick Works, as
"Temples, Palaces, Highways, Bridges, and in all
" Provifions neceffary to the common Eafe, Safety, and
"Utility of human Life : So as feveral of the Jefuits,
" and particularly Acofta, are either fo juft or io pre-
" fuming, as to prefer the civil Conftitution of Mango
© Copac, before Lycurgus, Numa, Solon, or any other
"Lawgivers, fo celebrated in the more known Parts " of the World.
"To every Colony was affigned fuch a Compais of
" Land, whereof one Part was appropriated to the
"Sun, a fecond to the Widows, Orphans, Poor, Old,
" or maimed, a third to the peculiar Maintenance of
". every Family according to their Number, and a
" fourth to the Ynca. In this Order the whole was til-
" led, and the Harvett or Product laid up in feveral
" Granaries, out of which it was diftributed by Off-
" cers to that Purpofe, according to the feveral Ufes
" for which it was defigned, and new Seed iffued out
" at the Seafon for the new Tillage. Every Decurion,
" befides the Office of a Cenfor and Judge, had that
" likewife of a Patron or Sollicitor, for Relief of the
"Neceffities or Wants of thofe under his Charge.
"They were bound to give in to the publick Regifter,
" an Account of all that were born, and of all that
" died under their Charge. None were fuffered to
" leave the Colony or People he was born in without
"Leave, or to change the Habit commonly ufed in it
" (by fome Parts or Marks whereof thofe of each Pro-
" vince was diftinguifhed) ; none to marry out of it, any
" more than the $Y$ nca's, out of their own Blood.
"The Ynca that reigned was called Capa Inca, "which the Spaniards interpret Solo Semmor, or Only
"Lord. He ever married the firft of his Female Kin-
"dred, either Sifter, Niece or Coufin, to preferve the
"Line the pureft they could. Once in two Years he
"affembled all the unmarried Ynca"s Men above
"Twenty, and Women above Sixteen Years old, and
" there in publick married all fuch as he thought fit,
"s by giving each of their Hands one to the other.
"The fame was done among the Vulgar by the Cu -
"raca of each People. Every Family at their Time of
"Meals, eat with their Doors open, fo that all might
" fee their Temperance and Order. By thefe and fuch
" other Laws and Inftitutions, Manga Copac firt fettled
is his Government or Kingdom in the Colonies of Cuz-
"co, which were in Time multiplied into many others
" by the willing Confluence and Recourfe of many fe-
? veral People round about him, allured by the Divine
" Authority of his Orders, by the Sweetnefs and Cle-
" mency of his Reign, and by the Felicity of all that
" lived under it ; and indeed the whole Goverment of his
©, Raceof the $Y_{n c a}$ 's, was rather like that of a tender
© Father over his Children, or a juft, careful and well-
" natured Guardian over Pupils, than of a Lord or

- Commander over Slaves or Subjects. By which they
"came to be fo honoured or adored, that it was like
"Sacrilege for any common Perfon fo much as to
"touch the Ynca without his Leave, which was given
" as a Grace to thofe who ferved him well, or to new
-s Subjects that fubmitted to him. After the Extent of
"his Kingdom into great Compaffes of Territory
as round Cuzco, by voluntary Submiffion of the People,
" as to fome Evangelical rather than legal Doetrines
" or Inftitutions, Mango Copac affembled all his Cu -
"raca"s, and told them that his Father the Sun had
"commanded him to extend his Inftitutions and Orders
"c as far as he was able for the Good and Happinefs of
"Mankind; and for that purpofe, with armed Troops
to go to thofe remoter Parts that had not yet received
"them, and to reduce them to their Obfervance. That
" the Sun had commanded him to hurt or offend none
" that would fubmit to him, and thereby accept of the
"Good and Happinefs that was offered him by fuch "divine Bounty, but to diftrefs only fuch as refufed, " without killing any chat did not affail them; and then " to do it juftly in their own Defence.
"For this Defign he formed and affembled Troops " of Men armed, with offenfive, but chiefly with de-
" fenfive Weapons. He caft them into the Order of
"Decurions, in the fame Manner as he had done the "Families, to every ten Men was one Officer, "another to fifty, and another to one hundred, a fourth "to five hundred, and a fifth to a thoufand. There " was a fixth over five thoufand, and a feventh as a Ge" neral over ten thoufand, of which Number his firft "Army was compofed. With this and other fuch Ar" mies he reduced many new Territories under his " Empire, declaring to every. People he approached, the " fame Things he had done firft to thore who came " about him near the great Lake; and offering them
" the Benefit of the Arts he had taught, the Orders he " had inftituted, the Protection he had given his Sub" jects, and the Felicity they enjoyed under it. Thofe " who fubmitted were received into the fame Rights " and Enjoyments with the reft of his Subjects. Thofe " who refufed, were diftreffed and purfued by his For" ces, till they were neceffitated to accept of his Offers " and Conditions.
" He ufed no offenfive Weapons againft any till they "解tacked them, and then defenfive only at firft, till " the Danger and Slaughter of his Men grew otherwife "" unavoidable ; then he fuffered his Forces to fall upon " them and kill without Mercy, and not to fpare even "thofe that yielded themiflves after having fo long and "obftinately refifted. Thofe who fubmitted after the "f firt Threats or Diftreffes, or bloodlefs Oppofition, he "s received quickly into Grace, fuffered them to touch " his facred Perfon, made great and common Feafts " for them and his own Soldiers together for feveral "Days, and then incorporated them into the Body of " his Empire, and gave to each of them Cloaths to "wear, and Corn to fow.
"By thefe Ways and fuch heroic Virtues, and by the "Length of his Reign, he fo far extended his Domi" nions as to divide them into four Provinces, over "each whereof he appointed an Ynca to be a Viceroy, " having many Sons grown fit to command, and in "each of them eftablifhed three fupreme Councils; the " firft of Juftice, the fecond of War, and the third of " the Revenue, of each of which an Znca was likewife "Prefident; which continued ever after.
"At the End of a long and adored Reign, Mango
"Copac fell into the laft Period of his Life; upon the
"Approach whereof he called together all his Children
" and Grand-children, with his eldeft Son, to whom he
" left his Empire, and told them, that for his own
"Part, he was going to repofe himfelf with his Father " the Sun, from whom he came; that he advifed and "charged them all to go on in the Paths of Reafon " and Virtue which he had taught them, till they fol" lowed him the fame Journey ; that by this Courfe " only they would prove themfelves to be true Sons of
"the SUN, and be as fuch honoured and efteemed.
"He gave the fame Charge more efpecially and more "earneftly to the Ynea his Succeffor, and commanded
" him to govern his People according to his Example
" and the Precepts he had received from the Sun, and
" to do it always with Juftice, Mercy, Piety, Clemen-
"cy, and Care of the Poor; and when he the
"Prince fhould go in Time to reft with his Father the
"Sun, that he fhould give the fame Inftructions and
"Exhortations to his Succeffor. And this Form was
" accordingly ufed in all the Succeffions of the Race of
" the Ynca 's, which lafted 800 Years with the fame
"Order, and the greateft Felicity that could be of " any State.
"I will fay Nothing of the Greatnefs, Magnificence, " and Richnefs of their Buildings, Palaces, or Tem-
"ples, efpecially thofe of the Sun, of the Splendour ${ }^{6}$ of their Court, their Triumphs after Victories, their
"Huntings and Feafts, their military Exercifes and " Honours. But as Teftimonies of their Grandeur, "s mention only two of their Highways, whereof one ${ }^{66}$ was $500^{\circ}$ Leagues, plain and levelled through Moun${ }^{6} 6$ tains, Rocks and Vallies ; fo that a Carriage might "d drive through the whole Length without Difficulty. " Another very long and large, paved all with cut or " fquared Stone, fenced with low Walls on each Side, "s and fet with Trees, whofe Branches gave Shade, and ${ }^{66}$ the Fruits Food to all that paffed.
" I fhall end this Survey of their Government with ${ }^{6}$ one Remark upon their Religion, which is, that tho'
"s the Vulgar worthipp'd only the Sun, yet the Amanta's,
"s who were their Sages or Philolophers, taught, that
"s the Sun was only the Minifter of Pachacamac, © 6 whom they adored in the firft Place, and to whom a " great and fumptuous Temple was dedicated. This
" Word is interpreted by the Spaniards, Animador del
" Mundo, or, He that animates or enlivens the World,
${ }^{6} 6$ and feems to be yet a more refined Notion of
"s the Deity than that of the Cbinefes, who adored "s the Spirit and Soul of the World. By this Principle
* of their Religion, as all the others of their Govern-
"s ment and Policy, it muit, I think, be allowed, that
${ }^{6}$ human Nature is the fame in thefe remote, as well
${ }^{66}$ as the other more known and celebrated Parts of the © World.
" That the different Governments of it are framed ${ }^{66}$ and cultivated by as great Reaches and Strength of
${ }^{66}$ Reafon and Wifdom as any of ours, and fome of " their Frames lefs fubjeet to be fhalken by the Paffions,
* Factions, and other Corruptions, to which thofe in
"s the middle Scene of Europe and Afia have been lo " often and fo much expos'd. That the fame Caufes
ss produce every where the fame Effects; and that the
" fame Honours and Obedience are in all Places but \& Confequences or Tributes paid to the fame heroick
" Virtue or tranfcendent Genius, in what Parts foever,
" or under what Climates of the World it fortunes to " appear."
This may fatisfy the moft critical Reader, that the old Inhabitants of Peru were far enough from being Barbarians; though at the fame time it muft be confefs'd, that they were very much degenerated before they were delivered up by Providence to that fevere Correction they have received from the haughty Spaniards, under which they ftill groan, and fuffer their Slavery with infinite Grief and Pain of Mind ; neither have they forgot the Splendor of their ancient Empire, but in certain Songs fet to melancholy Tunes, deplore its Downfall and Ruin. After defcribing the capital Settlements of the Spaniards, we proceed to examine how they fpread themfelves into the remoteft Parts both of the Northern and Southern Continents, fet forth the Regulation and Dependency of their feveral Governments, compare the Value of their ancient and modern Revenues extracted from America; lay down the Manner of their working their Mines, give a true Account of the Commerce carried on amongtt their Settlements, as well as of that to Europe, and the contraband Trade.

We have likewife omitted nothing that might give the Reader intire Satisfaction as to the prefent State of Things in that Part of the World, and of the true Sources of that Feeblenefs and Decay which is inconteftably vifible in all the Spanifb Settlements, and which is gradually increafing; fo that if a Stop is not quickly put to this Declenfion by an abfolute and thorough Change of Meafures, which however is hardly to be looked for, the whole of their Power muft crumble by Degrees, at leaft in the Extremities and in the Illands, and leave thofe Countries in other Hands better difpos'd to make a right Ufe of them.
XI. In the Execution of the remaining Part of our Plan, we give the Rife, Progrefs, and prefent State of the Settlements of all the other Powers that are now fixed in that Part of the World, viz. the Portuguefe, Englik, French, Dutch, and Danes. With refpect to
the $f_{\mathrm{r}} \mathrm{rft}$, we have drawn together out of an infinite Number of Buoks in which they are fattered, the Materials that are requifite to form a fuccinct Hittory of the great Country of Brazil ; and this obliges us to enter into the Detail of the Conqueft of that Country, once made by the Dutch, a Thing of very great Importance, and yet never thoroughly treated in our Language; we have alfo fhewn, how the Recovery and Improvement of this Country became the principal Caufe of the Declenfion of the Poriuguefe Power in the Ealt-Indies ; that Nation finding it too hard for them to combat fo great a maritime Power as the Republick of Holland was become; in both Indies at once. We have alfo endeavoured to fet in a clear Light the prefent State of that Country, which is of fo great Importance, not only to its prefent Mafters, but to all the trading Nations in Europe; and though in the Courfe of the whole Work there was nothing that gave greater Trouble, yet it is hoped that it now appears in a tolerable Light; and that with refpect to the Gold and Diamond Mines efpecially, much more has been faid than will be eafily met with elfewhere, for which we are greatly indebted to the Communications received from feveral Perfons to whom we are not permitted to make any more particular Acknowledgements.
As to the Britiblb Plantations, both on the Continent and in the Inands of America, we have been almoft as copious as the Subject required, and have laboured with indefatigable Diligence to fet the prodigious Advantages derived from them, and their very high Importance to this Crown and Nation in a true Light. To fpeak freely, there is no Part of this Collection that we had fo much at Heart, or in the compiling of which we proceeded with greater Induftry, Care, and Freedom of Spirit, without having the leaft Regard to any private Intereft, or the Senfe of this or that Body of Men, who might be oblig'd or offended by our Manner of treating certain Subjects one Way or other. We were fenfible that the Interefts of the Publick ought to be dearer to us than any other Confideration whatfoever ; and we dare confidently affirm, that to the utmoft Extent of our Knowledge, and to the beft of our Skill and Judgment, thefe Subjects have been treated with the utmoft Zeal and Impartiality ; and as they have had the Honour to be commended and approved by thofe who were beft acquainted with our Plantations abroad, and thofe who have moft at Heart the promoting their Welfare here at Home; fo we look upon this as the higheft Reward, as indeed it was the only one fought by this Performance, which if at prefent or hèreafter it fhall any Way contribute to the Eafe, Security, or Benefit of thofe diftant Parts of Great Britain, for fo they ought ever to be efteemed, will afford us infinite Satisfaction.

The French Power in the West-Indies has been of late Iears the Subject of much Difcourfe; one would wifh to fay that it had been likewife the Object of much Care and Attention, which it moft certainly deferved, as it is more likely to clafh with our commercial Interefts than any other. It is for this Reafon that we have reprefented it as fully and as truly as it was poffible; that we have fhewn its Advantages and Difadvantages, the Probability there is that the former may be promoted, and the latter removed ; the Methods neceffary to be employed in both Cafes, and the Remedies that may be applied to prevent the Confequences of thofe Improvements from becoming prejudicial to our felves. In doing this, we have likewife taken Occafion to mention the Precautions that may be ufed to fecure our Settlements from running any Risk from the Vicinity of thefe ambitious, enterprizing, and dangerous Neighbours; neither have we omitted to fet in a jut Light our prefent Seperiority, that it may appear we are not in fo much Danger, either from the Power or the Capacity of our Rivals, as for Want of Circumfpection, Unanimity and Prudence in our own Conduct; and that confequently, if we do fuffer, there will be no body fo much to blame as ourfelves.

Neither have we been afraid to profefs our Senfe' of the Chimericalnefs of fome Apprehenfions, and the too great Sanguinenets of others, or of affigning our Reafons for both; whence we hope it will be fufficiently apparent, that nothing but unexpected and unexampled Vigour and Vigilance on their Side, and inexcufable Indolence and Inattention on ours, can poffibly caufe any great Alteration in the prefent Situation of Things between the two Nations in that Part of the World during our Times. All which is delivered, not with the leaft Intention to render us carelefs and fecure, but to keep up the Spirits of our People, and to introduce and maintain a right Opinion of our own Strength and Capacity of maintaining and extending our Commerce, notwithflanding the Growth of that of France, and the Pains taken to improve and encourage it. This we conceive to be a Spirit that ought to be excited in our Plantations, as of all other the moll capable to enliven their Hopes, invigorate their Conduct, and give Suiccefs to their Endeavours.

The Poffeffions of the Dutch in the Wef Indies, are in themfelves far enough from being confiderable, and yet through the Induiftry of their Inhabitants, and that Wirdom and Dexterity with which they manage their clandeftine Trade with the Spaniards, they are of no fmall Confequence, as we have largely fhewn. It is indeed true, that fince the Writing of that Part, we have been affured from very good Hands, that the Colony of Surinam, which we gave them in Exchange for their Settlements at New York, is very much improved, and is improving daily; nor can there be much Doubt of this, if we may believe what the French Gazettes have told us of the Value of the Prizes taken by their Privateers in that fhort Space that actual Holtilities were exercifed between the Subjects of the two Powers, which according to thofe Accounts a mounted to between two and three hundred thoufand Pounds; and this too in the actual Commodities and Manufactures of that Colony. This is the more furprizing, becaufe there has been a general Opinion, though 1 doubt not very well grounded, that the. Dutch were not very expert in making Settlements in that Part of the World; however it muft not be concealed, that the modern Improvements of Surinam are faid to have been in a great Meafure owing to the Planters receiving great Affittance from the Englifh and French, that from Cayenne and the Leward Inands have come and fettled amongtt them, and have taught them new Methods of manuring their Lands, of raifing Sugar, and other valuable Commodities.

The Court of Copenbagen has for two Reigns applied it Felf with fo much Attention and Diligence to commercial Affairs, that we cannot at all wonder at the Reporss which are daily fpread of the Danes baving an Intention to extend their Commerce in the Weft Indies; but confidering that the fmall Illand of St. Thomas is all that they poffeis there, and is in itfelf incapable of being render'd much more beneficial than hitherto it has been, we cannot eafily apprehend, how any Pains that can be taken about it, will be brought to yield any adequate Returns, unlefs there fhould be fome Truth in what has been likewife intimated from Denmark, that there is a Scheme on Foot for reviving their African Commerce, with a View of tranfporting their Negroes to the Inle of St. Thomas, and fupplying from thence the Spanif/ Plantations. Time will fhew whether this Project has any Foundation, and alfo whether it is poffible for the Danish Government to bring it to bear.
XII. The Second Book confifts of a Defcription of the Nortbern Parts of the Globe, and of Travels thro, moft of the Countries in Europe. We have handled the firt Part of the Subject very largely, and that chiefly for this'Reafon, becaufe it had been very much overlooked and neglected by others. We have allo taken the Opportunity of giving very compleat Hiftories of the A.trempts made for difcovering the Northcalt and the North-weft Paffages. With refpect to the firft, it was our Misfortune not to receive any certain Intelligence with refpeet to the Rufian Difcoveries, till long after that Part of the Work was finifhed and pub-
lifhed; but we have endeavoured to fupply that Defect, as far as poffible, in the laft Section, as, being willing to run the Hazard of fome Impropriety, rather than bury in Oblivion thofe curious and important Paffages that came fo lately to our Notice.
In reference to the North-weft Paffage again, we were ftill more unlucky, as not having an Opportunity to fee the Account of the laft Voyage, made with a View to that Difcovery, till many Mionths afier that Hiftory had been in the Hands of the Publick. But it give's us great Pleafure to find, that the Event of this laft Voyage is fo far from deftroying the Credibility of what we have advanced upon that Head, that it agrees in all Refpects with what we have delivered, and adds much greater Strength to our Conjectures than we could well have hoped for or expected. This too has encouraged us to add fome farther Thoughts upon that important Difcovery in the laif Section, which we flatter ourfelves will not be difapproved by our Readers, and which, we have little Doubt, will be alfo confirmed by the Event of the next Voyage, when-ever it fhall be undertaken, which for the Honour and Welfare of our Country, we hope will be very foon.

As to the Voyages on the Coafts of Norraay, Lapland, and Muscory, the Accounts of Sweden, Denmark, and Poland, and the Remarks upon them, they will be found to give as much Light into the prefent State and Condition of the Countries to which they relate, as any thing that could be extracted from what has been publifhed about them; and if any who perufe them think that we have carried Matters a little too far, with refpect to that very extenfive View which we have given of the commercial Improvements in the North, all the Favour we defire is, that they will furpend a decifive Judgment for fome Time, and we fhall theri' boch readily and patiently fubmit to any Cenfure that fhall be grounded in Reafon.
Of the Travels thro' the middle Parts of Europe, particularly the United Provinces, the reft of the Low Countries, Germany, Italy, Switzerland, \&cc. we can only fay, that they are fuch as were poffeffed of the publick Eff teem long before they enter'd into this Collection; and as we have given them very faithfully, and with no other Corrections than what relate to their Stile, and fome Part of their Diipofition with a View to prevent tedious and needlefs Repetitions, we have no Caufe to fear any Strictures upon our Conduct in relation to them.
The fame Care and Fidelity was fhewn in the other Travels through France, Spain, \&cc. and fome Merit we affume from recalling to the Eye of the World, the Travels of Dr. Edrward Brown through Hungary, Auftria, and other Countries, even to the very Frontiers of Europe, which, without Queftion, are in all Refpects as worthy of Attention and Credit as any Thing of their Kind in our Language. What Additions we have made, more efpecially in regard to the prefent State of France, and the reigning Syttem of Policy in that Kingdom, will be found very agreeable to Truth, and not at all unworthy of the Reader's Notice.
The great End of this Sort of Reading, is the very fame that is fought by actual Travelling, that is to fay, the fhaking off thofe narrow Notions; and, if I may be allowed fo familiar an Expreffion, thofe clownifh Conceptions which fuch People have, as have never fuffered either their Bodies or their Minds to make any Excurfions beyond the Limits of their own Countries, or to acquire a general Idea of the principal Nations about us, as well as fome tolerable Notions of the Countries they inhabit ; the Manners, Cuftoms and Policies of the one, and the Climate, Soil and Produce of the other.

Such Books therefore as were moft likely to anfwer thefe Intentions, were fitteft for our Purpore, and were therefore taken into this Collection in Preference to fuch as were written perhaps in a more elevated Stile, and were fuller of that Kind of curious Learning which renders them the Delight of Antiquaries and Virtuof ; not that thefe are not alfo valuable in their Kind, but that they are lefs fit for general Reading, lefs ufeful to the

Bulk of Mankind, and lefs likely to invite the Perufal, and then to fix the Attention of thofe, who, it is probable, will reap the mof Benefit from this Kind of Reading, and who may afterwards, if they think fit, perufe thofe more refined Travels with much greater Satisfaction and Pleafure.
XIII. The third Book, and, as Things fand at prefent, the laft in this Collection, takes in the entire Defcription of Afie. In order to effect this, we have made ufe of thofe Writers that have the higheft Character in Point of Accuracy, Sincerity and Abilities ; and, wherever the Subject required it, or the Helps received from later Writers put it abfolutely in our Power, we have improved, explained, and continued their Performances down to the prefent Times. Thus in Reference to the Cuftoms, Manners, Laws, Policy, and prefent Condition of the Turks, we have augmented the Author from whom our principal Collections were made very confiderably, and this for two Reafons, firt, becaufe it was impoffible that in the fhort Space of Time which a Man fpends in his Travels, or even tho' he refides a little longer in a Place, he fhould enter deeply into the Concerns of a great Nation ; and fecondly, becaufe at the Time Mr. Thevenot travelled through the Turkija Empire, the Oltoman Power was far greater than it is at prefent. We have therefore to his Remarks, joined thofe of a moft worthy and intelligent Turkibh Merchant, who refided a long Time in that Country, and many Years at Conftantinople ; and we have alfo, after proving that the Opinion of the Declenfion of the Ottoman Force is well founded, pointed out the real Caufes of that Decay, and affigned the Reafons which render it very probable this Empire is fick of a mortal Difeafe, from whence it is fcarce poffible it fhould recover.

The Travels of the Reverend and learned Mr. Maundrell through the Holy Land are fuperior to Correction, and all we could do was to bring them within proper Bounds, fo as to fuit with our Defign; in order to which, we have done little more than was neceflary to reduce the Copioufnefs of the Stile, that we might bring the Matters of Fact clofer to each other.

The Travels through Perfia, and the very full Defcription of that extenfive Empire, was drawn from feveral Authors, but the beft Parts of it from the incomparable Writings of the late Sir Fobn Cberdin, the Iaft French Edition of whofe Travels is certainly one of the beft Books of its Kind that ever was publifhed. The fuccinct Hiftory we have given of that Empire, was in fome Meafure without our Bounds, and ought to be confidered as a Prefent made to the Publick, not the lefs valuable for being voluntary. It happened that while this Part of the Work was in the Prels, the famous Sbab Nadir, better known by his old Name of Thamas Kouli Kan, was murdered, and thereby a new Revolution brought about in that Country. This excited the Curiofity, and awaked the Attention of the Publick, we were willing therefore to gratify the one, and do our utmoft to fatisfy the other. At the fame Time we did this, we afforded a Specimen of the Poffibility of bringing a modern Hiftory, even for a long Series of Time, and fruitful of great Events, within a very moderate Compafs. In this, and in the other Parts of the Collection relating to thefe oriental Regions, we have not failed to keep in View our primitive Purpofe, of giving, from the beft Materials we could obtain, an Account of their Commerce; and if this is not altogether fo accurate or fo ample as we could wifh, it cannot but prove acceptable, fince for the moft Part it is entirely new, at leaft in regard to our Language, and the Fruits of thofe generous Communications which the Concern we expreffed for Things of this Nature, drew from feveral Perfons of as great Candour and defty, as of Knowledge and Experience.

The Defcription, the Hiftory and Trade of the Eaft Indies, and more efpecially of the Mogul Empire, having been explained at large in the preceding Volume, there was no need of our repeating any Thing here, which is the Reafon of our paffing directly to thofe

Travels that lead us to the great Empire of Cbina. Yet not fo directly, but that we take the vaft Countries between Ruflia and Cbina in our Way, thofe Countries which have been hitherto the leaft known of any in Afa, except the North Eaft Regions within the Artick Circle, and which however deferve to be as well known as any, notwithftanding thofe Reproaches of Stupidity and Parbarity which the Nations that inhabit them lie under, and which perhaps arife full as much from our own Prejudices as from their Ignorance.
The Defcription of thefe Countries we owe to the indefatigable Pains of his Excellency 1 sbrant Ides, Embaffador from the late Czar Peter the Great, in the Beginning of his Reign, to that famous Cbinefe Emperor, equally remarkable for the great Length of his Reign, the Equity and Moderation of his Temper, and his Contempt of thofe invariable Rules the Cbinefe Policy prefcribes, even to their Emperors, by which the moft abfolute Sovereigns are kept, as it were, in Chains. As the Account of Cbina by that illuftrious Traveller is very fhort, he, and we following his Example, have fubjoined an ample Defcription of Cbina by a Native; and have alfo interfperfed throughout the Whole, fuch explanatory Remarks as were either communicated to us, amongft which we acknowledge that excellent Differtation upon the making of Porcelain, or that we had an Opportunity of collecting from other Writers. We have alfo given many curious and entertaining Accounts from the Journal of the Sieur du Lange, whe refided for a long Time in Cbina with the Character of Envoy from the Court of Petersburgh, not that fhort and meagre Journal which had been formerly publifhed in Englifb by way of Appendix to the prefent State of Rullia, but from the Author's own original Memoirs, in which we have a far better Account of the interior and exterior Commerce of that Empire, than are to be met with elfewhere, the great Collection of Father Dubalde not excepted.
The Defcription, Hiftory and Difcourfes relative to the Peninfula of Corea are entirely new, and are not to be met with either in our own, or in any other Language, fo that it is hoped they will be found as pleafant and entertaining as they are ufeful and important; more efpecially as they tend to excite a Spirit of making new Difcoveries for promoting Navigation and improving our Commerce. The laft Section, in which the Reader has an Account of the lateft Ruffan Difcoveries, compleats the Hiftory of Afia, and of the whole trading World.
It is true, that in preparing it, we trefpaffed not a little on the Patience of the Publick; but when it is confidered from how great a Diftance Part of the Materials were to be expected, and how much Care and Caution were requifite in difpofing and digefting them, we fhall ftand in fome degree excufed; more efpecially, if now, when they are all put together, they fhould afford the Generality of the World a Variety of new Lights in reference to the Poffibility of opening frefh Channels of Trade, and thereby in a great Meafure changing the whole Commercial Syftem.

There are indeed fome who think this Point drive rather too far, and that we have carried our Refpects for Trade beyond its due Bounds. But if thefe Criticks imagine that this proceeds from a particular or overweening Fondnefs for a Favourite Subject, they are at leaft in that Circumftance very much miftaken. In the Dedication prefixed to the firt Volume of this Work, we have at large affigned the Reafons why Commerce ought to he confidered in the Light that we have placed it. We have there fhewn, that it procures moft of the real and fubtantial Bleffings which Mankind can either hope for or enjoy ; and that the only Way to avert the Evils and Miferies to which we are expofed, is to cultivate and promote it. As there is in every Man a Spark of Ambition, there is and muft be the fame in Nations. Now this natural Defire of Greatnefs and Fame, can be gratified only by an inceffant Application to War, or by a conftant and uniform Regard to Commerce. The former may indeed, though it feldom does, render a
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## CONGLUSION.

Nation rich and powerful by the Spoil of others ; but then it carries the Seeds of Deftruction in the very Principles of its Greatnefs; for where Military Power is the Source of Grandeur, there muft be perpetual Hazards, not only as to the Iffue of Foreign Contefts, but from the frequent Convulfions of intefline Troubles, as not only Reafon teaches, but Experience vouches. Moft of the ancient Empires were fubverted by this. Means. That of the Greeks lafted but for a fingle Life; the great Captains of Alexander's Army thought they had the fame Title to be Kings, that he had to rule over Kings. The Roman Hiftory is, at the Bottom, no other than a Record of foreign Expeditions, to gratify the Thirft of Dominion, and of Civil Wars arifing from the fame Caufe. But an Application to Commerce cannot be charged, at leaft not juftly, with any of thefe Inconveniences. We may trade with People without fub duing them, and we may become potent, rich and happy, from the Effects of our Induftry, without injuring; but, on the contrary, exercifing our Beneficence towards our Fellow Creatures. It is indeed true, that fome, or to fpeak the whole Truth, moft trading Nations, have purfued a contrary Conduct; but as in this they defert the Principle that we recommend, fo it affords no rea Objection to what we have advanced, nor are we under any Neceffity of defending them. Factories are very neceffary, and in diftant Countries fo are Fortreffes; but the Flumour of fubduing thofe with whom we trade by Force is rarely beneficial. In Countries thinly inhabited, or by Savages, Plantations may be made agreeable to the Law of Nature; and there will be found equally honourable and profitable to the Nations that make them. By a due Diftribution therefore of Factories, Fortreffes, and Plantations, and by a juft Regard to Maritime Power, a Nation wifely governed may preferve a Correfpondence with every Part of the Globe, withour Injury to the Subjects of other Powers, and without Danger to their own Independance; which Plan comes the neareft to political Perfection of any that has been laid down. Providence has difpofed large Chains of Mountains, and other natural Fortifications, to check warlike Ambition, but the Seas are every where open to promote Commerce between the moft diftant Countries; and navigable Rivers, or artifcial Canals, ferve in civilized Nations, to nourifh and
maintain Trade amongft themfelves, as the Notion of communicating with each other, and thereby reciprocally removing Want, is the very Source of Civility itfelf. Conquerors we may be, and Barbarians flill, but a Race of barbarous Traders is at once a Seollcifm in Language, and an Abfurdity in Nature.

Thus, by giving the Reader firt a fuccinct Detail of the Scheme, the End and the Aim of this Work, and by proceeding afrerwards to an exprefs Enumeration of its feveral Parts, and exhibiting their Relation to and Connection with each other, we have put it in his Power to judge how far we have executed what was originally propofed and promifed, and that too within the Bounds which were affigned it by the Proprietors Stipulations with the Publick. He will alfo fee what the peculiar Advantages are which arife from the very Nature of this Collection, and from the known Characters of the feveral Pieces of which it is in a great Meafure compoled, he will farther enter into, and it is hoped, will at the fame Time approve, the Reafons from which fuch Pieces as are of dubious Authority, contain Matters of mere Amufement, are filled up with extravagant and uninftructive Adventures, and have nothing to recommend them but Livelinefs of Thought and Vivacity of Stile, have been rejected; to which we may add, that he will be alfo fenfible of the great Ufefulnefs of the Introduction, in which the Principles of thofe Sciences, fome Tincture of which was abfolutely neceffary, to the underftanding both the Hiftorical and Argumentative Part, of this large Collection, are laid down with fuch Plainnefs and Peripicuity, as to render them obvious to every Underftanding.

There Confiderations, as they were of continual Weight with us in the compiling, difpofing, and adjufting that great Variety of Treatifes which in Whole or in Part have been admitted into this Performance, it was equally reafonable and requifite they fhould be brought to the View of every Perufer; which being done, there remains nothing farther but to wifh the great Purpofes that have been honeftly purfued in the Execution of this Defign, may be fucceefsfully promoted thereby, and that the Publick will afford a kind Reception to Labours that have been moft fleadily, as as well as moft fincerely, dedicated to their Service.


# A <br> GENERALINDEX 

## OFTHE

Kingdoms, Countries, Rivers, Cities, Fortreffes, $\mathscr{O}^{\circ} c$. Together with the moft remarkable Proper Names that occur in both Volumes of this Work.
N. B. For the Sake of Brevity, c. Alands for Cape, f. for Fort, h. for Hill, ill. for Illand, Intr. for Introduction, and the Numerals that follow fand for the Pages therein, 1. for Lake, m. for Mountain, p. for Province, r. for River, t. for Town.

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[^1]:     HERE are very few Books of Travels, that have maintained their Travels, that have maintained their
    Credit fo well as thefe of which we propofe in this and the following propofe in this and the following
    Sections to give a fuccinct Abridgement. Mr. Milfon was a Gentleman of great Reading and general Knowledge, which recommended him to the Favour and Protection of the old Duke of Ormond, who committed to his Care his Grandfon, the prefent Earl of Arran. He travelled alfo with feveral other Noblemen and Gentlemen, which gave him an Opportunity of examining very attentively, the Places through which he pafs?d, and of which he has given us
    V O II NuM . Vol. II. Numb. CV. ment. Mr. Mij) was a Gentle-

[^2]:    " peror²s

